

Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
University of Oran 2
Mohamed Ben Ahmed



Faculty of Foreign Languages
English Department
Doctoral Thesis in African Civilization

**British Colonial Policy and Its Impact on Food Self-Sufficiency
in the Gold Coast (1896-1957)**

Submitted by
Mr. Tahar Abbou

Under the Supervision of
Dr. Fatiha Dani

Board of Examiners:

President:	Pr. Belkacem Belmekki	University of Oran 2
Supervisor:	Dr. Fatiha Dani MCA	University of Oran 1
Examiner:	Pr. Leila Moulfi	University of Oran 2
Examiner:	Pr. Faiza Meberbeche	University of Tlemcen

2017 - 2018

Student Declaration

I, Tahar Abbou, declare that this thesis entitled “British Colonial Economic Policy and Its Impact on Food Self-Sufficiency in the Gold coast (1896-1957)” is my own work except where otherwise indicated. I also declare that it contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any academic degree or diploma.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tahar Abbou', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Date: 17 January 2018

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the memory of my father whom I wish if he were of this world to share this happy moment.

Acknowledgements

Many people have offered me help, advice and support during the process of writing this thesis. At the beginning, I was supervised by Pr. Badra Lahouel whom I wish to thank for her comments and constructive criticism. My thanks and gratitude extend to my supervisor Dr. Fatiha Dani for her guidance, valuable advice and great support. I also owe a large debt of gratitude to Pr. Fewzi Borsali for his insightful advice and comments. Aside from providing sources including archives, his encouragements enabled me to make the final push. I could not finish this thesis without his help. I must also acknowledge the Head of the Institute of African Studies and Research in Cairo for his help to get access to valuable sources about the research. I would like to thank Professor Gareth Austin from the University of Cambridge for his sound comments and encouragement. I am also grateful to the staff of the British National Archives for their help to get access to very important archival materials. Last but not least, many thanks and much love to my wife, daughter and sons who have shared in my joys and sorrows throughout this process.

British Colonial Policy and Its Impact on Food Self-Sufficiency in the Gold Coast (1896-1957)

Abstract

Available data show that the Gold Coast had achieved food self-sufficiency under subsistence economy before the establishment of colonial rule. They also show that the Gold Coast has been suffering from food dependency since the establishment of British colonial rule until present-day. They also confirm that before the colonial period, the local farmers used to sell their production surplus of cereals to the Europeans (on the coast) who were involved in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The research therefore attempts to find out the reasons which transformed the Gold Coast from a food exporter to a food importer, and to determine to what extent each of the four agents involved in the agricultural sector, that is, the local farmers, the missionaries, the expatriate firms, and the colonial government was responsible for the new situation. The research also deals with the negative consequences of the new economic structure based on a mono-crop economy particularly in the case of a crop failure or falling prices. The research shows that the local farmers were drawn to the new economic system thanks to the technical assistance and incentive prices suggested by missionaries and expatriate firms, respectively. The two factors together were backed by the colonial government's measures and regulations encouraging the export produce. At the metropolitan level, the British followed an economic policy aiming at specialising the economies of the colonies in export products under the concept of the international division of labour. The Gold Coast is chosen as a sample in this research to find answers to the failure of most of the former colonies to achieve food self-sufficiency. The choice is based on the following considerations. First, this former British colony shares common features with most African countries, and this allows to generalise the findings. Second, it represents a territory which enjoys favourable natural conditions for a prosperous agricultural sector. The third reason lies in the fact that this former British colony has much in common with the former French colonies in North Africa during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods, in other words, they almost went through similar circumstances but under two different colonial systems. This enables, to some extent, to determine and then generalise the role and responsibility of the European colonial powers in this issue. The study shows that the intense activities led by missionaries and expatriate firms together with the newly established colonial administration and the favourable responsiveness of the local farmers to the new changes accelerated the shift from the traditional economy based on producing food to cash crop economy based on producing export crops. Various primary archival sources, particularly the Colonial Reports together with a number of works including books, articles, theses and electronic sources were of great help and importance to look more closely into the process.

Keywords: The Gold Coast, Cash crops, Food self-sufficiency, Dependency, Centre-periphery, Colonial Policy, Britain, Development Planning

La Politique Coloniale Britannique et son Impact sur l'Autosuffisance

Alimentaire dans la Côte d'Or (1896-1957)

Résumé

Des données disponibles montrent que la Côte d'Or jouissait de l'autosuffisance alimentaire dans une économie de subsistance avant l'institution du régime colonial. Ces données montrent également que cette colonie par contre souffre jusqu'à nos jours de la dépendance alimentaire depuis l'institution du régime colonial. Les archives révèlent que pendant la période coloniale, les fermiers indigènes vendaient leur surplus de production de céréales aux européens activant dans la traite des esclaves. Cette recherche essaye de trouver les raisons qui ont transformé la Côte d'Or d'un pays exportateur à celui d'importateur, et de déterminer le degré de responsabilité des quatre types d'agent impliqués dans le secteur agricole, notamment les fermiers indigènes, les missionnaires, les compagnies étrangères, et le gouvernement colonial. Cette recherche examine également les conséquences négatives de la nouvelle structure économique basée sur la monoculture particulièrement de point de vue d'échec de culture ou baisse des prix. La recherche montre que les fermiers se sont trouvés engrenés dans le nouveau système grâce à l'assistance technique et prix attirants et profitables offerts par les missionnaires et les compagnies étrangères respectivement. Ces deux facteurs étaient soutenus par des mesures et dispositions de la part du gouvernement colonial encourageant l'exportation du produit alimentaire local. Au niveau de la métropole, les britanniques suivaient une politique visant à créer une division internationale du travail. La Côte d'Or est choisie comme un échantillon dans cette recherche afin d'examiner les réponses relatives à l'échec de la plupart des colonies d'atteindre l'autosuffisance alimentaire. Ce choix est basé sur les critères ou considérations suivantes : premièrement, cette ex-colonie britannique partage les mêmes caractéristiques avec d'autres pays africains, et ceci permettra de généraliser les conclusions. Deuxièmement, cet échantillon représente un territoire jouissant des conditions naturelles favorables pour un secteur agricole prospère. Ces facteurs ensemble permettent de ne pas tenir compte d'autres conditions naturelles comme le désert, manque d'eau etc. qui peuvent affecter d'une façon négative l'agriculture, pour justifier l'échec. La troisième raison est liée au fait que la Côte d'Or a beaucoup en commun avec les ex-colonies françaises de l'Afrique du Nord pendant les périodes précoloniales, coloniales et postcoloniales, en d'autres termes elles ont vécu et subi les mêmes circonstances, bien que sous deux régimes coloniaux différents. Ceci permettra dans une certaine mesure de déterminer et généraliser le rôle et responsabilité des puissances coloniales européennes dans ce contexte. L'étude montre que les activités intensives menées par les missionnaires et les entreprises étrangères ainsi que l'administration coloniale, d'une part, et l'attitude favorable des paysans aux nouveaux changements ont accéléré le passage de l'économie de subsistance basée sur la production alimentaire aux cultures d'exportation. Diverses sources d'archives primaires, en particulier les rapports sur les colonies, ainsi qu'un certain nombre d'ouvrages, notamment des livres, des articles, des thèses et des sources électroniques, ont été d'une aide précieuse pour examiner de plus près le sujet de cette thèse.

Mots clés : la Côte-d'Or, Cultures de rente, Autosuffisance alimentaire, Dépendance, Centre-périphérie, Politique coloniale, Grande-Bretagne, Plans du développement

السياسة الاستعمارية البريطانية و أثرها على الإكتفاء الذاتي الغذائي

في ساحل الذهب (1886-1957)

ترجمة الملخص

إن المعطيات المتاحة من خلال المصادر تشير إلى أن ساحل الذهب (غانا) كان يعيش اكتفاءً ذاتياً غذائياً في ظل اقتصاد الكفاف و ذلك قبل بسط النظام الاستعماري البريطاني. و تشير المعطيات أيضاً أن ساحل الذهب يعاني من تبعية غذائية للخارج منذ بسط السيادة الاستعمارية البريطانية وهي مستمرة الى فترة ما بعد الاستقلال. ما هي إذاً الأسباب التي ساهمت في تحول هذه المستعمرة من حالة الاكتفاء الذاتي الغذائي في ظل اقتصاد الكفاف إلى حالة التبعية في ظل اقتصاد الزراعة النقدية ، ومن ثم من مصدر للغذاء إلى مستورد له ؟ هناك مصادر تؤكد أن المزارعين المحليين كانوا يبيعون فائض إنتاجهم من الحبوب إلى الأوربيين على متن السفن التي كانت تنقل العبيد إلى العالم الجديد في إطار ما يعرف بتجارة العبيد العابرة للأطلسي.

نحاول من خلال هذه الدراسة إيجاد أجوبة للأسباب الكامنة وراء إخفاق القطاع الزراعي في تأمين الاكتفاء الذاتي الغذائي في مستعمرة ساحل الذهب (غانا حالياً) وهذا بالرغم من الشروط المناخية و الجغرافية المواتية. إن اختيار هذه المستعمرة البريطانية السابقة ليس اعتباطياً بل لأنها تمثل عينة مثالية لفهم حالة الإخفاق في تأمين الاكتفاء الذاتي الذي تعاني منه معظم الدول التي كانت مستعمرات سابقاً، إن هذا الاختيار مبني أيضاً على اعتبارات أخرى أهمها، أولاً : هذه المستعمرة تشترك في عدة خصائص مع باقي المستعمرات في إفريقيا وهذا العامل يفيدنا في تعميم النتائج لاحقاً. ثانياً: تتمتع هذه المستعمرة بمجمل الخصائص الطبيعية و المناخية من خصوبة الأراضي ووفرة المياه واعتدال المناخ مما يؤهلها بأن تكون بلداً زراعياً بامتياز، وهذا العامل يسمح باستبعاد فرضية أن تكون الظروف الطبيعية سبباً في فشل القطاع الزراعي. ثالثاً: يكمن السبب وراء اختيار ساحل الذهب موضوعاً لهذه الدراسة في كون المستعمرة تتشابه في كثير من الخصائص مع المستعمرات الفرنسية السابقة في شمال إفريقيا خاصة خلال الفترتين قبل و بعد بسط السيادة الاستعمارية ، بمعنى آخر، أن هذه المستعمرات مرت بظروف متشابهة إلى حد التطابق مع اختلاف النظام الاستعماري ، وهو ما يسمح و إلى حد كبير بتحديد درجة مسؤولية القوى الاستعمارية الأوربية في مسألة تحقيق الاكتفاء الذاتي الغذائي او التبعية الغذائية في الدول الإفريقية عموماً. نشير الى الدراسة اظهرت أن البعثات التبشيرية و التجار الاوربيون لعبوا دوراً هاماً في اقناع المزارعين المحليين في التخلي عن النظام الزراعي التقليدي المبني على توفير الغذاء وتبني نظام الاقتصاد النقدي المبني على انتاج المحاصيل النقدية، و ذلك بتوفير المساعدات التقنية و اقتراح اسعار مغرية. الادارة البريطانية، على المستوى المحلي، عملت هي الاخرى على تشجيع الاقتصاد النقدي من خلال توفير النقل بالسكك الحديدية من مناطق الانتاج الى الموانئ، وأيضاً من خلال انحيازها للتجار الاوربيين ضد المزارعين المحليين. على المستوى المركزي، عملت الحكومة البريطانية على تبني وتكريس سياسة اقتصادية مبنية على تخصيص اقتصاديات المستعمرات في انتاج المحاصيل النقدية لخدمة الاقتصاد المركزي في اطار مفهوم التقسيم الدولي للعمل. أعتمدت الدراسة على المنهج التحليلي بالاعتماد على مصادر اولية من الارشيف الوطني البريطاني، بالإضافة لمصادر اخرى لاكاديميين مختصين في شؤون هذه المستعمرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ساحل الذهب، المحاصيل النقدية، الاكتفاء الذاتي الغذائي، التبعية، المركز و المحيط، السياسة

الاستعمارية، بريطانيا، مخططات التنمية

Table of Contents

Student's Declaration	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Abstract in French.....	v
Abstract in Arabic.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Abbreviations.....	x
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Graphs	xii
List of Charts.....	xiii
List of Maps	xiv
List of Figures.....	xv
General Introduction	01
Chapter One: The Arrival of the Europeans and the Social, Economic and Political	
Changes until the Establishment of Colonial Rule (1475-1896)	05
1.1. Introduction.....	06
1.2. Historical Background.....	06
1.3. The Arrival of the Europeans	08
1.3.1. Social Changes.....	09
1.3.2. Economic Changes	10
1.3.2.1. Agriculture and Food Self-Sufficiency in the Pre-colonial Period.....	16
1.3.2.1.1. Geographic Features.....	16
1.3.2.2. Means of Production	22
1.3.2.3. Economic Activities	24
1.3.3. The Political Changes	29
1.3.3.1. The Proclamation of the British Crown Colony (1807-1874)	29
1.3.3.1.1. McCarthy's Administration	29
1.3.3.1.2. Maclean's Administration	31

1.3.3.1.3. Hill's Administration	31
1.3.3.1.4. The Rise of the Fanti Confederation	32
1.3.3.2. The Annexation of the Ashanti and Northern Territories (1874-1902).....	35
1.4. Conclusion	40
 2. Chapter Two: The Establishment of Cash Crop Economy (1896-1919)	42
2.1. Introduction.....	43
2.2. Prelude to the Establishment of Cash Crop Economy.....	43
2.3. Context for Change	44
2.4. The Industrial Revolution and Its Impact on the Colony	44
2.5. The Introduction of Cash Crops	47
2.6. The Evolution of Cash Crops	49
2.7. Means of Production	71
2.7.1. Land and the Colonial Policy	71
2.7.2. Labour and Training	75
2.7.3. Finance and the Banking System	76
2.7.4. Railways and Roads' Construction	77
2.8. The Attitude of the Agents Involved in Cocoa Industry	79
2.8.1. The Attitude of the Local Farmers	79
2.8.2. The Role of the Missionaries	82
2.8.3. The Role of Foreign Entrepreneurs (Expatriate Firms).....	83
2.8.4. The Role of the Colonial Government	85
2.9. The Evolution of Capitalism versus Colonialism	87
2.10. Towards Economic Dependence	91
2.11. The Integration of the Economy of the Gold Coast in the World Economy	108
2.12. Conclusion	112
 3. Chapter Three: British Colonial Economic Policy in the Interwar Period (1919-40)	114
3.1. Introduction	115
3.2. Background to the Change in the British Policy	115
3.3. The Colonial Policy at the Local Level	116
3.3.1. The Ten-Year Plan	116
3.4. The Colonial Policy at the Metropolitan Level	123

3.4.1. The Great Depression and Its Impact on the Gold Coast...	123
3.4.2. The Colonial Development Fund of 1929	128
3.4.3. Imperial Conferences	132
3.4.4. The Preferential Tariff Act (1932)	139
3.4.5. The Cocoa Crisis and Its Consequences (1937-38)	141
3.4.6. The Cocoa Marketing Board	144
3.5. Conclusion	146
 4. Chapter Four: British Colonial Economic Policy from WWII to Independence (1940 – 1957)	 148
4.1. Introduction	149
4.2. External Context for Change in the British Policy	149
4.3. Internal Context for Change in the British Policy	150
4.4. Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940	150
4.5. The Impact of WWII on the Gold Coast	160
4.6. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945	162
4.7. Conclusion	168
 General Conclusion	 169
Appendices.....	172
Appendix 1	172
Appendix 2	175
Appendix 3.....	178
Bibliography.....	179

List of Abbreviations

CAC: Central Advisory Committee

CDF: Colonial Development Fund

CDWA: Colonial Development Act

CDWAC: The Colonial Development and Welfare Advisory Committee

CF: Cubic Feet

CO: Colonial Office

CPC: Central Planning Committee

CRC: The Colonial Research Committee

Cwt.: It stands for a hundredweight; in the United Kingdom, it equals 112 pounds.

ARPS: Aborigine Rights Protection Society

EDC: Economic Development Committee

HC: House of Commons

MT: Metric Ton

NCBW: National Congress of British West Africa

T: Ton

WC: Welfare Committee

List of Tables

Table 1: Palm oil and Kernels' Exports in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1885-1919)	52
Table 2: The Evolution of Rubber Exports in Volume (1880-1899).....	56
Table 3: The Evolution of Rubber Exports in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1885-1924).	56
Table 4: The Exports of Timber in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1890-1929)....	59
Table 5: Cocoa Exports in Volume (1885-1955).....	65
Table 6: Cocoa Exports in Value by Five-Year- Averages (1900-1939).....	66
Table 7: The Gold Coast Cocoa Exports (selected years) (1900-1925)	68
Table 8: Value of Major Agricultural Exports, (£000s) (1900-1919).....	69
Table 9: Volume of Major Agricultural Exports (000 tonnes) (1900-1919).....	70
Table 10: External Trade and Colonial Government Revenue and Expenditure, (1900 – 1919) (five-year averages) (£000s).....	78
Table 11: The Value of the Imports of the Gold Coast with the UK, British Colonies and Foreign Countries.....	93
Table 12: The Proportion of the Gold Coast Exports with the Economy of the Empire Compared to that of the Rest of the World.....	93
Table 13: The Trend of the Aggregate External Trade for the Last Pre-War Trade Year 1913 and 1921.....	98
Table 14: Chief Customers for Gold Coast Exports (1912-1916)	100
Table 15: Chief Sources of Supply (1912-1916).....	101
Table 16: Food Dependence among Farmers in Selected Regions.....	106
Table 17: Food Imports in Quantity and Value in 1907 and 1908.....	107
Table 18: The Evolution in Quantity and Value of Principal Articles of Imports (1915-16)	108
Table 19: British Loans to Finance the Ten-Year Plan.....	118
Table 20: The Ten-Year Plan Credits' Distribution.....	119
Table 21: Index of Cocoa Prices in Depression and Post- Depression.....	126
Table 22: Social Expenditure in the Gold Coast (1929-39) (£).....	127
Table 23: The Number of Applications Submitted to the Colonial Development Advisory Committee (1929-39) and the Cost of Schemes Accepted and Rejected in British West Africa.....	133

List of Graphs

Graph 1: Value of Palm Oil Exports (£000)	53
Graph 2: Value of Palm Kernels Exports (£000).....	54
Graph 3: Value of Timber Exports (£000).....	61
Graph 4: Value of Cocoa Exports (1900-1919).....	67
Graph 5: The Correlation between the Imports and Exports (1919-39).....	128

List of Charts

Chart 1: The Gold Coast's Customers in Rubber	58
Chart 2: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Value 1910.....	94
Chart 3: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Percentages 1910.....	94
Chart 4: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Value 1910.....	95
Chart 5: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Percentages 1910.....	95
Chart 6: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Value 1911.....	96
Chart 7: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Percentages 1911.....	96
Chart 8: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Value 1911.....	97
Chart 9: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Percentages 1911.....	97
Chart 10: The Trend of the Aggregate External Trade for the Last Pre-War Trade Year 1913 and 1921	98
Chart 11: The Evolution in Quantity and Value of Principal Articles of Imports (1915-16)	109
Chart 12: Cocoa Percentage out of the Total Exports (1919-38).....	126

List of Maps

Map 1: Western Sudan in 1375 from the Atlas of Africa	8
Map 2: Physical Regions in the Gold Coast.....	18
Map 3: The Gold Coast in 1629.....	19
Map 4: Rainfall over the Gold Coast.....	21
Map 5: Main Crops in the Gold Coast in the Pre-colonial Period.....	25
Map 6: The British Crown Colony and Protectorate=.....	34
Map 7: Vegetation Zones in the Gold Coast.....	48
Map 8: Areas of Major Cocoa Cultivation in the Gold Coast	62
Map 9: Areas of Cocoa Production	63
Map 10: Roads Railways Minerals and Cash Crops of Ghana.....	122

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Triangular Trade.....	13
Figure 2: A Two-peak Rainfall at Axim in the South West of the Gold Coast.....	20
Figure 3: The International Division of Labour at the Global Level.....	88
Figure 4: The Evolution of Imperialism	90
Figure 5: The Centre-Periphery Relation between the Empire and Its Colonies	110
Figure 6: The Trade Cycle.....	125

General Introduction

The problem of shortage of food and therefore dependency on abroad is a recurrent issue in most of the former colonies regardless their colonisers. The study attempts to examine a number of hypotheses related to this issue in an attempt to give answers to the reasons of the problem. The first hypothesis explains the failure of the agricultural sector to achieve food self-sufficiency by inadequate geographical and climatic conditions, under which a number of factors will be examined, particularly the geographical reliefs and the climatic conditions. The second, argues that the problem lies in the absence of strategies a wise development planning policy on behalf of political leaders to develop the agricultural sector to meet the challenges of food shortage and therefore achieve food self-sufficiency. Third, some scholars, particularly from the African diaspora, accuse the colonial policies of being responsible for the recurrent food dependency in Africa. They argue that the problem of food self-sufficiency is one of the heaviest legacies of the colonial systems.

Records and written sources show that before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa, the African states, and kingdoms had no contacts with outside world, they depended on themselves, and sometimes on their neighbours through commercial relationships. The only contacts of the states and kingdoms in sub-Saharan Africa with the rest of the world, that is, North Africa existed under the context of trans-Saharan trade, and the main imported commodities did not include food. Nevertheless, the Africans had been achieving food self-sufficiency under subsistence economy. The Gold Coast, the scope of this study, was no exception. Sources confirm that the Gold Coasters used to sell the surplus of food, mainly, cereals to the Europeans on board the ships on the coast to feed the slaves during their journey to the Americas. Moreover, famine which killed millions in Europe in the Middle Ages was less frequent in Africa. Furthermore, according to available sources, famine had never been recorded in the history of the Gold Coast, except few cases of shortage of food in some areas due to lack of labour because of extensive deportations of Africans during the trans-Atlantic slave trade era.

This situation began to be altered as a consequence of the abolition of slave trade and the gradual involvement of the local farmers in the production of cash crops. Then, by the late nineteenth century, the Gold Coast gradually began to lose its food self-sufficiency relying on imported food provided by the Europeans. This dependency grew bigger during the two first decades of colonial rule until the colony became almost entirely dependent on

abroad. In other words, the Gold Coast has been suffering from food dependency since the establishment of British colonial rule until present-day. This research attempts to find out the reasons which transformed the Gold Coast from a food exporter to a food importer. In other words, the study attempts to explore the reasons behind the failure of the agricultural sector to achieve food self-sufficiency in the Gold Coast.

The choice of the Gold Coast, a former British colony, for this research is not arbitrary. It represents a good example through which answers to the failure of most of the former colonies to achieve food self-sufficiency can be found. The choice is based on the following considerations. First, this colony shares common features with most African countries, which allows generalising the findings. Second, it represents a country which enjoys favourable conditions for a prosperous agricultural sector, that is to say, it has excellent climatic conditions, in addition to varied reliefs and an abundance of water. These factors together permit to exclude the natural conditions, such as desert land, lack of water and poor geographical reliefs, which may negatively affect agriculture, from being the reason for this failure. The results allow to find out answers to the chief concern of this research, that is, to what extent the legacies of British colonial economic policy affected the existing subsistence economy and changed food self-sufficiency system during the pre-colonial period to food dependency during and in the post-colonial periods. The third reason lies in the fact that this former British colony has much in common with the former French colonies in North Africa (Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria) during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. To put it differently, they almost went through similar circumstances though under different colonial powers. This permits to generalise the impact of colonial policies on the colonies regardless the origin of the coloniser.

The study is divided into four chapters. The first is devoted to the pre-colonial period covering from 1474, the date of the first direct contacts between the Europeans and the people of the Gold Coast, until 1986, the date of the establishment of the formal colonial rule on the whole territory of the colony. This chapter explores the agricultural potentialities of the colony through a detailed study of the geographical reliefs and the climatic conditions focusing on the rainfall rate. It also deals with the economic activities on which the people of the Gold Coast lived before the establishment of colonial rule. Then, an attempt is made to check to what extent the people of the Gold Coast achieved food self-sufficiency under subsistence economy.

Chapter Two, which covers the period from the establishment of colonial rule to the end of World War One, is devoted to the involvement of the local farmers in the production of cash crops and their responsiveness to the needs of the international markets' needs, that is to say, the shift from a crop to another following the demand of the world market. This shift from a crop to another is dealt with within the context in which it happened, which involves the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of new economic and political concepts such as capitalism and imperialism which had a deep impact on the economies of the colonies. The introduction of capitalism brought changes on the factors of production, particularly, on land tenure. The latter witnessed important changes after the shift of authority from traditional chiefs to the colonial administration. These changes brought by the different land bills triggered intense reactions and protests amongst the local people, mainly the elite organised under the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S). This chapter also enquires into the various factors that contributed directly or indirectly to the establishment of the new economic structure which transformed the economy of the colony from a subsistence economy based on food production to a cash crop economy based on export production. In the context, a special concern will be given to the colonial economic policy at both the local and metropolitan levels. This involves the measure taken by the colonial government to integrate the economy of the Gold Coast in the economy of the Empire through the centre-periphery relation.

Chapter Three covers the main economic events that took place in the interwar period and which had an impact on the economy of the Gold Coast. First, we examine the Ten-Year Plan, initiated by Governor Guggisberg during his term office, and the improvement it brought on transportation by the establishment of railways linking the cocoa production zones to harbours. The second event to deal with is the Great Depression of 1929, which hit Western Europe and led the British to seek solutions to its consequences in the colonies. Consequently, they enacted the Colonial Development Fund in 1929 to solve the problem of unemployment which reached unprecedented rates. Third, the imperial Conferences and their impact on the economies of the colonies will be dealt with focusing on the Preferential Tariff Act of 1932. The last point to examine in chapter three is the Cocoa Crisis of 1937-38 and the changes it brought to the colonial government's policy through the establishment of the export control board which became the Cocoa Marketing Board after the end of World War Two.

Chapter Four is devoted to the colonial planning policy from World War Two to independence, and a departure from a policy of colonial self-sufficiency to a centrally guided colonial development and welfare policy. First, the focus falls on the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940 and the local and international contexts under which it was passed, its timing, aim and achievements. Second, light is shed on the impact of World War Two on the economy of the Gold Coast through the contribution of the colony to the War effort by the human and material support. The third point in this chapter is devoted to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1945 under which we examine its aim, finance and achievements. Finally, an attempt is made to assess the impact of this colonial planning policy on the integration of the economy of the colony in the world economy, on the hand, and on the prosperity and welfare of the local people, on the other.

Various primary archival sources, particularly the Colonial Reports, were of great help and assistance to look more closely into the process. Besides, a number of works including books and articles by a number of scholars among whom Adu Boahen, Michael Havinden and David Meredith, David Kimble, Rhoda Howard, Gareth Austin, Akurang-Parry, Kwabena, A. G. Hopkins, Stephen Hymer, Samuel Rohdie, and others were of great importance to understand the impact of Britain's colonial economic policy on food self-sufficiency in the Gold Coast, which may be further examined by other researchers.

Chapter One

The Arrival of the Europeans and the Social, Economic
and Political Changes until the Establishment of Colonial Rule
(1475-1896)

1.1. Introduction

Chapter One covers the pre-colonial period, that is, from 1474, the year in which the Europeans (the Portuguese) established the first direct contacts with peoples of West Africa, who controlled the sources of gold, until the establishment of British colonial rule in the Gold Coast, in 1896. The first part of this chapter is devoted to a general survey of the colony to assess its economic potentialities. Then, we examine the main economic activities on which the people of the Gold Coast used to live, with a special focus on the agricultural sector. This involves the discussion of the issue of land tenure, labour and the crops produced. These elements help to check the extent at which the local people were producing their needs of food under subsistence economy.

1.2. Historical Background

By the beginning of the 15th century, the demands of the Europeans for Asian goods such as silk, sugar, spices increased while their reserves of gold severely decreased because of a series of disastrous wars. This need for gold turned the Europeans' minds to Africa and to the problem of where the North African merchants came from.¹

It is believed that the echoes left by the famous voyage of Mansa Musa the emperor of the Empire of Mali to Mecca for pilgrimage in 1324-25 have had serious long-term consequences on Africa. According to Levtzion, Mansa Musa brought with him about fifteen tons of gold.² In the context, Bovill states: "He rode on horseback preceded by 500 slaves, each carrying a staff of gold weighing 500 mithkal or about 6 pounds. In his baggage train of camels were 80 to 100 loads of gold each weighing three kantar or about 300 pounds."³ Mansa Musa's passage through Cairo left important consequences on the economy of Egypt. His unprecedentedly lavish distribution of gold made much gold into circulation that its value dropped considerably.⁴ These echoes reached the European merchants who hitherto had not yet established direct contacts with the negro states and kingdoms in West Africa.

¹- E.W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.109.

²- Nehemia Levtzion, *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800*, (London: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1994), p.190.

³- E.W. Bovill, *Caravans of the Old Sahara*, (Oxford: International African Institute, 1933), p.71.

⁴ Ibid., p.72.

They used to deal with the intermediate Jews merchants, in North Africa, who controlled trans-Saharan trade, which linked West Africa to Europe.¹

The journey of Mansa Musa to Mecca and the economic consequences it left, particularly in Egypt, stirred the European ambitions about exploring Africa to look for the source of gold, and therefore avoid dealing with the North African middlemen merchants who were imposing high prices on the gold brought from West Africa. Furthermore, the Mans's pilgrimage brought the Empire of Mali to the attention of European cartographers. For the first time, in 1339, Mali has been shown on a European map. In 1367, another map of the world showed a road leading from North Africa through the Atlas Mountains into the Western Sudan. In 1375, the Majorcan cartographer Abraham Cresques completed his Catalan Atlas in which he showed the king of Mali seated in majesty upon his throne holding a nugget of gold and a sceptre, while the merchants of North Africa march towards him.² (See Map1)

A few years later, the Portuguese launched their first expeditions led by Henry the Navigator along the western coasts of Africa³. Within the four centuries which followed the first direct contacts between the Europeans and the Africans of West Africa, the whole continent witnessed major events which have had deep social, economic and political consequences. The most important of which were trans-Atlantic slave trade and the partition of Africa followed by the establishment of colonial rule, the exploitation of the African resources and economic dependency. The establishment of direct contacts with the peoples of West Africa for commercial purposes at the beginning developed into trading in human beings under what is known as the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The latter has lasted for three centuries causing a loss of about twelve million Africans all trans-shipped to be sold in the Americas to work in mines and plantations.⁴ After the abolition of slave trade, the Europeans adopted a new strategy based on an intensive exploitation of the African resources. Then, in the last phase of the European presence in Africa, they decided its partition and the establishment of colonial rule.

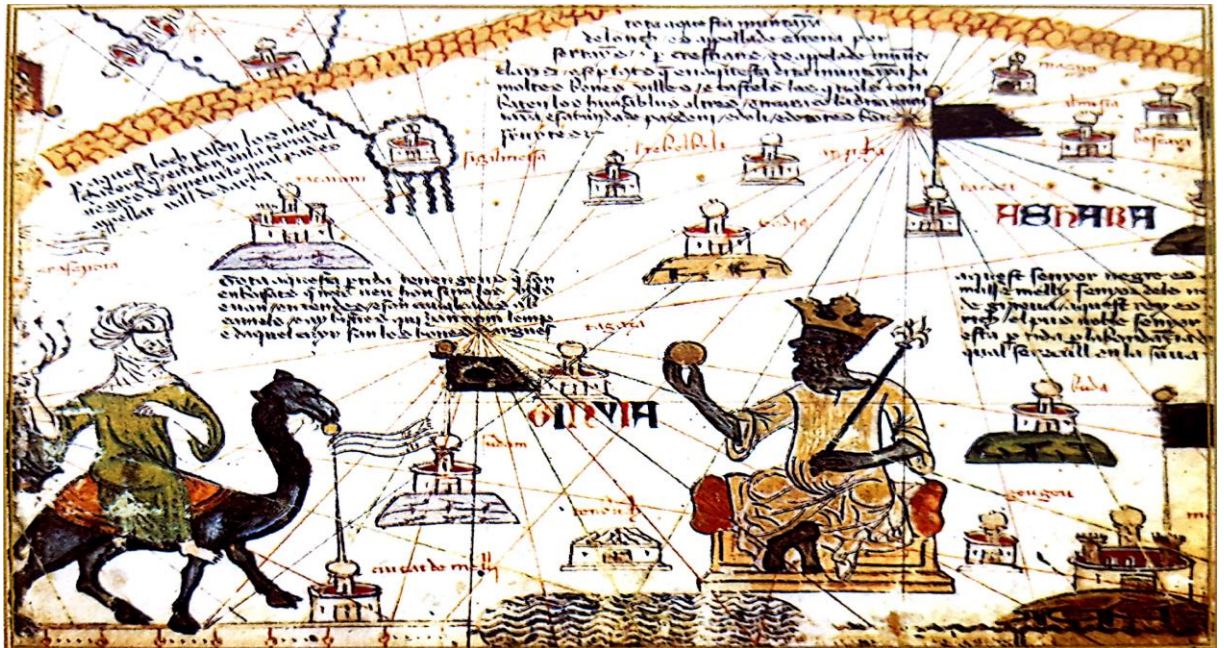
1 John Hunwick, *Jews of a Saharan Oasis: Elimination of the Tamantit Community*, (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006), p.3.

2 Basil Davidson, *Africa in History*, (London: Phoenix Press, 1991), p.100.

3 - J. D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p.47.

4 - Fage, op. cit., p.83.

Map1: Western Sudan in 1375 from the Atlas of Africa



Source: Gaoussou Diawara, Abu Bakari II Explorateur Mandingue, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2010, the cover page of the book

Until the mid-fifteenth century, African commodities reached Europe through the North African middlemen merchants. The Europeans showed discontentment from the unfair deal of the North African traders and decided to establish direct commercial contacts with the Africans. In the beginning, they set forward two objectives. First, they wanted to set up direct access to West Africa to avoid the high taxes imposed on gold by North African middlemen, and ultimately establishing a direct sea-route to Asia by circumnavigating Africa. Second, they aimed at creating an alliance with the Christians¹ in East Africa, especially in Ethiopia to surround and attack Muslims in North Africa.

1.3. The Arrival of the Europeans

The Portuguese were the pioneers to explore the western coasts of Africa. By 1434, Prince Henry the Navigator, son of John II King of Portugal, began these explorations. They believed that if they could control trade on the west coast of Africa, they should be able to

¹ - The Portuguese were Catholics so they aimed at cutting any relation between Ethiopia whose people were Orthodox, and the Orthodox Church in Europe. Fage, op. cit., p.50.

control trade in gold, which had hitherto been controlled by North African Muslims. However, the explorations stopped at Sierra Leone because of the death of Henry the Navigator in 1460. Ten years later, Fernao Gomes, a Portuguese merchant resumed the explorations southward. Gomes reached Fernando Po by 1475 after he had left his men looking for gold between the Ankroba and Volta Rivers. Gomes and his men found so much gold that they gave the name of Mina - which means the mine - to that area.¹

The name "Gold Coast" was later adopted by the English, and the Europeans used it during the whole period of their presence there. In fact, the Portuguese managed to achieve their economic objective which was to put an end to the North African traders' monopoly on gold, however, the political objective could not be achieved. Indeed, the arrival of the Europeans brought deep social, economic, and political changes in the area known as the Gold Coast.

1.3.1. Social Changes

The European presence certainly influenced the African societies Socially; important changes took place after the arrival of the Europeans. Trans-Atlantic slave trade which was initiated and controlled by these Europeans had severe consequences on the local communities. Many families lost members of theirs; children were left orphans because their fathers were captured and deported to the Americas. Some part in West Africa suffered from a lack of food due to a shortage of labour. Men who were able to provide food and shelter were captured and taken far from their home. In contrast, missionaries contributed a lot to the social development of the local people. Despite their early arrival, it was only by the 1830s onward that they intensified their activities. The real work started when the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society sent four missionaries to the Gold Coast to educate and Christianise Africans.² Since then, some missions arrived in the Gold Coast among which the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the North German Missionary Society, the Roman Catholic Mission, and the Roman Catholic White Father's Mission.³ The main objectives of these missions were to evangelise the local people, in addition to the promotion of western civilisation. They also aimed at promoting agriculture, in particular, cash crops to help to put

¹ Ibid., pp.51-52.

² - Adu Boahen, *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (London: Longman, 1975), p.79.

³ - Ibid., p.81.

an end to the slave trade.¹ Furthermore, they improved the standard of living of people by introducing new architecture and materials in building houses replacing the traditional round houses made of mud and grass. Also, missionaries had great achievements in the educational field; they introduced the primary, elementary and secondary education in the Gold Coast. The Wesleyan Mission, for instance, founded the first secondary school in 1876. However, the missions' activities had some bad effects that could be summed up in the neglect of the African identity. On the other hand, the British officials fought against some habits and practices that they saw inhumane and hindered the development of the local people. They also generated peace and order among conflicting tribes and stopped raids on merchants. Finally, it is necessary to mention that the social achievements were important and changed a lot of traditions in the local people's life.

1.3.2. Economic Changes

Economically, the early Portuguese expeditions were motivated by commercial objectives, that is, to secure direct access to African gold and to discover a new route to reach Asia to avoid the Italian brokers and Muslim middlemen, who controlled trade between Western Europe and Asia. As a consequence of both the Portuguese and later on other European explorations in the Western Coasts of Africa, the course of trade changed southwards rather than northwards. The nature of goods the Gold Coasters used to exchange with the northern markets changed as well. The most important commodity that took over trade in gold was slaves, which lasted for more than three centuries.

The first contact between the Portuguese and the natives (the Akans) on the coastal area took place in 1482. In the beginning, the contacts were limited to purely commercial purposes. The Portuguese traders dealt with the natives on board the ships. They used to exchange their manufactured goods such as cloth, beads, perfumes, alcohol, utensils, and guns for gold, ivory, peppers and kola nuts. To impose a firm monopoly over trade on West Africa, John II, then king of Portugal, decided to build a fort on the shore where the Portuguese traders could keep their goods, and as a headquarters to control trade along the coast. The castle which was given the name of Elmina² had been built under great tension between the Portuguese and the natives who opposed its building. However, the hostile

¹ - Ibid., p.82.

² - F. W. H. Migeod, "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 15, No. 59 (Apr., 1916): p.236.

attitude of the local people did not affect trade. Trade in gold, for instance, reached its peak in the early sixteenth century, the natives exported about 680 kilogrammes (24000oz), which represented about one-tenth of the world's supply. It is worth noting that slaves, as a new commodity, entered the list of exports from the Gold Coast for the first time.

Subsequently, other European rivals entered the competition with the Portuguese for trade in West Africa. After the Dutch had broken the Portuguese monopoly, the French, Swedish, Danes, and English converged on the coast.¹ During the eighteenth century, some forts and castles, used as trading posts, were built by the Dutch, English, and Danish. The presence of the Europeans in the Gold Coast had a relatively positive economic impact on the local people. This significant presence created a growing demand for goods and services. This demand stimulated local people to produce more crops and crafts.² They had to provide enough food to sell to about 1000 permanent workers for the West India Company.³ Also, craftsmen provided the Europeans with small boats and containers used in transporting goods and commodities from and to the interior, and from ships to the shore. The list of imports included more than seventy different commodities, among which manufactured goods, raw materials and food such as olive oil, rye flour and beans. The long list of manufactured imported goods can be classified into five main categories: cloth, military supplies, alcohol, tobacco, and metalware.⁴ The list of exports, on the other hand, included: gold, ivory and slaves, in addition to some agricultural products such as lime juice, dyewoods, wax, pepper, rice and gum.⁵ Gold and slaves represented the highest proportion in the list of exports. In fact, by the seventeenth century onwards, the value of slave exports exceeded that of gold exports. In his article, 'A Note on Relative Importance of Slaves and Gold in West African Exports', Van den Boogaart, estimated the price of a slave at £20, for

¹ - Susan Blumenthal, *Bright Continent: A Shoestring Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1974), p. 90.

² - Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa*, Vol.79, Part 7, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society 1989), p. 65.

³ - West India Company is a chartered company of Dutch merchants. Among its founding fathers was Willem Usselincx (1567-1647). On June 3, 1621, it was granted a charter for a trade monopoly in the West Indies (meaning the Caribbean) by the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands and given jurisdiction over the African slave trade, Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America. The area where the company could operate consisted of West Africa (between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope) and the Americas, which included the Pacific Ocean and the eastern part of New Guinea. The intended purpose of the charter was to eliminate competition, particularly Spanish or Portuguese, between the various trading posts established by the merchants. The company became instrumental in the Dutch colonization of the Americas. Source: Wikipedia

⁴ - Feinberg, op. cit., p.50.

⁵ - Ibid., p.52.

the whole century, a period during which the average annual value of gold exported from the Gold Coast was estimated at £200,000.¹ If we consider the figure of the average annual number of slaves exported during the same period, as suggested by Fage, who gave an estimate of 13000,² the value of slave exports will be £260,000, which were slightly higher than the value of gold exports.

Inter-tribal wars were one of the reasons that led to this increase in slave exports. They also shaped the area into more than twenty separate political states, the most important of which, the Ashanti and the Fanti. On the other hand, the Portuguese rivals soon established themselves on the coast to trade with Africans, breaking the Portuguese commercial monopoly. Furthermore, the Dutch captured some of the Portuguese possessions in West Africa such as Arguin, Goree, Sao Thomé, Loanda, and all the trading posts in the Gold Coast. In fact, the Gold Coast forts were continually changing hands during the period between 1637 and 1720, because of the bitter competition between the European nations.³ For example, the Cape Coast Castle fell under Swedish, Danish and Dutch control before finally falling under British control in 1664. The new circumstances compelled the Portuguese to withdraw southwards to Fernando Po, in the Gulf of Guinea. The islands showed favourable conditions for growing sugar which was of great demand in Europe. The Portuguese faced the problem of adequate labour to achieve their aim. Hence, they developed trade with the mainland to secure slaves to work on sugar plantations.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the European entrepreneurs were active in both minerals and agriculture. At first, they relied on the natives to work in mines and on plantations. But they soon realised that they couldn't achieve their objectives relying on the local labour. Some of them died during the conquest, others because of the hard work, or the white man disease brought by the Europeans. The Spaniards, in particular, faced a labour shortage in exploring the important reserves of silver and gold in Mexico and Peru. They also needed labour to grow sugar in the West Indies islands, which was of great value in Europe. They thought about bringing the Africans, who were familiar with hard work, and had a high immunity against diseases related to tropical zones, like malaria and yellow fever. They were also familiar with the new climatic conditions which were similar to those in

¹ - Ernest Van Den Boogaart, "The Trade between West Africa and the Atlantic World, 1600-90: Estimates of trends in Composition and Value," *Journal of African History*, 33, (1992): p.369.

² - Fage, op. cit., p.83.

³ - Fage, op. cit., p.74

West Africa. For these reasons, the demand for African labour arose and opened the door wide to a long era of trans-Atlantic slave trade.

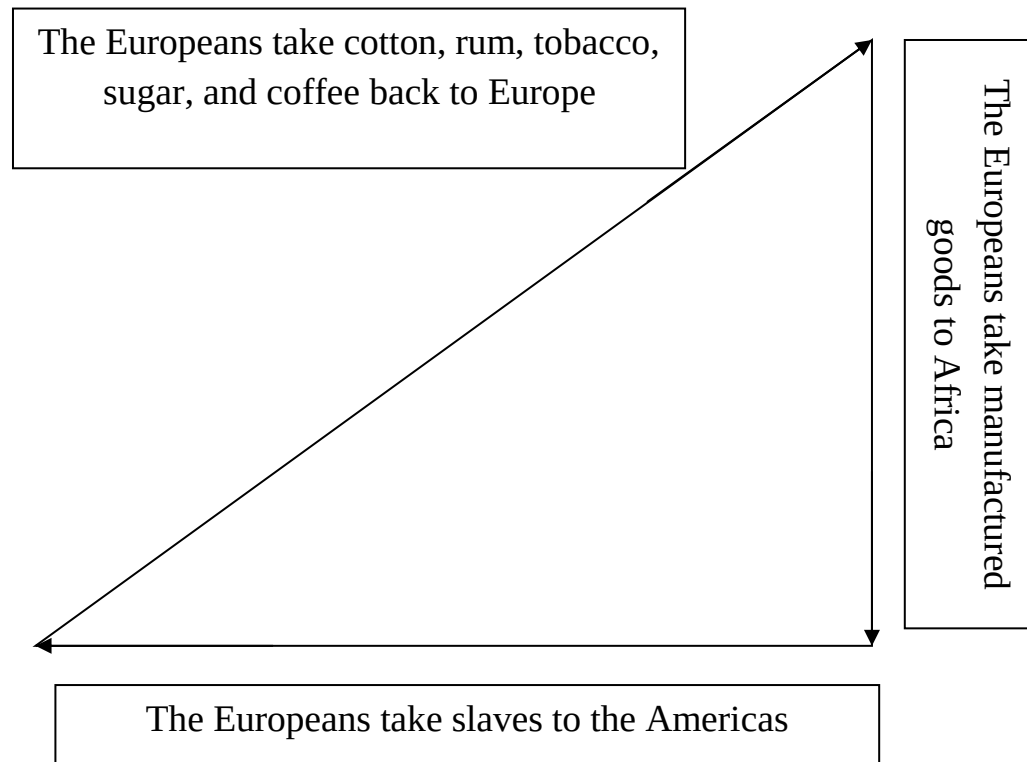


Figure 1: The Triangular Trade

Consequently, the European nations entered a keen competition for slave trade to meet the greatly increasing demand for slaves to supply the sugar plantations in the West Indies, and the mines of copper, silver and gold in Mexico, Peru and Brazil with required labour. Slave trade, then, flourished on the western coasts of Africa, which were divided into three spheres of influence under the control of the Europeans. First, Senegambia's two navigable rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia were controlled by the French and the English respectively. Second, Upper Guinea which extended from Gambia to the Bight of Biafra, on about 2000 miles. This area witnessed the presence of different European nations, among which, the Danish, the Dutch, and the English. Finally, Lower Guinea, a coast extending on about 1500 miles, from Calabar to the southern desert which was dominated by the Portuguese. Thus, the trans-Atlantic slave trade was seen as an economic enterprise; it enriched traders and supplied the West Indies Islands, and the colonies in the Americas with labour. The extension of the tobacco and cotton plantations in America brought the demand

for slaves to its peak and gave slave traders large opportunities to make profits under the context of the Triangular Trade.

Throughout the three centuries of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, it is estimated about 20 million Africans were uprooted from their homes and brought to the Americas. Curtin and Fage estimated the number of slaves who landed in the Americas at 9,300,000 and 11 million respectively.¹ In fact, it is not possible to give numbers with absolute certainty. This important human flow in the history of Africa, in general, and of West Africa in particular, affected labour and had a serious impact on the local subsistence economy. In front of this situation marked by a frightening rate of slaves transported from Africa to the Americas, the British decided to prohibit this activity through the Abolition Act of 1807. The latter generated divergent interpretations; in the official discourse, the British declared that the Act was adopted for humanitarian and philanthropic reasons. Other scholars and politicians gave it an economic interpretation. Brigadier de Cunha Matos, Deputy of Nina Geras, for instance, had demonstrated to the Brazilian Chamber of Representatives in a series of debates that the British government intended to build a commercial monopoly behind humanitarian and philanthropic considerations. In the same context, Boahen and Batten, respectively wrote:

"The British industrialists who needed raw materials and markets contented that instead of enslaving and exporting the African, he should rather be encouraged to produce more raw materials and consume manufactured goods at home."²

"Industrial countries not only needed customers for their manufactured goods, they also needed many raw materials for their factories and also foodstuffs for their peoples."³

The British thought that it would be more profitable to stop the slave trade, and keep the Africans working on farms and in mines at home to supply agricultural and mineral products required by the metropolitan economy. By the second half of the eighteenth century, Britain witnessed the birth of the Industrial Revolution which made the demand for raw materials in a steady increase. Thus, the British were compelled to take such a measure to secure a regular supply of raw materials from their colonies in Africa. Furthermore, they were forced to press the other European nations to do the same, otherwise, their colonies

¹ - Fage, op. cit., p. 82.

² - Boahen, op. cit., p.89.

³ - T. R. Batten, *Tropical Africa in World History*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p.83.

would become uncompetitive. Hence, the abolition of the slave trade was an unavoidable measure. Finally, it can be concluded that it is unfair to neglect the role the philanthropist groups led by Granville Sharp, Philip Quaque, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Buxton, who led an active anti-slavery campaign ended by the Abolition Act in 1807.¹ The anti-slavery campaigns influenced, to a large extent, the public opinion in Britain to exert more pressure on the British government.

The abolition of slave trade left an economic vacuum, which was gradually filled by the promotion of agriculture. The latter witnessed radical changes. Foreign entrepreneurs with the help of missionaries introduced new technologies into the means of production to improve and increase the products. They, gradually, carried off with the existing subsistence economy and involved local farmers in a cash crop one. The Danes, for instance, tried during the second decade of the nineteenth century to establish an agricultural export enterprise to produce maize, coffee and cotton.² It is worth noting that the new system succeeded thanks to the favourable attitude of the local people. They were not aware enough of the ultimate consequences of such a system on their food self-sufficiency. Finally, it is consequential to remark the foreign entrepreneurs' intention to encourage the production of primary produce needed by their markets, which contributed to the establishment of a peripheral economy in the Gold Coast.

The measures adopted to fill this vacuum brought radical changes in the economy of the Gold Coast. The years that followed the abolition witnessed the development of legitimate trade, that is, cotton, palm oil and kernel, groundnuts, timber, rubber, and coconuts. During the nineteenth century, the missions worked hard to promote agricultural products in the Gold Coast. They encouraged farmers to produce commodities for export to replace the export of slaves. The Basel Mission, for instance, introduced cocoa into the Gold Coast in 1857.³ It also encouraged the plantation of palm oil and cotton. Similarly, the European merchants tried to adapt the crops to be promoted to the needs of the metropolitan markets. For instance, the wide use of machines, and the expansion of the railway mileage in the world made the demand for oil greater. At first, the main source of oil was whales, but

¹ - Godfrey N. Brown, *An Active History of Ghana*, Vol. 1 From the Earliest Times to 1844, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1961), p.72.

² - Ray A. Kea, "Plantation and labour in the south-east Gold Coast from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century, From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce," in *African Studies*, ed. Robin Law, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.131.

³- Boahen, op. cit., p.82.

as the demand grew, it became necessary to look for other sources.¹ Those Europeans had to take into consideration some factors that could help the choice of crops to be promoted among which, first, the economic interest, second, suitable climatic conditions and an adequate soil, third, the three factors of production, (land, labour and capital) necessary for any business.

1.3.2.1. Agriculture and Food Self-Sufficiency in the Pre-colonial Period

Sources show that the people of the Gold Coast achieved food self-sufficiency in the pre-colonial period. What were its agricultural potentialities and what were the economic activities on which the people of the Gold Coast used to live?

1.3.2.1.1. Geographic Features

Ghana is one of the four British colonies in West Africa, which enjoys a variety of reliefs, rivers and favourable climatic conditions for growing a large number of crops which make of it a leading agricultural country.

