DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA

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A Thesis Submitted in Candidacy for a Doctoral Degree in Civilization

The Ashanti's and Zulu's Political, Military and Economic Institutions
- A Comparative Study- (1824-1920)

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my original research and that all sources used have been fully acknowledged. This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor at the University of Mohamed Ben Ahmed Oran II, Algeria. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or at any other university.

Fazilet ALACHAHER

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my father Belkacem ALACHAHER. I hope I have made you proud and become the person you wanted me to be. May your soul rest in peace.

To my beloved mother Radia DIB and sister Maliha. Your support, encouragement and constant love have sustained me throughout my life.

To my devoted husband Reda BENZERDJEB. There is no one who can compare to you. You inspired me to continue and complete my work, in face of all odds. Without this , I could not have had the peace of mind to complete this work. A thank-you is just not enough.

To my daughters LYDIA, ALAA and DALLAL. You have all put up with so many inconveniences for my sake. You will ever be my source of INSPIRATION.

Acknowledgments

Abstract

   While recent historical scholars have attempted to read back the existence of nations in medieval Europe, a similar revisionism has yet to take place among the scholars of Africa. This doctoral thesis represents an attempt to study African history. It deals with the identification of the African political, economic and military institutions which emerged and evolved among the Ashanti of West African and the Zulu of South Africa in the period stretching from 1824 to 1920. It argues that the existence of institutions in the pre-colonial and colonial periods that should not be dismissed and is based on Eurocentric ideas about the formation of institutions that make up a state. Additionally, the thesis asserts that the formation of institutions in pre-colonial era compared with the colonial Western and Southern Africa is compulsory for a clear understanding of the root causes of problems that abound in the continent today. In order to substantiate these claims, the innovation and achievements made by the Ashanties' and Zulus' kings within the political, economic and military institutions from the1820s to 1920s are first traced for the identification of numerous successful ways of state maintenance and recent trends are in second position cleared up to show how African states turn to the past to find solutions to present problems. Thus, both case study states experienced surprisingly similar paths to statehood and at the same time witnessed differences in the formation of some of their institutions. The enclosed thesis examines the specificity in the formation of both empires. A preliminary description of a typical West and South African state is presented for the benefit of future research.

Résumé

Alors que de récents spécialistes de l'histoire ont tenté de relire l'existence des nations dans l'Europe médiévale, un révisionnisme similaire n'a pas encore eu lieu parmi les spécialistes de l'Afrique. Cette thèse de doctorat représente une tentative d'étudier l'histoire de l'Afrique. Elle traite de l'identification des institutions politiques, économiques et militaires africaines qui ont émergé et évolué parmi les Ashanti d'Afrique de l'Ouest et les Zoulous d'Afrique du Sud au cours de la période allant de 1824 à 1920. Il soutient que l'existence d'institutions dans les périodes précoloniales et coloniales ne doivent pas être écartées et qui sont basées sur des idées euro centriques sur la formation des institutions qui composent un État. En outre, la thèse affirme que la formation d'institutions à l'ère précoloniale par rapport à l'Afrique occidentale et australe coloniale est obligatoire pour une compréhension claire des causes profondes des problèmes qui abondent sur le continent aujourd'hui. Afin d'étayer ces affirmations, l'innovation et les réalisations des rois Ashanties et Zoulous au sein des institutions politiques, économiques et militaires des années 1820 aux années 1920 ont d'abord été traitées pour l'identification de nombreux moyens efficaces de maintien en état et les tendances récentes sont en deuxième position éclaircies pour montrer comment les États africains se tournent vers le passé pour trouver des solutions aux problèmes actuels. Ainsi, les deux États étudiés ont connu des parcours étonnamment similaires vers le statut d'État et ont en même temps constaté des différences dans la formation de certaines de leurs institutions. La thèse jointe examine la spécificité de la formation des deux empires. Une description préliminaire d'un état typique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et de l'Afrique du Sud est présentée au profit de recherches futures.

ملخص

بينما حاول علماء التاريخ الحديثين إعادة قراءة وجود الأمم في أوروبا في العصور الوسطى، إلا أن هناك مراجعة مماثلة لم تحدث بعد بين علماء إفريقيا. تمثل رسالة الدكتوراه هذه محاولة لدراسة التاريخ الأفريقي. يتناول تحديد المؤسسات السياسية والاقتصادية والعسكرية الإفريقية التي نشأت وتطورت بين أشانتي وزولو جنوب إفريقيا في الفترة الممتدة من 1824 إلى 1920. وتؤكد أن وجود المؤسسات في فترة ما قبل الفترات الاستعمارية والاستعمارية لا ينبغي رفضها وتستند إلى أفكار مركزية حول تشكيل المؤسسات التي تشكل الدولة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تؤكد الرسالة أن تشكيل المؤسسات في عصر ما قبل الاستعمار مقارنةً بأفريقيا الغربية والجنوبية الاستعمارية أمر إلزامي لفهم واضح للأسباب الجذرية للمشاكل التي تنتشر في القارة اليوم. من أجل إثبات هذه الادعاءات، يتم أولاً تتبع ابتكارات أشانتي وزولو والإنجازات التي تحققت داخل المؤسسات السياسية والاقتصادية والعسكرية من 1820 إلى 1920 من القرن الماضي لتحديد الطرق الناجحة العديدة لصيانة الدولة والتوجهات الحديثة في المركز الثاني. كيف تتحول الدول الأفريقية إلى الماضي لإيجاد حلول للمشاكل الحالية. وهكذا، شهدت كلتا الدولتين دراسة الحالة مسارات متشابهة بشكل مدهش إلى الدولة وفي الوقت نفسه شهدت اختلافات في تكوين بعض مؤسساتها. الأطروحة تبحث خصوصية في تشكيل كل من الإمبراطوريات. يتم تقديم وصف أولي لدولة نموذجية في غرب وجنوب إفريقيا لصالح الأبحاث المستقبلية.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Principal abbreviations used:

ANC	African National Congress (formerly SANNC)
C.A	Colonial Administrators
C.C.N.T	Chief Commissioner, Northern Territories
C.O.P	Colonial Office Papers
C.P.P.	Convention People's Party
C.R.O.	Chief Regional Officer
D.A.O	District Administrative Officer
D.C	District Commissioner
D.P.O	District Political Officer
G.A.	Government Agent
K.Z.L.A	KwaZulu Legislative Assembly
K.Z.G	KawaZulu Government
K.Z.P	Kwa Zulu Police
N.A.	Native Administration
NCS	Native Courts Systems
N.A.G.A	National Archives of Ghana, Accra
N.A.G.T	National Archives of Ghana, Tamale
N.L.C	National Liberation Council
N.P	National Party
N.P.P	Northern People's Party
N.T.	Northern Territories
N.T.C	Northern Territories Constabulary
P. C	Provincial Commissioner

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

LIST OF APPENDICES

NOTE ON ORTOGRAPHY

For the sake of enclosed research study and for the correct orthography of both the Ashanties and Zulus, many official sources and references dealing with many place names and the names of persons and important figures continue to be officially rendered using incorrect orthography. What was noticed is that latest maps and official documents use the colonial form such as "Tugela" rather than "Thukela" for the major river in the KwaZulu–Natal region and "Takyiman" instead of "Ntakiman" for the northern state in Ashanti. We have retained the colonial orthography to refer to colonial institutions and settlements, as in "Tugela state," but have used the correct orthography for physical features such as rivers or Zulu institutions and settlements. If we take now the example of the term "Zululand" is used to refer to roughly the same area under pre-colonial, colonial and, later, union rule. Today, the province that incorporates the old Zulu kingdom and the colony of Natal is called "KwaZulu–Natal." For the sake of clarity the correct orthographic rendering of "KwaZulu" has been used in the study to refer to the apartheid homeland of that name established in 1971, even though in the time of its existence the Europeanized form "Kwazulu" prevailed, while those who refused to recognize its existence chose various orthographic strategies to signal their stances, for the term "kwazulu". The same case, however, for the word "Ashanti" rather than "Asante" since it was repeatedly used in reference.

In addition to many place names, an improved orthography is also used for the names of persons except where personal names were rendered in an older orthographic form by the person concerned. It seems likely that the spellings of the names of the individuals interviewed by residents such as James Stuarts for the Zulus and T.E Bowdich for the Ashanties reflected their usage rather than their own. In both cases, spellings for the interviewees' names are chosen and used by the editors of the published version of the interviews to avoid confusion. Thus, where Stuart spelt the name of Shaka as "Tchaka," that man's testimony occurs in the published version of Stuart's text as the testimony of "Tchaka," and is cited in our notes as being the text of "Tchaka." In such instances, the use of the older orthographic form continues to signal the extent to which the recorded text is a product of both Stuart and the king Shaka Zulu. Hereby, all quotations and book titles will retain the original orthography.

General Introduction

General Introduction

The African continent as a whole is far from being a continent of timeless savagery. Succeeding generations became the more or less the product of initiatives undertaken by the nineteenth century reformers. They were head chiefs, kings and subordinates of different parts of Africa who demonstrated and transformed the image of Africa that was far from being static and impervious to change. In fact, the societies and policies of much of Africa were constantly in flux and proved their existence in response to different changes. Most of today's historians of Africa stress on the trends towards the political, military and economic integration of Africa on the Eve of the European conquest. States, developing confederacies and great empires were equivalent to the dynamic bourgeoisie of the nineteenth-century Europe. On such a history-rich continent, the African states and especially the lager entities were described as undertaking evolving structures and programs including the ones on the military sphere. This would have open up path to go further in reality since Africa has a variety of historical rich achievements in terms of civilisations, innovation and ideas, a history which is just fascinating on its own but also fundamental for the main standards of human origin left for the rest of the world. Illustrations on such civilisations should then be analysed together with the developing stories behind them and give back Sub Saharan and Southern Africa and its real portrayed image to clear up issues.

The present thesis attempts then to bring into focus one of the major problems in African history that is, the formation of African states and its institutions be it before or after colonial rule. Many dogmatic opinions are held on the subject of African political, military, and economic institutions; and different theories discussed the aspects of the African society on a broad, comparative basis. A multiplicity of illustrations can be given on these kinds of African societies such as the states of Al-hadj Umar, Ahmadu Seku of Samori in West Africa; the rejuvenated Solomonic empire of Ethiopia; the Sokoto empire of northern Nigeria; the political organization of the Ashanti empire; and the Zulu empire that appeared from

the '*crushing*' of the neighbouring tribes or '*Mfecane*' notably selected for our research purposes. Actually, the Ashanties (or the Asantes) are a major Akan ethnic group present-day Ghana, who founded a powerful militaristic empire to the north of the coastal areas of the Gold Coast, which had prevailed from the beginning of the 1820s to the beginnings of the twentieth century . In fact, they have a history spanning several centuries and evolved a system that is perhaps the most highly developed among those found in West Africa, the Ashanties have the component features that are useful for the purposes of the enclosed thesis.

The thesis aims to analyze the evolution and change of the Ashanti's and Zulu's political, military and economic institutions. It provides a detailed chronological narrative of the evolving institutions by exploring the main exploits of the creatively minded authority holders and the genius of their performance and implication in the evolutionary system of political centralization starting from the small state to the confederacy till the rising empire. It deals with the exceptional performance of the authority holders' achievements and their reforms within the institutions under study and the focus was on the endogenous factors that contributed for consolidation and change. However, the period covered in this research goes back to the expanding and flourishing eras of both the Ashanties and Zulus starting from 1820 till 1920. The date 1920 was selected as the end of the period under study since it represents the year during which the Ashanties and Zulus were under their last years of a fully sovereign empires, thereby coming to the colonial annexation period, i.e. the British intervention and rule.

The theme of study sprang hereby from the role and the performance of the Ashanti's and Zulu's ruling indigenous authorities, which led to the evolution and change of the local political and economic institutions together with the interaction of various internal and external factors. The thesis is, therefore, an attempt to provide a modest contribution and to demonstrate that, far from being static and impervious to change, both states were constantly in flux; and it would then emphasize on the main

changes or reforms of the Ashanti's and Zulu's institutions. Specifically, the study analyzes the factors leading to the creation of states, the process of state consolidation and expansion, and the chief purposes in the transformation of the states' machinery into a sophisticated bureaucratic and achievement-oriented apparatus.

Specifically, the need for such historical thesis has long been felt, not only because it uncovers realities on the nature of the African institutions for those who are interested in the African studies, but also because it provides initially a convenient reference for our scholars specialized in the African civilization. There exists some large anthropological, economic and political research studies about ethnic groups, tribes, kingdoms, and many useful long accounts, for a more general nature published either as articles in journal magazines or books dealing with Western and Southern states in specific. However, there have hitherto been some contributions to the discipline of comparative institutions. It will hopefully get the attention to fulfil reasonably and adequately the purpose for which it was written.

Theoretically speaking, for further researches on the state formation and its institutions on the Western and Southern coast in specific and on the African continent in general. The origin and evolution of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries among the West and South African ethnic groups are used to examine two competing states and the formation of its institutions according to two principal theories. The latter, follow some ideologies that are a bit close to the established Eurocentric concepts: Robert. H. Jackson's *Quasi state theory* and Jeffrey Ira Herbst's theory of *institutionalized leadership*.

To make it clear, both theories partly clarify the development and consolidation of the African states including the Ashanties' and Zulus' research cases as follows: R.H.Jackson's theory explains that African societies have a certain vague overlapping boundaries lacking centralized authority structures, that is, these societies cannot take the name of states. While in contrast, J.I.Herbst's theory is explained as a starting point

differentiation of boundaries and specific political roles can be noticed and shared between both the Ashanties and Zulus. Two alternative explanations of the causes for the Ashanti and Zulu state formation are then analyzed to integrate the diverging theoretical perspectives of those two political scientists namely, Jackson and Herbst.

Particularly, Jackson's theory tends to explain that both Ashanti and Zulu leaders (known as kings in the enclosed study) have primordial tasks in the formation of the political, economic, and military institution. He goes further to detail the wars of conquest that are actually instrumental for the unification and consolidation of both empires while the second theory seeks the different developments in the institutional system that allowed limited changes from dispersed tribes from those egalitarian to state societies. The analysis of both political state formation, including their origin and further transformation should then be conducted from a multidimensional evolutionary side rather than a one-sided perspective.

The choice of this comparative research study came from the reading of a truly impressive Vandervort's book '*Wars of Imperial Conquest in Africa (1830-1914)*'. In fact, the author analyses the image of both the Ashanties and Zulus in a merely described way that accounts the commonality among both ethnic groups sharing some features and attributes to maintaining unity, yielding power and challenging military defence. Two strong forces that deserved investigation and analysis in terms of institutional state formation and consolidating power pre-colonially and colonially.

For the literature review, we can say that we know more about Ashanti than of any other, thanks to the records of visitors to its capital Kumasi at different times in the nineteenth century. Yet, Ashanti has inspired one of the richest ethnographic and historical literatures on any part of West Africa. At all times, there are great differences in the quantity and form of sources on specific institutions, notably because of differences between categories of source in the extent and nature of their concern with the Ashanti's institutions. For instance, the rate of output of source material on

the political institutions in relations with production and trade within Ashanti became more voluminous with time during 1800s. The most important research conducted during the colonial period was ethnographic, pioneered in the 1920s by R.S.Rattray, the official colonial government anthropologist. He sought to give an account of what he regarded as the authentic Ashanti society, freed from the distortions of 'foreign influences' such as colonial rule and cocoa growing. His interpretations emphasised the functional efficiency of the Ashanti institutions, and downplayed the exploitative and conflict aspects of some of them, slavery and human pawning. The anthropological and sociological work most notably made by K.A.Busia, was also of great importance for the enclosed study. Research on Ashanti history has also examined the aspects of indigenous political and economic life. The pioneer was Ivor Wilks, perhaps the fundamental achievement of whose early work was to show that the Ashanti state was precisely that, rather than the matrilineage writ large, as R.S.Rattray had urged.

More important is the contribution of king Nana Agyeman Prempeh I (1888-1886) for the understanding of the history of the Ashanti kingdom in *'The History of Ashanti Kings and the whole country itself'* (written in 1907 during his exile in the Seychelles). The book is an indispensably detailed document that charts the history of the Ashanti monarchy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. It is among the earliest example of history writing in English by an African ruler and his amanuenses. The chief source was his mother the Asantehemaa Yaa Kyaa, who possessed and encyclopaedic knowledge of the oral history of her own lineage, which was also the Ashanti's royal dynasty.

Besides and over the last fifty years, studies have appeared from many writings on a variety of issues to portray the Zulus. They are actually known from the myth of king Shaka Zulu who often gave an image to the South African portrayal as a mixture of governance full of tyranny, massacres and oppression. The visits of Nathaniel Isaacs, A.T. Bryant, and H.Fynn to the Zulu capital Kwabulawayo form a number of highly

influential works on Zulu history as they began their investigations inside the Zulu territory while missionaries in the natal region, and later became one of the main researchers in the Zulu studies department of the Witwatersrand university in Johannesburg. Yet, during the period stretching from 1897 to 1924, one colonial official in particular, James Stuart, sought to collect the testimonies of nearly two hundred informants on topics concerning the history of the Zulu and neighboring peoples. Stuart's collection is the primary source for African versions of the Shakan period available to historians. Later on, on a historical perspective, Carolyn Hamilton's book on '*Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zululand and the limits of the Historical Invention*' written in 1998 provides a collection of essays standing firmly in the raucous and lively tradition of South African historiography. It is also part of a recent move to revisit the nineteenth century as a major moment in the making of the South African identities.

The study will then, hopefully, prove the need for and indicate some of the possibilities for such an investigation. Many of the problems it brings to the foreground can be solved by future research. The study is in fact, regarded as the first stage for a wider inquiry into the nature and development of the African state and its institutions. The study focuses on political, military and economic institutions of both the Ashanties and Zulus. It is framed around three questions; first, how did the authority holders manage to bring all ethnic groups under one central authority? That is, how was the political rule instituted and how did both Ashanties' and Zulus' authority holders manage their state affairs and security? Then, which main factors either internal or external were in favour for the success of both states to reach the position of great empires? Hereby, in dealing with such factors similar and divergent points will emerge to make the synthesis work easy to conceive and combine different ideas into a whole both theoretically and methodically. In addition, to further research into native political, military and economic systems, such inquiry would include the study of the development of these systems and its impact under the influence of the European rule.

General Introduction

From the historical aspect, this issue of existing institutions under definite states is of pressing importance to the ethnic people of Africa and to those who are responsible of governing them. In setting about the task of answering these questions, the enclosed thesis is divided into four chapters. In view of the long period under study, the organization of the thesis is both chronological and thematic with a special reference to the political, economic, and military changes in the state institutions that occurred between 1824 and 1920. The first chapter will examine the starting methodological theory and historiography of both ethnic groups and will provide evidence about the primary sources of both African and European origin prior to the nineteenth century that can be used for the enclosed research study.

Then, after a brief survey of the main leading heads and their organization, chapter two will examine the most powerful chiefs and chiefdoms in the region of the Gold Coast providing a context to understand the many precedent factors for socio-political consolidation, economic and military strength of the Ashanti empire.

Likewise, chapter three explores the region of the KwaZulu Natal identifying the main leaders and their governing system, the early long-term process of expansion and conquest under the rule of the main figures and authority holders who engaged in political and economic reconfiguration together with the prowess of military consolidation of the Zulu empire.

The final chapter analyzes the impact of the established political, economic, and military institutions on the socio-political scene. It will provide a synthesis of how the Ashanti's a Zulu's empires were formed in comparison to each other, and attempt to construct a general narrative of pre-colonial and colonial West and South African formation based on developmental challenges accompanying state- and nation-building processes.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

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From being seen as a generation or two ago of a continent full of 'tribes', Africa has more recently been re-examined in the light of Western theories. At a first level, in terms of civilisation and education and at a second level for the eventual targeted goal of ethnicity, politics, and nationhood. In fact, African people were initially viewed as primitive people scattered in few small ethnic groups and devoid of any definite system of a state organisation. Most of the European explorers, governors, and political leaders who engineered the conquest of Africa in the nineteenth century believed that they were ambassadors of innovation and progress on a continent mired in timeless savagery[1].

Europeans propagated the image of Africa as a 'dark continent'. The historical development and evolvement within the continent can be explained as the work of outsiders, whether these be the mythical Hamites' or the Pharaohs' process. European presence in Africa was therefore justified, among other things, by the ability to place Africa in the 'path of history'[2]. By the time of the advent of colonial rule in the nineteenth century, many Europeans perceived only the primitive

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[1] "…European soldiers and statesmen who engineered the conquest of most Africa liked to think of themselves as ambassadors of innovation and progress to a continent mired in timeless savagery. Succeeding generations of Europeans saw modern Africa as the more or less exclusive products if initiatives undertaken by white colonizers". B. Vandervort, *Wars of Impiral Conquest in Africa*, Routledge Taylor and Francis group, First edition, London, UK, 1998, p.2.

"… Africa did experience state formation and this formation resulted in outright states that existed before the Scramble at the end of the 19th century. This is in direct opposition to scholars such as R.H.Jackson who argues that these states were merely 'loosely defined political systems 'and 'societies rather than states'…". Vsevolod Kritskiy, *State Formation in Pre-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa: Paths to Statehood*, Geneva, 2012, p.7.

[2] "Every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources ".K.S. Gordzo, *History of African Civilizations*, Accra (Ghana), 1998.p.125.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

aspects of an impoverished material culture rather than the generations and centuries of steady increasing political highly developed and sophisticated organization, which gave birth to institutionalized states in the form of kingdoms.

African institutions include African history and since history begins with writing, Africans had to wait for the arrival of the Europeans for state formation. Consequently and contrary to many European views, historical and anthropological researchers demonstrated that several kinds of societies emerged together with developed political, economic and military systems[3].

I. The Formation of the Pre-Colonial African Institutions

The maintenance of the state institutions becomes quite important when describing processes of how, when and where institutional formation occurred with the study of the Ashanties' and Zulus' political, military, and economic institutions that comprise the basis of theoretical synthesis and methodological analysis. Theoretically, the thesis comes to focus on some European foreign concepts based on the Eurocentric views on the way African institutions evolved and improved the standards of living taking into consideration differences

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(3) "Every continent independently participated in the early epochs of the extension of man's control over his environment – which means in effect that every continent can point to a period of economic development. Africa, being the original home of man, was a major participant in the processes in which human groups displayed an ever-increasing capacity to extract a living from the natural environment. Indeed, in the early period, Africa was the focus of the physical development of man as such, as distinct from other living beings". Walter Rodney, How *Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London and Tanzanian Publishing House, Dar-Essalaam, 1973, p.9.

And Prof. Barker added: "yet, within the concept of states and the existence of institutions in Africa is surprisingly in light of recent work which has argued for the existence of a number of nations in medieval Europe, whose state formations have long been considered at least somewhat comparable to those in pre-colonial Africa". F.Barker, *The Politics of Theory,* Colchester, University of Essex, 1983, p.78.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

in European and African environments. Methodically, the crux of the arguments supported the analysed step by step long-process known as 'longue durée' of institutional formation initiated by the local leaders as supreme power to improve or maintain the economic, political, and military conditions of the African state far from European environments and major obstacles.

I.1.1. Aims and Motivation

Africa still faces major challenges particularly in relation with different factors concerning ethnic groups, tribal groupings, clans etc… .The understanding of the African institution requires the understanding of the various aspects of African state be it at a national or international level. Investigation then is necessary to find out the specificity of the African state rather compared to the Western model or to the African experience with the political, economic and military sectors that form the African institutions which it resulted from and improved prospects for progress in Africa in general.

J. F. Bayart indicates that to construct a mode of analysis and interpretation to explore the African state and its institutions, one has to focus on the paradigm of a society that is in constant activity either during the process of dependency or colonization. Bayart hereby rejects the assumption of the African otherness based on stereotyped images of underdeveloped continent. That is, a small or an extended ethnic group has in fact his own aspects of institutional organization as he stated:

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

> *In Africa, seldom is ethnicity far removed from politics; at the same time, however, it does not provide the raw material for development. Within the scope of the contemporary State, ethnicity serves principally, as an agent for accumulation, either of wealth or of political power. Tribalism is thus as a political force in itself, and as a channel for expression in disputes for the acquisition of wealth, power and status[4]*

Instead, Bayart claims that African politics is like any other political development anywhere else in the world, not an exotic aberration. However, the overall aim then of the enclosed dissertation is to contribute to the growing discussion about the way the sub Saharan African past and present eras are studied. The first intended investigation is to provide concrete solutions within the enclosed research and to clear out possible avenues for research. This paper will argue that a detailed analysis of pre-colonial Africa on its own terms can illuminate our understanding of the way the continent functions. In order to prove this assertion, the state and its initial institutional formation is taken into consideration and in two case studies, Ashanti and Zulu, now parts of Ghana and Natal regions, respectively. After analysing them both in detail, the attempt for the development of a general description of institutions in Western and Southern Africa will be compulsory for the benefit of future exploration of the way states came to exist in the region under study.

Both the pre-colonial West and South Africa did experience state formation and that this formation resulted in outright states context

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(4)J.F.Bayart. *The State in Africa: the Politics of the Belly*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2009, p.114.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

that existed before the Scramble at the Berlin conference by the end of the 19th century. Thus, the argument set for discussion is that before examining varying conceptions of nationhood and how they can apply to pre-colonial Ashanti and Zulu, the examination of theories of ethnicity and their applicability in the Ashanti Zulu context is compulsory. In both contexts, the necessity to find out and describe both ethnic groups as a reviewed background of study becomes compulsory before concluding with some wider thoughts on ethnicity and nationhood by the end of the enclosed research study.

The argument raised is with clear opposition to scholars such as Robert H. Jackson who argues that these African states were mere 'loosely defined political systems' and 'societies rather than states'[5]. Jackson argues that the 'vague and overlapping' boundaries between states and 'lacking centralized authority structures and institutions' meant that it is impossible to define these societies as states and even as empires. The main purpose here is to prove exactly the opposite that is, defined territorial boundaries are actually needed for states to exist in pre-colonial Africa, and facilitated the internal relations between other neighbouring states necessary in the region.

Then, the analysis of pre-colonial African institutions is of primordial importance to highlight the current problems that African institutions in specific and African states in general suffer from and have to face. Problems hereby are meant by the widely discussed obstacles that uncover serious issues such as corruption, shortage of financial aids or political insurgency. Instead, the focus is then to

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(5) Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 1990, p.67.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

emphasis on the state itself as an institution and as a means to ameliorating, the negatively perceived political, economic, and military situation in West and South Africa. A strong state with solid foundations will surely strive to get better living conditions for the whole nation. In this way, one has to focus on the study of state, its importance and role via Professor Jeffrey. Ira Herbst's political views on the African state and its institutions as he analyses:

> *At the same time, the consolidation of states in Africa remains a central political issue. The fundamental assumption undergirding this study is that states are only viable if they are able to control the territory defined by their borders. Control is assured by developing an infrastructure to broadcast power and by gaining the loyalty of citizens.....State consolidation in Africa is not merely an academic issue but is, instead, critical to the future of tens of millions of people who are at risk from the insecurity that is the inevitable by-product of state decline and failure[6].*

However, it is important for academics to provide accurate representations of the realities dealing with nowadays Africa's problems. It becomes inevitable to say that African states suffer and strive to exist and certainly, a lot of them have to look back and notice their roots in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. That is, because any state in Africa itself finds its roots there and any change in the

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(6) Jeffrey.I. Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton University Press, Second Edition, Second Edition, 2015, p.3.

way Africans think, behave and react can be the work of reanimating the conditions of the state by the coming of new events.

Additionally, the first initiative here is to reach the targeted objective to understand how local leaders or African kings organized their own institutions to form their own states and empires. It is in fact, important to grasp mechanisms to understand the modes of behaviour and strategies that African leaders used successfully to tackle the obstacles they faced during state formation and state maintenance. It is important here to notice that the word for 'leader' is presented in terms of heads of states, but also African entrepreneurs (the case of the Ashanti traders), farmers, military commanders (the case of the Zulu head and his strategies in war) and others whose actions resulted in the advancement of their villages and states in economic, political or military domains.

Besides, a comparison of the Ashanti's and Zulu's organization and institutional maintenance is evident in order to identify similar techniques, methods or agent-less process that occurred in the pre-colonial period.   All what is required is to explore mechanisms and ways that bear striking resemblance to each other then surely it is important to understand their inner functions, especially if these mechanisms are related to the Ashanti and Zulu states of that time.

Another specific dimension that is perceived as the second objective in research analysis is the relationship between the centre and the periphery and how it affected the building of the state institutions and their maintenance, both positively and negatively. Among both the Ashanties and Zulus, the central authority had complicated and nuanced relationships with their regional chiefs. The fluidity of the

connections between the centre and periphery played a key role in maintaining both states. The inter-external communication net and the way the centre and periphery are linked to each other in the post-colonial era will show how identifying positive aspects of king-chief relationships in Ashanti and Zulu can offer solutions to problems in the maintenance of the states and their institutions today.

The last two points intended in the enclosed thesis are based on the relationship between Africa and Europe. First, main arguments to use European concepts to analyse African institutions and their organization are considered as a fundamentally flawed task. In order to substantiate this, the second point of analysis is to show how the European and African institutions in many building processes quite differed while historically speaking. That is to say, African states and their institutions operate differently because they have a different set of environmental, historical, economic and political circumstances. As a result, there is no merit in evaluating the performance of African institutions based on a European definition of the word "institution" and based on European ideas explaining functions and what it should include.

Based on these arguments, a synthesis of how Ashanti's and Zulu's institutions are formed in comparison to each other, and the attempt to construct a general narrative of the West and South African formation of institutions will be analysed in particular. In addition, an alternative explanation will be presented to describe both ethnic groups with specific models of government and consolidation of political control.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

To reach this objective, the formation of institutions will be first reviewed to show that African countries have recently started to look for traditional ways to maintain their political, economic and military institutions. This will, in a certain way, deal directly with the way states operate in terms of administration and bureaucracies. Moreover, in another way, it will focus in most of the research work on the formation of institutions; therefore, on the processes and conditions that led to their formation of pre-colonial and colonial Africa. Nevertheless, the following point of discussion is compulsory to show the differences between European and African institutional frameworks as well as the way they are maintained, in order to realise that African state must be analysed in their own terms.

I.1.2. European and African Theories on the Formation of Institutions

There are many definitions for the word *institution*, a plethora of explanations exhibit their mechanism and process. From Marxism to neo-conservatism, from realism to constructivism, a set of formal rules (including constitutions), informal norms, or shared understandings that constrain and prescribe political actors' interactions with one another.

The simple explanation is to define the institution as the organization that constitutes roles and norms that decide how power is distributed in any society to maintain stability in a society. In fact, institutions are generated and enforced by both state and non-state actors, such as professional and accreditation bodies. The latter, represent individuals comprising every intellectual movement in

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

international relations, politics, economics and more; have created their own visions of what the word institution is and how it works[7].

Selecting a specific ideology for the word *institution* here is not compulsory but instead, one has to have the attempt to create a definition of the institution that suits on the evidence and circumstances that were present in pre-colonial and colonial Africa. Therefore, it will be a region-specific definition, although not necessarily time-specific. The way we view the state is heavily influenced by J.I. Herbst and the ideas that he expressed in his book, "*States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*" on the challenge of state building:

> *The particular institutions that mediate the pressures from the international system become of special concern to weak rulers who do not have clear control over their territory; therefore, examining them may be especially informative in understanding the politics of African state development. In many ways, the most consequential buffer mechanism is the territorial boundary that mediates political pressures, including threats of intervention, from rivals*[8].

From a most important side, the enclosed debate on the formation of the African institutions and the origin of such formation (be it pre-colonial, colonial or post-colonial) includes two fundamental categories. The first one refers to authors who identify the arrival of

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(7) Stephen Mcglinchay, *International Relations Theory*, E-International Relations Publishing, Bristol, U.K, 2017, p.31.

(8) J.I.Herbst, op.cit., p.25.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

the Europeans as a *cataclysmic event* that transformed the way states and institutions are formed and the way they are maintained, and the second one deals with authors who see the arrival of those Europeans as *another development in African history*. This point is indeed of quite importance to lead us for the perception of the word Eurocentrism and how these Western Europeans in particular view Africans.

I.1.3. Eurocentrism as Fundamental to the Perception of States

The term Eurocentrism is defined as a cultural phenomenon that views the histories and cultures of non-Western societies from a European or Western perspective. Europe and more specifically, Western Europe assumes and believes in the superiority of the European culture, customs and values over those so-called non-European ethnic groups. Eurocentrism consists of the Universalist phenomenon advocating for a total following up of the western model. The latter, seeks to represent all pure Western values including human rights, free trading posts, secularism and social justice. That is to say, it is known as fine representative to all kinds of problems and unsolved issues[9].

Views shared by Herbst in his book '*States and Power in Africa*' posit the arrival of the Europeans and the ideology of being superior cannot affect the African state. In fact, looking at African history through the prism of European intervention is intellectually lethargic. It clearly shows how nowadays Africa is incapable of coping with its own issues. Europeans settled down and disrupted the flow of African

(9) kolja Lindner, 'Marx Eurocentrism. Postcolonial Studies and Marx Scholarship', *Radical Philosophy*, 2010, pp.27-28.

history, life and the steady political, economic and social environments turns unstable since Africans suffer a lot from scarce resources, wars and underdevelopment. Instead of emphasizing the impact of colonialism on institutions and state formation in Africa, Herbst focuses on factors that he argues are more fundamental, constraining the choices of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial institutions and that it was impossible for Europeans to have changed everything in the few decades they ruled Africa.

Besides, the critical colonial period can be seen as one of a continuous flow of African history changing different concepts; it is then felt sensible to look at the pre-colonial period as important phase to understand present problems. This is way, the enclosed thesis has to extend the research on the development of the institutions under study to the colonial presence on the Western and Southern shores of the Ashanti's and Zulu's states. The example of the Ashanties will show resistance and perseverance against the British coloniser and so will the Zulus show the myth of the royal army and their main strategies and tactics to maintain repression and revolts until the very last breath.

Nevertheless, identifying colonialism as the defining chapter of African history is similar in spirit to defining and evaluating African state using Western and Eurocentric concepts and metrics. In our opinion, a regionally specific definition of the word institution is more valuable than a general definition that could potentially apply to every state. There is no doubt that there are certain benefits to defining an institution in general terms that would apply to every government and country.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

On the one hand, a broad definition can clearly identify specific requirements that an entity needs to have to be considered as a state depending on the environment and its conditions, and this is helpful in the modern world when one state collapses and another tries to build itself up quickly. An example would be the current struggle in Libya, where the death of Gaddafi means not only a change of regime but most probably a dismantling of the whole institutions of the Libyan state with a view to rebuilding it in a different fashion.

On the other hand, using Eurocentric concepts and metrics to define non-European states and evaluate their performance will not lead to a meaningful result. A plethora of processes and relationships that developed because of characteristics of a specific region will be either lost or dismissed for being different to a Eurocentric ideal. Therefore, studying African states and their institutional development on its own terms is important if one intends to create a clearer picture of the African state. One shall now go into more detail about how these characteristics influenced African state building and its environment.

I.1.4. The Differences in European and African Environments

Comparing African institutions with European ones is a tricky analytical procedure that needs reflexion because there is no agreed definition. On one hand, all listed models including all principal environmental factors that made up the African states and their institutions can be followed in a certain way. However, the focus should be set, first of all, on why these states were dismissed as being 'too exotic to be relevant' and find the principal factors that were used as an excuse to reject them. What is deeply characterised in Herbst's analysis is that the basis in the establishment of the African states and

their institutions comes down to the issue of power, and where power exactly lies. In Europe, the power of the institutional state was based on the amount of territory it possessed and how far the state was able to control the population. In other words, the economic importance of the limits of a territory was very important that is, the amount of the tribute collection and the efficiency of tax collection system in particular. Hereby, one may understand where the specific disconnection between African and European states lies.

More precisely, S. E. Finer, an expert in governing systems, stated in the opening sentence of one of his articles about state-building in Western Europe:

> *Tell a man today to go and build a state; and he will try to establish a definite and defensible territorial boundary and compel those who live inside it to obey him... No one has hitherto had the breath of imagination and intellectual boldness to describe and analyse states throughout recorded history and it is in fact compulsory to the understanding of the main roots and issues of the state*[10].

Especially during European conquests, it was actually difficult to understate the high influence of the fact that land in Europe was scarce on the European perception of implementation of the governing system and institutions. In this context, having a limited territory was of utmost importance, and once a ruler was able to acquire a certain amount, he would subsequently turn his attention on the people inhabiting it.

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(10) S.E.Finer, *The History of Government: Ancient Monarchies and Empires*, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.72.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

In West and South Africa, in specific, states did not need to establish political hegemony within a specific territory, because that would be completely counter-intuitive. As population density was much lower in Africa than in Europe, plenty of land was free and available to anyone to settle and cultivate. The level of European population density of 1500 was reached by Africa only by 1975[11]. In parallel, Igor Kopytoff provided the theoretical basis for this argument by describing the development of an inner frontier in sub-Saharan Africa, during and after the migration of people from the Saharan region that started around B.C. 2500. He stated:

> *Due to the low population density, the frontier became a stage for the emergence of numerous new, small-scale, and independent political formations, most which eventually faltered but some of which grew into larger polities that provided the nucleus for the emergence of new societies*[12].

Therefore, the control of the population was the ultimate goal of African rulers. J. Herbst takes this argument a bit further:

> *When a group of people were dissatisfied with their ruler, be it due to excessive tributary requests, derogatory treatment, political differences or simple personal dislike, they could easily move into another*

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(11) Carl Boix, *State Building in Historical Perspective*, Oxford University Press, 2010, p.10.

(12) Igor Kopytoff, *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of the Traditional African Society*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1987, p.83.

sphere of influence or a territory that was free of any political power[13].

For instance, population movement and migrations to escape all local issues within the African society was usually common on the continent was' the example of many West African states in Benin, Northern Ghana and the southern Nguni and Mfecane among the Zulu'[14].In addition, many other states in Ghana and Nigeria in particular suffered from such migrations that led to a mismanagement in the post-colonial eras and the resulting political and economic crisis caused a 'massive surge of emigration'.[15]

There exists also the agricultural and pastoral societies relying on low and middle-income countries or territories. Most of themdepend on the farming system for the seasonal agricultural crop harvest and other on seasonal pastoral lands, which meant that there was little investment into a land for the region settling down and this will be further developed for the Ashanti's and Zulus' economic institutions. As pointed out in the Journal of African Economic Studies:

> *Settlement patterns vary, depending on historical forces and political changes, but populations are increasing in major cities and concentrating in larger villages in rural areas. The region contains a significant number of pastoralists who move seasonally between low and high altitudes in mountainous regions and between wetter zones and the dry steppe. The long history of human*

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(13) J.I.Herbst, op.cit., p.35.

(14) Christopher Clapham, *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*, Paul Nugent and A. Asiwaju Press, London, 1996, p. 239.

