

وزارة التعليم العالي و البحث العلمي

Université Abou Bekr Belkaid
Tlemcen Algérie



جامعة أبي بكر بلقايد

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH



Blyden's Philosophy and Its Impact on the Process of Re-Africanization in West Africa: Case of Ghana up to 1966

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH IN CANDIDACY OF THE DOCTORAT DEGREE IN CIVILIZATION

CANDIDATE

SUPERVISOR

Mr. Ahmed Bouchemal

Prof. Faiza Meberbeche SENOUCI

BOARD OF EXAMINERS

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| Dr. FRID Daoudi | MCA | Univ of Tlemcen | Chairperson |
| Prof. Faiza Meberbeche Senouci | Prof. | Univ of Tlemcen | Supervisor |
| Dr. BELMERABET Fatiha | MCA | Univ of Tlemcen | Examiner |
| Dr. DEHMOUNE Amal | MCA | Univ. Oran 2 | Examiner |
| Dr. TALEB Wafaa | MCA | Univ. Oran 2 | Examiner |
| Dr. LOUAHALA Nadia | MCA | Univ of SBA | Examiner |

2021/2022

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, AHMED BOUCHEMAL, do hereby solemnly declare that the work and ideas I present in this thesis are my own, and have not been submitted before to any other institution or university for a degree.

I assert that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic conventions and ethical conduct. I also assert that I have fully cited and acknowledged all materials that are not original to this work. Besides, this work is conducted and completed at the University of Tlemcen, Algeria.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Ahmed Bouchemal', written in a cursive style. The signature is positioned below the 'Signature' label.

Dedication

To my beloved mother

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to all who contributed to the completion of this work. I would like to thank Professor SENOUCI MEBERBECHE Faiza for her support and courtesy in responding to my inquiries. Her valuable advice and patience helped me a lot in shaping a good understanding of different methodological and other aspects of my study. Her contribution toward my work will always be remembered.

I would like to thank the members of the jury: Dr. Frid Douidi; Dr. Fatiha Belmrabet; Dr. Dahmoun Amel; Dr. Taleb Wafaa; Dr. Elwahla Nadia for dedicating time to examine the present work.

Abstract

As an educator, politician and theologian, Blyden remained the only black nationalist who made holistic attempts to re-define the African universe. During the late nineteenth century, Blyden's activities brought forth the successful building up of a philosophy that refuted African's physical and intellectual enslavement. Blydenic philosophy did not only evince through mere conceptualization of African's weaknesses and deficiencies, but it also revealed through the great impact it had on the emergence of nationalism throughout Africa and West Africa in particular. This thesis will try to examine Blyden's philosophy and its impact on the process of re-Africanization in Ghana in the post-war era. It is an attempt to trace the evolution of nationalism in Ghana and see how Blydenic philosophy gave shape and substance to its emergence up to 1966.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Statement of Originality | I |
| Acknowledgements | II |
| Dedication | III |
| Abstract | IV |
| Table of Contents | VI |
| List of Tables | VII |
| List of Maps | VIII |
| List of Appendices | IX |
| List of Acronyms | X |
| Introduction | 1 |
| I. Chapter one: The Gold Coast Prior to Colonization | 10 |
| I. 1. Introduction..... | 10 |
| I. 2. The Arrival of the Portuguese | 11 |
| I. 3. European Early Presence..... | 22 |
| I. 4.The Extension of British Influence and the Transition to Formal Colonialism (1700-1874)..... | 37 |
| I. 4.1. The Growth of British Influence up to 1800..... | 37 |
| I. 4.2.Transition to Formal Colonialism..... | 43 |
| I.5.Conclusion..... | 58 |
| II. Chapter Two: The Development of British Rule in the Gold Coast (1874-1914) | 59 |
| II.1.Introduction..... | 59 |
| II.2. Early Expansion of British Jurisdiction..... | 60 |
| II.2.1. Customary Law, Chiefs and the Government..... | 61 |
| II.2.2.European Capital Development and the Question of Land Ownership..... | 67 |
| II.2.3. The Rise of Cocoa Industry..... | 73 |
| II.2.4.The Emergence of Employed Labor..... | 77 |
| II.3.Christianity, Western Education and Social Change..... | 83 |
| II.3.1.Christianity and the African Society..... | 84 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| II.3.2.Pre-European Traditional Religions..... | 85 |
| II.3.3.The Civilizing Mission..... | 87 |
| II.3.4.Christianity in the Gold Coast..... | 88 |
| II.4.The Government and Western Education..... | 96 |
| II.4.1.Education Policies of the Government..... | 97 |
| II.4.2.The Last remnant of Native Customs..... | 102 |
| II.4.3.The Emerging Western Educated Elite..... | 106 |
| II.5 Conclusion..... | 108 |
| III. Chapter Three: Blyden’s Philosophy and Its Impact on the Re-Africanization Process (1914-1945)..... | 110 |
| III.1. Introduction..... | 110 |
| III.2.Early Forms of Black Protests..... | 111 |
| III.3.Edward Wilmot Blyden: Early Life and Career..... | 118 |
| III.3.1.Edward Wilmot Blyden and the African Personality..... | 127 |
| III.3.2.Edward Wilmot Blyden and the Quest for Purely African Education..... | 133 |
| III.3.3.Edward Wilmot Blyden as a Critique of European Christianity..... | 138 |
| III.4. Early Manifestations of Nationalism in the Gold Coast (1874-1914)..... | 142 |
| III.5. New-World Pan-Africanism, Pan-West African Unity and Gold Coast Representation (1900-1930)..... | 169 |
| III.5.1.The Pan-African Congresses and Gold Coast Representation (1900-1927)..... | 165 |
| III.5.2.The National Congress of British West Africa and Pan-West African Unity..... | 173 |
| III.5.3.The West African Students Union and the Emergence of Youth Movement (1930-1939)..... | 179 |
| III.5.4.The 1945 Pan-African Congress..... | 189 |
| III.6. Conclusion..... | 195 |
| IV. Chapter Four: Blyden’s Philosophy and Its Impact on the Re-Africanization Process (1945-1966)..... | 197 |
| IV.1. Introduction..... | 197 |
| IV.2. The 1946 Constitution and the Emergence of Kwame Nkrumah as a Political Leader (1947-1956)..... | 197 |
| IV.2.1. The Role of the United Gold Coast Convention..... | 199 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| IV.2.2. The Birth of the Convention Peoples Party..... | 204 |
| IV.3. Post- Independence Ghana: Kwame Nkrumah to Power (1957-1966)..... | 212 |
| IV.3.1.Nkrumah's domestic policies..... | 213 |
| IV.3.2. Nkrumah's Continental policies..... | 227 |
| IV.3.3. Nkrumah's International policies..... | 239 |
| IV.4. Conclusion..... | 251 |
| General Conclusion | 252 |
| Bibliography | 257 |
| Appendices..... | 276 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|------------|
| Table One: Annual Average Receipts from Mina 1504-1545..... | 19 |
| Table Two: Estimated Dutch Gold Takings for the Seventeenth Century..... | 26 |
| Table Three: European Gold Takings from the Akan 1601-1650..... | 28 |
| Table Four: Cocoa Export (1901)..... | 76 |
| Table Five: Educational Percentages in Ghana (1951-1961)..... | 226 |

List of Maps

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Historical Map of the Guinea Coast (C.1725)..... | 13 |
| European forts on the Gold Coast (ca 160 – 1700) | 35 |

List of Appendices

| | |
|--|------------|
| APPENDIX -01- Resolutions Passed at the 1919 Pan-African Congress..... | 269 |
| APPENDIX -02- The 1945 Pan-African Resolutions..... | 271 |
| APPENDIX -03- Colonial Report of the Gold Coast 1903/1904/1906 (Cocoa)..... | 283 |
| APPENDIX -04- Native Customs Regulation Ordinance 1868..... | 284 |
| APPENDIX -05- Emancipation of Persons Hold in Slavery 1874..... | 286 |
| APPENDIX -06- Native Education Ordianace 1887..... | 288 |

List of Acronyms

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| A.A.P.C. | All African People's Conference |
| A.C.S. | American Colonization Society |
| A.M.E.Z.C | African Methodist Episcopal Zionist Church |
| A.R.A.P.S. | Aborigines Right Protection Society |
| C.I.A | Central Intelligence Agency |
| C.M.B | Cocoa Marketing Board |
| C.M.S | Church Missionary Society |
| C.P.P. | Convention People's Party |
| C.Y.O | Committee of Youth Organization |
| F.F.C.A. | Farmers Federation of the Colony and Ashanti |
| G.N.T.C | Ghana National Trading Company |
| I.A.F.A.S. | International African Friends of Abyssinia Society |
| N.B.P. | Native Baptist Church |
| N.C.B.W.A. | National Congress of British West Africa |
| N.C.G. W | National Council of Ghana Women |
| N.L.M. | National Liberation Movement |
| N.P.P. | Northern People's Party |
| O.A.U | Organization of African Unity |
| S.F.C | State Farms Corporation |
| U.G.C.C. | United Gold Coast Convention |
| W.A.S.U. | West African Students Union |
| W.A.S.U. | West African Students Union |
| W.A.Y.L | West African Youth League |
| Y.P.L.C | Young People's Literary Club |

General Introduction

West Africa had long been under European influence since the fifteenth century. This influence gathered momentum during the late eighteenth century when Europe embarked on systematic consolidation of its presence in the West Coast. For Africans, the period marked a new stage in their contact with Europe. European presence did not only grasp at African riches but also built institutional basics to easily make Africans understand the need of European presence. The process showed the vehement intent of Europeans to demolish all aspects of life of Africans and supplant them with Western life style. Consequently, Africans lost their identity in the pursuit of a world that was not their own. Indeed, the new situation favored the alteration of all what was African because it was seen as “*savage*” and “*backward*”.

Ideas about the “*savagery*” and “*backwardness*” of the African world found great support during the early stirrings of European contact with Africa and Africans. The attitudes of Europeans toward Africans socio-cultural systems was a malign. These systems, for Europeans, were only means to engrave the inferiority of Africans. On the other hand, European systems were the models that should be copied and followed. This state of mind was an apparent feature of nineteenth century England where emerged “a conscious class society” which greatly believed in the division of human races into categories and placed Europeans on top of the ladder while Africans on the bottom. These assumptions became part of the intellectual, cultural and social thinking of people of England and Europe and it was out of these prevailing atmosphere that the English and other European nations denounced their duty to bring civilization and modernity to African societies.

The presence of Europeans meant a complete departure from an old life into a new one. Though early European presence revealed the prevalence of the economic drive over other motives, the years before and after the “scramble of Africa” (1880-1885) showed intensified efforts by Europeans to introduce their religion, education and culture. These later could be seen as instruments where Europeans not only exploited the African riches but also prepared the African psyche to accept these

forms of exploitation. African psyche, in this respect, was modeled to see Western morals and institutions as vehicles for African advancement and modernity. African progress, thus, was guaranteed when Africans took the most of these modes of life. As a result, African systems of life became a sort of the past. The African became parasite upon Europeans and began to see the adoption of Western systems as the only path for survival. Indeed, European mental incarceration made Africans believe in an illusionary world. A world that enforced their inferiority and made them live in a strict psychological conflicts as they could neither accept the new nor forget the old.

Though there emerged many attempts by Africans to counteract these abuses, Edward Wilmot Blyden came on top of these cultural crusaders. Known as “the father of African nationalism”, Blyden, born in the Island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean, responded vigorously to the malicious attempts by Europeans to Westernize the African world and bring much destruction to its institutions. He vehemently denied African’s inferiority and postulated that Africans were intelligent and superior to Europeans. For Blyden, it was the Europeans who engraved feelings of inferiority and much of what had been said about Africans emerged out of lack of understanding of African peculiarities. As a result, Blyden, through a systematic redefinition of the African universe, painted the whole picture of an African dehumanized by the West’s zeal for wealth at the expense of people’s origins. Furthermore, Blyden set principles of the African personality to defy European images about Africa and Africans. He advocated that Africans in the past were leading exponents of modernity and had contributory role in the advancement of humanity.

In an attempt to violate against Western assumptions about the “*primitiveness*” and “*lower*” status of Africans, Blyden espoused to make Africans proud of themselves. He strove to let fellow Africans understand the distinctiveness of the African personality that made them equal and not inferior to any race. This mindset made Blyden aware of the need to preserve natives’ traditions, customs and institutions as marks of their identity. He further elaborated on the mystifying role of Euro-Christian education which had failed the African. For Blyden, this type of education produced an African

imitator of the Western world. According to Blyden, Europeans taught the African that to be a good man was to be a white man. The African was taught to forget about his origins and native institutions as a way to obtain whiteman status. The process resulted in a cultural abortion whose main result was the creation of a contaminated African proud of absorbing white man culture and eager to discard all what had to do with his environment. These delinquencies led Blyden to propose a purely, correct African education. An education that did not interject with Africans modes of life and aimed in the first place to generate in the African a love for his culture and history. His proposal for the creation of an African university, no doubt, was an articulation of this held belief.

Furthermore, Blyden also addressed the malicious impact of European Christianity. He averred that European Christianity, like education, retarded the mental development of the African and suppressed all forms of traditional religions, which had much to do with Africans religiosity and identity. Blyden propounded that European Christianity portrayed God in Western terms, which made the African feel alienated and forced to ignore his most respected aspect of life that was of religion. The perpetual alienation of the African from his environment caused a psychological trauma as the African could not understand and identify with the new religion which presented much attempts to Europeanize than to enforce the relation of man with God. To this point, Blyden stressed the need for the creation of a purely African Church. For Blyden, the new body would work to remedy the ill-considered effects of giving Africans unsuitable religious teaching and be as the medium where the African found the world of his own uncontaminated by European influences.

Resisting European influences was one-step forward to rebuild African's economic, political, social and cultural emancipation. Blyden, in many instances, revealed to fellow Africans that mere resistance to racial abuses and understanding of the merits of the African personality was not enough until Africans thought about economic development and independence. Blyden espoused for a day when Africans could lead themselves economically. He noted that Africans should be self-reliant as a way to free themselves from European financial support. The latter, for Blyden, presented another

medium where imperialism played a major role in making Africans still connected to Europe. Economic independence meant political independence. Though Blyden did not state explicitly his desire for independence, he alleged that Africans could one day lead their own destiny. The attainment of independence, for Blyden, meant a regeneration of the will of all African nations to come together for their ultimate goal of race redemption and progress.

Blyden's discourse on Africans' physical and mental emancipation had far-reaching impact on people of Africa and West Africa in particular. Blyden dispersed among West Africans the need to redefine their place as people with special identity and origins. He tried to re-shape a feeling of shared "Africanity" and oneness of race. Thus, it was not surprising to find famous West African intellectuals who endorsed the appeals of Blyden in their struggle for emancipation. James Africanus Beale Horton was born in Sierra Leone in 1835. He was one of Blyden's friends and an avid follower to his philosophy. As product of missionary schools, Horton moved to Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone, then England where he studied Medicine and returned back to West Africa where he served in the medical department as surgeon and later as a military commandant. Horton disdained the disparity created between Africans and the white masses and claimed the existence of humanity in the African character. For Horton, distinctions between the African and the European was not sound. The Nigerian Mbonu Ojike was also an avid follower to Blyden's ideas. He was born in 1914 in the Eastern Province of Owerri, Nigeria. He traveled to the United States in 1938 as to pursue higher education. He first was enrolled at Lincoln University then Ohio State University. He published many books that had nationalistic aims. He rejected European assumptions that depicted African societies as a passing culture. In an attempt to counteract these abuses, he stated that these societies were very dynamic, dignified and totally African. On the other hand, Jacob Kehinde Coker attacked European Christianity and its effect on the African psyche. He was born on 6th September 1866. In his childhood, he attended Ake School and then moved to Lagos where he continued his studies. He served the Church in Lagos and became one of its most important figures. In 1902, he led many

attempts to establish purely African Churches. He further had many economic plans for peoples needs. Like Blyden, he stressed that the spirituality of the African world had been lost because of the mission churches which did nothing but provoked a sense of alienation toward everything African. Though these intellectuals showed a flurry of positive responses to Blyden's philosophy, indeed, the impact was much bigger in the Gold Coast.

The Gold Coast was the hub of European activities since the fifteenth century. These activities though were economically driven, impacted different facets of life of the people. The English, along with other European nations like the Portuguese, French and the Dutch, embarked on systematic exploitation of the Gold Coast riches. This type of exploitation found great pace with the rise of trade on human cargoes known as the "slave trade" where Gold Coasters were forcefully deported to the New World to work on plantations. The situation worsened by the nineteenth century when the British assumed direct control of the Gold Coast colony. Economically, the British assumed new policies where they could manage lands for its rising industries, coupled with enforced labor policies which aimed in the first place to recruit a huge number of people to work in the rising cocoa industry.

Politically, because chief's power represented a threat to the colonial government, attempts were made to decrease the chief's power to minor duties and thus completely diminishing an authority that had long existed before European presence. Matters were even worse socially. Native customary laws were replaced with English laws because the former was conceived as "backward" as compared to the latter. Furthermore, Western education systematically replaced traditional education where British life style, history and culture were the single attraction of education architects. Regarding religion, European Christianity and education spread rapidly during the period and almost the last remnant of traditional religion became a sort of the past. These influences, indeed, were too strong for people to resist. Evidence showed that people, especially the educated elite, began fashioning a new life style that resembled their counterpart white men while discarding themselves of everything

African. Indeed, the dominance of British culture resulted in a cultural abortion where the African remained the victim of British physical and mental exploitation.

Drawing on Blyden's philosophy, Gold Coasters responded vigorously to this great tide of Western influences. Blyden's principles of the African personality became the driving force where Gold Coasters found an outlet to address their economic, social and cultural grievances. Early forms of nationalism to 1900 were revolts to restore the lost manhood of the African destroyed by centuries of European presence and an attack on different European institutions whether educational or religious which attempted to alienate Gold Coasters and Africans in general from their origins. By 1900, Gold Coasters identified with New World Pan-Africanists with the premise to find support to the African cause. The inauguration of these Pan-African congresses and the participation of Gold Coast delegates showed again the great impact that Blyden's philosophy had on not only Gold Coasters but on the rising Pan-Africanists of the twentieth century. Moreover, Blyden's appeal for the creation of a Pan-West African identity found articulation with the establishment of the National Congress of British West Africa and the emergence of the Youth movement in the 1920's and 1930's. These two forces worked to disperse among Gold Coasters and peoples of West Africa the need to re-establish cultural and economic ties for the furtherance of African chances to lead a life of dignity and manhood.

Furthermore, the period after WWII, reflected a more vigorous attempts to make the ideas of Blyden into practice. Gold Coasters, under the guidance of the new emerging nationalist messiah Kwame Nkrumah, set all means at hands whether radical or constitutional to get independence. Mainly through the efforts of Kwame Nkrumah, the Gold Coast got its independence with Kwame Nkrumah as the new president of the new Republic Ghana in 1957. The man led Ghana, up to 1966 where he was overthrown in a coup d'état, to be the first independent African nation to pursue Pan-African appeals and by extension Blyden's philosophy.

The method of inquiry in this thesis is historical analysis. This present work is entitled “Blyden’s Philosophy and its Impact on the Process of Re-Africanization in West Africa: Case of Ghana up to 1966”. It attempts to examine Blyden’s philosophy, a philosophy on African physical and mental emancipation, and trace its impact on Ghana up to 1966. It further tries to give answers to the following questions: what were the main changes brought with the establishment of European presence and later British colonialism? How did blacks respond to white oppression prior to Blyden’s emergence? How did Gold Coasters conceive Blyden’s philosophy? And to what extent could Blyden’s philosophy give shape and substance to Gold Coast nationalism up to 1966?

The choice of Blyden’s philosophy as a focus of this study stemmed from the fact that the man contributed to the intellectual and physical emancipation of Africans. The study, thus, is an attempt to give an in-depth analysis of the man and his philosophy as to uncover the many contributions he gave to Black Nationalism. Furthermore, Ghana was selected as a case study because of many reasons. Ghana is characterized by its long history as compared to other African nations which stretched about centuries ago. This long period provided systematic nationalist uprising whether local, regional or international. In all these nationalist manifestations, people vigorously identified with the African cause and were zealous to cooperate in any gathering that would help Africans, not only Ghanaians, find the path of progress and emancipation.

Ghana also gave birth to the most famous Pan-Africanist leader, Kwame Nkrumah, who, according to many scholars, helped shape a new Ghana based on Blyden’s principles of the African personality and African unity. The main timeline of the study begins from early European adventurers as to give accurate picture of the new settlers and their impact on people’s economic, political, social and cultural life. The study ends in 1966 which marked two important changes. The first was that Kwame Nkrumah as president of the new republic succeeded in giving accurate expression to Blydenic philosophy through his local, continental and international manifestations. The second fact is that the 1966 did not only represent the date when Nkrumah was overthrown in a

Coup d'état but it also signaled the end of a long lasting impact that Blyden's philosophy had not only on Ghanaians but in Africa in general.

The first chapter examines European early contact with the Gold Coast. It traces early European voyages and the different motives that were behind European ventures into the West Coast of Africa. The focus of the chapter is to stress how the economic motive brought Europeans one-step closer to transform life of the ordinary Gold Coasters. The chapter further looks at early British relations with the Gold Coast and the move from mere trade connections into formal colonialism. Within this phase of the Gold Coast history, the chapter examines the efforts the English made to assume direct control of the Gold Coast and their early attempts to diffuse changes to the whole Gold Coast society.

The second chapter tackles British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. Through an examination of judicial, economic and social policies, the chapter aims at tracing the main changes that these policies brought about and see how these policies affected not only the economic side but people's psyche by introducing new patterns of life that were new to people.

The third chapter covers the impact of Blyden's philosophy up to 1945. The chapter starts with a brief on early forms of Black Nationalism that existed before Blyden's birth then move to provide a deep analysis of Blyden's life and philosophy. It further examines early forms of nationalism in the Gold Coast that stretched from 1874 until 1900 with the main focus on how Gold Coasters found in the ideas of Blyden an outlet to address their grievances. The chapter then traces the evolution of series of Pan-African Congresses. In these congresses, the chapter attempts to clarify the extent by which the Gold Coast representatives were staunch exponents of Blydenic philosophy. The chapter further deals with regional manifestations namely the National Congress of British West Africa to see how the emerging body took Blyden's philosophy as a ground for protest. Lastly, the chapter covers the rise of the Youth movement of the 1930's and the 1945 Pan-Africa gathering. In all these forces, the chapter tries to show how Gold Coasters' intellect and actions reflected Blyden's philosophy.

The last chapter examines the impact of Blyden's philosophy up to 1966. It first tries to chronicle the colony's move to independence, most importantly the rise of Kwame Nkrumah, his powerful political party the Convention Peoples Party (1948), and its role in diffusing Blyden's appeals as monitoring dynamics to achieve independence. The chapter further seeks to examine the emerging independent nation state of Ghana. Under Kwame Nkrumah as president, the chapter tries to reveal Nkrumah's local, continental and international politics as an attempt to see how Nkrumah's intellect and actions were greatly impacted by Blyden's philosophy.

Chapter one: The Gold Coast Prior to Colonization

I. 1. Introduction

Prior to the fifteenth century, West Africa did not witness any direct contact with the outside world. It was until the fifteenth century that the region began to receive early stirrings of European explorations. Beginning with the Portuguese and followed by an immense surge of discovery by other European ventures, yielded the establishment of trading stations along Cape Bojador to the mouth of the Congo and beyond. This process reached its zenith when by the sixteenth century commercial relations extended to summon not only West Africa with Europe, but with the New World¹.

New World plantations quickened the need for African slaves and unfolded vigorous competition between all European rivals to have a monopoly over the West Coast of Africa. Much of the clashes that emerged were in need to secure high rates of profits out of this trade. Like other European ventures, the British strengthened their presence with the establishment of commercial companies that secured and regulated their affairs. These companies, in fact, helped the British secure strong hold of much of the Gold Coast land and by the end of the nineteenth century, the British became one of the leading powers of the region. This chapter examines the nature of European expansion in West Africa and the motives behind the voyaging of merchant adventurers to the Guinea Coast. It is further an attempt to chronicle the beginning and development of early British relations with the Gold Coast and the changing nature of this relation from mere trade connections to colonization. This background is pre-requisite to understand the full impact that European presence had on the socio-economic and cultural status of Gold Coasters and the rising nationalism that, I argue, was a potency of the philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden.

¹ Fage, D.J. *An Introduction to the History of West Africa*, London, University Press-Cambridge, 1962,p. 39

I. 2. The Arrival of the Portuguese

Europeans could never reach West Africa without their zeal to attain wealth. European merchants did not think for a moment that their voyages would bring much changes to a whole continent which promised luxury and an abundant sources of wealth. Kimble aptly described this early contact as one which was mostly economic: “From the earliest days of European contact, it was in the economic, rather than the social, cultural, or political sphere, that the Gold Coast felt what is so often called the impact of “the West”¹. This early contact did not only affect the region economically. Rather, it led Europeans to introduce their religion and modes of life to the people of the Gold Coast so that they became ready for the eventual exploitation of the riches of the region.

Right from the eleventh century, Western Europe had long been supplied with spices and other rare commodities from Asia. Asian merchants carried these commodities to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea and sold them to European merchants. The increase in the demand for these commodities led European merchants to think of new route passages that would open-up monopoly of these markets². Muslim traders, however, had long dominated these markets. Almost all the Syrian, Egyptian and Asian Minor markets were in the hands of Muslims. Muslims for long feared of developing any direct contact with Christian Europe, which almost built huge barrier for Western Europe not only to dominate these markets, but also to circumnavigate to the sources of these commodities beyond the Mediterranean and the Black Sea³. Nevertheless, European traders, through their contact with traders, learnt how areas beyond the Mediterranean and the Black Sea were abundant of luxurious goods and how much they would be rich if they could break Muslims

¹ David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928*, Oxford, Glarendon Press, (1963), p.01

² The renaissance that took place in Europe during the fifteenth century was behind Europeans great interest in scientific revival and surcumnavigating the outside world. The rise of powers like Portugal, France and Spain, no doubt, boosted competition and rivalry to grasp at regions of wealth. As part of a need for wealth first then markets and labor later, these Europeans set explorations to the outside world, in Meberbeche, Faiza, “Pan-Africanism and Its Impact on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945” (Doctoral Dissertation). Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria, 2010, p. 10

³The Italians, for example, were not allowed to go to the interior and needed to wait on the coast for long times to get small quantity and poor quality of goods, *Ibid*, p. 11

monopoly and reach sources of wealth in Asia¹. A route through Africa would probably drive them directly to Asia.

The Italians made the first venture into the West Coast of Africa². Throughout the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, the Genova and the Venice sailors had established strong mercantile enterprise throughout the world. In 1291, the Vivaldi brothers set a voyage of discovery from northwest Italy towards Asia with the main plan to sail around Africa to reach Asia³. Their expedition, however, was doomed to failure, as they never returned. Once again, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the Italians reached Cape Bojador⁴. A number of maps related to the fourteenth century contained the location of both Madeira and the Canaries⁵.

¹ Fage, J.D, op.cit, p. 40-41

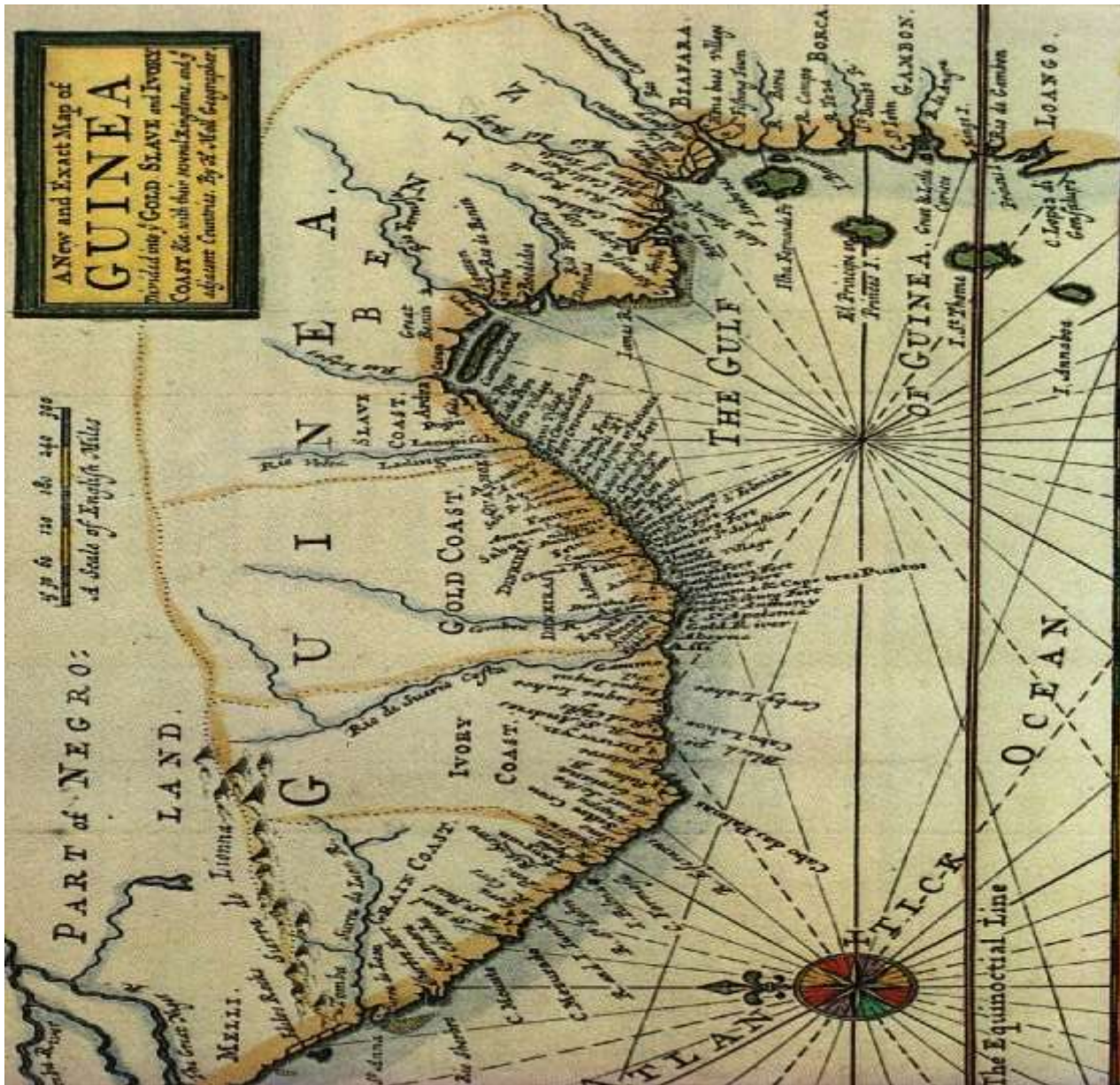
² In 1231, a trip was dispatched by the Genoese namely Ugolino and Vivaldi. Unfortunately, no record of this expedition remained, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p.12

³ Love, S.R, "Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800", Greenwood Press, 1995, p 10

⁴ The Italians lack of progress was belived because they had meagre knowledge of the skills of navigation as well as lack of materials. It was also because the government did not sponsor these early voyages, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p.12

⁵Keltie, J.S. "The Partition of Africa", London: Edward Stanford, 1895, p. 33

Map one: Historical Map of the Guinea Coast



www.alamy.com/map-of-the-guinea-coast (accessed in November 2019)

The Dieppe merchants followed in the steps of the Italians. In 1364, the Dieppe merchants set an expedition of two vessels with the main objective to pass the Canaries and reach the coast of Africa. During their presence, they were able to come back with a number of commodities like ivory, grey amber. Soon, they moved to the southeast where they established a trade station between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone. They named the station "*Petit Dieppe*". In 1365, they came back to France with huge quantity of ivory and malaquette pepper that eventually stirred up the need for other

voyages. In September 1365, the Dieppe merchants dispatched four ships to get deep into the interior. The last expedition was very rewarding for the Dieppe. They were successful in discovering new sources of commodities and securing friendly relations with natives. Moreover, they built a church at Elmina and a number of factories around Cape Verde and the Gold Coast.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese began circumnavigating the West African Coast. Prince Henry¹ had for long hoped to join Christians of Abyssinia in their wars against Muslims in order to weaken Muslims and their monopoly of the gold trade in North Africa. His intention was to reach areas in the West African coast where he could make contacts with natives of the region and thus divert the West African trade and the Indian Ocean trade from Muslims to the Portuguese. He believed that this scheme would let West Africans be converted to Christianity and thus be his allies against Muslims. Meanwhile, he could easily get into sources of wealth. He eventually learnt from the Italians some skills of navigation and mapping which they acquired from their voyages.

Early Portuguese voyages were slow in pace. By the beginning of the century, the Portuguese had set foot in Ceuta, a region opposite Gibraltar on the African coast. In 1418, they set foot in the Rocky Island of Porto Santo and one year later, they discovered Madeira. In 1433, Prince Henry, having got a Papal bull from the Pope Eugene IV which secured for Portugal all the lands discovered or might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the East Indies, set a voyage under the command of Gil Eannes, a Portuguese navigator and explorer, to double Cape Bojador. However, Eannes failed to go beyond Cape Bojador and returned Portugal with a number of slaves². This did not stop Prince Henry to continue his scheme. He, again in 1434, asked Eannes to make another attempt. This time

¹ Was born on 4th March 1394 and. Known as Henry the navigator, he led many attempts to discover new routes to other continents, and was behind making Portugal a leading country and Empire during the age of discovery. At the age of 21, he was believed to have accompanied his father John I in his discovery of the North of Morocco. He died on 11th November 1460. www.britannica.com. (accessed in November 2019)

² During the period, slaves did not attract attention of Europeans. Generally, men were needed in minor works while women took responsibility of the house. It was until the discovery of the New world that trade in Africa and slaves in particular started to have much attention, in Meberbeche, op.cit,p.15

Eannes landed on the Coast. He gave thorough description of the nature of land, water and conditions of navigation beyond the Cape¹.

In 1435, Eannes with Afonso Gonçalves Baldaia, a Portuguese explorer, went far beyond the Cape. They advanced for about thirty to fifty leagues south of the Cape. Upon their arrival on the coast, they called the region “*Angra dos Ruivos*” (*Cove of Reds*) because the coast was abundant in fish². This discovery marked a turning point to the fate of not only Portuguese presence in the region but to all European ventures who would challenge the Portuguese to have a share in the West African wealth³. Twenty years later, endeavors to circumnavigate the interior was revitalized. Prince Henry sent Antonio Gonazalez, a young Portuguese officer, and Nuno Tristan, an explorer, to delve into the African coast. They doubled Cape Bojador and reached Cape Blanco where they advanced three hundred and sixty miles. Consequently, twelve Moors were deported. The region was named “Rio d’Oro” as a footprint to that place which marked Portuguese first insight of the region.

However, Greek and Roman myths about the impossibility of adjusting to the heat of the coast deteriorated much of the schemes to circumnavigate the interior. For centuries, Europeans saw northern and central Africa as a “*Terra incognita*”⁴. This alleged belief delayed any contact by Europeans with the African continent⁵. Their first contact with people there seemed much influenced by that tradition. Ward asserted that “Cape Bojador were well known to be inhabited by devils and utterly uninhabitable by men; and anyone who escaped the devils would be scorched black by increasing desert sun”⁶. It was common that men with black skins were assumed to be because of the intense heat. It was largely believed that even hair-cut was much because of that reason too.

¹Morison, S. E., *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 75

² Kerr, Robert (1844), "A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels Arranged in Systematic Order", Edinburgh, Scotland: William Blackwood, 1874, p. 183

³Ward, W. E.F., *A History of Ghana*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958, p. 65

⁴Means in Latin “unknown land“. This term was used to refer to lands that had no documented records of its existence. www.britannica.com (Accessed in November 2019)

⁵ Ellis, A.B. *A History of the Gold Coast of Africa*, London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd, 1893, p. 13

⁶ Ward, op.cit, p. 64-65

Consequently, they came back home with the general view that progress into the interior was unthinkable since both experience and legend proved unsuitable for men and this opinion received much support from all knowledgeable men of the country.

Nevertheless, news of gold dust and slaves¹ brought amazement and fueled the minds of adventurers in Lisbon to initiate new voyages. The island of Arguin was discovered by Tristan in 1443 and one year later he reached the River Senegal, but having little provision, he came back home with a number of slaves whom they kidnapped in their way. His voyage set the Portuguese as the first to bring slaves for sale to Europe. Much of these slaves were brought from the kingdom of Benin² and were used to carry much of the trade material into the interior. They were either sent to Portugal or sold to gold miners in return for gold and ivory. Years later, increase in the demand for slaves boosted when the Portuguese set forth the cultivation of sugar cane to the islands of Principe and Sao Tomé. This early reliance on slaves characterized much of the activities of the Portuguese and opened door for a business that would change the whole fate the African continent³.

In 1447, Nuno Tristan initiated another voyage. The voyage resulted in the discovery of Rio Grande. Unfortunately, natives, having heard of white-men's abduction of their men, attacked Nuno and his men and nearly most of his men were killed. He escaped but died days later because of severe wounds. Another attack by natives to Alvan Fernandez who nearly advanced forty leagues far than Nunan resulted in the death of a native 'chief with the imprisonment of the rest. Throughout all these voyages, the Portuguese were successful in advancing to Cape Mesurado, having reached Sierra Leone under the command of Pedro de Cintra in 1462.

¹ The Portuguese were believed to be the first nation to notice the importance of slaves. As part of their growing influence in the coast especially regions of the Gold Coast. many kingdoms competed to provide slaves for the benefit of the Portugues, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p. 24

² Centered in Southern Nigeria. With its capital Edo, the kingdom of Benin was, Strayer wrote, "one of the oldest and most highly developed states in the coastal hinterland of West Africa, dating perhaps to the eleventh century CE". In Strayer, Robert W, *Ways of the World: A Brief Global History with Sources* (2nd ed.). (2013)New York: Bedford,p.695

³Roger, S. Cocking , *The History of Ghana* , Green Wood Publishing group, 2005, p. 26

By 1463, the death of Prince Henry nearly ceased further discoveries for a while. Private businessmen took responsibility of discoveries which were monopolized by the government. These men brought much of the gold. Since this business proved lucrative the government in 1469 started to intervene to regulate such trade. A contract was set between the king and Fernao Gomes, a Portuguese businessman and explorer. It allowed Gomez to set his business in the Guinea trade for five years. In return, he would pay 500 ducats with an immediate scheme to go a hundred leagues for each year¹. Ward asserted that by virtue of this contract the Gold Coast was known to Europe. Fernao Gomez launched a voyage to advance five hundred leagues to the south. Until 1470, the Portuguese ceased to occupy nearly the Guinea Coast stretching toward the Bights of Benin and Biafra. This was followed by Subsequent discovery of the Comeo River, which flows into the sea at Grand Bassem on the Ivory Coast, by a Portuguese explorer Soeiro da Costa².

It was until 1470 that the Portuguese set foot in a town near the Gold Coast. Having sailed across Cape Palmas and surpassed the island of St. Thomas, Joe de Santaren and Pedro Escobar reached a land full of gold. They called it “La Mina” (Elmina). A gold mine was opened by Fernando Gomes in 1471. However, in 1474, the contract between Fernao Gomes and the Portuguese government ended and the Portuguese government business on the Guinea trade was re-launched. Nearly much of the revenues of John II, the successor of Afonso V of Portugal, were out of the gold brought from Elmina. John II clearly showed great interest to develop the region. He established a fort and a church at Elmina. This was followed by a regular supply of materials. About five hundred soldiers and two hundred laborers were shipped to Elmina. Diego d’Azambuja was set as a commander with highly experienced men³ to launch a voyage that intended to expand Portuguese influence in the region and discover new sources of wealth.

¹Ellis, op.cit, p. 17

²Ward, op.cit, p. 65

³ These include Gonsalez de Fonseca, Ruy d’Oliveira, Juan Rodriques Gante, Juan Alfonso, Diego Rodriques Inglez, Bartholomew Diaz, Pedro d’Evera and Gommez Aires. Ellis, op.cit, p. 17

An expedition set out on December 11th, 1481 and arrived at Elmina on January 19th, 1482. Diego d’Azambuja appointed Juan Bernardo in charge of the district. His mastery of native language and his long experience in search for gold were of crucial importance to d’Azambuja to probe into the interior. Their first contact with Camaranca, native chief of the region, seemed more peaceful. The Portuguese showed little interest in provoking any conflict with natives. Instead, d’Azambuja met Camaranca and elucidated the need for their cooperation. Diego d’Azambuja clearly convinced the Camaranca that their primary objective was to preach the Christian faith. Upon their arrival, Cruickshank narrated that “The Portuguese marched to the native village, unfurled the royal banner of Portugal upon a high tree, placed an altar under its shade, celebrated mass and offered up prayers for the speedy conversion of the natives and the prosperity of the church about to be erected”¹. This was followed by the construction of “Sao Jorge de Mina” fort, after having faced great difficulty to commence building². Diego d’Azambuja nearly served two years at Elmina before he left to Portugal³.

The area from Cape Three Points to the Cape Coast was named the Gold Coast because the land was abundant in gold⁴. During these early years, the Portuguese exchanged gold with cloth, textiles, canvas, copper, coral, glassware and shells⁵. They also exchanged slaves for gold. By 1479, Eustache de la Fosse bought them and in 1529, the process of buying slaves became a systematic business⁶. This trade, however, did not find great support from the king. He, however, was almost interested in developing a systematic trade with the coast.

¹ Cruickshank, Brodie, "Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: Including an Account of the Native Tribes, and Their Intercourse with Europeans", Vol /, London; Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853, p. 17

²The Portuguese used some rocks that were considered by natives as sacred presenting their local God. But after this attack the Portuguese changed the place from which they obtained the rocks and this decision nearly lessened much of the dispute.

³ Ellis, op.cit, p. 25

⁴Ward,op.cit, p. 67

⁵Bush, C.R, “The Colonial Factor and Social Transformation on the Gold Coast to 1930”, Diss, The University of Leeds, Department of Politics, March 1984, p.107

⁶Gray, R. and Birmingham, D. Pre Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa Before 1900. London: Oxford University Press, 1970,p.04

By 1486, king John II¹ nearly ceased to obtain much of the revenues from Sao Jorge de Mina. He established the Guinea Company in order to promote further trade with West Africa. Business seemed lucrative out of this enterprise. Other forts were built at Axim (San Antonio) and at Accra. At Shamah, close to Rio San Juan, they established the company's distribution depot. Control of these stations was in the hands of the king who each three years appointed a governor and his officers to regulate much of the business and secure Portuguese possessions of any eventual harm. He provided his men with all necessary equipment. Two fleets, one in April and another in September were sent from Lisbon in order to supply the garrisons with all necessary materials and, in return, came back with the produce. This expedition nearly took from eight to nine months². These forts ensured that the amount of gold produced was only sold to Portuguese delegates at Elmina. It was estimated that an average of at least 12,400 ounces of gold were shipped to Lisbon up to 1555³. The following table shows the amount of Portuguese gold taking from Elmina between 1504 and 1545:

TABLE ONE:

Annual Average Receipts of Gold from Mina 1504-1545

| Years | Gold (Kgs) |
|-----------|------------|
| 1504-1507 | 433.366 |
| 1511-1513 | 413.922 |
| 1517-1519 | 443.676 |
| 1519-1522 | 411.864 |
| 1543-1545 | 371.578 |

Source: Ellis "A History of the Gold Coast of Africa", op.cit,p.25

¹Known as "the Perfect Prince", he was born on 3rd March 1455 in Lisbon, Portugal. He became a king in 1481 where his reign was characterized by notable explorations of the African Coast. He died on 25 October 1495. www.britannica.com (accessed November 2019)

²Ellis,op.cit, p. 25

³Harmon, D.E, " *West Africa 1880 to the Present : A Cultural Patchwork*", Chelsea House Publishers , 2001, p. 28

Though the Portuguese occupied strong post of Gold Coast wealth, their monopoly was challenged by other European powers. The Spanish, having started a trade with Mina in the fifteenth century, declared their right of profit from the Guinea trade¹. Rivalry from English, Flemish and Genoese ventures was soon to reveal. These adventurers were able to know about Portuguese West African trade even though the Portuguese tried to keep all trade matters a secret. A treaty with the Spanish in 1480 granted the Spanish the Canary Islands in return the Spanish government prohibited her men from intervening in the Guinea trade. This treaty eventually regulated much of the trade activities between the Spanish and the Portuguese but the discovery of the New World, for the Spaniards, seemed to alter much of the Spanish interest in the Guinea trade².

The English rivalry was not less tough than the Spaniards. The English organized an expedition to secure for the English a share in the Guinea trade. The eventual English scheme to penetrate the Guinea Coast was accompanied by Portuguese government protest to Edward IV³. It was even believed that the English had succeeded an expedition to the coast before Portuguese objection was heard in London. Trading prospects of the coast was so immense that the French, having ceased to grab a Portuguese ship full of gold in return to Portugal, showed great menace to Portuguese possessions throughout the sixteenth century. In response to these threats, the Portuguese set up a group of ships in order to protect their fleets from any eventual attack from European rivals. This system would guarantee fleet's safe return to Portugal, and the accusation of any seamen, who were found in the Guinea Coast, of piracy. Nevertheless, the task seemed impossible for the Portuguese. The Guinea Coast was too long to keep an eye on all its limits. Even the number of fortified posts and naval system was too small to protect such an immense area and it was highly expensive for the

¹ During the 1440's, the government of Spain granted licences for merchants to carry on trade of the west Coast of Africa. Two attempts were made in 1449 and 1453, but did not make any progress due to hostility shown by the Portugues. Yet, Spanish interests in trade with west Africa decreased notably because of the discovery of the New world by 1492 and most of their slaves were obtained through Portuguese intermediaries, in Meberbeche, op.cit, p.25

² Ward, W. E.F, A History of Ghana, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958, p. 70

³ Was born on 28th April 1442. Though his reign was characterized by many attempts to weaken his power, he succeed in ruling England from 1461 until 1470. During his reign, his family controlled the most important positions of governance. This led to the imprisonment of Edward, but soon to be released. www.britannica.com (accessed in December 2019)

Portuguese government that depended on the revenues of this trade, to maintain a regular supply of fleets and materials¹.

Furthermore, even though trade in the Guinea Coast proved lucrative, the Portuguese merchants showed great interest to set voyages to India. In fact, Portuguese trade in gold, slaves and ivory was a result of their desire to find a sea-route to India. This was mushroomed in 1494 when Vasco da Gama had succeeded to reach India. The eventual insight into Indian trade opened doors for the Portuguese for further sources of wealth, not only with India, but with East Africa, the East Indies and Brazil. This in the end diminished their desire for the Guinea trade for the rewarding trade that the new markets would offer. By 1530, Portuguese involvement in the Guinea trade was almost abandoned especially after French attack on nearly 300 Portuguese carvels which precipitated the end of Portuguese monopoly of the Guinea trade.

Indeed, the sixteenth century wrought an unprecedented growth of the scale of European activity in the Guinea coast. This was mushroomed when the trade on slaves overshadowed that of gold. Ellis argued “At this time the legitimate trade (gold) to West Africa had sunk into comparatively insignificant proportions beside a new trade that had arisen, namely the trade in slaves, in which all the Western nations of Europe were then engaged”². Accordingly, European nations showed indefatigable desire to obtain large numbers of slaves due to the rising demand in the Americas³. Apparently, the West Coast of Africa and particularly the Gold Coast became a sight for all European rivals to have a share in this lucrative business. Their activities beginning in the nineteenth century,

¹Ward,op.cit, p. 71

² Ellis, op.cit,p.48-49

³ The change from the gold business to the slave trade was due to three main reasons. The first is the high increase of the demand of slaves in European plantations. The second is due to the outbreak of wars between the emerging native states which in turn resulted in the increase of the number of war-captives. The third reason owed to the second. The native states used slaves as tributes to their neighboring states which amounted the number of slaves for them and urged to buy much of the slaves to Europeans in Ogot, B.A. “General History of Africa.V:Africa from the sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century”, Heineman, California, Unesco, 1992,p.408.

could be argued, were fueled up by the desperate need to expand their influence to the interior to monopolise sources of slaves and retain the expansion of other European interlopers¹.

I. 3. European Early Presence

Until the first half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese enjoyed a through monopoly of the Guinea trade. The emergence of the Reformation², however, changed the course of events. The Papal bull that granted the Portuguese the right of ownership of lands was no longer valid. The new reform movement checked the validity of the bull and put European powers in a firm footing to have a share in the Guinea trade³. Their activities, apparently, brought the Gold Coast into more contact with European traders and mercantilist state interests who set all the means to reach the region that promised a thriving industry. The huge benefit that the Guinea trade promised stood as a solution to the devastating economic depression that prevailed upon the economies of Europe at the time and resulted in a decreasing rate of foreign trade in Europe and falling prices⁴.

Accordingly, there emerged “concerted efforts to diversify and expand overseas trade and colonization”⁵. The Lord State General of United Netherlands wrote to the king of Spain by 1609 that “The return cargoes of the same trade, being pure gold, which is brought to this country, is minted and further distributed amongst the participants”⁶. These early demands led the foundation for a systematic European expansion and takeover of the Gold Coast natural resources and the subjugation of its people to meet the needs of their economies. As such, European nations move to Africa and particularly the Gold Coast became “the main mediating force whereby the individualist, competitive, acquisitive attitudes and values of the West were introduced into African Society”⁷.

¹ Berry, La Verle, *Ghana : a Country Study*, Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1994, p. 09

² A religious revivalist movement that occurred in the Church during the sixteenth century. Mostly provoked by Martin Luther and John Calvin and because of the increasing bankruptcy of the Church, the movement helped found Protestantism as a reaction to Church abuses and authoritarianism. www.britannica.com (accessed in December 2019)

³ Ellis, op.cit, p. 26

⁴ Bush, op.cit, p. 111

⁵ Appleman Williams, "The Contours of American History" ,New York: New Viewpoints, 1973, p. 42

⁶ Bush,op.cit,p. 108

⁷ Kimble,op.cit,p.128

Europeans had long been retained of getting to Africa because of the Papal bull. The latter for long gave the Portuguese a thorough monopoly of the trade in Africa. It became a source of irritation to many merchants who saw the measure as inequitable. Seething with anger and frustration, merchants tried to pressurize king Edward IV into getting open trade. By 1481 they petitioned the pope to allow free trade in Africa. They insisted that:

As it is advantageous to the Christian religion that wealth and other things precious for their natural excellence, should be drawn into its power from the hands of the infidels, he willingly permits his subjects to pass over to any parts of Africa for traffic and the exchange of baser merchandise for nobler, provided this be sanctioned by the Pope's authority. He therefore prays his holiness that no suspicion may attach to this voyage and to grant letters for the aforesaid purpose ...¹

With the exemption of the Papal bull and the widespread of the fortune of the Guinea trade, their demand stiffened. By 1555 the merchants also pleaded with Queen Mary to allow free trade².

The English were the first to snatch at the chance and plan a voyage. Under the command of Captain Thomas Windham, a fleet of two ships, the *Brimrose* and the *Lion*, with one hundred and forty men set sail to the Guinea coast in 1553³. Windham was accompanied by a Portuguese mariner, Antonio Pinteado Anes who served in Portuguese trade in the Guinea coast before. They landed at the Gold Coast and brought of about 150 pounds weight of gold from Elmina. They, then, marched to Benin where they could obtain pepper but, unfortunately, because of dangerous fever they faced at the Niger Creeks most of the men lost their lives. Both Windham and Pinteado died but the rest forty men who survived succeeded in making the English plan other voyages to obtain gold⁴. Three vessels were dispatched in 1554 under the command of Captain John Lock. These vessels, the *Trinity*, *John Evangelist* and the *Bartholomew*, reached Shamah and the Cape Coast. Soon upon their arrival the Portuguese set fire on the fleet and forced Lock to march from Shamah to Cape Coast.

¹ Blake, J.W, "Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560", London: the Hakluyt Society, 1942.p. 297

² Ibid

³Ellis, op.cit, p.26

⁴Ward, op.cit, p.72

At the Cape Coast, The English had established friendly relations with the native chief, Don John, and his people. It seemed that the English were amused by the natives and how they looked like:

Their princes and noblemen pounce and raise their skins in diverse figures, like flowered damask. And though, they go in a manner all naked, yet many of them, especially their women, are, as it were, laden with collars, bracelets, hoops, and chains, either of gold, copper, or ivory...some also wear on their legs great shackles of bright copper, which they think to be no less comely. They likewise make use of collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles of certain blue stones, like beads¹

After a month on the Gold Coast, the Fleet returned home with nearly 400 lbs of gold and two hundred and fifty elephant' tusks. This voyage was a success for the English, stated Ward, since it was financially very rewarding to the English to go on their scheme and plan for other voyages the years to come².

Three successive voyages followed in 1555, 1556, and 1557 by William Towerson, an English politician and merchant. Due to increased hostility by the Portuguese, a joined Anglo-French alliance in 1561 was declared in order to weaken the Portuguese attacks and cooperate in trade. Nevertheless, no sooner, this alliance ended up because of commercial jealousy³ and it resulted in the erection of two forts at Kormantine and Kommenda.

In 1561, the Company of Merchant Adventurers for Guinea⁴ was created and Queen Elizabeth was taken into partnership. Queen Elizabeth paid £500 and the rest of merchants paid £5000 of goods. The amount of profit was divided into three parts, the queen and other two parts to the merchants. However, the voyage proved a failure. It was believed that most of the ships diverged from their own destination and even lost before they could reach Africa. The rest suffered from a harassed attack from the Portuguese that made their trade very difficult to be carried⁵. The Failure of

¹Ellis, op.cit, p.27

²Ward, op.cit, p.73

³ Ibid

⁴Known also as the "Company of Merchant Adventurers to New Lands". It was created by Richard Chancellor, Sebastian Cabot and Sir Hugh Willoughby. By 1553 the company received a royal charter from king Edward to discover new route passages to Cathay (China) and the Spice Islands, situated in Indonesia. www.enacademic.com. (accessed in September 2019)

⁵Richard, Haklyt, "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation", London R.H. Evans, 1811, p. 255-57

the English to build a fort at the Gold Coast ceased any opportunity to establish a permanent trade. After two attempts in 1566 and 1570 to build a fort at São Jorge da Mina nearly British interest in the trade was almost waned by 1575¹.

By 1595, Dutch interlopers began their march to obtain a share in the Guinea trade. Subsequent voyages were made to weaken Portuguese fortress at Elmina. They settled at Mori, Butri and Kormantine and were successful in building two settlements around Elmina. Their main aim was to expel the Portuguese from the coast. In December 1625, they launched an attack at Elmina. Nearly 1,200 Dutch troops and 150 Africans met a great defeat from the Portuguese at Ampeni². Meanwhile, the increasing English possessions on the Atlantic aroused the curiosity of the English to re-start the trade again. The English expanded their sphere of influence in the West Indies. Their sugar plantations at Bermuda (1609) Barbados (1627) and Antigua needed slaves to carry on the work on the fields. In 1618, under a royal charter, the Company of Adventurers of London Trading into Africa was formed to facilitate the operation of trade but soon the charter run out. Another Charter was granted “for the better discovering and carrying on the gum trade, from the northern most part of the river Senegal, and from and within that river, all along that coast unto the most southern part of the Gambia and within the same”³. This Charter allowed the company to exercise a through monopoly of trade from Cape Balnco to the Cape of Good Hope⁴. From this time on, rivalry between all European powers, namely the English and the Dutch, augmented to occupy sources of wealth. The situation, Dairymple wrote, was one “of rivalry, intrigue, and petty war between the English and the Dutch in the Gulf of Guinea”⁵

¹Blacke, J.J, op.cit, p. 169-72

²Ward, op.cit, p.77

³Macdonald George “The Gold Coast Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and Its People, Longman Green, And Co, 1898, p. 15.

⁴Claridge, W.W, A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, W, 1915,p.89-90

⁵Dairymple, H.J “Ashanti and the Gold Coast: and what we know of it. ASketch”, London: Edward Stanford ,Charing Cross, 1874,p. 34

The Dutch formed the Dutch West India Company that would rival the English one in 1621. The Dutch West Indian Company received its charter in 1621. By 1623, it started trading in the Gold Coast. It was established “for the defense, help and assistance of the merchant ships of these lands, trafficking and drawing their trade there”¹. It assisted the Dutch in building a strong fort at Mori and at Queen Anne. Between Mori and Cape Coast, the company helped erecting a small fortress. The company’s commerce was mainly in gold until its liquidation in 1674. Table two shows the amount of gold taken from the Gold Coast by the Dutch:

Table Two

Estimated Dutch Gold Takings for the Seventeenth Century

| | Annual Average (troy ozs) | Total (troy ozs) |
|-----------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1601- 22 | 20,000 | 440,000 |
| 1623- 36 | 23,000 | 325,000 |
| 1637- 50 | 20,000 | 280,000 |
| 1651- 67 | 17,500 | 300,000 |
| 1668-76 | 2,800 | 25,000 |
| 1677-1700 | 10,000 | 240,000 |
| | | 1 610,000 |

Source: Macdonald George “The Gold Coast Past and Present”,op.cit,p. 18

The company’s trade in the Gold Coast faced many difficulties. There was huge lack of trade goods that were used for gold exchange. Another reason was intertribal wars and the rising amount of British competition regarding metal².The English, on the other hand, were no less zealous than the

¹Bush,op.cit, 135

² Bush, op.cit, p. 112-113

Dutch. After eight years of intense attempts, they erected a fort at Kormantine¹. Thus making the English first successful attempt to establish their presence on the Gold Coast.

The increasing demand for slaves revived the Dutch interest to capture Elmina². The Dutch were convinced that to take Elmina from the Portuguese they should depend not only on military force, but also with the way they let native inhabitants cooperate with them to expel the Portuguese. In 1637, Mori, a Dutch governor, began a plan to convince Fantee³ tribes to re-bell against the Portuguese. With the help of the West India Company, Mori with a fleet of nine ships and 800 troops marched on June 26th, 1637 to Elmina. After serious attacks from both sides, the Portuguese gave away Elmina Castle to the Dutch. With Elmina as their headquarter, the Dutch succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Axim. The loss of Axim, however, weakened the power of the Portuguese and thus ended a 160 years of Portuguese monopoly of the Guinea trade⁴.

The profits of the Dutch trade fueled expansion and attracted Swedes, Danes, French and Germans to compete with the Dutch. Unlike the English who were greatly affected by problems at home, which delayed any serious progress in the Gold Coast, the Swedes organized their first voyage to scramble for wealth. In 1652, they settled at Sakoradi , Cape Coast and Osu near Accra and built small lodges. Soon Danes presence was ended by King Frederic III of Denmark. Greatly affected by the fear of Dutch monopoly, the Danish built a fort at Amanfro, three quarter of a mile to the Cape Coast, and nearly after twenty years the fort was sold to the English. They abandoned Takoradi fort and kept Osu fort. The latter saw great efforts by the Danes to develop it. It was given the name

¹ Ward, op.cit, p.77

² Early in their contact with Africans, the Dutch believed salvery as unethical and immoral practice. Yet, the increase demand in plantations uttered a change in their policy.The Dutch first obtained slaves from the Portuguese and later started their own business as to have full access to slaves without Portuguese intervention. During 1640's, the Dutch occupied all Portuguese forts in the Gold Coast and thus facilitated the circulation of slaves from their own ports to the Americas, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p. 27

³ Also known as “Mfantsefo”. A subgroup of the Akan people who settled in the central coastal region of the Gold Coast with its capital at Mankessim. The people in the history of Ghana are known by their sporadic opposition to the imposition of colonial rule. www.britannica.com (accessed in December 2019)

⁴Ward, op.cit, p.79

“Christiansburg”. This fort marked the Danes first real presence in the region¹. It was estimated that these European nations exported of about 1,500,000 Troy Ounces during the first half of the seventeenth century as it is shown in the table below:

TABLE THREE

European Gold Takings from the Akan 1601-1650

| | Date | Troy ounces |
|-----------------|----------|-------------|
| Portuguese | 1601-40 | 160,000 |
| Dutch | 1601-22 | 440,000 |
| | 1623-36 | 325,000 |
| | 1637-50 | 280,000 |
| English | 1632-50 | 95,000 |
| Interlopers etc | 1601-25. | 50,000 |
| | 1626-50 | 150,000 |
| | | 1,500,000 |

Source: Ellis, op.cit, p.51

English interest in the Guinea trade revived by 1651. Cromwell’s government granted the English company a charter to protect its trade against Dutch interlopers. This was coupled with English diplomatic Protests to Sweden because the later intervened in English trade affairs. Unfortunately, for the English, the charter did not turn to profit. Instead, it cost the English nearly three hundred thousand pounds². On the other hand, the lack of English progress in the Gold Coast marked Dutch regular expansion. The Dutch, besides their Portuguese possession obtained so far, had enlarged and strengthened their possession at Accrato to become a strong fort. As a result, the coming ten years (1652-1661) marked Dutch and English confrontations to scramble areas of wealth. The Dutch were of the opinion that they had exclusive right of all Portuguese possessions and the nearby areas and any progress of the English to these areas was seen as an immediate threat to them. The English, on

¹ Ward, op.cit, p.79

² Ellis, op.cit, p.51

the other hand, proclaimed that they had the full right of expansion since they did not monopolize Dutch property¹.

The increasing power of both English and Dutch companies had posed several difficulties for English and Dutch traders. Both sides showed their hostility toward the intrusion of the other side to areas which were believed belonging to their own monopoly. All attempts to settle conflicts were in failure. In attempt to share the benefits of trade by all sides, Sir Dalby Thomasm, English businessman and writer, expressed to the Dutch commander the need for cooperation:

It will not be denied that if all the forts and lodgeson this coast belong to one company it would be easy to subject the trade and people to its wishes. Therefore if both companies joined to subject the trade and people to the interests of both, then the two of them must take the same measures as if one of them had the coast alone; therefore in governing these people we must join together heartily and sincerely as if we were on land²

Nevertheless, the English did not stop their attempts to establish trade in the Gold Coast. Charles II³ granted a charter to the formation of “the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa”. The charter was granted with the plan to supply the British West Indies with three thousand slaves annually and a monopoly of trade from Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1662, with Cape Coast as its headquarter, the company established forts at Cape Coast, Anashon, Egya, Kommenda, Winneba and Accra⁴. This progress, however, did not occur without disturbance. A war broke out between the English and the Dutch (1642-1672). The Dutch soon showed their animosity to the new English possessions. The new fort at Winnebah was plundered by the Dutch. At the meantime, the Dutch governor Jean Valken protested against English expansion in areas, as he argued, belonged to the Dutch. With the support of native chiefs, the Dutch attacked the garrison of

¹Ward, op.cit, p.83

²Bush op.cit,p. 196

³ Was born on May 29th, 1630. His period of reign was known as the Restoration. After returning from exile, Charles became a king of England and Ireland from 1660 to 1685. He died on 6th February 1685 in London. www.britannica.com (accessed in January 2020)

⁴Ward, op.cit,p.83

the Cape Coast and induced the native chiefs to attack Kormantin. The latter, having received help from the English, were able to resist Dutch attacks¹.

Dutch antagonism towards English presence was so vigorous that made the progress of the new company impossible. In an attempt by Charles II to re-gain English possessions, he sent off Captain Robert Holmes and Joseph Cubbitts to capture the Dutch fort at Goree. He succeeded in regaining the forts at Takoradi, Witsen, St. Sebastian, Cape Coast, Nassau (Mori) and lodges at Anamabo And Egya. Soon, the news of the loss of the Dutch possessions reached Holland. Under the command of the Admiral de Ruyter, the Dutch retaliated. Between 11th October 1664 and the year 1667, the Dutch set the English off their possessions, except the Cape Coast which remained in their hands. The treaty of Breda (1667) showed the power of the strong over the weak. The English suffered a great defeat and made it potent to the English government that “the Company of Adventurers Trading into Africa” was soon to come to a defunct². Ellis commented that the war ended up with the monopoly of the Dutch to all English possessions, except that of Cormantine that remained under English management³.

The loss of the war was bitterly received in England. The fortune of the English to establish trade had been rucked by the Dutch. The English: “had not only lost a great deal of what they had originally had, but were by no means certain of being able to retain what still remained to them, and certainly had no prospects of being able to extend their possessions”⁴. This state of affair coerced the company to hand over its charter to the Crown and proved for the government the inefficiency of English plans to set strong pillars to have a share in the Guinea trade.

In 1672, the Royal African Company of England was formed to revive English trade again. The main aim of the company was to strengthen Cape Coast Castle and to re-build forts at Dixcove,

¹Claridge, op.cit,p.109

² See Claridge,op.cit, p117 and Ward op.cit, p.85

³Ellis, op.cit, p.61

⁴Claridge op.cit, p119

Secondi, Commenda, Anamaboe, Winneba and Accra¹. It was alleged that this company would cope with Dutch rapid expansion in the Coast² and to “maintain and extend the African trade”³. It was granted a charter to trade to for about 1000 years between Port Sallee in Southern Barbary and the Cape of Good Hope⁴ with a license fee of 40 percent of the value of the produce. There was widespread discontent at the rate of the fee. Claridge stated that much of the discontent was grounded on the belief that the high amount of license fee would double the price of slaves, ivory and dye-wool. This state of mind was common among manufacturers, consumers of the African produce and West Indian planters. Soon in 1698, the matter was resolved and the rate decreased to 10 percent.

The company soon proved worthy of respect. It managed to buy forts at Sierra Leone and the Gambia for £34,000 and re-established forts at Accra, Kommenda and Anomabu and came back home with huge amount of gold. The investment boom of the company was in part due to the trade in human cargoes in the new markets of the West Indies and North America. The energetic pace of the company was accompanied by English new possessions of Jamaica (1655) and the Bahamas (1670) which largely needed slaves to work not only on sugar plantations but also on the Virginia tobacco. An estimated of about 74000 slaves were deployed by all European powers:

between 1680 and 1700 the Royal African Company exported 140,000 slaves, and interlopers exported 160,000 more. Between 1700 and 1786, the island of Jamaica alone received 610,000 slaves from all sources. At the end of that period, the annual slave trade was estimated at 38,000 British, 20,000 French, 10,000 Portuguese, 4000 Dutch and 2000 Danish⁵

The Gold Coast was not the only provider of slaves. The French, for instance, took most of their slaves from Senegambia while the Portuguese took slaves from Angola and Mozambique.

¹Hay, D.J, “Ashanti and the Gold Coast and What We Know of it: a Sketch”, Edward Stanford, 1874,p.34

²Cruickshank, op.cit, 21

³Macdonald, op.cit,p 17

⁴Claridge, op.cit, p 119

⁵Ward, op.cit, p87

Much of the affair of the slave trade¹ was in the hands of Africans. Africans were very cautious of letting Europeans built forts at the coastal lines. Instead, the King of Dahomy established depot at the coastal lines for collecting slaves and letting European agents buy them. In the Gold Coast, European forts at the coastal lines were much welcomed because these forts would guarantee that Europeans would not establish trade relations with inland states and at the same time provide security for inhabitants in case of attacks from other states. In this respect, the process of buying slaves operated in a very hierarchical manner:

Before one is allowed to start the trade, one is compelled to pay the King 720 lbs cowries customary duties, 200 lbs to the captains, and 30 to the town crier who announces when the traders are allowed to sell their slaves. Subsequently one negotiates the price with the King, Carte and Ago, but one should be careful to exclude from this price what is paid to the King and the two afore said Captains, because to them one has always to give more than to the private traders; i. e. to the King 120 and to the Captains 100 lbs cowries (per slave)²

The Accra or Fantee intermediaries exercised thorough monopoly of this operation. With their main depot at Manso, the Fantee brought slaves from the coast, kept them in small reserves and bought them in the local slave market³.

Nevertheless, the Fantee's monopoly of the trade on slaves posed pressure on the English and other Europeans. By 1700, The British governor of the Cape Coast Castle described the situation in these words:

¹ Known in history as the Atlantic Slave Trade or the Triangular Trade. Europeans provided large ports or factories as to make them as reserves for slaves before they shipped them to the Americas. This passage took a period of two months before arriving at its destination. Upon their arrival, slaves were treated badly as many of them were left to death after they were being rejected by a specialist who detected their physical strength. The abled ones who seemed good physically were transported then to the plantations, in Meberbeche, op.cit, p.21

²Bush, op, cit, p. 199-200

³Ward, op.cit, p88

The Waterside Country people and several inland adjacent countries, through whose territories traders must come have no gold or elephants teeth and but a few slaves to part with of their own. Their business is to disturb trade, or to make the Dutch and us pay for it ... The Waterside Country people are desirous to have the traders give them their gold, teeth and slaves to bring us to sell, and then they give the up land people what they please for it; to which the traders are not willing; and this often causes contests and disappointments in trade¹

Friendly relations with the natives were kept. The most common view at the time was that “If we have the Natives on our side, and they work well with us (as we are confident) they can do us very considerable service, and help us in time of need”². The fact that the Gold Coast had many native states which had “no overlord” made the English merchants and the government insist on avoiding any clashes with the natives. The English along all their forts paid native rulers rent with an amount of *douceurs* annually. These duties, however, presented a burden for traders who proclaimed that the amount of money paid to natives made up half of government annually grant. When a committee was discharged to present the issue, the Governor and the Council showed fierce rejection to the proposal on the account that “owing to the weakness of the Company's position it is necessary to keep black men of power in our pay that we may live at peace with the natives who would otherwise molest us, knowing that we have not sufficient power to protect ourselves”³. Hence, the purpose of government was to keep the trade open and secure English forts. English politics at that time, wrote Martin, was one of non-intervention unless the English felt that their interests would be threatened⁴.

With the flourishing prospect of the slave trade, the Dutch endeavored to expand their horizon of influence. In 1688 they built a fort at Kommenda. On the river Ankobra, the Dutch increased their possessions with three main forts: Duma, Elise Carthago and Ruyghaver. In 1697, “*Leydsamheid*” (*patience*) was given as a name to a fort built at Apam. The Portuguese sooner came to the scene and began to set up their footing on the Gold Coast. The Dutch Christiansburg fort fell to the hands of the

¹Bush,op.cit, p. 134

²Ibid,p. 135

³Eveline C. Martin, M.A. The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Mckew Parr Collection, Brandeis University, 1961,p.184

⁴ Ibid,p.185

Portuguese after a Dutch officer named Peter Bolt with the help of natives killed John Olricks, the governor of the Dutch fort, and sold the fort to a Portuguese governor named Julian de Campo Baretto¹. They built small lodges at Ansshan and opened trade in tobacco rum, soap and other American goods².

Other nations began a desperate race to establish permanent possessions. The Brandenburg³ built by 1682 a fortress named Gross Friedrichsburg, around Cape Three Points, and small lodges at Dorothea and Tackrama in 1694. The Elector of Brandenburg sent off two frigates under the command of Captain Mathieu de Vos and Philip Pieter Blancq to establish a settlement. The English, on the other hand, having been afraid of the nearby Dutch fort of Fredericksborg that was about miles of Cape Coast Castle, purchased the fort in 1685 and named it “Fort Royal”⁴. At Komenda, the French, with the help of Captain M. du Casse and four other notable men from Rochefort, were able to establish a factory in 1688 and subsequent settlements were established in the Slave Coast years later. This coincided with Dutch foundations of the fort Vredenburg which was about a quarter of a mile from the English fort of Komenda. The Dutch faced great difficulty in setting up the fort because of furious opposition of the people which was believed to be as a result of English commandants who stirred up peoples to oppose the settlement. The result was a clash that cost the Komendas their chief and a set of his Captains. The Brandenburgers, because of great hostility on the part of the English that was triggered by their attempt to capture Dixcove coupled with increasing hostility from the native inhabitants and the Dutch, lost control of the newly acquired forts. In 1708, the Brandenburgers gave up Gross Friedrichsburg fort to the native chiefs and in 1725 the fort fell to

¹For further details of the incident see Claridge, op.cit, p.120

²Ibid, p.121

³ A state situated in northeast Germany. Its history dated back to the the 7th century when the Slavic peoples occupied the territory. By the 12th century the territory was governed by German kings and by the 18th century it was part of the kingdom of Prussia. In this respect, it became “the nucleus of the dynastic power on which the kingdom of Prussia was founded, and it was merged administratively with that kingdom in 1701. It became a province of Prussia in 1815 and remained such after the unification of Germany (1871) and until the end of World War II”. www.britannica.com (accessed in November 2019)

⁴Claridge,op.cit,p 125

the hands of the Dutch¹. The following map shows European forts in the Gold Coast during the seventeenth century:

Map Two: European forts on the Gold Coast



Source: www.alamy.com/map-of-the-guinea-coast (accessed in December 2019)

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, European attempts to build permanent possessions on the Gold Coast was undermined either by strong rivalry of Europeans towards each other or the amount of great animosity showed by native inhabitants. Ward observed that European forts were in a state of instability because Europeans “built, abandoned, sold, attacked, captured, exchanged”² these forts with no strong plans to strengthen them. Intense rivalry had made the trade impossible. One Dutch wrote about English intentional incursion. He stated that “In the territory of the King of Aguaffo we have a lodge at little Commany, which was erected in 1638. But we abandoned and reoccupied that lodge several times, the English did likewise ever since they started

¹Ward, op.cit, p 91

²ward,op.cit,p. 92

competing with us in that area”¹. In a similar manner, the English were apathetic of Dutch incursion into their spheres of influence. The English Director of the Gold Coast complained about the way the Dutch interrupted their activities. He wrote: “The Dutch still goes on in giving us all the Affronts they can. They have panyarred our goods as was coming from commander by Traders and they will do it till they give our notes out”²

Much of the forts were garrisoned by a small number of men who could do nothing against foreign attacks. The English fort at Anashan , stated Bosman, lacked men to the extent that “ the entire Garrison consists of one whole English-man, who lies there; is it possible for him to preserve the Honour of the flag?”³. The Danish forts were no better than the English. In 1693, Christiansburg fort, having been attacked by severe disease that cost the Danish a de-crease of their men to twenty five, fell into the hands of an Akwamu named Asameni. Asameni devised a cunning plan to capture the fort⁴. He with eighty men took over the fort and were able to gain a profit of trade of about £7000 out of their trade with the Dutch and the English.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, trade on the Gold Coast remained under tense competition between the Dutch and the English. The increasingly strained relations of the Dutch with interlopers had weakened their position and ceded much of the Dutch India Company profits to the hands of their rivals. The English, as compared with other European nations, strengthened their presence. They, clearly, embarked on a campaign throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to consolidate their presence in the Gold Coast. They attempted to build strong fortified trade that would carry on the financial burden of trade from the African company and provide the new open markets of the New World and the West Indies with high amount number of slaves for the demands of plantations.

¹Bush,op.cit,p.150

² Bush, op.cit,p. 151

³ Bosman, W.A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided Into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory Coasts, London:St Paul’s Church Yard, 1705, P.56

⁴ Claridge, op.cit,p 94

I. 4. The Extension of British Influence and the Transition to Formal Colonialism (1700-1874)

Once the power of European rivals of the English diminished, an important period started to utter a metamorphosis change to the whole Gold Coast. In the early eighteenth century, The English were not interested in setting formal colonization. Instead, they sponsored chartered companies to carry on the whole business in the Gold Coast. However, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, new voices aroused to bring the affairs of the Gold Coast into more Government scrutiny. This decision did not come out of sudden. Many philanthropic bodies triggered the need to establish formal colonialism in Africa as an attempt to bring civilization and modernity to its people. Indeed, the upsurge in missionary activity in the Gold Coast with their mission to evangelize first then civilize “*backward*” Africans was only an example of this movement¹. The whole situation favored the extension of British spheres of influence, especially when the Ashanti² power started to pose a burden on the business of the British that, by the close of the century, decision to annex the Gold Coast into the Crown colonies was inevitable.