The area known, during the pre-colonial and colonial periods, as the Gold Coast, now Ghana, is located to the north of the shore of the Gulf of Guinea. It lies between 5° and 6° north of the Equator, and extends from 3° 7' west to 1° 14' east.² It covers about 237,873 square km, divided into the northern territories, the Ashanti land and the southern territories. It is bordered by the Gulf of Guinea to the south, the Ivory Coast to the west, Burkina Faso to the north and Togo to the east. The area derives its rather pleasant-sounding name from the fact that gold was found in abundance. In fact, it was the driving force for European trade, and it has regularly been exported since the arrival of the Portuguese by the late fifteenth century. It is important to note that this area is distinct from the Empire of Ghana that existed in West Africa between the second and eleventh centuries,³ and was inhabited by a number of ethnic groups.

¹ - Batten, op.cit., p.84.

² - Michael Havinden and David Meredith, *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its tropical colonies, 1850-1960*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p.56.

³ - Ancient Ghana, the capital of which Kumbi Saleh, 330 km north of Bamako and 365 km west of Timbuktu, dominated large parts of West Africa including parts of Senegal, Mali, and Upper Volta, was composed of two main ethnic groups, the Soninke or the Sarakole and the Susu. J. D. Fage, a British historian, attempted to give a precise idea about the origin of Ancient Ghana, founding his writings on the manuscripts left by some Berber, Arab and Negro historians and geographers. He wrote in this respect: "Whatever its origins by the time (1067-8) that al Bakri was writing, Ghana was a major Negro State, dependent for its prosperity and power on its control of west African exports, particularly of gold, to north Africa...". Fage, op. cit., p.18. Archaeologists had recently discovered ruins of a great town in stone at Kumbi Saleh which are believed to be those of the capital of the ancient empire of Ghana. This major Negro state, as described by Fage, lasted till the

The Gold Coast covers about 237,873 square km, divided into the northern territories, the Ashanti land and the southern territories. The central parts of the colony are known as the Volta Basin. (See Map 5) The coastline is mostly a low, sandy shore backed by plains crossed by several rivers and streams. (See Map 2) Its topography is characterised by low physical relief except in the east. More precisely, there are five distinct geographical regions: low plains inland from the Atlantic coast; northern plateau stretching from the western border to Volta River Basin averaging 450 metres in height; mountainous uplands along the eastern border; bisected in the south by Volta River Gorge; Volta River Basin in the centre; and dissected plateau up to 300 metres high in the north. The streams and rivers that flow northward crossing the tropical rainforest belt provide good conditions for growing a large variety of crops. The physical features of its geography made it a farming area.

Some ethnic groups lived in this area in the form of states and kingdoms. The Ga lived in the grassland to the north, while the Akan who are according to Ward the first ethnic group forest area to the south, they came from the north after the collapse of the Empire of Ghana in the twelfth century.¹ George Padmore argues that the nationalists who led the struggle for independence, and changed the name of the colony from ‘the Gold Coast’ to ‘Ghana’ were inspired by the Ancient Empire of Ghana.² In the open savannah and coastal area lived the Ga Adangbe and the Ewe. The Akan have traditionally been living in centralised states while the other ethnics, particularly, the Gonja, Mamprusi, and Dagomba Coast’ to ‘Ghana’ were

beginning of the thirteenth century. It was invaded by the Moravids by the second half of the eleventh century. Led by Yahia Ibn Ibrahim, they succeeded to subjugate Awdaghost, an important city in the north of Ghana, in 1054. Under the command of Abu Bakr Ibn Umar, they Continued their invasion towards Kumbi Saleh which they surrounded for about ten years. Bessi Tinkra, then emperor of Ghana, could not resist to the Moravids’ attacks, and the capital fell in 1077. The Moravids occupied Ghana for a short time from 1077-1087, then they were swept by a Soninke rebellion. However, the Moravids’ invasion of the Empire of Ghana marked the beginning of the decline of that great empire in West Africa. The two major states that belonged to the Empire declared their independence from Ancient Ghana. A conflict broke out between Keita, the King of the Mende, and Sumanguru, the King of the Susu to inherit the collapsed Ancient Ghana. Singuita Ben Nari Famagan Keita defeated Sumanguru in the famous battle of Kerina and established the Empire of Mali in 1235, while the remaining Sarakole people, who constituted the main ethnic group in Ancient Ghana, withdrew southwards.

It is believed that the remaining kings of Ancient Ghana withdrew with their people southwards and imposed their domination on the existing stateless people in the area known later on as the Gold Coast, and which will be known as modern Ghana after independence. Boahen, a Ghanaian historian in the History Department of the University of Ghana, also talks about invaders who came to the northern territory from the Hausaland, but he specified neither the date of this invasion nor that of the emergence of the different states and kingdoms. He wrote: “*Historians have given conflicting answers as to when this invasion took place and these kingdoms emerged. Some say the four principal ones[Mamprussi, Dagomba, Nanumba and Gonja] were established as early as the eleventh century, others claim this did not happen until the end of the twelfth century or even the fifteenth or sixteenth century.*” Boahen, op. cit., p.2.

¹ - David E. Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p.22.

² George Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1953), p.1.

inspired by the Ancient Empire of Ghana.¹ In the open savannah and coastal area lived the Ga Adangbe and the Ewe. The Akan have traditionally been living in centralised states while the other ethnics, particularly, the Gonja, Mamprusi, and Dagomba were

Map2: Physical Regions in the Gold Coast

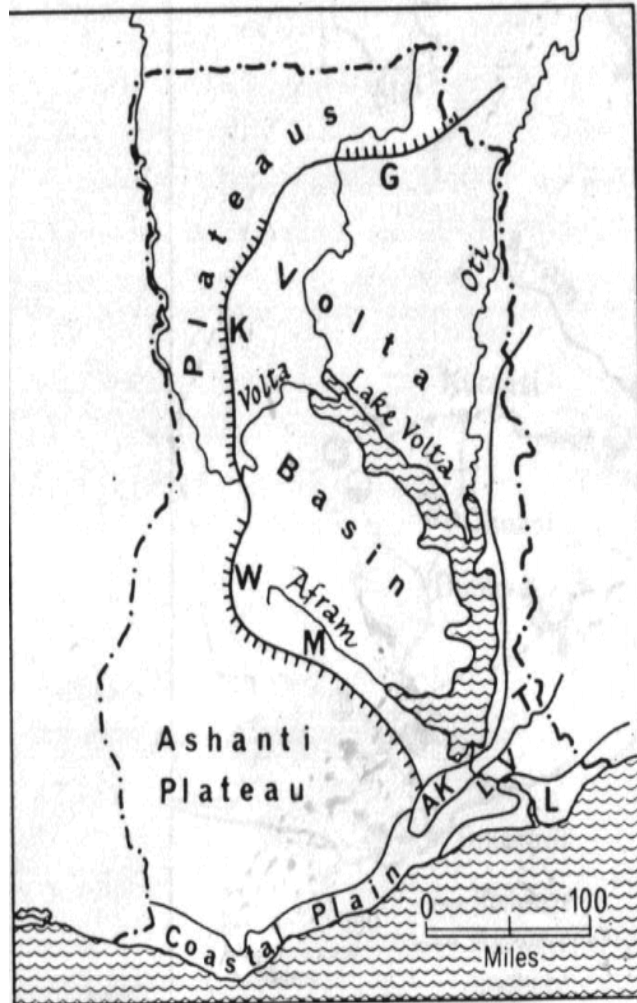


FIG. 89. — Ghana. Physical regions. Scarps:
 G = Gambaga;
 K = Konkori;
 W = Wenchi;
 M = Mampong.
 Other features:
 AK = Akwapim Hills;
 T = Togoland Mountains;
 LV = Lower Volta Plains;
 L = Lagoon and swamp coast.

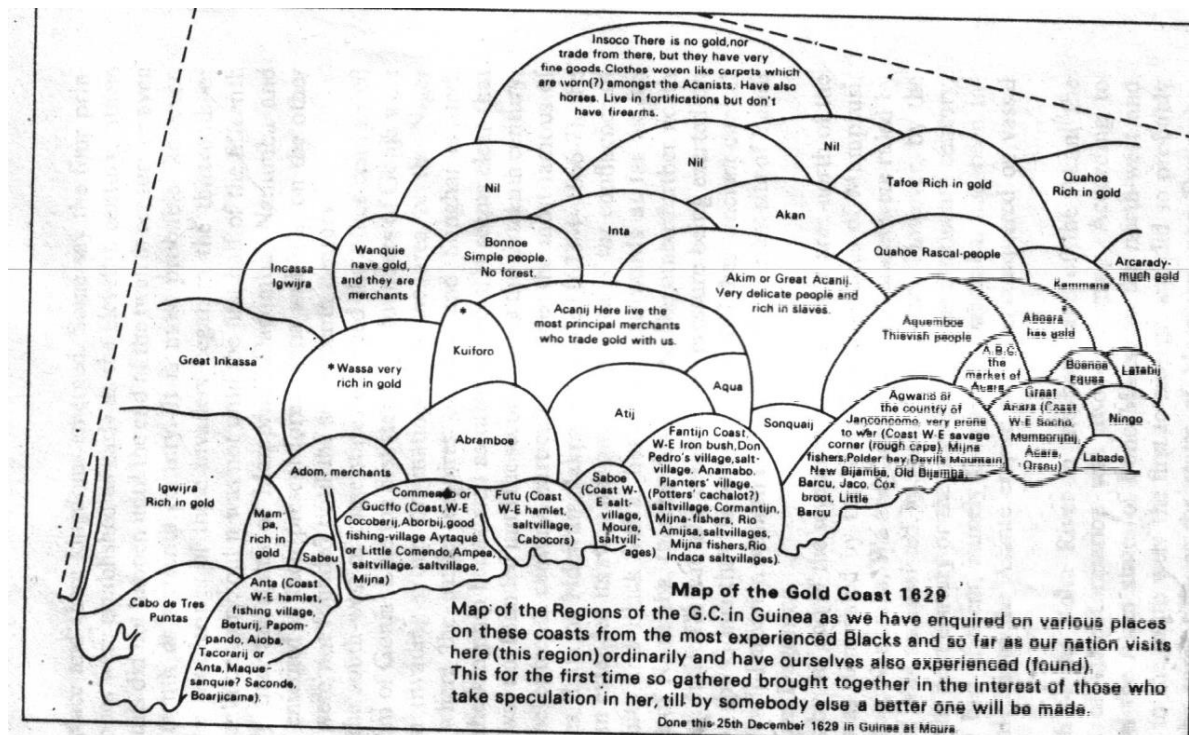
Source: H. R. Jarrett, *Africa*, (London: MacDonald & Evans Ltd., 1970), p. 282.

immigrants, forming independent states.² Most of these ethnic groups had settled in their present locations by the sixteenth century coming from the north, after the decline of the northern states and kingdoms. (See Map3)

¹ George Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* (London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1953), p.1.

²- Boahen, op. cit., pp.4-7.

Map 3: The Gold Coast in 1629



Source: Boahen, op. cit., p. 8

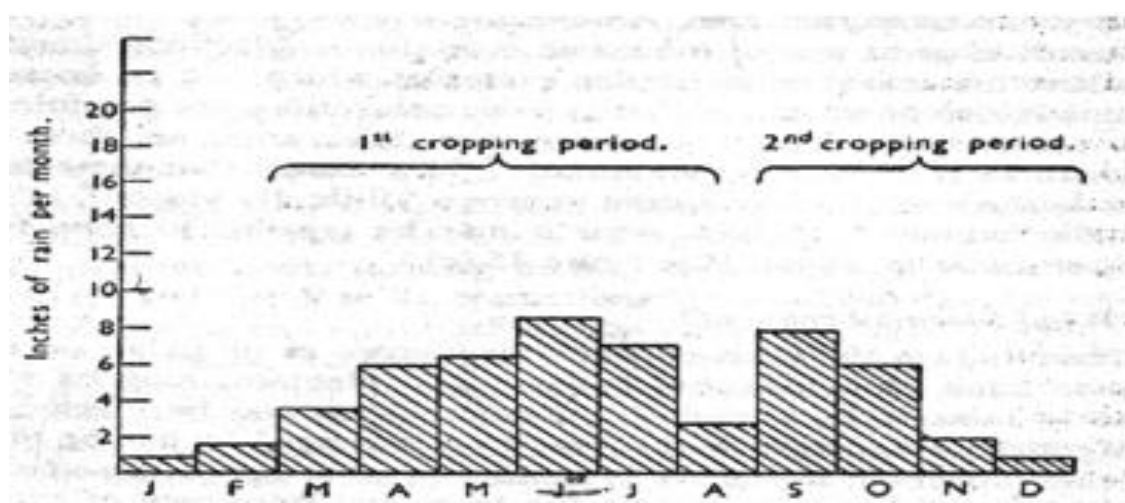
When the Europeans first came to the Gold Coast, they found some states and kingdoms scattered along the coast, and in the interior. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the territory known as the Gold Coast witnessed constant transformations. Up to the nineteenth century, political developments in the area largely revolved around the emergence, expansion, and decline of a number of states. This situation carried much population movement. Some peoples lived in stateless societies, particularly in the north. The others formed well-organised states under the control of the Ashanti, and the Fanti in the central and southern regions respectively. They lived on a number economic activities, the most important of which farming.

The physical characteristics of the soil are crucial and need to be taken into consideration since our aim is the agricultural production. The most important element to check in selecting land for farming, is the fertility of the soil. The best soils are generally dark brown near the surface. The fertility of the soil can be tested by taking a handful of it, when pressed with fingers it should stick together in a ball form. This ball should be capable

of being broken again by slight pressure with the fingers. In contrast, sandy soil is not very fertile, that is, the little organic substance is rapidly lost when it is cropped. A clayey soil is difficult to work with, too much clay in the lower layers means that drainage will be poor. For instance, it is unwise to grow groundnuts in a heavy clay soil, because the nuts stick in the soil and an important quantity of the crop is lost at harvest. Similarly, yams cannot be cultivated in such soil, because they need space underground so as tubers grow bigger. In contrast, cocoa requires a dark brown soil which is not too sandy or too sticky with a damp climate. Thus the preliminary examination of the soil is very important. In the light of the evidence, most of the soils in the Gold Coast are fertile which made it an agricultural colony suitable for growing a variety of both food and cash crops.

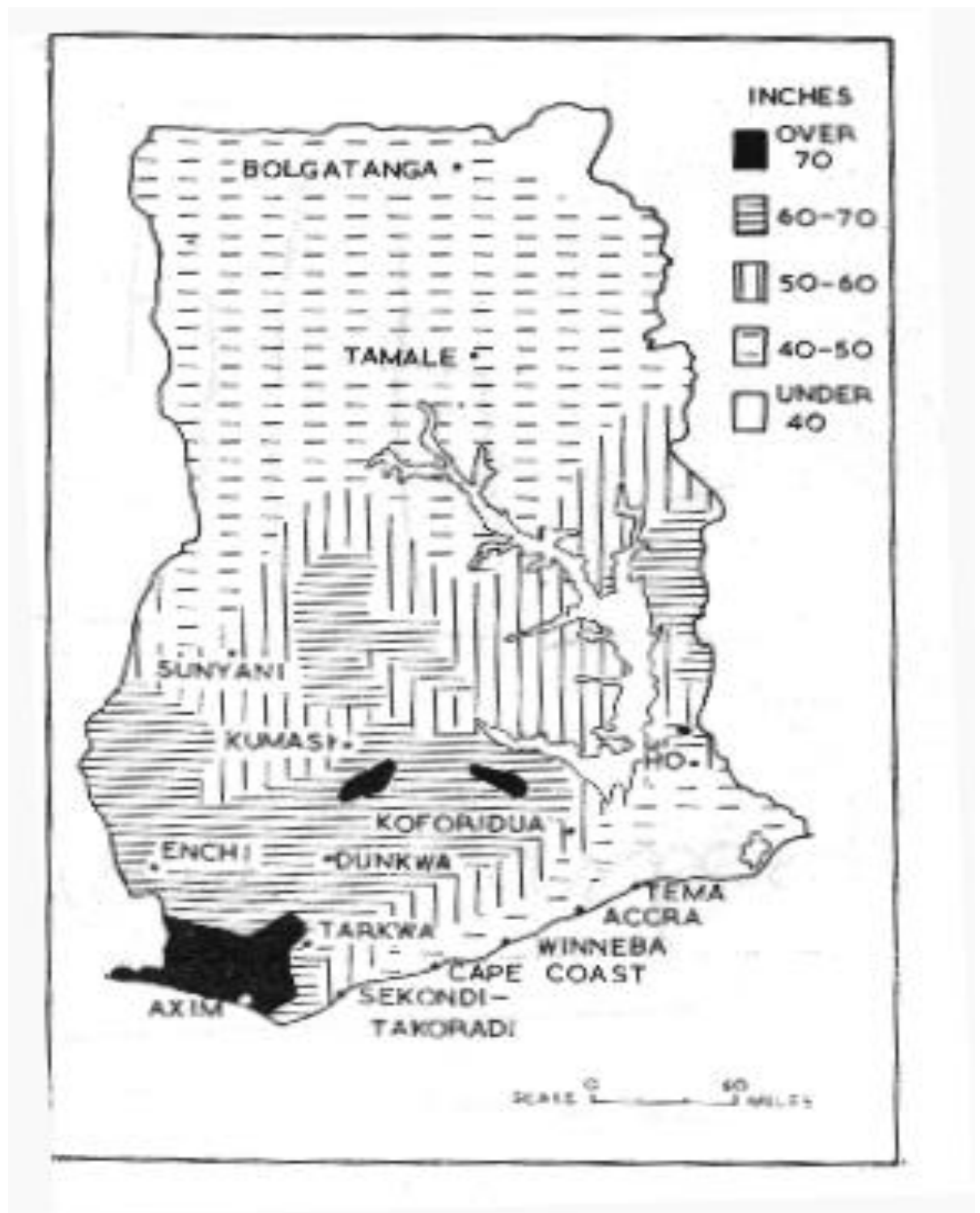
The climate in the Gold Coast is tropical, the eastern coastal belt is warm and relatively dry, the western region, hot and humid; and the north hot and dry. For a tropical country the rainfall is not high, in the eastern coastal belt it is only about fifty centimetres a year; it reaches one hundred and twenty to one hundred and ninety centimetres in the forest and about one hundred and fifteen centimetres in the open country. There are two rainy seasons: the greater rains, from April to August; and the second rains, from December to March. (See Figure 2) The average rainfall in the southern region was about 200 centimetres. Generally, the total rainfall and length of the wet season diminish as we move northward from the coast and the reliability on rain in irrigation decreases. (See Map 4) At the beginning and the end of the rainy seasons strong winds are common and sometimes do much damage by blowing down trees.

Figure2: A Two-peak Rainfall at Axim in the South-West of the Gold Coast



Source: R. Miller, *Africa*, (Aylesbury Bucks: Hazell Watson & Winey Ltd., 1967), p. 140.

Map 4: Rainfall over the Gold Coast



Source: Miller, op. cit., p. 140.

1.3.2.2. Means of Production

It is hard to talk about the means of production in their modern terms during the pre-colonial period. Simple hand-made tools were used in the different farming activities. Thus, the following paragraphs are devoted to the discussion of the remaining means of production, that is, land, labour and capital.

By the arrival of the Europeans, the local peoples had been working on their farms within a familial or tribal context. There was a social division of labour,¹ that is, hard works such as tilling land, seeding, and harvesting were performed by men, while the remaining activities were left to women. Farmers sometimes hired skilled labour for specific tasks. Generally, different types of agricultural work existed in the Gold Coast, for instance, labour could be obtained on the basis of help to be returned later. Another form common on large plantations called casual labour, where workers could be provided with meals and drinks, and cash payment.²

It is important to stress the fact that, during the pre-colonial period, labour was negatively affected by a number of factors. First, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were marked by massive exports of gold, which required more labour to the detriment of agriculture. Second, the massive deportation of Africans during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, mainly from West Africa,³ caused labour shortage, which threatened the production of food and raw materials seriously. Third, by the nineteenth century, and after the abolition of slave trade, missionaries and foreign merchants encouraged the plantation of cash crops, which required extensive labour. Thanks to the incentive wages suggested by landlords and entrepreneurs the Gold Coast started to know a gradual shift from a traditional economy based on providing food to a monetary economy, whose objective was to provide cash crops and raw materials for foreign markets. As mentioned before, the serious factor that threatened an adequate supply of labour, to keep pace with the increasing demand for cash crops and raw materials in foreign markets, was the persistence of trans-Atlantic slave trade to which the British government thought to put an end. This supported the economic interpretation of the Abolition Act.

¹ - The French sociologist August Comte advocated the social division of labour, he said that it tended to increase social solidarity through the mutual relations of dependence between the workers.

² - T. A. Phillips, *Farm Management in West Africa*, (London: Longman, 1961), p.59.

³ - Fage estimated that the Africans uprooted from West Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented 60% out of the total exports of slaves. Fage, op. cit., p.84.

The capital or the amount of money a farmer has, is another factor to be added to those examined so far. In fact, money in its modern form had not yet been used; commercial transactions were concluded either in the form of barter, or by other primitive means of exchange, such as cowries, iron bars, gold dust, cotton bales, and the like. When the local farmers began growing crops which take a long time to come to bearing age from the time of being planted, they faced financial problems due to a lack of capital. It is also important to distinguish between the crops regarding time they take to come to bearing age from the time of being planted. Most of the tree crops in the Tropics give yields within a period between one and ten years.¹ This means that the farmer has to spend money on the crops throughout the period of their development, without an immediate return. In the absence of a banking system, in the pre-colonial period, to grant loans; farmers interplanted short-term or quick maturing crops through the main crops. For instance, with palm oil, they planted cassava, yams or maize to get some return in the first year.² It is also possible to grow cocoyam through cocoa trees. The short-term crops and the involvement in the production of rubber,³ which was, generally, tapped in the wild, and therefore did not require an important fund to be cultivated, allowed to accumulate capital.⁴ This capital with the short experience acquired by the local farmers in producing palm oil and rubber, and the technical assistance of the missionaries, in addition to the new capitalistic thoughts brought by the Europeans, paved the way for an agricultural system based on large plantations governed by capitalistic principles.⁵

Land constituted the main source of living for the people of the Gold Coast; it belonged to the community under the control of the chief. It could not be possessed by individuals as private property or inherited between the members of the same family, but it could be transferred from one community to another as a result of wars. For methodological purposes, the changes on land ownership brought about by the late nineteenth century and

¹ - For example: banana and pawpaw give yields within a year, cocoa and palm oil within four years; and coco nut palm and kola tree within ten years.

² - Phillips, op. cit., p.42.

³ - The production of rubber didn't require an important capital, African owners of rubber trees leased their holding to someone who taps the trees and takes the latex.

⁴ - The transfer from a non-monetary society to a monetary one allowed farmers and landlords to accumulate money. On the other hand, the change in the notion of labour from a merely non-waged duty towards the clan or the tribe to a paid duty allowed the emergence of a wage-working class. The personal revenue was shared between consumption and savings. In modern economies, almost all the savings are used in investment. Everett E. Hagen, *Economie du Développement*, (Paris : Economica, 1982), p.310.

⁵ - Kwame Arhin, "The Economic and Social Significance of Rubber Production and Exchange on the Gold and Ivory Coasts, 1880-1900," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 20, No. 1-2 (1977-78): p.61.

the early twentieth century will be developed in chapter two.

1.3.2.3. Economic Activities

In the pre-colonial period, the people of the Gold Coast lived on land on the basic economic activities, which had existed in any primitive pre-colonial society, as mentioned by Daryll Forde, a British anthropologist: farming, collecting, hunting, fishing, and stock raising,¹ in addition to salt making and trade.

Farming constituted the main economic activity for the people of the Gold Coast, a variety of crops were grown under different climatic and geographic conditions as mentioned in the previous paragraphs. In the rainforest zones, farmers grew yams, potatoes bananas, rice, okra, peas, pumpkins, beans, manioc, gourd, maize, and palm oil.² To the north, in the Savannah zone, they cultivated cereals such as wheat, sorghum, millet, and vegetables. Peasants relied on experiences accumulated throughout the different steps of the evolution of human beings to improve production. They learned how to cope with some problems such as erosion due to heavy rains, soil loss of organic materials due to overexploitation, and other deficiencies related to agriculture. For example, they built archaic dams to fight against erosion, burnt leaves and branches to get ashes, which were used in addition to herds' dung as natural fertilizers. In case of shortage of manure that weakens the soil, and makes it poor, farmers moved on to fresh land while leaving the used one to become fertile again. In other words, they used to alternate the cultivation of plots of land to make the non-cultivated parcels more productive the following year. In fact, shifting cultivation was a common technique in order to increase production. Farmers were also familiar with the system of rotating crops of the same family, a system commonly used nowadays to fight against soil diseases. Peasants used to produce two main groups of food crops, grain crops and root crops.

The main grain crops grown were: millet, rice, maize and Guinea corn. Millet was the most important grain in the Gold Coast; it was used to be the staple food in the southern region, this is why it was given the name *nmaa* which means in the local language food in

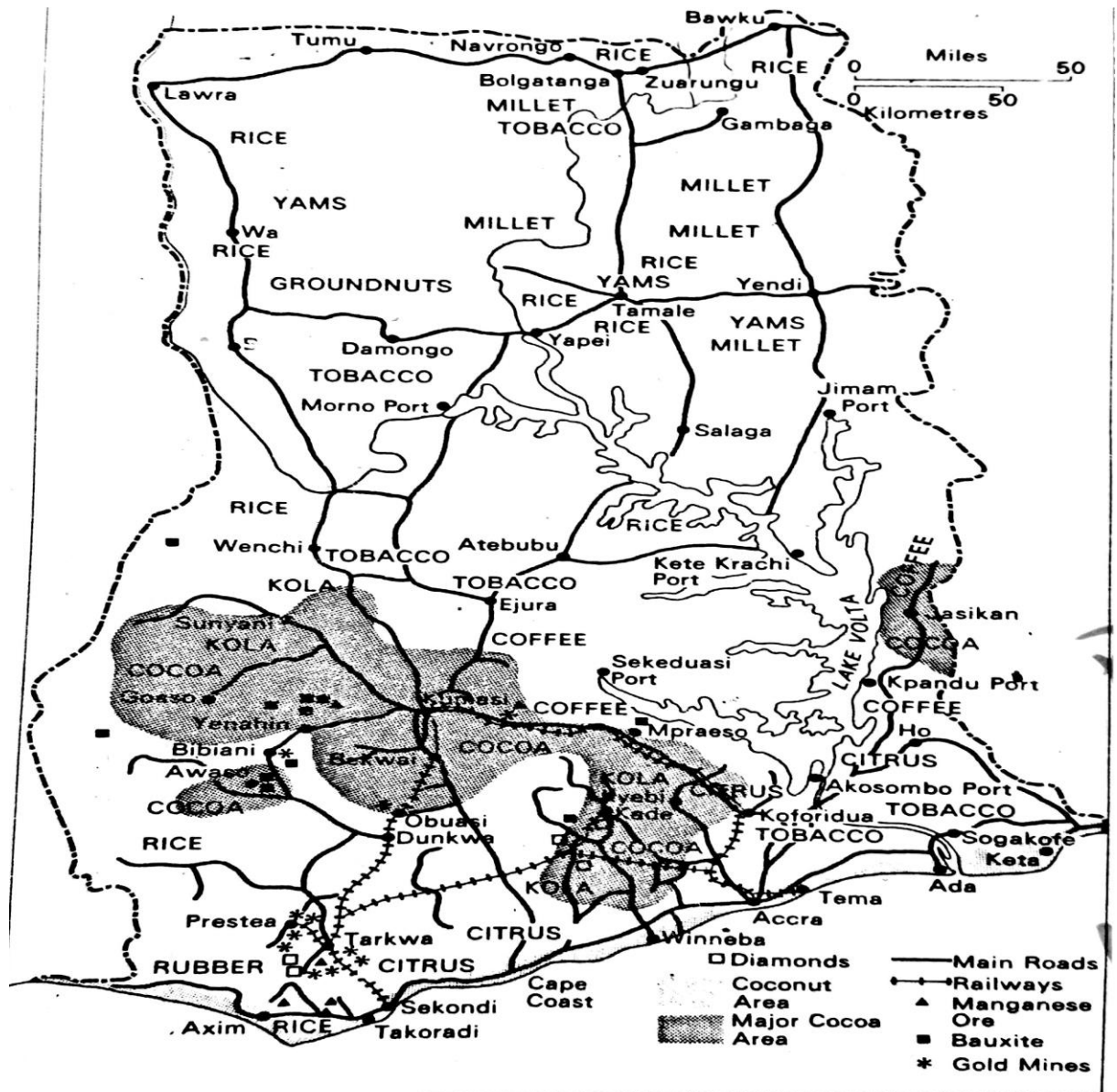
¹- Peter Duignan and L. H. Gann, *The Pre-Colonial Economies of Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, Vol. 4, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.34.

²- Feinberg, op. cit., 17.

certain contexts. The grain was harvested twice a year; in August and December. Millet was grown almost all over the Gold Coast territory. (See Map5)

Rice was one of the major crops grown in the western part of the Gold Coast, around Axim and in the swampy areas around rivers, in the north in Gambaga, Lawra, Wa and Yendi (See Map5).

Map: 5 Main Crops in the Gold Coast in the Pre-colonial Period



Roads, railways, minerals and cash crops of Ghana

Source: Boahen, op. cit., p. 90.

It grew in abundance thanks to the suitable climatic conditions where the rainfall rate exceeded 200 millimetres a year. It was also grown in the swampy areas around rivers, in the north in Gambaga, Lawra, Wa and Yendi. (See Map5) The surplus was exchanged for other commodities with the neighbouring states such as Asebu, or in the markets of the Ga Adangbe, and the Ewe, east to the mouth of the Volta River. Maize was grown, for local needs, in the northern territory. Only one crop a year was possible because there was a one-peak rainfall. Guinea corn was widely grown in the northern territory, because of the favourable dry climate.

The two main root crops that constituted the staple food of the people were yams and cassava. The yam plant is a slender creeper, and to some extent, like a scarlet runner bean, which required the support of a stick. It yields an underground root that looks like a big potato. It weighs around forty pounds and grows bigger in sandy soils than in sticky ones. The growing season of yams extends over nine months. They are grown in the north of the Gold Coast (See Map3) and are considered as heavy foodstuffs, rich in carbohydrate and vitamins, but they lack protein.¹

Cassava grows in the rainy zones in the south-west region in the Gold Coast. The crop used to be dried and crushed to make flour, which could be eaten without being cooked. It was considered as one of the major foodstuffs, because of its abundance, and richness of carbohydrate. It was also an important commodity in the list of exports from the Gold Coast because it was much easier to keep and transport than yams.

Timber, wild rubber, nuts and other wild fruit were collected by indigenous people to be sold or exchanged for other commodities in the local market. This activity which constituted an important source of income for many indigenous families prevailed over ownerless lands.² The Gold Coasters living on the coast collected fresh water, wood and shells to be sold to the Europeans. The passing by ships bought fresh water brought by local people from miles away down the Pra River.³

¹ - R. Miller, *Africa*, Hazell Watson & Winey Ltd., Aylesbury, Bucks, Great Britain, 1967, p.89

² - Frederic Shelford, "Land Tenure in the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 40, (Jul.,1911): p.473.

³ - Feinberg, p.70

Hunting constituted an important source of living for primitive communities. The Ga people in the southern region, for instance, used to supply their meat requirements by hunting. They used to hunt animals that were available in the wild such as hare, deer, bush pigs, wolves, etc.¹ The captured animals provided them with food and other precious materials such as ivory, hides, and the like. Hunters used to supply meat and other precious articles for the visiting Europeans on the coast.

Fishing was a major economic activity on the coast, and on the Volta River's banks. Fishermen used canoes and small boats, while others fished on the shore. They also used nets and small hooks and harpoons.² Large supplies of fresh fish were available from the Lake Volta and the coasts, mainly during the dry season. In fact, the river had always provided fish in abundant quantities, but this vital source in a local diet based on cereals, and in the absence of cold-storage facilities at that time, made the supply far larger than the demand. Thus, a need for drying or smoking fish had been essential. Fresh fish were sold in the local market, and the surplus was smoked or dried in the sun and sold in the interior markets. By custom, this work was done by women who usually share the profit on a family basis.

The people of the northern territory were known as pastoral farmers. Rearing animals for their meat and skins was common among the peoples who lived around the Volta, Ankroba and Pra Rivers. They possessed small livestock -goats, pigs, and fowls- but few cattle or horses because of the tsetse fly. The southern regions were particularly suitable for raising cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and chickens. The Europeans used to purchase these animals to be consumed on the coast and for provisioning the passing ships. Bosman states that the cattle were raised in the interior, and great quantities were bred around Accra.³

In addition to the previously mentioned activities, the peoples of the coast were involved in salt making. Salt, however, did not only come from the north (Tawdenni), as it was believed, to be exchanged for gold. The production of salt was an important economic activity on the coast. Accra, for instance, was an important salt-producing area. Salt was

¹ - Irene Odotei, "Pre-colonial Economic Activities of Ga," *Research Review (NS)* 11, Nos 1&2 (1995): p.63.

² - Miller, op. cit., p.89.

³ - Feinberg, op. cit., p.17.

obtained from sea water after being processed. This vital commodity was sold along the coast, while the surplus was taken to remote markets in the interior.¹

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the local peoples were trading with merchants from neighbouring areas, and remote trade centres in central and western Sudan. For example, merchants from Asebu exchanged millet, yams, and potatoes for rice with merchants in Axim.² Further north, intensive commercial transactions were concluded in the trade centres scattered all over West Africa. Traders and goods were moving fluently from a trade centre to another except in times of war between conflicting tribes or states. Traders from Kumasi, Salaga and Gonja used to exchange gold and handcrafts for European manufactured goods brought by North African merchants to the markets of the Empire of Mali (Timbuktu and Gao), and in the Hausa land, in Kano, particularly. The people on the coast used to exchange salt for handcrafts and European commodities with the Akan traders which they brought from trade centres in the north. However, by the arrival of the Portuguese trade changed its direction gradually to move southwards by the establishment of direct sea routes linking West Africa to Europe, which was, in fact, a direct reason for the decline of trans-Saharan trade.

It is important to note that the subsistence economy which had existed in the Gold Coast by the arrival of the Europeans could satisfy not only the needs of the local people but also the Europeans' demands for food in the trading posts along the coast. Feinberg says:

"Company officials bought grains, animals and other foods from Gold Coast Africans for the company ships which traded along the west coast of Africa."³

The expansion of food farming and the development of an export trade in agricultural commodities (maize, coffee and cotton) was a foremost concern among a number of Accra merchants. Between 1818 and 1822 several merchants of 'British' and 'Dutch' Accra encouraged the establishment of 'Indian corn' plantations to produce for export markets. In these years, several of them exported a total of 150,000 bushels of maize to Madeira and the West Indies.

¹ - Ibid., p.18.

² - Ibid., p.17.

³ - Feinberg, op. cit., p.17.

In 1823 a large maize plantation was laid out at Frederiksborg, and already by 1824 American and British ships purchased the first maize harvest at Christianborg, and transported the produce to Madeira and the Caribbean.¹

It can be argued so far that, thanks to a subsistence economy, the people of the Gold Coast, used to be self-sufficient in their needs in food. Furthermore, they used to sell the surplus of their products to the Dutch and English in the trading posts along the coast to feed their cargoes of slaves. However, this system of production was to undergo some change in the direction of the export economy.

1.3.3. The Political Changes

By the early nineteenth century, the British had begun looking for a strategic location to administer its possessions in West Africa. They had established the first British administration in Sierra Leone, then, they moved to Cape Coast to manage the growing interests in the Gold Coast until the establishment of the British administration on the whole territory of the Gold Coast.

1.3.3.1. The Proclamation of the British Crown Colony (1807-1874)

The nineteenth century was marked by a steady increase of the British power and jurisdiction in the Gold Coast. During the first two decades of the century, the British forts and settlements were administered by a group of merchants. They established two committees, one (composed of three members) in London, and the other (composed of five members) in Cape Coast; and appointed Sir Charles McCarthy to administer the forts and castles on the coast. However, the local people refused the British involvement in their affairs, mainly during the service of Maclean.

1.3.3.1.1. McCarthy's Administration

In 1821 the British government dissolved the company of merchants and appointed Sir Charles McCarthy governor on Sierra Leone, and the British forts in the Gold Coast, which remained under common administration for the three following decades. Meanwhile, conflicts arose between the Ashanti and the Fanti states on the Coast. The main reasons of these clashes were: first, the Fanti refusal to give the Ashanti traders direct access to the

¹ - Kea, op. cit., p.131.

coast to trade with the Europeans; second, the Fanti support to the rebellions in the Ashanti land. The third reason lies in the position of El Mina (under Dutch control), which ensured the only access for the Ashanti merchants to get direct contacts with the Europeans, this was seen by the Fanti as a threat that should be eliminated. The British could not remain unconcerned by the Ashanti attacks on the Fanti states. The *Ashantehene*, on the other hand, refused to recognise Britain's sovereignty over her settlements; furthermore, he criticised her alliance with his traditional enemy (the Fanti). The resulting situation gave birth to a series of Anglo-Ashanti conflicts that lasted for about seventy years.¹ Since the beginning of the Anglo-Ashanti wars by 1807, the British Parliament had been debating the question of keeping and extending settlements on West African coasts or abandoning them. Divergent opinions marked the debates between two groups in the British Parliament. The group that opposed maintaining and extending the settlements was defending British taxpayers' interests.² In contrast, the other group was acting under the merchants' pressure. To settle this question, the British Government sent a number of commissions to investigate on the spot the situation of the settlements and the matter of financing their administrative expenses. While the committees were inquiring, the British were seeking to decrease the administrative costs in West Africa through the control of all their possessions from their sole colony in West Africa, Sierra Leone.³ The mission of McCarthy was not easy; he faced two major challenges during his term office: first, providing sufficient means to stop slave trade; second, to ensure safe trade routes for British merchants in West Africa. These two missions added a financial burden to the British Treasury, which led McCarthy to look for new incomes locally. In this context, he sought an alliance with the Fanti and the Dutch to face the Ashanti's threats, and therefore reduce the administration expenses.

In 1824, the Ashanti launched their first attack on the British settlements on the Coast. McCarthy underwent a severe defeat; he was captured and killed. The British reacted by a complete withdrawal of their soldiers from the settlements, in 1828. British merchants criticised this decision harshly and reminded the Government of its moral commitments.

¹ - The Anglo-Ashanti conflict (1807-1874) accounts four main wars, the last of which ended by the defeat of the Ashanti on April 4th, 1874. Boahen, op. cit., pp.31-33.

² - In 1814 the administration of Sierra Leone had cost £ 24,000. Ten years later this amount raised to £95,000. Such a sum was greater than the colony's revenue, and the difference had to be paid by British taxpayers. Fage, op. cit., pp.133-134.

³ - Ibid., p.133.

After long negotiations, the British Government agreed to grant an annual subsidy of £4000 to administer only the forts of Cape Coast and Accra.

1.3.3.1.2. Maclean's Administration

In 1829, George Maclean was appointed the president of the council of merchants in Cape Coast; he was not luckier than his predecessor. He inherited a difficult situation marked by the Ashanti threats, in addition to the slave raiders' activities. Because of the limited means at his disposal, MacLean tried to create friendly relationships with the other European powers present in the area, on the one hand, and with the southern states and the Ashanti, on the other. He succeeded to achieve his goal through a series of negotiations. As a result, peace and order reigned, and British merchants could reach Kumasi in peace, and trade with the hinterland flourished. MacLean's prerogatives were restricted because of the limited force at his disposal. However, he could abolish some habits and customs,¹ which according to him, hampered the progress of the local people.

1.3.3.1.3. Hill's Administration

In 1843, the British government decided to administer its forts and castles officially on the Coast, for that, Commander Hill was appointed as lieutenant-governor and Maclean as Judicial Assessor. In fact, this measure aimed at giving legitimacy to Maclean's achievements. Hill managed to bring, at a first phase, seven chiefs to sign a declaration in March 1844, known as the Bond of 1844.² In a second phase, ten other chiefs, representing the southern states, joined the treaty. These bonds generated a peaceful atmosphere and safe trade routes; they brought peace to the merchants in their journeys between the coastal trading posts and the Ashanti markets. The resulting favourable situation attracted more merchants, which led British officials to seek efficient ways to administer their settlements in the Gold Coast. They preferred to make them independent of the crown colony of Sierra Leone because they believed that an administration on the spot was more efficient than a remote one.

The withdrawal of the Danes from the Gold Coast in 1850 was another factor that encouraged the British to establish an effective rule. They installed a legislative and an

¹ - The customs and habits banned by MacLean included: human sacrifice, slave trading, and raids on traders. Boahen, op. cit., pp.38-39.

² - A "bond" is called as such because it binds the African rulers to protect the rights of individuals and property.

executive council. The former composed of four members: the governor, the chief justice, the colonial secretary and the officer of the corps; and the latter of European officials only. This put the British in front of a financial burden to which they had to look for new sources of revenue. For this purpose, the British administration took two important measures. The first was the purchasing of the Danes' forts. This measure allowed the British to get extra revenue from duties on goods passing through these forts. Second, the British administration imposed a Poll Tax by an ordinance passed by a legislative assembly of chiefs in April 1852. The revenue expected from this tax in its first year was estimated at £15,000,¹ but the sum gathered did not exceed £7,567, to decline afterwards until the collection of tax was completely abandoned in 1861. This complete failure was due to three reasons: first, the local people felt that the money collected was destined to pay British officials' high salaries. Second, the system of collecting tax itself was not well structured. Finally, the resistance of some chiefs in some areas and their refusal to collaborate with the administration affected the collection of tax. Boahen wrote in this respect:

“Resistance to the tax which began towards the end of 1853 developed into open rebellion first in eastern districts in January 1854 where the kings and people organised protest meetings in Accra and refused to pay tax.”²

1.3.3.1.4. The Rise of the Fanti Confederation

The resistance of the local people to the increasing involvement of the British in their affairs took new forms, the most important of which, the formation of the Fanti Confederation in January 1868, and the Accra Native Confederation in 1869. The former lasted until 1873, while the latter declined by the same year of its foundation because it was entirely composed of the educated elite. Another very important factor behind the declaration of the Fanti Confederation lies in the consequences of the war that broke out between the Ashanti, and the British in 1863, which ended in a severe defeat of the latter. The British Government responded to these losses in 1865 by ordering their troops to withdraw from several parts of the West Coast following the recommendation of the 1865 Select Committee.³ The Fanti people lost confidence in the British ability to protect them, and believed that “force lies in unity”. Thus, they founded the Fanti Confederacy⁴ in 1868

¹- Boahen gave the mentioned annual amount, while Fage gave an annual estimate of £20,000, but the sum collected actually as given by Boahen was estimated at only £7,500 in the first year. Boahen, op. cit., p.42., Fage, op. cit., p.140.

² - Boahen, op. cit., p.46.

³ - Boahen, op. cit., p.43.

⁴ - Ibid., p.52.

gathering about thirty-three states from the southern region. Besides its political objectives,¹ the Confederacy aimed at creating a strong alliance between the southern states to put an end to the repeated attacks of the Ashanti. However, the British saw in this newly born Confederacy a threat against their presence, and arrested its prominent leaders,² but they were soon released after the intervention of the Colonial Office. The Fanti Confederation succeeded in declaring itself independent from the British protectorate, and in elaborating its own constitution and introduced a poll tax to cover the administration expenses.

A year after the foundation of the Fanti Confederacy, the Ashanti launched an attack southward against the allied forces. (the British and the Fanti Confederacy) The Ashanti won its first round, but the British and their allies could change the course of the war, thanks to the 2,500 British soldiers, and to a large number of African fighters from southern states, all under the command of Major General Sir Garnet Wolseley.³ They achieved a large victory on the Ashanti warriors. They succeeded not only in beating them back but in counter invading them and entering Kumasi on February 4th, 1874.⁴ Meantime the British succeeded in preventing the existence the Fanti Confederation. The British victory over the Ashanti was followed by the withdrawal of the Dutch from the Gold Coast. These factors helped the British to declare their forts and settlements in the Gold Coast and Lagos a crown colony, and the states south the Pra River a Protectorate, in 1874. (See Map 6) We can see in the following paragraphs that though the importance of the political events that the Gold Coast underwent throughout the period from 1807 and 1874, they had no impact on land ownership. That is, until the declaration of the crown colony, and the protectorate in the southern region of the Gold Coast in 1874, no change affected the land issue. Three types of land ownership prevailed: stool land, family land and individual land.⁵

The ownership of the stool⁶ land belonged to the community under the authority of the chief. It was a communal land, owned by the whole tribe, and the orders of the chiefs

¹ - The most important political objectives of the Confederacy as outlined in Article 8 of its constitution were: to promote friendly intercourse between all the kings and chiefs of the Fante, to make good roads throughout the confederation and build schools to promote agriculture and industrial pursuit. It also aimed at achieving self-government. Boahen, op. cit., p.53.

² - The leading members of the Fante confederacy were: W. E. Dodson, J. F. Amissah, J. H. Brew, F. C. Grant, R. J. Ghartey, G. Amissah, and S. Ferguson. Boahen, op. cit., p.53.

³ - Fage, op. cit., p.144.

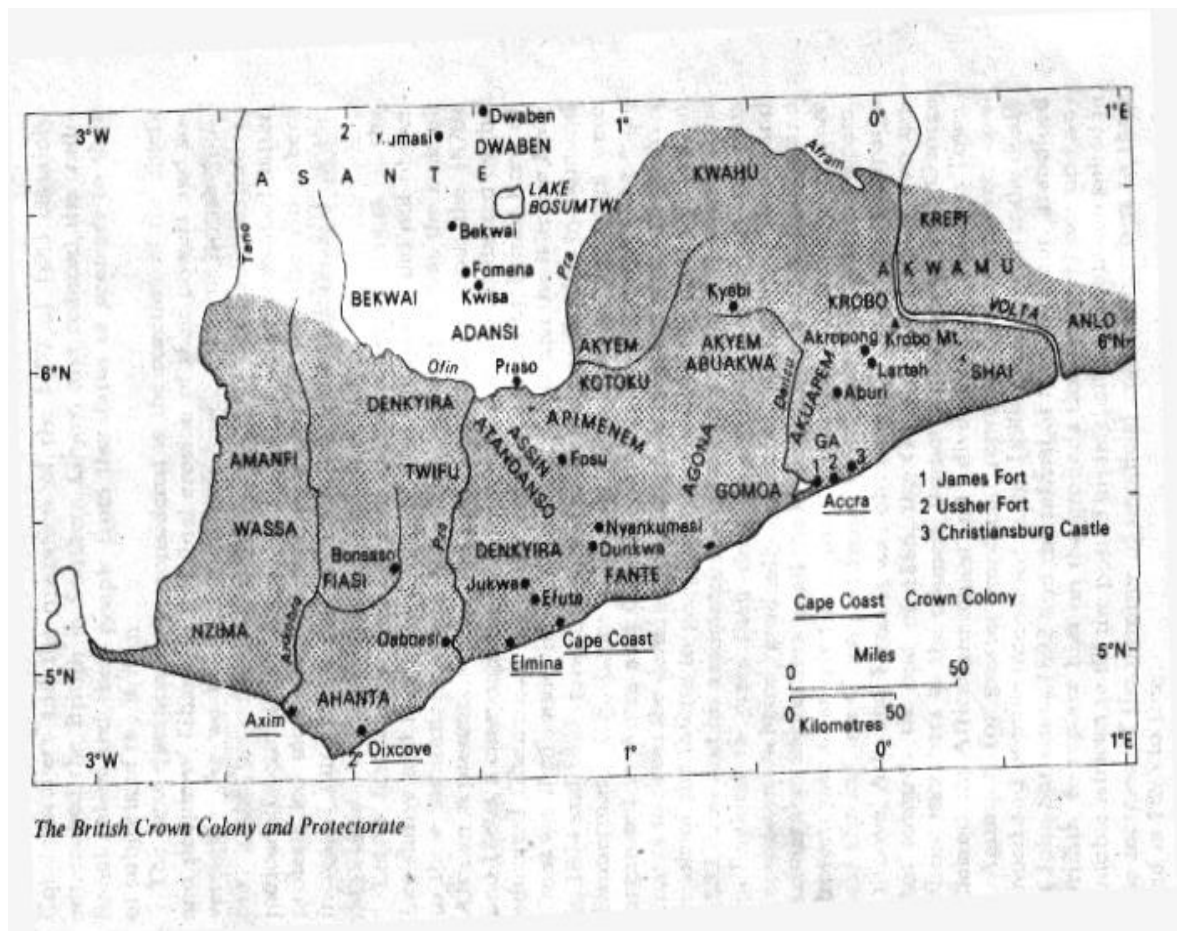
⁴ - Ibid., p.145.

⁵ Charles U Ilegbune, "Concession Scramble and Land Alienation in British Southern Ghana, 1885-1900," *African Studies Review* 19, No. 3 (Dec. 1976): p.28.

⁶ - Ibid., p.28.

had to be obeyed concerning it.¹ The members of the tribe swear an oath of allegiance to the chief, and he engages himself to protect his tribe's rights. Farming on the tribal land is one of the most important of these rights. However, after the death of the occupant, land returns to the tribe but not to his heirs. Due to its importance, land is the origin of inter-tribal conflicts, therefore, the chief's primary duty is to protect it from foreign invasions. Even the untitled land which is used for hunting and collecting wild produce is put under the control of the chief.² In fact, in the Gold Coast, in particular, every acre of land belonged either to

Map 6: The British Crown Colony and Protectorate



Source: Boahen, op. cit., p.58.

the stool, a family or an individual.³ The members of the tribe were allowed to exploit the unoccupied land with the previous consent of the chief. However, land was inalienable, that

¹ - Shelford, op. cit., p.473.

² - A. J. Loveridge, "A Note on the Development of Land Tenures in the Gold Coast," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 42, No. 166, Jan. (1943): p.44.

³ - Shelford, op. cit., p.473.

is, the transfer of ownership doesn't go to the descendants, but it reverted automatically to the stool.

The family land is granted by the chief to a family as a reward for an extra effort in wartime or any other service for the tribe. Land, in this case, can be used by all the descendants of the first owner to whom it was granted by the chief. However, it cannot be sold without his permission.

The third type of land ownership is called individual land. In this type, individuals, even from outside the tribe, can own land. It is granted to settlers who are seen of interest for the tribe such as traders, craftsmen, etc. It is worth noting that the two previous types of land ownership represented a small proportion in comparison to the stool land. It is also important to mention that the chiefs could not grant concessions to expatriate companies without the prior consent of the official authority.

1.3.3.2 The Annexation of the Ashanti and Northern Territories (1874-1902)

Following the Anglo-Ashanti war that broke out in 1874, and ended by a severe defeat of the Ashanti, and due to the international context. The British had no choice but to annexe the Ashanti and Northern territories. The proclamation of the Protectorate¹ in the southern region of the Gold Coast made the British administration in front of new commitments vis-à-vis their subjects in the colony such as providing facilities in transport, education, medical services, justice and so on. Thus, the British had to look for necessary funds to meet these requirements. The colonial administration thought of increasing the colony's revenue by imposing duties on imported and exported goods, and by introducing taxes. Such measures required a political machinery to make it legal and accepted by the local people. The activities of the colonial government were carried out by a number of departments. In fact, the government of the colony consisted of a governor appointed by the Colonial Office. He was assisted by an executive council of officials, while a legislative council consisting of both settlers and representatives of the local people makes laws and controls finances, all under the control of the Colonial Office. The people of the protectorate were governed through their chiefs.

¹ - The British protectorate referred to the territory with which the British signed bonds.