(15) James.A.Robinson, 'States and Power in Africa by Jeffrey.I.Herbst: A Review Essay', *Journal of Economic Literature*, V:XI, 2002,p.78.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

settlement, unequal access to land and increasing urbanization have led to serious degradation of land and forest resources in much of the region. [16]

Consequently, extended families, clans and villages are at risk to move to a different location.The comparison with Asian societies, villages, and states that spend and consume intensely into land due to irrigation works and particular pieces of land had a great value, with one notable exception of mainland in South-East Asia. It takes generations to develop rice and every essential pattern in production relies on the irrigating cultivation:

> *In comparison with other developing areas of the world, Africa is not a particularly impoverished zone. The early development of irrigation-based civilizations in much of the area laid the foundation for intensive agricultural systems still in use today. Furthermore, historical evidence indicates that, in Roman times, much of North Africa enjoyed sufficient rainfall to support widespread rainfed cultivation of cereals and other crops. Climatic conditions and vegetative cover appear to have deteriorated since then.* [17]

Such lack in rainfalls and ecological variations lead repeatedly to the loss of important territories and thus important cities collapse.The relatively low potential for increasing output without irrigation means that many economies had to rely on alternative solutions engines for economic growth, including mining, manufacturing, trading and other

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(16) S.Barth, 'The Middle East and the African Continent', *Journal of African Economic Studies*, V: XI, 1996,p.66.

(17) Ibid, p.67.

commercial activities. Elizabeth Colson analyses the Eastern part of Africa as:

> *Permanent towns existed only on the East African coast, though ancient towns had existed in Ethiopia and probably in Rhodesia...Thus, the relationship between the state and the hinterland was different from the European counterpart.*[18]

Besides, the dialogue between the centre and periphery is the fourth part of the analysed chapter dedicated to both Ashanties' and Zulus' institutions and their maintenance, and it will form an integral part of the arguments of synthesis and research. It explores the long and short-term processes and how the core-periphery relationship in Ashanti and Zulu functioned, and in keeping with the overall aims of the enclosed thesis, there will be a potential investigation on the ways to improve this relationship in nowadays Africa.

I.1.5. Escape from Eurocentrism during Colonial Rule

While speaking about the colonial era, one has to mention changes, new challenges and efforts done to consolidate the institutions of the state throughout the work of political scholars namely, Marx and Engels. According to the father of capitalism Karl Marx and his friend Frederick Engels:

> *The dynamic character of Western capitalist societies is such that their expansion to non-Western societies*

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(18) Elizabeth Colson, 'Obituary: Lucy Mair', *Anthropology Today,* V: 2, August, 1986, pp.22-23.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

inevitably results in the reconstruction of the latter along modern lines.[20]

At the crudest level, references to Karl Marx and his lifelong collaborator Frederick Engels rather form the deterministic view on political, social and economic change in society. Those nineteenth century scholars analysed and made up societies bearing some of the prejudices of their era and their societies. K. Marx had a particular focus on the European working class to the exclusion of other social forces, essentially those in developing countries or the colonised ones. In some ways, he belongs to that version of old criticism stating that 'Marxism reduces everything to classes'. A great deal of ink has already been spilled on the question of Marx's Eurocentrism and there are definitely different stages in the colonial state that cannot refer to such views and trends even when the state evolves and follows social stratification.

The idea of Eurocentrism and the analysis of the inherently African conditions are still influential in academic circles, and issued by international policymakers in their attempts to solve various problems and crises in Africa. For example, Gareth Austin published an article aiming to illustrate the tools that academics 'of various disciplines' should be used in the study of Africa instead of relying on Western concepts[21]. He focuses on economic history and points out to the fact that:

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(20) K.Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism*, University Press of the Pacific, Majestic Books, UK, 2001, p.23.

(21) Gareth Austin, 'Reciprocal Comparison and African History: Tackling Conceptual Eurocentrism in the Study of Africa's Economic Past', *African Studies Review,* V: 50, December 2007, p.12.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

> *Conceptual Eurocentrism exists at different levels of abstraction such as elaborate explanatory and interpretive theories as well as specific tools of analysis' from using these concepts and tools, and move to a more Africanist perception.* [22]

However, one would wonder then about what tools should then be employed? The historical narrative at this point is notably the best way to examine the West and South African institutions. In the same context, this viewpoint was based on Bayart's opinion when he proposed:

> *The modern state in Africa needs to be analysed in light of what Fernand Braudel has called "longue durée".* [23]

Methodically, the historical and chronological method of research is followed in the Ashanti's and Zulus' analysis in this thesis and will examine the way states formed over time, taking into account 'long time processes (as well as immediate circumstances surrounding the formation of states)[24]. To intertwine both states, various levels of analysis will be undertaken in order to achieve broad explanations; for instance, in comparing regional differences in the core-periphery relationships in Ashanti, but at the same time we will analyse the 'Greater Ashanti' as a whole. Likewise, the focus will be on comparing ways and strategies in the foundation of the 'Greater Zulu' and describe the specificity of its military and economic institutions.

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(22) Ibid., p.16.

(23) Bayart,op.cit.,p.62.

(24) Gérard PESCHEUX, Le *Royaume Asante (Ghana) : Parenté, Pouvoir, Histoire, XVIIe-XXe siècles*, Karthala, Paris, 2003, pp.51-52.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Within such analysis, inductive reasoning by examining the Ashanties' and Zulus' institutions involved the specificity of the local system instead of deducing an outcome through analysis of empirical data. That is, all collected information and data will be grouped together and used to analyse how state institutions in West and South Africa occurred and performed solid foundations.

The analysis of each historical event among the Ashanties and Zulus involves a smooth synthesis to classify such events according to their importance and relation of the study. That is to say, examples like royal inheritance and belongings, ascension to the throne, or inherently West and South African relationships between local chiefs and kings or village heads and individuals or decentralised ethnic groups make the specificity and commonality on such comparative research. This is to come to the point that analysing African institutions on their own terms presupposing that we cannot pose opinions to draw conclusions.

However, the research work that follows in the next three chapters then will be grounded and pruned in its epistemological basis. That is, the attempt to limit research to compatible historical facts and chronological ascension of political power, economic performance and military prowess will definitely shape the whole format together with the tradition of critical thought.

All in all, the crux of the arguments that are propagated in this research work will not assume that pre-colonial formation of African institutions can simply be mapped into the post-colonial experience. Nor it is discussed that European colonisation did have a disruptive effect on the progression of the formation of the African institutions,

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

and that it undoubtedly prepared the foundations for today's African states.Instead, our vision in including the research aims is that probably having a look back to pre-colonial experiences may prove fruitful in finding out answers to inextricable issues because of their inherently European foundations. Thus, the first general aim of the paper is to clear up the idea of accepting the existence of states institutions in the pre-colonial era and then show the impact of the colonial era at the same level of analysis. It follows then, that understanding of the African experience before the Scramble is vital for the understanding of today's Africa. What comes later during colonial rule will hopefully determine the objectives set for the study. On this note, and for the focus of the enclosed thesis, one has now to turn towards the examination of the Ashanties and Zulus to get a glimpse of their ethnic profile in retrospect.

I.2. The Ashanties and Zulus before the 1820's: An Ethnic Profile.

Among the most powerful and dominant Akan-speaking and Nguni speaking people are respectively the Ashanties of the Gold Coast (Ghana nowadays) and the Zulus of Southern Africa. Both seemed to have emerged within the forest and savannah regions of western and southern Africa to make up well-organised groups of people able to control, to direct and to manage their day-to-day activities.

The identification of the Ashanties' and Zulus' ethnic profiles and the brief examination of their main aspects of life before the 182os will contribute best for the sake of the enclosed research study. The Ashanti's ethnic background involves first an introduction to the study of the evolution of the Ashanti's clan and its political, economic and military structures. The consolidation and evolvement of these

structures comprise the primordial foundations of the Ashanties' system of governance, maintenance and assistance.

I.2.1. The Ashanti's Ethnic Profile

The Ashanti's state or the Asante's state, also known as the Ashanti Confederacy or the Asanteman in Twi (independent from 1701-1896), was a pre-colonial West African state created by the Akan people of what is now the Ashanti region of Ghana[25]. Their political and military power, which came from the usage of effective war strategies and an early adoption of rifles, created an empire that stretched from central Ghana to present day Togo and the Ivory Coast, bordered by the Dagomba kingdom to the North and the Dahomey to the East. (See Map n°1p.32)

Historically speaking, the ancient Ashanties migrated from the vicinity of the North Western Niger River after the fall of the Ghana empire in the thirteenth century. Evidence of this lies in the royal courts of the Akan kings reflected by that of the Ashanti kings whose processions and ceremonies show remnants of ancient Ghana ceremonies. In addition, ethno linguists have substantiated the migration by tracing word usage and speech patterns along the West African coast. Most of oral histories agree that the Ashanties were originally part of a unified Akan clan among them the southern Fante and the Wassa and many other Twi-speaking people

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(25) According to archeological records and to Akan oral tradition, the first Ashanties emerged in the second half of the seventeenth century in the region of Buna in the north west of the Gold Coast forest. In the 1660s, the Ashanties counted five brothers from the Akan Oyoko clan led by their queen mother – who became after the great Ashanti's ancestress- Ankyewa Nyame. Few years later, in 1667, they moved down to Asantemanso and later into the Tafo country known as Kumasi.' I.Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the kingdom of Asante*, Ohio University Press, Second Edition, 1993, p.65.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Map1: The Ashanti Empire (1695-1750)
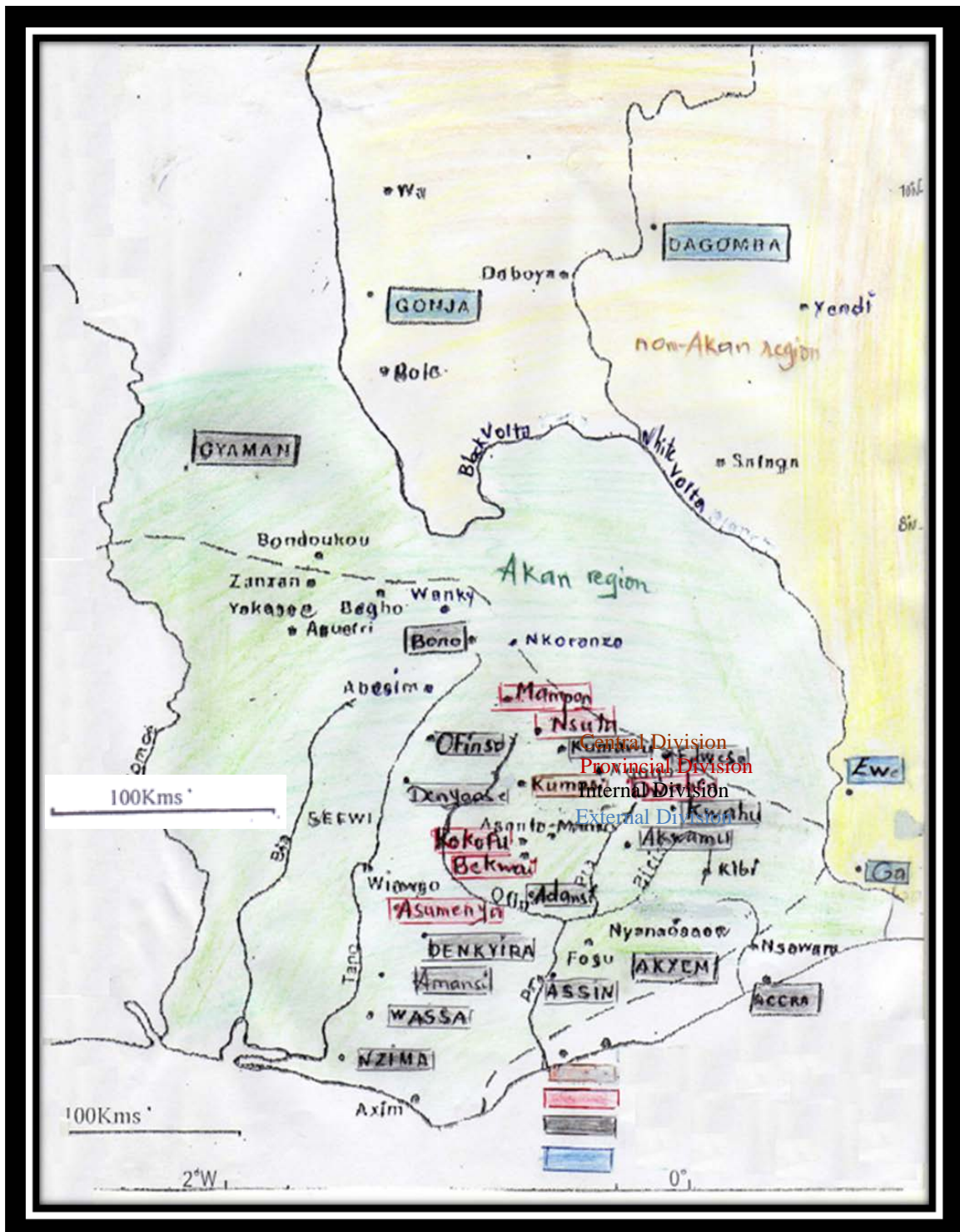
Source: Gérard Pescheux, *Le Royaume Asante (Ghana)", Parenté, Pouvoir, Histoire : XVIIe-XXe siècles*, Paris, Editions Karthala, 2003, p.29.

who moved from the northern region of the Gold Coast to the south towards the forestland[26].

In the eighteenth century, the Ashanties were identified as people resulting from the amalgamation of five ethnic groups known as the Akans, the Ga, the Ewe, the Guan and the Mole-Dagbani who spread over three different Gold Coast regions of the West, South and East [27]. The Akans counted the amalgamation of eighteen clans including the royal Oyoko clan (considered as the Ashanti's royal clan) namely, the Aduana, the Agona, the Asakyri, the Asenie, the Asona, the Bretuo, the Ekoona, the Dako, the Asokere, the Tena, the Dwum, the Atwea, the Adaa, the Kuona, the Atena, the Toa and the Adrade clans. In 1669, most of the Akans spread over the core of the forest region called the Tafo country[28].

The members of the Oyoko clan were located in Kumasi, Dwaben, Kokofu, Bekwai, Nsuta. Thirteen other non-Oyoko clans were situated in Mampon, Asumenya, Ofinso, Adansi, Edweso, kumawu, Denyaase, Kwahu, Akwamu, Denkyira, Wassa, Nzima, and Assin while other four Akan clans were situated in the South East and the

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(26) K.ARHIN, 'The structure of Greater Ashanti (1700-1824) ', *Journal of African History*, V:VIII (1),1967, pp. 67-68.

(27) 'The Akans are divided into two categories, the *Akan-Fo*such as: Ashanti, Adansi, Akim, Assin, Denkyira, Akim, Accra, Gyaman and Bono speaking the Twi language and considered as the first Akan autochthones of the forest region and the *Epeto-Fo* (the foreign people) who have minor cultural differences and represented the Fante, Wassa, Sefwi and the other groups of the south of the forest'. I.Wilks, 'The State of the Akan and the Akan States', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, V:xxvii, 3-4, 1994, p.23.

(28) Kofi. Akwabi-Ameyaw, 'Ashanti Social Organization: some ethnographic clarifications', *Ethnology*, University of Cincinnati, 1989, p.34.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

North West of Kumasi in Akim, Accra, Gyaman and Bono, respectively (As shown on map n°1p.32).[29]

The other four ethnic groups namely the Ga and the Ewe consisted of small communities while the Guan and the Mole Dagbani included respectively the Gonja and Dagomba tribes. The Ewe and Ga communities were situated in the seven regions of Ewe, Ga,Shai, Ada, Asogli, Ho and Peki in the South East of the forest while the Gonja and Dagomba tribes were in the north.

The Ashanti's ethnic groups spoke different languages with distinguishable sub-cultural traits and origins, while some of these sub-cultural groups were small and compact, some others were large and strong enough to organise their kingdoms of varying size and degree of autonomy, to make up three main divisions within the core and the periphery of what was known at that time as Greater Ashanti. The three divisions comprised the central, provincial, and local divisions known as the Metropolitan Ashanti or the Ashanti Confederacy, the Provincial Ashanti (with its Internal and External Provinces) and the Local Division.

I.2.2. Kingdom Formation: Political Divisions, Economic and Military Structures

The kingdom formation consisted of three main divisions that formed the basis of the political institution inside and outside the Metropolitan city. These divisions of the centre and two provinces known as Metropolitan Ashanti, Provincial Ashanti and the Local

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(29) W.W.Claridge, *A History of the Gold Coast and the Ashanti*, Frank Class and Co. LTD, Second   Edition, London, 1964, p.193.

provinces (including the internal and external provinces) were led by the main authority holders of royal and non-royal Oyoko clan. According to the nature of each institution, be it political (for a constant intensification of political control), economic (for the assistance and maintenance) or military (for the royal defensive army), the authority holders were to confirm the basis of unification and statehood.

Inside the central division, two Ashanti kings reigned over and marked the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. The founder of the Ashanti's political institutions, king Osei Tutu (1695-1731) who was helped in his rule by his fellow chief and king Apoku Ware (1731-1750). The latter, followed his predecessor's work and developed the political organization of the Ashanti confederacy.[30]

The structure of the three political divisions had a specific pyramidal shape and a certain hierarchy was highly instituted among the main authority holders. The Metropolitan Ashanti included the king and his eight Office Holders (the king's local advisers) at the top of the pyramid. The Provincial Ashanti included seven paramount Omanhene (known as sub-chiefs leading the Akan States) and the Local Ashanti division comprised the Local District Chiefs (in the Akan States) and the Ohyene (the Lineage-Heads in the Ga and Ewe communities) who comprised the primordial foundation of the pyramid.

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(30) A.M.Akanba, *Revelation: The movement of the Akan People from Kanaan to Ghana*, Author House UK Ltd, First Edition, 2010, p.210.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Within the Metropolitan Ashanti, the king was the head of the empire; he was eligible to such a position through Akans' established criteria. First, the election was set up by a body of king makers in the capital of Kumasi[31]. The lineage-heads were considered as traditional elders residing in Kumasi. They counted five members known as the Krontihene, the Adontenhene, the Kydomhene, the Benkumhene, and the Oyokohene together with the members of the Oyoko royal family that is, the Queen mother [32]and the king's maternal uncles whose attendance was of a great importance (See Diagram n° 1p.37).

Two Ashanti kings marked the late seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century: the first king Asantehene Osei Tutu (1695-1731), commonly considered as the founder of the Ashanti's confederacy and the political institutions with the help of his fellow chiefs and the second king Asantehene Apoku Ware (1731-1750) who followed his predecessor's work and developed the political organization of the state. Osei Tutu or Tutu the conqueror was the main candidate for royal succession. In 1695, he inherited sovereignty after the death of his uncle Obiri Yeboa (1663-1695).

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(31) ' When a king died and a new one had to be appointed, the elders held a meeting at which the Krontihene presided. At the meeting the elders selected two from among themselves to approach the queen mother and ask her to nominate a candidate for the stool. The queen mother then held a meeting with all the adult men and the senior women of the branches of the royal lineage. They considered the eligible candidates in turn and chose the one they thought the most suitable…. When they had decided on the candidate, the queen mother sent to inform the Krontihene. The latter summoned a meeting and told them of the queen mother's nominated candidate'. K.A.Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti: A Study of the Influence of Contemporary Social Changes on Ashanti Political Institutions*, London, 1951, p.9.

(32) Otumfo Nana Agyeman Prempeh, *The History of the Ashanti Kings and the whole Country Itself and other Writings*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, pp.100-101. See also A.M.Akanba, op.cit., p.210.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Diagram 1: The Divisions of the Empire (1696-1750)
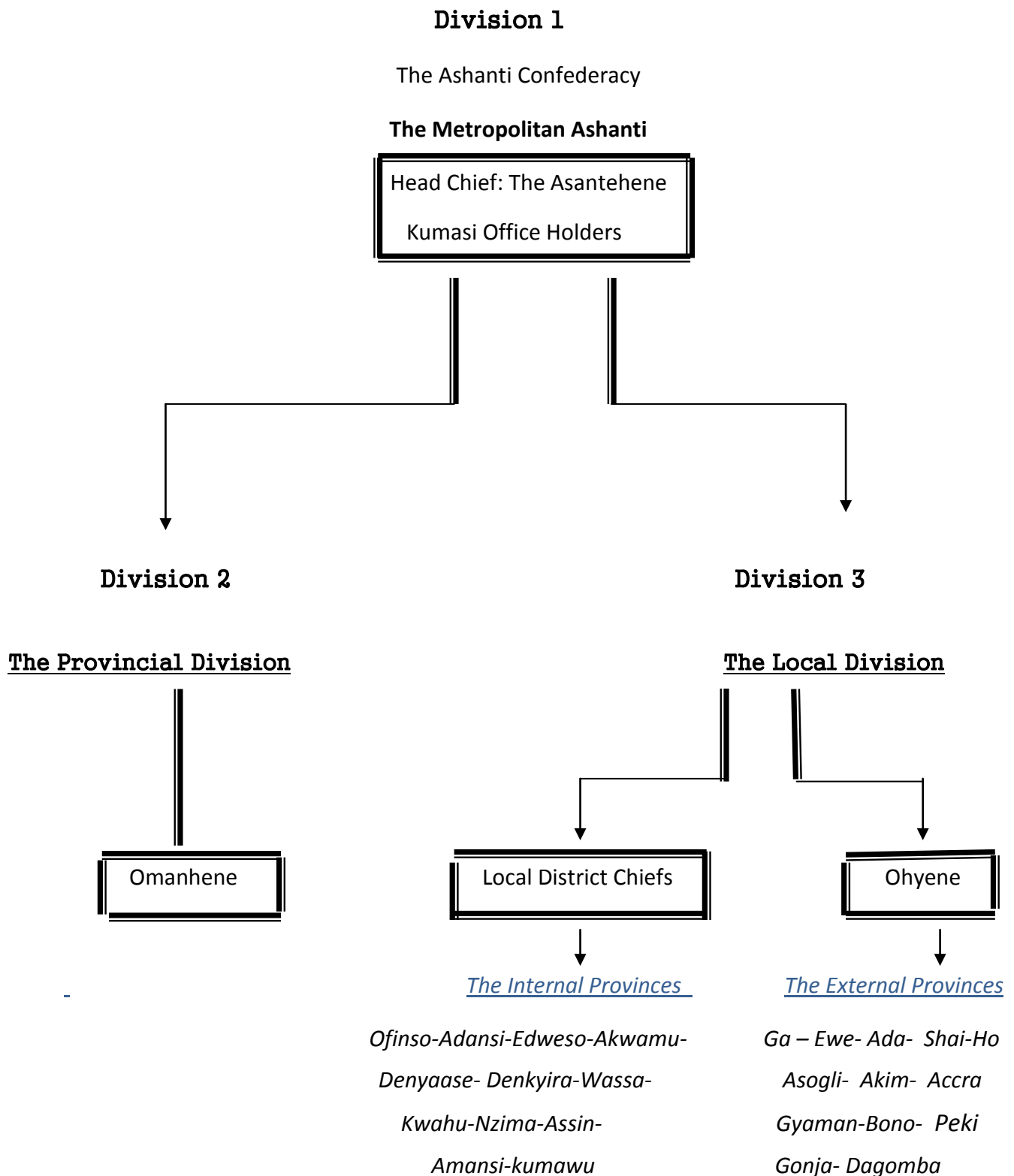
Division 1

The Ashanti Confederacy

The Metropolitan Ashanti

Head Chief: The Asantehene

Kumasi Office Holders

Division 2

Division 3

The Provincial Division

The Local Division

Omanhene

Local District Chiefs

Ohyene

The Internal Provinces

The External Provinces

Ofinso-Adansi-Edweso-Akwamu-

Denyaase- Denkyira-Wassa-

Kwahu-Nzima-Assin-

Amansi-kumawu

Ga – Ewe- Ada- Shai-Ho

Asogli- Akim- Accra

Gyaman-Bono- Peki

Gonja- Dagomba

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Born around 1645, Osei Tutu spent his youth in the royal court of Denkyira, the South Eastern overlords of the Tafo-Kwaman region of the time. He later spent some time in the court of Ansara Sasraku, leader of the time. He later spent some time in the court of Ansara Sasraku, leader of the neighbouring state: Akwamu, and prior to his return to Kwaman (North of Kumasi) in the late 1670s to take over from his predecessor. Henceforth, tracing O.Tutu's moves after his rise to power furnished important insights into a state formation in Ashanti. Osei Tutu was a political strategist and a wise sovereign at the head of the Oyoko clan. He was known as a strong conqueror who acquired a large political and military experience during his stay in both Denkyira and Akwamu neighbouring states to become a military leader. O.Tutu was officially crowned in 1695 and succeeded his uncle Obiri Yeboa. At that time, the Ashanties counted a large number of contingents of Akan Twi speaking ethnic people who belonged to the Akan matrilineal clan the abusua. Thus, every inheritance, status and succession were lineally determined and the royal belonging of the Ashanti king was the Oyoko abusua:

> The access to cultural values and spirit of brotherhood among the people of Asante involves the changes that the Oyoko ruling clan has passed through in their chiefdom hierarchy. The Oyoko clan is the royal clan, which periodically produces a candidate for enstoolment as an Asantehene. The Oyoko clan has authority over all the other clans. Chiefs who belong to the same clan in Asante call one another 'brother' and this is not a mere title of courtesy. Chiefs were often the sons of one mother or ancestress in the case of the

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

> *Oyoko clan of Asante. They consult over urgent public issues irrespective of their immediate allegiances.*[33]

O.Tutu began by establishing control over the region surrounding Kumasi. Then, he grouped other clan chiefs around his court, using Kumasi as his base. Later, he conquered the surrounding Akan chiefdoms. In doing so he took the title of Asantehene[34].In the case of the existence of Akan chiefdoms, the whole Ashanti state, which later became known under the name of the Ashanti empire formed the cult of Akan groups in relation to the Asantehene's ancestors. In fact, any discussion on the Ashanti's divisions turns unnecessary and unaccomplished without the notion of the ancestors' existence. The latter, made up the prolific life that the cosmology of the Ashanti people represents. All the Ashanti state was organized based on a social contract that gathered people for the formation of a powerful state to raise a peaceful spirit of nationhood. The power of the state emanated from a central source, that is, the belief in the ancestry sets of doctrines and the following of one chief office known *asakomfo pinyin* (the chief priest) who coordinated all the state divisions and their functions as the ultimate mediator of the Ashanti religion:

> *Belief in ancestors regulates the political system. The ancestral cult creates a link between religion and*

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(33) E.E. Kurankyi-Taylor, *Ashanti Indigenous Legal Institutions and their Present Role*, Unpublished Ph.D. University of Cambridge, 1971, p.122.

(34) 'Religious chiefs are involved in birth, marriages, sickness, lineage and state concerns. In addition, their activity is directed toward restoring order and disciplinein compliance with the norms of right and duty, enmity or piety, whenever transgressions threaten or occur. They provide the sanctions of the moral life of the group by laying down customs and taboos to govern the behaviour of the group and to maintain its stability' M.Fortes and Dieterlin, *African Systems of Thought*, Oxford University Press, First Edition, Oxford, 1965,p.136.

politics. The Ashanti symbol of political authority serves as the shrine of the ancestral spirits.[35]

The divine impact that the chief priest, Akomfo Anokye was great. He started to mold the king's image as a sacred divine and devoted figure of the state embodied in the spirit of a stool made of gold. Historically, the Asantehene held a sacred position among the Ashanties. Through the creation of the Golden Stool by the priest Akomfo Anokye, the Asantehene was the most venerated living person in Ashanti. The people of the empire, mainly the Akans feared and believed that the Stool embodied the spirit or soul of the whole Ashanti nation and that the Asantehene was the sole and perpetual guardian of the Stool[36]. The latter, represented the ties of kinship that gave ultimate sanction to the different opponents. The Golden Stool was a fictitious extension of control among the king's subjects so that different states could be easily incorporated within the Ashanti empire and through which the Asantehene became the guardian of the Ashanties' spirit and nationhood[37]. By the institution of the Golden Stool, the Asantehene gained the support of the religious chiefs and became the centre to which all the authority holders of the Ashanti empire were connected.

The subordinate members were eight lineage heads known as traditional elders. They consisted of the five electing members during

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(35) Yaw Adu-Gyamfi, *The Role of the Chief in Asante Society*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Oxford, U.K, 2012, p.206.

(36) 'The Golden Stool was the most important stool made of gold. It was called Sika Dua in Ashanti's Twi language and according to legend, Tutu's adviser; the priest Akomfo Anokye originated the myth of this stool. He called down the stool from the sky and slowly came down on King Osei Tutu's Knees without touching the ground'. Otumfo.N.A. Prempeh, op.cit., pp.100-101.

(37) 'The Ashanti do not like to speak of the Asantehene, still less to be questioned about him. When they have to talk about him they do so in low tones, modulating gradually into whispers'. E.L.R. Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States of Ghana*, Red Candle Press, London, 1974, p.96.

the Asantehene's succession and three other Kumasi elders who reigned over eight divisions of the Kumasi State and were distinguished according to the name of their lineages. They were respectively known as the Oyokohene, the Krontihene, the Kidomhene, the Benkumhene, the Adontenhene, the Nifahene, the Akwamuhene, and the Gyasehene.[38]

In Metropolitan Ashanti, mainly in the capital Kumasi, the body of eight traditional elders had the name of Office Holders and had definite stools (special Ashanti's wooden chairs) that differentiated them from other authority holders in the exercise of their functions close to their king. In 1720, they attended a newly established council, the Advisory Council that was instituted and presided by the Asantehene Osei Tutu to maintain the political organization of the whole empire (See Diagram 2 p.42).

The Office Holders' body regularly collaborated with the Asantehene in the establishment of new Ashanti's laws. They were engaged in making Akan and non-Akan people respect their king as the supreme authority over the whole empire and to give their entire reverence, contribution and allegiance to the king's sub-chiefs as members of the royal court. In return, the Asantehene pledged to rule

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[38] 'When a king died and a new one had to be appointed, the elders held a meeting at which the Krontihene presided. At the meeting the elders selected two from among themselves to approach the queen mother and ask her to nominate a candidate for the stool. The queen mother then held a meeting with all the adult men and the senior women of the branches of the royal lineage. They considered the eligible candidates in turn and chose the one they thought the most suitable…. When they had decided on the candidate, the queen mother sent to inform the Krontihene. The latter summoned a meeting and told them of the queen mother's nominated candidate'. R.S. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, Facsimile Edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1959, p.120.

Diagram 2: **The Council of the Empire**
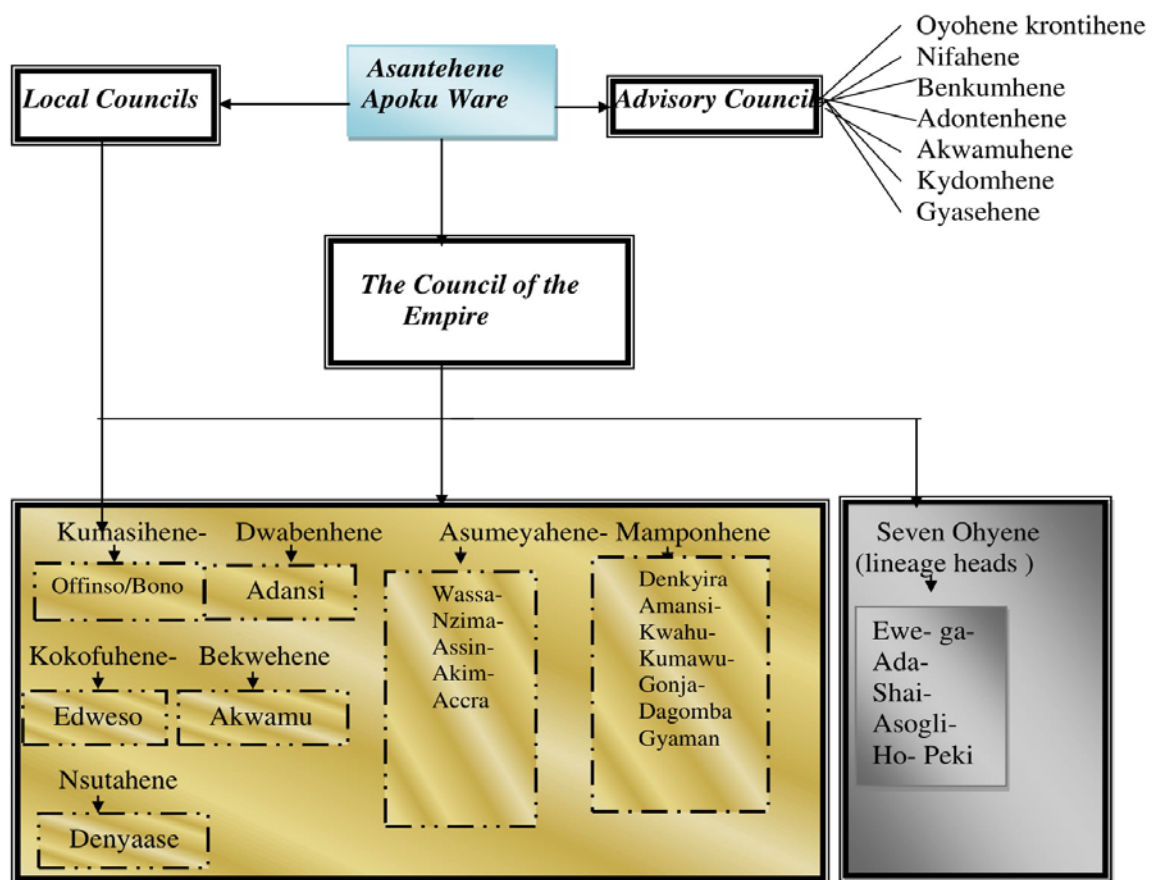
Key:

Centralized Political Control

Decentralized Political Control

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

his subjects with the help and advice of his eight advisors[39].

Outside the Advisory Council, the Office Holders' prerogatives extended to a constant supervision over the Asantehene's functions and decisions through their established Kumasi Assembly (known also as the Council of Elders) [40]. The Office Holders often gathered and were granted few prerogatives. They had the right to destitute the king and to attribute him the political control of the other provincial division.

The second body of six sub-chiefs called Omanhene was under the Asantehene's supervision to rule the Provincial Ashanti. The Omanhene formed the primordial central figures and main institution within the nation. They were known as the Dwabenhene, the Kokofuhene, the Bekwaihene, the Nsutahene, the Mamponhene and the Asumenyahene, in addition to the Asantehene who remained Kumasihene. The six Omanhene lived in the different Oman or states including and surrounding the central forest region such as Dwaben, Kokofu, Bekwai, Nsuta, Mampon, Asumenya.The Asanteheneand his six Omanhene were cautiously attributed the control over eighteen Ashanti States. The Kumasihene (the king) controlled Ofinso and Bono. Four other Omanhene including, the Dwabenhene, the

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(39) '…the Asantehene was bound by custom to act with the consent and on the advice of his officeholders…. They had ultimately the constitutional right to destool the king. As the fundamental principle was that only those who elected a king could destool him'. K.A.Busia, ibid, p.21. For the Asantehene's destoolment I.Wilks stated: '…sometimes the officeholders initiated a destoolment themselves when, for example, a king repeatedly rejected their advice, or when he broke a taboo, or committed a sacrilegious act'. I.Wilks, *The Asante in the 19th century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order*, Cambridge University Press, 1975, pp.34-35.

(40) 'The Asantehene was not allowed to cross the Pra River (in the South of Kumasi) and he had to remain free from physical blemish. Besides, neither his bare feet nor the other parts of his body were supposed to touch the ground &and the royal office holders had the right to destitute him in case of disobedience all rites and doctrines dictated by the priest officeholder'. R.O.Lagace, 'Society Twi: Ashanti', *Australian National University*, retrieved March 24, 2006 from (http://www.Ashanti Culture/1708/doc/html).

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Kokofuhene, the Bekwaihene and the Nsutahene controlled respectively, Adansi, Edweso, Akwamu and Denyaase and the other Omanhene[41], the Mamponhene controlled Kwahu, Kumawu, Denkyira, Amansi, Gonja, Dagomba, Gyaman, and the Asumenyahene took Wassa, Nzima, Assin, Akim and Accra.

It was mainly through hereditary membership that the Kumasihene, the Dwabenhene, the Kokofuhene, the Bekweihene, and the Nsutahenewere chosen to rule the Akan groups surrounding Kumasi. They were in majority elected into the Ashanti's royal matriclan that is, they were linked together by kinship relations into the Oyoko clan[42]. In addition, the Dwabenhene, the Bekweihene, the Kokofuhene and the Nsutahenewere considered as confederated people who joined the Ashanti royal members by a diplomatic agreement of cooperation.

In addition to the four Omanhene's hereditary membership, the two other Omanhene, the Mamponhene and the Asumenyahene had political ranks. Thanks to their acquired status in the Ashanti empire. These Omanhene had not the same kinship links as the other Omanhene. They were non-Oyoko sub-chiefs who were chosen by the Asantehene through their military assistance in the Ashanti army. The Mamponhene was the head chief of the right wing of the Ashanti army while the Asumenyahene was the head chief of the left one. They were

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(41) 'The singular form of Oman is Aman, they have an enormous effect on the people they had under control. Not all Akans can have the Amanhene as their sub-chief. It depends on hereditary belonging'. Yaw Adu-Gyamfi, op.cit., p.170.

(42) 'Through this union, the four Omanhene acquired the Asantehene's absolute trust in controlling the most important Akans of the central empire who wanted to maintain their identity against the neighbouring oppressive and tyrannical ruler known as the Denkyirahene (the ruler of the Denkyira State)' .C. Decorse and S. Spiers, 'A Tale of Two Polities: Socio-Political Transformation on the Gold Coast in the Atlantic World', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, V: 27, 2009, p.41.

appeared as Omanhene after their campaigns against the main Southern Akan States which were incorporated into the Ashanti empire mainly after the Denkyira conquest (since they were allies to the Denkyirahene and refused the Ashanti's union).

Furthermore, with the introduction of the Golden Stool institution the Omanhene had a Ceremonial Stool which was of great significance to the authority holders but to ensure direct supervision over the provincial Akans, the Omanhene together with the Asantehene needed permanent contact with their respective local sub-chiefs and a new institution was thus established.

In 1730s, the new Asantehene Apoku Ware (1730-1750) maintained further accomplishments within the Provincial Ashanti to establish the *Local Councils*[43]. The six Omanhene and the Asantehene assisted their own councils in their own states gathering their local sub-chiefs under their direct rule.

Each Council was attended by its respective leader in addition to the local District Chief and Village Heads of the relevant state. The latter, met to report all the provincial people's activities and to solve any important political issue in order to preserve Ashanti's political control and order in the local provinces. At the bottom of the foundation within the Ashanti's divisions, the third body of sub-chiefs comprised both the District Chiefs and Lineage-Heads. The District

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(43) 'Au niveau de la collectivité locale, la position du chef local politique 'District Chief' and 'Lineage Head' était décisive car ils participaient principalement aux expéditions de guerre et à la cessation de rebellions parmi les états les plus éloignés. La confédération fut alors bien établie et les chefferies inférieures furent maintenues. Le régime présente un certain caractère démocratique : si les chefs locaux jurent fidélité au nouveau roi et ses dignitaires, ils prêteront aussi serment de respecter les coutumes car leurs électeurs ont toujours le droit de les détrôner'. Anderzej Zajaczkowski, 'La structure du Pouvoir chez les Ashanti de la période de Transition', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, V: 12, 1963, P.462.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Chiefs were attributed the control of the internal provinces while the Lineage-Heads (known in Ashanti Twi language as the Ohyhene) ruled the states of the periphery that were far from the Metropolitan centre.