I. 4. 1. The Growth of British Influence up to 1800

The close of the seventeenth century for the English was a disappointment. The war with the Dutch was followed by a war with the French in Senegambia. The English ceased the French possession at Goree and St. Louis in 1692 while the French plundered and brought Fort James to the ground. The early years of the eighteenth century, however, were marked by wars provoked primarily by the exigencies of the slave trade. The English were strengthening their presence in the Gold Coast with the Dutch who still held some main forts. In 1698, these forts remained devoid of any real dominion. In fact, the English despite of their strong fight to secure their forts against interlopers, did not try to change any territorial possession to a Protectorate. The English intent, wrote Lucas, “was for trade,

¹For more details on Christianity and the Christian missions see chapter II

² Details about the evolution of the kingdom is provided in this section

not sovereignty”¹. It could be argued that before 1807, European presence did not have great impact. European contact was “chiefly commercial and perfunctory in any political sense”².

The monopoly of the Royal African Company was soon challenged. Upon the Declaration of Rights³, having been accepted by William and Marry of England, nearly all the privileges granted to the company were abolished. Back in 1689 and 1697 traders succeeded in getting a parliamentary resolution to make African trade open to all British subjects. Upon its implementation from June 24, 1698 to June 1712, the British merchants were able to trade from “England or from the American plantation to Africa, but it enacted that all traders should pay an ad volorem duty of 10 per cent on any export to Africa”⁴. This change, in fact, gave a boom to the activities of the company particularly on the slave trade. Between 1698 and 1707 plantations received of about 25000 slaves annually either from the company or private traders⁵.

This amount increased rapidly especially when the treaty of Utrecht⁶ of 1713 was signed. The *Assiento* contract granted the French before the English the right to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves. This right ceded to the English on the account that during the thirty years of its operation the English would transfer about 144,000 Africans with an opportunity to set sail a ship of goods to the Spanish colonies. The amount of slaves and their price were independent of any regulations from the Spanish government⁷. Reciprocally, one quarter of the profits was granted to the king of Spain, the Crown and the king of England. Unfortunately, the *Assiento* brought much detriment to the company.

¹Lucas,C.P, “Historical Geography of West Africa to the End of 1899”, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900, p. 105

²T. C. McCaskie, “Innovational Eclecticism: the Asante Empire and Europe in the nineteenth century”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14,1972, quoted in Bush, p. 82

³ Known also as "An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown", the act directly made all decisions of James II and the intentional control by the monarch of the parliament illegal. It also banned the issuance of taxation without parliament consent. www.britannica.com (accessed in January 2020)

⁴ Lucas, op.cit, p.84

⁵ In 1790, there estimated a huge number of slaves in the Southern American colonies. For example, South Carolina, Georgia and Lousiana numbered about 50 percent of all slaves in the Americas. For more details on the number of slaves ans their distribution see table three in Meberbeche,op.cit,p.31

⁶ Set between April 1713 and February 1715 and considered as the most important peace treaties of the world, the treaty settled a long dispute between European rivals and made balance of power between them. The treaty also made Philp the king of the Spanish Empire while forbode France and Spain from having the same king. www.britannica.com (accessed in January 2020)

⁷Lucas,op.cit, p.85

In 1739, the company sank in debt which eventually led King of Spain to threaten to end the contract. By 1712, however, the act which granted the African company a grant for an open trade came to an end. Now, the company held the responsibility of sustaining the forts which presented a big burden. Subsequently, the company protested in order to make the government take hold of the expenses of up keeping the forts. Eventually, Parliament passed resolutions to grant an amount of £10,000 each year for the upkeep of her forts as “marks of the possessions of Great Britain”¹.

Two Acts were further passed in 1750 and 1752. The 1750 Act demonstrated the profits and the fortune that the English might derive from the African Trade:

The trade to and from Africa is very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies there unto belonging with a sufficient number of negroes at reasonable rates, and for that purpose the said trade ought to be free and open to all his Majesty’s subjects²

The Act perpetuated for a new body that would replace the old African Company. It cherished that all traders should rally together and place their efforts and politics under the body "the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa"³. The second Act (1752), however, allowed for a complete access to lands, military stores, castles, slaves and forts for the use of the company⁴. From April 10, 1752, the Royal African Company began its work with £10,000 to £15,000 to provide sustenance to the forts.

By 1749, the number of English forts at the Gold Coast was eight including Cape Coast Castle, Commendah, Secondee, Dixcove, Tantumquerry, Winnebah, Accra and Whydah⁵. The breakup of the Seven Years War⁶ in 1756 between the English and the French had its effects on their relation in the Gold Coast. In 1757, the French under a commander named De Kersaint attacked Cape Coast

¹Lucas,op.cit, p.86

²An Act for Extending and Improving the Trade to Africa, 1750. www.webcache.googleusercontent.com (accessed in January 2020)

³Ibid

⁴Ibid

⁵Ward, op.cit,p.106

⁶ Lasted from 1756 until 1763. France, Austria, Saxony, Sweden, and Russia rallied together against Great Britain, Prussia and Hanover. According to Britannica the "The war arose out of the attempt of the Austrian Habsburgs to win back the rich province of Silesia, which had been wrested from them by Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–48)". Another reason owed to the strong rivalry between the English and the French in Africa. www.britannica.com (accessed in January 2020)

Castle. The English retaliated and were successful in keeping up the forts. Soon in 1781, a war broke up between the English and the Dutch which cost the Dutch forts at Commendah and Accra while retaining the Elmina Castle after fierce attacks. Soon the Dutch under the treaty of 1784 retained these forts¹.

Nevertheless, the company had been subject to criticism right from its beginning. Merchants viewed its activities as continuation of a long and disturbing government plans and likely to put much pressure on trade². The company appeared to meet the same fate of the proceeding companies. Macdonald argued that “A strange fatality, however, seemed to follow the formation of the English trading companies”³ and put insurmountable obstacle to its operation.

In the Gold Coast, as in other English possessions, a reluctance availed the government to declare dominion and show any supremacy of the Crown. The situation, however, looked the reverse. The government tried to maintain a trade connection rather to involve itself in direct control. Lucas explained the decision of government throughout the eighteenth century: “So hesitating the action of the government, so entirely was West Africa considered to be a sphere of British trade, not an integral part of the British dominions”⁴. Meredith in his “*Account of the Gold Coast of Africa*” published in 1812, shared the same view: “We appear to claim no right of conquest in Africa, as far as it respects the natives. The company pay ground rent and water-custom at most of their settlements. The forts have been maintained for the purpose of trade only”⁵.

Merchants, on the other hand, preferred the situation and welcomed government measures of protecting and establishing forts, but were very anxious of government regulations in case the latter declared direct control. In their opinion, Her Majesty’s attention was “to support the honor and

¹ Ward, op.cit, p. 110

² Eveline C. Martin, M.A. The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Mckew Parr Collection, Brandeis University, 1961, p.173

³ Macdonald, op.cit, p.25

⁴ Lucas, op.cit, p90

⁵ Meredith, Henry, “ Account of the Gold Coast of Africa With a Brief History of the African Company ”, London: Longman, 1812, p. 103-104

dignity of his Crown and protect his subjects in full enjoyment of their commercial rights and privileges”¹ and thus they cherished openly for the queen: “you [queen] neither have nor do we want you to have any control over free traders. It is your duty to assist, not to direct, much less to retain or cramp them in their dealings”²

Nevertheless, the trade was extremely beneficial to England. The formation of the Royal African Company started to give a boom to the business of the slave trade. Trade began to receive attention by many contemporary politicians:

How great is the importance of the trade to Africa, which is the first principle and foundation of all the rest, the mainspring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion ... so that both for exports and imports, the improvement of our national revenue, the encouragement of industry at home, the supply of our colonies abroad, and the increase of our navigation, the African trade is so very beneficial to Great Britain, so essentially necessary to the very being of her colonies, that without it neither could we flourish nor they long subsist ³

The Gold Coast supplied 10,000 slaves annually to the West Indies. In 1753, the Liverpool Memorandum showed that nearly 101 Liverpool ships were able to deploy more than 30,000 slaves. Anderson stated that during this period “England supplies her American colonies with Negro slaves accounting in number to one hundred thousand annually⁴. Even though the English benefited from the Assiento contract, the latter did not seem to increase the amount of slaves deported. It was estimated that between 1713, the date of the Utrecht treaty, and 1733 the English deported of about 15,000 slaves to 20,000 slaves per year⁵. A total account of the eighteenth century showed that the English secured for themselves the whole operation of the business. This was evident from the increase in the rate of English participation in the trade as compared to other European nations. In 1768, the English deployed of about 40,000 to 60,000 annually. This was merely due to the Peace of Paris (1763) which caused the English to held strong position. In 1783, the amount decreased to

¹ Eveline C. Martin, M.A, p.175

² Ibid,p.183

³ Eveline C. Martin, M.A, op.cit,p. 170-171

⁴ Anderson. S, "Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce from the Earliest Accounts Containing An History of the Great Commercial Interests of the British Empire, Dublin: O, Byrn'e, 1780, p.133

⁵ Lucas, op.cit, p.91

38,000 due to the war with the United States. In 1798, however, the English, mainly because the French were weakened by the wars of the Revolution, secured an amount of 55,000 slaves¹.

By the close of the century, many forces precipitated the end of the slave trade. A conflict arose between company officials trading in Africa and those of England. It was in part due to England's officials complaints that they should have greater participation in the trade to Africa. They also called for the establishment of a Joint Stock Company that would regulate trade in an equal basis between the two sides. It was believed that this lack of organization of trade and the continuous difficulties had great effects on the demise of profits. This state of mind was clearly asserted by the end of the eighteenth century:

this depression in profits was due to the rising prices of slaves on the Gold Coast which were attributed in turn to disruptions in the flow of slave supplies to the coast, changes in the character of the gold trade and the illegal dealings of factors residing at the forts of the company of merchants trading to Africa²

Accordingly, the increasing competition between European nations to set contract with African merchants trading in slaves coupled with interloper's continuous disruption to the process of trade precipitated the demise of trade on slaves by the end of the century.

Philanthropist activities gave a final blow to the slave trade³. Starting from early protests set by two ministers in the late seventeenth century who clearly announced their rejection to inhumanities caused by the slave. This was followed by successive attempts to threaten the government and the public of the harm that the slave trade aroused. Philanthropist bodies⁴ put great pressure not only on the English government but all European nations to abolish the slave trade. In 1792, king of Denmark prohibited the slave trade business. The United States followed in the steps of Denmark and in 1794

¹Lucas,op.cit, p.91

²Richardson,D, "West African Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth Century English Slave Trade', in, H. A. Gemery and J. S. Hogendorn (editors) 1979,p.326 quoted in Bush,p.20

³ This was partly because of the emergence of the philosophy of Enlightenment which started questioning the moral effect of slavery. Among these philanthropist was missionaries, most notably Anglicans, who put much pressure on the government to abolish slavery. Other philanthropist included English intellectuals like William Palley and James Ramsay who published many notable books and essays on the evils of slavery, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p.47

⁴These included Montesquieu(1750), the Quackers(1761), Wesleyans, Bishop Warrburton, Granville Sharp(1769-1772)

prohibited the slave trade. In 1807, the English finally prohibited its subjects from any trade of this type and the slave trade finally “utterly abolished, prohibited, and declared to be unlawful”¹.

Philanthropist campaign to end the slave trade was a feature of 19th century history of the Gold Coast. Mainly driven by a mission to civilize “*backward*” and “*uncivilized*” Africans, these bodies set sail to the Gold Coast to evangelize and introduce Western education to this portion of Africans who had for long suffered from inhuman and dark practices that set them beyond the bulk of civilization and modernity². Meanwhile, the growth of missionary influence coincided with notable British expansion in the Gold Coast. This was mainly driven by the need to end up the power of the Ashanti state³ which had for long ceased to make a barrier for English trade. This was coupled with an increased move toward replacing the trade on slaves with “legitimate commerce” that placed African products like palm oil as a mechanism for the progress of trade. Hopkins argued that “By mid nineteenth century ... the silent imperialism of the steamship was beginning to bring vegetable oils and substitute products from other continents besides Africa”⁴. Indeed, the period until the end of the century saw the British consolidated their presence in the Gold Coast by taking all the forts owed by the Dutch and thus setting themselves the most dominant power in the region. Accordingly, their influence increased notably that by 24th of July 1874 the British declared the Gold Coast as a Crown Colony.

I. 4. 2. Transition to Formal Colonialism

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Gold Coast witnessed a new phase in the development of the economies of Europe and their relation to the Gold Coast⁵. It is believed that this phase marked the introduction of legitimate commerce that represented a “break with the past” and a new move towards the establishment of the market. This shift would set the context for

¹ Ward, op.cit, p.95

² An examination of Christianity and Western education is provided in chapter II

³ Details of the origins and the development of the state are given in the next section

⁴ Hopkins, A.G, An Economic History of West Africa, London: Longman, 1973, p.131

⁵ Bush,op.cit, p.236

understanding the nature of trade by the early of the century and the dynamics of European partition of West Africa by the last half of the century. Accordingly, Bush asserted that legitimate commerce occurred in a “gradual” and “uneven” process. Gradual in the sense that it occurred in a time where the slave trade was still operating on the coast. It was uneven in the sense that it coincided with a rising conflict in Britain between mercantilists’ interest who sought to maintain the trade on slaves and a bourgeoisie industrial class who assumed the benefits, which Britain could attain where it built a manufacturing industry in Britain that relied on cheap raw materials from overseas territories¹.

This commercial transition promoted the interest in Agricultural produce². Before the exploitation of palm-oil, British legitimate trade concentrated mainly on Ivory and gold. This trade expanded through the eastern part of the Gold Coast³ and due to the increased benefits, that palm oil offered new voices aroused for the necessity of developing palm oil industry. It was believed that “If ivory was the genesis of British legitimate trade, it was the expanding market for palm oil which permitted the rapid growth and which occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth century”⁴. It was this promising new industrial market that revitalized British interest in the Gold Coast and stiffened their position to monopolize areas of wealth at all expenses. An examination of this period is essential to trace the first moves to legitimize British presence in the Gold Coast and provide an insight into the context through which the British moved from mere trade connections to formal colonialism.

The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 nearly dispersed English interests in the Gold Coast trade. For about a century and a half the English assumed responsibility for a traffic that guaranteed for the Crown extra sources of revenues for the economy. Its abolition, however, made it clear for the government that their presence would no longer be of benefit to them. The government believed that

¹ Bush,op.cit,p.237

² The British realized that investments in agriculture was less expensive and more profitable than the slave trade. Plantations in America provided tropical crops which lessened British interests in slavery too. These all decreased British interests in the slave trade and made the British think then of new techniques as to develop tropical crops in west Africa and the Americas, in Meberbeche,op.cit,p. 48

³ Ibid, p.243

⁴ George E. Brooks, Jn, "Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen: A history of American legitimate Trade with West Africa in the Nineteenth Century", African Research Studies No. 11, (Boston University Press 1970), p. 15

any scheme to expand trade in the coast was no longer accepted. A Parliament Committee made it vivid that

All further extension of territory, or assumption of government, or new treaties offering any protection to native tribes would be inexpedient; and that the object of our policy should be to encourage in the natives the exercise of those qualities, which may render it possible for us more and more to transfer to them the administration of all the governments, with a view to an ultimate withdrawal from all, except, probably, Sierra Leone¹

In addition, trade activities were a source of criticism from government reports of 1811-1816 and 1817. The reports criticized the way merchants controlled the trade. These reports also showed how the slave trade was still operating on the part of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The reports also focused on the need to continue English trade on the coast and the way English presence could be used as a vehicle to improve the state of natives. Thus, it was resolved that it must be a concern for the government “with very few exceptions that the natives would be easily induced to raise and cultivate the articles of tropical produce to which their climate and soil are suitable, if they had adequate encouragement by a demand and market for them”². These reports, unfortunately, showed the failure of the company to control and make progress in exports coupled with the company’s lack of production. Another issue that amounted great criticism to the activities of the company was the company’s failure to appease indigenous interests, namely the Asante chiefs³.

Though the government assumed immediate withdrawal from all the forts except that of Sierra Leone, what happened after proved the reverse. After the abolition of slavery, governors called for the maintenance of British trade on the Gold Coast. The Governor of Sierra Leone for example wrote: “The forts on the Gold Coast, if properly employed might be made very important engines of promoting the mutual benefit of Great Britain and Africa”⁴. In the same manner, he encouraged inland people to grow crops. He stressed the need for chief’s cooperation in the new industrial operation. He wrote that the chiefs must notice know “the advantages from cultivating white instead

¹ Hertslet, E, “Abyssinia to Great Britain and France”, Routledge: Tylor and Francis Group, 1909,p.750

² Reports From Committees on Poor Laws With the Minutes of Evidence;4th July, Parliametary papers, 1817,p.07

³ Bush,op.cit.,p226

⁴ A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution from Zachary Macaulay, Parliamentary papers, 1815,p. 36

of the red rice, because in that case a vent might be easily obtained for their surplus produce either in Great Britain or in the West Indies”¹. Accordingly, there was a significant territorial expansion coupled with the first attempt at dominion and the signing of many treaties that gave the English further monopoly of the land. Lucas noted that there were two reasons that led the English to maintain their presence in the Gold Coast. First it was hardly difficult for the English to withdraw a connection that lasted more than two centuries long at once. The second is that the English, having felt guilty of the slave trade, took responsibility to end it up².

Then the English had four forts at the Gold Coast namely Dixcove, Cape Coast Castle, Annamsboo, and Accra. For administrative purposes, these forts along with the Gambia and Sierra Leone were annexed to form a Crown colony on January 1, 1808. These territories were named “The West African Settlements”³. The Crown assumed full responsibility over the forts that the African Company controlled for more than a century. Soon the annexation did not come without its pitfalls. The English had to face the emergence of the Ashanti state, which started to present threat to their interests.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Ashanti state extended its influence behind the Fantee tribes. In 1807, they impelled the English to pay a tribute to their king as a rent for the presence of their forts and their jurisdiction right to control all the coastal tribes. This dominance increased that two subsequent attacks on Cape Coast Castle were made in 1814 and 1816. They imposed a complete blockade over all areas surrounding Cape Coast Castle which led the company to sign a treaty in 1817 with the Ashanti. The treaty clearly assumed recognition for the right of the Ashanti to control the coast. In return, the king accepted British presence in areas of his dominion. A year later, 1818, the British government sent Mr. Dupuis to negotiate a treaty with the king. Government involvement seemed to anger the agents of the African company who showed their

¹ A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Institution from Zachary Macaulay, Parliamentary papers, 1815,p. 34

² Lucas,op.cit,p.118

³ Ibid

severe rejection to the interference in their affairs and appeared to reject what the treaty of Dupuis came with. This rejection in fact caused much problems between the two sides and eventually led to the dissolution of the company in 1821. Now the British government, having ceased to take all the company's right of monopoly, was to face the increasing hostility of the Ashanti state.

In 1824, a war broke out between the English and the Ashanti¹. Sir Charles MCarthy, governor of the West African Settlements, launched an attack with the help of some native auxiliaries against the Ashanti. The Ashanti, however, made great defeat to the British. The first attack cost the English the life of their general commander. Nevertheless, in 1826, the Ashanti suffered great defeat when they advanced to Accra. The last defeat nearly paralyzed their actions for a while and resulted in the treaty of 1831 that settled peace between the English and the Ashanti. It clearly set the trade free in the interior and the coast and ceased to stop the monopoly of the Ashanti King over the Fantees. The English played the role of a mediator in any quarrels that might happen between natives².

The task of maintaining and controlling the Gold Coast seemed difficult. The expense of war that the English fought against the Ashanti and the status of trade which seemed to bring no benefits made the British thoroughly exhausted. To re-conciliate the situation, the British imposed custom duties to help them pay the expenses of war. These taxes, however, did nothing more than diverting native states to trade with the Danes and the Dutch instead of the British. The situation worsened by 1825 when the government withdrew all the forts of the Gold Coast except Cape Coast Castle and Accra. A year later, a proposition was made to evacuate one of the two forts and in 1827 the Governor of the West African Settlements, after having discussion with Merchants of the Gold Coast, decided that "every fort would be evacuated, every garrison would be withdrawn and all civil government would be discontinued"³

Along all these circumstances, however, the British government did not cut ties with the Gold Coast. Instead, control of the forts was handed again to the merchants. In 1828, the merchants formed

¹ For further details on the war see Ellis,op.cit,p. 137

² Lucas,op.cit,p.119

³ Ibid,p.120

“the Committee of London Merchants Trading to the Gold Coast”. The merchants assumed responsibility of controlling the forts. A Court of Justices of the Peace and a Local Council of administration took over the administration of the forts and native affairs. Residents from the Gold Coast and Accra checked the work of the two bodies. Merchants exercised control of the forts only because the Gold Coast affairs was still under the control of the Sierra Leone Colony and every crime or offense would be directed before the Sierra Leone Court. It was even alleged that the merchants had no right to appoint without the approval of government. In addition a parliamentary grant was allowed for the maintenance of the forts; An amount of £4000 annually. This decision made it plain that the British government was still hesitant of holding the affairs of the Gold Coast while strict measures that were put around merchants were clear signs that showed no intension of a complete departure from the Gold Coast¹.

The Merchants government control of the Gold Coast turned out to be successful. It clearly precipitated the emergence of the Gold Coast Protectorate. Now the British had almost assumed control over all the coast to the Ashanti State. Peace was settled with the Ashanti for about ten years that made the British at ease for maintaining their monopoly. Even the native inhabitants felt at ease with different British measures of Law and control. This distinct success, Lucas wrote, was due to Captain George Maclean, the local governor. Even though he had meager government grant, a small number of military force and a strict government control of his decisions, he succeeded in putting the ground for a re-evaluation of government decision towards the Gold Coast. His success was so incredible that the Select Parliamentary Committee of 1842 granted him the honor of exercising control of:

a very wholesome influence over a coast not much less than 150 miles in extent, and to a considerable distance inland preventing within that range external slave trade, maintaining peace and security, and exercising a useful though irregular jurisdiction among the neighboring tribes ²

¹ Lucas,op.cit,p.120

² Madden,F &David Fieldhouse, The Dependent Empire and Ireland 1840-1900 : Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth , Greenwood Press, 1991,p.405

Recommendations to resume the Crown's control of the forts were proposed to Parliament. A number of reports against the merchants' government were placed before Parliament. Merchants were accused of still bearing deals of domestic slavery. These reports recorded evidences where merchants and their agents helped supply slaves to a number of traders who were still active dealers. Moreover, Maclean received many negative accusations. A report bearing an investigation of affairs of the Gold Coast was prepared by Dr. Madden in 1840. In fact the report clearly owed much appreciation to the good did that Maclean owed to the Gold Coast. On the other hand, the report strongly recommended for an immediate return of government control. The report urged for a change in the system that would give much attention for the introduction of a Crown sovereignty to the Gold Coast instead of mere trade connections. It was believed that government connection with the Gold Coast should be in relation to the government of the empire regardless of any commercial ties¹.

As a result, a number of resolutions were proposed. Government control of the Gold Coast forts should be renewed. Forts of Apollonia, Winnebah and Whydah should be resumed along with suggestions to re-construct other forts. British law should be defined clearly and maintained and a separation in the long run of the Gold Coast from the government of Sierra Leone². Moreover, the government began its work to subjoin the Gold Coast. Both the Gold Coast and the Gambia were separated from the Sierra Leone government in 1843. Both formed a separate settlement with their own Lieutenant-Governor, though the Gold Coast kept administrative ties with Sierra Leone till 1850. The Gold Coast was supplied with a Judicial Assessor who would determine the application of the British judicial system. Moreover, two Parliamentary acts authorized the British governor to exercise through control of the Gold Coast. The first Act clearly demonstrated British monopoly of the West African Settlements and the right of the Queen to decide on all the settlements affairs. The second gave the judicial assessor the right to authority and jurisdiction of the settlement. Under these

¹ Madden,op.cit,p.405

² Lucas,op.cit,p.122

two acts, the Gold Coast governor and judicial assessor regulated much of the native affairs. Much of native problems and clashes were put before the judicial assessor who resolved to settle the dispute¹.

It was because of these two Acts that the Fantee tribes signed a treaty named “the Bond”1844 through which the Fantees rescinded all forms of human sacrifices. The Bond prevailed upon the Fantee to accept British jurisdiction and power over areas adjacent to British forts and the abandonment of all forms of human sacrifice because they “are abominations and contrary to law”. The bond further asked to direct all offences to the Queens judicial officers with particular emphasis on “moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British Law”². Indeed the Bond had established for the first time pillars of British protection to Africans on the Coast. It revealed British attitudes by the half of the century where they sought to establish a set of legal institutions to regularize and put fertile ground for the expansion of British jurisdiction. The Bond clearly assumed the inevitable decision of chiefs to assume British protection as an inevitable agent for the progress of trade and the protection of their sovereignty. Furthermore, the treaty set clear the eradication and suppression of customary law. The Bond empowered judicial officers to have strong position to enforce English law and was, without doubt, a clear scheme by which the government expanded its power of rule over Gold Coasters.

The British involvement in the Gold Coast affairs, however, did not come without its defects. The Gold Coast comprised of about 6000 square miles and of about 275000 inhabitants. This great number of people and vast area needed better-defined means of control. The government found itself urged to supply military force to guarantee their control of the area. It was also necessary to construct roads that would facilitate movements of British agents. A primary concern was given to the establishment of schools for natives who would in the long run facilitate native control and obedience to British laws. These measures, however, could not be made without an increase in government grants. What was worse was the relation with natives. Despite Maclean built friendly relations with

¹Lucas,op.cit,p.124

² MARCH 6, 1844: BOND OF 1844 SIGNED BY FANTI CHIEFS AND BRITAIN (EDWARD A. ULZEN MEMORIAL FOUNDATION). Retrieved from www.eaumf.org (accessed in December 2020)

the natives, any measures to impose any kind of taxes was unquestionable. It was alleged that any new tax measures would raise native hostility and mistrust¹.

Another reason that made the British aloof of imposing any taxes upon the natives was that the tribes, even though showed great respect to British law, did not submit their territory to the British and the British, on the other hand, still did not declare a formal Protectorate that would tame all the tribes to the British Crown. In 1849, Secretary of the state for the Colonies, Lord Grey made a suggestion to the House of Commons that the Gold Coast territory should be annexed formally to Great Britain. This action, he argued, would give the British reasonable causes to further the revenues through taxes and exercise more freely British law and administrative measures. This suggestion faced great opposition because the government feared of tribes' reaction. A sound reason was that the government knew clearly that British territory in the Gold Coast was surrounded by Dutch and Danes forts. The Dutch forts were in line with the British forts. It was assumed that any measures to impose custom duties would not sound promising especially when both the Dutch and the Danes did not follow in the British steps and impose the same taxes².

However, two changes took place in 1850. The British purchase of the Danish forts on the Gold Coast enlarged their territory. The British now had exclusive right of the areas stretching from Christiansburg eastward coupled with an important source of water that of the Volta River. What was important was that the British through their monopoly of the new fort brought the Akim tribes under their influence and thus nearly having complete jurisdiction of the Gold Coast territory. Lucas wrote:

The Purchase of the Danish possessions not only eliminated for ever one of the two European nations which had long shared with Great Britain the control of the sea-board, but it transferred to the British Crown "in full property and sovereignty" a certain number of existing forts, and exclusive, if ill-defined, rights of protectorate over a large extent of "Hinterland". It added to British sovereignty as well as to British trade and influence. It increased the responsibilities of the British government. That government still went forward, recognizing its responsibilities and strengthening its position³

¹ Ward,op.cit,p.121

² Ibid

³ Lucas,op.cit,p.126

This event clearly made the British free from all obstacles that the Danes presented in case they wanted to introduce taxes. Now the British covered new areas and were successful in getting the trust of the new inhabitants who showed no reluctance to British officers' presence.

The second major event that uttered a complete change was a charter for the separation of the Gold Coast from the Sierra Leone government. The Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate had then its own government with an independent character and impartiality as a dependency of the British Crown. A more character of the British government seemed to overshadow the existing system. The Gold Coast received its first Supreme Court of Justice. It was further supplied by military force. The Gold Coast Corps was a military body formed to protect British sovereignty. The Gold Coast was further supplied with a military road that stretched forty miles to the Ashanti region. Moreover, strict measures to end domestic slavery were introduced¹. A more sound system of jurisdiction was introduced. Under the "Legislative Assembly of Native Chiefs Upon the Gold Coast", native chiefs agreed to pay a tax as an expense for her Majesty's Government protection and security. It was clear by this time that the British government took over the protection of the Gold Coast as a part of the British Crown territories. It proclaimed her right to impose taxes and defend the Gold Coast as a national sovereignty.

By 1852, a poll tax was imposed to raise government revenues. This tax was imposed on any man, woman or child. Governor Hill assumed that this tax would raise British revenues to £ 20,000 per annum². The tax sought to provide indigenous people some of the facilities that they needed. This tax in turn would provide and sustain the British in their scheme to develop trade and expand their sphere of influence. Bush argued that "the underlying effect of the Poll Tax was to help monetarize the Gold Coast economy and thereby make it more open to the transactions of European capitalists"³. The

¹ Lucas stated that domestic slavery existed in the Gold Coast Protectorate till when the government issued two Ordinances that clearly put an end to its existence in 1874, Ibid

² Bush,op.cit,p.248

³ Ibid,p.249

British believed that these taxes would be “the most productive, the least burdensome, and the most equitable”¹.

In an attempt to attain more support to the implementation of the tax, the British called the chiefs to form a Legislative Assembly. The Assembly would grant “full powers to enact such laws as it shall deem fit for the better government of those countries”². The aim of the assembly was to make Gold Coasters'chiefs accustomed to these taxes and at the same time facilitate its collection. Governor Hill clearly advocated for the establishment of a Legislative Council for the chiefs. He believed that this body would bring the chiefs into close contact with the government and at the same time reduce government expenditure on the colony. Despite all these regulations, the imposition of taxes met difficulties. There were many difficulties in collecting these taxes. The amount of taxes collected in the first year £ 7,567 decreased to 1,725 by 1860. Another problem was the fierce rejection showed by Gold Coasters to the measure due to, as they believed, its terminal effects³.

Despite the British marked distinct progress in the Gold Coast, their initiations seemed to meet apparent opposition by 1865. On a report upon “the State of Establishments on the Western Coast of Africa”, a select committee of the House of Commons denounced for an immediate withdrawal of all her Majesty’s possessions except that of Sierra Leone. The decision did not come out of sudden. The rise of Anti-Annexation and Anti-Imperial expansion movements in England had their influence. It was alleged that any control of foreign lands and territories would place a burden upon the nation’s economy. Adding to that it was the annexation of Lagos that clearly waged subsequent protests to prevent any further expansion. On the Gold Coast, the British had to face a rising opposition from the merchant government. They were of the opinion that government protection was so rewarding for them, but the taxes placed a heavy burden on the trade. They immediately showed their willingness to return to Maclean system of government. Because of these events, howls of protests in favor of demolishing all the new imposed taxes took place in 1853 and 1863 at Accra. What was worse for the

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 173

² Boahen, Abu, A. Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Longman, 1975,p. 42

³ Bush,op.cit,p.250

British was early stirrings of an Ashanti rebellion against the implemented taxes. It appeared for the British that the situation in the Gold Coast would worsen if peace with the Ashanti lost¹.

Despite all these oppositions, the Committee, in response to the 1865 report, declared the impossibility of an immediate withdrawal of a whole system that cost them large amount of expenditure. By 1866, though the Gold Coast still had its own government, Sierra Leone was again placed as a mediator between all the British West African dependencies. An analysis of the British government decisions throughout these decades showed that the government had no intention to annex the Gold Coast to Sierra Leone, but the measure was only professed to de-crease tension when happened. This justified the decision of the government to cede more territory. The British cession of the Dutch forts was only an example².

The Dutch trade at St. George d'Elmina declined. Their scheme to nourish trade on cotton, tobacco and gold mines were all in vein. The situation worsened for the Dutch that it was estimated of about £10,800 were lost annually. To make the last attempt to revive the trade, a convention was signed in 1867. Under its terms, the Sweet River was declared as the boundary between the territories of the British and the Dutch. The Dutch ceded British territories to the west of the Sweet River. On the other hand, Dutch possessions to the east of the river were to be annexed to British dominion. The convention did not cause any trouble with the British who were welcomed by the native tribe. The Dutch, however, faced great animosity. At Commendah and Dixcove, the Dutch, by force, plundered and destroyed the two forts. The situation worsened more. At Elmina, the Fantee people marched to the Dutch forts plundered and took it over, destroying nearly sixty villages. Now the Dutch had lost their last and outstanding forts that gave them prominent presence a long two centuries. On February 25, 1871, the Netherlands government found no way except to cede her possession of the Elmina Castle to the British. Eventually, Bankruptcy ended Dutch West India Company by 1674. The same charter continued after the company's end with the hope "for the execution of a secret design to

¹ Lucas,op.cit,p.130

² Ibid

extract with little cost gold from earth and sand which may be invisibly contained in it”¹. The cession of the Dutch fort, once again, placed the British on a firm footing on the Gold Coast and proved again for the government that the Gold Coast would in the long run bring fortune to her Majesty’s Crown².

The British cession of the Dutch Elmina fort did not come without its defects. Between 1873-1874 a war broke out with the Ashanti. The primary cause of the war was the British take over of the Dutch settlements. By the end of the seventeenth century, there existed three dominant native states in the Gold Coast. The Denker³ occupied the region around Elmina fort while the Akim⁴ centered around Accra. Along all these two kingdoms lied the kingdom of the Ashanti. The three kingdoms occupied areas behind European settlements on the coast. According to Lucas, these kingdoms were a mixture of pagan states with a large amount people who believed in Islam. For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Europeans had paid the King of the Akim a tribute for their presence at Accra. The same with the Dutch at Elmina who paid the King of Denker a tribute to secure friendly terms with natives.

By 1719, however, the kingdom of the Ashanti stood prominent along the two states. The two kingdoms , Denker and Akim, were subjoined to the Ashanti dominion as a result of a war between the two sides. An account of an incident narrated the reason of the clash was that the King of Denker had insulted one of the wives of the King of the Ashanti who immediately retaliated and invaded the territory of the Denker. The latter, even though supported with Dutch and Akim support, were not able to put an end to Ashanti attacks. Eventually the two Kingdoms became subject to the Ashanti who along their new dominated areas forced the Dutch to pay sum of money as a rent

¹ Bush, op.cit, p.126

² Lucas,op.cit,p.132

³ Denker or Denkyira was a strong nation state that occupied the Ashanti territory by the sixteenth century with its capital at Jukwaa. It was able to form successful trade relation with Europeans in the Western part of the Gold Coast. Denkyirahene was a name given to its ruler. Mumunumfi was believed to be its first king. www.britannica.com (accessed in February 2020)

⁴ Also known as Akyem, Akem, Akim or Aki. An ethnic group in the eastern part of the Gold Coast. It was composed of three states namely Akyem Abuakwa, Akyem Kotoku and Akyem Bosome. Untill the nineteenth century, the state fought many wars that greatly affected its power and made it subject to the Ashanti State. www.britannica.com (accessed in February 2020)

for their forts. From now on, the Ashanti power had grown increasingly on the coast. They enlarged their territory so that they could manage the traffic in the slave trade.

The Ashanti encounter with the British was not new. Details of a conflict occurred in 1807 had already been stated. The abolition of slavery, however, led the Ashanti to search for new sources of revenues. A trade on gold, iron, and pottery was opened with the Mohammedan State in the interior. They strongly relied on the Dutch at Elmina to supply them with salt, rum and firearms. The Dutch support, however, did not last for long since they handed over their possessions to the British. For the Ashanti, the loss of the Dutch support meant a deprivation of their right to move to the coastal areas of the Elmina Castle coupled with their fear that the British would not continue the old tradition of the Dutch payment of tributes to their King. The unfriendly relations of native chiefs of Elmina with the Fantee tribes led the latter to intrigue against the British and formerly professed their willingness to support the Ashanti and withdraw the British from Elmina¹.

The Ashanti made their first attack with a force of 40,000 Ashanti. On April 6, 1872 and 1873, they took over the Dutch forts and advanced to the British Protectorate. After having defeated the Fantees, they advanced toward Cape Coast Castle and blockaded Elmina. The British, under Colonel Festing, retaliated and made a strong reprisal to the Ashanti. The British were determined not only to let the Ashanti back but crash them so that no eventual invasions of this kind would occur. Two prominent men of war were sent to conduct British military forces. Sir John Glover, governor of Lagos settlement, and Sir Garnet Wolseley took charge of the Ashanti hostility. On January 20, 1874, with a force of 1800 soldiers, Waseley forced the Ashanti to retreat and advanced to the Ashanti territory where he in January 31st made strong defeat to the Ashanti in Amoaful near the Ashanti capital of Coomassie².

On 4th February 1874, Coomassie fell to the hands of the British after serious clashes at Ordasa. The Ashanti finally surrendered and involuntarily signed a treaty with Wolseley. Under the treaty's

¹ Claridge, op.cit,p.222

² Lucas,op.cit,p.135

terms, the Ashanti agreed to hand over all their territory to the British with a pay of 50,000 OZ of gold and a promise to come under British laws. Now the power of the Ashanti had nearly diminished. The King's power had been overthrown and placed by British dominion. Their strong monopoly of the coast, as Lucas argued, became a sort of past. For the British, the consequence of the war with the Ashanti was enormous. For long the Ashanti Kingdom blockaded the route to the interior and with their dislocation from the coast the British had full access to areas of wealth. The British merchants had now new revenues for commerce that was generated from the relation with inhabitants of the newly acquired lands. The British possession on the Gold Coast, writes Lucas, "was paramount, disputed by no European rival, by no native potentate"¹.

In fact, the British advance in the Gold Coast was never attributed to government plans, but to mere British reaction to uprising events. The British fought wars with the Ashanti not for reasons of expansion but for defense. Again, their monopoly of other Europeans possessions did not occur with force but with a complete consent of neighboring nations. As a matter of fate or chance, the British found themselves advancing on to enlarge and strengthen their possessions and denounce their presence and the hegemony of the British national flag.

From then on, the Gold Coast had started to receive paramount attention. Its administrative ties with the Sierra Leone government was cut completely in favor of a new body of administration. Now the Gold Coast Colony constituted both Lagos and the Gold Coast. Another body was formed to subjoin Sierra Leone and the Gambia. The Former and the latter remained under the Government of the West African Settlements.

On 24th of July 1874, the British became formally entrenched on the Gold Coast. The defeat of the Ashanti army and the end of Anglo-Ashanti wars marked a turning point to the fate of British colonialism in the Gold Coast. A number of kingdoms that payed tributaries to the Ashanti started to rebel. What is worse was the weakening of political and demographic structure of the Ashanti

¹ Lucas,op.cit,p.137

because of the Civil War (1883-1888) that broke out against the Ashanti tributaries. All these developments were to the benefits of the British. The British in 1896 attacked the Ashanti and its northern territories and declared the occupied lands as part of their dominion¹. This coincided with tenacious attempts by the government to lay the foundation for a formal colonialism that set the exploitation and consolidation of colonial rule as its first priority. Indeed, the end of the nineteenth century marked British moves to establish jurisdiction system and control different institutional and commercial affairs of the Gold Coast. Through a set of parliamentary acts and ordinances, the British assumed direct control of the Gold Coast colony and the protected territories and brought drastic changes to the social, economic and cultural life of the people of the Gold Coast.

I. 5. Conclusion

The first chapter examined early European voyages to West Africa and the motives behind European penetration to the West Coast. It further sought to examine the English early relations with the Gold Coast and the changing nature of this relation from mere commercial interests into formal colonialism. Based on this historical background, the chapter revealed that early European voyages were driven by the need to secure commercial interest far more than the need to fulfill religious needs. The situation of the English was not different to other European ventures. Greatly harassed by interlopers and other European rivals, the English did not intend to build a formal colonialism during its early contacts with the Gold Coast. Instead, attempts were to secure commercial interests. It was only during the beginning of the nineteenth century that the English decided to set pillars for formal colonialism and place the Gold Coast under its institutional and military system. These findings will set the stage in the following chapters for an evaluation and an assessment of the development of British colonial rule in the Gold Coast and different economic, political, institutional and most importantly cultural changes that people of the Gold Coast were subject to during the late nineteenth century and early beginning of the twentieth century.

¹ Wilks, I “*Asante in the Nineteenth Century*”, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p.95

Chapter Two: The Development of British Rule in the Gold Coast (1874-1914)

II.1. Introduction

In 1874, the decline of the Ashanti power led the British government to assume direct control of the Gold Coast. The process led to the foundation of British executive, legislative and judicial system of administration. A thorough institutional and structural form of government prevailed over local-chieftaincy forms of government. There was also a controlled exploitation of sources of wealth of the Gold Coast. This thrive toward the exploitation of natural resources led to an increased expenditure on the establishment of roads and railways coupled with new policies to regulate labor and introduce new legislatives to facilitate the acquisition of lands by the colonial government¹. Socially, interests in education reforms, which before 1874 were under the control of different missionary bodies, became increasingly important because the government believed that a through monopoly of the native inhabitants depended not only on expansion and exploitation of sources of wealth, but on “an ideological occupation of the subjugated psyche”². The main concerns of the colonial government were the eradication of any threat that might hinder their progress in the region; the enactment of laws that would facilitate the administration of natives and bring them under British law; and the eventual scheme to end slavery and slave dealing. What was important for all was the re-establishment of trade commerce that would revitalize the economy and bring much revenue to the government³. These developments, indeed, affected different aspects of life of the people of the Gold Coast and made their old life seemed to be nothing more than a form of the past.

This chapter examines British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. It is an attempt to assess different policies that led the British government to be on a firm footing and bring a thorough change to native’s economic, social and cultural wellbeing. The chapter tries to show that British policies with

¹ Lawani Suleman, *The Master and Servant Ordinance and Labour Shortages in the Gold Coast*, Historical Research letter vol.36, 2016,p.44

² Kwasi Konadu and Clifford C. Campbell, *The Ghana Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, Duke University Press, London, 2016,p.207

³ Roger S. Gocking, *The History Of Ghana*, Greenwood Press: London, 2005,p.37

all its political, social, economic and religious facets tended to introduce new patterns of life different from what was known by indigenous people, and that these policies wrought many changes that became sources of grievances to all classes of the population and precipitated the emergence of nationalism that was influenced by Blyden's philosophy.

II.2.Early Expansion of British Jurisdiction (1874-1914)

The End of Anglo-Ashanti war brought an end to slavery. Even though the British government abolished slavery before 1874, domestic slavery still existed in the Gold Coast¹. In an Ordinance issued on 17thDecember 1874, slave dealing was strictly made against the law in the Gold Coast and the Protected territories. The ordinance threatened that any kind of “deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, transfer, or take any person on order so that such person should be held or treated as a slave”² would be deemed of the offence of slave dealing. It further stated that any contract or agreement set to revive this trade was unlawful and that any person brought to the Gold Coast colony would be declared free after the 5thNovember, 1874. The ordinance also imposed a fine and seven years imprisonment on any person accused of committing the offence of slave dealing³.

The government had sound reasons to abolish slavery. The government believed that abolishing slavery would in the long run make a transition from servile to wage labor. The process would guarantee a smooth move toward a modernized system of labor and a systematic control of native participation in the colonial industry. This process would ensure that government business was perfectly legitimate. The task of the colonial government, thus, centered on three major issues. First, the weakening of the power of chiefs by introducing English common law and the suppression of customary law. The process would limit the power of chiefs and suppress native tribunals which were conceived as “*backward*” and insufficient for the emerging changes the country would undergo. The government also found that the chiefs presented great difficulty in their way to acquire lands and

¹ Ward,op.cit,p. 393

² Gough, Frederick Harrison, ed., Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force June 1898, 2 Vols., London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1898,p.215

³Ibid

recruit labor for its rising economies. Second, because of the rising of mining industry, especially gold mining, the government faced the task of providing sufficient land for its expanding trade and for foreign investors. Third, the nascent need for land and the increasing progress in trade that found great pace with the emergence of cocoa industry led the colonial government to issue legislatives that would provide sufficient labor.

II.2.1. Customary Law, Chiefs and the Government

Based on Gocking's assertion that "Law seemed primarily concerned with controlling subject peoples, and such was merely another aspect of colonial domination"¹, there is a need to cover legislative measures issued by the colonial government which were intended to eradicate all forms of traditional authority and place them under the direct control of the colonial government. Ward affirmed that right from the beginning of colonial rule the relationship between indigenous native authorities and the colonial government posed a problem for the government. The government believed that chiefs' authority was part of the crown power of jurisdiction and thus it was the responsibility of the crown represented by the colonial authorities in the Gold Coast to charge native authorities of certain powers. It was resolved that a chief could exercise no power of rule over his people unless he acquired a recognition by the colonial government².

The colonial officer Ellis recorded his astonishing view about the matter. He opined that the government should give final decision on the priority on the one hand to use chiefs as instruments of jurisdiction and rule. On the other hand, decrease the power of chiefs and introduce a direct government involvement in native matters that placed a British way of governance.³ The government sought first to introduce English common law as a first step toward the weakening of chief's power then moved directly to pose strict measures to control the existence of chief's authority over his people. Indeed, the process introduced Gold Coasters into new form of governance that placed them

¹ Gocking, Roger "British Justice and the Native Tribunals of the Southern Gold Coast Colony," *Journal of African History*, vol.34, 1993,p.93

² Ward,op.cit,p.351

³ Ellis,op.sit,p.243

under the direct control of the British and gradually limit chieftaincy rule and restrict it to minor matters.

British jurisdiction brought with it an introduction to English common law¹. British officials were of the opinion that the provision of these laws through legislative and judicial means would eradicate the influence of native customary laws. This attempt was not new. By 1821, the British introduced the first court to Gold Coasters which sought to try civil and criminal cases. The court was established at the Cape coast, and its influence was mainly around the forts. The attempt to supersede customary law found pace with the appointment of George Maclean as a governor of the Gold Coast. In 1828, he strongly believed that native customary laws “were not of that enlightened character,” and their existence would enforce “the prejudices of a dark superstition and traditionary customs”². The English judicial assessor Cruickshank shared Maclean vision. He believed that native customary laws were “*backward*” and “*superstitious*” and that there was no sound reason to keep them. For the natives to overthrow these evils, he continued, they must be clearly taught that their laws, the British laws, would be the only dynamic for a change.

A change that would put them in line with British modernity and civilization. Cruickshank instructed that the natives must have “an implicit faith in the benevolent intention of the lawgiver, a consciousness of his general superiority, and of the advantages of obedience, occasional demonstrations of his power, and the certainty of power in withstanding it”³. Between 1847 and 1853, Cruickshank appeals were greatly supported which led to an increased government attention to introduce reforms, legislative and judicial, that were “essential to the abolition of a confirmed custom”⁴.

¹ Hammond, Ama. Fowa “Towards an Inclusive Vision of Law Reform and Legal Pluralism in Ghana”, Diss, The University of British Columbia (Vancouver), 2016,p.57

² Cruickshank,op.cit,p.12

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

In order to supersede the “more pernicious or barbarous practices of customary law”¹, Governor Maclean had inaugurated legislative means that granted him power to control natives and exercise thorough control over native’s customary laws. A first legislative that empowered him to be a judicial assessor and stipendiary magistrate was the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1873. The Act clearly set powers to the governor to impose English law with systematic attempts to melt customary laws into the English one. Thus, Maclean role centered on asserting judicial means “not in accordance with the strict form of English law, but with a large discretionary power to assimilate native law and practice to English ideas of justice”². Evidence showed that Maclean had played an active role in cases where customary laws were discussed. This, Hammond argued, proved there was no intention by the government to recognize customary laws, but rather to find ways to exclude them³.

On 31 March 1876, the colonial government enacted a Supreme Court Ordinance. Under the heading “An Ordinance for the Constitution of a Supreme Court, and for the Purposes relating to the Administration of Justice”, the ordinance sought to set the first legislative measures “to make provision for the administration of justice”⁴. The demand for these administrative measures was not new. By 1874, Lord Carnarvon had appealed on the government to apply English law as the first initiative for a complete jurisdiction. In a dispatch on 3rd July 1874, Carnarvon explained the urge to introduce English Law:

When the Gold Coast Colony has been established, one of the first and most important duties that will devolve upon you in conjunction with the new Queen’s Advocate, will be to revise the existing laws of the Settlements with a view to frame one simple body of Laws for the whole Colony. His attention should in the first instance be directed to the preparation of Laws affecting the administration of justice, and, as at present advised, I should suppose that it will be found practicable to adopt, with the necessary alterations to suit the special circumstances and relations of the Colony⁵

¹ Cruickshank, op.cit, p. 13

² Ibid

³ Hammond, op.cit, p.60

⁴ Gough, Frederick Harrison, ed., *Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force June 1898*, 2 Vols., London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1898, p.250

⁵ Gold Coast (hereafter denoted “ G.C.”) No. 106, paragraphs 15-18. qtd in Ekow baniek and G. R. Woodman, “The Supreme Court A Hundred Years Ago,” in *Essays in Ghanaian Law*, Accra: Ghana Publishing Corp, p.02

Indeed, Carnarvon's appeal was not ignored. The issuance of the Supreme Court Ordinance showed the shared view of the time that the existence of customary laws was a threat to the colonial government and an obstacle to the systematic expansion of British jurisdiction the coming years.

What drove the government to issue the ordinance was the mistrust to indigenous tribunals. The latter were seen as inefficient when conducting cases and offences either because of tribal jealousies or because of personal interests¹. According to the government, Native courts were believed to have "grave objections" which ultimately placed its operation with "no political reason to encourage". Consequently, the establishment of the Supreme Court would supplant traditional native courts. Lord Carnarvon believed that this measure would "supersede in most districts of the Protectorate the courts of the native kings" and exceptions to maintain some native courts were given to some areas where British jurisdiction was not maintained². No doubt, this mindset showed clearly that the supersession of native courts would give a smooth transition to apply English common law. The 1876 Supreme Court Ordinance resolved that

the Ordinance should lay down for its guidance that all civil and criminal jurisdiction in the Colony should be exercised, so far as circumstances permit and subject to local legislation, upon the principles of and in conformity with the common law, the rules of equity and the statutes of general application in force in England at the date of the Colonial Charter.³

Though the ordinance set the application of customary law in conformity with the English law, it clearly limited its application. Customary law was only applicable in matters between natives, and with no legal measures to allow judicial assessors to apply it with non-native residents. The common view was that giving over-operation to native tribunals would, in the one hand, diminish the power of British courts and government jurisdiction and, on the other, it would allow "the darker forms of cruel native customs" to dominate and prevail over English courts ideals⁴. What was worse was that customary law was restricted to issues covering land, inheritance and marriage. A thing that clearly

¹ Ekow baniek and G. R. Woodman, *op.cit*, p.04

² *Ibid*, p.07

³ *Ibid*, p.08

⁴ Goldman Neal "Fallible Justice: The Dilemma of the British in the Gold Coast, 1874-1944", Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2016, p.217

excluded other dimensions of native's socio-economic presence within the expanding realm of British Jurisdiction¹.

In the same manner, Ocran described the whole process by stating the fact that the British decided a customary law as unfit to the norms of English law because the former was “most appalling, ridiculous or simply unhelpful to the inculcation of Christian ideals”². Records showed that on September 3, 1884, an order in council was delivered to colonial officers to “observe, such of the local customs ...as may be compatible with the principles of the law of England”³. Indeed, by the introduction of English common law, the British succeeded in limiting for the first time one dimension of chief's authority that had long existed before the advance of colonial rule. The second step rested on giving a final blow to chief's power.

Two years after the introduction of the Supreme Court Ordinance, a new legislative measure appeared to regulate chieftaincy right of authority. The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1878 sought to regulate native authorities' power of jurisdiction within the new established colony. The ordinance was re-drafted in 1883 and again in 1910 and was entitled “An Ordinance to Facilitate and Regulate the Exercise of Certain Powers and Jurisdiction by Native Authorities”⁴. Section 27 of the ordinance clearly showed the apparent importance to the colonial government of chiefs who showed great efforts to sustain the work of the government. The 1878 ordinance did not intent to discard chiefs of their power of jurisdiction but rather, as kimble observed, to place it under government scrutiny:

the 1878 ordinance did not claim to bestow any jurisdiction on the chiefs, but to define it, in both civil and criminal matters. Nevertheless, this definition, by non-traditional legislative process, was the first towards making the British government the source of the chiefs' authority⁵

However, the attitude of the government showed the reverse. Section 29 of the ordinance made direct appeal for the immediate withdrawal/disposition of any chief who appeared to raise any objection to

¹ Hammond,op.cit,p.69

² Modibo Ocran, “The Clash of Legal Cultures: The Treatment of Indigenous Law in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa,” Akron Law Review, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2006), p.470

³ Hammond,op.cit, p. 60

⁴ Ekow & Woodman,op.cit,P.39

⁵ Kimble,op.cit,p. 460

colonial rule. Though there was meagre evidence of the appliance of the 29 section in the colony, it plainly showed that the government had the plan of “utilizing, regulating and controlling”¹ the existing system of chieftaincy as an attempt to decrease Chiefs’s power and have hand over their subjects.

The ordinance further altered many changes. The name of a chief was replaced by “Head chiefs”. It also made divisions within his territory. States were divided into villages and further to sub-divisions. Head chiefs and minor chiefs had the right to establish their own tribunals but being directly scrutinized by English courts. Moreover, the ordinance maintained the power of chiefs to issue by-laws. These laws were to be scrutinized by the governor in order to get his approval. Under the ordinance terms, the chiefs were integrated into the work of tribunals where they were given the responsibility to hand minor civil cases. These cases included by-laws concerning native custom, land tenure, and breaches of state².

Indeed, chiefs’ authority was restricted to local concerns of his community. Any decision beyond this was not a matter of concern for them. Accordingly, Ward aptly described the way Chiefs’ authority was excluded. He wrote, “There was a system of indirect rule in trivial matters and in matters which particularly interested the village folk, whereas in major affairs, what may be called national as opposed to village affairs, the Gold Coast was ruled directly”³. What worsened the situation was the direct appeals to replace chiefs with district commissioners. This was in part due to chiefs appeals for government sustenance to help them make British instructions obeyed by natives since the latter were still apathetic of showing readiness to obey chiefs’ orders. Consequently, Governor Freeling called upon the government to provide sufficient commissioners so as to have

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 476

² Ward,op.cit,p.352

³ Ibid

scrutiny over interior districts of the protectorate and “to carry our laws” and “teach the people to lean only upon Government”¹

Then, the British had succeeded in introducing Gold Coasters into one aspect of its jurisdiction. These early legislatives, Abdo-Fening observed, “ultimately marked the beginning of the collapse of central authority” that the chiefs owed long before the arrival of Europeans² and further “complicated matters for them, by introducing an alien judicial system based on the English model”³. All these developments coincided with a notable increase in government activities regarding Gold Mining. The government was overwhelmed by the task of providing sufficient land for the rising demand of concessionaries that immediately raised its concerns to find a solution to the land question. Again, British colonialism in the Gold Coast was one-step closer to diminish the system of land ownership that had long been a notable feature of pre-colonial Gold Coast society and, thus, imposing their power of rule over people and making exploitation of the country’s riches at ease.

II.2.2. European Capital Development and the Question of Land Ownership

By 1876, the land question became an important concern for the colonial government. The colonial government needed land for private capital. With the rising fortune of trade in gold, and the availability of rich rubber and timber that mushroomed by the news brought by Sir. Garnet Wolseley’s from the Ashanti expedition, the colonial government sought to expand its sphere of influence beyond its trading station and acquire land for the mining sectors⁴. The process represented, as Kimble observed, “the first serious impact of Western economic forces upon traditional forms of social organization”⁵.

Europeans could not establish permanent basis for the exploitation of mineral riches until the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This happened the time when war returnees of the Ashanti war

¹ Goldman, op.cit, p. 271

² Addo-Fening, “The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, Indirect Rule and The Subject's Well-Being: The Abuakwa Experience, 1899 -1912,” Research Review, N. S. Vol. 6, No. 2, 1990, p.117.

³ Kimble, op.cit, p. 459

⁴ Phillips A, “the Makeshift Settlement: Colonial Policy in British West Africa”, PhD Thesis, The City University, 1982, p. 154.

⁵ Kimble, op.cit, p.21

brought news of how the land was abundant in minerals. Consequently, a number of European prospectors took no time to grasp at the chance and establish mineral stations. The first one of these companies were two established by Bonnat in Awuduwa and Tarkwa. It was not surprising that the colonial government was enthusiastic about the development of European investments especially when these investments would bring much revenue for the government. However, the British did not possess territorial rights beyond the Forts and Settlements, an obstacle that would hinder the development of European mining investment especially when the latter needed large acres of land.

The colonial government believed that the chiefs could not easily alienate land for their benefit and as such disrupt the existing system of land ownership known by people there. The chiefs were “the rightful owners of the soil of the Protectorate”¹ and any scheme to erase or modify such a claim would only result in conflict with indigenous authorities which the colonial government avoided especially in this early period. Kimble asserted that the colonial government knew little about customary laws especially rules that regulated land ownership and transfers. Most important of all was that there was no such a thing as individual ownership, but a group or communal ownership. The rule, apparently, infringed on their way to acquire lands².

Three systems of land ownership existed in pre-colonial Gold Coast society. First, a land could be owned by a group which might include the clan or extended family³. The family owned a particular land through a common ancestor who in return owned such a land through purchase, conquest or as a gift. As such, all members of the family could access the land out of their right of lineage with the head of the family as the one who controlled the land with the advice of elders. Usually these lands covered small areas⁴.

The second category was the “stool land”. The stool land was headed directly by the chief- the head of the native state. A chief could mortgage, lease or alienate the stool to liquidize its debt or for

¹ Kimble, op.cit, p.16

² Ibid, p.15-16

³ Ibid, p. 17

⁴ Mends, Theodora, M, “Customary Land Tenure and Urbanization with a Case Study on the Peri-Urban Area of Accra, Ghana”, Master Dissertation, The International Institute for Geo-information Science and Earth Observation, 2006, p.20

any other purposes which might bring benefit to the stool. Members of the community could access land for their benefit and without rent and when circumstances necessitated a chief could ask land occupant to give financial help. Third, there was the “private land”. Any member of the community could purchase a land for his own interests. This type of land could be inherited by family members of the acquirer after his death and became a family land. Inheritance goes in this scale: mother; brothers and sisters; uncles and aunts (mother side), then children of aunts¹. This system, however, did not continue as the government was determined to own lands at all expenses.

By 1876, the colonial government introduced the Public Lands Act. The act granted and empowered the colonial government to cease land whether occupied or unoccupied for public use. The act also stressed the need to pay compensation for lands proved owned by individuals, while unoccupied lands or “wasted lands” should be ceased to the colonial government for immediate exploitation. The Act also stated that all lands should be returned to their owners in case the government after, a period of ten years, could not realize any project². The enactment of the Act coincided with government active projects to establish civil and military establishments. Railway, among other projects, had impelled on the government to reconsider ways to acquire lands. For example, by 1898 the government launched a project railway which connected Secondi on the coast to the Tarkwa mines.

To facilitate the mechanisms of acquiring lands for the project, the government passed the Railway Ordinance, No07 of 1898. The ordinance resolved that the colonial government should provide the necessary portion of lands needed for the Railway project. The colonial government, in turn, selected lands that were suitable for the project and these lands were declared as a government property:

¹ Shelford, Frederic. “Land Tenure on the Gold Coast.” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 10, no. 40 (1911): 473-76. Accessed May 11, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/714745.

² Tsey, Christian E. (1986) *Gold Coast Railways: the Making of a Colonial Economy, 1879-1929*. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986,p.144

Whether or not any dispute or doubt shall arise as to the ownership of or compensation properly payable for such lands it shall be lawful for the Government through its servants to enter upon such lands 21 days after service of such notice, and pending the decision of the courts, to deal with all such lands in all respects as if they had been conveyed to and became vested in the Colonial Secretary in trust for Her Majesty¹

As a result, the crown agents were empowered to exploit large areas of lands. It was resolved that the crown had the right to acquire “a half mile strip of land on each side of the proposed track”. The extra miles were devoted for government expanding industry on mining, timber and plantation concessionaries. Moreover, the increased demand for land led the colonial government, namely Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), a British statesman, to demand a “one mile on each side of the line”². Chamberlain was of the opinion that these newly acquired lands would be used for commercial facilities and residential amenities. The reason behind this over-access to lands, much more than the project railway needed, was a two-fold. Chamberlain had faced many problems financing the railway project. The only way to get revenues was to provide private companies access to lands. This in turn supplied the government with extra revenues and opened doors for the government to easily facilitate the realization of the Railway project.

Despite the fact that Chamberlain was very enthusiastic about the revenues that might be drawn from the acquired lands, voices aroused to prove the reverse. Governor Hodgson explained to the colonial office the problems which the measure would entail in the long run. Hodgson based his arguments on three main reasons. He advocated that this uncontrolled exploitation of land would amount to African opposition, especially from the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S). He went further to claim that the measure would accelerate tension between the British and Ashanti. Last, he noticed that the government would lose extra sum of money for compensation purposes since these lands were first granted to private companies which in turn would ask for immediate compensation³.

¹ Tsey,op.cit,p. 145

² Ibid

³ Ibidp.146

Nevertheless, Hodgson proposal fell into deaf ear. Evidence showed that between 1898 and 1903 the colonial government acquired a width of 66 Ft which were directed to provide spaces for large cuttings and banks¹. In Sekondi, the colonial government acquired, by 1898, 53 plots and about 5000 square yard miles for its increasing demand to provide land for the railway-station and the lighterage harbor. In Tarkwa, a half mile was acquired by 1899. At Kumasi, government activity was much noticeable. After the defeat of the Ashanti by 1900 the government declared all lands as its property. At Accra, the government exercised severe scrutiny over new buildings. The plan aimed at securing much land for the railway project. The government near the Kyebi Road took an amount of 500 square yard. Records showed that the government at Accra alone acquired nearly 127 plots by March 1908².

Between 1892 and 1900, a flurry of legislatives were enacted to secure land for the government. By 1892, the government imposed a tax on land ownership. Bandford Griffith claimed that “land on the Gold Coast, as in almost all places under civilized governments, must bear its burden of taxation”³. He further proposed that landowners who rejected to pay the amount of tax proposed would lost their lands. The scheme was first introduced to the coastal areas where there were much activity, but the scheme was almost rejected due to the fact that the colony lacked adequate surveyors or boundary marks⁴. In 1894, Chief justice Huchinson introduced the Crown Lands Bill of 1894. The bill clearly ceased to vest all unoccupied lands, forests and mineral to the crown. It also appealed for all concessionaries that any contract to acquire lands should be first appealed to the governor who in turn would made arrangement for concessionaries to acquire lands.

By 1900, Governor Maxwell, Like his predecessor, showed intensified efforts to lease lands for the government. He dismissed African’s right of ownership drawn from customary law and urged to give these traditional systems a more modern English outlook.He was further determined to remove

¹ Tsey,op.cit,p.147

³ Ibid.p. 152

³ Omosini,op.cit,p.458

⁴ Ibid

the power of chiefs. He opined that the chiefs must be deprived of “the right of the paramount authority to deal with natural products, and with land which has not been turned to account”¹.

Moreover, Maxwell scheme coincided with the British seizure of the whole Ashanti territory. Between 1894 and 1895 there were many attempts by King Nana Agyeman Prempeh, King Kwaku Duah III, to empower the Asante Confederacy, a body that was affected by the increasing attack on the Asante by neighboring state and the British. The Ashanti started to threaten states that were in cooperation with the British. The latter reason coupled with the fear of the colonial government of the probability of rebuilding the Ashanti military force led the colonial government to embark on an expedition against the Ashanti which resulted in the seizure of the Ashanti territory and the imprisonment of the king who was brutally arrested and shipped to the Seychelles Island².

By 1901, the Ashanti territory was subjoined to the Gold Coast Protectorate a date that marked the end of threat that had for long deprived the British to exercise full jurisdiction over the Gold Coast. Immediately, the government declared the enforced seizure of all lands of the disloyal tribes. By 1902, the colonial government issued the 1902 ordinance that vested all the Kumasi lands in the British crown. Now, the British had about a one-mile radius around the Kumasi fort which granted it full monopoly of the Gold Coast lands and thus solving a problem that presented a burden for the government since the beginning of colonial rule³.

The British taking over of lands coincided with notable spread on cocoa plantation. The latter was to open for the British an expanding source of wealth that made the British one of the leading producers of the product by the beginning of the twentieth century. For Gold Coasters, the time had brought increased economic changes that did nothing but enforced their poverty and placed them under harsh and exploitative colonial machinery. The process culminated in the increased exploitation of their country’s riches and later made people sources of “inhumane” enforced labor policies.

¹ Omosini, op.cit, p.458

² Claridge, op.cit, p.225

³ Ibid

II.2.3.The Rise of Cocoa Industry (1888-1906)

The most important development wrought with the British political and economic presence in the Gold Coast was cocoa production. It was even termed as “the Cash Crop Revolution” which by the early twentieth century made the British the World’s leading producer. Austin stated that this “revolution” had three main parts. The first was the wide spread expansion of agricultural produce especially in the Southern part of the Gold Coast. The produce was mainly of African efforts where the good quality of land and location offered them suitable conditions for production. The second part coincided with “a much slower and more fitful” produce from regions which were, as Austin described, “less naturally favorable areas”. These areas included French West Africa where colonial governments initiated some attempts to revive agricultural produce. The last part was a response to the first two¹.

The cash crop revolution metamorphosed an unprecedented development in cocoa investment coupled with large-scale need of labor by the government to meet the expanded demand in the fields². As such, this section attempts to trace the development of cocoa industry and the way it led to the consolidation of British economic presence. The process led to an increased revenue for the British government and a perpetual degrading of the people who were forcefully labored under harsh conditions to meet British colonial exploitation.

Government interest in agricultural produce began in 1888. The Gold Coast produce before the 1890’s was largely based on rubber, palm oil and palm Kernel oil³. Governor Bradford Griffith established the Aburi Botanical Gardens which worked to introduce new crops for growing and the supply of seeds. When cocoa was first tested in 1890, the report showed the impossibility of its growing because of unsuitable climate. However, Sir Hesketh Bell explained that this failure was

¹ Austin, Gareth. “Vent for Surplus or Productivity Breakthrough? The Ghanaian Cocoa Take-off, C. 1890—1936.” *The Economic History Review* 67, no. 4 (2014): p. 1035

² Ibid

³ Boahen, Adu, “General history of Africa, VII: Africa under colonial domination, 1880-1935”, Heinemann- California- Unesco, 1985, p. 200

because of “cocoa had been planted on an exposed hillside with no shade”¹. Indeed, the failure to know about the new crop and the location where it could grow delayed government expenditure on the produce and made its work, as the 1927 Committee on Agricultural Policy and Organization observed, “limited to the importation of exotic plants and observation of their behavior under local conditions”².

However, by 1890, Cocoa began to receive government attention. In a report on Economic Agriculture in the Gold Coast, Cocoa production was described as “a product worthy of every attention”. The report continued that its production “is cheap, and the preparation is simple, so that it should receive the attention of small cultivators”³. In another report by the Colonial Government of the Gold Coast, the report praised the way a native Mampong, names Tetteh Quashie, was successful in planting of about 300 cocoa trees. This report gave great push to the government by the beginning of the twentieth century to place much attention to cocoa industry. Indeed, cocoa proved to offer a thriving economic industry that by the beginning of the century not only replaced indigenous capital with British capital but also made the British one of the leading exporters of the product.

British interest in agricultural produce intended to replace indigenous capital with British capital. The process found pace with the establishment of the Department of agriculture. The department intended to bring much of the produce under government control. According to a government report, the work of the department centred on four main periods. The First period (1889-1905) was intended to import plants and test their fertility under local conditions. During the second period (1905 to 1915), the government opened new agricultural stations to better regulate the production and

¹ Green, R. H., and S. H. Hymer. “Cocoa in the Gold Coast: A Study in the Relations between African Farmers and Agricultural Experts.” *The Journal of Economic History* 26, no. 3 (1966),p.299

² *Ibid*,p.306

³ Appiah,op.cit,p.129

circulation of labor. The last period covered roughly from 1915 onwards. The government assumed a complete control of local agricultural produce¹.

The time when cocoa was established as the first produce worthy of government attention, other crops, mainly palm oil, experienced a sharp decline in value. Graham argued that the rise of cocoa industry coincided with government attempts to sustain industry of other export crops². The reason was that the government needed to open up new sources of revenues to provide raw material for its rising and highly demanded railway projects. Palm oil was of secondary priority as compared to cocoa. This was because of “the natural profusion of the crop in the colony, its significance in the history of raw material export and the enduring interest of British capital in its fortunes”³. As such, the Committee on Economic Agriculture⁴ constantly criticized the “under-exploitation” of palm oil though the product proved beneficial to the government centuries ago. Nevertheless, the government failed to revive palm oil industry again. The fact that palm oil industry because of poor quality and the difficulty surrounding its preparation coupled with a decrease in the demand in European markets all worked to favor cocoa industry. As a result, by the 1880’s palm oil industry witnessed the most shocking decline in prices that by 1886 and 1890 cocoa, for merchants and the government, established pre-eminence in the economies of the colony.

Records of the government showed a substantial increase in value of cocoa during the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1901, cocoa export reached 994,777 lbs. in weight, and £15,537 in value. Though cocoa production was at natives’ hand, the government was enthusiastic about the growth of such commodity. This increase in amount led the government to establish cocoa plantations near Accra so that it stimulated the growth of the nut in the region. The government further tried to instruct natives, especially apprentices on government schools, on methods of

¹ Graham, Yao, Law, State and the Internalization of Agricultural Capital in Ghana: A Comparison of Colonial Export Production and Post-Colonial Production for the Home Market, University of Warwick, School of Law, December 1993, p.40

² There was also sustained attempts to develop export in cotton but the latter did not prove worthy of attention especially when the government plan was instigated by the Cotton Growers Association, Graham,op.cit,p.40

³ Ibid,op.cit,p. 41

⁴ The Gold Coast Legislative Council established the committee on 16 May, 1887, in Abena Dove Osseo-Asare, " Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa", The University of Chicago Press, 2014,p.236

cultivation of cocoa¹. In 1903, government revenues out of cocoa production rose notably that the government described its industry as “the most successful of the Government experiments”². As such, its productions covered large areas of the Gold Coast with nearly 44,000 acres of planted areas in addition to 410 of cocoa pods where distributed among cocoa farmers³. By 1906, cocoa export increased to 20,104,504lbs., and in value by £336,269 as shown in the following table⁴:

Table Four: Cocoa Export (1894-1906)

| Year | Quantity (cocoa) | Value |
|------|------------------|---------|
| 1894 | 20,312 Ib. | 547 |
| 1895 | 28,906 Ib. | 471 |
| 1896 | 86,764 Ib. | 2,276 |
| 1897 | 156,672 Ib. | 3,190 |
| 1808 | 414,201 Ib. | 9,616 |
| 1899 | 714,929 Ib. | 16,064 |
| 1900 | 1,200,794 Ib. | 27,280 |
| 1901 | 2,195,571 Ib. | 42,837 |
| 1902 | 6,367,405 Ib. | 94,944 |
| 1903 | 5,104,761 Ib. | 86,250 |
| 1904 | 11,451,458 Ib. | 200,025 |
| 1905 | 11,407,608 Ib. | 186,809 |
| 1906 | 20,104,504 Ib. | 336,269 |

The table shows notable increase in cocoa production and value and this is attributed to an increasing concern from the government of the fortunes that might be driven from such a commodity. Yet, the government stated that the increase in cocoa value was due to shortage in European markets and not to any improvement in the quality of production of natives. Nevertheless, a further reason for the increase in cocoa production was due the spread of its cultivation in Ashanti. An area that offered the government, as the Acting Director of Agriculture noted, plenty of cocoa plantations and seeds ready for cultivation . All these developments in the spread of cocoa industry, the 1913 government report

¹ Digitized Books from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign are digitized as part of the Large-scale Digitization Initiative at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library. Retrieved from <https://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/> (accessed in July 2020)

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

noted, made the value of cocoa increasingly important and its cultivation far easier as compared to the rubber industries which the economies of the colony relied on centuries ago¹.

The expanding market on cocoa had a considerable influence on government nascent need for labor. As government projects on mines and railways expanded, a great amount of workers favored to join these projects as they might offer higher wages. As such, the government faced the dilemma of both the lack and poor quality of labor which made a difficulty in its future colonial plans. Nevertheless, the government did many attempts to solve the problem and find mechanisms to recruit labor though at the expense of peoples' freedom and dignity. These policies showed how policy makers intended not to find what suited natives economic and social situation but to provide "the general conditions for the exploitation of the Gold Coast resources"². Indeed, labor policies once again revealed how the colonial government created systematic processes of destruction of Gold Coasters system of life and the creation of alien, exploitative and degrading colonial hegemonic systems.

II.2.4. The Emergence of Employed Labor

The increasing benefits of cocoa industry urged the government to introduce a new type of labor recruitment. Prior to the emergence of colonial rule, people of the Gold Coast did not know about employed labor. Rattray affirmed the point when he stated that "the idea of work of any kind being remunerated by a fixed wage was ... unknown"³. Austin mentioned four main types of labor that existed in pre-colonial Gold Coast society. These included self, family labor, cooperative labor and chore "*corvée*". Self-labor was the most common one among the four. Every member of society had free time to do work abound to their economic self-reliance. Parents and children were all free to "keep the fruits of their independent labors". Their work was mostly based on food farming. Both men and women were responsible for different works abound to land clearance and cultivation.

¹ Digitized Books from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign are digitized as part of the Large-scale Digitization Initiative at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library. Retrieved from <https://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/> (accessed in July 2020)

² Graham, op.cit, p.22

³ Rattray, R.S. "Ashanti Law and Constitution", Negro Universities Press, Oxford, 1969, p.225

Indeed, there was a kind of “mutual assistance” between members of the family. Members of one family could participate in any type of trade which might bring some economic revenues¹.

Besides self and family labor came cooperative labor. People were used to exchange labor between neighbors and fellow-villagers. Evidence from oral tradition showed that cooperative labor was a matter of responsibility for all members of the community. Austin stated that “to harvest and split large collections of kola pods, the village had recourse to village “*nngboa*”. The latter means “cooperation in farming work”. The last category was chore “*corvée*”. This type refers directly to a group of laborers abound to work in chief’ farm. Each year, this group was called upon to do some work especially that of agriculture. They may also build houses or construct roads. Indeed, an examination of the four types of labor on the gold Coast reveals that labor was mostly based on social obligation. Any member of the community felt it a responsibility to labor for oneself or family to obtain his living, to cooperate with neighbors or fellow-villagers as part of their tight kinship and mutual assistance and finally to join chiefs farms as a kind of duty and respect to their head². Though this system of labor operated for long, the presence of the British and their need for labor seemed to force people to adjust to the new situation.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, the need for labor amounted to a great degree. This was, as stated before, due to the need for labor in cocoa plantations. The government did not stay aloof to the situation and set all the means to provide labor. In most cases evidence showed that the colonial government used coercion in order to get more workers. Chiefs who could not provide labor and people who objected to come to work were punished. In 1897, an editor in the *Gold Coast Independent* described the coercive attitude of the government:

The government required seventy carriers on the 25 of November [1897] and called on the chief. . . to provide them. This he was unable to do and told the Commissioner that the people would not go [sic] as they had been deceived by the Government- Orders

¹ Austin, Gareth, “Labour, Land, and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956”, University of Rochester Press, 2005,p. 107

² Ibid,p.112

were then given to the police and the Hausa soldiers to go into the town and bring in as many people as they could¹

Orders were set to the police force to catch any man or woman who objected to the new scheme and were sentenced to prison. What worsened the situation was the coercive attitude of the colonial government to chiefs who could not provide labor. *The Gold Coast Express* recorded in an article published on 1st October 1897 that King Tackie of Accra had been brutally treated after his failure to provide labor. Eventually the colonial government deprived him of the right of £ 15 that he received monthly since 1892².

The early twentieth century saw an upsurge of government activity to find labor. Kwabena had concluded that the twentieth century was marked by successful government schemes to recruit labor. This included all types of forced and involuntary labor. Indeed the colonial government was indifferent to the way it received labor. That's why child labor, cheap wage portorage and the recruitment of "unskilled labor" were a characteristic of the period. This upsurge to recruit labor found pace with the development of railway projects and mining in the early twentieth century. What was important for all was that the labor force was necessary for the increasing fortune of the cocoa industry which made the colonial government coercively impose strict measures on persons who rejected to work³.