The period that followed the proclamation of the British Colony and Protectorate knew an expansionist policy among the Europeans. However, the position of the Colonial Office was reluctant to any further expansion. Thanks to its commercial supremacy, Great Britain could control West African markets by flooding them with her products. Therefore, there was no need for political domination through which she could protect her interests. The British also were not ready to bear a new financial burden due to the high expenses that the establishment of colonial rule would require. On the ground, the French and Germans' attitude towards the establishment of colonial rule was different. The French and German governments were not at all ready to collaborate with the British to maintain a *Status quo* in West Africa. They were convinced that they could not challenge the British with purely commercial means. Under such circumstances, the British, French and Germans went in a keen competition to acquire more territories. They believed that newly acquired territories, economically, means new sources of raw materials and new markets. Actually, the French and the Germans could not recover the economic loss of balance with the British without protectionist economic measures.¹ A. G. Hopkins mentioned British attitude towards political involvement in West Africa as follows:

“Britain’s chief aim in West Africa was to maintain free trade without political involvement, and to persuade France and Germany to do the same.”²

Other measures followed the proclamation of the British Crown Colony and the Protectorate; that was for humanitarian reasons, and to promote western civilisation the colonial government passed two ordinances in 1874, through which they abolished domestic slavery, and emancipated all slaves in the protectorate. The growing involvement of the British in the Gold Coast was going hand in hand with the increasing costs of administration. So, they introduced new taxes and passed the Town Council Ordinance in 1869. The Ordinance aimed at getting revenue from the control of exploitation of forests and mines, and to protect landowners from corrupt speculations. A series of measures including the introduction of the Land Bills of 1894 and 1897, the re-establishment of the Supreme Court and the executive council, the operation of the National Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883, and the appointment of the District and Travelling Commissioners showed that the British were

¹ The economic measures varied according to the situation and the product. Generally, high taxes were imposed on foreign products to protect one's production. This protectionism policy was an efficient device to cope with foreign competition.

² - A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1975), p.157.

strongly established in the southern Gold Coast and people were not considered as mere *protégés* but as subjects.¹

The question to be examined now is the reaction of the chiefs and the educated African elite to this involvement. The latter showed strong protest against direct taxation and organised meetings to call for African representation in the legislative and executive councils. They defended the slogan 'No taxation without representation'. The educated Africans flooded the Secretary of State with petitions in which they argued that taxation and representation should go hand in hand with representation. The former called for radical constitutional changes. In a petition signed by more than seventy chiefs from the colony and the protectorate, they called for the elect of eight members in the councils. Besides, a number of protests and acts of disobedience because of the National Jurisdiction Ordinance raised in some southern states to which the colonial government responded with an iron hand.

It is important to note that the protests against Land Bills unified all the traditional chiefs in a single movement led by the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. The central concern of this movement was the land issue; they sent a delegation to London calling for the abolition of the Land Bills arguing that there was no ownerless or public land to be put under the control of the government. This conflict about the control of the most important factor of production between the Europeans and the natives did not seem to be settled. In fact, on a broad scale, the acquisition and control of new territories were the driving force of the expansionist policy of all the European powers in Africa.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw an abrupt change in the attitude of the Europeans present in Africa vis à vis the acquisition of African territories. Boahen wrote in this context:

‘The Europeans abandoned their "sand beach" policy and pushed further inland into the heart of Africa.’²

Generally, historians make the economic crisis³ of the last quarter of the nineteenth century responsible for the expansionist policy that prevailed among the Europeans. The European interest of African territories came as a direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution. It multiplied unemployment and made the need for raw materials greater. The

¹ - Boahen, op. cit., p.61.

² - Ibid., p.69.

³ - Hopkins, op. cit., p.160.

wide use of machines produced more goods and required more raw materials to which the Europeans had to look for new markets and new sources of raw materials. This led the Europeans to look for new resources outside Europe. Also, the emergence of new powers such as Germany, the United States, Japan and Russia created new poles of competition in controlling international resources and markets. In other words, the economic difficulties at home incited the Europeans to seek solutions overseas. This situation created a competition between European companies, which were backed up by their governments. The latter sought to acquire new African territories to control more raw materials and secure new markets for their outputs.

The fledgeling French companies¹ in West Africa, for instance, could not enter a fair commercial competition with the giant British company (The National African Company). The French and Germans thought of reinforcing their commercial ambitions with protectionist measures in the markets under their control. The new circumstances were then the direct factors behind the sudden change in the attitude of the European powers towards acquiring new territories in West Africa. A. G. Hopkins argued about the reason of the competition for African territories as follows:

“The economic crisis between 1875 and 1900 intensified the antagonism between Britain and France and led to a competition for African territories.”²

The mentioned changes in the European powers’ attitude caused some disputes, which sometimes developed into clashes in different regions in West Africa. These conflicts were quickly settled by agreements between their governments in Europe. The stressing atmosphere resulting from the opposing interests led the European powers present in Africa to meet in Berlin in 1884-85.³ The objective of the Berlin Conference was to determine the political spheres of influence of each of the European rivals on the African territories. It also came to legitimise a reality that existed on the ground, at least at that time. The French, for instance, had reached Bamako (600 miles inland from the Senegalese coasts) in 1879.⁴

¹ - The largest French companies in West Africa were *La Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Equatoriale* founded in 1880, *La Compagnie du Sénégal* and *La Compagnie Française de l’Afrique Occidentale*, which were established in 1881 and 1887 respectively. Hopkins, op. cit., p.160.

² - Ibid., p.160.

³ - R. Oliver and A. Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.107.

⁴ - Hopkins, op. cit., p.162.

The Conference gave birth to new boundaries between the Europeans' interests in Africa to prevent any possible clash from breaking out. These boundaries are still the frontiers recognised by the United Nations of the modern states of Africa. It is important to note that the partition of African territories had deep social consequences on African societies. Many tribes and communities were split regardless their tribal, cultural, and linguistic ties. For instance, the Hausa Community was divided into French Niger and British Nigeria. Benin territory was divided into twenty-five percent as French Benin, whereas the remaining seventy-five percent was annexed to British Nigeria. The new frontiers resulting from the Berlin Conference, in fact, are up today the origin of conflicts between neighbouring countries.

Imposing an effective domination on African territories in conformity with the resolutions of the Berlin Conference was not easy. It varied from one territory to another for many reasons, the most important of which was the reaction of the local people towards the change brought about by the new situation. The British for instance, found it difficult to handle the situation in the Gold Coast, especially in the Ashanti land and to a lesser extent in the North. The Ashanti continued smuggling in slaves, attacking merchants, ... The British accused the Ashanti of the violation of Fomena Treaty,¹ which insisted on keeping safe the trade routes to Kumasi from the coastal trading posts. The British rivals continued their commercial activities on the territories supposed to be under British influence.

However, thanks to their industrial supremacy, the British did not need to impose political domination on African territories to secure markets for their surplus production. They feared that the French or the Germans would conquer the Ashanti and the Northern Territories, hence, they decided to put them under their control. This decision generated great tension among the Ashanti chiefs. The British sent their troops under the command of Sir Francis Scott and R. S. Baden to annexe the Ashanti by force. The British army entered Kumasi on January 7th, 1896, furthermore, they sent the *Ashantihene* Prempe I and his family into exile in Sierra Leone. Four years later, a rebellion broke out, but it was soon crushed

¹ - The Treaty of Fomena was signed between the defeated *Ashantihene*, Kofi Karikari, and Sir Garnet Wolseley. It contains four resolutions. First, the Ashanti should pay an indemnity of 50,000 OZ. Second, the Ashanti should renounce all claims to suzerainty over Denkyira, Assin, Akim, Adansi, and *el Mina*. Third, they should promise to keep the roads to Kumasi open to traders from the coast. Finally, they should abolish the practice of human sacrifice. Fage, op. cit., p.145.

due to the modern weapons used by the British. Thus, by 1901 the Ashanti was officially annexed to the crown colony. Sometimes later, the British, peacefully, annexed the northern territory.

It can be concluded that during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the territory known as the British Gold Coast knew important political changes. It was during that period that modern Ghana was shaped to satisfy British economic ambitions, on the one hand, and as a reaction to the challenges posed by the Germans and French, on the other. Finally, it is worth noting that the violent resistance of the local people significantly influenced the political fate of the colony.

It should be reminded that the land issue remained intact, that is, in the hands of the traditional chiefs until the late nineteenth century where attempts were made by the colonial administration to take over land in the Gold Coast. It is consequential to remark the foreign entrepreneurs' intention to encourage the production of primary produce needed by their markets, and their contribution to establishing a peripheral economy in the Gold Coast. The last point to stress on in this conclusion, and which is in the heart of concern of the present thesis is that the Gold Coasters, to a large extent, achieved their food self-sufficiency. Kea says that during the early nineteenth century, the Gold Coast exported a total of 150,000 bushels of maize to Madeira and the West Indies.¹

Politically, the changes in the Gold Coast, in particular, were insignificant during the pre-colonial period. However, the late nineteenth century witnessed some political changes due to the change in the attitude of the Europeans concerning the acquisition of African territories, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, and the economic crisis that followed. However, when the British declared the southern territory Crown colony on 24 July 1874, the status of people changed from "protégés" to subjects, even though they did not claim any rights to the land.

1.4. Conclusion

The area known as the Gold Coast during the four centuries of the European presence in Africa, which became Ghana in the post-independence period, witnessed important social,

¹ - Kea, op. cit., p.131.

economic, and political changes that had a deep impact on its social and economic structure during the pre-colonial period.

Socially, the changes were important and had a profound impact on the indigenous society through missionaries which the main task was to evangelise the Africans and spread the European culture. The European missions managed, to a large extent, to convert the pagans and animists in the southern region into Christianity. Nonetheless, the missions were criticised for the absence of the African identity and culture in their schemes.

Economically, the massive loss of humans, which took place over the three and a half centuries under trans-Atlantic slave trade, affected severely the African economy. After the abolition of slave trade, various factors contributed to the partial transition from traditional economy to cash crop economy, namely, the need for an economic activity to fill in the economic vacuum left by the abolition of slave trade, and the integration of the economy of the Gold Coast in the imperial economic pattern which led to the formation of a peripheral economy dependent on the economy of the Empire. To satisfy the needs of the European's markets, foreign entrepreneurs with the help of missionaries introduced new crops and modern technologies to improve and increase production. They stimulated local farmers to abandon food crops for cash crops by offering incentive prices and technical assistance. It is worth noting that the new system succeeded thanks to the favourable attitude of the local farmers who were not aware enough of the ultimate consequences of the shift from food production to cash crop production on the local people's food self-sufficiency.

Politically, the changes in West Africa, in general, and in the Gold Coast, in particular, were of great importance though they did not begin until the nineteenth century. That is, during the three first centuries of their presence in West Africa, the Europeans were not interested in the political involvement, that is, authority was in the hands of local chiefs. However, the last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed radical changes in the Europeans' attitude concerning the acquisition of African territories because of Industrial Revolution consequences which increased the Europeans' needs for raw-material for their factories and new foreign markets for their manufactured goods.

Chapter Two

The Establishment of Cash Crop Economy (1896-1919)

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the shift from the traditional economy to cash crop economy, and the changes brought about by the new system. It also deals with the introduction and evolution of cash crops in the Gold Coast, and the mechanisms which govern the shift from a crop to another. In the context, the relation supply and demand which led to the decline of a crop and emergence of another will be discussed. A special interest will be given to the factors of production under the capitalist principles. This involves land tenure and the different colonial regulations on this subject and the reaction of the local people. The other production factors, that is, labour and finance will also be examined. Besides, the study examines the attitude and role of the different agents involved in the shift from a subsistence economy to export economy. In this respect, light is shed on the attitude of the local farmers, the missionaries, the European companies and the colonial government. Finally, we discuss the gradual integration of the Gold Coast in the world economy within the concept of centre-periphery relationship.

2.2. Prelude to the Establishment of Cash Crop Economy

The end of European trading in slaves left an economic vacuum. Capitalists thought of substituting the banned illegitimate trade by other economic activities based on the exploitation of the continent's resources. The Europeans located huge reserves of raw materials, the British for instance, established the Colonial Survey and Geophysical Committee which is an advisory committee appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to advise him on the survey and allied questions concerning the colonies. It was initially established in 1905 as the Colonial Survey Committee to include geological surveys in 1912.¹ In the following step, they established a trade route network linking the trading posts on the coast to the production zones and population centres inland which could be as well a market for their manufactured goods. They encouraged cash crops, creating a great demand for labour to produce rubber, palm oil, timber, cocoa, etc. for the European markets.

By the nineteenth century, missionaries and foreign merchants encouraged the plantation of cash crops, which required extensive labour. Thanks to the incentive prices suggested by foreign companies, and an increasing demand in international markets, the Gold Coast began a gradual shift from a traditional economy based on providing food to a

¹ - Colonial Reports, 1940, p. xxvi

monetary economy. As it had already mentioned before, the serious factor which threatened an adequate supply of labour, to keep pace with the increasing demand for cash crops and raw materials in foreign markets, was the persistence of trans-Atlantic slave trade to which the British government was determined to put an end.

2.3. Context for Change

The period before the colonial era witnessed a number of events and the rise of new concepts which had great influence on the European attitude towards overseas expansion. The most important of these events and concepts are the Industrial Revolution, capitalism, imperialism, new imperialism and formal imperialism. The change can be understood with the European economic trend of capitalist development based principally on exporting to colonial markets and importing colonial primary produce within the concept of the international division of labour. The rise of nationalism among the Europeans also had great influence on the course of events, they tried to increase their power by the acquisition of new colonies under the concept of imperialism. This concept was also supported by racist attitudes based on social Darwinism which classified societies into primitive societies living on collecting and hunting, agrarian societies, on the one hand, and modern industrialist societies, on the other. European colonial powers thought to be doing a favour to primitive societies by conquering their lands and bringing them western civilisation, but the driving force of imperialism was profit making.

2.4. The Industrial Revolution and Its Impact on the Colony

The Industrial Revolution brought considerable changes to the European societies and introduced a new mode of consumption. The Europeans' mode of consumption was marked by a large consumption of articles that had been considered luxuries in the past. Middle social classes could have access to some kinds of goods such as sugar, exotic fruits, clothing, bedding, and furniture, which became more abundant than any time before.¹ The new mode of consumption that prevailed in Europe, in general, made the demand for these commodities greater. For instance, vegetable oils were used for domestic purposes, they were made into margarine, cooking fats, candles, soap, cosmetics, and for kitchen purposes.² In addition, the expansion in the use of railways, and machines increased the demand for palm oil, in particular, to lubricate railways and to make machines run easily. In fact, by 1880 the world

¹ - G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, (Great Britain: Longmans Green, 1944), p.572.

² - Miller, op. cit., p.91.

railway mileage reached 226,000.¹ Finally, it is worth noting that the Industrial Revolution resulted in a surplus in production, which compelled the industrial nations to look for foreign markets to sell their products. One Englishman said:

"There are 40 million naked people [in Africa], and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them."²

In short, overseas territories were seen as reservoirs of which provide raw materials for their factories and at the same time as markets for their industrial outlets.

In 1807 the British Parliament abolished slave trade. Actually, the abolition Act was the beginning of the end of slave trade because the slave smugglers continued their activities, which led the British to establish naval patrols along the West African coasts to intercept ships carrying slaves. The British realised that the military deal with the problem was not efficient. Therefore, they thought of encouraging the introduction of an economic activity as an alternative to trading in slaves. In other words, they wanted to substitute illegitimate trade for legitimate trade.

It is worth noting that the Abolition Act advocated in its official discourse humanitarian and philanthropic arguments. Nevertheless, the Act stimulated divergent interpretations. Boahen reported in this respect:

"The second half of the nineteenth century saw the transition from a slave to a cash crop economy in Ghana and there is no doubt that the missions played a decisive role in bringing about this change."³

However, Brigadier de Cunha Matos, deputy of Nina Geres, had demonstrated to the Brazilian Chamber of Representatives in a series of debates that the British government intended to build a commercial monopoly behind humanitarian and philanthropic considerations. That is, the British thought that it would be more profitable to prohibit slave trade and keep the Africans in Africa working on farms and mines to supply cash crops and minerals required by the metropolitan economy. Forbes Munro joins this point of view, he argues that the rapid growth in demand for cash crops and raw materials in the industrial economies encouraged agricultural and mining expansion in the primary-producing

¹ - E. G. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, Vol. 3, (London: Pelican Books, 1969), p.115.

² - <http://www.studentsfriend.com/sf/part2see/part2-3.html>. Viewed on 17 July 2015.

³ - Boahen, op. cit., p.84.

economies, which resulted in short supply of labour.¹ Consequently, the Abolition Act was an unavoidable measure; otherwise, Africa would suffer from a lack of labour even to provide food for the local peoples. Furthermore, Boahen states that:

“The British industrialists who needed raw materials and markets contended that instead of enslaving and exporting the African, he should rather be encouraged to produce more raw materials and consume manufactured goods at home.”²

They had to think about the promotion of the Gold Coast economic potentialities_ namely, in the agricultural field, which constitutes the chief concern of this research because of its tight relation with food self-sufficiency. In fact, efforts were made to encourage local farmers to grow cash crop³ for export purposes including cotton, palm oil, rubber and cocoa successively. The gradual favourable response of the indigenous people to the new requirements brought significant changes in the structure of the traditional economy.

Another point of view regarding the abolition of slave trade led by a group of scholars who advocated other reasons to justify the Abolition Act. They focused on the anti-slavery campaigns led by Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce who exerted great pressure on the British government to abolish slavery. Long debates took place between the anti-slavery activists who defended the philanthropic and moral principles and the pro-slavery activists who defended the merchants’ interests. The latter argued that abolishing slave trade means abolishing money earned by the merchants; and if they did not earn money they would not pay taxes on it, then the war effort against France could be weakened.⁴ After sharp debates, the parliament announced the poll results which gave the anti-slavery activists a clear victory with 114 votes to 15.⁵

The analysis of the different points of view concerning the Abolition Act, Boahen seems to have hit the nail on the head, as to the real reasons of the Abolition Act.

All along the establishment of colonial rule over the Fanti, the Ashanti land and the northern territory respectively, the gradual introduction of cash crop economy became more

¹ - J. Forbes Munro, *Africa and the International Economy 1800-1960*, (London: Aldine House, 1976), p.42.

²- Boahen, op.cit., p.89.

³ - Edward Reynold, “The Task of Economic History,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 35, No. 1, (March, 1975): p.97

⁴ - Brown, op. cit., p.90.

⁵- Ibid., p.92.

and more a reality.

2.5. The Introduction of Cash Crops

In the case of the Gold Coast, the British entrepreneurs worked hard to promote certain cash crops which fit the Gold Coast's climatic conditions, and which, at the same time respond, to the British market's needs. The British prepared the ground for the establishment of a cash crop economy in agriculture by the establishment of botanical stations¹ to create an agricultural sector based on scientific bases. These botanical stations took in charge the introduction of new technologies in agriculture, the improvement of the quality of seeds, and the struggle against eventual diseases which could ravage crops, etc. The foreign entrepreneurs also worked to eliminate the traditional indigenous system in agriculture and to substitute it with a modern one, based on producing export crops. In this field, they introduced new capitalist principles concerning the tenure of land, loans, labour, and the choice of crops. To reach their objectives, the foreign entrepreneurs with the help of the botanical gardens, started a series of attempts to determine the crops that would best suit the geographical and climatic conditions of the colony.

The first attempt began by the 1840's when the missionaries tried to promote the cultivation of cotton and coffee.² It is worth noting that, the British industrial textile sector used to get its supplies of cotton from American under what was known as the Triangular Trade. Yet, the British market suffered from a shortage of cotton because of the American Civil War,³ which led the British to look for new suppliers. The British entrepreneurs' attempt to promote the production of cotton failed because of the climatic conditions which were not favourable to the cultivation of this crop.

The British entrepreneurs resumed the Danes' attempts to establish export crops in the Gold Coast that began by the early nineteenth century. They tried other cash crops putting forward a number of criteria in choosing the crop to be promoted. First, the economic interest which, in fact, has been changing throughout the evolution of the international economy,

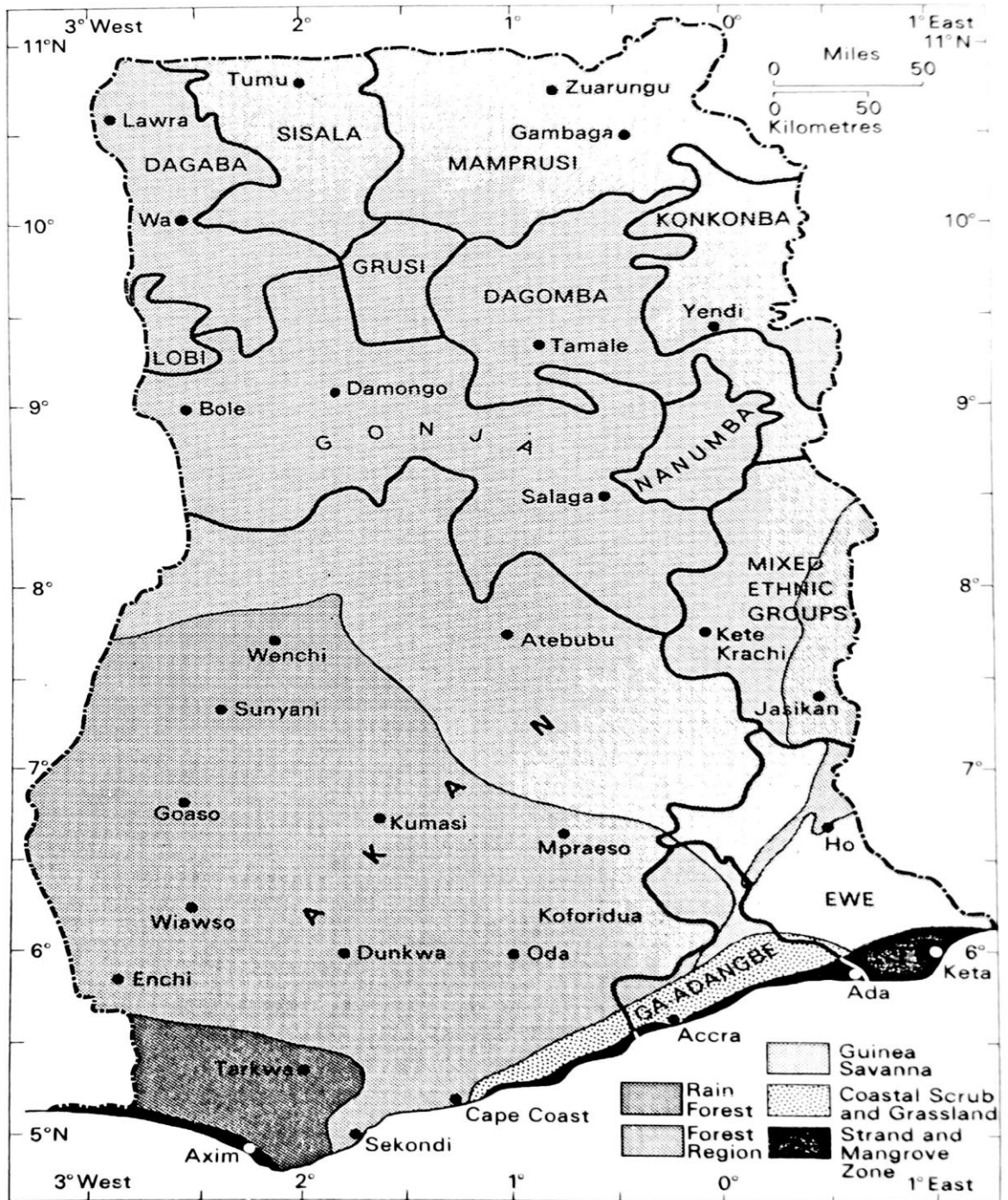
¹ - The botanical stations or gardens were established by the Basel Mission during the second half of the nineteenth century to promote agriculture in the Gold Coast. The most important of them were the Aburi Gardens specialized in importing cocoa seeds from Sao Tome. Boahen, op. cit., pp.81-82

² - Ibid., p.91.

³ - The Civil War in America (1861- 5) affected the production of cotton severely. This led the British to look for new suppliers. Duignan and Gann, op. cit.,51, Hopkins, op. cit., p.137.

second, the favourable climatic conditions and the organic structure of the soil. These criteria are examined along with the evolution of cash crops in the Gold Coast. It should be reminded

Map 7: Vegetation Zones in the Gold Coast



Linguistic, cultural and vegetational zones

Source: Boahen, op. cit., p. 3.

that maize had already been a foremost concern among a number of Accra merchants. Between 1818 and 1822 several British and Dutch merchants in Accra encouraged the establishment of 'Indian corn' plantations with a view to export markets. In these years, they exported a total of 150,000 bushels of maize to Madeira and the West Indies. In 1823 a large maize plantation was laid out at Frederiksborg, and already by 1824 American and British ships purchased the first maize harvest at Christianborg, and transported the produce to Madeira and the Caribbean.¹ Besides maize, palm oil, a naturally grown produce, had been the object of export before the twentieth century. Palm oil and kernels were the first agricultural products exported from the Gold Coast for industrial purposes.

In the coming paragraphs, a special concern is given to the changes which affected land ownership and the reactions of the natives to these changes, namely the traditional chiefs and the educated elite. They will also be devoted to the evolution of the production of cash crops that substituted subsistence crops. In this respect, light is shed on the mechanisms that led to the shift from a crop to another.

2.6. The Evolution of Cash Crops

Since the abolition of slave trade and the shift to the production of export crops, the local farmers had been moving from a crop to another following the evolution in the world markets' demand. They began by palm oil and kernels, then rubber and timber then after the gradual decline of demand for these crops had already begun producing cocoa, which became the dominant crop on the list of the Gold Coast exports.

Palm oil² and kernels³ were the first agricultural products exported from the Gold Coast for industrial purposes. It also marked the transition from the slave trade to legitimate

¹ - Kea, op. cit., p.131.

²- Palm oil originated from the Gulf of Guinea; the trees height can reach 20 m. It bears from 30 to 40 leaves.

Dominique et Michèle Frémy, *Quid*, 1998, (Paris : Editions Robert Laffont S. A., 1998), p.1560.

NB: palm oil and kernels share almost the same characteristics except that the palm kernel could be kept intact longer than palm oil, and it was produced primarily for export.

³ - Palm kernel oil is an edible plant oil derived from the kernel of the oil palm *Elaeis guineensis*. It should not be confused with the other two edible oils derived from palm fruits: coconut oil, extracted from the kernel of the coconut, and palm oil, extracted from the pulp of the oil palm fruit. Palm kernel oil, coconut oil, and palm oil are three of the few highly saturated vegetable fats. Palm kernel oil, which is semi-solid at room temperature, is more saturated than palm oil and comparable to coconut oil. Like all vegetable oils, these three palm-derived oils do not contain cholesterol (found in unrefined animal fats), although saturated fat intake increases both LDL and HDL cholesterol.

trade. The following paragraphs deal with the beginning of its exports, the main areas of cultivation, its use, and the evolution of the exports.

Despite Nigeria's leading position in the production of palm oil, which, in fact, gave to its southern region the name of "Oil Rivers" as an indication to its richness of this product, the Gold Coast had a significant proportion of the palm oil total export from British West Africa. According to Boahen, palm oil and kernels were exported from the Gold Coast long before 1885.¹

The European entrepreneurs thought of vegetable oils, which were in abundance in tropical Africa, to satisfy the growing demand of the industrial nations. Though the British abolished slave trade in 1807, the colony had to wait until the second half of the nineteenth century to know an effective transition from slave trade to cash crop economy. The missions' initiatives contributed to a large extent to the development of cash crops through the botanical gardens. Boahen wrote in this respect:

“There is no doubt one of the main preoccupations of the missions in Ghana during the nineteenth century was the promotion of agriculture and legitimate trade with a view partly to putting an end to slave trade... and partly to promoting western civilization.”²

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Basel Mission established a botanical garden in Akropon to promote the cultivation of both food crops and cash crops such as local vegetables, bananas, coffee, tobacco, cotton and sugar cane. Subsequently, legitimate trade involved a wide list of minerals and crops. In the context, Szereszewski states that:

“The Basel Mission, after an unsuccessful attempt in 1828, opened in 1843 a station in Akropong, on the Akwapim ridge, staffed with West Indian missionaries intending to spread new economic plants ...”³

It is also important to note that palm oil and kernels constituted, according to Rhoda Howard the main exports of the Gold Coast after the abolition of the slave trade which

Palm kernel oil is a common cooking ingredient; its increasing use in the commercial food industry throughout the world is buoyed by its lower cost, the high oxidative stability (saturation) of the refined product when used for frying, and its lack of cholesterol and trans fatty acids, both viewed as being heart-healthy attributes.

¹ - Boahen, op. cit., p.91.

² - Ibid., p.82.

³ - Robert Szereszewski, *Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1891-1911*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), p.8.

‘compelled indigenous entrepreneurs to search for something new to sell’ to the new European industrial manufacturers.¹ He concludes that:

“Palm oil and kernels had been important Ghanaian crops since the abolition of the slave trade had compelled indigenous entrepreneurs to search for something new to sell.”²

In fact, the best achievement in this field was that of Rev. Simon Suss who was the first to manufacture palm kernel oil in 1861 and to suggest its export.³ This encouraged local farmers to grow cash crops as being the main lucrative activity. Under such circumstances, the plantation of palm oil and kernels knew considerable expansion. It was grown around the Pra banks in the western region; and around Kadi and Kibi, in the eastern region; and in the inland in Krobo and Akwapim. (See Map 3) Palm oil and kernels were encouraged by foreign entrepreneurs to meet specific needs born with the Industrial Revolution. The latter brought radical changes in the way of life of the British by the Victorian Era, which was marked by a large consumption of articles that were luxuries in the past. Food, including sugar and exotic fruits, clothing, bedding, furniture, were far more abundant than any time in the past.⁴ The new mode of consumption that prevailed in Europe, in general, made the demand for these produce greater. For instance, vegetable oils were used for domestic purposes, they were made into margarine, cooking fats, candles, soap, cosmetics, and for kitchen ends.⁵ In addition, the expansion in the use of railways, and machines increased the demand for palm oil in particular. It was used to lubricate railways and to make machines run easily. It is worth noting that, by 1880 the world railway mileage was about 226,000.⁶

The evolution of palm oil and kernels exports could keep pace with the increasing needs of the foreign markets. A brief analysis of Table 2 shows the close relationship between this evolution and the demand in industrial economies. The first remark that could be drawn from this table is the steady increase in the exports during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This explains how far industrial economies relied on African vegetable oil. It is worth saying that the volume of exports was entirely determined by the law of supply and demand. That is, there was no state - intervention since colonial rule had not yet been established. Second, Table

¹ - Rhoda Howard, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana*, (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p.69.

² - Ibid., p.69.

³ - Ibid.,p. 82.

⁴ - Trevelyan, op. cit., p.572.

⁵ - Miller, op. cit., p.91.

⁶ - Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* Vol. 3 (London: Pelican Books, 1969), p.115.

2 shows the important share of palm oil and kernels out of the total exports of the Gold Coast. The third remark lay in the decline of the exports by the early twentieth century. This decline could be explained in its first stage by the primitive equipment and methods used in producing and manufacturing palm oil and the lack of an adequate system of transport. The two previous factors made the Gold Coast's oil less competitive compared to that supplied by the Asian markets. The emergence of more competitive producers by the early twentieth century, mainly those located in the moist inter-tropical zones (Malaysia, Indonesia, New Guinea,), affected negatively the production and export of palm oil in the Gold Coast.¹ Finally, the low quality of the oil of the Gold Coast also contributed to the decline of its exports together with the large discoveries of petroleum over the world² and the introduction of new technologies into its manufacturing contributed to the decline of this produce. According to the Colonial Report for 1916 on the Gold Coast, oil Palm products have been the staple export products of the Colony for many

Table1: Palm oil and Kernels' Exports in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1885-1919)

Years	Palm oil (£)	Palm kernel (£)	Percentage out of the Total exports
1885-1889	145,780	55,160	52
1890-1894	183,040	91,520	39
1895-1899	148,320	83,440	25
1900-1904	208,840	108,960	35
1905-1909	144 ,650	91,720	09
1910-1914	169,320	126,990	07
1915-1919	66,820	133,640	03

Source: Howard, op. cit., p.70.

¹ - Miller, op. cit., p.91.

² - In 1873, important reserves of petroleum were discovered in Baku (in the former USSR). In 1903, William Knox D'Arcy acquired a concession in the Persian Gulf. In 1907, *La Voie Dorée* was discovered in Mexico, and the Royal Dutch Shell was founded. In 1909 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which became the British Petroleum, was founded. Dominique et Michèle Frémy, op. cit., p.1768.

years, but these export products have been steadily declining in recent years. The natives have found in cocoa a crop which supplies them with wealth for the expenditure of the less energy, and consequently, the exploitation of palms has been abandoned.¹

Graph 1: Value of Palm oil Exports (£000)



Source: Howard, op. cit., p.70.

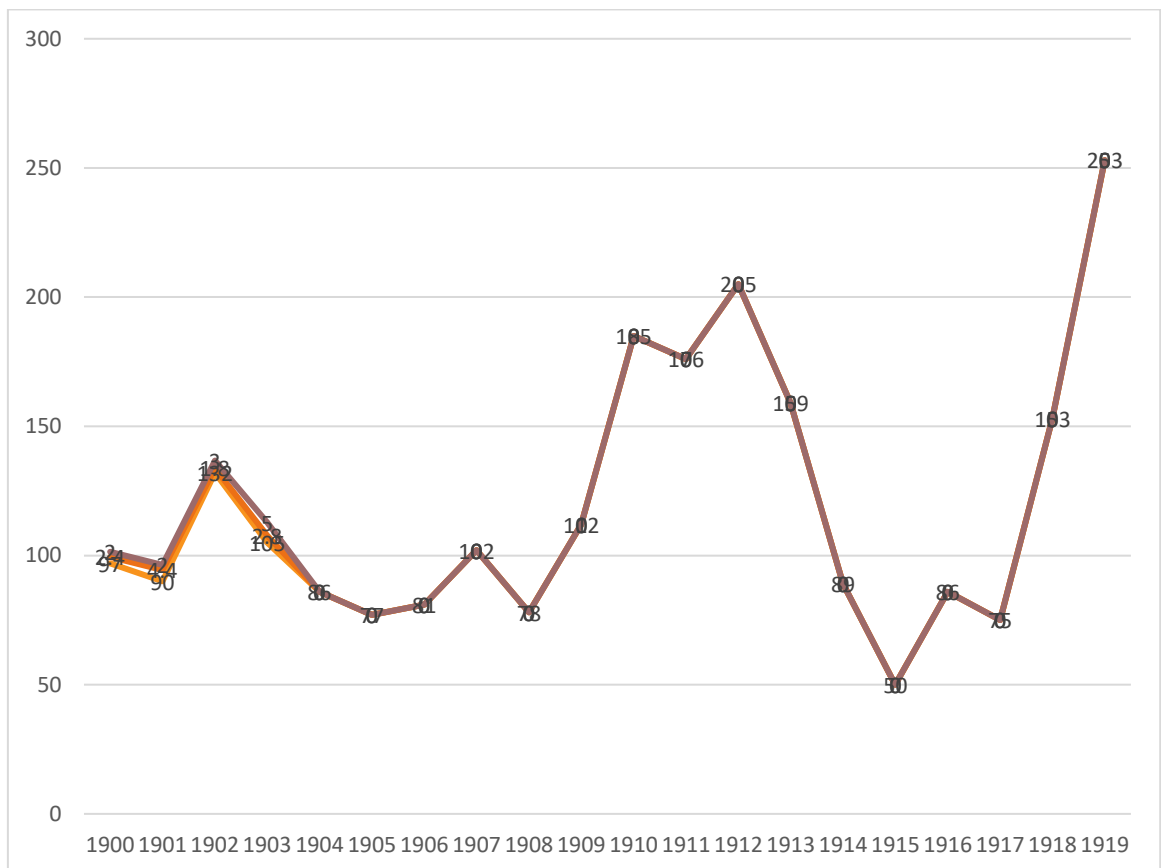
Graph 1 represents the evolution in the value of palm oil exports, and it shows a steady decline over the whole period for the same reason which led to the decline in the value of rubber exports. The graph representing the evolution of palm kernel exports in value shows slight fluctuations, except in the period from 1912 to 1915 where it recorded an important decline. In contrast, this crop was not affected by the discovery of oil because the fat extracted from this crop is used to make food rather than industrial purposes.

The use of scientific methods in processing petroleum contributed to increasing production and, therefore, satisfying the world's demand for industrial oils, which affected directly and severely the Gold Coast's exports of vegetable oils. Thus, the local farmers' incomes sharply dropped, which led to looking for other profitable alternatives. In the absence of an official policy in managing the agriculture sector, the local farmers, encouraged by

¹ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, The Gold Coast, Report for 1916, p.23.

foreign entrepreneurs, switched gradually¹ from the cultivation of palm oil and kernels to other more profitable crops. The late nineteenth century was marked by a boom in the car industry resulting in a need for rubber to make tyres and spare parts. Foreign entrepreneurs encouraged local farmers, through incentive prices, to shift from the production of palm oil to rubber to meet the

Graph 2: Value of Palm kernels Exports (£000)



Source: Howard, op. cit., p.70.

newborn industry's demand. newborn industry's demand. In short, the attitude of the European entrepreneurs was essentially built on making a profit by adapting their activities to the changing needs of the foreign markets.

The foreign entrepreneurs' attitude, built on increasing profit, tightly bound to the foreign markets' needs, motivated, to a large extent, local farmers to switch from one produce to another. It can be assumed so far that foreign entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and

¹ - The switch to a new crop does not mean that the former is totally abandoned.

missionaries on the other, managed to introduce the seeds of capitalism in African societies. Therefore, local farmers became automatically involved in the new system, but as agents in peripheral economies.¹

Rubber² constituted one of the most important exports of the Gold Coast during the pre-colonial and early colonial periods. It is worth noting that the Gold Coast was the largest exporter of rubber in the British Empire during the period from 1890 to 1905, and ranked among the five leading producers of rubber in the world.³ In the following paragraphs, light is shed on the evolution of rubber exports, the main areas of production, its proportion in the total exports of the colony, and the reasons which led to the decline of this crop.

The production of rubber in the Gold Coast appeared by the 1860s when a Basel mission agent had been exporting this material although not regularly.⁴ According to Raymond Dumett, rubber trade succeeded in the Gold Coast thanks to the efforts of Governor Alfred Moloney who conducted a combined geographical and botanical survey of the eastern states of Akwapim and Krobo in 1882. Moloney is considered by the leaders of West African traders and the officials as the virtual founder of the Gold Coast rubber trade.⁵

The major areas of rubber production were located in the Akan forests; Denkyira, Sefwi and Wassa in the south-west; Kibi; Kwafu and Nsawam in the east (See Map 3). Rubber producers hired local labourers in tapping rubber during the experimental phase of its production. However, by the last quarter of the nineteenth-century rubber exports reached their peak because of the world increasing demand due to the boom in the car industry. Local peasants who controlled the production of rubber relied on migrant workers from neighbouring areas while European merchants who used to lease land from local rulers, to

¹ - The notion of peripheral economies was first introduced by Samir Amin. It distinguishes between the peripheral economies or the primary producer economies and the centric or the industrial ones. Samir Amin focuses the strong dependency of the former on the latter.

² - Rubber was first discovered in 1735 by the French scientist Charles Marie de la Condamine in South America. In 1770, the eraser made of rubber was discovered. In 1841, the American Charles Goodyear and the English Thomas Hancock discovered almost simultaneously the vulcanization of rubber. The first vulcanized tyre was made by Robert William Thomson in 1845. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century rubber seeds *heveas* were taken from Brazil and planted in Ceylon. In 1887, John Boyd Dunlop put vulcanized tyres with compressed air on markets, but he soon yielded his patent to Thomson's heirs. Since then researches were made for other more competitive varieties of rubber in Mexico and Asia. Dominique et Michèle Frémy, op. cit., p.1494.

³ - Raymond Dumett, "The rubber trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the nineteenth century: African innovation and market responsiveness," *The Journal of African History*, (1971): p.79.

⁴ - Arhin, op. cit., p.50.

⁵ - Dumett, op.cit., p.80.

increase production, relied on hired labour. The following tables illustrate the evolution of rubber exports in volume and value from 1880 to 1926.

Table2: The Evolution of Rubber Exports in Volume (1880-1899)

Years	1880	1890	1891	1895	1896	1899
Quantities (lb.)	1,200	3,361,065	2,946,913	4,022,385	3,735,439	5,572,554

Source: Arhin, op. cit., p. 51.

Table 3: The Evolution of Rubber Exports in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1885-1924)

Five-Year-Averages	1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-04	1905-09	1910-14	1915-19	1920-24
Value (£)	55,160	211,200	426,420	208,840	298,090	211,650	66,820	00

Source: Howard, op. cit., 70

A combined analysis of Tables 3 and 4 shows the following: the earliest export of rubber from the Gold Coast took place in 1880. The quantity was estimated at 1,200 pounds. Within a decade, the exports knew a spectacular rise to reach a peak of more than one million pounds. This increase was due to the demand for this product in external markets because of the wide use of rubber in making tyres and spares for cars.

However, the beginning of the twentieth century was marked by the decline of rubber exports. The reasons for this decline were: first, the discovery of synthetic rubber, second, the costly system of transport put the Gold Coast rubber out of competition, that is, traders relied, in transporting rubber to the coastal trading posts, on head loading carriage, third, rubber trees were extensively exploited because of the absence of laws that regulated the

exploitation of forests, trees were cut down to tap rubber and a large number of them were destroyed and never renewed.¹

The last point to deal with concerning rubber is illustrated in the table below, which shows the proportion of the gold Coast exports of rubber to Great Britain compared to that with the rest of the world. The percentage of the Gold Coast exports of rubber to the United Kingdom represents 89.82%, in 1898, and increases to 94% in 1899.² These high percentages express the degree of dependence of this produce on a single market of raw materials, that is, the Economy of the Empire, and at this very early period of the establishment of colonial rule had begun to strengthen the centre-periphery relationship. This image reflects the concept of dependency at the micro-economic level, that is to say, it concerns a single produce in an economic sector. In the next chapter, we will see how this concept was generated to include all the exports of the colony.

In light of the evidence, the involvement of the local farmers in the production of palm oil and kernels, and rubber allowed accumulating capital.³ This capital and the experience acquired in producing cash crops, in addition to the new capitalistic thoughts brought by the Europeans, paved the way for an agricultural system based on large plantations governed by capitalistic principles.⁴ Meanwhile, foreign entrepreneurs were looking for another produce to substitute rubber which exports dropped because of lack of interest. It is important to note that the economic changes cannot be examined apart from the social and political changes. By the last decade of the nineteenth century onwards, Europe witnessed a wide urbanised movement, which created an important demand for timber in the world markets.⁵ This led foreign entrepreneurs to encourage the production of timber in the Gold Coast.

Despite its low share in the Gold Coast's total agricultural exports, timber constituted one of the main raw materials exported from the Gold Coast. When did timber exports start? What were the main areas of its production? How was the evolution of timber exports? What were the consequences of the intense exploitation of forests on the Gold Coast? How was

¹ - Ibid., p.72.

² - Colonial Reports-Annual, No.306, The Gold Coast, Report for 1899, p.10.

³ - The transfer from a non-monetary society to a monetary one allowed farmers and landlords to accumulate money. On the other hand, the change in the notion of labour from a merely non-waged duty towards the clan or the tribe to a paid duty allowed the emergence of a wage-working class. The personal revenue was shared between consumption and savings. In modern economies, almost all the savings are used in investment. Hagen, op. cit., p.310.

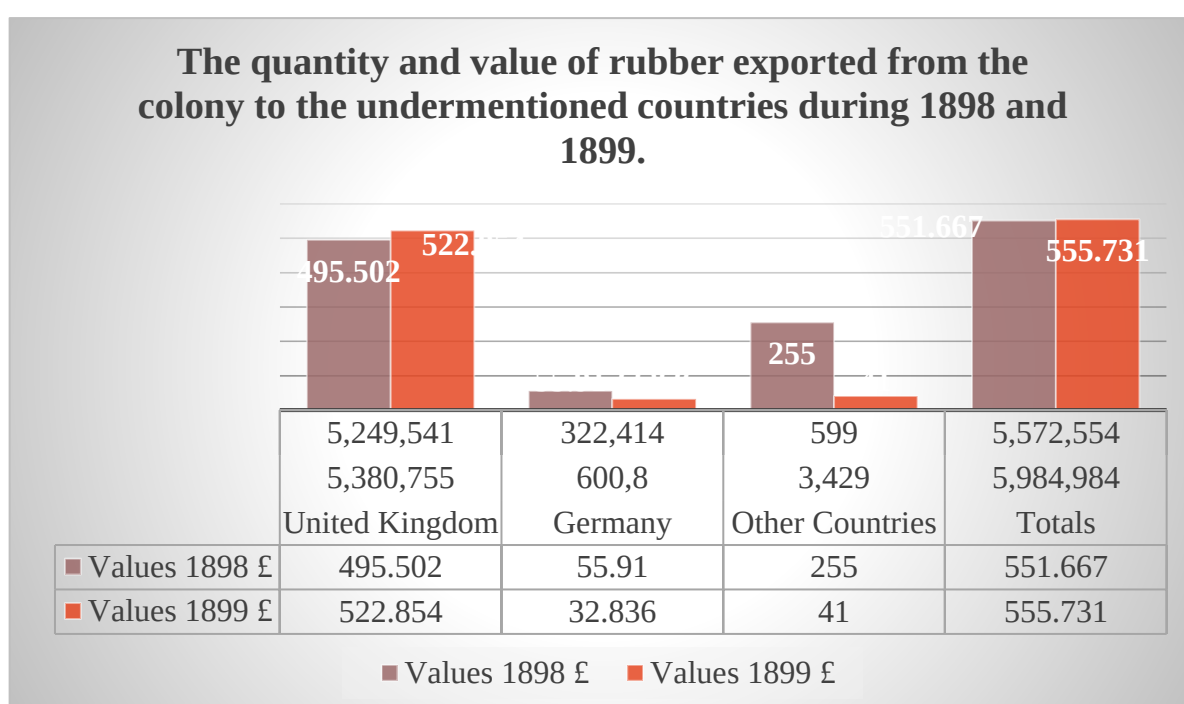
⁴ - Arhin, op. cit., 61.

⁵ - Charles Woolsey Cole, *Economic History of Europe*, (Boston: D.G. Heath and Company, 1952), 674-679.

the reaction of the British administration toward this phenomenon? And what were the reasons for timber exports' decline?

Timber exports from the Gold Coast started in an experimental phase¹ by 1887 with a small quantity estimated at 240 cubic feet. The major areas of its production were located in Tarkwa, Abwasi, Enchi and in the east of Gawso. All these areas were situated in the moist and Savannah zones in the western region. Timber was transported by floating logs down to harbours from the forest zones around the Tano, Ankobra and Pra rivers.² As a result of its extensive and irrational exploitation around rivers, by 1900, all the river surroundings were deforested. This explains the exports increase during the period between 1890 and 1914. (See Table 4) This considerable rise in exports was due to the increasing demand in Europe and the United States on the one hand, and to the improvement of the means of transport, on the other. This situation created an irrational and uncontrolled exploitation of the heavy forests in the South, which led the colonial government to intervene to regulate it by a Timber Protection

Chart 1: The Gold Coast's Customers in Rubber



Source: Colonial Report, 1900.

¹ - Howard, op. cit., p.46

² - Boahen, op. cit., p.93

Ordinance which prohibited the cutting of young trees. In fact, this measure did not aim at protecting the nature and keeping an ecological equilibrium more than it sought to increase colonial government revenue through rents and taxes on concessions.

Table 4: The Exports of Timber in Value by Five-Year-Averages (1890-1929)

Five-Year-Averages	1890-1894	1895-1899	1900-1904	1905-1909	1910-1914	1915-1919	1920-1924	1925-1929
Exports in value (£)	35,200	74,160	54,480	144,650	211,650	133,640	n.d	n.d
%of timber out of the total agricultural exports	5	8	6	5	5	2	-	-

Source: Howard, op. cit., p.70.

Thanks to the survey achieved by Guggisberg¹ over the southern region and other parts of the North, the colonial government adopted new measures for an effective control on the exploitation of forests. It put under control the moist and Savannah forests and obliged entrepreneurs to sign contracts in which the space and time of exploitation had to be specified.² The new measures allowed the colonial government to increase its income and prevented eventual clashes between timber exploiters. They also prevented, to a lesser extent, an ecological disaster likely to happen through the irrational exploitation of forests.

However, by the second decade of the twentieth century, timber exports knew a sharp decline because of several factors: first, the difficulties in transporting logs to the rivers to be floated to harbours afterwards, second, the emergence of new more profitable markets in south-east Asia,³ third, the decrease in the demand for timber in the world markets after

¹ - Sir Frederic Gordon Guggisberg was born in Preston, Ontario (Canada) in October 1869. In 1879, he migrated to England. Seven years later, he left school to the Royal Academy. In 1901, he entered the Gold Coast for the first time where he remained till 1908. He surveyed the colony and mapped a quarter of the Ashanti land. He surveyed over 300 mining and timber concessions. In 1917, he applied for the post of chief commissioner of northern Gold Coast, and was appointed governor in 1919. Boahen, op. cit., p.108.

² - Howard, op. cit., p.48.

³ - South East Asian markets were more profitable for two major factors. First, farmers used relatively modern means of production compared to those used in West Africa. Second, the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869, opened new perspectives in transport between Europe and Asia, through the Mediterranean and the Red Seas. This inauguration caused a revolution in transport cost. A comparison between the two routes that linked Europe to Asia shows that, for instance, the distance from Liverpool (England) to Jawa (Indonesia) via the Cape of Good Hope is about 24,000 kilometres, whereas across the Suez Canal it does not exceed 13,500 kilometres. Another

World War One despite the requirements of the Reconstruction Period in Europe.¹ Fourth, after two decades of intense exploitation without renewing the forests, their surface decreased. Finally, the attitude of the colonial government and the foreign entrepreneurs towards promoting the production of timber was hostile due to the lack of interest in African timber in general. It was also due to the exploitation of huge forests in South America, around the Amazon River. Consequently, foreign entrepreneurs and peasants soon thought about an alternative to keep their part in the international market of raw materials. They took advantage of the resulting experience accumulated through the production of palm oil and kernels, rubber, and timber to invest in cocoa which showed great economic signs by the early twentieth century. In such circumstances, the production of cocoa emerged and took a great importance in the economy of the Gold Coast.² The graph representing the evolution of the value of the exports of timber shows two peaks. The first peak was recorded in 1909, where the exports reached more than £800,000, because of the great demand for this raw material in international markets. It is worth noting that the forests in the Gold Coast witnessed an unprecedented overexploitation, which threatened the eco-system in the colony. The second peak was marked in 1910, where the value of exports was estimated at roughly £400,000 to decline after the breakout of the WWI because the demand for mahogany remained small and the facilities for the shipment were inadequate.³ After the decline of timber exports and the spectacular successes recorded in cocoa production, almost all the local farmers shifted to this crop to satisfy the increasing demands in the international markets.