Some of the District Chiefs were chosen according to their royal hereditary membership. Some of them were taken as royal Akan members and others were non-Akan royal chiefs. As an illustration to royal and non- royal belonging, the local governor Kofi Sono in Gyaman and the local external provinces belonged to the Oyoko clan. According to the strategic importance and location of their attributed state especially in the internal provinces, the District chiefs were selected as subordinate Akan hereditary chiefs who had the direct supervision of the local Akan states. They were helped, in their rule by other sub-chiefs who were in their turn assisted by the village-head chiefs.

Moreover, the District Chiefs' body was in, its turn, attributed the control of important territories where local ethnic groups resided. Kofi Sono (1746-1760) [44], the local representative in the Gyaman Council was appointed Gyamanhene (since A.Ware chose him among his royal relatives and governed all the local representatives of the Gyaman ethnic groups such as the Nafana and Gbin autochthones, the Kulango and western Bonduku people, the Tambi in the north, Comoe in the west and the Dogma, Ntakima in the east Bafo Pim, in his turn, was appointed as the Bono District Chief), he contributed in the Ashanti's campaigns against Gyaman and got the control over the Bono ethnic

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[44] 'District chief K.Sono had his sub-chief Bafo Pim in the capital of Bono. He was one of the Asantehene's relatives. He was considered as his cousin from the maternal side. The other District Chiefs in Gonja and Dagomba were the local royal 'caboceers' (very important figures among the Muslims of the Gold Coast Northern states in Gold Coast at that time) of the northern tribes'. E.Rattray, *Ashanti*, Oxford University Press, 2010, p.55.

groups in Tanoso, Sabino, Nkoransa, Takyiman, Wankyi and Kintampo.

In his direct supervision of the Bono areas, five new Office Holders were chosen among the Kumasi dignitaries to help BafoPim in his local control. They were known as the Adumhene, the Dadiesoahene, the Amantahene, the Nsumankewahene and the Adamankwahene. The first four office holders were attributed the supervision of Nkyma, Tubodon, Tanoso and Sabino while the Adamankwahene was attributed the supervision of the other parts of the state including Nkoransa, Takyiman, Wankyi and Kintampo[45].

The Gonja and Dagomba local representatives were not Ashanti's royal hereditary members; they were the native Guan and Mole Dagbani royal chiefs. In fact, the Gonja and Dagomba states consisted of Muslim states which were left under the government of their own supreme chiefs called the 'caboceers'.

Through a system of patrilineal succession, these 'caboceers' were elected by the chiefs and elders of the capitals of each state. In the Gonja state, the Gonja caboceer was elected (from the capital of the state Buipe) by Muslim chiefs and dignitaries[46]. He ruled the different Gonjaare as which consisted of Kpembi near Dagomba, Bole, Wa, and Daboya whereas the Dagomba chiefs elected their caboceer

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(45) Martin Staniland, *The Lions of Dagbon: Political Change in Northern Ghana*, African Studies Series, Cambridge University Press, London, First Edition, 1975, p.56.

(46) ⸲In their control, the Gonja and Dagomba were under the direction of hereditary chiefs who were the members of the caboceers' royal clan from the paternal side. They assisted in headship and the control of their areas following their own system of government and their devised political institution', Ansa.K. Asamoa, Classes and Tribalism in Ghana, 2nd edition, Harper Collin Publishers, London, 1998, p.110.

from the (Metropolitan state of Salaga) for the control over Yendi, Kpabia, Savelugu and Gambaga.

Outside the internal provinces, seven non-Akan Lineage-Heads called Ohyene of the South Eastern regions were given control of the external provinces.They were the native traditional chiefs of the Ga and Ewe regions. They were attributed more autonomy than the Akans (without any district chief or village head control) and they often depended on the supervision of the king's intermediaries and messengers and this rather showed the absence of the Ashanti's direct supervision (See Diagram 3p.49).

To supervise his sub-chiefs whether under a centralized or decentralized control, the Asantehene Apoku Ware held a third council called the Council of the Empire. He annually gathered the main authority holders and sub-chiefs that is the six Omanhene of the different Akan States, the Asantehene's intermediaries in the south eastern communities, the eight Office Holders, the Ashanti dignitaries in addition to the chief of the council, the Asantehene[47].

All the members of the council of the Empire assisted the Asantehene in the most important affairs of the Ashanti empire. They met to discuss war and reported all the political conflicts. They participated in the periodic Odwira ceremonies, a large gathering that rekindled sentiments of solidarity and nationhood among all the chiefs and commoners. They attended the national tribunal into which even the Asantehene could be tried and they also supervised the economic

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(47) W.W.Claridge, *History of the Glod Coast and Ashanti*, Volume1,Taylor and Francis Ed, London, 1972,p.96.

Diagram 3: The Omanhene's Local Councils
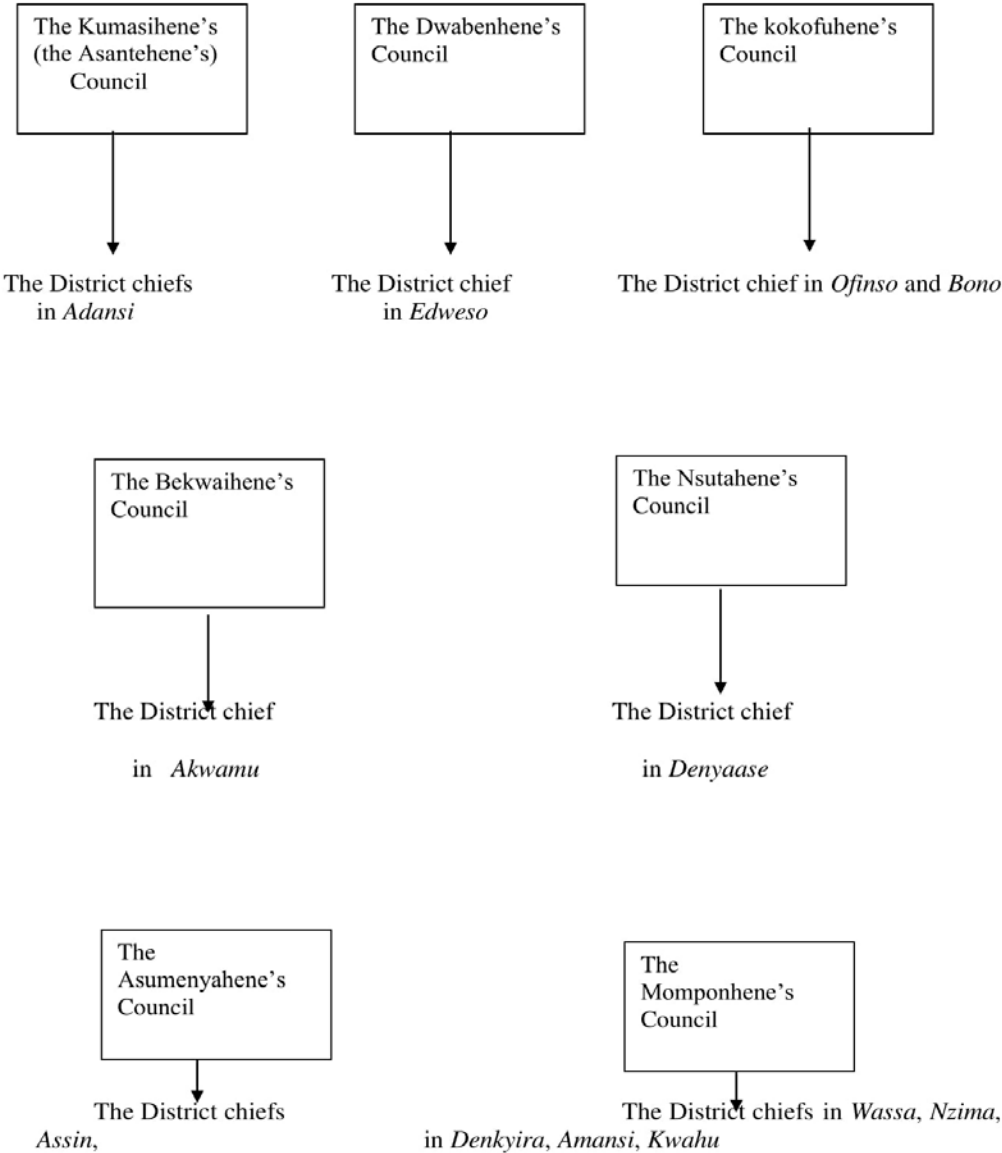
The Kumasihene's (the Asantehene's) Council	The Dwabenhene's Council	The kokofuhene's Council
↓	↓	↓
The District chiefs in *Adansi*	The District chief in *Edweso*	The District chief in *Ofinso* and *Bono*

The Bekwaihene's Council	The Nsutahene's Council
↓	↓
The District chief in *Akwamu*	The District chief in *Denyaase*

The Asumenyahene's Council	The Momponhene's Council
↓	↓
The District chiefs *Assin*,	The District chiefs in *Wassa, Nzima,* in *Denkyira, Amansi, Kwahu*

and social conditions of the people under their supervision and control.

The targeted objective behind A. Ware's political position was to continue his predecessor's achievements. He stood at the head of his kinship unit in Kumasi and came to articulate the kin solidarity of his own clan, the Oyoko. He sought to augment his power with that of an ascribed status with the help of the Office Holders, the Omanhene, the District Chiefs and the Ohyene in leading political control, the Ashanti's political structure was subsequently organized and political control was distributed following a pyramidal structure strengthened by subordinate kin members and political institutions that made up its basis[48]. This pyramidal structure was headed by the king or the Asantehene and his Office Holders and based on the local foundation of the sub chiefs' centralized and decentralized political control.

Hereby, from the Metropolitan through the Provincial to the local Ashanti in each Akan state, every Omanhene, District Chief and Village-Head chief reproduced the pattern of the authority exercised in the centre of the Ashanti empire as they were organized in a way that showed the centralized Asantehene's control. However, the south-eastern division of the state was left under the decentralized Asantehene's control since the Ohyhene's communities were rather remote areas but situated in a region which was to open later on routes for further conquests and trade especially with the Europeans on the coast[49].Every Office Holder, Omanhene, District Chiefs or Ohyene inherited their offices through their own respective lineages to which

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(48) I.Wilks., op.cit., p.82.

(49) K.Busia., op.cit., p. 113.

they belonged. That is to say, their lineage members appointed them in any succession or destoolment made by the Asantehene[50].

The establishment of the Advisory, Local and Empire political councils facilitated the exercise of political control and respect of order over the subdued provincial people. The Ashanti's political institution needed then the maintenance and assistance that linked these councils with the different divisions. As it was already mentioned, the king was the supreme authority in judging his subjects. The latter, could be publicly condemned to death during their revolts and non-assistance in times of war or to the payment of special sums given in gold dust during any hostility or insults against the king, the administrative or the military agents[51].

The sums paid were made in 'mperedwan' (the Ashanti's currency made in gold dust) and they varied between five to twenty 'mperedwan' according to the importance of each judgment and guilty subject. The biggest sum that was to be paid could reach thirty 'mperedwan'[52]if the Asantehene and his royal family members were subjects to insults among the Akans. Besides, the Asantehene inherited the personal properties of a deceased Akan according to his rank and social status. That is to say, when the person was humble, only a symbolic part of his properties was devoted to the Asantehene but it became bigger when the person had considerable properties.

(50) J.Lonsdale, 'States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historical Survey', *African Studies Review,V:* 24(2–3), 1981, p.169.

(51) 'Among the Ashanties, no one should be considered as guilty of an offence except on the basis of the established fact of a personal act and of the known motive behind this act. No one should be considered as guilty of an offence until he has had a fair and impartial audience. No one should be condemned and punished without the basis of a just verdict'. Paul Hagan, 'The Rule of Law in Ashanti: A Traditional Akan State', *Prèsence Africaine*, V113, 1980, p.208

(52) 30 mperedwan= 60ounces(oz) =3pounds(Ib) =1,36kg, Ibid., p.210.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

The Asantehene's judgments and laws were then applied by the Abontendom members at the royal court. The latter were engaged to make the Ashanti people obey the Asantehene's sentence and punishment. They exercised their functions within a sphere of jurisdiction that comprised both the Metropolitan and Provincial people.

In his reinforcement of a sphere of jurisdiction, the Asantehene insisted much on the military institution. In fact, the people of the empire were partially united and obedient to the established politico-ritual symbols of unity. People like Ofinso, Adansi, Edweso and others like the subdued provincial Akans (such as Denkyira, Wassa end Assin) were rather resistant to the Asantehene's attempt to gather the people of the empire under the same instituted laws. They often sought for ways of revolt and rebellion to overthrow Ashanti's supremacy but each time the newly established judicial laws and military officials showed the Asantehene's reaction to any expected dangers or risks of invasion, rebellion or secession that might threaten the supremacy of the central authority of Kumasi[53].

I.2.3.The Zulu's Ethnic Profile

On the Southern part of the African continent, the Zulus formed the dominant Nguni speaking people belonging to a South African Bantu clan located in what is today northern kwaZulu-Natal. According to historical records, they emerged from a small branch of the main migratory trunk[54].Just like many groups of cattle herders and farmers, the Nguni migrated from East Africa to the southern part of

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(53) J.B.Danquah, *Akan Laws and Customs*, Routledge and Sons, London, 1928,p.142.

(54) 'The term 'Bantu' was appropriated by the apartheid regime as a derogatory term for all black South Africans. Here it is being used strictly as a designation for a linguistic and cultural grouping of settled agriculturalists'. Carl Barter, *Stray Memories of Natal and Zululand*, Pietermaritzburg, Munro Bros,1897,p.99.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Africa in the beginning of the sixteenth century to the Natal region in search for a land (See Map n°2 p.54).

Historically speaking, the Nguni people lived nearby the Great Lakes region from two to three thousand years ago, it resulted in a time of plenty for the Bantu where the population exploded and was fuelled by their advantage in agriculture and livestock. This expansion of both people and livestock inevitably led to the quest for more land, and triggered what is today famously known as the Bantu migrations. According to historical records, the Nguni groups who peopled the region formed their own clans. From archaeological evidence and European mariners' records, it was possible to find out that by the seventeenth century, a patchwork of numerous clans lived under chiefs in the land that was known as Zululand[55]

Throughout their different settlements and wars of conquest, the Zulu people proved their strategies and rules to create the Zulu empire stretching their sphere of influence over the Northern Swaziland till the Southern state along the Mzinkulu River.

However, by the eighteenth century, the patchwork of numerous clans belonged to the Zulu empire also known as the Zulu confederacy and its main divisions (independent from 1709 until 1879). They involved eight clans including the Zulu royal clan under its founder, the king Zulu Kantombela. They were named as follows: Xhosa, Tswana, Pedi, Sotho, Tsonga, Swazi, Venda and Ndebele. They spoke variations of the same language known as the Bantu language and

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(55) B.Mitford, *Through the Zulu Country*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1883, pp.113-114.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Map2: Zululand and the Natal Regions (1750-1800)

Source: R.E.Schulze, 'South African Atlas of Agro-hydrology and Climatology', *Water Research Commission Report*,TT82/96, Pretoria, 1997, p.15.

observed the same customs with common roots and traditions of Zulu ancestors[56].

Every confederated Zulu clan descended from the first ancient royal ancestor. His name was Zulu Kantombela son of Ntombela Makandela, the founder and chief of the Zulu clan from ca 1709. When his father Ntombela died, the eldest brother Qwabe claimed for the father's land and obliged his younger brother Zulu along with his mother Nozinja to set out to find land of his own. To avoid any disputes Zulu Kantombela gathered his followers from his own clan and started their migration south to the Mkhumbane river basin on the white Mfolozi River (what is nowadays known as the Mozambique territory)[57].

In the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, eight other clans were incorporated into the Zulu state known as the Ndlambe, Gcaleka, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Hlubi, Mthethwa, and the Nguni were divided into a number of political entities. Each clan had its own chief, who was drawn from any of a number of recognized chiefly lineages that had both political

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(56) 'Concerning the history of the South African Bantu tribes comes from two sources, European and Native. The personal observations of the earliest European explorers and navigators, and of shipwrecked seamen, such as Perestrello (1554), the pilot of the Santo Alberto (1593), and the men of the Stavenisse (1686), established beyond doubt not only that the Bantu were already dwelling in South-Eastern Africa at that time, but also that in part at least they were the identical tribes found in the same localities at the present day. Much beyond that these early sources do not go. On the other hand, the European writers who witnessed the subsequent phases of Native history in this country can only tell us about events of comparatively recent date, much too recent in any case to be of use in an attempt to classify the tribes. Of course, the evidence of the few men who, like Isaacs for instance, were actually on the scene of Shaka's rise to power in Zululand, is of the greatest value; but it does not supply the wealth of detail we require regarding the course of the spectacular events which changed the face of South-Eastern Africa. Above all, these sources tell us little or nothing about the distribution and names of tribes, their customs, and languages, as they were before the storm broke that all but swept away many of them'. George McCall Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa South of the Zambezi, from the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp.213-214.

(57) F. Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1969, pp.59-60.

and ritual powers. The Zululand extending from the Great Fish River, in what is now Eastern Cape province, northward to Kosi Bay, near the border of KwaZulu Natal province and Mozambique, that paralleled the Indian Ocean (See Table 1 p.57).

The Zulu territory was then destined to become the symbol of the first Zulu chieftaincy known under the name of the KwaZulu territory (known as the place of heaven in Nguni language). The chieftaincy saw many changes though many stages of transformation from the colonial era though the colonial period. The focus here is on the background of the pre-colonial period where chiefs had their control sovereignty within their attributed areas of jurisdiction and influence that was spread over the Zulu divisions of the empire and over the economic and military spheres of production and maintenance.

I.2.4. Kingdom Formation: Political Divisions, Economic and Military Organisations

> While the English explorer Nathaniel Isaacs visited the Zulu territory, he was astonished with the kingdom formation and with the complexity of such government in the rule of the whole territory under the Zulu's sway. He noted:

> *'The Government of the Zoolas-it would almost puzzle a DeLolme or any of the ancient writers on governments, to define that of the Zoolas; and I may assert, without the least apprehension of its being*

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Table1: Chiefs and Kings of the Zulus

CHIEFTAINS OF THE ZULUS BEFORE 1727 (Unrecorded)

- Ntu

- Mnguni

- Nkosinkulu

- Mdlani

- Luzumana kaMdlani

- Malandela kaLuzumana

- Ntombela kaMalandela

- Zulu kaNtombela , Founder of the Zulu Clan ca 1709

CHIEFTAINS OF THE ZULUS ca 1727 - 1816

Chief	Lived between	Ruled between	Period
• Mageba kaGumede	1667 - 1745	1727 - 1745	18 yrs
• Ndaba kaMageba		1745 - 1763	18 yrs
• Jama kaNdaba	1757 - 1781	1763 - 1781	18 yrs
• Senzangakhona kaJama	1762 - 1816	1781 -1816	35 yrs

KINGS OF THE ZULUS ca 1816 - till

1828 Shaka kaSenzangakhona	1787 - 1828	1816 - 1828	12 yrs

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

controverted, that it is indisputably the most incomprehensible government on the face of earth[57].

The reign over the Zulu territories needed skillful supreme authority, the king whose selection and enthronement was compulsory for the formation of the political institutions. On that basis, two royal Zulu kings named Jamakandaba (1745-1763) and Senzangakhona Kajama (1781-1816) were keen on the establishment of the main pillars for the foundation of the first political institutions of the empire. They were experts and skilful enough to build up the Zulu confederacy under the consent of the Zulu royal clan members, the Kraal known as the basic unit of patriarchal including the Zulu political divisions[58].The formation of the Zulu confederacy started with the reign of Jamakandaba (1745-1763), chief of the Kwabulawayo state and capital of the Zulu belonging to the Nguni-speaking clan of the Bantu population spreading over the territory from South Eastern Africa[59]. During his reign, he conquered several chiefdoms surrounding the Zulu territory. The main drive was Kandaba's wars of conquest were his desire to end the internecine fighting between different communities and to bring them under a single government. King Jama Kandaba married among others, Mthaniya Sibiya, who bore him Senzangakhona who succeeded him and was the father the three

(57) Nathaniel Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa. Descriptive of the Zoolus, Their Manners, Customs, etc .etc, Second Edition,*Bradbury and Evans, Printers, VHITEFRIARS, 1960, p.131. https://archive.org/details/travelsadventure01isaa (Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2015).

(58) B.Guest, *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1989, p.96.

(59) 'The Nguni people migrated from the north west; Gluckman in his chapter says that it was in the middle of the 15th c (i.e., just before the Portuguese circumnavigated southern Africa), but it seems likely that it was significantly earlier (the estimates were based on oral traditions). The Xhosa, the southern wing in this linguistic group, was ensconced in the Transkei in the 16thC and were moving/expanding about 200 miles or so ever a century; thus, the pace of the migration was almost certainly slower than previously thought.' Rsselll, R.Natal, *The Land and its Story*, Pietermaritzburg Press, 1911, pp.86-87.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Zulu kings of the leading Zulu empire. His name is derived from the Zulu word 'he of the Zulu stern countenance'[60].

However, in the study of the Zulu's political institutions, one has to start with the political structure, which is hereby initiated by the enforcement of the political divisions and the chieftaincy institution. The position then of supreme power, the king known as the Nkosi, the paramount chiefs, the chiefs and finally sub-chiefs is modelled according to the Nguni lineage belonging of every chief and his attributed state under his control[61]. Thus, similar to the Ashanti confederacy, political divisions comprised the Zulu's confederacy. They were two principal and distinct divisions notably known as the Central or the Metropolitan Division and the Provincial Division.

However, Diagram 4 on page 60 will clearly show how leadership and hierarchy were instituted and attributed to the main authority holders. Following the diagram format, the Zulu confederacy was structured pyramidically with the King at its apex. It comprised the first political division, that is, Metropolitan Zulu including eight Kwabulawayo Office Holders considered as the king's permanent advisers. The second political division, Metropolitan Zulu involving

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(60) ˏBy the late eighteenth century, with the population growing, the Zulu were still a minor clan. The Zulu's king, Senzangakhona, established the Zulu throne in the years when the Xhosa clans collided with the Boers to the south. He established an official royal court giving the Zulus leadership greater legitimacy'.B.Guest, op.cit., p.81.

(61) 'The Nguni are divided into 3 groups: the northern Nguni (the Bantu-speaking peoples in modern Natal and now almost all called Zulu), the southern Nguni (all in the Transkei and Cape and all now grouped together as Xhosa) and the Swazi. Linguistically, the northern and southern Nguni are still quite close and can usually make themselves understood to each other; a large number of words are the same. The Xhosa tend to speak more quickly and tend to elide more, dropping some syllables; however, the Xhosa have picked up 'clicks' from the Khoikhoi, many of whom they absorbed. The Swazi language though has undergone a number of sound shifts; that indicates that the language separated from the other Nguni languages quite a while ago'. A.T.Bryant, *A history of the Zulu and the Neighbouring Tribes*, Africana Specialist and Publisher, Cape Town, First Edition, 1964, p.125.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Diagram 4: The Zulu Divisions of the Empire (1696 - 1750)
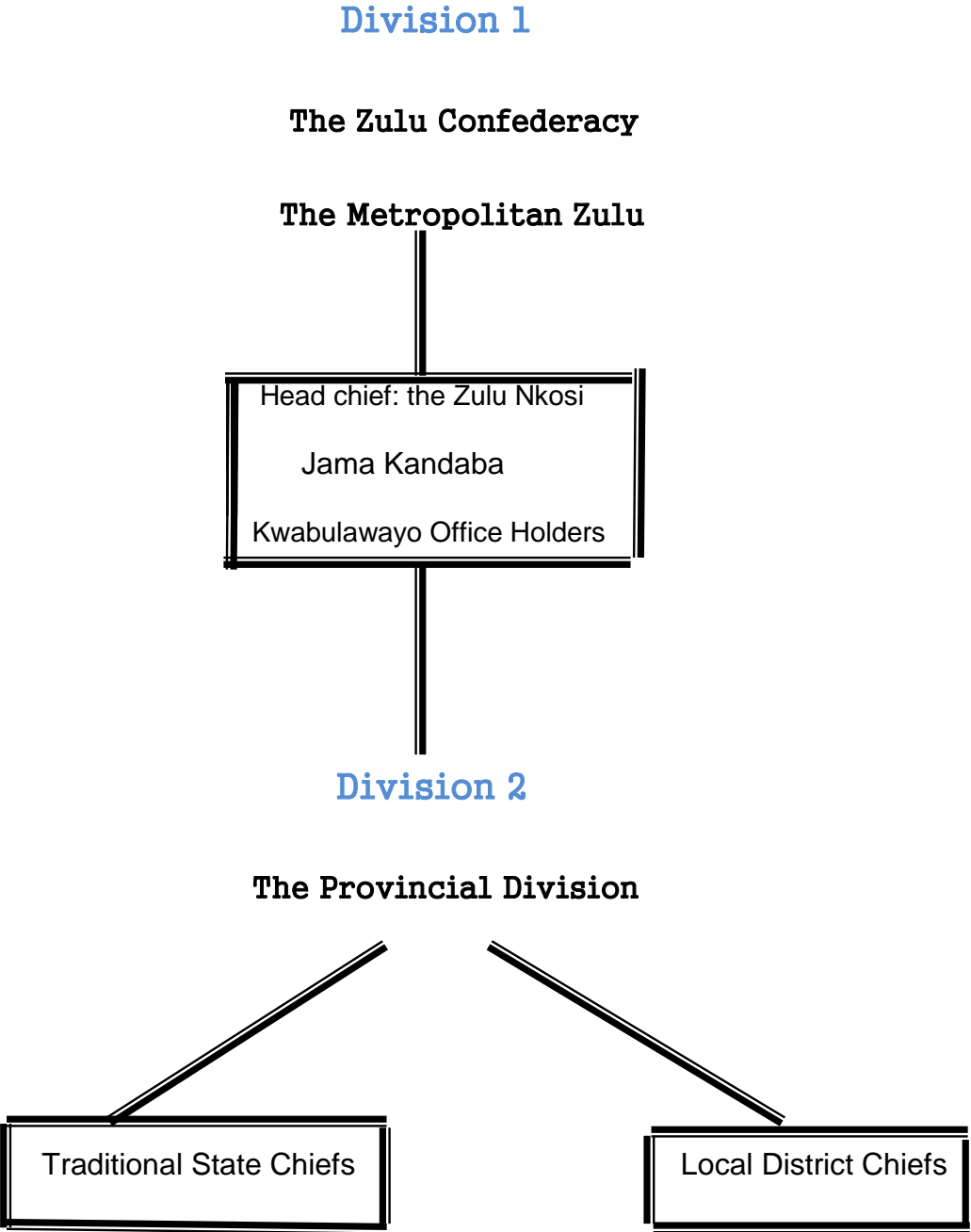
Division 1

The Zulu Confederacy

The Metropolitan Zulu

Head chief: the Zulu Nkosi

Jama Kandaba

Kwabulawayo Office Holders

Division 2

The Provincial Division

| Traditional State Chiefs | Local District Chiefs |

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

the traditional sub-chiefs who used to rule the Nguni and non-Nguni subdued people in the Western and Southern territories.

Among the Zulus, the king (known in Bantu language as the Nkosi) was the supreme head over the Metropolitan Zulu; he was eligible to such position via a system of patrilineal succession in the capital Kwabulawayo[62]. Besides, traditional lineage heads from the Nguni royal clan and royal family relatives had to select the Zulu king. In this way, Jamakandaba was elected and started to form his own confederacy by gathering all traditional elders of the Nguni royal clan who consisted of the traditional chiefs of Xhosa, Tswana, Pedi, Sotho, Tsonga, Swazi, Venda and Ndebele. The traditional elders (isikhulu) formed the elite of the confederacy and had under their control the rule of their respective states. In this respect, Laband quotes the belonging of the elite as follows:

> *The most important of the élite were the izikhulu. To be an isikhulu one had to be of royal descent or a great hereditary chief, but not all royalty were isikhulu; one also needed a degree of competence and royal favour. From the izikhulu would come the inner core of the King's advisers who constituted the ibandla, or council of the state. The pre-eminent member of the ibandla, who acted like a 'prime minister' of sorts, was called the ndunankulu. Other members of the royal family might be termed umtwana ('child') reflecting their royal descent. Outside of this inner circle were izinduna, or state officials, who were appointed to*

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(62) 'Generally Zulu and Abatwa people trace descent patrilineally -down the father's side. This means that my informant whose grandfather who was Abatwa is also Abatwa by way of commonly held descent patterns. His nephew, the son of his sister, is considered Zulu as his father is Zulu', ibid., p.130.

perform various administrative functions, ruling as acting-chiefs etc. Those at the court (izilomo) who held no official position were either friends of, or entertainment for, the King who were the King's izinceku, or personal attendants.[63]

Every traditional chief ensured the application and the implementation of the king's rules that consisted mainly of the respect of a set of rules introduced by the king Jamakandaba and his successor Senzangakhona Kajama (1781-1816) with the help of their royal traditional elders. These rules are cited as follows: the king had entire control over his people. He was the chief judge and controlled the court system and his court was the highest and the final court of appeal. In case of revolts and non-assistance in times of war, the king confiscated every property especially cattle. He is also considered as the national religious and sacred king leading the main traditional ceremonies of the whole state.

The ancestral belief among the Zulus was important like any other African state. The Zulus had different divinities but the most important is the belief in the sacred person of their first ancestor, he made their past and their future since the belief in ancestors regulated the political system. That is, the ancestral cult creates a link between religion and politics. The Zulus' symbol of political authority shields and regalia embodied the ancestral spirits and thus the king is the perpetual guardian of the ancestors[64].

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(63) John Laband, *Rope of Sand*. Jonathan Ball LtD, Johannesburg, 1995, pp.60-61.

(64) Yong Kyu Chang, 'Zulu Divining Rituals and the Politics of Embodiment', French Institute of South Africa, *Les cahiers de l'IFAS*, V:2, 2002, p. 43.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

The period stretching from 1781 to 1815, king Senzangakhona led the Zulu confederacy and established an intricate system of political economy for the management of the economic institution. During his reign, not more than 15000 people were under his sway and the beginning of the nineteenth century was of great significance:

> *Numbering no more than 15000 people, most of which were herders, the Zulus spent most of the eighteenth century in relative insignificance. Daily life for the men consisted of tending the cattle and performing the heavier tasks around the homestead. The women were responsible for household duties and the cultivation of crops.* [65]

Within the savannah region, Nkosi Senzangakhona initiated the Zulu's political economy. The use and production of the basic natural resources of the whole territory had to be under royal supervision and control. The harsh climatic conditions and the geographical situation of the Zulu's territory[66] were not actually satisfactory. Cattle herding[67]. and farming with a food producing system were the major activities including the production of milk and storing meat. Outside the central

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[65] *B.Guest, The New Economy: Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 1910. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.1989, p.165.*

[66] Carl Barter, *Stray Memories of Natal and Zululand*, Pietermaritzburg, Munro Bros, 1997, p.163.

[67] 'The cattle in a Zulu kraal are thus regarded not as mere domestic animals kept for their utility, but as an essential part of the village. The Zulu cannot conceive of existence without his beloved cattle ... Of all the activities, which are considered the special sphere of men; the most important in tribal economy is certainly the rearing care of cattle. Cattle provide meat and Amasi, the main stay of the Zulu diet, as well as hides for shields and for clothing, while the wealth of a man is always reckoned in cattle, since it is with cattle that he must acquire wives for himself and his sons and pay doctor's fees when there is illness in his kraal.' Martin Hall*, Ethnography, Environment and the History of the Nguni in the Nguni in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*,South Press, 2010, p.112.

region, the exploitation of the conquered people (of the Southern West and the other Nguni clans) was made through the Zulu's acquisition of the provincial tribute.

The food producing system was the main agricultural sustenance system used in the Zulu savannah region[68]. In such dry regions, crops were chiefly produced in considerable quantities following an agricultural system of distribution that suited the whole Zulu's needs. In fact, different crops were cultivated and were chiefly grains, maize and gathered wild fruits. Grains were the most cultivated crop appropriate for the dry climatic conditions of the region. In the early eighteenth century, The Zulu communities subsisted primarily on cereals: sorghum, millet, and especially maize, which had become the primary crops by the eighteenth century:

> *These crops were favoured because they required relatively little labour, they were fairly resistant to variations in temperature and precipitation, and they yielded better than other crops. Zulu provinces were organized in imizi (homesteads), which consisted of izindlu (huts) arranged in a circle, with the Mnumzana (male head). The crops were cultivated throughout the Zulu's savannah regions. The areas for its production stretched from the Ndlambe region to the neighbouring*

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(68) ¸Natal's first inhabitants were (Stone Age) hunters and gatherers who migrated seasonally between the mountains in summer and the humid coast in winter. The late Iron Age (*c*.1000 CE) brought significant increases in population density, along with the first records of settled agriculture and metallurgy. Botanical research suggests that the heavy rainfall regions along the coast and above 500m remained densely wooded. The landscape began to change in the 13th century, with the arrival of Bantu agriculturalists extending south from Equatorial Africa. Expanded settlement and accompanying fire use, farming, and livestock grazing gradually thinned the forests, allowing savannahs and mixed woodlands to dominate in these higher elevation zones'. Carl Barter, op.cit., pp.166-167.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

Southern regions including the external provinces that is, Swazi, Venda and Ndebele.[69]

The maize and sorghum cultivators differed according to their type and origin. That is to say, small groups comprised local Zulu workers -most of them were migrant people in search of a settlement where they could grow crops- who cultivated the land with the help of their relatives and members of their families and often lived in the provincial of the Zulu kingdom. Other large groups comprised slave labour. The latter were either free native workers who indebted to the owner of the land or war-captives (known as 'Isomun') -who were taken from the various Zulu wars against the Nguni and the northern eastern and western people- who worked in large numbers gathered into the wide areas of the savannah zone.

Both the local and slave workers were divided into several groups appropriate for preparing and cultivating the land following mere techniques of production. Some labourers cleared the land while others used the small patches or areas of the bush zone for the production as men generally cleared the land and their wives or children helped them for agriculture[70].

Mainly before the rainy seasons, maize and sorghum were harvested. They could reach ten tons per hectare with a large considerable

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(69) 'Beyond this coastal strip rivers cut deeply into the earth, forming valleys and spurs that dominated the terrain below an altitude of approximately 1500m. Moving westward from the coast the vegetation thickened into a 'transitional thicket': a closed scrubland dominated by evergreen or succulent trees alongside'. Martin Hall, The Myth of the Zulu Homestead: Archeology and Ethnography, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp.99-100.

(70) 'They were specialized in clearing the savannah lands removing all the unpleasant weeds where after they used to burn this vegetation to avoid the appearance of other weeds or roots while others cleaned and cultivated the land'. Carl Barter, op.cit., p.170.

amount often weighing from ten to twenty kilograms that were ready for their local distribution and later for their consumption[71].

The harvested crops were confiscated and divided by the traditional state chiefs (the landowners) into different parts shared among the workers and the local chiefs. While most of the distributed parts of harvested crops were directly consumed by the local workers and chiefs, the traditional state chiefs' share was largely consumed during the KwaZulu festival since it was annually offered to the king among the attending main chiefs and subjects of the empire to celebrate the traditional beliefs and customs and to demonstrate also the Nkosi's great acquisitions and his people's gratitude.

Great consideration was given to the king after the great harvest since he remained the sacred and perpetual guardian of the nation through which he was given the right for the distribution of lands to his traditional state chiefs and the acquisition of any produced natural resource of the empire. Even in remote Western communities, their local food commodities such as maize and salted meat became the property of the kingdom and consequently the king's property.

It seems that the Zulu's economic system of food production through crop seasonal plantation was basically organized for the local consumption. A typical organization for a subsistence economy that focused on the local consumption of the produced crops used to celebrate the traditional meetings and keep the labour force sustained for the other agricultural production and kept for other services especially for the military ones.

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(71) A.T.Bryant, op.cit., p.39.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

The management of the Zulu political economy needed the firm organization of the Zulu's army in the Central Division and the creation of military regiments in the Provincial Division. Under the reign of king Shaka Zulu, it became compulsory for every Zulu member of the different divisions of the empire to integrate the Zulu army comprising the Nkosidom group or troops. In fact, inside the central division, the Zulu army comprised five Office Holders (chosen within the Kwabulawayo divisions) who were trained to exercise their military prerogatives into what was called the Nkosidom group also known as companies. The Nkosidom members were five members known as the Abonten (the chief of the army), the Nuafa (the chief of the right wing of the army), the Bunumzi (the chief of the left wing), the Kudumsi (the chief of the rearguard) and finally the Kentiresi known as the Batasi who led the army during the Nkosi's absence (he could be replaced also by the royal office holders)[72].

In times of war, the Nkosidom members led the Ashanti troops that were mobilized for a full military assistance. Helped by the confederated Kwabulawayo office holders and the traditional state chiefs, the Nkosidom members used to prepare the Zulu and non-Zulu provincial people whose engagement was of great importance in the Zulu army. The provincial people had to assist the military Zulu campaigns to subdue their neighbours. The military assistance of the Xosa and Ndebele people, for instance, among the Zulu military forces was of a great importance in the conquest of the neighbouring people such as Mpondo, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Hlubi, and Mtethwawho assisted, in their turn, the Zulu troops for

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(72) S.Bourquin, The Zulu Military Organization and The Challenge of 1879, *Military History Journal*,Vol.4, January 1979, p.105.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

further invasions[73]. This Nkosidom's command over provincial military assistance was to strengthen the Zulu's army by preparing the states of the empire, willy-nilly, in supporting the Nkosi to spread his control over rebellious people.

Outside the Central Division, the Nkosi and the six office holders established their own military institution in the Provincial Division through their headship of seven new personal military companies known as *Kesuo*. Each *Kesuo* company consisted of different military troops whose members were trained officers and soldiers chosen among the war-captives and among the office holders' own subjects and servants[74].

Each company functioned as the local office holders' personal guard. Its members had to maintain local security in each provincial state. They protected the local chiefs in every state from any rebellion and established respect and order. In times of war and military conflicts, the *Kesuo* troops were trained to execute missions and order. They secured also the conquered people's submission to a complete military assistance that was of a great importance in times of war[75].

The military assistance of the Mthethwa people for example besides the Ashanti's army officers had a major contribution in the Zulus' expansion westwards for the control over the western Ndebela and Xosa people.

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(73) A.T.Bryant, op.cit., p.162.

(74) ‹The Zulu slaves were brought or left as slaves by an army chief of each provincial or by a deceased local chief'.Bryant, ibid., p.205.

(75) ‹Mainly the Dutch and later the British settlers of the coastal Elmina fort'. E.Eldredge, *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815-1828: War, Shaka, and the Consolidation of Power*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.221.