Early labor policies sought children as a solution to the labor crisis. Newly recruited children were between 9 and 14 years old. These children were from the Northern territories namely "Wangara" which the colonial government believed as a source of labor. This new scheme was a sight of criticism. Yet, the colonial government payed no attention to the voices and showed a great concern about the development of such scheme. By 1912, Thos E. Rice described the amount of hardships that people faced as cocoa carriers. He wrote:"I [Rice] frequently noticed the distressed appearance

¹ Kwabena, Parry, O. A, "'Miss Queen In Her Palaver Says De Gole Cosse Slaves Is Free": The British Abolition of Slavery/Pawnship and Colonial Labor Recruitment in the Gold Coast (Southern Ghana) 1874-1940", Graduate Program in History York University, Diss, North York, Ontario, 1999,p.172

² Ibid,174

³ Ibid

of the cocoa carriers...old men, women, adults and children of all ages. . . each staggering under a too heavy a burden, the adults of ten carrying 200lbs or more”¹. Ironically, the response of the commissioner was ostensible. He explained that child labor portorage was a common practice. He continued that the “smallest child as soon as it can walk learns to carry something on its head, and it is thus trained in its earliest infancy to carry loads”².

The commissioner went further to explain the importance of child labor to the progress of industry and the prosperity of the colonial machinery. He noted that “traffic in dried fish from the coast and produce to the coast is almost entirely in the hands of women and young girl” who “often carry heavy loads”³. To the colonial government involuntary child labor was a means to carry loads of exports between African merchants and European trading firms. Evidence showed that children were often exposed to great amount of exploitation. They were forced to hold heavy commodities for long distances. One of the reports noted that “a child of about 10-12 years will carry 30lbs to 40lbs a day took [sic] of about 10 miles”⁴. An astonishing fact came with a report from Winneba which showed how these children were inhumanly exploited for the benefit of the rising cocoa industry. The report revealed that

There are in this Return some very noticeable cases of overloading - two children of 8 to 9 years and two of 10 to 11 years carrying loads of over 50 lbs weight. One child of 9 carried a load of 69 lbs for two days. Two children of five years old were engaged every day in carrying loads of nearly 20 lbs weight⁵

Other reports showed that in the Salt Pond district children were forced to carry loads of more than 70lbs. The Cape Coast showed similar cases with loads of more than 60 lbs weight⁶.

Wage portorage was another form of labor recruitment. It sought to set contract between the colonial government and “able bodied carriers”. Based on a licensed contract between the two

¹ Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O. “‘The Loads Are Heavier than Usual’: Forced Labor by Women and Children in the Central Province, Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana), CA. 1900-1940.” *African Economic History*, no. 30 (2002),p.42

² *Ibid*,p 44

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ *Ibid*,p. 39

⁶ Kwabena,op.cit,p.191

parties, Kings and chiefs believed that “The Labor problem in this colony, it is thought, can only have its solution in the employment of workmen through local contractors”¹. Similarly, engaged contractors included children, slaves and pawns who were brought by their parents, in the case of children, or their owners, in the case of pawns/slaves. The same with other labor policies the colonial government urged for the recruitment of labor for the rising need in cocoa industry. Irrespective of age, gender and status the colonial government provided poor wages. Kwabena noted that

With regards to the 1903 scale of wages, a carrier received a 3d subsistence per day, excluding wages which were as follows: 2/6 for the 1st day; 2/3 for the second - day; 2/- for the third day; 1/9 for the fourth day; 1/6 for the 5th day; and 1/3 for the 6th day. After the 6th day, carriers received I/- for every succeeding day.²

This decrease in the amount of wages led to an immediate withdrawal of people of the contract and their rising criticism to its conditions. What worsened the situation was the immediate flee of working men and women to territories outside the Gold Coast in order to gain better wages and better working conditions.

The colonial government, however, did not stay aloof to the situation. It issued the Native Labor Ordinance (Foreign Service) by 1909. Under the new ordinance, Gold Coast Laborers were curtailed from fleeing to work in other parts of Africa. The ordinance sought to limit the number of laborers to the maximum. It was made illegal for any person leaving the country for work without authorities’ approval. In a letter to Ohene Kofi Sackery, the commissioner of the central province made arrangements for work outside the Gold Coast territory without a government consent illegal. He wrote:

You may also know that there have recently been several prosecutions of persons who have illegally recruited laborers for service in Fernando Po. . . It may be well if you caused it to be known to amongst [sic] all your people that no one may leave the Colony to work in another country unless he first signs an agreement before the District Commissioner in which all conditions are set out.³

¹ Kwabena, op.cit, p.191

² Ibid, p.192

³ Ibid, p.194

The government posed strict measures to limit laborers flee. Yet, many cases showed government failure to fix the problem. At Queen's Point, more than sixteen men fled to the Ivory Coast. Another group from Anomabu fled to Fernando Po. Alas for the laborers they suffered from bad working conditions. Fortunately, for the colonial government, this led to the retention of laborers and to a certain extent lessened a problem that had for long weighed upon government officials.

Between 1909 and 1912, the colonial government introduced a new form of forced labor known as "Chiefs By-Laws". The colonial government believed that the best way to recruit labor fell upon the native chiefs. The government faced amounting criticism and pressure from the anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Right Protection Society. Yet, it was determined to go ahead in its scheme. As its name signals, the Chiefs "By Laws" considered cooperation between native chiefs in order to obtain labor. An early example of the Chiefs By-Laws was introduced in the Eastern province of the Gold Coast by 1904. Indeed, records showed that the By-Laws started to be implemented right from the 8th of July 1910. Like previous policies, persons who were accused of disobedience to the work, and even to the laws guiding the working conditions were fined of no more than 5 shillings¹. The colonial government made nearly forty chiefs in charge of applying the By-Laws in their districts. These included eight chiefs from the central province and sixteen from the eastern and western provinces. The Eastern and Western provinces, Kwabena continued, took the big number of representatives due to the rising cocoa and mining industries in these areas².

For example, when realizing the railway project between Tarkwa to Prestea and Accra to Kumasi, the chiefs and kings were successful in recruiting of about 450 laborers, but 200 of them escaped before they reached the field work. Brukum asserted that the 258 who reached the stations fled after a short period of time³. The chief Commissioner of the station claimed that the men fled not because of

¹ Kwabena, op.cit, p.191

² Ibid, p.205

³ Ibid

ill-treatment, but because of a differing life style. But one of these men named Bosmah had narrated the reverse:

the white man who gives us chop and sissy money put some men for ground and flogged them. He flogged one-man six strokes with shambok a man called Bugheeg, People held him dom. The next two men came from Yarba, near Gambaga. I don't know their names. I can point them out. They were held down on the ground and had six with the shambok each. The next man had twelve lashes with the shambok but was not held down. He ran away that night. It was the same man who flogged them all¹

Again, Bosmah's description of the working conditions was only a single evidence of how Gold Coasters faced the painful dilemma of being part of an exploitative, degrading colonial machinery. For the people of the Gold Coast, these laws continued to operate along these provinces until 1913 when concerns about labor were overshadowed by the need to face the development of Worl War I (1914-18)

Indeed, the strong tendency to impart economic change, inevitably, made social change a phenomenon of the new life of the ordinary Gold Coaster. Beginning with the introduction of Christianity and Western education and followed by strict policies to suppress peoples' customs and traditions, the Gold Coast once again experienced an irresistible tide of Western influences that clearly produced a new mind for the people that favored Western life style and patterns of behavior.

II.3. Christianity, Western Education and Social Change

The embryonic expansion of British jurisdiction did not only affect the people economically but rather its influence was seen socially. It was stated that “the progressive assumption by the British of jurisdiction and political control brought about a gradual acceleration of the pace of social change”². Social change was seen in an overall withdrawal of an old life and the pursuit of new, much more Westernized attitudes and patterns of behavior. This change was obvious with the introduction of Christianity and Western education by the nineteenth and the early beginnings of the twentieth

¹ Karl Quaye Botchway, Understanding “development” Interventions in Northern Ghana: The Need to Consider Political and Social Forces Necessary for Transformation”, Studies in African Economics and Social Development, Vol 25, Edwin Mellen Press, 2004, p.32

² Kimble,op.cit,p. 129

century. The early architects of change embarked on a mission to civilize “*backward*” Africans. Their civilizing mission sought Christianity and Western life style as the only escape by which Africans could rid themselves out of “*barbarity*”. These forces made the diffusion of Western education the cry of the time. To the people of the Gold Coast, this meant a new beginning. A beginning that made them unconsciously despise the old for the new as the latter promised high social status. It was, thus, not surprising to find people, especially the emerging Western educated elite, rushing to show their new life style though this came at the expense of their identity and roots. Indeed, an examination of this change is important to show how these forces made people forget their own system of life and made to believe that anything Western was the model to be copied.

II.3.1. Christianity and the African Society

Before the Advance of Christianity and Christian missions into the Gold Coast, people knew African traditional religions. An amalgam of spiritual and supernatural beliefs that brought man into maturity and understanding of self and surrounding. This whole system of beliefs, however, underwent a complete change when Christianity and the Christian faith entered the region. Indeed, the beginning of the nineteenth century was an age of the civilizing mission¹. Mainly driven by social, economic, psychological and political motives, European nations had taken the lead to disperse civilization. This dispersion was grounded on humanitarian appeals to spread the West most “*superior*” and “*developed*” values to a more “*primitive*” and “*backward*” societies of the non-western world².

The civilizing mission was generally believed to be a call from “God” or a “national destiny” to hold the responsibility and spread the knowledge, values and life style of the West for the elevation of non-Europeans of their status of ignorance and low-esteem. It was further seen by Europeans a “reaction against the evils and inhumanities wrought by the new industrial urbanization and by the

¹ Adeleke, Tunde, “UnAfrican Americans Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission”, The University Press of Kentucky, 1998, p. 13

² Ibid

revival of slavery but also a growing confidence by the West in the superiority of its own Christian civilization”¹. These underlying beliefs had stirred up the mind and the hearts of European nations, with all sects of the population, to endorse their mission to civilize and bring an end to “*barbarism*” and “*backwardness*”. As a result, European presence in the Gold Coast did not remain driven by economic motives. Rather, it became “a cultural imposition” to consolidate colonial presence and hegemony².

II.3.2. Religion in the Gold Coast Prior to Europeans

Before the advent of Christianity, people of the Gold Coast knew traditional religion. It was a system of beliefs bound closely to culture. As such, Culture presented the genesis from which traditional religion originated. It was further seen as an amalgam of held beliefs about man and his relation to God. In this respect, God was recognized as the Creator and Sustainer. God was believed to bring “power, justice, beneficence, eternity”³ and thus had the immanent power to reward as well to punish man or woman when committing sins. God was further seen as “the Overlord of society” whose power and decisions were the “final authority in all matters”⁴. Under God came a hierarchy of spirits. In describing the nature of the Akan traditional religion, Kwame Bediako stated that there was a belief in the existence of spirits which people could not live without. God presented the first of these spirits, or as he described it as “the Supreme Spirit Being (Onyame)” who creates and controlled the universe. Subordinate to God came what was known as “gods” or “abosom”. They were also known as children of God or “Nyame mma”. Lastly came the ancestors or the “spirit fathers”⁵. The belief in the existence of these spirits led people to think that these spirits are

¹ Butt,op.cit,p.485

² Boahen, Adu, “General history of Africa, VII: Africa under colonial domination, 1880-1935”, Heinemann- California- Unesco,1985,p. 508

³ Ibid

⁴ Boahen ,op.cit,p.509

⁵ William Dyrness, “Emerging Voices in Global Christian Theology”,Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1994,p. 97

everywhere in their surroundings. Some are good and some others are bad which might influence their lives to good or to the worse¹.

Moreover, man was made up of the immaterial and material. The immaterial presented itself in the “soul” which was believed to survive after death while the material (body) was believed to disappear. Both of these entities formed the genesis of traditional society. As Opoku argued, “human society was an unbroken family made up of the dead, the living and the yet unborn”². An understanding of these beliefs urged that every body of the community should perform special rites including attending ceremonies, rituals and festivals that showed his/her strong attachment to the spirit world.

Traditional religion coexisted and developed along with Islamic religion. Islam was as old as traditional religion. It reached the Gold Coast through trade and contact of Muslim immigrants with West Africans. Many people converted to the new religion because its teaching complied with traditional religion, especially when it comes to death and afterlife. Many of the Asantes and their royals converted to the new religion because most of its teaching strengthened existing beliefs about God and human nature known by the people³. However, Islam did not have great impact on people until the beginning of the nineteenth century when “*Islamic militants*”, greatly dissatisfied with the state of Islam in the region and the way it was accommodated to traditional African religion, established Muslim states where they gave prominent role to Islam and Muslims in the region⁴. The existence of these two religions, however, was challenged by the introduction of the civilizing mission and Christianity.

¹ Omenyo, C.N, “Pentecost outside Pentecostalism : A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Christian Churches in Ghana”, Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2002,p.26

² Boahen,op.cit,p. 509

³ Amoah, Isaac. Stephen, “Spiritual Leadership in New Immigrant Situations: Ghanaian Mainline Protestant Churches in Germany and the Netherlands”, Diss, VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT, pp.55-56

⁴ Boahen,op.cit,p.511

II.3.3.The Civilizing Mission

The civilizing mission was fueled up by the idea of progress prevailing in Europe. The idea of progress clearly set the civilization of the West as the most “*developed*” and “*energetic*” form of life that ever happened to humanity, and thus it outlawed and disregarded other civilizations and placed their modes of life and structure as inferior and underdeveloped. The idea of progress also implied that “a self-consciousness” should drive all missionary as well as government bodies to introduce Western civilization to the “less fortunate, Less-informed” and “less-intelligent” proportion of the non-European world¹. As such, it was not a surprise to find a wide spread of literature depicting these societies and particularly blacks or “Negroes” in a bad manner.

In his book, “*Histoire Naturelle*”, Comte de Buffon described blacks as “crude”, “superstitious” and “stupid” based on their face complexions. In 1854, Josiah Nott also shared this vision of degradation and separation. In his book “Types of Mankind”, he called for the need to recognize a race hierarchy with Caucasian on top of the social ladder, while blacks at the bottom of the ladder because of their inherent inferiority². The same view was exposed by Arthur Gobineau in his work “Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races” published in 1853. He plainly set Europeans at the top of race ladder while blacks at the lowest status. Thus confirmed the alleged belief of the inequality of races based on their different capabilities and life style³.

Moreover, John Friedrich Blumenback espoused to make this distinction clear in his dissertation published by 1775. He divided humans into races, with clear attempt to place Caucasians in high status owing to their positive traits and modernized qualities, while Ethiopians, Negroes, were described as having negative qualities that set them beyond the bulk of civilization and modernity. Voltair went further in this vein. He pictured Africans as people having no relation with civilization. G.W.F. Hegel shared the same view. He condemned a Negro as a “natural man in all his wild and

¹ Butt, op.cit, p.485

² Adeleke,op.cit, p.16

³ Ibid

untamed nature”. He accused Negroes of not being able to possess any manner of self-discipline, and therefore, can’t be understood. For him ; “ If you want to treat and understand him rightly.... you must abstract all elements of respect and morality and sensitivity there is nothing remotely humanized in the Negro's character”¹.

Along this prevailing atmosphere of "the inferiority" of blacks and "the superiority" of European civilization, Europeans felt the responsibility to set all the means to export their modernization and superiority to the most dark and backward places². This period, as Adeleke stressed, had a twofold dimensions. The first one is linked with the “White man’s Burden” that is of the burden that must be hold by European man to change these barbaric attitudes into positive qualities. The other one concerned with a “Manifest Destiny” to "civilize" and bring all people of non-European origin into conformity with Western modes of life and civilization. The upsurge of missionary as well as other organizations to Africa was inevitably a course that Africa would undergo throughout the beginning of the nineteenth century³.

II.3.4. Christianity in the Gold Coast

The presence of Christianity and the Christian Missions was a Portuguese initiative⁴. Henry the Navigator had been driven to the Gold Coast by the desire to spread the Christian faith. Along his commercial, political and scientific motives, he had been thoroughly endowed with the belief that his mission was “to make increase in the faith of ... Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to him all the souls that should be saved”. He glorified the missionary role of the Portuguese and their role as crusaders of the Christian faith that had almost been strengthened by the Papal Bull that set him against threats that might bring the “destruction and confusion of the Moors and the enemies of Christ, and for the

¹ Wright,W.D, "Racism Matters", London: Praeger Publishers, 1998, p. 32

² Ibid, p.18

³ Adeleke, op.cit, p.18

⁴ Mobley, Harris.W, The Ghanaian Image of the Missionary :An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries By Ghanaians 1897-1965, Leiden, I.J, Brill, 1970, p.11

exaltation of the Catholic faith”¹. Henry's attempt did not succeed in planting Christianity. Yet, He and his successors had been praised of being the cause for giving “the Church ...the opportunity ...to establish herself”² as another aspect of European presence in the Gold Coast. The death of Henry by 1460 paved the way for other explorers to set voyages not only to set commerce but also to implant Christianity.

A renewed attempt to spread Christianity came with the Augustinians³. Before their arrival, an invitation was sent to Jesuits⁴ to assume an educational mission to the Coast by King John. The Jesuits, however, declined the invitation. By 1575, Augustinians launched their first mission to the Coast. They settled in the village and assumed a complete education program to instruct children to read, write, sing and pray. They introduced Christian baptism, erected a huge cross and welcomed the newly baptized men and women to attend ceremonies. In 1573, two priests joined the activity and were successful in establishing a monastery by 1574. They started to go beyond the walls of the castle. At Komenda and Efutu they erected a number of churches, but their activities ended because of the rising hostility shown by villagers who attacked them and fiercely shot them to death⁵.

Another attempt by the French Capuchins followed soon. In the Western coastline, the Capuchins⁶ arrived at Assini by 1633. They faced many difficulties before they could secure peace terms with native inhabitants who finally had shown their readiness to accept Christianity. However, this did not last for long. The hostility shown toward the French traders had almost raised hostility toward Capuchins who had escaped to the Portuguese to secure their lives. Again, like the Portuguese, they

¹ Gomes Eanes de Zurara, “The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea”, Vol I, Burt Franklin Published, New York , 1896,p. 53

² Mobley, op.cit,p.12

³ Includes all men and women who followed the instructions of St. Augustine, a western theologian and one who was believed to form the basics of the beliefs of Augustinians. He died in 430 CE. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

⁴ Members who follow the religious instructions of St. Ignatius of Loyola, a Spanish soldier who during his life developed into a theologian and preacher. The group was known by its charity work worldwide. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

⁵ Mobley, op.cit,p.16

⁶ In 1525, Matteo da Bascio gave birth to Capuchins as a religious movement. Its members were known by their simple life and poverty. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

started a mission around the fort, but because the Portuguese fort had been ceased to the Dutch, their mission ended after a short period.

Mobley had argued that the failure of these early missionary attempt to establish Christianity was due to their attempt to associate Christianity with commerce which utterly raised serious attacks on their activities. Ward elaborated on this issue stressing the fact that “the Dutch on the whole made no attempt to evangelize the African population, but contended themselves with supplying chaplains for the needs of their own staff”¹. Another reason that amounted to the failure of early missionary attempt was the slave trade. The Church had accepted the slave trade during the early contact of Europe with Africa. Early missionaries had been criticized for being unfaithful regarding their teaching. In part, they preached for the equality of human being and in part, they dismissed blacks of their own rights to live as their European counterparts².

During the eighteenth century, two missionary bodies took the lead of introducing Christianity to Gold Coasters. The Moravian³ missionaries and the Anglicans⁴. The Moravians set their body the Moravian United Brethren Mission to help expand the influence of Christianity beyond the areas of the castles houses. King Frederick of Denmark had for long desired to send missionaries to Christiansburg castle. He believed that Copenhagen preachers could hold the responsibility. Instead, he invited some of his followers from Saxony, a region greatly characterized by missionary endeavor to spread the Gospel, to help him achieve his scheme. In 1735, he sent Chretein Protten and Henrich Huckuff. The first was twenty-year man of Dane father and a Ghanaian mother. He had a training at the Christiansburg Castle, then he left to Denmark where he finished his training there. Protten and Huckuff left to Elmina on 11th May, 1737 where they moved from the Dutch fort to Christiansburg Castle.

¹ Ward, op.cit, p.80

² Mobley,op.cit,p.18

³ Dated back to the fifteenth century where it was believed to have great Impact during the Counter Reformation. During the 18th century, it developed into a strong religious movement where it established the Protestant Church. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

⁴ Formed an Important branch of Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. It developed into strong religious movement during the 18th century as part of the huge number of its followers worldwide. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

Unfortunately, for Huckuff, he was affected by the rising epidemic and died shortly after. Protten continued the mission and was successful in translating to the Ga language¹ some Christian prayers, parables and catechism. He led some attempts around the fort to preach the Gospel. After four years, he returned to Copenhagen². By 1742, Jacobus Elisa Johannes Capitein, a mulatto of Ivorian origin, arrived at Elmina where he succeeded in establishing two schools for mulattos and indigenous natives respectively. These schools did not operate for long time. Another attempt by Moravians mushroomed again in 1768 when they sent a number of missionaries to Christiansburg. These missionaries suffered from disease and nearly most of them died that by 1771 no other attempt was made because of the fear of diseases.

Anglicans were not less zealous than the Moravians. Thomas Thompson was among the active missionaries in New Jersey during the beginning of the eighteenth century. He later demanded to move to Africa. In 1754, he arrived at Cape Coast. His mission was considered one of the successful of its kind in the history of Anglican mission in the Gold Coast. He secured friendly terms with chiefs who welcomed his mission. He immediately opted for learning Fanti language, and at the same time he opened a school where he managed to preach on “Tuesdays as this was the day the people attended to their own God...he got the people around him on a day they were supposed to be paying particular attention to their own God”³. By 1756, however, Thomson hardly showed any attempt to stay because of disease and he immediately fled to England with three native men to train them to be priests. The thing that undermined missionary work on the whole was that they were harassed by disease and fever. A thing that led Thomson and his successors to think of training blacks to be preachers so that they provide men who could preach God’s message and at the same time are accustomed to the health problems prevailing in the region⁴.

¹ A language spoken in Ghana. Mainly spoken by the Ga People who centered on the capital Accra. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

² Mobley,op.cit,p19

³ Kwesi, A.Dickson, “Relation Between Religion and Culture”, in Ghana Bulletin of Theology, vol / No 9, 1961,p.22

⁴ Mobley,op.cit,p.20

The beginning of the nineteenth century was a success for missionary activity. The Basel Evangelical Missionary Society¹ began its activities in Accra in 1828. Four missionaries were sent after an invitation from the Danish government to help meet the increased need of preaching Christianity among the mulattos and white settlers of Christiansburg. These missionaries were Karl, F. Salbad, Gottlieb Holzwarth, Johannes Henke and Johannes Schmidt. The first three men were German, except for Schmidt who was a Swiss². After about nine months three of them died and the last one followed shortly after. This attempt had been followed by more significant ones.

By 1832, three missionaries: Andreas Riss, Peter Jager and Christian Friedrich, a doctor arrived in the Gold Coast. Friederich died upon his arrival because of disease. The latter two carried out the mission. Shortly after, Riss lost his last friend Jager because of disease. Riss, left alone, had learnt how to accustom to the rising fever and disease and built for the Basel Mission a station at Akropong, Akwapin state capital. He gathered a number of freed slaves from Jamaica who helped him expand his influence to Aburi. The next eight years of his mission showed notable progress in mission activity in the Gold Coast. In areas where his influence was rising, notably Akropong and Aburi, he successfully helped join nearly forty native Christians to his mission and about a slight number of West Indians. In 1850, His influence reached Kwahu, Akim and Asante. This amounted to the progress in the Basel mission activity to “1,851 from 8 mission districts and 24 congregations”³.

The Basel Mission activity coincided with the Bremen missionary activity. The Brethren mission, a mission from North Germany, had set foot in the Gold Coast by 1847. Their mission centered on the Eastern part of the Gold Coast where the Ewes⁴ had settled. Under the leadership of Lorenz Wolf, the Bremen established a station there but shortly suffered from increasing rate of health problems, which caused his death shortly after. Dauble and Plessing who decided to settle at Keta instead of

¹ As a religious movement, the body started to have an Impact during the beginning of the 19th century. Mainly based in Switzerland, the body formed many local religious congregations as to preach for Protestantism worldwide. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

² Higher, Benjamin, A, Towards A Transformational Education in Ghana – The Necessity of Christian Education and Christian Education Administrators, Northwestern Christian University, Diss, 2012, p.39

³ Higher, op.cit, p.40

⁴ A large African ethnic group that centered on the coastal regions of West Africa. The majority of the population live in Ghana while the rest settles in the Togo. Their main language is Ewe. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

Peki launched another attempt. Their mission, however, was greatly affected by the Ashanti war that caused the mission to suffer continuous harassment.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society had led the introduction of Methodism¹. Their mission was highly supported by a “Bible Band” which gave a sound and a firm ground to their activity. Joseph Dunwell arrived in the Gold Coast in a mission sponsored by the Wesleyan missionary society in London². He died later after one year. His successors Joseph Smith and William de Graft did some work, but soon died. The Wesleyans by 1836 succeeded in establishing two stations for the mission with nearly 222 members. The Rev-George Wrigley managed to learn the Fanti language where he “translated some portions of the scriptures into Fanti, extended the work to Dixcove, Abura Dunkwan, and Dominasi and related very well to all those he came into contact with”³.

Another notable man who carried the work of the Wesleyan mission was Thomas Birch Freeman, known as the father of Methodism in Ghana. His mission reached the inland territories where he planned to reach the Asante territory. Shortly after his arrival, his wife died. He never ceased to stop and he rather by 1838 built a chapel at the Cape Coast and was successful in getting more members to join his mission⁴. In 1839, he visited Kumasi where he met James Hayford, an active member of the Methodist church. His work seemed to have great support due to the presence of Hayford who had an impact on spreading the Gospel around Kumasi⁵. Freeman had been welcomed by the Asante. King Kwaku Dua I (1834-1867) granted him the permission to settle and start his mission among his people. This mission lasted until 1872 when suspicious arose of the relationship between Freeman and the British that clearly put an end to his activity in Kumasi.

At Kumasi a number of converted Fantee Christians formed a religious society where they, including some of the King’s members, organized Christian ceremonies, and speeches on the

¹ Founded during the eighteenth century by John Wesley. It developed as a response to the activities of the Church of England and as an attempt to impart a change in the Church in Europe. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

² Higher,op.cit,p.41

³ Samwinin Nathan, “The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana Since 1950: Its Effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations”, Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006,p.46

⁴ Higher,p.42

⁵ Swamini,op.cit, p.46

Christian faith. A school then was established at Kumasi. Moreover, the number of converts increased notably. The king's nephew converted to Christianity. He showed great effort to follow Christian teachings that he believed would supersede all African superstitious practices. He mastered reading and writing and started preaching among his people the essence of Christianity¹.

The influence of Freeman mission grew notably. The king, in various occasions, praised the work of the mission. He always showed his desire to attend Christian worship and especially that of Lord's Day². East recounted an evidence where the king was invited to the Lord's Day. He preferred to dress a European costume when attending the ceremony at Bantama. What was surprising was that he abandoned the custom of giving human sacrifice during such ceremonies. Instead, he instructed his people in these words: "I am [the king] going to travel in white man's way, and dress in white man's way, and we must adopt white man's fashion, and not kill a man to day"³.

All these bodies sought the promotion of Western education side by side with evangelization⁴. Missionaries believed that introducing schools would let people know about the Bible and use the hymnbook⁵. By 1867, missionary endeavor to build schools was an apparent policy. One missionary wrote about the inevitability of providing Africans with education:

If we had a nation with formal education, able to read and to write, my plans for mission work would be different. But now I am convinced that the opening of schools is our main task. I have a low opinion of Christians who are not able to read their Bible⁶

Missionaries had sound reasons for this decision. Many Africans and particularly Gold Coasters did not have thorough understanding of Christian teaching because their contact with missionaries was meagre and most of them forgot instructions the time they left home for harvest seasons.

¹ East, D.J, "West Africa; Its Condition and Christianity The Means of Its Recovery", London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1875, p. 291

² Set in Sunday, the day is belived to represent the time/day where Jesus Christ's resurrected from dead. www.britannica.com. (accessed in March 2020)

³ Adams, Kwesi, F. "Odwira and the Gospel: A Study of the Asante Odwira Festival and Its Significance for Christianity in Ghana, Regnum Books International, 2010,p.145

⁴ Debrunner, H.W, A History of Christianity in Ghana, Waterville Pub. House, 1967,p. 142

⁵ Aboagye, J.Y., 'An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Basel Mission and Presbyterian Church of Ghana to the Socio-Economic Development of the Agogo Traditional Area', Unpublished Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science And Technology, Kumasi. 2013, p. 70

⁶ Debrunner,op.cit,p.145

Missionaries believed the establishment of schools would facilitate their indoctrination and made the impact of home and the community life less notable. Consequently, two schools were established at Christiansburg and Akropong. At Akropong and Osu, a catechist institute was established in 1870 with the main aim of preparing teachers and catechists¹.

Nevertheless, missionary education sought the destruction of native culture. Missionaries considered traditional religions, art and music as “*evil*” and “*satanic*”. Missionaries banned many forms of dance and training because they were regarded as “bulwark of Satan”. For the missionary, “all dancing must lead to fornication”². It was stated that everything associated with African culture was debasing and frightening and that the African should be distanced from all these influences³. By erasing native culture and customs and replacing them with Western values and norms, the missionary intended to establish a new world for the natives different from their environment and intended, as missionaries denounced, to prepare natives for the eventual changes brought by Western economic and cultural presence.

Missionaries further forbade polygamy. For the missionary, polygamy was antithetical to the teaching of Christianity. For the missionary, the practice of polygamy was not integral to society and to the individual conscience. According to the 1885 synod⁴,

no man having more than one wife should be admitted as a member of our church , and it should be left with the superintendent minister to decide whether, on an investigation of the case, the wives of polygamists should be received into Church fellowship⁵

A woman was not allowed to be a member in the church if she married a man who already had a wife. Restrictions further widened to forbade man and woman from marrying a heathen. The latter two measures were considered as “scriptural principles”. Matters further worsened with the 1893 Synod. It stated that new converts should adhere to Christian rite of marriage. Though many who had

¹ Debrunner,op.cit,p.145

² Malinowski, B ., “Native Education and Culture Contact”, International Review of Missions, No.25, 1936, pp.488

³ Ibid

⁴ In general, a synod refers to a meeting of bishops and Church officials to discuss matters related to the Church beliefs and practices. www.britannica.com. (accessed in April 2020)

⁵ Kimble,p.157

been already married using native laws were accepted to the church, newly couples were instructed to use English form of marriage before they could adhere to be church members. As regards the ones who used native laws, they were accepted “on the distinct understanding that they cannot pass beyond the trial stage until they confirm to the Christian rite”¹.

According to Kimble, missionaries intended to bring a “change of life” for the new converts. Missionaries's attack on such “a social institution” was a means to suppress the old and made new converts sacrifice for the new. In all, the new Christian convert then felt guilty about being part of a system that seemed, by the introduction of Christianity, “evil” and encapsulated inherent inferiority. Consequently, many rejected polygamy and indorsed for the use of European form of marriage. Such a situation, however, brought much detriment to the ordinary Gold Coaster. There existed three types of marriage: Native marriage, marriage in the Church and the last category was introduced by the 1884 Marriage Ordinance. These types made nothing but distorted the old system of social conventions and made people unable to use the new neither to forget the old².

The tide of Western influences did not stop with Christianity and Christian teaching. The period also saw intensified efforts by the government to use education for change. Though efforts were meagre during the first years of colonial rule, the government established a system of education that did nothing but enforced the belief held by the missionary that education policies should carve at “character formation”. A new character for the native that exhibits a new personality that favored Western modes of life and despised all that had to do with African life and environment.

II.4. The Government and Western Education

The most important dimension by which the British imparted metamorphosis change to people's life came with education. Education did not only teach African children the mastery of technical and agricultural skills but it also introduced new ideas, new patterns of life and attitudes that were

¹ Kimble,p.157

² Ibid,p.160

different to things people knew centuries ago. Indeed, education before the arrival of Europeans was almost a training for life:

In the olden days the son of a fisherman spent his mornings by the seashore, swimming in the surf until he became proficient in swimming and diving as in walking and running. With a miniature net he practiced casting in imitation of his father... The son of the farmer accompanied his father to the farm and gradually acquired the father's lore....In like manner the girl trod in the footsteps of the mother....she took part in the household offices and was taught apprenticeships by mothering the younger members of the family¹

The introduction of missionary education and later government education, however, made people in front of highly devastating situation that favored the alteration of a system of life peculiar to people's environment with a new system that did nothing but distorted people's minds and made them forced to accept the new as it promised full opportunities at the expense of their own origins. As such, this section intends to chronicle education policies of the government. It examines how these policies exposed Gold Coasters to a new type of education that affected the existing system known by people.

II.4.1. Education Policies of the Government

The diffusion of government education into the Gold Coast had economic as well as cultural motives. Economically, the colonial government, because of its developing colonial administrative cadre, had found no way but to rely on European staff to fill administrative posts. The latter however proved expensive for the government. A European cost the government four times than an African. The hard working conditions stood as an obstacle to European staff to come and settle in the colony. Consequently, the government turned its attention to Africans as they were accustomed to the environment and cost the government meagre prices². These African personnel not only provided the government with cheap sources of labor, but continuous supply of agents who permanently filled these posts, in contrary, with European agents who were likely to leave their positions shortly after their arrival. It was on these pre-assumed objectives that the government saw the African as the only

¹ European Education and Christianisation in the Gold Coast (1529-1850). 4 March 2019. In www.myjoyonline.com/opinion/european-education-and-christianisation-in-the-gold-coast-1529-1850/ (accessed in July 2020)

² Aissat Djamila & Yasmine Djafari, p.05

source that could give a boost to the colonial machinery as agents and cooperators for their increasing government activity and their expanding colonial jurisdiction that amounted by the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885.

Culturally, there was a great belief in a complementary relationship between Africa and Europe. As “civilizers”, Europeans were expected to “civilize” and bring the most of their modernity and lifestyle to people of Africa while Africa and Africans were destined to provide easy access to raw materials in return. This state of mind was used by Europeans as an excuse for their rising economics, political and cultural expansion in Africa¹. British education policies of the period, thus, were culturally based so that people accept the economic exploitation of the country’s riches.

The first attempt by the government to initiate formal education came in 1882. The 1882 ordinance emphasized the “need for a superior system of education to meet the wants of an advancing society”². It appealed for the establishment of a General Board of Education that consisted of the Governor, the members of the Executive Council and other members who were nominated by the governor. An inspector and other sub-inspectors were appointed to be in charge of the board³. The ordinance introduced basic English concepts like monitorial system, payments by results and grants in aid. Asare stated that these education concepts were similar to the ones known in England at the time. Furthermore, the ordinance's clauses were taken from the philosophies of the English Education Act of 1870⁴. Though these education policies proved ineffective in England, the government did not hesitate to introduce them to the Gold Coast. Indeed, the government's main concern was the diffusion of an education system that was largely English in character though this came at the expense of people’s needs.

¹ Aissat Djamila & Yasmine Djafari, p.05

² Gough, Frederick Harrison, ed., Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force June 1898, 2Vols., London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1898,p.459

³ Asare,op.cit,p.111

⁴ Education Acts of 1870, 1873, 1876, tough on poor families? Nov 15, 2011 / Comments Off.
<https://intriguing-history.com/education-acts-of-tough-on-poor-families/> (accessed in July 2020)

The content of education centered on aspects of British life. Education curriculum was based on the 3Rs. These included reading, writing and Arithmetic. Other subjects included literature, geography and History of the British Empire. The Curriculum ignored all aspects of African history and culture. It mainly spotted aspects of the British society and reflected on everyday lives of the British citizen. The ignorance of the African system of life was mainly due to the belief the latter was seen as “*outdated*” and “*evil*” and must be eradicated with the advance of colonial rule. Western traditions and way of life on the other hand were portrayed as the most advanced forms of human development that the African should seek to acquire.

In addition, the syllabus clearly stressed the “*primitive*” and “*backward*” aspects of the African society and history. Africans were portrayed as people without history and that the teacher should focus on the history of Europeans in Africa as the starting point of the continent’s history. The emphasis on British life and history was accompanied by a meagre apprenticeship on technical subjects. It was stated that Africans did not need these subjects since they were to fill administrative posts. A further reason owed to the fact that the government and businessmen did not welcome the idea that Africans acquire these skills and so were apathetic of introducing such subject into the curriculum. This proves the way the colonial government attempted to provide education for Africans that provided them with cheap personal and kept Africans in their inferior position so that their exploitation moved in smooth pace¹.

English was the language of instruction. All instructions were in English, except in some mission schools where some of the vernacular use was tolerated. English was conceived as the language of modernity and development and that Africans should be instructed to use it and view it as a source of their progress and a path to achieve European modernity and civilization. Paragraph 5 of clause 10 in the 1882 Ordinance concluded:

the subjects of teaching shall be the reading and writing of the English language, arithmetic, and in the case of females, plain needlework. The grammar of the English

¹ Aissat Djamila & Djafari,op.cit,p.08

language, English history, and geography, especially of the British Empire, may also be taught or not, at the option of the teacher, provided that if taught, they shall be taught as class subjects¹

Nevertheless, apprentices because of continuous contact with their families and people around them did not easily acquire the new language as well as the content of education. For officials, the only solution remained on the separation of African apprentices from the rest of the population. Boys and girls were put in a boarding school so that it facilitated their indoctrination and put a barrier against any contact with their environment. It was stated that "... if they [apprentices] are to be woven into character, isolation from degrading influences, so far as is possible, is essential during the early hours. For this purpose the boarding schools are the most efficient instruments"². Educational architects saw these boarding schools as the only means to develop the character of an African devoid of all influences of his environment.

However, the 1882 Ordinance did not have much influence. This was partly because, on the one hand, its goals were too narrow and on the other, it largely failed to relate apprentices to their environment, which caused an amount of criticism from both Africans and the British architect of education. This criticism delayed for about four years any government legislative regarding education. Another reason that delayed education policies was the rising concerns about the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 that clearly accelerated the pace of not only the British but also all European powers to issue new legislative dealings that would bring indigenous people into more government control for the expanding economic, political and cultural progress of the colony³.

Government renewed interest in education came in 1887. The 1887 Ordinance set the "promotion and assistance of education in the Gold Coast Colony"⁴. It is stated that the ordinance did not bring anything new as compared with the 1882 ordinance. It stressed the need for an immediate increase in

¹ Njoku, S.I., *The Development of the British System of Education in Nigeria 1882-1929*. Diss. University of Oregon, University microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969, p70

² Ocaya-Lakidi and Ali Mazrui, "Secular Skills and Sacred Values in Uganda Schools : Problems of Technical and Moral Acculturation". Routledge: the United Kingdom, 1975,p.235

³ Asare,op.cit,p.112

⁴ Gough, Frederick Harrison, ed., *Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force June 1898*, 2 Vols., London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1898.p.489

grants-in-aid while called for more government scrutiny over missionary education. It further gave extra powers to the Board of education, and like the 1882 ordinance, it did not show any concern about local boards. It further gave importance to the introduction of new subjects like Geography of England, History and the British Empire¹. The ordinance, on the one hand, forbade any religious instruction to be allowed in government schools. It clearly stated that “direct religious teaching shall not form part of the instruction to be given in any government school”². This was because the government wanted to limit the influence of missionary education coupled with a belief that apprentices were likely to fill administrative posts and so they did not need such instructions. The decision gave great impetus to indigenous authorities who allowed their children to attend schools because they were more likely to stick to their traditional practices, a thing that religious teaching would not allow to develop or maintain. On the other hand, it emphasized the establishment of industrial schools. The schools should “devote not less than ten hours a week to manual labour on a regular and approved plan”³. This concern about industrial instruction was due to the rise of industrial sectors which needed much work force.

Unlike the 1882 Ordinance, the 1887 Education ordinance had a remarkable success. The educational report of 1888 had alluded to the remarkable achievement that the colonial government showed towards the establishment and maintenance of education system. The report noted that there was

a decided progress during the years, and there can be no doubt that the action of the Government in introducing the system of making grants to the various schools in accordance with the result of the examinations held has had a most beneficial effect⁴

The increasing concerns about education, however, were met with great opposition at home. On the one hand, providing education to natives according to many contemporaries would present a threat to the colonial machinery. It was believed that “Literate Africans were useful in many ways although

¹ Asare, op.cit, p.113

² Gough, op.cit, p.489

³ Ibid

⁴ Digitized Books from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign are digitized as part of the Large-scale Digitization Initiative at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library. libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/ (accessed in July 2020)

too much literacy was considered dangerous and undesirable”¹. On the other hand, providing education to natives would raise hostility between the educated minority and the rulers since the former would see the latter as unfit to have power of control over them.

It was further believed that education would make the educated minority aware of many rights which they on the long run would work to attain. Because of these reasons, the colonial government placed strict measures to control education provided to natives and ensured that the content of education should always be based on showing European superiority over the African who should be pictured as “*inferior*” and “*backward*”. The common view was that “Whatever Africans were taught about themselves was designed to enable them to internalize their inferiority and to recognize the white man as their savior”². Indeed, this state of mind made apprentices see their culture and patterns of life as outdated. Some of them despised their own origins in favor of Western style of life and manners while others lived in a “strict psychological conflicts” as they could neither accept the new nor forget the past.

II.4.2. The Last remnant of Native Customs

The existence of British culture meant a threat to African culture. The British had never become part of, or tried to integrate into society .Yet, they made people in close contact with “novel economic requirements, political prohibitions, judicial decisions, religious attitudes, and patterns of behavior”³. These changes affected “social norms and orientations” of the people and inevitably made cultural-conflict a feature of late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. There emerged a culture-contact within each step of expansion British jurisdiction. As a result, the ordinary Gold Coaster had to adopt to the new British culture to benefit from the expanding realm of British jurisdiction.

¹ Daniel A. Offiong, “Globalization: Post Neodependency and Poverty in Africa”, Fourth Dimension Pub., 2001, Michigan University, 2009,p. 65

² Djamila & Djafari,op.cit,p.07

³ Kimble,op.cit,p.131

Though the intentional erosion of people's culture came at the expense of their own and precipitated, as Kimble observed, "severe psychological conflicts", the British did not show any attempt to keep a tiny of African culture. Rather, attempts were made to suppress them. British officials were confident in their "*Civilizing Mission*"¹ and thought that the influence of British culture could reach all parts of the Gold Coast. African beliefs and institutions were seen as unsuitable to the socio-economic requirements of the country and thus should be eradicated. For officials, chief's power did not represent any of value to Gold Coasters system of life. His powers were seen as a mechanism, if properly modified, could made them in conformity with the changes the country was undergoing.

Matters were even worse for "fetish practices"². These practices, mainly seen as "savage" and "heathen customs", were, if not immediately, in a process of disappearance³. Accordingly, British officials believed that it was only "a matter of time and suitable Ordinances before superstitions were dispelled, and replaced by more enlightened modes of conduct"⁴.

The first of these ordinances appeared in 1868. It was known as "Native Customs Regulation Ordinance 1868". The ordinance was issued "to regulate the celebration of the Annual and other native Customs in the Settlements of the Gold Coast"⁵. Officials believed that certain native customs known as "Yam Custom" or "Black Christmas" became a source of "grievous annoyance, terror and danger" and that it was high time for the government to suppress these celebrations as they caused "general danger" and "inconvenience to the community". Clause 05 of the ordinance made it clear that any form of these celebrations became punishable. It stated that "the public celebration of the "Yam Custom" and of other native customs entailing firing the guns, drumming, processions, and other offensive noises and acts, within the limits of the said town of Cape Coast, is hereby forbidden

¹ For more details see the section entitled "the Civilizing Mission".

² According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, fetichism refers to "a charm thought to contain magical or spiritual powers". The term was first used in the 17th century to describe some West African beliefs and practices that were seen as exotic by Europeans. www.britannica.com. (accessed in May 2020)

³ Kimble, op.cit, p. 131

⁴ Ibid, p.131

⁵ Gough, Frederick Harrison, ed., Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force April 7th 1887, 2 Vols., London: Stevens & Sons Limited, 1898, p.15

and prohibited”¹. Persons who joined or participated in these customs were convicted of one month imprisonment, or pay forty shillings. The same ordinance operated until 1880 when it was extended to cover Accra and Christiansburg.

In 1892, however, the government showed strong desire to reinforce beliefs about the harm brought with native customs. The new issued ordinance known as “The Native Customs Ordinance” was extended to cover the towns of Kwitta, Ada, Prampram, Accra, Winneba, Saltpond, Cape Coast, Elmina, Chama, Sekondi, Dixcove, and Axim. Like the 1868 Ordinance, it appealed for the governor to impose a penalty of “imprisonment with or without hard labor for a term not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding twenty five pounds” to any person who “joins, or is concerned or takes any part in such celebration”².

In a more serious attack to native customs, the ordinance prohibited the celebration of the Krobo customs. It made it lawful for the governor to impose a penalty of one year imprisonment and one hundred pounds for persons who join this type of celebration. It further warned fetish priest who participated in the so-called celebration of a penalty of five years imprisonment. Moreover, the ordinance threatened any chief who directly or indirectly allowed celebrations of this kind and did not report to the District Commissioner of these celebration a fine of five hundred pounds.

The ordinance widened the suppression of native customs to include “any native custom, rite, ceremony or worship”³. For example in 29 January 1894, an order in council prohibited the celebration of, as mentioned in the ordinance, “Fetish Katawere”⁴. On 25 June 1894, another order in council called for the suppression of a celebration known as “Krama” or “Prejo”⁵ which was greatly practiced in places nearby the district of Prampram. The ordinance recounted an incident when the District Commissioner at Swaidru destroyed and took the property of inhabitants who were accused

¹ Gough, Frederick Harrison, op.cit, p.15

² Ibid, p.498

³ Ibid

⁴ No available data are available on the meaning of the term. Even “The Native Customs Ordinance” of 1892 did not explain the practices held during celebrations. Yet, it explained the danger of such practices only.

⁵ Ibid

of organizing a “Fetish Katawere”¹. A more serious attack that stemmed, as Kimble observed, from the lack of understanding of native beliefs and customs came in 1900. Governor Hodgson asked for the Golden Stool of the Ashanti which for the people marked a symbol of identity and their deep-rooted past.

Surprisingly, many Africans seemed to easily discard their own customs. Kimble asserted that the reason behind this action was that many Gold Coasters found themselves surrounded by an atmosphere that made European institutions and manners as the model that should be followed. In 1896, F.M. Hodgson, a governor of the Gold Coast from 1898 until 1900, narrated an incident where he saw natives using “a drum and fife band with English instruments” which for him marked great advancement toward the alteration of all native customs. He wrote: “I am very glad to see this disposition on the part of the natives to abandon their hideous performances on tom-toms, gong-gongs and native horns in favor of music of a more civilized character. It marks an advancement towards enlightenment”²

A more astonishing view that showed the great change altered by British policy came with an article published in *the Gold Coast Express* on 28 September 1897. The editor openly told readers that the abolition of African celebrations and customs marked an advancement in the pursuit of modernity and civilization:

Some of the dances in this colony are certainly so offensive to public decency that we can not understand why they are not suppressed. The time has come for us to get rid of many of the old institutions which come directly into conflict with modern ideas of civilization. A list should be made of all the customs and institutions which should be abolished³

The acquisition of “Western modes of thoughts, for many people, would bring them one step closer to get high social status and good education qualifications. Indeed, the imitation was blind that one from the Gold Coast described how he was amazed by English books, lectures and meetings. He saw

¹ Gough, op.cit, p.498

² Kimble, op.cit, p.132

³ Ibid

the great exposure to Western ideas and philosophy as “undoubtedly an English Kingdom of God that the Cape Coast prophets looked forward to”¹.

Furthermore, European dress started to be seen as a “sign of inward and spiritual superiority”². Many native rulers preferred to wear European dress. King Mate Kole³ dressed like a European, Governor Hodgson observed, this was partly “by reason of his education and therefore more enlightened ideas”⁴. The impact was unconscious that not only men rushed to discard their native dress but also women. It was stated that cloth was only for women but European dress was especially made for ladies. This was coupled with a feeling among educated women that they could distinguish themselves from their uneducated partners by wearing European dress all marked significant departure toward the alteration of native dress. These feelings, indeed, made people, especially the emerging Western educated elite, follow the tide of Western influences and exhibited a strong tendency to be imitators of the white man.

II.4.3. The Emerging Western Educated Elite

It was stated that the most important impact wrought with the diffusion of Western education into Africa was the creation of Western educated elite. The creation of this elite agency had two main reasons. The first was that this group, because of their education, would serve in the administrative cadre and thus be agents of trust and reliability to the colonial government. The second owed to the belief that the creation of the elite would present to the British and the world the success of their mission to civilize and modernize “backward societies”. The adoption by the elite of European style and patterns of behavior and their nascent attempt to discard their system of life all presented the success of the British civilizing mission. Ironically, the creation of this elite agency proved the

¹ Mobley,op.cit,p.43

² Kimble,op.cit,p. 133

³ Known also as Nene Sir Azzu Mate Kole I, he was born on region Odumase, in the eastern part of the Gold Coast in 1860. He became a king between 1892 and 1939 of the Manya Krobo, a region in eastern Gold Coast. In Daniel Miles McFarland, "Historical Dictionary of Ghana", Scarecrow Press, 1995, p. 120.

⁴ Kimble,op.cit,p. 134

reverse. The elite, instead of becoming agents of trust and reliability for the British, started to question the economic, political and cultural foundations of British colonialism.

These signs of resistance did not appear during their first contact with education as they appeared to accept the existence of these new forms of life as they promised high social privileges. Now, it is potent to examine this process of transition as it reveals, first, the cultural impact of British presence as it manifested itself through the creation of this elite agency and ,second, their move to disdain European blatant attempts to fail the African and merely place them under European mental incarceration in the next chapter.

Though there are lot of definitions of the word “*elite*”, S.F.Nadel’definition provided a more clear meaning of the term as attributed to their status and influence. According to Nadel, elite denotes “a stratum of the population which, for whatever reason, can claim a position of superiority and hence a corresponding measure of influence over the fate of the community”¹. This position of superiority may be attributed to three main reasons. According to Ober, the elite are

those members of society who are (1) much more highly educated than the norm (2) much wealthier than the norm (3) recognized by other members of society as deserving privileges based on their birthright and/or by their performance of certain occupations²

In the Gold Coast, there existed three main types of the elite. The first included the intelligentsia who got a Western type of education. The lower elite, the second category, referred to a sub-group of the elite who benefited from a lower standard of education as compared with the intelligentsia. These included; teachers, clergymen, catechists, junior civil servants. The last category included clerks, messengers, shop assistants and apprentices who received meagre education, or were not likely to finish their education³.

¹ Nadel, S.F, “The Concepts of Social Elites”, Science Bulletin, VIII, No,3, 1956,p. 413

² Ober, Josiah, “Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology and the Power of the People”, Princeton University Press, 1989,p.11

³ Halibu Bari Sule “Education as an Agent of Social Change and Detriment of Social Status in Ghana by the Early 20th Century” Seminar Paper. In <https://www.researchgate.net> (accessed in September 2020)

In the Gold Coast, the Western educated elite displayed Victorian life style. Though remained bound by family obligations and kept ties with their chiefs, most preferred to cut ties with their illiterate Africans. Because of “trans-frontal culture learning”, they identified with the white masses and saw that their education gave them prominence in society as compared to their illiterate Africans. As a result, they tried to exhibit their knowledge of European life style. They organized soirees, levees, cricket matches, and elaborate Church weddings. They also created clubs for literary and scientific discussions. Kimble asserted that these clubs were “modelled on European lines”¹.

The elite also organized debating societies which, according to Kimble, served to let people know about Western life style and values. Example of these debates was one organized at Saltpond in 1886. The Cape Coast Debating Society also took historical topics for discussion. It was even criticized for focusing on history of the English people and neglecting local matters, if not local history. Lectures were also important medium for elite’s new life style. In Winneba, many lectures were held to discuss intellectual and religious issues. Among the points discussed was a lecture on whether or not “Celibacy was advantageous to mankind from an intellectual and religious point of view”². At Cape Coast, J.E.K, Aggrey presided the Young Ladies Christian Association and the City Club for intellectual discussion. In addition, there was the Young Men’s Free and Mutual Improvement Society which was founded for the same reason. Members of the new body ordered books from England for public use.

II. 5. Conclusion

The second chapter examined the development of colonial rule in the Gold Coast (1874-1914). It attempts to show different economic as well as social changes that the British introduced during their early consolidation of colonial rule. Economically, the chapter revealed that the British intended to suppress native customary laws as a first step to diminish the power of chiefs. This coincided with tenacious attempts to modify indigenous systems of land ownership and labor recruitment as a way

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 146

² Ibid,p. 148

to meet the increasing demand of the emerging, much profitable, cococa industry. These development precipitated new reforms that affected people socially and most importatntly culturally. People were introduced to Christiaity and western education. The chapter revealed that these agencies influenced and forced people to despise their old sytems of life in favor of British culture and lifeways.

The chapter, further, ended with a sketch of the great impact of British social reforms on the minds of peoples. People, especially the emerging western educated elite, fashioned a new life based on a new psychology of the colonial ruler. Yet, the emerging Western educated elite'role changed from being collaborators and agents for the spread of Western culture into catalyst of change. This was partly due to the disappointment they faced as they were rejected by the white masses. Indeed, their responses to the economic, political and cultural presence of the British were, no doubt, a result of these abuses. It was further a result of a race-consciousness stipulated by early Pan-African leaders who sought the liberation of fellow Africans from white domination. In West Africa, Edward Wilmot Blyden dispersed among West Africans the need for change and a conscious of the existence of African institutions and life style. Gold Coasters, like other West Africans, made the appeals of Blyden as a source for their protest. Their demand for African unity, the revival of the African personality and the diffusion of purely African education were all signs of the great impact that Blyden's philosophy had on the time.

Chapter Three: Blyden's Philosophy and Its Impact on the Re-Africanization Process (1914-1945)

III.1. Introduction

Throughout history, blacks had been subject to abuses and discrimination. Beginning in the New World where Africans suffered white abuses and discrimination and spanned to the nineteenth century when colonial domination was established in Africa, there emerged a tendency to resist images about African inferiority and attempts to shape new paths for Africans 'economic, social and cultural emancipation. Edward Wilmot Blyden became one of the personalities who made notable contribution to an understanding of the African psyche. Through his contacts with many Africans in America and West Africa, he shaped a long lasting philosophy that became a source of inspiration for many Africans to address their grievances and made of his philosophy, as argued by Asante, "the treasured property of several influential West Africans"¹

In the Gold Coast, Blyden's philosophy had great impact on the intellect and actions of many Gold Coasters. The first decades of contact with colonialism were characterized by growing interests in the revival of the African personality and with a mounting criticism to both European Christianity and Western education. By 1900, New World Pan-Africanists organized a series of congresses where Gold Coasters not only spoke about their grievances but also dispersed Blyden's ideas among their African peers. During the 1920's and 1930's, the impact of Blyden on Gold Coast nationalism became evident through the foundation of the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A) and later the emergence of the Youth Movement (1930-1939). These manifestations which were greatly driven by Blyden's appeal to create a Pan-West African unity, helped create a collective psyche among Gold Coasters of the need for West African unity that was indispensable to African unity.

¹ Asante, S. K. B. "The Neglected Aspects of the Activities of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society." *Phylon* (1960-) 36, no. 1 (1975),p.38

With the outbreak of W.W.II in 1939, and the growing dissatisfaction with colonialism that became established in Africa, Gold Coasters by 1945 participated in the last Pan-African gathering which, unlike its predecessors, called for the right of African people for independence. This chapter, thus, provides a sketch of Edward Wilmot Blyden's early life and philosophy. It also tries to give briefs on early forms of black protests that emerged prior to Blydenic philosophy. This background is prerequisite to understand the full impact that Blyden's philosophy had on the re-Africanization process in the Gold Coast. The chapter further will examine the emergence of Gold Coast nationalism and the impact that Blyden had on all its aspects up to 1945.

III.2. Early Forms of Black Protests in the New World

Though Blyden's impact in West Africa and particularly the Gold Coast began in late nineteenth century, African resistance to white abuses and ideas about African's re-generation seemed to exist long before Blyden's birth. Africans in the diaspora resisted white abuses and discrimination. They were fed up with the malicious situation of their peers and decided to change the situation. These attempts centered on raising concerns about the harm brought to Africans by the slave trade and provided counter discourses to assumptions about African inferiority. Indeed, the early eighteenth century, the time when trade on human cargoes found pace, marked the beginning of a revolution that set the revival of African manhood and an attack on white institutions that worked to enforce black's inferiority and subordination.

The earliest form of black protest appeared during slave's shipment to the American plantations. The slaves appeared to prefer to die on water than reach and see the hostilities of slavery. Though the slaves were controlled and chained tightly, many of them selected to end their life in the ocean. Apart from the harsh conditions they encountered day-to-day during their voyaging, the slaves also committed suicide as an escape from the horrors of slavery. The slaves' protests did not only appear on ships but also in plantations. Many of them organized strikes while others flee to avoid the lash. The situation worsened for many that they pretended to be sick, others cut their hand while women

pretended to be pregnant as a way to not be sold to another master. Others preferred to kill themselves and their children because of the same reason too¹.

The situation of slaves was brutal that many exhibited violent reactions. Numbered about 250 revolts that took place during the seventeenth century until the abolition in 1807, slaves mainly of the north and south plantations attacked the whites and plundered their plantations and houses. Among these rebellions was one led by Nat Turner (1800-1831) who along his fellows organized an attack on the whites in 21st August 1831. He violently killed every white man, woman and child found in plantations. The rebellion resulted in the death of nearly 60 whites. The impact of Turner grew notably that other slaves of other plantations joined his rebellion. Yet, Turner's campaign did not last for long as a militia killed the followers of Turner while Turner was executed after he escaped from the militia the same year².

Forming organizations was another form of protests whereby blacks addressed their grievances. Both Olandah Equiano (1745-1797) and Ottobah Cugoana (1757- ?) led sporadic opposition to pressure on British authorities to end their participation in the slave trade. Their organization "*The Sons of Africa*" worked as a medium to let all Africans in Britain come together to discuss their grievances. The organization addressed the press, pressured on Parliament and worked with the Quakers³ to find strong support to their cause. Its main concerns were to end the trafficking of Africans and stop all forms of African enslavement⁴. According to its members, Africans were victims of a malicious trade and it was high time for all governments of the world to abolish slavery. In this respect, Equiano wrote to the Queen⁵ on 21st March 1788 of the atrocities that Africans faced in the West Indies. He allured "Your Majesty's compassion for millions of (my) African countrymen,

¹ Meberbeche, op.cit, p.77

² Ibid, p.78

³ Also known as the Society of Friends, the group opposed outward rites and did many attempts to settle peace. Dated back to 1650, the society had formed an important role as abolitionist of the slave trade. www.britannica.com (accessed in September 2020)

⁴ Adi, Hakim, "Pan-Africanism: A History", Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 2018, p. 12

⁵ Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz was born on 19 May 1744. She married King George III of England. By 1761, September 22nd she became the queen of England. She died on 17 November 1818. www.royal.uk/queen-charlotte (accessed in September 2020)

who groan under the lash of tyranny in the West Indies”¹. In 1787, Ottobah Cugoano, a former slave brought from the West Indies to England by 1772, published “*Thought and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*”. The book combatted all forms of black enslavement. In this volume, Cugoano was almost interested in bringing change to all African socio-economic conditions. These changes, he believed, would be attained if blacks in England enforced the government “to open a school, for all such of his complexion as are desirous of being acquainted with the knowledge of the Christian Religion and the Laws of Civilization”². Education, for him, was the only instrument that could liberate Africans from the desperate plights imposed by slavery.

Early protests described how European Christianity deceived the African. Equiano bitterly expressed his disappointment regarding Christianity which denied Africans their freedom. He felt betrayed by a religion that taught him “strict, humane standards” and in contrast found its advisers “actions woefully inadequate”³. For example, Equiano opined that the African woman was dehumanized and encountered all forms of cruelty out of its contact with Christianity. According to Equiano, “it was almost a constant practice with our clerks, and other whites, to commit violent depredation on the chastity of the female slaves”⁴. In contrast, Islam and Muslims showed more civility. He propounded that Islam considered him as a brother regardless of his origin. He was greatly amazed by the way Muslims gave prominence to the role of women in their societies which the African women were denied according to Christianity⁵.

Anti-Slavery literature was another weapon for black protest. Many poets used their pen to agitate for black grievances. During the 1760’s and 1770’s Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784), a west African born living in the United States, wrote two important poems. “On the Death of General Wooster” and “To Samson Occom”. These poems articulated for the high immoral effects of the slave trade on

¹ Equiano, Olaudah, “The Life of Olaudah Equiano: Or Gustavus Vassa, the African”, Isaac Knapp, Boston, 1837, p.288

² 100 Great Black Britons. Retrieved from https://100greatblackbritons.com/bios/ottobah_cugano.html (accessed in September 2020)

³ Carretta, op.cit,p.258

⁴ M'Baye, Babacar, “The Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives”, University Press of Mississippi, the United States, 2009, p. 117

⁵ Carretta, Vincent, “Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the 18th Century”, The University Press of Kentucky, United States, 2004, p.254

Africans. Similar to Phillis, George Moses Horton (1798-1867), an enslaved African from North Carolina, refuted the ideological foundations of black slavery and racism. His degrading experience with slavery led him to produce expressions of poignant reminder of the passing of a miserable time. On "Liberty and Slavery", he wrote:

"Alas! and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss,
Through hardship, toil, and pain!"¹

This type of literature, along many other examples, pictured the high immoral and offensive side of a trade that not only exploited Africans for economic purposes, but also caused mental degradation and stigmatized them to a lower status among races of the world.

There also emerged anti-slavery papers and books during the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1828, *the Freedom Journal* was established by two abolitionists namely Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm in New York. The paper condemned all forms of atrocities blacks' encountered in the American society and called for equal rights with white citizens. Other papers with similar scopes appeared: *Rights of All in 1836*, *Weekly Advocate* in 1836 and *the Mystery* in 1846. Moreover, books and pamphlets were a recognizable weapon. Among these was David Walker's *Appeal* published in 1829. As a free born slave (1785-1830), Walker expressed his deep much malicious experience with slavery. The same year another pamphlet was released. Robert. A. Young wrote "*Ethiopian Manifesto: Issued in Defence of the Black Man's Rights, in the Scale of Universal Freedom*". For Robert, "from the Negroes there would arise a messiah with the strength to liberate his people"².

In Boston, resistance to slavery and black's deterioration was much vigor. Prince Hall, an abolitionist, led the foundation of the first African Masonic Lodge. He attempted to re-organize Africans to fight racism and be acquainted with the knowledge that would free them from all aspects

¹ Library of Congress, Walker, Jonathan, 1799-1878, A picture of slavery, for youth. Retrieved from <https://loc.gov/resource/gcmisc.lst0049/?st=gallery> (accessed in September 2020)

² Meberbeche, op.cit.p. 82-83

of white oppression. He subsequently established other lodges at Philadelphia and Rhode Island¹. These lodges were important instruments for black's emancipation and a shared collective psyche. Hall also wrote many books to raise concerns about the black situation in America. His "1792 Charge" and "1797 Charge" were instrumental in shaping a true image of Africans's oppression and intrigue among Africans the need to cooperate for their shared destiny. These writings also pictured the hostilities and coercions that blacks encountered in the U.S and were to a great extent influential in shaping public opinion about the evil of the slave trade².

These early African appeals for emancipation mushroomed in the creation of purely African church. Due to high amount of racism that Africans experienced within the Methodist Church, Richard Allen (1760-1831) and Absalom Jones (1746-1818) founded the Free African Society in Philadelphia. Soon, other bodies emerged at Philadelphia and Baltimore. Meanwhile, the most important articulation of a purely African church came with the creation of "The African Methodist Episcopal Church". With its motto "God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, the Holy Spirit our Comforter, Humankind our Family", the church emerged for a need to liberate Africans physically and mentally and be as a medium to discuss current issues regarding black's situation inside the U.S and outside. Its influence was spreading to reach not only parts of America but also the African continent and notably the Sierra Leone colony.

Among the notable personalities who advocated for the idea of purely African church was Daniel Coker (1780-1846). Coker was the first African American to become an Ordained Methodist Minister. He led many attempts to provide education for Africans and was an active personality for the promotion of an independent African church. Coker, in different occasions, asserted that his mission was "to give life to bleeding, groaning, dark, benighted Africa"³. In 1807, he succeeded in establishing the Bethel Charity School. The Colored Methodist Society of Baltimore financially

¹ Adi,op.cit,p.07

² Ibid

³ Bailey, Julius H, "Race Patriotism: Protest and Print Culture in the A.M.E. Church", The University of Tennessee Press: the United States, 2012, p.13

sponsored the school. The school had provided blacks access to education which they were forbidden to attain because of Maryland Laws¹. Coker sought to use the school as a medium to let blacks identify with Africa, and be allegiant to the race. His initiation soon influenced other blacks. During the 1830's, His student William Watkins (1803–1858), an African-American abolitionist from Maryland, established the “Watkins Academy for Negro Youth”. Graduates of the Watkin School followed in and formed the Douglass Institute².

By the early nineteenth century, many Africans called for a return to the African continent. This movement, known as the Back to Africa movement³, came as a response to the plight of blacks in the American continent. In 1815, the Bostonian Quaker Paul Cuffee (1759-1818), born of an African enslaved father, led many attempts to help Africans repatriate to Sierra Leone. He sponsored the first ships to Sierra Leone and sent money to early African settlers. He also helped some African-Americans to emigrate from the United States to Haiti. These early initiatives affected many enslaved Africans and their descendants to lead similar attempts. Many of the Africans who had been forcefully deported from the Coasts of Africa to Brazil and Cuba and some parts of the Caribbean repatriated to Lagos, Porto Novo and all parts of West Africa. Their numbers were so huge that it was believed that these Africans numbered of about more than 8000 sailed across the Atlantic with meagre means to reach the African continent.

Other notable African Americans organized many attempts to repatriate toward the British colonies of East and Central Africa. Barbadian J. Albert Thorne (1871-1956), known as the *Hero of the People*, led the development of an embryonic African liberation scheme through the establishment of an African colonial enterprise. Moreover, Thomas Carew reached Sierra Leone in 1818 and worked as an agent to a company. What was notable for Carew was that he was the first

¹ A set of regulations enacted on 20th January 1808 which explained the need to oblige all able bodies to be recruited in the militia unless they gave a health justification. The laws also curtailed blacks from enrolment in schools and presented some rule whereby to regulate this process. www.msa.maryland.gov (accessed in November 2020)

² Daniel Coker, community leader By Elmer P. Martin and Joanne M. Martin Baltimore Sun February 19, 1998. Retrieved from baltimore.com (accessed in December 2020)

³ The movement was associated with the Jamaican political activist Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887-1940) who launched a campaign to call for African's repatriation to the African continent as to escape white abuses and discrimination. www.britannica.com. (accessed in December 2020)

black African to be a mayor in 1818¹. By 1819, a number of Barbadians mostly convict of the Bussa Rebellion², were deported to West Africa. Numbered of about 85, these convicts started to make their fortune in the colony. The settlers faced many difficulties. Yet, they had shown their efficiency as skilled persons to the emerging colony. One commentator described these new African settlers as “appear to have been haughty, proud set of men, industrious, sober and well behaved people amassing money”³. Among these settlers appeared prominent African leaders like Cain Davis, Jacob Thomas and Simon Priddy. These personalities formed a strong tight group of elite who triggered the emergence of a Pan-African⁴ consciousness among Sierra Leoneans and proved for Africans and to the world that Africans could stand and be contributory to the advancement of their people and humanity in general. These leaders, mostly newspaper editors, agitated for a shared African identity and advocated for Africans’ need of self-reliance and self-regeneration⁵.

Indeed, the movement inspired many Africans to begin a new page in their struggle for emancipation. Edward Wilmot Blyden was among those Afro-Americans who repatriated to Africa. Because of high amount of racism in America, Blyden selected Liberia as the first destination to escape racism and develop a philosophy regarding the African race and ways of its remedy. His long stays at Liberia, and other parts of West Africa gave Africans and the world a correct picture of the word “Negro”, his peculiarities and causes of his degradation and revival.

¹ Copley, Alan, “African Barbadians and Barbadians in Africa”. Retrieved from www.academia.edu/31148781/African_Barbadians_and_Barbadians_in_Africa (accessed in December 2020)

² Named after an enslaved African called Bussa who planned a rebellion in the Caribbean against plantation landowners in 1807. He along many other men and women numbered about 400 fought for their freedom. Bussa was believed to die in one of the battles. Bussa’s rebellion: How and why did the enslaved Africans of Barbados rebel in 1816? www.nationalarchives.gov.uk (accessed in December 2020)

³ Copley,op.cit, p.09

⁴ Pan-africanism means "All africans". It referred to a raciall conscious movement agqinst white abuses because of the slave trade and the belief in African inferiority. The movement also denotes a collective psyche and unification of all people of African descent because of the shared race, customs and traditions. During the eighteenth century the movement appeared as an anti-racist movement and developed into the twentieth century as an anti-colonial movement. Its impact is still noticed in all Africans poitical and cultural institutions of today. In Meberbeche,op.cit,p.01

⁵ Copley,op.cit, p.09

III.3. Edward Wilmot Blyden: Early Life and Career

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born on 3 August 1832 in the Island of St. Thomas, the Danish West Indies. Brought as slaves to the island of St- Eustatius in 1794, his parents, Romeo and Judith Ann, settled in St. Eustatius then the Dutch settlement from which it was believed they took Blyden as a surname. They, by the late eighteenth century, moved from St. Eustatius to St. Thomas where they settled in Charlotte Amalie, the island capital. His father was a tailor while his mother served as a teacher. It is still unknown how they obtained their freedom, but after 1846, records of the Danish government listed their names among free persons¹. Between 1842 and 1844, the Blyden's family relocated of Porto Cabello, Venezuela and resided at St. Thomas² where Blyden is believed to pass his childhood years. Meanwhile, Blyden attended school and at the age of 12 he was apprenticed to a tailoring shop where he was allowed "a provision....to attend school in the morning"³. The school offered Blyden the opportunity to meet the Reverend John Knox, a white priest in the Presbyterian Church in Newton, Long Island who in later years would help Blyden go to the U.S.⁴

Blyden was an outstanding student⁵. He had an exceptional talent in composition that marked him among his peers. Knox was tremendously proud of the new talented student. Immediately, he took no time to ask a friend in the American Colonization Society (ACS) to help him provide an opportunity for Blyden to get the chance to continue his education in the U.S.⁶. Indeed, the 1850's was a remarkable time in Blyden's life because it placed him one-step closer to a new world that provoked many challenges to form his philosophy. Mr. Knox had the plan of enrolling Blyden in the Rutgers Theological College. Unfortunately, for Blyden, things did not work well. When he arrived with Mrs. Knox to the United States, the refusal of the Rutgers College and two other colleges shocked Blyden. He stated, "I found, however, the deep-seated prejudice against my race, exercising so controlling an

¹ Holden, Edith "Blyden of Liberia ", New York, Vantage Press, 1966,p.19

² Lynch, H, R. "Edward Wilmot Blyden : Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912, London : Oxford University Press, 1967,p. 04

³ Ibid

⁴ Conyers, James, "An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden "Diss, Temple University, 1998,p.39

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Livingston, Thomas "Education and Race : A Biography of E.W. Blyden", San Francisco: Glendessary Press,1975,p.27

influence in the institution of learning, that admission to them was almost impossible”¹. The rejection disheartened Blyden and made him lose hope for any promising future in the United States. Things went worse when Blyden was stuck by another challenge. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it Lawful for officers to arrest any enslaved African, and any other free persons of color who could not present justification for their status as free persons². Along all these barriers, and after several months in New York City, Blyden was determined to go back to St. Thomas and forgot about higher education. Fortunately, everything worked out all right in the end. He met two friends: Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and John B. Pinny of the New York Colonization Society. They suggested for Blyden to move to Liberia where he could continue higher education at Alexander High School³. In 1851, Blyden arrived at Liberia and got the chance to be enrolled at the new college.

At Alexander High School, Blyden was instructed by the Reverend David A. Wilson. Blyden was taught along his peers lessons in Latin and Greek, geography and mathematics. He had always been interested in the Hebrew language. He hoped that a good grasp of the language would allow him to read the Hebrew Scriptures, and fulfill his zeal to read passages in the Old Testament that mentioned the African race. Meanwhile, Blyden had proved his talent as an accomplished classicist⁴. His knowledge of classics was so remarkable that it was believed that he surpassed the Reverend Wilson⁵. This highly understanding of different subjects offered him early in his life notable positions.

Nearly two years after his enrollment, he worked as a lay-preacher. In 1854, he was charged to monitor some classes of the school. Steady progress had been made toward achieving certain positions. The president of the Republic, J.J. Roberts placed him in charge of *the Liberia Herald* as

¹ Holden,op.cit,p. 22

² Conyers, James, “An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden “Diss, Temple University, 1998,p.40

³ Lynch,op.cit,p.05

⁴ According Meriem-Webster dictionary, a classicist means "an expert in ancient Greek and Roman language, literature, art, architecture, or culture". www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/classicist (accessed in January 2021)

⁵ Livingson,op.cit,p. 50

an editor for nearly one year. His short experience as an editor of *the Liberia Herald* led him to publish his first master piece pamphlet “*A Voice from Bleeding Africa*” (1856). Later in 1857, two remarkable works were published: “*Noah’s Malediction: A Vindication of the African Race*” and “*Liberia As She Is: and the Present Duty of Her Citizens*”. These works attacked European discourses of African enslavement. They provided, as Conyers put it, an account of European exploitation of African riches from an African standpoint¹. Yet, these publications were not met with an ease from the mulatto ruling class.

The mulatto² exercised power and influence over black minority which led to an increased hostility. Blyden and his friend Rev. Alexander Crummell were annoyed with mulattoe’s youth easiness of admission to the college and the apparent difficulty faced by blacks³. Crummel lost his position while Blyden, even though faced harsh treatment, retained his job on the account of his strong linguistic abilities and his unaccomplished understanding of classics⁴.

The situation worsened due to Blyden’s marital status⁵. In 1857, Blyden got married to Sarah Yates who was a member of the mulatto class, niece of Liberian President B.P Yates⁶. Their life was an unmitigated disaster. Sarah was uneducated and, alas for Blyden, she proved her complete loyalty to the mulatto class which provoked many hardships for the newly married couples. Blyden commented “uncongenial, incompatible, unsympathetic my wife makes the burden of my life, sore, very sore, and heavy”⁷. Their marriage, however, gave him three children: two daughters Fry and Uries and one son Jr. Blyden had five other children with Anna Erskine who was very amiable partner⁸.

¹ Conyers,op.cit,p. 43

² Derived from the Portuguese and Spanish *mulato*, the term referred to people of mixed European and African blood. The word also has its roots in Arabic. Jack D. Forbes mentioned that the term is equivalent to *muwallad* which means people of mixed Arab, Berber and Iberian origin. In Jack D. Forbes, "Africans and Native Americans: the language of race and the evolution of Red-Black peoples". University of Illinois Press. p.145

³ Conyers,op.cit,p.44

⁴ Livingston,op.cit,p.122

⁵ Conyers,op.cit,p.44

⁶ Lynch,op.cit,p.38-39

⁷ Conyers,op.cit,p.44

⁸ Livingston,op.cit,p. 267

In 1858, Blyden was appointed as a principal of Alexander High School. The upcoming years showed his long-standing efforts to re-shape the education system. During his early days as a principle, the government of Liberia sent him and his mate Alexander Crummel to the United States and England as Liberian Educational Commissioners¹. Their intent was to find support of outstanding figures in America and England to Liberia's Educational project. This coincided with Blyden's appointment as a professor of Greek and Latin by the Boston Board of Trustees of Donation in 1861². One year later, he was appointed a commissioner to the United States along with two other commissioners.