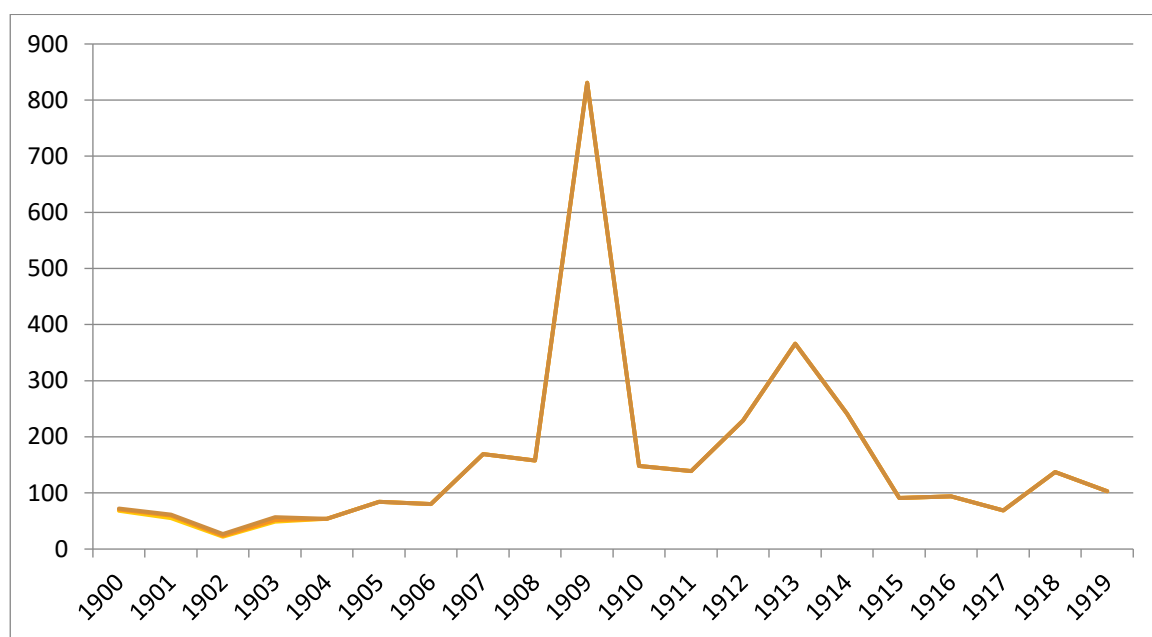
example, the distance from Liverpool to Singapore via the Cape of Good Hope is about 23,500 kilometres, while across the Suez Canal it is only 13,500 kilometres. In a word, the Suez Canal shortened the route from Europe to Asia and East Africa by 17 to 60 %. Still another factor which makes transport expensive, was insurance expenses. In 1980 for instance, a cargo of 1800 tons' carriage travelling from northern Europe to Japan across the Suez Canal cost \$ 11,900 less than travelling via the Cape of Good Hope despite the \$ 11,900 of crossing duty and the insurance expenses estimated at \$ 25,000. In addition, the route across the Suez Canal allows saving much more time than the former route. Finally, it is necessary to note that despite its early inauguration, the Suez Canal was not extensively used until the beginning of the twentieth century. Dominique et Michèle Frémy, op. cit., p.1709.

¹ - Boahen, op. cit., p.93.

² - Howard, op. cit., p.73.

³ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, The Gold Coast, Report for 1916, p.21.

Graph 3: Value of Timber Exports (£000)



Source: Howard, op. cit., p.72.

Though it was not an indigenous crop, cocoa represented the life-blood of the Ghanaian economy during the colonial period. It was first introduced by the Basel missionaries in the early 1860s, but the attempt failed for technical reasons. However, the first successful experiment with cocoa cultivation in the Gold Coast was made by Tetteh Quarshi,¹ a native blacksmith, in 1879, who brought some cocoa pods from the Spanish island Fernando Po, in the Gulf of Guinea.² He planted the seeds in Christianborg in Accra, and in Mampong-Akwapim, the seeds yielded and spread quickly.³ Then, the farmers of Akropong who were used to export palm oil were looking for an alternative crop started to take an interest in cocoa. They purchased lands and began planting cocoa trees on a large scale.⁴ Thus, an extraordinary story of development by local farmers in the industry of cocoa, which brought radical changes on the traditional economy of the Gold Coast.⁵ The first cocoa export was made in 1891 and consisted of a load⁶ and a third of a load valued at four pounds. At present time, the land used to produce cocoa is estimated at 5 million acres, producing a

¹ - 'Tetteh Quarshi' is spelled in some books, like 'A History of Ghana' by Ward, 'Tete Qwashi', W. E. F. Ward, *A History of Ghana*, 3rd Revised Edition (London: Allen and Unwin, 1966), p.396.

² - Michael Havinden and David Meredith, op. cit., p.102.

³ Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong, "Defying Merchant Capital in the Gold Coast," *History in Action*, The University of West Indies 4, No. 1, (July 2014), p.2.

⁴ Havinden and Meredith, op. cit., p.103.

⁵ - Amoah-Boampong, op. cit., p.2.

⁶ - A load weighs 60 pounds.

yearly average estimated at 200,000 tonnes.¹ Ten years later, the volume of cocoa exports reached 536 tonnes valued at £27000.² According to Rhoda Howard by the first decade of the twentieth century, the Gold Coast had already been integrated into the world economy, he argues that:

“Between about 1880 and 1910 the Gold Coast entered the world capitalist system as a full-fledged peripheral nation producing raw materials for export to the rapacious factories and workers of the industrial West. Her economy boomed as both exports and imports increased phenomenally.”³

It is also important to mention that alongside subsistence economy, where peasants cultivated food to meet their needs, they were developing a new mode of production where they were cultivating crops for export. The new mode of production gave birth to a Ghanaian capitalist class. This brought cocoa to the first rank of the colony’s exports, and generated enough fund, not only to meet the administrative expenses but also to finance social and economic infrastructure to help the expansion of this industry.

Map8: Areas of Major Cocoa Cultivation in the Gold Coast



Source : Björn Beckman, “Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana,” *Upsala, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*, (1976), 10.

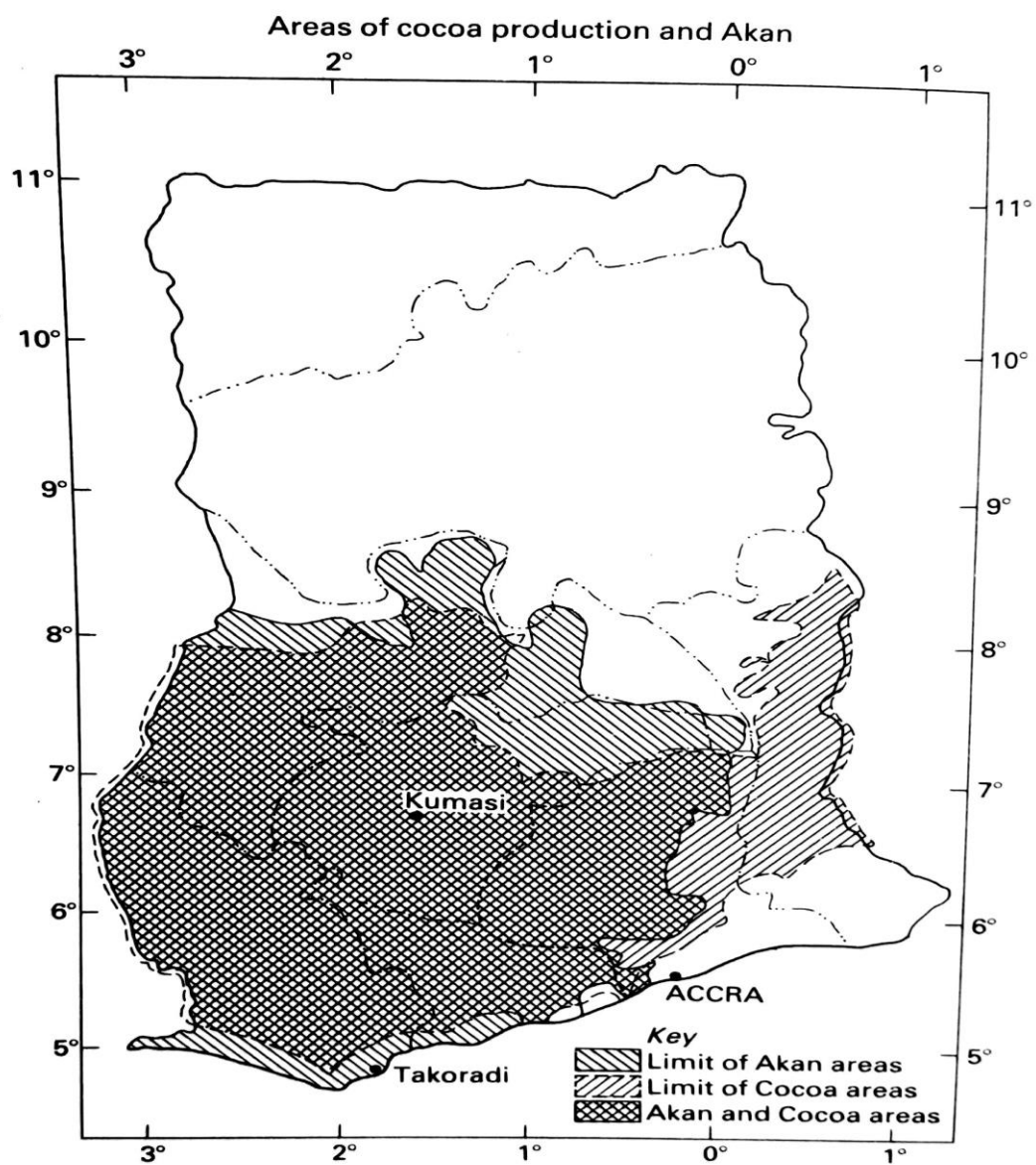
¹ - J. G. Amamoo, *The New Ghana*, (London: Pan Books, 1958), p.61.

² -Padmore, op. cit., p.197.

³ - Rhoda Howard, “Economic Imperialism and Oligopolization of Trade in the Gold Coast: 1886-1939,” *Journal of African Studies* 7, No.1 (1976), p.79.

However, this economic boom resulting from the cocoa industry was not appreciated by the Department of Agriculture for two reasons, first because the local farmers did not pay attention to diseases that may affect cocoa trees which could reduce production or destroy it. Second, the produce brought to market was of poor quality. This led the colonial government to think about the establishment of botanical gardens and research stations to fight against diseases and improve the quality of produce. Consequently, by 1910, cocoa had become the most important export in the Gold Coast.

Map9: Areas of Cocoa Production



Source: Okali, op.cit., p.18.

By 1911, the Gold Coast became the world's leading cocoa producer and exporter, with 41,000 MT. In the 1920s, the Gold Coast produced 40 percent of the world total production of cocoa, with exports valued at £10,056,000, representing 82.3 percent of the colony's export trade.¹ According to official sources the average value during the years from 1919 to 1921 was over £7,000,000. During the year 1921, 133,195 tonnes were exported, an increase of 8,427 tonnes compared with the total for the previous year. The high price obtained during 1921 did not continue, the average value per tonne for the year being £35,7 as compared with £80,6 in 1920.² In 1927, the contribution of cocoa to the total exports of the colony reached 83 per cent. Gyasi-Twun argued that the colony deserves to be called the Cocoa Coast rather than the Gold Coast.³

Tables 8 and 9 show the gradual increase in the value of the major agricultural exports on the one hand, and the increase in the colonial government revenue and expenditure, on the other. As shown in Table 5, 1885 represents the first year in which cocoa exports were recorded in the Gold Coast.⁴ Minute quantities marked the whole experimental phase which lasted until the end of the nineteenth century. However, by 1900, cocoa production knew a spectacular rise thanks to the colonial government's investments in transport facilities.⁵ It is important to note that the origin of these investments was the money collected from taxes imposed on the local people. Besides, the missionaries played an important role by distributing cocoa seeds and providing technical assistance for farmers. Another factor contributed to this evolution lay in the world high prices due to the increasing demand,⁶ which stimulated the farmers to double the production. As a result, 1901 recorded a sharp rise, (See Table 5) and marked a real shift towards a mono-crop economy. It is worth noting that cocoa farming is almost entirely in the hands of local farmers and that the cocoa farm mileage ranges between two and a half and six and a half acres.⁷ To understand the extent to

¹ - Howard, op. cit., p.79.

² - Colonial Report-Annual, No.1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921, p.23.

³ - N. A. Cox George, *The Gold Coast (Ghana) Experience 1914-50* (London: Hutchinson, 1973), p.13.

⁴ - Beckman, op. cit., p.36.

⁵ - Governor Garnet Wolseley started the construction of the first railways linking Sekondi to Kumasi in 1898. Five years later, the railways were inaugurated; it was followed by another line linking Accra to Kumasi in 1909. In terms of maritime transport, the first artificial harbour built in the Gold Coast was in Takoradi ; it was opened to traffic in 1928 followed by the Tema Harbour. Boahen, op. cit., p.99.

⁶ - The increase in the demand for cocoa was due to the establishment of many chocolate factories in Europe and the United States. In fact, the first factory was set up in 1819 by François Louis Cailler (Switzerland). In 1824, Jean Antoine Brutus Menier established a chocolate factory in Noisiel sur Marne. Four years later, Conrad Van Houten extracted fat from crushed beans; the resulting powder was used to prepare chocolate milk. Source: Dominique et Michèle Frémy, op. cit., p.1556.

⁷ - Ward, op. cit., p.397.

which cocoa contributed to the economic development of the Gold Coast, on the one hand, and its importance in the economic history of the colony, on the other, we try to analyse data from primary sources related to production, exports and prices.

Table 5: Cocoa Exports in Volume (1885-1955)

Year	1885	1891	1901	1911	1914	1924	1935	1955
Quantity (tons)	121 (lb.)	80 (lb.)	2000000 (lb.)	39.725	50.000	200.000	300.000	300.000

Source: Boahen, op. cit., pp. 92-93, and Beckman, op. cit., p. 36.

Table 6 represents the five-year-average income from cocoa exports. It shows the predominant position of cocoa in the agricultural sector. For instance, by 1905, the income from cocoa exports reached £435,670 which represents a share of 19 percent out of the total agricultural exports. This percentage jumped to 41% by 1910, which made of the Gold Coast the first producer of cocoa in the world. By the outbreak of World War One, cocoa exports were estimated at 50,000 tonnes. It is worth noting that the war affected neither the labour working in cocoa production nor the world demand for this product. Thus, the tendency towards giving the mono-crop structure to the agricultural sector that began by the early twentieth century continued. Samir Amin, an Egyptian economist, has proved that the pillars of the economic structure inherited from the colonial period had been established since 1914.¹ Though the colonial economic policy was inspired by “*Laissez-faire*” principles, it intended, with the collaboration of foreign entrepreneurs, to build the whole economy on one product.² This attitude could be explained by the colonial government’s attempts to bind the economy of the colony to that of the Empire during the first thirty years of colonial rule.

¹ - Samir Amin, *L’Afrique de l’Ouest Bloquée* (Paris : les Editions de Minuit, 1971), 67.

² - This strategy is based on an economic principle called “Specialization”. It helps increase production.

Table 6: Cocoa Exports in Value by Five-Year- Averages (1900-1939)

Years	Cocoa Exports by Value (£)	Cocoa Percentage out of the Total Agricultural Exports	Total Agricultural Exports Percentage
1900-04	81,720	09	73
1905-09	435,760	19	46
1910-14	1,735,530	41	58
1915-19	3,942,380	59	65
1920-24	6,789,000	73	74
1925-29	9,959,820	78	79
1930-35	5,412,000	60	61
1935-39	6,625,590	47	48

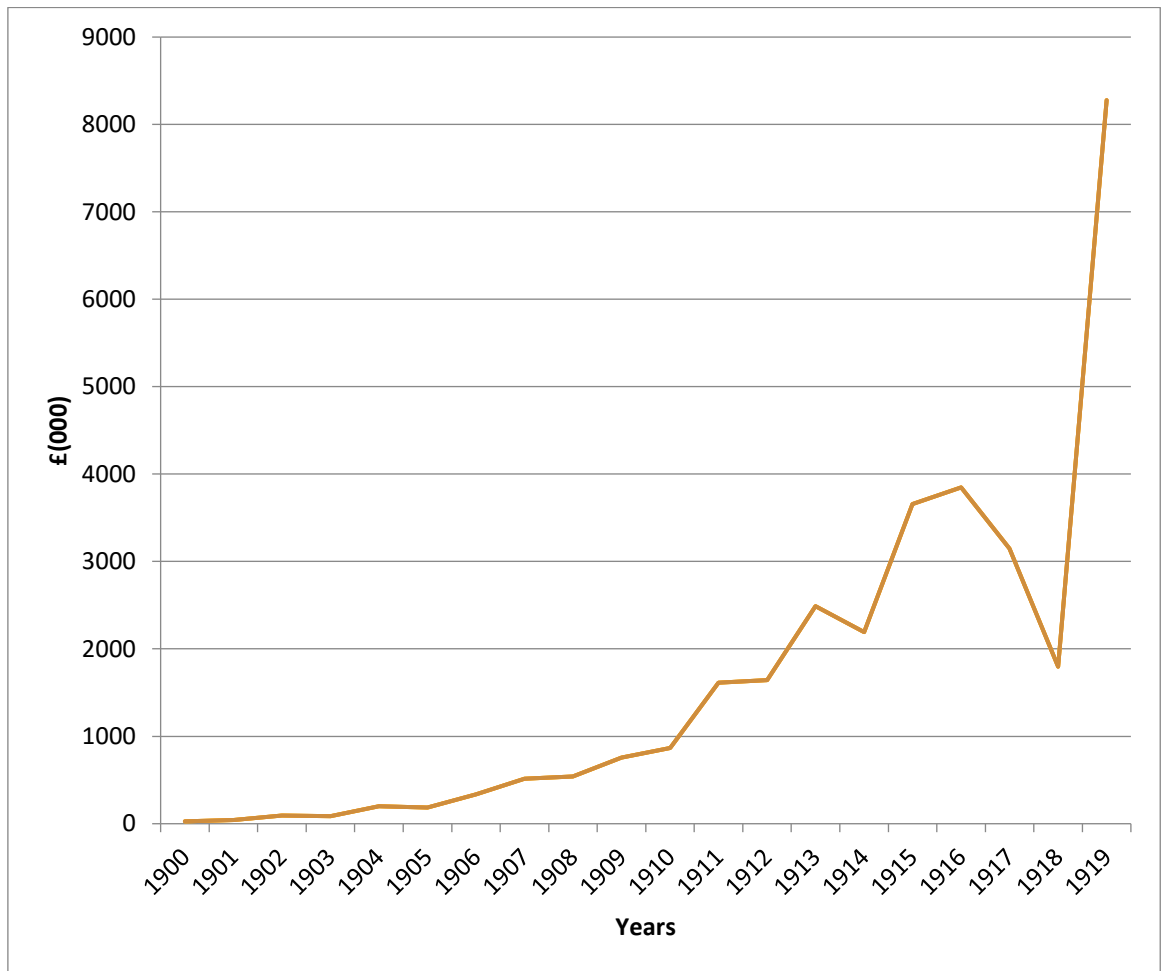
Source: Howard, op. cit., p.72.

Table 6 also shows a remarkable fact during the five years between 1925 and 1929; it gives an estimate of £ 9,959,820 of revenue from cocoa exports. During the same period, the remaining agricultural exports did not overreach one percent, which shows the absolute domination of cocoa on agricultural exports, on the one hand, and its important share in the total exports of the colony, on the other. The great results in cash crops production had been achieved thanks to the collaboration of different factors some of which were the important role played by the botanical stations and the foreign entrepreneurs' investments which had already been discussed. But the crucial deciding factor that led to a great jump in the production and exports of cocoa was the Ten-Year Plan initiated by Governor Guggisberg in 1919.

Graph 4 represents the evolution of the value of cocoa exports during the two first decades of the twentieth century, and it can be divided into three distinctive phases. The first phase extended from 1900 to 1915 and was marked by a steady increase in the value of cocoa exports motivated by the increasing demand for cocoa in the international markets. The

second phase was marked by a decline caused by the effects of the First World War on the economy of the Gold Coast. The last phase, which was just after the end of the War, knew a sharp rise in the value of cocoa exports. Generally, the Gold Coast was making rapid progress during the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. The consumption of chocolate grew

Graph 4: Value of Cocoa Exports (1900-1919)



Source: Howard, op. cit., p.72.

considerably in Europe and America which led to increasing demand for cocoa. The local farmers immediately reacted by doubling their production taking advantage of the favourable attitude of the colonial government which provided them with seeds and transport facilities.¹

¹ - Michael Havinden and David Meredith, op. cit., p.102.

Table 7: The Gold Coast Cocoa Exports (selected years) (1900-1925)

Year	Tons Exported	Value
1900	500	27,000
1907	9,500	515,000
1913	51,300	2,489,000
1916	72,000	3,848,000
1925	218,000	8,222,000

Source: G. B. Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana a collection of documents and statistics, 1900- 1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 334-36.

It can be argued that cocoa has thrived in the Gold coast thanks to the ideal climatic and geographical conditions, the most important of which; the rich soil, dense forests which provide shade, and the humid tropical climate.¹

It is worth noting that the outbreak of plague at Accra in January 1908, which caused a death toll of 336 people, negatively affected the imports of the Gold Coast. The total imports value decreased from £ 2,366,195 in 1907 to 2,029,447 in 1908.² However, this decrease did not affect the cocoa exports which increased in value from 20,960,400 in 1907 to 28,445,910 in 1908 because the epidemic did not spread to the cocoa production zones, and by 16th of August, the coastal zone which was infected was declared to be free from infection.³ Ten years later, a disastrous influenza pandemic ravaged the Gold Coast. It reached the colony in August 1918, on a ship coming from Europe.⁴ According to the Annual Report for 1918, the pandemic broke out in September 1918 and spread through the colony causing, by the end of the year, 30,000 deaths.⁵ The death toll reached, according to

¹ - Amamoo, op. cit., p.61

² - Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1908, No.613, September 1909, p.21.

³ - Kay, op. cit., pp.334-36.

⁴ - K. David Patterson, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in the Gold Coast," *The Journal of African History* 24,4 (1983): p.485

⁵ - Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1918, No.1029, March 1920, p.45.

Table 8: Value of Major Agricultural Exports, (£000s) (1900-1919)

Years	Cocoa	Rubber	Palm oil	Palm Kernels	Kola	Timber	Total
1900	27	328	239	97	/	68	759
1901	43	104	178	90	/	55	470
1902	95	89	235	132	44	22	617
1903	86	196	146	105	/	49	582
1904	200	361	129	86	/	54	830
1905	187	324	88	77	/	84	760
1906	336	334	125	81	/	80	956
1907	515	333	119	102	78	169	1,313
1908	541	168	129	78	/	158	1,071
1909	755	264	121	112	/	831	2,053
1910	866	359	161	185	/	148	1,719
1911	1,613	219	129	176	/	139	2,276
1912	1,643	169	113	205	118	229	2,477
1913	2,489	88	66	159	/	366	3,168
1914	2,194	22	38	89	142	241	2,726
1915	3,657	25	26	50	139	91	3,988
1916	3,848	79	38	86	130	94	4,275
1917	3,147	110	25	75	239	69	3,665
1918	1,797	57	84	153	262	137	2,490
1919	8,278	34	40	253	350	103	9,058

Source: Kay, op. cit., pp. 334-36

Table 9: Volume of Major Agricultural Exports (000 tonnes) (1900-1919)

Crops Years	Cocoa	Rubber	Palm oil	Palm kernels	Kola	Timber
1900	0.5	1.5	17.0	12.8	/	0.9
1901	1.0	0.7	12.6	12.8	/	0.9
1902	2.4	0.7	17.0	17.0	/	0.3
1903	2.3	1.0	10.4	13.2	/	0.9
1904	5.2	1.8	9.0	11.0	/	2.0
1905	5.1	1.6	6.4	9.8	/	1.1
1906	9.1	1.6	8.6	9.3	/	1.0
1907	9.5	1.6	7.5	9.7	1.5	2.3
1908	12.9	0.8	9.1	8.9	/	2.4
1909	20.5	1.2	8.1	11.6	/	1.2
1910	23.0	1.4	8.2	14.2	/	1.9
1911	40.3	1.2	6.5	13.2	/	1.8
1912	39.2	1.9	5.8	14.6	2.9	3.0
1913	51.3	0.6	3.4	9.7	/	4.8
1914	51.9	0.3	2.0	5.6	3.6	3.1
1915	77.3	0.3	1.3	4.1	3.7	1.2
1916	72.2	1.0	1.8	5.8	3.1	1.3
1917	91.0	1.3	0.8	4.8	5.4	1.5
1918	66.3	0.6	2.7	8.9	6.0	1.9
1919	176.2	0.3	3.8	9.9	7.4	1.3

Source:.. Kay, op. cit., pp. 334-36.

Patterson, by the end of the six-month pandemic period about 80,000 to 100,000.¹ The consequences of the pandemic on the economy of the colony were remarkable. The total goods imported in 1918 recorded a decrease of 9% compared with the previous year. The total exports of the same year dropped by 30% compared with 1917.² The effect of the pandemic on cocoa exports, which represent the highest proportion, was greater. They recorded a 43 percent decrease due to the difficulties of obtaining shipping because of the restrictions imposed on ships coming from Europe.³

2.7. Means of Production

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the production of cocoa marked the final step in the shift of the economy of the Gold Coast to the capitalist system based on “*laissez-faire*” principles. The new system brought radical changes in the production factors, that is, land, labour, transport and capital.

2.7.1. Land and the Colonial Policy

Generally, it seems necessary when dealing with the land issues to focus on its juridical aspect, in other words, the ownership of land, and the laws regulating its distribution. Before the establishment of colonial rule, the land occupation had been considered a privilege, not a right, if a chief believed that a family was abusing the land, he could transfer it to a more deserving member of the community.⁴ Land ownership knew some changes by the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The gradual establishment of colonial rule in the southern region, the Ashanti and the Northern territory brought new regulations as to the ownership and exploitation of the land. The involvement of the local farmers in the production of cocoa created additional demands for land, which led to more population pressure.

The importance of land lies in being one of the three fundamental factors of production. Furthermore, it has a spiritual value for Africans, a place where people have buried their ancestors.⁵ It is also a symbol of sovereignty, the traditional rulers, who had

¹ - Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry, “Untold Difficulties: The Indigenous Press and the Economic Effects of the First World War on Africans in the Gold Coast, 1914-1918,” *African Economic History*, No. 34 (2006): p.62.

² - Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1918, No.1029, March 1920, p.23.

³ - Kay, op. cit., p.334-36.

⁴ - Richard W. Hull, *Modern Africa: Change and Continuity*, (N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980), p.40.

⁵ - Yash Tandon, “Southern African Charter on Land, Labour and Food Security,” *African Journal of Political Science* 2, No. 2, (1997), p.118.

been for centuries the landowners and managers of land saw their political prerogatives confiscated by the new colonial system. To understand the land issue in the Gold Coast, light is shed on the following questions: How was the shift in the control of land from the hands of the traditional chiefs to the colonial administration? How could the Europeans have access land? How much land had been granted in concessions? Before examining these issues, it is worth mentioning that there were two models of land ownership under colonial rule in Africa. First, the settler colonies like most of the East African ones, particularly, Zimbabwe where the British administration adopted a policy of land dispossession which made of the Africans wage labourers in the interests of European capitalism. This policy consisted in chasing the Africans from their richest and most fertile lands by declaring the latter Crown ownership and granting European settlers large plantations, using the deprived Africans as wage labourers. This model is, to a large extent, similar to the one adopted by the French colonial rule in the northern territories of Algeria where French officials sympathetic to the Europeans took much of the tribal land they surveyed into the public domain.

Second, the non-settler colonies like most of those in West Africa. The Europeans were reluctant to settle therein because of malaria. In the Gold Coast, it was attributed ironically by Dr Aggrey¹ to Europeans' fear of being affected by malaria, which he considered as 'the best friend' to Africans by preventing the former of settling therein and sparing them eventually some troubles.² Colonial officials adopted then a policy based on preserving African's land rights with a view to increasing the Africans' productive capacity, as it was the case in the Gold Coast.³ The traditional chiefs could grant concessions to European firms, which opened the doors wide for the foreign entrepreneurs to invest in agriculture and mines.⁴

¹ - James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey one of the most respected personalities and greatest intellectuals that the Gold Coast had ever produced. Nkrumah was greatly influenced and inspired by Aggrey as were generations of African nationalists. Aggrey's contribution to the shaping of young Nkrumah's personality requires a brief account of his achievements. J. E. K. Aggrey, more popularly known as 'Aggrey of Africa', was born on 18 October 1875 at Anomabu in the central region of the Gold Coast. He attended the Wesleyan School in Cape Coast where he was soon noticed for his great passion for learning. Between 1895 and 1898 he was involved in political activities and became a recording Secretary of the A.R.P.S., and then acted as the Society's Chief Secretary for some time. He died in 1927. Aziz Mostefaoui, "The Evolution of Pan-Africanism and the Gold Coast Nationalism from the Origins to 1960" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Oran, Academic Year: 2010-2011), pp.282-83.

² - Joseph C. Anene and Godfrey N. Brown (ed.). *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966), p.111.

³ - Olufemi Omosini, "The Gold Coast Question 1896-1900: Some Issues Raised on West Africa's Economic Development." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5, No. 3 (1972): p.454.

⁴ - Shelford, op. cit., p.473.

The traditional system concerning land ownership in the Gold Coast was not to change until the second half of the nineteenth century when the Europeans began a rush into the Gold Coast looking for concessions to invest in gold.¹ The local colonial government reacted by a series of measures to regulate land ownership and the grant concessions the most important of which, the Public Lands Ordinance, 1876, which legalises compulsory acquisition for the service of the colony on payment of reasonable compensation. The latter was reinforced by Sir W. Maxwell's Public Lands Bill, which was introduced in the legislative council in 1897. In his message to the council, he stated that "the Government has finally determined that the administration of the public domain for the public benefit shall be ensured by efficient state machinery."² The 1897 Land Bill aimed at controlling the 'concession hunters'.³

There was also the Land Bills of 1894 which aimed at investing all wastelands, forest, and minerals in the Crown.⁴ In 1900, the legislative council passed the Concession Ordinance to control European rush for concessions, protect chiefs from illegal transactions; secure necessary funds from the control and exploitation of forests and mines. The policy of land confiscation expanded to include the northern territory after the legislative council passed the Land and Native Rights and Ordinance. By this Ordinance "all lands in Northern Territories, with certain exception, are declared to be public lands, and are placed under control and made subject to the disposition of the governor for the common use and benefit of the natives."⁵ The colonial government justified these legislative measures by the growing cost of the involvement in the local affairs of the colony and to meet its commitments towards its subjects.

The new regulations generated reactions amongst the local people particularly the educated elite and the chiefs. Intensified agitation on the part of educated Africans continued in the second half of the nineteenth century evolving around the land question and municipal and house rate schemes resulting in the formation of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS) on 17 May 1897. In 1895, opposition grew to the Land Bill vesting wastelands, forest lands, and minerals in the Crown and then to the 1897 Land Bill vesting

1 - Mostefaoui, op. cit., p.152.

2 - The message of Governor Maxwell to the Legislative Council, enclosed in Maxwell to Colonial Office, 11 March 1897, C. O. 879/49 No. 531, P.R.O., p.57.

3 - Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*, (Cambridge: International African Institute, Cambridge University Press, 1963), p.150.

4 - Boahen, op. cit., p.59.

5 - Colonial Reports-Annual, No.1418, The Gold Coast, Report for 1927-28, p.44.

the Government with administrative rights over all Colony land. These Bills were the object of long and sharp contests between the native people and the colonial government.

This political movement under the leadership of Mensah Serbah assisted by a number of educated African elite, among whom Casely Hayford, E. J. P. Brown, T. F. E. Jones, Dr B. W. Quartey Papafio. The objectives of the ARPS were to protect the natives' rights against the new regulations imposed by the newly established system. In this respect a deputation led by Casely Hayford went to meet with Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of State. After negotiations, they succeeded in getting the Land Bills dropped. Furthermore, the Colonial Office began an inquiry into land rights in the Gold Coast in 1912. In the early twentieth century, the ARPS asked for the repeal of the Forest Bills of 1910 and 1911; a task achieved successfully. However, the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* warned against that to achieve the highest good they should agitate constitutionally. On the part of the chiefs, it should be reminded that subsistence economy which basically relied on chiefs' control over land was to undergo changes.

Since subsistence economy involved basically chiefs' control over land, and essentially family or tribal members' labour supply to satisfy their nutrition needs, its basic structure was to undergo changes under the new system of production introduced by the Europeans. The traditional chiefs could sell land to European firms, which opened the doors wide for the foreign entrepreneurs to buy arable lands and mines.¹

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Europeans entered a keen competition as to the acquisition of African territories, and the Gold Coast was no exception. It was known in Europe as being an important source of gold, it was seen as the El Dorado of Africa, which led to a great rush of concession hunters into the area, looking for wealth. They held negotiations with local chiefs to acquire concessions. How much land was then granted during the concessions scramble, and how were these concessions granted? H. C. Belfield described the situation by which concessions were treated in the following:

"The applicant for a concession, in the first instance, approaches the chief of the district, either personally or through the agency of a lawyer, and describes to him and his elders, orally and through an interpreter, the situation and area of the land which he desires to acquire, and the purpose for which he wants it. When the chief has been made to comprehend these particulars as far as possible and has expressed his willingness to grant the land, the parties

¹ - Shelford, op.cit., p.473.

proceed to bargain as to the amount of consideration money and rent to be paid in respect of it. When the terms have been finally settled, all details are embodied in an indenture or deed of agreement written in the English language, which is usually read over and explained to the chief and his councillors."¹

As to the extent of land granted by the chiefs in the Gold Coast, there are two opposing points of view. On the one hand, it is said in a report presented by Belfield to the Colonial Office that the area alienated was about one-twenty-seventh of the total area, which represents a small fraction. On the other hand, the West African Land Committee reported that the chiefs in the Gold Coast alienated an area which actually exceeded the half total area of the whole colony.²

The changes introduced by the colonial administration on landownership in addition to the capitalist principles brought by the foreign companies, which affected labour, finance and transport, the cocoa industry knew spectacular success during the two first decade of the twentieth century.

2.7.2. Labour and Training

Labour in cocoa industry is large and varied, including both hired workers and family members who may or may not be working for an agreed cash return.³ Under traditional chiefs' rule, it should be reminded that subsistence economy which basically relied on their control over land, relied essentially on family labour or tribal members in farming to satisfy the local people's needs in food. However, this system was to undergo changes in its basic structure. By the early twentieth century, after the creations of large-scale cocoa plantations, twenty acres or more, and to meet the increasing demand for cash crops, particularly cocoa, the peasants relied on various types of labour including immigrant labour from the northern territories and neighbouring colonies. Labourers were paid for their work in different forms, which could be a sum of money for each load of cocoa, which does not exceed one-third of its price, or they are paid on a piece-work basis.⁴ In fact, labour has been covered extensively by Polly Hill in her book 'The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana: A Study in Rural Capitalism'.

¹ - Ilegbune, op. cit., p.19.

² - Ilegbune, op. cit., p.17.

³ - Christine Okali, *Cocoa and Kinship in Ghana- The Matrilineal Akan of Ghana* (London: The International African Institute, 1983), p.19.

⁴ - Hill, op. cit., p.188.

It must not be thought that Achimota's curriculum is "academic." As the main economic basis for the colony is agriculture, specifically cacao, this subject is given special attention. It is a compulsory subject for all secondary students, both girls and boys, and also for those enrolled in the Teacher Training Department. Emphasis upon agriculture although the colony has succeeded in developing a high degree of prosperity based upon farming, the rich soil will not always retain its fertility and much remains to be done in disseminating information regarding fertilisation, crop rotation, and the basic principles of agriculture. With this in mind teachers in training are given a thorough training along these lines. The first year consists of a course in nature study. Familiar animals, birds, and insects are studied and a series of lectures are given in the biological laboratory. The second year finds the prospective teacher engaged in practical work on the college farm. One-day weekly is devoted to actual work on the farm garden or in the field crops, in landscape gardening, or in the care and breeding of livestock. The third and final year are concerned with a study of the theory of agriculture and every student is given full charge of a small model plot. Some of the specific subjects taken in the last year of the agricultural course "include theoretical teaching on soils, growing and propagation of Gold Coast crops and decorative plants, the housing and feeding, general management, grading up and diseases of poultry and other livestock."¹

2.7.3. Finance and the Banking System

The change from subsistence to monetary economy required the establishment of financial institutions, currency to meet the needs of both the local farmers and expatriate firms. As to the financial institutions, it should be reminded that the Bank of British West Africa Ltd. Entered the Gold Coast in 1896, then the Colonial Bank, in 1916, which changed its name to Barclays Bank Dominion Colonial and Overseas in 192. These banks enabled the circulation of English currency, provided loans for peasants, which helped the expansion of cocoa plantations.² By the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of foreign currencies such as silver dollars and British silver coins were introduced into the colony. The introduction of the banking system helped entrepreneurs and peasants to invest in agriculture and mines.

¹ T. Walter Wallbank, Achimota College and Educational Objectives in Africa, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Apr., 1935), pp. 230-245. Published by: Journal of Negro Education, p.241.

² - Howard, op. cit., p.79.

2.7.4. Roads and Railways

Aware of its importance in boosting the exports of the colony, and therefore increasing revenues from taxes and duties, the colonial government put in priority the construction of railways. The latter constituted the main economic activity of colonial government during the early twentieth century. The first initiative goes back to 1900 under the first development plan aiming at developing the colony by following the three R's: Rule of the British, Railways, and Ross's medical achievements.¹ It opened the Secondi-Kumasi line in 1904, reducing the cost of transport twelve times, which boosted the production of cocoa. Between 1909 and 1917 the second line was built, from Accra to Kumasi, and by 1920 there were 250 miles of track open in the colony.

The rapid evolution of the agricultural sector, particularly in cash crops necessitated a two-fold policy based on providing an adequate transport network and financial institutions. In fact, the financial return was the driving force of any decision on behalf of the colonial government to support any sector and transport was no exception. The Department of Transport was convinced that the development of cash crops should go hand in hand with the development of a transport network to link the inland production zones to the shipment posts on the coast, and therefore increase production and exports. In this context, the colonial government was thinking of how to make the transport network pay for itself, because of the hostile attitude of the British Treasury, which believed in the principle of the colonies' financial self-sufficiency. The colonial government was compelled to cope with the situation, in this respect, they thought of widening the list of agricultural and mineral exports to increase the revenue from duties on exports and therefore provide necessary funds to finance new transport infrastructure to encourage exports. This strategy was adopted by Governor Guggisberg who considered transportation as the most important subject in the colony. He argued at the Legislative Council that:

“With more railways, we shall be safe for all time_ without them our future is not only imperilled: it is doomed.”²

The following table shows the colonial government revenue and expenditure in five-year averages from 1900 to 1919.

¹ -Stephen Hymer, “The Political Economy of the Gold Coast and Ghana,” *Economic Growth Centre, Yale University*, (1968), p.12.

² - Guggisberg, Legislative Council Debates, The Gold Coast, 1923-24

**Table 10: External Trade and Colonial Government Revenue and Expenditure
(1900 – 1919) (five-year averages) (£000s)**

Five-year Averages Designation	1900 - 4	1905 - 9	1910 - 14	1915 – 19
Value of trade	3,202	4,389	8,382	11,702
Colonial Government Revenue	530	702	1,197	1,173
% of revenue from indirect taxes on external trade	67	59	60	59
Colonial Government Expenditure	878	629	1,093	1,262

Source: Adapted from Kay, op. cit., p. 27

After the establishment of colonial rule, the colonial powers began new economic policies aiming at the development of the economies of the colonies for a good integration in the international economy. In other words, they initiated a series of measures, regulations and economic development plans to promote the available resources in the colonies for the benefit of both the metropolitan and colonies' economies.

Metropolitan economies refer to the economies of the colonial powers; they are also known as the economies of the empire or centre around which the economies of the colonies evolve. Peripheral economies¹ refer to the economies of the colonies, they are also referred to as satellite economies. The two concepts appeared in the context of the international division of labour where the economies of the colonies are specialised in the production of cash crops and raw materials, whereas the metropolitan economies are specialised in the production of manufactured goods. Thus, the new colonial economic policy aims at the integration of colonial economies into the imperial economic pattern. In fact, the first steps towards the formation of mono-product economies in the colonies had begun before the establishment of colonial rule through the missionaries and the European entrepreneurs to be accomplished later by the colonial governments during the colonial period.

¹ - The notion of peripheral economies was first introduced by Samir Amin. It distinguishes between the peripheral economies or the primary producer economies and the centric or the industrial ones. Samir Amin focuses the strong dependency of the former on the latter.

2.8. The Attitude of the Agents Involved in the Cocoa Industry

The new economic structure of the Gold Coast is the outcome of a number of factors which contributed, at different extents, to transform the traditional economy, based on providing food, to a capitalist economy positioned at the periphery of the world economy. The following paragraphs will be devoted to examine the role and attitude of the parties involved in this change, that is, the local farmers, the missionaries, the European companies, and the colonial government.

2.8.1. The Attitude of the Local Farmers

The transition from the cultivation of food crops to the cultivation of cash crops took place over a period of time and through a number of steps in which different cash crops were produced according to the changing demands of the external markets. This transition from an economy based partially, as mentioned by Daryll Ford, on collecting crops to cultivating land resulted from the abolition of slave trade. Consequently, local traders got involved in producing export produce which was demanded by European merchants who themselves found in trading in cash crops an alternative to the slave trade. The number of farmers who were dependent on the international market was gradually increasing throughout the early colonial period, this was partly due to the incentive prices suggested for export crops by foreign companies. In fact, the expansion of cash crops was not due to mechanisation of agriculture because most of the cocoa plantations were controlled by local farmers, who were, at the beginning, not able to introduce machines because of lack of enough capital and trained labour. The favourable attitude of the local farmers helped considerably a smooth transition from a subsistence economy to cash crop economy. Intensified labour increased local farmers' income and at the same time their dependence on foreign markets.

By the early 1910s, the Gold Coast witnessed noticeable structural changes in its economy. More and more farmers got involved in the new system of production tightly related to the world market. The encouraging measures suggested by the European merchants coupled with the technical assistance guaranteed by the missionaries stimulated local farmers to keep pace with the changing needs of metropolitan markets. It can be assumed so far that the foreign entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and missionaries on the other, managed to introduce the seeds of capitalism in African societies. Therefore, local farmers became automatically involved in the new system, but as agents in peripheral economies.

They were tricked by the incentive prices suggested by the European merchants. They were not aware enough of the ultimate consequences of such a system on their food self-sufficiency. It is worth stressing that the new system would not have succeeded without a favourable attitude on behalf of the local farmers.

Local traders whose income relied on slave trade shifted to trading in cash crops which became the new lucrative economic activity after the abolition of slave trade. The favourable attitude of the local farmers considerably helped a smooth transition from a subsistence economy to cash crop economy. It is worth stressing that the new system would not have succeeded without a favourable attitude on behalf of the local farmers.

The encouraging measures suggested by the European merchants coupled with the technical assistance guaranteed by the missionaries stimulated local farmers to keep pace with the changing needs of metropolitan markets. It can be assumed so far that the foreign entrepreneurs, on the one hand, and missionaries on the other, managed to introduce the seeds of capitalism in African societies. Therefore, local farmers became automatically involved in the new system, but as agents in peripheral economies. They were tricked by the incentive prices suggested by the European merchants. They were not aware enough of the ultimate consequences of such a system on their food self-sufficiency. In the context, Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins state:

“Perhaps the most insidious tactic to ‘lure’ the peasant away from food production _ and the one with profound historical consequences _ was a policy of keeping the price of imported food low through the removal of tariffs and subsidies. The policy was double-edged: first, peasants were told they need not grow food because they could always buy it cheaply with their plantation wages; second cheap food imports destroyed the market for domestic food and thereby impoverished local food producers.”¹

In January 1915, the local newspaper *The Nation* warned that the farmers were showing too much interest in cocoa production to the detriment of local food crops. In an editorial in 1915, “Our Food Production” the same newspaper mentioned: “corn, plantains,

¹ - Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, “Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity,” *Institute for Food and Development, San Francisco*, (1977), p.110.

palm oil and groundnuts as the staple foods suffering neglect.”¹ Similarly, *The Leader* noted in 1916 that: “The cocoa industry has out-paced food production.”²

“The same newspaper blaming famine in the Gomoa District of the Central Province on over-reliance on cocoa noted that before the introduction of cocoa, the region used to satisfy its needs in food and to export the surplus to the districts of Accra and Winneba.”³

In the context, Grier notes that:

“In a subsistence village economy, each family or household constituted for the most part, a self-sufficient economic unit, producing and consuming its own food, housing, clothing and tools... even the chief in Ghana cultivated his own food crops.”⁴

After the outbreak of World War One, the stimulating prices, which dragged numbers of farmers to the productions of cocoa, began to decline. The Gold Coast knew the first cocoa shock, the average annual price of cocoa dropped from £61.5 in 1913 to £46 in 1914 to reach £34.5 in 1917⁵. The expatriate firms justified the low prices suggested for the peasants by the new charges and high transport commissions in the wartime. Producers reluctantly accepted the prices fixed by the foreign merchants to avoid the damage of their crop because of the poor storage conditions. Some peasants felt that they were being cheated by the foreign merchants (British in the majority) in the absence of loyal competition after the **exclusion** of the German merchants because of the War.⁶ In some areas like Abwasi in Ashantiland, Assin and Agona in the Central Province, the local farmers refused to sell their produce at low prices. Moreover, the chief of Agona threatened to fine any farmer who sells crops to expatriate merchants. This led to the intervention of the local government by instructing the chiefs to force their people to sell their crops to the expatriate merchants.⁷

The situation of the local people worsened after the rise of the imported commodities including food. The local newspaper *The Leader* proclaimed:

¹ - Akurang-Parry, op. cit., p.61.

² *The Leader*, July 3, 1916, quoted in Akurang-Parry, p.61.

³ - Ibid., p.61.

⁴ - Grier Beverly, “Cocoa Marketing in Colonial Ghana: Capitalist Enterprise and the Emergence of a Rural African Bourgeoisie,” *A Journal of African Studies*, 10 (1-2), (1981), p.91.

⁵ - Akurang-Parry, op. cit., p.56.

⁶ - Ibid., p.56.

⁷ - Ibid., p.58.

“The price of imported goods have risen over and above hundred percent, but we feel to see why the people’s natural produce should be bought for such a little value.”¹

According to Milburn, the British business in the Gold Coast was insane, the spectrum of views about it includes that of conspiratorial nature, and that these views were frequently expressed in writings.² In the context, Samuel Rohdie in an article about the Cocoa Hold-up of 1930-31 argues that the colonial administration served the interests of European companies by providing them with up-dated information about the crop in the world markets. Such information was not available to the local producers, and whose requests were often ignored.³ This will be referred to, in the next chapter, when examining the reaction of the local government to the Pool Agreement between the UAC and Cadbury.

2.8.2. The Role of the Missionaries

The missions contributed to a large extent to the development of cash crops through the botanical gardens. In the context, Boahen states:

“There is no doubt one of the main preoccupations of the missions in Ghana during the nineteenth century was the promotion of agriculture and legitimate trade with a view partly to putting an end to slave trade... and partly to promoting western civilization.”⁴

The first attempt to promote the production of cash crops began by the 1840s when the missionaries tried to promote the cultivation of cotton and coffee.⁵ It is worth noting that, the British industrial textile sector relied on American cotton under what was known as the Triangular Trade. Yet, the British market suffered from a shortage of cotton because of the American Civil War,⁶ which led the British to look for new suppliers. The British entrepreneurs’ attempt to introduce cotton in the Gold Coast failed because of the climatic conditions which did not respond to the requirements of cotton cultivation. They resumed the Danes’ attempts to establish export crops in the Gold Coast that began by the early nineteenth century and tried other cash crops putting forward two criteria in the choice of

¹ - Ibid, p.59.

² - Josephine Milburn, *British Business and Ghanaian Independence* (London: C. Hurst & Co Ltd, (1977), 2.

³ - Samuel Rohdie, “The Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-up of 1930-31”, *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 9 (1968): p.107.

⁴ - Boahen, op. cit., p.82.

⁵ - Ibid., 91.

⁶ - The Civil War in America (1861- 5) affected the production of cotton severely. This led the British to look for new suppliers. Duignan and Gann, op. cit., p.51. and Hopkins, op. cit., p.137.

the crop to be promoted. First, the economic interest which, in fact, changed throughout the evolution of the foreign markets' needs. Second, the suitability of the geographical and climatic conditions as well as the organic structure of the soil of the colony.

It is worth noting that the missions encouraged farmers to produce commodities for export to replace the export of slaves. The measures adopted to fill the economic vacuum left by the prohibition of trade in slaves brought radical changes to the economy of the Gold Coast. The years that followed the abolition witnessed the development of legitimate trade that is, trading in cotton, palm oil and kernel, groundnuts, timber, rubber, and coconuts. The introduction of cocoa beans in the Gold Coast by the Basel Missions in 1857, showed impressive results.¹ This cash crop became the lifeblood of the economy of the colony. This implied the reformulation of a strategy involving a number of issues, among which land ownership, labour, financial investment and returns, training and markets.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Basel Mission established a botanical garden in Akropon to promote the cultivation of both food crops and cash crops such as local vegetables, bananas, coffee, tobacco, cotton and sugar cane. Subsequently, legitimate trade involved a wide list of minerals and crops. Actually, the best achievement in this field was that of Rev. Simon Suss who was the first to manufacture palm kernel oil in 1861 and to suggest its export.² This encouraged local farmers to grow cash crops as being the main lucrative activity. Under such circumstances, the plantation of palm oil and kernels knew considerable expansion. It was grown on the Pra banks in the western region; and around Kadi and Kibi, in the eastern region; and in the inland in Krobo and Akwapim. (See Map 7)

2.8.3. The Role of Foreign Entrepreneurs (Expatriate Firms)

The abolition of a very lucrative trade, the slave trade, officially declared in 1808, however becoming effective in the second half of the 19th century left an economic vacuum, which led European capitalists to look for other profitable commercial alternatives. This led to intensive explorations with a view to locating, establishing and developing the local marketable resources to satisfy the increasing European demands for cash crops and raw materials. The economic emptiness left by the prohibition of illegitimate trade was gradually filled by the promotion of agriculture. Palm oil and kernels constituted, as Rhoda Howard

¹- Boahen, op. cit., p.82.

² -Ibid., p.82.

put it, the main exports of the Gold Coast after the abolition of the slave trade which “compelled indigenous entrepreneurs to search for something new to sell” to the new European industrial manufacturers.¹

The European merchants worked to promote the crops to be suitable to the needs of the metropolitan markets. For instance, the wide use of machines, and the expansion of the railway mileage in the world made the demand for oil greater. At first, the main source of oil was whales, but as the demand grew, it became necessary to look for other sources.² The Europeans had to take into consideration a number of factors that could help to determine the crops to be promoted among which, first, the economic interest, second, suitable climatic conditions, an adequate soil and the necessary means of production, that is, land, labour and capital.