Chapter I: The Formation of the African Institutions, The Ashanti's and Zulu's Ethnic Profiles before 1820s: A Historical Background

The formation of the Ashanti's and Zulu's kingdoms before 1824 is considered as a methodological and thoughtful effort used by the main authority holders of both empires to strengthen the beginnings of a centralized political system through hereditary attribution of political control over each state and community under entire control. This strengthened system witnessed numerous processes of state formation and consolidation under famous founders in both empires namely the Asantehene Osei Tutu (1695-1731) and Nkosi JamaKandaba (1763-1781) to become integrally tied by the newly devised constitutional, traditional and military institutions. Mainly among the Ashanties and under Apoku Ware's reign (1731-1750), the consolidated empire was coterminous with the existence of a functionally discrete political centre which regulated activities in order to firmly enlarge the bases of the central government by the association of an increasing number of people of different origins (either Akans or non-Akans) indirectly left to their deliberation and responsibilities. The focus on the military institution was primordial for the Ashanti kings to join the various Akan and non-Akan people and also to avoid any spirit of revolt o secession within the core and periphery of the kingdom.

Likewise, among the Zulus highly devised military institutions are noticed and the king Senzagakhona marked the main basis of the military army. The army was relatively weak but represented the starting point for his eldest (although illegitimate) son to overturn the fortunes of both the Ndwandwe and Mthethwa clans in his great military expansion.

As noted earlier, the chiefdom institution marked the divisions of both kingdoms. This chieftaincy system comprised the process that

is generally the amalgamation of different secured groups and localities to allow the system to grow up under different independent chiefs who were often rivals to each other. Thus, both the Ashanties and Zulus understood the way to follow the natural the basis of that social contract that involved the state formation and the maintenance of the economic and political institutions. They both came together to form one nation gathering common united efforts to realize common aspirations for peace and security. The consequences of such maintenance will be described in more details in the next chapters.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

The evolution of the Ashanti kingdom startedwith the Akan people centred in the forest areas close to Kumasi, the capital. After an initial period of centralisation of various villages and polities around Kumasi, the Ashanti kings went on to annex states and entities in every direction through both military and diplomatic means, with the accent on the former.

As it was shown in the previous chapter, the periods under the reign of the Asantehene O.Tutu (1695-1731) and A.Ware (1730-1750) marked successful eras for imperial conquests and organized control; their successors had then to improve the development of the system of political and economic organization for the continuation of the Ashanti's imperial policy. The new kings' initiatives were to focus on extensive centralized political controland to apply political reforms initially inside the royal central council. They were then keen on spreading royal extensive control over the military and economic institutions of the empire. The latter werebasically restructured and reformed under the control of new appointed office holders belonging to non-hereditary royal kinship.However,since these reforms constituted the Ashanti's main anchors of strengthened institutional system, it is important to understand its evolution, institutional change, and performance throughout the chronological axis of time.The period stretching from to1824 to 1878 And the era spreading from 1878 to 1920 consequences to such governing system and reforms could have stymied the pioneering founders and builders and their initiatives to the newly introduced reforms of the empire.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

II.1.The Limits of the Ashanti Empire

The resulting offensive operations against the neighbouring states made the Ashanti in acquisition of a vast territory and a population which was more numerous and dense than Ware's times. When OseiKwadwo (1824-1850) succeeded to the throne in 1820s, and then came his successor OseiBonsu (1850-1880), the Ashanties grew from a group of confederated states to a vast empire. They reigned over the whole Akan provinces except the southern Fante regions and also the non-Akan provinces including the Ga, the Ewe, the Gonja and Dagomba states. The Ashanti people reached then two million people including the increasing population of Kumasi and its surrounding Nsuta, Dwaben, Kokofu and Bekwai regions with about one hundred thousand inhabitants[1]. (See Map 3 p.74)

In the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, OseiKwadwo (1824-1850) launched series of internal political reforms in the Ashanti confederacy that were followed by the introduction of economic reforms in the 1850s.The political and administrative tasks whose accomplishments were reserved to the Asantehene changed their natureand form imposing a profound reorganization of the state. The next fifty years proved to be a turning point in O. Kwadwo's life. He started to launch series of internal constitutional reforms in the political divisions together with the military institutions. These reforms were followed by the introduction of economic changes in the 1830s that improved OseiBonsu's achievements during his reigning era.

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(1) J.F.Bayart. *The State in Africa: the Politics of the Belly*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK, 2009, p.114.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Map3: The Ashanti Empire (1820)
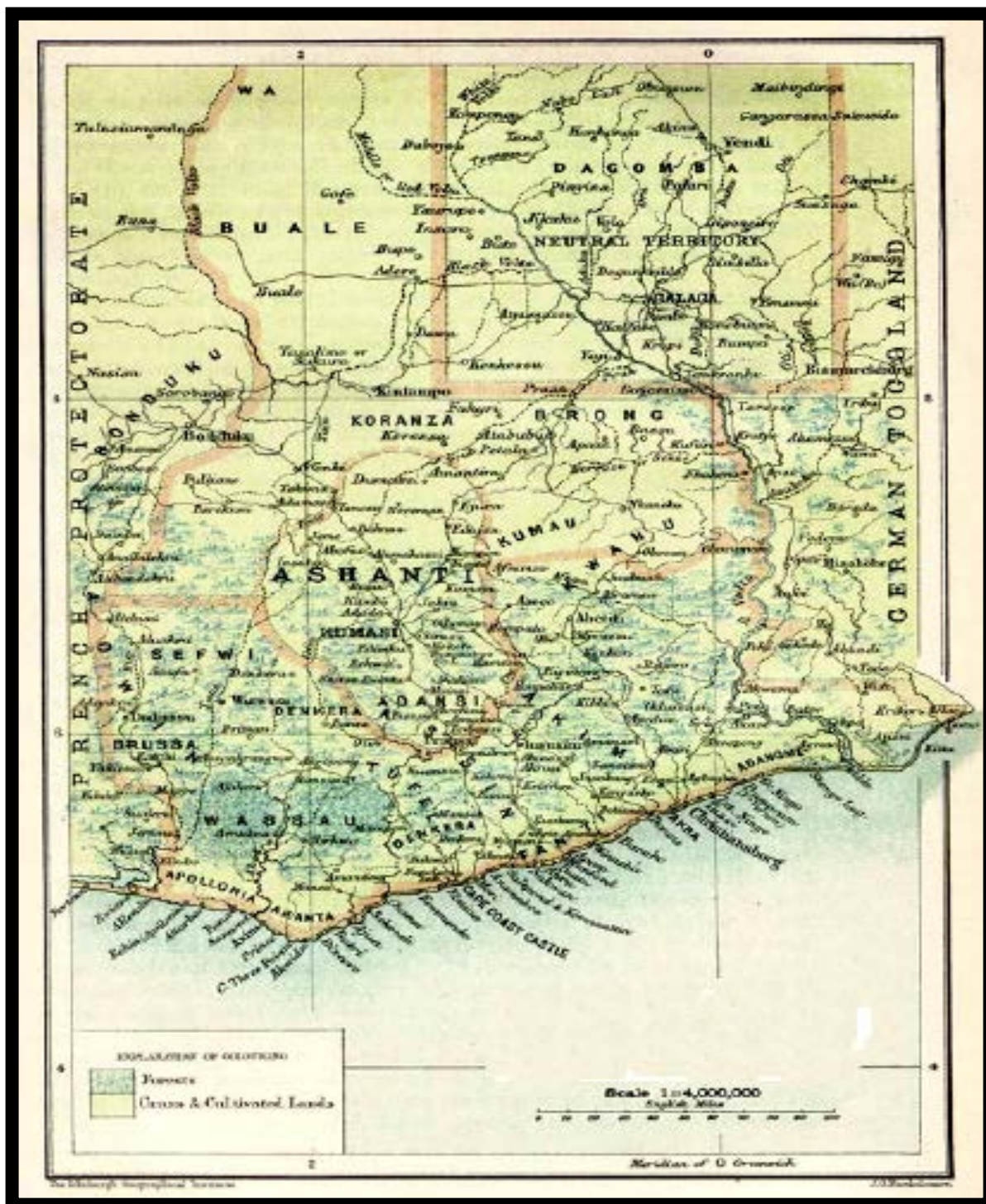
Source: Thomas Edward Bowdich, *Mission from cape Coast castle to Ashantee*, London, John Murray, Third Edition, 1966, p.129.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

However, Osei Bonsu's reign (1850-1880) witnessed the greatest years of expansion and conquest. According to the data provided in 1850 by T.E.Bowdich, the Ashanti empire expanded through a territory of approximately three hundred thousand (300.000) square miles stretching from the immediate hinterland of the Gold Coast till the northern savannahs with an area of Central Metropolitan Ashanti including a rising population of about seven hundred thousand (700.000) inhabitants with its internal provinces situated about fifty miles radius around kumasi. The Provincial Ashanti reached more than two million inhabitants in the whole northern Gonja, Dagomba and Mamprussi regions, in the north western, western and southern Akans as well as the south eastern Ga and Ewe communities together with the newly acquired states of the south: the Fante states.

Besides, the arrival of the Europeans and the trade that they brought with them certainly had an impact on the evolution of the Ashanti empire, but did in no means define it[2]. However, before getting into how the empire operated, we need to examine the long-term processes and environmental conditions that led to the forming of the Ashanti state by the 1820s.

However, one would then inquire about how could the Asantehene take in charge the running of all the agencies of the Ashanti empire? Will he adopt a new system of government or will he follow his predecessors' work? And if any political and economic changes would occur, who could take most profit

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(2) T.C .McCASKIE, Asante Identities: History and Modernity in an African Village 1850–1950, Edinburgh, 2000 , p.116.

especially when reactions for revolts and secession from the old oligarchy and the Office Holders would rise up?

After studying O.Kwadwo's reforms, the main circumstances for their application will be first examined. That is to say, to which major preoccupations did these reforms obey? What was the Asantehene's aim to achieve these reforms? Next, what was the final objective placed to face the sub-chiefs' reactions? These are the main inquiries that are attempted to achieve in the enclosed chapter.

II.2. The Emergence of the Ashanties' Reforms: Long-Term Empire Formation Processes

During his first visit to the royal Asantehene's court as British commissioner in 1815, T.E.Bowdich described the Ashanti traditional gatherings as follows:

> *During the traditional ceremonies (Odwira and Adae ceremonies) hundreds and hundreds of household servants and officials rushed before the Asantehene. They were called the Odehye and formed a class of administrators known as the Akyeame Asante Agyei, the Ahenkwa Owusu Dome, the Adamfo Kwaku Sakyi, the Afenasoafo KraDenhyee, the Amradofo AkwaAmankwa, and the Nseniefo KraNyame... They then presented themselves successively with their retinues and bands of music, and bowing before the king, received his foot upon their heads; each then directed his officials to the king (holding up the two first fingers of his right hand) and swore by the king's*

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

II.2.1.The Asantehene's Political Reforms

Through the establishment of the new Asantehene's council, different groups of officials were appointed holding new functions besides the other authority holders of the central and provincial divisions of the empire who controlled the Akans, the Ga, the Ewe, the Gonja and the Dagomba people. The main circumstances of these appointments will be later identified together with their impact on the Office Holders in the Central Division and the Omanhene in the Provincial Division.

II.2.1.1. The Councils and their Appointed Officials: Nhenkwa, Adamfo and Amradofo

Diagram 5 page 78 indicates clearly the institutional framework and the organizational system in the attribution of political control under Osei Kwadwo's reign (1824-1850). In addition to the three previously established councils namely, the Advisory, the Local and the Empire Councils, the new Inner Council (known also as the Privy Council) was created under O.Kwadwo's headship gathering new appointed members. The latter counted eighteen officials that is, five *Nhenkwa*, seven *Adamfo* and six

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(3) T.E.Bowdich, *Mission from cape Coast castle to Ashante*,London, John Murray, 1966, p.123.And, I.Wilks wrote that Bowdich was the first to make a serious attempt to represent the extent of the Greater Asante in the nineteenth century on paper and to show what he called 'the boundary of the Asante's authority. I.Wilk, *Forests of Gold and the Kingdom of Asante*, op.cit, p.189.

Diagram 5: The Council of the Empire under Osei Kwadwo's Reign
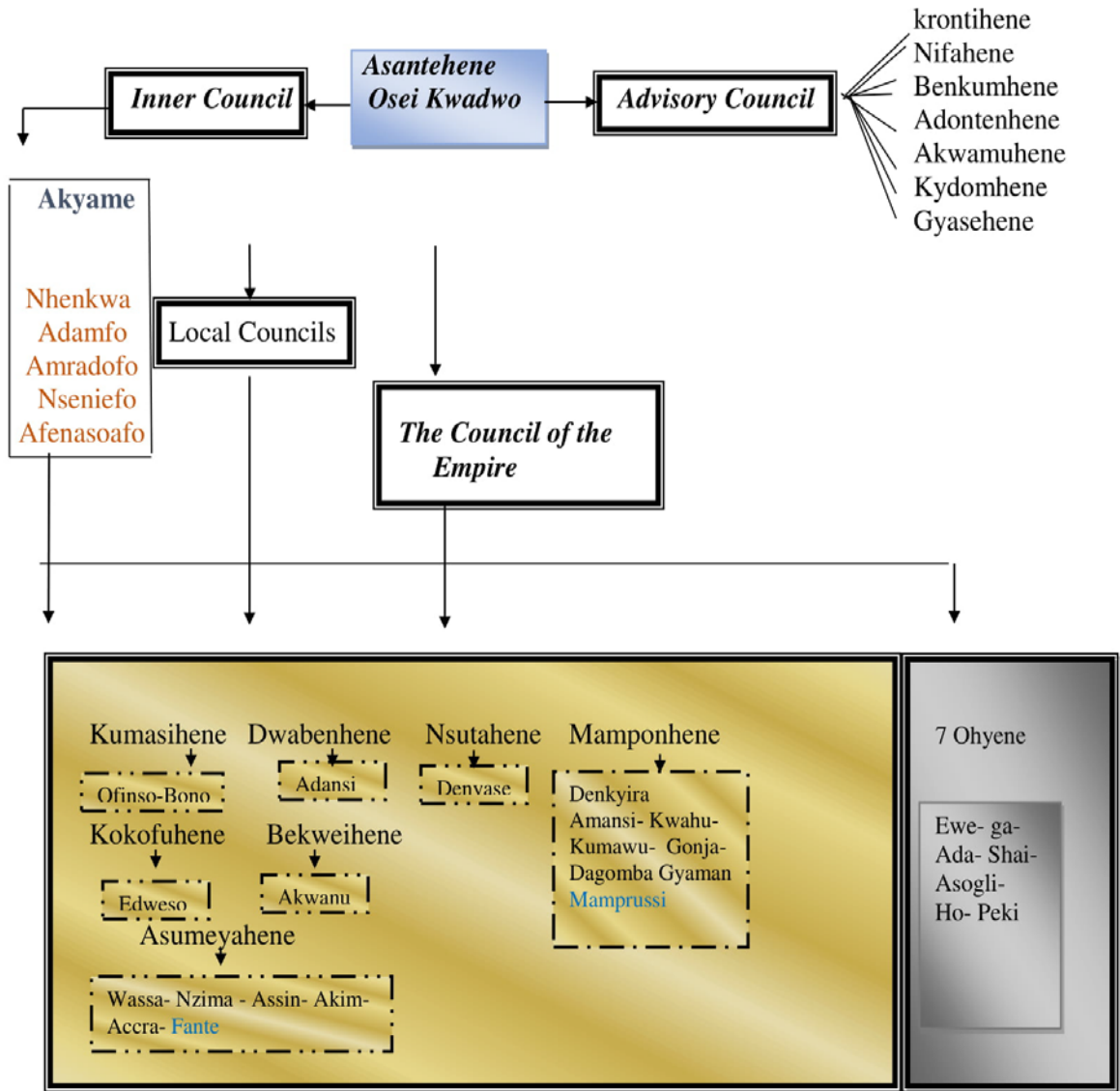
krontihene
Nifahene
Benkumhene
Adontenhene
Akwamuhene
Kydomhene
Gyasehene

Asantehene Osei Kwadwo

Inner Council

Advisory Council

Akyame

Nhenkwa
Adamfo
Amradofo
Nseniefo
Afenasoafo

Local Councils

The Council of the Empire

Kumasihene   Dwabenhene   Nsutahene   Mamponhene

Ofinso-Bono   Adansi   Denvase

Denkyira
Amansi- Kwahu-
Kumawu- Gonja-
Dagomba Gyaman
Mamprussi

Kokofuhene   Bekweihene

Edweso   Akwanu

Asumeyahene

Wassa- Nzima - Assin- Akim-
Accra- Fante

7 Ohyene

Ewe- ga-
Ada- Shai-
Asogli-
Ho- Peki

Key

Centralized political control

Decentralized political control

Amradofo. The Nhenkwa and the Amradofo were chosen among the faithful Asantehene's servants working as the hornblowers and drummers within the royal court while the Adamfo were carefully selected among the military officers of the royal army companies[4].

Th Asantehene's officials met almost everyday except on Holydays and assisted the king in the different political and economic issues of the central or local province according to their attributed functions in their respective regions.

The newly appointed Nhenkwa officials held new functions in the state of Kumasi in addition to the other confederated states. They were responsible for the Kumasi Office Holders' daily assistance. They had to communicate the Asantehene's messages and orders since they were often present during the Office Holder's meetings especially at the Advisory council. The Nhenkwa were in charge of the daily supervision and inspection of states under the confederated Omanhene's rule in Kokofu, Dwaben, Bekwai and Nsuta. They were also in charge of the promulgation of the main decrees that occurred during the official meetings including the Inner Council, the Local Councils or the Council of the Empire. In addition, the Nhenkwawere left the task of receiving the official guests during the king's absence such as the confederated Omanhene and the other

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(4) ٬They were concerned with the running of all agencies of the central government: the conduct of foreign affairs, the administration of the provinces, the maintenance of internal security, the creation of new military formations, and, at the same time the management of the state enterprise'. K.Arhin, 'Status Differentiation in Ashanti in the Nineteenth Century: a Preliminary Study', Research review, *Institute of African Studies*, University of Ghana, 4, 1968, p.35.

foreign representatives of the European and the Muslim northern territories[5]. M.A. Akanba pointed out that:

> *There is in Asante a status known as Nhenkwa; the word means friend, but in this connection must be translated "friend-at–court". If the Asantehene is a prominent king living at a distance from Kumasi, there will be a distingued member of the Asantehene's entourage, permanently resident at court, who is the Asantehene's Nhenkwa officials. They have the duty of watching the Asantehne's interests of every kind at court; and all communications coming to the king will be made through the Nhenkwa[6].*

The other office holders known as the Adamfo were seven members chosen among the king's military troops and considered as the Asantehene's officers. They were appointed into new created non-hereditary offices and were attributed some specific territorial regions of the external provinces in addition to important functions within the Ashanti empire.

The Adamfo assisted the Asantehene in establishing control over the subdued Akan and non-Akan people of the empire according to their attributed regions (See Table 2 p.81). As it is shown on Table 2, the seven Adamfo officers called the Adumhene, the Bantamahene, the Asumankwahene, the Asafohene, the Asumhene, the Akyempimhene and the Dadiesoabahene were attributed most of the northern and the north western districts of the Gonja, Dagomba,

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(5) A.K.Datta and R. Porter, 'The Asante System in Historical Perspective', *Journal of African History, V:* 12(2), 1971, pp.280–281.

(6) M.K.Akanba.op.cit.,p.165.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Table 2 : **The Adamfos of the Northern, North Eastern and North Western Provinces**

	States or Districts	Adamfos	The attributed regions
BANDA	Nasawkaw / hani Bekyme / Nsuta/ Takyiman Wankyi	Adumhene Asafohene	**The Northern and North Western Akan territories of the forest region**
BONO	Seikwa Namasa Menji Brawhani	Akyempimhene Asumhene	
GYAMAN	Mansa Branam Bima Nkorankwagya Nkyirawa Badu / Berekum Nswatre/ Nkuranta	Dadiesoabahene Nsumankwahene Bantamahene	**The Northern non-Akan territories**
GONJA DAGOMBA	Yeji/ Salaga/ Prang/ Krepi/Namonsi/ Krachi		

Source: Emmanuel Terray, *The Ashanti Empire by the end of the 18th century*, in *Histoire du Royaume Abron du Gyaman*, op.cit, pp.530-531.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Bono, Banda and Gyaman states. They reported all the political, economic and military activities of each provincial state and district. They secured the king's laws and orders thanks to their military campaigns done in the conquest of the northern, north western and north eastern regions.

The Adamfo's achievements secured them places in the village and in divisional councils. They assumed their roles and competed the Omanhen's headship. They formed palace groups and were patrilineally recruited with continuous additions of the king's servants. The headships were in fact, appointive and became important figures following the model of pre-industrial bureaucracies. They became in charge of adolescent boys and young men who peformed the multifarious duties connected to the Omanhene's personal and court life. They were ranked on the basis of the office holders' relationship to the head stools and to the nature of the services performed by their units, which also reflected their importance in the royal Ashanti palace. The Adamfo groups were politically important as instruments of centralization of the Asantehene's authority.

Other appointive royal office holders, the Amradofo were chosen among the Asantehene's servants and direct subordinates from the royal court who were chosen among the king'sdrummers and horn-blowers. Both the Adamfo and the Amradofo were cautious instudying the Omanhene's actions and applying the Asantehene's laws and instructions. They reported the local conflicts

andsupervised the economic activities (especially for the application of the tribute amount)[7].

However, the Asantehene's appointed officials namely, the Adamfo, the Amradofo and the Nhenkwa, came to represent the centralized king's control over a constant supervision of the different states, communities and institutions restricting the power of the Omanhene and the Kumasi Office Holders who were still in possession of a large degree of local autonomy as well as power within the Ashanti army. These new achievements raised many revolts among the Omanhene and the Office Holders. These main authorities saw the cumulative effect of O.Kwadwo's reforms that increased his power and control. The local ethnic groups resisted to the point of civil war and this was in order to avoid any attempt to extend the king's power into their domains[8]. In the following Table 3p.84, more details will precise the main provincial States under the Amradofos' control who were attributed the most important regions of the Southern Akan territories and the South Eastern Akan territories.

The six Amradofo officials were also appointed by the Asantehene Osei kwadwo and depended only on the Asantehene's control and instructions to exercise their functions within their attributed southern and south eastern territories of the external provinces. The Amradofo were carefully attributed some specific territories under the Ashanti's conquest. These territories included the states of the

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(7) R.S.Rattray, *Ashanti*, op.cit., p.85.

(8) A.M.Akanba*, Revelation: The movement of the Akan People from Kanaan to Ghana*, Author House UK Ltd, First Edition, 2010, p.244. And E.Terray, 'Contribution a une étude de l'Armée Asante', *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 61-62, V: XVI (1-2), 1980, p.311.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Table 3 : **The Amradofos of the Southern and the South Eastern Akan and Non-Akan Provinces**

	States	Districts	The attributed regions
Amradofos		Wiango	
1	Assin	Amansi	**The Southern Akan territories**
		Obuase	
2	Wassa	Tarkwa Nzima	
3	Adansi		
4	Elmina	Fosu	
5	Accra Ga&Adangbe	AkwapimKonango	**The South Eastern non-Akan territories**
6	Ewe	NyanoasoAsampoko	

Source: Emmanuel Terray, *The Ashanti empire by the end of the 18ᵗʰ century* in *Histoire du Royaume Abron du Gyaman*, op.cit., p.532.

south and the south east of Kumasi, namely, Assin, Wassa, Elmina, Accra, Akim, and Akwapim.

II.2.2. The Administrative Institution: Gyasehene and Abirempomhene

Under the reign of the Asantehene Apoku Ware, new administrative officials were appointed in the central and provincial divisions. They consisted of two categories of Office Holders who dealt with the organization of thelocal councils. Inside the royal court, the Office Holders were the *Gyasehene* and the *Birempomhene* who were chosen among the king's faithful servants. The Gyasehene served the Asantehene as the head of drummers and hornblowers and the Birempomhene provided a wide range of personal services including umbrella carriers and messengers in the internal servant's organization of each Oman[9].

Besides their work within the royal court, the Asantehene left some administrative functions to the Gyasehene and the Biremponhene. The Gyasehene controlled the royal revenues that came to the king's treasuries and supervised any expenses among the royal family members and Office Holders while the Biremponhene was the king's reliable messenger to the Office Holders and often attended the Advisory Council to supervise the administration of the different issues and to register all the decisions taken during the Office Holders' meetings.

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(9)'The Bono Biremponhene learnt reading and writing from the Muslims of the north (as they were captives of the Bono king) and taught the Ashanti administrators the art of writing and registering the important events that came to the court'. K. Arhin, 'Rank and Class among the Asante and Fante in the Nineteenth Century', *Jouranl of the Interantional African Institute*, V:53,N:1, 1983,p.8.

The royal Gyasehene and Biremponhene exercised also other administrative prerogatives inside the provincial division. They ensured the supervision of the local Gyasehene and Biremponhene who were appointed by the Omanhene. Like the royal Gyasehene, the local Gyasehene were, in the Oman, given the administration of the Omanhene's revenues and properties whereas the local Biremponhene were messengers supervising the local chiefs' work in the local districts and having to report the local chiefs' activities especially concerning their possible conflicts, revolts and revenues. The Gyasehene's and Birempomhene's administration ensured the Omanhene's organization of both political and economic affairs.The Omanhane sought for other measures to develop new military formations of new soldiers directly controlled by the crown known as the military companies[10].

II.3. The Military Institution: The Creation of New Military Companies

Mainly after securing a direct political supervision over the main Central and Provincial Divisions, O.Kwadwo started to reform the military institution. Four new military companies known as the *Hiawu,* the *Nkonson,* the *Nkawara* and the *Ankobea* companies were created to ensure the central authority's total security.The Adamfo got a personal guard that ensured their

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(10) ¿The term '*Gyase*' applies to the most immediate adherents attached to the household of any important personage. In this instance, even an ordinary well-to-do man (rich man) may have his own *Gyase* , so much so that the head of the family (*Opanyin*or*Atrankonnua*) or a ruler of a town (*Odekro*), or a head of a division of a state (*Ohene*) or the supreme head or king of a state (Omanhene) should necessarily have his own Gyase-men, and the number of the members constituting the Gyase of each of the above heads depends on the importance of the party concerned. That is to say, the number of the members of the Gyase attached to the Ohenes household is by far fewer than that attached to the Omanhene household". I.Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante'*, op.cit., p.100. .

functions. Every Adamfo had his own *Hiawu*company with a personal guard of about eight hundred to one thousand heavy-armed soldiers[11] (the latter were either war captives or the Asantehene's subjects whom he bought from a deceased chief or captain).As Akanba depicted:

> *Every Asante king who lived at a distance from Kumasi had his honorary rerpresentative who needed to be garrisoned in the area under supervision. The Adamfo was not in any sense the social superior of the king whom he represented who acted as consul or ambassador, much as a roman senator under Trajan might be the patron at court of some far away provincial tribe or city.*[12]

T.C.McCasckie mentioned that emphasis was placed not only on maternal succession but also on the father-child bond. The paternal connection highlighted achievement incentives. The *Nkonson,* the *Nkawara* and the*Ankobea* companies were ruled by the closest Asantehene's relatives, his brothers.They held their functions as the personal Asantehene's guardians organized for his permanent protection. These were held in check by matrilineal obligations and the presumption of equality among the major Akan clans[13]. Each company assumed its function within the help of a large group of well-trained soldiers considered as the

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(11) R.Cornevin, *Histoire des peuples de l'Afrique Noire*, France : Edition Berger Lever Ault, Paris, Troisième Edition, 1963, p.437. And E.Terray,'Contribution à une Etude de l'Armée Asante',op.cit., pp.104-105.

(12) A.Akanba, op.cit., p123.

(13) T.C.McCaskie, *State and Society in pre-Colonial Asante*, Cambridge University Press, First Edition, 1995, p.26.

king's subjects. E.Terray pointed out that before the chief of the company was appointed, the king collected recruits in readiness for him to drill. They were either captives taken in a recent war, or his own subjects whom he bought as indebted slaves, or they had been given to him by a deceased chief or captain[14].

A number between one thousand to one thousand and fifty soldiers within each company were received and trained. They assisted the captains of each company in their military actionssupervising any local revolt among the authority holders or the local subdued provincial Akan and non-Akan people.

Overall, Osei Kwadwo's reforms and changes brought into the Central and Provincial Divisions called for radical measures restricting the subordinate chiefs' power. It was made possible through a new established bureaucracy whose members were chosen by the Asantehene not on any traditional or hereditary side but because they would be loyal and efficient subordinates responsible to him alone[15]. This royal bureaucracy was in charge of the running of all the agencies of the central government including the management of the state enterprises, the administration of the provinces, the conduct of foreign affairs and the maintenance of the

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(14) "The *Ankobea* Company was divided into four principal units; two of them were under the *Atipinhene's* and the *Apagyahene's* command". Busia, op.cit., p.93.

(15) The Asantehenewas also assisted by the Bono people to confiscate legally some of the Omanhene's villages. As T.C. McCaskie stated: "The Asantehene Osei Kwadwo was given the juridical right for the confiscation on some Omanhene's territories mainly the Mamponhene's ones. Indeed, some villages situated in the North of the Mampon state (called Asonomaso, Nantan and Safo) were legally confiscated by the established law which stated that no one of a respected royal family should be insulted by his name. This was what a member of the Mampon clan (the Tana clan) made by insulting the Asantehene's name and thus the Mamponhene was ordered to compensate his sovereign".
T.C.McCaskie, 'Ahyiamu: A place of Meeting. An essay on Process and Event in the History of the Asante State', *Journal of African History*, V25, 1984, p.125.

internal security. I.Wilks stated that the Asantehene acquired the inner strength, which was so markedly lacking in some other West African kingdoms, notably Oyo and other Akan predecessors. It enabled the kingdom to withstand many threats presented by revolts from its states by its new military formations and judicial institution.

II.3.1. The Consolidation of the Regional and Provincial Courts

Inside each Provincial Division, the Asantehene Osei Bonsu (1850-1880) gave his instructions to establish the Regional or the Provincial Courts held by the Omanhene judging those who made offence against the Ashanti established laws. The Omanhene had to judge the offences that were differentiated by the king as the public and the private offences.

The private offences (*efisom*) consisted of the sexual offences, and certain forms of abuse, the violation of taboos, certain kinds of assaults, witchcraft and sacrilege affecting the social relations between persons or groups living in a community[16]. The public offences (*omanakyiwade*) involved the breaking of a law or command enjoined by the swearing of an oath, assaulting the king or the provincial chief, stealing, treason, cowardice and the invocation of a curse upon a chief affecting the relationships between the community and the chief.

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(16) Rattray classified the private offences into the categories of sins or tribal taboos and specified that '...murder included homicide, suicide applied to the one who had killed himself from known motives which the Ashanti therefore presumed to be evil, the sexual offences were incest and adultery with a chief's wife..., the forms of abuse which were tabooed were words of abuse against a chief which reflected on his ancestors'.R.S.Rattray, *Ashanti law and constitution*, op.cit., pp.67-68.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Among the public offences, the Asantehene stated that no one should make himself equal to him, who was the successor of his royal ancestors. The incident that happened to the Dogmaahene during the early periods of Bonsu's reign gave the illustration of the position of the king as asupreme judge. During his attendance to the Local Councils, the Dogmaahene came to the Mamponhene's council with his chair that was decorated with gold bands and no one in Ashanti was allowed to have his stool adorned with gold. In the old days, this would have led to a war and the offence was considered an offence against the king and the Ashanti ancestors.

Sentence and punishments that occurred in the Provincial Courts were decided locally by the Omanhene and later reported to the Asantehene by the new appointed *nkwansrafo* officers to apply the fineimposed on thesuddued people. They were the new appointed local police agents responsible for the security of the people of the empire. They reached five hundred to six hundred armed men at each post. They exercised their functions at their posts located in the boundaries of the Metropolitan Ashanti region[17].

Authority started to become increasingly centralized[18] in the king's hands and enforced by a state apparatus existing separately

(17) Ibid., p.70.

(18) ‚The fine imposed on the Dogmaahene was twelve sheep which had to be sacrificed for the Ashanti royal ancestors and the penalty for such public offences was either the offering of animals or food to the ancestors the payment of a big sum of gold dust that was levied to sixty mperedwan according to the political or economic status of the offenderand his offensive act.The fine imposed for the private offences was also fixed in gold dust that varied from seven to ten mperedwan according to the kind of private offence the sword, the stool, gold, or sacred things of a god, also came under this class and fourth treason, especially on the part of an elder who had sworn the oath of allegiance to the chief, or cowardice, were crimes regarded as tribal sins'. G.L .Chouin, *Tentation patrilinéaire, guerre et conflits lignagers en milieu akan: Une contribution à l'histoire de la transmission du pouvoir royal en Eguafo (XVII-XXème siècles)*, Afera éditions, Paris, 1999, pp.66-67.

from other political institutions of the early 1700s. O.Kwadwo formulated, imposed and enforced laws giving rise to an officialdom enacting these functions. He decided to cement his ties with non–kin officers into the government structure. He made the Kumasi chiefs in constant connection with the Omanhene via the Adamfo and Amradofo officials. N.Chazan noted:

> *The fact that the Kumasi chiefs gradually became correspondents for federated chiefs, and thus achieved on a federal scale a type of autonomy which their counterparts in other units did not have, sets them apart from other capital-city officeholders in the Akan area, that is the Ashanti empire.* [19]

This was especially true since the Kumasi Office Holders during O.Tutu's reign commanded, at the outset, all the newly formed companies and districts directly responsible to the king. As it was emphasized in the first chapter especially under O.Tutu's reign, he tried to augment his own Oyoko Kumasi Office Holders and he deliberately chose to magnify their position. Thereby, balancing the power of one class of chiefs against that of another and so setting in motion the rivalry between the Omanhene and the Kumasi office holders who comprised the main protagonists and one of the recurrent themes of Ashanti history.

The consolidation of the Ashanti empire in the 1750s focused on the redefinition of certain group of officials functioning, more significantly, on the elaboration of arrangements of collective

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(19) Naomi Chazan, The Early State in African Perspective, *Studies in Human Society*, V: 2, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1988, op.cit., p.75.

identity and the regulation of power roles. The former suited the interest of kin elites and the latter those of the rising military-administrative group. OseiKwadwo served as the critical link between the two. In fact, the Ashanti empire was military in purpose and character but there were the beginnings of a civil administration. The institutions of the empire based on the lineage system as it functioned during Tutu's reign could not certainly face the new era of Kwadwo's reign.Nevertheless, at its initial phase, the Ashanti empire was still under the direct supervision of the limited power of the Office holders. As D.E.Apter stated:

> *The Asantehene's aim was not by any means to show that he was an absolute monarch possessed of unlimited power. At a certain extent, he was always controlled to a certain extent by the chiefs. The king alone could not make peace or war nor could he go into negotiations or treaties which concerned the interest of the whole empire, without the consent of the chiefs* **[20]**.

A more subtle appreciation was given by R.S.Rattray who pointed out that in reality every move and command which appeared to emanate from the OseiKwadwo's mouth was discussed in private and was previously agreed upon by his councilors, to whom popular opinion on any subject was made

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(20) ‚People were not allowed to go further until a messenger had gone to the capital and come back with permission'. David.E.Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, New York Press, 1966, p.107.

known and some departures from the custom would eventually lead to destoolment[21].

The main factor in leaving O.Kwadwo exercise his authority as he did was, in fact, that the king was invested with sanctity just as long as he sat upon the stool of his dead ancestors. The Golden Stool institution gave him given real supreme authority since he was described as the sanctified figure, which was the nerve centre of the tribe. His authority driving from the past coursed through the blood in his veins and was manifest by the election to office. Moreover, another factor in the appointment of new officials was that the Asantehene had to ensure his central authority in order to lead the management of the commercial transactions over the whole empire including the internal organization of the economic activities. The growth of trade added thus a new distinctive dimension to bureaucracy as it required the introduction of other officials leading the economic reforms while the resources were increasingly produced.

II.4. The Development of the Food and Gold Production

Under O.Bonsu's reign, the Ashanti territory spread over some 150.000 square miles of forest and savanna and exploiting this vast region needed a reorganization of the local production and the setting of an efficient circulation of the Ashanti's products including the trade in gold and slaves.

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(21) 'Although the Ashanti constitution was intended to appear to be autocratic, in correct practice it was democratic to a degree. This is the reason why there was a reaction the moment a chief was destooled'. R.S.Rattray. *Ashanti law and Constitution*, op.cit., p.82.

II.4.1. The Development of the Food Producing System

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the traditional agricultural system for food production in the Ashanti country was based upon the use of new plantations for the introduction of new food staples and new methods of crop cultivation[22]. A rising demand for other food staples became compulsory with the growth of the population of the central Kumasi region and the other towns of the forest region. Planting yams and cassava became insufficient and other staples such as cocoyam, plantains and maize were then planted. These new staples were introduced into the Ashanti country by the subdued Akan coastal people in Akwamu, Accra and Twifo who were among the first importers of the new crops seeds from the European settlers[23].

The cultivation of these crops was undertaken within four Akan forest regions. The area of central Kumasi and its surroundings (Mampon, Agogo, kwahu, Bekwai...), the areas located in the south of Kumasi (Adansi, Denkyera, Assin...), those in the north (Bono and its surroundings) and in the north west of Kumasi such as the

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(22) ⸲Cocoyam (known as taro) (Colocasiaesculenta), an herbaceous plant. Native to south-eastern Asia. It became a staple crop cultivated for its large, starchy, spherical underground tubers, which were consumed as cooked vegetables. And, plantain (Musa paradisiaca) was the plant of the banana family (Musaceae) closely related to the common banana. The plantain is a tall plant (3-10 metres [10-33 feet]) with a conical false "trunk" formed by the leaf sheaths of its spirally arranged leaves, which are 1.5 to 3 m long and about 0.5 m wide. The plant is believed to have originated in Southeast Asia. C.Johnston, 'The Principle Perishable Staples of the Tropical World', *Post-HarvestedTechnology*, 1990, (http://www.tro/tech/org/post harvested tech/.html) (assessed on14 May 2004).pp.12-13.

(23) Mainly the Portuguese and later the Dutch settlers of the coastal Elmina fort. W.W.Claridge, op.cit., p.205.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Dogma lands. Local and slave labour[24] cultivated and managed to reorganize the plantation of their crops. They followed a first harvestingstep, a system of periodic crop rotation that is, a three-year rotational plantation cycleof the food crops and thenadding the cultivation of different crops into the same plantation. In this way, in the first year of cultivation, maize and plantains were directly planted after the dry season to protect them from rains and sun. In the second year, the yam and cocoyam seeds were planted directlyafter the rainy season and the maize and plantains harvest. In the next third year, cassava was planted and later cultivated as it grew upon almost exhausted soils.

Planting and growing the crops was rather a hard task since the rural implements for agriculture remained the same traditional axe, hoe and cutlass of O.Tutu's times[25]. First, there was the difficulty of clearing spots over the new cultivated areasand collecting then carrying the unnecessary weeds. Second, preparing the crop beds for the plantation such as preparing fields for maize and at the same time preparing the yam mounds and later planting then finally harvesting. The amounts of harvested crops were estimated enough to feed the local population (See Table 4 p.96) [26]. The harvested

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(24) "The number of this labour force varied according to demographic concentration of the local population in specific areas. In the central Kumai town the population growth reached twenty thousand inhabitants". I.Wilks, op.cit., p.55.