Unfortunately, his mission in the United States was disheartening. The experience clearly convinced him of the necessity for African-Americans to run themselves out of increasing white hostility. He recounted that in Philadelphia Blacks were not allowed to ride in streetcars. They were forced to ride in smoking cars. The situation worsened when in Washington he was forcefully prohibited from entering the House of Representatives even though he undertook an official mission. His mission faced a final blow when he recognized that he could not leave the United States without having a confirmation license from a white man that he was free person, a legislation forcefully adopted by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law³. While still occupying the position of professor of classics at Liberia College, Blyden held the position of a Secretary of state⁴ but shortly resigned because it caused his absence from the college. He nearly left his government position for about four months until the government, due to the lack of applicants who could fit the position, appointed him again. Blyden served as a Secretary of State until 1866⁵.

During his terms as a Secretary, Blyden showed a nascent interest in the study of Islam. His interaction with a set of highly Muslim personalities of the Liberian interior developed his vision that

¹ Lynch,op.cit,p.46

² Richardson, Nathaniel, R "Liberia's Past and Present", London: Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co, 1959,p.208

³ Conyers,op.cit,p.49

⁴ Lynch,op.cit,p.33

⁵ Conyers,op.cit,p.48

Africans could rid themselves out of all this misery if they could reach Muslims intellectual and sophisticated mode of living¹. Blyden believed that he could approach the Muslim community by studying Arabic. This eventually led him in May 1866 to plan a visit to Syria. The main aim of the visit was to learn Arabic. Conyers asserted that Blyden had visited Egypt and England before reaching Syria. His visit was so inspirational that two major publications of Blyden were released: “*The Negro in Ancient History*”(1869) and “*From West Africa to Palestine*” (1866).

In 1866, he came back to Liberia, but soon to leave it because of the rising tension between blacks and mulattoes coupled with rumors of illegal affair with the wife of President Edward J. Roye². For Blyden, the relation with Roye’s wife stirred up much detriment to his presence in Liberia. He was extremely happy and excited with her being of pure “Negro”. For him this represented a good symbol of an African nation³. The whole situation made him eager to get into more contact with her. However, he was soon accused of adultery by Roye who attempted to escape mulatto's anger by diverting their tension to Blyden. Eventually on the 5th of May 1871, Blyden was attacked by mulattoes, his house was plundered and forcefully drove to the residence of President Roye. After serious attempts by President Daniel Warner to settle the dispute, Blyden was finally released and left to Sierra Leone on 7th May 1871. He then moved to England.

England seemed to offer new opportunities for Blyden. Upon his arrival, he was invited to the Executive Committee of the Church Missionary Society to work as a linguist (Arabic instructor) at Fourah Bay College⁴, Sierra Leone. Blyden snatched at the chance and accepted immediately determined that this opportunity would open the door for him to carve into the Sierra Leonean interior to preach for his ideas. Unfortunately, rumors of his affair with Roye’s wife appeared again on the scene. The church Missionary Society (CMS) declined the invitation on the account of the incident. What amounted the CMS decision was Blyden’s criticism to Christian Missions which

¹ Livingston,op.cit,p. 128

² Conyers,op.cit,p. 49

³ Lynch,op.cit,p. 52

⁴ Holden,op.cit,p. 187

utterly brought an end to his prospected position. On 11th December 1872, the Liberian authorities declared Blyden's innocence, but this was too late for the CMS to revise its decision¹.

In 1872, Blyden joined *the Negro*, a Sierra Leonean newspaper, and worked as an editor². A year later, he occupied the position of a Government Agent to the interior³. Soon he resigned and left to Liberia on the 24th June 1873. At Liberia, he served for two years at Alexander High School as a principal with the hope of continuing his scheme to spread education to the Liberian interior⁴. In 1877, Blyden left his position and became an ambassador to the court of St. James after an appointment made by Liberian President Payne. Meanwhile, Blyden faced many financial problems since the new position did not offer him any salary. Instead, he relied on some of his friends from England to finance his mission⁵.

By 1885, Blyden became involved in politics. Ironically, his strong mulattoe foes of the Republican Party nominated him to join the party to race for the presidency of Liberia⁶. Blyden accepted their nomination because the objectives of the party aligned with his own. Among many things that the party called for were scheme for national development, the initiation of new education program; the increase of participation of people of the interior in the Republic's affair; encouragement of foreign investment and the prolongation of Presidency terms into four years instead of two⁷. Blyden's decision to join the party was seen as opportunistic and hypocritical. Nevertheless, in every occasion, Blyden expressed his desire to use the position as a medium to realize his dream of an African nation. Soon the elections began and Blyden came against former president Hilary R.W. Johnson, a former friend of Blyden. The election ended with Johnson having 1,438 votes and Blyden 873 votes⁸. Consequently, Blyden by September 1886 alienated himself from

¹ Holden,op.cit,p. 210-211

² Livingston,op.cit,p. 154

³ Lynch,op.cit,p. 96

⁴ Ibid,p. 143

⁵ Ibid,p. 146

⁶ Ibid,p. 170

⁷ Conyers,op.cit,p 60

⁸ West, Richards, "Back to Africa", New York: Holt Rinehart, and Winston, Inc, 1970,p. 248

politics to a more focus on his intellectual and cultural quest¹. In 1887, Blyden published his masterpiece “*Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*” which critically analyzed European Christianity and its effects on the African psyche.

By March 1889, Blyden moved to the U.S.A. at the invitation of the American Colonization Society². This visit was remarkable because of the reputation that Blyden received because of his publications. Yet, his visit to the South was targeted at stimulating people to emigrate to the Republic. His scheme found great support from the government. The latter had been endowed by the fear of the rise of black power. Immediately, Senator Mathew Butler of South Carolina inaugurated a Bill allowing blacks financial support to emigrate to the Republic³. No sooner the bill appeared, Blyden was severely criticized. Consequently, on 17th March 1890, the bill was abandoned⁴. However, Blyden’s visit to the USA was a success. On 19th January 1890 Blyden gave his famous talk entitled “The African Problem and the Method of its Solution” at a meeting held by the American Colonization Society⁵. The speech centred some of the economic problems facing Africa and the role individual and philanthropic agencies could play in solving these problems. Two months later another address was delivered at the congregation of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church of Washington entitled “The Elements of Permanent Influence”. The speech focused on Pan-african consciousness as a driving force behind Africans progress. By March 1890, Blyden left the U.S. and returned five years later (1895) when he was about to find materials for his publication “History of Africa”⁶.

During the 1890’s Lagos was at the hub of Blyden activities. At an invitation of prominent Africans, Blyden went to Lagos to settle a tension between Africans and Europeans that arose

¹ Lynch,op.cit,p.166

² Holden,op.cit,p. 612

³ Redkey, Edwin, “Black Exodus : Black Nationalists and Back to Africa Movement, 1890-1910, New Haven: Yale University, 1969,p. 59

⁴ Conyers,op.cit,p. 65-66

⁵ Holden,op.cit,p. 623

⁶ Conyers,op.cit,p. 66

because of the Niger Mission¹. Blyden immediately stood against the attempts to Europeanize the Niger Mission. In an address entitled “The Return of the Exiles”, Blyden cherished for the establishment of a purely African church. He believed that *Negroes* could “deal with their own problems, with which strangers can not safely or profitably intermeddle”². His second and third visits to Lagos were instrumental. He gave hand in building a mosque, and the propagation for the initiation of higher learning in Lagos³. In his last visit, Blyden at the behest of an invitation held the position of Agent for Native Affairs. His mission had two objectives. He would accompany the Lagos administrative jurisdiction in the interior and the propagation among Muslims of the need to allow the development of Western type of education among them⁴. Yet, the lack of financial support and opposition from Africans themselves dropped the project off and led Blyden to resign his position as an Agent of Native Affairs by the close of 1897⁵.

For the third time, by 1900, Blyden took a chair in Liberia College. At an invitation by G.W.Gibson, Blyden enthusiastically returned to Monrovia, Liberia. In fact, during the 1890’s the college suffered from bad administration. Blyden’s invitation was only a means to set the image of the college again. As professor of languages, Blyden cherished among his peers the need to establish institutions of higher learning in Liberia. Soon on 5th February 1901, he was appointed for the second time as president of Liberia College⁶. Yet, this decision did not come without its effects. Due to his active pace in reforming the college, his foes accused him of “teaching the youth at the college the principles of Mohammedanism⁷ and polygamy”⁸. This outraged Blyden and forced him to leave to Sierra Leone by March 1901⁹.

¹ Livingston,op.cit,p. 266

² Conyers,op.cit,p. 67

³ Lynch,op.cit,p. 229-231

⁴ Livingston,op.cit,p.297

⁵ Livingston,op.cit,p.305

⁶ Holden,op.cit,p.723

⁷ Referred to Islam and its followers. In his writings, Blyden used Islam and Mohammedanism interchangeably to mean the prophet Mohamed peace upon him and his followers.

⁸ Conyers,op.cit,p.70

⁹ Lynch,op.cit,p.169

In Sierra Leone, Blyden held the position of a Director of Mohammedan Education. Partly influenced by his mission in Lagos, Blyden dispersed his ideas among Sierra Leoneans of the need to promulgate purely African education among Muslims. What was important was his appeal for the creation of a West African community that would trigger much understanding and contact between Muslims and the African peers speaking English¹. Soon in 1906, Blyden was appointed as a director of the Bo School, an area near Freetown. The school stated Lynch was greatly headed by Blyden's ideas. He clearly instructed that apprentices should dress African, and the training should end up with the creation of educated African leaders². Yet, Blyden scheme did not go smoothly. In part because of disagreement between Blyden and the colonial governor and Blyden's poor health and regular absenteeism. Blyden resigned his position by March 1906.

Back in 1905, President of Liberia Arthur Barclay appointed Blyden as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to France³. His mission, *the Sierra Leonian Weekly News* reported in March 1905, "has reference chiefly to the delamination of the boundaries between French territories and those of Liberia"⁴. Blyden failed to solve the problem coupled with his resignation from office as a director of Mohammedan education at Sierra Leone had forced him to retire from public service. The last five years of his life were devoted to writing. In 1908, Blyden published "*African Life and Customs*". Two important lectures were addressed the same year: "The Three Needs of Liberia" and "The Problems before Liberia"⁵.

Blyden's last years were really disheartening. He suffered financially because the Barclay government accused him of plotting a coup against the government and eventually suspended his pension⁶. His admirers and friends established a "Blyden Fund" in an attempt to help Blyden cope with charges of his sickness. On 29th July 1909, Blyden got sick and was stuck with aneurism in the

¹ Lynch, op.cit, p. 236

² Ibid, 236

³ For more details on the mission see Lynch, op.cit, p. 236

⁴ Conyers, op.cit, p. 73

⁵ Holden, op.cit, p. 843

⁶ Lynch, op.cit, p. 171

knee¹. Things worsened for Blyden when his financial problems increased. He could only pay hospital charges by a hundred pound grant from the British government as a return to his lasting contribution to intellectual production². By 1910, Blyden's health worsened. He underwent surgery to remove aneurism and, unfortunately, which left him a paraplegic. Nevertheless, he did not stop writing. The next two years, he published a number of works: "*The Arabic Bible in the Sudan: A Plea for Trnaslation*" (1910), "*The Future of Liberia*" (Feb,25,1911); "*A Forward Native Policy*" (March 4,1911), "*The Education of the Negro*" (May, 13,1911); "*The Race Problem*" (Dec,30th 1911)³. In January 1912, Blyden attended the inauguration of Liberia's President Daniel E. Howard but returned by 24 January to Freetown because his health was worsening. Shortly After, Blyden left this world at the age of eighty on February 7th, 1912.

Blyden gave Africa and the world a philosophy that presented a counter-discourse to European anthropological race theories about Africa and the African race. His theoretical analysis of the African personality, the meaning and intent of African education and his criticism to European Christianity were all-instrumental in shaping African nationalism and bolstering a new positive start for fellow Africans to resist and condemn all forms of white oppression.

III.3.1. Edward Wilmot Blyden and the African Personality

The African personality presented the core of Blyden's philosophy. Blyden's conception of the African personality came as an anti-thesis to European anthropological race theories⁴. These theories, mainly propagated by the Anthropological Society of London, were grounded on the belief that each race evolved from an inferior race with certainty that Africans (Negroes) be at the bottom⁵. These views found great support among its members who during the 1860's increased to 200 members. With Richard Burton and Winwood Reade as influential members, the society succeeded in enforcing

¹ Conyers,op.cit.p.74

² Ibid,p. 75

³ Conyers,op.cit.p.76

⁴ Frenkel, M.Y, "Edward Blyden and the Concept of the African Personality ", African Affairs, Vol73, No, 292, July 1974,p.278

⁵ Conyers,op.cit,p. 79

ideas about black's inferiority and the superiority of Western civilization. For example, Burton propagated for the society's ideas claiming that "Negroes" "did not have the latent mental capabilities ascribed to him"¹. Contrary to Blyden's conception of the African personality, many saw the "civilizing effect" of the West on the most "cultureless" people of Africa as the only solution to uplift people of Africa and got them to know more about Western modernity and civilization. Indeed, these depictions, along many others mentioned in chapter two, had great influence in shaping an immediate response by Blyden to unveil the truth of a real African personality based on an African "world view"².

Blyden rejected the idea of innate superiority, or inferiority of races. He vehemently propounded that all races are equal but different. For Blyden, differences between races are the product of their unique endowments and destiny and could never be attributed to face complexions³. To this point, Blyden referred to the "the soul" as a point of departure to make a real distinction. "The soul" denotes a self-collective psyche among members of the same race because of their shared beliefs and institutions. The soul is a product of a system of life that was generated by its environment which made it unique and incomparable. For Blyden, the time when Africans accepted Western claims of their inferiority was the beginning of a "terrible homicide" that would kill their institutions and by extinction their soul⁴.

Furthermore, the fact of being nurtured in a different socio-cultural environment heralded that Africans and Europeans be different and distinct in nature. People of all races share some features because of their human nature. Yet, some features emerged to differentiate them. According to Blyden, "there is no question now as to the human unity, but each section has developed for itself such a system or code of life as its environment have suggested"⁵. The African, thus,

¹ Conyers, op.cit, p. 79

² Bennie A. Khoapa, "The African Personality", The United Nations University, Japan, 1980, P.01

³ Lynch, op.cit, p. 60

⁴ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "West Africa Before Europe", London : C.M. Phillips, 1905, p. 140

⁵ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "African Life and Customs", London: C.M. Phillips, 1908, p. 10

had “*idiosyncrasies*”¹ which marked his individuality, not his inferiority and it was his task to improve the African system of life that represented the core of the African personality and reject all forces that worked for its change and extinction.

In the same manner, Blyden opined that peculiarities of the African personality set the divinity of the African. For Blyden, African’s eccentric complexion and habits were something of divine nature. He did not see the point in tampering with a system that was God creation. He wrote:

these racial peculiarities are God given. For his own glory they are and were created. The neglect of them, suppress them, or get rid of them is to get rid of the cord which binds us to the Creator. Try and learn the important lesson that it is God’s intention for you that you should be different from all the rest of mankind²

Blyden exploited African’s deep-seated fear about being absorbed by European materialistic and educational doctrines and thus lose their spiritual nature. Blyden believed that European influence would distort the essence of the African personality and force “...the mental and moral peculiarities of the Negro... Out of their rational relations and normal actions”³. Blyden longed for a day when he found the African in his “perfect state”, eager to strengthen ties with the African code of life, and mandated to express the African personality in his own worldview⁴.

The African was mandated to preserve the distinctiveness of the African personality. For Blyden, the African more than any other time should understand the necessity of keeping the African system of life. It was a task of “tremendous necessity and tremendous importance” that showed the real essence of the African personality and Africans strong allegiance to the race. For by losing touch with their individuality, the African would be one-step closer to the worst suicide:

Be yourselves. . . . If you are not yourself, if you surrender your personality, you have nothing left to give the world. You have no pleasure, no use, nothing which will attract and charm men, for by the suppression of your individuality, you lose your distinctive character. . . . You will see, then, that to give up our personality would be to give up the peculiar work and glory to which we are called. It would really be to give up the

¹ Meriem Webster dictionary defines the word "an individualizing characteristic or quality" or "an unusual way of behaving or thinking that is characteristic of a person". www.merriam-webster.com. (accessed in February 2021)

² Shapley, Mark, “Developments in Black Theology:From Richard Allen to Marcus Garvey”, Michigan State University. Department of History,2003,p. 78

³ Lynch,op.cit,p. 223

⁴ Blyden, “African Life and Customs”,op.cit,p.10

divine idea— to give up God—to sacrifice the divine individuality; and this is the worst of suicides¹

Moreover, Blyden made the point that African survival depended largely on the withdrawal of Western influences and re-setting ties with traditional life. Traditional life represented the laws of ancestry and fatherland that were inconformity with how the African evolved, his socio-economic development and most importantly his cultural estate. As such, Blyden seemed to convince his fellow Africans that they could not reach their destination unless they made the laws and systems of the fatherland the monitoring dynamic for their struggle. The loss of connection with these systems no doubt would mean the destruction of the African personality.

The African personality was spiritually superior to the European personality². Blyden praised the African personality for being endowed with positive qualities like sympathy, spirituality and cooperation³. These positive traits placed the African personality in conformity with the natural well-being of humans, and thus be spiritually distinct⁴. These distinctive features made the "Negro" morally superior. He wrote “the Negro is on a different plane, religiously, from the white man. He has a more spiritual nature”⁵. Moreover, African cooperative spirit was an important pillar of the African personality⁶. This made the African character ready to cooperate, and work for the benefit of all. In his opinion, the African, right from his childhood birth, learned that his destiny is inseparable of the whole community. For an African, an individual could not own land and water. Instead, they are owned by all members and thus make it potent for individuals that “all work for each, and each works for all”⁷. He further deployed that for the African being altogether is necessary for living in

¹ Shapley,op.cit p.61

² Conyers,op.cit,p. 83

³ Lynch,op.cit,p.61

⁴ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, “Liberia’s Offering“, New York: John A. Gray, 1862,p.15

⁵ Lynch,op.cit,p. 205

⁶ Conyers,op.cit,p. 83

⁷ Blyden, “African Life and Customs”,op.cit,p.11

one society. According to Blyden, for the African “we [Africans], and not I, is the law of African life”¹.

In contrast, the European personality was the anti-thesis of the African personality. He portrayed the European personality as “harsh, individualistic, competitive and combative”². It was hampered by the tendency to subdue other races and place science over spirituality (God). In 1888 he wrote:

It would seem that the tendency of the West Aryan genius is ever to divorce God from His works, and to lay great stress upon human capabilities and achievement. Man is an end, not a means. The highest man is the highest end to which all things else must bow. The aggregate must bend to the individual if he is superior to other individuals in intellectual or pecuniary might. The more favored race must dominate and control the less favoured race. Religion is to be cherished as a means of subserving temporal and material purposes...there is now no more direct communication with or inspiration from God necessary or possible³

Consequently, the European personality sought material progress over spiritual needs. For the European “the human soul-the immaterial- was of secondary and subordinate importance”⁴. In his search for material progress, the European lost touch with the spiritual world and developed a deep entrenched belief in the superiority of any race based on its materialistic achievements. For Blyden, this justified the failure of a many philanthropic movements in their zeal to spread everything but spiritual progress.

Furthermore, the African is mandated to contribute to the spiritual side of humanity. The African is not obliged to participate in European rush for material and industrial progress. For Blyden, this progress set Europeans back spiritually. The task of the African was to “pursue the calling of a man in his perfect state”. Thus, the revival of the relation of man with land is the highest form of belonging and wellbeing. He urged Africans to turn to agriculture as “the basis at once of life and religion”⁵. Yet, Blyden never obviated the need for Africa’s industrialism. He, instead, sought the welfare that Africans might receive out of European mad rush for industrialization. He saw European

¹ Blyden, “African Life and Customs”, op.cit,p.30

² Lynch,op.cit,p.61

³ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race”, Black Classic Press, 1888,p. 278

⁴ Ibid,p126

⁵ Lynch,op.cit,p.62

presence in Africa merely in a give and take process. For Blyden, Africa would provide Europeans with raw materials while Europeans would bring back these elements in a form where Africans “in the simplicity and purity of rural enterprises will be able to cultivate those spiritual elements in humanity which are suppressed, silent and inactive under the pressure and exigencies of material progress”¹. This mutual concession would benefit Africa while retain Africans from being obsessed by European influences².

Blyden's African personality was not culturally based. Rather it represented a chain of philosophical and intellectual needs to meet political and educational needs. Thus, it cannot be looked solely as a cultural movement. Instead, it should be manifested “to create...a dynamic political creed”. For Blyden, the African personality was a means to generate in Africans innate confidence in their intellectual and cultural wellbeing that would bring not merely cultural satisfaction, but also a metamorphosis change to all his socio-economic and political status.

According to Blyden:

the great point at which you should aim is not simply the information, but the formation of the mind. The formation of the mind being secured the formation will take care of itself. Mere knowledge of itself is not power-but the ability to know how to use that knowledge –and this ability belongs only to the mind that is disciplined, trained, formed³

Blyden appealed on all blacks to work together to bring this scheme to fruition. For Blyden, concerted efforts to manifest his African personality theory could only attain its objectives by setting purely African institutions. The latter would set Africans to assume their place among nations of the world. Blyden, thus, saw the re-consideration of Euro-Christian education introduced to Africans as the first step for real emancipation and concrete realization of the essence of the African personality.

¹ Blyden, “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race”, op.cit,p126

² Frenkel, op.cit,p. 281

³ Lynch,op.cit,p.195

III.3.2. Edward Wilmot Blyden and the Quest for Purely African Education

Central to Blyden's philosophy was a re-evaluation of the education system introduced to Africans. Blyden believed that a correct education would be a path to African's mental and physical emancipation. Yet, prior to the 1870's, Blyden seemed to accept European education. He saw this type of education as the best means to uplift Africans. In "*A Voice from Bleeding Africa*" Blyden saw missionary bodies as "a chain of light along the benighted shore and spreading their civilization and recovering influences among the surrounding degradation and barbarism"¹. Blyden professed for African's need of missionaries of "thorough education" who would imbibe Africans with Western values and implant a new character for the African that was fully Christian². Blyden was thoroughly endowed with the belief that what worked for Europeans would inevitably prove successful for Africans. He was greatly against the idea of giving "peculiar" type of education for Africans believing that "Mind is everywhere the same, and everywhere it receives character and formation from the same fundamental principles"³.

Nevertheless, the close of the 1860's brought much change to Blyden's vision of what suited Africans educationally⁴. Blyden was desperately trying to shed his old-Eurocentric vision of African education. This was in part due to his visits to Egypt and the University of Beirut. Through his visits, Blyden contacted many Muslims and was very amazed by their system of education which, contrary to Euro-Christian education, developed a sense of appreciation of the self and admiration of their system of life. Consequently, Blyden left the Middle East with a new ideological endeavor that placed the reviving of all what was African as its primary concern. In 1872, Blyden announced that Euro-Christian education was debasing.

Blyden averred that missionary education had mistaken the African, distorted and alienated him of the real essence of his identity. In all aspects of life, the African became an imitator of the

¹ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "A Voice from Bleeding Africa on Behalf of Her Exiled Children", Liberia: G, Killian Printer, 1856, p.29

² Holden, op.cit, p.51

³ Ibid

⁴ Conyers, op.cit, p.109

European, not an inventor¹. In a very systematic process, the African learned to admire all what was European. The mad rush to mimic Western codes of life led Africans neglect the fact that this action would only enforce “a practical inferiority” and inevitably give the African “the faults rather than the virtues of their models”². Moreover, Blyden was convinced that the process would distort the essence of the African personality, and bring systematic erosion of national culture. He further deployed that the spiritual and intellectual nature of the African personality would be lost in search for a false, much degrading European personality. In the words of Blyden, European education intended to produce a new race:

He [the African] finds himself by them alienated from himself and from his countrymen. He is neither African in feeling nor in aim. He does not breathe African air through any of the lessons he has imbibed. The smell of the African ground is not in them, but everything is Europe and European³

Blyden seemed to make the point that European education failed the African. With its “despotic” and “overruling method”, the European teacher succeeded in making the African a slave again. Slavery of the mind, for Blyden, is much destructive than that of the body. The African mind received new culture, new ideas and practices that did nothing but worked “to force [Africans] from the groove which is natural to them”⁴.

In an attempt to compensate for the rising influence of European education, Blyden insisted that education must have an outstanding cultural endeavor. As president of Liberia College, Blyden addressed the administrative cadre that the college should provide education not according to “foreign patterns” but in conformity with “the nature of the people and the country”. He further warned that what the college was doing was neither “normal” nor “regular” as an African institution and proposed a set of characteristics that constituted what he termed “a correct education”. A correct education was primarily the one which guided Africans to know their potential. It was a type of

¹ Conyers, op.cit, p.117

² Blyden, Edward Wilmot, “Africa’s Service to the World”, *African Repository*, Vol: LVII. No 08, October 1881, p.110

³ Lynch, Hollis, “Black Spokesman: Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden”, New York: Humanities Press, 1971, p. 256

⁴ Blyden, “Africa’s Service to the World”, op.cit, p.112

education that would “secure growth and efficiency” and help the African exploit his innate intellectual knowledge to draw on what he wanted to be in the future. Blyden further insisted that the genesis of a correct education was a well devised content that provided knowledge that would restore Africans “self-respect” and be as a mean to let Africans appreciate their powers and knew their place in the world and the contributions that might be drawn from an African mind¹.

The creation of a West African university rested as a solution to remedy delinquencies of education. Throughout his life, Blyden never doubted the need for Pan-West African unity² as indispensable part of Pan-African unity. He thought that education would be the starting point by which West Africans could consider the importance of this solidarity. As such, the establishment of a West African university was an articulation of this held belief. Blyden espoused for the need of a liberal education for the youth. In Freetwon, Sierra Leone Blyden addressed John Pope-Hennessy, Governor of Sierra Leone, of the need of a university for West Africans. According to Blyden, “the more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am convinced that we can have no thorough and permanent reform- no proper development and growth- without the means being afforded of a liberal education to the youth”³. Blyden believed that the university as a native agency would contribute to Africa’s development. This development, he continued, could be attained when the work of the university was in compliance with Africans needs, “native instincts” and in the most part made the Africans in “harmony and sympathy with their own countrymen”⁴.

On December 10th 1872, Blyden received an answer to his correspondence from Governor Hennessy. He went along with Blyden’s views concerning the objective of education. He stressed that there should be systematic re-evaluation of the whole British system of education provided to Sierra Leoneans. He agreed with Blyden that education should implant African character and not merely Europeanize and alienate the African from his soul identity. Yet, the scheme to establish an

¹ Blyden, “Africa’s Service to the World”,op.cit,p116

² For more details see section entitled "The National Congress of British West Africa"

³ Ashby, op.cit,p. 451

⁴ Ibid

African university, he continued, depended in large estate on the way this project proved successful¹. In a final correspondence to Hennessy on 14th December 1872, Blyden posited that the creation of a university was the only path for Africa's regeneration. Blyden insisted that the project would instill "a new social force" through the introduction of new literature and new institutions of learning that had long been under Western influences².

The creation of a West African university was a means to produce an African scholar. In many instances, Blyden levelled great criticism at the present situation not only because of the work of the European teacher but also because Africans failed to represent themselves. Blyden opined that Africans accepted habits and ideas alien to their life because there was no proper experience, training and the "power of recognizing the laws of the race" which made it difficult to interpret the African world view"³. The creation of an African scholar, thus, became the target of Blyden's new project. For Blyden, the African scholar would "read what is "still unreal", written for the race in "the manuscripts of God"⁴. In a very sensitive way, Blyden explained the mission cast upon the African scholar. He wrote:

"[the African scholar] will study and comprehend the ways of God in Africa, who ...will understand the African in his native state...who will be able to study from a scientific standpoint native law, tribal organization, native languages, native religion, native politics, the social and domestic life of the natives, their secret societies, and the effect of all these things upon their life"⁵

Where the European scholar granted Africans "the power of adoption", the African scholar instead was destined to restore Africans' image about themselves and their image in the European mind⁶. As a result, the work of the African scholar rested on getting the African out of "crudeness" and "superstitions" and be as a medium to let people know about their religions, social customs and the nature of their governments.

¹ Ashby, op.cit,p.454

² Ibid,p. 456

³ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "The Liberia Scholar "Liberian Bulletin No. 17, November, 1900,p.13

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Blyden, "The Liberia Scholar",op.cit,p.15

⁶ Ibid

By 1882, Blyden recognized the need to incorporate industrial, agricultural and vocational training. For Blyden, cultural awareness was not enough until Africans became completely self-reliant. This state of mind came out as a result of Blyden's belief in Africans mission in life. Blyden explained that colonial domination taught Africans the habit of being controlled and led by others. The process discharged Africans of negotiating "the most important functions of national life" and let only the "irresponsible" and "insignificant" work to be performed by them. Blyden never doubted the mission of the "Negro" and always reminded Africans in these words: "We are a Negro nation, having a new and important role to play in the world's history, and in the history of this great continent"¹. He immediately established within the college workshops for the teaching of carpenter and other skills. Blyden further worked a scheme to establish "The Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute" in 1896. Blyden insisted that the new institute would be an opportunity for Negro economic and material progress as it could save health, time and money².

Agricultural training was at the hub of Blyden's education program. For Blyden, if Africans could be self contained in food, this would further their independence. As the African continent was largely agricultural, Blyden posited that the content of education should "regulate and foster the culture of soil" instead of the regular emphasis on Western knowledge and skills. To this point, Blyden seemed to expose Africans through education to useful knowledge instead of knowledge of useful things. For him, useful knowledge would help Africans knew other knowlege. Blyden was critical of curriculum that only set Africans admire Western knowledge and advancement. Instead, he emphasized that the African was in need of knowledge that "strengthen, form, and enlarge the mind so to enable it to grasp and utilize the knowledge of such things as shall be useful in the development of the moral and intellectual, as well as material resources of the country"³. Blyden's coffee project was an attempt to let farmers be economically self-contained and in the long run let Liberia and by extension the African continent be independent economically. The coffee project was accompanied

¹ Lynch, "Black Spokesman", op.cit, p. 251

² Ibid, 262

³ Ibid, p.250-251

by a call for a trans-continental marketing system that would allow for further economic growth and self-reliance. Blyden blamed African states-men and merchants of considering only their interests without thinking seriously of creating a market for the more than 200,000,000 people of Africa¹.

All these measures, indeed, showed how Blyden feared European financial support. Blyden called on behalf of Africans that without economic independence Africans would remain subject to foreign influences. He believed that an African nation that was financially led by a European fund would not get a complete independence. In *"Liberia as She is and the Present Duty of her Citizens"*, Blyden excessively explained this dynamic which showed how he was ahead of his time as regards present situation of the African nations and the neo-colonial tactics of subjugation. He wrote that "The prosperity of a nation is real when the springs of the prosperity are within itself, in the hands of its citizens; when it depends for its existence upon its own resources; when it is independent"². Blyden took the example of Liberia as an emerging African nation. For Blyden, Liberia was still under the control of foreigners. Foreigners led all the most important aspects of national life as regards schools, teachers, churches and preachers. What was important for all was that the African talented personalities were working to the benefits of foreigners. A thing that made their skills "subservient" not to the interests of their people but to foreign interests³. The present situation made it impossible for the emerging nations to know their destiny as foreign intervention was still rooted in African affairs. This led Blyden further to expand his criticism to European Christianity, which he thought, was behind European systematic control of African physical and intellectual capacities.

III.3.3. Edward Wilmot Blyden as a Critique of European Christianity

During the 1860's, Blyden showed positive attitudes towards European Christianity. He asked all his African peers living in the U.S.A. to return to Africa so that they could disperse Christian ideals. For Blyden, Africa was still upheld by "the cheerless gloom of ignorance". A thing that made it a

¹ Conyers, op.cit, p. 127

² Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "Liberia as She is and the Present Duty of her Citizens", The annual address before the Common Council and the Citizens of Monrovia, Liberia- Monrovia, Liberia: Gaston Killian. -July 27, 1857.p.33

³ Lynch, "Black Spokesman", op.cit, p 63-64

necessity for African sons to return to the continent and do the “glorious work” for the race and for the expulsion of all forms of “barbarism”¹. This vision did not last for long especially when Blyden deepened his knowledge about African traditions and civilization. The 1870’s however, were a years of great vigilance to the nature of European Christianity introduced to Africans. As argued in the last section, Blyden’s visits to North Africa and Syria during the 1860's promulgated new perceptions about not only education, but also Christian doctrine in general. Moreover, his contact with Liberian Muslims of the interior re-generated and pictured new realities about the detriment of the whole meaning and intent of Christian teaching in Africa².

For Blyden, European behavior was completely antithetical to the teaching of the church. Blyden posited that "Negroes" received menacing and harsh treatment from their educators. For, there was great “dissimilitude” and “disproportion” between what "Negroes" had been taught as a God Christianity and the actual appliance of it by its followers. According to Blyden, the Christian faith had been dispersed among Negroes with vehement intent to impose it brutally upon them. It was “the triumph of Might over Right” that characterized European diffusion of Christianity into Africa³. To this point, Blyden recognized the interlocking nature of European Christianity and colonial and imperial system of subjugation. He averred that European Christianity “was trying morally to disarm the African and to make him easy prey to the European”⁴. In Europe, he continued, these missionaries revealed zealous attempts to Christianize “poor benighted Africa”, but as soon as they got to Africa, the missionary “unhoes a sensible refrigeration” and lost sympathy in doing a very sacred work. Alas for the African, the new religion, instead of furthering their freedom, enforced their inferiority and subordination.

Blyden’s approach to Islam at this point stood in marked contrast to European Christianity. For Blyden, the disparity between Islam and Christianity was in conditions of propagation. Blyden

¹ Lynch, “Black Spokesman”, op.cit, p.33

² Lynch, op.cit, p.72

³ Blyden, “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race”, op.cit, p.103

⁴ Frenkel, op.cit, p.68

posited that the Negro was coerced to disciple Christianity in a manner that was acquiescent and servile. Where Christian Africans received Christianity by Europeans in a tone of dependent and submission. Muslims, on the other hand, acquired Islam “at home in state of freedom and independence of its teachers”¹. Blyden further explained that Christianity re-enforced the idea of black inferiority. Christianity was introduced to the African as “a slave” or “a subject race” which made Africans subordinate to their teachers, or as he described it “in the relation of chattels” who could do nothing without their masters. In this respect, Blyden averred that the Christian teacher considered the African mind as a *tabula rasa*². It was conceived as a space where they could load European staff. The African mind became susceptible where “everything is to be destroyed, replaced by something new and foreign”³.

Moreover, Christianity precluded the African from standing as a “proper individual”. The Negro was never taught about his history and culture which constituted the essence of race development. Instead, he was exposed to a knowledge which did not fit his own socio-economic and cultural estate. Blyden melancholy posited that the African was never taught “to be himself”, but somebody else”. The African was endowed with the belief that to be good was to be a whiteman. In “Christian Missions in West Africa”, Blyden advanced that Christian schools made the Negro “unconsciously” believe in the superiority of the white race and its inability to hold any responsibility. Within this atmosphere, the Negro became an “imitator, “ape” and “parasite” instead of a “companion”, “equal” and a “comrade”⁴.

Moreover, European Christianity concocted a racial image of God for the African. The European would have remolded Christianity to be religion of the oppressor, and not the oppressed⁵. In this respect, the image of God ostensibly became European. Blyden saw that though the Caucasian Race

¹ Blyden, “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race”, op.cit, p. 14

² Also referred as “clean state”, the term in both epistemology and psychology mean the state of the human mind before the senses conceive ideas and thoughts. www.britannica.com (accessed in February 2021)

³ Blyden, Edward Wilmot, “Christian Missions in West Africa”, Fraser’s Magazine. Vol XIV. No. LXXXII. October 1876, p.519

⁴ Ibid, p.563

⁵ Frenkel, op.cit, p.700

benefited from the aesthetic and moral advantages of Christianity, the Negro, because of his peculiarities, could never go in conformity with these “exquisite representations” as they were suited for “the physical characteristics of a foreign race”. This work had a depressing influence upon the Negro who “felt that he had neither part nor lot” in understanding a religion that was alien to their physical character¹. The correct image of God, for Blyden, embodied strengthening ties with African history and culture. It should boost the idea that God is an ally for the African for its cultural and intellectual re-generation and could not merely be circumscribed in color terms.

European Christianity mislead the African woman. Blyden believed that Christianity contaminated the very essence of the African society that was of woman. Blyden expressed how the moral of the African womanhood was infected: “These creatures of despoiled womanhood are the future mothers of the race and the vital issue involved in such maternity are questions that imperial and threaten with wholesale destruction the integrity of the race”². In contrast, Blyden opined that women of the interior who were still far from European influences were exhibiting moral values. According to him, “Every woman in Africa away from the contamination of the coast is protected by marriage or betrothal”³. Blyden was very hesitant of whether European Christianity did or could do any positive contribution to the state of African women. He bitterly revealed that the new religion bamboozled the African women and never worked for her progress. He further argued about the equality of the African women and her significant to the advancement of the community and the race. He strongly exemplified by instances where Mohammedanism allowed women to marry man of power in the state. These women, he continued, had never experienced such a degradation that the African women encountered by their contact with European Christianity⁴.

The creation of an independent African church was the only way to get out from Euro-Christian influences. Blyden urged Africans to create their own image of Christianity and mold Christianity to

¹ Blyden, Edward. Wilmot, “Mohammedanism and the Negro Race”, Fraser’s Magazine. Vol 92. No.12, November 1875, p.608

² Holden, op.cit, p. 577

³ Ibid, p. 578

⁴ Ibid

suit the African socio-cultural estate. He was definitely aware that the project would drop off Euro-Christian influences and yield Africans to build Christianity of their own, financially independent and intellectually allegiant to the African race. Consequently, his appeals started to influence prominent African Christians from Lagos and Sierra Leone. The Delta Pastorate was established on the eve of Blyden's first calls on April 29th 1891. As soon as, the church found pace, its leaders re-joined the CMS¹. Another attempt was made by James Holy Johnson (1836–1917), a Sierra Leonian clergyman based on Nigeria, to establish an African church. However, the church did not see the light, Conyers explained, because of Johnson's views about some Islamic rules that did not comply with his Christian views. Majola Agbebi (1860–1917), the then D.B.Vincent and a Nigerian Yoruba Baptist minister, established the Native Baptist Church (NBC). He was a supporter of Blyden's ideas which contributed to the dispersion among Lagosians the need to create their own version of Christianity².

Indeed, Blyden's appeals to understand the African personality, his long lasting contributions to the essence of correct education for Africans and his determination to correct misleading facts about the whole system of European-Christianity did not fall on deaf ear. Many historians agreed that his philosophy became a source of organized protest on all parts of Africa and energetic mechanisms for the New World Pan-Africanists of the twentieth century. In the Gold Coast, all forms of protests that started with the inception of colonial rule until the period when international and regional gatherings took the most of Gold Coasters activities, Blyden's philosophy remained a force that drove Gold Coasters to the attainment of their physical and intellectual emancipation.

III.4. Early Manifestations of Nationalism in the Gold Coast (1874-1914)

There were meagre records of Blyden's visits to the Gold Coast as compared to other West African colonies .Yet, his impact on the growth of nationalism there was tremendous. It was, thus, not surprising that J.E.Casely Hayford (1866-1930), a Fanti Pan-Africanist and one of the prominent Gold Coast nationalist messiah of the early twentieth century, described the man as the one who

¹ Lynch,op.cit,p. 226

² Ibid,p. 239

sought for more than a quarter of a century to reveal everywhere the African unto himself; to fix his attention upon original ideas and conceptions as to his place in the economy of the world ; to point out to him his work as a race among the races of men ; lastly, and most important of all, to lead him back unto self-respect ¹

As such, an examination of early forms of protest, though at a local scale, revealed how the nature of Gold Coast nationalism pertained to the ideas and intellects of Edward Wilmot Blyden. Indeed, these early manifestations found in the philosophy of Blyden an outlet to address theological, educational and most importantly racial needs.

III.4.1. Vindication of the African Race

The period between 1830 and 1865 was regarded as “the Golden Age” for Gold Coasters. The Colonial government had been tolerant to let Africans take influential positions in the administrative cadre. Thoughts of racial inferiority did not influence government relations with Africans. According to Kimble, Africans ‘appointment to the colonial service “depended on their ability and willingness to serve, and it would appear that the question of color had scarcely been relevant”². Whitefield opined that Africans during the 1850’s served in many positions. James Bannerman (1790-1858), born in the Gold Coast from a British father and a native mother, had the chance to be recruited as Civil Commandant, Lieutanat Governor, and Acting Governor³. The period was also known by Europeans and Africans intermarriage. However, the late 1860’s had brought many changes to this relation due to the widespread ideas about Africans inferiority which spread all over Europe and America at the time. This relation, argued Whitefield, changed from that of mutual respect to a kind of distrust and distaste. With the imposition of colonial formal rule, race relations hardened:

As informal rule became formal colonialism..., imperial attitudes to race hardened, and by the 1880s “natives” were being systematically excluded from the upper echelons of the expanding colonial bureaucracy. Social interaction between black and white-first and foremost inter-racial marriage and concubinage declined dramatically⁴

¹ Hayford, Casely, “Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation”, London: C.M. Philips, 1911, p.163

² Kimble, op.cit, p.65

³ Whitefield, Harvey. A, “Colonial Complexity: the Images and Ideas of Mansah Serbah and S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma, 1895-1912”, Diss, Dalhousie üniveseity, 1998, P.21

⁴ Ibid, p. 22

These developments made strong pressure upon Gold Coast, especially the elite, who were very enthusiastic about the role they would take as collaborators and partners of the colonial government. Their reaction to these abuses was, no doubt, a counter-revolution to systematic processes of degradation and blatant attempts to discard them from their own identity and roots. Mainly through the press, literary production and highly devised organizations, these men and women created a culture of protest that made the revival of African culture and institutions as a priority. Their manifestations were identical to Blydenic philosophy which through its contact with West Africans and especially Gold Coast, made a lasting impact on their activities for the coming years.

Early protests refuted ideas about black inferiority and shared Blyden's view that the African personality was morally superior to the European personality. For many, a great understanding of the existence of an African personality would make Africans believe in their capacities to lead their own institutions, and refute the mental inferiority of Negroes propagated by Europeans and some educated Africans. Consequently, many attempts were deployed to make comparisons between the two types of personalities. Attoh Ahuma (1863-1921), born as Samuel Solomon, was an active nationalist, author and journalist. He played a prominent role in the formation of the the Aborigines's Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.). He explained that the European personality though seemed to exhibit good traits; it was full of bad things. For Ahuma, "the Whiteman has his vices as well as his virtues, and sometimes the vices of his virtues"¹.

In the same manner, James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey (1875-1927), a missionary, teacher and intellectual, saw the African personality as completely antithetical to the European personality. He posited that the time when the European personality showed aspects of its harshness and materialistic aggrandizement, the African personality, in contrast, was closely tied to human nature. In praising the African personality. He wrote "Some people took to war ; we took to love ; some people took to hate ; we took to song ; some people took to anger ; we took to laughter ; some people took to despair

¹ Attoh Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness" 1911 repr. London: Cass, 1971., p.40

; we took to hope.”¹. Like Blyden, he saw the European personality as merely materialistic as compared to the African personality. The European personality, in his regard, was deluded with the belief that life is based on “a give and take”. In contrast, the African personality exhibited traits of cooperation and a zeal for help that made it spiritually superior to the European personality. He amplified by giving many examples where the African was ready to help and give his assistance when needed though without a reward. Men of color, according to Aggrey, were never a source of shame. It was Europeans who unreasonably attempted to link everything black with inferiority and laziness, yet, history told that blacks exhibited courage, willingness to serve and a spirit of loyalty that could never be found except in the African personality.

Similar to Aggrey, J. E. Casely Hayford took an uncompromising stand against European appeals of African inferiority. He shared the view of Blyden that the African personality was endowed with good traits that placed it in parallel or in advance of the European personality. According to Hayford, the African personality was spiritual and humane as compared to the materialistic nature of the European personality. In his masterpiece, *“Ethiopia Unbound”* (1911), the main two characters, Kwamankra and Whitely, presented the two personalities and while Whitely, a white man, was materialistic minded and his personality was, no doubt for Hayford, empty though he was a theology student, Kwamankra, a Negro, on the other hand, was a spiritual character, mostly tight to God. The nature of the two personalities, according to Hayford, made it plain that the European personality, as stated by Blyden, was not superior to the African personality and much of what was widespread about Africans’ inferiority was only a European creation².

A good understanding of the merits of the African personality brought an immediate fight against imitation of European culture and social habits. As cherished by Blyden, a blind mimic of the Europeans would make Africans disciplinarian. Imitation would never create a liberated, modernized and civilized African but rather a personality without roots and essence and mostly parasite upon the

¹ Edwin W. Smith “Aggrey of Africa : A Study in Black and White” , London, Student Christian Movement, 1929, p.221

² Hayford, "Ethiopia Unbound", op.cit, p.11

European. William Esuman-Gwira Sekyi (1892-1956) known as Kobina Sekyi was a notable lawyer and nationalist. He never doubted the harm brought with imitation and was at odds with the unreasonable rush toward the mimic of European aspects of life. The common view was that “whatever is borrowed is superficial and only taints our culture and chains the nation to the whims of external powers”¹. His most influential play, *“the Blinkard”* (1915), ridiculed the way Africans detached themselves of their culture and rooted themselves in a life that was not their own. According to Sekyi, the African could gain nothing by despising African values and immersing himself in the adoption of European life style. The African when Anglicized and Westernized could reach nothing. Sekyi seemed to criticize a bulk of the emerging Western educated elite who were greatly amused by copying everything European. He, instead, appealed on them that roots of progress and evolution would be in re-creating touch with traditional institutions. Sekyi went in hand with John Mensah Sarbah (1864-1910) proposition that Africans could not progress “by things which have not grown with its own growth or which have not been the natural outcome of its own history”². Instead, the African must fashion his own destiny that placed him as an inventor of modernity and progress and not merely became an ape of a ruthless European culture.

In the same manner, Hayford vehemently stood against imitation and the apparent repulsive and derogatory influence of European life style. In his novel “Ethiopia Unbound”, he aptly described how the African was alienated and distorted and made ashamed to stand as an African. Hayford utilized the character of Tom Palmer as an avid example of Africans who had a cultural abortion because of their blind mimic of Europeans. Palmer looked like a European. His dress, number of wives all signified his admiration of Western life style. By the end, however, Palmer began to see the real evil of European influence and searched for his real identity, uncontaminated by European influences. Hayford, also, gave the example of many African women who were deceived by Europeans. Here, Hayford shared Blyden’s view that Africans contact with Europeans negatively affected the role of

¹ National Consciousness in Early Intellectual Work in the Gold Coast by Gideon Boadu & Emmanuel Nii Adotei Baddoo. Retrieved from www.researchgate.net/publication/319871094 (accessed in Jun 2020)

² Sarbah, John Mensah, “Fanti National Constitution”, repr. Londonr Cass, 1906,p. 121

women in society. Ekuba, one of the characters, showed great zeal to adopt all what was Western. She represented the case of many Westernized women who blindly overthrown the role of women assigned by community and society principles in search for Western life style. Ekuba refused to be one of the wives of the king which abruptly, as seen by Hayford, disrupted the existence of monogamy that had long been practiced by Africans¹.

A surge to resist Western influences found momentous during the last decade of the nineteenth and opening years of the twentieth centuries. An editor noted “the fact is we have been born Pseudo Englishmen and the result will soon be the entire loss of race characteristics”². If Africans rid themselves out of Western influences, the process would bring “a gain to the cause of Ethiopian progress and advancement”³. In 1889, Mensah Sarbah founded the “Mfantsi Amanbuhu Fékuw”, a Fanti society with national and political aims, in Cape Coast which was a body aiming at making Gold Coasters knew about their institutions. In the words of Mensah, the new body had many principles. For him, it was a matter of proud to be called by an African name than a European name. For the African, it was good to get high educational degrees but the process should not make him alter his African values. He exemplified by the Japanese who, in his opinion, preserved their “national costume and yet excel in wisdom and knowledge”⁴. Indeed, his initiative bolstered positive feelings among Gold Coasters who began to see the richness of their origins. One of the contemporaries noted:

I failed not to be present at the first concert presided over by Mr. J. Mensah Sarbah, who in his native cloth looked like a Roman in toga garb at the Forum. Let us be thankful Fantis are proud to be Fantis and are not ashamed to be known by their native names, heard speaking their liquid language, and seen arrayed in their flowing robes...I am sorry I did not wear my cloth on that warm night, I had the misfortune to wear the alien badge of coat and trousers⁵

Gold Coasters also started changing their Westernized names into African names. An editor in *the Gold Coast People* wrote in 1893: "To All Whom It May Concern!! Two gentlemen of intelligence

¹ Hayford, Ethiopia Unbound, op.cit,p.12

² Kimble,op.cit,p. 518

³ Sarbah, “Fanti National Constitution”,op.cit,p.123

⁴ Kimble,op.cit,p. 518

⁵ Ibid

having pluckily dropped their foreign names, have encouraged me to do the same...I am no slave, so no body must call me Ebenezer Weldu Cole Eshun any more. My real name is Esuon Weldu"¹. These initiatives, indeed, revolutionized the way Africans saw themselves and entrenched a deep-rooted feeling that they had a nation, a past, political constitution, and a one unified system of government. The only cry remained, according to many, "to rid ourselves of foreign accretions and excrescences" as the only path for "National Resurrection and National Prosperity"².

The African past became a source of pride. Many shared Blyden's view and refuted the fact that Africans had no past except which had been told by Europeans. They vigorously joined efforts to let fellow Africans know about their past and the richness of their history. In his book "*The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*", Ahuma reminded his fellow Africans that Africa had for long been a source for new ideas for Europeans. He commented, "In prehistoric days, Europe looked to Africa for new ideas, for fresh inspirations, and the saying was perpetuated and handed down from generation to generation, *Semper aliquid novi ex Africa*-There is always something new from Africa"³. In the same manner, Hayford tremendously attempted to let his fellow Africans be conscious of the fact that they are equal to Europeans and that Africans should no longer remain ashamed of their status. According to Hayford, the African must read about his past in order to know that the African was intelligent, knowledgeable and perceptive:

It had even been granted that for intellectual endowments he had nothing to be ashamed of in an open competition with the Aryan or any other type.... Here was a being anatomically perfect, adaptive and adaptable to any and every sphere of the struggle for life. Sociologically, he had succeeded in recording upon the pages of contemporary history a conception of family life unknown to Western ideas⁴

Hayford averred that the African throughout history was an idol for Europeans and there were many instances in history where people of the Western world relied on the intellectual and mental capacities of the Negro race. Furthermore, Hayford wrote many articles praising Gold Coast

¹ Boahen, Abu.A, "Mfantipim and the Making of Ghana: A Centenary History, 1876-1976", Sankofa Educational Publishers,1996,p.71

² Ibid

³ Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation",op.cit,p.08

⁴ Hayford,"Ethiopia Unbound",op.cit,p.01-03

personalities and their contribution to humanity. In 1896, Hayford wrote in *the Gold Coast Independent* about Hendrick Vroom (1850-1902), a government official and merchant, as one “of great characters that the West Coast of Africa has, can, and will produce”. In another article in *the Gold Coast Chronicle* (1898), Hayford provided an account of the life of George Ekem Ferguson (1864-1897), served in the British colonial government as civil servant and surgeon, who, according to Hayford, was among “the distinguished sons of the soil”¹.

In 1905, Attoh Ahuma published “*Memoirs of West African Celebrities*” which chronicled the lives and deeds of nineteen African celebrities who, according to Ahuma, “in the land of bondage...successfully vindicated the moral, intellectual and religious capabilities of their race”². In the same manner as Blyden, Ahuma further insisted that African progress depended largely on their return to the soil and their own traditional life. “Intelligent Retrogression” was the only “Progression” that Africans could made for Africa and for the race. Though seemed strange, educated West Africans, Ahuma continued, should understand the need to go “back to the land” and “back to the simple life” as the only dynamic for a regeneration of the past and re-building of a prospectus future³.

Another important articulation of Blyden’s ideas was on the way people saw the intentional erosion of their system of life as debasing. Many believed that colonialism failed the African by introducing a system that did not pay attention to African peculiarities. Instead, attempts were deployed to let Africans forget about their native institutions so that they would be a source of exploitation. John Mensah Sarbah opined that British authorities attempted to fuse African system of life into one which did not fit their own. He criticized this thinking schema and urged officials that it was impossible to have their plans fulfilled because there would never be a nation that could discard its own native institutions in favor of new ones. In this respect, he mentioned that the British did not pay attention to African peculiarities:

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 539

² Ibid,p. 539

³ Attoh Ahuma, S,R,B, “Memoirs of West African Celebrities”. Liverpool: D. Marples, 1905,pp,Vii/Viii

In the minds of such persons, the doctrine of individualism or distinct racial characteristics of each nation or race had no existence; to introduce English laws wholesale, abolish what is peculiar to Africans, and to treat them as subject races, saved them much trouble, patient study, and the effort of thinking¹

Instead, attempts were made to subordinate the most of these systems into what they called “imperial uniformity”:

[Many government officials] thought it good policy to ridicule and try to break up the aboriginal institutions of the people, to undermine the authority of their natural rulers, and to subordinate everything possible to the paramount claims of what they called Imperial uniformity²

In response to the perpetual attempts of supplanting native institutions, Sarbah hinted to the way English laws had many limited applicability as compared to native customary laws. He wrote “The native custom is more in accordance with natural justice, equity, and good conscience than the English Law”³. Sarbah further exemplified by the way the British suppressed traditional authority. For him, colonial authorities tried to “belittle” and “degrade” these authorities. This eradication of chiefs’ authority was an immediate threat to the African system of life. The process would only guarantee the failure of colonial rule and the “demoralization of Africans”⁴.

The most important articulation of Gold Coasters resistance to the change brought with the enforcement of British colonial system and the great influence that Blyden’s philosophy had on the time came with the creation of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S) in 1897. A number of educated elite⁵ rallied together, especially after the British inaugurated new legislative dealing that affected the aborigines’ right of land ownership. The society foundation stemmed from the fact that both chiefs and educated elite found it difficult to address their grievances though the local government appointed John Sarbah to the legislative Council in 1888. The society members

¹ Sarbah, “Fanti National Constitution”, op.cit, p.226

² Ibid

³ Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws”,op.cit,p.113

⁴ Ibid,p. xii

⁵ The main founders werer J.W. de Graft-Johnson, Jacob Wilson Sey, J. P. Brown, J. E. Casely Hayford, and John Mensah Sarbah. In Michael R. Doortmont, *The Pen-Pictures of Modern Africans and African Celebrities* by Charles Francis Hutchison: A Collective Biography of Elite Society in the Gold Coast Colony, Brill, 2005, p. 28

sought the new body as a medium that could bring them together to fight the malicious imperial policies that aimed at degrading, and abusing them of their inherent right as the people of the land¹.

The leaders of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society set two important objectives which were identical to Blydenic philosophy. First, they fought the British intentional destruction of African institutions. For example, the society members opposed Governor Maxwell legislation that sought to transform all stool lands into Crown lands. The new legislation, argued Padmore, if applied, would bring drastic negative transformation to the whole socio-economic and religious structure of the Akan society, and would precipitate a harm damage to the structure of the Fanti States too. Padmore continued that the lands bill had made both the chiefs and the educated elite aware of the need of cooperation and self-empowerment to protest against the new legislation that hindered them to access lands².

Eventually the society members sent a deputation to London under the command of Mr. Jacob W.Sey, the president, Mr George Hughes and Mr. T.F.Jones, member of the executive in 1897. The main objective of the mission was to insist that “any reform to be permanent and enduring in West Africa, it must be based on, and rooted in, the principles of the aboriginal institutions”³. Their mission had great success. They met Mr. Joseph Chamberlain who eventually asked the governor to withdraw the new legislation⁴. Second, The A.R.P.S leaders showed great importance to revive African past. Among the main objectives of the body was “To foster in the rising generation a knowledge of their historical past”⁵. The A.R.P.S. took it as a duty to let people know about their past which was seen a weapon to reach progress and modernity. The first issue of their newspaper, *The Gold Coast Aborigines*, wrote in 1898:

The people of the Gold Coast have a past and the rising generation must be instructed in the history of their country, for we do not knowledge a better weapon to be wielding

¹ Padmore, George, “The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom”, London: Dennis Dobson, 1936, p.36

² Ibid

³ Sarbah, “Fanti Customary Laws”, op.cit, p. 01

⁴ Padmore, op.cit, p.38

⁵ Ibid, p.222

in any political struggle for existence than a smart acquaintance with the history of the country, backed by a clear intelligence of the laws of the land¹

The newspaper was also a medium to speak about great African personalities and their significance to black man advancement. In 1898, the newspaper published a series of articles entitled “Sketches of the Lives and Labours of our Great Men” which vividly tried to attract public attention to the good did done by these personalities and their contribution to not only African history but also to human history at large.

Attempts to vindicate the African race necessitated an evaluation of the whole system of education, be it missionary or government. According to Gold Coasters, education introduced to the Negro was debasing. It did not bring civilization and progress. Instead, it failed the African by creating a world that neither he nor his fellows belonged to. In this regard, the educated elite shared Blyden thoughts that education mystified the Negro and led him to think that everything associated with African life and personality was a matter of shame and humiliation.

III.4.2. Education as a Tool for “Negro” Advancement

Right after the inception of colonial rule, Euro-Christian education was a sight of criticism. People of the Gold Coast believed that the attainment of education would improve their economic conditions and make them in contact with European life style as the latter would open opportunities for high social status. The converse was true. Many felt how Euro-Christian education intended to make them parasite upon Europeans. This type of education was likely to enforce ideas about black inferiority and the superiority of the white race because of technological as well as socio-cultural advancement. Many lived in severe psychological conflicts as they could not accustom themselves to the new type of education, nor they could forgot about their origins. Blyden’s ideas about the falsifying nature of European education thus became the bone of protest and a mechanism to tell and pressure upon the colonial government to revise the most of its content.

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 520

European education did not produce an African character, but a European character. Similar to Blyden, many advocated that European schools did not work to let apprentices develop their African personality. Instead, attempts were deployed to produce an African with a white man estate. For, this was because the Euro-Christian teachers was not one of them. They never knew about African environment. The result was a complete destruction of Africans's identity in favor of a merging European one. Consequently, the bulk of the people raised their voice and called plainly that "No first-class educated African wants to be a white man ...Every educated Negro wants to be a first-class Negro, not a third-class European"¹. Moreover, many advanced that the failure of education architect to introduce education suited to the African environment was because they conceived the African mind as blank. Identical to Blyden's view, the fact that Europeans ridiculed Africans' system of life and in most cases highlighted the most of its "*barbaric*" nature, heralded that the African mind was too empty and ready for the inculcation of European ideas and manners. As a result, "boy's heads were filled with stuff which they did not understand, much less apply"².

Moreover, European education implanted a deep appreciation of Western civilization and literature. There were meagre attempts to let apprentices knew about their history and past. All what they saw was alien to their people and history. In an article published in 1915, *the Gold Coast Nation* questioned the whole agenda of education introduced to West Africans claiming that it was a mechanism to produce Africans with European minds. The article posited that apprentices were acquainted with knowledge about English history and geography of Europe which came at the expense of knowledge about his own country and people. If "ask him [child] about the battle of Katamansu or the course of the River Prah or Volta", the editor continued, "he is a perfect blank"³. The editor concluded by stating the fact that this type of education would only produce a "soulless" people:

¹ Boakie, *The Foundations of Self-government: Selected Historic Speeches on Ghana's Independence*, George Boakie Publishing Company, 1966, p. 04

² Nana Annor Adjaye, *Nzima Land*, Sagoe, G.A.: Headely, London 1931, ch. VI

³ Kimble, *op.cit*, p.526

education that fails to recall and install into the minds of the children the wisdom, brave deeds and civilization of the past is bound to produce an educated class of indigenes prone to foreign customs and ideals which will make them a soulless people in the land of their birth¹

Furthermore, Hayford averred that if Africans did not set all the means to resist the spread of European education, the result would be a complete “denationalization” process. Hayford criticized the whole institution of education as it attempted to make a distance between apprentices and knowledge about their past. No attempts were worked out to make the African knew about the units of a nation which constituted the essence of his past and future progress. African history and past came as a second priority as compared to Western civilization and literature. Hayford melancholy warned that education that did not allow the African to be in touch with his roots was a mere nightmare and would bring nothing except a loose touch with the world of his own philosophy. Carl Christian Reindorf (1834–1917) further alleged to the fact that a nation without a history was a nation without a present and without a future. “a nation not possessing a history has no true representation of all the stages of its development, whether it is in a state of progress or in a state of retrogression”² alleged Reindorf.

A correct education was the roots of national conservancy and evolution. As espoused by Blyden, many stipulated the fact that a correct education suited to Africans was the one which teach the African about his rich culture. A correct education should bring the African one-step closer to be himself and not mere imitator of the white-men. These demands were summed up in the words of the A.R.P.S.'s leaders who advocated that “We simply want our education to enable us to develop and to improve our native ideas, customs, manners and institutions”³. The process would mold education to be a source of evolution and advancement to the Negro Race. It was stated that the African, if educated properly, would develop his mental and intellectual capacities which, no doubt, would contribute to the progress of humanity at large. In the words of Aggrey, a correct education should

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p.526

² Ibid

³ Ibid

teach men, women and children not superficially as the European teacher but education that touched hearts, heads and hands as to “render Africa indispensable in spiritual, intellectual and commercial products to the world”¹. John Mensah Sarbah also proposed a two dimensional objectives of a correct education. He wrote:

I have often pressed the claims of suitable national system of education which, in addition to inculcating the essential virtue of self-help and emphasizing the benefits of mutual cooperation derivable from social family units, shall, among other things, teach how best the agricultural and industrial resources of the country may be so developed as to create permanent national interests²

For Sarbah, education should serve to develop both the spiritual and physical character of the Negro. If failed to inculcate qualities of self-help, cooperation and unity, education would never succeed in bringing a real development. Like Blyden, Sarbah never doubted the role of education for the industrial and agricultural spheres. In this respect, education should teach how to benefit from the resources of the country as to make people self-reliant and build a basic for a permanent development.

Consequently, Attempts to provide a correct education on national lines produced many successful projects. The first one of these was the MFantsi National Educational Fund by the A.R.P.S. leaders in 1903. The project helped sponsor the establishment of secondary and primary schools. The project had many objectives. The schools' subjects should rang between liberal and technical subjects. What was important was that the schools would be a source for national education, namely indigenous studies. Children were exposed to learn how to read and write Fanti languages, and attempts were deployed to let apprentices know about Fanti literature. Emphasis was on getting to know about Gold Coast History, native institutions. Indeed, this initiative succeeded in founding a school by 1905 in Cape Coast, the school was named MFantsipim³.

¹ Edwin,op.cit,p. 199

² Sarbah, “Fanti National Constitution”,op.cit,p. xviii

³ Boahen, "Mfantsipim and the Making of Ghana",op.cit,p.119

The creation of an African scholar was the only remedy for the delinquencies of present situation. In the same manner as Blyden, many saw that the lack of educated Africans who could represent African past and institutions was behind European successful attempts to overshadow the real image of Africa and Africans. Kimble aptly alluded to the fact that “History was written from a European point of view, from outside, and the argument of Empire runs through it”¹. Historical narratives were all influenced by the idea that Africans had no past and that their history began with the arrival of Europeans.

Reindorf, one of the first Gold Coast historians to provide an account of the history of the Gold Coast, shared Blyden’s view that African history that was told by Europeans did not try to tell the truth. Reindorf made it plain that “A history of the Gold Coast written by a foreigner would most probably not be correct in its statements, he not having the means of acquiring the different traditions in the country”². For Reindorf, there was a need to study history. A more urgent need applied to the collection of materials that would help make investigations about African historical facts. All these actions would create a basis for the development of a more correct interpretations of Africans past. Reindorf further believed that it was the duty of the educated community who “could collect materials of those dark days to complete this pioneer work”. The process would contribute to the re-assessment of existing literature about African history and provide, as stated by Reindorf, a basis for the “physical and mental powers of our people”³. Moreover, the formation of an African scholar, as averred by Reindorf, would create agents of trust for the African people who interpreted history with a “true native patriotism” while their task would not be to write “methodical narration of events” but to provide real documentation of the “history of a nation”⁴.

Consequently, newly published books began to fashion counter historical narratives. A good example is provided by Reindorf who vividly refuted the fact that Europeans brought civilization and

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p. 521

² Odamttten, Harry N. K., “A History of Ideas: West Africa, “The Black Atlantic”, and Pan-Africanism”, Diss, Michigan State University,2010,p. 196

³ Ibid

⁴ Kimble,op.cit,p.521

modernity. His book *"History of the Gold Coast and Asante"* (1895) was considered as the first real realization of a published book written by an African. The book, as Kimble observed, was one which helped collect different existing oral tradition into written form¹. Reindorf accused Europeans of introducing the slave trade which de-humanized Africans and precipitated their underdevelopment². These books were also mediums to tell about the origins of the African name, its states and kingdoms. They further provided an insight into geography that was considered as fruitful beginning to a correct study of the African past.

Other published books documented history of the people of Africa and the Gold Coast. The Rev. J.B. Anaman published *"the Gold Coast Guide"*(1895) which provided briefs on some of the Gold Coast notable local events. J. Mensah, Sarbah also published two important publications: *"Notable Events"* and *"Fanti Customary Laws"* (1897). The first gave details about important events in Gold Coast history while the second described legal and political institutions of the Gold Coast that existed before the arrival of Europeans. In 1903, J.E. Casely Hayford published *"Gold Coast Native Institutions"*. The book detailed different facets of the lives of the Akan people including the structure of society and forms of governance³.

A further development wrought with the change to African education was the creation of a West African University. As stated by Blyden, Gold Coasters found in the project a medium where they could escape European influences and provide an education that would make people in touch with their own history, culture and native institutions. A foremost advocate of the project was J.E.Casely Hayford. In his masterpiece *"Ethiopia Unbound"*, Hayford insisted that Africans should found a national university that would give the opportunity to have a purely African education. The university, he argued, should be in the hinterland so that Africans would be far from European influences⁴.

¹ Kimble,op.cit,p.521

² Odamtten,op.cit,p.193

³ Kimble,op.cit,p. 523

⁴ Hayford, "Ethiopia Unbound",op.cit,p.195

Moreover, the university should focus on African history as its main tenet. Apprentices should know about the Negro Race and its role in world history, with an emphasis on the role that Africa played in shaping world religions, philosophical and social systems. In general, his West African university would be a project to correct misconceptions about Africans, and set all the means to bring a self-reliant Africans who could stimulate Africans progress¹. It was indeed a purely African project that manipulated things innate to the African environment to produce an African not skeptical about what he had been taught but rather very enthusiastic to learn about his history, origins and institutions. To realize the project, Hayford addressed King George V of the United Kingdom (1865-1936) to help finance the new project. “the time had come to found a British West African University on such lines as would preserve in the students a sense of African nationality”², affirmed Hayford. However, the British government refused African demands for a university because “the colonial officials were not enthusiastic about coping with multitudes of African graduates who might cause them difficulties and eventually claim their jobs”³. Colonial officials rejected any scheme for higher education for Africans, and accepted Africans to be under their guidance with lower level of education⁴.

The great amount of criticism directed at Euro-Christian education promulgated an assessment to European Christianity. As stated by Blyden, Gold Coasters believed that European Christianity, devoid of the real essence of Christianity, despoiled the African and made him see God only in European terms. Attempts, thus, were deployed to let people create Christianity of their own. The Christianity that was purely African in taste and character.

III.4.3. African Christianity Vs European Christianity

African indigenous religion presented the core of communal life. Yet, Europeans intentional suppression of these beliefs and practices promulgated a respose from people of the Gold Coast.

¹ Hayford, "Ethiopia Unbound",op.cit,p.195

² Ibid

³ Boahen, "Ghana: Evolution and Change",op.cit,p.04

⁴ Ibid

African disillusionment with Euro-Christian education was widened with a vehement intent of missionaries to picture God in Western terms. A thing that opposed what Africans knew before, as traditional religion was closely African in character. People's criticism thus was based on two main arguments. The first was that European Christianity did not help make a tie between the African and his environment. All what missionaries did was the creation of God different to what people expected. The second reason owed to the first and propounded that the only solution to the problem was the creation of a purely African Church that would offer Africans a place where they could create Christianity of their own. It was further an attempt to escape white abuses in the Churches which found pace with enforcement of laws issued in the 1885 and 1893 synods¹. All these restrictions widened the gap between Christian natives and missionaries who began to see the existence of European Christianity as detrimental to their growth and progress.

Missionaries lacked knowledge about all what was African. Similar to Blyden, many blamed missionaries for not doing their best to understand African systems of life. They vehemently destroyed, and supplanted these systems for a much Westernized ones. In this respect, Hayford described missionary activities as nothing but “ignorance” which stemmed from the fact that they overwhelmed themselves with a mission “which scoffs at what it does not understand”². Missionaries had never tried to think of African peculiarities. Instead, their activities centered on how to supersede them. For Hayford, the missionary coercively introduced the new religion and impose it without even studying the religious system of natives³. Missionaries obstructive and detrimental Christianity did not understand any other system but their own which resulted in, as stated by Blyden, the creation of a Christian Negro dissatisfied with his own state and always longing to find the real image of God that had long been distorted by missionaries.

Attoh Ahuma further advanced that new converts had developed a feeling that everything associated with their customs, especially forms of celebration, were all-evil. In describing the

¹ See chapter II for details

² Hayford, "Ethiopia Unbound", op.cit, p. 19

³ Hayford, C, "Gold Coast Native Institutions", London: Sweet and Maxwell Isaac Knapp, 1903.p.223

harmful situation of the Christian Negro, Attoh Ahuma averred that people always developed a feeling that “there was something peculiarly “delvish” about the celebrations”. A thing that made participation in these events seemed awfully “disgraceful” and “paganish” for any newly Christian Negro family¹. Sarbah also described the apparent failure of missionaries. Identical to Blyden’s view, Sarbah claimed that missionaries expressed the hope that they would bring a change of life to thousands of the Negro inhabitants of the Gold Coast. Yet, their attempts failed because they tried to force people “into the habits of changing their own for European dresses”².

Joseph Kwame Kyeretwie Boakye Danquah (1895-1965) shared Ahuma’s and Sarabah’s views and affirmed that missionaries considered African indigenous beliefs as “ethically bad” just because the latter was contrary to European religion. For Danquah, this created a “psychological attitude of repugnance” regarding African religious beliefs and practices³. J.K. Aggrey further affirmed that missionaries did not set efforts to understand African systems. For him, before missionaries start teaching peoples they must learn. He called upon missionaries to “live among people, master the languages, become acquainted with the traditions and customs and the whole world of thought⁴” as a first step toward a real Christian doctrine in Africa.

European-Christianity portrayed God in Western terms. As stated by Blyden, the Christian native saw God in European dress, style and patterns of behavior. Many doubted the truth behind a Christianity, which “denationalized” its followers and made them blindly discard their own origins. In “Nzima Land”, Nana Annor Adjaye questioned the whole system of Christianity introduced to natives and wrote “Is God a European?”. According to Adjaye, the European Church had the plan of glorifying God through drums. Instead of using African drums, the missionary used European drums⁵. Like Blyden and in the same manner as Ajayi, Hayford questioned why the Christian Negro was forced to see Christianity in a white man estate. In “the Gold Coast Native Institution”, he

¹ Ahuma, "Ethiopia Unbound", op.cit, p. 45

² Sarbah, “Fanti National Constitution”, op.cit, p. 237

³ Mobley, op.cit, p. 51

⁴ Edwin, op.cit, p. 221

⁵ Nana, "Nzima Land", op.cit, p. 98

questioned why the missionary deprived the Christian Negro of his right to see purely African Christianity and was determined that African practices were against the Gospel:

Why, for example, should not the native convert sing his own native songs, and play his native airs in church? Why should he not attune his horns, his adziwa, his gomey, or for that matter, his *adankum*, to the praise of God, much as the Israelites of old praised Jehovah upon the cymbal and the harp? Why, in the name of reason and common sense, should the native bear his own name and wear his own native garments? Why, indeed, except that the simple missionary has, from the beginning, ruled that all these things are against the letter, if not the spirit, of the Gospel?¹

Sarbah also shared Blyden's view and concluded "missionary methods were not perfect" and were likely to make the African "a spurious European" who knew nothing about his surroundings². Consequently, a true Christianity was the one that enhanced Christian converts' relation to their own customs and traditions. A process that would make native Christians receive a religion that was in conformity with their own systems of life. A religion that dictated to all new converts that true Christianity was a matter of attachment to origins and not a mere mimic of a foreign habits, or as hoped by Ahuma, Christianity that would infringe "a national religion and an embarrassing success"³.

Many saw the attitudes of missionaries as antithetical to God's Christianity. The missionaries were "self-righteous" which altered any successful attempts to present a true Christianity as professed by "Almighty God". The Rev. Mark Hayford (1864 - 1935), brother of Casely Hayford, shared Blyden's view and opined that missionaries dispersed Christianity in a Master, Servant manner. He wrote:

The failure of some missionaries...has arisen from their not cultivating the spirit of humble...trust in God, and of Charity without which we are nothing- the spirit that characterized the Master who, though he was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, humbling Himself, that we through his poverty and humility might exalted, though not less by His love to us, and by its realization in our experiences⁴

¹ Hayford, "Gold Coast Native Institutions", op.cit.p. 105

² Sarbah, "Fanti National Constitution", op.cit, p.221

³ Attoh Ahuma, S,R,B, "Memoirs of West African Celebrities", op.cit,p. 257

⁴ Mobley, op.cit,p.95

The time when the missionary thought he served God in Africa, he undertook a “dubious” action to spread what Ahuma described as “death on every hand” and in the process openly claiming that, they were “doing God service”¹.

Moreover, Ahuma proposed the essence of a true mission in Africa. He saw the missionary as the Guardian of God’s message and thus should “put fresh meanings, breathe new life and energy into existing laws, prophecies and institutions of all nations”². Similar to Blyden’s view, the missionary should not take the role of conqueror who forcefully destroy, eradicate and make possible destruction of existing systems. Instead, the missionary ought before embarking on systematic supplanting of native institutions should return back to “Almighty God” message and be the savor of peoples’ origins. Indeed, many came to the point that the Christian native could find his way through getting back to “Fetishism”. A system of worship that would bring the “uncultured native” to re-taste the God of his fathers³. A thing that Blyden espoused for as a remedy for present situation.

Greatly influenced by Blyden’s ideas, the creation of a purely African Church became the cry of the time. Many African ministers favored to leave the church as a response to white abuses. The immediate reaction by the African ministers was the foundation of a new Reference Group in 1885. The group consisted mainly of members of African educated elite who were a production of both the Methodist and Castle schools, with some other members who had the opportunity to study in England⁴. The members believed that Africans should receive Christianity in an African outlook. Consequently, they indorsed for the translation of the Bible into Fante, and were eager to let Africans understand Christianity using their own languages. Among the members who made notable contribution to the expression of an independent African church were Attoh Ahuma and Egyir Assaam. In 1888, the two men, after returning from England where they studied at Richmond

¹ Ibid,p. 257

² Mobley,op.cit,p.258

³ Hayford, “Gold Coast Native Institutions”,op.cit,p.101

⁴ Brunett, David, G. “Charisma and Community in a Ghanaian Independent Church”, Diss, School of Oriental and African Studies,University of London, 1997, p.64

College, changed their names from William F.Penny and S.R.B. Solomon to Attah Ahuma and Egyir Assaam respectively¹.