The expansion of food farming and the development of an export trade in agricultural commodities (maize, coffee and cotton) was a foremost concern among a number of Accra merchants. Between 1818 and 1822 several British and Dutch merchants in Accra encouraged the establishment of ‘Indian corn’ plantations to produce for export. In these years, several of them exported a total of 150,000 bushels of maize to Madeira and the West Indies. In 1823 a large maize plantation was laid out at Frederiksborg, and already by 1824 American and British ships purchased the first maize harvest at Christianborg, and transported the produce to Madeira and the Caribbean.³ The Danes, for instance, tried during the second decade of the nineteenth century to establish an export agricultural enterprise to produce maize, coffee and cotton.⁴ The British entrepreneurs worked hard to promote certain cash crops that were suitable to the Gold Coast’s climate, and which responded at the same time to the British market’s needs. They paved the way for the establishment of a cash crop economy in agriculture by the foundation of botanical stations⁵ to create an agricultural sector based on scientific bases. These botanical stations took in charge the introduction of new technologies in agriculture, the improvement of the quality of seeds, in addition to fighting against eventual diseases which may damage crops and cause a disaster. The

¹ - Howard, op. cit., p.69.

² - Batten, op. cit., p.84.

³ - Kea, op. cit., p.131.

⁴ - Ibid., p.131.

⁵ - The botanical stations or gardens were established by the Basel Mission during the second half of the nineteenth century to promote agriculture in the Gold Coast. The most important of them were the Aburi Gardens specialized in importing cocoa seeds from Sao Tome. Boahen, op. cit., pp.81-82.

European entrepreneurs also worked to eliminate the traditional indigenous system in agriculture and to substitute it for a new system based on producing cash crops. From 1910 to World War Two, the European companies, with the help of the colonial government sought to maintain the peripheral import-export mono-crop system which they found so profitable.¹

2.8.4. The Role of the Colonial Government

The role of the colonial government at both the local and metropolitan levels came to complete the work of shifting from an agricultural system based on producing food crops to a cash crop economy based on producing monetary crops which had already started by missionaries and European entrepreneurs before the establishment of colonial rule. Locally, Gareth Austen argues that the colonial government to the cocoa ‘take off’ was largely limited to the provision of a railway which was opened in 1903.² At the local level, the successive colonial governments took a series of measures to encourage European entrepreneurs to invest in cash crops. At the central level, a number resolutions were taken through the imperial conferences to integrate the economies of the colonies into the empire economy within a global policy aiming at linking all the economies of the colonies to the economy of the empire. In other words, to put the first steps towards the establishment of tight dependence of the former on the latter. One of the major issues met by the colonial government was landownership. As it has already been discussed in chapter one, land was under the control of the local chiefs who began granting concessions by the late nineteenth century, that is, before the official establishment of colonial rule. The local officials were compelled to intervene with a series of measures, at first, to protect local chiefs from suspicious deals, then to introduce changes on landownership which encourage investing in agriculture. For a successful agricultural sector, the colonial government opened training schools, “most of them in the interior have small plantations attached where the scholars receive useful instructions in the cultivation of cocoa, coffee, sisal, ...”³

The 1928 Report of the Committee on Agricultural Policy and Organisation’s (Seasonal Paper XVII, 1927-29) states that the Department of Agriculture had gone through four phases from 1889 to 1922; these comprise the following: 1889-1905; 1905-1915; 1915-

¹ - Howard, op. cit., 79-80.

² - Gareth Austin, "The Emergence of Capitalist Relations in South Asante Cocoa-Farming, C. 1916-33," *The Journal of African History* 28, No. 2 (1987): 261.

³ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No 375, Gold Coast, Report for 1901, December, 1902, 27.

1922 and 1922 -1928.¹ The first phase was limited to the introduction of new plants such as cocoa, which was brought to Africa from Asia, and the study of their behaviour under local climatic conditions. Its function was, to a large extent, similar to the botanical gardens established by the missionaries. The second phase (1905 – 1915) was marked by a change in the structure of the staff of the Department of Agriculture, that is, the existing experts who were working on the ground under different organisations were given an official status. The third phase (1915 -1922) saw changes in the organisation and the functions of the Department. The work was organised on a provincial basis according to the crop produced, and supervised by specialists. This change gave the local government wide prerogatives on the agricultural resources. The fourth phase had begun by 1923 onwards, during this period the status of the director of agriculture changed into the Head of the Department of Agriculture.² Stephen Hymer sums up the role of the Department of Agriculture in the following:

“The Department of the Gold Coast colony was particularly concerned with three facets of the cocoa industry: the choice of the production techniques, quality control, and over-specialization.”³

A general policy to deal with agriculture in West Africa was drawn by Ormsby-Gore in 1926.⁴ It was essentially based on a scientific staff, including agricultural chemists, botanists, entomologists and mycologists,⁵ working in laboratories and research centres in West Africa, East Africa and Trinidad, in collaboration with the director of agriculture. Due to its varied soil and climate, as developed in the previous chapter, scientists and researchers worked on the ground in collaboration with the native producers in the different districts through experiments to determine which crop is suitable in each district. For instance, sisal plantation made great success in the district of Accra. Similarly, coconut plantations have made excellent results in the district of Cape Coast.⁶ This central policy recommended the

¹ Yao Graham, “Law, State and the Internationalisation of Agricultural Capital in Ghana: A Comparison of Colonial Export Production for the Home Market” (Ph D thesis, University of Warwick, School of Law, December 1993), p.53.

² -Kay, op. cit., p.199.

³ -Hymer, op. cit., p.20.

⁴ Harlech George Ormsby-Gore sat as Member of Parliament (MP) for Denbigh Boroughs from 1910 to 1918 and for Stafford from 1918 until 1938 and served as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1922 to 1929 (with a brief interruption during the short-lived Labour government of 1924).

⁵ - Kay, op.,cit., p.204.

⁶ - Ibid., p.202.

promotion of shea¹ and groundnuts in the northern districts. The committee of experts estimated that the 192 million shea trees in the Northern Territories could produce over 250,000 tonnes of shea butter annually.²

Concerning palm oil industry, the southern districts showed great potentialities according to the committee of experts who argued that this industry could be an alternative to the cocoa industry in case something bad (disease) happens to the latter. Kola plantation in the southern districts of the Ashanti showed significant results but due to the high cost of transport to the shipping areas made it less competitive with the kola producers in the neighbouring French colonies. The two last crops mentioned in the report of the committee of experts, that is, tobacco and cotton were not recommended because of strong competitors in northern Nigeria for cotton and British East African colonies for tobacco.

In addition to the series of measures and regulations taken at the local level to develop the agricultural sector with a particular focus on promoting cash crops, the colony of the Gold Coast benefited from an economic development plan known as the Ten-Year Plan. The Plan which revolutionised transportation and helped, to a large extent, in boosting cocoa industry in the Gold Coast will be developed in Chapter Three. Finally, in spite of the achievement made by the Department of Agriculture, the local farmers were always complaining against the unfairness and injustice colonial government's policy.

2.9. The Evolution of Capitalism versus Colonialism

In its relationship with the different stages of colonialism, capitalism knew different forms, each fits a particular phase as it will be developed in the following paragraphs.

Capitalism is an economic system where the factors of production are controlled by private entrepreneurs, and colonialism is the control of a nation over a dependent country. The form of capitalism had been changing through three distinctive stages over which colonialism underwent, each fits a particular period of time, as illustrated in Figure 4. The change can also be understood with the European economic trend of capitalist development based principally on exporting to colonial markets and importing primary colonial produce under the concept of

¹- Shea butter is a slightly yellowish or ivory-colored fat extracted from the nut of the African shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*). It is widely used in cosmetics as a moisturizer, salve or lotion. Shea butter is edible and is used in food preparation in Africa. Occasionally the chocolate industry uses shea butter mixed with other oils, as a substitute for cocoa butter, although the taste is different. en/Wikipedia.org/wiki/shea-butter, 28/7/2012

²- Kay, op. cit., p.203.

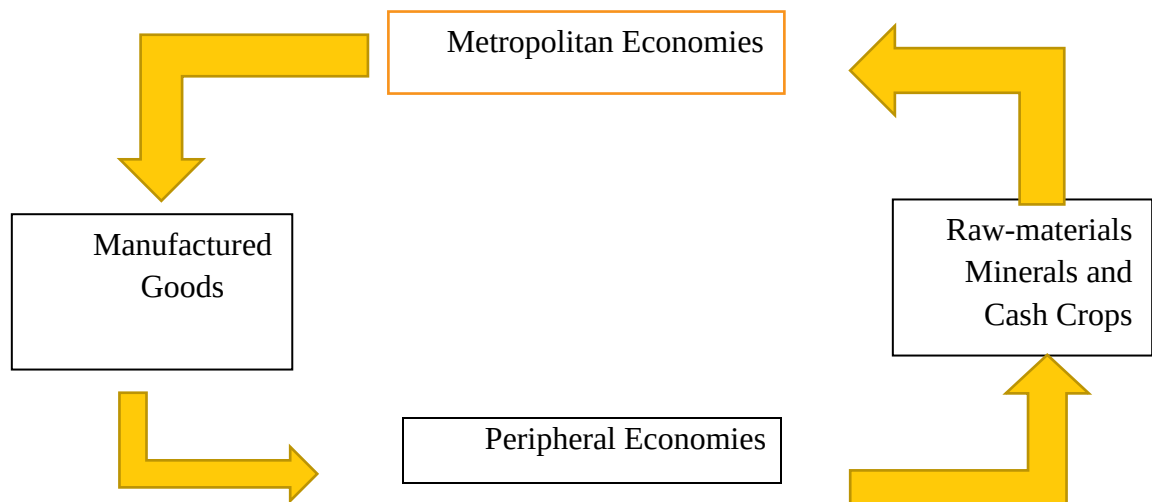
the international division of labour (See Figure3). In the context, Stephen Hymer states:

“Ghana a remote agricultural country, became part of a system of international division of labour whose centre was Great Britain.”¹

According to Anthony Brewer, Imperialism is an expansionist policy backed by protectionist tariffs to monopolise the largest possible markets in the world.² The European imperialism in Africa and Asia was motivated by a number of factors which can be summed up in three major categories. Economically, European nations adopted an expansion policy motivated by economic needs that were created by the Industrial Revolution. They believed that to be wealthier, they have to acquire more territories and therefore more natural resources. Politically, the European monarchies aimed at limiting the spread of the communist ideology and anti-monarchy ideas in Asia and Africa. Religiously, the Church was crying for expansion. Newly acquired territories mean putting an end to the expansion of Islam in Asia and Africa. In the context, Crowder states:

“The nineteenth-century history of West Africa can be seen as the conflict of two imperialisms: African-Muslim and European Christian.”³

Figure 3: The International Division of Labour at the Global Level



¹ - Hymer, op. cit., p.1.

² - Anthony Brewer, *Marxist theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd Ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), p.108.

³ - Michael Crowder, *West Africa under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson, 1968), p.32.

The division of labour within the capitalist world system has not been static. Britain became the centre of the world economy only after the Industrial Revolution where it changed its division of labour to the role of ‘workshop of the world’. Then, the Western European industrial powers followed to take their positions in the world economy as economies of the centre whose task is to import raw materials and to export manufactured goods.¹ During the late nineteenth century, industrialised nations such as Great Britain, Germany, France, etc., were competing for dominance over the world. Industry constituted the essence of political expansion (imperialism). Huge amounts of raw materials were needed in order to keep the European factories working. This exceptional wave of industrialisation brought important changes to European societies. Life changed considerably; the standard of living improved, a new social class of workers emerged, wealth increased, factories made surpluses in production and the Europeans began assuming national identities. These changes had had effects on the rest of the world.

The quick industrialisation in Western Europe during the 19th century led to a sharp increase in the production of manufactured goods coupled with an increasing demand for raw materials. This demand, together with the unprecedented essence of nationalism pride intensified the European ambitions to seek new markets (colonies) outside Europe which would have a double task; to supply their factories with raw materials and absorb their surplus in production. Africa was seen as one of the most important reservoirs of these resources. Thus, the Scramble for Africa² (1884-1885) ended by the partition of Africa among the European powers. It came to settle the conflicts and eventual clashes among Europeans about the spheres of interests, on the hand, and to legitimise their presence in Africa, on the other. Official occupation of African territories provided the necessary conditions to start policies of economic development of the colonies to integrate them in the metropolitan economies.

Thus, the expansionist policy or imperialism was motivated by economic needs with

¹ - Murray Noonan, “Marxist theories of imperialism: evolution of a concept” (Ph. D. Dissertation, School of Communication and the Arts Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development Victoria University, September, 2010), p.141.

²- The Scramble for Africa is also referred to in books of history as “the Share of the Cake” or “the Partition of Africa”, an event that took place in Berlin from November 13th, 1884 to February 26th, 1885, and ended by the partition of the African territories among the European powers. Crowder, op. cit., p.63.

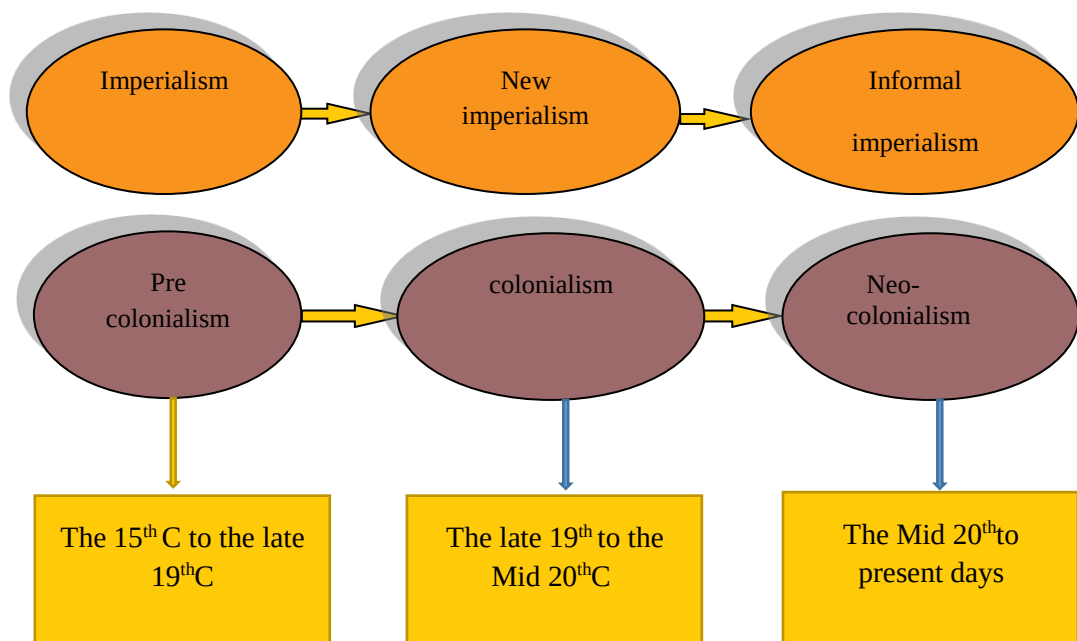
political and religious reasons promoted the superiority of Western societies over backward societies. Different means of domination were used by the European powers among which military intervention, economic spheres of influence, and annexation. Hence, by the beginning of the twentieth century Britain, the major European power, had already controlled vast territories in Africa and Asia.

Thinkers interpreted imperialism according to their schools of thought, the Marxists for instance, focussed on the economic factors in their understanding of the motivating forces, that is, the pursuit of cheap raw materials and new markets for their outlets. Lenin, in his book “*Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1917)*”, argues that:

“Imperialism is an economic necessity of the industrialised capitalist economies, seeking to offset the declining tendency of the rate of profit, by exporting capital. It is the monopoly stage of capitalism.”¹

In short, imperialism describes the earlier wave of European conquests to different parts of the world which began in the 15th century and ended by the late 19th century leaving the ground to a new concept, known as new imperialism.

Figure4: The Evolution of Imperialism



New imperialism which refers to the period of colonial expansion, followed the Berlin Conference (1884-85) until the First World War and aftermath. It was characterised by an unprecedented pursuit of overseas territorial acquisition, a period marked by a colonial expansion adopted by European powers, the United States and, later, Japan during the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. It marked the superpowers' policy until the end of the Second World War and the beginning of the decolonisation period to leave the ground to a new concept known as informal imperialism.

In the post-colonial period a new form of imperialism known as 'informal imperialism' substituted new imperialism in which direct political control became unnecessary, instead, other means of domination were used by the superpowers; for instance, through technological superiority, free trade under the principles of the World Trade Organisation, and an international integration arising from the change of ideas, and other aspects of culture. To put it differently, it was achieved within the context of globalisation which means the imposition of the superpowers' culture on the rest of the world. Thus, economic, political, and cultural dependency remain and are reproduced by multinational corporations. This concept is dealt with in details by Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of independent Ghana in his book, "*Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism (1965).*"

2.10. Towards Economic Dependence

This relationship was developed, far after, in the theory of Dependencia by a number of scholars in political economy especially Raul Prebisch¹ who argued that the world economy was divided into the industrialised nations consisting, on the one hand, of Western Europe and the United States, representing the centre, and the primary producers, generally the former colonies, representing the periphery, on the other. Prebisch examined the case of Latin American countries and their dependency on industrial countries which is, to a large extent, similar to the case of the former colonies West Africa. He noticed that during the Great Depression of 1929 the prices of primary products, such as farming produce, fell much

¹ Raul Prebisch is an Argentinean economist, (April 17, 1901 – April 29, 1986) known for his contribution to structuralist economics, in particular the Singer–Prebisch thesis that formed the basis of economic dependency theory. As a young man his writing was marked by a complete adherence to the idea of free-trade but in the 1930s, as a result of the Great Depression he "converted" to protectionism. His previous beliefs had been supported by the spectacular economic growth of Argentina from the 1860s to 1920s as the country exported a large amount of beef and wheat to the United Kingdom. However, by the 1930s the Great Depression and the growing economic dominance of the United States, which exported beef and wheat rather than buying them, had significantly hurt the Argentinian economy. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ra%C3%BAI_Prebisch, 14/01/2013

more than the prices of manufactured goods. This disproportional fall in prices incited Prebisch and others to investigate the exact mechanism that could explain this phenomenon. This can be explained by the supply conditions, that is, the supply conditions of primary and secondary goods were different in that while farmers planted the same amount of crops every year regardless of the price they would get, manufacturers were able to reduce or increase their capacity of production to respond to expected changes in the demand.

However, this analysis is seen by Prebisch as superficial and does not reflect the real factors responsible for the unbalanced increase in the prices of both primary and manufactured products. His initial explanation for the phenomenon was very straightforward: poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries could never earn enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.

The image described in Figure 3 explains a general case which is true at the level of the relationship between each empire and its colonies under the same context of a centre-periphery relationship. (See Figure 2)

Table 11 illustrates this situation at the macro-economic level, it gives the portion of the Gold Coast imports from the United Kingdom and its colonies, that is, the empire, which ranges between 74.87% and 80.10%. It also shows that these imports increased by 66% in the last five years. The imports, as shown in the figure above, represent manufactured goods including textile, utensils, canned food, etc. The percentages in Column six express the degree of dependency of the economy of the Gold Coast on the economy of the centre and the empire.

Table 12, in column six, shows the percentages of the Gold Coast exports to the economy of the empire at an aggregate level. It can be assumed that the intention of linking the economy of the colony to the economy of the empire had already begun by the early years of the establishment of colonial rule. It can also be assumed that, by the late nineteenth century, the degree of integration of the Gold Coast economy had already been considerable.

The process of integrating the economy of the Gold Coast in the economy of the British Empire continued with more determination during the first decade of the twentieth century

though the emergence of other markets, mainly the United States, which entered the competition to get its part from the Gold Coast exports.

Table 11: The Value of Imports of the Gold Coast with the UK, British Colonies and Foreign Countries

Years	From the UK (£)	British Colonies(£)	Foreign Countries(£)	Total (£)	Percentage
1896	569,828	28,520	179,661	768,000	77.90%
1897	526,411	60,787	196,990	784,118	74.87%
1898	726,197	43,101	191,038	960,336	80.10%
1899	858,721	54,079	239,678	1,152,478	79.20%
1900	920,279	73,042	296,642	1,294,963	76.70%

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No344, The Gold Coast, Report for1900, Dec. 1901, p.8.

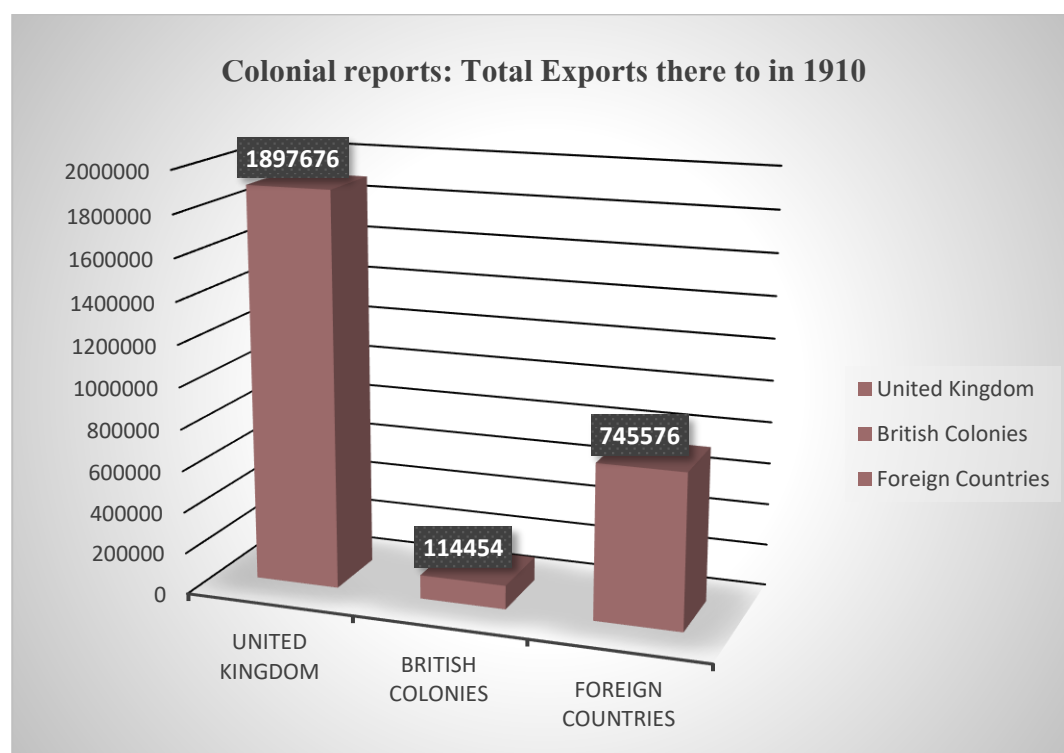
Table 12: The Proportion of the Gold Coast exports with the Economy of the Empire Compared to that of the Rest of the World

Years	To the UK (£)	British Colonies(£)	Foreign countries	The British Empire	Percentage
1896	536,106	37,471	218,534	573,577	72%
1897	581, 904	35,667	240,222	617,571	72%
1898	713,335	41,667	237,996	755,002	76%
1899	767,575	70,762	273,401	838,337	75%
1900	509,779	49,988	325,678	559,767	63%

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 344, The Gold Coast, Report for1900, Dec. 1901, p. 9.

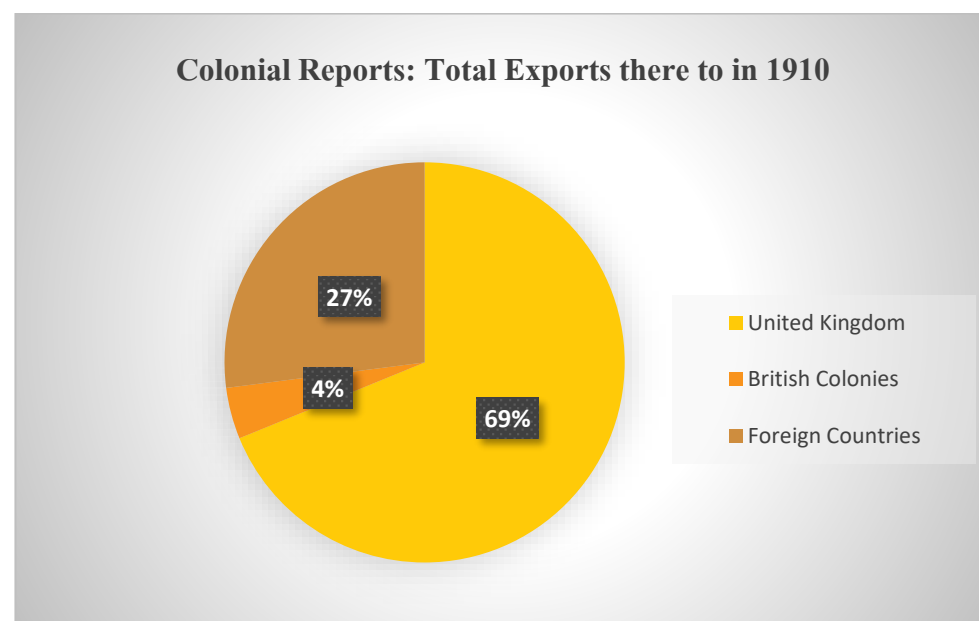
The following charts illustrate the share of the British Empire and the rest of the world in the Gold Coast imports and exports.

Chart 2: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Value 1910



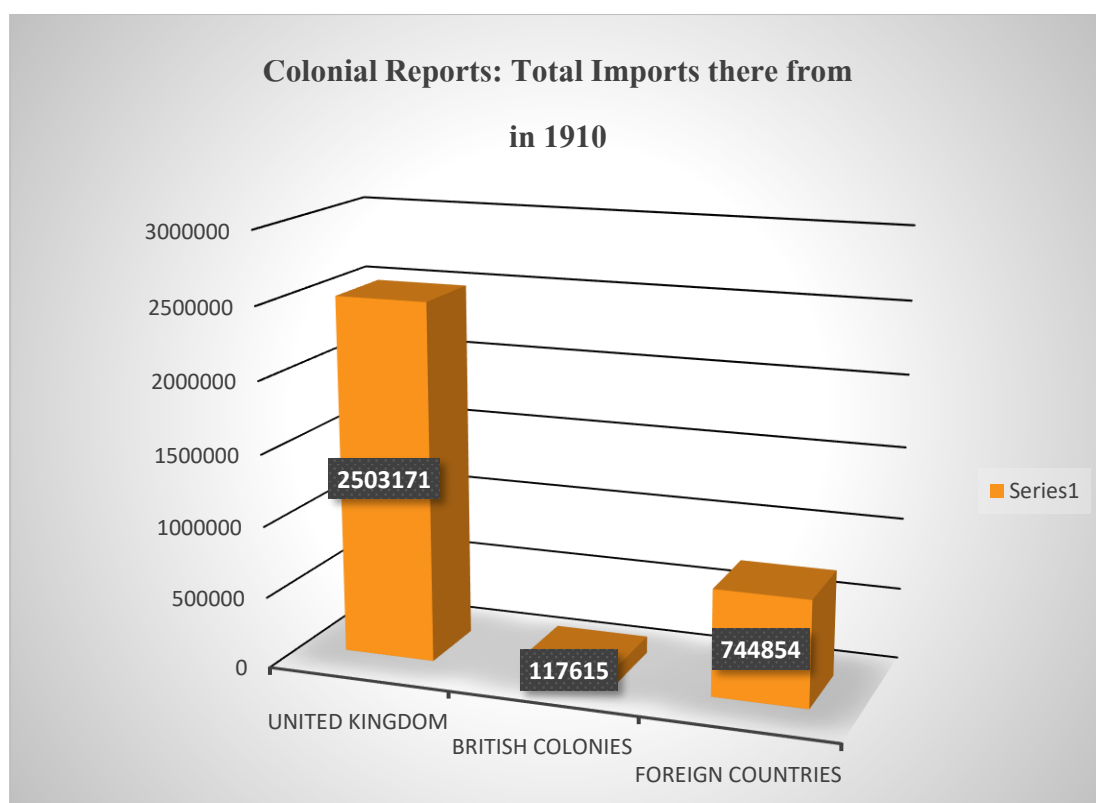
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart 3: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Percentages 1910



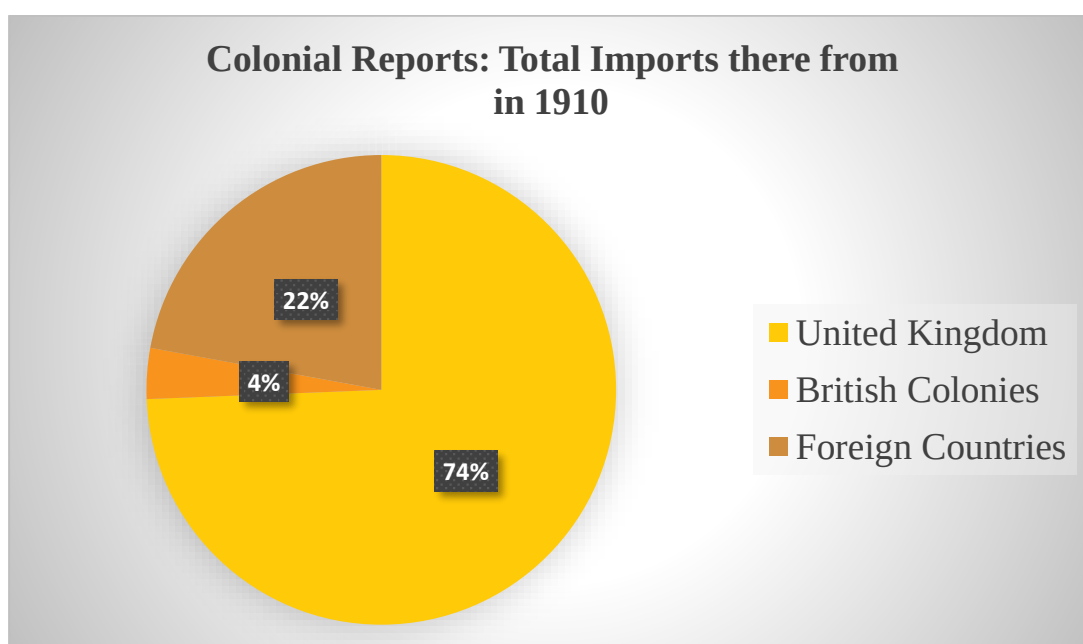
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart 4: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Value 1910



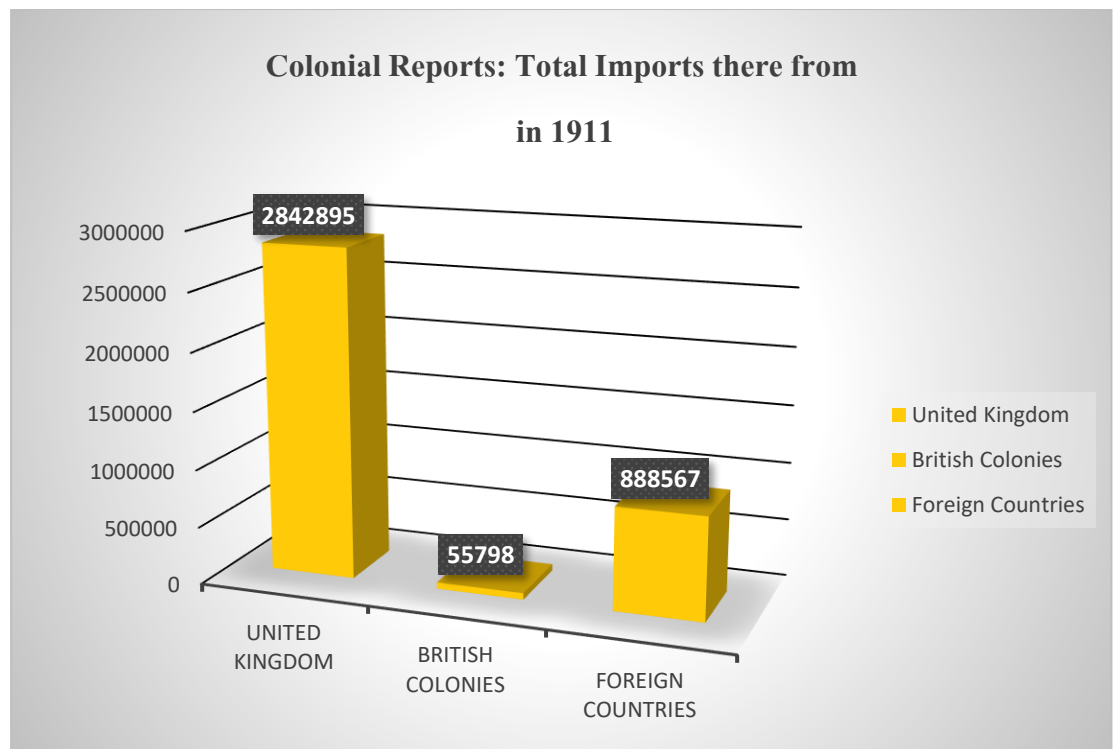
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart 5: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Percentages 1910



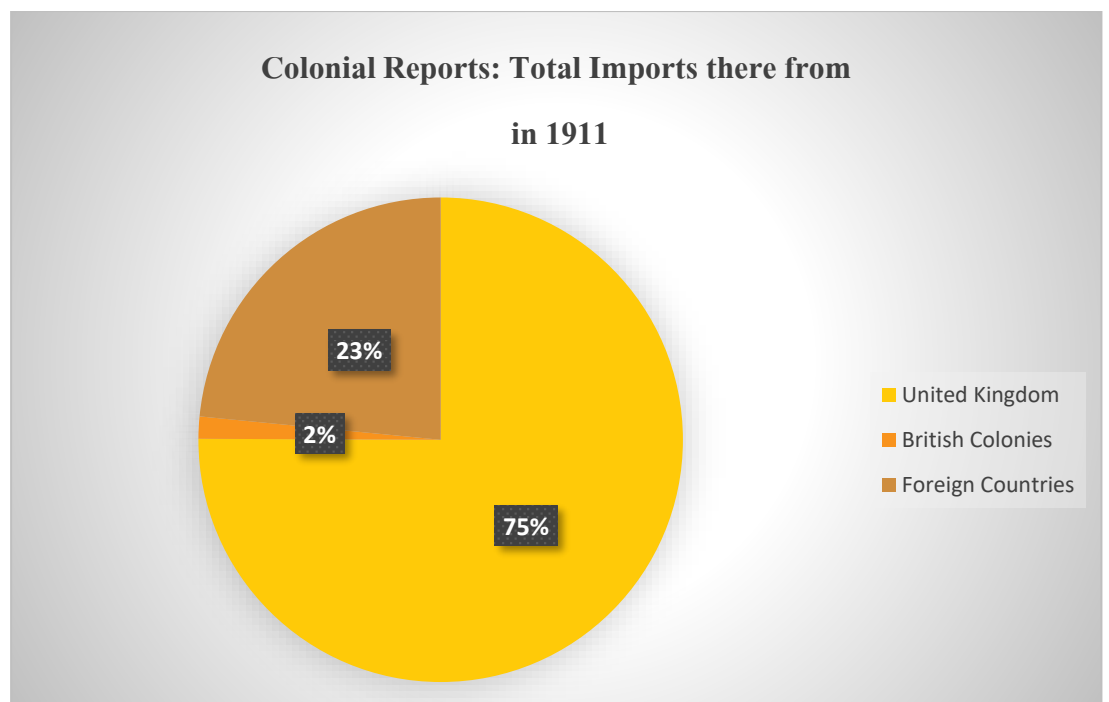
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart6: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Value 1911



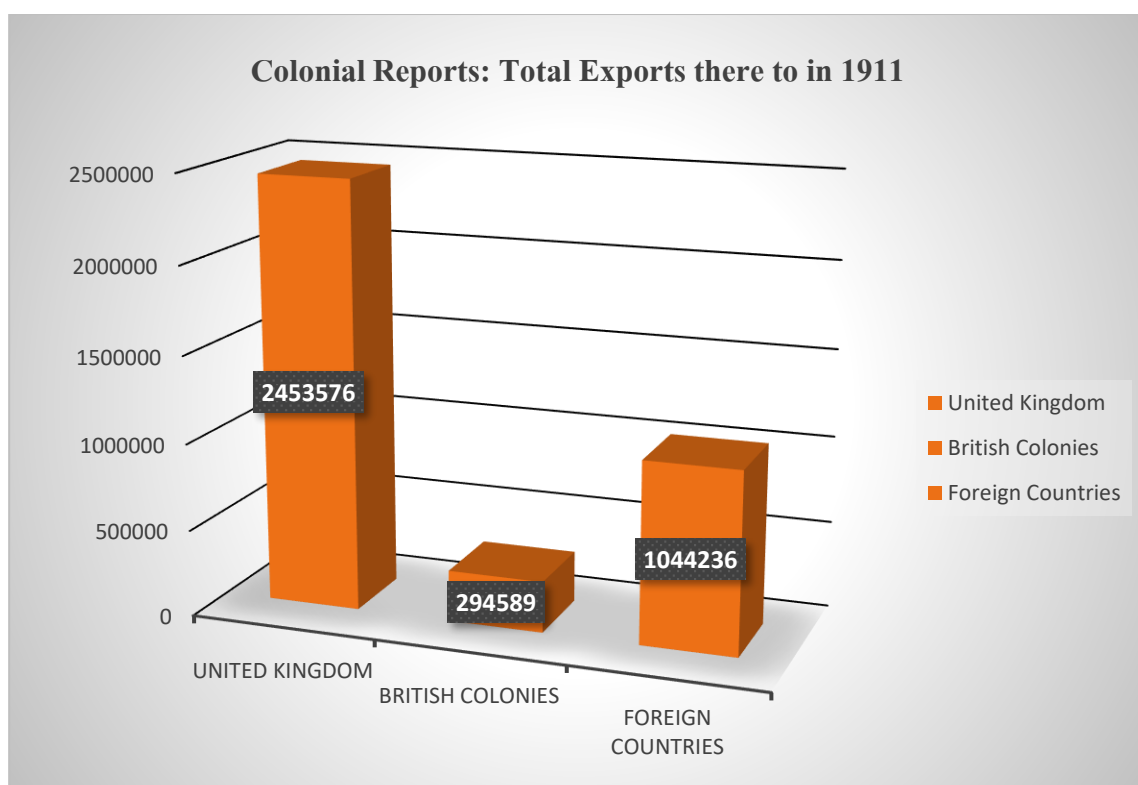
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart7: The Gold Coast Imports' Distribution in Percentages 1911



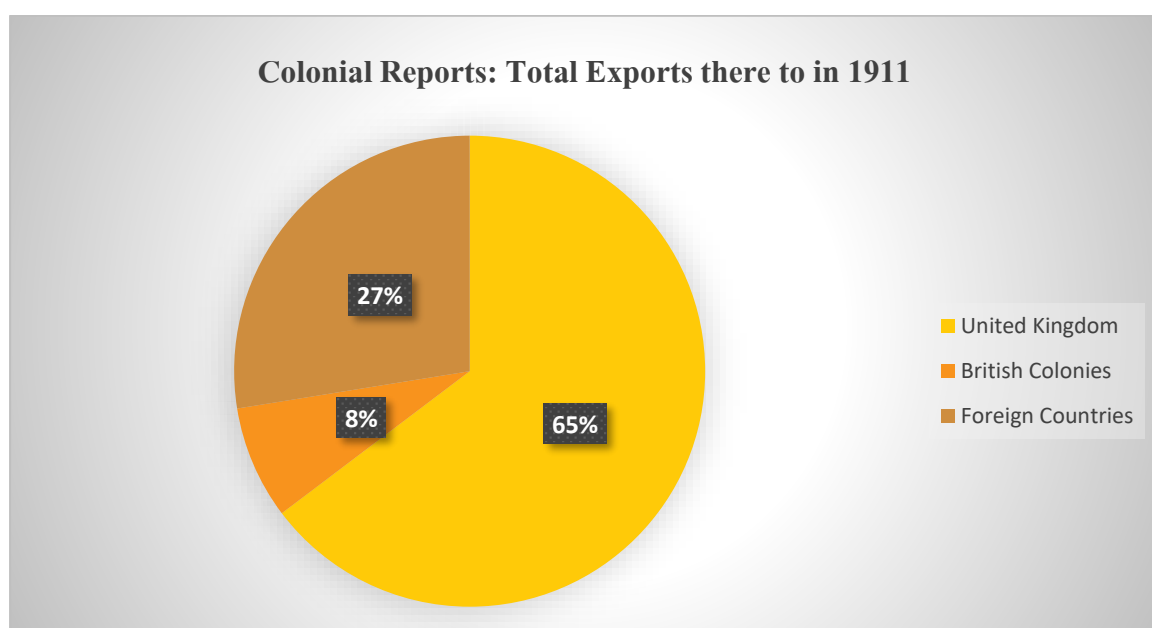
Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart 8: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Value 1911



Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

Chart 9: The Gold Coast Exports' Distribution in Percentages 1911



Source: Statistics from Colonial Reports-Annual, The Gold Coast, Report for 1911, No. 725, August 1912

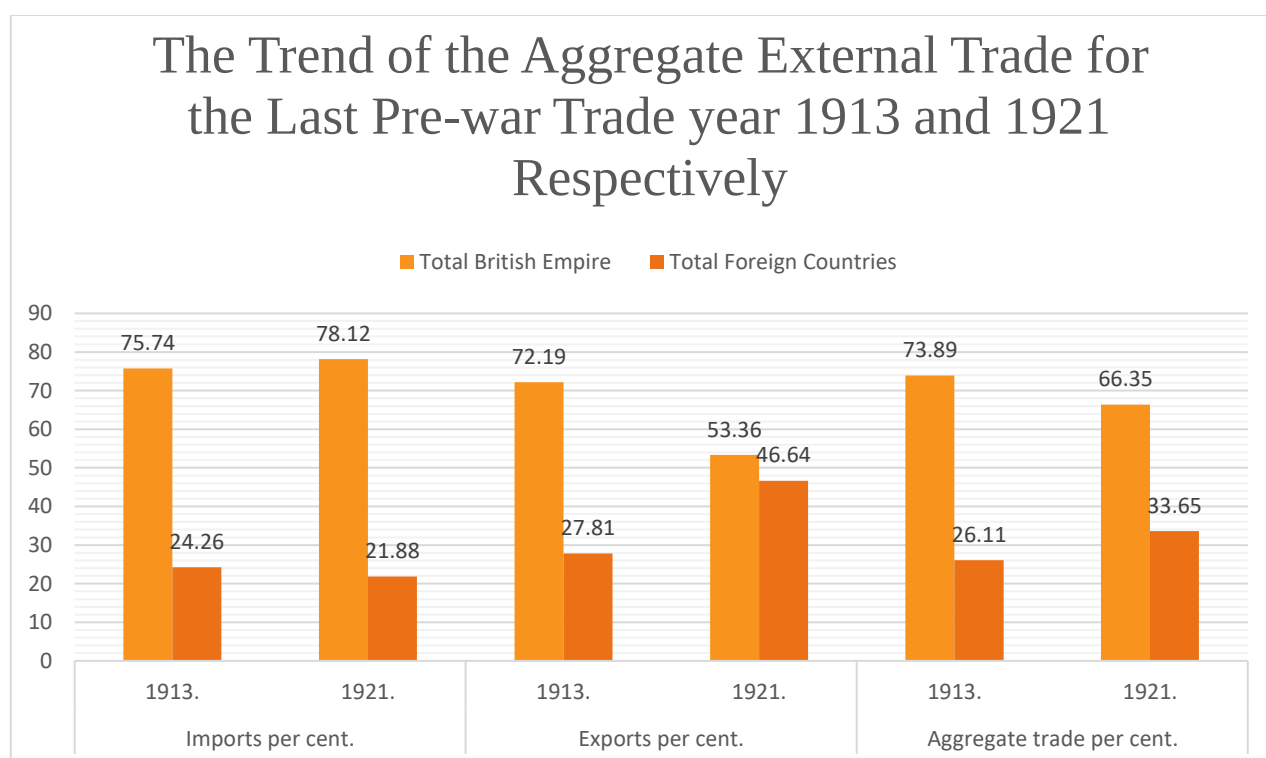
The following table shows the trend of the aggregate external trade for the last pre-war trade year 1913 and 1921 respectively:

Table 13: The Trend of the Aggregate External Trade for the Last Pre-War Trade Year 1913 and 1921

Country	Imports percent.		Exports percent.		Aggregate Trade %.	
	1913.	1921.	1913.	1921.	1913.	1921.
Total British Empire	75,74	78,12	72,19	53,36	73,89	66,35
Total Foreign Countries	24,26	21,88	27,81	46,64	26,11	33,65

Source: - Colonial Reports, No. 1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921, 19. - Colonial Reports, No. 1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921, p. 19.

Chart 10: The Trend of the Aggregate External Trade for the Last Pre-war Trade year 1913 and 1921 Respectively



Source: - Colonial Reports, No. 1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921, 19. - Colonial Reports, No. 1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921, p. 19.

The total external trade in 1921 amounted to £14,607,211. (Imports £7,665,014, Exports £6,942,197). The external trade in 1920 was £27,518,066, but, as previously stated, the values have fallen considerably since the middle of 1920 in the case of both imports and exports. In 1913, the total external trade was £10,392,290.¹

Table 14 shows the value of goods shipped to each principal consuming country from 1912 to 1916 and the proportion that each figure bears to the total for the year². It shows a decrease in the total exports to the United Kingdom from 75% in 1915 to 62% in 1916 which is due to the War circumstances. In contrast, the exports to the United States of America increased from 6% to 12% In the same period. It can also be noticed the absence of Germany from the table of the Gold Coast customers from 1915 onwards because of the War. According the Colonial Report for 1916, the large decrease in shipments to the United Kingdom in 1916 is due to Cocoa (£433,362), which in the year to a large extent then formerly was shipped direct to the United States of America and France instead of via the British markets, and to Gold (£554,684), the shipment of which to the United Kingdom has been postponed. The bulk of our increased exports of palm oil and palm kernels went to the United Kingdom. The increased shipment to France were made up of cocoa, palm kernels, copra and rubber. The gain of the United States of America consists of cocoa and timber shipped direct instead of through British ports.

The following table shows the value of imports (exclusive of species) from the principal supplying countries each year from 1912 onwards and the percentage arrived at by comparing the figures with the total imports for the year³

¹ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 1154, Report for 1921, p.19.

² - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, p.19.

³ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, pp.17-18

Table 14: Chief Customers for The Gold Coast Exports (1912-1916)

1912		
United Kingdom	£ 2,677,575	67%
Germany	£ 731,122	18%
France	£384,219	10%
Southern Nigeria	£ 133,977	3%
USA	£ 72,135	2%
1913		
United Kingdom	£3,416,637	68%
Germany	£899,468	17%
France	£455,585	9%
USA	£101,055	2%
Southern Nigeria	£145,023	3%
1914		
United Kingdom	£3,028,977	68%
Germany	£554,780	12%
France	£528,780	12%
USA	£93,383	2%
Nigeria	£141,968	3%
Holland	£116,948	3%
1915		
United Kingdom	£4,370,377	75%
France	£963,634	16%
USA	£329,466	6%
Nigeria	£139,247	2%
1916		
United Kingdom	£3,453,888	62%
France	£1374,815	24%
USA	£603,772	12%
Nigeria	£130,913	2%

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, p. 19.

Table 15: Chief Sources of Supply (1912-1916)

1912		
United Kingdom	£ 2,317,732	70%
Germany	£ 379,027	11%
France	£42,604	1%
USA	£ 229,604	7%
Holland	£ 182,965	6%
Southern Nigeria	£ 18,314	1%
Other Foreign Countries	£ 109,574	3%
1913		
United Kingdom	£2,468,604	70%
Germany	£386,679	11%
France	£44,299	1%
USA	£251,165	7%
Holland	189,165	5%
Southern Nigeria	£23,535	1%
Other Foreign Countries	124,964	4%
1914		
United Kingdom	£2,660,682	74%
Germany	£289,288	8%
France	£32,979	1%
USA	£270,176	8%
Holland	£170,810	5%
Nigeria	£24,312	1%
Other Foreign Countries	121,072	3%
1915		
United Kingdom	£2,734,991	79%
Germany	£9,839	0,.%
France	£37,285	1%
USA	£349,644	10%
Holland	£199,644	6%
Nigeria	£36,351	1%
Other Foreign Countries	£95,588	3%
1916		
United Kingdom	£3,860,765	75%
Germany	£128	0,..%
France	£77,089	2%
USA	£751,225	15%
Holland	£75,902	4%
Nigeria	£130,913	2%
Other Foreign Countries	£84,759	2%

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, pp. 17-18

In Table 15, it can be noticed that, because of the War, the imports from Germany were infinitesimal; they were estimated at £ 9,839 and £ 128 in 1915 and 1916 respectively. Decreases in imports from the United Kingdom affected machinery, lumber, rice, beef and pork and sugar. Of these only machinery can be counted as a British product and it is natural that its production should decline under war conditions. The other commodities are, to a great extent, still conveyed to the Gold Coast, but direct from their countries of origin instead of through the United Kingdom.

The domination of the United Kingdom on the external trade of the Gold Coast has continued though she has not yet regained the position which she held in 1913. In Chart 10, it can be noticed that the percentage of the exports of the United Kingdom to the Gold Coast increased from 75.74 in 1913 to 78.12 in 1921 while the percentage of the imports of the United Kingdom from the Gold Coast decreased from 72.19 in 1913 to 53.36 in 1921. This is explained by the fact the United States of America has improved her position in the markets of Gold Coast since 1913, but, she in common with France lost ground both in imports from and exports to this colony in 1921. Germany considerably improved her trade with this colony, taking more cocoa than any other Country except the United Kingdom.¹

It should be reminded that the decrease in the share of the United Kingdom in the total external trade of the Gold Coast would not undermine the integration of the economy of the Gold Coast in the international economy within the context of the international division of labour. That is to say, the process of integrating the economies of the colonies in the international markets, or the economies of industrialised nations means specialising the former in supplying latter with primary produce, and absorbing their industrial outlets within an unfair relationship as explained by Prebisch. (See Figures 3 and 5) In the Gold Coast, the beginning of the twentieth century marked a complete transition of the economy to full integration into, and dependence on, the international economy.

This close relationship between the economy of the empire and the economy of the colonies is explained in the Theory of Dependency. In fact, scholars do not agree on a single definition of dependency. For instance, Sunkel states that:

¹ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, p. 20.

“Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies.”¹

On the other hand, Dos Santos, in his definition of dependency, focuses on the historical dimension. He argues that:

“[Dependency is] ...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected.”²

The two definitions share three common features. First, dependency characterises the international system as comprised of two sets of states, variously described as dominant versus dependent, centre versus periphery or metropolitan versus satellite. Second, both definitions have in common the assumption that external forces are of singular importance to the economic activities within the dependent states. These external forces include multinational corporations, international commodity markets, foreign assistance, communications, and any other means by which the advanced industrialised countries can represent their economic interests abroad. Third, the definitions of dependency all indicate that the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalisation of capitalism. Dependency is an on-going process:

Africa, in general, has been since the eighteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations. African underdevelopment is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to the international system. In short, dependency theory attempts to explain the present underdeveloped state of many nations in the world by examining the patterns of interactions among nations and by arguing that inequality among nations is an intrinsic part of those interactions.

¹ Osvaldo Sunkel, "National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America," *The Journal of Development Studies*, 6, no.1 (October 1969), p.23.

² Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," in K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*. Boston: Porter Sargent, (1971), p.226.

Dependency theory explains the economic dependency of the former colonies representing the poor and underdeveloped "periphery" on the "core" composed of the wealthy industrialized countries, and how resources flow from the former to the latter, that is, resources flow from poor states to wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system."