(25) 'Maize, cocoyam and plantains needed non-exhausted soils and protection from rains and sun'. Katherine.S.Newman, *Law and Economic Organization: A comparative Study of Pre-Industrial Societies*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.176.

(26) 'In the more central parts of the kingdom, the features of the land rendered the process of clearing it infinitely more complicated and laborious. Trees of more than ordinary dimensions were necessarily be rooted out, or felled. The cumbersome growth of fibrous stems and vines, mixed with other plants, required much labour in hacking to pieces and in removing. They took time in drying weeds and this augmented the expense of the operation". C.Johnston, op.cit., p.15.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Table 4: Estimated Outputs of One-Hectare Field over Three Years of Cultivation

Harvest Year	Crop	Estimated Gross Yield in Tons	Inedible Part as Percentage of whole	Calories per 100 Grams of edible part
1	**Maize**	0.75	68	218
	Plantains	2.50	45	168
2	**Yam**	2.50	11	160
	Cocoyam	2.50	15	108
3	**Cassava**	3.75	15	180
		Totals: 12tons		14,657,000 calories

Source: I.Wilks, *The Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante*, Ohio University Press, 1993, p.54.

crops mentioned on table 4 involved the central region of Kumasi and the new cultivated crops together with yam and cassava came to keep the local farmers adequately sustained.

After the harvest season, some of the cultivated crops were either kept dried and stored such as maize, cocoyam and plantains to be sold or consumed later on during the hard seasons. The other crops could be directly consumed such as yams and cassava, which were used to feed the local miners at the goldfields[27].

II.4.2. The Increase in Gold Producing System

In the beginning of the 1850s, gold was abundant and its amounts increased steadily in the royal treasury. By employing a new means of extracting and confiscating gold dust used as the local currency, Gold was produced in great quantities throughout the forest region. That is to say, in the areas surrounding Kumasi such as Ofinso, Agogo, Asantemanso and the gold sources located in Wassa,Obuase, Assin, Denkyera, Akim , Kwahu and Asikaso in Gyaman. A glance at map 4 on page 98 reveals the density of the main sources of gold and the multitude of trade routes with the position indication arrows of other resiting strains of other sources of trade. It was however, under the flourishing days of both Asantehenes Osei Kwadwo and Osei Bonsu who succeeded in developing a system managing the use of his gold and other sources for the prupose of a long distance trade.

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(27) 'Because plantains have a maximumof starch before it ripens; it is usually cooked green, either boiled or firied, oftenwith coconut juice or sugar as flavouring. It maybe also dried for later use'. C.Johnston, op.cit., p.17.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Map4: **The Ashanti's Sources of Gold and Slave Market Centers (1850-1880)**

Source: Ivor Wilks, *Forests of gold: Essays on the Akans and the kingdom of Asante*, Ohio University Press, Athens, 1993, p.93.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

A large number of gold miners was introduced for the extraction of gold at these gold areas. In addition to the local miners, other provincial miners were especially given by the kings of the newly conquered regions of Gyaman, Bono, Gonja and Dagomba and were taken in terms of tribute to the Asantehene[27]. They were considered directly consumed such as yams and cassava, which were used to feed the local miners at the goldfields[28].

The gold extractors were slave miners who reached a hundred miners at each source of gold made under the Omanhene's control. The number of the miners would reach more if they were not employed in other major centers that offered a wide range of employment opportunities other than mining: in the royal court, in the military administrations, in trade, in craft work and so forth.

The four main Omanhene known as the Mamponhene, the Asumenyahene, the Dwabenhene and the Kumasihene that is, the Asantehene undertook the production of gold either through digging or panning the alluvial streams from which gold nuggets and especially gold dust were extracted in big quantities. The increasing amounts of gold dust were then either confiscated by the royal Gyaseheneused in the developing long distance trade in goldand for the established system of taxation[29].

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(28) ،It was reported that in one-hectare field and over three years of mining over the central Kumasi region for example, the cultivable land was about 3.840 squaremiles (about 995.000 hectares), of the order of 166.000 mines of six hectares each would exist'. I.Wilks, op.cit., p.54.

(29) ،Trade ingold was mainlymade between the Portuguese and later the Dutch settlers of the coastal Elmina fort'. W.W.Claridge, op.cit., p.205.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

In the developing local trade markets, small gold dust amounts were used in the local Ashanti's transactions while in the flourishing long distance trade, large amounts of gold were transacted between the major gold merchants and its purchasers. Using the local means and caravans of transport, the merchants drew profit throughout the north and north western opened routes that led to the main staples of the north.

The organization of the trade in gold was led from the two main Oman of Mampon and Bono. The Mamponhene and the Bonohene were then the main gold organizers since the geographical location of their states, in the North of Kumasi. They started their organization by the appointment of the caravans' heads and its members. The main heads for the direct long distance trade were chosen as hereditary members inside the Mamponhene's and Bonohene's clans[30].These members belonged to the closest maternal relatives of the two Omanhene considered as their brothers who were at the same time their local advisers in the local councils of the Mampon and Bono states.

The Omanhene's relatives led the caravans of trade that included the numerous groups of royal servants, slaves and military officers who respectively helped in finding the appropriate markets, carried gold and protected the members of the caravan. The royal servants and military officers were the Asantehene's subjects while the slaves were subjects to the

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(30) K.Arhin, op.cit., p.91.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Mamponhene and the Bonohene. These king's and Omanhene's subjects were usually trained servants who were taken as war-captives from the Ashanti wars against the northern and the north western people. They knew well the different opened routes to drive easily the caravan members towards the north and the North West.

Following their chiefs' instructions, the different caravans crossed their way from the Mampon and the Bono states along three major routes. From the Mampon state the caravans went towards the north western and Eastern routes whereas from the Bono state the other caravans were directed towards the North. Nevertheless, these routes led to the three important markets of trade including the Kong market (in the North West through Gyaman), the Bole market place (in the North in Gonja), and the Salaga market of Dagomba (in the North East) (See Map n°5p.102).

At these markets, the chiefs of each caravan were in contact with the entrepreneurs of different origins who came generally from the North. These entrepreneurs involved the Dyula merchants of Kong (who belonged to the Malinke people of the Upper Niger) and the Yarse merchants (who belonged to the Muslim Mande people speaking the Mole-Dagbani language) in Gonja and Dagomba[31].

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(31) Nehemia Levtzion, *Muslims and chiefs in West Africa*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1968, pp.04-05.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Map5: **The Ashanti Empire and its Neighbours: The Northern Trade Routes (1750-1800)**
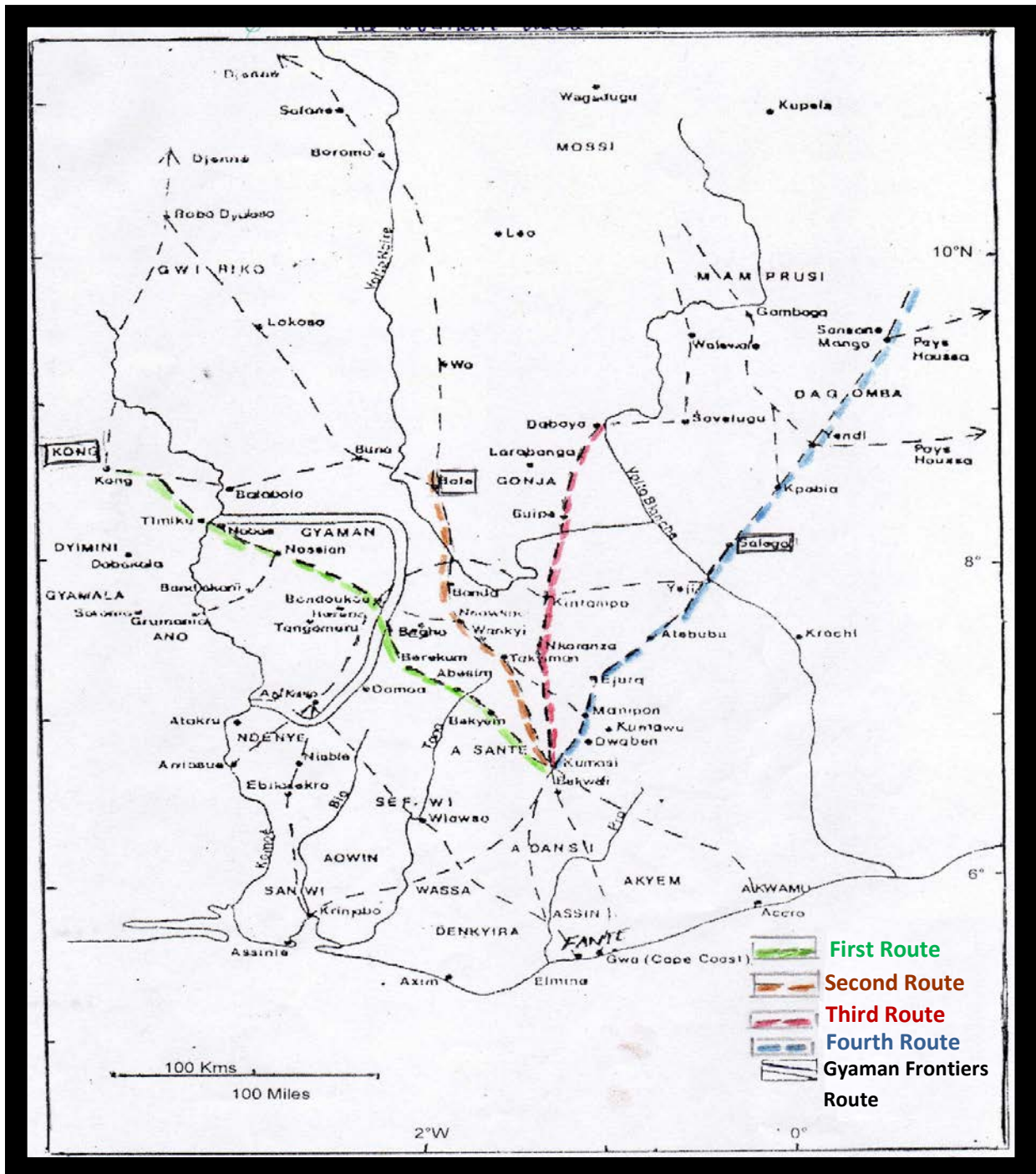
Source: G.Pesheux, *Le Royaume Asante (Ghana)*, op.cit, p.147.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

With the Dyula and Yarse merchants, the Omahene's caravans exchanged their gold with the varied products of the north that were exclusively designed to some caravans. That is, the Mamponhene's caravans exchanged their carried gold with different products such as brass, copper and salt whereas the other Bonohene's caravans exchanged their gold with brass, cloth, silk and some salted food[32].

Since these products were considered of great value, they were brought to the royal court in Kumasi and some of them (namely brass, copper and salt) were gifted to the Mamponhene and the Bonohene as sign of loyalty, and the others (namely brass, cloth, silk and salted food) presented to the supreme chief, the Asantehene. However, by the substantial flourishment of the gold production thanks to the revolutionary methods of gold extraction, a new economic chain reaction was launched: an improved gold dust currency began to rise over the different regions; a new internal and external economic exchange system was introduced[33]. The latter, ameliorated the living conditions of the Omanhene who developed the beginnings of an entrepreneurship over northern lands based upon the manipulation of the demands of gold and also the introduction of another golden product of trade, selling slaves to the coastal European merchants.

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(32) E.Terray, op.cit, pp.714-719.

(33) 'In Asante as elsewhere, gold is found in nugget and ingot form…and if gold (from there) arrives in gold dust, it is because in this form it constitutes the currency (monnaie courante) of the country, and ingots and nuggets are smelted and reduced to gold dust to facilitate commerce. At kumasi only, there are more than a hundred workers exclusively engaged in this industry'. K.Arhin, 'Gold Mining and Trading among the Ashanti of Ghana', op.cit., p.94.

II.4.3. The Development of the Taxation System

The taxation system consisted of the collection ofgold dust)imposed on the Akan people of the Provincial and the Local Ashanti who enterprised both production and trade organized under the Omanhene's and the Office Holders' control.

Besides O.Bonsu's acquisition of the half of each enterprise in the production of gold and crops, he devised a new system of taxation involving the collection of different amounts of gold dust which comprised:

- A tax of 20% of every 100 ounces of gold melted for the making of ornaments by the authority holders or the free miners.
- A tax in gold upon each imported product.
- 1/5 or 1/3 the share of gold discovered in the bush by the local miners.
- The confiscation of the hoardings of the disgraced officials and subjects who were under the Asantehene's jurisdiction.
- A war tax imposed on the newly subdued people.
- 1/10 of an ounce of gold was imposed on every married man having considerable properties.

Before each new dry season, taxes were collected by the officials of the court, the Adamfo and the Nhenkwa. The former collected the imposed taxes in gold dust from the western and

the north western Akans[34] while the latter collected taxes from the other people of the empire including the confederated Omanhene and the southern Akans. The collected gold dust allowed the Asantehene to integrate the long distance trade in gold extending his power and wealth over the northern boundaries of the forest region.

II.4.4. The Slave Trading System

Besides gold, the slave trade was also a source of great wealth. Undertaking the slave trade was of great importance for the Asantehene Osei Bonsu to acquire the European products. It was an opportunity for the king to engage his royal officials to gather the required slaves and to ensure the efficient circulation of the purchased products throughout the newly conquered southern routes towards the European forts.

Osei Bonsu chose four new appointed royal official traders called the *Batafo* officials to lead the organization of the slave trade. They organized four caravans of trade whose members where gathered first in the Kumasi royal court. Each caravan included the Batafohene and other traders (they were regular southern traders who guided the caravans towards the easiest and secured paths of trade), the Amradofo officials (those supervising the southern territories were the members of the firsttwo caravans and those supervising the south eastern and southwestern regions were in the third and fourth ones) and

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(34) ¡The people concerned with the payment of these taxes were essentially the principal producers of gold including the southern Denkyira, Wassa, Aowin people, the Western Gyaman and the north western Bono, Banda people, in addition to the confederated people of Dwaben, Mampon, Bekwai, Asumenyaect...'. G. Connah, *Transformations in Africa: Essays on Africa's Later Past*, Leicester University Press, London, p.91.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

their personal military guard companies.In addition, each caravan involved different king's servants employed as porters carrying and taking care of all the exchanged European products and a great number of slaves needed for the major transactions with the coastal people[35].Under the Batafohene's supervision, the slaves required for trade- including young men and women- were chosen from three main sources. Those who were considered as criminals and judged as irretrievable subjects could not readily be absorbed into the Ashanti society. A great number of acquired slaves comprised also the war captives. In addition to the other considerable number of slave tribute collected by the Asantehene's officials from the northern and north eastern Gonja and Dagomba states[36]. The great number of collected slaves was divided later into two groups. Each group belonged to the slave caravans led towards the south and the south eastern and south western routes of slave trade.

Once organized, each slave caravan was conducted from Kumasi, on foot, along four different and major routes opened after the acquisition of the Akan states and communities of the internal southern provinces[37]. Starting from the capital Kumasi, the first route was taken towards the Assin country and later Accra at Christianborg fort. The second one was made

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(35) E.Terray, 'Réflexions de la formation des Prix des Esclaves a l'Intérieur de l'Afrique de l'Ouest précoloniale', *Journal des africanistes*, V: 52, 1-2, 1982, pp.112-113.

(36) 'The akwanmofo offices were created in the late eighteenth century for cleaning the roads and paths of the royal Ashanti empire from nuisances, and to see that the authorities through whose land they passed kept them open. They had funds to pay for the work and were authorized to fine those committing a nuisance'. L.Mair, African Kingdoms, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp.85-86.

(37) 'Mainly the Portuguese and later the Dutch settlers of the coastal Elmina fort'. W.W.Claridge, op.cit., p.205.

southwards to Adansi and after Denkyera towards the market places of the Fante territory located in Assin Fosu, Esikuma and Agona. The third southern route was led in the direction of the Elmina fort (located about one hundred miles from the Kumasi state) across the Denkyira country and the last fourth caravan direction was led to the Axim fort across the Wassa country. These opened routes led to the most important market places of that time situated in the south.

At these market places, the Batafohene's officials were in direct contact with the principal agents of slave trade. They involved either native or foreign agents. In the Elmina and Axim forts, the agents of trade consisted of the Dutch agents who had previous friendship relations with the AsanteheneA.Ware and were under the direction of Jacob Ruhle and Jan Niezer (known as *tapoeijers* that is, Afro-Dutch mulattos). The Christianborg fort was a Danish fort whereas in the Fante market places, their principle agents were native brokers who were considered as middlemen negotiating the possible transactions made between the Batafohene and the British agents located in the southern forts of Cape Coast and Anomabo[38].

The transactions made in exchange of slaves varied at each market place according to the importance of the acquired European product. The negotiated products were most of the time firearms (muskets), cotton cloth (the high British quality was chosen), the woollen Dutch clothes, iron bars (usually presented

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(38) P. Valsecchi and F. Viti, *Mondes Akan/Akan Worlds: Identitè et pouvoir en Afrique Occidentale/Identity and power in West Africa*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 1999, pp. 174–175.
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Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

with nine inches long), crop seeds (especially from Dutch origin) and a multitude of other luxury products such as brass bowls, sandals, alcohol, tobacco. The value of every exchanged slave against firearms depended on the physical ability of the latter. A young well-built male or female slave could be estimated to an iron bar often weighing twelve to thirteen kilograms and fifty muskets. The European products were then carried by the caravans' porters and returned back to the Asantehene's court since they were considered as the royal Asantehene's properties that were shown during the political and traditional meetings.

By the 1860s, the Ashanti empire had gained economic, political and military control over the bulk of present-day Ghana. The Asantehene's ability to gain control over his adversaries was rooted in its superior management and organization. The slave trade with the coastal European traders was as important as the trade in gold with the northern Muslim traders. Oseik wadwo's intervention in both the consolidation and reinforcement of the political and military instituitions was beneficial to a certain degree to pave the way for the econonomic producing system.the latter was inevitable to increase the revenues of the royal treasury and at the same time to drive out the southern Fante middlemen traders. Osei Bonsu's final achievements proved successful imperial conquests and economic developments in a period that formed the long distance trade in Northern and Southern territories.

In 1807, Osei Bonsu occupied southern Fante territory—an enclave around British headquarters at Cape Coast; in the same year, Great Britain outlawed the slave trade. Declining trade

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

relations and disputes over the Fante region caused friction over the following decade and led to warfare in the 1820s. The Asante defeated a British force in 1824 but made peace in 1831 and avoided conflict for the next 30 years.

In 1863, under Kwaku Dua (ruled 1834–67), the Ashanti again challenged the British by sending forces to occupy the coastal provinces. In 1869 the British took possession of Elmina (over which Ashanti claimed jurisdiction), and in 1874 an expeditionary force under Sir Garnet Wolseley marched on Kumasi. Though Wolseley managed to occupy the Asante capital for only one day, the Asante were shocked to realize the inferiority of their military and communications systems. The invasion, moreover, sparked numerous secessionary revolts in the northern provinces. The old southern provinces were formally constituted the Gold Coast colony by the British later in 1874. Asante's king Kofi Karikari was then deposed, and Mensa Bonsu (ruled 1874–83) assumed power. He attempted to adapt the agencies of Ashanti government to the changed situation. Although he reorganized the army, appointed some Europeans to senior posts, and increased Asante resources, he was prevented from restoring Ashanti imperial power by the British political agents, who supported the northern secessionist chiefs and the opponents of central government in Kumasi. The empire continued to decline under his successor, Prempeh I (acceded 1888), during whose reign, on January 1, 1902, the whole Ashanti empire was formally declared a British crown colony, the former northern provinces being on the same day separately constituted the Protectorate of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings'Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Overall, the enclosed chapter included the structure of the central and regional administration of the Ashanties that evolved starting from 1820s and then was taken over during the Scramble. In the enclosed chapter, institutions were deeply analysed and things become clear when we focus on the administration as part of the state institutions. Tha is to say, when I.Wilks developed ideas on the existence of a certain bureaucratization inside the Ashanti divisions and as he explained that 'the Ashanti government' was helpful to both general aims of the enclosed thesis.

However, I.Wilks formed his view on the formation of the new Ashanti's political institution and pointed out that during the nineteenth century, the Ashanti kings developed a *"centralized and largely appointive bureaucracy, capable of exercising a high degree of social control and of organizing the man-power and other resources of the areas under the king's authority"*[39]. One of the ways they came across this important development is by identifying a revolutionary change that occured from late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries: the kings at the time, Osei Kwadwo, Osei Kwame and Osei Bonsu as Ivor Wilks concluded:

> *The Asantehens have artfully enlarged the royal prerogatives, at the expense of original constitution* [*by raising their*] *favourite captains to vacant stools* [*i.e. important positions*].[40]

(39) I.Wilks,op.cit.,pp.165-166.

(40) Ibid, p.168.

Chapter II: The Ashanti kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Among the Ashanties, the centre-periphery relationship underwent changes during the nineteenth century as well, and now that the emergence of a bureaucratic culture has been identified, it is possible to contextualize these changes. In fact, the new system encouraged the Asantehenes to use not only administrative means but various office holers' offices in order to minimize attempts at rebellion and maximize the central authority's efficiency at dealing with those that could not be prevented. In addition, for many Ashanti historians namely, Rattray, Wilks and McCaskie have shown the complexities of the palace organization, and also the sources of remuneration in a non-wage economy. In sum, practically every aspect of the Asantehene's private and public life was the subject of administration by a distinct group of attendants who had a head:

> *Many other servants belonged to the royal offices, for example,* the *badwarefohene, was the head of the bathroom attendants; anonomsahene, who was the head of the stewards; daberehene, chosen as the head of the bedroom attendants; nsumankwahene, head of physicians. The heads and the servicemen (nhenkoa, servants of the King) were remunerated, as in all patrimonial systems, by means of their participation in the administrative system: land grants with settled bondsmen and the exercise of judicial authority over them, a source of 'income'; benefices from the state in the form of shares in war booty, and commissions on tribute, tax and levy collection; shares in judicial fees; extortions in the judicial process; and trading capital. These were sources of wealth that formed the basis of their status as a political and economic sub-elite. They were*

collectively known as obinom*; individuals were known as obi, an important person. They may be distinguished as authority-holders, permitted by the heads of state and its divisions to exercise authority.* [41]

Therefore, the appointment of resident-chiefs in the nineteenth century and that had been discussed above when dealing with provinces was part of a superimposition of a new structure of provincial administration[42]. This new structure saw the Asantehene's office holders and servants whom he could trust, therefore not necessarily high aristocrats, but men who proved their worth to the king, to deal with problems in the provincial areas and exercise a general super intendence over them.

The overall significance of these developments is that they reaffirm the statehood of the Ashanties and that they again make clear that an intricate core-periphery relationship was important for the different Asantehenes to uphold. However, the implications of such developments meant that skill and favour were beginning to displace the right of birth as paths to high positions of authority, which is symptomatic to the formation of a bureaucratic system.taht is, the imposition of new offices including the main political, military and economic institutions affected seriously the position of the royal officeholders belonging to the Oyoko clan and this actually necessitated

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(41) I.Wilks, op.cit., pp.170-171.

(42) A.B. Ellis, *A History ofthe Gold Coast of West Africa,* Oxford University Press, London,1969, p.205.

revolts and rejection from the royal clans and endangered the unity of the Ashanti confederacy.

The enclosed chapter examined the continuities between late nineteenth century and beginnings of the twentieth Ghananian political, military and economic structures. It was herebyy intended as a contribution to current debates and targeted objective on the application of the Marxist framework to pre-conlonial Africa and to keep the question of the extent to which the policy of eurocentrism and the Ashanti institutitons resembled the European political order. With this limited purpose, one shall make reference to all those recent theoretical and conceptual disputations which affirm and become concerned with what parts of Africa have actually been and this is what shall be left in the final chapter for eventual synthesis.

With such purpose in mind and for the enclosed comparative research work, various points will be clarified to show how modern African leaders are actually encouraged to pay enough attention to their relationship between headchiefs and subchiefs. A point that will be discussed and analysed in the Zulu chapter. In fact, a rethinking of this attitude is important in order to ameliorate the condition of the African state and its institutions from now and then.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Over the course of the nineteenth century, four Zulu kings succeeded one another at the head of the powerful Zulu empire. Framed within a historical perspective dating from the 1820s, the research work probes the main actors i.e., authority holders and their ruling long-term process that animated political centralisation of power and also highlights the role of key external factors in promoting consolidation of the Zulus' councils, military companies and economic enterprise.

The beginning of the enclosed chapter intends to show the first era of reform and consolidation how apt the assertion that king Shaka Zulu was a reformer and empire builder, would begin through the birth, early life and childhood of Shaka to his indelible mark as a formidable military reformer and empire builder. King Shaka consolidated the kingdom and ruled it at the zenith of its power; *Dingane* (1828–1840), who sought to carry on with his predecessor's achievements as European settlers began to entrench upon the Zulu domain; *Mpande* (1840–1872), whose rule was limited by accommodation first to European presence; *Cetshwayo* (1872–1884), who sought to break free but left the Zulu with a severe loss during a war against the British (See Table n°5 p.116).

The second era starting from 1884 was marked by dislocked political structure together with confusion and decline emerged under king *Dinuzulu* (1884-1913). The latter reigned under British colonial rule and was unfortunately exiled to St Helena and later his son *Solomon* (1913-1933) who was born on his father's exiling island and founded the original Inkhata KaZulu movement in 1920s.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Table 5: Chiefs and Kings of the Zulus in the Nineteenth Century

	Lived between	Ruled between	Period
Shaka Senzangakhona	1787 - 1828	1816 - 1828	12years
Dingane Senzangakhona	1795 - 1840	1828 - 1840	12years
Mpande Senzangakhona	1798 - 1872	1840 - 1872	32years
Cetshwayo Mpande (1st reign)	1834 - 1884	1872- 1879	7 years
Cetshwayo Mpande (2nd reign) (British Annexation)		1879 – 1884	5 years
DinuzuluKa Cetshwayo	1868 - 1913	1884- 1913	29 years
Solomon KaDinuzulu	1891-1933	1913-1933	20 years

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

However, by the turn of the nineteenth century, the Zulu empire started to forge for itself a place in a rapidly changing world. First contacts and first impressions with European envoys from the coast turned out to be surprisingly curious. They were attracted and admired the greatness of the Zulu territory and everyone wrote his essay describing the king's court and his hegemony enlarged in readiness for any constitutional or economic reforms. This chapter delineates the changing political and economic settings in which factors and resources were put to work over the period. Before any discussion of other changes that affected the Zulu's constitutional, military, and economic institutions by the coming of the new century, it is worthwhile before to show the limited boundaries of the Zulu's empire and its population density.

Shaka Senzangakhona's reign (1816-1828) witnessed the greatest years of expansion and conquest and the years between (1828-1840) and (1840-1872) witnessed successive kings, namely Dingane and Mpande, who respectively sought to reinforce Shaka's appointed officials and contingents. According to the data provided by T.A.Byrant in 1850, the Zulu empire expanded through a territory of approximately four hundred thousand (400.000) square miles and comprised the immediate eastern territories spreading over the kwabulawayo and the Mthethwa coastal regions till the northern and the north western savannahs including the southern Mpondo state[1] (See Map n°6 p.118).

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(1) C.Hamilton, Authoring Shaka: Models, Metaphors and Historiography, PhD Thesis, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, (Maryland), 1993, pp.99-101.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Map 6: King Shaka' Empire by1828

KING SHAKA'S EMPIRE BY 1828
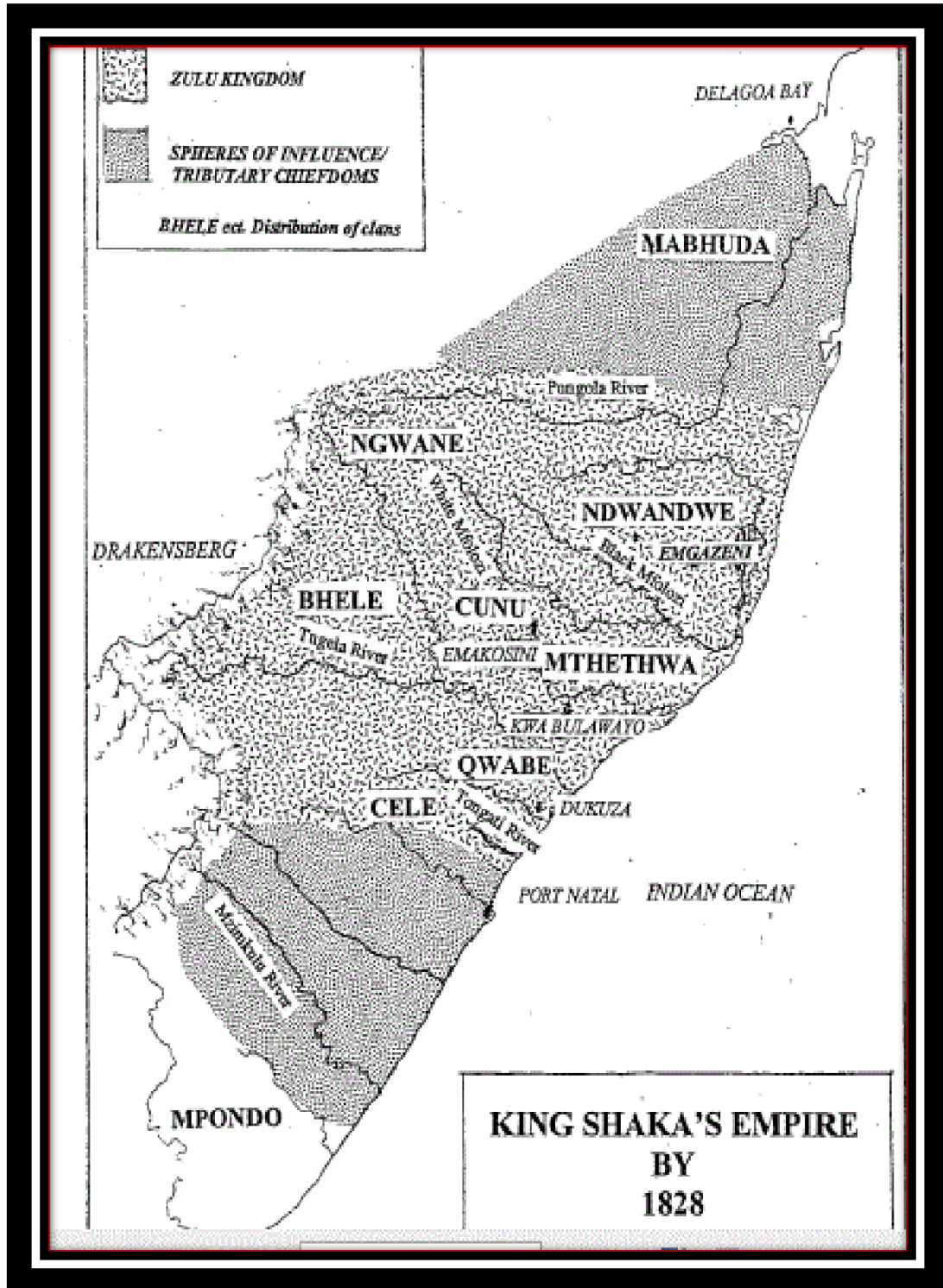
Source: Stephen Taylor, *Shaka's Children: A History of the Zulu People*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, U.K, 1994, p.13.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

The area included the Central Metropolitan Zululand with a rising population of about seventy thousand (70.000) inhabitants with its internal provinces situated about seventy miles radius around the capital Kwabulawayo. According to the same source, the Provincial Zulu division counted more than two million inhabitants from the northern Mabhuda and Ngwane, and Western Bhele regions, till the South Qwabe states and Cele communities together with the newly acquired states of Ndwandwe[2] and the full surrounding regions of Mthethwa.[3]

The consequence for such a territorial expansion was of a great benefit to the Nkosi Shaka. It was first formulated by the acquisition of a great number of subjects and war captives. The latter were part of the Shaka's planned policy as he initiated many political and economic reforms and focused more particularly on the military reforms including the transformation of the Zulu army and the way the new subdued captives are to be integrated.

Throughout the internal and external Zulu provinces, the Nkosi attributed particular functions to new appointed officials. They were concerned with the running of all agencies of the central government: the conduct of trade affairs, the running of the provinces, the maintenance of internal security, the creation of new military formations. However, the way in which these officials exercised their functions would exhibit the main king's objective in creating new

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(2) 'The Ndwandwe, with the Mthethwa, were significant powers in Zululand at the turn of the nineteenth century. Under the leadership of King Zwide, the Ndwandwe nation destroyed the Mthethwa under their king Dingiswayo, and the power vacuum was filled by Shaka Zulu and the Zulu tribe. In a common front against the Ndwandwe, Shaka collected the remains of the Mthethwa and other regional tribes, and survived the first encounter of the Zulu Civil War with Zwide at the Battle of Gqokli Hill in 1818,. F.Barth, op.cit., pp.66-67.

(3) Nathaniel Isaacs, op.cit.,p.136.

offices in acceptance for their kinship belonging. Thus, one has first to inquire into the Nkosi's main intentions while introducing new reforms within the Zulu empire. To what extent will he achieve his objective? Moreover, how would the main authority holders react? All for the sole purpose to reach the final chapter on comparative aspects where one would come to inquire into which extent do the Ashanti's and Zulu's models of governance, entrepreneurship, and leadership cohere with the underlying common principles of state formation and change? And, how can they substantially dissimilar in terms of management and military command?

III.1. The Emergence of the Zulu Reforms: Long-Term Empire Formation Processes

Specifically, the king's performance during the period under study involved the political reforms that occurred due to principal factors in favour of the Zulu Nkosi insisting on the consolidated councils of the empire and new attributed offices.

III.1.1. The Nkosi Shaka's Political Reforms

Shaka's political reforms were significantly different from his father's model, and this was notably due to his stern childhood and adulthood transitional stay in the Mthethwa state. In a point of fact, after the death of his father, Senzangakhona, Shaka was declared king despite his illegitimacy as noted:

> *The passing of Senzangankona marked the end and the beginning of two distinct periods in East-Nguni political history. On that day a long past of patriarchal rule was tolled to its grave and a sounded of a new era of*

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

autocracy to be inaugurated by his son... The primordial system of numberless clans and independent chieftains under the illegitimate Shaka Senzangankona would, amidst much wailing and bloodshed, be gradually demolished, and upon and out of its ruins would be built up a grandiose nation ruled by an imperious despot. [4]

However, Shaka's strengthened power and the described degree of violence exercised on his people was actually due to the great opportunity given to him after a compromise with king Dingiswayo (his mentor during his stay at the Mthethwa state), to get his help and become king of the Zulu [5]. After Dingiswayo's death at the hands of Zwide, king of the Ndwandwe, around 1818, Shaka assumed leadership of the entire Mthethwa alliance. After Shaka's enthronement, the incorporation of the Mthethwa state was of great importance since it gathered a large number of clans that later became Shaka's subjects and tributaries. King Shaka's hegemony can be noticed while analysing Carolyn Hamilton's portrayal of Shaka's sway over his subdued states:

In this case, at least twenty four states and clans were under the hegemony of the king of the Zulus Shaka and his successors who managed to consolidate political control over the KwaZulu Natal and create a political unit with the structural components and size

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(4) A.T Bryant,op.cit,.pp.70-71.

(5) ،Historically speaking, Shaka Zulu came into his own when, by force, he took over the chieftainship of the abawakawa Zulu, the small tribe over which his own father Senzangakhona was the hereditary chief. Senzangakhona disowned him first, but illegitimate son, Shaka, while he was still a child. His mother moved then for a secure place in the neighbouring Mthethwa state'. N.Isaacs, op.cit., pp.139-140.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

*to be considered as a kingdom and later on empire in the 1820s.*[6]

Membership inside the kingdom often blurred with the introduction of new adherents joining the system voluntarily in an accepted social process of incorporation. The incorporation of a kingdom of smaller chiefdoms needed in fact symbolic submission and the payment of tribute and taxes and the involvement in military expeditions and functions. This was commonly perceived in the Zulu case study that followed a typical model for the consolidation of the empire by virtue of its greater size and multiple layers of delegated authority[7].

III.1.1.1.The Royal Council and the Appointed Officials

The traditional Zulu clans comprised a highly organized hierarchy, with a genealogically senior man as the chief of the clan. All Zulu kings gained their power through several officeholders, who controlled distinct sections of the royal clan. Under Shaka's reign, young boys are trained from childhood in the art of controlling, fighting, and defending the clan in addition to military appointed officials

(6) 'Shaka's mother found refuge with the Dlesheni clan and came directly under the powerful Mthethwa king who was succeeded by his son Dingiswayo.' Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Harvard University Press,(U.K), 1998, p.48.
(7) Elizabeth Eldredge, *The Creation of the Zulu kingdom 1815- 1825, War, Shaka and the Consolidation of Power*, Cambridge University Press, First Edition,(U.K),1993,p.62.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Zulu Amayi[8] known as the king's headman *Induna* was one of the most important figures in the royal court of the capital, Kwabulawayo. He was the head of the foreign affairs and was often referred to as the Zulu 'spokesman'. The *Induna* spoke in the name of the king on public occasions, especially on the installation of chiefs and in trying court cases. He had notably the prerogative of intermediary between the Asantehene and his subordinate chiefs, the traditional state chiefs. The *Induna* was the official king's councilor and adviser. He replaced the king in the running of the agencies of the central government that included the direction of the political administration of both political divisions namely, the Metropolitan and the Provincial divisions. That is to say, he had the headship of the external and the internal affairs in the so-called Royal Council known as *Ibandla* who gathered in different occasions all the traditional state chiefs and local district chiefs together with the royal office holders and dignitaries of the royal court (See Diagram6p.124).

The young colonial official and trader Henry.F.Fynn wrote that during his visit to the court of Kwabulawayo, the *Induna* [9] was

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(8) ‚When Fynnworked in trade at the coastal towns of Dukusa and Kwabulawayo, he noticed the ZuluAmayi who was known for his vigilance and expertise. He was trained by the chief of Mthethwa, who enlisted him in his bodyguard. He was in the chief's retinue when the latter was summoned to Kwabulawayo to answer some charge against him. He spoke for three hours in defense of his master'.James Stuart and D. Malcolm, *The Diary of Francis Fynn*, Pietermaritzburg, 1950, p.64.