Early revolts against white supremacy in the churches mushroomed in the foundation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zionist Church (A.M.E.Z.C). Egyir Assaam was appointed as the representative of the A.M.E.Z.C, after he had resigned from the Methodist Church. By 1898, Rev, T.B. Freeman, with a mission to help finance Gold Coast African churches, established an A.M.E. Zion church at Keta. In its inaugural meeting at the Cape Coast, the Rev. Freeman shared Blyden's view and propounded that the A.M.E. Zion Church's objective was to create a purely African Church. He wrote:

The Church is composed of Africans and entirely governed and worked by Africans. It is indeed bone of our bones and flesh of our flesh which would naturally take a much greater interest in their missions in their motherland than can be possible (sic) with Missionary Boards and missionaries of an alien race who are not above the color question²

The Church sent many of its members to be trained in the U.S, A.M.E.Z Churches. Among these boys was Emmanuel Kwegyir Aggrey who arguably was among the greatest nationalists of the twentieth century Gold Coast and the one who helped found the Achimota College later years. Frank Arthur who was an instructor at Collegiate School was sent to the U.S. where he was trained by the A.M.E.Z Church. After he returned to the Gold Coast, he changed his name to Frank Ata Osam Pinanko and was able to help found by 1903 the A.M.E. Zion Church School and church. Soon similar branches were opened at Twifu (1906), Winneba (1908), Accra (1908) and Kumasi (1912)³.

Under the leadership of Rev. Christian Hayford another group that took nationalistic frame ceded from the Methodist church to form its own congregation. Hayford, a Baptist originally from Lagos, Nigeria, through his contact with Edward Wilmot Blyden at Lagos was supportive to the idea of creating a purely African Church. His zeal to achieve this project led him to form the Native

¹ Burnett argued that new converts were given a Christian name right after baptism on their first day at school,Ibid,p.63

² Kimble,op.cit,p.160

³ Brunett,op.cit,p. 67

Baptist Church in the Cape Coast. Right from its foundation, the church influenced many people and was able to deep into the interior to reach far more than Atebubu, a city in the North of the Gold Coast. His movement further made many attempts to contact other separatist groups in West Africa for their cooperation and support. As its driving objectives were nationalistic, the church sought for native cooperation, their immediate gathering for self-empowerment and a long for independence¹.

The Nigritian Church was another articulation for Africans attempts to form their own Christianity. Unable to bear white abuses in the Methodist Church, more than 40 Anomabo dissidents, a coastal town in the south of the Gold Coast, decided to form their own independent Church. Their grievance mushroomed when the Methodist missionaries refused to let them incorporate some Fante forms of dancing to the church bands. Tension amounted when the church also refused to let bury or having any permission to bury dissidents in the Methodist Cemetery. The church name derived from the word “Negro” which utterly let the church activities to be centered on giving birth to African religious beliefs, and a mounting zeal to use African languages, mainly Fante, as the only medium for religious practices. The Church further attempted to form its own African character and thus appointed Rev. J.B. Anaman to help support its main scheme in 1907. Anaman emphasized the role of new body and affirmed that “Every part of the services in this church is in Mfantsi...pure and simple”².

The impact of Blyden’s philosophy did not only affect people locally. Rather, its influence surmounted to an international scale where international and regional gatherings played the role of bridging the gap between all African masses who had long been under the atrocities of European imperialism and white domination. These meetings, held by important African personalities, saw in the ideas of Blyden a platform to tell the world about African grievances. Though differed regarding territorial influence, all shared the view that Africa one day should carve to find its own path of progress and advancement. Demands for Pan-African unity, as cherished by the Pan-African

¹ Brunett,op.cit,p. 67

² Helen,L.& Jemima Asabea, “Identity Meets Nationality: Voices from the Humanities”, Sab-Saharan Publishers: Ghana, 2011,p. 82

congresses between 1900 and 1930, and later calls for a Pan-West African unity that was the cry of the newly established body of the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A) were all an articulation of the ideas of Blyden on race redemption and African re-generation.

III.5. New-World Pan-Africanism, Pan-West African Unity and Gold Coast Representation (1900-1930)

Prior to 1900, contact between Gold Coasters and Afro-Americans of the New World was meagre. For Afro-Americans, Africa's harsh climate rendered it impossible to have any contact with people there. Another reason owed to the fact that Afro-Americans themselves were severely suffering from slavery and discrimination which utterly delayed their activities to have much impact on the African continent¹. However, after 1900, their ideas were much wide spread and resulted in the inauguration of a series of Pan-African meetings that sought for African unity and emancipation. Though the participation of Gold Coast leaders in these international meetings was meagre because of either the scarcity of records or no participation at all, the members who were present found in these meetings an outlet to share their views concerning African progress and regeneration. Regionally, the search for a Pan-West African unity found momentous with the establishment of the N.C.B.W.A that sought economic as well as cultural unity between the four West African dependencies. An examination of these manifestations is potent to reveal the impact of Blyden's philosophy on these gatherings and see how Blyden's ideas were used generally by the people of African descent and particularly by Gold Coast representatives

III.5.1. The Pan-African Congresses and Gold Coast Representation (1900-1927)

Though historians agreed that the 1900 Pan-African Congress was the first of a series of meetings held between 1900 and 1945, Esedebe affirmed that two important meetings preceded this conference: The Chicago Congress of 1893 and the Atlanta Congress of December 1895. The leaders

¹ Mostefaoui, Aziz, "The Evolution of Pan-Africanism and the Gold Coast Nationalism from the Origins to 1960" (Doctoral Dissertation). Oran University 02, Algeria, 2011, p. 165

in both congresses shared Blyden's view and blamed Europeans of bringing degradation and humility to all Africans aspects of life. They contended

European contact has brought in its train not merely the sacrifice, amid unspeakable horrors, of the lives and liberties of twenty million Negroes for the American market alone, but political disintegration, social anarchy, moral and physical debasement"¹

Such nationalistic aspirations did not fall into deaf ear. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868 - 1963), who was credited of giving accurate expression to Pan-African ideals stated that "if the Negro were to be a factor in the World's history it would be through a Pan-Negro movement"². Immediately, a Pan-African Conference Committee was created to launch the 1900 Pan-African Congress. The main sponsor of the Congress was the Trinidadian barrister, H. Sylvester Williams (1867-1911) who along with the president of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Bishop Alexander Walters (1858-1917), helped propagated for the congress among Africans in the continent and the Diaspora. Ten members represented Africa. Though Blyden did not attend the Conference, his ideas were the main appeals of the Conference leaders. The leaders agreed that African economic, intellectual and cultural revival was the genesis that every African born should starve to accomplish. Leaders believed that the African should no longer remain under the atrocities of white domination that used "color" as the basis for engraving Africans inferiority. The same way Blyden affirmed the way Europeans used color symbolism to subdue Africans, Dubois hinted to the same method used by Europeans. For Dubois, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line"³. Dubois instructed that all people of African descent must know the problem and find ways of its remedy. By the end of the conference, the members sent a Memorial to Queen Victoria⁴ where they spoke about their grievances and the need for her Majesty to re-consider the way Africans were treated in all the colonies especially that of South Africa and Rhodesia.

¹ Esedebe,P, "Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991", Howard University,U.S, 1994 p.45

² Ibid

³ Kirkland, Frank M. "The Problem of the Color Line: Normative or Empirical, Evolving or Non-Evolving." *Philosophia Africana* 7, no. 1 (2004),p.66

⁴ Alexandrina Victoria was born 24th May 1819. It became the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 20 June 1837 until her death in 1901. www.britannica.com (accessed in February 2021)

The Gold Coast was represented by A.F. Ribero or Ribeiro (1895-1936), believed to pass his childhood years in Brazil. He studied Law in London and returned to the Gold Coast to be a barrister in 1919. Though there were no records of the paper he represented¹, much of what has been left was the way the A.R.P.S, as the most important nationalist body of the early twentieth century Gold Coast, reacted to the 1900 Pan-African meeting. The A.R.P.S gave a sound and a positive reaction to the conference objectives and saw in the conference a space where they could disperse Blyden's appeals. For Asante, the A.R.P.S.' leaders were convinced of their membership in the Negro race and called for unity and integrity of that race. For that reason, the leaders felt responsible for the problems affecting the destiny of people of the race². For the leaders, the conference was a great success for the Africans who had long been under the curve of European imperialism. It was a great opportunity for the re-awakening of their destroyed manhood and humanity. These feelings of belonging to a "suffering race" led the leaders to propose the initiation of the same conference in the Gold Coast by 1905³. Within the Conference, Casely Hayford appeared to be an avid follower to Blyden's ideas. This time he levelled severe criticism at the whole institution of European Christianity. He saw this system as nothing but a real Christianity. He told members:

I am [Casely Hayford] sure that Christianity, as conceived and modified in Europe and America, with its oppressive hierarchy, its caste prejudices and limitations, its pecuniary burdens and exactions, its injurious intermeddling in the harmless and useful customs of alien peoples, is not the Christianity of Christ⁴

If the African wanted to escape this malicious situation, he should identify with the religions of his fathers. Hayford continued:

If my people are to be saved from national and racial death, they must be proved as if by fire—by the practice of a virile religion, not by following emasculated sentimentalities which men shamelessly and slanderously identify with the holy One of God, His son, Jesus Christ.⁵

¹ Mostefaoui, Aziz, op.cit, p.166

² Asante, op.cit, p.32

³ Asante affirmed that the society members failed to get the idea into effect because of weak support from within the Gold Coast, and outside, while Mobley stated that the Gold Coast held the Conference in 1905, op.cit, p.42

⁴ Hayford, "Ethiopia Unbound", p.189-190

⁵ Ibid, p.75

Hayford warned Africans that the presence of European Christianity would only precipitate a national and racial death, as many of its teachings did not comply with the teachings of Christ. A deep conscious of the spirituality of African religious beliefs would be the starting point from where the African build a religious world of his own, uncontaminated by European influences.

Another conference was held in London from 26 to 29 July 1911. It was known as “The Universal Races Congress”. The congress received many figures of different races which made membership not almost African. There was no participation from the Gold Coast. Instead, the Nigerian Dr. Majola Agbebi (1860-1917) represented West Africa. Agbebi presented a paper entitled “The West African Problem”. No doubt, he, like other leaders, was greatly influenced by Blyden’s philosophy especially when it came to his systematization of the African personality. The paper focused on two main issues that represented the genesis of Blyden’s African personality. First, the paper condemned Western influences. Agbebi averred that Western influences damaged native institutions and life style and made the African an imitator of the European. The African lost touch with his own world and made to believe of the superiority of European life style and patterns of behavior. Second, the paper praised native institutions and called for a better understanding by Europeans of these institutions which represented the essence of an uncontaminated African¹.

From the 17th to 19th April 1912, the prominent Pan-African leader Booker, T. Washington (1856-1915) organized at Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, the “International Conference on the Negro”. Once again, the conference objectives were not different to the ideas held by Blyden. Its main appeals were “to consider methods for elevating the Negro in Africa and the West Indies”². Washington believed that the success that Tuskegee Institute had on giving the Negroes in America a new spirit for intellectual emancipation could be applied to Negroes outside America³. In this conference, there were two delegates from the Gold Coast. F.A.O, Pinanko, a member of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in the Gold Coast, and Mark C. Hayford , brother of Casely

¹ Mostefaoui,op.cit,p.167

² Bulletin of the Pan-African Union,Vol:32, No:02, April 1911, P.969

³ Ibid

Hayford. Both men had great role in the conference proceedings. Pinanko made the “most interesting and satisfying reports with respect to the work being done under the general supervision of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society”¹, while Mark presented a highly influential speech on the “Progress of the Gold Coast Native”, and presented a letter from his brother Casely Hayford.

During the conference, Mark showed how he admired Blyden’s philosophy as he described Blyden as “the profoundest scholar and finest writer West Africa has produced”². In the “Progress of the Gold Coast Native”, Mark had endorsed the appeals of Blyden and was much concerned of speaking about the African past. In his speech, he provided a long historical narrative about the history of the Gold Coast with much attention on different historical periods of the Gold Coast history that stretched from antiquity until present. He also focused on the many different tribes which settled at the Coast of Africa and which formed part of the history of the land and people. Like Blyden, the intention of Mark was to let fellow Africans consider the fact that they had history and refute claims that African history started with the arrival of Europeans.

Moreover, his brother Casely Hayford was inspired by the activities of the Conference. In a letter read by Washington, Hayford told members of the conference “we [leaders] feel here that the great work that is being done at Tuskegee Institute has a mighty uplifting force for the race”. He continued that the conference had indeed created an African nationality that had long been destroyed by European presence. He saw the initiative as force that joined Gold Coasters, represented by it’s nationalist body the A.R.P.S., with people of West Africa “in arriving at a national aim, purpose and aspiration”. For Hayford, the conference activities would give a positive start for Negroes in the African continent to start their mission of progress and “bring home metaphorically to their nation and people a great spoil”³. In 1919, Debois convened another Pan-African congress in Paris, mostly known by historians as the first Pan-African Congress. The resolutions of the conference, no doubt, were in compliance with what Edward Blyden called for. The conference called for the right of

¹ Asante, op.cit, p. 34

² Mobley, op.cit, p.42

³ Vincent B. Thompson, “Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism”, Longman group: London, 1969, p. 13

Africans to be “accorded equal rights, liberty of conscience, the safeguarding of their rights of Africans to their land and their health and their labor, and the promotion of mass education for Africans”¹. Unfortunately, there were no Gold Coast representatives².

In 1921, another Pan-African Congress took place respectively in London, Brussels and Paris. It included 113 delegates from Africa, America, the West Indies and Europe. Like other meetings, the leaders shared many of Blyden’s ideas. The main issues discussed were about segregation, race vindication, and a critique to some colonial policies that undermined the rights of Africans³. In particular, Dubois, similar to Blyden, told delegates that the revival of purely African institutions was the path of African re-generation. For Dubois, “the beginning of wisdom in inter-racial contact is the establishment of political institutions among the suppressed peoples”⁴ which would make Africans proud of their origins and began their mission of progress. The absence of real African institutions “systematically fostered ignorance among the Natives, has enslaved them, and is still enslaving them”⁵, continued Dubois. By the end of the session, the members proposed resolutions similar to the 1919 Congress. These resolutions were known as “The London Manifesto”.

W.F. Hutchinson, a journalist who had been editing in London, represented the Gold Coast. He presented a paper on Africa and Europe⁶. Hutchinson, like his Gold Coast fellows, found in the conference an outlet to address the African problem and particularly his great endorsement of Blyden’s ideas. Hutchinson told the leaders that the African civilization is not inferior. Europe, on the other hand, was not the only world of civilization. For him, a reading of the African past revealed that the African civilization is “a wise civilization”. The African, he continued, should look beyond Western influences in order to find a rich and exiting world that had long been in ignorance⁷. Like Blyden, Hutchinson never doubted the fact that an understanding of the African socio-cultural

¹ Vincent B. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p.13

² Mostefaoui, *op.cit.*, p.168

³ Meberbeche, *op.cit.*, p. 169

⁴ Slater, Andrea M. “W.E.B. Du Bois’ Transnationalism: Building a Collective Identity Among the American Negro and the Asian Indian.” *Phylon* (1960-) 51, no. 1 (2014), 148

⁵ Langley, *op.cit.*, p.377

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.75-76

⁷ *The Anti-slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*, Vol 3, No: 8, L. Wild, 1969, p. 57

situation would inevitably lead to African progress. He thus urged for an immediate search on these facts, as “cooperation is impossible unless we do know the conditions of the different branches of the tribes”. He further shared Blyden view that the African should return to the soil as a first step for a real emancipation from Western influences. “the man who owns the soil of the country is master of his house”¹, addressed Hutchinson. For him, the African would never find his way unless he pictured a new African devoid of Western influences and saw in every aspect of his old life a new chance for revival.

Because of great challenge made to Dubois by the popularity of Marcus Garvey, Dubois organized the third Pan-African congress with two sessions in London and Lisbon in 1923. Among the delegates were H.G.Wells, Harold Laski and Lord Oliver². The congress ended with leaders drafting a set of resolutions which no doubt showed the great impact of Byden’s ideas though he passed away more than a decade. The leaders shared Blyden’s view that there was a complimentary relation between Africa and Europe. Europe would benefit from African sources of wealth while Africa should get part of the wealth for its development. As a result, the leaders called for “The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans”. Their main intent, like Blyden, was the creation of a self-reliant African who could monitor his affair without the presence of Europeans. In this regard, the leaders agreed that “the organization of commerce and industry” would be the only source to attain the aforementioned objective. The members of the conference further noted the need for education and particularly industrial training and other skills. They believed the presence of highly talented Africans who knew much about industry would inevitably contribute to African progress and economic self-reliance³.

The Gold Coast was represented by Chief Amoah III, one of the descendant rulers of the Gold Coast and a notable merchant in London. As a speaker, Amoah III focused on African development.

¹ Hill, Robert, “The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers”, Vol II, University of California Press: London, 1983, p.168

² Mostefaoui, Aziz, op.cit, p.168

³ Ibid

Similar to Blyden, he saw European presence in Africa as detrimental to the capacities of Africans and only a means of exploitation and for engraving inferiority. He further believed that Africans could gain much profit out of their natural resources if they could monopolize the process of production from its earlier stages until it reached manufacturers. The current situation, he continued, made the African unable to have thorough control of industry. To this point, like Blyden, he envisioned a self-reliant African who could manage his own affairs and more importantly an African who could establish economic agencies financially led by Africans¹. His speech further, admired by the members because of his talented English, centered on the important role of both African and American women².

In 1927, Du Bois organized the last Pan-African Congress of a set of congresses held between 1900 and 1927. Geiss explained that Debois attempted to set the West Indies as a hub for the conference meetings because he thought by doing so he would popularize his ideas and get them in close contacts with Africans. He further thought that the new location would popularize his ideas and reduce Garvey's strong influence in the West Indies³. His plan was to hold meetings in Jamiaca, Haiti, Cuba, and the French Islands. Unfortunately, the plan met a failure due to the high expenditure that aroused from paying high costs to the French shipping line.

Most of the resolutions were similar to the proceeding conferences⁴. Like the 1923 Pan-African Congress, Amoah III represented the Gold Coast. Rayford asserted that Amoah had given notable financial support to the congress compared to other participants⁵. Though many historians wrote about his life and career, unfortunately, no one of these authors elaborated on his participation on the Congress. Nevertheless, a year later, December 1928, he published an article in *the African American Monthly Opportunity* entitled "A Glimpse of the Gold Coast". Amoah stated that what should

¹ JEFFREY GREEN. HISTORIAN, 127: ALAIN LOCKE AT OXFORD 1907-1910 # 2. Retrieved from <https://jeffreygreen.co.uk/127-alain-locke-at-oxford-1907-1910/> (accessed in April 2021)

² David, Lewis, "W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963" Henry Holt and Company, London, 2001, p. 271

³ Geiss, op.cit, p.256

⁴ Mostefaoui, ,Aziz, op.cit, p.168

⁵ Rayford W . Logan , "The Historical Aspects of Pan - Africanism : A Personal Chronicle", African Forum , Vol . I, (No .I : Summer , 1965) , p.33

concern us today as members of the Negro race is “the future of our people”¹. For Amoah, it was cast upon all individuals to set their energies for Negro advancement and progress. Similar to Blyden, he warned Africans of the danger of being absorbed by European materialism in their zeal for economic development. According to Amoah, “Africa should develop economically but without losing her soul”. He believed that this soul compromises the essence of the African personality and the loss of the soul meant the loss of the spirituality of the African personality².

Though the Gold Coast leaders showed intensified efforts to identify themselves with the worldwide Pan-African movement, their activities also widened to call for a West-African unity. Greatly influenced by the appeals of Blyden for West African cooperation and unity, many West African leaders sought creating a body that would join the four British West African colonies for mutual help and cooperation. Indeed, the N.C.B.W.A was another articulation of Blyden’s ideas that made economic, political and cultural revival a reality for West Africans. Eluwa described the body as “a new political awakening” [that] “envisioned a united West Africa”³. Though the activities of the body were regional, its main objective was the creation of a Pan-West African unity that would inevitably lead to a Pan-African unity.

III.5.2. The National Congress of British West Africa and Pan-West African Unity

Before the outbreak of W.W.I, the A.R.P.S. was the most active nationalist body in the Gold Coast. After the war, however, the body was in decline. This was because the central body at Cape Coast monopolized decision making and marginalized other branches of having a share in its decisions which utterly precipitated the loss of support of certain members and the weakening of the body. The body was unable to solve local problems as it did during the late nineteenth century land Bill agitations.

¹ Rayford W . Logan,op.cit,p.33

² JEFFREY GREEN. HISTORIAN, 127: ALAIN LOCKE AT OXFORD 1907-1910 # 2. Retrieved from <https://jeffreygreen.co.uk/127-alain-locke-at-oxford-1907-1910/>(accessed in April 2021)

³ Eluwa, G. I. C. “Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa.” African Studies Review 14, no. 2 (1971): p. 210

The response to this emptiness in political scene was the formation of the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A). This section will examine the evolution of the body into politics, its activities and objectives. Through an examination of the cultural, educational and other dimensions of the body objectives, the section shows how the body objectives complied with what Blyden advocated for and thus confirm Boahen's vision that the African personality, Pan-Africanism and Pan-West African unity had all been at the hub of the body's demands¹.

The idea of creating the National Congress of British West Africa was not new. Since 1914, Casely Hayford made many attempts to make the idea a reality. However, his attempts failed because of lack of support of other West Africans who sought the participation in Pan-African congresses as a medium to show their grievances. The outbreak of WWI in 1914 also delayed Hayford's plan and it was until after the war that his attempts gathered momentum and resulted in the first meeting of the Congress which made the Gold Coast the hub of its activities.

The first meeting of the N.C.B.W.A. was held at Accra Native club from 11 to 29 March 1920. The members included forty-two from the Gold Coast. Notable members were Thomas Hutton-Mills, J.E. Casely Hayford, F. V. Nanka-Bruce, Henry van Hien and Kobina. Other members included one from Gambia, six from Nigeria and three from Sierra Leone². The body's main aim was to recognize that "one touch of nature has made all West African kin"³. There was, thus, a necessity to revive these connections, as they were the only path for advancement and progress. As such, the body's main objectives were culturally rooted to attain economic and social needs. After discussing a number of issues, the body was formally established with its headquarter at Accra. T. Hutton headed the body while Casely Hayford became its vice president. Joint Treasurers were A. Boi Quartey-Papafio and H. Van Hien. From Sierra Leone, Joint Secretaries were Dr. F.V. Nanka Bruce and L.E.V, M'Carthy. The meeting resulted in the proclamation of about eighty-three resolutions.

¹ Boahen,op.cit,p.36

² Geiss,op.cit,p 285

³ Ibid

The National Congress of British West Africa sought economic partnership. While Blyden emphasized the role of economic institutions financially led by Africans, the leaders of the congress movement thought that it was high time for West Africans to establish purely African economic institutions that would make Africans self-reliant. As a result, the leaders proposed the formation of the British West African Co-operative Association. The main work of the new body would be the creation of “banks, promote shipping facilities, establish Co-operative stores, and produce buying centers”¹. These new facilities would help Africans scrutinize all economic dealings of their respective countries and make a change of the situation of West Africans from being sources of exploitation into mediums of production².

Educationally, the body encouraged the creation of purely African education. Identical to Blyden’s view who stressed the mystifying effects of European education, the leaders agreed that African education must be relevant to African needs. Many believed that a purely African education “will least interfere with the development by the students of a proper spirit of reverence for indigenous institutions and modes of life not opposed to equity and good Conscience”³. The leaders posited that Western education betrayed Africans. In the most part, it did not work to strengthen ties of the African with his environment but rather introduced modes of life peculiar to the origins. In this regard, Kobina Sekyi presented a very rich paper entitled “Education with Particular reference to a West African University” in March 1920. In his paper, Western education was a sight of severe criticism. Sekyi shared Blyden’s view that Africans could not find their way of development if they were still under the influence of Western education. For Sekyi, Western education failed the African and forced him to borrow “an alien physiology, psychology and sociology” different to the ones he

¹ Hopkins, A.G, *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: Longman, 1973. in Ghana, 1946–1956,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 47, no. 2p.442

² Kimble, *op.cit*, p.384

³ Magnus, *op.cit*, p.100

knew before the arrival of Europeans. It was an education that intentionally suppressed “social institutions” of their ancestors and made these institutions “uncivilized”¹.

The leaders never doubted the role of a West African university as a nucleus for proper change. Like Blyden, the leaders longed for a university where African art, literature and civilization became the center of research and the starting point of an African not skeptical about his roots and institutions, but someone who was proud to be part of the Negro race. Consequently, the leaders resolute that the establishment of a West African university would provide Africans with a system of education in conformity with their evolution and African nationality. Furthermore, the members stressed the fact that a real realization of the project depended on making Africans attain secondary education on national lines too. The process would not only help forge education with national character but also “form a further nucleus for the formation of the proposed British West African University”. These strong desires to establish purely African education system led members to petition King George V for their immediate scheme of a West African University. The members were also able to provide funds for the project².

The role of the African woman was given paramount importance. Many leaders shared Blyden’s view that the soul of the African woman was distorted out of its contact with Western influences. Sekyi provided a very vivid description of the situation. He believed that the African woman lost her identity when she came in touch with Western life style and patterns of behavior. He propounded that Western influences distorted the picture of woman and made all established duties held by ancestors a form of the past. He stressed the fact that in old times the African woman was given many rights but she never forgot that she is a woman. According to Sekyi, the African women “have from time immemorial been given equal rights in political as distinguished from domestic matters”. However, the women never changed their behavior. They, he continued, “share and supplement our views and

¹ Langley, J, “Modernization and Its Malcontent: Kobina Sekyi of Ghana and the Re-statement of African Political Theory(1892-1956)”, Research Review Legeon, 1970, p.25

² Nduka Okafor, “The Development of Universities in Nigeria: A Study of the Influence of Political and Other Factors on University Development in Nigeria, 1868-1967”, Longman, 1971, p.40

aspirations and still remain women”. In reverse, the involvement in Western life and education had never brought a positive contribution to her role but made women unconsciously thrown into “hideous and unsexed abortions” which she would never know how to get out from¹. By the end of his address, Sekyi explained that when “ancient opinions and rules of life” or “the standards and ideas of our forefathers” came in touch with new forces that aimed at its disintegration, the African has to do away with these influences. He called on all West Africans to start a re-evaluation of these ideas or as he termed it “a counter process”. He told the members that Western influences should come under question and there must be “systematic ideological formulations” that would tell ordinary Africans the reality of these modes of life².

The next meeting of the N.C.B.W.A. was held in Sierra Leone in January-February 1923. Two important decisions were made: the election of Casely Hayford as president and the formulation of a constitution for the N.C.B.W.A. Hayford, describing the progress of the body, told members that the movement spread among the English-speaking peoples and was having great influence as compared to other revival movements³. Like the previous meeting, the appeals of the members centered on the creation of a West African university⁴.

Another meeting was held from 24th December 1925 to 10th January 1926 at Bathurst, Gambia. The meeting, argued Kimble, was delayed because of major tension produced by the introduction of the new constitution to the Gold Coast colony by 1925⁵. Thus, the most important issue of discussion was the new constitution and ways to agitate against it. Besides this, demands were educational and economic. Regarding education, the members never lost hope to diffuse national education among West Africans as it had been advocated for by Blyden decades ago. The Gambia session called for the establishment of national schools for Africans. Schools should set developing nationality and

¹ Nduka Okafor, *op.cit.*, p.140

² *Ibid.*, p.142

³ Geiss, *op.cit.*, p. 291

⁴ Kimble, *op.cit.*, p.400

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.401-402

preserving efficiency as its first objective¹. Economically, the session emphasized the role of economy in African development. Thus, branches of the congress were instructed to encourage commercial and economic propaganda as to make people self-reliant²

The last meeting of the Congress was in Lagos, Nigeria from December 1929 to January 1930 (day). During the meeting, Hayford lamented the lack of progress that was a result of the lack of cooperation and unity among members. This resulted in the inability of the body to form strong pressure on British policy makers³. Moreover, Hayford, like other members, never doubted the role of education for national emancipation. In a very vivid description of the present situation, Hayford told members these words:

But it is obvious that we cannot forever remain babes and sucklings and yet complain when our destiny is being decided for us by others. History tells us how other people have risen to nationhood, to economic security and power. We must tread the same path if we would see salvation as a people; and that path is primarily educational. We have our ideals; we have our interests to safeguard, we have our line of evolution, and we cannot afford to leave them in the hands of others to manipulate them for us.⁴

For Hayford, the African would never find his way, if he remained under the direct influence of Europeans. Similar to Blyden, Hayford opined that as people of other races experienced unity and economic security, the African also should lead the same method, which for Hayford was purely educational. Because Africans had their own beliefs, customs, traditions and institution, this placed a burden on every African to resist foreign influence and use education as a means for national emancipation. Hayford also raised another notable issue regarding the creation of an African scholar. Similar to Blyden, Hayford believed that Africans in the diaspora were unable to understand the aspirations of Africans living in the continent because they were greatly influenced by American culture and thus they could never assume “the role of political mentors to an awakened Africa”⁵. He believed that Afro-Americans ‘lack of understanding of local conditions forbade any successful

¹ Langley,op.cit, p.391

² Langley, J. Ayodele. "The Gambia Section of the National Congress of British West Africa." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 39, no. 4 (1969):p.388

³ Kimble,op.cit,p.402

⁴ Magnus,op.cit,p.89-90

⁵ Langley,op.cit,p.39

attempt at change. According to Hayford, “the African of the dispersion, though of high cultural attainment, has yet to grasp those indigenous conditions which must command practical reforms”¹. For Hayford, there was a need for “the amelioration of African disabilities” through African scholars who knew African peculiarities. “the right inspiration must come from the mother continent”, Hayford continued, and when this happened there could never be a place from where such an inspiration arise as West Africa².

Though the movement for Pan-West African unity helped create a collective psyche among West Africans, by 1930 the body suffered internal problems that caused its decline. *The Times of Nigeria* lamented the failure of the congress movement and told readers that “disunity and mistrust to each other” was “the cause of all our troubles and trials”. The West African found difficulty in communicating with his fellow West African that utterly made any scheme for unity a remote possibility. Indeed, this ruined attempts at national and patriotic progress³. However, during the 1930’s the Gold Coast was the hub of an unsurmountable activity led by students who had been members of the West African Students Union (W.A.S.U) in London. These students made notable contribution to the expression of Blydenic thoughts and were active participants in the formation of a culture of protest for Negroes's educational, economic and political emancipation.

III.5.3. The West African Students Union and the Emergence of Youth Movement (1925-1939)

Long before the foundation of the W.A.S.U. in London, many other students' unions existed. There were three main unions: the Union for Students of African Descent (1917), the Gold Coast Students’ Union (1924) and the Nigerian Progress Union (1924). These unions, along with the WASU, had been founded because of many influences. The first of these was the creation of the N.C.B.W.A. as a first sign of nationalist activity in West Africa. The second owed to the influence of

¹ Geiss,op.cit,p.292

² Ibid,p. 291

³ Olusanya, G. O. "The Lagos Branch of the National Congress of British West Africa." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (1968): 329

Marcus Garvey in West Africa and the United Kingdom. The last influence was the apparent abuses and discrimination encountered by African students in the United Kingdom. All these forces led West African students, including the political activist Ladipo Solanke (1886-1958) of Nigeria, Dr. H.G. Bankole of Sierra Leone, and J.B. Danquah of the Gold Coast, to rally together and found a union which would be a medium to call for the interest of West Africans and people of African descent in general¹. Immediately, a meeting was held on the 7th August 1925 at the residence of Solanke with twenty-one West African students including Solanke Ladipo- seven were from Nigeria, four from Sierra Leone, two from Gambia and five from the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast members included Blay, Minnow, C.F. Hayfron-Benjamin, Ampaw and Dr. J.B. Danquah. The members then set a committee consisting of C.F. Hayfron-Benjamin of the Gold Coast, Kusika Roberts of Gambia, Otto During of Sierra Leone and M.A. Siffre of Nigeria. The Committee drafted a constitution that informed the British public and people of African descent of the aims and objectives of the union. The committee further appointed J.B. Danquah as its first president, Ladipo Solanke as Secretary and Casely Hayford as a patron².

Blyden's principles of the African personality and African unity were among the W.A.S.U. objectives. First, the W.A.S.U. members were at odds with how Europeans misrepresented Africa and Africans. Many went with Blyden's convocation that Europeans never understood the aspirations of Africans because of their lack of knowledge of African system of life. Solanke made the point that Africa had been the victim of ruthless missionaries who, because of their lack of knowledge created the savagery face of the continent known by people of the world. The situation favored the alteration of all African institutions and supplanting them with European ones. Solanke averred that Europeans could never understand African contribution to humanity and the genius of African system of life. It was the duty of Africans to give a truthful interpretation of the African environment and institutions³.

¹ Boahen, op.cit, p.35

² Ibid, p.38

³ Olusanya, op.cit, p.19

The members also set as a goal the revival of African culture and history as its first objective. The body acted “as a bureau of information on African history, customs, laws and institutions”. The members also made the W.A.S.U. residence as a place of discussion and research on subjects, which had to do with African development and progress. Consequently, two important books were published respectively by 1927 and 1928. The first was Saolanke’s “*United West Africa or Africa at the Bar of the Family of Nations*”. The second was “*Toward Nationhood in West Africa*” by the Gold Coast nationalist J.W.De Graft Johnson.

In “*Toward Nationhood in West Africa*”, J.W. De Graft Johnson longed for an emancipated Africa free of foreign influence, and settled in the right place among nations of the world. Like Blyden, he believed that Europeans made the African mind a “*Tabula Rasa*”. The native thus was under the guidance of Europeans because he had no faculties of reasoning. The process “de-nationalized” the African because all what he received was “in disagreement with policies and methods” which he knew before. Consequently, De Graft dreamt of an Africa free from foreign influences and ready to take its real place among nations of the word. De Graft further attacked European Christianity. Identical to Blyden’s view, he saw the contradictory nature of European missionaries. According to De Graft, “a distinction must be made in these days between what is Christianity and what is alleged to be Christianity”¹. Missionaries' intentional sweep away from African indigenous beliefs without recognizing or understanding the spiritual nature of these systems resulted in a “muddled and chaotic confusion in religious ideas”. He further averred that Christianity in West Africa would doom to failure as far as missionaries did not make their teaching in compliance with their treatment of blacks².

Self-help, unity and cooperation were the target of the new body. In a similar Blydenic tone, J.B. Danquah seized the opportunity to emphasize the need for cooperation. He told members “there is a need for co-operation in and amongst ourselves” for the progress of any race or nation lied in the

¹ Olusanya,op.cit,p.19

² Ibid

homogeneity of its people and the shared interests and purposes. The lack of cooperation, he continued, presented a strong barrier for salvation and eventual development. The African must understand more than any other time that “in co-operation lies” the remedy of many delinquencies that retarded his progress among nations of the world¹.

In the Gold Coast, the activities of the WASU found stimulus with the return of J.B. Danquah to the Gold Coast in 1927. Danquah was appointed as the president of the W.A.S.U. branch in the Gold Coast. This occurred in time when nationalist movement in the Gold Coast was in decline. By 1930, the two major nationalist movements, namely of the A.R.P.S. and the N.C.B.W.A., declined leaving the arena of protest in the Gold Coast empty. By 1929, however, the return of many students from the U.K. marked the beginning of a new phase in Gold Coast nationalism known as the Youth movement².

III.5.3.1. The Emergence of the Youth Movement (1930-1939)

No doubt, that J.B. Danquah made significant contribution to the emergence of the Youth Movement in the Gold Coast. In 1929, he published a pamphlet entitled “*An Epistle to the Educated Young men in Akim Abuskwa*”. The pamphlet aimed at making people see the importance of establishing a town and village councils for the Gold Coast. His main attempt was to create a national assembly for the youth where they could discuss current issues pertaining to black situation³. Fortunately, Danquah’s ideas were propagated during the annual meeting of the W.A.S.U. in the Gold Coast in 1930. In this meeting Danquah cherished for his ideas and made it plainly that it’s high time for the emergence of “a new spirit of youth” that would carve the burden of nationalism and create “a national movement of youth”. Immediately, under the leadership of J.C. De Graft-Johnson , K.

¹ Olusanya, G.O, “The West African Students ' Union and the Politics of Decolonisation , 1925 – 1958”, Ibadan, 1982, p.18

² Ibid

³ Hagan, Kwa, o. “Exploring the Role of literary Clubs and Youth Movements in Ghana’s Politics in the 1930’s”, The Institute of Legon , Accra :Ghana, p.10

Brakatu Ateke, and Dr. Danquah held many discussions which resulted in the decision to hold a conference for the youth that could consider Gold Coast problems¹.

The first meeting of the Gold Coast Youth Conference (G.C.Y.C) was held at Achimota College, the Gold Coast in 1930. Stimulated by the ideas of Blyden, the main objective of the conference was to encourage the study of local institutions. It further sought discussions on African development. Thus, the main theme of the conference was “The Essentials in the Progress and Development of the Country”. Among the speakers were J.E. Casely Hayford and Nana Ofori Atta, Dr. F.V. Nanka-Bruce, K.A. Korasah, Kobina Sekyi and Miss Ruby Quartey-Papafio. Unfortunately, no records of the conference deliberations, resolutions and proceedings remained due to, as stated by one publication of the G.C.Y.C, “lack of adequate funds and principally from the regrettable fact that the general secretary of the Conference was handicapped from lack of opportunity”².

During the period, clubs and lectures were a notable feature of the period. Hagan argued that these clubs helped the youth understand political and social changes of the time³, while Wallerstein saw them as a platform for political ideas and an opportunity to understand organizational skills⁴. Kobina Sekyi presented a series of lectures on the topic “A Comparison of English and Gold Coast and Customary Laws related to the Absolute Rights of Individuals” in 1937. Similar to what Blyden advocated for, the aim of these lectures, argued Sekyi, was to let African fellows know how law changed over the last decades. In one of these lectures, Sekyi reminded his audience of the disparaging impact of foreign influence. According to Sekyi, “By learning to think as the white man”, the African buried his capacities to form his own vision, or, in the words of Sekyi, “to see things from our [his] point of view”. For Sekyi, the impact of Western influences did nothing but made the African lose his individuality⁵. In Accra, Danquah organized “the Nationalist Literary

¹ Hagan, Kwa, o, op. cit, p.10

² Ibid, p.14

³ Ibid, p.04

⁴ Wallerstein, Immanuel “Voluntary Associations” in James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), “Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa”, University of California Press: United States, 1964, p. 333

⁵ Rohdie, Samuel. "The Gold Coast Aborigines Abroad." *The Journal of African History* 6, no. 3 (1965): p.396

Society and the Cosmo Literary Club” early in the 1930's. The club focused on educational matters and helped fund many Africans to pursue their studies in England. Moreover, W.E.F. Ward founded “the Young People’s Literary Club (Y.P.L.C) in 1937. The club made notable contributions to help women had a participation in society’s life.

During the same period, Ward and Nana Adjaye published, “*Africa before the White Man Came*”(1934) and “*Nzimaland*”(1937). Ward provided an account of the continent’s socio-cultural and economic life before Europeans. Indeed, the ideas of the book were identical to Byden’s thoughts and provided counter narratives to Europeans who claimed that African history started with the coming of Europeans¹. Adjaye, on the other hand, devoted a large part of the book to analyze the nature and scope of Christianity in Africa. Adjaye went with Blyden’s view that some missionaries were candles to the path of Africans. According to Adjaye, “some of these men were chosen vessels of God and true lovers of the African”. However, he disdained the process of “de-nationalization” brought with missionaries as part of their meagre efforts to understand the African world².

In a similar manner, Ephraim Amu (1899-1995), an Ewe music teacher, attacked Christianity. Like Blyden, he saw missionary attitudes in Africa as completely different to the teaching of the Church. For Amu, “God is being preached by the mouth but not sufficiently exemplified”. A thing that furthered distance between the African and the new religion. He further attacked missionaries’ intentional efforts to “Europeanize” the new Christian Negro. He questioned, “can the African become a Christian and remain an African?”. Consequently, He insisted that there was a need to study African social and religious institutions as a counter-discourse to missionaries “adaptation” policy. As a Choir Director of the Presbyterian Church in Akropong, he made many efforts to introduce pure African music to Church ceremonies. He further encouraged the use of African dress instead of European dress³. Ako Adjei (1916-2002), a politician, lawyer and journalist, further shared Blyden’s view and claimed that European Christianity discarded the African of his own institutions.

¹ Hagan,op.cit,p.16

² Adjaye,op.cit,p.160-162

³ Mobley,op.cit,p. 53

For Adjei, there was great hostility on the part of many missionaries to traditional institutions of the African society. Instead of feeling comfortable with the new religion, the Africans nurtured a “psychological attitude” against all what was Christian, let alone western¹.

By 1937, the foundation of these clubs stimulated Danquah to organize another conference for the G.C.Y.C. After two years in England, Danquah returned to the Gold Coast and met W.Ayuah Hanson and agreed to hold a second Youth Conference at Cape Coast in 1938. The conference main objective was “to focus the mind of Youth on the country’s social and economic problems and invite suggestions for solution”. The main theme of the conference was “The Problems of Our Social and Economic Reconstruction”². What was notable about the conference was the emphasis on economic reforms. Similar to Byden, members averred that there would be no complete independence without economic independence. As a result, members founded “the Farmers Federation of the Colony and Ashanti” (F.F.C.A). The new initiative was mostly led by chiefs and called principally for a better organization of trade on cocoa especially its prices. The federation also made notable contribution to better social conditions of the people³.

After the meeting, Dr, Danquah led a delegation to the Joint Provincial Council’s Assembly at Swedru to help found support from the chiefs to the Conference resolutions. Due to the participation of many Kumasi delegates, notably the Asante Kotoko Society, the Optimism Club, Eureka Club, the Literary and Social Unity Club, the conference members built contacts with the Ashanti Confederacy Council which showed great support to the conference resolutions⁴. Consequently, a third conference was held at Kumasi by 1939. Its main theme was “Youth and Service to the Community”. The conference continued its old tradition of linking together educated elite, the intelligentsia and

¹ Mobley,op.cit,p.108

² Hagan,op.cit,p.16

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid,p.18

traditional authorities. During the 1940's, there was another conference but it seemed to have little impact on political activity¹.

Another man who made notable contribution to the activities of the Youth Movement in the Gold Coast was I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson. Wallace Johnson (1894-1965) was among the figures limited to inter-war West African nationalist movements². Born on Sierra Leone, he attended the United Methodist Collegiate School and then occupied many Jobs. Unable to have good fortunes in trade and business, he left to Nigeria where he worked as an editor in 1930. By 1933 he stayed at Lagos where he was an active politician and after much discontent on the part of the British government, he was obliged to leave Lagos and move to the Gold Coast after an invitation from R.B. Wuta Ofei, editor of *the Gold Coast Spectator*. Upon his arrival, he founded the West African Youth League (W.A.Y.L) in 1935. Wallace Johnson became its organizing secretary. Members of the Executive included: Bankole Awunor Renner, R.B. Wuta Cefei, Enis Browne, and J.A. Arbleh. Among the supporters of the League was the Nigerian nationalist, Nnamdi Azikiwe. Among the chiefs who supported the league were the Ga Manche of Accra, the Obene of Asamankese, Chief M.D. Ankrah, and Chief Alhaji³.

In its inaugural address, Wallace Johnson, like his predecessors, made of Blyden's ideas a monitoring dynamic for protests. Wallace told members that the Negro masses had long been under the "subserviency" of the white nations. Though this type of subjugation was not new, it was strengthened by atrocities encountered by fellow Africans in the Italo-Ethiopian War⁴. This war, he continued, proved to Negroes that there was a need for emancipation. Moreover, he shared Blyden's view that Africans came under European subjugation because of religion and civilization. He advocated that Europeans could not civilize Africans and that Western civilization is a mere

¹ Hagan, p.19

² Spitzer, Leo, and LaRay Denzer. "I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson and the West African Youth League." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6, no. 3 (1973): p. 433

³ Spitzer, op.cit, p.433

⁴ A conflict that occurred between 1935 and 1936 and resulted in the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Many attempts had been made by the Italians to invade Ethiopia from the 1890's until 1936. www.britannica.com (accessed in May 2021)

mockery. To this point, he averred that the presence of Western institutions, notably Christianity, was “a heinous mass of deception”. This malicious situation should push the African more than any other time to create Christianity of his own. According to Wallace, “We [Africans] must worship God according to our conviction, not according to the theory of white man’s Christianity. We [Africans] must see Christ as a Blackman and all the Holy angels as Negroes”. Regarding Western civilization, and like Blyden, he did not reject it totally. Instead, he instructed Africans to be intelligent and take what suited him and neglect the rest . He further negated the view held by some Africans that the white man is an idol. Simply, he saw the white man as an ordinary man. All depended on the desire to succeed which made the difference between the two¹.

In 1936, the league operated at a local and international level. Locally, seventeen branches were established to make the ideas of the League more wide spread among Gold Coasters. The League protested against the Levy Bill, the Asamankese, the Kofi Sekyere Ordinance and the Provincial Council System because the league saw these measures as a threat to native institutions². It also fought against labor policies, indirect rule and the exploitation of minerals by the government³.

Internationally, most of its work centred on Great Britain. It played an active role in the Italo-Ethiopian crisis (1935-1939), describing how foreign influence was spreading among Africans. Meanwhile, the League started to loose support of its old supporters. Mainly because Johnson was accused of taking the funds to his own pocket coupled with Nandi Azekiwe mistrust to Johnson. This led Johnson to establish a newspaper for the propagation of the league’s ideas, and the gathering of more supporters. The first issue of the newspaper, “*The Down*”, appeared on 24th October 1936, but it did not work for long because of financial problems. In addition, government officials were very suspicious of Johnson's great impact on national and international politics and were ready to set all the means to get rid of him. Arnold Hodson, governor of the Gold Coast between 1934 and 1941,

¹ Asante, S.K.B.: “Pan-African Protest : West Africa and the Italo - Ethiopian Crisis,1934 -1941”,London, Longman, 1977,p.87

² Spitzer,op.cit,p. 439

³ Ibid

addressed the colonial office that Johnson presented a threat to colonial policies and that there should be an immediate response to this rising threat. Hodson directly demanded “I do wish that you could suggest some plan whereby I could get rid of Wallace-Johnson”¹.

Hodson’s appeals did not come out of sudden. On 15 May 1936, Johnson published an editorial on *the Morning Post* criticizing European Civilization, Christianity and Imperialism. Though the editorial led to the imprisonment of Johnson and the end of the league’s work, a reading of it showed the great impact that Blyden’s ideas had on the time.

I [Johnson] believe the European has God in whom he believes and whom he is representing in his churches all over Africa. He believes in the God whose name is spelt Deceit. He [the European] believes in the God whose law is “ye strong you must weaken the weak” Ye 'civilised' Europeans you must 'civilise' the 'barbarous' Africans with machine guns. Ye Christian Europeans, you must 'Christianize' the pagan Africans with bombs, poison gases, etc²

In a stronger tone, he accused Europeans of making the African nothing but a source of exploitation:

Make an Ordinance to grab his money so that he cannot stand economically. Make a levy bill to force him to pay taxes for the importation of unemployed Europeans to serve as Stool Treasurers. Send detectives to stay around the house of any African who is nationally conscious and who is agitating for national independence and if possible, round him up in “criminal frame-ups” so that he could be kept behind bars³

The end of Johnson’s league coincided with two important events that shocked international affairs and by extension the Gold Coast nationalism. First, there was a mounting protest against the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. Gold Coasters, like other Africans in the world, showed their solidarity with Ethiopians and saw the attack as a continuation of a long, disheartening story of Africans. On 11 September 1935, one editor noted that “the Italo-Abyssinian crisis is teaching the world a new and useful lesson, especially the members of the African race. It is revealing to us what is at the back of the mind of the European powers against the weaker peoples of the world”⁴. Internationally, many also showed solidarity with Ethiopians. S.R.Wood and G.E. Moore, both from the A.R.P.S., became members in the International African Friends of Abyssinia Society (I.A.F.A.S) in 1935 where they

¹ Spitzer, op.cit, p. 440

² Pan-African News Wire, "Has the African a God?". Retrieved from <http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca> (accessed in June 2021)

³ Ibid

⁴ Langely, op.cit, p. 329-330

asked Malcolm Macdonald to “make a clear pronouncement on Liberty for Africans, whether in the Gold Coast or Abyssinia”¹.

The second major force was the outbreak of W.W.II (1939-1945). The Gold Coast, like other African colonies, was involuntarily involved in the war. More than sixty-five thousand soldiers were from the Gold Coast. The contribution of the African people to war efforts made strong, irresistible desire to gain more substantial representation in their governments and more opportunities to better their economic conditions. However, people in Africa and particularly the Gold Coast found themselves still staging in poverty, especially after the sharp decline in cocoa industry by the end of the war. All of these pressures made radical changes. Africans changed their demands from merely asking for constitutional reforms into demanding complete independence from the yoke of imperialism². This change found expression during the 1945 Pan-African Congress held from 15 to 19 October at Charlton Town, Manchester. The leaders, most notably the emerging Gold Coast nationalist messiah Kwame Nkrumah ³, made vivid articulation to Blyden’s ideas who insisted that mere understanding of the African personality and by extension African racial prejudices was not enough until Africans got real freedom from white domination.

III.5.4. The 1945 Pan-African Congress

The involvement of Gold Coasters in local politics was further widened by the post-war pan-African congress of 1945. Two important aspects made the 1945 Pan-African Congress different to the preceding congresses. Padmore argued that the Congress no longer remain elitist in nature. Instead, “there was expression of a mass movement intimately identified with the underprivileged

¹ Asante,op.cit, p.35

² Mostefaoui,op.cit,p. 296

³Was born on 22nd September 1909 in the western region of Ghana. Early in his life, he attended the Roman Catholic Elementary School in 1915. Later, He went to the United States where he obtained Bachelors degrees in Theology, Economics and Sociology. During his life, he met many important nationalist like Azikiwe of Nigeria and Wallace Johnson who helped articulate many of his ideas. In 1945, he left to England and became one of the most important organizers of the 1945 Pan-african Congress. By, 1947, he returned to the Gold Coast and formed a strong pillar against the British to grant independence and by 1957 he became a president of Ghana where he set many policies for the revival of the African personality, African religion and education, in Asamoah, Kwame Botwe, Kwame Nkrumah’s Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies an African-Centred Paradeigm for the Second Phase of the Aafrican Revolution”, Routledge New York & London,2005,p.51

sections of the colored colonial population”¹. Consequently, important organizations and trade unions represented the Gold Coast. These included the A.R.P.S, Technical Workers’ Union, the Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants, The Gold Coast Farmers’ Association and the International African Service Bureau, which Kwame Nkrumah was affiliated to². A second major aspect was the absence of Afro-Americans. Though Du Bois was present, he did not represent any organization and thus made representation almost African. In this regard, Geiss opined, “the fifth Pan-African Congress was the last demonstration of African and Afro-American solidarity”³. As a result, Africa became the center of Pan-African leadership while the diaspora became peripheral⁴.

Most of the resolutions of the 1945 Pan-African congress revealed the impact that Blyden had on the time especially when it comes to the central demands of the congress. Though Blyden focused on Africans racial prejudices and the way these prejudices precipitated his demise, he never doubted the right of Africans of complete independence and their right for self-government. Blyden called on all Africans:

We must not be satisfied that, in this nation, European influence shapes our polity, makes our laws, rules in our tribunals, and impregnates our social atmosphere. We must not suppose that the Anglo-Saxon methods are final, and that we have nothing to teach the world⁵

To this point, Conyer asserted that Blyden was much a head of his time and predicted the change that Africans would encounter after W.W.II. Racial issues became of secondary priority as compared to matters related to full independence and self-government⁶. Consequently, the members of the congress stated that a real end to the distorting relationship between European colonialism and Africa was independence. Members further believed in the right of Africans to think of their destiny without foreign influence. People of the colonies should no longer remain under imperialist control and should gather all the means at their hands to achieve full independence and sovereignty.

¹ Padmore, George, “Pan-africansim, or communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa” London: Dennis Dobson, 1956, p. 161

² Mostefaoui, op.cit, p. 295

³ Geiss, op.cit, p. 397

⁴ Michael Crowder, “Cambridge History of Africa”, volume 8, c. 1940-C. 1975”, Cambridge University Press, p.101

⁵ Blyden, “Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race”, op.cit, p. 90

⁶ Conyers, op.cit, p. 112

Independence should include not only Africans in the diaspora, mainly in the U.S. but it should work to include people of the African continent. According to the members, “the successful realization of the political, economic, and social aspirations of the 13 million [black people] in the U.S. is bound up with the emancipation of all African people”¹. Demands further called for movements for independence. These mass movements must identify with the black cause and should made the aspirations of colored people for independence a reality².

Members condemned colonialism and affirmed that it brought much detriment to Africans. Similar to Blyden who attacked colonialism and Christianity, members placed heavy criticism on all its forms. During the session about West Africa, it was stated that imperialism with all its institutions made the African in a far remote situation as compared to other people of the world. For them, Colonialism evoked underdevelopment in all Africans spheres of life including health, illiteracy and social problems. As regards Christianity, members averred that Europeans used Christianity as an excuse to come to Africa but alas for the African, their Christianity precipitated “the political and economic exploitation of the West African peoples by alien powers”. The members further made the point that European presence in Africa disintegrated its people and land and made people who centuries shared socio-economic and cultural interests far from each other. The members concluded that these mechanisms were part of plan to abstruct the capacities of West African people and made dreams of African unity and development a seemingly impossible task³.

Africa should take its place among nations of the world. Similar to Blyden’s view who never doubted Africans mission in life, members alluded to the fact that though Africans had long been under fierce exploitation which made them “an age-long patient people”, they should strive and sacrifice not for the benefit of “world's drudgery” nor to be exploited for “a false aristocracy” or “a discarded imperialism”. Instead, Africans should take deliberate steps to empower themselves.

¹ Padmore, “ Pan-africansim, or communism”,op.cit,p.166

² Marable, Manning, “Black Leadership”, Columbia University Press: New York, 1998,p. 95

³ Marable,op.cit,p.95

Though the process may force Africans to use force as a weapon for their emancipation, for members, this could remain the only solution to stop colonial domination which was “still determined to rule Mankind by force”. Members further believed in the right of Africans to get full independence. Full independence included not only their freedom from colonial presence, but also an independence in all Africans walks of life¹.

Under the heading “The Challenge to the Colonial Powers”, members, in very sensitive words, described the aspirations of many Africans who were fed up with colonial domination. Indeed, their declaration expressed all the hopes ascribed by Blyden half a century before:

The delegates believe in peace. How could it be otherwise, when for centuries the African peoples have been the victims of violence and slavery?.....We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and not further than it is possible in this One World for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation....we condemn the monopoly of capital and rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy²

A real democracy was the one that granted Africans all their rights regardless of their color of origin. It was a dynamic that built on African mental and intellectual capacities to form the world of his own uncontaminated by European influences. Indeed, it was a force that made everything African purely to the interest of Africans.

By the end of the congress, members sent a Memorandum to United Nations Organization. The Memorandum described the malicious situation that Africans were living in. The members opined that imperial powers did not grant Africans full independence because of the belief in Africans inferiority, and thus shared Blyden’ view of how these beliefs made the African unable to represent himself. According to members, “there is the widespread assumption that Negroes lack the intelligence to express their views and can only be represented by imperial governments or by other

¹ Hakim Adi & Marika Sherwood, “The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited”, New Beacon Books, 1995,p. 55

² Marable,op.cit,p.95

spokesmen not of their own choosing”¹. Identical to Blyden's view, the result was the creation of an African uncertain about his destiny and always made to follow whiteman guidance.

The Gold Coast representatives made notable contributions to different sessions of the Congress. Where Blyden stressed how Europeans used color to de-humanize Africans, the Gold Coast representatives alluded to the fact that though they identified with the white race culture and civilization they were still treated as “uncivilized” and “backward”. In the session “The Color Problem in Britain”, Mr. E. J. Duplan, a member of the Negro Welfare Center, stressed how Western civilization deceived Africans. He stated that though Africans living in Britain participated in both wars and made all sacrifices to defend Britain, they were still suffering from racism. Africans were betrayed and involved in wars that changed nothing but enforced old beliefs about their inferiority. Though many of them had good qualifications, still their opportunity to get employment was scares. Duplan propounded that Africans believed that by mimicking Western civilization they would be allowed to share their comforts. However, they faced astonishing treatment upon their arrival to the British Isles². In the same session, Mr. A. Aki-Emi, representative of the Coloured Workers’ Association, also shared Blyden’s view on how imperialism weakened the African. He stated that because of imperialism Africans were forced to leave their countries and flee to Britain where they faced a more embarrassing experience³.

In the second session “Imperialism in North and West Africa”, Gold Coast representatives levied much criticism at imperialism as a system of subjugation. In the same manner as Blyden who affirmed that imperialism was the cause of all failures, the members hinted to the fact that African atrocities were a result of imperialism and the end of imperialism inevitably meant the end of a long history of sufferance. Mr. F. Kwame Nkrumah accused imperialism of causing a war that cost the world six years of slaughter and devastation. For him, imperialism failed the African and brought

¹ George Padmore (ed.) 1947, Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action History of the Pan-African Congress. Retrieved from www.marxists.org/archive (accessed in July 2021)

²Ibid

³Ibid

sorrow to his life. He concluded that the end of imperialism meant the end of the suffering of Negroes in the colonies. Mr. G. Ashie Nikoi, a member in the West African Cocoa Farmers' Delegation, accused imperialism of destroying African institutions. He insisted on the way imperial rule weakened the power of chiefs and made them involuntarily controlled by the British. The process not only diminished the power of chiefs but destroyed a system of a society overall.

In a more stronger tone, Mr. J. S. Annan, Secretary of the Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants and Technical Works' Union, posited that a mere political independence was not enough until Africans develop a strong economy. An economy self-reliant African, as attributed by Blyden and shared by Annan, was a hint to a complete independence. Annan opined "the supposed rulers have been with us for over one hundred years and the result is wretched ignorance, bad health, poverty. I agree entirely with political freedom, but before we have political freedom we must have something to live on, or we will die before we get it"¹. Moreover, during the session "The East African Picture", Mr. C. D. Hyde, represented the Negro Welfare Assn, told members that the African is still suffering from imperialism. His story was similar to that of Blyden when the latter refused admission to college in the U.S. because of his color. Hyde stated that upon his arrival to South Africa, he was refused admission to the Seamen's Institute. Hyde narrated that he was not able to participate in the institute activities. Matters worsened when the responsible, he continued, intentionally lowered their grades as to make them have passes. By the end, Hyde insisted that Africans should find a solution to the whole situation of racism because, in the words of Hyde, "we shall have to face the challenge now, and see that something is done for the whole of Africa"².

The most important contribution of Gold Coasters came with the "Declaration to the Colonial Workers, Farmers and Intellectuals" addressed by Kwame Nkrumah. For Nkrumah, imperialism came to exploit the African riches. The time when imperialists gave Africans the right to govern themselves, they would deprive themselves of the many good resources of wealth. To this point,

¹ George Padmore (ed.) 1947, Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action History of the Pan-African Congress. Retrieved from www.marxists.org/archive (accessed in July 2021)

² Ibid

Nkrumah alluded to the fact that “the struggle for political power” was important as it would overthrow imperialism and bring a complete political, economic and social emancipation¹.

Indeed, the eradication of colonialism inevitably meant a new page for the African that promised better life conditions and a renewed vision of his abilities and capacities. Another notable contribution made by Nkrumah was the foundation of The West African National Secretariat in December 1945. The body worked “to promote the concept of a West African Federation as an indispensable lever for the ultimate achievement of a United States of Africa”². Nkrumah established a branch of the West African National Secretariat in London and organized its first conference by 1946. He also founded a newspaper for the body “*the New African*”. The first issue was entitled “The Voice of the Awakened African” and released in March 1946³. The editorial showed Nkrumah's vision of the liberation struggle and the mechanisms whereby the African could attain such objectives.

III.6. Conclusion:

The third chapter examined Blyden's philosophy and its impact on the process of re-Africanization in Ghana up to 1945. The chapter starts with briefs on early forms of protests prior to Blyden's activities. These protests formed the nucleus of a culture of protest against all forms of black humiliation and subjugation. Then the chapter examined Blyden's early life and philosophy as to highlight the most important tenets of his philosophy. These basics gave a solid ground for understanding the impact of his philosophy on people of the Gold Coast. Starting from early forms of the protests in 1874 and moving to international and regional gatherings and ending with local politics, the chapter provides a thorough examination of the great impact of Blyden's philosophy on the actions and intellects of people up to 1945.

Indeed, Nkrumah's interest in Pan-African unity and West African solidarity made him, no doubt, an important figure in Gold Coast nationalism. Shortly after his return to the Gold Coast he started a

¹ George Padmore (ed.) 1947, *Colonial and Coloured Unity: A Programme of Action History of the Pan-African Congress*. Retrieved from www.marxists.org/archive (accessed in July 2021)

² Legum, op.cit, p.32-33

³ Ibid

long mission to let people know about the need for African unity and freedom. The Gold Coast became the hub of his activities. According to Nkrumah, “When I returned to West Africa in 1947, it was with the intention of using the Gold Coast as a starting-off point for African independence and unity”¹. His active career as a politician and later as a president in 1957 of the new Republic of Ghana, the focus of the next chapter, presented a very remarkable phase in Pan-African struggle and by extension the great impact that Blyden had on his actions and intellects.

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Africa Must Unite”, International Publishers, 1970,p. 135

Chapter Four: Blyden's Philosophy and Its Impact on the Re-Africanization Process (1945-1966)

IV.1. Introduction

After WWII, there had been steady progress toward independence in all African colonies. In the Gold Coast, the period witnessed intensified efforts to bring together the elite, the chiefs and the masses into common ground to put much pressure on the colonial government to grant them independence. Though the colonial government gave Gold Coasters a majority in the legislative council, the matter did not bring much change to the situation of the people. The only cry remained for complete independence. Through a set of political parties, mostly led by the emerging nationalist Kwame Nkrumah, the people of the Gold Coast got their independence and formed the republic of Ghana¹ in 1957. After independence, Kwame Nkrumah became the first president of independent Ghana and embarked on a long process of reforms that opted for the economic, political, social and cultural progress of Ghana and by extension Africa. But to what extent were these policies influenced by Edward Wilmot Blyden's philosophy?

This chapter has twofold objectives. The first is to trace transition of the Gold Coast into independent nation (1946-1957), by focusing on major political parties and events that not only called for independence but which made of Blyden's ideas a ground for their protest. The second is to examine Kwame Nkrumah policies's as president (1957-1966) and show how his intellects and actions were a potency of Blyden's philosophy.

IV.2. The 1946 Constitution and the Emergence of Kwame Nkrumah as a Political Leader (1947-1956)

Though the British Empire was in decline, the colonial government did not change its attitudes towards the Gold Coast which was still seen as a model colony. This was apparent in the many attempts led by the government to establish a system that could join British officials and the chiefs

¹ On 6 March 1957 the Gold Coast was granted its independence under the name of Ghana

and in secondary priority officials and the educated elite. It was stated that the 1946 constitution was the last of many attempts to find increased African participation in the colonial government and by extension avoid immediate independence. Governor Sir. Alan Burns introduced the new constitution that granted Africans a majority in the legislative council¹. Biswal stated that the new constitution led the unification of both the colony and Ashanti under one executive and legislative council. Though the new constitution made substantial reform with an appointment of elected majority², Gold Coasters still felt marginalized. Gold Coasters could not help introduce any new policy. Their role was only ascribed to criticize policies made by officials. In fact, the new constitution though seemed to recognize their presence it still made of the governor a final authority³.

Adding to the shortcomings of the way the new constitution was led, many saw that the new constitution failed to address economic problems of the colony. War returnees from Asia and Africa disdained the apparent harsh economic conditions of the people especially unemployment and were convinced that the Gold Coast like colonies in Asia had the right to independence. The situation worsened by the outbreak of a disease that costed poor cocoa farmers more than fifteen million trees a year. The disease led to increase in prices and thus worsened life for many people. Elementary school-leavers demanded employment which the government was very apathetic about especially with post-WWII economic situation. All these developments, however, proved to Gold Coasters that the new constitution could do nothing but enforced their inferiority. The result, as stated by Biswal, was “a more ready basis for hostility and distrust of anything colonial”⁴. The emergence of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C) by 1947 was only an example of the forces that made expression to people’s grievances.

¹ Shillington, Kevin, “Encyclopedia of African History: Volume 1, A-G”, Tylor and Francis group: New York, London,2005,p.984

² Biswal, Tapan Prasad, “Ghana, Political and Constitutional Developments”, Northern Book Center, New Delhi,1992,,p.37

³ Ibid,p.38

⁴ Ibid,p.41

IV.2.1. The Role of the United Gold Coast Convention

As an elitist-nationalist movement, the U.G.G.C was formed in August 1947. The party sought constitutional and legitimate means as a path for people's control of the government¹. Notable members included Dr. J.W, de Graft Johnson, Mr. Francis Awooner Williams and Mr. R.S, Blay². Padmore opined that the new nationalist movement remained “a paper organization” until Kwame Nkrumah was invited to hold the position of Secretary for the party³. The Watson Commissioners shared Padmore's view and claimed that the party politics found great pace with advancement of Kwame Nkrumah as secretary. According to the report, Nkrumah's arrival signaled a significant advancement of the Party's politics⁴. Nkrumah's contribution rested on the way he introduced new objectives for the party. This was evidence in the disparity between Nkrumah and other members about the timeline of independence. While Nkrumah demanded immediate independence, other members did not set any timeline for the attainment of such objectives and focused on constitutional reforms. In addition, while members longed for the creation of a capitalist state, Nkrumah showed his desire to create a Ghana state with socialist ideology⁵.

All these new orientations, though gave a boost to the reputation of the party as a movement⁶, made an obstacle against Nkrumah to propagate for Blyden's ideas especially his pursuit of the African personality which after a short period led Nkrumah to break away with the United Gold Coast Convention and form the Convention Peoples Party (C.P.P) in 1949.

Though the UGCC did not call for immediate independence, the leaders never doubted the need for independence as a first step toward complete emancipation. For the leaders, people of the Gold Coast were free and it was their right to regain this freedom. In its inaugural address, J.B. Danquah made this clear: “But there is one thing we brought with us from ancient Ghana. We brought with us

¹ Padmore,op.cit,p. 60

² Ibid

³ Ibid,p. 61

⁴ Ibid,p.62

⁵ Yankson-Mensah, Marian, “Transitional Justice in Ghana: An Appraisal of the National Reconciliation Commission”, Springer: Berlin,2020,p.29

⁶ Membership increased from 500 members in 1947 to 3000 people, Ibid

our ancient freedom. Today the safety of that freedom is threatened...since the Bond of 1844, and the time has come for a decision”¹. The leaders shared Blyden’s view that people should carve to find their own path of progress and no longer remain parasite upon imperial domination. Danquah told the masses that the presence of imperialism was a threat to all aspects of the lives of Gold coasters. For Danquah, immediate decision should be made to find methods were they could negotiate with the British solutions to the distorted manhood of the African.

One of these negotiations centered on finding solutions to their economic grievances. Due to Post-War situation, much of the UGCC demands were economic. Maxwell described the nature of nationalism during the 1940’s and 1950’s, as an “economic grievance nationalism”². This was in part due the marginalization that Gold Coasters faced within the colonial machinery. William Ofori-Atta lamented the lack or intentional deprivation of the people from taking positions of control. Still believing in Africans inferiority and their lack of capacity, the British authorities made Africans in a second position under the white man. Atta wrote:

Every senior or high office in the Civil Service was occupied by an expatriate—a white man. In the commercial field, all the bosses were white. Even in the churches, the situation was no different: all the top clergy were white. To add insult to injury, those few Africans who were fortunate enough to attain high office were described as occupying European posts³

Similar to Blyden, Atta believed that the African found no place within this highly Westernized environment that worked to denationalize him and enforce his inferiority. Though the African served the Whiteman, he was still staging in poverty. A.G. Grant also shared Blyden's view and continued that the presence of colonialism was a retarding force against Africans progress. According to Grant, “we [Africans] were not being treated right, we were not getting the licenses for the import of goods, also we were not pleased with the way our [legislative council] handled matters, because we had not

¹ Danquah, J.B. "An Immortal Of Ghana", Compiled by Danquah Funeral Committee, George Boakie Publishing Company P.O. Box 15, Accra, Ghana, 1969, p. 57

² Maxwell Owusu, "Uses and Abuses of Political Power: A Case Study of Continuity and Change in the Politics of Ghana", Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970, p.89.

³ George M. Bob-Milliar, "Verandah Boys versus Reactionary Lawyers: Nationalist Activism in Ghana, 1946–1956," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 47, no. 2 (2014): p. 291.

the right people there”¹. Grant's grievance was a result of the attitudes of colonial authorities who granted European merchants facilities to commence their trade while the African merchant faced many obstacles merely because they were black. An analysis of the party's demands showed that its objectives were too narrow focusing on economic side while neglecting other dimensions of people's lives especially that of education. This was why the party, during its earlier days, did not have much impact on the Gold Coast. Padmore averred that because of lack of organized program for the party, many lost hope and enthusiasm about it and made its work a mere “flam-boyant manifestoes couched in vague generalizations”².

The situation did not last for long as an invitation was addressed to Kwame Nkrumah to hold the position of a secretary in 1948. Due to his long stays in London, Nkrumah had a good grasp of political manifestations especially, which had Pan-African grounds. All these were put into practice during his term as a secretary of the UGCC. Nkrumah started his mission on 10 January 1948. From the outset, believing in the need to pursue Blyden's African personality, Nkrumah sought for unity as the only drive for the attainment of other objectives. Nevertheless, an analysis of his actions as a Secretary showed that Nkrumah did not focus much on all Blyden's principles. Rather, he insisted on unity as a path for emancipation. The reason why he did was because Nkrumah believed that people now were aware of the ties that bound them together and all what they needed was unity of masses to pressure for independence. He, along with Danquah, organized a set of meetings to spread the ideas of the new movement. Most notable of these meetings was one held at the Palladium Cinema in Accra. Nearly 9000 persons attended the meeting. Nkrumah instructed that:

A fierce fight against the economic system is raging. It does not matter whether those who have promoted that economic system are black or white. The Convention is against anybody who identifies himself, be he black or white, with that economic system. The present struggle is a historical one, for down the ages this fight has been raging with unabated intensity and has pointed all along to one goal-complete independence for West Africa³

¹ Dennis Austin, “Politics in Ghana 1946-1960”, London: Oxford University Press, 1966,p. 51.

² Padmore,op.cit,p.61

³ Nkrumah Kwame, “I speak of freedom. Panaf ed. London: Panaf. Original editions New York:

In another meeting held in February 1948 at Aboso, Nkrumah called for immediate unity. He stressed

Without organizational strength we are weak; unity is the dynamic force behind any great venture. In whatever sphere of labor you are placed we want you to work so well that when the time comes for you to serve your country you will be the right man at the right place¹

Nkrumah then drafted a memorandum, which, for him, would “forestall any unpreparedness on our part in the exigency of self-government”². Like Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the attainment of self-government necessitated three main phases. The first was the need for unity of different organizations as there would never be a strength without unity. He also instructed that a set of branches should be established to let the masses understand the party’s objectives. He further stressed the need for the foundation of week-end schools for diffusing “political mass education of the country for Self-Government”. The second phase made of demonstrations of these organizations as a weapon to let authorities bow to their demands. The last of these phases would be the drafting of a constitution for self-government for the Gold Coast. It also included the organization of strikes, boycotts and demonstrations to put much pressure on authorities to grant them independence³.

Nkrumah new orientations for the party objectives presented a transition, though temporary, in his Pan-African ideals and by extension the impact that Blyden had on his ideas. Though he shifted from calling for Pan-African unity into territorial unity, he was convinced that the attainment of the Gold Coast independence did not interject with the main appeal of Blyden for African unity because the latter could not be attained so far as African countries were still scattered under the yoke of colonialism.

Nkrumah's initiatives gave a boost to the reputation of the party among people. Nearly 209 branches were opened in different areas of the Gold Coast. In addition, two members from Ashanti joined the working of the party. Another evidence that popularized the works of Nkrumah was the

Praeger; London: Heinemann; Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press; 1961.

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. Panaf ed. n. p.: Panaf. Original edition: New York, Nelson, 1957,p.03

² Austin, Dennis. "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention." *The Journal of African History* 2, no. II (1961): 279

³ *Ibid*,p. 283

outbreak of Riots by 1948. The riots were led by the Ex-Servicemen's Union and because of strong hostility of the government twenty people were shot to death and nearly 237 injured. Though many historians neglected the fact that these disturbances were fueled by the UGCC, the fact that these disturbances coincided with the release of Nkrumah memorandum publicly and the eventual arrest of the majority of the party leaders during the riots proved the reverse. There was also a change in the time when independence should be attained. Then, many believed that there should be "a target date" for independence so that all people knew, according to one commentator, where to "begin to free ourselves according to our own program of action"¹. A most surprising success of the party was a move from constitutional means into using masses as a weapon for immediate independence:

The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historical events. But at those crucial moments when the old order becomes no longer endurable to the masses, they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives, and create by their own interference the initial groundwork for a new régime... The history of a revolution is for us first of all a history of the forcible entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny²

Masses entrance into protests marked a decisive success to the UGCC. Nkrumah not only changed the party demands that were merely constitutional but endeavored to prepare people of the Gold Coast into an understanding of present challenges for the attainment of independence. This preparedness centered on founding a school for the youth. Nkrumah took no time and established the Ghana National College on 20 July 1948. During its inaugural address, Nkrumah made of Blyden's ideas as a starting point for the college. He believed that the college would be the ground for the liberation of the youth from the long devastating impact of European psyche. For him, the college would use European modes of technology while keeping African culture as the center of the curriculum. Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the college would be a source for the

¹ Austin, Dennis. "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention.", op.cit, p.287

² Leon Trotsky

The History of the Russian Revolution, Volume One: The Overthrow of Tzarism. Retrieved from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1930/hrr/ch00.htm> (accessed in August 2021)

production of people who could take the torch of nationalism and expel colonial rule¹. By the end of the address, he, like Blyden, hoped that the college would instill feelings about Gold Coast unity that was, as Nkrumah affirmed, part of a West African unity and African unity².

Though the UGCC seemed to have great impact on people on their march for independence, many obstacles forced Nkrumah to break away with the UGCC and led the foundation of the C.P.P. by 1949. Many conflicts arose as the leaders had different visions of how to organize and prepare for self-government. The first of these obstacles came when leaders rejected Nkrumah's proposal for the establishment of a National College in Cape Coast. For Nkrumah, the college would host many students who were rejected by St .Augustine's Roman Catholic College because they supported the UGCC during the 1948 riots. What worsened the situation was the attempt led by Nkrumah to find the Committee of Youth Organization (C.Y.O) to gather these students for their solidarity and action. The leaders asked Nkrumah to disassociate from the new organization. They also ended his mission as a secretary and proposed the position of treasurer³. Due to all these pressures, the youth of the C.Y.O. allied with Kwame Nkrumah and formed the Convention Peoples Party.

IV.2.2.The Birth of the Convention Peoples Party

The establishment of the CPP by Nkrumah and the youth marked two important features of the period. The first was that leadership was almost cast upon masses. Unlike movements that preceded the CPP where the majority of leaders were from the elite, the new movement made of different classes of the people the architect of the Gold Coast revolution. The second feature was the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah who not only called for immediate independence but helped disperse among people of the Gold Coast Blyden's ideas. Though he failed to make these ideas heard during his term as secretary of the UGCC, Nkrumah found in the C.P.P. an outlet where he could made of

¹ According to Nkrumah, "The magic story of human achievement gives irrefutable proof that as soon as an awakened intelligentsia emerges among so-called subject people, it becomes the vanguard of the struggle against alien rule",Nkrumah "Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah",op.cit,p. 74

² Ibid,p.74

³ Padmore,op.cit,p.67-69

Blydenic philosophy a monitoring dynamic for protest. The main objectives of the party and his education program were an expression of the impact that Blyden had on his intellect and actions. These tactics, no doubt, placed the party as the political vanguard for a real physical and intellectual emancipation for the Gold Coast and by extension Africa¹.

Nkrumah used the C.P.P. as a medium to show his great pursuit of the African personality. Nkrumah believed that the presence of Western culture undermined the importance of African culture. As argued by Agyeman, Nkrumah like other Gold Coasters saw in Western culture a threat to African society. As a cultural crusader, the activities of Nkrumah were “a reaction against the European ethnocentric ideology and cultural imperialism, which had curbed the national cultures of the African continent”² and a move to “rescue and reconstruct the best of ancient African culture and use it as a paradigm for a renewed modern African culture”³. Nkrumah's cultural aspiration thus was driven from ancestors. Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the emphasis on the achievements of Africans in the past would work as a dynamic for African regeneration and for the immediate task of giving aspirations for future activities emanating for African progress.