Most dependency theorists regard international capitalism as the motive force behind dependency relationships. Andre Gunder Frank, one of the earliest dependency theorists, is quite clear on this point:

“...historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.”¹

This means that the underdevelopment of the former colonies is due to an international division of labour imposed by the capitalist system. The task of the dependent states is to supply the metropolitan states with cheap raw materials (minerals and cash crops) and to absorb their surplus of manufactured goods. This role of the economies of the dependent countries made them evolve around the metropolitan states, and explains to a large extent the deficiencies in the agricultural sectors and therefore the recurrent food dependency in the former colonies.

The case of the British colonial empire represents a sample of this tendency where the economies of the colonies are evolving around the economy of the empire. It is quite important to mention that the economy of the empire should not necessarily be the British economy but it refers to the world market as being controlled by imperial powers. The following figure illustrates this relationship. This strategy was, as it has already been mentioned, implemented by the colonial rule within the framework of specialising the economy of the colony in primary products. (See Figures 3 and 5) David Kimble notes that:

¹ Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, (1972), p.3.

“The establishment of colonial rule by the late nineteenth century provided the political framework for more thorough penetration. It was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that economic change began to acquire the momentum of a revolution, with the consolidation of imperial rule.”¹

One of the most important colonial legacies which still have serious consequences on the Africans is the mono-crop or mono product characteristic of their economies. The over-specialisation implies long-run dangers, in the case of the Gold Coast, for instance, the cocoa expansion would create domestic food shortages.² Moreover, it may generate high risks in the long-run expected income from the exports. In the case of a crop failure due to a disease,³ for instance, or a price fall of the crop in the international markets, the country’s revenue drops which may lead to social and political disturbances. For example, in 1920 the cocoa revenues were estimated at 10.056 million pounds, the following year, they dropped at 4.764 million pounds though the rise in exports in volume, which recorded 125,000 tonnes and 133,000 tonnes in 1920, 1921 respectively.⁴ Another example in the context of the fall of the price of the crop, in 1908-09, the price paid to cocoa farmers in the Gold Coast was 40.5 shilling per cwt., in 1940-41, it fell to 12.5 shilling per cwt.⁵ Furthermore, the persistence of such a situation may put the whole sovereignty of the country at risk through political blackmail on behalf of the super powers.

The role of the economies of the colonies within the concept of the international division of labour explains to a large extent the recurrent food shortages, and therefore the persisting food dependence in the colonies. This situation, in fact, can be generalised to include all the colonies in their relationships with the colonial powers. The two following images are considered as examples amongst many others, in which the colonial powers intervened through series of measures, in directing the traditional economies in the colonies, which were securing food supplies for the local peoples towards cash crop economies. In the Gold Coast, the British substituted the production of food crops under subsistence economy for the production of cocoa for industrial purposes.

¹ David Kimble, *A political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p.2.

² - Hymer, op. cit., p.22.

³ - Padmore talks about the loss of 18,000,000 cocoa tree out of 500,000,000 in the Gold Coast because of the Swollen-Shoot Disease. Padmore, op. cit., p.224., Amamoo says that: by the middle of 1954, 40 million trees had been cut down because of the Swollen Shoot Virus. Amamoo, op. cit., p.63.

⁴ - Ward, op. cit., p.404.

⁵ - R M. Stern, “Determinants of Cocoa Supply in West Africa,” In *African Primary Products & International Trade*, ed. I. G. Stewart and H. W. Ord (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964), pp.74-75.

Similarly, the French, in Algeria, substituted the production of cereals, the staple food of the local people, for the production of grapes which was industrialised to make wine, which made of Algeria a net importer of food after it had been a food exporter before the French occupation. This similarity can be generalised on all the colonial powers in their relationships with their colonies under the pattern centre-periphery relationship. The following table represents samples of farmers in different areas in the Gold Coast and the number of farmers in these samples who do not produce their food. provide money to buy food. This situation has been stuck to the economy of the Gold Coast for the whole colonial period, and it still persists in the post- colonial period. Recent statistics provided by the Ministry of Trade and Industry in Ghana show that this country imports most of its needs of cereals which constitute the staple food of the people.

Table 16: Food Dependence among Farmers in Selected Regions

	Number of farmers who normally buy foodstuff						Total number of farmers
	cassava	yam	rice	maize	plantains	onions	
Nkwanta- kesse	10	25	36	23	7	40	45
Kokoben	6	24	37	36	10	35	46
Nkwanta	18	22	32	28	4	37	41
Shia	8	15	32	25	12	27	42
	27	76	79	73	25	82	82

Source : Polly Hill ,The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmers , Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p. 97

In 2010 for instance, Ghana imported 315,838 MT of wheat, 320,152 MT of rice and 955 MT of maize.¹ These numbers illustrate a clear food-dependency of Ghana on foreign markets. The current situation is one of the colonial legacies which has its roots in the British colonial economic policy at both the metropolitan and local levels.

¹ - Ministry of Trade & Industry, Accra, Agriculture in Ghana: Facts and Figures (2010), Issued by Ministry of Trade and Agriculture, May 2011, p.42.

The problem of food dependency, as mentioned in the local newspaper, *The Leader*, in 1915, was affecting most of West Africa.

“We in West Africa depend to a large extent on Europeans for Four means of living and the food we eat. It is no deploring the fact that had we been sensible we could never have abandoned our native foodstuff for those imported from abroad... at least a greater number of us in the coastal towns have been used to certain articles of European food and the prices of these articles of daily use have risen since the war began.”¹

Table 17: Food Imports in Quantity and Value in 1907 and 1908

Articles	1907		1908		Increase in value	Decrease in value
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value		
Beef & Pork	4,045	11,381	3,041	8,839	---	2,542
Bread & Biscuit	9,789	11,347	6,741	8,334	---	3,013
Flour	21,150	28,500	25,930	37,314	8,814	--
Rice	71,902	42,013	92,587	55,712	13,699	--
Salt	51,838	6,852	57,872	7,646	1,064	--
Sugar	26,830	25,360	27,768	27,299	1,930	--

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, Report for 1908, No. 613, September 1909, p. 21.

The chief items showing an increase are flour and rice representing a value of £ 8,814 and £13,966 respectively.

¹ - Akurang-Parry, op. cit., p.61

Table 18: The Evolution in Quantity and Value of Principal Articles of Imports (1915-16)

Articles	1915		1916		Increase	Decrease
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value		
		£		£		
Flour	39,599	76,515	69,397	89,243	12,728	
Rice	154,057	119,144	106,664	105,192		13,952
Sugar	29,120	48,082	34,974	73,517	25,435	
Wines	38,414	14,300	58,998	33,046	18,746	

Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, p. 15.

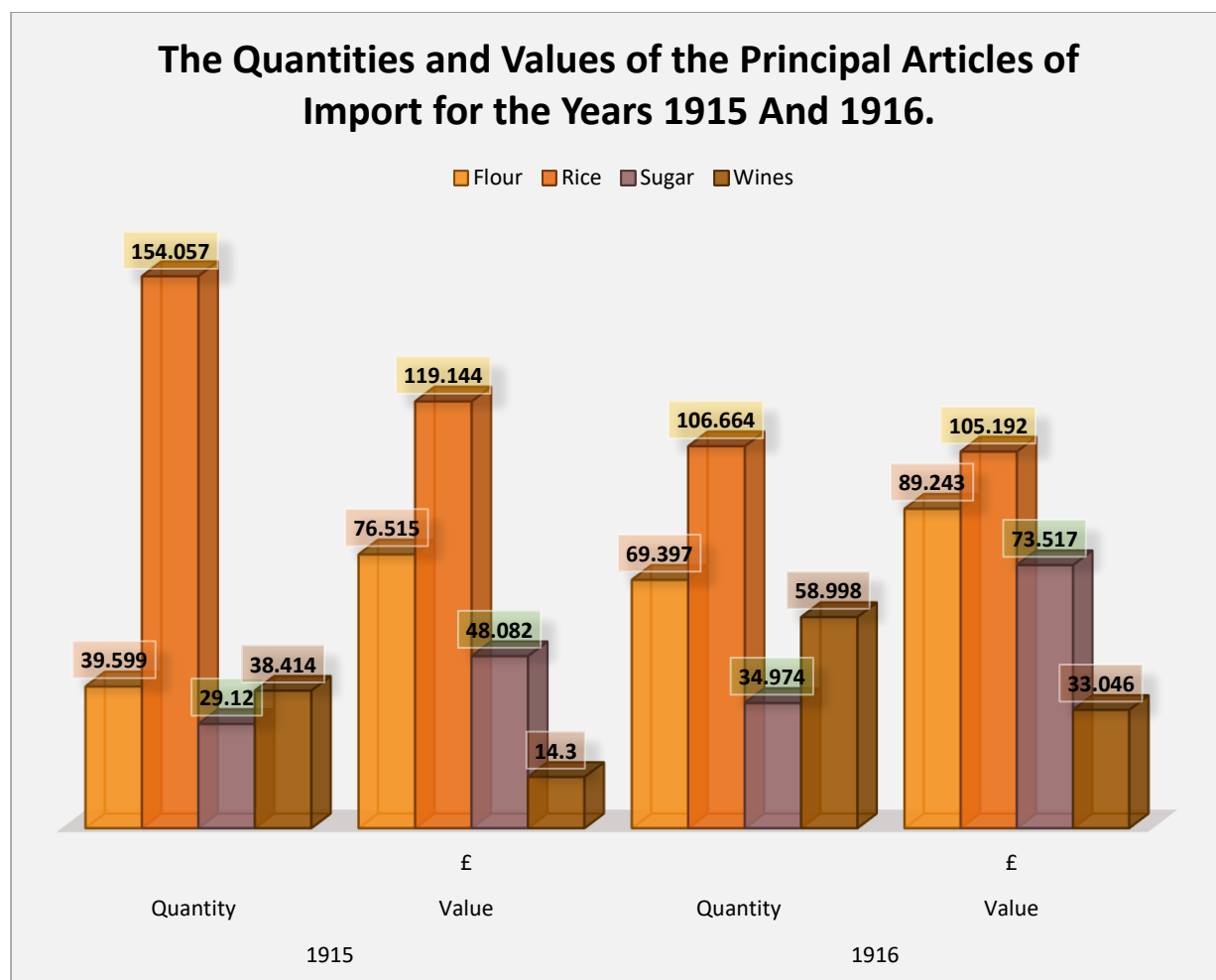
The principal decreases are in Machinery, due to the difficulty of obtaining it from the United Kingdom and in Rice, owing to the shipping difficulties in the way of getting it from the Far East to England and thence to this colony.¹

2.11. The Integration of the Economy of the Gold Coast in the World Economy

The attitude of Guggisberg like that of the other colonial governors can be understood within the European economic trend of capitalist development based principally on exporting to colonial markets and importing colonial primary produce under the concept of the colonial division of labour. The long-term objective of the European colonial powers at the central level was to establish specialised extraction and production of raw materials and primary products in the colonies that were unavailable in Europe to serve the European factories as markets for both their inputs of raw-material and their outlets of manufactured goods. (See Figure 3)

¹ - Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, 17.

**Chart 11: The Evolution in Quantity and Value of Principal Articles
of Imports (1915-16)**



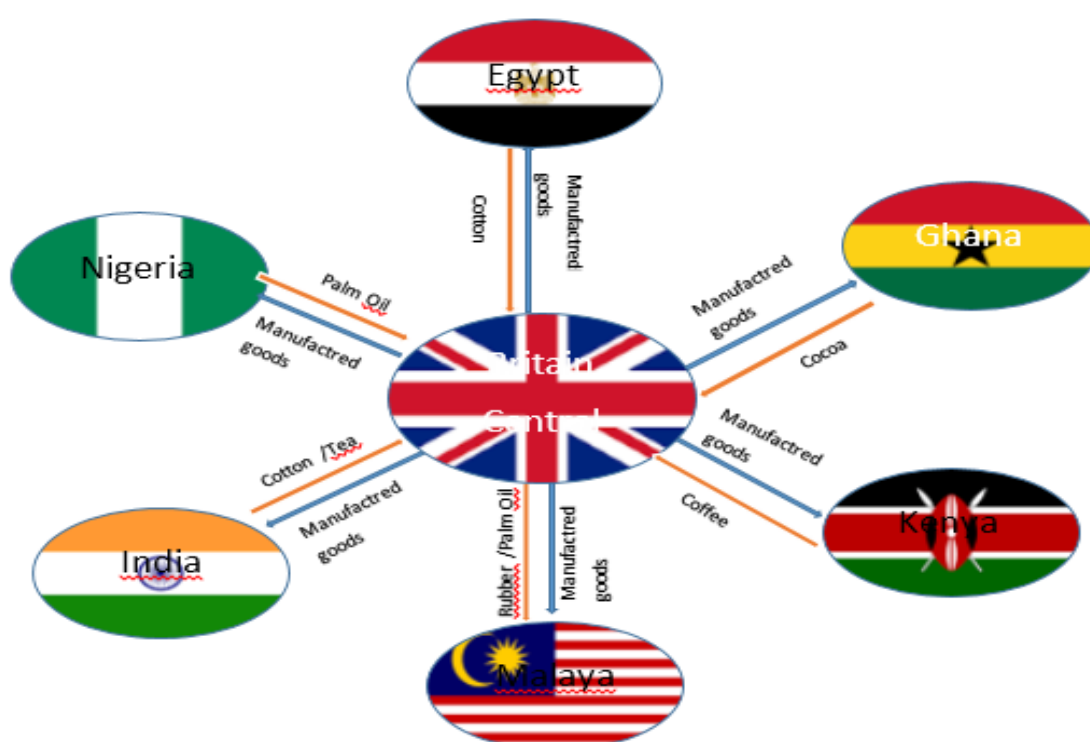
Source: Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 948, Report for 1916, January 1918, p. 17.

This relationship was developed in the theory of Independencia by a number of scholars in political economy especially Raul Prebisch¹ who argued that the world economy is divided into the industrialised nations consisting of Western Europe and the United States, representing the centre, and the primary producers, generally the former colonies, representing the periphery. Prebisch examined the case of Latin American countries and

¹ Raul Prebisch is an Argentinean economist, (April 17, 1901 – April 29, 1986) known for his contribution to structuralist economics, in particular the Singer–Prebisch thesis that formed the basis of economic dependency theory. As a young man his writing was marked by a complete adherence to the idea of free-trade but in the 1930s, as a result of the Great Depression he "converted" to protectionism. His previous beliefs had been supported by the spectacular economic growth of Argentina from the 1860s to 1920s as the country exported a large amount of beef and wheat to the United Kingdom. However, by the 1930s the Great Depression and the growing economic dominance of the United States, which exported beef and wheat rather than buying them, had significantly hurt the Argentinian economy. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ra%C3%BAI_Prebisch, viewed 14 January 2013

their dependency on industrial countries which is, to a large extent, similar to the case of the former colonies in Asia and Africa. He noticed that during the Great Economic Crisis of 1929 the prices of primary products, such as agricultural goods, fell much more than the prices of manufactured products. This unproportioned fall in prices incited Prebisch and others to

Figure 5: The Centre-Periphery Relation between the Empire and Its Colonies



investigate the exact mechanism that could explain this phenomenon. This can be explained by the supply conditions, that is, the supply conditions of primary and secondary goods were different in that while farmers planted the same amount of crops every year regardless of the price they would get, manufacturers were able to control their production to respond to expected changes in demand.

However, Prebisch rejected this analysis because it does not deal with the real factors responsible for the unbalanced increase in the prices of both primary and manufactured products. He concluded that: poor countries exported primary commodities to the rich countries who then manufactured products out of those commodities and sold them back to

the poorer countries. The "Value Added" by manufacturing a usable product always cost more than the primary products used to create those products. Therefore, poorer countries could never earn enough from their export earnings to pay for their imports.

The image described in figure one explains a general trend that prevailed in Europe in the nineteenth century expressed by the British liberal economist, John Stuart Mill who argues that the colonies should not be thought of as independent countries but as "agricultural establishment" whose sole purpose was to supply the "larger community" to which they belong.¹ By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Europeans inspired by Mill's thoughts began their enterprise in Africa. In Gambia rice farming was substituted for peanuts for the European markets; in the Gold Coast, food crops such as yams, rice, maize were replaced by cocoa; the same happened in Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria and Liberia which abandoned the production of their food crops for sisal, cotton, palm oil and rubber, respectively. In most of these colonies, cash crops were in the hands of the native peasantry, the question is to what extent the latter bear responsibility in this shift from food crops to cash crops put food security at high risk? Lappé and Collins put entire responsibility on the colonial governments with the complicity of the foreign firms who suggested high prices for cash crops and lowered the prices of imported food to stimulate the production of export produce. This encouraged local farmers to abandon the production of food crops because they found that they could meet their needs of food as well as the European manufactured goods such as textiles and utensils, and sometimes, they can make a surplus which can be invested in expanding their plantations.

In contrast, Walter Rodney and Ann Seidman, argue that only a minority of peasants chose willingly to produce cash crops to continue to acquire European manufactured goods which they had become accustomed to during the pre-colonial period. The remaining majority of peasants were compelled to produce cash crops to secure an income to pay taxes, and sometimes they were forced to produce export products. Rodney gives examples about some colonies where peasants were forced to grow cash crops by gun and whip, these were found in Tanzania under the German rule, in Portuguese colonies, and in French equatorial Africa.² This pattern prevailed at the level of the relationship between each colonial power

¹ - Lappé and Collins, op. cit., p.189.

² - Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972), p.171., and Ann Seidman, *Planning for Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), pp.162-163.

and its colonies under the context of centre-periphery relationships. (See Figure 5) For instance, by 1929, cotton represented 80 percent of the total exports in Uganda, groundnuts provided 98 percent of the Gambia's exports, and in the Gold Coast cocoa represented 79 percent of its total exports.¹

In the context, Stephen Constantine wrote about the role of both the economy of the empire and the economies of the colonies.

“The colonial Empire was regarded as a huge potential market for manufactured goods and it was suggested that it ‘will ultimately be capable of supplying the UK with the bulk of the imported raw material it requires for its industries as well as a great variety of foodstuffs’.”²

This relationship, in fact, came after the gradual abandonment of slave trade, and the slave-based production in the Americas, which was known as the triangular trade where Africa was considered as a periphery to the Americas, and the Americas as a periphery to Europe. As the slave trade left the ground to what Europeans called “Legitimate trade”, and Africa turned to supplying cash crops and minerals directly to the European markets, the earlier pattern periphery- periphery began to change to centre-periphery.³

Basil Davidson argues that dependency was deepened by the colonial transfer of wealth from Africa to Europe. That is, the profits made by foreign companies in Africa through the pattern ‘working, earning’ were not used to develop Africa, and that is why, according to Davidson, the people of the Gold Coast had one public higher school. (Achimota college) Furthermore, the colonial systems aimed at transferring wealth out of Africa through the monopoly imposed by foreign companies. He added, there were no transfer of high technical skills to the Africans, in short, the Europeans kept the Africans away from any modernization in terms of means of production.⁴

2.12. Conclusion

It can be concluded that the two first decades of the twentieth century brought radical changes to the economy of the Gold Coast. The involvement of the local farmers in masses in the production of cash crops motivated by incentive prices suggested by expatriate firms

¹ - Basil Davidson, *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History* (London: Longman, 1994), p.45.

² - Stephen Constantine, *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy 1914-1940* (London: Fran Cass, 2005), p.41.

³ - Munro, op. cit., p.13.

⁴ - Davidson, op. cit., p.18.

resulted in an abandonment of food crops' production. Consequently, the Gold Coast dependency on abroad to provide food began gradually increasing. The new established economic structure, aiming exclusively at supplying farming produce to meet the world markets' needs was rigid which weakened the bargaining position of the local farmers. The negative consequences of the new economic system based on cash crop produce were quick to appear. During the War period, local farmers suffered from expatriate blackmail when farm produce prices declined while those of imported commodities increased. In spite of the plight of the local farmers and the War circumstances, the boom in cocoa industry continued until the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. The only obstacle which hampered this boom in cocoa industry was the poor transport infrastructure, the development of which was the first priority of Governor Guggisberg in his Ten-Year Plan which will be developed in the next chapter. Finally, it is worth noting that, by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, the Gold Coast had achieved great steps towards an economic integration in the world economy.

Chapter Three

British Colonial Economic Policy in the Interwar Period (1919-40)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the British colonial economic policy in the inter-war year period and its impact on the economy of the Gold Coast, and particularly on the agricultural sector. The study throws light on the main colonial economic measures and international events, at both the local and metropolitan levels, which influenced the world economy in general and the economy of the Gold Coast in particular. First, light is shed on the economic development plan initiated by Governor Guggisberg and its impact on the economy of the colony. Second, the Great Depression and its aftermath on the economy of the empire, and the series of measures which followed will be examined. In the context, the Colonial Development Fund 1929, and the successive unemployment acts passed by British Parliament will be discussed. Third, a special concern is given to the Imperial conferences and particularly the Preferential Tariff Act 1932, and their impact on the British colonies in general, and on the Gold Coast in particular. The last part of this chapter is devoted to the Cocoa Crisis 1937-38, and the general boycott.

3.2. Background to the Change in the British Policy

Since agricultural policy, in general, and that of food self-sufficiency, in particular, cannot be assessed without examining the general trend of colonial imperial economic policy, it is quite necessary to find out the major changes that took place in metropolis first and then in the Gold Coast during the war and even after. After World War One, western Europe witnessed rapid economic changes which were culminated by the Great Depression in 1929. The latter revealed deficiencies in the “*laissez-faire*” economic policy, which led the British to look for an alternative system to overcome the Crisis. The British Government began to change its attitude vis-à-vis the intervention in the economic affairs in general and those of the colonies in particular. As seen in chapter two, until the late 1920s, The British economic policy was inspired by the “*Laissez-faire*” economic principles. Yet, the improvements achieved in Eastern Europe thanks to the Socialist System constituted a major factor that affected Western Europe and urged the British to change their attitude. The state-intervention policy or the policy of guided economy which constituted the basis of the Socialist System proved its success in the Eastern bloc in the 1920s.¹

¹ – Woolsey Cole, op. cit., pp. 808-809.

Inspired by the relative economic success achieved by the adoption of the Socialist System in the USSR, the British adhered to Keynesian¹ economic principles which advocated state-intervention in economic affairs. As a result, 1929 marked a gradual shift from the liberal economy, or the state-non-intervention policy to a relatively state-intervention one. Before dealing with the measures taken by the British Government to overcome the consequences of the Great Depression, it is worth giving a short definition of the Great Depression, its causes and consequences on the economy of the Empire and the economy of the colony.

3.3. The Colonial Policy at the Local Level

For chronological purposes, it would be preferable to start with the development plan known as the Ten-Year Plan initiated by Governor Guggisberg to cover the period from 1919 to 1929. This Plan is the main measure taken at the local level and which left deep consequences on the economy of the Gold coast.

3.3.1. The Ten-Year Plan

During his term office (1919-1927) Governor Guggisberg was well aware of the colony's economic importance and potentialities. His previous function as a surveyor in the Gold Coast, allowed him to acquire a precise view about the colony's economic richness, its people and their traditions and cultures. This background enabled the colonial government to elaborate a programme through which he could develop the available resources in the colony, and make them useful for both the local and metropolitan economies. The following paragraphs are devoted to the objectives of this Plan, the timing, the reasons behind such an initiative, its financing, and its impact on the local economy.

Guggisberg's Plan focused on improving infrastructure in order to increase the colony's exports and thus government revenue to achieve social welfare. To realise his ultimate objective, he adopted an approach based on the following principles:

¹- A British born in 1883, John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) was considered as the economist of the twentieth century. He brought a new idea different from the classical School's thoughts. Keynes argued that an economic equilibrium does not mean automatically full employment, i.e., an economic equilibrium is possible under unemployment. He published many books in economics, the most outstanding ones were: "A Treatise on Money" published in 1930 and "The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money" Published in 1933. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Maynard_Keynes, viewed 15 December 2013.

“For progress we must have education; for education of the right type we must have a bigger revenue. To get bigger revenue we must have a bigger trade, and to get a bigger trade we must have more agriculture and far better systems of transportation than at present exist.”¹

The Ten-Year Plan was initiated by Guggisberg in 1919 whose timing coincided with the end of World War One, and the beginning of the Reconstruction Period in Europe, which was characterised by a great demand for raw materials, the main suppliers of which were Africa and Asia. However, despite its geographic advantage, Africa could not keep pace with the Asian competition; its economic infrastructure and its transport network were not enough developed to satisfy the increasing European demand for raw materials, particularly those which were used in both food and building industries. There was enough capital in Europe and the entrepreneurs were ready to invest it in Africa with regard to its favourable geographical situation compared to Asia.

Some Asian colonies like Indonesia, Malaysia and Ceylon showed great economic opportunities thanks to their developed economic infrastructure compared to that of West Africa. They could gradually dominate the international markets of raw materials and cash crops thanks to the adequate profitable transport facilities between the production zones and harbours. Furthermore, the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869 shortened the distance between Europe and the Far East and made traffic in goods and raw materials easier and profitable.² This opportunity motivated these Asian colonies to increase production to meet any increasing demand and therefore to control more international markets of raw material and cash crops. Guggisberg was aware of these external factors and realised that the Gold Coast would lose its part in the international markets of raw materials against these emerging Asian competitors if important actions would not have been taken.

He thought about a development plan, which could at once keep the Gold Coast in competition with the other primary producers, and develop an economic infrastructure relevant to the improvement of the colony's performances in exporting primary products, within the framework of the international division of labour. Boahen claims that:

“The Ten-Year Plan was designed to make of the economy of the Gold Coast a primary producing one, i.e., it focused on the promotion of transport

¹ - Guggisberg, Legislative Council Debates, The Gold Coast, 1920-21.

² - Dominique et Michèle Frémy, *op. cit.*, p. 1709.

facilities and the means of shipment to increase the exports of cash crops and minerals.”¹

To achieve the Ten-Year Plan, Guggisberg devoted an amount of £25.59 million from which £16,962,000 had been collected locally from duties on exports and taxes. The remaining part which represents about 30 percent of the total amount came from Britain as a loan.² It is very important to note here that the British did not contribute to financing this plan by grants because they believed in the principle of “the colonies financial self-sufficiency” that is, each colony had to rely on itself in financing its development projects. It was also due to the prevalence of the “*Laissez-faire*” economic principle, that is, the economic affairs were kept away from any government intervention. In this respect, Crowder concludes:

“The financing of this plan fell entirely on the Gold Coast, there was no contribution on the part of the metropolitan government.”³

Table 19: British Loans to Finance the Ten-Year Plan

Years	Amount (£)	Rate of interest
1920	4,000,000	6 %
1925	4,628,000	4.5 %

Source: Crowder, op. cit., pp. 309-310.

This ambitious Plan focused on the economic infrastructure which is crucial for any economic flourishing. Guggisberg realised that the existing poor transport facilities hampered an efficient exploitation of the local resources. This could explain the allocation of seventy percent of the total amount to the railways, roads, harbours, posts and telegraphs and surveys.⁴ The second priority was the social improvement to which Guggisberg devoted £5.8 million, which included water supplies, drainage, and electricity. The 22.1 percent of

¹- Boahen, op. cit., p. 110.

² - See Table 19.

³ - Crowder, op. cit., p. 309.

⁴ - See Table 20.

the total amount allocated to the social welfare shows its secondary importance in Guggisberg's scheme.

Table 20: The Ten-Year Plan Credits' Distribution

Amount in million (£)	Sectors
2	Construction of a harbour in Takoradi
14.5	Railways
1	Roads
1.9	Water supplies
1.9	Town improvements and drainage
2	Hydraulic and electric works
1	Public buildings
0.09	Post and Telegraph
0.2	Maps and survey

Source: Boahen, op. cit., p. 11.

Another conclusion can be drawn from the partition of the fund in Table 20, that is, nothing is devoted to promoting education and medical services. However, it is worth noting that during Guggisberg's term of office the colony witnessed some achievements in education and health, the most important of which were the inauguration of Achimota School and college, Korle Bu Hospital, and many other training schools, particularly in agriculture.

Guggisberg's far-sighted vision enabled him to establish an adequate and efficient communication network, which had remarkable consequences on the colony's exports. Telegraphs, for instance, knew considerable expansion, which made contacts between the productive hinterland and the coastal trading posts easier.

The next important factor resulting from the Ten-Year Plan lies in the construction of feeder roads which opened cocoa plantations to wheeled traffic,¹ which boosted cocoa exports. As a result, cocoa exports increased in volume from 50.000 tonnes in 1914 to 200.000 tonnes in 1924 to reach a peak of 300.000 tonnes in 1935 thanks, to Guggisberg's achievements in the economic infrastructure. In fact, it is worth saying that all the exports whether cash crops or minerals benefited from the important achievements in transport facilities.

According to locally available documents, data are scarce about the percentage of achievements of the Ten-Year Plan. For instance, the railway mileage intended to be constructed was not determined. Cox-George gives statistics about the state of communications in the period from 1919 to 1939, the total railway miles in 1919 was 269 to become 493 in 1927 while the mileage of maintained and chief's pioneer trunk roads moved from 1,300 in 1919 to 4,734 in 1925 recording an increase of 364 percent.² According to Agbodeka, the railway mileage moved from 269 in 1919 to 725 in 1926.³ Also, the towns that would benefit from water supplies, drainage and electricity networks were not previously determined. These data permit the assessment of what had been achieved, and therefore the degree of success of the Plan. Stephen Hymer says that the Plan was never fulfilled completely due to a lack of revenue.⁴ Nevertheless, the achievements on the ground could not be denied, the three great achievements in addition to the 233 miles of new railways and the 3,388 miles of new roads,⁵ (See Map10) there were the Takoradi Harbour which was inaugurated on April 3rd, 1928; the Achimota school and Korle Bu Hospital. Finally, it is worth noting that the first electricity installation reached Accra and Kumasi in 1921, and 1927 respectively, while the water supplies were available in Kumasi in 1934. According to Curtin, Guggisberg left clear fingerprints in the colonial history of the Gold Coast. He adds:

¹ - R. Oliver and A. Atmore, op. cit., p. 125.

² - Cox-George, op. cit., p. 116.

³ - Francis Agbodeka, "Sir Gordon Guggisberg's Contribution to the Development of the Gold Coast, 1919-27," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 1972): p. 53.

⁴ - Hymer, op. cit., p. 16.

⁵ - F. M. Bourret. *Ghana: The Road to Independence 1919-1957*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 29-30.

“He succeeded in making himself the best remembered of all those who ruled the Gold Coast. ... This was especially so with his creation of an infrastructure for later economic development and of his work in education.”¹

In short, it is important to note the following: first, the Ten-Year Plan marked an important step towards the establishment of a mono-crop economy in the Gold Coast. Second, Governor Guggisberg intended from this individual initiative to serve the metropolitan economy by the establishment of a peripheral economy which allowed the exploitation of the local resources.² In fact, Guggisberg claims that the development of trade and transportation as a means to an end which is promoting education.³ Third, though there was no colonial economic policy likely to direct the colony's exports, the Plan contributed to a large extent to shape the structure of the Gold Coast economy. In other words, it put it on the way so as to become a purely primary producing one. Some scholars like Samir Amin argue that transforming the agricultural sector into mono-crop structure had begun by the early twentieth century. In his book *“L’Afrique de l’Ouest Bloquée”*, Amin argues that:

*“En 1914, la Gold Coast a déjà acquis l’essentiel des structures économiques et sociales qu’elle conservera jusqu’à nos jours.”*⁴

Translation: “In 1914, the Gold Coast had already acquired the fundamental economic and social structure which it still keeps until present days.”

The Ten-Year Plan was seen as an individual initiative taken at the local level under particular circumstances. As Professor Wraith points out, Guggisberg's achievements were also more personal than was often the case with governors caught between the Colonial Office above and the secretariat below.⁵

¹ - Philip D. Curtin, “Guggisberg,” *The American Historical Review* 73, No. 3 (Feb., 1968): p. 873.

² - Boahen, op. cit., p. 111.

³ - F. G. Guggisberg, “The Goal of the Gold Coast,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 21, No. 82, (Jan., 1922): p. 81.

⁴ - Samir Amin, *L’Afrique de l’Ouest Bloquée* (Paris : les Editions de Minuit, 1971), p. 67.

⁵ - Curtin, op. cit., p. 873.

Map10: Roads Railways Minerals and Cash Crops of Ghana



Source: Boahen, op. cit., p. 90.

According to Stephen Hymer, the Guggisberg period of rule (1919-1927) was the best era of the British colonial administration in the Gold Coast. His Ten-Year Plan was a typically well-conceived and based on a highly articulated strategy of development.¹ In fact, the consequences of Guggisberg's plan went beyond just developing the resources of the Gold Coast for the benefit of the colony and the empire to directing the economy of the colony towards a peripheral mono-crop one, tightly dependent on the centric economy. Guggisberg did not limit his ambitions to the promotion of agricultural exports, but he also intended to develop the available mineral resources to supply the metropolitan economy its requirements of raw-material. He managed to make of cocoa the life-blood of the Gold Coast economy by providing necessary conditions for a real take off. This, in a matter of fact, is the result of Guggisberg policy to promote cash crops and adapt them to the interest of the economy of the Empire, together with the crucial role of the foreign entrepreneurs, helped by the missionaries, who provided technical assistance for the peasants. Foreign entrepreneurs and missionaries found a degree of responsiveness among the peasants who abandoned food production for cash crops. Finally, it is fair to say that as a consequence, there were improvements in the standard of living of the local people.

3.4. The Colonial Policy at the Metropolitan Level

At the international level, an important economic event took place in 1929, which left deep consequences on the world economy. The western economies were severely hit by an economic recession marked by high rates of unemployment, which led the British Government to seek solutions overseas. It initiated a series of measures to deal with the consequences of the great Slump. The most important of which; the Colonial Development Fund in 1929, the unemployment acts, and the imperial conferences.

3.4.1. The Great Depression and its Impact on the Gold Coast

The Great Depression is an economic phenomenon which affected industrialised economies during the early 1930s. Broadly speaking, a depression is known as a growth of production without adequate outlets. The liberal economic principles which reigned in western Europe at that time increased competition between private companies. The latter took advantage of the scientific progress and technological advances in terms of means of

¹ - Hymer, op. cit., p. 14.

production which led to an over-production.¹ In circumstances such as these, the private companies found themselves in front of decreasing the number of workers who were substituted by machines. Thus, the rate of unemployment in Britain ranged from 5 % to 20 % out of the total labour force in the inter-War period.² The British government reacted by a series of measures at both the local and empire levels. At the local level, the British Parliament passed a series of acts among which, the Unemployment Insurance Act 1920, the Unemployment Insurance Act 1924, the Unemployment Insurance Act 1927, the Unemployment Insurance Act 1930 and the Unemployment Act 1934. At the empire level, the British Government initiated the Colonial Development Fund, which aimed at creating development projects in the colonies as it will be discussed in the next chapter.

The unprecedented economic situation, characterised by high rates of unemployment in industrial Britain, stimulated both classical and neo-classical scholars to look for a solution to the crisis. Classical economists like A. Smith, J. S. Mill, and D. Ricardo proved that the trade cycle during the period of crisis was characterised by low wages and low rates of interest. The decrease in the rate of interest reaches the limit at which investors find investments profitable. More investments create more employment which generates a large mass of consumers and therefore revives the economy. (See Figure 6)

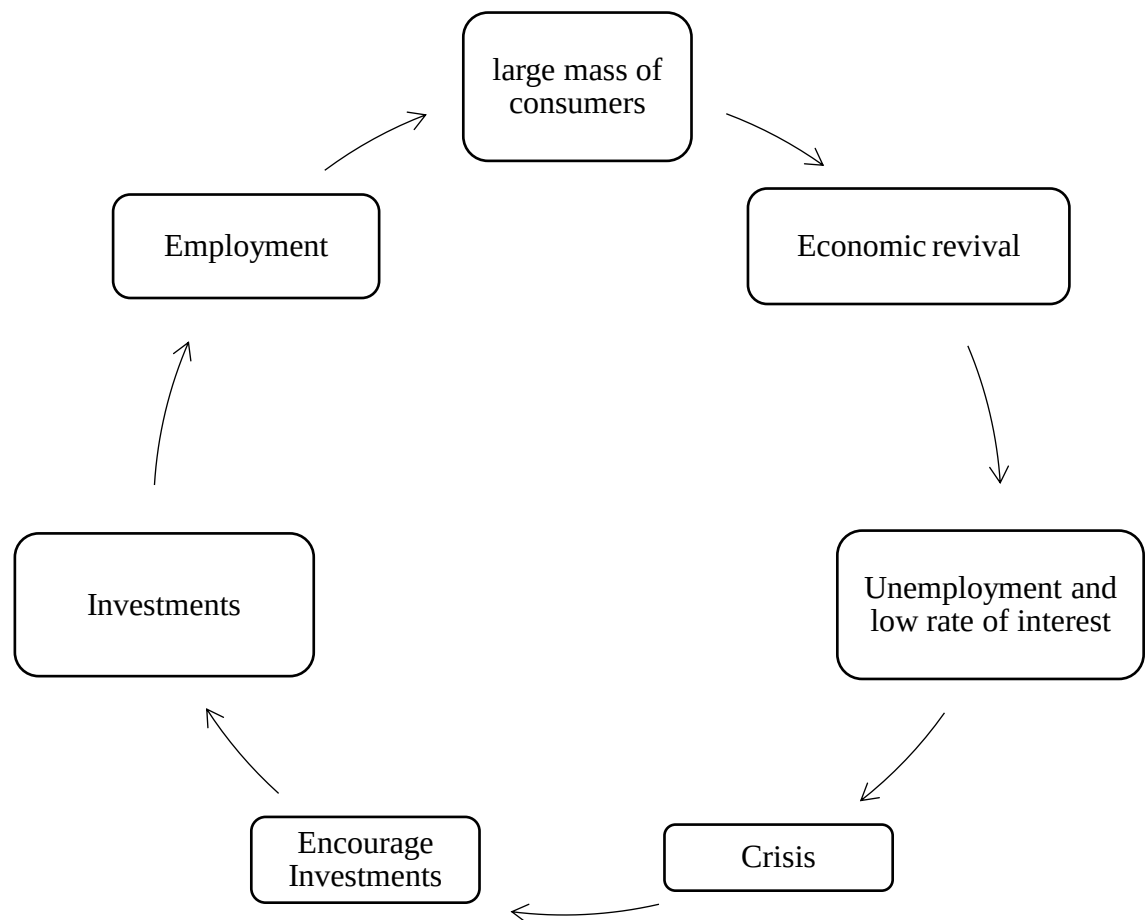
Keynes criticised the classical scholars and argued that low wages could be remedial to the economic crisis at the micro-economic level, but not at the macro-economic one. That is to say, decreasing wages could be efficient when dealing with a specific section of the industrial sector like textile, mechanical or food industry, etc. However, at the macro-economic level, a general decrease in wages may affect purchasing power, which causes a declining in the aggregate demand and therefore an economic recession.³ In a case like this, the positive effect resulting from decreasing wages is nullified compared to the cost of the capital employed. Keynes added that while the entrepreneurs are motivated by low wages to invest during the period of crisis and therefore achieve economic revival, why did not the government act on its own through investing in public works? This measure seems to be a good device to fight against unemployment as far as the public expenditures do not exceed the revenue.

¹ - Woolsey Cole, op. cit., 723.

² - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployment_Insurance_Act_1920, viewed 10 March 2014.

³ - <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/k/keynesianeconomics.asp>, viewed 10 March 2014.

Figure 6: The Trade Cycle



On the other hand, the economy of the Gold Coast was severely affected by the consequences of the Great Depression, because of its tight dependence on the metropolitan one. For instance, the revenue of the colony dropped from about £4 million in 1929 to £ 2.5 million in 1930, because of the fall in prices for cocoa from £50 to £20 per tonne, which caused a disaster for an economy so dependent on this crop.¹ Cox George confirms the decline in cocoa prices during the 1930s as shown in Table 21.

¹ - Crowder, op. cit., p. 322.

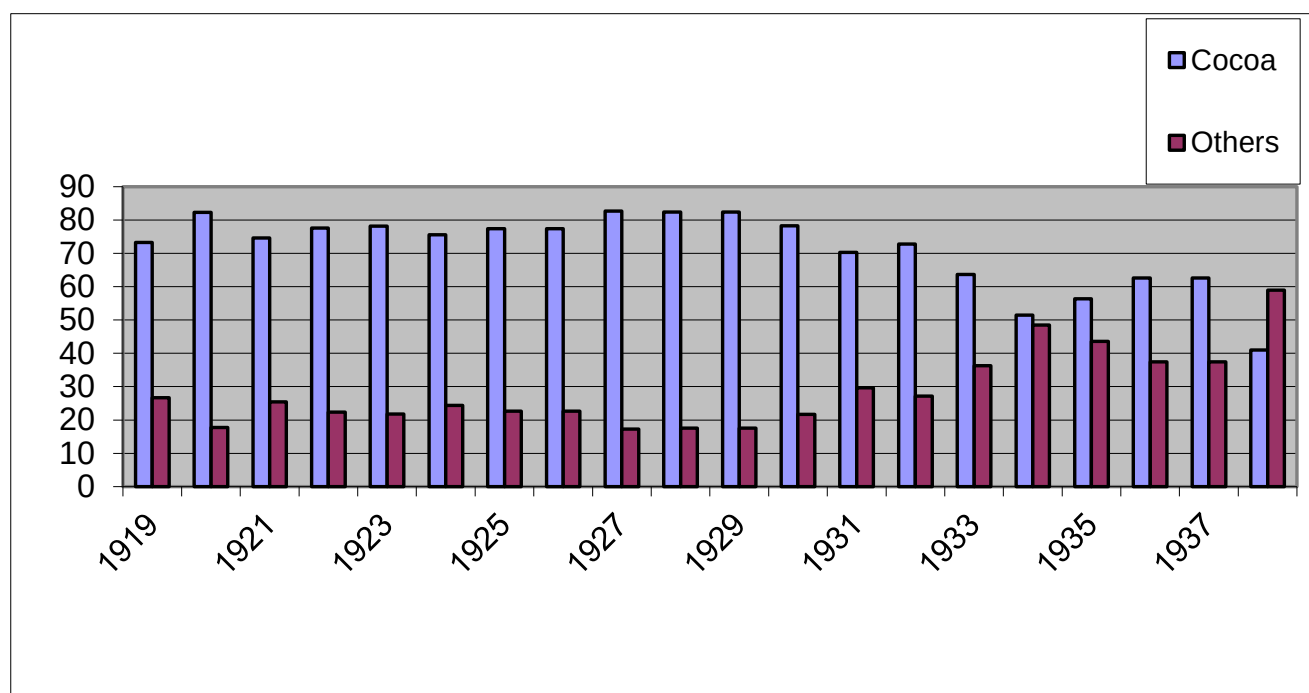
Table 21: Index of Cocoa Prices in Depression and Post- Depression (Base 1928 = 100)

Years	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
price fluctuation %	119.5	100	71.4	57.3	44.0	46.1	38.6	36.1	38.2	51.9	64.6	39.7	33.1

Source: After, N. A. Cox George, p. 61

The following histogram presentation shows to what extent the revenue of the colony relied on cocoa exports before, during and after the crisis. In fact, the revenue of the colony was derived from duties on exports and imports,¹ and from the income of the railway that

Chart 12: Cocoa Percentage out of the Total Exports (1919-38)



Source: After, N. A. Cox George, op. cit., p. 64

¹ - When the value of exports falls, the value of imports falls as well because of the close correlation between them. In other words, the duties were calculated on the imports bought with cocoa earnings; therefore, any drop in the latter will affect directly the former.

transported cocoa. This drop in the revenue of the colony did not affect only the colonial government's expenditure on social and public works, (See Table 22) but also a large number of Gold Coasters who were involved in cocoa farming. The imports, which were composed particularly of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, were also affected by the fall in cocoa prices. However, Hopkins argues that Cocoa industry in the Gold Coast was to some extent saved from the negative effects of the depression until the nineteenth thirtieth when cocoa prices began a sharp decrease culminated by the cocoa hold-up in 1937-38. This decline outpaced the fall in the prices of imported goods including food, textile products, etc.¹ The following graphic presentation shows how that the gap between the graph of the exports and that of the imports is insignificant.

Table 22: Social Expenditure in the Gold Coast (1929-39) (£)

Years	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Social Expenditure (£)	662.398	746.783	604.778	554.470	551.274	364.252	505.436	578.427	644.745	664.863	834.751

Source: After, N. A. Cox George, p. 106.

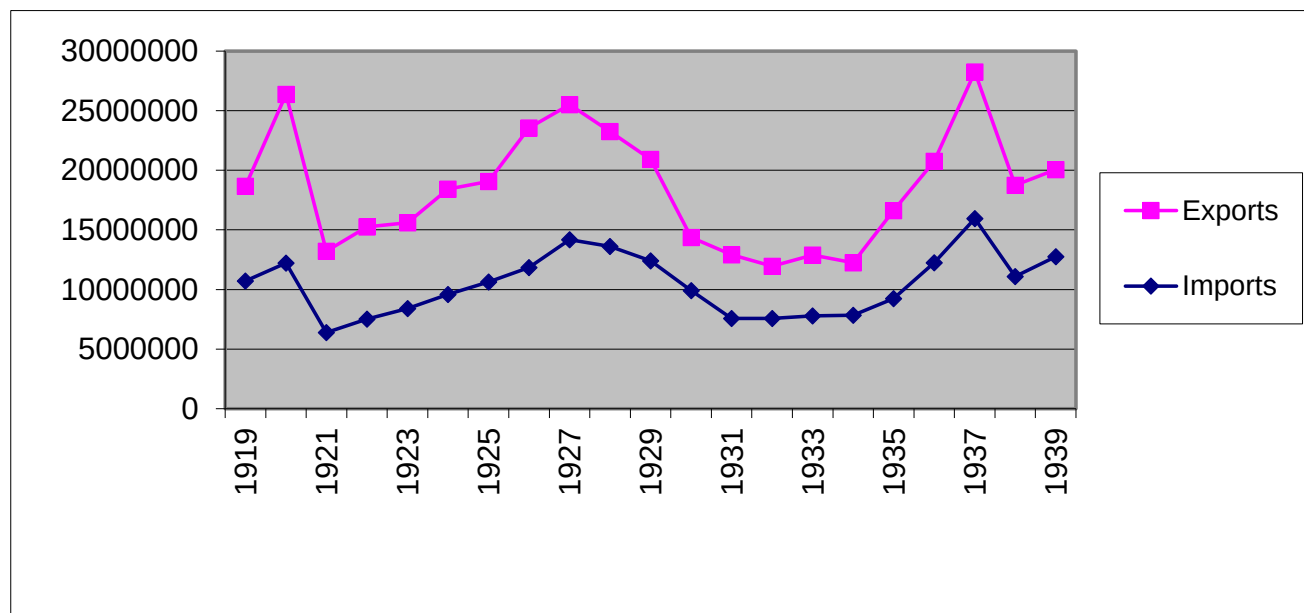
In order to deal with the consequences of the Great Depression, and ensure a more important role in the economic affairs, the colonial government responded by taking some measures on duties, public works and taxes. First, it increased duties on imports; for instance, the duty on beer increased from £6,903 in 1933 to £29,038 in 1935. Second, the local authority reduced the social and public works. Finally, Sir A.R. Slater, then governor of the Gold Coast introduced the Income Tax in 1931.² This measure affected the standard of living in the colony and deteriorated the relationship between the colonial government and the local people. As a result, Slater's proposals were shelved after the strong opposition of the local people.³

¹ - A. G. Hopkins, "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and in the Gold Coast 1918-1939," *Journal of African History* VII, No. I (1966): p. 133.

² - Badra Lahouel, "The Origins of Nationalism in Algeria, the Gold Coast and South Africa with a Special Reference to the Period 1919-37" Vol. I (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1984), p. 263.

³ - Cox George, op. cit., p. 63

Graph 5: The Correlation between the Imports and Exports Period (1919-39)



Source: After, Cox George, *op. cit.*, p. 63

At the Empire level, the British Government tried to deal with the consequences of the Great Depression within a metropolitan dimension. The British Government's measures in this respect could be summed up in a series of economic initiatives, the most important among which the Colonial Development Fund, the unemployment acts and the Preferential Tariff Act. Besides, the British Government intervened in other economic affairs such as the cocoa crisis of the 1930s, to bridge the gap between cocoa producers and the foreign companies.¹ The two decades that followed the 1930s also witnessed economic initiatives on behalf of the Metropolitan Government for the development and welfare of the colonies. In this concern, the Central Government enacted the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940, followed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 for the economic development and well-being of the Dependencies.

3.4.2. The Colonial Development Fund of 1929

The Colonial Development Fund was the first economic measure initiated by the metropolitan government for the economic development of the colonies. What was the international context in which the CDF was introduced? What were its aim and the means

¹ - Millburn, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

of its achievement? What were its consequences on the development, particularly, in the Gold Coast? To what extent did the British Government achieve its commitments vis-à-vis the CDF?

After World War One and the defeat of Germany by the Allied Forces, the League of Nations put the German colonies under the control of Britain and France, in what was known as the ‘Dual Mandate’.¹ Since then, political, economic, and social changes continued. The foundation of the National Congress of British West Africa² by the early 1920s increased pressure on the British Government for political reforms. In addition to the mentioned internal factors, there were external ones, which exercised pressure on the British Government. Among the most important ones one can mention first, the propaganda led by defeated Germany against the colonial system. Second, the rise of communism in Eastern Europe helped spread awareness among the colonised peoples. Third, the coming to power of the Labour Party accelerated the political reforms in favour of the colonies.

In July 1929, the British Parliament passed the CDF.³ It is important to note that this Act had been conceived by Leo Amery, Secretary of State on behalf of the conservatives a few years before 1929, but it could not be voted till the Labour Party came to power because of the opposition of some conservative members. In the official discourse, the CDF aimed at helping agriculture and ‘industry’ in the colonies, in the context, Albertini clarifies:

“for the purpose of aiding and developing agriculture and industry in the colonies and territories and thereby promoting commerce with industry in the United Kingdom.”⁴

¹ - The *Dual Mandate* was a concept initiated by Sir Frederick Lugard to deal with the future of the former German colonies in Africa, after its defeat in World War One: Togo, Cameroons, and Tanganyika. This philosophy is based on the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples could not be achieved without their subjugation by the colonial powers (Britain, France and Portugal). However, this philosophy was harshly criticized by Nkrumah who considered it as a cowardly compromise between the principle of self-determination for dependent territories and imperialism. Kwame Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom* (London: Panaf Books Limited, 1962), pp. 6,25,26.

² - The National Congress of British West Africa was a political institution gathering the African educated elite from the four British West African colonies. Its foundation meeting took place in Accra in 1920. The NCBWA asked for political reforms in the colonies for more than a decade. It declined after the death of its leader C. Hayford in 1930. It was succeeded by the emergence of political parties in the colonies. Boahen, op. cit., 120-135.

³ - R. Von Albertini, *Decolonisation the Administration Future of the Colonies 1919-1960* (New York: Doubleday, 1971), p. 104.

⁴ - Ibid., p. 104.