(9) 'Almost all decisions were in fact collective decisions under the Induna's supervision. As an heir came of age, his father would usually choose a number of older advisors or indunas to advise the heir; the latter would also choose some of his friends (usually young men who had gone through initiation—circumcision—with him), but as young people their status and influence would normally be limited. In addition, when a succession took place, many of the powerful indunas of his father would be too powerful and influential to ignore so they would have to be included. In effect, the powerful families and men normally had to be given a voice. Therefore, a young chief usually started his reign with a majority of older indunas; only if

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Diagram 6: **The Zulu Divisions of the Empire (1816 - 1824)**

Division 1

The Zulu Confederacy

The Metropolitan Zulu

Zulu Head man *Induna* : Zulu Amayi	Zulu King : Nkosi Shaka Sanzangakhona Kwabukawayo Offica Holders

Royal *Ibandla* Council

Division 2

The Provincial Division

Traditional State Chiefs	Local District Chiefs

quite attentive to the Nkosi who was permanently assisted by six official members holding permanent functions inside the divisions of the empire with distinguished prerogatives. The *Induna* was the head chief and he had under his command two new officials called the *Indunaizi* and the *Indunaizifo* (including Shaka Zulu's new appointments) in addition to the local district chief officials (involving those appointed during Senzangakhona's reign).

III.1.1.1.a.The *Indunaizi*: the Agents of Communication

The *Indunaizi* belonged to the Induna's direct subordinates. He was chosen among the royal criers and heralds and had the direction of other *Indunaizi* officials who were appointed as the agents of communication in the capital of Kwabulawayo. They replaced the hereditary officeholders in the exercise of their functions inside the Central Division and had to communicate the Nkosi's messages and orders to the main authorities especially the capital of the empire[10]. The *Indunaizi* agents of communication were also in charge of the promulgation of the main decrees that occurred during the official meetings including the Royal Council (Ibandla) and the Local Councils. In addition, the *Indunaizi* were left the task of receiving the official guests during the king's absence such as the confederated office holders and the other representatives of the foreign European governments.

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(10) 'Bryant pointed out that the *Indunaizi* were charged with the responsibility of publicizing all new decrees and regulations throughout Kwabulawayo as they gathered the people of the principal wards and villages by gong-gongs for their announcement.' A.T.Bryant, op.cit, p.216.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

III.1.1.1.b.The *Indunaizifo*: Official Envoys

The *Indunaizifo* communicated with the new foreign mainly European representatives on the coast who often resided the royal Zulu court whose presence was of a great importance for the development of the diplomatic relations between Zulu and the other foreign states. (See Table 6 p.126).

The *Indunaizifo* worked as couriers. Each group had his attributed function and was responsible of communicating oral messages and they were trained to memorize and convey towards the local authorities and the other ruling sub-chiefs of the Zulu provinces. That is to say, one *Indunaizifo* group directed the transmission of their messages towards the southern Zulu provinces and the other group directed those destined for the north and north western provinces.

In addition, every *Indunaizifo* was in charge of resolving disputes. They also served as guides to missions traveling to or from the capital. They were required to have knowledge of the roads and of the distances from one place to another. However, the other *Induana*'s subordinates were to be included into other institution of the empire.

III.1.1.1.c.The *Indunawa*: Security Officials

Hence, the class of administrators began to take the important characteristics of an administrative non-hereditary civil officials appointed to suit Shaka's needs for more faithful servants at his court. The *Indunawa* Officials were to ensure the king's private protection and make sure that full security was established. The *Indunawa* officials were of great primordial importance since they were

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Table 6: **Nkosi Shaka Sanzangakhona's Appointed Officials**

	The Appointed Officials	*The attributed Functions*	*The attributed Areas*
The Induna's control	Indunaizi Foreign representatives	Agents of communication	*Royal Court in Kwabulawayo*
	Indunaizifo (Zoromma and Worosatire)	Couriers /official envoys	*Central Division* (the Zulu confederacy and the neighbouring provinces)
	Indunawa	Security officials	*Central Division*

Source: Dan Wyllie, 'The Myth of Iron: Shaka in History Study'*, International Journal of African Historical Society*, V.18, 3, 1990, p.224.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

appointed to guard the royal court against the danger of a further military coup[11]. Indeed, The tradition was that the security officials' institution was created to commemorate victories but Shaka's campaigns against the neighbouring states and then to group all war captives under one security chief who was placed in his turn under his respective *Induna*.

With the help of the The *Indunawa* officials, Nkosi Shaka Zulu exacted or commuted all capital cases in the Royal Council. These commuted sentences sometimes occurred by ransom or bribe but were considered as revenue for the state. King Shaka stated new principles for the rule of law that were to be pronounced in a judicial formula with which every clan chief had the duty to pronounce when passing judgment in both criminal and civil cases. These principles involved[12]:

*The man who committed an offence to the king, the penalty for which he well knew was death.

*Those who had no respect for the royal clan, they had no respect for the king.

*A lie always aggravated the punishment, and truth generally extenuated, and sometimes atoned of itself for the offence.

*The man who committed an offence to the clan chief and his officials, the penalty for him is death.

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(11) Elizabeth Elderedge, op.cit., p.70.

(12) ʿFurther emphasizes that Shaka could not have successfully incorporated surrounding groups without controlling and centralizing the 'invisible' spiritual aspects of power such as rainmaking rituals and customs such as the *umkosi*, or 'first fruits festival', which placed tight control on the harvesting of grain across the kingdom'. J.Y.Gobson, The Story of the Zulus, Cambridge University press, (London), 1988, p.152.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

* Cursing the king, calling down powers to harm the king was considered as an unspeakable act and carried the weight of death.

* Any head chief or sub chief who undermined his role; he is considered as a serious threat to the peace and stability of the state

Besides, every local office holder in the external provinces had his own judicial court where offenders were judged during the periodical assembling. It was not a regular gathering, but it was summoned if the nature of the judgment became compulsory. Thus, a man tried in Mthethwa could appeal to the king's court by swearing the Great Oath on the Mthethwa's chief (as his counselor) who pronounced the judgment of the court. The clan became the defendant at the Court of Appeal. In this context, the historian Donald Morris reported from the Nkosi Shaka Zulu:

> In his judicial administration, truth was of a vital importance because it was the primary touchstone of justice, and truth generally extenuated, and sometimes atoned of itself for the offence: he (the Nkosi) invariably anticipated the temerity of perjury, where convincing evidence was to be opposed to the accused. [13]

In addition, Omer Cooper rightly defines the judicial role of the clan chief thus:

> The clan chief is present in his judicial capacity and gives in all cases brought before to the king or royal advisers. In case of appeal from a lower to a higher

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(13) R. Donald Morris, *The Washing of the Spears: A History of the Rise of the Zulu Nation under Shaka and Its Fall in the Zulu War of 1879*, Pamlico: (New ed.), (London), 1994, p.123.
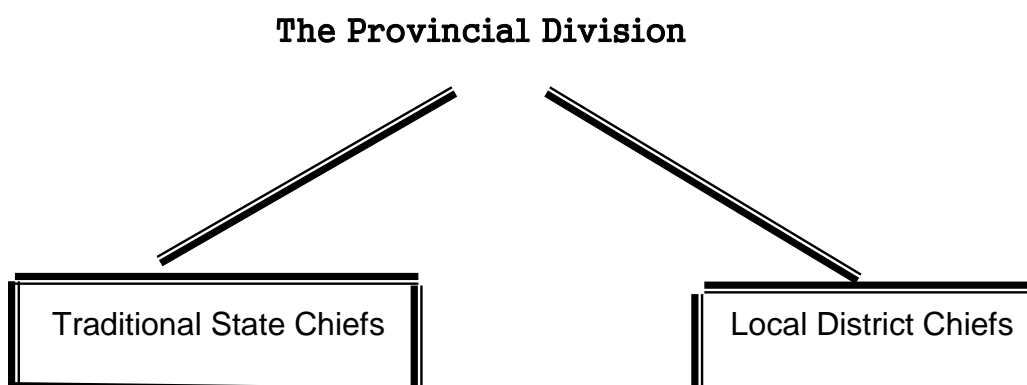
Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

court, it is against the clan chief, who in the first instance gave judgment, that the unsuccessful litigant must take proceedings.[14]

In most important aspect, Shaka Zulu revolutionized the process began by his predecessors of replacing hereditary chiefs as much as possible by new non-hereditary appointed but rather skillful officials. This was more efficient since they were appointed for their abilities and could be dismissed if their work was unsatisfactory. However, they were responsible to the king and showed the effect of the increasing the royal power. Meanwhile, Shaka accepted also other eastern and western foreigners in the capital of the state Kwabulawayo. The effective occupation of the coastal and southern parts of the empire had some remarkable consequences as the king ordered the appointment of some foreign expatriates. Actually, one of the most interesting aspects of state organization was his recognition of the value of foreign representatives in the capital to know about the external empire affairs[15].

Overall, Nkosi Shaka's political reforms came to consolidate the basis of the Zulu empire. He started to join new neighbouring chiefdoms and incorporate them into the empire political system of governance. He left the royal confederated states that shared the same political life established and decided to attribute new functions to

(14) John D. Omer-Cooper, *The Zulu Aftermath: a Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Bantu Africa*, Northwestern University Press, *1966, p.95.*
(15) C.Hamilton,op.cit.,p.114.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

non-hereditary officials despite the royal clan members 'disagreement and opposition[16].

The Zulu government was built upon the beginnings of a developing bureaucracy in kwabulawayo, with separate offices handling various affairs of every Metropolitan and provincial State. Of particular note was the Shaka's new official appointments under the Amayi Induna's control allowed the whole empire to pursue complex arrangements with foreign powers, and the Office itself contained separate departments for handling relations with the British, and Dutch. When the traders arrived in 1824, they entered a relatively new and highly heterogeneous polity, which Shaka was in the process of welding into a centralized state[17].

Divisions within the ruling house were rife. Shaka isolated his close surviving male relatives, placed distant male and female relatives in high positions, and surrounded himself with powerful generals and advisers who were not members of the royal house. He actually declined to produce an heir. His controversial accession divided the Zulu ruling house and provided fertile grounds for rebellion against him. As Shaka consolidated his position as ruler of the Zulu, dispute within the royal family was overshadowed by struggles between the Zulu rulers and both their subjects and

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(16) ،In 1824, Henry Francis Fynn and Francis Farewell visited Shaka. In 1825, when Lieutenant James King paid him a visit, Shaka sent a goodwill delegation to Major J Cloete, Cape government representative at Port Elizabeth. Shaka accorded the white traders most favoured treatment, ceded them land, and permitted them to build a settlement at Port Natal. He was curious about their technological developments, was anxious to learn much more about warfare, and he was especially interested in the culture they represented. Moreover, he was alert to the advantages that their trade might bring to him', Ibid., pp.115-116.

(17) H.F.Fynn,op.cit.,p.120.

neighbors[18]. One of the ways in which the Zulu rulers sought to unify the new kingdom was through the *amabutho* system. The latter drew young men together from different areas and socialized them by identifying the Zulu king as their ritual leader and source of their welfare. At the same time, the king assumed the authority to decide when young men could set up households of their own. Unity within the kingdom was also fostered through the assertion of common origins for the disparate chiefdoms incorporated under Shaka in the early years of his reign. It seems that they were now obliged to think of themselves as being of common Nguni descent, and to speak "proper" Zulu[19].

After his death in 1828, his assassinator and half-brother Dingane succeeded Shaka. Although Dingane lacked Shaka's military skills and exercised a more relaxed discipline, the Zulu institutions acquired widespread political, economic and ideological legitimacy, and therefore the transition did not deteriorate the centralized power of the kingdom. Deflem describes how Mpande took over the throne in 1840, after having allied with the Voortrekkers and conspired in the killing of Dingane[20]. Mpande ruled for a long period of time, and after his death of old age he was formally succeeded by Cetshwayo in 1873, who became ruler of a dense strong population. However, although some forty-four years separated Shaka's rule from that of his nephew's reign, many of the features of Shaka's reign was still recognized under many of his successors.

(18)C.Hamilton,op.cit.,p.48.(See the Zulu Amabutho from King Shaka to the Anglo Zulu War in Appendix I)

(19) Allen Gardiner, Narrative of A Journey to the Zulu Country of South African Undertaken in 1840, (https://archive.org/details/narrativejourzulu (Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2015), p132.

(20) Mathew Deflem, 'Warfare, Political Leadership and State Formation: the Case of the Zulu Kingdom, 1808-1879', Vol: 38, N°4, *Ethnology*, , Pittsburg, USA, 1999, p.370.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

III.2. The Military Institution: The *Idecane* and the Zulu Army

Traditional accounts narrated that every new Zulu king either created a new captain of a new company or enlarged his predecessor's company after a successful war. This is what occurred within the Ashanties' military institution and for Zulu's case in what was known as the *amabutho* sytem where companies and contingents were based renewed non-hereditary appointed members. In fact, the Zulu companies were known under the name of *Idecane*. The latter used to maintain the internal security of the royal house and it involved faithful groups of the royal servants. Besides, the army known under the name of the *Impi* served the empire well, supporting king Shaka's long period of expansion and subsequent resistance to any foreign colonization. During Shaka's reign, the *Impi* turned into a specialized restructuration and revolutionized the military institution on a more centralized basis, with military officers appointed directly by the king[21].

III.2.1. The Maintenance of the Internal and External Security: The *Idecane*

Once enthroned, Shaka began reorganizing the forces of his people in accordance with ideas and tactics that he had already developed as a warrior in the neighbouring Mthethwa army. Hence, he introduced a class of non-hereditary faithful servants to the court. The class formed a highly structured body of commanders presiding around an advanced system spread over the royal house forming the Military

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(21) 'The *Idecane* spread its influence over an enormous area stretching from the Cape Colony to East and Central Africa. It came to an end in mid-1800s and for a short while, had some links with the Great Trek. These two mass migrations played a very important role in South African history'. John Wright, *'Zulu Aftermath: if we can't call it the Idecane, what can we call it?'*, Institute of Advanced Social Research, V:06, N°364,1993,pp.15-16.

Council. They were known under the name of *Idecane* commanders and had their own section under the control of the *Induna* head chief who selected them for their military skills. In times of war, the *Idecane* were responsible of all campaigns, tactics, and strategies launched all over the Zulu territory.

Those *Idecane* provided flexibility in the whole country where the Zulus typically operated for the security of the king in various times. That is, the *Idecane* provided full protection in the approach to the battlefield that resulted essentially from learning tactics including ambushes and extensive maneuvers. The *Idecane* force was to expand substantially and continually to defeat various encounters. However, further advance for the king Shaka's military secured guard is embodied into his devised *Impi* institution, the army.

III.3.2. The Zulu Army (the *Impi*): Total Revolution

Inside the Zulu capital, the old military army built up under Senzangakhona's reign (whose leaders in times of war were the Zulu office holders who led their own lineages to fight in the front, rear, center, wing, or main body) was made up of the king's contingents. They consisted of official men who were allocated positions of command by merit rather than by royal affiliation, i.e. the most recently conquered people, the Mbhuda and Ngwane contingents. The latter were made under the control of the military officers commanding the Zulu *Impi* and formed their troops partly armed with muskets and partly with spears, bows, and arrows. The Shaka Zulu's army revolutionized the military institution. The *Impi* involved the king's tactics and strategies during warfare and it comprised numerous troops from conquered and incorporated contingents facing

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

a number of revolts and rebellions along its bloody history of military invasions.

The fusing effect of this national army however, provided and prepared the devastating unity needed to keep the empire viable. According to historical records, the total potential strength was some 80.000 to 200.000 soldiers making up the Zulu army bigger than any other competing empire of that time[22].

According to Deflem, Shaka enhanced the *amabutho* system and disciplined the army using both military innovations and diplomatic intervention allowed Shaka to expand his influence over much of the area between the Pongola and Tugela rivers[23].Hence, the Zulu army was highly stratified, with military troops spread over hills and ridges all over the country, forming the basic production units. The King exercised authority over these military troops, extracting surplus from them, and uniting them administratively into one large centralized military entity. All men reaching the age of puberty now had to serve in the Zulu army, and were gathered within the age-sets groups.

King Shaka revolutionised warfare in the Zulu region and started to create his own military unit. As an independent entity and his conquests that had to last barely for a long period of time, he created many military tactics, strategies and techniques

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(22) 'Under Shaka Zulu, the army was described as a fierce organized one whose king could bring thousands of men into the field whose warriors were trained in the northern territories and learnt their military expertise deployed in the battlefield'. Mazisi Kunene, *Emperor Shaka the Great: a Zulu Epic*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2016, p.19. (See the anatomy of the Zulu Army in Appendix I).

(23) 'Shaka, now in opposition to apply his ideas, set about training his new army in the techniques of fighting with the effective short stabbing spear'. M.Deflem, op.cit., p.373.

to defeat the enemy. To understand the main steps of the entire military revolution, one has first to identify the genius of its founder.

As already mentioned in the course of the enclosed chapter, Shaka was about twenty-three years old when Dingiswayo called up the neighbouring territories, of which he was part, and incorporated it in the iziCwe regiment[24]. He served as the Mthethwa warrior all along his six years stay over there. Shaka readily absorbed Dingiswayo's new-fangled ideas, expanded them, and thought them out to a clearer conclusion than his mentor had done. He distinguished himself early in his career by his bravery and self-command, being always the first in attack, and courting every danger.

However, as a subordinate commander in the Mthethwa army the opportunities for expression of Shaka's ideas and development of his individuality were restricted. The means whereby these fetters could be removed were placed at his disposal in the year 1816 when he succeeded to the chieftainship of his own tribe the abakwa Zulu, descendants of Zulu Nkosinkulu. During the first year of his reign, Shaka continued to acknowledge Dingiswayo as his overlord. The experience he had gained during his attendance on Dingiswayo, and his own

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(24) 'By the time he was given a captaincy, he had already woven a legendary allure around his name, to which were soon added praise names such as Sigidi (the Conqueror of thousands people), Sidlodlo (the Pride of the regiments), and Dingiswayo's hero'. Daniel Alban Wylie, *White Writers and Shaka Zulu*, Unpublished PhD, Rhodes University, December 1995, p.166.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

ambitious views, could not find scope for action as long as his protector was kept alive.[25]

After his installation in the new royal house in Kwabulawayo, Shaka called up the entire adult male population of the Abakwa Zulu for military service and started to establish the main principles of his royal army. Shaka hastened to increase his strength by bringing as many tribes as possible under his control. In order to preserve his strength Shaka followed up the practice introduced by Dingiswayo of deferring circumcision until his conquests were completed, by imposing a complete and permanent ban on this practice. In time to come, the Zulus regarded themselves superior in this regard and despised the races distinguished by this custom. Almost all Zulu nation believe that the circumscription custom made them sacred turning them the purely faithful king's servants.[26]

The internal structure of the Zulu *Impi* made up by king Shaka Zulu was designed to promote the maximum integration of all members of society and all appointed officials in this military unit had to share faithful obedience to such unit. In this context, Adulphe Delegorgue, visited the Zulu and Natal states in 1828

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(25) 'Though he owed his life and experience to Dinginswayo, at the first opportunity, Shaka betrayed his benefactor into the hands of his archenemy Zwide of the Ndwandwes, who kept the old king bound for three days, and then put him to death. The Mthethwa state was then defeated and scattered.' J.F.Bayart, op.cit.,p.120.In the same context, D.A.Wylie added: 'Whereas Dingiswayo saw combat as an unfortunate but inevitable necessity and would at once accept the submission of a vanquished adversary, Shaka preferred to smash a clan the first time, incorporating the fragments into his own tribe as far as they were assailable, but otherwise he fought for total annihilation. In due course, he absorbed nearly sixty other tribes into his own, and extended his dominions nearly half across south-eastern Africa.' Ibid., p.170.

(26) M.Kunene, op.cit., p.121.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

and his description of the newly appointed *Impi* officials was portrayed as follows:

> *All the Zulus were born haughty, and possessing a feeling of nationality in a high degree. Valiant and brave in war the Zulu would even be generous to his enemies if his system of warfare were different.*[27]

Not only total obedience but also heroism was the main principle qualifying all those who scarified themselves for the sake of king Shaka's satisfaction. M. Kunene stated that heroism was the central qualification of the Zulu national ethos; a recognised hero exercised greater political and military authority and influence than others. Not only was it considered 'beautiful' to die for the king, but, more often than not, death without glory would be the alternative, and thus men were prepared to die anyway[28]. In order to keep his warriors in this state of disregard and recklessness Shaka frowned on the care, anxiety, and caution which the married state brought in its wake, and thus marriage without the king's special permission was simply prohibited. Permission would normally only be granted to a regiment as a whole, after it had served sufficiently long and satisfactorily.

The psychological effect was that war was regarded as the ideal state, the freed state that gave a man what he wanted. Until he was old and wealthy, and naturally desired to keep his possessions in tranquillity, a time of peace was a time of trouble. He had no chance

(27) Michael. R.Mahoney, *The Other Zulus, The Spread of Zulu Ethnicity in Colonial South Africa*, Duke University Press, London, 2012, p.114.

(28) M. Kunene, op.cit.,p.125.(See Principal Zulu Campaigns under king Shaka in Appendix II).

of distinguishing himself; and if he were a young bachelor, he could not hope to be promoted to the rank of 'man' and be allowed to marry, for many a long year. It is true that in a time of war, he might be killed; but that was a reflection, which, in those days, did not in the least trouble him. For all he knew, he stood in just as great danger of his life in time of peace. He might unintentionally offend the king; he might commit a breach of discipline which would be overlooked in wartime; knowing therefore, that a violent death was quite likely to befall him in peace as in war, and as in peace he had no chance of gratifying his ambitious feelings, the young Zulu was all for war[29].

Another main principle devised by king Shaka was the formal training of soldiers for many disciplines in times of war especially for the newly introduced weaponry techniques. The considerable skill which the Zulus in specific and the Ngunis in general exhibited in hurling the assegai was attributable not to their bodily strength but to the constant habit of using the weapon:

> *From infancy, through games of skill (stabbing of the inseam) and hunting, and, in later life, through skirmishing, they became so accustomed to hurling their weapons that they always preferred those which could be thrown; but when Shaka introduced the short stabbing assegai and changed the traditional tactics he found it necessary to introduce a measure of instruction and training, which, although not comparable to the organised 'drill' in the European*

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(29) J.F.Bayart, op.cit,p.129.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

sense, sufficed to acquaint the soldiers with new methods and ideas.[30]

Moreover, constant training and thoughtful strategies in battlefield were adopted among the military troops remained much fruitful in performing the Zulu *Impi* under their respective commanders. Military trained troops used constant movements they performed; forming circles of companies or regiments, or forming a line of march, came naturally; but the new battle order, the skirmishing and flanking movements, were explained, discussed, and practised until they became extremely adept, and the movements were performed with the utmost order and regularity, and, in subsequent contact with white adversaries, even under heavy fire[31].

The selection of the members of each contingent either in the Metropolitan states or Provincial ones was quite essential for the efficiency of the whole military unit. A warrior had to be strong and agile enough to become a part of the selective and resisting system. He had to be capable of enduring any amount of hardship. The cowhide sandals, in normal use because of the many thorns and stony terrain, were regarded by Shaka as an encumbrance, which impeded the speed and sure-footedness of his soldiers[32]. His armies had to learn to march barefoot and, to test whether the soles of their feet were sufficiently hardened; they had to dance at times on ground covered with thorns[33].

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(30) S.Bourquin, op.cit., p.03.(See Senior Zulu Commanders in 1818-1879 in Appendix III).

(31) Ibid., p.04.

(32) Edward Elgar, 'Lessons on leadership by Terror: Finding Shaka in the Attic', *New Horizons in Leadership Studies*, V: 12, N°9,1995, p.25.

(33 Ibid, p.27.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Another principle devised by Shaka was the development of individual leadership in the persons appointed to command regiments and their sub-units. The commander of each regiment and its section of was supposed to be its embodiment, and on him hung all the blame if it suffered a repulse:

> *Shaka made no allowance whatever for superior numbers on the part of the enemy, and all his warriors knew well that, whatever might be the force opposed to them, they had either to conquer or to die.*[34]

They were taught to be utterly ruthless towards any opponent as well. Dingiswayo's practice of taking prisoners, but releasing them on ransom, did not fit into Shaka's philosophy:

> *His soldiers fought to kill and to annihilate, not only armed enemies, but also everyone connected with them, including women and children. They learnt to kill on command anyone who incurred the king's displeasure or anyone who was considered no longer of any use to the Zulu cause. Thus, periodically all infirm or aged persons would be despatched as being so many extra mouths to be fed unnecessarily.* [35]

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(34) S.Bourquin, op.cit, p.06.

(35) 'When he was enrolled in his age-grade (*Intanga*) his section leader would take over. Eventually, the king would exercise this absolute authority, either directly or through his military commanders'. John Laband, *The Assassination of King Shaka: Zulu History's Dramatic Moment'*, Jonathan Ball publishers, Cape Town, (Johannesburg), 2017, p.152.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

One of the outstanding features of the Zulu military organization was the selected strategies and principles, which prevailed and became almost a way of life within the Zulu nation. One of the basics of upbringing of a Zulu youngster, and a factor which developed his character and made him into a natural soldier, was his complete submission to the authority of his elders[36].

Thus, it was also in wartime. There is little to suggest that the Zulus, as a nation, were any braver in fighting than many other tribes. Individuals were undoubtedly brave and skilled fighting men; but it is doubtful whether there are any acts, which bespeak immense devotion mingled with heroic virtue. They understood how to die admirably in battle; the Zulu soldier would devote himself to death to save his captain. The latter appeared to acquire the notion of courage as the result of his belief in sacred venerated gods and superstitious practices.

Upon the return of his armies from battle, the king would call his soldiers together and hold a review in the great enclosure of one of the garrison kraals if not at the principal royal kraal. First, he called on the commander-in-chief to report as a prelude to the meting out

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(36) 'Like all primitive nations, the Zulus were most susceptible to superstitions and fear of the mysterious or unknown. Never afraid of the normal, they were completely cowed by the abnormal. It is true that Shaka, with greater prescience than that shared by his countrymen, had seen through the machinations of some of his witchdoctors and had publicly exposed them; yet he believed like everybody else in the effect of rituals and 'medicines', and he was fully aware also that despite what little intrinsic potency they might have, they had an immensely powerful psychological effect on his warriors and were therefore of value in conditioning them for success and victory. This belief in prowess and invincibility through supernatural means and protection, coupled with their discipline and special tactics, worked wonders when the Zulus met their enemies on what were otherwise about equal terms; but it had disastrous results when they charged opponents armed with firearms in the utter belief that their properly doctored shields were impenetrable to assegai that had effect on the strengthened Zulu army'. S. Bourquin, op.cit., pp.11-12.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

of award or punishment. If fortunate, a regiment might be rewarded by the permission to marry and thereby to advance from being a 'boy', even though perhaps forty years of age, to the estate of a man with the right to wear the head-ring of a married man. Individual bravery or meritorious service was recognized by a special grant of cattle or the decoration of a hero either with a wooden necklace carved vertebra-like from the wild willow, the uMyezane, by which name it is also known, or a shining iNgxotha[37].

   The Zulu army never went to war without being specially strengthened by the doctors (iziNyanga) of the king, a process which took a few days, and which was begun as soon as all the warriors had arrived at the royal kraal. The whole process was gone through to 'bring together the hearts of the people' and entailed sprinkling the troops with liquids containing substances having magical properties

   Other essential principle that formed the Zulu *Impi* was the Age-set regimental organisations existed in many parts of South Africa in the eighteenth century. They were not an innovation of the Shakan era. The army Shaka commanded was organized on ancient principles.

   Moreover, Shaka redesigned the traditional spear with a long double-edged blade called the assegai. He performed the short stabbing spear and that weapon revolutionized warfare. For a long time, it had been the practice for men to carry a kit of spears into battle. The long spears were for throwing, the shorter ones, for fighting at close quarters. This was true even for the Mthethwa and the

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(37) 'The decoration consisted of a heavy, broad brass armlet with fluted exterior, worn around the lower arm and bestowed as a royal honour only on the greatest of captains'. N.Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, p.177.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Ndandwa soldiers, who would break the shaft of one of their long spears before plunging into hand-to-hand combat. According to John Laband, Shaka's innovation was the short assegai that was redesigned for many times and gave much advantage over the traditional long spear that the Zulus used to fight with from the early formation of the Zulu empire:

> *King Shaka redesigned the shield, making it bigger and more durable. He taught his regiment, and later the Zulu army, the necessary techniques for using their shield to hook and pull the enemy shield, exposing the body to allow ease of penetration by the assegai.*[38]

As a well-known mean of protection and shields, Shaka invented the assegai, a short and a large bladed stabbing spear, designed specifically for close-quarters fighting. The spear serves initially as a mode for fastening the handle and for securing a stick, which runs along the centre of the shield and is long enough to project at both ends. This stick serves several purposes, its chief use being to strengthen the shield, to keep it stiff, and to assist the warrior in swinging it about in a rapid manner. The projection at the lower end is sharpened, and is used as a rest on which the shield can stand, or as an additional means for jabbing in an emergency. The top projection, covered with fur, is decorative, but also gives additional protection to the face or head[39].

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(38) John Laband, *the Rise and Fall of the Zulu Empire*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 1991, p.96.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

With his introduction of a regimental organization Shaka used various kinds of shields in such a way that they became part of a soldier's uniform, shields of uniform colour and marking would be allotted to individual regiments. Junior regiments had all-black shields or shields in which black predominated; married men and mixed regiments wore predominantly red shields; seniority and battle-experience was indicated by an increasing whiteness, all-white shields reflecting the greatest honour. At this time shields were up to six feet high and three feet wide[40].

Shaka also turned the shield from a purely defensive into an offensive implement[41]. He taught his soldiers, in close combat, to hook the left edge of their shield behind the outer edge of the enemy's shield and by wrenching that shield aside to expose the enemy's left flank to the attacking assegai.

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(39) 'Shaka actually proved to be a brilliant military leader facing any threat against his empire. Among the Zulus, at least a dozen names describing different types of shields, ranging from small courting and dancing shields, to the big war-shield (isiHlangu). The war-shield ought to be just so tall that, when the owner stands erect, his eyes can look over the top. Shields are always made of oxhide, two shields being normally cut from one hide. They are oval and are decorated by two rows of slits cut lengthwise into the shield intertwined with strips of hide (Gabelo) of a coasting colour.' F.Bayart, op.cit.,p.125.

(40) ‚Among the Zulus, there was the essential role of the iziNyanga (doctors) there was one class which specialized in the medicinal use of plants and the treatment of sickness and wounds. In wartime, these were directed to accompany the army as army doctors and would deal with wounds and injuries as best as they could. These services were, as a rule, applied only to their own people because Shaka's ideology did not permit the taking of prisoners. A severely wounded enemy would thus be killed on the spot, and anyone whose wounds permitted him to get away would do so in an endeavour to save his own life'. H. Adam, & K.Moodley, 'Political Violence: Tribalism and Inkatha', *Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol: 30, 1992, p.53.*

(41) 'In Shaka's, and subsequent, days, shields, which thus constituted an important part of the uniform, were not private property, but were given out by the king or by chiefs or indunas on his behalf. The skins of all the cattle in the garrison kraals belonged by right to the king and were retained by him for the purpose of being made into shields. The latter were therefore kept in special storage huts in the royal kraal, high off the ground to protect them against vermin and insects. Before a battle, they were distributed and after battle, they had to be returned. The taking of the shields from the royal kraal was a great occasion. Ibid., p.55.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

According to legend, Shaka, having conceived the idea, induced his most trusted blacksmith, under cover of night, to forge a blade to his new specification. He altered the conventional shape and made the whole a much shorter and heavier weapon, unfit for throwing and only to be used in hand-to-hand fighting. A sorcerer supplied the human liver and fat with which the blade was fortified. Zulus believe the liver, not the heart, to be the seat of valour. Moreover, Shaka personally supervised the hafting of the blade into a shaft of his selection and to his specification:

> *Having tested the efficiency of the new weapon he collected all the throwing assegais, threw away the shafts, and sent the blades to every smithy he could reach to be turned into stabbing assegais.* [42]

Then, Shaka issued them to his military troops, instructed them in their use, and enjoined every warrior that he should take but one assegai, which was to be exhibited after the fight, stained by the blood of the enemy. Failure to do so meant death by impalement as a coward. The struggle could only be hand-to-hand, with only one conclusion: death or victory[43].

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(42) 'The Zulus regarded the shield as the symbol of benevolence, peace, and protection. A shield would protect the little herd-boy cowering in the rain. During a thunderstorm, a warrior would stand in the open and shout defiance at the heavens and would parry each flash of lightning with his shield, as he was quite sure the shield's magic would ensure his safety. What he still had to learn in later years was that, while this might be true concerning the bolts from heaven, it did not apply to the bullets of the white man…. When the army was strengthened before battle some of the treated water which was sprinkled over the warriors naturally also fell onto the shields which thereby became 'doctored' instruments, imbued with magical properties. No shield should therefore be allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy. R.Donald.Morris, op.cit., p.130.

(43) J.F.Bayart. op.cit, p.146.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Delegorgue observed that this new way of fighting, unknown to the neighbouring nations, and which seemed to speak of something desperate, facilitated Shaka's conquest to such a degree that in the twelve years of his reign he succeeded in destroying more than a million men, women, and children[44]. This is the number estimated by Captain Jervis, who, during his stay in the Natal state (i.e., 1838 and following years) busied himself with the history of these people[45]. All the assegais as such, were a necessity of everyday life, being the only cutting implement the Zulus knew. The assegai blade was used as a knife for cutting, carving, and shaving. The assegai was indispensable in the slaughtering of cattle, for hunting, and fighting.

The blacksmiths were a respected and highly important guild in which the secrets of their trade were jealously guarded and handed down from father to son. Their services were much sought after, for only they could supply the weapons of war and the implements of peace such as the hoes with which to cultivate their gardens. They also knew how to smelt brass and forge it into ornaments. They knew where to mine the iron ore and how to smelt it in sandstone crucibles over charcoal fires, and how to construct the necessary bellows both for smelting and for forging. Using stone hammers and stone anvils their workmanship with such primitive implements was admirable and taking circumstances into account they could hardly be surpassed in this art.

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(44) C.Hamilton, op.cit, p.172.

(45) 'As with the shields, so the Zulu vocabulary contains more than a dozen words to describe different kinds of assegais. The assegai is regarded as the symbol of order, law, and justice'. Ibid, p.184.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Their manufacture had the property of resisting damp without rusting. The blade of the assegai was made of soft iron, yet so excellently tempered, that it took a very sharp edge: so sharp, indeed, that it was used even for shaving the head. Besides, strategic techniques in warfare were adopted by Shaka. The bull's-head-and-horns attack formation likewise predated Shaka and was widely used by Southern African chiefs.[46]

The large-headed knob-kerrie (*Wisa*) was in general use in civilian and military life, as a weapon for both throwing and striking[47]. Herd-boys, especially when working in pairs, developed an early skill in killing birds on the wing with this missile. Warriors used it normally only for striking. Its recognition as the symbol of mercy has already been mentioned, but in the days of Shaka, tens of thousands of people who had no need of this kind of mercy fell victim to the knob-kerrie merely at a nod from the king.

The Zulu empire remained a dominant and a strong force in Southern part of the African continent marked by the guarantee of equality to all Zulus and non-Zulus. Indeed, the early nineteenth century witnessed Shaka's achievements that forged an efficient organization of the institutions of the empire especially the military one considered as a fighting force that extracted the Zulus from

(46) ʲShaka's forces won a great victory over Zwide's Ndwandwe coalition, but was by no means invincible in subsequent campaigns. It would be useful for someone to tally the victories and defeats'. John Laband, *The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Empire* , op.cit., pp97-98.

(47) 'The Knob-kerries, always made of some hard-wood, are extremely variable in size and form. As it was contrary to etiquette to carry an assegai into the presence of, or, worse, into the hut of, a superior, that weapon could be exchanged with impunity for a kerrie. It was also contrary to etiquette to use the real assegai in dances, and again the knob-kerrie doubled as a substitute'. A.Berglund, Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism, London: Hurst, 1976, pp123-124.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

their tiny vulnerable tribe. Throughout historical recorded, king Shaka stood out as the greatest of them all. He focused largely on the political and military institutions. The political divisions in Metropolitan and Provincial Zulu were as important as the military division of the *Idecane* and the *Impi*; indeed, both roles were interchangeable and a special cohesion was present on both local and national level. As M. Kunene noted:

> *The military unit, as a special organ of the state, had its own councils. However, both the Royal Council and the Military Council complemented each other, and the king played a crucial role in linking the two.*[48]

However, one of the causes of the defeat of the Zulu army in the post-Shakan era was the gradual separation between the military and the political structures. With all fulfilled achievements on the political and military scene, king Shaka largely imposed himself as the one who could not rest on his laurels. He planned to revolutionise not only the political divisions of his empire but the military companies of his army as well. This explains clearly how Shaka promoted the maximum participation of all members of his empire and also how he overruled, at many times, both the military and political councils that marked more dictatorship and force of his personality.

He was the legendry Zulu conqueror who captured the imaginations of most Europeans. As a violent autocrat, he became both admired and condemned: admired by those who love

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(48) M.kunene, op.cit.,p.126.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

conquerors, condemned by those who hate despots. The internal transformations wrought by his regime were accompanied by enormous devastation and dislocation. It is estimated that by 1828,Shaka had deprived some three hundred tribes of their independence, had commanded a force of more than a hundred thousand warriors, and had brought half a million souls under his rule. Several of his generals fled with their armies to make empires of their own. Thus, even after his day had passed, Shaka's influence remained, for his model of military despotism was replicated in kingdoms such as the Matebele under Mzilikazi in Southern Rhodesia and the Gasa (Shangane) under Soshangane in Portuguese East Africa, and in several groups of Nguni north of the Zambezi River[49]. These kingdoms for some years preserved the Zulu pattern, coupling internal despotic power with external military terrorism. Nothing in fact can go against the fact that king Shaka's achievements were to lead his nation to the next leap in the future of a greater Zulu under his successors.

III.3. Shaka Zulu's Economic Reforms

Far from the conducted warfareand with the conquest of the neighbouring territories, the Zulu kings mainly Shaka, Dingane (1828-1840) and Mpande (1840-1872) sought to develop the economic production and exploit resources as long as climate changes could allow and then to launch the foreign exchange using a great number of war captives and servants under the royal service. Since the slave trade had been abolished, the Western demand for slaves started to fall down, the Zulus thought to take

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(49) Thomas.B. Jenkinson, *The Zulus: Past History, Manners, Customs, and Language*, First Edition, W.H.Allen and Co, London, U.K, 1982, p.155.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

such opportunity and to produce the semi-cultivated savannah staple, maize and then increase their exports of the most important raw material on Zululand, iron[50]. Besides, the prosperity of the large storehouses on the central territories and on the savannah fringes of the northern and western territories created some additional employment opportunities for the Zulu traders, and for farmers, who supplied stuffs to towns and caravans of trade.