Nkrumah made an attack on Eurocentric vision of African history. Like Blyden, he averred that these investigations were much more mythic than a real portrayal of the people and their history. Moreover, he dismissed European scholars's ignorance of the fact that Africans had a past and history. In this respect, all aspects of the African society, including culture, were presented as “backward” and in need of European colonialism and Christian missions to disperse civilization and modernity. Aiming at giving a counter discourse to these narratives, Nkrumah wrote:

Before the Christian era, and before England had assumed any importance, our ancestors had attained a great empire, which lasted until the eleventh century, when it fell before the attacks of the Moors of the north. At its heights that empire stretched from Timbuktu to Bamako, and...the Atlantic. It is said that lawyers and scholars were much respected in that empire and that the inhabitants of Ghana wore garments of

¹ Padmore, op.cit, p. 69

² Agyeman, Opoku, “Pan-Africanism and Its Detractors: A Response to Harvard’s Race-Effacing Universalists” Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997, P.03

³ Ibid, p. 50

wool, cotton, silk and velvet. There was trade in copper, and gold and textile fabric, and jewels and weapons of gold and silver were carried¹

For Nkrumah, Africans re-investigation of their past would be a treasure. This carve into the past would do three important things for Africans. First, the process would encapsulate the emergence of a new African bound to his origins and aware of the responsibilities of building a new Africa. The second thing was that these investigations would, in the words of Nkrumah, “give us confidence that we can create, out of the past, a glorious future”. Accordingly, Nkrumah was convinced that there would be no future progress until Africans look back at their past and out of it they could generate a new spirit for future progress². Lastly, these investigations would result in an accurate interpretation of the African psyche and his relation to his environment. Nkrumah incited that counter European narratives should not be only for telling historical events and people, but its first and main objective was to mirror the merits of the African society so that we unveil the dark and malicious new, intervening aspects of European imperialism³.

During its first years, the party had great success. It succeeded in reaching the Northern territories where it made notable impact on the people there. The party also launched its first newspaper “The Accra Evening News” in 1948. Nkrumah used the newspaper to advance the cause of Africans and their right of liberation. The first editorial of the paper starts with these words “Ethiopia stretches forth her yearning hands! Africa moves on towards her emancipation! The Gold Coast advances into the arena of world politics and recognition”⁴. The newspaper also started to be a medium for letting people know about African personalities and their contribution to humanity. Nkrumah, like blyden, believed that these editorials would instill among Africans a pride of their people and institutions. The newspaper also published remarkable letters from famous nationalist like George Padmore⁵ with

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Consciencism”, New York & London: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1964, p.51

² Ibid, p.199

³ Asamoah, Kwame Botwe, op.cit, pp.51

⁴ Poe, D. Zizwe, “KWAME NKURUMAH’S CONTRIBUTION to PANAFRICANISM: An Afrocentric Analysis”, Routledge: New York & London, 2003, P.96

⁵ Was born on 28 June 1903 in Trinidad. As Journalist, politician and Pan-Africanist, Padmore studied medicine and moved to Russia where he became a staunch supporter to the communist regime. He died on 23 September 1959. www.britannica.com (accessed in September 2021)

the intention of making people of the Gold Coast know about their African peers and their struggle for independence¹.

Later, in December 1948, Nkrumah organized a meeting in Accra. The meeting was attended by 3000 persons. The address popularized Nkrumah as a nationalist and helped disperse Blydenic ideas. During the speech, Nkrumah provided a long talk about African history and past. His intention was to trace the malicious impact of imperialism that brought nothing but the destruction of the African wellbeing. According to Nkrumah, “Imperialism thrives only where the people are divided and are ignorant of their rights. That is why the educational system is so bad. In fact, there is no system at all. It is one big muddle”². Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah was at odds with the way imperialism weakened the African and enforced his inferiority. The African was provided with an education system that was still engraving backwardness and savagery.

Nkrumah’s motivational speeches inspired many contemporaries to share their opinions regarding European Christianity. The Rev. G.K. Dolvo published a series of essays entitled “Africa Awakes” in 1949. The essays focused on giving an analysis to African problems from a religious point of view. Dolvo went with Blyden’s opinion that European Christianity was not the Christianity of God. According to Dolvo, “there is something wrong with some of the people who practice it”. Because of feelings of racial superiority, a kind of “social distancing” which made the African felt strange as he listened to something and experienced something else³. Quamie-Kyimah, a civil servant from Axim, pointed out missionaries’ attempts to erase native beliefs and practices. Similar to Blyden, he criticized early missionaries's attempts to treat everything associated with native customs as bad. According to Kyimah, the missionary attacked and eventually suppressed native customs. To this point, he agreed with Blyden that the missionary did not encourage people to improve them or at least they themselves did efforts to study and investigate these systems⁴. In the same manner, E.A.

¹ Poe,op.cit,p. 98

² Nkrumah “I speak of freedom”,op.cit,p.13

³ Mobley,op.cit,p.75

⁴ Ibid,p.103

Asamaa, disdained the apparent attacks on native customs. For Asamaa, there was a kind of “negation” and “denial” on the part of the Church to the usefulness of these beliefs. A thing that made the African “a hypocrite” who when present in Church ceremonies deployed the impression that he disgusted his customs while in dormitory he resorted to these beliefs as an escape from Church limitations¹.

Nkrumah also called for another meeting on 20 November 1949. The meeting was held to find the Ghana Representative Assembly. In collaboration with the Trades Union Congress, more than 80,000 persons representing different organizations attended the meeting. The Assembly disdained colonial presence and the way the government did not understand people’s aspirations. It called upon the government to grant people of the Gold Coast immediate self-government. Immediately, the assembly drafted a memorandum where they described the way the central and local government of their aspiration². Because of the motivational speeches of Nkrumah and his motto “Organise! Organise!! Organise!!!”, people of the Gold Coast, under the leadership of the CPP, succeeded in organizing for the first time in the Gold Coast a campaign against colonial rule known as “Positive Action”. Though the campaign led to the imprisonment of Nkrumah in 1950, it clearly made the first sign of concrete realization of independence that Blyden had long advocated for. This campaign could not be solely linked to Post-WWII hardships but it represented a response and exposure to a long malign experience with colonialism and whiteman oppression. By February 1951, Nkrumah was released but this time with much vigor to organize people for unity and concerted actions.

During this period, Nkrumah made of Blyden’s calls for a West African unity a ground for his struggle. George Padmore asserted that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah founded the Convention Peoples Party not merely to attain independence. Instead, he was convinced that the new body would make concrete expression to the appeals of the N.C.B.W.A. of the 1920's³. Like Blyden, Nkrumah made several visits to West African colonies to disperse among them the need for West African solidarity. In

¹ Mobley, op.p. 111

² Padmore, op.cit, p.72-75

³ Eluwa, op.cit, p148

Nigeria, he met many influential nationalists who approved his proposal. Upon an invitation from the Liberian president Tubman, Nkrumah made a visit to Liberia by 1953. The same as Blyden who believed that Liberia would be the starting point for African revolution, Nkrumah saw Liberian progress and notable development made by the people an example of the genuine of Africans when granted that chance to make change. His apparent appraisal of Liberia's success, led him to organize a meeting at the Centennial Pavilion in Monrovia in January 1953 to propagate for his political policy and Pan-African project. Nkrumah expressed his desire in these words:

A greater exodus is coming in Africa to-day...and that exodus will be established when there is a united free and independent West Africa.... Look at the whole country of Africa to-day! With the possible exception of Liberia, Egypt and Ethiopia, the entire continent is divided and sub-divided, partitioned and repartitioned- look at the map!...¹

Nkrumah disdained divisions made to the African continent because of colonialism and insisted that in the shortest time there should emerge an only cry "Africa for Africans". The presence of imperialism, Nkrumah continued, meant the continuation of a "silly and absurd"² situation for all Africans.

In the same address, Nkrumah, similar to Blyden, hinted to the contributory personality of the African. Nkrumah never doubted the good did made by Africans to humanity:

long before the slave trade and the imperialistic rivalries in Africa began, the civilizations of the Ghana Empire were in existence. At that time in the ancient city of Timbuktu, Africans versed in science, arts, and learning were having their works translated into Greek and Hebrew and were, at the same time, exchanging teachers with the University of Cordova in Spain. These were the brains!³

Because of this genius, the African must abstract all ideas about his inferiority and fashion a positive start for his own regeneration. Nkrumah insisted on that because of colonialism which set all the means to make the African inferior, the African became prone to these ideas and manifested all efforts to discard himself of his identity in favor of Western influences. According to Nkrumah,

¹ Nkrumah, "Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah", op.cit, p. 152-153

² Ibid

³ Ibid

And to-day they come and tell us that we cannot do it. We have been made to believe that we can't do it. But have you forgotten? You have emotions like anybody else; you have feelings like anybody else; you have aspirations like anybody else—and you have visions. So don't let people come here and bamboozle us that the African is incapable of governing himself!¹

Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah called upon Africans to overcome the boundaries of Western influences and look at his own personality that was similar if not superior to the European personality. He exemplified by the Nzima intellectual Anthony William Amoo and the Haitian revolutionist Toussaint L'Ouverture who, according to Nkrumah, advanced the African cause. Both had the courage of falsifying European claims of African inferiority and succeeded in establishing basics for the intellectual, spiritual and political emancipations of Africans. From the Gold Coast, he made of contemporary organizations and persons an example for Africans who resisted Western influences and carved new paths for progress².

By the end of the address, Nkrumah re-affirmed the need for West African unity as the only drive which, in the words of Nkrumah, would enable people “to hold our own in the world, that we would demand respect from other nations because we would have this force behind us”³. Indeed, Nkrumah's visit to Liberia and his intimate contacts with Nigerian nationalists which resulted in the foundation of a CPP branch in Nigeria, all worked to empower Nkrumah' position in local and African politics. Poe opined that Nkrumah's activity was very influential. On the one hand, it made him one-step closer to be a member of the club of African state administrators due to his active pace in advancing Pan-African ideals. On the other hand, it made him the second, after Byden, to be a Pan-Africanist and a states-man at the same time⁴.

Though Nkrumah made substantial advancement towards the realization of the dream of African unity, his power and reputation seemed to not be accepted by the opposition. This opposition, as argued by Poe, formed “a counter-offensive” forces that worked to weaken the C.P.P. and

¹ Nkrumah, “Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah”,op.cit,p.153

² Poe,op.cit,p. 100

³ Ibid,p.154-155

⁴ Ibid,p. 100

Nkrumah's dream of independence. What increased hostility toward Nkrumah was the positions he held during the period. He took the position of Leader of Government Business then later promoted to Prime Minister in 1957. During this period, Nkrumah longed to be part of the traditional branch of the government. By being part of the traditional branch, Nkrumah believed he would be able to advance his dream of West African unity and African unity.

The position would further grant Nkrumah the support of the chiefs who, unfortunately for Nkrumah, formed the first signs of opposition. Notable of these parties were The National Liberation Movement and the Asanteman Council. Under the support of the government, the new movement fought vigorously against Nkrumah's proposal for the unity of Ghana and in reverse proposed a federal system that prevent Nkrumah and the C.P.P. from obtaining any central authority. Alas, for Nkrumah that he not only faced the rising opposition of the two new born parties, but division was apparent within the C.P.P. itself. By 1954, of about 81 members break away with the CPP due to high conflict with Nkrumah and formed their own opposition. The new opposition gave birth to Northern People's Party (NPP). Nkrumah opposed the party on the ground that its supporters were few and on its centrality of representing one region, the North. Soon the party formed strong pressure group against Nkrumah's government and under the new name, the National Liberation Movement (NLM), the party supported the creation of a federal government¹.

Matters seemed to worsen when the N.L.M refused cooperation. Nkrumah invited the N.L.M. to an assembly to find complimentary resolutions that would work for both sides. Yet, the N.L.M. emphasized that an election must be held with the main aim of forming a federal government. The opposition amounted to high rates that Nkrumah was about to lose his life after an assassination attempt targeted his house at Accra. Meanwhile, the popularity of the C.P.P. and the lack of tactics of the N.L.M. which, according to Poe, "was based in anti-CPP activity or nostalgic privileges" were all instruments that favored the C.P.P. as the winner of the general election². On July 17, 1956. Due to

¹Poe,op.cit,p.100

²Ibid,p. 102

this victory, Nkrumah asked Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd to fix a date for Ghana's independence. The reply of the secretary was positive. On 07 March 1957, Ghana obtained its independence. The date made an end to a long and injurious struggle of an African nation from colonial domination. As president of the new republic, Nkrumah set many objectives as a path to African progress and emancipation. At local, regional and international levels, Nkrumah, with a much vigor, showed the great impact Blyden's philosophy had on his intellect and actions. He never ceased to remind people of Africa of the need to revive the African personality, encourage the development of purely African education, and stimulate peoples to develop their economies as a weapon against new-colonialism which he conceived as threat to African development.

IV.3. Post- Independence Ghana: Kwame Nkrumah to Power (1957-1966)

With independence at hand, a new page in the history of Ghana overshadowed old forms of liberty struggle. As struggle in pre-independent Ghana was almost a struggle for unity to achieve independence, post-independent Ghana revealed surmounted efforts by Nkrumah to reveal at a local, regional and international levels the need to disperse Blydenic philosophy as a path to the racial, educational and intellectual advancement of the African peoples. According to Nkrumah, "With the achievement of Independence, the main theme of my speeches changed. I began to concentrate on the long-term objectives; economic freedom for Ghana, and African emancipation and unity"¹. Nkrumah's change of policy were attributed to two main reasons. The first owed to the fact that people of Ghana were in urgent need for unity to achieve independence which made it difficult for Nkrumah to stress other things than independence. The second was that Nkrumah felt free from the burden cast upon him by the opposition which now had been removed and made his mission easier to embark on. The task rested, as averred by Nkrumah, on shaping a collective psyche among all people of African descent "to achieve an African personality in international affairs"².

¹ Nkrumah, "I speak of freedom", op.cit, P. 111

² Ibid, p.98

Consequently, Nkrumah revealed two main tenets, which would guide his work. The first was the centrality of Ghana for freedom struggle. Similar to Blyden who used Liberia as the hub of his activity, Nkrumah saw in Ghana “a center to which all the peoples of Africa may come and where all the cultures of Africa may meet”¹.

The second tenet centered on making ties with brethren Africans in America and the West Indies. For Nkrumah, these peoples of African descent and people in Africa shared many characteristics that bound them together. Many of their ancestors and some words and phrases of their language were African and a production of the African soil. Thus, it was in the interest of Africans to join together with them and fight for their shared aspirations². The section thus will concentrate on Nkrumah’s local, regional and international politics. It will try to examine his policies and show the extent to which these policies were influenced by Blyden’s philosophy. The persistence by Nkrumah to rebuild the African personality, setting new initiatives to unite African nations and the long zeal to inaugurate a true education for Africans brought to the fore the importance of Blydenic philosophy to the wellbeing of the African and to the challenges of modern Africa.

IV.3.1. Nkrumah's domestic policies

The Starting years of Nkrumah’s terms as president showed invincible desire to revive all what had to do with the African personality. Nkrumah made this evident in the Independence Day Speech on 6 March 1957. In a similar Blydenic tone, Nkrumah addressed the audience in these words:

We are going to demonstrate to the world, to the other nations, that we are prepared to lay our own foundation, our own African personality. ...We are going to create our own African personality and identity. It's the only way that we can show the world that we are ready for our own battles³

Amoh asserted that Nkrumah’s insistence on re-creating the African personality was a sound one.

Nkrumah believed that new independent African nations were still influenced by Western modes of

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Revolutionary path”, 1st U.S. ed. New York: International Publishers,1973,p. 96

² Ibid,p. 96

³ "Ghana is free forever", Kwame Nkrumah's speech at independence 6th March 1957. Retrieved from www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/focusonafrika/news/story/2007/02/070129_ghana50_independence_speech.shtml (accessed in September 2021)

life. According to Nkrumah, many African nations sought these western influences as the only path for future progress. The converse was true for Nkrumah. Nkrumah saw the pursuit of the African personality as the only weapon against neocolonialism that presented a much malicious effect than colonialism¹.

For Nkrumah, Europeans denied African history and roots. Identical to Blyden's view who affirmed that the corrupted picture of European historiographers made the African a man without history and roots, Nkrumah opined that European mythology tried to affirm the idea that peoples of Africa are not "a historical people". Instead, there were malicious attempts to state that African history was in a state of "*inertia*" until European presence was felt. According to Nkrumah, African history was shaped out of contact of Africans with Europeans and therefore its history was an extension of European history².

This state of mind made Europeans penetrate into the continent and find excuses for the intellectual, economic and political exploitation of African riches. In an attempt to describe the whole story, Nkrumah, at the behest of an invitation from the First Africanist Conference in 1962, presented a long talk on African history focusing on the emergence of the great Empires of West Africa. Nkrumah then presented an analysis of why European writings depicted false images about Africa and Africans. Early European contact was mainly due to the trade on slaves which made European presence merely for economic motives. As such, their writings intended "to find some sort of excuse" for their rush to enslave Africans and find gold and ivory. According to Nkrumah, these writings were "*apologetic*" for the sake of finding an excuse to exploit African riches and justify slavery. In the meantime, Africans suffered from inherent inferiority and discrimination. By the end of the slave trade, European writings changed as Europeans were in an urge to find an excuse other than slavery. This time, these writings mirrored the dark and often backward face of African societies and systems.

¹ Amoh, Emanuelle, "Kwame Nkrumah, His Afro-American Network and the Pursuit of an African Personality", thesis, Illinois State University, 2019,p.22

² Nkrumah,"Revolutionary path",op.cit,p.208-209

In this respect, European writings depicted African societies as “*backward*” and “*uncivilized*” which placed a burden on all “*civilized*” nations of Europe to bring their civilization and modernity to the “dark” continent. In this regard, Europeans used religion and education as tools to indoctrinate Africans and made them easy prey to Europeans. All these developments reinforced the idea of black inferiority and made of the white man the savior of African people and a means to their economic and intellectual emancipation¹.

Africans’s pursuit of the African personality was the only solution to the African problem. The same way Blyden saw in African culture a remedy to the African problem, Nkrumah never doubted the role of African culture in making Africans proud of themselves. Nkrumah, thus tried to let people know the African genius and its role in African and world history. Consequently, Nkrumah launched Ghana television immediately after independence. The focus of programs was African centered. These programs presented positive pictures about African personalities, culture, history and past. They were mediums to reveal to the world African aesthetics that had long been undermined by colonialism. What was notable about this revolutionary pursuit of the African personality was that African lifestyle was a matter of proud. Many adopted African traditional dress and hairstyle. Nkrumah was also recounted to dress, during his speeches, traditional clothes which signified both the distinctiveness of the African personality and unity since he dressed from different parts of Ghana².

Another important articulation of the African personality came with the foundation of Encyclopedia Africana in 15 December 1962. The project worked “to mobilize all available energy for the purpose of exploiting the cultural wealth of Africa and defining the total African personality”³. With Dubois as its director, the encyclopedia founded a secretariat where members were both Africans and Afro-Americans. For Hesse, the insistence that all members be Africans came as a need to provide purely interpretations of African peculiarities. According to Hesse, “Now

¹ Amoh,op.cit,p.22

² Ibid,p.23

³ Ibid,p.26

the time has come for Africans to speak for themselves. And the Encyclopedia Africana should be the medium which the African can re-interpret himself to the world”¹.

For Nkrumah, the pursuit of the African personality meant further the revival of African arts. Nkrumah believed that where European exploitation of the African riches resulted in the setback of African industrial, agricultural and social advancement, its attitudes toward African arts was much disheartening. According to Nkrumah, colonial schools presented these arts “as something grotesque, as a curious, mysterious human backwater” which retarded social progress and facilitated European domination over peoples of Africa². Consequently, Nkrumah paid much attention on the study of these arts as they were, in the words of Nkrumah, the only means to “enhance our understanding of African institutions and values, and the cultural bonds that unite us”³. This mindset made Nkrumah inaugurate a set of manifestations to revive African arts. One of these was “the African Art Exhibition” held at Accra in 1962. During the inauguration day, Nkrumah emphasized the contributory role of these arts to humanity. These arts, for Nkrumah, “have played a significant part in the artistic revolution which has taken place all over the world in recent years”. These arts further presented the life of people who had their own societies and their own identity and to erase these arts meant the end of a long history of African peoples. To this point, Nkrumah instructed that a regeneration of these art forms should not come as a source of “a mere curiosity;” but rather out of appreciation “and respect of the mind of the Africans”⁴.

Nkrumah further emphasized the need to find a theatre for greater exposure by people to African arts. According to Asamoah, Nkrumah’s intention for the creation of theatre was to “serve as an intellectual forum, artistic stimulus and driving force behind the cultural renaissance of Africa”⁵. Similar to Blyden, he believed that the African should find mediums to express himself. Through theatre, Nkrumah advocated that the African could articulate his values, preferences and emotions.

¹ Amoh,op.cit,p. 26

² Asamoah,op.cit,p.64

³ Ibid

⁴ Nkrumah, “I speak of freedom”,op.cit,P.61

⁵ Ibid,p.63

He was convinced that the process would mold a new African expressive of his ideas and values and devoid of any European influences. On January 24, 1965, Nkrumah made articulation of these ideas through the creation of a theatre group known as “Osagyefo Players”¹. The foundation of the theatre was accompanied by the foundation of the School of Music and Drama in 1965. As part of the Institute of African Studies, Nkrumah sought to make a link between the university and the theatre as the bones for cultural and intellectual revival. Speaking about the role of the School of Music and Drama within the Institute of African Studies, Nkrumah opined that:

This institute, in association with the School of Music and Drama, will link the University of Ghana closely with the National Theater Movement in Ghana. In this way the institute can serve the needs of the people by helping to develop new forms of dance and drama, of music and creative writing, that are at the same time closely related to our Ghanaian traditions and express the ideas and aspirations of our people at this critical stage in our history. This should lead to new strides in our cultural development²

Believing in the effectiveness of these cultural institutions in African renaissance, Nkrumah emphasized this trend of Art music as a link between traditional and modern Africa. Through “the study of musical systems or the study of instruments, drum language, or the oral traditions that link music with social events” Nkrumah believed the African could “illuminate historical problems or provide data for the study of...ethical and philosophical ideas”³. Similar to the theatre movement, Nkrumah mentioned that the school would not only work for the revival of these art forms as part of the African personality but to find within each segment of dance, music or folktale a source of birth to African spiritual world⁴.

Attacks on European Christianity was a feature of the period. Nkrumah, along many others, disdained missionaries’ lack of knowledge about African indigenous beliefs as well as the failure to relate Christianity to indigenous beliefs. In his autobiography, Nkrumah narrated how he felt alienated as part of the westernization process of the Christian Church. He preferred to alienate

¹ Nkrumah, “I speak of freedom”, op.cit, p. 66

² Ibid, p. 67

³ Ibid

himself as the new religion was not as he expected. Nkrumah wrote, “The Bishop warned me against my un-orthodox ways....I was rarely to be found at Mass, I observed a regular silent hour in the dormitory”. Nkrumah never felt comfortable with European Christianity, but he always expressed the view that it only stifled him, as he could not bear the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. For him, an African God is a personal God and could be reached directly without the restrictions introduced by the European Church¹.

Others shared Blyden’s view and levelled severe criticism at European Christianity. Philip Gbeho, the director of the institute of arts and culture, instructed missionaries in 1965 to use indigenous dances and drumming as an essential part of Church ceremonies. In the same manner, Kofi Antubam (1922-1964), an artist and designer, refused the use of Christian symbols and instructed that “we have our symbols and we have our Saints”². At the 1958 Conference of African Churches in Ibadan, J.H. Nketia made the point that the source of a true Christian doctrine in Africa was in the ability of the missionary to relate Christianity to the African soil. He told members:

If Churches in Africa are to grow as African churches and not as extensions of parishes and bishoprics as some of them are now, then they must be allowed to take roots in the soil of the African culture in which they are planted, so that they may grow in stature as institutions of our own³

In the same conference, C.G. Baeta disdained African experience with Christianity. He described it as “mere Sinister deceit, or hollow, hypocritical joke” aimed at making the African, a European in all walks of life. K.A. Busia averred that European Christianity became alien and superficial as the African was cast between two worlds “the old traditions and customs...which he is striving to leave behind, and the new beliefs and practices to which he is still a stranger”. For Busia, a successful introduction of the Christian faith to Africa would find its fruits when the missionary made “to grips with traditional beliefs and practices” as the essence of his work⁴.

¹ Nkrumah, “Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah”,op.cit,p.20-21

² Mobley,op.cit,p. 67

³ Ibid,p. 69

⁴ Ibid

Part of Nkrumah's program was to free the African woman. Like Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the African woman was plagued by the presence of colonialism. His task thus, as argued by Takyiwaa Manuh, was an "attempt at projecting the African personality and at raising the status of womanhood"¹. Unlike the primary role that the African woman played in the pre-colonial period, Nkrumah believed that colonialism devalued this role. For example, women were granted minority opportunity for jobs as compared to men though they showed great skills. This applied also to educational opportunities which were mostly taken by men. Because of these restrictions, Nkrumah, like Blyden, made substantial contribution to the role of women. As a leader of the CPP, Nkrumah worked hard to advance the cause of the African women. A section within the party was established to promote the interests of women. In addition, the constitution called for the foundation of "a General Council of Women's Sections". For the constitution, the women's section gave women the opportunity to participate in social functions as well as organizing meetings pertaining to their problems and aspirations².

A notable advancement of women to power came after the establishment of the National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW) on 10 September 1960. The NCGW provided these women opportunities to participate in national and international gatherings which were concerned with the status of the African women. Nkrumah also organized the Conference of Women of Africa and of African Descent in Accra on 18 July 1960. From the United States, Women attendees were Shirley Graham DuBois, Dorothy Ferebee, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Harold Isaacs and Pauli Murray. Notable attendees from Ghana were members from the Ghana Organization of Women and the prominent political activist Hannah Cudjoe. The conference appealed on all African women to gather to know their shared aspirations. During the conference Nkrumah began his address by stating the many brave battles the African women fought against colonialism. For Nkrumah, the Africa women should manifest their energies to contribute to the economic, political, social, cultural and educational

¹ Takyiwaa Manuh, "Women And Their Organization During The Convention People's Party Period," in *The Life and Works of Kwame Nkrumah*, Edited By Kwame Arhin.p.109.

² Nkrumah,"Revolutionary path",op.cit,p. 70

progress of their respective countries. Their manifestations should work to improve all these fields and at the meantime would forge unity among all sections of the African people. Nkrumah's contribution to the role of the African women was also apparent in regional gatherings. During the gathering that precipitated the emergence of Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union¹, a Council of Women of the Union of African States was established. The council was formed to let African women of Ghana, Guinea and Mali found a forum to discuss current issues pertaining to the status of the African women. The Council also held many conferences. Nkrumah was present and told women members that this meeting was a new page that would bring new responsibilities for the African women. For Nkrumah, the woman of future Africa was "a woman of virtue, vision and courage, capable of the highest sacrifice"².

Africans advancement in the industrial and agricultural fields took the most of Nkrumah's activities. Like Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the development of the economies of the new independent African nations would make them self-reliant. For Nkrumah, "an economically weak country would be a victim of neocolonialist tricks, and, more significantly, would be at the mercy of outsiders"³. He feared that if these nations remained in need of European sustenance, they would never achieve the dream of emancipation. Economic independence therefore was of a foremost priority for Nkrumah. Addressing the CCP Group in Flagstaff House, Accra, in 1961, Nkrumah pointed out the need for the revival of industry and agriculture as the basics of real independence:

Not only do the people as yet not own all the means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely, the complete industrialization of our country. All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, is just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialization and agricultural revolution of our country⁴

Consequently, Nkrumah devised three plans for industrial development. Each development plan took five years, i.e., the first one from 1951 to 1956, the second from 1959 to 1964 and a Consolidated

¹ See the next section for details.

² Manuh, T, Women and their organizations during the Convention People's Party period. In *The life and work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a symposium organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*, ed. K.Arhin, 101–127. Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press, Inc.1993,p.121

³ Boateng, Charles Adorn, "The Political Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana", *The Edwin Mellen Press*, 2003,p.93-94

⁴ Ibid

Plan from 1957 to 1959. Generally, these plans aimed at the development of both human and natural resources of the country. This in turn would decrease dependency on the colonial economies and further the development of the state own economies. Nkrumah's development plans further were intended to achieve three main objectives. The first was the development of industries that would utilize raw materials of the country. Second, these industries should provide employment for the people. The last objective was that these industries should produce all needed commodities for the people. This mindset led Nkrumah further to inaugurate the Volta River Project in 1963. The project was destined to produce hydroelectric power for Ghana and the neighboring African states. In addition, Nkrumah embarked on the initiation of other industries which were intended to reduce expatriate firms. These included: a cement factory, a radio assembly plant, a meat processing plant, two cocoa processing plants and two sugar refineries. All these industries, according to Nkrumah, were intended to minimize Ghana's reliance on foreign production¹.

To make Ghana's self-reliant economically, Nkrumah made serious restrictions to the operation of foreign investments. He imposed high taxes on these investors and set a policy of systematic control of their activities. Nkrumah's main intention was that these multinational corporations would not operate in Ghana for exploitation only. Their work should first be as a drive to bring much progress to the country and people. This process favored the alteration of foreign private investment for much state control of these sectors. Moreover, Nkrumah founded Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC). In 1961, the corporation, like previous policies, worked to limit expatriate firms. Based on a socialist mindset, the corporation monopolized all areas of mines, especially the Tarkwa Mines for its benefits providing that this control would further employment for people. Nkrumah further established the Bank of Ghana and the Ghana Commercial Bank in 1965. These two replaced the Barclays Bank and Standard Bank which were two foreign banks. The two banks provided loans for Ghanaian businessmen and thus freed the country from any type of financial reliance. This was

¹ Boateng,op.cit,p. 95

coupled with the foundation of the Black Star Line that made once again a state control over shipping¹. Part of Nkrumah's program was about infrastructure. Boateng averred that while the colonial system used communication system to facilitate the movement of materials and goods, Nkrumah intended to develop these communication systems for public use. All these measures proved Nkrumah's policy of "state-owned enterprises" which would make the state in a firm footing to control different industrial sectors and thus make benefits from Africans and to Africans².

Similar to Blyden who called upon Africans to revive agriculture, Nkrumah never doubted the importance of agriculture to Ghanaian economy. Though agriculture came in second priority as compared to industry and education, Nkrumah sought to benefit from this sector as much as possible. Agriculture would finance industrial sectors and other social sectors. It can also create markets for the increasing industrial sector. What was important of all was that agriculture would provide raw materials for industry. There was lack of capital that could be used to buy these commodities and the need of agriculture for food all made it necessary to develop agriculture. Like previous policies which sought state control over industry, Nkrumah established the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) as a measure to control the operation of cocoa industry. The new body monopolized the operation of export of cocoa and the buying of cocoa produce for export. Its body the United Ghana Farmers Council Cooperatives became the sole place where farmers could buy cocoa beans. Nearly 1400 centers were opened by 1961 for this purpose. Though state control of cocoa prices came at the expense of farmers needs, the operation brought the government an amount of extra £G32.8 million³.

Moreover, because of lack of produced food, Nkrumah sought the involvement of the state in food production. By 1963, Nkrumah established the State Farms Corporation (SFC). The corporation worked to increase agricultural productivity. The corporation succeeded in setting up nearly twenty-seven farms with more than 15000 workers. It also worked to teach farmers modern agricultural techniques to facilitate and improve the quality of produce. To help finance the expenditure of these

¹ Boateng,op.cit,p. 96

² Ibid,p. 97

³ Ibid,p.101

projects, Nkrumah allowed £G10 million for expenses. By 1965, more than 530,000 acres were cultivated by the state. Though Nkrumah expected high returns from these agricultural policies, his measures turned to failure. The new corporations provided 0.59 tons per year as compared to traditional farmers who provided 2.18 tons. These statistics, no doubt, proved the failure of Nkrumah's agricultural policy and waged a mounting criticism against his policies by farmers and the public¹.

Regarding education, two important objectives were set by Nkrumah which were in compliance with Blyden's education project. The first was the creation of a national education for Ghanaians and by extension Africans. Like Blyden, Nkrumah saw Western education introduced to Africans as debasing. Thus, he made efforts to introduce education that was African in character. Nkrumah believed that "African genius is to infuse the educational system with the right cultural content"². The second objective was the encouragement of technical and scientific training. The latter would produce highly qualified individuals for the expanding industrial and agricultural sectors. Nkrumah summed up his intent of African education at Flagstaff House, Accra on 24 February 1963. He told audience:

The role of a university in a country like ours is to become the academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, and cultural and political aspirations of the people. It must kindle national interest in the youth and uplift our citizens and free them from ignorance, superstition and may I add, indolence...³

Similar to Blyden who longed for "a correct education" for Africans, Nkrumah never doubted the role of education in giving Africans the essence of their history and development. He severely criticized European education and propounded that this type of education was "designed to suit the colonial order and their products therefore reflected the values and ideals of the colonial powers".

¹ Boateng, op.cit, p. 102

² Nkrumah, "I speak of freedom", p.19

³ Nkrumah, Kwame, "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah" Vol. 5, compiled by S. Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications, 1997, p. 11

The result was that these institutions “were unable to assess the needs and aspirations of the societies for which they were instituted”¹ and were likely to give the Africans irrelevant education.

As president, Nkrumah made two important contributions to the field of education. He appointed the International Commission on University Education and led the foundation of the Institute of African Studies at the university. During his inauguration as the Chancellor of the University of Ghana on 25 November 1961, Nkrumah stated the commission’s main objectives. Nkrumah stated that the commission would provide education in all branches of human knowledge as an attempt to make people in contact with new ideas of value to their lives. For Nkrumah, this knowledge should come out of African civilization and institution and did not interject with peoples and their ideas. The commission would further undertake research on different facets of African society and history, as they would reveal the essence of African genius. Finally, the commission would provide opportunity for Ghanaian as well as other African students to pursue their studies in a much healthy and relevant atmosphere².

The second major contribution came with the foundation of the Institute of African Studies. Identical to Blyden’s view who saw purely African institutions as a source of real documentation of African peculiarities, Nkrumah sought the institute as “an internationally recognized center for the advanced study of African history, language, sociology and culture and of contemporary African institutions”³. For Nkrumah, the center should use African histories and institutions not only for the sake of knowledge but also for the sake of emphasizing the link that bound people of Africa all together⁴. As such, the institute would work as a vehicle to realize the dream of African unity, or the “foundation of Pan-Africanism” that Blyden had for long looked for⁵.

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah”Vol. 2, 2d ed., compiled by S.Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications. Original edition: 1979, P.138

² Ibid,p. 144

³ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah”Vol. 2, 2d ed., compiled by S.Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications. Original edition: 1979, P.144

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid,p. 145-146

The foundation of the institute was further an attempt to create an African scholar. Similar to Blyden who emphasized the role of the African scholar in giving accurate interpretations of the African system of life, Nkrumah made of the institute a place for the same objective. Nkrumah lamented the Euro-centric vision of African history. Nkrumah further advocated that European scholars studied Africa from their own stand-point which emphatically prevented a real documentation of African peculiarities¹. In an attempt to describe the role of the African scholar, Nkrumah presented a talk in front of post-graduate students and a set of research fellows. Nkrumah insisted that research in African history should change from the colonialist mindset into African mindset. In the words of Nkrumah, African scholars should study African history “in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of the colonial epoch”².

Nkrumah, like Blyden, manifested his efforts to provide African-centered approach to analyze, interpret and give to the African ordinary people and to the world correct images about Africa and Africans. Nkrumah instructed that these scholars should produce materials for their investigations. As viable and unbiased materials, Nkrumah urged that these materials be part of the education curriculum not only in Ghana but also in Africa³. As a result of Nkrumah’s intensified efforts to improve the quality of education, enrollment increased notably by 1961. As compared to the year 1951, Nkrumah’s made notable change to the rate of enrollment. See table number five bellow:

¹ Asamoah,op.cit,p. 57

² Nkrumah, Kwame, “Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah”,Vol. 5, compiled by S. Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications, 1997,P.128

³ Poe,op.cit,p. 143

Table Five: Educational Percentages in Ghana (1951-1961)

| | 1951 | 1961 | Percentage of Increase |
|---------------------------------|---------|----------------|------------------------|
| Primary schools | 134,360 | 19,143 481,500 | 211.9 |
| Middle schools | 66,175 | 160,000 | 141.7 |
| Secondary and technical schools | 3,559 | 19,143 | 437.8 |
| Teacher training colleges | 1,916 | 4,552 | 137.5 |
| University students | 208 | 1,204 | 478.8 |

Source: Amoh,op.cit,p.103

This increase in enrollment rate was due to first the urgent need set by Nkrumah to establish education agencies that would put in practice his vision of an African education. The second reason owed to the need to “Ghanaianize the civil service” which was for Nkrumah of an important step toward real emancipation. It was not surprising that by 1966, 16 percent of the people of Ghana were enrolled¹.

Nkrumah’s vision of an emancipated Ghana and Africa did not only operate at a local level. His activities surmounted to become regional. The same as Blyden who toured many parts of West Africa to create Pan-West African unity that would encapsulate into the political, economic and cultural unification of the West African nations, Nkrumah never doubted the need for this cooperation and unity for the realization of his dream of African unity and progress. Thus his regional politics emphasized the gathering of peoples of West Africa in particular and Africa in general to create discussions that would further economic and cultural exchange for the advancement of people of the African race.

¹ Poe,op.cit,p.102-103

IV.3.2. Nkrumah's Continental policies

During his term as president, Nkrumah seemed to go behind Blyden's view that mere understanding of the African personality was not enough until Africans manifest these principles into real projects for the economic, social and political progress. Because of this mindset, he embarked on systematic awakenings that centered on two main objectives. The first was to show sympathy with African nations in their struggle for liberation. The second objective emphasized the foundation of unions to create solidarity and unity between members that would mushroom into United States of Africa. Thus, he held conferences like the Conference of Independent African States (CIAS), All African People's Conference (AAPC), and unions like the Ghana-Guinea Mali Unity and the Organization of African Unity were all an articulation of this held belief that staunchly for the realization of Blyden's dream of African unity

IV.3.2.1. Conference of Independent African States (CIAS)

In March 1958, Ghana celebrated its first Independence Anniversary celebration. Delegates from different parts of Africa were present. These included Taganyika (later Tanzania), Kenya, Nigeria, Dahomey, Gambia and Niger¹. This coincided with efforts made by Nkrumah and Padmore to initiate a conference. The delegates did not leave Ghana and waited until the conference day. Between 25 and 22 April 1958, the Conference of Independent African States was held at Accra. Days before, Nkrumah made an address to the public through the radio explaining the intent of the conference:

For the first time, I think, in the history of this great continent, leaders of all the purely African states which can play an independent role in international affairs will meet to discuss the problems of our countries and take the first steps towards working out an African contribution to international peace and good will. For too long in our history, Africa has spoken through the voices of others. Now, what I have called an African Personality in international affairs will have a chance of making its proper impact and will let the world know it through the voices of Africa's own sons²

Nkrumah main drive for the conference was to let people of the world know about the African personality through Africans. Nkrumah believed that the conference would deconstruct the

¹ Poe,op.cit,p. 107

² Nkrumah,"I speak of freedom",op.cit,p. 125

established custom that African states were represented by others. For Nkrumah, It was high time for Africans to represent themselves and grasp at the chance where the African personality would made itself known. Eight independent African nations were present. These included the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria¹, Ethiopia, Libya, Liberia, Tunisia, Morocco and Sudan².

Blyden's principles of the African personality and African unity were a feature of the conference's declaration. The leaders declared that African states gathered at Accra because they, in the words of members, were "conscious of our responsibilities to humanity and especially to the peoples of Africa, and desiring to assert our African personality"³. The African personality for them was distorted by the presence of colonialism. Based on Blyden's appeals to revive African culture, the members instructed that their work should be to "promote the widest dissemination of the cultures of all participating Countries". The members emphasized two mechanism where African culture could be resurrected. The first was to establish cultural institutions. The institutions, according to members, would "encourage and strengthen studies of African culture, history and geography". These institutions would work as cultural centers for the studying of African culture and as mediums to provide scholarships that would help students visit and learn about other states' cultures and make exchanges regarding materials pertaining to African culture. The second medium was that these institutions would be a place to provide correct images about Africa and Africans. Speaking about the product of the institutions, the members insisted that studies in African history should be correctly oriented. Here members once again insisted on the need to re-examine existing literature about Africa and Africans with the view of providing counter narratives to colonial and foreign interpretations of

¹ Though the participation of Arab states interjected with Blyden's ideas about unity of people of the African race, Nkrumah saw their presence as an advancement to the African cause and a way to further African chances since their aspirations were the same.

² Lawson ,Autumn Anne, "Kwame Nkrumah's Quest for Pan-Africanism: from Independence Leader to Deposed Despot", Diss, Acadia University, 2004, P.117

³ Asante, Molefi Kete, "African intellectual heritage : a book of sources", Philadelphia : Temple University Press,1996,p. 533

the African world. They further propounded that materials in schools should expose African children to cultures of the neighbouring African countries¹.

Economically, the members shared Blyden's view and advocated that political and cultural independence was indispensable of economic independence. Believing in the need to reduce economic reliance on foreign financial assistance, the members set a program for the revival of African economies. The programs worked to uplift the economic situation of African countries which would immediately improve the economic situation of people. According to the members, these programs should work at lifting the living standards of the people and orient efforts to properly exploit the riches of the country. Dependence on African resources, for members, would make Africans self-reliant economically. As a result, economic cooperation was destined to understand economic problems and propose mediums where African states could negotiate for solutions. Regarding economic cooperation, the members declared, “we hereby pledge ourselves to coordinate our economic planning through a joint economic efforts and study the economic potentialities, the technical possibilities and related problems existing in our respective states”².

Members also emphasized the role of economic partnerships as a way to economic prosperity. Thus, they encouraged the building of trade connections between respective members and the development of systems of communication so that they facilitate the operation of trade. The members further encouraged the creation of a common market between all African states, the establishment of joined African enterprises, and lastly hold economic conferences and exhibitions for the furtherance of economic cooperation and partnerships³.

By the end of the conference, the delegates drafted a set of resolutions all of which were a sound articulation of Blydenic philosophy. The delegates formed three committees that gave an organized program for the members for African development. The first committee was concerned with cultural issues. It worked to create discussions about African history, customs and traditions. Its main aim

¹ Asante, Molefi Kete, “African intellectual heritage : a book of sources”,p.533

² Ibid

³ Ibid

was to emphasize the oneness of Africans through their shared culture as a weapon to build a United African State. The second and third committees were economic and social. The delegates endorsed the view that an improvement in the economic situation would mean a better social status for Africans. As a result, the delegates agreed to form a joint economic research commission. The latter would work to facilitate economic cooperation and create programs to attain these objectives¹. These initiatives, which marked the first sign of attempts of African nations to help one another, stimulated Nkrumah to convene another meeting. This time Nkrumah helped found the All-African People's Conference (A.A.P.C).

IV.3.2.2. The All-African People's Conference (AAPC), December 1958

The All-African People's Conference was another initiative proposed by Nkrumah for African unity and cooperation. The conference coincided with tenacious attempts by colonial powers to find new paths of exploitation of the African riches as they were forced to grant independence. People of the newly independent African states found themselves facing another danger that was of neo-colonialism which tried again to plague the process of cooperation and unity between African states. The situation was worse with countries which did not get their independence. People suffered much oppression as their colonial rulers were uneasy about the issue of independence. This atmosphere of great suffering and disunity made political, economic and cultural unity and cooperation as the only weapon to confront colonialism and neocolonialism². Like previous attempts, the conference put much emphasis on African unity and freedom.

Shortly after, Nkrumah held a conference at Accra in December 1958. Sixty-two organizations representing, nationalist movements, trade unions, women organizations and youth organizations attended the conference. For Nkrumah, the conference was held to support independence movements in Africa as part of continental unity. Most notable of the attendees was Shirley Graham DuBois, the wife of W.E.B. DuBois. Shirley presented a very influential letter representing her husband. Du Bois

¹ Asante, Molefi Kete, "African intellectual heritage : a book of sources",p.533

² Poe,op.cit,p. 110

insisted on all members to find the one tie that bound them together for unity. For Du Bois, it's high time for Africans to overcome ethnic and racial barriers for the pursuit of unity and cooperation¹.

In its opening speech, Nkrumah insisted on the importance of the African personality on African struggle. The conference' objective, for Nkrumah, was an attempt to "formulate and proclaim our African personality"². Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah's emphasis on the revival of the African personality was a means to achieve African unity. According to Nkrumah, the union would foster the dignity of Africans as to place the continent among the leading countries of the world. It would further give concrete expression to the African personality³. With these main principles in mind, Nkrumah addressed four main tenets of the conference objectives.

With the main principle of African unity, Nkrumah sought national independence as the first task to do. He instructed members to support independence movements in Africa and provide all the necessary tactics and methods to the attainment of freedom. He then emphasized the importance of national consolidation. For Nkrumah, this could be done through the maintenance of thorough investigation into national identity that was inseparable of African identity. National consolidation, for Nkrumah, would open doors for transnational unity and community. The latter represented the genesis of the work cast upon all members. This kind of unity would promulgate economic as well as social reconstruction of the distorted wellbeing of the African⁴.

Like Blyden, Nkrumah ended his address with a stress on the contributory role made by Africans living outside Africa. For Nkrumah, though the conference was held to gather people of Africa, these personalities never forgot about their fatherland and made many attempts to re-establish ties with their brothers of the African continent. According to Nkrumah:

I am delighted to see so many people of African descent from abroad attending this Conference...We take their presence here as a manifestation of their keen interest in our struggles for [a] Free Africa. We must never forget that they are part of us. These

¹ Poe,op.cit,p. 111

² Amoh,op.cit,p.50

³ Ibid

⁴ Nkrumah,"I speak of freedom",op.cit,p.130-131

sons and daughters of Africa were taken away from our shores and despite all the centuries which have separated us, they have not forgotten their ancestral links¹

Nkrumah's highly influential speech advanced Nkrumah as an African messiah who labored for the African cause. His contribution brought to the fore Blyden's principles. For Poe, his initiatives re-created a sense of oneness among Africans and contributed significantly to the establishment of the African personality and refute the myth of European civilization and modernity².

This great enthusiasm to revive all what had to do with the African manhood found momentous at the Tenth Anniversary of the Positive Action Campaign held in Ghana by 1960. During the celebration of the day, Nkrumah showed the great impact that Blyden had on his activities. Nkrumah reminded Africans that economic independence is the milestone of emancipation. For Nkrumah, an independence that kept African subordination was partial and not real. He further noted that Africans would enjoy their complete independence if they brought the death of both colonialism and imperialism. Nkrumah then ended his address stressing the importance of unity among Ghanaians that was indispensable of African unity. Addressing the youth of the country, "We must learn to love and serve Ghana and Africa. We must be imbued with a deep sense of patriotism for our country and inspired by an equally deep sense of mission to work for Africa's emancipation"³. These enduring and inspirational words encouraged Nkrumah to revive the Ghana-Guinea Union. This time Nkrumah found in Guinea and Mali other partners which could help mold opportunities for African unity and re-generation.

IV.3.2.3. The Ghana-Guinea and Mali Union

Back to November 1958, there emerged a union between Ghana and Guinea. Nkrumah and Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922-1984), president of Guinea, announced the union after Touré's visit to Ghana. The two leaders took the creation of a Pan-West African unity as the main objective of the

¹ Meyer,F.N, "Dr. Nkrumah's last dream: Continental government of Africa: Osagyefo, dreamer, philosopher, freedom fighter, analyst, strategist, political architect, hero of the wind of change",Accra, Ghana: Advance Publishing Company Limited, 1990,P.67

² Poe,op.cit,p. 112

³ Nkrumah, Kwame, "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah",Vol. 1, 2d ed., compiled by J.Obeng.Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications. Original edition: 1979,p.10

union. Nkrumah opined that the union was “a first step toward the political unification of Africa”¹. To achieve this first step, Nkrumah continued, open discussion should be held “to provide the practical day to day cooperation between the two countries”². Because the union joined the two countries which belonged to different poles, namely the commonwealth and the French community, it was declared that the union was “not designed in any way to prejudice the present and future relations of Ghana and the Commonwealth or Guinea and the French Community”³.

The first realization of union between the two countries came when Nkrumah agreed to pay a loan of £10 million to Guinea. Based on Blyden’s conviction that of the danger of European financial support, Nkrumah did so to help Guinea avoid French assistance and by extension involvement in its affairs. Moreover, Nkrumah proposed a unified currency as a step toward real unity. Though the proposal did not materialize because of the strong ties of the Guinea government with the French, Nkrumah never lost hope to continue his project of unity. He made a second visit to Guinea in April 1959. The meeting mushroomed in a real realization of the ideas of both leaders. The meeting declared that the union must include all African states and not only of West Africa. Thus marking a transition to the main objective of the union from forming a united West Africa into forming a “Union of Independent African States”. To further cooperation between members, a unified bank and economic council were established. The union also established a Union citizenship and a common Visa between members. These measures encouraged the leaders to invite Liberia to join the union in 1959. The Liberian president declined the invitation on the account that both time and tactics of the union were not clearly planned. This decision apparently affected the work of the union and made its presence “a loose reliance of two countries”⁴.

A real boost to the workings of the union came when Mali became a member in 1959. There had been many discussions between Ghana and Mali before the union inauguration which signaled a

¹ Nkrumah, “Revolutionary path”, op.cit, P.135

² Nkrumah, “I speak of freedom”, op.cit, P.198

³ Emerson, Welch. Claude, “ Dream of unity; Pan-Africanism and political unification in West Africa”, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1966, p. 298

⁴ Emerson, op.cit, p. 307

future relationship between the two countries. These links were tightened when Ghana helped pay Loans of Mali. A thing which led Mali to assume direct and continuous contact with Ghana. Because of these circumstances, the president of Mali visited Ghana to further discussions on the proposed union. The meeting resulted in the two leaders agreed on the main principles of the union.

Identical to Blyden's view, the leaders emphasized the need for unity between African states. They further agreed to propose a unified currency and economic and commercial partnership. Another visit by Nkrumah and a number of his officials destined Mali. The Malian president was very enthusiastic about Nkrumah's visit. He declared on the radio that "Ghana and Mali have historically always been one". According to Keita, "the colonial powers tried to let our identity be lost to history but the generation of today is bound to resuscitate that identity and history"¹. This coincided with the apparent newly established ties between Mali and Guinea. This relationship was much stronger than that of Mali-Ghana because of the oneness of borders, the shared historical and cultural links. All these developments made the inauguration of the union between the three states an inevitable step.

By 1960, the Ghana-Guinea and Mali Union was declared at Conakry. Similar to other initiatives, the leaders affirmed the need for African unity. In its address to the union members, Touré insisted in this type of unity as part of the dream of African unity:

It is with the assurance of a better future for our three states, unified or closely united, that we are sincerely desirous of bringing into existence, with our brothers in Ghana and Mali, any institutional structure which would consolidate the foundations of our common independence and hasten the process of African evolution²

Touré further emphasized on the impact of colonial psychology on Africans. Like Blyden, he believed that imperialism distorted the manhood of the African. For Touré, "The theoretical justification of imperialism" had never been based on humanistic appeals. Rather, its main objective was the physical and mental exploitation of the African people. He further explained that its main intent was "a denial of all human faculty to Africa". The African found himself in strict

¹ Emerson,op.cit,p.311

² Ibid,p. 312

psychological trauma where he lived, in the words of Touré, in “a kind of denial of” the self. All these practices insured two things for the colonizer. The first was a wide spread “odious racism”. Because many Africans believed in their inferiority, racism was an apparent feature of the life brought with imperialism. The second was that "a Negro-phobia" followed Africans wherever he went¹. The latter pictured everything African as a shame and a sign of backwardness. In this respect, Touré was in compliance with Blyden’s view that the African was never allowed to be himself but someone else:

With the inferiority complex in us and convinced that we had neither civilization nor culture, we came to believe that we could not climb the rungs of the cultural ladder, but by defining ourselves in relations to those who are alienating our personality²

Though the words of Touré seemed to open a full air for real unity and cooperation, the activities of the union did not make any notable achievement in the path of African unity. All what the leaders did, according to Emerson, was to agree on certain issues regarding foreign policy, most notably independent struggle in the African territories. In fact, the union failed to create sound ground for economic and cultural cooperation which made its work fruitless. Another major obstacle to the union was the apparent march of the three states to secure their interests. Though Ghana played an important role in providing monetary support to the members, other members seemed to not do the same, as their economies were weak and feared that involvement in unity would cost them much money which would be better to spend in their respective countries. The failure to really found great pillars for Africa unity led African states, including Ghana, to form the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) in on 25 May 1963

IV.3.2.4. The Organization of African Unity

Before the formation of the O.A.U., two important groupings were established. The Brazzaville Group which included nations that had been colonized by the French. These included Guinea and

¹ Emerson,op.cit,p.312

² Asamoah,op.cit,p. 63

Mali with another member from the commonwealth, Nigeria. The other group was Monrovia group. Members from Tunisia, Togo, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Ethiopia met in Monrovia in May 1961. These two groups made many attempts at continental unity. They espoused for economic unity as the main source for other forms of unity. These two groupings mushroomed in the first conference at Addis Ababa of the Organization of African Unity. Between 22 and 25 May 1963, thirty-one members attended the conference with main objective of furthering economic and cultural unity and help African countries which were still under the yoke of colonialism.

A charter was drafted to set the main purposes of the organization. The charter made of Blyden's calls for African unity as the first main ground for work. It first appealed on all members to unite and build solidarity among themselves. It further took side with all African people still under colonialism and promised to secure their territorial and sovereign independence. The charter noted the need for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of African people. Thus, it called on all members that Africans should cooperate and make intensified efforts to realize a better life conditions¹.

During its first summit, more than thirty-five addresses were given. Most notable of these was that of Ahmadou Babatoura Ahidjo (1924-1989), president of Cameroon. Ahidjo insisted that before any scheme could be achieved for unity, there first should be a work embarked to find a solution to the diversity of identities engraved by colonial rule. Like Blyden, he saw that imperialism impeached African states with attitudes and behaviors that only enforced differences between Africans. Ahidjo questioned

But in actual fact how do we appear to the world? In spite of a strained will to unite, how different we really are! Differing cultures bequeathed by our former colonial rulers, each state differing in the way it obtained its freedom, differing in its economic structure, or in the institutional organization of our nations²

¹ About the African Union. Retrieved from <https://au.int/en/overview> (accessed in November 2021)

² Widstrand, Carl G. (edit) "African Boundary Problems", Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1969, p.15

These differences, for Ahidjo, did the worst for the future of Africans and distorts the way they see things. Moreover, Ahidjo affirmed that these differences made the dream of African unity impossible because

We [Africans] have different approaches to the fundamental problems of the hour, we have had an imperfect or incorrect vision of the internal situation of our neighbors. We have even had on occasion misunderstandings. We have also been impatient or too eager to help, for right or wrong¹

Ahidjo's convocation seemed potent as the members of OAU differing views concerning the pace of attaining unity. While the majority rejected the direct appeals for unity stressing the fact that "The union we seek can only come gradually, as the day-to-day progress which we achieve carries us slowly but inexorably along this course"².

While other members, most notably Uganda, Congo and Ghana insisted on immediate unity of all members. Ghana's vision of African unity found expression in the second summit of the OAU held at Egypt between 17 and 21 July 1964. During this time, African nations were in a state of devastation and great disunity provoked not only by colonialism but also between African states themselves. Regional and local conflict were a feature of the time. There emerged a conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1964 because of the Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia coupled with another conflict between Somalia and Kenya in 1963. Many army mutinies blew out in Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya where, alas for Africans, intentional attempts to find solutions were led by the British troops with no regard to a neighboring African state. Things worsened with the Congo where the Congolese were still suffering a continued humiliation and subordination because of foreign interference. To add to African peoples's misery, many other African peoples were still under colonialism. These included Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland³.

¹ Widstrand, Carl G, op.cit, p.15

² Nkrumah, "Revolutionary path", op.cit, p. 276

³ Ibid, p. 276

Nkrumah found in this state of disintegration an opportunity to tell the African world of the need for unity and of the danger of imperialism and its tactics to exploit the African riches. Nkrumah made the point that past attempts for unity had weakened African's aspirations while gave a boost to colonial powers to strengthen their hold in Africa. Speaking about border conflicts, Nkrumah mentioned that if Africans realized and believed in the dream of African unity, these conflicts would find no reason to operate¹. Nkrumah, in a Blydenic tone, turned to the imperial tactics of subjugating the African and enforcing his inferiority while safeguarding their interest. In a lengthy address, Nkrumah, like Blyden, saw that the presence of imperialism as detrimental to the African wellbeing:

Now that their technological impetus is such that they need Africa even more as a market for their manufactured goods than as a source of raw materials, our economic backwardness no longer makes sense for them anymore than for us. The output of their great industrial complexes is no longer the primitive and simple implements like hoes and shovels. They now need vaster and more prosperous markets for heavy agriculture tractors and electronic machines. They wish to sell to us, not Ford motors propelled by magnetos or turbo-prop transport aircraft, but the latest in supersonic jets and atomic-powered merchant vessels. Which of us, trading separately in these highly developed market areas, can survive more than a year or two without remaining either economically backward, indebted, bankrupt or recolonized?²

Nkrumah explained that colonial powers influence rested on the fragmentation of Africa after liberation movements undermined their colonial project. The process of separation would lead to another form of colonization, though implicit, that worked to make African countries markets for their production which would immediately enforce Africans reliance on the economic presence of their former colonial rulers. To this point, Nkrumah emphasized unity as a mechanism to build a global economy whose main tenet a strong industrialized Africa with a strong trading base³.

Though Nkrumah strived to apply the principles led by Blyden concerning African unity and the African personality into the new body of the OAU, many obstacles refrained the realization of his dream. The first of these obstacles was non-interference policy⁴. The later rendered any attempt to

¹ Poe, op.cit, p.125

² Nkrumah, "Revolutionary path", op.cit, p. 283

³ Poe, op.cit, p.126

⁴ Mwet Munya, "The Organization of African Unity and Its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute

intervene in internal problems possible. The second owed to financial problems. The organization suffered from “debilitating budgetary problems” which made its work difficult within post-independence situation¹. Another major obstacle was ideological. Haseeb opined that the presence of Arab Africa in membership of the OAU put much strain on the feasibility of the work of the organization. For him, the organization, according to many leaders including Nkrumah, was “as much a way of reviving the ancient African empires of Ghana, Songhi, Mali and others, as it was the unity of black Africa”. With Africa in mind, many leaders did not support, and immediately showed little interest about the OAU because, for them, “Africanism, before reaching the African continent itself, took a separate path from Arab Africa. Egypt, therefore, as well as the rest of North Africa, had no connection with this particular African movement”². All these pressure lessened the organization’s work to have great impact on any scheme of unity and development. However, Ghana’s leading role in continental unity surmounted to an international scale during Nkrumah’s presidency. Nkrumah used international politics as another weapon by which he could disperse the concept of the African personality in international affairs and voice the needs of Africans for unity.

IV.4. Nkrumah's International policies

Ghana’s international politics during Nkrumah’s presidency was guided by three main perceptions. Nkrumah believed that the conflict between the superpowers namely Russia and the United States was only a matter of threat to Africa and only a means to bring back deterioration and subjugation to Africans. Second, he put great promise on the United Nations as vehicle to preserve peace and restore the lost dignity of the African. Third, he saw cooperation with the third world as the only weapon to grapple with challenges of today’s world. During this period, international relations were greatly affected by the outbreak of the cold war³. The latter made it clear to Nkrumah

Settlement: A Critical Evaluation”, 19 B.C. Third World L.J. 537 (1999). Retrieved from <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/twlj/vol19/iss2/1> (accessed in November 2021)

¹ Ibid

² Haseeb, Khair el-Din, “The Arabs & Africa”, Routledge: Tylor and Francis Group, London, 1985, p.91

³ A conflict that describes the situation after 1945 where the United States and the Soviet Union emerged to power. Without recourse to weapons, the two sides used propaganda as another weapon for domination and exercise of power. www.britannica.com (accessed in November 2021)

that the superpowers, Russia and the U.S, could not abstract their needs in favor of the lesser people, namely Africans. For Africans, they had to identify with one pole so that they could safeguard their interest. For Nkrumah, this was only another form of imperialism where Africans must identify with the west or live elsewhere ¹.

Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah believed that the West was still working for its interest. No attempts were shown to help other people especially the oppressed. Accordingly, Nkrumah's international policies centered on three main tactics. The first was to tour many parts of the world, especially the U.S. as to contact people of African descent and called on them to go back to Africa to help him start his mission. The second tactic was to show African's place within the cold war auspices and its impact on African deterioration. The last of these tactics was to unveil imperialist new methods to subjugate the African continent. For Nkrumah, these tactics or as it was known "Neo-colonialism" was much aggressive and tiring for Africans than colonialism itself.

IV.4.1. Nkrumah and the "Back to Africa Movement"

Blyden proceeded Marcus Garvey in the pursuit of African repatriation. Yet, Blyden was not the pioneer of the Back to Africa Movement. There emerged many attempts by Africans to return back to the African continent² and Kwame Nkrumah was an exception. Before independence, Nkrumah made intensified efforts to ask people of African descent to go back to Africa. In 1951, at the behest of an invitation by Lincoln University, Nkrumah visited the U.S. He attended the opening ceremony as a speaker and for the obtainment of an honorary doctorate. In his address, Nkrumah made the point that Africa was in need of her sons to help eradicate colonialism and gave assistance to new-independent African state. In the words of Nkrumah, "Let the Negro scientists and technicians and teachers flow in ever large numbers to Gold Coast and to help build the new Gold Coast"³.

¹ Thompson, Willard Scott, "Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy Ideology, and the New State", Princeton University Press, 1969, p.15

² Details of these attempts had been provided in chapter III.

³ Amoh, op.cit, p.39

In a similar manner, Nkrumah insisted that emancipation of the Gold Coast meant an emancipation of all people of African descent. According to Nkrumah, “Freedom for the Gold Coast is a test case for Africa and the African race all over the world. It is therefore incumbent on the negro-world and all lovers of democracy to...support the struggle”¹.

After independence, Nkrumah made important international tours that marked an advancement to the African cause and a well established propaganda for people of African descent to know about the African personality and the need for them to return back to their home land. The first one of these trips destined North America, particularly Canada and the U.S on 20 July 1958. This tour, no doubt, provided Nkrumah with the opportunity to popularize the African personality among Africans. During a meeting held at the Council on Foreign Affairs 27 July 1958, Nkrumah emphasized the importance of knowledge about the African personality as a mechanism to fulfill “our desire to see Africa free and independent” and made vivid “our urgent need for economic development”². At Harlem, Africans conceived Nkrumah’s visit with great enthusiasm. Reporting on his tour at Harlem: “Harlem Hails Ghanaian Leader as Returning Hero.” On July 27, his twenty-five-car motorcade was met by ten thousand cheering people on Seventh Avenue in Harlem and as the parade reached the Armory at 143rd St. and Fifth Avenue there were a reported 7,500 “cheering persons packed inside”³. During his speech, Nkrumah addressed two main points. He told the audience that there were bonds of blood and kinship which made Africans and Afro-Americans one. Similar to Blyden, he saw Africans living in America as brothers not only because of shared race but due to the racism and oppression they encountered day to day. He thus insisted that where Africans were struggling to improve their situation, Afro-Americans should also take the same path. Secondly, Nkrumah did the same as Blyden and proposed that Afro-Americans return to Africa as to help their brethren Africans

¹ Nkrumah, “I speak of freedom”, op.cit, p. 142

² Ibid

³ Walters, R. W., “Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora: An analysis of modern Afrocentric political movements”, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993, P. 98

in their pursuit of freedom and development. Nkrumah was convinced that Africa was in need of doctors, lawyers and engineers to help improve the wellbeing of the African¹.

For Amoh, Nkrumah's Back to Africa Movement and Afro-Americans's struggle had the same objectives. He explained that while Africans in Africa were in urgent need for immediate independence that would be a path for the economic, educational and cultural emancipation, Afro-Americans sought return to Africa to fulfill the dream of "economic empowerment, equal opportunities, and access to education" which they had been denied in the U.S². Coupled with this, Nkrumah's insistence on Afro-Americans repatriation was sound. He was convinced that only through these professionals that he could replace British agents' domination of the civil service apparent right after independence. For example, Tawia Adamafio, Minister of the Civil Service under Nkrumah's government in 1961, warned about British official's domination of the Armed Forces of independent Ghana which for him would threaten the stability of the government as it would be under threat of the British again. The reliance on Afro-Americans and the insistence on the Africanization of the civil service led to the end of mission of many British officials serving in Ghana³. In this respect Nkrumah's pursuit of the Back to Africa Movement was seen as a projection of the African personality in the sense that Africanization of the civil service by Afro-Americans was seen as "using your 'own' to rebuild a national agenda"⁴.

Afro-Americans grasped at the chance and responded positively to Nkrumah's call⁵. Surprisingly, many important African personalities repatriated to Ghana during this period. Notable of these were George and Dorothy Padmore, W.E.B. and Shirley DuBois, Julian Mayfield, Maya Angelou, Dorothy and Aldaephus Hunton⁶. These personalities took notable positions in Nkrumah's government and were leading exponents for Ghana's development and African development. In 1960, Pauli Murray,

¹ Walters,op.cit,p.98

² Amoh,op.cit,p. 40

³ Tawia Adamafio, "By Nkrumah's Side: The Labor and The Wounds", Accra, Ghana: Westcoast Publishing House 1982,p. 86.

⁴ Amoh,op.cit,p.40

⁵ A detailed analysis of these figures and their contributions can be found in Amoh,op.cit,p 40-66

⁶Poe,op.cit,p. 174

an ordained priest in America, fled to Ghana, though her position offered good salary, and held the position of a senior lecturer. Greatly amused by the call of Nkrumah to rebuild ties with Africa, Murray hinted to the fact that her move to Ghana was a need to “satisfy a nagging curiosity about the African component of my ancestry”¹.

Notable Afro-Americans who repatriated because of high racism were Du Bois and his wife Graham Du Bois. In 1961, the couple settled in Ghana and obtained the Ghanaian nationality and gave up the U.S. nationality as a sign of solidarity with their Afro-American brothers still struggling against white racism. In 1962, as member of the board of directors of the State Publishing House, Graham Du Bois made notable contribution to the re-assessment of British books still circulating in Ghana with the belief that these books gave false ideas about Africa and Africans. She further published many books to help Africans understand their uniqueness and Africanity. She further occupied a position on the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation which helped disseminate her objectives emanating to the African personality and African unity. She believed that television would provide counter discourse to Western cultural influences. She founded many departments within the body and most important of all these were the Education and Cultural departments. Educationally, Graham, like Blyden, believed that education would impart awareness among Africans of the responsibilities cast upon them. She thus organized school programs as to give opportunity for people who wanted higher education². Culturally, Graham advocated that the department would be “a channel through which the rich cultural heritage of Ghana may freely flow from the people out to the people”. The content thus “draw historical chronicles, traditional dances, [and] music”³.

Nkrumah’s success in bringing back Afro-Americans to their homeland marked decisive achievement to the propagation of Blyden’s African personality and Africa unity. The next task was a much difficult. Nkrumah had to lead Africans internationally to voice their opinions and tell the world about their grievances. Identification with the U.N. thus was believed by Nkrumah to give a

¹ Amoh,op.cit,p.40

² Ibid,p.54

³ Ibid,p.55

boost to African struggle. Nevertheless, the U.N. reaction to uprising events in Africa did much to convince Nkrumah of the fact that Westerners could never work for the interest of Africans. Colonialism of the past was rooted and much attempts were founding momentum to use Africans once again, especially with Cold War situation, as engines for exploitation.

IV.4.2. Neo-colonialism: the Cold War, the United Nations and African Grievances

Nkrumah advocated that the Cold War revealed once again for Africans the falsity of the Western world. To this point, Nkrumah, similar to Blyden, made comparison between the personality of Africans and the West. Where Africans throughout history operated to work for peace, the West, especially within Cold War situation, rushed to possess nuclear weapons which were a means of destruction and menace to humankind. On the one hand, this force of destruction or as he termed it “primitive barbarism” had reduced the moral and strength of the great powers into engines of threat and destruction. On the other hand, it strengthened the strong hold of Western powers in Africa and made their influence much stronger than in the colonial period. The whole situation necessitated that Africans should take neither sides of the conflict and should pursue their role which their personality dictated that was of a peace builder.

Membership in the United Nations provided Nkrumah with a medium to address the African problem. For Nkrumah, because Ghana got a voice in this body this would provide an opportunity to share with the world African grievances. To this point, Nkrumah saw “the faithful adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter as an integral part of her foreign policy and we shall continue to co-operate fully in the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies”¹. Nkrumah believed that where Africans were weak because they could not possess nuclear weapons, U.N. membership could be a source of “moral force” to advance the African cause for immediate regeneration and progress. Nkrumah opined

¹ Tunteng, P. Kiven. "Kwame Nkrumah and the African Revolution / Kwame Nkrumah et la Revolution Africaine." *Civilisations* 23/24 (1973): p.239

We may not have arms, but there is something like moral force in the Universe and if that moral force stands behind you, you have all the battalions behind you, and that is the way we are going to face this issue¹

Nkrumah's great enthusiasm about the organization led him to propose the establishment within the organization "a UN Institute for the Truth". The new body, for Nkrumah, would work to give accurate information about what was happening worldwide concerning the Cold War. Most important of all was that the new body was a means to combat global ignorance regarding African problems and needs. Nkrumah believed that Africans were the first victim of this rush for armament. His task was to use the body as a force to generate reactions among all peoples of the world to counteract systematic increase of nuclear armament. For Nkrumah, "the people of the world will not tolerate the distortion of scientific and engineering skill into the devilish travesty of research into new methods of mass destruction"². Nkrumah continued that "When all citizens are able to call upon unbiased information on any subject" this would give accurate image about the people being portrayed and thus reduce hatred and intolerance which leads to war. This awakening would make a change in "World opinion" which "would soon be able to influence governments entangled in armaments races"³. Though Nkrumah put great promises on the U.N. as a force to better the lives of Africans, his vision towards it changed dramatically after the U.N. reaction to the Congo crisis where instead of working for the interest of the Congolese the organization took a shameful role.

Based on the U.N.'s reaction, the 1960's were years of great criticism to imperialism and imperial institutions. Similar to Blyden who saw the presence of the West as detrimental to Africans, Nkrumah was convinced that the U.N. presented another form of colonialism where it sought to work for the interests of the superpowers and neglected the aspirations of the Congolese and Africans. He saw the U.N.'s objectives not

¹ Thompson, op.cit, p.35

² Ibid, p.25-26

³ Ibid

essentially African objectives [but were]...aimed at halting the cold war by achieving a compromise between the great powers and they reflect, in all their imperfections, the struggle of the great powers over issues which do not affect Congo or Africa¹

For Nkrumah, the African situation after independence was the same. Nothing changed but a move from colonialism to neo-colonialism. In the past, the West used to control the destiny of African for its interest. The same applied with post-independence situation where “the UN is just as reliable an instrument for world order and peace as the Great Powers are prepared to allow it to be”². Accordingly, the situation favored once again the power of the strong over the weak. Moreover, Nkrumah insisted that though Africans and oppressed peoples of the world got independence they were still in ignorance. The present situation only enforced the poor living standard of these peoples and made their industrial and technological advancement a mere nightmare.

In September 1961, Nkrumah addressed a speech at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries for the purpose of revealing a nonalignment policy. Nkrumah explained that world armament caused not only fear for the oppressed but caused economic hardships. For Nkrumah, Africans today did not speak about the mad rush for armaments the same as the developed world of the West. The situation was worsening for Africans that possibilities for good living conditions became a remote possibility³. Curtailment of Africans of economic progress was a result of injustices brought by colonialism and continued until today. Nkrumah insisted that the conflict arising in Africa today was “the fight of the common man against injustice and privilege”. Injustice and privilege that made the African lost in the West’s pursuit of their juvenile interests. Ironically, justice was only featured for the West who besides the wealth attained from Africa during colonialism the West was still benefiting from such “false justice”⁴.

These injustices were strengthened by the West double standards of morality. Similar to Blyden who saw the dissimilitude in the attitudes of the West, Nkrumah opined that the U.N. Charter and the

¹ Thompson, op.cit, p. 159

² Nkrumah, “I speak of freedom”, op.cit, p. xii

³ Tunteng, op.cit, P.140

⁴ Ibid, p. 142

Atlantic charter were words on paper. Though the West preached for the need to apply these principles, when it came to Africans and oppressed peoples things hardened. According to Nkrumah,

Statesmen have broadcast the need to respect fundamental freedoms, the right of men to live free from the shadow of fears which cramp their dignity when they exist in servitude, in poverty, in degradation and contempt...They proclaimed the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, and then said that all these had no reference to the enslaved world outside the limits of imperialism and racial arrogance¹

Based on the racial inferiority of Africans, the West believed in the incapacity of Africans to identify with these principles unless these peoples came under the umbrella of Western domination. Yet, domination did not end when colonial powers left Africa but was still operating under a new form: “Neo-colonialism”.

Nkrumah used the international scene to combat neo-colonialism with all its guises. Similar to Blyden who fought imperialism and its effect on the African, Nkrumah, because of changing circumstances, believed that “imperialism simply switches tactics”². Nkrumah explained that the colonial power granted independence and followed it by “aid”. The intention here seemed sustenance and development but the unrevealed reality is that the colonial regime “devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism”.

While in pre-colonial periods, Westerners used the civilizing mission and Christianity as an excuse to steal African riches, neo-colonialists used slogans of “freedom”, “aid” to justify their presence in African countries. The actual intent of the neo-colonialist thus was “to achieve colonialism in fact while preaching independence”³. The result was that the newly independent African states believed that continuous links with its former colonial ruler would help defuse development among its people. However, the consequence was much terrifying than under colonialism. Power to decide over important matters concerning the nation’s progress was stolen

¹ Nkrumah, “Africa Must Unite”, op.cit, p. xi

² Nkrumah, Kwame, “Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism”, New York: International Publishers, 1965, p.239

³ Ibid, p. 241

once again. Nkrumah concluded that a state under “the grip of neo-colonialism” though got its independence, “is not master of its own destiny”¹.

Nkrumah further attacked the international capital control of the newly independent African states. Nkrumah averred that these capitals worked to enhance western shares while weakening the participation of Africans in their respective markets. Under the domination of Western capital, the prices of African products, namely oil, fell short in comparison with the Western commodities sold in African markets. Nkrumah reported that by 1961, prices of African products fell about 33.1 percent with an increase in the prices of Western products that amounted to 3.5 percent in 1961. The process cost the African the monopoly of these capitals of their trade while made the African dependent on export of huge quantities of their products. To amount for great and more subtle form of subjugation, Nkrumah opined, Africans found themselves sank in debts to the neo-imperialist powers. By 1961, The amount of aid in a form of loans increased to high rates. It was estimated that between 1960 and 1962 an amount of 6000 million dollars were granted to Africans as loans². Alas for Africans, these aids became a source of exploitation and an excuse by the neo-colonialist to penetrate and more vigorously guide and control the African governments. In the words of Nkrumah, this “aid turns out to be another means of exploitation, modern method of capital export under a more cosmetic name”³.