In the unofficial discourse, the timing of the CDF was precisely chosen to deal with the consequences of the Great Depression, particularly unemployment. Thomas J. Member of Parliament, revealed it to the representatives in the Parliament when he states:

“This measure has been introduced by a Labour government, not only because we believe in colonial development and because it is urgent. I think it will assist me in carrying out my ideas of dealing with unemployment.”¹

This statement reveals the real intention of the British behind introducing the CDF, which was protecting their own interest. Generally, the CDF was designed to improve the economic infrastructure and communication in the colonies and to revive their primary producing economies.²

To put the CDF into effect, an annual amount of £ 1million for a period of ten years was voted by the British Parliament. The money was supposed to be granted by the British Treasury to finance the schemes approved by the Colonial Office. This decision marked a radical change in the British Government’s attitude towards financial aids to the colonies. Before 1929, the British Treasury rarely granted financial aids to the colonies. As Crowder put it:

“The contribution of the British taxpayer to the West African territories before 1940 was minimal, with the exception of Nigeria...”³

Many questions came to surface about the origin of the money allocated to the CDF as to whether such funds came from the British Treasury as it was officially declared. Some historians claim that the origin of the money allocated to the CDF was the funds of the colonies’ exports. A part of this revenue was used to cover the imports, while part of the remaining was lent to Britain and the other part was put in British financial institutions as bank deposits.

In spite of the changes in British economic policy from 1929 onwards, changes on the ground remained little and slow. For instance, the funds did not become available until 1932

¹ - Barbu Niculescu, *Colonial Planning A Comparative Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1958), pp. 58-59.

² - J. M. Lee and Martin Pether, *The Colonial Office, War, and Development Policy, Organization and the Planning of a Metropolitan Initiative 1939-1945* (London: Maurice Temple Smith LTD, 1982), p. 46.

³ - Crowder, op. cit., p. 310.

after the height of the Depression.¹ The total amount allocated to the four British West African colonies until 1933 did not exceed half a million-pound shared as follows²:

Nigeria	£ 69,024
The Gold Coast.....	£94,018
Sierra Leone.....	£248,500
The Gambia... ..	£7,924

A deep analysis of the manner by which money was allocated shows that more than half of the total amount was allocated to the smallest colony. The funds were destined to finance the Sierra Leone Development Company to establish an iron-ore mine at Marampa.³ This decision explains, to some extent, the general tendency of the CDF which was, as advanced previously, promoting commerce between the peripheral economies and the metropolitan one through the increase of the export performances in the colonies. In contrast, nothing was allocated to improve education, health, and the other public services. Crowder talks about minute expenditure in health services spent by the local colonial government in the Gold Coast.⁴

For an efficient and rational use of the CDF funds, the British Government established a Central Advisory Committee, (CAC) which had to recommend the grants of money to finance schemes in the colonies. The CAC collaborated with the advisory committees at the level of the colonies, which undertook studies about development programmes taking into consideration the characteristics of each colony. The different advisory committees sent detailed documents about the plans intended in the colonies to the Central Advisory Committee, which in its turn decided whether to accept or reject to finance the plan. For instance, the Gold Coast sent nine applications to the CAC, among which eight were accepted with a total amount estimated at 265,203 pounds. (See Table 18)

It can be argued that the sum of money (£1 million per year) allocated by the CDF to deal with the issue of development in the fifty colonies that made up the Empire was small

¹ -Crowder, op. cit., p. 325.

² - Ibid., p. 324.

³ - Ibid., p. 325.

⁴ - Crowder, op. cit., p. 327.

and could not meet the requirements of development.¹ Second, the plans that were often ratified by the CAC were those which had a direct relationship with the amelioration of the exports' performances of the colonies. They contributed to the construction of roads, railways, harbours, and feeder roads which gave direct access to large plantations of primary produce and mining fields. Third, the CDF did not bring much improvement to the peoples of the colonies with the exception of a few rich colonies like the Gold Coast, which could achieve some social improvement thanks to its important income from cocoa exports. Thus, the CDF had other objectives than those declared in the official statement. The source of money supposed to finance schemes also was different from what was officially declared. The attitude of imperial Britain led her to seek new sources of income to meet the consequences of the Great Depression of 1929, in particular, the collapse of the monetary system which caused a sharp shortage of money and frightening rates of unemployment. Under these circumstances, Britain intended to organise a conference gathering representatives from all her colonies to agree on some measures that could help the metropolitan economy.

3.4.3. Imperial Conferences

The present division of the world into the economic "centre", consisting of industrialised nations and the "periphery", consisting of primary producers has its roots partly in the Imperial Economic Conferences held by the British government in the 1920s. The Imperial Economic Conference considered in detail the economic relations between the several parts of the Empire and discussed fully all aspects of inter-Imperial trade. The aim of imperial conferences went beyond the concept of a merely protectionist policy by declaring the system of quotas on India and the non-self-government colonies.² The resolutions of these conferences were harshly criticised by the United States and the African elite. The most important resolutions passed were on the subject of Imperial Preference, Oversea Settlement, co-operation in financial assistance to Imperial Development, Communications, Economic Defence, the future of the Imperial Institute, Immunity of State Enterprises, and the establishment of an Imperial Economic Committee.³

¹ - Meredith, op. cit., pp. 189-191.

² - Partha Scarathi Gupta, *Imperialism and the British Labour Movement 1914-1964* (London: Macmillan, 1975), pp. 156-60.

³ - Cmd. 1990. and Cmd. 2009.

Table 23: The Number of Applications Submitted to the Colonial Development Advisory Committee (1929-39) and the Cost of Schemes Accepted and Rejected in British West Africa

Colonies	Total number of applications	Number of applications accepted	Number accepted excluding those later abandoned	Cost of schemes shown in column 3 in £	Cost of schemes rejected in £
Nigeria	11	11	10	1,023,929	nil
The Gold Coast	9	8	8	265,203	53,000
Sierra Leone	10	8	8	1,115,380	2,000
The Gambia	7	6	6	94,698	436,000

Source: David Meredith, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

The general policy at the central level involved machinery among which the Imperial Economic Conferences, the Colonial Development Advisory Committee and the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health which aimed at integrating the economies of the colonies in the economies of the centre under the concept the international division of labour. That is, the division of the world into the economic "centre", consisting of industrialised nations and the "periphery", consisting of primary product producers which has its roots partly in the Imperial Economic Conferences held by the British government in the 1920s. The Imperial Economic Conference considered in detail the economic relations between the several parts of the Empire and fully discussed all aspects of the inter-Imperial trade. The most important resolutions passed were on the subject of Imperial Preference, Oversea Settlement, co-operation in financial assistance to Imperial Development,

Communications, Economic Defence, the future of the Imperial Institute, Immunity of State Enterprises, and the establishment of an Imperial Economic Committee.¹ The latter was established in 1925, and its functions were extended by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1930, and again in 1933, as a reaction to the Report of the Imperial Committee on Economic consultation and Co-operation. Among its functions was to undertake inquiries into the production for export and marketing in various parts of the world of the raw materials of the Empire.²

The Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health established in March 1929 whose main function was to supply and train specialists and field officers for the Colonial Agricultural and Veterinary Services, in conjunction with the recruiting authorities of the Colonial Office.³ Finally, the Colonial Development Advisory Committee whose main function was the assistance of the schemes of the Colonial Development Act of 1929 related to agriculture and industry in the colonies.⁴

On the ground, the local governors worked on putting the recommendations of the different central committees into effect. For instance, a general policy to deal with agriculture in West Africa was drawn by Ormsby-Gore⁵ in 1926 based essentially on a scientific staff, including agricultural chemists, botanists, entomologists and mycologists,⁶ working in laboratories and research centres in West Africa, East Africa and Trinidad, in collaboration with the Director of Agriculture. Due to its varied soil and climate, as developed in part one of this paper, scientists and researchers worked on the ground in collaboration with the native producers in different districts through experiments to determine which crop is suitable in each one. For instance, sisal plantation made great success in the district of Accra. Similarly, coconut plantations had made excellent results in the district of Cape Coast.⁷ This central policy recommended the promotion of shea⁸ and

¹- Cmd. 1990. and Cmd. 2009.

²- Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXVII, XXVIII.

³- Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, p. XXVIII.

⁴- Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, p. XXIX.

⁵- Harlech George Ormsby-Gore sat as Member of Parliament (MP) for Denbigh Boroughs from 1910 to 1918 and for Stafford from 1918 until 1938 and served as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1922 to 1929 (with a brief interruption during the short-lived Labour government of 1924).

⁶- Kay, op. cit., p. 204.

⁷- Ibid, p. 202.

⁸ Shea butter is a slightly yellowish or ivory-coloured fat extracted from the nut of the African shea tree (*Vitellaria paradoxa*). It is widely used in cosmetics as a moisturizer, salve or lotion. Shea butter is edible and is used in food preparation in Africa. Occasionally the chocolate industry uses shea butter mixed with other oils, as a substitute for cocoa butter, although the taste is different. [en/Wikipedia.org/wiki/shea-butter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/shea-butter), Viewed on 28 July 2015.

groundnuts in the northern districts. The committee of experts estimated that the 192 million shea trees in the Northern Territories could produce over 250,000 tons of shea butter annually.¹

As to the palm oil industry, the southern districts showed great potentialities according to the committee of experts who argued that this industry could be an alternative to the cocoa industry in case something bad (disease) hit the latter. Kola plantation in the southern districts of the Ashanti showed significant results but due to the high cost of transport to the shipping areas made it less competitive with the kola producers in the neighbouring French colonies. The two last crops mentioned in the report of the committee of experts, that is, tobacco and cotton were not recommended because of strong competitors in northerner Nigeria for cotton and British East African colonies for tobacco.

The present division of the world into the economic "centre", consisting of industrialised nations and the "periphery", consisting of primary producers has its roots partly in the Imperial Economic Conferences held by the British government in the 1920s. The Imperial Economic Conference considered in detail the economic relations between the several parts of the Empire and discussed fully all aspects of the inter-Imperial trade. The most important resolutions passed were on the subject of Imperial Preference, Oversea Settlement, co-operation in financial assistance to Imperial Development, Communications, Economic Defense, the future of the Imperial Institute, Immunity of State Enterprises, and the establishment of an Imperial Economic Committee.²

The colonial government at the central level established some institutions under the concept of imperial economic committees to control the economy of the Empire including the colonies. The main purpose of these institutions was to consolidate the primary task of the colonies which was helping and supporting the economy of the empire, particularly, in periods of crises.

The Imperial Economic Committee was established in 1925. Its functions were extended by the Imperial Conference of 1926 and 1930, and again in 1933, as a reaction to the Report of the Imperial Committee on Economic consultation and Co-operation. These functions became as follows:

¹- Kay, op. cit., p. 203.

² Cmd. 1990 and Cmd. 2009.

(1) To complete the series of investigations into the possibility of improving the methods of preparing for market and marketing within the United Kingdom the food products of the overseas parts of the Empire, with a view to increasing the consumption of such products in the United Kingdom in preference to imports from foreign countries, and to promote the interests of both producers and consumers.

(2) To undertake inquiries into the production for export and marketing in various parts of the world of the raw materials of the Empire.

(3) To prepare, on obtaining the approval of the Governments of the Commonwealth, preliminary surveys of any branch of Empire trade and marketing, such as were contemplated in the recommendation of the Imperial Conference of 1926.

(4) To carry out any investigations arising out of recommendations contained in Reports submitted by the General Economic Committee and adopted by the Imperial Conference of 1930.

(5) To facilitate conferences among those engaged in particular industries in various parts of the Commonwealth.

(6) To examine and report on any economic question which the Governments of the Commonwealth may agree to refer to the Committee.

(7) To undertake the following services transferred from the Empire Marketing Board, viz:

(a) Periodical market intelligence notes, and

(b) World surveys of production and trade (including those embraced by the “Commodity” series issued by the Empire Marketing Board).

(8) To make proposals to Governments in regard to other economic services and enquiries which, in its view, should be conducted on a co-operative basis, it being understood that this does not give to the Committee any power to initiate proposals regarding consultation in respect of economic policy.

The Committee consists of 20 members, nominated by their respective Governments. It is financed by contributions from all the Governments of the Commonwealth and reports to those Governments.

The publications of the Committee comprise statistical surveys, special reports and regular intelligence services. 31 special reports and 4 surveys have been published. Summary reviews of production and trade are now published annually on Meat, Fruit, Dairy produce, Grain crops, plantation crops, Industrial Fibres, and Vegetable Oils and Oilseeds. The intelligence services include regular periodicals (with annual supplements) on Dairy

Produce, Fresh Fruit, Dried and Canned Fruit, and Wool. For lists and rates apply to the Secretary.

F. J. Du Toit (Chairman), A. P. Van Der Post, Trade Commissioner, Union of South Africa, Sir Frederick Leith.Ross, Sir Geoffrey Clarke, F. Hudd, Chief Trade commissioner, (1st Member) L.B. Pearson, Canada, F.L. McDougall, Sir Clive Baillien, Australia, W.J. Jordan, High Commissioner, R. S. Forsyth, New Zealand. J. W. Dulanty, High Commissioner (one seat vacant), Eire. William C. Job (one seat vacant), Newfoundland. Sir Firozkhan Noon, high Commissioner, E. Raghavendra Rao, India. Sir Firozkhan Noon, Burma, S. M. Langian-O'keeffe, High Commissioner, Southern Rhodesia. J. A. Calder, Clifford Figg, Colonies and Protectorate. Secretary Sir David Chadwick, Agnt. Secretary Sir Alan green, Address_ 2, Queen Anne's Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.E. Telephone Whitehall 4801.

Note. _ This work is temporarily suspended during the war.¹

The Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health was constituted in March 1929, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee on the organisation of a Colonial Agricultural Service (Cmd. 3049) and the Colonial Veterinary Services Committee (Cmd. 3261). No specific terms of reference were given to the Council, but it was decided that its functions should be regularly those which were recommended by the two Committees referred to above, i.e., to advise on the following matters: -

(a) The supply and training of specialist and field officers for the Colonial Agricultural and Veterinary Services, in conjunction with the recruiting authorities of the Colonial Office;

(b) The establishment of central research Stations and the general guidance of their work;

(c) The efficiency and general well-being of the proposed unified Colonial Agricultural and Veterinary Services, including such advice upon the Agricultural and Veterinary Services as the Secretary of State or Colonial Governments may desire;

(d) The collection, collation and distribution of scientific, agricultural and veterinary information in fields not covered by other agencies;

(e) Main agricultural and veterinary research policy in the Colonial Empire;

¹- Colonial Report,1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXVII., XXVIII.

(f) The representation and collaboration of the Colonial Empire as a unit in Imperial schemes of research and in Imperial Bureaux;

(g) The general progress of agriculture, food production and animal husbandry in the Colonial Empire.

The Council is composed as follows:

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (Chairman). Sir F.A. Stockdale, Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Vice-Chairman) Chief Medical Adviser to the secretary of State for the Colonies (vacant). W.H. Andrews, Sir Edwin Butler, Professor F. L. Engledow, Sir Arthur Hill, Sir Harry Lindsay, Sir Guy Marshall, Sir John Orr, Sir John Russell, J. Smith, Dr H. A. Tempany (Assistant Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, G. L. M. Clauson, A. D. Garson, Colonial Office (Secretary)¹

In August 1929, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the approval of the Treasury, appointed the Colonial Development Advisory Committee, with the following terms of reference: “In accordance with Section 1 of the Colonial Development Act, 1929, to consider and report on, in the manner to be prescribed by the regulations to be made by the Secretary of State under Section1 (9) of the Act, applications for assistance from the Colonial Development Fund, in furtherance of schemes likely to aid and develop agriculture and industry in the Colonies, Protectorate and Mandated Territories, and thereby promote commerce with, or industry in, the United Kingdom by any of the means specified in Section1 (1) of the Act.

The composition of the Committee is as follows: -

Sir Alan Rae (Chairman), Sir John Chancellor, Sir John Eaglesome, Sir Alan Pim, Sir Felix Pole, C. G. Eastwood, of the Colonial Office, as Secretary. E. W. A. Scarlett, of the colonial Office, as Assistant Secretary.²

Executive Council of the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux: This body, consisting of nominees of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the Dominions and India, and of the Colonial Office, was set up in 1929 to administer a number (8) of Bureaux organised to act as clearing houses of information on research in eight specialised fields of agricultural science, and financed from a common fund provided by the Governments of the Empire. In 1933, the Council was entrusted with the supervision of the administration and finances of

¹- Colonial Report,1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXVIII

² - Colonial Report,1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, p. XXIX

the Imperial Institute of Entomology and the Imperial Mycological Institute and of such research activities in the United Kingdom as the participating governments may agree should in future be conducted on a co-operative basis. On the recommendation of the British Commonwealth Scientific Conference of 1936, the Governments directed the creation of two more Imperial Bureaux, for Forestry and Dairy Science respectively. The annual Reports of the Council are submitted to each of the Governments through their several members on the Council.¹

Chairman_ F. J. Du Toit

Secretary_ Sir David Chadwick

3.4.4. The Preferential Tariff Act (1932)

The British Empire Economic Conference known as the Imperial Economic Conference or the Ottawa Conference is one of the measures taken by the British Government at the empire level to deal with the consequences of the Great Depression. The Conference took place in Ottawa, between 21 July and 20 August 1932. It gathered Britain, India and the Commonwealth² after a month of negotiations ended by the ratification of the Imperial Preference Act. The latter brought some protectionist measures, which aimed at supporting the ailing industry on the one hand, and providing enough money to fight against unemployment, on the other. The Conference insisted on the establishment of a zone of limited tariffs within the British Empire, but with high tariffs with the rest of the world, a policy known as ‘Empire Free-Trade’ based on the following motto: ‘home producers first, empire producers second, and foreign producers last.’³ The Act recommended reducing or discounting custom dues on British imports from the Commonwealth, the colonies and Ireland. The imports included raw materials, crops, and manufactured goods. Besides, the colonies had limited “quotas”⁴ out of their total exports in which they were free to sell to the rest of the world.⁵ The larger part of the colonies’ exports had to be sold to Britain with

¹ - Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, p. XXX.

² - The Commonwealth of Nations is an association consisting of the U K and various independent states (previously subject to Britain) and dependencies. There are currently 49 members. The reigning British monarch is recognized as the head of the Commonwealth, and leaders meet for a conference every two years. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 181.

³ - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire_Economic_Conference, viewed 10 March 2014.

⁴ - John Bowle, *The Imperial Achievement* (London: Pelican Books, 1974), p. 520.

⁵ - The rest of the world refers to all the countries but Britain and her colonies, the dominions and the Commonwealth of Nations. *Ibid.*, p. 521.

a preferential tariff . The British, in their turn, sold the imported products to the rest of the world at higher prices than those at which they bought from the colonies. Such a measure allowed the British to accumulate large profits to the detriment of the colonies. To put it clear, most of the exports of the colonies, dominions, and independent Commonwealth states had to pass through Britain, except the limited “*quotas*” agreed upon at the Ottawa Conference. In addition, the British imposed a ten percent tariff on the goods imported from the rest of the world to promote commerce within the Empire and to protect their industry from foreign competition and allowed the British to get an extra income from the difference in prices.

The Imperial Preference Act severely affected the economies of the colonies. The income of the Gold Coast from the exports dropped because of the low prices at which the colony exported its products to Britain under the Imperial Preference Act. In contrast, the British West African colonies were compelled to purchase the expensive products from the Lancashire mills, instead of the cheap Japanese textiles, whereas Britain continued to buy whale oil from Norway rather than the substitute West African palm oil.¹ These measures illustrate the imperial attitude of Britain vis-à-vis the colonised peoples.²

However, the British decision taken to protect the economy of the Empire brought harsh criticism to Britain in the colonies from Nationalists with the rise of nationalism, as well as in the world, from the fascists and Communists, with the emergence of communism and Nazism. Even the United States showed its dissatisfaction about the Imperial Preference Act. Hence, Britain tried to improve its image in the world by showing sympathy towards her colonies through the colonial planning policy. In fact, British involvement in the economic affairs continued in the 1930s with the intervention of the British Government to settle the cocoa crisis that hit the Gold Coast in 1937-1938.

¹ -Crowder, op. cit., p. 324.

² -Imperialism is a doctrine based on the policy of extending the country’s power and influence in the world through diplomacy, or military force, and especially by acquiring colonies. Oxford Advanced Learner’s Encyclopaedic Dictionary, p. 452.

3.4.5. The Cocoa Crisis and Its Consequences (1937-38)

This subtitle is included under the events which took place at the local level, but for chronological order purposes, it will be discussed after the measures and events which took place at the metropolitan level.

The Cocoa Crisis, sometimes is referred to as the Cocoa Hold-up, which is a term used to refer to a large-scale form of collective economic protest and organised refusals to sell cocoa to the European firms accompanied by a boycott of European goods.¹ The Europeans who represented the commercial interests of their countries in Africa dominated the external trade of the colonies under their control. The Gold Coast was no exception, the expatriate firms monopolised the export of cocoa which represented the most important source of income of the Gold Coast farmers, as well as the largest part of the colony's revenue. The cocoa hold-up of 1937-38 constituted an important turn in the relationship between the Gold Coast and the British. It culminated years of protests of the local people against the expatriate firms' monopoly on the cocoa market.² In fact, the cocoa hold-up of 1937-38 had been preceded by others since 1915. The most important were those which occurred in 1920-21, 1924-25 and 1930-31. What were the reasons of the cocoa hold-up of 1937-38, and how did it start? Who supported the hold-up? What were its objectives? How was the reaction of both the Central and Local Governments to defuse the crisis?

It is important to note that the local people had expressed their discontent towards the "*laissez-faire*" economic policy adopted by the colonial government since the early 1920s. The expatriate firms took advantage of their experience and available capitals to dominate the cocoa market in the colony. They could dictate the prices through their agents on the Coast, and the brokers and sub-brokers who were in direct contact with the farmers. They also resorted to some unfair practices which were considered by the farmers³ as abuses, such as delaying the declaration of stocks and presenting false declarations of the stocks.

The local people expressed their resistance to the expatriate firms' will to keep a monopoly on the cocoa market in two different forms. The first was led by Tete-Ansah.⁴ It

¹ - Gareth Austin, "Capitalist and Chiefs in the Cocoa Hold-ups in South Asante, 1927-1938," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, No.1 (1988): p. 66.

² - Howard, op. cit., p. 208.

³ - Ibid., p. 207.

⁴ - Winfried Tete-Ansah was born in 1889 in Odumasi, in the Gold Coast. He studied banking and commerce in Europe and America between 1919 and 1928. Boahen, op. cit., p. 146.

lay on challenging the expatriate firms in their own field. Tete-Ansah entered the cocoa market as a potential independent economic operator. He created the West African Cooperative Producers Limited, and the Industrial and Commercial Bank Limited to finance the purchase of cocoa and assist the farmers and businessmen associated with the Cooperative Producers Ltd¹. But he went into bankruptcy in 1930, because of the unfair practices of the cocoa cartel² led by the United Africa Company (U.A.C).³ Tete-Ansah tried again, in vain, to break the European firms' monopoly by founding the Nigeria Mercantile Bank Limited, and the African Producers' Cooperative Limited, in 1931 and 1932 respectively. Tete-Ansah remained optimistic to break the expatriate firms' monopoly over cocoa market. In this respect, he established the Ashanti National Product Institute and the National Cocoa Control Board in 1934. But, he failed in his ultimate attempt to challenge the expatriate firms. He left the Gold Coast for Canada where he died in unknown circumstances.⁴

The second form of expressing discontent against the expatriate firms' monopoly lay in hold-ups and boycotts. This form of protest was headed by Ayew and Ocansey, and showed better results compared to the former form, particularly during the hold-up and boycott of 1937-38. The latter was supported by different social classes; rich and poor farmers, migrant workers, small traders, and wage-earners employed as truck drivers and surf-boat loaders,⁵ in addition to the brokers and chiefs who supported the movement of protest strongly. They decided to stop selling cocoa to expatriate firms and to boycott the European goods supplied by these firms. Such a decision, as Howard wrote in his book "Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana", was sufficient to panic the government administrators.

As a result, the Central Government intervened to settle the conflict, which began following the Pool Agreement between the two large firms; the UAC and Cadbury Bros.

¹ - Ibid., p. 146.

² - The cocoa cartel was composed of 13 European firms controlling 98 per cent of the Gold Coast cocoa. Howard, op. cit., p. 208.

³ - The United Africa Company (UAC) was formed in 1929 by the merger of the Niger Company and the Eastern Trade Corporation. In 1931, the UAC acquired Unilever's holdings in West Africa. In 1938, it assimilated six commercial and industrial enterprises and its capital reached £ 11,000,000. It was involved in the cocoa crisis of 1937-38. During the 1930s and 1940s, it was considered as the largest supplier of merchandise to the Gold Coast and the largest buyer of cocoa. Milburn, op. cit., p. 4.

⁴ - Boahen, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵ - Howard, op. cit., p. 24.

Ltd.¹ The decision taken by the cartel of cocoa, led by the UAC, to fix the cocoa price without consulting the farmers and the loss sustained by the brokers because of the price drop was the last straw of the cocoa hold-up of 1937-38.² The latter aimed at breaking up the monopoly of the European buyers and shippers of cocoa. The cocoa farmers also wanted to raise the prices paid for cocoa and asked the expatriate firms to reduce the prices of their goods. Kojo Broni, the farmers' leader in Ashanti told the chief commissioner and the director of the UAC:

“We thank God that this matter has come to light, otherwise the position of the Ashanti farmers today would have been deplorable... Why did we Africans not meet and make agreement that we were not going to buy [imported goods]? Why do you merchants sell your things at high prices and want to take our little for nothing?”³

The Cocoa Hold-up lasted from November 1937 to April 1938. The expatriate firms had faced serious problems since they were not able to honour their obligations with the cocoa buyers overseas. On the other hand, the European products brought to the Gold Coast suffered from the depression caused by the local people's boycott. In this tense atmosphere, the Central Government intervened to bridge the gap between the local farmers and expatriate firms by sending the Nowell Commission. The latter arrived in the Gold Coast in February 1938. They opened an investigation to determine the causes and to point out the leaders of the hold-up and boycott, and suggest a solution that could be accepted by the different parties involved in the cocoa crisis. Meanwhile, these parties were exchanging accusations about the responsibility of the hold-up and boycott. Expatriate firms accused the petty bourgeois of trying to engage themselves in selling and shipping cocoa without passing through the brokers and expatriate firms' agents on the Coast. The cocoa farmers accused expatriate firms of exercising abuses to keep cocoa prices low.

The marketing boards are institutions established by the colonial governments to guarantee reasonable prices for the peasants for their produce. In the Gambia, they were responsible for marketing groundnuts, almost the only crop exported. In Nigeria, the marketing boards were responsible for marketing the main export crops, that is, palm

¹ - The Pool Agreement took place in Liverpool in 1937. The meeting of Liverpool gathered the three major British firms involved in cocoa to discuss and settle their conflicts caused by the keen competition. The Agreement appeared in the Gold Coast newspapers on November 1, 1937; simultaneously, the world prices of cocoa dropped which led to the cocoa crisis. Milburn, op. cit., pp. 13-16.

² - Ibid., p. 17.

³ - Boahen, op. cit., p. 148.

produce, cocoa, cotton and groundnuts, which represented two-thirds of the total exports of the colony in 1951.¹ In the same year, they market half of the total exports, in Sierra Leone. In the fourth British West African colony, the Gold Coast, the area of our study, the Cocoa board is responsible for the marketing of about seventy percent of the total exports. The previous data show the importance of the policies of the marketing boards for the peasant farmers and their families. The decisions about prices to be paid to producers are, as well, eagerly awaited in western markets.

The establishment of the marketing boards in British West Africa came to protect farmers from price fluctuations after the Cocoa Crisis. After the strong tension between cocoa peasant and expatriate firms about prices ended by the Cocoa Hold-Up, the British Government sent a commission of inquiry headed by Sir William Nowell to investigate the issue.

After thorough inquiries on the ground, the Nowell Commission managed to establish a truce between the Africans and the Europeans just after its arrival in 1938.² But, it condemned the expatriate firms' practices in order to control the prices of cocoa.³ On the other hand, it suggested the creation of collective marketing agencies,⁴ which were to become later on the Cocoa Marketing Board. The Commission Report about the Cocoa Hold-Up had not been yet implemented when World War One began.⁵

3.4.6. The Cocoa Marketing Board

On 3 September 1939, Britain declared war against the Axis power. Under war circumstances, the colonial government took some measures to control the colonies exports to contribute to the war effort. In West Africa, for instance, the purchase of agricultural produce, was put under the control of the Ministry of Food, which was established in the same year.⁶ In the Gold Coast, the British Government established the West African Produce Control Board to purchase cocoa under guaranteed prices for cocoa peasants from all West African colonies. It operated throughout World War II and was dissolved in 1946 to be

¹ - D.M. Williams, "West African Marketing Boards," *African Affairs* 52, No. 206 (January, 1953): p. 45.

² - Howard, op. cit., p.218.

³ - Crowder, op. cit., p. 476.

⁴ - Hopkins, op. cit., p. 265.

⁵ - Milburn, op. cit., p. 31.

⁶ - Hopkins, op. cit., p. 265.

substituted for the Cocoa Marketing Board in 1947, by Ordinance number 16. Article One of the Ordinance states:

“It shall be the duty of the Board to secure the most favourable arrangements for the purchase, grading and selling of Gold Coast cocoa, and to assist in the development by all possible means of the cocoa export industry for the benefit and prosperity of the producers.”¹

In the Gold Coast, the Cocoa Marketing Board's main task was to stabilise cocoa prices through the stabilisation funds made in the season of high prices. Besides, they helped in the economic development and welfare of the people of the Gold Coast. For instance, they lent the colonial government £ 2.3 million for extensions to Takoradi Harbour. They have also granted £ 1 million by way of a scholarship fund to help the sons of Gold Coast farmers to attend the university college in the Gold Coast.²

The position of the colonial government whether at the local or metropolitan level vis-à-vis the Cocoa Hold-Up was almost the same. At the beginning of the Crisis, the Colonial office supported the Pool Agreement against the natives' interest, which made Hodson, the Governor of the Gold Coast, in an embarrassing situation. He reacted by writing to Ormsby-Gore:

“I am very sorry that this new Cocoa Pool has started. It is causing great agitation and discontent. Nothing that I or anyone else can say will ever make the people believe that it is to their advantage... I am afraid it is almost a hopeless proposition.”³

The UAC and Cadbury sent a delegation to the Colonial Office to complain about the weak position of Hodson towards the local people. It was natural that the Colonial Office support the colonial Governor and take a harder line against the merchants. Nonetheless, in light of the evidence, one can say that there is a hidden compromise between the expatriate firms and the colonial governments. David Meredith reveals the existence of a close interaction between the British companies and colonial policy-making in its widest sense.⁴ In the context, Hopkins goes further to claim that this close interaction between the European firms and the colonial governments can be generalised over the whole continent.⁵

¹ - Ordinance No.16, 1947, The Cocoa Marketing Ordinance (Art. 1).

² - Dugdale, House of Commons Debates, 11 May 1951, West African Marketing Boards.

³ - C.O. 825/67/15006/3/37, Hodson to Ormsby-Gore, 11 November 1937.

⁴ - David Meredith, “The Colonial Office, British Business Interests and the Reform of Cocoa Marketing in West Africa, 1937-1945,” *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): p. 285.

⁵ - A.G. Hopkins, “Big Business in African Studies,” *Journal of African History* XXVIII, 1 (1987): pp. 129-30.

Thus, it can be argued that the colonial governments and the expatriate firms were working hand-in-hand to keeping the economies of the colonies dependent on the metropolitan economies.

3.5. Conclusion

The interwar period witnessed important economic events at both the local and metropolitan levels, which deeply influenced the economy of the Gold Coast. Locally, the Ten-Year Plan shaped the economic structure of the Gold Coast to fit in the world economy as an exporter of cocoa and importer of manufactured goods. The new structure strengthened the dependence of the economy of the Gold Coast on the world economy considering that about 80 percent of the income of the colony comes from cocoa exports, which made the risk of price fluctuations higher. Food dependence also recorded increasing rates particularly in rice and flour which constitute the staple food of the local people.

This period was also marked by the expatriate firms' recurrent blackmails which culminated by the Cocoa Hold-up of 1937-38, which led to the colonial government intervention in the marketing of the farm produce. It should be reminded that the marketing of the farm produce in the Gold Coast went through three distinctive phases. The first last until the beginning of the War, and it was characterised by the domination of the expatriate firms which used to fix prices through unregulated transactions. The Second phase covered the whole War period, and it was marked by the state control of the exports including cocoa. The third phase began by the end of the War by the establishment of the Cocoa Marketing Board which task was to fix the prices to be paid to producers administratively. This change illustrates a further step in the colonial government's involvement in the economy of the colony.

British intervention, whether at the local or the central level, to settle the cocoa crisis showed an advanced stage in the British economic policy from a "*Laissez-faire*" policy to a somehow state-intervention one. In fact, British involvement in the economic affairs of the colonies took new forms aiming at reinforcing the relation centre-periphery with the economies of the colonies. For this purpose, the colonial government, at the metropolitan level initiated schemes for the development and welfare of the colonies, the most important of which, the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945. The beginning of

World War One brought international political changes which influenced, to a great deal, the British economic policy vis-à-vis the colonies as it will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

British Colonial Economic Policy from WWII
to Independence (1940 – 1957)

4.1. Introduction

Since food policy cannot be dissociated from the general framework of integration of colonial economies in the imperial network, it is then necessary to examine the broad lines of a new policy under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and 1945 resulting from inter-related external and internal factors that exerted pressure on British officials. This chapter also deals with the impact of World War Two on the Gold Coast, in addition to the social and economic situation in the Post-War period.

4.2. External Context for Change in the British Policy

The late 1930s witnessed important economic and political changes in the international scene. The European powers learned from the Great Depression of 1929 that they had to seek solutions to their economic problems through the control of the largest possible markets of raw materials and industrial outlets. The task seemed easy for Britain and France with regard to the large empires under their control. However, things were different for the other powers. Germany, for instance, a former European colonial power deprived of its colonies after its defeat in World War One, fought at the European level to annexe parts of its neighbouring countries to increase its economic and military power.¹ At the African level, The Germans launched a political campaign against Britain and France, through a propaganda which aimed at awakening colonised peoples against the danger of colonialism and at creating uprisings in the British and French colonies to weaken them.

Japan, a new emerging power, looked for a solution to its economic problems through colonial expansion by attacking Manchuria, in China, in 1931, and attempted to invade the British colonies in the Far East to secure its needs for raw materials, which marked the beginning of a cycle of crisis. Italy, for the same purpose, had tried, in vain, to invade parts of North Africa since the early 1930s. After attempts to acquire new territories, Italy succeeded in invading Ethiopia in 1936. On the Eastern side of Europe, the communist system showed a great economic success versus the failure of the capitalist system, a success due to the state-intervention policy in the economic affairs. The achievements of the new economic system based on state-intervention in the economic affairs rather than on "*Laissez-*

¹ - During the early 1930s, Germany annexed Austria, parts from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Norway, and France, which increased its economic resources through the control of huge deposits of tin, aluminium and coal. Cole, op. cit., pp. 825-827.

faire” economic system, partly influenced British economic policy.¹ The new communist ideology denounced the colonial exploitation of the colonised peoples and had a great impact on the leading movements of protest which claimed for political and economic reforms.

4.3. Internal Context for Change in the British Policy

Following the death of Casely Hayford in 1930, and the collapse of the NCBWA, the emerging youth movements carried on with political action. In the Gold Coast, for instance, there were the Gold Coast Youth Conference and the West African Youth League, they represented the nationalist movements which led political actions against the colonial system. These movements were led by articulated educated Africans² who played a crucial role in spreading awareness among the local people through public discourses and meetings. In the international context, political agitation and unrest in the West Indies by 1938 together with challenges from other powers³ added pressure upon the British Government to introduce new measures of financial assistance to their Colonial Empire in the form of Colonial Development and Welfare policy in 1940. In such circumstances, Britain reacted by introducing colonial economic plans to absorb the colonised peoples’ discontent through granting money to finance these programmes for the development and welfare of these peoples.

4.4. Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940

The Colonial Development and Welfare Act (CDWA) of 1940 illustrated a change in British economic policy towards their colonies. For decades, the British believed in the principle of the colonies’ financial self-sufficiency, that is, the British Treasury was not ready to contribute with the money of the British taxpayers to the economic development plans in the colonies. The introduction of the CDWA 1940 was made difficult by the British Treasury Department which was reluctant to change its attitude from the old convention of grant-in-aid to financial liability for the colonies and their welfare. The Secretary of State,

¹ - Cole, op. cit., pp. 763-764.

² - Elizabeth Isichei, *History of West Africa since 1800* (London: MacMillan, 1977), p. 268.

³ - Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and attack on Shanghai, withdrawal of both Germany and Japan from the League of Nations, Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland and claims for former German colonies, and his invasion of Poland in 1939 were to culminate in World War Two.

Lord Lloyd, claimed that: “The Bill embodies new principles which constitute a landmark in colonial policy.”¹ He added:

“I am bound personally to say that there was a degree of truth in the reproaches directed at us by our rivals, that whilst we controlled so vast a colonial empire, we did slightly little to develop it.”²

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, and the British need for their colonies’ sympathy and support accelerated the approval of this Act by the British Parliament. In fact, the origin of the CDWA 1940 goes back to 1935, when Ramsey MacDonald, the first Labour Prime Minister, thought that particular interest should be given to a long-term policy of colonial development. The Plan brought a new concept that had not been known in the British colonial economic policy, particularly in the CDF of 1929. That is, in addition to the economic development, it aimed at the welfare of the peoples of the colonies, as it is declared in the official discourse by the Colonial Office:

“The primary aim of the colonial policy is to protect and advance the interests of the inhabitants of the colonies... much has already been accomplished, but there is room for further active development of the natural resources of the various territories so as to provide people with improved standards of life... An improvement of the personnel of the development services would in many colonies result in more successful economic expansion.”³

However, the real intentions were revealed in the series of debates in the House of Commons.

“Those who are familiar with the Debates of 1929 will remember that even then the primary purpose of our legislation was not to help colonial development for its own sake, but in order to stimulate that development mostly to bring additional work to idle hands in this country. It was devised as part of our scheme to solve our own unemployment problem.”⁴

¹ - British Aid-5 Colonial Development, a factual survey of the origins and history of British aid to developing countries, published by: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd, 1964, London, Col.725, p. 24.

² - Ibid., p. 24.

³ - Cmd. 6174 Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940, p. 4.

⁴ - House of Commons Debates, Hansard, May 21, 1940.

Wieschhof sums up the objectives of the CDWA in the promotion of agriculture, education, health and housing.¹ To achieve these objectives, the British had to provide adequate machinery, human and material resources.

At the central level, the British government instituted the War Cabinet for war purposes and on the other hand some reforms at the level of the Colonial Office with a view to promoting and developing the economies of the colonies. At the beginning, the implementation of the CDWA was supervised departmentally under the supervision of the Colonial Office and the Treasury; there were three main divisions in the Colonial Office under the supervision of the Deputy Under-secretary, Schuckburgh, and four Assistant Under-secretaries (Dawe, Jeffries, Clauson and Burns). These divisions were the General Division, Personnel and Geographical Divisions, each with a number of departments. However, after the difficulties met at the central level, the Colonial Office decided the establishment of two committees to supervise the development schemes closely.

With respect to economic and social matters in the colonies, the Colonial Office had various advisory committees which would examine and suggest economic schemes that would better respond to the development and welfare of the peoples of the colonies under CDWA. Amongst these committees, there were first, the Colonial Development and Welfare Advisory Committee (CDWAC) which was set up with senior members of the staff of the Colonial Office but an outside president. The second, the Research Committee which was established in June 1942, it was presided by Lord Hailey to advise on proposals for 'research and inquiry under the CDWA. Then, a number of sub-committees were subsequently established for an efficient implementation of the schemes under the Act. The Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee, it was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in January, 1943, to advise him 'on such questions as he may refer to it with regard to problems affecting the social welfare of urban and rural communities in the colonies, the training of social welfare, workers and other allied matters.' The Committee was composed of 24 members: The Minister of State for Colonial Affairs (Chairman), Sir Charles Jeffries (Vice Chairman), S. L. Akintola, L. J. Barnes, Dr. J. M. Brew, Rev. E. D. Bowman, G. J. Brown, F. C. Chambers, W. H. Chinn, L. N. Constantine, F. H. J. Dahl, A. E. Miles Davies, M. H. Dorman, Lord Faringdon, Hon. Frances Farree, Miss M. L. Harford, J. A. Hartley, G.

¹ H. A. Wieschhof, *Colonial Policy in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), p. 63.

E. Haynes, J. M. Martin, The Very Reverend Father J. P. Martin, F. Milligan, Miss D. M. Rosling, Miss D. Washington and Professor Barbara Wootton.¹

Following the recommendations of the committee on the organisation of a Colonial Agricultural Service,² the Colonial Office decided to set up or establish both of the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture, Animal Health in 1929 and the Colonial Veterinary Services committee.³ No specific terms of reference were given to the council, but it was decided that its functions should generally be those which were recommended by the two Committees referred to above.

Its functions had been extended to cover forestry by 1943 and whose terms of reference were defined in 1945 as follows:

(a) To advise the Secretary of State upon general policy and development in agriculture, animal health and forestry in the Colonial Empire.

(b) To keep under review, the general condition of agriculture, animal health and forestry in the Colonial Empire and to maintain contact with work of the Colonial Departments which are concerned therewith.

(c) To ensure that all problems in these fields requiring research for their solution are brought before the Committee for Colonial Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research; and to advise concerning the relation of research developments to Colonial agricultural policy.

(d) To keep under view the arrangements for the collection, collation and distribution of information concerning agriculture, animal health and forestry; to collect and make recommendations for the dissemination of information in these fields in so far as they are not covered by other agencies, and to collaborate with the Committee for Colonial Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research concerning the means of making available the results of research for the development and improvement of agriculture, animal health and forestry in the Colonial Empire.

(e) To advise on the recruitment, training and terms of employment of field officers for the Colonial Agricultural, Veterinary and Forestry Services in conjunction with the Appointments Department in the Colonial Office; and in so far as may be

¹ - Colonial Reports, The Gold Coast, Report for 1950, p. 20.

² - Cmd. 3049, Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940, p. 5.

³ - Cmd. 3261, Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940, p. 6.

desirable and necessary, to collaborate with the Committee for Colonial Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research and the Appointments Department on advising on recruitment, training and terms of employment of Governmental scientific personnel engaged in agricultural, animal health and forestry research in the Colonial Empire .

The Committee was appointed on the 23rd October 1936, with the following terms of reference:

(a) To survey the present state of knowledge in regard to nutrition in the Colonial Empire in the light of the replies received to the circular dispatch addressed by the Secretary of States for the Colonies on the 18th April 1936, to the Officers Adminstrating the Governments of Colonial Dependencies;

(b) To advise from time to time as to the measures calculated to promote the discovery and application of knowledge in this field.

Prior to September 1939, the Committee functioned as a Committee of the Economic Advisory Council but it is now a Colonial Office Committee.

The first report of the Committee was published in July 1939: Part I as Cmd. 6050 and Part II as Cmd. 6051.

The membership of the Committee was as follows:

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies _ Professor E.P. Cathcart (Chairman), G.L.M. Clauson, Miss P.C. Esdaile, Dr Raymond Firth, Professor N. F. Hall, Dr J.M. Hamill, F. Hemming, E.M.H. Lloyd, Sir Edward Mellanby, Dr E.J.R. O'Brien, Sir John Orr, H. S. Scott, Sir Frank Stockdale, C. G. Eastwood (Secretary), Miss D. Wright (Assistant Secretary).¹

It was set up in September 1946 to supersede the Colonial Economic Advisory Committee, was composed of two standing committees. The first was to deal with economic matters such as finance, economic marketing, investment, whereas the second was to be concerned with development schemes whether colonial or regional. Rees-Williams indicated that the Council should be linked with the Central Planning Organisation of the United Kingdom through the membership of representatives from the Treasury and the Central Economic Planning Staff of the Cabinet Office.² Thus, the Council would have the capacity to advise on development projects including those undertaken by private enterprises, and on

¹ - Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXV, XXVI.

² - CO 99/ 2. CEDC Papers, 1948: Reorganisation of the Council.

all investments leading to the UK assistance either in the form of finance or the provision of supplies. Such reorganisation was largely determined by the short-term priorities of domestic planning.

The gradual involvement of the State in the economic affairs of the colonies, and the need to promote in every possible way increased colonial production on an economic self-supporting basis, particularly in the production of foodstuffs and raw materials where supply to the United Kingdom or sale overseas would assist the United Kingdom balance of payments led the establishment of two public corporations in 1948. The Colonial Development Corporation was to undertake all kinds of development projects and to assist and supervise private enterprise. The Overseas Food Corporation, covering the dominions and the colonies, was to encourage and participate in the production of food for export to the Empire. It was believed that such initiatives represented a stage in colonial development planning, and constituted an attempt to combine the best features of private enterprise and public control.¹

The consolidating and restructuring of the machinery at the central level could not be effective without the setting up of appropriate adjustments in the regional organisation in order to carry out development policy and metropolitan instructions. For example, the establishment of the Central African Council was announced in the House of Commons in October 1944. It was followed in 1947 by the creation of the East African High Commission which was to replace the East African Governors' Conference. In West Africa, the Colonial African Governors' Conference, established shortly before WWII remained until 1942 when a Resident Minister of a cabinet rank, Lord Swindon, was appointed. He formed the West African War Council at Achimota, in the Gold Coast. In 1945, G. Hall announced the establishment of a council in charge of the general supervision of activities administered by it on behalf of the four West African colonial governments.

For the implementation of the CDWA, the British government allocated a maximum of £ 5 million per year for a period of ten years for the economic development and welfare of all the colonies in addition to £0.5 million per year for research work.² However, due to the war effort and diversion of resources, the colonial governments could not use the entire sums available to them. It was estimated that the actual total expenditure provided from

¹- CO 852/ 140/ 12055/ 1947-49: Cabinet Office, 14.2. 949.

²- Cmd. 6174 Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940, p. 6.

CDWA funds amounted to £2,860.000 until 1945 against the £20 million which the Act could have permitted.¹ Actually, Britain received far more money from the colonial people than she offered in addition to the colonial governments' war expenditure.² The Colonial Office expressed its gratitude by increasing the financial provisions under CDWA. Stanley (Colonial Secretary 1943) believed that the sums required for post-war reconstruction should be around £150 million for ten years, 1946-47 being the first financial year under the new arrangements. Stanley argued that financial assistance to the colonies was insignificant; representing approximately three-quarters of a percent of the budgetary expenditure.³ In his opinion, the development cost of the colonies to the United Kingdom would be minimal because part of the money would be given in a loan form and would come back to the Treasury.⁴ There was, however, no indication that those loans would be interest-free, while colonial loans to Britain were interest-free during the war. Stanley added that colonial trade would be integrated into the British market and that:

“such assistance or investment will prove beneficial to Britain, it will in the long run benefit us, either in the form of increased export to us of commodities, which otherwise we should have to obtain from hard currencies, or in the form of increased export from the colonies as part of the Sterling Area to the hard currency country outside.”⁵

But the Treasury objected to Stanley's proposals and such divergence was brought to the notice of the War Cabinet in November 1944. The Colonial Office approach to colonial development was rather determined by Britain's priorities in the post-war era, and one wonders whether there could have been other alternatives for people under colonial rule and domination and from a British government motivated by short and long term self-interest and known for its imperialistic practices.

In November 1945, the new Colonial Secretary, G Hall sent a circular to the colonial governments on the subject of CDWA with a view to informing them about the increase in the financial provision from £50million to 120 million extended to March 1956, about the

¹- Niculescu, op. cit., p. 62.

² - Fawzi Borsali, "Changes in Colonial Policies" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1984), p. 171.

³- CO 852/ 588/ 19275/ 1944.

⁴ - www.inter-disciplinary.net/at.../FBorsali-Wpaper.pdf

⁵- CO 852/ 588/ 19275/ 1944, War Cabinet, November 1944. CDWA.

maximum annual expenditure of £17.5 million and that of research which amounted to £1 million.¹

The need to integrate the colonial economies within the United Kingdom programmes became stronger after the 1947 crisis regarded by Padmore as the 'crisis of the parasitic metropolis of a world empire.'² Actual practices in the immediate post-war period proved to be contrary to the spirit of C.D.W. The Treasury insisted that a sum of £100 million out of the £800 million, that is one-eighth of the colonial sterling balances held in London,³ should be requested from the colonies to the cost of the war, regardless of the sacrifices and contributions made and offered in human beings' material and financial resources to Britain during the war. British West African colonies supplied over 240,000 soldiers and thousands of labourers, drivers and carriers, the vast majority coming from Nigeria and the Gold Coast,⁴ differently, David Killingray gave the number of 470,000 including 65,000 from the Gold Coast.⁵ The request of the Treasury caused embarrassment and reaction from the Colonial Office. Caine argued that "it would be an act of bad faith to take away with one hand what we have given with the other."⁶ The Colonial office suggested a compromise which consisted in putting aside individual sums to form a fund as an interest-free loan, but the Treasury was determined to exact such sums at the expense of colonial economies. In 1948, a report by the Colonial Development Working Party laid down the principles of colonial investment policy in the light of the actual conditions, as well as the ways securing the effective integration of colonial investments within the system of central allocation of United Kingdom resources.

The integration of colonial economic planning was discussed at Cabinet level after the crisis of 1947. It was recognised that in the short term, investments in the colonies would carry with them certain dangers against which it was felt necessary to guard. Initiations of development projects in the colonies would lead to a demand for capital goods, and most probably to increased incomes, which in their turn would enable the colonial people to increase their demand for consumption. But given the economic difficulties in Britain, such

¹ CO 852/ 588/ 19275/ 1944, War Cabinet, November 1944. CDWA.

² Padmore, "The Third Empire", 2 quoted in Gupta, op. cit., p. 69.

³ T 236/ 51, Colonial Sterling Balances, 26.7.1946.

⁴ Bonny Ibhawoh, "Second World War Propaganda, Imperial Idealism and Anti-Colonial Nationalism in British West Africa," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16(2) (2007): p. 223.

⁵ - David Killingray, "Military and Labour Recruitment in the Gold Coast During the Second World War," *The Journal of African History* 23, No.1(1982): p. 86.

⁶ T 236/ 51/ Caine: discussion on CDWP, 27.6.1946.

demands would be met by imports either from the United States or hard currency sources or from the United Kingdom at the expense of United Kingdom exports to hard currency destinations. This would endanger the United Kingdom economic stability and the future of colonial development because of the inter-dependence factor, and the large adverse balance in dollars and inability to pay with exports for goods exported.

The Colonial Secretary sent a circular on August 20th, 1947 to the colonial governments explaining to them the measures taken by the United Kingdom government, and which aimed at increasing colonial production and reducing colonial imports. On the other hand, another circular stressed the need for direct or indirect taxation as a way to face inflation, discontentment and political disturbances. So, as a result of such instructions, only £13.5 million from colonial development funds were spent during the first three and a half years while the annual limit for expenditure had been fixed at £17.5 million. It is amazing to remark that Creech Jones, then Colonial Secretary talking in 1949 of warning the colonial governments of their under-spending and thereby put the money into a general reserve if they continued to do so. Had he forgotten that he had instructed them to keep their demands on imports to very low levels from the British and Sterling areas, and still lower from hard currency zones?

Colonial dependencies were asked to restrict their dollar spending, and this caused dissatisfaction from the West African colonies. In the Accra Conference of 1948, Gold Coast and Nigerian representatives reported that colonial importers complained about the practices of United Kingdom exporters who obliged them to accept unwanted British goods as a condition of sale to them of essential items. Furthermore, devaluation of the pound in 1949 had serious repercussions on the colonial economies.

World War Two contributed to the development of some crops and minerals, which had a direct relation with supplying the army with food and minerals. For instance, the War created a great need for tin and bauxite to make weapons, which increased the exports of the former in Nigeria, and the latter in the Gold Coast. The Department of Agriculture encouraged the production of foodstuffs, cattle raising and poultry keeping to provide food for soldiers¹, and promoted the production of vegetable oils.