All along the course of his economic reforms, and after the abolition of slave trade, the Zulu Nkosi Dingane and Mpande became worried about the quantity of war captives accumulated in large numbers; they would threaten the security of the empire. Thus, they thought that since the Zulu had a number of alternative sources of income, these war captives were taken for

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(50) ،Hall was the first to hypothesize that trends towards increased rainfall in Zululand from the mid-eighteenth century – towards the end of the Little Ice Age – contributed to an increase in agricultural productivity, and subsequently population density, as recorded in early traveler's writings and archaeological evidence. Furthermore, Hall, Hedges, Maggs, Huffman, and Holmgren and Öberg, all argue that the adoption of maize as a staple crop at this time of increased rainfall aided population growth, as maize has higher yields relative to the formerly dominant staples of sorghum and millet. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, a rapid decline in annual rainfall culminated in severe, multi-year droughts, which led to what became known as the 'mahlatule famine' – remembered in oral traditions as the time 'we were obliged to eat grass' – at the turn of the nineteenth century, and a later protracted drought during the 1820s.13 Hannaford et al. note that as these droughts impacted upon transformed vulnerability contexts, the severity of their impacts was likely to have been unprecedented. In particular, increased dependence on maize, which is more sensitive to water Interpretations of societal responses to the mahlatule famine and the droughts of the 1820s vary. One line of reasoning put forward by Ballard argues that the subsistence crisis during the famine led to a breakdown of governance and the normal functioning of society in the Nguni-speaking chiefdoms, resulting in increased migration, raiding and violence as people sought food, security and protection from predatory groups. In turn, Ballard concludes that the resultant turmoil led to the development of a new social order and defensive state formation among the larger Mthethwa and Ndwandwe groups, the former of which was superseded by Shaka's Zulu kingdom. Charles Ballard, 'Drought and Economic Distress: South Africa in the 1800s'. Jorgen Klein, 'Climate, Conflict and Society: Changing Responses to Weather Extremes in Nineteenth Century Zululand', *Norway University of Applied Sciences*, V: 24, 2018, pp.66-67.

specific purposes. That is, they became a source for the development of the main sectors of the Zulu's economy, namely agriculture, mining and trade for the management of the Nkosi's empire enterprise for the long distance trade far.

III.3.1. The Development of the Cattle and Maize Enterprise

Among the Zulu, the cattle wealth of the whole community throughout the kingdom was greatly improved; even though most of the herds were owned by the king, his sub-chiefs and *Induna*s (head chiefs), all shared in the pride roused by the magnificence of the royal herds as well as the pride of belonging to the unequalled military power of Zulu:

> *Cattle was usually used as a measure of wealth; the more cattle you owned, the wealthier your family was. Cattle was still used today as* Lobola *(dowry from the husband to the wife's family) to show that a man is wealthy enough to look after his wife. Cattle was consumed only during special occasions such as traditional Zulu weddings, and other animals such as goats and chickens are eaten on other occasions.*[51]

Eastern cattle lands are the great cattle lands of South Africa. This entire region lying south of the tropics is good grazing country, and has proved a suitable field for mixed agriculturists.

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(51) Thomas.B. Jenkinson, The Zulus: Past History, Manners, Customs, and Language, First Edition, W.H.Allen and Co, London, U.K, 1982, p.112.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

South of the extended tropical region on the east coast, the eastward slope has been cut to form rounded, well-grassed hills. Deep, hot valleys yield fertile soil and sub-tropical vegetation. While the rainfall is the greatest in the summer months, the winter is by no means dry, and the chief natural moist areas thus lie along the coast[52].

Between George and Port Elizabeth, where the summer and winter rainfall areas overlap, the forests are composed of an extraordinary variety of excellent timber trees. The Bantu have made horrid in roads into the forest country within their areas, preferring the deep leaf mould for agriculture, and destroying the timber trees. The Nguni tribes inhabiting these eastern slopes are mixed hoe-culturists and cattle keepers. The grassy uplands are used for grazing, while the watered valleys provide agricultural land. During the winter months, the cattle are taken to the shelter and warmth of the forested valleys, where grass is abundant.[53]

The whole region, and especially the moist grasslands, is, however, subject to tick-borne diseases, such as tick fever, gall-sickness, and especially East Coast fever, which seriously affected the cattle. A much more widespread pest, however, is

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(52) Ibid., p.113.

(53) 'The very complex interaction between factors such as reduced rainfall, severe drought, increasing socio-economic inequalities and marginalization stimulated political formation in the early-nineteenth century. In this thesis, increasing political consolidation and socio-economic stratification resulting from responses to new trade opportunities in the late-eighteenth century produced inequalities in access to resources both within and between chiefdoms. This amplification of inequalities subsequently led to the breakdown of traditional strategies of averting famine, meaning the droughts of the early nineteenth century resulted in severe and widespread famine'. Elizabeth Eldredge, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800', Cambridge university Press,1984, p.100.

the locust, of which two varieties, red and brown, are often found throughout Southern Africa. At irregular intervals, different species may increase amazingly, owing to the coincidence of suitable climatic conditions and the absence of natural enemies. However, the wealth of the Zulus was cattle and it came to be acquired from war and not from trade; nor would they in fact had been willing to trade very many of their cattle and this is due to the great importance within the Zulus society.

III.3.2.Iron Production and State Enterprise

For the development of the Iron trade, Shaka Zulu's successor Dingane thought of a new way to get the maximum amount of iron for trading purposes. This was to allow free enterprise but following several imposed restrictions over extracting the iron ore and trading it. Besides, to evaluate the value for such restrictions, king Dingane devised his own system of evaluating the local currency, iron coins using special weights.

Dingane decided that everyone within the Zululand could be involved in the trade of the iron ore on the main crude iron areas reserved for the ore deposits. That is, all free Zulu peasants were left to exploit the area from the extensive mining on a seasonal basis and in other iron mines especially those of southern Zulu states of Mpando, Cele and Qwabe. And, the most auriferous iron mines were left to the *Induna* operating his agents as the basic labour force used to bring mined ore back to the fold for the most important iron production (See map n°7 p.155).

Iron mining was open to every common citizen within the Zulu empire. It encouraged the Zulus to discover more iron deposits

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

Map 7: **The KwaZulu Natal Region (1850-1920)**
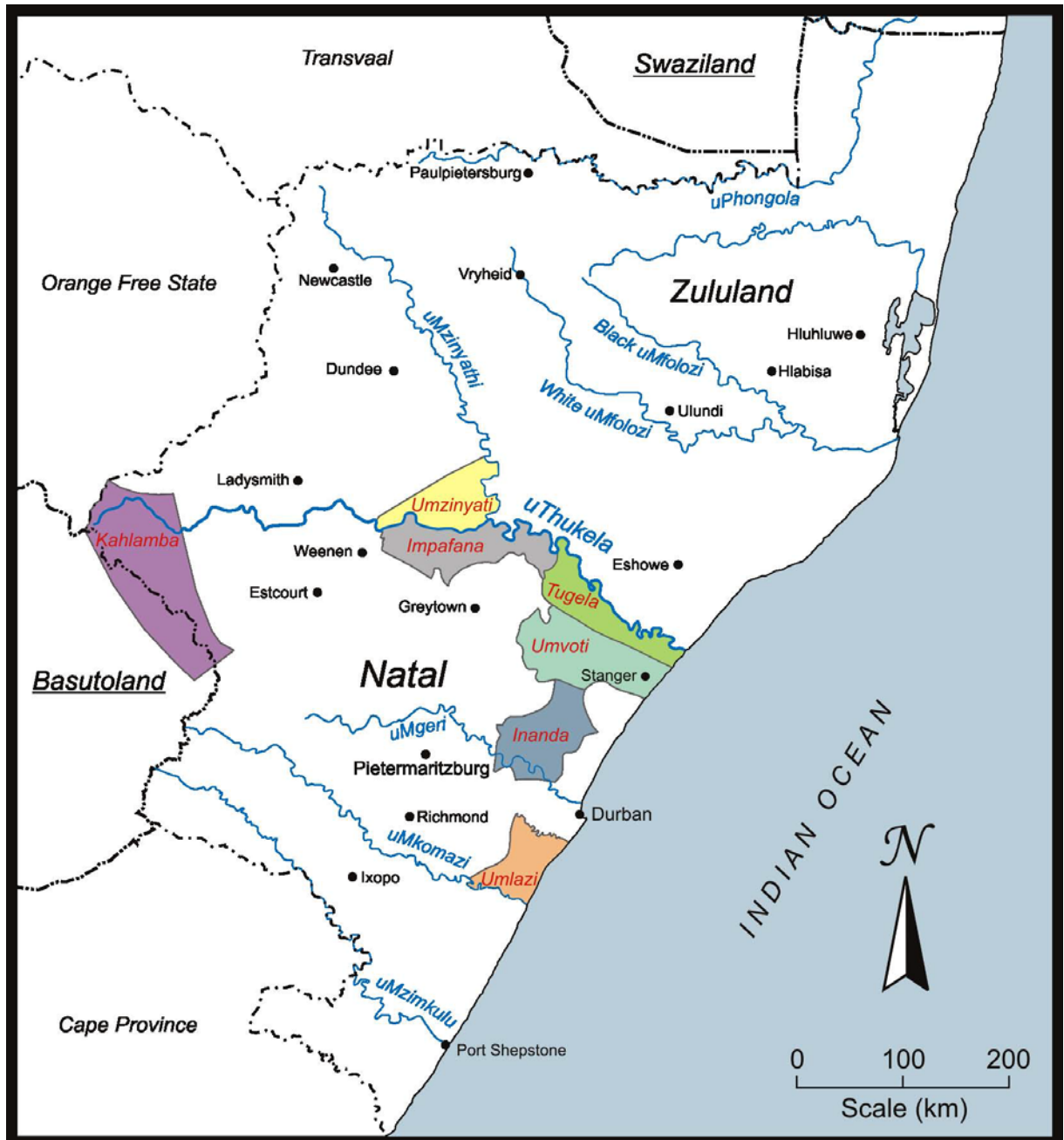
Source: Mathew.A.Schnur, A Political Ecology of Agricultural Failure in Natal and Zululand (1844-1948), University of British Columbia, (Vancouver),2008, p.03.

for themselves and to find methods of prospecting and extracting the precious ore so that they could trade it and build their own personal wealth. In this way and during the second half of the nineteenth century, iron was extensively looked for and a new method of extraction was introduced together with the other methods of panning and shallow digging. It was known as the shaft digging method (or *apenawana*) that needed a great number of labour force divided into three groups of workers. In shaft digging, the miners started digging shafts more than three feet in diameter and started extracting blocks of mixed iron and other minerals that would be cleaned and washed afterwards[54].

However, to launch the state enterprise, it became more profitable for the Zulus to remain on Savannah fringes for permanent settlements and farming in the Zulus' heartland became difficult because of the large amount of the labour force needed; the kings began using great quantities of war captives for daily labour to clear the plantation lands and to mine and extract the iron ore. The labour force was recuperated initially from the Mabhuda, the Ndwandwe, and Ngwanepeople of the northern territories[55].

Since crops had been largely cultivated under Mpande's reign, local trade was established in some district markets such as the market place of kwabulawayo held by some small scale retailers or merchants who exposed their local food staples and other

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(54) Thomas.B. Jenkinson, op.cit., p.119.

(55) Ibid., p.125.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

commodities using a developed system of weighing the Zulu's currency, cattle payment.

With the development of agriculture, local trade was developed on the local market centers and the retailers known as assa*fo* purchased commodities in bulk and with the assistance of hawkers known as *mpaafo* they sold their goods from ward to ward in the towns and from village to village in the rural areas. They still worked privately on their own accounts and did not proceed within the framework of the great-roads system since their objective was to extend their business network away from the long distance trade markets[56].

In the Kwabulawayo market place, the Zulu retailers and the *assafo were* known as the Zulu's local people who produced their own crops and products and used to sell the surplus of their production. However, the merchants known as the *assufo* were the Nkosi's agents (often chosen among his servant in the royal court) who traded the different products which were generally brought from the coastal people that is, the Kwabe, the Emgazeni and the Mthethwa people.

The *assafo*'s products were local food staples such as sorghum and maize flour, some collected tubers and fruits, together with other hand-made products whereas the *assufo*'s products contained the northern staples as the grain crops (rice and millet), salt , fish and corn (which was cultivated among the northern Nguni) and other root crops. These products were important supplements for the Metropolitan people who were usually attracted to buy them.

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(56) Carl Ballard, *The Rise of Shaka: The Zulu Monarchy Illustrated* ,Durban, Emoyeni Books, 1988, p.105.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

The transactions made between the Zulu people and *assafo* or the *assufo* were usually made rather in exchange of other staples or in cattle as the mode of currency was not yet established until the beginning of the twentieth century[57].

III.3.3.Tribute Taxation and General Finance

The Zulu capital kwabulawayo was the center of the developed system of revenue and it was the *Induana*'s responsibility to hold a daily court of exchequer. The state was financed by the imposed tribute from conquered areas, a poll tax levied in the capital, including the royal mines, worked by slave miners and much of the areas of trade.

While the *Induna* head chief held a court of his own under the supervision of the head of the security corps lived immediately to the south of the capital, his extended prerogatives were clearly imposed by the king[58]. It was shown that the Nkosi's authority demonstrated the capacity to intervene in property rights in the sense of reconstructing and redistributing the ownership or sovereignty over lands and subjects by imposing fines on chiefs, often to the extent of extortion[59]. He also demanded heavy death duties and rents on the use of some natural resources. Besides, he obtained revenues from a variety of sources some of which were also tapped by chiefs: war booty, tributes paid by defeated or otherwise subordinate rulers; taxes on the income of the Zulu

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(57) N.Yoffee, op.cit,. p.130.

(58) ' Under King Shaka (1817-1828), the Zulus spread panic among their enemies and potential victims, causing a wave of migration. The Zulus systematically subjected tribes living in their vicinity, forcing them to pay tribute (cattle).' B. Guest, *Natal and Zululand from Earliest Times to 191*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter&Shooter.1986,p.115.

(59) A.T Bryant, op.cit., p.124.

population at the point at which it was earned, such as market tolls and gold-mining rents, in addition to a range of occasional levies which, for at least part of the country, were apparently consolidated into a poll tax; court fees and fines; the occasional labour services of subjects(in war or in public work); and the regular labour of the kings' servants i.e. the head chief and the local chiefs who farmed, traded, escorted and in other ways served them[60]. Taxes included:

- The *Induna* head chief paid taxes to the state either in a form of market tolls or iron-mining rents.
- Every miner was simply required to pay the two-third payment of the ore mined
- Things gained in war were shared between the king and the local sub chiefs. They were divided into three and the king received 1/3 of them.
- The remainder2/3 was mixed and was again divided into three and the Commander of the army received 1/3 of it again.
- Then a portion of the remainder 1/3 was taken and shared among the judges and the rest 1/3 belonged to the chiefs who occupied the right, left and front wings of the army.
- Half money of a condemned subject belonged to the king and the other half portion was given to the royal office holders.
- Court fees and fines.
- Tributes paid by defeated or otherwise subordinate rulers[61].

Officials were authorized to fine those committing a nuisance. The *Andunafo* offices were created in the beginning of the

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(60) C.Ballard ,op.cit., p.112.

(61) A.T Bryant, op.cit., p.190.

twentieth century for cleaning the roads and paths of the royal Zulu empire from nuisances, and to see that the authorities through whose land they passed kept them open. They had funds to pay for the work and were authorized to fine those committing a nuisance. Thus through the Nkosi's decision to maintain trade routes only through Kumasi, and the establishment of system of confiscating parts of the extracted and transacted gold, this allowed the king to control and gain his direct wealth from the trade[62].

Besides, the state treasury was distinct from the personal exchequer of the king, whose banker, the *Sanafo*, was subordinate to the *Induna*. The treasury had a separate office for the handling of the royal treasury, for revenue collection, and for state trade. It also collected the cashiers, the guardians of the roads, the road cleaners, and other middle-level offices. The administration of the *Induna* was thus responsible for the extraction and allocation of the nation's wealth.

Therefore, not only the king's officials directed political affairs, but the imperial financial affairs were similarly under royal surveillance. In the early 1820s, the Nkosi's government sought to receive as much tribute and replace them with other forms of wealth. By imposing rents on the land, the Nkosi showed that he had rights on the land as he tended to restrict access to wealth producing resources such as iron deposits and lands and to charge rent for exploiting them. Whereas usually subjects or citizens of the chiefdom were free to start looking for kola or gold, non-citizens had to obtain permission. Otherwise, it determined the Zulu maxim saying in Nguni "afuo mu ye dee, asase ye ohenedee" applied: "the farm is my property, the land is the king's" as E.Eldredge

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[62]Thomas.B.Jenkinson,op.cit,.p.177.

interpreted it. Bryant glossed it: "The farm (meaning really the produce), or the right to make use of the farm is mine, but the land, i.e. the soil is the chief's". This policy exhibited the development of a mixed economy based on the state intervention since some industries were controlled privately and others by the government[63].

At this point, and in comparison with the Ashanti example, the Zulu's tax collection procedures starting from the nineteenth century and in analysing its informal nature becomes primordial to see whether or not lessons can be drawn from it to improve state maintenance of modern Africa. Several contemporary sources describing tax collection are available to us, although most of them have to be handled sceptically, as they were written by Englishmen with negative outlooks towards the Zulu systems.

In fact, English explorers had already established themselves in the region, and they had gathered information on tax collecting through observation but also by learning about it in conversations with other Europeans such as missionaries or traders who had visited the Zulu capital before and during the rule of the British protectorate. J.Guy's study on the Zulus aimed 'to depict an impossibly top-heavy and corrupt bureaucracy which it was the British duty to correct'. Predictably, his writings describe a 'beaten and persecuted [peasantry] until the very last drop is wrung out of them' and a deeply entrenched system of what today will be called corruption, as every single middle man extracted some of the wealth out of the taxes they collected'[64]. However, this system may have only been so dysfunctional in the 1910s due to the numerous

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(63) J.Laband, op.cit., p.106.

(64) J.Guy, *The Destruction and Reconstruction of Zulu Society*, Marks, S. & Rathbone, 1980, p.201.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

environmental factors such as British settlement and government of the Zulu states in addition to the new Divisional political system during colonial rule.

From a quick detour now, one has to explain the situation at the end of the nineteenth century in Zulu and why it was different to the hundred years that preceded it to prove that the Zulu tax system could have worked well before. By all accounts, the period surrounding the reigns of the last king named Solomon KaDinuzulu was difficult and even disastrous for the Zulus. He ruled from 1891 to 1933. The late years of the nineteenth century were characterized by food shortages, general worsening of economic conditions and political turmoil.

Politically, the Nkosi Solomon KaDinuzuluwas actually incapable of asserting Zulu's authority over land that might have resolved disputes that have become more frequent due to the arrival of Christian missionaries. The symbolic power of the Zulu was at a low point; at one dispute settlement a chief had openly criticized KaDinuzulu and shouted at him in public, to which the king replied by simply leaving the room. As it was pointed out:

> *…less than a generation earlier, people had been executed for sneezing in the presence of the Nkosi', while the chief who shouted at KaDinuzulu was not even punished.*[65]

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(65) A.T Bryant, op.cit., p.196.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

In terms of tax collecting, KaDinuzulu's reign was regarded as an abuse of the system because he encouraged 'plundering in the name of political justice of the peaceful and legitimate collection of tribute'. This 'royal arrogance' was also shown in his 'ego-laden' project to build a royal lake, for which he recruited a massive amount of labour and financial resources from every chief. Ultimately, his excessive behaviour was the reason for the revolt that was undertaken against him in 1933 by Nguni groups considered as tributary chiefdoms that unified to oust KaDinuzulu because of his perceived attack on them.[66]

It is therefore more useful to focus on the period that proceeded the reign of the last Zulu king in order to obtain a clearer picture of how the Zulu's taxation system worked. Reid contrasts Eldredge's view with a report written by the head chief at that time (*Induna*); he went on basing his writings on oral history and his personal knowledge of the Zulus. He wrote the report in tandem with John Roscoe, an Anglican missionary who spent years in the region. Their report provides a kinder view towards the taxation system as they describe independent chiefs, who would collect the taxes within their tributary chiefdoms by themselves, with the aid of their own men, after the royal officials selected which clan was next in line to produce taxes. These men would have gone to villages and individual huts to collect tax in kind after the chief had designated the amount needed from a particular village or region. They would then be able to "make something for themselves" by "adding to the

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(66) J.Guy, op.cit., p.210.

Page 163

number of ... things composing the taxes"[67]. The general picture perceived from this report is that the exploitation of this system was regular but moderate, and probably predicted by the clan heads. The truth most probably lies somewhere in-between the two sources, as it usually does, in that exploitation existed but it varied by region and intensity.

In any case, in the context of this chapter, this situation shows off the working of two phenomena in strengthening state formation that are generally considered to bear only negative impact: the nature of the middlemen and the strength of the periphery. In such context, one cannot promote a lax attitude towards corruption among tax collectors, not only because there is no excuse for it, a system deeply rooted among the whole Africans. However, there are a few points that have to be made in favour of the way tax collecting was done within the Zulu empire with respect to how the middlemen behaved themselves.

One of the most fascinating works on the Zulu's Institutions is one by Elizabeth Eldredge, 'the creation of the Zulu kingdom'; her study of the Zulus reveals a complex web of informal relationships between the various power-wielding individuals, as she aims to explore the 'study of an African habit of thought: the idea that people ought to be tied by bonds of affection, and that relationships between people became visible in gifts in land, goods, and service.

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[67] J.Reid, *The Dust of the Zulu*, Kindle Edition, UK, 1992, p.103.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

The historian I.Wilks repeatedly notes that the informal nature of African politics has been often seen as one of the root causes of the inefficiency of African governments, and while we do not suggest that informal pre-colonial practices should be completely transposed to the modern African state, it is one of the aims of this paper to identify unconventional state formation and state maintenance methods that could be of use today.

At a final point, our aim in this case study is to show that Zulu was a strong state that had been forming for the last thousand years and that learning about its past and the Zulus' way of life is quite important. Not only will this help understand what the kingdom had become by the nineteenth century, but it will also highlight various state formation methods and techniques that the Zulu people used, as one of the main objectives of this paper is to show possible avenues for improvement of African state building. The myth of king Shaka and tactics of managing the military operations are still used. The study concluded that while some of Shaka Zulu's military battle concepts, strategies, and leadership roles can be used in today's business environment in their original form, some require adjustment in order to be usable, and the rest are unusable. The conclusions underscore the usefulness of considering the leadership roles and styles, as well as strategies employed in ancient military battles, so that the empire may survive and prosper into the future.

All successors to king Shaka failed in following their predecessor's miraculous exploits. In the late 19th Century, Zululand was ruled by King Cetshwayo, who ascended to the

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

throne in 1872 after his father's death. However, he soon faced trouble from the invading British forces who delivered an ultimatum to his eleven chiefs in 1878. When Cetshwayo refused to surrender to the British demands, war broke out between the native and foreign powers, which finally ended in a Zulu defeat at the Battle of Ulundi on July 4th, 1879. As Krisky noted:

> *In 1879, the Zulu Kingdom met its final defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War and became subjected to British administration under a variation of indirect rule. This included dividing the kingdom into thirteen territories under appointed chiefs. Three years later the Zulu territory was made a British protectorate, and in 1897, it became part of the Natal Colony.*[68]

After Cetshwayo's capture in 1879, the Zululand was divided into several smaller kingdoms by the British. In the later years, though the British reinstated Cetshwayo as king once again, the British held the ultimate power over Zululand. After Cetshwayo's death, his son Dinuzulu came to power. However, Dinuzulu's ambitious nature soon alarmed the British, who charged him with treason and imprisoned him for several years. His son, Solomon kaDinuzulu, was never recognized as king by the South African authorities. With the end of the Zulu Kingdom, the Zulus now became second-rate citizens in their own homelands, and faced years of discrimination under the infamous

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[68] 'In 1879, the Zulu Kingdom met its final defeat in the Anglo-Zulu War and became subjected to British administration under a variation of indirect rule. This included dividing the kingdom into thirteen territories under appointed chiefs. Three years later the Zulu territory was made a British protectorate, and in 1897, it became part of the Natal Colony'. V.Krisky, op.cit., p.122.

apartheid movement of legalized racial segregation in South Africa, enforced by the governing National Party (N.P) in the country between 1948 and 1994. They were forced to migrate to small pockets of land in a designated area for establishing their settlements, which came to be known as the KwaZulu-Natal province. Only after much opposition and criticism by global organizations, people, and foreign governments did the Apartheid movement finally ends in 1994. Thereafter, multi-racial, democratic elections witnessed the victory of Nelson Mandela, a Xhosa Thembu South African and an anti-apartheid South African revolutionary, as the country's new President[69].

This study has shown that the Zulu people traded extensively in a wide variety of natural resources and manufactured products. There came an era of the Zulus equivalent to 'legitimate commerce', from the beginning of Dingane's reign till the end of Mpande's reign, the era was characterized by a significant increase in the exploitation of the savannah land specifically with respect to the endowment of maize and iron leading to a directed economy[70]. This trade undoubtedly brought benefits, at least to some of the parties concerned. The king who controlled the production and wholesaling of the exports whether plantations or mines, gained a great deal from external trade. In 1879, the Nkosi Mpande had gross revenue many thousand pounds from overseas sales in addition to cattle collection. A proportion of exports earnings were

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(69) N.Etherington, The Shepstone System in the Colony of Natal, University of Central Florida, University of Central Florida, 2008. pp.1012-113.

(70) E.E. Evans Prichard, *African Political Systems*, Oxford University Press, London, 1960, p.97.

Chapter III: The Zulu Kings' Achievements after 1820s: The Long-Term Process of Political, Military, and Economic Reforms

spent on goods such as cloth, hardware and salt, which helped to raise living standards[71].

In fact, there was considerable demand for labour (for producing and trading both exports and goods for the internal commodity market). Much of the extra- subsistence economic activity was in the hands of the commoners, especially married men drawing on the labour of their conjugal families and seeking to acquire a labour force. This induced greater use of slaves in production for the market as well as in other roles.

The cornerstone in the main achievements and policies of Nkosi Shaka Zulu were embodied into the overriding concept of social order. He worked to guarantee general equality for all his Zulu and non- Zulu people. The division of his new appointed subordinates over the political and military institutions was of great importance; indeed both institutions were interchangeable.

It survives in the imaginations of many Nguni people, and remains latent in their social practices. Historically, it is as old as modern France, but it remained an independent state for a brief decades, its glory ending in the Zulu War of 1879. The Zulu who sought to break free but lost independence in a war against the British.

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(71) J.Guy,op.cit., p.130.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The study analysis of the Ashanti and Zulu empires sheds light to many focal points in the history of the state formation in Africa and its main institutions. From the first steps of its establishment and then to the rebirth and consolidation of its basis that is, the main state institutions together with the progressive processes of evolution and change. These processes are not directly related to specific methods of the formation of institutions that could be of use today. However, appreciating the time it took for them to come to fruition, and the intricacy and complexity that characterized them, helps us to historicize both empires. This, in turn, expands our understanding of the Zulus and Ashanties and can provide clues as to how many factors affected the evolutional path and others developed the institutional basis all over the beginnings of the nineteenth century till the 1920s.

IV.1. The Ashanti and Zulu Kings' Reforms (1824-1920): Comparing Institutional Foundations and the Impact of Colonialism

At this point in the enclosed thesis, different features of the analysis are to be compared in dealing with both the Ashanti's and Zulu's research work. Besides, evidence in the arguments for and against theoretical parts will be drawn out for potential strengths and weaknesses in tackling both case studies. For the attempt to infer some general details to progress in such analysis, the pre-colonial era and the beginnings of the colonial one noted that both the Ashanties and Zulus were settled down

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

around the 1880s. The period spanned to uncover some historical facts following specific processes of institutional formation and of impact during the evolutional path. Hereby, there will be three focal points that will characterise final answers and explain the political, military, and economic institutions of the Ashanties and Zulus, namely to clear out the long-term processes, short-term conditions and the nature of the core-periphery relationship.

IV.1.1. Long-Term Institutional Formation Processes

During the analysis of both the Ashanti's and Zulu's institutions, the first noticed and emerging point is that both empires owed their existence to long-term processes that took place between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. In the Zulu case[1], the subsistence patterns slowly changed and became focused on two main institutions the economic and the military one i.e., cattle breeding based on the protectionist military system. Added to this, with the frequency of ritual practices and the evolution of the local beliefs surrounding the Zulu ancestors, all this led the Nguni-speaking tribes to settle among the clan head chiefs who housed the centre of each clan. As a few of these clans grew, the diffusion of the decentralised power between religions, or political leaders faded away as a vertical power structure developed with the establishment of Nguni lands[2].

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(1) Meyer fortes, *African Political Systems*, International African Institute, Oxford University Press, 1950, p.35.

(2) P. Valsecchi and F. Viti, *Mondes Akan/Akan Worlds: Identitè et Pouvoir en Afrique Occidentale*, L'Harmattan, Paris, pp. 184–185.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

In the Ashanti case, the long-term process was different because of the presence call agency call agency. While the South African Zulu tribes in question formed Nguni over time without any known catalysts, the Akan abirempon group (skilfull leaders) began to actively search for forestlands that were destined to be developed into arable ones very early around 1750 until the first half of the nineteenth century[3]. They started the long-term clearances of forests and launched the trade with Southern Europeans on the coast and the Northern traders who provided slaves in exchange for the gold that was in ample supply in the forestlands. Contrary to the Zulu, the developers created estates to which settlers would flock. In time, some of these grew to become capitals of polities or simple villages, unlike Zulu where settlements around the most valuable clans grew into the centres of the capital Kwabulawayo while others evolved into villages. The difference in agency is evident here again as the fate of the Ashanti institutions were linked to the abilities of the abirempon group to attract settlers and buy slaves.

Overall, Greater Ashanti can be described as an empire that had a turbulent political life and a state that required "unremitting attention" in order for it to survive. In light of the history of empires, it is possible to say that its collapse was inevitable. However, since its life was cut short by British

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(3) Yoffee, N. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, p.209.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

colonial rule in the late nineteenth century we cannot be sure of how the Ashanti state would have developed. The one thing that is certain, in our opinion, is the complex story of the formation of this state and its intricate design. Herbst posited that pre-colonial African states developed as logical responses to their physical environments. This thread can be seen throughout Ashanti history, as the availability of gold and opportunities for buying slaves dictated the way the Akan polities developed the new agrarian order in the 15th and 16th centuries. Furthermore, the way neighbouring clan brother polities' reaction to Denkyera pressure resulted in a new consolidated Ashanti state is another example of the environment, not physical but political, driving history[4]. However, it is important not to take away from the genius of the people of the forest, as Ivor Wilks puts it. He praises the abirmpon vision of their present situation, and their ability to act and as he posited:

> *The abirempon office brings that vision into reality. Effectively, their actions created all the necessary conditions for the future Asante state as they lay the foundations [that] so utterly transformed an Akan future. This serves as another reminder of the complex nature of state formation processes in pre-colonial Africa*[5].

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(4) I .Herbst, op.cit., p.142.

(5) Stephen Michael Leech, *Twentieth Century Image of the "Zulu": Selected Representations in Historical and Political Discourse*, unpublished PhD, University of South Africa, November 1997, p.66.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Ultimately, the process shows clearly the complex nature of western and southern empires in Africa, which provides more ammunition to dismiss Eurocentric ideas. There exists a limited perception for the understanding of both the Ashanti's and Zulu's establishment and consolidation of their political, military and, economic institutions that confirmed Herbst's theories for the existence of highly centralised states in Africa particularly before the establishment of colonial rule. However, when one comes to identify these states under colonial rule and have a look at the destiny of such states, weaknesses and instability are rather noticed.

IV.1.2. Short-Term Formation of Institutions

As it has been established in both case studies, a surprisingly noticed similarity can be seen in the immediate events surrounding the initiated beginnings in the formation of both vast empires. In both case studies, the Ashanties and the Zulus turn to be the main rivals in both case studies, that is, the Denkyera in case of the former and the Mthethwa in case of the latter presented similar threats to the case study of states and the formation of their institutions.

First, both Denkyera and Mthethwa were located as close neighbours and represented a military threat. Second, both neighbours held the position of paramount regional powers before the rise of the Ashanties and Zulus. Third, both states were forced to go into war to resist the eventual outsiders. The analysis of Zulu showed that the state had to fight in order to

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

survive while the Denkyera, similarly, *"threatened, and carried the fight home to Ashanti, and not vice versa"*[6]

Fourth, the Mthethwa's supremacy meant a lack of opportunities to find iron ore for Zulu, and the latter therefore had to expand elsewhere to increase its iron supply. Similarly, although not identically, there was an economic dimension to Ashanti's rivalry with Denkyera. The latter was the *"most important inland supplier of gold and slaves to the Dutch at Elmina and the English at Cape Coast, and the wealthiest importer of European guns and ammunitions."*[7]

In fact, Since Osei Tutu's reign till Osei Bonsu's reign; all Asantehenes surely recognized that overtaking this trade would benefit the Ashanti empire both financially in terms of gold and militarily in terms of greater access to European weapons. This last point is where a parallel can be drawn with Zulu's search for iron ore that was needed to improve their military capacity and strength[8].

Fifth, the most appropriate focal point is then for both empires was to create wars for political hegemony and for getting more territories. In fact, the struggle against these rivals ensured that Ashanti and Zulu had to centralize politically and expand territorially in order to challenge the former's primacy.

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(6) Ibid., p.68.

(7) Krisky.V, op.cit., p.142.

(8) D.C.F.Mood , *The History of the Battles and Adventures of the British, the Boers and the Zulus, etc in Southern Africa from the Time of the Pharaoh Necho*, to 1880, Cape Town Editions, 1914, p.203.

(8) Ibid., p.205.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

An interesting argument can be made, taking into account both the Ashanti's and Zulu's states. From available evidence, it seems that both states had to become aggressive in order to defend themselves against their rivals. Thomas Reid argues that the birth of the Zulu's army was due to 'aggressive defensiveness'. He noted:

> *The Zulu had to react to the threat of Mthethwa by creating an army to defend itself, and at some point after the defeat of Mthethwa this defensiveness became aggression as Zulu waged more wars to conquer other polities around it.*[9]

Similarly, for what has been institutive among the Ashanties, its military campaigns of expansion after 1700 were triggered by the war and defeat of Denkyera. As we have already established, the Asantehenes Osei Tutu and Apoku Ware were forced into this confrontation, and here T. Reid's idea of aggressive defensiveness could also be applied to Ashanti. In addition, it is also important to find clues of symbolic importance of the conquests of Denkyera and Mthethwa. In Zulu, the "profound importance" [10] of the conquest of the latter is underlined by the accession ceremonies undertaken by Nkosi Zulu king 1818. As Reid noted:

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(9) Mathew Deflem, op.cit., p.385.

(10) ᶜA theory of personal identity is intended to account for how a person remains identical over time. When analyzed in terms of items that are fleeting and non-continuous—ideas, memories, thoughts—identity is reduced to diversity; that is, it is eliminated. By contrast, if one locates personal identity in that which thinks and remembers, and which has a continued, uninterrupted existence, one purchases personal identity at the cost of admitting that the self is a substance'. Derek. R. Brookes, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man: a Critical Edition*, University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002, p.210.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

> *He was given a bow and arrow, representing the weapons that were used in his ultimately fatal struggle with the regional rivals', and 'was then required to stab a young Zulu male to symbolize revenge against the death of head chief in battle. Overall, the great struggle to which he gave his life lodged itself in Zulu's collective memory.*[11]

In Ashanti, the victorious campaigns not only against Denkyera but also other Southern and Northern States had arguably an even bigger impact in terms of the traditional sacred institution that is, the Golden Stool institution that Embodied the symbol of the king's power, authority and especially unity in particular interest.The unifying king and all his successors symbolized power and authority via the Golden Stool institution raising that spirit of nationhood not only among the Ashanties but among the other Akans as well. Thus, unification and nationhood were the fundamental valor in establishing and consolidating the Ashanti Empire throughout the nineteenth century and by the Golden Stool institution the sovereignty of the Ashanti government is maintained via loyal subjects venerating the king and obeying all instituted laws. For the historical context, I.Wilks was keen on the analysis of the traditional institution of the Golden Stool. He stated that:

> *The Golden Stool maintained as the symbol of the Asante people soul and their unit. All the Asantehene are loyal to it. In fact, there is also a*

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(11) T. Reid, op.cit., p.172.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

new cultural festival, the Odwira, which symbolized the new union. Most importantly, Osei Tutu created the Golden Stool, which he argued represented the ancestors of all the Asante. Upon that Stool, he legitimized his rule and that of the royal dynasty that followed him. [12]

This is added to the fact that Osei Tutu, the conqueror of Denkyra, was the first one to take possession of this object in 1701, as quoted:

In Ashanti, the Golden Stool was the best-known symbolic expressions of the new order', by which McCaskie meant the new Ashanti state. Moreover, Arhin also points out to the Golden Stool as one of the manifest symbols of this unity. Therefore, this conquest was so important to Ashanti, that Osei Tutu used it to symbolically assert his power after the fall of Denkyera. [13]

Thereby, the analysed relationship between what one can take away from the analysis of long-term and short-term factors can lead to some features of state formation in both Ashanti and Zulu regions.

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(12) I.Wilks, op.cit.,p.165.

(13) 'This symbol of united is viewed by the "Golden Stool" or the "Stool" which is the symbol of unity of all the Asante and the Akan group in general. The Asantehene takes his forces in trusting in the Golden Stool', T.Schildroukt, *The Golden Stool: Studies of the Asante Center and Periphery*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York press, 1987, pp.102-103.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The understanding of these short-term events that triggered the formation of Ashanti and Zulu states did not provide us with the full concrete methods of state building that are in use today. However, just as with long-term processes, this understanding illuminates the way these pre-colonial African states were formed, which means that we can assume that other states in the region could have been formed in similar circumstances, giving us more tools for research.

IV.1.3.Centre and Periphery Relationship

The core-periphery relationship is an intricate system of communication and it is a central issue that was noticed during the comparative study in both case studies where some significant weaknesses were noticed and should be cleared out. As it has been explained in the Zulu chapter and according to Herbst's analysis, the West and South African leaders (in this context kings and their sub chiefs) had not been encouraged and the stuff for was not adaptable to utilize this relationship fully for the benefit of both the Ashanti and Zulu empires and their provincial regions under control (including the internal and the external provinces). This was due to the way power and rule take the exact part for its definition as political power that is, maintaining a full sway over the subdued ethnic groups particularly by the start of the post-colonial era[14]. Consequently, in our opinion, an amelioration of this relationship will facilitate state formation and maintenance in West and South Africa.

(14) Herbst.I, op.cit., p.146.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The most important part studied in this connection that should be considered is its fluidity; we can find it in both empires and in different ways. Among the Ashanti confederated states, the central authority had different relationships with every entity and tiny distinct community under rule had been absorbed. Such distinction between the states and communities under Ashanti sway became considered as part of tributaries, protectorates and provinces is made in order to facilitate the analysis of these relationships. While they managed to fall generally into one of these three well-organised groups, there were still a multitude of differences inside them and made puzzled trouble thinking in the nature of each group. For instance, as it was explained in the analysis of both the Ashanti empire in chapter two, the relationship with the Fante states located on the Southern coast of the Gold Coast was generally hostile to the point where they were physically relocated to more remote areas. At the same time, Gyaman organized tribute collection and claimed twenty percent of the collected amount. Both these policies were part of the province grouping system.

Furthermore, the centre of Ashanti state attempted to what V.Krisky explained word "Akanize" for the protectorate of Banda, using Jack Goody's term, by fusing its culture into the polity, and attempting to inculcate the Akan culture under its own terms. This is to notice that, what was left to Accra and Elmina states was only the indirect rule made under an Ashanti

resident-chief usually called for the diplomatic relations with the Europeans due to their strategic location towards the Southern Coast[15].