Nkrumah’s attack on the neo-colonialist tactics meant an attack on the U.S.A, as the leading and most prominent superpower of the 1960’s. Though Nkrumah made a set of visits and built friendly relations with the U.S, his attitudes toward the U.S. tactics was suspicious. He struggled to let Africans know about its tactics to subordinate Africans and bring them back to colonial exploitation. For Nkrumah, while imperial physical presence in the colonial era worked forcefully to make the Africans work for the interest of their masters, the situation now was much worse. The U.S. did not assume direct control of the newly independent African states but embarked on creating agencies implicitly to do this work. For example, the U.S. sponsored organizations like the International

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, “Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism”, op.cit, p.x

² Ibid, p.x

³ Ibid, p.242

Monetary Fund (1944), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (1944), the International Finance Corporation (1956), and the International Development Association(1960) were agencies whose work was much dangerous and systematic as compared to colonialism. These agencies, for Nkrumah,

have the habit of forcing would-be borrowers to submit to various offensive conditions, such as supplying information about their economies, submitting their policy and plans to review by the World Bank and accepting agency supervision of their use of loans¹

An analysis of these tactics showed the similarity between Blyden's attack on imperialism and Nkrumah attack on neo-colonialism. While Blyden averred that imperialism depended on Western education as a mechanism to prepare Africans to be mentally subservient to imperialist, Nkrumah emphasized that the objectives were the same while the methods changed because of changing circumstances.

The cultural impact of neo-colonialism is much dangerous than the economic impact. Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah advocated that "the imperialist have made widespread and wily use of ideological and cultural weapons in the form of intrigues, maneuvers, and slander campaigns"². Speaking about U.S. attack on the socialist countries, Nkrumah made the point that Hollywood cinema makers guided Africans. One has only to listen to the cheers of an African audience as Hollywood's heroes slaughter red Indians or Asiatic. This propaganda though did not target direct attack on Africans, showed once again how Africans were influenced by the West and used for its benefits. Similar to this depiction, went the West depiction of African revolutionaries as villain while the whiteman as heroes simply because the African had no right to live as the white man. Nkrumah opined that when Africans reacted to these new forms of subjugation, they were referred to as "rebels, terrorists"³. This hegemony or as Nkrumah termed it the "Wild West" tended to give biased, untrue stories about Africa and Africans. In this regard, people of the West, the same as did racial theories of the

¹ Nkrumah, Kwame, "Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism", op.cit,p.242-243

² Ibid,p. 246

³ Ibid,p.247

nineteenth century, understood these messages and sympathized with their masters for the need to undermine the right of these people and enforce their ignorance.

Evangelism¹ came on top of these cultural influences. The same way Blyden attacked European Christianity and its effect on the African, Nkrumah saw the same detrimental impact with American evangelists. Nkrumah narrated that right after independence a flurry of missionary waves arrived at the newly independent African states. These agencies sought to undermine any scheme by these states to make their people identify with symbols of their identity. An example of this was the famous attack by the Jehovah's Witnesses on peoples who showed respect for the national flag. Nkrumah stated that the body was "busily teaching their citizens not to salute the new national flags"². In this respect, the West once again used religion as weapon to make the African far from his own identity. Religion thus became "too thin" to counteract any voices against missionaries activities. This justified the growing number of these sects during the 1960's.

Though Nkrumah made intensified attempts to disperse Blyden's ideas among people of Africa, these orientations costed him his power. Two major forces led to the overthrow of Nkrumah by the militant left. The first was Nkrumah's support for the Socialist regime. Nkrumah energetic support for the liberation struggle found in the USSR a great ally to support the Africans fulfill their plans for independence and development. In fact, these liberatory forces, argued Nkrumah, found support from the emerging socialist influence around the world. The second and most important reason owed to his Pan-African activities. Former imperialist saw Nkrumah's plan for continental unity as a threat to their presence in the continent. In this respect, Agyeman wrote:

There is nothing new about assaults on Pan-Africanism. African leaders from Marcus Garvey through Patrice Lumumba to Kwame Nkrumah were systematically sought out and victimized precisely for reasons of their commitment to the cause of Pan-Africanism...Nkrumah's overthrow by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency(CIA) came in the wake of a NATO meeting that his Pan-African exertions in such places as

¹ Refers to Protestant beliefs and practices and all branches of Protestantism. Evangelism was widely known during the 20th century as a revivalist religious movement for the preaching the gospel, Jesus Christ. www.britannica.com (accessed in November 2021)

² Nkrumah, Kwame, "Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism", op.cit,p.247

the Congo and within such structure as the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) threatened western interest¹

Most important of all was his attack on neo-colonialism. This mindset presented a danger to the West especially the U.S. which became suspicious about Nkrumah's plans. This was evident when the U.S State department considered Nkrumah's publications and in particular his book "Neo-colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism"(1965) as an "Anti-American in tone"². Indeed, Nkrumah's revolutionary ideas unveiled the West plans in post-independent Africa and made Africans aware of the danger of imperialism's past and present tactics. On February 24, 1966, Nkrumah, while in a visit to Peking, China to discuss peace issues concerning the Vietnam War, was overthrown in coup d'état. Nkrumah's retreat from power ended not only the regime of a president who was overthrown because of his orientations, but brought the end of a revolutionary spirit which, like Blyden, fought for the African cause and presented, no doubt, a continuation of black protests that stretches from the eighteenth century up to 1966.

IV.5. Conclusion:

The last chapter examined the impact of Blyden's philosophy in Ghana up to 1966. It chronicles the colonies move to independence and the emergence of Kwame Nkrumah as a nationalist and political crusader. Through an examination of different emerging political parties including the C.P.P., the chapter revealed the great impact of Blyden's philosophy on the time especially things pertaining to African unity and independence. The chapter further attempted to examine post-independence Ghana and how Nkrumah's local, regional and international politics was influenced by Blydenic philosophy. Indeed, an examination of these policies showed Nkrumah as a president who strove to revive the African personality and a political mentor to all Africans about the need of unity and cooperation as a means for intellectual and physical emancipation.

¹ Agyeman, Opoku, "Pan-Africanism and Its Detractors: A Response to Harvard's Race-Effacing Universalists" Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997, P.03

² Nkrumah, Kwame, "Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism", op.cit, p.311

General Conclusion

Early in the history of Africa, European contact presented a challenge for Africans. Though Africans showed intensified efforts to serve Europeans, they faced the fact that their socio-economic and cultural estate were inferior. Their status was one of chaos, as they were obliged either to assimilate to a new system that was different to their own or maintain their old life, which, for Europeans and many Africans, would harden their integration into the colonial system. Indeed, Edward Wilmot Blyden came in a time of immense challenges as Africans felt lost between the African world and the European world. Up to modern times, Blyden's teaching carved new paths for Africans to generate their lost identity and shape new future for Africans that was purely African uncontaminated by European influences. No doubt, his philosophy became the bone of nationalistic uprising in Africa and the Gold Coast, now Ghana, up to 1966.

In the first chapter, we provided briefs on early European contact with the Gold Coast. Early in the chapter, we discussed some aspects of the Gold Coast society as an attempt to highlight the new changes brought with European presence. Indeed, Europeans, though were first driven by economic motives, implanted not only their economic bases but were successful in implanting new ideas. These ideas, mainly dispersed through education and Christianity, were instrumental in preparing Gold Coasters to the new changes brought by Europeans. No doubt, the expansion of Europeans in the Gold Coast and most notably the British paved the way for an economic exploitation as well as cultural diffusion which by the second half of the nineteenth century became a tool for the consolidation of British presence.

In the second chapter, emphasis was given to address the impact of British presence in the Gold Coast. Economically, the region underwent a process of exploitation beginning with the transformation of customary laws which were directly responsible for Chief's authority, the transformation of land ownership and great scrutiny over labor circulation. All these coincided or were to the benefit of the British who were about to witness great exposure to a new type of industry.

Cocoa industry made the British one of the leading exponents of trade in the West Coast of Africa and most importantly led them to think of new mechanisms to bring natives into more contact with the colonial machinery. The solution rested on the diffusion of Western education. To this point, the chapter discussed two main points. The first was the introduction of Christianity and Christian missions into the Gold Coast with the main intention to highlight different aspects of European culture that were introduced to Gold Coasters. The second was government's educational plans and their effect in introducing new world for Gold Coasters that not only worked to produce agents for the colonial administration, but a Westernized people who looked at European modes of life as the sample that should be copied while African systems as backward and inferior. All these discussions, formed the backbone to see how British impact was strong to erase all forms of African life and made it seemed inferior and underdeveloped. Indeed, the impact was strong that many realized the need to form a counter revolution against Western influences.

The third chapter gave a whole picture of Blyden's early life, philosophy and the impact of his philosophy up to 1945. First, we discussed briefly early forms of black protests with the main objectives of showing how these protests made black emancipation the genesis of nationalism. We further gave thorough details of Blyden's early life and philosophy. The chapter introduced three main tenets of Blydenic philosophy: the African personality, African education and African Christianity.

Early nationalists were avid followers to Blyden's philosophy. The African personality became the bone of their activities. The chapter showed how many disdained the apparent Westernization of African life. Their early manifestations mushroomed in the creation of cultural institutions where the African could find mediums to discuss things relevant to his environment. Moreover, many saw education as a path for African progress. Similar to Blyden, they contended that Euro-Christian education was debasing and aiming in the first place to discard the African of his origins. This mindset led many to indorse the appeals of Blyden and call for the establishment of an African

university that would be African in taste and character. Furthermore, the chapter revealed that European Christianity was a sight of great criticism. Many shared Blyden's view and propounded that the whole institution of European Christianity did nothing but enforced the inferiority of Africans and made to believe that everything associated with African life was evil and bad. Indeed, their manifestations succeeded in creating purely African Churches that worked to portray God in African terms devoid of Western depictions.

Another dimension of protests was the identification with continental and international gatherings. During the period between 1900 and 1930, many Africans inaugurated many Pan-African congresses to give a voice to Africans who were long under the atrocities of European domination. Along all these congresses, we discussed how African leaders and particularly Gold Coast participants made of Blyden's philosophy the cry of the time. Like Blyden, Gold Coast participants showed the apparent repulsive nature of European domination and were eager to show to African fellows the need for unity as a path for progress. Moreover, Gold Coasters organized the National Congress of British West Africa as an attempt to realize Blyden's dream of West African unity. For Blyden, West African unity was inseparable of African unity. This attempted to show the significance of economic partnership for the creation of mutual understanding between members. Indeed, their manifestations helped found many institutional basis for cooperation.

In the same chapter, we discussed the emergence of the youth movement as a new form of protest. We tried to show how these protests took the ideas of Blyden as a monitoring dynamics for revolts. The youth insisted on the mystifying nature of European presence and called on all Africans to defend their right to live the life of their own untouched by European influences. They further helped found many clubs for the revival of African systems of life. Like Blyden, the youth saw no need to keep a system that only hardened their life and made the ordinary African ashamed to be part of African life. The chapter ended by discussing the last Pan-African congress which was held in Manchester in 1945. The Congress, like its predecessors, made Blyden's appeals the cry of the time.

A most notable figure of the congress was the emerging Kwame Nkrumah. A Gold Coast activist who pursued his studies in the United Kingdom and returned to the Gold Coast in 1947. During the 1945 Pan-African Congress, he played a major role in making voice to the African problem. As a nationalist leader and later a president of the new emerging Republic Ghana, Nkrumah made vivid attempt to present the genesis of the African personality and its vitality in shaping new economic, social and cultural realities for the African. Like Blyden, he believed in the ability of Africans to create the world of their own where Africa and Africans changed from being part of exploitation into sources of progress and development.

In the last chapter, we have seen how Kwame Nkrumah as a political leader and later as a president was influenced by Blyden's philosophy. At the local level, Nkrumah in many instances insisted on cultural institutions as a solution to the distorted manhood of Africans. Similar to Blyden, he established educational institutions with African character. He saw in these institutions the source of great progress in all fields. He even encouraged making ties with Africans in the continent and the diaspora for cooperation as he, like Blyden, believed that African institutions should be monitored by Africans and at the same time should be financially independent of European support. At the continental level, Nkrumah set unity as the next plan. Similar to Blyden, he advocated that the mission of every African was to unite for the purpose of progress. As a result, he helped organize many unions for the purpose of furthering cooperation and discussions among fellow Africans.

At the international level, he combated the vestiges of neo-colonialism. Because of changing circumstances, Nkrumah believed that colonialism which Blyden disdained ended but its effects were still operating among newly independent African states. He thus fought against these new forms of subjugation and set all the means to let Africans be aware of the danger of neo-colonialism. His international politics further centered on giving chance to Africans living in the diaspora to repatriate to Africa, and particularly Ghana. Similar to Blyden who himself repatriated to Liberia, Nkrumah

believed that the project would help Africans find new opportunities in Africa and at the same time be sources of change and means for the realization of African progress.

Based on these conclusions, it could be affirmed that Africans' battle to regain their African personality and build a strong unified economic as well as educational systems remained unfulfilled dream. Partly because of many African states still believe in national integrity than regional and continental integrity coupled with a foremost domination of western influences that is still bearing strong hold over the minds of peoples till today. Yet, future studies may unveil successful attempts by people of Africa to come together under one nationality, aim and aspirations.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

1- Ordinances:

Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in Force June, 1898: With an Appendix Containing Rules Under Ordinances, Orders in Council, Etc., Orders of the Queen in Council, Letters Patent, and Various Acts of Parliament in Force in the Colony, with an Index, Volume I
<https://archive.org/details/ordinancesgoldc01grifgoog>

Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony in force June, 1898 : with an appendix containing rules under ordinances, orders in council, etc. ; orders of the Queen in Council ; letters patent, and various acts of Parliament in force in the colony ; and an index, Volume II
<https://archive.org/details/ordinancesgoldc00grifgoog>

Ordinances of the settlements on the Gold Coast and of the Gold Coast Colony, in force April 7th, 1887 : with an appendix containing the rules, orders in council, and proclamations of practical utility, and an index
<https://archive.org/details/ordinancessett100coasgoog/page/n8/mode/2up>

1- Colonial Reports:

United Kingdom, Colonial Reports: Gold Coast Report for 1903, No. 426, London:
Darling & Sons, 1904,
http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/5530214_1903/5530214_1903_opt.pdf.

United Kingdom, Colonial Reports: Gold Coast Report for 1906, No. 543, England,
Darling & Son, 1907,
http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/5530214_1906/5530214_1906_opt.pdf

United Kingdom, Colonial Reports: Gold Coast Report for 1910, No. 688, England,
Darling & Son, 1909,
http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/5530214_1906/5530214_1910_opt.pdf

United Kingdom, Colonial Reports: Gold Coast Report for 1913, No. 806, England,
Darling & Son, 1912,
http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/5530214/5530214_1906/5530214_1913_opt.pdf

Secondary Sources:

- Aboagye, J.Y., 'An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Basel Mission and Presbyterian Church of Ghana to the Socio-Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications, 1997.
- Adams, Kwesi, F. "Odwira and the Gospel: A Study of the Asante Odwira Festival and Its Significance for Christianity in Ghana, Regnum Books International, 2010.
- Addo-Fening, "The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, Indirect Rule and The Subject's Well-Being: The Abuakwa Experience ,1899 -1912," Research Review, N. S. Vol. 6, No. 2, 1990.
- Adeleke, Tunde, "UnAfrican Americans Nineteenth-Century Black Nationalists and the Civilizing Mission", The University Press of Kentucky, 1998.
- Adi, Hakim, "Pan-Africanism: A History", Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 2018.
- Agyeman, Opoku, "Pan-Africanism and Its Detractors: A Response to Harvard's Race-Effacing Universalists" Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.
- Agyeman, Opoku, "Pan-Africanism and Its Detractors: A Response to Harvard's Race-Effacing Universalists" Lewiston, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1997.
- Aissat Djamila & Yasmine Djafari, The Role of Colonial Education in Retrospect: The Gold Coast Case in the Era of Imperialism, University of Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, Algeria. 2011
- Akbar, Naim, "African Roots of Black Personality" in William David Smith et al., (eds). Reflection On Black Psychology, Washington DC, University Press of America, 1979
- Amoah, Isaac. Stephen, "Spiritual Leadership in New Immigrant Situations: Ghanaian Mainline Protestant Churches in Germany and the Netherlands", Diss, VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT, 2015
- Amoh, Emanuelle, "Kwame Nkrumah, His Afro-American Network and the Pursuit of an African Personality", thesis, Illinois State University, 2019.
- Anquandah, James. "The People of Ghana: Their Origins and Cultures" Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, New Series, no. 15 (2013): 1-25
- Antony Allott, New Essays In African Law, London: Butterworths, 1970.
- Appiah, Daniel, "The Politics of Traditional-Federal State Formation and Land Administration Reform in Ghana: 1821-2010" Diss, University of York Department of Politics, 2012
- Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History ,New York: New Viewpoints, 1973.
- Asamoah, Kwame Botwe, Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies an African-Centred Paradeigm for the Second Phase of the Aafrican Revolution", Routledge New York & London, 2005.
- Asante, Molefi Kete, "African intellectual heritage : a book of sources", Philadelphia : Temple University Press, 1996.

- Asante, S. K. B. "The Neglected Aspects of the Activities of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society." *Phylon* (1960-) 36, no. 1 (1975): 32-45.
- Asante, S.K.B.: "Pan-African Protest : West Africa and the Italo - Ethiopian Crisis,1934 - 1941", London, Longman,1977.
- Asante,S.K.B, "Over a Hundred Years of a National Legal System in Ghana: A Review and Critique," *Journal of African Law* 31 (1978): 70.
- Ashby, Eric, "Universities : British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education", Cambridge, Massachusettes: Havard University Press, 1966
- Attoh Ahuma, "The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness"1911 repr. London: Cass, 1971.
- Attoh Ahuma, S,R,B, "Memoirs of West African Celebrities". Liverpool: D. Marples, 1905.
- Austin, Dennis. "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention." *The Journal of African History* 2, no.2 (1961): 273-97.
- Austin, Gareth, "Labour, Land, and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante 1807-1956", University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Austin, Gareth. "Vent for Surplus or Productivity Breakthrough? The Ghanaian Cocoa Take-off, C. 1890—1936." *The Economic History Review* 67, no. 4 (2014): 1035-064.
- Bailey, Julius H, "Race Patriotism: Protest and Print Culture in the A.M.E. Church", The University of Tennessee Press: the United States, 2012.
- Berry, La Verle, Ghana : a Country Study, Federal Research Division: Library of Congress, 1994.
- Biswal, Tapan Prasad, "Ghana, Political and Constitutional Developments", Northern Book Center, New Delhi,1992.
- Blake,J.W, Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560, London: the Hakluyt Society, 1942.
- Blyden Edward Wilmot, "Liberia's Offering", New York : John, A Gray, 1862.
- Blyden, Edawrd. Wilmot, "Christian Missions in West Africa", *Fraser's Magazine*. Vol XIV. No. LXXXII. October1876.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot ,"African Life and Customs", London: C.M.Philips,1908
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, " A Voice from Bleeding Africa on Behalf of Her Exiled Children", Liberia: G, Killian Printer", 1856.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "Africa's Service to the World", *African Repository*, Vol: LVII. No 08, October 1881.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race", Black Classic Press, 1888
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "The Liberia Scholar "Liberian Bulletin No. 17, November, 1900.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, "West Africa Before Europe", London : C.M. Phillips, 1905

- Blyden, Edward. Wilmot, "Mohammedanism and the Negro Race", *Fraser's Magazine*. Vol 92. No.12, November 1875.
- Boahen, Abu, A. *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Longman, 1975.
- Boahen, Adu, "General history of Africa, VII: Africa under colonial domination, 1880-1935", Heinemann- California-Unesco, 1985.
- Boakie, "The Foundations of Self-government: Selected Historic Speeches on Ghana's Independence", George Boakie Publishing Company, 1966.
- Boateng, Charles Adorn, "The Political Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana", The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003.
- Bosman, w. *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided Into the Gold, the Slave and the Ivory Coasts*, London: St Paul's Church Yard, 1705.
- Brunett, David, G. "Charisma and Community in a Ghanaian Independent Church", Diss, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1997.
- Bush, C.R, "The Colonial Factor and Social Transformation on the Gold Coast to 1930", Diss, The University of Leeds, Department of Politics, March 1984.
- Busia, K.A., *Purposeful Education for Africa*. Mouton & Co., London, 1961
- Butt, R.F, "The Education of the West A Formative Chapter in the History of Civilization", McGraw Hill Company, Teachers College: Columbia University, 1973.
- Carole Elizabeth & Boyce Davies," *Encyclopedia of the African Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*", Santa Barbara California, Oxford: England, 2008.
- Carretta, Vincent, "Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the 18th Century", The University Press of Kentucky, United States, 2004.
- Claridge, W.W, *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, W, 1915.
- Coleman, James, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971.
- Conyers, James, "An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden "Diss, Temple University, 1998.
- Conyers, James, "An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden "Diss, Temple University, 1998.
- Cruickshank, Brodie, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa: Including an Account of the Native Tribes, and Their Intercourse with Europeans*, Vol /, London; Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1853.

- Dairymple, H.J “Ashanti and the Gold Coast: and what we know of it. ASketch”, London: Edward Stanford ,Charing Cross, 1874.
- Daniel A. Offiong, “Globalization: Post Neodependency and Poverty in Africa”, Fourth Dimension Pub., 2001,Michigan University, 2009.
- David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928, Oxford, Glarendon Press, 1963.
- David, Lewis, “W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963” Henry Holt and Company,London, 2001.
- De Graft Johnson, J.W., “Towards Nationhood in West Africa”, Frank Cass, London, 1st pub, 1928, 2nd ed. 1970.
- Debrunner, H.W, A History of Christianity in Ghana, Waterville Pub. House, 1967.
- Dennis Austin, “Politics in Ghana 1946-1960”,London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- East, D.J, “West Africa; Its Condition and Christianity The Means of Its Recovery”, London: Houlston and Stoneman,1875.
- Economic Development of the Agogo Traditional Area’, Unpublished Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science And Technology, Kumasi. 2013.
- Edwin W. Smith “Aggrey of Africa : A Study in Black and White” , London, Student Christian Movement,1929.
- Ekow baniek and G. R. Woodman, “The Supreme Court A Hundred Years Ago,” in Essays in Ghanaian Law, Accra: Ghana Publishing Corp, 976
- Elias,T.O, “The Impact of English Law on Nigerian Customary Law”, Lagos: Ministry of Information, 1958.
- Ellis,A.B. A History of the Gold Coast of Africa, London, Chapman and Hall, Ld, 1893.
- Eluwa, G. I. C. “Background to the Emergence of the National Congress of British West Africa." African Studies Review 14, no. 2 (1971): 205-18.
- Emerson,Welch. Claude,“ Dream of unity; Pan-Africanism and political unification in West Africa”, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Equiano, Olaudah, “ The Life of Olaudah Equiano: Or Gustavus Vassa, the African”, Isaac Knapp, Boston,1837.
- Eric Asare, The Impact of British Colonization on the Development of Education and Physical Education in Ghana,,Diss, the University of Leicester School of Education, Leicester. December, 1982.
- Esedebe,P, “Pan-Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991”, Howard University,U.S, 1994.
- Eveline C. Martin, M.A. The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, Mckew Parr Collection, Brandeis University, 1961.

- Fage, D.J. *An Introduction to the History of West Africa*, London, University Press-Cambridge, 1962.
- Field, M.J. *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, London, Crown Publication, 1940
- Forde, Daryll. "The Conditions of Social Development in West Africa: Retrospect and Prospect" *Civilisations* 3, no. 4 (1953): 471-89
- Gates, Henry Louis, "The Slave's Narratives", Oxford University Press: London, 1985.
- Geiss, Imanuel, "The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe and Africa", Africana Publishing Company, London, 1974.
- George E. Brooks, Jr., *Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen: A history of American legitimate Trade with West Africa in the Nineteenth Century*, African Research Studies No. 11, (Boston University Press 1970)
- George M. Bob-Milliar, "Verandah Boys versus Reactionary Lawyers: Nationalist Activism. The International Journal of African Historical Studies 47, no. 2 (2014): 287–318
- Goldman Neal "Fallible Justice: The Dilemma of the British in the Gold Coast, 1874-1944", Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2016
- Gomes Eanes de Zurara, "The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea", Vol I, Burt Franklin Published, New York, 1896.
- Graham, Yao, *Law, State and the Internalization of Agricultural Capital in Ghana: A Comparison of Colonial Export Production and Post-Colonial Production for the Home Market*, University of Warwick, School of Law, December 1993.
- Gray, R. and Birmingham, D. *Pre Colonial African Trade: Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa Before 1900*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970
- Green, R. H., and S. H. Hymer. "Cocoa in the Gold Coast: A Study in the Relations between African Farmers and Agricultural Experts." *The Journal of Economic History* 26, no. 3 (1966): 299-319.
- Hagan, Kwa, o. "Exploring the Role of literary Clubs and Youth Movements in Ghana's Politics in the 1930's", The Institute of Legon, Accra: Ghana, 1974
- Hakim Adi & Marika Sherwood, "The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited", New Beacon Books, 1995.
- Hammond, Ama. Fowa "Towards an Inclusive Vision of Law Reform and Legal Pluralism in Ghana", Diss, The University of British Columbia (Vancouver), 2016.
- Harmon, D.E, "West Africa 1880 to the Present: A Cultural Patchwork", Chelsea House Publishers, 2001.
- Haseeb, Khair el-Din, "The Arabs & Africa", Routledge: Tylor and Francis Group, London, 1985.
- Hay, D.J, "Ashanti and the Gold Coast and What We Know of it: a Sketch", Edward Stanford, 1874.

- Hayford, C, "Gold Coast Native Institutions", London: Sweet and Maxwell Isaac Knapp, 1903.
- Hayford, Casely, "Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation", London: C.M. Philips, 1911.
- Helen, L. & Jemima Asabea, "Identity Meets Nationality: Voices from the Humanities", Sab-Saharan Publishers: Ghana, 2011.
- Hertslet, E, "Abyssinia to Great Britain and France", Routledge: Tylor and Francis Group, 1909.
- Higher, Benjamin, A, Towards A Transformational Education in Ghana – The Necessity of Christian Education and Christian Education Administrators, Northwestern Christian University, Diss, 2012.
- Hill, Robert, "The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers", Vol II, University of California Press: London, 1983.
- Holden, Edith "Blyden of Liberia", New York, Vantage Press, 1966
- Hopkins, A.G, An Economic History of West Africa, London: Longman, 1973. in Ghana, 1946–1956," International Journal of African Historical Studies 47, no. 2.
- July, Robert, W, "The Origins of Modern African Thoughts", New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967.
- Karl Quaye Botchway, Understanding "development" Interventions in Northern Ghana: The Need to Consider Political and Social Forces Necessary for Transformation", Studies in African Economics and Social Development, Vol 25, Edwin Mellen Press, 2004.
- Keltie, J.S. "The Partition of Africa", London: Edward Stanford, 1895
- Kerr, Robert (1844), A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels Arranged in Systematic Order, Edinburgh, Scotland: William Blackwood, 1874.
- Kwabena, Parry, O. A, "'Miss Queen In Her Palaver Says De Gole Cosse Slaves Is Free": The British Abolition of Slavery/Pawnship and Colonial Labor Recruitment in the Gold Coast (Southern Ghana) 1874-1940", Graduate Program in History York University, North York, Ontario, 1999.
- Kwasi Konadu and Clifford C. Campbell, The Ghana Reader: History, Culture, Politics, Duke University Press, London, 2016.
- Kwesi, A. Dickson, "Relation Between Religion and Culture", in Ghana Bulletin of Theology, vol / No 9, 1961.
- Langley, J. Ayodele. "The Gambia Section of the National Congress of British West Africa." Africa: Journal of the International African Institute 39, no. 4 (1969): 382-95.
- Langley, J, "Modernization and Its Malcontent: Kobina Sekyi of Ghana and the Re-statement of African Political Theory (1892-1956)", Research Review Legeon, 1970.
- Langley, J.A, "Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945", Oxford University Press; London, 1973.

- Lawani Suleman, *The Master and Servant Ordinance and Labour Shortages in the Gold Coast*, Historical Research letter vol.36, 2016.
- Lawson ,Autumn Anne, “Kwame Nkrumah’s Quest for Pan-Africanism: from Independence Leader to Deposed Despot”, Diss, Acadia University, 2004.
- Livingston, Thomas “Education and Race : A Biography of E.W. Blyden“, San Francisco: Glendessary Press,1975.
- Lockley,T, “David Margrett : A Black Missionary in the Revolutionary Atlantic”, *Journal of American Studies*, 46/03,2012.
- Love, S.R, “Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800”, Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Lucas,C.P, “Historical Geography of West Africa to the End of 1899”, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.
- Lynch, H, R. “Edward Wilmot Blyden : Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912, London : Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Lynch, Hollis, “Black Spokesman: Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden”, New York: Humanities Press, 1971.
- Macdonald George “The Gold Coast Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and Its People, Longman Green, And Co, 1898.
- Madden,F ,David Fieldhouse, *The Dependent Empire and Ireland 1840-1900 : Select Documents on the Constitutional History of the British Empire and Commonwealth* , Greenwood Press, 1991.
- Magnus J. Sampson, “West African Leadership: Public Speeches Delivered by J. E. Casely Hayford”, A, H; Stock well,1980.
- Malinowski, B ., “Native Education and Culture Contact”, *International Review of Missions*, No.25, 1936.
- Manuh, T,Women and their organizations during the Convention People’s Party period. In *The life and work of Kwame*,Ghana Press: Ghana, 2016
- Marable, Manning, “Black Leadership”, Columbia University Press: New York, 1998.
- Matera, Marc, “Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century”, University of California Press: United States, 2015.
- Maxwell Owusu, “Uses and Abuses of Political Power: A Case Study of Continuity and Change in the Politics of Ghana”,Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- M'Baye, Babacar, “The Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives”, University Press of Mississippi, the United States, 2009.
- Meberbeche, Faiza,“Pan-Africanism and Its Impact on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945“ (Doctoral Dissertation). Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria,2010

- Mends, Theodora, M, "Customary Land Tenure and Urbanization with a Case Study on the Peri-Urban Area of Accra, Ghana", Master Dissertation, The International Institute for Geo-information Science and Earth Observation, 2006.
- Meredith, Henry, "Account of the Gold Coast of Africa With a Brief History of the African Company", London: Longman, 1812.
- Metcafe G.E., Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History 1807-1907, Nelson and Sons 1964.
- Meyer, H.E.J-F.N, "Dr. Nkrumah's last dream: Continental government of Africa: Osagyefo, dreamer, philosopher, freedom fighter, analyst, strategist, political architect, hero of the wind of change", Accra, Ghana: Advance Publishing Company Limited, 1990.
- MICHAEL CROWDER, "Cambridge History of Africa", volume 8, c. 1940-C. 1975", Cambridge University Press, 2008
- Michael J. C. Echeruo. "Nnamdi Azikiwe and Nineteenth - Century Nigerian Thought." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, no. 2 (1974): 245-63.
- Mobley, Harris.W, *The Ghanaian Image of the Missionary :An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries By Ghanaians 1897-1965*, Leiden, I.J, Brill, 1970.
- Modibo Ocran, "The Clash of Legal Cultures: The Treatment of Indigenous Law in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa," *Akron Law Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2006): 470, 472-473.).
- Morison, S, E , *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974
- Morrison, G.W., *Education for Nationhood - A Study in African National Education Among the Negro Tribes of the Gold Coast*. Ph.D. thesis, Hartford Siminary Foundation, May 1st 1923.
- Mostefaoui, Aziz,"The Evolution of Pan-Africanism and the Gold Coast Nationalism from the Origins to 1960"(Doctoral Dissertation). Oran University 02, Algeria, 2011.
- Munro, John, "The Anticolonial Front: The African American Freedom Struggle and Global Decolonization 1945-1960", Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Mweti Munya, "The Organization of African Unity and Its Role in Regional Conflict Resolution and Dispute Settlement: A Critical Evaluation", *19 B.C. Third World L.J.* 537 (1999).
- Nadel, S.F, "The Concepts of Social Elites", *Science Bulletin*, VIII, No,3, 1956.
- Nana Annor Adjaye, *Nzima Land*, Sagoe, G.A.: Headley, London 1931
- Njoku, S.I., *The Development of the British System of Education in Nigeria 1882-1929*. Diss. University of Oregon, University microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1969.
- Nkrumah Kwame, "I speak of freedom. Panaf ed. London: Panaf. Original editions New York: Praeger; London: Heinemann; Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press; 1961.
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Africa Must Unite", International Publishers, 1970.

- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. Panaf ed. n. p.: Panaf. Original edition: New York, Nelson, 1957.
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Consciencism", New York & London: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1964.
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism «New York: International Publishers, 1965.
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah" Vol. 5, compiled by S. Obeng, 1997
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah" Vol. 2, 2d ed., compiled by S. Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications. Original edition: 1979.
- Nkrumah, Kwame, "Revolutionary path",. 1st U.S. ed. New York: International Publishers, 1973.
- Nkrumah: Papers of a symposium organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, ed. K. Arhin, 101–127. Trenton, New Jersey: African World Press, Inc. 1993.
- Ober, Josiah, "Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology and the Power of the People", Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Ocaya-Lakidi and Ali Mazrui, Secular Skills and Sacred Values in Uganda Schools : Problems of Technical and Moral Acculturation". Presented at a conference entitled "Conflict and Harmony between Traditional and Western Education in Africa, 1973
- Odamtten, Harry Nii Koney, "A HISTORY OF IDEAS: WEST AFRICA, "THE BLACK ATLANTIC", AND PANAFRICANISM" Diss, Michigan State University, 2010
- Olusanya, G. O. "THE LAGOS BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA." Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria 4, no. 2 (1968): 321-33.
- Olusanya, G.O, "The West African Students ' Union and the Politics of Decolonisation , 1925 – 1958", Ibadan, 1982.
- Omenyo, C.N, "Pentecost outside Pentecostalism : A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Christian Churches in Ghana", Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2002.
- Omosini, Olufemi. "The Gold Coast Land Question, 1894-1900: Some Issues Raised on West Africa's Economic Development.", The International Journal of African Historical Studies 5, no. 3 (1972): 453-69.
- Omoyajowo, J. Akinyele, "Makers of the Church in Nigeria", CSS Bookshops Limited, Lagos, Nigeria, 1995.
- Opoku, Mawere, A, "Ghana Dance Ensemble. Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, 1967.
- Padmore, George, "Pan-africanism, or communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa" London: Dennis Dobson, 1956.
- Padmore, George, "The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom", London: Dennis Dobson, 1936.

- Palgrave I.H.R, Dictionary of Political Economy: Volume 03; University Printing House, Cambridge, United Kingdom, 1899.
- Phillips A, "the Makeshift Settlement: Colonial Policy in British West Africa", PhD Thesis, The City University, 1982.
- Poe, D. Zizwe, "KWAME NKRUMAH'S CONTRIBUTION to PANAFRICANISM: An Afrocentric Analysis", Routledge: New York & London, 2003.
- Rattery, R.S, Ashanti Law and Constitution, London: Oxford University Press, 1941
- Rayford W . Logan , "The Historical Aspects of Pan - Africanism : A Personal Chronicle", African Forum , Vol . I, (No. I : Summer , 1965).
- Redkey, Edwin, "Black Exodus : Black Nationalists and Back to Africa Movement, 1890-1910, New Haven: Yale University, 1969.
- Richard, Haklyt, "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation", London R.H. Evans, 1811.
- Richardson, Nathaniel, R "Liberia's Past and Present", London: Diplomatic Press and Publishing Co, 1959.
- Ricoeur, P, "History and Truth", Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1965.
- Robert A. Hil, "Pan-African Biography", African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, and Crossroads Press/African Studies Association, 1987.
- Roger S. Gocking, The History Of Ghana, Greenwood Press: London, 2005.
- Roger, S. Cocking , The History of Ghana , Green Wood Publishing group, 2005.
- Rohdie, Samuel. "The Gold Coast Aborigines Abroad." The Journal of African History 6, no. 3 (1965): 389-411.
- Samwinin Nathan, "The Muslim Resurgence in Ghana Since 1950: Its Effects upon Muslims and Muslim-Christian Relations", Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2006.
- Sarbah, John Mensah, "Fanti Customary Laws" 1897 repr. London: Cass, 1968.
- Sarbah, John Mensah, "Fanti National Constitution", Londonr Cass, M68, 1906
- Shapley, Mark, "Developments in Black Theology: From Richard Allen to Marcus Garvey", Michigan State University. Department of History, 2003.
- Shelford, Frederic. "Land Tenure on the Gold Coast." Journal of the Royal African Society 10, no. 40 (1911): 473-76.
- Shillington, Kevin, "Encyclopedia of African History: Volume 1, A-G", Tylor and Francis group: New York, London, 2005.
- Spitzer, Leo, and LaRay Denzer. "I. T. A. Wallace-Johnson and the West African Youth League." The International Journal of African Historical Studies 6, no. 3 (1973): 413-52.

- Tawia Adamafo, "By Nkrumah's Side: The Labor and The Wounds", Accra, Ghana: Westcoast Publishing House 1982.
- Thompson Willard Scott, "Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy Ideology, and the New State", Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Tsey, Christian E. (1986) Gold Coast Railways : the Making of a Colonial Economy, 1879-1929. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986.
- Tunteng, P. Kiven. "Kwame Nkrumah and the African Revolution / KWAME NKRUMAH ET LA REVOLUTION AFRICAINE." *Civilisations* 23/24 (1973): 233-47
- Viera, Pawlikova-Vilhanova, "The African Personality or The Dilemma of The Other and The Self in the Philosophy of Edward W. Blyden, 1832-1912", *Asian and African Studies*, 7, 1998, 2, 162-175.
- Vincent B. Thompson, "Africa and Unity: The Evolution of Pan-Africanism", Longman group: London, 1969.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel "Voluntary Associations" in James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), "Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa", University of California Press: United States, 1964.
- Walters, R.W, "Pan-Africanism in the African Diaspora: An analysis of modern Afrocentric political movements", Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993.
- Ward, W. E.F, A History of Ghana, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1958.
- Wendell, Patrick, H. "The Impact of the Second World War on the Gold Coast, 1939-1945", Princeton University, 1978.
- Wesley, Charles Harris, "Prince Hall, Life and Legacy", United Supreme Council, Southern Jurisdiction, Prince Hall Affiliation, 1983.
- West, Richards, "Back to Africa", New York: Holt Rinehart, and Winston, Inc, 1970.
- Whitefield, Harvey. A, "Colonial Complexity: the Images and Ideas of Mansah Serbah and S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma, 1895-1912", Diss, Dalhousie University, 1998.
- Widstrand, Carl G. (edit) "African Boundary Problems", Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1969.
- William Dyrness, "Emerging Voices in Global Christian Theology", Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1994.
- Wood, Samuel, "The Impact of the Colonial Legacy on Development in the Third World States: The Case of Ghana", The University of Tasmania, 1984
- Wright, W.D, "Racism Matters", London: Praeger Publishers, 1998.
- Yankson-Mensah, Marian, "Transitional Justice in Ghana: An Appraisal of the National Reconciliation Commission", Springer: Berlin, 2020.

Appendices

APPENDIX -01- Resolutions Passed at the 1919 Pan-African Congress

Paris, 19--21 February 1919

The Negroes of the world in Pan-African Congress assembled at Paris February 19, 20, 21, 1919, demand, in the interest of justice and humanity and for strenghtening the forces of civilisation, that immediate steps be taken to develop the 200[,]000[,]000 of Negroes and Negroids; to this end, they propose:

---That the allied and associated Powers establish a code of laws "for the international protection of the natives of Africa," similar to the proposed international code for Labor.

---That the League of Nations establish a permanent Bureau charged with the special duty of "overseeing the application of these laws to the political, social and economic welfare of the natives."

The Negroes of the world demand that hereafter the natives of Africa and the Peoples of African descent be "governed according to the following principles."

---The Land: The land and its natural resources shall be held in trust for the natives and at all times they shall have effective ownership of as much land as they can profitably develop.

---Capital: The investment of capital and granting of concessions shall be so regulated as to prevent the exploitation of the natives and the exhaustion of the natural wealth of the country. Concessions shall always be limited in time and subject to State control. The growing social needs of the natives must be regarded and the profits taxed for the social and material benefit of the natives.

---Labor: Slavery and corporal punishment shall be abolished and forced labor except in punishment for crime; and the general conditions of labor shall be prescribed and regulated by the State.

---Education: It shall be the right of every native child to learn to read and write his own language, and the language of the trustee nation, at public expense, and to be given technical instruction in some branch of industry. The State shall also educate as large a number of natives as possible in higher technical and cultural training and maintain a corps of native teachers.

---Med[i]cine and Hygiene: It shall be recognized that human existence in the tropics calls for special safeguards and a scientific system of public hygiene. The State shall be responsible for medical care and sanitary conditions without discouraging collective and individual initiative. A service created by the State shall provide physicians and hospitals, and shall spread the rules of hygiene by written and spoken word. As fast as possible the State will establish a native medical staff.

---The State: The natives of Africa must have the right to participate in the government as fast as their development permits in conformity with the principle that the government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the government. They shall at once be allowed to participate in local and tribal government according to ancient usage, and this participation shall gradually extend, as education and experience proceeds, to the higher offices of State, to the end that, in time, Africa be ruled by consent of the Africans.

---Culture and Religion: No particular religion shall be imposed and no particular form of human culture. There shall be liberty of conscience. The uplift of the natives shall take into

consideration their present condition and shall allow the utmost scope to racial genius, social inheritance and individual bent so long as these are not contrary to the best established principles of civilisation.

---Civilized Negroes: Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture, they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert.

---The League of Nations: Greater security of life and property shall be guaranteed the natives; international labor legislation shall cover the native workers as well as whites; they shall have equitable representation in all the international institutions of the League of Nations, and the participation of the blacks themselves in every domain of endeavour shall be encouraged in accordance with the declared object of article 19 of the League of Nations, to wit: "The well being and the development of these people constitute a sacred mission of civilisation and it is proper in establishing the League of Nations to incorporate therein pledges for the accomplishment of this mission."

Whenever it is proven that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized World.

Source: <https://www.international.ucla.edu/asc/mgpp/sample09>

APPENDIX -02- The 1945 Pan-African Resolutions

West Africa.

1. Political.

(a) That since the advent of British, French, Belgian and other European nations in West Africa, there has been regression instead of progress as a result of systematic exploitation by these alien imperialist Powers. The claims of “partnership,” “trusteeship,” “guardianship,” and the “mandate system,” do not serve the political wishes of the people of West Africa.

(b) That the democratic nature of the indigenous institutions of the peoples of West Africa has been crushed by obnoxious and oppressive laws and regulations, and replaced by autocratic systems of Government which are inimical to the political wishes of the peoples of West Africa.

(c) That the introduction of pretentious constitutional reforms into the West African Territories are nothing but spurious attempts on the part of alien imperialist Powers to continue the political enslavement of the peoples.

(d) That the introduction of Indirect Rule is not only an instrument of oppression but also an encroachment on the rights of the West African natural rulers.

(e) That the artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the Imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples.

2. Economic.

(a) That there has been a systematic exploitation of the economic resources of the West African territories by imperialist Powers to the detriment of the inhabitants.

(b) That the industrialisation of West Africa by the indigenes has been discouraged and obstructed by the imperialist rulers, with the result that the standard of living has fallen below subsistence level.

(c) That the land, the rightful property of West Africans is gradually passing into the hands of foreign governments and other agencies through various devices and ordinances.

(d) That the workers and farmers of West Africa have not been allowed independent trades unions and cooperative movements without official interference.

(e) That the mining industries are in the hands of foreign monopolies of finance capital, with the result that wherever a mining industry has developed there has been a tendency to deprive the people of their land holding (e.g. mineral rights in Nigeria and Sierra Leone are now the property, of the British Government).

(f) That the British Government in West Africa is virtually controlled by a merchants' united front, whose main objective is the exploitation of the people, thus rendering the indigenous population economically helpless.

(g) That when a country is compelled to rely on one crop (e.g. cocoa) for a single monopolistic market, and is obliged to cultivate only for export while at the same time its farmers and workers find themselves in the grip of finance capital, then it is evident that the government of that country is incompetent to assume economic responsibility for it.

3. Social.

(a) That the democratic organisations and institutions of the West African peoples have been interfered with; that alien rule has not improved education, health or the nutrition of the West African peoples but on the contrary tolerates mass illiteracy, ill-health, malnutrition, prostitution, and many other social evils.

(b) That organised Christianity in West Africa is identified with the political and economic exploitation of the West African peoples by alien Powers.

In view of these conditions, the Congress unanimously supports the members of the West African delegation in declaring:

That complete and absolute Independence for the Peoples of West Africa is the only to solution to the existing problems.

The Congo and North Africa.

1. This Congress views with great concern the deplorable conditions imposed upon the Africans by French and Belgian Imperialisms in the Congo and Equatorial Africa, and demands that immediate steps be taken to remedy conditions in these territories.
2. That the demand of Egypt for the removal of British armed forces be conceded without delay, and that the Condominium over Sudan be abolished and the Sudanese granted complete independence from British and Egyptian rule.
3. That the demands of the indigenous peoples of Tunis, Algeria, Morocco and Libya for democratic rights and independence from French and Italian rule be recognised.

East Africa.

That this Congress of African peoples demands democratic rights and self-government for the people of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Somaliland and Zanzibar.

That this Congress calls upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to implement the following immediate demands of the people of East African territories.

1. The principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be put into practice at once.
2. The abolition of land laws which allow Europeans to take land from the Africans. Immediate cessation of any further settlement by Europeans in Kenya or in any other territory in East Africa. All available land to be distributed to the landless Africans.
3. The right of Africans to develop the economic resources of their country without hindrance.
4. The immediate abolition of all racial and other discriminatory laws at once (Kipandi system in particular), and the system of equal citizenship to be introduced forthwith.
5. Freedom of speech, press, association and assembly.
6. Revision of the system of taxation and of the civil and criminal code.
7. Compulsory free arid uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment.

8. Granting of the franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Legislative Council, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
9. A state Medical Service, Health and Welfare Service to be made available to all.
10. Abolition of forced labour, and the introduction of the principle of EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

Union of South Africa.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress, representing millions of Africans and peoples of African descent throughout the world, condemns with all its power the policy towards Africans and other non-Europeans carried out by the Union of South Africa which, although representing itself abroad as a democracy with a system of parliamentary government, manifests essentially the same characteristics as Fascism:

- (a) the **Herrenvolk** ideology which has transformed itself into a mania;
- (b) the ruthless trampling underfoot of all human rights;
- (c) the erection of one system of law and of morality for the “Aryans” and a different system of law and of morality for the non-white “non-Aryans.”

This Congress demands for the non-European citizens of South Africa the immediate practical application of the following ten fundamental democratic rights.

1. The franchise, i.e.. the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council, and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
2. Compulsory free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 6, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one’s house and privacy.
4. Freedom of speech, press, meeting, and association.
5. Freedom of movement and occupation.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens, without distinction of race, culture and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the needs of the Africans.
8. Revision of the civil and criminal codes to accord with the foregoing demands.
9. Revision of the system of taxation to bring it into line with the above.

10. Revision of labour legislation and its application to (he mines and agriculture.

This Congress pledges itself to work unceasingly with and on behalf of its non-European brothers in South Africa until they achieve the status of freedom and human dignity. This Congress regards the struggle of our brothers in South Africa as an integral part of the common struggle for national liberation throughout Africa.

MAYI BUYE I AFRICA!

The Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland.

1. Since the Union of South Africa became a Dominion there has been developed an insistent urge to gain possession of the Native Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, covering a total area of 293,420 square miles, with a population of over 1,000,000. Control of these territories is desired in order to (1) exploit the mineral, (2) secure more land for agriculture and farming purposes, and (3) obtain additional supplies of cheap labour by taxing the natives.
2. In recent years this desire for expansion has assumed an aggressive form and has created great alarm among the natives of the Protectorates for they are the last remaining Africans in the southern part of the continent who own land and enjoy a nominal independence.
3. The Government of the Union of South Africa is demanding the immediate transfer of the Protectorates to the Union and is in correspondence with the Imperial Government on the subject. The Colonial Office has already set up a Joint Advisory Commission of South African and British officials to examine the question and propose ways and means of effecting transfer if and when Parliament agrees.
4. The African people object bitterly to being used as pawns in bargains between different member states of the British Commonwealth as a means of settling imperialist adjustments. Africans are not chattels to be bartered like cattle in the markets of white nations, where statesmen and diplomats, like brokers, do their trade in the name of Democracy and Peace.
5. The natives of the Protectorates look with horror upon such a proposal for they know of the slave conditions under which 8 million Africans in the Union live, who bear the brunt of taxation and other burdens but have no representation in Government. Eighty per cent of their lands have been taken away from them. They are denied the most elementary democratic rights – freedom of speech, press, assembly and movement. They are debarred from Trade Unions and excluded from skilled occupations by the Colour Bar. They are saddled with Pass Laws and other forms of repressive legislation. Recording their opposition to transfer, the Chiefs of

Bechuanaland have adopted the following resolution: "This meeting of Chiefs and Councillors present on behalf of their respective tribes of Bechuanaland Protectorates records its protest and objection to the incorporation of the territory in the Union of South Africa."

6. The natives of the Protectorates demand that the British Labour Government honour the promise of Protection made to their Chiefs by Her Majesty Queen Victoria's Government during the latter part of the last century in return for their allegiance to the British Crown.

The West Indies.

We, the accredited and recognised representatives of the people of the British West Indies and British Guiana in attendance at this Fifth Paul-African Congress, do hereby demand for our people:

1. Federation of all British West Indian Islands on a voluntary and equal basis founded upon complete Self-Government.
2. Self-Government based on universal Adult Suffrage for each island as a condition precedent to the establishment of such Federation, removal of all property and income qualifications for election to Public Offices.
3. The establishment of new industries and the development of existing ones and adequate legal protection therefor.
4. Opportunities for promotion and adequate facilities for native men and women to qualify for the highest offices and positions in the Civil Service and private industry.
5. Creation of a real Banking system to finance agricultural and industrial projects by providing cheap long-term credit,
6. Implementation of a Policy designed to make available, bring under useful cultivation and ensure proper and efficient use of all arable land in order to obtain (a) production of food of sufficient quantity, quality and variety to secure good health for all the people; (b) the maintenance and extension of principal export crops and research for new crops as well as profitable markets; and (c) provision of the basis for industrial use and development, proper marketing facilities, guaranteed fair minimum prices, Extension Services.
7. Immediate introduction of all forms of modern social legislation in existence in metropolitan areas, e.g., old age pensions, family allowances, national health and unemployment insurances, wages Courts of truly representative character, Employers' Liability Acts, as well as improvement of existing Workmen's Compensation Laws.
8. Immediate implementation of slum clearance and Housing Schemes designed to provide a sufficient number of good houses at economic rentals for workpeople, especially in rural areas.

9. Compulsory free education for all, both elementary and secondary, with provision of free books for all as well as free lunches for needy children. In any event, elementary school leaving age to be raised to 16. Vocational and Technical training to be provided. Compulsory training in domestic science in all elementary schools. Immediate establishment of proposed West Indian University.
10. Immediate overhauling and bringing up to date of all health laws and services.
11. Immediate establishment of Juvenile Courts and introduction of modern system of reformatory schools, orphanages and children's homes with sociological treatment.
12. Equal pay for equal work regardless of nationality, creed or sex.
13. Removal of all disabilities affecting the employment of women, e.g., removal of "marriage bar" for women employed in government services.
14. Modernisation of existing Bastardy Laws, with legal provision for registration of fathers with adequate safeguards.
15. Raising of the Age of Consent to 16 (or 18).
16. Abolition of school-girl system in domestic services.
17. Legal enforcement for trades unions of all the rights and privileges enjoyed by trades unions in industrial countries including fair labour code and adequate and proper permanent machinery for the fair, speedy and effective settlement of all trades and industrial disputes.
18. Creation of special departments for the development of all natural resources to provide (inter alia) regular employment at adequate living wages for all men and women able and willing to work-including establishment of organised water supplies in rural areas; irrigating and drainage schemes and provision of cheap electric light and power projects for agriculture and industry etc.
19. Immediate geological surveys to determine natural resources of each territorial unit and of British West Indies and British Guiana as a whole.
20. Nationalisation of all basic industries vital to life and welfare of the community and the de-casualising of Labour in Government as well as private undertakings.
21. Public ownership of all public utilities, e.g., transportation.
22. Proper and adequate system of gratuities and compensation for all demobilised service men and women and a comprehensive scheme for their re-absorption back into civilian life on equal basis with European service men and women.
23. Development and encouragement of village and cultural life by provision of Community centres, playgrounds and libraries, etc.
24. Increase of rate of taxes on higher income groups.

And we further declare that owing to the lack of travel facilities and the fact that West Indian Islands are over-populated, that West Indians

domiciled in Europe and U.S.A. consider the formation of a West Indian Development and Welfare programme and the creation of a West Indian Development Fund for purposes of the education and industrialisation of the West Indies and to assist the progressive movements in the respective West Indian Territories is necessary.

Special Supplementary Resolutions presented by the delegation representing the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica.

1. Whereas racial discrimination has been meted out to the Negro race in every walk of life throughout the world, i.e., in the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, Universities and Colleges, hotel accommodation, employment, and in other economic and social respects:

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association of Jamaica, respectfully ask this Congress to place before the Authorities concerned, our resentment at such discrimination against the Negro race and our desire for its elimination as unjust and uncivilised.

2. Whereas there are outstanding barriers connected with transportation, especially where African descendants are concerned; and whereas there are other signal impediments and restrictions to entering our Motherland, the Continent of Africa; and whereas it is the desire of African descendants, especially in the West Indies, to enter and domicile in Africa;

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the members of the U.N.I.A. of Jamaica, respectfully ask this Congress to place before the Authorities concerned our demand for immediate removal of ail such barriers and restrictions.

3. Whereas it is the desire of the Colonial Office and the inhabitants of the British West Indies that there should be a Federation of the British West Indies; and whereas there are overpopulated areas in some colonies while there are uninhabited areas in others; and whereas the development of intercommunication among the islands would create better understanding and relationship; and whereas there are many economic-benefits to be derived therefrom:

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the members of the U.N.I.A., request the Fifth Pan-African Congress to impress upon the Colonial Office the urgent necessity of bringing- into operation the proposed federation.

4. Whereas World War No. 2 was fought, as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, for the freedom of all peoples:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress impress upon the Governments concerned that independence to African peoples throughout the world be given great and urgent consideration at the Peace Conference.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that these Resolutions be placed before the proper Authorities for immediate consideration and action.

Ethiopia, Liberia, Haiti.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress sends fraternal greetings to the Governments and peoples of Ethiopia, Liberia and Haiti, and pledges its support in mobilising world public opinion among Africans and peoples of Africa descent in defence of their Sovereign independence. We assure the Governments and peoples of these States that we shall ever be vigilant against any manifestation of Imperial encroachment which may threaten their independence.

We take this opportunity to inform the Imperial powers that we look with jealous pride upon these nations and regard them as symbols of the realisation of the political hopes and aspirations of African peoples still under Imperialist domination.

Additional Resolution on Ethiopia.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress sends its warmest greetings to the Emperor and peoples of Ethiopia, one of the three free states in the world that are controlled by African people. It pledges itself to guard with jealousy the interests of Ethiopia.

1. This Congress condemns the suggestion that parts of Massawa and Asmara should be put under international control. It further condemns most strongly the attempts of the European Powers to impose conditions of Trusteeship which suggest that Ethiopia cannot be fully trusted to look after her own affairs.

2. In the interest of justice as well as of economic geography this Congress supports most heartily the claims of the Somalis and Eritreans to be returned to their Motherland instead of being parcelled out to foreign powers.
3. This Congress demands the immediate withdrawal of the British Military Administration from Ethiopian soil.
4. This Congress calls upon the United Nations Relief Organisation to extend to Ethiopia the same aid as being afforded to the other victims of aggression.

Coloured Seamen in Great Britain.

This Fifth Pan-African Congress views with horror the treatment of disabled ex-Seamen, both African and of African descent, and particularly the case of B Johnson of Manchester and others in Great Britain, and that a Committee be set up by the Colonial Office with the least possible delay, with a view to their repatriation to the homeland.

Colour Bar Problem in Great Britain.

To secure equal opportunities for all Colonial and Coloured people in Great Britain, this Congress demand that discrimination on account of race, creed or colour be made a criminal offence by law.

That all employments and occupations shall be opened to all qualified Africans, and that to bar such applicants because of race, creed or colour shall be deemed an offence against the law.

That the Negro Welfare Centres, the League of Coloured Peoples, African Churches' Mission of Liverpool and other African organisations (social and religious) which have been doing legitimate welfare work among coloured children, students, seamen and others, shall be given every encouragement and assistance by the responsible Authorities to continue the vital social work in which they are engaged.

Resolution to U.N.O. on South-West Africa.

In order to register their protest against South Africa's demand for the abolition of the Mandate over South West Africa and the incorporation of the territory into the Union, the League of Coloured Peoples, the Pan-African Federation, the West African National Secretariat, and other

coloured organisations in Britain, sent the following Resolution to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations:

(a) To reject categorically the claim of the Government of the Union of South Africa to incorporate the mandated territory of South-West Africa, (b) To request the surrender of the mandate of the territory of South-West Africa to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organisation by the European peoples of the Union of South Africa, (c) To investigate the conditions of life and work, the political rights and civil liberties of the non-European peoples of the Union of South Africa, and (d) to require of the Union of South Africa an undertaking to respect and abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter in the treatment of all peoples within the jurisdiction on pain of expulsion from membership of the United Nations Organisation.

As is generally known, the policy pursued by the Government of South Africa towards its subjects of non-European race is a direct negation of the principles of racial tolerance, justice and freedom. Since the year 1920 when the mandated territory of South-West Africa was placed under the Trusteeship of the Union of South Africa the Native Policy of the Union Government has steadily deteriorated. As the native in South Africa has become, in spite of Legislative and Administrative restrictions, more efficient in the field of industrial labour and more advanced in knowledge, so have the repressive measures directed against him been extended and intensified. The whole purpose of these measures is to make of the African nothing more than an "indentured labourer," a being in perpetual enslavement to the Mining and Agricultural enterprises of the country.

In 1936 the passing of the Native Franchise Act, the Native Land Act and the Urban Areas Act deprived the natives of the Cape Province of the right to buy, hire or occupy land wherever they chose and confined them to restricted areas; the right to be on the Common Voters Roll, their representation being limited to three appointed European members in a House of Assembly consisting of one hundred and fifty-three members; their right to sell their labour where they chose by restricting their movements. The Industrial Conciliation Act No. 36 of 1937 excludes from the definition of "Employee" over ninety per cent of the African workers merely because they are natives. The result of this Act is that the Minister of Labour refuses to recognize African Trade Unions or to implement any

agreement negotiated between White employer and black employee under the terms of the Act. Under the covenant of the League of Nations the Mandatory Power was entitled to apply to the mandated territory the same law, as those in force in its own territory. Thus by means of proclamations some of the restrictive laws of the Union have been extended to South-West Africa. For instance, The Native Administration Proclamation No. 11 of 1924 and The Urban Areas Proclamation No. 34 of 1924 followed closely the lines of Urban Legislation and enforced segregation of the African peoples. In 1927 Proclamation No. 11 placed a restriction on the number of native squatters on farm and by the introduction of a system of “passes” restricted all movement including travel by rail.

There is little doubt that in its attitude to the territory of South-West Africa the Union Government has assumed a position which is not in keeping with that of a trustee but, on the contrary, in accord with that of a conqueror bent upon territorial aggrandisement and the spoliation and humiliation of the vanquished. The question arises whether the Union Government is one that should reasonably be entrusted with the care (if subject and helpless peoples. The racial policy of this Government is a direct affront to the express determination the United Nations “to re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of nations large and small.”

Africans are not the only victims of this racialism, for the Indians, who number a bare quarter of a million, suffer discrimination in a similar manner. Incidentally, the latest manifestation of anti-Indian Legislation, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act forms the subject of a complaint to the United Nations Organisation by the Government of India.

We demand justice and social equality for the Indian community in South Africa.

Source: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1947/pan-african-congress/ch12.htm>

APPENDIX -03- Colonial Report of the Gold Coast 1903/1904/1906 (Cocoa)

Cocoa 1903

The introduction of cocoa has been one of the most successful of the Government experiments. Until quite recently its production was practically limited to the neighbourhood of Aburi; but cultivation is now rapidly spreading in all directions and it is estimated that over 44,000 acres have been planted.

Cocoa 1904

14. The export of cocoa, both in quantity and value, was more than doubled during the past year, the total amount exported being 11,451,458 lbs. valued at £200,025, as against 5,104,761 lbs. valued at £86,250 in 1903. With the exception of a comparatively slight set-back in value in 1903, the export of this product has steadily increased since the first shipment, amounting to only 80 lbs., was made in 1891.

15. Table XIII. gives the actual quantities exported with the values from the year 1891 inclusive.

16. The value of exports to the United Kingdom, France, and Germany exceeded those of the previous year by £270,944, £25,448, and £71,587,[^] respectively; while those of the United States were less than in the previous year by £16,899.

Cocoa 1906

6. The quantity of cocoa exported rose from 11,407,608 lbs. in 1905, to 20,104,604 lbs. in 1906, and the prices realized by the grbwrs increased by about 60 per cent. The increased value appears to have been due rather to a shortage on the European markets of cocoa from other countries, than to any special improvement in the quality of the native product. It has been estimated by competent observers that a further heavy increase in the quantity exported will take place in 1907. It is satisfactory to note that the area under cultivation of this crop is rapidly extending, especially in Ashanti, where the Acting Director of Agriculture observes that during a recent tour he saw hundreds of young cocoa plantations, and thousands of seedlings, ready for planting out, in many of the villages.

APPENDIX -04- Native Customs Regulation Ordinance 1868

No. 2.—1868.

His Excellency H. T. USSHER, Administrator.

AN ORDINANCE to make better provision for securing the Peace of the Town of Cape Coast, and to regulate the Celebration of the Annual and other native Customs in the Settlements on the Gold Coast.

WHEREAS the discharging of firearms within the limits of the town of Cape Coast is attended with grievous annoyance, terror, and danger to the peaceful inhabitants thereof: And whereas such firing has been at various times prohibited by this Government: And whereas the celebration of certain native customs, to wit, the "Black Christmas" or "Yam Custom," and others, has been attended in many cases with disastrous results, entailing loss of life, and general danger and inconvenience to the community:

Be it therefore enacted by the Administrator and Legislative Council of the Settlement on the Gold Coast as follows:

1. No person shall fire or discharge a gun or firearm within the limits of the town of Cape Coast under a penalty of ten shillings or ten days imprisonment for a first offence, and of forty shillings or fourteen days imprisonment with hard labour for each and every subsequent offence.

The firing of guns within the limits of the town forbidden. Penalties.

2. Any two or more persons assembled together, and continuously discharging firearms within the limits of the town of Cape Coast, shall each be liable to a penalty of three pounds for each offence, or in default to one month's imprisonment with hard labour.

The like by persons assembled together. Penalties.

3. In case any person or persons shall be proved to have discharged firearms within any house or tenement within the limits of the town of Cape Coast, and he or they shall not have been identified, the owner or occupant of such house or tenement, in the event of such failure of identification, if within the premises at the time the offence was committed, shall be liable for each offence to a penalty of forty shillings, and in default to imprisonment not exceeding one month with hard labour, as the sitting magistrate may direct.

The owner or occupier of house wherein firing liable in certain cases. Penalties.

4. The captain or captains, chiefs or heads of companies of the town of Cape Coast shall be held responsible for the due observance by their followers of the foregoing rules during the period of any native customs, and if it shall be proved that any two or more persons belonging to any of the aforesaid

Captains of companies responsible for the conduct of their followers. Penalties.

bodies shall have violated during the said period any of the rules laid down in this Ordinance, the said chiefs, heads, or captains of the company, by whom or by whose followers such rules shall have been violated, shall be liable to a penalty of not less than five pounds and not exceeding twenty pounds for any such infraction, the said penalty being recoverable at common law in the Civil Courts at Cape Coast.

The public celebration of "Yam Custom" is prohibited Penalties.

5. The public celebration of the "Yam Custom," and of other native customs entailing firing of guns, drumming, processions, and other offensive noises and acts, within the limits of the said town of Cape Coast, is hereby forbidden and prohibited, and any person or persons convicted of having joined in any such custom, or taken any part therein, shall be liable to a penalty of forty shillings or one month's imprisonment, in addition to any forfeiture to which they may be liable for specific offences under this Act.

Prosecutions before whom to be heard.

6. Any prosecutions under this Act may be heard and determined by the chief magistrate, or by any sitting magistrate in the Court of Cape Coast.

Administrator may grant permission for celebration of any harmless custom.

7. It shall be competent to the officer administering the Government for the time being to grant permission in writing for the celebration of any harmless native custom or observance, anything to the contrary contained in this Act notwithstanding.

Limits of town one mile from Castle gates.

8. For all purposes of this Ordinance the limits of the town of Cape Coast shall be taken to mean and include any place or spot within a radius of one mile from the gates of Cape Coast Castle.

Power to extend provisions of Ordinance.

9.* It shall be lawful for the officer administering the Government to extend the provisions of this Act to any town or towns within the limits of British jurisdiction.

Short title.

10. This Ordinance may be entitled as the "Native Customs Regulation Ordinance, 1868."

(L.S.)

H. T. USSHER,
Administrator.

Passed in the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast this 23rd day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

W. H. SIMPSON.

* Extended to Accra and Christiansborg September 8th, 1880. See Appendix.

APPENDIX -05- Emancipation of Persons Hold in Slavery 1874

Captain GEORGE CUMINE STRAHAN, Governor.

No. 2.—1874.

| | |
|---|---|
| Title. | AN ORDINANCE to provide for the emancipation of persons holden in slavery. [17th December, 1874.] |
| Preamble. | WHEREAS divers persons under the native laws of the Protected Territories on the Gold Coast are, or may be, holden in slavery, and it is just and expedient to provide for the emancipation of all such persons. |
| Enactment. | Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows ; viz. :— |
| Commence- ment and application of Ordinance. | 1. This Ordinance shall come into operation upon its being passed by the Legislative Council and assented to by the Governor, and thereupon shall extend and apply to the Gold Coast Colony and the Protected Territories. |
| Signification of terms. | 2. In this Ordinance the term “Protected Territories” shall mean the Countries or Territories on the West Coast of Africa near or adjacent to the Settlement on the Gold Coast, wherein the Queen’s Majesty has acquired or may hereafter acquire powers and jurisdiction. |
| Persons born after fifth November, 1874, declared free : proviso. | 3. All persons who, after the fifth day of November of the year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, shall have been, or shall be, born within the limits to which this Ordinance applies, who under the native laws of the Protected Territories are, or may be, liable to be holden, or but for this Ordinance would or might be, or be liable to be holden in slavery, are, and shall be, and are hereby declared free persons to all intents and purposes : but providing that, except in so far as inconsistent with this Ordinance and with the “Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874,” nothing herein contained shall be construed to diminish or derogate from the rights and obligations of parents and of children, or from other rights and obligations, not being repugnant to the law of England, arising out of the family and tribal relations customarily used and observed in the Protected Territories. |
| No claim affecting liberty to receive effect : saving lawful exceptions. | 4. If at any time after this Ordinance shall have come into operation, any claim or alleged right over or affecting the liberty of any person shall be made, stated, or brought into controversy, or shall arise, or come in question, whether as a ground, or cause of action, or by way of plea, answer, demurrer, |

or defence of, in, or to any suit, action, cause, indictment, information, prosecution, or proceeding, or in any other manner of way whatsoever, then and in every such case, such claim or alleged right shall be deemed and be of no force or validity, and every Court of Justice, Judge, Magistrate, Native King, Chief, and other Tribunal, authority, and person before whom any such claim or alleged right may be made, stated, brought into controversy, or shall arise, or come in question as aforesaid, shall refuse, disallow, discharge, and dismiss the same for all purposes and effects whatsoever: Providing always that this enactment shall not be construed to include or apply to such rights as under the ordinary rules of English law applicable to the Gold Coast Colony may arise under and by virtue of contracts of service between freemen, or as are included and reserved in the last preceding section.

5. Whosoever shall by any species of coercion or restraint compel or attempt to compel the service of any person* *declared in this or any other Ordinance of this Colony a free person*, shall be guilty of an offence punishable in the manner prescribed in the seventh section of the "Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874:" Provided that this enactment shall not be construed to apply to any such coercion as lawfully may be exercised by virtue of such contracts of service as under the ordinary rules of English law applicable to the Gold Coast Colony may be entered into between free persons, or by virtue of such rights as are included and reserved in the third section of this Ordinance.

Compelling
service
unlawful:
penalty.

6. This Ordinance shall be sufficiently cited for all purposes as the "Gold Coast Emancipation Ordinance, 1874."

Short title.

Passed in the Legislative Council, this seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and eighty-four.

ALFRED MOLONEY,
Clerk of Legislative Council.

I assent to this Ordinance in Her Majesty's name.

GEO. C. STRAHAN,
Governor.

* Omit by No. 1 of 1875.

APPENDIX -06- Native Education Ordianace 1887

EDUCATION.

Ordinance No. 14 of 1887.

AN ORDINANCE for the Promotion and Assistance of Education in the Gold Coast Colony.

[28th September, 1887.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the promotion and assistance of education in the Gold Coast Colony;

Be it enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

Board of Education.

1. There shall be a Board of Education in the Gold Coast Colony, which board shall consist of the Governor, of the members of the Legislative Council, and of such other members, not exceeding eight in number, who may be nominated by the Governor.

President of board : quorum.

2. The Governor, or in his absence such other member as he may think fit to appoint in writing shall be president of the board. The president and three members of the board, one of whom shall be a member of the Legislative Council, shall form a quorum. The president, in addition to his vote as a member of the board, shall have a casting vote in case the opinions of the members are equally divided.

Appointment of inspector.

3. It shall be lawful for the Governor subject to the approval of one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of

State, to appoint some fit and proper person to be Inspector of schools. The Governor may also from time to time appoint such other officers as may be deemed necessary for carrying this Ordinance into effect.

4. Subject to the provisions of this Ordinance the Board of Education may, from time to time make, alter, amend or revoke rules with regard to the examination of schools and of persons to be employed as teachers under this Ordinance: for classifying certificates to be given to such teachers; for determining the capitation grants, which shall be paid as a contribution towards the remuneration of the teachers of schools entitled to grants in aid; for regulating the application for and the allowance of grants in aid to schools; for regulating the terms on which any minister of religion may have access to any Government school for the purpose of giving religious instruction to the children of the religious denomination to which such minister may belong; and generally, all other rules as may be found necessary for the more effectual carrying out the provisions of this Ordinance: And all such rules, alterations, amendments and revocations shall, on being approved by the Governor and on publication in the Gazette, have the same effect as if the same had been made by Ordinance subject to disallowance by Her Majesty.*

Powers of Board.

5. Schools of primary education shall be divided into two classes: first, Government schools or schools established by the Government and entirely maintained from the funds of the Colony; and, secondly, assisted schools or schools established by private persons to which aid may be contributed from the public funds.

Primary schools.

6. Direct religious teaching shall not form part of the instruction to be given in any Government school.

Religious teaching in Government schools.

7. Assisted schools shall, on being allowed by the Board of Education, be enabled to receive aid from the public funds of the Colony on the following conditions:—

Aid to primary schools.

1. That the control and management of such schools be

Conditions under which

* Rules approved 8th December, 1896 (see *Gazettes for 1897*, p. 437), and published in pamphlet form, 1897.

granted, and
for what
purposes.

- vested in one or more managers who shall have power to appoint, dismiss, and fix the salaries of the teachers of such schools.
2. That such managers be responsible for the payment of the salaries of the teachers and for all other expenses of such schools, and also for keeping the school buildings in a state of repair, and in good sanitary condition: provided that in case of the non-performance of any of the conditions in this sub-section it shall be lawful for the Board of Education during the continuance of such non-performance to reduce or altogether to withdraw the grants in aid of such schools.
 3. That the present teachers of such schools do obtain within three years from the commencement of this Ordinance, a certificate from the Board of Education and that every teacher hereafter appointed shall hold a certificate from the Board, that he has satisfied the Board as to his competency. These certificates may be honorary or obtained by examination.
 4. That the schools be open to children without distinction of religion or race.
 5. That the subjects taught include reading and writing of the English language, arithmetic, and, in the case of females, plain needlework. Grammar of the English language, English history, geography, especially of the British Empire, may also be taught or not at the option of the managers; provided that, if taught, they shall be taught as class subjects.
 6. That no child receive any religious instruction objected to by the parent or guardian of such child, or be present when such instruction is given.
 7. That the schools be open at all times to inspection by the Inspector of schools or by any person appointed by him in writing, or by any member of the Board of Education, or by any District Commissioner, or by any person approved by the Governor.
 8. That schools attain to not less than the required proficiency.

Managers:
definition of
term.

8. By managers shall be understood all members of the local governing boards of any society, body, or corporation,

taking part in the educational work of this Colony: provided that, in all cases, correspondence shall be maintained with, and payments made to, the representative of any such society, body, or corporation, or to such other person as may be authorized in writing by such representative.

9. Managers shall have power to appoint local managers, who shall be directly responsible to the said managers, who in turn, shall be directly responsible to the Board of Education for the maintenance and efficiency of their schools.

Power of managers to appoint local managers.

10. No school shall receive any grant-in-aid unless the average attendance of pupils has been at least twenty for each day the school has been open during the period for which the grant is payable.

Average attendance.

11. The managers of every assisted school shall submit yearly accounts of revenue (from whatever source derived) and expenditure to the Inspector of schools for the information and satisfaction of the Board of Education; and no school shall be placed on the list of assisted schools, unless a detailed tabular statement of the revenue of the school from all sources be furnished, together with the expenditure incurred under every head during the twelve months preceding the date of application.

Financial responsibility of managers.

12. Schools in which a proportion of the pupils, to be fixed by the Board of Education, devote not less than ten hours a week to manual labour on a regular and approved plan, shall be considered to be industrial schools.

Industrial schools.

Manual labour shall be understood to mean any kind of handicraft, manufacturing process or agricultural work, and, in the case of females, household work.

13. Any school receiving aid from public funds shall be bound to receive pauper children, who may be assigned to it by the Government, in such numbers and upon such terms as may be decided on by the Board of Education.

Pauper children.

14. Nothing in this Ordinance contained shall be construed to debar the Governor from establishing, schools under the entire control of the Government, or maintaining, any such school already established, and, in such case, the Governor may fix the salaries of the teachers of such

Proviso as to Government schools.

schools definitely or partly at a definite amount and partly by grants in proportion to the results attained or wholly in proportion to the results attained.

Grant to
training
colleges,
schools or
institutions.

15. A grant from public funds, the amount of which shall be fixed from time to time by the Board of Education, may be made to any training college, school, or institution, in which teachers are specially trained, for every teacher who shall obtain a certificate from the Board of Education that he has satisfied the Board as to his competency: provided that every such teacher shall have received at least two years' instruction in such training college, school, or institution, and shall give a bond to the Governor to teach, either in a Government school, or school receiving a grant-in-aid, for a period of five years.

Short title.

16. This Ordinance may be cited as "The Education Ordinance, 1887."

ملخص

بصفته مربياً وسياسياً وعالمًا دينياً ، ظل بلايدن القومي الأسود الوحيد الذي قام بمحاولات شاملة لإعادة تعريف الكون الأفريقي. أدت أنشطة بلايدن إلى البناء الناجح للفلسفة التي دحضت العبودية الجسدية والفكرية للأفارقة. لم تتجلى فلسفة بلايدنك فقط من خلال مجرد تصور لنقاط الضعف والقصور في إفريقيا ، ولكنها كشفت أيضاً من خلال التأثير الكبير الذي أحدثته على ظهور القومية في جميع أنحاء إفريقيا وغرب إفريقيا على وجه الخصوص. ستحاول هذه الأطروحة دراسة فلسفة بلايدن وتأثيرها على عملية إعادة الأفارقة في غانا. إنها محاولة لتتبع تطور القومية في غانا ومعرفة كيف أعطت فلسفة بلايدنك شكلاً ومضموناً لظهورها حتى عام 1966.

الكلمات المفتاحية: بلايدن. القومية. غرب إفريقيا؛ غانا

Summary

As an educator, politician and theologian, Blyden remained the only Black Nationalist who made holistic attempts to re-define the African universe. Blyden's activities brought forth the successful building up of a philosophy that refuted African's physical and intellectual enslavement. Blydenic philosophy did not only evince through mere conceptualization of African's weaknesses and deficiencies, but also revealed through the great impact it had on the emergence of nationalism throughout Africa and West Africa in particular. This thesis will try to examine Blyden's philosophy and its impact on the process of re-Africanization in Ghana. It is an attempt to trace the evolution of nationalism in Ghana and see how Blydenic philosophy gave shape and substance to its emergence up to 1966.