¹ - Boahen, op. cit., p. 151.

Like other West African territories, the Gold Coast benefited of large extensions on the harbour and airport of Takoradi and Accra, respectively.¹ They were actually destined to serve the Allied forces. The American Air Force, for instance, settled in Accra in 1941. Expansions, such as these, were crucial to increase the colony's performances in exports later.

To conclude, the Gold Coast particularly, benefited to some extent, of the War economically, as seen so far, and psychologically through the new image that the ex-servicemen acquired about the white man when they fought side by side against the Axis forces. Politically, the achievements were great. The emergence of political parties gave nationalism a new impulse, by spreading awareness among the people. The slogans known during the 1920s and 1930s also changed from a simple demand for political reforms to a demand for independence. The general feeling in the Gold Coast was expressed in the motto: "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquillity."² The case of the Gold Coast, in fact, reflected a common situation in all the colonies whether British or French. In the circumstances such as these, the colonial powers looked for the loyalty and sympathy of their colonies. To achieve such an aim some of them resorted to economic measures at the metropolitan level for the development and welfare of their colonies, while others went beyond just introducing economic and political reforms, to promising their colonies independence after the end of the War.

However, the War conditions hampered the implementation of the CDWA, because of the shortage of materials and personnel. The Central Authority itself was busy with the War. As a result, the British Government failed to honour its obligations towards the colonies. Five years after the approval of the CDWA, its expenditure did not exceed £2,860,000³ against £25,000,000, which represented only 11.5 percent. The amount spent was apportioned as follows: £1,800,000 for the colonies of the West Indies against £ 1,060,000 for the remaining ones. As far as the timing is concerned, an important question came to the surface; why did the British Government initiate the CDWA in 1940 since the War had

¹ -Ibid., p. 151.

² - Ibid., p. 149.

³ - Eugene, P.A. Schleh, "The Post-War Careers of Ex-Servicemen in Ghana and Uganda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, No. 2 (August, 1968): p. 203.

started in 1939? Crowder considered that the timing of the Act was designed to secure the loyalty and sympathy of the peoples of the colonies during the Second World War.¹

It can be concluded that the CDWA was intended to cover ten years; however, it could not be implemented due to the War effects. On the ground, it did not really bring much to the peoples of the colonies in terms of development and welfare. On the contrary, the standards of living in the colonies knew a sharp deterioration from 1940 onwards. It is also important to note that the CDWA of 1940 neglected the promotion of industry in the colonies with the exception of the extractive sector, which benefited from a special attention on behalf of the private entrepreneurs as well as of the Colonial Government. Stephen Campbell criticised in a debate at of the House of Commons the funds allocated to the scheme with regard to the population of the colonies.

“By this Bill £5,000,000 per annum is to be provided, and £500,000 in connection with research. I think that that sum spread over the 60,000,000 people in the Colonial Empire, will do very little. In view of past experience, I think most of it will be wasted; and that so much of it will go to try to improve the holdings of British Imperialism in those Colonies and very little of it will go to minister to the needs of the native peoples.”²

4.5. The Impact of WWII on the Gold Coast

In September 1939 World War Two broke out between the Allied and Axis forces. In the first stages, the Allied forces underwent severe defeats, which had consequences on the colonies under their control. This led the British to intensify their anti-Nazism propaganda, in parallel with a propaganda to gain more material support and sympathy from the colonies under their control.

It should be reminded that in the pre-War period, the natives were economically suffering because of the prices imposed by the British firms for their produce, on the hand, and the high prices of European imported commodities, on the other. In such a tense atmosphere between the European merchants and the local farmers, it was unusual, that a local chief urged his people to increase production to meet the war effort.

“Our fathers... told us to be loyal to the to the British flag, for it was the British people who... put a stop to the African scourge_ the slave trade. We

¹ - Crowder, op. cit., p.502.

² - Stephen Campbell, House of Commons Debates, 21 May 1940.

ourselves have learned to respect the British people for their justice, fair play and wise administration, as compared to other European powers.”¹

This feeling of sympathy towards the British Empire could be explained by the Allied anti-Nazism propaganda in which the British used incredible means to increase the sense of belonging to the Empire among the peoples of the colonies.² The British used films and posters depicting the Africans helping British soldiers by increasing production to provide them with food and raw-materials. In a poster widely spread in West Africa, there was a picture of Nigerian farmers cultivating groundnuts and British soldiers in the battle, with an expression saying:

“Your Groundnuts help to FEED Fighting Forces

Thank you Nigeria!”³

The economic consequences of the War on the Gold Coast particularly could be listed as follows: first, on labour, through the military recruitment, second, on the transport and shipping facilities, and the state-controlled marketing for cocoa, which was considered as an important legacy of World War Two, creating unprecedented scope for government influence on the economy of the colony.⁴

Contrary to World War One, World War Two affected the labour force in the Gold Coast. A number of workers were recruited in the British Army, which affected the production of cocoa as well as other produce. In March 1941, Governor Burns estimated that the Gold Coast could provide 90,000 men for war work without endangering the colony’s economy.⁵ In fact, the number of Africans recruited by the British Army during World War Two reached approximately 470,000 including 65,000 from the Gold Coast.⁶ It is important to note that the compulsory recruitment of 1942 caused serious emigration, especially in the northern territories. Chiefs expressed their discontent to the colonial government about the consequences of the compulsory recruitment on their self-sufficiency in agricultural produce. Many young people, who were working the land, escaped to the neighbouring colonies, which decreased the number of labourers and caused a serious shortage in the food

¹ - Bourret, op. cit., p. 143.

² - Ibhawoh, op. cit., p. 223.

³ - Ibid., p. 232.

⁴ - Alence Rod, “The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis: The Political Economy of Commercial Stalemate,” *African Economic History*, No. 19 (1990): p. 397.

⁵ - Killingray, op. cit., p. 86.

⁶ - Schleh, op. cit., p. 203.

supply. By the end of the War, about 70,000 men from the Gold coast served in the British Army, and 28,500 were still overseas in Asia.¹

After the failure of the CDWA 1940 to satisfy the commitments declared in its statement of policy, because of the War circumstances, the British Government initiated a new act for the same purposes, in 1945. The CDWA 1945 constituted an ultimate attempt for Britain to preserve the remaining credibility vis-à-vis the peoples of the colonies.

4.6. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945

After World War Two, the internal and external pressures on the colonial powers increased, which accelerated the British political and economic reforms. The British believed that it was their ultimate chance to keep pace with the rapid political and economic changes in the world, on the hand; and to improve its image among the peoples of the colonies, on the other.

Externally, different factors constituted a source of pressure on the British Government to change its policy towards the colonies. First, the rise of new military and economic powers such as the United States, the USSR and Japan created new poles of power in the world and put an end to the long British military and economic supremacy. Second, the designation of February 21st, by the communist world, as the day of the struggle against colonialism stirred colonised peoples against the colonial powers.² Third, the ratification of the Atlantic Charter by F. Roosevelt and W. Churchill in August 1941, which called for the right of all peoples to live in peace constituted an argument for colonised peoples to ask for economic and political reforms. Finally, by the end of the War, the conferences held in San Francisco between April 25 and June 26, 1945, ended by the declaration of the Charter of the United Nations. This new born international institution insisted in its principles on the right of all peoples' desire for freedom and independence.

After long debates, both the Colonial Office and the Treasury finally reached a compromise for a sum of £120m to be allocated for CDWA purposes over a period of ten years. Clauson of the Economic Department of the Colonial Office had already warned that there would a need to control colonial importers and that the development schemes should be within the boundaries of the practicable with regard to the capital, means of production, and skilled labour to avoid eventual political troubles similar to that of the Gold Coast in the

¹ - Killingray, op. cit., p. 94.

² - Boahen, op. cit., p. 150.

early 1930s,¹ because the postwar era would proceed through trade disequilibrium, that is demand would be higher than supply.

Internally, the emergence of political parties, namely, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) raised awareness amongst the local people. Boycotts and riots organised by unions to express the workers' dissatisfaction against exploitation, became frequent. The ex-servicemen who took part in World War Two by the side of the British came back home with a different idea about the white man. For a long time, they had feared him and never believed that they could defeat him. However, the image changed, and the Africans became more self-confident and believed that they could vanquish the colonisers one day.

A few months later, The Gold Coast witnessed violent unrest as a result of a boycott of imported goods and the shooting of peaceful demonstrators composed of ex-servicemen. The boycott, which came into operation from January 1948, was organised by Sub-Chief Nii Bonne III, a trader himself with the support of boycott committees. He started mobilising the public for an anti-inflation campaign and the boycott of the purchase of European imported goods. A month later, the boycott was lifted following an agreement between the J.P.C., Director of Supplies and Chamber of Commerce, but this brought no satisfaction to the common people, who burst into violent protest following the shooting of peaceful ex-servicemen demonstrating for their rights. The Watson Commission on the disturbances submitted a detailed report about the various causes of the unrest. Economically, the causes included: the Colonial Government's neutrality during the boycott, shortages and high prices of imported goods, government policy of cutting out cocoa trees suffering from swollen shoot; the Cocoa Marketing's policy of limiting the farmers' representation and controlling the Board's reserve funds, and lack of Government's plans for the development of local industries and agriculture.

The Colonial Office officials strongly believed that CD&W planning constituted the pre-conditions for self-government, in other words, without solid economic and social foundations adequately built up to bear the structure of political institutions, it would be difficult and probably unrealistic to grant self-government. But it can be argued that the exploitation and diversion of colonial resources for Britain's postwar reconstruction was

¹ - CO 967/ 13. Memo by Clauson, 31.3.1941.

rather to delay colonial development and consequently the process of political transfer. It would be naïve to believe that Britain would give up the advantages deriving from the economic and strategic assets of her dependencies for a political ideal.

Under the above mentioned new circumstances, the British found themselves in front of moral commitments towards the peoples of their Dependencies, particularly after the failure of the 1940 Act. Thus, the new CDWA was passed in April 1945. It was intended to cover a period of ten years, from 1946 to 1956, and it provided a total sum of £ 120 million.¹ The Act was voted by the British Parliament to substitute the Act of 1940, which was abandoned. To what extent did the new Act succeed in achieving economic development and well-being for the peoples of the colonies?

According to Professor Hargreaves, political and economic reasons led to the declaration of the CDWA of 1945.² Britain wanted to keep the colonies away from communist influence; it also considered it necessary to maintain an international economic equilibrium by introducing protective measures. In 1947, Sir Stafford Cripps, then Member of Parliament and Minister, gave instructions to the governors in the colonies to preserve local resources to develop and strengthen Western Europe.³ Such a measure seems logical with regard to the post-war circumstances. Europe was in busy with the reconstruction at home, and Britain was no exception.

As to the aim of the CDWA of 1945, it was destined to establish and develop economic projects in the colonies which according to G. Hall, then Colonial Secretary, it could achieve prosperity and welfare for the peoples of the Dependencies. In the circular sent to the colonial governments on 12 November, 1945 G. Hall informed them of the about the total amount of the CDWA 1925 allocation and asked them to submit ten-year development plans.⁴ The chief purpose of the Act was to achieve economic development and material well-being for the peoples of the Dependencies as declared in the official discourse.

The 1945 membership of the Council consisted of: - The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (chairman), C. G. Eastwood (Vice-chairman), Col. W. J. G. Beach, Professor G. E. Blackman, Sir Daniel Cabot, Dr. J. Carmichael, J. F. Clay, Professor Sir

¹ - British aid-5, op. cit., p. 32.

² - J. D. Hargreaves, *The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa* (London: The Mac Millan Press LTD, 1979), p. 17.

³ - Ibid., p. 17.

⁴ - Cmd. 6713, Circular from Colonial Secretary, G. H. Hall to Colonial Governments, Nov. 12th, 1945, p. 5.

Frank Engledow, Sir Geoffrey Evans, Dr. G. A. C. Herklots, Professor Wm. C. Miller, W. A. Robertson, G. N. Sale, R. G. Simmons, Frank Sykes, A. J. Wakefield, Dr Norman C. Wright, L. Lord (secretary). The Council had three Standing Committees on Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry, respectively.¹

The third committee which was established by the Secretary of State in June 1945 concerned Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research: The Committee's terms of reference had the object:

- (a) To determine, in consultation as necessary with the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture, Animal Health and Forestry, the matters in these fields of science in which research is required to be carried out in or for the Colonial Empire, to assess their relative importance and urgency and to advise on the general policy of such research.
- (b) To advise on the actual provisions required for such research in or for the Colonial Empire, whether in colonial territories themselves or elsewhere, and on the scope and functions of regional and other research institutions in the Colonial Empire.
- (c) To keep under review, and comment upon, the schemes of research in these fields.
- (d) To keep under review the arrangements for the publication and dissemination of technical and scientific information required for, or arising in the course of research in these fields, and to make such recommendations as may be appropriate from time to time.
- (e) To advise in consultation with the Advisory Council, on the best means of making available the results of research for the development and improvement of agriculture, animal health and forestry in the Colonial Empire.
- (f) To advise on the recruitment, training and terms of employment of the Governmental scientific personnel required for agriculture, animal health and forestry research in or for the Colonial Empire in collaboration, so far as may be desirable and necessary, with the Advisory Council and the Appointments Department of the Colonial Office.

The membership of the Committee comprised the following: Sir Edward Salisbury (Vice-Chairman), G. D. H. Bell, Professor W. I. B. Beveridge, J. Carmichael, Professor H.G. Champion, E. E. Cheesman, Professor Sir Frank Engledow, W. J. Hall, Professor J. W. Munro, Sir William Ogg, Professor Sir John Simonsen, W. K. Slater, S. P. Wiltshire, N. C. Wright (the post of chairman remained vacant)

Ex-Officio:- G.F. Klay, W. A. Robertson, R.J. Simmons. *Secretary*: G.A.C Herklots²

¹ - Colonial Reports, No. 958, The Gold Coast, Report for 1950, p. 16.

² - Ibid., p. 21.

As a result of discussions between Stockdale, Cain, Gater and Williams, it was proposed to establish a colonial development council, to create a special development department within the Colonial Office, and to secure the provision of expert advice and the development of officers. The latter's main task was to go to the colonies to give advice to the colonial governments and maintain a link between the centre and the periphery. At the central level, two advisory committees were set up to provide advice and supervise the application of the schemes.¹ The Colonial Development and Welfare Advisory Committee (CDWAC) which was presided by Lord Moyne, its main task was to deal the schemes sent by the colonies, to be assessed according to their profitability and degree of priority, then they are sent to the Colonial Office for a final decision. It served as an advisory body between the Central and Local Authorities. Second, the Colonial Research Committee CRC presided by Lord Hailey; its role was to examine the research concerning development in the colonies.

At the local level, the development machinery took different forms, taking into account the features characterising each colony. In the Gold Coast, for instance, the development machinery took a pyramidal form, where the various provincial and district committees prepared schemes at the bottom according to each district and province's needs. Then, according to the object of the scheme, they were sent to either the Economic Development Committee EDC, or to the Welfare Committee WC. The two committees in their turn send the plans, after being accepted, to the Central Planning Committee CPC, presided by the colonial governor, who in his turn sends the approved plans to the above mentioned Colonial Office committees. In other words, the plans elaborated at the level of the colonies ended at the Colonial Office for the final approval. Once the schemes were elaborated according to the mentioned conditions, they were sent to the Colonial Office to be examined. After being reviewed, the schemes finished at the Central Government for the final decision. On the light of both the reports joined with each scheme by the Central Committees, and the available credit in the British Treasury (grants or loans), the British Government decides whether to accept or reject to finance the scheme.

For an efficient implementation of the CDWA of 1945, the Central Government initiated a series of procedures that had to be followed in the elaboration of any scheme. The circular dispatched by the Colonial Secretary insisted that the schemes should be comprehensive and realistic. The governors in the colonies had to consult the local peoples

¹ - Wieschhof, op. cit., p. 81.

when preparing schemes and take into consideration their opinion. In addition, the available resources in the colonies were to be taken into account.

The Secretary of State, G. Hall, in the same circular sent to the colonial governments on 12 November, 1945 suggested that the plan should include all public expenditures on development and welfare, and all sources of finance, including an adequate contribution from local taxation; they should be well balanced between economic and social development. For the implementation of the Act, important human and material means were required owing to the number of colonies. For this purpose, the British Government devoted the sum of £120,000,000 to be spent on ten years and shared out as follows¹:

Central Schemes Including Research.....	£ 23,500,000
Allocations to Colonial Territories	£ 85,500,000
Central Reserve for Supplementary Allocations.....	£ 11,000, 000

From these allocations, the part of West Africa was estimated at £ 30,400,000. This sum was divided as follows :

The Gambia	£ 1,300,000
Sierra Leone	£ 2,600,000
The Gold Coast	£ 3,500,000
Nigeria	£ 23,000,000

According to G. H. Hall, the partition of the allocations was based on objective criteria such as the size and population of the colony, the available resources, and the present state of development in the colony.

What did the new Act achieve for the peoples of the colonies in general and the people of the Gold Coast in particular? During the ten years of the Act which was supposed to continue until 31 March 1956,² the British were expected to spend £120,000,000; which seems to be higher than the allocations of the Act of 1940. However, if one takes into account the high rate of inflation that hit Western Europe, in general during the post-war period, the funds of the new Act would be lesser in actual value, than those of the 1940 Act. On the ground, evidence shows that little had been done for the development and welfare of the colonies.

¹ -Wieschhof, op. cit., p. 7.

² - Niculescu, op. cit., p. 62.

The CDWA of 1945 seems to be an ultimate attempt to keep pace with the economic and political changes that took place at an accelerated speed, in the Empire as well as in the rest of the world. The Colonial Office's circulars caused dissatisfaction among colonies like the Gold Coast and Nigeria, which were the most important dollar-earning dependencies. At the Conference on Import Licensing held in Accra in July 1947, it was reported that: "unofficial members did seek to relate their dollar earning of the Gold Coast to what was being allocated, and raised strong objections if imports were restricted on the grounds of dollar shortages." Gold Coast and Nigerian representatives at the Conference complained about the practices of UK exporters who obliged them to accept unwanted or unnecessary goods as a condition of sale to them of essential items at very high prices.

Finally, the rise of movements of protests and revolutions in Algeria, the Gold Coast, Kenya, etc., during the decade that followed World War Two proved that the peoples of the colonies, whether British or French, were still suffering and that their standards of life did not improve, and nothing of the promised economic and political reforms have been achieved. The Gold Coast riots of March 1948 which were essentially due to economic factors provide evidence that neither the 1940 Act nor the 1945 Act brought prosperity and welfare to the people of the colony as it was stated in the official discourse of the two Acts.¹

4.7. Conclusion

The period from World War Two onwards was marked by radical changes in the British colonial policy. The state intervention policy which began after the Great Slump of 1929 was intensified by the break out of World War Two through the colonial government control of the marketing of farm produce. It also knew the establishment of colonial development and welfare schemes. The concept of the welfare of the peoples of the colonies was introduced for the first time in the colonial policy. Regardless the actual reasons of the two Acts of 1940 and 1945, the achievements on the ground were insignificant. The 1948 disturbances provide strong evidence that the social and economic situation of the local people in the Gold Coast knew sharp deterioration.

¹ - British Aid-5 Colonial Development, a factual survey of the origins and history of British aid to developing countries, published by The Overseas Development Institute Ltd, 1964, London, 52.

General Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the Gold Coast gathers excellent geographical and climatic conditions to develop a successful agricultural sector able to satisfy the local people's needs in food. Yet, the intense activities led by missionaries and expatriate firms together with the newly established colonial administration in the southern region of the Gold Coast during the late nineteenth century introduced changes which affected the structure of subsistence economy. The favourable responsiveness of the local farmers to the new changes accelerated the shift from the traditional economy based on producing food to cash crop economy based on producing export crops. By the early years of the formal colonial rule, the Gold Coast had witnessed significant changes in its economic and social structure. First, there was a noticeable decline in food crops production, mainly cereals, and an increase in food imports. Second, cash crops became increasingly important because they provide an income sufficient to buy not only food but also imported manufactured goods such as clothes and utensils etc. through time, the local farmers were getting more and more involved in the production of export produce, the more they produce cash crops for exports, the less food they could produce for local consumption and the more their dependency on abroad increases.

This explains the fact that, by the second decade of the twentieth century, the Gold Coast had begun to suffer from food shortages, and therefore dependency on European imported food. Overspecialization or the mono-crop structure of the economy of the Gold Coast brought serious difficulties to the economy of the colony, the most important of which the financial uncertainty due to price fluctuations. The local peasants also suffered from price fluctuations during the First World War when cocoa prices dropped to the half while the prices of imported commodities new exorbitant rises. This situation brought serious deterioration to the standard of living of the local people, which led to tensions between expatriate firms and local farmers. The latter's dissatisfaction developed into movements of protest and boycotts in the 1930s.

The economic structure in the Gold Coast after World War One did not know much change since it had been established by 1914, as mentioned by Samir Amin. The mono-crop economic structure made the economy of the colony vulnerable to the serious consequences of sharp falls in cocoa prices which were decided by expatriate firms. It can be argued that this structure integrated the economy of the colony in the economy of the Empire in the context of the centre-periphery relation. The new structure was inflexible which weakened the bargaining position of the local farmers, and compelled them to cope with the situation. A situation which they themselves contributed to its success, by their quick favourable responsiveness, tricked

by the free technical assistance and the motivating prices.

The interwar year period was marked by important local and international economic events which deeply affected the economy of the Gold Coast. Locally, there was the Ten Year Plan initiated by Governor Guggisberg in the Gold Coast which seems to be an individual initiative taken at the local level under particular circumstances. Yet, the ultimate objective of the Plan reveals that it was initiated within a wide context aiming at pushing further the integration of the integrating the economy of the colony in the economy of the Empire. In other words, Guggisberg succeeded, to a large extent, not only to exhaust the local resources and to make a profit for the economy of the Empire but also to consolidate the position of the mono-crop structure economy of the colony at the periphery of the world economy, and therefore tightened its dependency on the metropolitan economy.

At the metropolitan level, the Great Depression of 1929 brought serious economic problems to the economy of the Empire, the most important of which the rise of the unemployment rate to unprecedented levels. The British government reacted by a series of measures at both the local and central levels. At the local level, the British Parliament passed a series of acts to deal with unemployment. At the central level, the British Government initiated the Colonial Development Fund 1929, which aimed principally at establishing development projects in the colonies, to help the economy of the Empire to overcome the crisis by supplying cheap raw-materials and creating jobs for the British. The interwar period was also marked by an important local economic incident which influenced the British colonial economic policy, that is, the Cocoa Hold-up of 1937-38. The consequences of the latter led the British to change their economic policy based on “*laisse-faire*” principles to a state intervention policy.

The period from World War Two to independence knew another change in the British colonial policy, the British introduced for the first time the concept of ‘the welfare of the peoples of the colonies’ in their development schemes. They also changed their attitude from the old convention of grant-in-aid to financial liability for the colonies and their welfare. It can be concluded that the driving force of the colonial powers including Britain was the exploitation of the African resources agricultural, mineral or human; it is then hard to believe the colonial powers’ pretensions particularly Britain about economic development for people under colonial rule. Though British officials expressed publicly their intention and willingness to change their colonial and imperial economic policies, after the Great Slump of 1929, for the welfare of the peoples of the colonies, their attempts were principally destined in most cases towards the solution of their own economic problems, or for other considerations. The British Government

had already introduced the Colonial Development Fund in 1929 designed primarily to reduce unemployment in Britain more than aiming at developing its colonial dependencies

The monetary economy which removed subsistence economy succeeded in Ghana as well as in all the former colonies thanks to the combination of three important factors: the intensive activities of the foreign entrepreneurs and missionaries, the favourable attitude of the local farmers and the colonial agricultural policy at both the local and central levels. The combined factors resulted in transforming Ghana from a food exporter in the pre-colonial period to a food importer in the post-colonial period. Given the similarities in the colonial economic policies and the attitude of the European capitalists, the findings of this study can be generalised on all the former colonies suffering from food dependency regardless the origin of the colonial rule.

Africa, in general, had been since the eighteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations. Dependency theory explains the economic dependence of the former colonies representing the poor and underdeveloped "periphery" on the "core" composed of the wealthy industrialised countries, and how resources flow from the former to the latter. This unbalanced flow was enriching the wealthy countries at the expense of the poor ones. It is a central argument of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the world system.

The monoculture or mono product feature of the economy of Ghana is a mere sample of a prevailing situation among the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The rise of capitalism followed by the different forms of imperialism gave birth to the international division of labour which resulted in a heavy colonial legacy which still has serious consequences on the peoples of the former colonies.

Appendices

Appendix 1 : Secretaries of State for the Colonies (1854-1960)

Name	Period: from.... To....		Party
Sir George Grey, Bt	12 June 1854	8 February 1855	Whig
Sidney Herbert	8 February 1855	23 February 1855	Whig
Lord John Russell	23 February 1855	21 July 1855	Whig
Sir William Molesworth, Bt	21 July 1855	21 Nov. 1855	Radical
Henry Labouchere	21 Nov. 1855	21 February 1858	Whig
Lord Stanley (later 15th Earl of Derby)	26 February 1858	5 June 1858	Conservative
Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Bt	5 June 1858	11 June 1859	Conservative
The Duke of Newcastle	18 June 1859	7 April 1864	Liberal
Edward Cardwell	7 April 1864	26 June 1866	Liberal
The Earl of Carnarvon	6 July 1866	8 March 1867	Conservative
The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos	8 March 1867	1 December 1868	Conservative
The Earl Granville	9 December 1868	6 July 1870	Liberal
The Earl of Kimberley	6 July 1870	17 February 1874	Liberal
The Earl of Carnarvon	21 February 1874	4 February 1878	Conservative
The Earl of Kimberley	21 April 1880	16 Dec. 1882	Liberal
15th Earl of Derby	16 Dec. 1882	9 June 1885	Liberal
Frederick Stanley (later 16th Earl of Derby)	24 June 1885	28 January 1886	Conservative
The Earl Granville	6 February 1886	20 July 1886	Liberal
Edward Stanhope	3 August 1886	14 January 1887	Conservative

The Lord Knutsford	14 January 1887	11 August 1892	Conservative
The Marquess of Ripon	18 August 1892	21 June 1895	Liberal
Joseph Chamberlain	29 June 1895	16 Sept. 1903	Liberal Unionist
Alfred Lyttelton	11 October 1903	4 December 1905	Liberal Unionist
The Earl of Elgin	10 Dec. 1905	12 April 1908	Liberal
The Earl of Crewe	12 April 1908	3 November 1910	Liberal
Lewis Vernon Harcourt	3 Nov. 1910	25 May 1915	Liberal
Andrew Bonar Law	25 May 1915	10 Dec. 1916	Conservative
Walter Long	10 Dec. 1916	10 January 1919	Conservative
The Viscount Milner	10 January 1919	13 February 1921	Liberal
Winston Churchill	13 February 1921	19 October 1922	Liberal
The Duke of Devonshire	24 October 1922	22 January 1924	Conservative
James Henry Thomas	22 January 1924	3 November 1924	Labour
Leo Amery	6 Nov. 1924	4 June 1929	Conservative
The Lord Passfield	7 June 1929	24 August 1931	Labour
James Henry Thomas	25 August 1931	5 November 1931	National Labour
Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister	5 Nov. 1931	7 June 1935	Conservative
Malcolm MacDonald	7 June 1935	22 Nov. 1935	National Labour
James Henry Thomas	22 Nov. 1935	22 May 1936	National Labour
William Ormsby-Gore	28 May 1936	16 May 1938	Conservative

Malcolm MacDonald	16 May 1938	12 May 1940	National Labour
The Lord Lloyd	12 May 1940	8 February 1941	Conservative
The Lord Moyne	8 February 1941	22 February 1942	Conservative
Viscount Cranborne	22 February 1942	22 Nov. 1942	Conservative
Oliver Stanley	22 Nov. 1942	26 July 1945	Conservative
George Henry Hall	3 August 1945	4 October 1946	Labour
Arthur Creech Jones	4 October 1946	28 February 1950	Labour
Jim Griffiths	28 February 1950	26 October 1951	Labour
Oliver Lyttelton	28 October 1951	28 July 1954	Conservative
Alan Lennox-Boyd	28 July 1954	14 October 1959	Conservative

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretary_of_State_for_the_Colonies.

Appendix 2

List of governors during the Gold Coast era (1822-1960)

I. Governors of the Gold Coast (1822–1828)

- Sir Charles MacCarthy, 27 March 1822 – 17 May 1822, first time
- James Chisholm, 17 May 1822–December 1822, first time
- Sir Charles MacCarthy, December 1822–21 January 1824, second time
- James Chisholm, 21 January 1824 – 17 October 1824, second time
- Edward Purdon, 17 October 1824 – 22 March 1825
- Major-general Sir Charles Turner, 22 March 1825 – 8 March 1826
- Sir Neil Campbell, 18 May 1826 – 15 November 1826
- Major Henry John Ricketts, 15 November 1826 – 11 October 1827, first time
- Hugh Lumley, 11 October 1827 – 10 March 1828
- George Hingston, 10 March 1828 – 5 June 1828
- Major Henry John Ricketts, 5 June 1828 – 25 June 1828, second time

II. Governors of the Committee of Merchants of the Gold Coast(1828-43)

- John Jackson, 25 June 1828 – 19 February 1830
- George Maclean, 19 February 1830 – 26 June 1836, first time
- William Topp, 26 June 1836 – 15 August 1838
- George Maclean, 15 August 1838 – 1843, second time

III. Governors of the Gold Coast (1843–1960)

In 1843 a governor was appointed subordinate to the Governor of Sierra Leone until 1850. After the Ashanti Wars of 1873-74, the Gold Coast was formally declared a crown colony.

- Henry Worsley Hill, 1843–8 March 1845
- James Lelley, 8 March 1845 – 15 April 1846
- William Winniett, 15 April 1846 – 31 January 1849, first time
- James Coleman Fitzpatrick, 31 January 1849 – 13 January 1850
- Sir William Winniett, 13 January 1850 – 4 December 1850, second time
- James Bannerman, 4 December 1850 – 14 October 1851
- Stephen John Hill, 14 October 1851–December 1854
- Henry Connor, December 1854–March 1857, acting

- Sir Benjamin Chilley Campbell Pine, March 1857–April 1858
- Henry Bird, April 1858–20 April 1860, acting
- Edward B. Andrews, 20 April 1860 – 14 April 1862
- William A. Ross, 14 April 1862 – 20 September 1862, acting
- Richard Pine, 20 September 1862 – 1865
- Rokeby Jones, 1865, acting
- W. E. Mockler, 1865, acting
- Edward Conran, April 1865–February 1867
- Herbert Taylor Ussher, February 1867–April 1872, first time
- John Pope Hennessy, April 1872 – 1872
- Charles Spencer Salmon, 1872–September 1872, acting
- Robert William Keate 7 Mar 1873 – 17 Mar 1873
- Robert William Harley, September 1872–2 October 1873
- Garnet Joseph Wolseley, 2 October 1873 – 4 March 1874
- James Maxwell, 4 March 1874 – 30 March 1874, acting
- Charles Lees, 30 March 1874–June 1874, acting, first time
- George Cumine Strahan, June 1874–7 April 1876
- Charles Lees, 7 April 1876–December 1876, acting, second time
- Sanford Freeling, December 1876–13 May 1878, acting to 5 June 1877
- Charles Lees, 13 May 1878–June 1879, acting, third time
- Herbert Taylor Ussher, June 1879–1 December 1880, second time
- William Brandford Griffith, 1 December 1880 – 4 March 1881, acting, first time
- Sir Samuel Rowe, 4 March 1881 – 29 April 1884
- W. A. G. Young, 29 April 1884 – 24 April 1885
- William Brandford Griffith, 24 April 1885 – 7 April 1895, second time
- William Edward Maxwell, 7 April 1895 – 6 December 1897
- Frederick Mitchell Hodgson, 6 December 1897–29 August 1900, acting to 29 May 1898
- W. Low, 29 August 1900 – 17 December 1900, acting
- Sir Matthew Nathan, 17 December 1900 – 9 February 1904^[1]
- Herbert Bryan, 9 February 1904 – 3 March 1904, acting, first time
- John Pickersgill Rodger, 3 March 1904 – 1 September 1910
- Herbert Bryan, 1 September 1910 – 20 November 1910, acting, second time
- James Jamieson Thorburn, 21 November 1910 – 29 June 1912

- Herbert Bryan, 29 June 1912 – 26 December 1912, acting, third time
- Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, 26 December 1912 – 1 April 1919
- Alexander Ransford Slater, 1 April 1919 – 8 October 1919, acting, first time
- Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, 9 October 1919 – 24 April 1927
- Sir James Crawford Maxwell, 24 April 1927 – 5 June 1927, acting
- John Maxwell, 5 June 1927–July 1927, acting
- Sir Alexander Ransford Slater, July 1927–5 April 1932, second time
- Geoffrey Northcote, 5 April 1932 – 29 November 1932, acting, first time
- Sir Shenton Thomas, 30 November 1932 – 13 May 1934
- Geoffrey Northcote, 13 May 1934 – 23 October 1934, acting, second time
- Sir Arnold Weinhold Hodson, 24 October 1934 – 24 October 1941
- George Ernest London, 24 October 1941 – 29 June 1942, acting
- Sir Alan Cuthbert Maxwell Burns, 29 June 1942 – 2 August 1947
- Sir Gerald Hallen Creasy, 12 January 1948 – 15 February 1949
- Sir Robert Scott, 15 February 1949 – 28 March 1949, acting, first time
- Thorleif Rattray Orde Mangin, 28 March 1949 – 11 June 1949, acting
- Sir Robert Scott, 11 June 1949 – 11 August 1949, acting, second time
- Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, 11 August 1949 – 6 March 1957
- Lord Listowell, March 1957 - July 1960

Source : <http://www.ghanagrio.com/rulers/?blurb=422#ixzz4KdvwW5Dr>

Appendix 3

Extracts from the ordinance establishing the board

Gold Coast Marketing Ordinance (N0, 16 of 1947)

Section 6:

(1) It shall be the duty of the Board to secure the most favourable arrangements for the purchase grading export and selling of Gold Coast cocoa and to assist in the development by all possible means of the cocoa industry of the Gold Coast for the benefit and prosperity of the procedures.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, the Board shall have the power

- a) to control and fix the prices to be paid from time to time to Gold Coast producers for the cocoa and similarly to arrange in such manners as the Board shall think fit, to notify such prices.
- b) To purchase cocoa and to do all things necessary for and in connection with the purchase from the procedures of Gold Coast cocoa.
- c) To appoint licensed buying agents for the purchase of cocoa on behalf of the board.
- d) To grant, renew or withhold licenses for reach crop year to such agents, to impose condition upon the grant of such licenses, and to cancel or suspend any such licenses for breach of any such conditions or other good cause.

Section 8: From and after the commencement of this ordinance.

- (1) No person shall purchase cocoa except
 - (a) The Board, or a person authorized to purchase for sale to the board; or
 - (b) A licensed buying agents or a person authorized to purchase to purchase for sale to such an agent or;
 - (c) A person acting upon the written instructions of the boards.
- (2) No person shall export any cocoa except
 - (a) Cocoa which the property of the property of the board or;
 - (b) Cocoa the export of which has been authorized.

Source: P.T. Bauer, *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 281-82.

Bibliography

I. Primary Sources

1. British Aid-5 Colonial Development, a factual survey of the origins and history of British aid to developing countries, published by: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd, 1964, London
2. Cmd. 1990
3. Cmd. 2009
4. Cmd. 3049, Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940
5. Cmd. 3261, Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940
6. Cmd. 6125 Statement of Policy on C.D.W, February 1940
7. Cmd. 6174 Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare, 1940
8. Cmd. 6299, Colonial Policy in Wartime, June 1941
9. Cmd. 6713, Circular from Colonial Secretary, G.H. Hall to Colonial Governments, Nov. 12th, 1945
10. CO 852/ 140/ 12055/ 1947-49: Cabinet Office, 14.2. 949.
11. CO 852/ 588/ 19275/ 1944, War Cabinet, November 1944. CDWA
12. CO 99/ 2. CEDC Papers, 1948: Reorganisation of the Council.
13. CO. 852/588/19275/1944 War Cabinet, November 1944, C.D&W Increased and Extended Provision
14. CO. 885/ 118, 'Report of the Colonial Office Organisation Committee, 1948'.
15. Colonial Office List (Organisation).
16. Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXVII, XXVIII
17. Colonial Report, 1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXVIII

18. Colonial Report,1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, p. XXIX
19. Colonial Report,1940, Dominions Office and Colonial Office List, pp. XXV, XXVI
20. Colonial Reports, 1950
21. Colonial Reports, No. 1154, The Gold Coast, Report for 1921
22. Colonial Reports-Annual, No 375, Gold Coast, Report for 1901, Dec. 1902
23. Colonial reports-Annual, No. 948, The Gold Coast, Report for 1916
24. Colonial Reports-Annual, No.1418, The Gold Coast, Report for 1927-28
25. Colonial Reports-Annual, No. 344, The Gold Coast, Report for1900, Dec. 1901
26. Guggisberg, Legislative Council Debates, The Gold Coast, 1920-21
27. Guggisberg, Legislative Council Debates, The Gold Coast, 1923-24
28. Hansard, House of Commons Debates, May 21, 1940, Col 41
29. Ministry of Trade & Industry, Accra, Agriculture in Ghana: Facts and Figures (2010), Issued by Ministry of Trade and Agriculture, May 2011
30. Stephen Campbell, House of Commons Debates, 21 May 1940
31. The message of Governor Maxwell to the Legislative Council, enclosed in Maxwell to Colonial Office, 11 March 1897, C. O. 879/49No. 531, P.R.O., 57

II. Secondary Sources

A. Books

1. Albertini, R. Von. *Decolonisation the Administration Future of the Colonies 1919-1960*. New York: Doubleday, 1971.
2. Amamoo, J. G. *The New Ghana*. London: Pan Books, 1958.
3. Amin, Samir. *L'Afrique de l'Ouest Bloquée: l'Economie Politique de la Colonisation, 1880-1970*. Paris: Edition de Minuit, 1971.
4. Anene, Joseph C. and Godfrey, Brown N. *Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966.
5. Apter, David E. *Ghana in Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press., 1972.
6. Batten, T. R. *Tropical Africa in World History*. London: Oxford University Press., 1961.
7. Bauer, P.T. *West African Trade: A Study of Competition, Oligopoly and Monopoly in a Changing Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.
8. Blumenthal, Susan. *Bright Continent: A Shoestring Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa*. New York: Anchor Books, 1974.
9. Boahen, Adu. *Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. London: Longman, 1975.
10. Bourret, F. M. *Ghana: The Road to Independence 1919-1957*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
11. Bovill, E.W. *Caravans of the Old Sahara*. Oxford: International African Institute, 1933.
12. Bovill, E.W. *The Golden Trade of the Moors*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
13. Bowle, John. *The Imperial Achievement*. London: Pelican Books, 1974.
14. Brewer, Anthony *Marxist theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, 2nd Ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.
15. Constantine, Stephen. *The Making of British Colonial Development Policy 1914-1940*. London: Fran Cass., 2005.

16. Crowder, Michael. *West Africa under Colonial Rule*. London: Hutchinson, 1968.
17. Davidson, Basil. *Modern Africa: A Social and Political History*. London: Longman, 1994.
18. Diawara, Gaoussou. *Abu Bakari II Explorateur Mandingue*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2010.
19. Duignan, Peter and Gann, L.H. *The Pre Colonial Economies of Sub-Saharan Africa, Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960*, London: Cambridge University Press Vol. 4, 1975.
20. Fage, J. D., *A History of West Africa*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1969
21. Feinberg Harvey M. *Africans and Europeans in West Africa: The American Philosophical Society*. Philadelphia: Independence Square Philadelphia, Vol. 79, part 7, 1989.
22. Frémy, Dominique and Michèle. *Quid*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont S. A., 1998.
23. Godfrey, N. Brown. *An Active History of Ghana*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961.
24. Gunder, Frank Andre. *The Development of Underdevelopment*, James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank, and Dale Johnson, eds., *Dependence and Underdevelopment*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1972.
25. Gupta, Partha Scarathi. *Imperialism and the British Labour Movement 1914-1964*. London: Macmillan, 1975.
26. : Hagen, Everett E. *Economie du Développement*, Paris: Economica, 1982.
27. Hargreaves, J. D. *The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa*. London: The Mac Millan Press Ltd., 1979.
28. Havinden, Michael and Meredith, David. *Colonialism and Development: Britain and its Tropical Colonies 1850-1960*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
29. Hill, Polly. *The Gold Coast Farmer: A Preliminary Survey*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.
30. Hill, Polly. *The Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana*. International African Institute. London: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

31. Hobsbawm, E. G. *Industry and Empire* Vol. 3. London: Pelican Books, 1969.
32. Hopkins, A. G. *An Economic History of West Africa*. London: Longman, 1975.
33. Howard, Rhoda. *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
34. Hull, Richard W. *Modern Africa: Change and Continuity*. N.J: Prentice-Hall, 1980.
35. Hunwick, John *Jews of a Saharan Oasis: Elimination of the Tamantit Community*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2006.
36. Isichei, Elizabeth. *History of West Africa since 1800*. London: MacMillan, 1977.
37. Jarrett, H. R. *Africa*, London: MacDonald & Evans Ltd., 1970.
38. Kay, G. B. *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana, A Collection of Documents and Statistics 1900 – 1960*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
39. Kea Ray A. *Plantations and Labour in the South-east Gold Coast from the Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century: African Studies Series 86*. Edited by Robin Law. London: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
40. Kimble, David. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
41. Lappé, Frances Moore and Collins, Joseph. *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*. San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development, 1977.
42. Lee, J. M. and Petter, Martin. *The Colonial Office War and Development Policy: Organization and the Planning of a Metropolitan Initiative 1939-1945*. London: Maurice Temple Smith LTD, 1982.
43. Levtzion, Nehemia *Islam in West Africa: Religion, Society and Politics to 1800*. London: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1994.
44. Milburn, Josephine F. *British Business and Ghanaian Independence*. London: C. Hurst & Co Ltd., 1977.
45. Miller, R. *Africa*. Hazell Watson & Winey Ltd. Great Britain: Aylesbury, Bucks, 1967.

46. Munro, J. Forbes. *Africa and the International Economy 1800-1960*. London: Aldine House, 1976.
47. Niculescu, Barbu. *Colonial Planning: A Comparative Study*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958.
48. Nkrumah, Kwame. *Towards Colonial Freedom*. London: Panaf Books Limited, 1962.
49. Okali, Christine. *Cocoa and Kinship in Ghana: The Matrilineal Akan of Ghana*. London: The International African Institute, 1983.
50. Oliver, R. and Atmore, A. *Africa Since 1800*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
51. Padmore, George. *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom*. London: Dennis Dobson Ltd., 1953.
52. Phillips, T. A. *Farm Management in West Africa*. Great Britain: Longman, 1961.
53. Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972.
54. Seidman, Ann. *Planning for Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
55. Stern, R. M. *Determinants of Cocoa Supply in West Africa*. In *African Primary Products & International Trade*, ed. I. G. Stewart and H. W. Ord, 65-82, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964.
56. Theotonio, Dos Santos. "The Structure of Dependence," in *Readings in U.S. Imperialism*, K.T. Fann and Hodges Donald C. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971.
57. Trevelyan, G. M. *English Social History*. Great Britain: Longmans Green, 1944.
58. Ward, W. E. F. *A History of Ghana*. 3rd Revised Edition. London: Allen and Unwin, 1966.
59. Wieschhof, H. A. *Colonial Policy in Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

B. Articles

1. Agbodeka, Francis. "Sir Gordon Guggisberg's Contribution to the Development of the Gold Coast, 1919-27." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 1972): 51-64
2. Akurang-Parry, Kwabena O. "Untold Difficulties: The Indigenous Press and the Economic Effects of the First World War on Africans in the Gold Coast, 1914-1918." *African Economic History* No. 34 (2006): 45-68.
3. Arhin, Kwame. "The Economic and Social Significance of Rubber Production and Exchange on the Gold and Ivory Coasts, 1880-1900." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* Vol. XX, N° 1-2 (1977-78): 49-62.
4. Austin, Gareth. "The Emergence of Capitalist Relations in South Asante Cocoa-Farming, c. 1916-33." *The Journal of African History* Vol. 28, No. 2 (1987): 259-279.
5. Austin, Gareth. "Capitalist and Chiefs in the Cocoa Hold-ups in South Asante, 1927-1938." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 21, No.1 (1988): 63-95.
6. Beckman, Björn. "Organising the Farmers: Cocoa Politics and National Development in Ghana." *Scandinavian Institute of African Studies*. Uppsala (1976).
7. Beverly, Grier. "Cocoa Marketing in Colonial Ghana: Capitalist Enterprise and the Emergence of a Rural African Bourgeoisie." *A Journal of African Studies* 10 (1-2) (1981): 89-115.
8. Boogaart, Ernest Van Den. "The Trade between West Africa and the Atlantic World, 1600-90: Estimates of trends in Composition and Value." *Journal of African History* 33 (1992): 33-47.
9. Curtin, Philip D. "Guggisberg." *The American Historical Review* Vol. 73, no. 3 (Feb., 1968): 873.
10. Dumett, Raymond. "The rubber trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African innovation and market responsiveness." *The Journal of African History* 12. (1971): 79-101.
11. Guggisberg, F. G. "The Goal of the Gold Coast." *Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol. 21, No. 84 (Jan., 1922): 1-26.
12. Hopkins, A. G. "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast 1918-1939." *Journal of African History* Vol. VII, No. I (1966):133-152.

13. Hopkins, A.G. "Big Business in African Studies." *Journal of African History* 28, 1(1987): 119-140.
14. Howard, Rhoda. "Economic Imperialism and Oligopolization of Trade in the Gold Coast: 1886-1939." *Journal of African Studies* 7(1) (1976): 71-92.
15. Hymer, Stephen. "The Political Economy of the Gold Coast and Ghana." *Economic Growth Centre*. Yale University, Centre Discussion Paper No.49 (1968): 1-29.
16. Ibhawoh, Bonny "Second World War Propaganda, Imperial Idealism and Anti-Colonial Nationalism in British West Africa." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* Vol.16, No.2 (2007): 221-243.
17. Ilegbune, Charles U. "Concessions Scramble and Land Alienation in British Southern Ghana 1885-1915." *African Studies Review* Vol. 19, No. 3 (Dec.1976): 17-31.
18. Irene, Odotei. "Pre-colonial Economic Activities of Ghana." *Research Review (NS)* Vol.11, Nos 1&2 (1995): 63.
19. Killingray, David. "Military and Labour Recruitment in the Gold Coast During the Second World War." *The Journal of African History* Vol. 23, no. 1 (1982) :83-95.
20. Loveridge, A. J. "A Note on the Development of Land Tenures in the Gold Coast." *Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol.42, no. 166 (Jan. 1943): 31-33.
21. Meredith, David. "The British Government and Colonial Economic Policy 1919-39." *Economic History Review* Vol. 28, no. 3 (1975): 484-499.
22. Meredith, David. "The Colonial Office, British Business Interests and the Reform of Cocoa Marketing in West Africa, 1937-1945." *Journal of African History* 29 (1988): 285-300.
23. Migeod, F. W. H. "A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti." *Journal of the Royal African Society* Vol. 15, No. 59. (Apr., 1916): 235-36
24. Omosini, Olufemi. "The Gold Coast Question 1896-1900: Some Issues Raised on West Africa's Economic Development." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol.5, No. 3 (1972): 453-469.
25. Patterson, K. David. "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918-19 in the Gold Coast." *The Journal of African History* 24.4 (1983): 485-502.

26. Reynold, Edward. "The Task of Economic History." *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 35, No. 1 (March, 1975):85-101.
27. Rod, Alence. "The 1937-1938 Gold Coast Cocoa Crisis: The Political Economy of Commercial Stalemate." *African Economic History* no. 19 (1990): 77-104.
28. Rohdie, Samuel "The Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-up of 1930-31." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 9 (1968): 105-18.
29. Schleh, Eugene P. A. "The Post-War Careers of Ex-Servicemen in Ghana and Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 6 No. 2 (August 1968): 203-20.
30. Shelford, Frederic. "Land Tenure on the Gold Coast." *Journal of the African Society* 1910-1911, Vol. X, No. XL (July 1911): 473-476.
31. Sunkel, Osvaldo. "National Development Policy and External Dependence in Latin America." *The Journal of Development Studies* 6, no. 1, (October 1969).
32. Tandon, Yash. "Southern African Charter on Land, Labour and Food Security." *African Journal of Political Science* 2, No. 2, (1997): 118.
33. Williams, D.M. "West African Marketing Boards." *African Affairs* 52, No. 206 (January 1953): 45-54.

C. Electronic Sources

1. Gareth Austin, « African Economic Development and Colonial Legacies », International Development Policy | Revue Internationale de Politique de développement [Online], 1 | 2010, Online since 11 March 2010, connection on 04 September 2016. URL : <http://poldev.revues.org/78> ; DOI : 10.4000/poldev.78
2. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ra%C3%BAI_Prebisch, viewed 14 January 2013
3. <http://en/Wikipedia.org/wiki/shea-butter>, Viewed on 28 July 2015
4. <http://science.jrank.org/pages/8697/Colonialism-Africa-Typologies-Colonialism.html#ixzz23MAPUve9>, Colonialism - Africa - Typologies of Colonialism - African, Economies, Concept, and Settler - JRank Articles, Viewed on 15/8/2015

5. <http://science.jrank.org/pages/8697/Colonialism-Africa-Typologies-Colonialism.html#ixzz23MAPUve9>, Colonialism - Africa - Typologies of Colonialism - African, Economies, Concept, and Settler - JRank Articles, Viewed on 15/8/2015
6. <http://www.ghanagrio.com/rulers/?blurb=422#ixzz4KdvwW5Dr>
7. <http://www.investopedia.com/terms/k/keynesianeconomics.asp>
8. <http://www.studentsfriend.com/sf/part2see/part2-3.html>, Viewed on 17 July 2015
9. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire_Economic_Conference
10. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployment_Insurance_Act_1920
11. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Maynard_Keynes, viewed 15 December 2013
12. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secretary_of_State_for_the_Colonies, Viewed 20 Nov. 2015
13. www.inter-disciplinary.net/at.../FBorsali-Wpaper.pdf, Viewed 20 July 2016

D. Theses

1. Borsali, Fawzi. The Gold Coast Disturbances 1940-48: Changes in Colonial Policies, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1984.
2. Lahouel, Badra The Origins of Nationalism in Algeria, the Gold Coast and South Africa with a Special Reference to the Period 1919-37, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1984, Vol. I
3. Mostefaoui, Aziz. The Evolution of Pan-Africanism and the Gold Coast Nationalism from the Origins to 1960, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Oran, Academic Year: 2010-2011
4. Murray Noonan, Marxist theories of imperialism: evolution of a concept, Ph. D. Dissertation, School of Communication and the Arts, Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development Victoria University, September, 2010
5. Yao Graham, Law, State and the Internationalisation of Agricultural Capital in Ghana: A Comparison of Colonial Export Production for the Home Market, Ph D Thesis, University of Warwick, School of Law, December 1993

E. Encyclopaedias:

1. Oxford Advanced Learner's Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, 1989
2. Larousse Illustrated International Encyclopaedia and Dictionary, Librairie Larousse S. A., Paris, 1972