Key words: Blyden; nationalism; West Africa; Ghana

Resumé

En tant qu'éducateur, homme politique et théologien, Blyden est resté le seul nationaliste noir qui a fait des tentatives holistiques pour redéfinir l'univers africain. Les activités de Blyden ont abouti à la construction réussie d'une philosophie qui réfutait l'esclavage physique et intellectuel des Africains. La philosophie blydénique ne s'est pas seulement manifestée par la simple conceptualisation des faiblesses et des déficiences de l'Afrique, mais s'est également révélée par le grand impact qu'elle a eu sur l'émergence du nationalisme à travers l'Afrique et l'Afrique de l'Ouest en particulier. Cette thèse tentera d'examiner la philosophie de Blyden et son impact sur le processus de réafricanisation au Ghana. C'est une tentative de retracer l'évolution du nationalisme au Ghana et de voir comment la philosophie blydénique a donné forme et substance à son émergence jusqu'en 1966.

Mots clés : Blyden ; nationalisme; Afrique de l'Ouest; Ghana

Blyden's Philosophy and Its Impact on the Process of Re-Africanization
in West Africa: Case of Ghana up to 1966

المترشح : بوشمال احمد
المشرف : البروفيسور فايزة سنوسي
التخصص : حضارة

SUMMARY

West Africa had long been under European influence since the fifteenth century. This influence gathered momentum during the late eighteenth century when Europe embarked on systematic consolidation of its presence in the West Coast. For Africans, the period marked a new stage in their contact with Europe, which did not only intend to grasp at African riches but also build institutional basics to easily make Africans understand the need of European presence. The process showed the vehement intent of Europeans to demolish all aspects of life of Africans and supplant them with Western modes of thought and behavior. Indeed, Africans lost their identity in the pursuit of a world that was not their own. Describing how Africans were forced to adopt to changes brought with Europeans, Viera noted that "Africans were bound to be drawn out of their way of life and brought into a new relationship with the outside world and under the impact of an expanding Western civilization which was in process of moulding the world in its image"¹. The new situation favored the alteration of all what was African because it was seen as "savage" and "backward".

Ideas about the "savagery" and "backwardness" of the African world found great support during the early stirrings of European contact with Africa and Africans. The attitudes of Europeans toward Africans socio-cultural systems was a malign. These systems, for Europeans, were only means to engrave the inferiority of Africans. On the other hand, European systems were the models that should be copied and followed. European culture, in

¹Viera, Pawlikova-Vilhanova, "The African Personality or The Dilemma of The Other and The Self in the Philosophy of Edward W. Blyden, 1832-1912", Asian and African Studies, 7, 1998, 2, 162-175, p. 162

this respect, was a universal culture and its “superiority” placed it as the “center” where other cultures emerged¹.

This state of mind was an apparent feature of nineteenth century England where emerged “a conscious class society” which greatly believed in the division of human races into categories which placed Europeans on top while Africans on the bottom. This group also emphasized certain racial assumptions that guided their attitudes toward the backwardness or modernity of societies. Mostly based on color, Africans were systematically portrayed as “evil” and “animals” who could not think or make any progress in their lives and toward humanity. These assumptions became part of the intellectual, cultural and social thinking of people of England and Europe and it was out of these prevailing atmosphere that the English and other European nations denounced their duty to bring civilization and modernity to African societies².

Alas for Africans, the presence of Europeans meant a complete departure from an old life into a new one. Though early European presence revealed the prevalence of the economic drive over other motives, the years before and after the “scramble of Africa” showed intensified efforts by Europeans to introduce their religion, education and culture. These later could be seen as instruments where Europeans not only exploited the African riches but also means to prepare the African psyche to accept these forms of exploitation. African psyche, in this respect, was modeled to see “Western ideas, moral and ethical codes, including Western religion-Christianity and Western political institutions and economic patterns”³ as vehicles for African advancement and modernity. African progress, thus, was guaranteed when Africans took the most of these modes of life. As a result, African systems of life became a sort of the past. The Africans became parasite upon Europeans and saw the adoption of Western systems as the only path for survival. European mental incarceration did nothing but made Africans

¹Ricoeur, P, “History and Truth”,Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1965, p. 277

²Viera,op.cit,p. 163

³Ibid,p.162

believe in an illusionary world. A world that enforced their inferiority and made them live in “a strict psychological conflicts”¹ as they could neither accept the new nor forget the old.

Though there emerged many attempts by Africans to counteract these abuses, Edward Wilmot Blyden came on top of these cultural crusaders. Known as “the father of African nationalism”, Blyden, born in the Island of St. Thomas in the Caribbean, responded vigorously to the malicious attempts by Europeans to Westernize the African world and bring much destruction to its institutions. He vehemently denied African’s inferiority and postulated that Africans were intelligent and superior to Europeans. For Blyden, it was only Europeans who engraved feelings of inferiority and much of what had been said about Africans emerged out of lack of understanding of African peculiarities. For Conyers, Blyden, through a systematic redefinition of “African’s political, social, educational, economic, and religious universe”², painted the whole picture of an African dehumanized by the West’s zeal for wealth at the expense of people’s origins. Accordingly, Blyden set first the principles of the African personality to defy European images about Africa and Africans. He advocated that Africans in the past were leading exponents of modernity and had contributory role to the advancement of humanity. In an attempt to violate against Western assumptions about the “primitivism” and “lower” status of Africans, Blyden espoused to make Africans proud of themselves. He strove to let fellow Africans understand the distinctiveness of the African personality that made them equal and not inferior to any race. This mindset made Blyden aware of the need to preserve natives’ traditions, customs and institutions as marks of their identity and being special and unique. He further elaborated on the mystifying role of Euro-Christian education which had failed the African. For Blyden, this type of education produced an African imitator of the Western world. According to Blyden, Europeans taught the African

¹ David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928*, Oxford, Glarendon Press, (1963), p.

² Conyers, James, “An Afrocentric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden “Diss, Temple University, 1998, p. v

that to be a good man was to be a white man. The African was taught to forget about his origins and native institutions as a way to obtain Whiteman status. The process resulted in a cultural abortion whose main result was the creation of a contaminated African proud of absorbing white man culture and eager to discard all what had to do with his environment. These delinquencies led Blyden to propose a purely, correct African education. An education that did not interject with Africans modes of life and aimed in the first place to generate in the African a love for his culture and history. His proposal of an African university, no doubt, was an articulation of this held belief. Furthermore, Blyden also addressed the malicious impact of European Christianity. He averred that European Christianity, like education, retarded the mental development of the African and suppressed all forms of traditional religions, which had much to do with Africans religiosity and identity. Blyden propounded that European Christianity portrayed God in Western terms which made the African feel alienated and forced to ignore his most respected aspects of life that were of religion in favor of systems that were not their own. The perpetual alienation of the African from his environment caused a psychological trauma as the African could not understand and identify with the new religion which presented much attempts to Europeanize than to enforce the relation of man with God. To this point, Blyden stressed the need for the creation of a purely African Church. For Blyden, the new body would work to remedy the ill-considered effects of giving Africans unsuitable religious teaching and be as the medium where the African found the world of his own uncontaminated by European influences.

Resisting European influences was one-step forward to rebuild African's economic, political, social and cultural emancipation. Blyden, in many instances, revealed to fellow Africans that mere resistance to racial abuses and understanding of the merits of the African personality was not enough until Africans thought about economic development and independence. Blyden espoused for a day when Africans could lead themselves economically.

He noted that Africans should be self-reliant as a way to freed themselves from European financial support. The latter, for Blyden, presented another medium where imperialism played a role in making Africans still connected to Europe. Economic independence meant political independence. Though Blyden did not state explicitly his desire for independence, he alleged that Africans could one day lead their own destiny and be independent to decide about their affairs. The attainment of independence, for Blyden, meant a regeneration of the will of all African nations to come together to unite for their ultimate goal of race redemption and progress.

Blyden's discourse on African physical and mental emancipation had far-reaching impact on people of Africa and West Africa in particular. Through systematic tours in a number of West African colonies during the second half of the nineteenth century, Blyden dispersed among West Africans the need to redefine their place as people with special identity and origins. He tried to re-shape a feeling of shared "Africanity" and oneness of race. Thus, it was not surprising to find famous West African intellectuals who indorsed the appeals of Blyden in their struggle for emancipation. James Africanus Beale Horton of Sierra Leone disdained the disparity created between Negroes and the white masses and claimed "the existence of the attribute of a common humanity in the African or the Negro race". For Horton, "there exist no radical distinctions between him and his more civilized confrère"¹. The Nigerian Mbonu Ojike was also an avid follower to Blyden's ideas. He rejected European assumptions that depicted African societies as "a passing culture". In an attempt to counteract these abuses, he stated that these societies were "too stable to be unproductive, too dynamic to be static, too dignified to be unimpressive, too African to be Western"². On the other hand, Jacob Kehinde Coker attacked European Christianity and its effect on the African psyche. Like Blyden, he stressed

¹qtd in Meberbeche, Faiza, "Pan-Africanism and Its Impact on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945" (Doctoral Dissertation). Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria, 2010, p.137

²Michael J. C. Echeruo. "Nnamdi Azikiwe and Nineteenth - Century Nigerian Thought." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, no. 2 (1974): 245-63. Accessed October 22, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/159722>.

that “Many Africans had been spiritually lost because of the evils of the hypocritical life of the mission churches”¹ which did nothing but provoked a sense of alienation toward everything African. Though these intellectuals showed a flurry of positive responses to Blyden’s philosophy, indeed, the impact was much bigger in the Gold Coast.

The Gold Coast was the hub of European activities since the fifteenth century. These activities though were economically driven, impacted different facets of life of the people. The English, along with other European nations like the Portuguese, French and the Dutch, embarked on systematic exploitation of the Gold Coast riches. This type of exploitation found great pace with the rise of trade on human cargoes known as the “slave trade” where Gold Coasters were forcefully deported to the New World to work in plantations. The situation worsened by the nineteenth century when the British assumed direct control of the Gold Coast colony. Economically, the British assumed new policies where they could manage lands for its rising industries, coupled with enforced labor policies which aimed in the first place to recruit a huge number of people to work in the rising cocoa industry. Politically, because chief’s power represented a threat to the colonial government, attempts were made to decrease the chief’s power to minor duties and thus completely diminishing an authority that had long existed before European presence. Matters were even worse socially. Native customary laws were replaced with English laws because the former was conceived as “backward” as compared to the latter. Furthermore, Western education systematically replaced traditional education where British life style, history and modes behavior were the single attraction of education architects. Regarding religion, European Christianity and education spread rapidly during the period and almost the last remnant of traditional religion became a sort of the past. These influences, indeed, were too strong for people to resist. Evidence showed that people, especially the educated elite, began fashioning a new life style that resembled their

¹Omoyajowo, J. Akinyele, “Makers of the Church in Nigeria”, CSS Bookshops Limited, Lagos, Nigeria, 1995, p.111

counterpart white men while discarding themselves of everything African. Indeed, the dominance of British culture resulted in a cultural abortion where the African remained the victim of British physical and mental exploitation.

Drawing on Blyden's philosophy, Gold Coasters responded vigorously to this great tide of Western influences. Blyden's principles of the African personality became the driving force where Gold Coasters found an outlet to address their economic, social and cultural grievances. Early forms of nationalism to 1900 where a revolt to restore the lost manhood of the African destroyed by centuries of European presence and an attack on different European institutions whether educational or religious which attempted to alienate Gold Coasters and Africans in general from their origins. By 1900, Gold Coasters identified with New World Pan-Africanists with the premise to find support to the African cause. The inauguration of these Pan-African conferences and the participation of Gold Coast delegates showed again the great impact that Blyden's philosophy had on not only Gold Coasters but on the rising Pan-Africanists of the twentieth century. Moreover, Blyden's appeal for the creation of a Pan-West African identity found articulation with the establishment of the National Congress of British West Africa and rise of the Youth movement in the 1930's. These two forces worked to disperse among Gold Coasters and peoples of West Africa the need to re-establish cultural and economic ties for the furtherance of African chances to lead a life of dignity and manhood. Furthermore, the period after WWII, reflected a more vigorous attempts to make the ideas of Blyden into practice. This happened in a time where African nations began demanding complete independence from the yoke of colonialism. Gold Coasters, under the guidance of the new emerging nationalist messiah Kwame Nkrumah, set all means at hands whether radical or constitutional to get independence. Mainly through the efforts of Kwame Nkrumah, the Gold Coast got its independence with Kwame Nkrumah as the new president of the new republic Ghana. The man led Ghana, up to 1966 where he was overthrown in a coup

d'état, to be the first independent African nation to pursue Pan-African appeals and by extension Blyden's philosophy.

This study is entitled "Blyden's Philosophy and its Impact on the Process of Re-Africanization in West Africa: Case of Ghana up to 1966". The present work attempts to examine Blyden's ideas, a philosophy on African physical and mental emancipation, and try to trace its impact on Ghana up to 1966. It further tries to give answers to the following questions: what were the motives behind European presence in the Gold Coast? What were the main changes brought with the establishment of European presence and later British colonialism? How did blacks respond to white oppression prior to Blyden's emergence? How did Gold Coasters conceive Blyden's philosophy? And to what extent could Blyden's philosophy give shape and substance to Gold Coast nationalism up to 1966?

The choice of Blyden's philosophy as a focus of this study stemmed from the fact that his philosophy is still unknown among Algerian students and academics. The focus of literature is almost on Pan-Africanism but Blyden's life and intellect is scarcely recognized. The study, thus, is an attempt to give an in-depth analysis of the man and his philosophy as to uncover the many contributions he gave to Black Nationalism, which, unfortunately, he was denied in existing literature about Black Nationalism and Pan-African history in particular. Furthermore, Ghana was selected as a case study because of many reasons. The Ghanaian history is characterized by its long history as compared to other African nations which stretched for about centuries ago which provided systematic nationalist uprising whether local, regional or international. In all these nationalist manifestations, people vigorously identified with the African cause and were zealous to cooperate in any gathering that would help Africans, not only Ghanaians, find the path of progress and emancipation. Ghana also gave birth to the most famous Pan-Africanist leader, Kwame Nkrumah, who, according to many scholars, helped shape a new Ghana based on Blyden's principles of the African

personality and African unity. The main timeline of the study begins from early European adventurers as to give accurate picture of the new settlers and their impact on people's economic, political, social and cultural life. The study ends in 1966 which marked two important changes. The first was that Kwame Nkrumah as president of the new republic succeeded in giving accurate expression to Blydenic philosophy through his local, continental and international manifestations. The second fact is that the 1966 did not only represent the date when Nkrumah was overthrown in a Coup d'état but it also signaled the end of a long lasting impact that Blyden's philosophy had not only on Ghanaians but in Africa in general.

The first chapter of this thesis examines European early contact with the Gold Coast. It gives briefs on the nature of Gold Coast society prior to the arrival of Europeans then moves to trace early European voyages and the different motives that were behind European ventures into the West Coast of Africa. The focus of the chapter is to stress how the economic motive brought Europeans one-step closer to transform life of the ordinary Gold Coasters. The chapter further looks at early British relations with the Gold Coast and the move from mere trade connections into formal colonialism. Within this phase of the Gold Coast history, the chapter examines English moves to assume direct control of the Gold Coast and their early attempts to diffuse changes to the whole Gold Coast society.

The second chapter tackles British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. It tries to reveal British policies regarding the new colony and their attempt to bring people under the direct control of the colonial government. Through an examination of judicial, economic and social policies, the chapter aims at tracing the main changes that these policies brought about and trace how these policies affected not only the economic side but its influence increased to affect people's psyche by introducing new patterns of life that were new to people.

The third chapter covers the impact of Blyden's philosophy up to 1945. The chapter starts with a brief on early forms of Black Nationalism that existed before Blyden's birth then move

to provide a deep analysis of Blyden's life and philosophy. The chapter further examines early forms of nationalism in the Gold Coast that stretched from 1874 until 1900 with the main intention of how Gold Coasters found in the ideas of Blyden an outlet to address their grievances. The chapter then traces the evolution of series of Pan-African Congresses and how the Gold Coast representatives were staunch exponents of Blydenic philosophy. The chapter further deals with regional manifestations namely the National Congress of British West Africa and sees how the emerging body took Blyden's philosophy as a ground for protest. Lastly, the chapter covers the rise of the Youth movement of the 1930's and the 1945 Pan-Africa gathering. In all these forces, the chapter tries to show how Gold Coasters' intellect and actions reflected Blyden's philosophy.

The last chapter examines the impact of Blyden's philosophy up to 1966. It first tries to chronicle the colony's move to independence, most importantly the rise of Kame Nkrumah, his powerful political party the CPP, and their role in diffusing Blyden's appeals as monitoring dynamics to achieve independence. The chapter further seeks to examine the emerging independent nation state of Ghana. Under Kwame Nkrumah as president, the chapter tries to reveal Nkrumah's local, continental and international politics as an attempt to see how Nkrumah's intellect and actions were greatly impacted by Blyden's philosophy.



تصدر عن جامعة زيان عاشور الجلفة - الجزائر -



المحتـــــرف

مجلة دولية محكمة لعلوم الرياضة و العلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية



تصدر عن جامعة يان عاشو-الجلقة-

ISSN *2352-989X

EISSN2602-6856

الرئيس الشرقي للمجلة : أ.د. عيلام الحاج
مدير ورئيس تحرير المجلة: أ.د. عبد المالك سربوت
مدير مساعد: أ.د. براهيم مبروك
رئيس لجنة القراءة: د. فيرم الطيب

منسقي لجنة القراءة

د. طوال عبد العزيز د. تومي بلقاسم
د. بورقية مصطفى د. عزوز محمد علي
د. جعيرن حمزة د. حلباوي محمد

أعضاء لجنة القراءة

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| أ.د. عمرو زهير جامعة | المسيلة | أ.د /ابو العلاء احمد عبد الفتاح | جامعة حلوان مصر |
| أ.د/بن عكي محمد أكلي | جامعة الجزائر | أ.د .عز جاد حسين | جامعة العريش مصر |
| أ.د. قصري عبد الناصر | جامعة الجزائر | أ.د .زفعت عمر عزوز | جامعة العريش مصر |
| أ.د. غضبان حمزة | جامعة الجزائر | أ.د /تيسير المنسي | الجامعة لاردنية الأردن |
| أ.د. بن عبد السلام محمد | جامعة الجلقة | أ.د /الصادق الحايك | الجامعة لاردنية الأردن |
| د .داسة مصطفى | جامعة ام الوافي | د /بدور المطاوع | جامعة الامير خالد الكويت |
| د .بلمختار محمد رضا | جامعة البلدة ٢ | أ.د /عبد الرحمن المصير | المركز العربي للتغذية البحرين |
| د .براهيمي ام السعود | جامعة الجلقة | أ.د /أحمد سعد الشريف | مجلس دبي الرياضي الامارات |
| أ.د. بوكربوط عز الدين | جامعة الجلقة | أ.د /أحمد العمادي | جامعة قطر قطر |
| أ.د. جواي خالد | جامعة المسيلة | أ.د /مازن هادي كزار الطائي | جامعة المستقبل العراق |
| أ.د .بومالة عمر | جامعة الجلقة | أ.د /الينا هولكيمان | جامعة ماجديبورغ المانيا |



المحتـرف

مجلة دولية محكمة لعلوم الرياضة و العلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية

تصدر عن جامعة بان عاشو-الجلقة-



ISSN *2352-989X

EISSN2602-6856

اللجنة العلمية

| | |
|--|---|
| أحمد الزبيدي عبد الوهود dr.abdulwadood@tu.edu.iq كلية التربية البدنية وعلوم الرياضة -جامعة تكريت، العراق | حرواش لامين lamineharouach@yahoo.fr جامعة زيان عشور الجلقة |
| د. علي عبد الامير حماس الحميس dr.alfalzadee@gmail.com كلية الفنون الجميلة - جامعة بابل - جمهورية العراق | نصيرة بلول nacerabelboul@gmail.com جامعة زيان عشور الجلقة |
| محمد حسين الشقاري drmmadhary@gmail.com جامعة البصرة | محمد كدور kadourmohamed2@gmail.com جامعة الجزائر ٢ |
| احسن لhasma lahsma@gmail.com SIFA, Singapore | نادية فاذا nadiagada0@gmail.com جامعة مولود معمري تيزي وزو |
| القوسي همام humam.1.1.m@gmail.com صريح جامعة حلب - الجمهورية العربية السورية | عصام لهادي layadi.issam@yahoo.fr جامعة محمد الشرف مساعدي سوق أهراس |
| محمد الداود عبد القادر mohamed_dah@yahoo.fr جامعة نواكشوط العصرية موريتانيا | وليد شريط Walid.cheriet@gmail.com جامعة اليبدة |
| أحمد عبدالرحمن العراملة Drahmed@uhb.edu.sa جامعة حفر الباطن - المملكة العربية السعودية | صليحة بوريد با bouzidbaasaliha@gmail.com جامعة عبد الرحمان ميرة بجاية |
| خير الدين مريم mariekhreddine@gmail.com ال معهد العالي لاطارات الطقولة - جامعة قرقاج | شرف عبد الحق abdelhak.cheref@univ-tiaret.dz جامعة ابن خلدون تيارت |
| محمود محمد السيد خلف دكتور mahmoudkhalf141973@gmail.com الجامعة الإسلامية، نيسونا ، أمريكا | نصيرة عاشي achinacira@yahoo.fr جامعة مولود معمري تيزي وزو |
| عبد الحميد نشاد nechad22@yahoo.fr Abdelmalek Essaadi (Maroc) | يوسف سعيد زروقي y.saidizeronki@univ-chlef.dz جامعة حسيبة بن بوعلي شلف |
| دنيس لوزفوس iegrosdenis@yahoo.fr Paris 8 (France) | فايزة فاضل fadel.faiza@yahoo.fr جامعة معسكر |

| | |
|--|---|
| أ.د. رحاب يوسف dr.rehab.yousef@art.bsu.edu.eg جامعة بني سويف ، مصر | يوسف حديد y.hadid@yahoo.fr جامعة عبد الحق بن حمودة حجل |
| محمد أمين ابيادا achcpp@gmail.com جامعة شقنيط العصرية سمونياتا | بوكيش اعلى boukenniche@yahoo.com جامعة أحمد دراية أدرار |
| مقداد محمد mokdad@hotmail.com University of Bahrain | محمد عزيز azzabderrazak@gmail.com جامعة زيان عشور الجلفة |
| عبد محمد السيد / د سحر drsaharabdo@yahoo.com جامعة الأمير نظام بن عبد العزيز-السعودية-كلية التربية بالدمم | عبد الحفيظ موسم dr.mousssem@gmail.com جامعة طاهر مولاي سعيدا |
| د.سعاد هادي حسن الطائي drsnaad_hadi@yahoo.com جامعة بغداد كلية التربية ابن رشد للعلوم الإنسانية قسم التاريخ | كريمة صابم ksiam_56@yahoo.fr المدرسة العليا للأساتذة بوزيعة |
| د. حنان عبد الفارح عطية الراجم nadahmad@ymail.com دكتوراه الفلسفة في التربية من جامعة القاهرة- جمهورية مصر العربية | دمانة عمر a.demana@lagh-univ.dz جامعة عناز تلمحي الأغواط |
| محمد جورج النجار انعام ageorge@uob.edu.bh جامعة البحرين | نايت محمد h.hand.tabet@hotmail.fr جامعة الجزائر ٣ |
| سليمان عبدالواحد يوسف sajedalerabby@yahoo.com وزارة التربية والتعليم - جمهورية مصر العربية | سمير نعموني namounisamir@hotmail.fr المركز الجامعي بسبازة |
| عمار أونكيل a.r.onkil@googlemail.com Sultan Qaboos University, Muscat, Oman | بلفاسم بوترام boukratem.belgacem@gmail.com جامعة خميس مليانة |
| محمد عمدة محمد القاضي عدنان adnan_alqadhi@yahoo.com جامعة تعز كلية التربية البن | عبد القادر مهاوات abdelkader-mehaouat@univ-eloued.dz جامعة الوادي |
| عبد العوض رؤوف raofabuawwad@yahoo.com جامعة الاستقلال - فلسطين | لهري مزور belaz216@yahoo.fr جامعة حسية بن بوعلوي شلف |
| سيفان دولي douailler@gmail.com Université Paris 8 | الفاخر بريكي briki_tahar@yahoo.fr جامعة الجزائر ٣ |
| جهان فقيه Dr.jihanefakih@gmail.com الجامعة اللبنانية | عقيلة عيسو aissou.akila@gmail.com جامعة البليدة 2 |
| فيروز كيرانيس fairouz.kyranis@yahoo.com البيهد العالي للرياضة والتربية البدنية بصفافس - تونس | حفظة كباتي hafida.kebbati@gmail.com المركز الجامعي لعين ليموست |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>طرابزون عبد الله atrabzon@istanbul.edu.tr كلية الآليات، جامعة إسطنبول، تركيا</p> | <p>زاوي فكري zaoui.fekrouni@univ-sba.dz جامعة جيلالي اليابس سيدي باعاس</p> |
| <p>حبيب بوهروز habib.bouherour@ku.edu.kw 2 حبيب بوهروز أسدال مشارك، جامعة الكويت</p> | <p>عبد الحفيظ بورديم bourdime2013@gmail.com المركز الجامعي لاهية</p> |
| <p>مراد كورادس profismourad@yahoo.fr جامعة خنيلة</p> | <p>عليان بوزيان bouziane.aliane@univ-tiaret.dz جامعة ابن خلدون تيارت</p> |



المحتـــــرف

مجلة دولية محكمة لعلوم الرياضة و العلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية

تصدر عن جامعة بان عاشو-الجللفة-



ISSN *2352-989X

EISSN2602-6856

تقديم المجلة

مجلة المحتـــــرف هي مجلة علمية دولية محكمة دورية ومجانية. تصدر عن جامعة زيان عاشور- الجللفة- الجزائر. تحتتم المجلة بمجال علوم الرياضة والعلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية وتوفر منصة أكاديمية للباحثين للمساهمة في العمل المبتكر في هذا المجال ببحوث أصيلة معروضة بدقة وموضوعية بشكل علمي يطابق مواصفات المقالات المحكمة. يتم نشر المجلة في كل من الإصدارات المطبوعة والإلكترونية. وهي متاحة للقراءة والتحميل. تفتح فضاء لجميع أصحاب القدرات العلمية بالمساهمة في أعدادها بأحد المواضيع المستجدة المتعلقة بمجال تخصصها.



المحتـــــرف

مجلة دولية محكمة لعلوم الرياضة و العلوم الانسانية و الاجتماعية

تصدر عن جامعة يان عاشو-الجلفة-



ISSN *2352-989X

EISSN2602-6856

دليل المؤلف

١- تقديم المقالات:

ندعو للمؤلفين الراغبين في نشر مقالاتهم في "مجلة المحتـــــرف" الاطلاع على الأقسام: "تعليمات للمؤلفين" و"دليل للمؤلفين" لمساحتنا المحجوزة على منصة المجلات العلمية الجزائرية:

<https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/380>

المؤلفون مدعوون لتقديم أوراقهم البحثية عن طريق المنصة ASJP بصيغة Word. يمكن القيام بذلك عن طريق النقر

على الأيقونة إرسال المقالة على يسار الشاشة في رابط المنصة ASJP:

<https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/380>

إذا كان لدى المؤلفين اسم مستخدم / كلمة مرور لـ "مجلة المحتـــــرف"

[Aller à la connexion](#)

هل تحتاج إلى اسم مستخدم / كلمة مرور؟

[Aller à l'inscription](#)

ملاحظة: مطلوب التسجيل والدخول لتقديم المقالات عبر الإنترنت وللتحقق من وضعية المقالات

٢ - المبادئ التوجيهية للمؤلف:

- ندعو المؤلفين إلى قراءة ومتابعة هذه التوصيات بعناية ؛
- يحق لرئيس التحرير إعادة الأوراق البحثية التي لم يتم تقديمها وفقاً لهذه التوصيات.

٣ - عملية تقييم المقال:

١-٣. الخطوة الأولى:

يتم فحص المقال بشكل سري على مستوى لجنة القراءة للمجلة، التي تجتمع بانتظام وتتدخل في مرحلة ما قبل التقييم. حيث تقدم قرارا بأهلية المقالات قبل إرسالها إلى المحررين المساعدين. إذا كان القرار سلبيا فسيتم رفض المقال على المنصة مع اعلام صاحب المقال بسبب الرفض. يمكن للمؤلف إعادة إرساله مع الأخذ بعين الاعتبار التوصيات المقدمة.

٣-٢. الخطوة الثانية:

في الحالة التي تكون فيها المقالة مؤهلة للتقييم (تم إعدادها وفق قالب المجلة ووفق شروط النشر)، سيتم إرسالها في حالة مشفرة للمحرر المساعد ذي الاختصاص، والذي بدوره سيقدمه إلى مراجعين اثنين في شبكته. سيتولى المراجعين مسؤولية تحكيم الورقة البحثية وفقا لاستمارة تقييم موحدة متوفرة على المنصة ASJP بشكل إلزامي.

ملاحظة: يمكن للمحرر المساعد المرتبط أيضا تقييم المقالة إذا رغب في ذلك. توفر سكرتارية المجلة الواجهة بين مؤلفي المقالات والمحررين المساعدين.

٤- فترة تقييم المقالات: تُمنح فترة تقييم مدتها ٣٠ يوما، ولكن يستغرق المراجعون مدة تمتد لشهر في المتوسط لإرسال نتائج التقييم إلى أمانة المجلة.

٥- حالة تقييم المقالات: فعندما يتلقى مشروع للمقال رأيا إيجابيا وآخر سلبيا، يُطلب إجراء تقييم ثالث من مراجع آخر، مع مراعاة أصله، وطنيا أو أجنبيا.

٦- إعداد المقال:

لتسريع عملية نشر المقالات في "مجلة المحرر" ندعو المؤلفين لاستخدام نموذج المجلة. يتوفر قالب للمؤلفين في قسم "تعليمات للمؤلف" لإدراج مقالهم.

يمكن للمؤلفين تنزيل القالب من قسم "تعليمات للمؤلف"، حيث يمكنهم الوصول إلى هذا الفضاء عن طريق زيارة:

<https://www.asjp.cerist.dz/en/PresentationRevue/380>

ثم النقر على "تعليمات للمؤلف" على الجانب الأيسر من الشاشة.

٧- الاطلاع على ملف دليل المؤلف:

بالضغط على أيقونة "دليل المؤلف" يتم تحميل ملف مضغوط، وهو توجيه لصاحب المقال بوضوح طريقة إرسال المقال، كما يتضمن حقوق المؤلف الخاص بالمجلة ويتضمن أيضا خطاب تعهد يمضي عليها صاحب المقال توضح أن الملكية الفكرية تعود للمجلة فقط.

٨- إرسال المقال:

بعد إعداد للمقال وفق لقالب المجلة الذي تم تحميله، والإطلاع على دليل المؤلف، يتم الضغط على أيقونة "إرسال مقال".
تظهر استمارة للملء تتضمن مختلف البيانات الخاصة بالمقال وبالمؤلفين: لغة المقال؛ عنوان المقال؛ الملخص؛ كلمات مفتاحية؛
الاسم الكامل للمؤلف؛ مؤسسة الانتماء؛ الإيميل (ويمكن إضافة مؤلف ثان)؛ اقتراح مراجعين.
بعد ملء كل البيانات وتحميل ملف المقال على المنصة، يتم الضغط على أيقونة: "إرسال مقال" الموجودة أسفل استمارة
المعلومات.

٩- إشعار باستلام مقال:

في حالة نجاح عملية إرسال المقال على المنصة تظهر رسالة على الشاشة تبين ذلك. وفي مرحلة موائية يستلم المؤلف
المرسل على إيميله الشخصي إشعار بتقديم مقال، وإشعار للمؤلف الثاني على إيميله لتأكيد اشتراكه في المقال.

١٠- إشعار برفض المقال: إذا تبين أن المقال لا يحترم قالب المجلة وشروط النشر فسيتم إشعار المؤلف برفض المقال.

١١- متابعة وضعية المقال على المنصة:

يمكن للمؤلف الدخول على حسابه في المنصة ومتابعة وضعية مقاله مرحلة بمرحلة وذلك بالضغط على أيقونة: "المقالات"
ثم الضغط على أيقونة: "المقالات المرسلة" سيظهر جدول يحمل تفاصيل المقال من: عنوان؛ تاريخ الإرسال؛ اسم المجلة؛
التفاصيل؛ الحالة. وهذه الأخيرة تمر على عدة مراحل:

- المرحلة ١: قبول أو رفض التحكيم
- المرحلة ٢: مقال في انتظار المراجعة
- المرحلة ٣: اسناد المقال للمراجعين
- المرحلة ٤: قرار المراجعين بقبول المقال أول رفضه أو طلب التعديل
- المرحلة ٥: ادراج المراجع

١٢- سياسة الانتحال:

تشكل السرقة العلمية، بجميع أشكالها سلوكًا غير أخلاقي للمجلة. ولا يتم قبول أي خرق لهذه القاعدة. ولن يتم قبول
أي مقال آخر للمؤلف الذي قام بالانتحال من خلال المراجعة التي أجريناها.

| مجلة المحترف | | |
|---|---|----|
| المجلد (08) العدد (04) السنة (2021) | | |
| 01-19 | إجراءات السلامة المهنية ودورها في الوقاية من المخاطر المهنية عند الممرضين -دراسة ميدانية بالمستشفى العمومي صروب الخنير -مدينة العلمية - ابتسام خلاف د. صبرينة سيدي صالح وحدة بحث تنمية الموارد البشرية جامعة محمد لمين دباغين- سطيف ٢ | 01 |
| 20-49 | استخدام تطبيقات الحوسبة السحابية في العملية التعليمية رعاش المبارك جامعة الجزائر-٢- (الجزائر) | 02 |
| 50-64 | أعضاء على تاريخ قلعة بني راشد وسير علمائها. خليلي بختة. جامعة أحمد زبانة غليزان (الجزائر) | 03 |
| 65-85 | الاستشهاد المرجعي للباحثين الجزائريين في مجال العلوم التطبيقية والبحتة بمعلومات النفاذ المفتوح في انتاجهم العلمي: دراسة حالة. نصيرة عاشوري، محمد الصالح ناهي جامعة قسنطينة ٢ (الجزائر) | 04 |
| 86-100 | التحسين الجيني وتداعياته على المستقبل البشري علال أحمد، عن جمال جامعة أحمد زبانة-غليزان- (الجزائر) مخبر الدراسات الاجتماعية والنفسية والانثروبولوجية | 05 |
| 101-115 | الحماية القانونية ودور المنظمات الدولية في مكافحة المتاجرة بالممتلكات الثقافية فاتن دريس معهد الآثار جامعة الجزائر ٢ | 06 |
| 116-132 | الحكومة كمدخل لضمان جودة مؤسسات التعليم العالي: استطلاع رأي أساتذة قسم العلوم الإنسانية بجامعة البليدة ٢ - لونيبي علي- د/ معاد تثيرت جامعة البليدة ٢ - ولونيبي علي- (الجزائر) | 07 |
| 133-146 | الرهانات الإيطيقية في التواصل البيداغوجي د . بورقذة صخير كلية العلوم الإنسانية و الاجتماعية ، جامعة زيان عاشور الجلفة (الجزائر) | 08 |

| | | |
|---------|----|--|
| 147-166 | 09 | الصلابة النفسية في مجابهة الآثار السلبية لجائحة كورونا(كوفيد ١٩) عند طلاب الجامعة فاطمة بن العربي رمضان عمومن جامعة عمار تليجي الأغواط- مخبر الصحة النفسية |
| 167-179 | 10 | العصية القبلية ودورها في سقوط الدولة الأموية الاستاذ جعيرن معمر جامعة عمار تليجي الاغواط |
| 180-198 | 11 | النظام النقدي الروماني للفترة الامبراطورية من العائلة الجولجية عام ٢٧ ق.م الى فترة حكم فالينوس ٢٦٨ م.ب غربي البسة جامعة سطيف ٢ الجزائر |
| 199-211 | 12 | براديعم التعقيد كرهان لاستشراف المستقبل في فكر إدغار موران. بن ماضي فاطمة الرهراء رضا شريف جامعة الجزائر ٢، أبو القاسم سعد الله (الجزائر) |
| 212-229 | 13 | تحليل، نقد وتقييم للإتجاهات النظرية المفسرة للتنمية يويريمه كوثر مخبر المجتمع ومشاكل التنمية المحلية بالجزائر، جامعة شلف، الجزائر |
| 230-242 | 14 | حوارات بين تداولية نعوم شومسكي والخطاب الريكوري طاهر حفصة، أحمد بوعمود جامعة تيارت (الجزائر). |
| 243-259 | 15 | دراسة تحليلية لمفهوم التمكين التنظيمي على ضوء ما ورد في الفكر الإداري المعاصر. فؤاد عيشور حلمي دريدش مخبر التنمية التنظيمية وإدارة الموارد البشرية جامعة لويسي علي البلدة ٠٢ (الجزائر) |

| | | |
|---------|----|---|
| 260-271 | 16 | دور الفقهاء في شؤون الدولة السياسية والدينية بالمغرب الأقصى في العصر المرابطي ملباني زينب نوارة شرقي جامعة زيان عاشور الحلفة جامعة ابن خلدون تيارت |
|---------|----|---|

| | | |
|---------|---|----|
| 272-285 | الوعي شيفرة العقل (الوعي) حمال الدين بغورة جميلة حنفي جامعة الجزائر ٢ | 17 |
| 286-301 | صورة الدولة العثمانية في الرسم الاستشراقي الأوروبي قاسي فريدة طرشون نادية جامعة يحي فارس المدية، مخبر الدراسات التاريخية المتوسطة عبر العصور(الجزائر) | 18 |
| 302-317 | فكر الوجود وإمكان المقدس عند هيدغر. مسبكة حولة مجاوي راجح جامعة ٨ ماي ١٩٤٥ قالمة،(الجزائر) | 19 |
| 318-331 | مقاربة استمعية بين وابتهد والوضعية المنطقية كارناب نموذجاً شريف حسني خليل جامعة حسية بن بوعلي الشلف (الجزائر) | 20 |
| 332-345 | أهمية التربية الحركية في إعادة التأهيل اللغوي القائم على الطريقة اللفظية النغمية عند الطفل الأصم الحامل لجهاز النزغ القوقعي. (الإيقاع الجسمي نموذجاً). ليلي هميسي سمير فني جامعة باجي مختار-عناية (الجزائر) | 21 |
| 346-365 | التزاوج الحضاري بين الاغريق ومصر في عصر البطالمة البشير قفاف جامعة ابن خلدون- تيارت - (الجزائر) | 22 |
| 366-390 | دور المعلمات في تنظيم بيئة التعلم اثناء تطبيق منهاج التربية التحضيرية رتيمي سارة زعموشي رضوان جامعة لونيبي علي البلدة ٢ (الجزائر) | 23 |
| 391-405 | سوسولوجيا العالم - الهجرة أنموذجاً - سعيد توفيق جامعة ابن خلدون، تيارت (الجزائر) | 24 |
| 406-420 | معوقات تطبيق التعليم الالكتروني من وجهة نظر الأساتذة في ظل جائحة كوفيد١٩ سمير بن سايج عصام لعااضي جامعة سوق أهراس (الجزائر) | 25 |

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| 421-433 | ظاهرة الهجرة غير الشرعية-الجزائر أنموذجا- نهائي حفظة مروة غديري زيان عاشور (الجلفة)الجزائر) محمد خيضر بسكرة(الجزائر) | 26 |
| 434-449 | منهج دراسة الدين في علم الاجتماع د. سعدي الهادي جامعة بجاية-الجزائر- | 27 |
| 450-465 | تناسب الفالحة النصية مع الخاتمة في رواية "الديوان الإسرطي" لعبد الوهاب عيساوي. جمال ذباح جامعة الجزائر ٢ (الجزائر) | 28 |
| 466-484 | Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy Ahmed Bouchemal Faiza Meberbeche Senouci Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria | 29 |
| 485-496 | Questioning and Cognitive Skills: Studying their efficiency and complexity Amari Elarabi University of Oran2- Algeria | 30 |



Search information

Received 04/05/2021
Accepted 16/09/2021

Printed ISSN: 2352-989X
Online ISSN: 2602-6856

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An
Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame
Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal^{1*} Faiza Meberbeche Senouci²

¹ Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria
Dialogue of Religions and Civilizations in the
Mediterranean Basin Laboratory
bochmalahmed@gmail.com

² Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria
Dialogue of Religions and Civilizations in the
Mediterranean Basin Laboratory
senoucif@hotmail.fr

ABSTRACT

It is widely acknowledged that African education was subject to change since the inception of colonial rule in Africa. This system, though presented the core of communal life in Africa, became a sort of the past. A much Westernized system of education was introduced as many believed African traditional education to underdevelop Africans and enforce their backwardness. In fact, colonial rule did not invest in the development of this system, but recklessly, placed all the means for its destruction and erosion. Within this time of great upheaval for Africa, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah championed the cause of African education and stood behind all Africans to recognize its vitality for their development and progress. This article examines Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's educational philosophy, pointing out the similarities and the major themes shared by the two leaders regards African education. The examination indicates that Blyden's discernment had much impact on giving shape and substance to Kwame Nkrumah's educational philosophy and thus creating continuity in black political protest which extended over centuries of time.

Keywords: Blyden, educational philosophy, Westernization, Continuity, Kwame Nkrumah

* Corresponding author

INTRODUCTION

Though colonialism ended, underdevelopment was still a feature of the socio-economic and cultural life of Africans. Indeed, the post-colonial situation unveiled new challenges for the merging African nations as there emerged many voices for the irrelevance of Western education. The latter, deeply entrenched and not likely to be easily removed, alienated Africans from their environment and led them to live in strict psychological conflicts, as they were unable to adopt things different to their life nor to forget about their past. Things were further aggravated by a rise in unemployment rates and illiteracy which accentuated widespread criticism levelled at the utility and applicability of Western education for African development and progress.

In Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, the role of African education in promoting people's connection with their environment had a long rich history. Before the coming Europeans, people knew African traditional education, also known as African indigenous education. A system that represented a set of instructions, mostly familial and communal, which aimed at preparing apprentices to be useful members in the community. However, this system had been threatened by the introduction of Christian education to the region by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Alas for Africans, Christian education ignored the existence of African's form of education, and led sporadic attempts to supplant, and if necessary, erase all old practices. The Christian teacher did nothing but distorted a system that had long been in practice in favor of a mode of life different to African's socio-economic and cultural estate. Things further worsened by the second half of the nineteenth century when European nations embarked on systematic consolidation of their presence in the region. Indeed, the situation favored a further re-examination of existing education systems, and a much nascent attempts to Westernize and bring a change of life to Africans as many of them were needed to fill administrative positions in the colonial government

All these developments provoked severe criticism from Africans. Edward Wilmot Blyden disdained the apparent Westernization of African education and was at odds with how Europeans remodeled Africans to be imitators and producers of Western modes of live. He further called for the creation of purely African institutions for the dissemination of African art and philosophy and means to fight Western influences. Fortunately, Blyden's appeals were not ignored. Many Africans, including the notable nationalist messiah of the twentieth century Kwame Nkrumah, were an avid followers to Blyden's ideas.

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Kwame Nkrumah, like others, made it plain that a good understanding of African education would help address the African problem, and shape new mechanisms to fight all forces of Westernization. Similar to Blyden, he, as president of Ghana, worked a scheme to establish purely African universities to fight the glaring and derogatory abuses of Western education, and provide Africans with a type of education relevant to their environment and fit to produce an African scholar, not a Western scholar.

There is a plethora of literature on the nature of African education. However, there seems a lack of discussions on how African nationalists understood this system and set many promises for building new emerging nations out of suitable and relevant education. This article is thus a contribution to existing literature through a contextualization of Blyden's and Nkrumah's educational philosophy to see how both men shared the same principles regarding African education, and proposed similar scheme for African development and progress. In this respect, this article is set chronologically for two main reasons. First, it intends to trace the evolution of African education from the pre-colonial period up to the introduction of colonialism to see how much that system was affected by the new comers. Second, the article seeks to trace continuity in black political protest and thus it is potent to discuss Blyden's philosophy and then see how his principles continued to affect people up to the emergence of Kwame Nkrumah as president, a nationalist leader and a symbol of African nationalism.

2. The Development of African Education

2.1 Traditional Education

Informal education was the only means of training in the Gold Coast. It was home and members of the community who played the role of the teacher. Education did not serve to give apprentices high qualifications. Rather, it prepared individuals to be useful members in the community. Indeed, education (as cited in Djokoto, 2019) before the arrival of Europeans was almost a training for life:

In the olden days the son of a fisherman spent his mornings by the seashore, swimming in the surf until he became proficient in swimming and diving as in walking and running. With a miniature net he practiced casting in imitation of his father... The son of the farmer accompanied his father to the farm and gradually acquired the father's lore. He studied when the planting should be carried out,

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

the right times for clearing and growing crops, and when the harvest was ripe and ready for the gathering... In like manner the girl trod in the footsteps of the mother. Almost as soon as she could walk, she accompanied her mother to the well and to the market, carrying her little water pot or bundle of market produce... As she grew older, she took part in the household offices and was taught apprenticeships by mothering the younger members of the family... I may say, then, that the education of the African child by the African system is a preparation and practical training for the life that lies before it

In this respect, Bartles (1949,p.223) stated that education in these societies covered three main areas. First, parents taught their children to care about their health. This included knowledge about food, physical fitness and medicine. Second, children must know about their customs. It was important for a child to know different conventional manners, oaths, festivals and celebrations. The last area of concern for parents was activity whether individual or communal. These activities included, among other things, swimming, dancing and games. Though people were strongly attached to that system of life, their early contact with Europeans seemed to infringe on their right to maintain that system.

2.2 Christian Education

It is stated that Europeans came to Africa for economic motives. Their presence, however, uttered new changes as the people, mostly needed to carry out commerce and help exploit the region's riches, were in the eyes of Europeans not fit to serve Europeans mentally and intellectually. Many believed that education (as cited in Kimble,1963) was "the main agent of social change, as well as the major determinant of social status in the new, semi-Westernized society"(p62). Consequently, early Christian missions sought the promotion of Western education side by side with evangelization. The first intent of the missionary was to "enable the congregations to read the Bible and to use hymnbook"(Aboagye,2013,p.70). Apparently, African children would attend schools, and without doubt would accustom themselves to Western modes of life of the newly established schools. Things were further deteriorated by a nascent attack on native culture. The missionary bestowed with the belief that everything associated with African culture was "evil" and "satanic", banned all forms of African art and music. Missionary education, in this regard, aspired to create a new world for the African where the African despised all old practices and showed respect for the new much Westernized world.

2.3 Western Education and the Colonial Government

Up to 1880, many colonial governments were apathetic about any scheme to introduce education to natives. However, the rising revenues of the colonial governments gave a boost to their investments. This made it clear that the introduction of Western education to natives was a necessary step for the newly established colonies. Furthermore, the initiation of education reforms were an attempt to compensate with the rising influence of missionary education which, according to the government, lacked financial support and was in most cases unorganized. The diffusion of Western education had economic as well as cultural motives. Economically, the colonial governments found European staff too expensive. This increase in cost may be due to the hard working conditions in Africa that clearly frightened Europeans. In such prevailing atmosphere, the government was expected to find cheap African personal who could fill in these jobs and could be afforded with meagre prices, or nothing at all (Djamila & Djafari, 2010, p15-17). Culturally, it was stated that there was a complementary relationship between Africa and Europe that resulted from the increasing benefits that each side took from the other. Africa had the sole role of providing raw materials to Europe, while Europe was destined to uplift the African people by exposing them to different facets of European modernity and civilization. Indeed, the influence of Western education was strong that natives could not afford to resist. Describing the great impact that Western education had on the Westernization process, a yearly report of the Gold Coast (Ghana) 1860 stated (as cited in Asare, 1982) that Western education brought much advancement to the religious, intellectual and moral status of the people:

... At the present time the Gold Coast essentially exhibits all the symptoms of progress in every phase of its existence. There is a vitality of change diffusing its innumerable currents throughout every class of society, and giving expansion and force to an entirely new class of ideas affecting the moral, religious, social and domestic condition of the people, A taste for many of European necessities and luxuries of life, and a partial assimilation in the construction of their houses, in dress, in manners and in religion, are becoming daily more observable, and even where little external change is perceptible, there is nevertheless going on an extensive modification of ideas, feelings and customs, paving the way for a more general conformity to the usages of civilized life (p.96)

Within this prevailing atmosphere that favored the alteration of all what was

African, Edward Wilmot Blyden defended African's right to keep their system of life. He engaged in systematic resistance to Europeanization of the African people and formed a culture of protest to revive native institutions.

3. Edward Wilmot Blyden: Educational Philosophy

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born on 3 August 1832 in the Island of St. Thoams, the Danish West Indies. He spent most of his childhood years at Charlotte Amalie, the island capital. There is meagre records about his parents. All what is known is that they were slaves before they got their freedom by 1846 (Holden,1966,p.455). A most notable period in Blyden's life was when he met the Reverend John Knox, a White priest in the Presbyterian Church in Newtown, Long Island (Conyers,1998,p.219). Knox admired Blyden's talent and intellect and was very enthusiastic to send Blyden to the United States to pursue higher education. Blyden took no time and grasped at the chance. In the United States, Blyden's first stay seemed a malign. He (as cited in Holden, 1966) stated "I found, however, the deep-seated prejudice against my race, exercising so controlling an influence in the institution of learning, that admission to them was almost impossible"(p.22). As a result of racial prejudice and subjugation, Blyden, with the help of Walter Lowrie, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and John, B. Pinny of the New York Colonization Society, repatriated to Liberia in 1851 as the next destination to carry on higher education. At Liberia, Blyden succeeded in formulating a philosophy regarding African physical and intellectual emancipation. As a scholar, educator, theologian, politician and cultural nationalist, Blyden made of Liberia and other West African colonies the nucleolus of activities and a place to disseminate ideas about the proper education suited to African's socio-economic and cultural estate .

For Blyden, Euro-Christian education was debasing. It made Africans compelled to be imitators, not inventors (Conyers,1998,p.250). European education made Africans think very highly of European civilization. This pervasive attempts (as cited in Blyden,1888) to idolize all what was European led Africans blindly to imitate their educators without conceiving the fact that this process was only a means to engrave "a practical inferiority" and was likely to give the African "the faults rather than the virtues of their models"(p.110). Consequently, this would supersede national culture, and in a way or another made African's intellectual and spiritual characteristics lost in favor of merging an identity that was not their own. In describing how Euro-Christian education institutions alienated Africans, Blyden (as cited in Lynch, 1971) wrote bitterly of the present situation:

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

He (African) finds himself by them alienated from himself and from his countrymen. He is neither African in feeling nor in aim. He does not breathe African air through any of the lessons he has imbibed. The smell of the African ground is not in them, but everything is Europe and European, and in some instances for the sake of gratifying the artificial and natural tastes he has contracted, he would annihilate his sisters to produce a new race. This is the saddest of the results produced by training the African away from his country and his countrymen (p.256)

Accordingly, Blyden (1881) believed that European education with its "despotic and overruling method" had failed the African people. Now African Negroes fell victim to a brutal type of slavery that is of the mind. According to Blyden "The slavery of the mind is far more destructive than that of the body". Blyden posited bitterly that Africans were misled through Euro-Christian education. For Blyden, "nearly all the books they read, the very instruments of their culture, have been such as to force them from the groove which is natural to them"(p.112). He in a way was sympathetic with missionaries who did not succeed in elevating Africans through education. He (as cited in Ashby,1966) considered it a "weakness and imperfection of human nature" that these bodies ventured to Africa to erase "shackles" out of the Negro mind. Instead, they even worsened the situation by distorting and contaminating all what was African (p.451).

Byden (as cited in Conyers,1998) further believed that the main objective of education was to direct Africans to discern their potential. Blyden stressed that education should "secure growth and efficiency". It was a means to exploit Africans's innate intellectual capacity to strive for what he could be in the future. It was an education that implanted "self-respect", "appreciation of our own powers" and "a fitness for one's sphere of life and action". These qualities, if handed to African through education, would produce, as he termed it "a correct education"(p.116). According to Blyden, correct education was an amalgam of historical and cultural realities that would generate in the African a collective psyche. The latter encompasses African languages, norms and values and a systematic-African innate skills of interaction.

To remedy the delinquencies of the present status of African education, Blyden sought the creation of a West African university. Blyden (as cited in Ashby,1966) placed great promise on trusting native agency in taking the lead for Africa's development. He firmly believed that a purely native agency, if not "despised" and "excluded", would set in Africans the mechanisms of being fit to self-

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

government. The creation of a truly native institution, he continued, could only be realized by the inauguration of new education system. A system that must go in pace with African's needs, and that did not interject with "native instincts" and in a way or another made the native African "out of harmony and sympathy with their own countrymen. Blyden further made the point that the realization of the project would provide Africans with a purely native agency uncontaminated by European influences and worked to let people knew about "indigenous literature" that would be a source of transformation of the "the moral and intellectual condition of the people"(p.451). The presence of native agency would provide a curriculum sensitive to African culture and a viable proposition for Africa's development.

The creation of an African university meant new interpretations of Africans system of life. For Blyden, it's high time for education to produce not a European scholar, but an African scholar. For Blyden (1900), Euro-Christian education granted Africans only "the power of adoption". The African would never come into intellectual and cultural maturity without resisting these forces, and urgently gave to the world, and the African masses, an African (Liberian) scholar who could "read what is "still unreal", written for the race in "the manuscripts of God"(p.14). This was done, Blyden (1900) continued, when education succeeded in producing "not the European scholar, not the American scholar, but the Liberian scholar". Blyden further posited that an African scholar should draw on African culture as a means to scientific, educative end. As president of Liberia College, Blyden (1900) set many promises on the education project of revolutionizing African image about themselves, and the image of the African in the European mind. Education, if properly conducted, would generate African scholars who enthusiastically:

will study and comprehend the ways of God in Africa, whowill understand the African in his native state...who will be able to study from a scientific standpoint native law, tribal organization, native languages, native religion, native politics, the social and domestic life of the natives, their secret societies, and the effect of all these things upon their life (p.15)

Blyden detested Euro-centric vision of African life and customs and argued that the role of the African scholar was to get Africans out of "crudeness" and "superstitions". Blyden plainly professed for the need to re-study African's nature of government, religion and social customs. Each one, he believed, presented a rich, fruitful source of inspiration for many Africans.

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Blyden by 1882, encouraged the incorporation of vocational, agricultural and industrial training. For Blyden, Negro progress depended not only on cultural emancipation, but largely on economic self-reliance. As president of Liberia College, he sought the need to establish within the college a workshop that teach Africans the use of carpenter and other skills. He further believed that an education of this kind would provide trained and skilled individuals who would nourish autonomy for Negro individuals, and why not nations at large. As Lagos Agent for Native Affairs, Blyden addressed many letters to Governor Gilbert T. Carter of the need to establish "The Lagos Training College and Industrial Institute". Blyden insisted on Carter that the realization of the project would bring many benefits to Africans. The institute would work as a vehicle for Africans economic and material progress. It would provide Africans with new, advanced skills that would save money, time and health. As regards Agriculture, Blyden (1900,p.222) opined that autonomous African nation was in no way a product of self-contained African of food. Blyden explained that agricultural based curriculum was necessary for Africans. For him, the African continent was largely agricultural. This placed the mission that the curriculum should "regulate and foster the culture of the soil" instead of merely devoting concerted efforts to build railway or telegraph. He, thus, emphasized that with the study of Western languages and knowledge, a part must be agricultural based.

In all, Blyden prophetically longed for an African character determined to hold responsibility. He had a deep yearning to let Africans knew that European protection, and intervention in nations affairs would only bring subjugation and suppression to their well-being. For him a real liberated African was the one who detested European influences, and worked to forge a close bond of cooperation, assistance and goodwill. These mechanisms, indeed, made Blyden a notable figure in nineteenth century Africa. It was thus not a surprise to find many people in West Africa in general and the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in particular who continued to cherish Blydenic educational philosophy and made it a ground for their educational, political, economic and cultural protest.

3. West Africa, The Gold Coast and Blyden's Educational Philosophy

Early in the history of West Africa, people showed intensified efforts to resist all forms of colonial subjugation. Nationalism in this respect sought not only the withdrawal of colonial presence from the newly established colonies, but worked to strengthen Africans's ties with their origins as a response to the great tied of Western influences. Blyden's principles became a force to guide nationalism and give it shape against the derogatory and abusing influences of European presence

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

and hence creating continuity in black political protest that rested up to present. In Nigeria, Blyden's principles became the source of great nationalistic uprising. John Payne Jackson (as cited in Michael, 1979) disdained European attempts to de-nationalize Africans and contended that the "attempt to develop Africa on European lines can only end in failure.... The African, if he wants to progress, must go on his own lines" (p.49). Similar to Blyden, Payne alluded to the fact that foreign teachers had always advanced the idea that the Negro is an inferior race and that he should be given "a foreign model to copy". For Payne (as cited in Michael,1979), the foreign teacher had never considered the existence of African life and philosophy. He stated "no account has been made of our peculiarities, our languages enriched by the traditions of centuries, our- parables many of them the quintessence of family and national histories"(125). In Sierra Leone, James Africanus Beale Horton was attracted by Blyden's ideas. He insisted that a correct education for Africans would be the source of great development. Like Blyden, he encouraged the establishment of a West African university in Sierra Leone where African history, art, philosophy and culture became the bone of the curriculum. He further called for the creation of a medical school. The school would in the long run produce African doctors who could help Africans be independent of Western influences (Meberbeche, 2010,p.145). Orishatukeh Faduma also levelled great criticism at the whole institution of Christian education. In the same manner as Blyden, Faduma (as cited in Meberbeche,2010) described missionary education as "a defective training". Missionary education made Africans subject to a foreign race and unable to do their mission. For Faduma (as cited in Meberbeche,2010) , missionary education left Africans "parasite, incapable of ameliorating their unfavorable environment and those of their neighbors, incapable of working out the salvation of their race, and resigned to an invisible and invincible fate"(p.137)

In the Gold Coast, continuity in black political protest as regards Blyden' educational philosophy was an apparent feature of the twentieth century. Though Blyden died in 1912, his philosophy, indeed, continued to shape and fuel nationalistic uprising in the Gold Coast. His influence did not only affect the colonial period but surmounted to the post-colonial period when Kwame Nkrumah became the president of the newly established republic of Ghana. Early in the twentieth century, many saw the defects of Western education. Like Blyden, they contended that education should produce character. In the words of one commentator (as cited in Boakie,1966) ,"Every educated Negro wants to be a first-class Negro, not a third-class European"(p.112). Education did nothing but made Africans disciplinarians of the Europeans and tools for exploitation. In

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

a similar tone, Casely Hayford criticized the whole institution of Western education. He believed that education introduced to African was a means to "denationalize" rather than "Africanize" the Negro. In an editorial in the Gold Coast Nation published in 1915, the editor questioned the intent of Western education. The editor (as cited in Kimble, 1963) wrote:

education that fails to recall and install into the minds of the children the wisdom, brave deeds and civilization of the past is bound to produce an educated class of indigenes prone to foreign customs and ideals which will make them a soulless people in the land of their birth (p.245)

During the 1920's similar manifestations were held to support the cause of African education. In a number of meetings held between 1920 and 1930, the National Congress of British West Africa became a medium to address educational needs of Africans. Kobina Sekyi presented a paper entitled "Education with Particular reference to a West African University". For Sekyi (as cited in Langley,1970) Western education failed the African and forced him to borrow "an alien physiology, psychology and sociology" different to the ones he knew before the arrival of Europeans. An education that intentionally suppressed "social institutions" of their ancestors and made these institutions "uncivilized"(p.232). The 1930's were also times of great appraisal of Blyden's educational philosophy. This was evident through the emerging youth movement and the West African Students Union in particular. Solanke, one of its members, undertook a mission to falsify missionaries' claim of black's inferiority. He contended that this misconception was a result of missionaries's "lack of knowledge" about Africa and Africans. He (as cited in Olusanya,1982) , like Blyden, insisted on the need to create an African scholar. For him, an African scholar would "investigate and give to the world in suitable literary form, an account of their history, laws, customs, institutions and languages"(p.451) .

A remarkable phase in Gold Coast history was the emergence of Kwame Nkrumah as a political leader during the 1940's and as a president of Ghana between 1957 and 1966. As president, much less notable during the pre-independence era, Kwame Nkrumah made notable contribution to the education sphere of Africans. Shortly After his return from England to the Gold Coast he started a long mission to initiate purely African educational institutions that would instill a love for African culture, art and philosophy. His active career as a president of the new republic Ghana presented a very remarkable phase in Pan-African struggle and by extension the great impact that Blyden's educational

philosophy had on his actions and intellects.

3.1 Post- Independence Ghana: Kwame Nkrumah to Power (1957-1966)

On 6 March 1957, Ghana got its independence, which ended a long distorting relationship with colonialism. Nkrumah, as the first president of Ghana, promised to set all sections of the country together as monitoring dynamic for progress. Indeed, the ten years as president showed surmounted efforts to work for the welfare of the people. Yet, Nkrumah never ceased to forget the dream of African unity and the right of African people for emancipation. He believed that though many African nations got their independence, still many, including Ghana, had to fight the remnant of colonialism and Western influences. He, thus, promulgated a program of action that worked to revive the African personality and bring much change to African people's economic, political and most importantly educational situation. Unlike the period preceding independence which was almost a struggle for unity to achieve independence, Post-independence Ghana unveiled strong and often continuous attempts by Nkrumah to immerse on the ideas of Blyden to face the new challenges of building the new republic and by extension the African continent.

The first task set by Nkrumah was the creation of an education with national character. Nkrumah, similar to Byden, never doubted the debasing and threatening effect of Western education. He condemned present African educational institutions that were still led by Western models of education. For Nkrumah, Euro-Christian education introduced Western society and environment. In doing so, it distorted the essence of African life and made Africans live a psychological trauma as education was irrelevant to their expectations. Nkrumah (as cited in Asamoah,2005) proposed that a proper education was the type where teachers adjust their mental make-up to suit the conditions and aspirations of Africans. Teachers should began with African peculiarities as a positive start "for maintaining a progressive and dynamic African society"(p.235). Nkrumah (1979) further longed for a day when education imparted not Western life, but an African life with all its peculiarities. Nkrumah summed up his intent of African education at Flagstaff House, Accra on 24 February 1963. He told audience:

The role of a university in a country like ours is to become the academic focus of national life, reflecting the social, economic, cultural and political aspirations of the people. It must kindle national interest in the youth and uplift our citizens and free them from ignorance, superstition and may I add, indolence (p.451)

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Nkrumah made the point that without proper education or what Blyden termed "correct education" Africans could not find their way. In a similar manner like Blyden, Nkrumah (1979) accused colonial education institutions of giving the African things which did not match with his own development but they were "designed to suit the colonial order and their products therefore reflected the values and ideals of the colonial powers". The result was that these institutions "were unable to assess the needs and aspirations of the societies for which they were instituted"(p.455). Nkrumah (as cited in Asamoah,2005) further made a glimpse at his future to be African university. The main drive of the curriculum should be "indigenous social structures and cultural institutions". These two dynamics would make Africans one-step closer to "the philosophical principles that had guided African people throughout history"(p.235).

Like Blyden, Nkrumah sought education as a means to make Africans proud of themselves. Nkrumah saw no reason to still think of African inferiority. Africans made many accomplishments and contributions to world civilizations. According to Nkrumah (1973), "evidence from language, religion, astronomy, folklore and divine kinship, as well as geographical and physical proximity, confirms the basic African origin of his Egyptian cultural eminence"(p.325). It was only the corrupted picture of European historiographers which made the African a man without history and capacities. In 1962, at the behest of an invitation from the First Africanist Conference, Nkrumah (1973,p.325) presented a lengthy talk on Africans contribution to humankind. The talk focused on African history from the time of ancient Egypt until the period where the great Empires of West Africa emerged. Nkrumah began by analyzing the motives that drove European writings to depict false images about Africans. The first of these depictions came with early European contacts with the continent, namely the trade on slaves. For Nkrumah, there was only an economic drive behind European penetration into the continent. Thus, early European writings "needed to find some sort of excuse" for the illegitimate trade on human cargoes and irresistible impulse to find gold and ivory. These writings were in no means "apologetic" aiming in the first place "to justify slavery and the continued exploitation of African labour and resources". By the end of the slave trade, African studies writings changed dramatically. The motives were no longer economic. For Nkrumah (1973), these writings "began to give accounts of African society which were used to justify colonialism as a duty of Civilization"(p.222). Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah (1973) mentioned that Europeans used religion and civilization as the main drive for the still process of exploitation of the African riches. Now, the African was bamboozled having no capacity "to look forward or backward".

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

The process culminated in a great amount of political, economic and cultural subjugation that denied all Africans spheres of life in favor of much betrayed Western modes of life:

The central myth in the mythology surrounding Africa is that of the denial that we are a historical people. It is said that whereas other continents have shaped history and determined its course, Africa has stood still, held down by inertia. Africa, it is said, entered history only as a result of European contact. Its history, therefore, is widely felt to be an extension of European history (p.225)

Nkrumah concluded that the African was made subservient to Europeans because "the history of Africa has...been European centered". This justified the great zeal showed by Nkrumah to encourage African scholars to write the correct story of Africa. A story that brought to light the untold facts about many African personalities who were idols for Europeans centuries ago.

Nkrumah's pursuit of purely African education made of African culture the genesis of protests. Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah's manifestations to revive African culture centered on two main tenets. The first was that an understanding of African culture would make people recognize the existence of the African genius and its main contribution to humanity. The second owed to what Asamoah (2005,p119) termed "the institutional aspect of African culture". Nkrumah believed that the revival of African culture would find expression through the foundation of educational institutions. Nkrumah was at odds with how the African university was Westernized and believed that purely African education institutions would be the source of purely African culture. In a speech entitled "the African Genius" addressed to the Institute of African Studies on 25th October 1963, Nkrumah (1979) told audience that the institute would provide an opportunity to read what was still unread about African life and environment:

One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African centered ways—in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of the colonial epoch, and from the distortions of those professors and lecturers who continue to make European studies of Africa the basis of this new assessment. By the work of this institute, we must reassess and assess the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future (p.322)

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

This mindset promulgated the foundation of the Institute of African Studies. For Nkrumah (1979), the institute would be a medium for “an internationally recognized center for the advanced study of African history, language, sociology and culture and of contemporary African institutions” (p.323). Nkrumah’s main purpose was to make Africans understand their peculiarities which were a stepping stone for an understanding of African unity. According to Nkrumah (1979), “It is important for every student to maintain his links with the African scene, and thus understand the great cause of African unity to which we are committed”(p.325). African unity, in this respect, was an amalgam of two main tenets. The first was to use African institutions as vehicles for the sacred objective which is “a searching after Africa’s regeneration”. This search should be principally grounded on producing literature “suited to the traditions, history, environment and communal pattern of African society”. The second tenet stressed the need for preparing the intellect of African individuals for “the foundation of pan-Africanism”. The latter necessitated that education should carve as a last resort “the freedom and development and unity of Africa” and “the moral, cultural and scientific contribution of the continent to the total world civilization and peace”(p.328).

Another major of concern for the inauguration of the institute was the creation of an African scholar. Similar to Blyden, Nkrumah called on all African scholars of the world to join the institution for the sole task of interpreting a correct image of the African world. For Nkrumah (1973), “It is incumbent upon all Africanist scholars, all over the world, to work for a complete emancipation of the mind from all forms of domination, control and enslavement”(p.265). In front of an audience of nearly 17 research fellows and 40 post-graduate students, Nkrumah stated a set of duties cast upon scholars in African studies. These scholars should create new paths for research which would mark a move from the colonialist mindset into purely African mindset. For Nkrumah (1979), African scholars should “study the history, culture, and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African-centered ways—in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of the colonial epoch”(p.265). The second duty was to make as soon as possible printed materials for their production. He advised scholars to cooperate with other African centers of research for their shared objective. These materials were important in the sense that they would encapsulate a re-Africanization process in the minds of youths and promulgate a new vision of the African personality that would be a source of encouragement for the emerging youth of the continent. These materials would be part of school education and provided for ordinary readers of the continent (Poe,2003,p111).

*Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden
and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy*

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Nkrumah also led the foundation of the International Commission on University Education. A look at the objectives of the commission revealed the extent by which Nkrumah endorsed the need for purely African education that worked to the development of African physical and intellect to face life challenges. During his inauguration as the Chancellor of the University of Ghana on 25 November 1961, Nkrumah (1979) stated the commission's objectives:

(1) To provide opportunities for education in all those branches of human knowledge which are of value in modern Ghana for the maximum number of Ghanaians who are capable of benefiting therefore.

(2) To equip students with an understanding of the contemporary world and, within this framework, of African civilizations, their histories, institutions, and ideas.

(3) To undertake research in all fields with which the teaching staff is concerned, but with emphasis where possible on problems—historical, social, economic, scientific, technical, linguistic—which arises out of the needs and experiences of the peoples of Ghana and other African states.

(4) To enable students to acquire methods of critical independent thought, while at the same time recognizing their responsibility to use their education for the benefit of the peoples of Ghana, Africa and of the world.

(5) To provide opportunities for higher education and research for students from parts of the world, and particularly from other African states.

(6) To develop close relationships with the people of Ghana and their organizations and with other Universities (p.144)

Nkrumah further founded the Encyclopedia Africana. The new project had been proposed by Du Bois but its realization came after Ghana got its Independence. According to Du Bois, the new project had the aim of presenting new image of Africa uncontaminated by European influences. Thus, "the task of Encyclopedia Africana", according to Du Bois (as cited in Amoh, 2019), was "to correct these falsehoods and cause their removal from textbooks and common beliefs" (p.26). With Du Bois as its director, the Encyclopedia established a secretariat that was composed of both Afro-Americans and Africans. The reason why all members were Africans owed to the fact that they believed that only Africans could interpret the African world. According to Hesse (as cited in Amoh, 2019), "for so long the spokesmen in Africa have been non-African. Now the time has come for Africans to speak for themselves. And the Encyclopedia

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Africana should be the medium which the African can re-interpret himself to the world"(p.112). Though the number of African scholars affiliated to the encyclopedia was small, all members insisted that no Whiteman could be given membership as the latter did not have a good grasp of African peculiarities and thus could not give accurate, unbiased interpretation of the African psyche and his cultural and historical background. Accordingly, the work of the new project "must be frankly Afro-centric in its interpretation of African history and of the social and cultural institutions of the African and people of African descent"(p.26). These interpretations, opined Poe (2003,p.113), must come in compliance with African concepts, assumptions and interests.

4. CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present study was to examine Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's educational philosophy to trace continuity in black political protest. The article briefly exposed the development of African education through time as an attempt to show the new changes brought with the advance of Western patterns of life. This brief introduction added clarity to the response of Africans to the great tide of Western influences, namely that provoked by Edward Wilmot Blyden. The article revealed how Blyden attacked Euro-Christian education and provided systematic analysis of the faults of foreign teachers in Africa. For Blyden, these teachers, instead of ameliorating the lot of the Negro race, they bamboozled the African by stressing his inferiority and subordination. Blyden further proposed the creation of an African university. The university would be a medium for the dissemination of African art and philosophy. Indeed, Blydenic ideas had much impact on people of West Africa in general and the Gold Coast in particular. The article showed how people of West Africa, namely Nigeria and Sierra Leone, showed intensified efforts to express Blyden's educational philosophy. For them, the present situation of education was only a means to engrave underdevelopment and that the only escape was to frame a new education that placed African systems of life as monitoring dynamic for progress

Furthermore, the article showed that people of the Gold Coast right from the inception of colonial up to independence saw in Blyden's ideas an outlet to address their educational grievances. Through identifying with local and regional manifestations, people criticized severely Euro-Christian education and systematically urged for the establishment of purely African educational institutions that would bring freedom and emancipation. The article then concluded by exposing Nkrumah's educational philosophy. Similar to Blyden,

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

Nkrumah falsified Europeans's view of black inferiority and averred that this vision emanated from a lack of understating of African peculiarities by foreign teachers. Identical to Blyden, Nkrumah saw education as a means to intellectual and physical emancipation. Consequently, he led the foundation of many educational institutions for the revival of African art, literature and philosophy and a re-interpretation of African realities. Indeed, Blyden's and Nkrumah's contribution to African education was that of lasting effects that though both men belonged to different times they represented continuity in black political protest that rested up to present.

5. Bibliography List :

- Aboagye, J.Y.(2013), "An Evaluation of the Contribution of the Basel Mission and Presbyterian Church of Ghana to the Socio-Economic Development of the Agogo Traditional Area", Unpublished Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science And Technology, Kumasi.
- Amoh, Emanuelle,(2019) "Kwame Nkrumah, His Afro-American Network and the Pursuit of an African Personality", thesis, Illinois State University.
- Asamoah, Kwame Botwe,(2005) Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies an African-Centred Paradeigm for the Second Phase of the Aafrican Revolution", Routledge New York & London.
- Asare, Eric (1982) The Impact of British Colonization on the Development of Education and Physical Education in Ghana, „Diss, the University of Leicester School of Education, Leicester.
- Ashby, Eric, (1966)"Universities : British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education", Cambridge, Massachusettes: Havard University Press.
- Bartels, F.L.(1949), "The Provision and Administration of Education in the Gold Coast 1865-1965". M.A. thesis. University of London.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot, (1900) "The Liberia Scholar "Liberian Bulletin No. 17.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot,(1881) "Africa's Service to the World", African Repository, Vol: LVII No 08,
- Boakie, (1966)The Foundations of Self-government: Selected Historic Speeches on Ghana's Independence, George Boakie Publishing Company.
- Conyers, J (1998). An Afro-Centric Study of the Philosophy of Edward Wilmot Blyden (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). The Temple University.

Continuity in Black Political Protest: An Examination of Edward Wilmot Blyden and Kwame Nkrumah's Educational Philosophy

Ahmed Bouchemal.

Faiza Meberbeche Senouci

- Djamila & Djafari,(2010), "The Role of Colonial Education in Retrospect: The Gold Coast Case in the Era of Imperialism",University of Abdelhamid Ibn Badis, Algeria p.02
- Djokoto,v,(2019), "European Education and Christianisation in the Gold Coast (1529 - 1850)" <https://www.modernghana.com/sports/916834/european-education-and-christianisation-in-the.html> (consulted on 03/05/2021=
- Eric Asare,(1982) "The Impact of British Colonization on the Development of Education and Physical Education in Ghana",.Diss, the University of Leicester School of Education, Leicester.
- Holden, Edith (1966), "Blyden of Liberia ", New York, Vantage Press.
- Kimble,(1963), A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Langley,J,(1970) "Modernization and Its Malcontent: Kobina Sekyi of Ghana and the Re-statement of African Political Theory (1892-1956)", Research Review Legeon.
- London, 1949,Lynch, H (1967). Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot 1832-1912. London: Oxford.
- Lynch, Hollis,(1971) "Black Spokesman: Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden", New York: Humanities Press.
- Meberbeche, Faiza (2010). Pan-Africanism and Its Impact on the Sierra Leonean Elite up to 1945. (Doctoral Dissertation). Abou Bekr Belkaid University, Tlemcen, Algeria
- Michael J.C. Echeruo,(1979) ,"Victorian Lagos", Macmillan, London and Africana, New York.
- Nkrumah, Kwame,(1973)"Revolutionary path",. 1st U.S. ed. New York: International Publishers.
- Nkrumah, Kwame,(1979) "Selected speeches of Kwame Nkrumah" Vol. 5, compiled by S. Obeng. Accra, Ghana: Afram Publications.
- Olusanya,G.O, (1982) "The West African Students ' Union and the Politics of Decolonisation , 1925 – 1958",Ibadan.
- Poe, D. Zizwe,(2003) "Kwame Nkrumah's Ccontribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afrocentric Analysis",Routledge: New York & London.