These examples illuminate the fluid nature of the relationship between the centre and periphery in the Ashanti empire. This relationship would over time, as with the move from kinship to dominance in the provinces, and it could vary from policy to policy in the same subgroup especially in the case of the Fante, the Elmina and other South Western states.

Additionally, this relationship was taken not consideration from only one side. The political government under the Metropolitan Ashanti acted unilaterally and its actions changed their relationship with the centre.

> *For instance, the multiple uprisings and attempted revolts surely affected the dynamics of the core-periphery relations. Moreover, direct participation in a military campaign through the supply of labour force resulted in a portion of booty in case of victory and a strengthening of the ties between Ashanti and the provincial entity through mutual sacrifices and the emotional component associated with battles.*[16]

In dealing with the Zulu people, they had to rely on the use of force to the same extent as Ashanti did, but the centre-periphery

(15) V. Krisky, op.cit., p.159.

(16) Ibid., p.160.

relationship in the Zulu territory was also marked by its fluid nature. In fact, the Zulu Metropolitan division lacked the degree of strength and the policy that Ashanti Metropolitan Division used to exercise over its provinces. Hereby, the example of the management of the empire resource is actually fragrant. To be more explicit, the Zulu kings imposed the taxation system and maintained its workings. And, the tax collecting intermediaries, regional chiefs and the king himself were all connected through the tribute accumulation system. Every actor struck a precise balance in the system: sub chiefs who consisted of intermediaries gathered all collected funds for their benefit but knew that too much misappropriation would have effects on the overall system, i.e. if the chief was unable to provide enough tribute, the king could depose him and such a scenario ran risks to the intermediaries themselves. Besides, other royal servants replaced many tax collectors but unfortunately, many of them failed in such missions.

For the Ashanties, the Asantehene chose a chief that would collect tribute in his region, which in this respect is similar to Ashanti, where we know that Gyaman, Wassaw and Akim organized tribute collections in their own regions. The overall point here is that delegating responsibility to the periphery, whether in the field tax and tribute collection or others seemed to have worked for both Ashanti and Zulu, and this may provide a lesson to modern African leaders who often think of working for their own principles and funds. The purpose found here was not to empower the periphery because of the fact that control of the capital equated to the control of the country. As a result, the

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

weaker the regions are, the easier it is for the current head of state to maintain his grip on power.[17]

However, this does not necessarily apply only to despotic regimes. When we come to talk about modern democracies, an elected president with a limited period of reign will still be motivated to attain more control and power. Be it for personal gain or because of the belief that only the leader knows how to lead and manage the country and the state, it is unfortunately the human nature of the greediness and love of control and power often reaches the surface.

IV.1.4. Colonial Impact and Major Local Challenges after 1884

The two principal aims in this present thesis were to strengthen the case for the existence of states in pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa and to look at state formation in the past in order to illuminate the causes of, and find possible solutions to, modern problems. One has to believe that after examining the two case studies, it is clear that both the Ashanties and Zulus were not loosely defined as political entities but as states in their own right. The complex nature of the path that both states have followed in order to form and affirm only reaffirms this point.

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(17) J.M. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana.* Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, (USA), 1990, pp. 99-100.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Nevertheless, the inflicting point that came to shake the basis of the studied institutions was actually the impact of the European presence on the coast. That is to say, the policy of the expansionist system during the scramble, the diversity of responses to imperialism among different strata within any West African or South African society, localized protests against the imposition of a capitalist economy, and local collaboration.

During the Berlin meeting in 1884, great imperialist powers gathered to discuss the destiny of the whole African continent in 1884. The Europeans were therefore faced with the intricate problem of wanting to demarcate a vast but not clearly differentiated territory, but having no desire to either administer it formally or fight amongst themselves over the results during the Berlin conference. The way then the scramble for Africa was proceeded became important for European imperialist powers. Instead of acting as combatants in an international system typically described as anarchical, the colonial powers devised a way to collude for their common good. The specific mechanism used to divide up Africa peacefully was the Berlin Conference.

The conference helped resolve a profound conflict between the European powers over how the extension of power was to proceed in Africa. To simplify, on one side of the debate was Germany. Its view was that future powers occupying territory there Africa should have no legal claim to it unless they exercised strong and effective political control.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

As the newest colonizer, Germany had an interest in trying to embarrass the older colonizers and attempting to invalidate their claims. The late comer to colonialism was unlikely to gain wide swaths of territory and therefore could conveniently argue that each colonial possession had to be effectively controlled or be given up. Great Britain, on the other hand, wanted, in light of her relatively large colonial possessions, to minimize the responsibilities of occupying powers because her existing protectorates might be called into question if there were new rules adopted that set up costly responsibilities for the occupying powers.

In the end, contrary to what Young implies, the British view prevailed. The Berlin Conference went to considerable lengths to stress the minimalist nature of the obligations Europeans assumed when they claimed formal control of territory in Africa. For the sake of the enclosed chapter, the final protocol of the conference deserves to be mentioned at some length because it is quite telling about the extent to which the new international system was designed to take into account the disinclination to rule what the Europeans conquered stating in Article 34 that any power which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such possessions, shall acquire them, as well as the power which possesses a Protectorate there shall accompany the respective act with notification addressed to the other signatory powers of the conference act, in order to enable them, to make good any claims of their own.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Besides, Article 35 of the conference noted for the signatory powers of the present act recognise the obligation to ensure the establishment of authority in regions occupied by them on the coasts of the African continent, sufficient to protect existing rights, and, as the case may be, freedom of trade and of transit under the conditions agreed upon.[18]

All that a European country had to do was to establish some kind of base territory on the coast, and then it was free to expand inward without having to establish, except in an ill-defined reasonable time, an administrative presence in order to fulfill the obligations of effective occupation. There appears to have been no belief on the part of the participants at the time of the Berlin Conference, or after, that the rules of occupation demanded the creation of European hegemony on the ground. For instance, a Belgian amendment that showed "effective occupation" should include provisions "to cause peace to be administered" was struck out from the last Berlin proclamation. Rather, Berlin enabled the Europeans to conquer Africa while doing as little as possible to control it. The rules were so vague that they would be difficult, if not impossible, to enforce. Indeed, 'occupation' did not actually refer to seizure of land but was a more generic term for the acquisition of sovereignty. Most territory in Africa was not actually physically conquered but ceded, more or less legitimately, by African rulers. Thus, many misunderstood the fundamental purpose of the Berlin Conference.

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(18) G.N Uzoigwe, 'Reflections on the Berlin West Africa Conference 1884-1885', *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, V:12, N°3/4,1985, p.12.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The conference never dealt explicitly with the interior of Africa. Quickly, the hinterland theory was promulgated. Under this theory, any power occupying coastal territory was entitled to claim political influence over an indefinite amount of inland area. In an irregularly sized continent, this was bound to cause problems, and a certain level of ridiculousness was reached when France tried to restrict decisions of the Berlin Conference, in the Scramble for Africa.

The relevant diplomatic history is provided by Crowe, The Berlin Conference was exceptionally successful in establishing the rules for the conquest of Africa without requiring extremely expensive formal systems of administration. First, the rules for such conference allowed any European power to preclude others from contesting a piece of territory that it had claimed as under its sphere of influence.

The establishment of protectorates in the 1880s and 1890s was for Britain an ideal solution to the problem of the international scramble for African possessions. She would thus exclude her rivals from gaining control over the area concerned, while retaining a free hand as to what degree of internal control she would then or later decide to exercise, and, indeed, as to whether she might not later wish to withdraw completely.

Although the specific study of the Ashanti and Zulu institutions has its fruition before the European presence on the African coast, the focal point hereby is the continuity of the

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

king's leadership and also chieftaincy that came to play an important crucial role in establishing identities.

For some scholars, the arrival of the colonialist and the subsequent usurping of the political system of the country did not significantly change the essence of the chieftaincy institution and the sacred position of the chief. For such scholars, the argument goes, the policy of the colonialists, (especially during the era of Lord Lugard who attempted to make the indigenous political leaders agents of the colonialists), was to make the chieftaincy institution an essential part of its colonial administration. This school of thought argues that the indigenous political institutions, despite occasional confrontations with the colonial government, were given the freedom to operate within their own limits. Colonial interventions in the activities of the chief were mainly for political expediency rather than anything else. As such, powerful and influential states were less likely to receive resistance and intervention from the colonial administrators than less powerful ones. The decision was for a more politically proactive motive. The belief was that any unwarranted intervention carried out by colonial administrators risk the possibility of undermining the authority and autonomy of the local leaders and also incurring the displeasure of the vast number of subjects the chief controls.

The chieftaincy institution was then seen as an attractive instrument of not only mobilizing the indigenous people of Gold Coast, but also governing them. Such efforts, it has already been

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

indicated in chapter one, led to the dual system of authority i.e. the central government which was patterned under the Westminster style of government and the local government (to be distinguished from contemporary local system of government), which was founded on the indigenous traditional system of government, also called the Native Administration. The attempts to modernize the chieftaincy institution led to the introduction of several reform measures such as the Native Courts Systems which were presided over by the chief and his officers that is, the council of elders. Notwithstanding the good intentions of the colonial government, writers like M. Rathbone pointed out that *"A somewhat ramshackle structure of municipal councils, overseen by usually confused colonial officials, was created."* [19]

Most of the Colonial Administrators knew little or nothing about indigenous political and social systems. In their attempt to Europeanize the indigenous society, many of these colonial officers despised and treated the indigenous leaders together with their beliefs, norms, customs, cultures and practices with disrespect and contempt. This and similar other activities of the colonial contact undercut the office and person of the chief either for the Chief Commissioner of the Northern or the Southern territories.

At this point of discussion, we sought to take a look at some of these activities. The first most important challenge towards

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[19] R.Rathbone, Nkrumah and Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, *African Studies Review*, V44, N°3, 2000, p.117.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

the colonial contact posed to indigenous political structures was the disintegration of local cultures and political system. At the time of the colonial contact, most of the indigenous societies were at the peak of their political influence. Among the Akans, the Ashanti kingdom, for instance, was largely an important indigenous political unit of government which was powerful enough to build up anything approaching a nation out of a large number of different tribes.[20]

However, the fame, the name and the fate of the kingdom were all greatly affected due to the contact with the colonialists. According to Kimble, the British, for example, soon recognized the threat the Ashanti empire posed to their interest, especially in matter of the latter's extension of political influence beyond the Ashanti kingdom. As a result, the Asantehene was removed. The encounter between the Ashanti and the British has been summarized by Thomas J. Lewin, when he noted:

> *The Europeans encroached more and more on Asante's autonomy. During the late nineteenth century, European, notably British, expansionism and imperialism deeply affected Asante political culture. The diffusion of British and other European agents as officials, soldiers, entrepreneurs, and missionaries and relentless spread of their politics, commerce, and*

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(20) ANC Historical Documents [http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/] APC (Alan Paton Centre, Pietermaritzburg), PC Paton Correspondence KCAL (Killie Campbell Africana Library, Durban), 1978, in: http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/ni.html (accessed on 20 December 2000).

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

values served as catalysts for socioeconomic changes in Asante body politic.[21]

As the scope and intensity of European activity and involvement increased in the closing decades of the century, Ashanti contended with the first sustained threats to their nation's independence and political sovereignty:

> *Colonial administration took over the power and the privilege that had hitherto been the preserves of the chief. With the coming of the Europeans, power structures and focus were shifted from the office and person of the chief to the presence of the (DC) District Commissioner.*[22]

A second challenge posed by colonialism is felt within the context of law and order. In matters of law and order, colonialism dispossessed the chief of any real powers as moral enforcer of the land. Earlier in chapter two, it was indicated that the laws and customs of the land are believed to have been given by the spiritual forces of the society. The chief, representing these spiritual forces, especially the ancestors, has the duty to

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(21) Thomas.J.lewin, *Asante before the British: the Prempean Years, 1875-1900,* Regent Press of Kansas, 1978, p.77-78.

(22) Bourquin Papers., Alpheus Zulu Collection South African Government of National Unity, Index Book 29, Album 1,(WMG) *Weekly Mail & Guardian Electronic Archive,* in: http//www.mg.co.za/archive (accessed on 20 November 2003).

protect and promote these established laws that made the chief as a sacred individual and that nothing would offence him.

The contact with colonizers, however, cast a dent on this common belief in the society. A third party-law giver was added to the already existing moral law givers of the indigenous society. Part of the colonial laws demanded that laws enacted by the indigenous religio-political leaders must be accepted with accent of approval from the colonial administrators. According to Kimble, with the imposition of foreign rule, even though the chief had the power to enact by-laws within his territory, those laws were to be in conformity with a list of prescribed subjects, with the Governor's approval. [23]

The introduction of the British judicial system, for example, greatly interfered with the traditional system of jurisprudence. The colonial administration oversaw matters related to major crimes such as *"murder or arson but the vast majority of the crimes of violence and crimes against property were heard in chief's court or Native Courts as they came to be known."* [24]

In this way, the chief was deprived of the physical and moral sanctions he previously presided over. The new law provided a greater amount of security to the individual (for both royals and commoners). Even when found guilty by the chief's court, the individual was sure of buying his head through the protection of

(23) D.Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism (1850-1928)*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1963, p.325.

(24) Ibid., p.336.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

the new judicial system in place. In this respect, such system stripped the chief of some of his sources of income and influence in the society. For example, among the Ga of Accra, it was said that the king known as Tackie:

> *He no longer has a Court in which to sell justice at Accra and so has no revenue. He has also no powers of punishment and so no means of making his nominal subjects obey him. He is an old man with the recollection of great former importance and of an influence extending over all the Ga-talking people and he naturally resents the new order of things and is not inclined to assist the Government that has brought it about.* [25]

This account indicates that the indigenous political leaders of the land did not only have a nostalgic return to the ancestral past but were also aggrieved of and resistant to the colonial intervention. Under such conditions, since the chief could not openly confront the colonial administration, citizens who fell afoul of the laws within the little powers that remained in his (the chief) hands, bore the brunt of his wrath. In most cases of the Zulu state, the sanction meted out by the chief, within the context of the new society colonialism has created, turned to be regarded as too strict and a limitation of the rights of the chief's subjects.

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(25) Thomas.J.lewin, *op.cit.*, p.81.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The focus of the effect of colonialism, impacted another third difficulty to encounter with colonialism posed to chieftaincy institution was the destruction of the local customs. Because the chief presided over these customs (which are also the basis of the chief's authority), any act that sought to hinder them (customs) limited the power of the chief. Colonial intervention in matters related to customs, or what Rathbone refers to as:

> *Most culturally specific issues were basically for political expediency. Rulers who were seen as powerful in their own right or were trusted by the colonizers were rarely distracted or had their daily activities intervened and also restricted for many divisions in most parts of the African continent.*[26]

Weaker and less co-operative chiefs were sure to turn often frustrated by constant intervention of the colonizers. In most cases, even more co-operative chiefs were humiliated before their subjects. For example, in May 1913, during the visit of Sir Hugh Clifford, the chiefs of Sekondi, in their address to him registered their A fourth challenge was that the superimposition of external authority weakened the power of the chief and the sanctions at his disposal.

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(26) ⸜In the pre-colonial era, Akan chiefs were condemned to death, under certain circumstances were given the opportunity to "buy their heads" (*watɔ ne tiri*), by paying heavy fine or other equally compelling heavy substitutes as determined or willed by the chief and his courts. For a detailed discussion on this concept and how it was applied in relation to the rights of the individual, as mentioned in Seth Tweneboah's book, Religious Human Rights in the Techiman Traditional Area of Modern Ghana', R.Rathbone, op.cit.,p.119.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Taken together, the forceful imposition of external forces could not bring the chieftaincy institution to its knees. Tension and acrimony between the chief and his elders resulted and also spirits of revolts rose between local peole and the colonial government, on the other. The introduction of western laws of governance, for example, opened the citizens to a lot of legal avenues and options. The Native Courts, for instance, redefined, reinterpreted, and in some cases, reinvented the customary laws the subdued people. Colonial laws and their influences gave the citizens so much power that the people eventually became only "nominal subjects" of the chief. Citizens openly challenged the basis of the chief's power with contempt. It is said that within a period of twenty-two (1904-1926), the Akan-speaking traditional areas alone recorded over 109 cases of destoolment[25].

The Annual Report on the Gold Coast in 1920, for example, observed that: "*The number of civil and criminal cases heard before the Courts in Ashanti in 1920, exclusive of the appeals from the decisions of native chiefs which came before the Chief Commissioner, was 3,174 against 2,361 in the previous year*" [26]. These figures supported the opinion expressed by the Chief Commissioner that the Ashantis appreciate the impartiality of the British Courts of Justice, and later deposed to place more faith in

[25] *Sir Clifford, it must be said, is in the good records of the chiefs as he established good relations with the chief. Unlike previous governors, he assured and encouraged the chiefs to approach him with their problems. According to Kimble, Clifford was said to have believed in the "'tribal system' as the natural machinery of administration'. See D. Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana*, op.cit., p.469. See also J.E. CaselyHayford, *The Truth about the West African Land Question,* Oxford University Press, 1913, p. 415.

[26] See Report on the Blue Book for 1920: Gold Coast in Appendix IV.

their administrators, who were not only judicial but also executive officers. The colonial intervention undermined not only the judicial and executive role of the chief but also usuallyprevented the full performance of religious ceremonies needed for the smooth running of the society. [27]

It is also interesting to add that the adoption of the indigenous political system by the colonialists opened the way for the chief to be given occasional allowances. However, most of these allowances were woefully inadequate. In most cases uncompromising chiefs had their allowances stripped off. In "Religious Human Rights in Teckiman Traditional Area of Modern Ghana," building on Meyerowitz's observation, she discussed:

> *how the presence of the colonial administration led to the breakdown of religious performance which resulted in the death of two important divisional chiefs in Teckiman traditional area. Following the Omanhene's confrontation with, and refusal to render apology to the colonial District Commissioner. This led to a major financial constraint on the Omanhene and his people. As there was no money to pay for the libations and other important rituals, the people believed that the society was visited with a host of ill-luck including the death of two*

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(27) Thomas.J.lewin, *op.cit.*, p.77-78.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

divisional chiefs (Adontenhene and the new Krontihene). [28]

The insufficient allowances given to the chiefs also opened them to corrupt practices such as the selling of stool lands and other acts that may fit their sacred status. Such acts were very serious offenses to both the citizens and the ancestors. It is noteworthy to mention that although there were always measures put in place to curb chiefly corruption, such practices were, in most cases, inevitable due to the financial constraint that most of them found themselves in under colonialism. For example, it is said that after the enstoolment of King Prempeh I, and following the civil unrest that brought him to power and the elaborate nature of the installation ceremony, his financial status became weak. He approached the British governor of the Gold Coast in 1888 for a personal loan of £400. *"This act was, obviously, an offense against the good name of the Golden Stool and a disgrace to the ancestors. However, when this matter became public in Kumase through the indiscretion of Inspector Lethbridge, the official entrusted with the handing the money over in private King Prempeh I shrewdly denied any knowledge of it"* [29]. King Prempeh I might have been aware of the spiritual and the political dangers and implications of this action. The incident had the potential of bringing not only the

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(28) Eva.L.E.Meyerovitz, *The Akan of Ghana: Their Ancient Beliefs,* Faber and Faber, London, 1958, p.522.

(29) D.Kimble,op.cit., pp.314-315.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

occupant of the golden stool into disrepute but also the whole Ashanti nation.

The impact of colonialism on the Ghanaian chieftaincy institution in general and the Akan in particular cannot be adequately covered in a single work of this nature. The colonial interference in preventing much of the inter-state warfare of conquest and expansion worked heavily against most chiefs and their states. The end of inter-state warfare which seemingly followed the colonial intervention meant a denial of an essential means, among others, of extending their control over weak and vulnerable smaller states. It was a prevention of the main means of gaining new prestige, territory, and wealth, and of providing an outlet for the aggressive impulses of their young men. The intervention, however, was a great relief to the individual subject who was by then, in constant fear of attack, slave raiding and unprepared warfare. However, the few states that still remained under the authority of powerful states usually suffered the consequences of this colonial intervention. Raymond Bagulo Bening, has for example, discussed some of the concerns that most of the chiefs of the smaller states under the then Ashanti kingdom raised. Among others, Bening observed that most of the chiefs agitated their own independent states due to the fear of the tyranny of the different Asantehenes.[30]

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(30) Raymond.B. Bening, *Ghana Regional Boundaries and National Integration*, Ghana Universities Press, 1999, p.415.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

Besides, Zulu traditional rule and its system of succession in the period of sovereignty were subverted by aspects of colonial and post-colonial governments. As is well known, after two centuries of trading on the KwaZulu territory and its hinterland, the British imposed their rule over those territories; the present Central, Eastern, Western, Greater Kwabulawayo and DiniZulu Regions, collectively known as the Nguni lands, in 1874; the present-day Zululand and neighbouring Regions in 1896; and the present Northern, Upper east and Upper west Regions, then known as the Northern Territories, in 1901.[30]

Colonial rule meant the abolition of the sovereignty of the traditional states and their subordination to the colonial authorities, represented by the District, Provincial and Chief Commissioners and the Governor. The colonial government assumed the right of recognition of existing or newly-appointed traditional rulers, which meant the right to accept or reject the choices of the kingmakers. In Kumasi and elsewhere in Ashanti, the colonial government imposed individuals as traditional rulers for services rendered during the Ashanti revolt of 1900-1901. In certain areas in the Northern Territories the colonial government substituted traditional rulers of the Akan type for ritual figures, such as custodians of the earth, who had previously been moral leaders, with powers of persuasion only in dispute settlement.

In the Akan areas, the assumption by the colonial government of the right to make and unmake traditional rulers subverted the

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(30) G.E.Melcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents of Ghana History (1807-1957)*, University of Ghana, 1964, p.504. (See Zulu State: Strength of Forces in the Field appendix V).

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

traditional system of government by consent. It is true that the right of consent or rejection was exercised by the body of elders[31]. But the elders, heads of political sub-units, normally represented the peoples of those units, so that there was, as both Rattray and Busia have tried to show, an element of non-formalized democracy in the system of government: the democratic element was strengthened by the correlative rights of the electors to remove rulers from office.

In addition to the formal attack on traditional rule as the embodiment of the sovereignty of indigenous government, and the subversion of 'custom' as the sanction of the right to rule, there were other aspects of the colonial situation that encouraged attempts at usurpation of the rights to office by what may be described as 'new men'. Far from the local bloody rebellions, these aspects were the introduction of formal education; the rise of an economic sub elite as a consequence of changes in the economy; Christian societies; and changes in the roles of traditional rulers, resulting from colonial and post-colonial legislation.[32]

IV.1.4. Explaining Common Points

After comparing both the Ashanti's and Zulu's states, it becomes clear that they possess several features to link then much in common. It is therefore possible to construct a preliminary definition that could be tested against African states.

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(31) ‚It must be said, Sir Clifford is in the good records of the chiefs as he established good relations with the chief. He, unlike previous governors, assured and encouraged the chiefs to approach him', K.A.Busia, op.cit., p.64.

(32) See Report on the Matabele Rebellion in appendix VI.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

To sum up, both the Ashanti's and Zulu's states must have gone through long-term processes of changes in material culture (intensive cultivation in Zulu and clearances of forests for arable land in Ashanti) that would allow a state to form its creation and quick consolidation as a response to external threat. The long-term processes were epitomized by the diffusion of clan members throughout the territory, allowing for political leaders (abirempon group in Ashanti and military officeholders in Zulu) to become the highest authority besides the Asantehene's rule.[33]

As a matter of fact, such external threat allowed the leaders to band together under the most wealthy, politically skillful and influential ruler that would centralize his authority and lead the state in a war against the threat (Osei Tutu in Ashanti and Shaka in Zulu). The resulting victory would prompt further successful military campaigns of expansion, as well as a legendary status for the ruler (Shaka Zulu was unsuccessful, but his rule nevertheless triggered similar eventualities to Osei Bonsu's reign in Ashanti) that would be symbolically rendered in the collective memory of the population. A state that emerges from such a sequence of events would be characterized by the fluidity of the core-periphery relationship that is shaped by both the central and regional authorities in that the actions of one will inevitably result in a reaction from the other, modifying the relationship according to the nature of these actions[34].

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(33) Adam, H. ,Giliomee, H, *Ethnic Power Mobilised: Can South Africa Change?*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1997,p.186.

(34) Ibid., p.188.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

This is rather a description of events than a definition; however, the framework that it provides should nevertheless be useful for further research into other states. Previously dismissed oral histories of some African states, for instance, may contain similar historical paths and responses to external threats or legendary rulers.

In addition, conclusions to the comparative work underscore the usefulness of considering roles and styles, as well as strategies employed in ancient military battles, so that business may strive and prosper in the future. Besides, linguistic analysis may reveal more about changes in behaviour or in material culture in other regions that could be compared to Zulu's turn to cultivation and trade. Archaeological digs could reveal regions where the environment changed for the material benefit of local people, similarly to Ashanti's creation of arable land out of dense forests that basically created a whole new economic dimension of agriculture for Akan people who lived in the forest land. Careful analysis of changes in religious practices, burial rites or mental behaviour may show results similar to Nguni-speaking peoples' beliefs about their ancestors, which in conjunction with other trends may point to changes in settlement patterns or other, as of yet unforeseeable, results.

Additionally, this is not to state that this sequence of events is the only way an African state was able to develop. This description merely illustrates a combination of various elements that, when considered together, formed a state in Ashanti and

Zulu. It is reasonable to assume that events sometimes cannot go on with the same path in every institution of the state, but it is also reasonable to assume that many of the same processes were at work in other cases.

IV. 2. Looking Back to the Ashanti's and Zulu's Pre-Colonial Past

After establishing the similarities between both case studies, it is important to provide proof of the second aim of my paper, i.e. the usefulness of looking back at the past. While the idea that there is value in pre-colonial past for tackling present problems is intriguing, it may seem far-fetched, especially given the reluctance of modern African elites to go back to the past since instead they focus on incorporating modern techniques to maintain and build up the state.

In order to illustrate the possibility to turn to tradition, one should now show how this is already happening in African state maintenance of their institutions, as well as point to other trends in modern Africa that are conceptually similar to this idea. An interesting trend that has been noted in recent years shows the renewed importance of the past in African state maintenance and consolidation. Since the mid-nineties, 'a large number' of African states have experienced what many scholars have called "retraditionalization" as V. Krisky interestingly analysed that:

> The focal point of this process is in concern
> with the renewed cooperation between the modern
> political centre and the traditional political

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

periphery. By that, we mean a change of the status quo between the central government and traditional authorities such as regional chiefs or clan-heads. The situation was such that the political leaders saw these traditional authorities as 'negative forces', and this view was held for decades since the wave of independence in the 1960s.[35]

However, this view is changing and a plethora of countries state adapting their state in order to include the traditional authorities and adopt them. This wave represents a complex rearrangement of power structures in African countries, and there are three specific trends that, when considered together, form the coming back traditional movement.[36]

First of all, there is a growing trend of self-assertive organizations, unions or associations of traditional leaders, which successfully attempted to regain some of the political power that they lost during the last century. In the most part, these organizations are able to accomplish this task resulting from their involvement in *"wider economic networks"*, and Congo, Uganda, Ghana, Zambia, Rwanda, Chad, Benin and Ivory Coast have all experienced this trend. The authors of the book on retraditionalization have singled out Ghana and Zulu, the

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(35) Krisky.V, op.cit., p.149.

(36) 'The elucidating thought which is born from the events of lived experience and must remain linked to them as to unique appropriate guide'. Kasereka Kavwahirehi Kasereka, 'On the Concepts of Disorder, Retraditionalization, and Crisis in African Studies', *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy*, V: XXIV, N°1, 2016, p.110.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

two case study countries, as some of the leading examples of the phenomenon. The Gold Coast was the cradle of democracy and when one describes nowadays Ghana, he can emphasise on the work of the Ashanti Institutions. As T.E.McCasckie noted:

> *The Ashanti chieftaincy in so many domains played a powerful role in national power structures by linking social, economic, and cultural capital vested in local power bases' and in Zulu they specify the Ashanti kingdom itself, along with the Mosi of Barotseland in Zambia, as one of two 'similar examples.*[37]

Secondly, in so many different times, the traditional local authorities were allocated and accepted to carry out tasks that are usually performed by the state, such as 'dispensing justice, collecting rent, and policing'. When one takes the example of the republic of the Congo, Luanda, Namibia, Somalia and Sierra Leone, there resulted in a replacement of a fusion with state authorities, showing that the relationship between the central authority and traditional periphery can, clearly, become one of mutual gain[38]. The local traditional chiefs and authorities have to take their responsibilities and prestige that had been taken away from them. And when one speaks about the central authorities, they should put their faith and trust in the former so

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(37) T.C.McCaskie, op.cit., p.157.

(38) J.Lambert, *From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis (1880-1910*), Shutter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg, 1989, p.163.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

as to regain trust, attention and then start the reconstruction of the state and carry on with the overall consequences of their rebellion that is, either still taking place or that had been crushed.

Thirdly, and even more importantly in terms of the main argument set during the enclosed analysis, one has to take into consideration the subject of a top downtrend of *"formal types of legislation, decrees, and reforms that have reincorporated traditional authority officially into state governance"*[39]. In most of the states of Ghana, Eastern Africa and most of the modern sub Saharan states of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Namibia, Cameroon and the Niger, the central authority is recognizing the efforts and influence of traditional authorities and aims to expand the relationship over the country. For instance, in Ghana as well as South Africa, Namibia and Zambia, national authorities provided traditional chiefs with political agency as they recognized them in the new revised constitutions of the 1990s and creations of national houses of chiefs. While this trend does not mean the restoration of all the tradition authorities' powers, it nonetheless shows that the state is willing to officially get back to a certain point, as part of a decentralization campaign aiming at political liberalization and democratization.

The other component of the retraditionalization trend is also supported by Jude Fokwang's book that focuses specifically on

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(39) Adam, H. , Giliomee, op.cit., p.103.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

the renewed role that chiefs play in democratic processes. He singles out two chiefs in South Africa and Cameroon in his research and contextualizes his arguments in terms of "legitimacy". Fokwang discusses a trend in which these two individuals gain political capital among the people by promoting their image as chiefs, although their main activity is being politicians. He shows the willingness of the people to trust a chief even among general mistrust of other politicians. In terms of the aims of the enclosed dissertation, this illustrates the possibility that if a chief who happens to be a skillful politician decides to become part of the ruling government and therefore the state, he can promote and advance the relationship between the state and the people.

Therefore, that individual maintains the state by increasing its importance in society and building trust between the two (as a direct result of his traditional claim to legitimacy), which will in turn lead to a more robust and healthy state. There are limitations to such as scenario, as Fokwang finds that not all chiefs are able to claim legitimacy, and not all of those who do have the best interests of the state and the country in mind. Nevertheless, there are also those who can positively contribute to the maintenance of the state.[40]

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(40) Fokwang.K,.op.cit, p.65.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

IV.2.1. Core and Periphery Relationship: Theoretical basis for looking back to the past

It is safe to say that modern attitude towards African regional politics is often steeped in prejudice and tales of corruption, unable leadership and overall inefficiency. As we have previously established, there is much to take away from the relatively more efficient and fluid core-periphery relationship in the pre-colonial era. However, the discussion about improving this relationship is dominated by unwarranted emphasis on the exogenous determinant of variation in how modern state structures have been imposed and implanted in the African countryside.[41]

Catherine Boone argues that components of the core-periphery relationship should not be viewed as technical or administrative problems to be solved, but rather as highly political processes. As a result, the outcome of current efforts at institutional and economic reform in the countryside is highly dependent on local level of political factors. In other words, amelioration of the conditions in the periphery requires the amelioration of the political relationship between the central and regional authorities[42]. She argues that specifically local conditions determine success or failure of development programs. There are two main reasons for this; first, the broad nature of most of these programs, as they had been developed to apply to "*the Third World*" without particular attention to local differences, significantly reduces the chances of success. Second, the over-

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(41) Ibid., p.70.

(42) Boone.C, op.cit., p.122.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

reliance on *"formal rules"* produces *"a cute disjuncture"* between how a program is supposed to work and' the real politics' of how African institutions function, reducing the chances of success even more[43].

For the contemporized ideas of politician Posner and Young noted, tensions and conflicts within the rural areas is noticed as even much ignored in the studies of state-society relations in Africa. This is due to the fact that rural political topography in sub-Saharan Africa is highly uneven and its consequence of rural localities and provinces which were incorporated into the modern state in highly variable ways and to varying extents[44].

The problems that she discusses are related to the idea of looking back at the core-periphery relationship. Our overall argument is that the study of African states on their own terms will yield benefits. Therefore, exploring the particular processes at work in the countryside of a particular state and analysing them since before the colonial period, can illuminate the dynamics of not only the core-periphery relationship, but also of the differences in, what Boone calls, *"rural political topography"* inside the periphery of the state in question. Conceptualizing modern problems and peculiarities in the African countryside as beginning during the colonial era because of European intervention that will not lead to any significant solutions or avenues for improvement, because the

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(43) Ibid., p.123.

(44) Danial.N.Posner and Daniel.J.Young, 'The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa', *Journal of Democracy*, V18, N°3, 2007, p.167.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

roots of political and social dynamics in rural Africa lie in the pre-colonial period.[45]

IV.3. Alternative Theories

The enclosed thesis focused on the idea that West and South African states and their established institutions should be treated on their own terms and that it is worthwhile to look through the history of a state in order to understand its roots. This can in turn help with tackling current problems that a state may have.

Firstly, treating states, especially those of the Third World on their own terms is not a mainstream argument, and it has a few alternatives. Writing in 1991, Jean François Bayart posited that "*Academic analysis of the 'south' has long been divided between the conflicting theories of 'modernization' and 'dependency', both of which clash with arguments and ideas put forward.*"[46]

As Bayart points out, both these theories have a similar fundamental belief about the Third World "*Those external factors being the major influence behind political change in Africa, Latin America and Asia since the global expansion of Western imperialism.*"[47]

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(45) Brass, P, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison.* Oxford University press, U.K, 1991,p.166.

(46) Bayart. J.F, op.cit., p.170.

(47) Ibid p.171.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

All in all, the primordial importance in state and institutional maintenance depend on the positive contribution of the authority holders. The basic structure is in fact set on the renewed role of the head chiefs. They can actually promote and advance the relationship between the state and its respective people. For this subject under analysis, many ideas and arguments were set up to pave the way to ameliorate states and their institutions all relying on the leading human mind.

IV.4. Conclusions

Two principal aims in this research work were to strengthen the case for the existence of states and institutions in pre-colonial West and Southern Africa and to look at state formation in the past in order to illuminate the causes of, and find possible solutions to, modern problems. After examining the two case studies, one would believe that both Ashanti and Zulu were not loosely defined political entities but states in their own right. It becomes clear then to define the complex nature of the path that both states have followed in order to form only reaffirms this point.

In addition, the enclosed last chapter provided ample evidence that a trend of using tradition and the past as ways to improve state institutions and their maintenance in Africa has been observed recently. Moreover, other fields have also been using similar conceptual strategy to improve their understanding of Africa and their respective disciplines.

Chapter IV: Comparisons, Alternative Explanations and Conclusions

The analysis in both case studies has also shown that understanding how exactly African states formed in the pre-colonial period can provide important information. Throughout the enclosed study, we are actually and deeply aware that our arguments may appear to homogenize all African states; however, this is only a result of the limited scope of the thesis and is intended to show that African states all have certain similarities as opposed to the Western model of the state. The point is that African states are different, and whether there are significant differences between these states themselves is not in the scope of the enclosed research thesis.

General Conclusion

The Ashanties and Zulus had endured for centuries within a continent, which had an indisputable reputation of instability. From the birth of their civilizations, their kings uniquely positioned themselves as thoughtful organizers within and through the country of the western and southern Africa. Ashanti and Zulu kings were thoughtful leaders, powerful invaders and wise doorkeepers to trade. This position allowed them the ability to evolve a political, military, and economic institutions around their home territory and to create for them reputable image across Africa. This reputation protected them further from hostile powers, which chose to follow them, and to trade, instead of attempting to conquer them. This research study has shown an overview of the Ashanti's and Zulu's formation of their institutions that was undertaken to provide insight for an appreciation of their kings' humble though oppressive beginnings.

It is therefore, a matter of importance to examine the main aspects of the qualified kings applied for the headship and to determine the relationship between the main Empire institutions and then to analyze the most important factors that made major contribution for its initial stability .First, by making the Golden Stool ('*SikaDua*', a golden chair) the repository of a national spirit transcending all local ties, the early Asantehene Osei tutu (the founder of the Ashanti confederacy) and his priest Anokye played upon the superstitious beliefs of the Ashanti and there by succeeded in impressing upon them that henceforth Ashanti was a nation linked by a mystical bond of which the new stool was a visible symbol. Second, they were aware that religion could be a means of enshrining and deifying society and that the social field may be more aptly expanded and rendered cohesive in the minds of men by symbolic rite and ritual representations, of which the Golden stool was an extremely useful instrument. Third, for obvious ideological reasons-that the golden stool could not have come from elsewhere and hence have stronger status-it was regarded as being called down from the sky. Fourth,

the political unity of this act could not be underestimated: in one fell swoop, all previous stools (among Akan myths) were abolished and the Golden Stool became the first.

A new hierarchy of stools was created that flowed from the centrality of the Golden Stool. The appointed Asantehene was enthroned on the sacred Golden Stool, which came to symbolize the strengthened power of the king Every Oyoko Office Holder had his own stool and the closest stool to the Asantehene was that of the Mamponhene, who significantly was the sole non-Oyoko divisional chief of the provincial Aman of Mampon. Each independent divisional chief took an oath of allegiance to the stool, and all lands and stools were subordinated to the Asantehene. Upon the stool, the king was sacred, the holy intermediary between people and ancestors. The Asantehene reigned over all the chiefs of the divisions of the empire, the Omanhene and he was the only person in Ashanti permitted to invoke the death sentence. In this way, the Golden Stool became the concrete focus of the Ashanties identification, loyalty, and continuity.

Political authority, as alluded to in the myth of the Golden Stool, therefore contained both ascribed and achievement elements. The stool, because of its inanimacy, was a symbol of genealogy as well as of personal qualifications. Access to a stool was open to anyone who could make an ascribed claim, providing that he was acceptable to the people and the council that is, a representative organ of kin groups and functional associations. It marked the rise of the kin-rooted foundations of the Ashanti's policy for the formation of the Ashanti empire.

During Osei Kwadwo's reign, the features of a new Ashanti policy began to take shape. He sought to demote some of his Kumasi and Omanhene chiefs and create new stools more directly underhis control. The essence of the changes wrought by Osei Kwadwo was the subversion of the power of the hereditary nobility and the transfer of the functions of

government to a new class officials controlled by the king. These shifts had been referred to as 'the Kwadwoian Revolution' or the initial bureaucratic upheaval of Ashanti government. Partly as a result of political need to improve the administration and partly because he coupled military with political reform, establishing the internal security branch, as a potential threat and a means of exercising internal coercion. To effect the necessary changes, the Asantehene simply deprived certain lineages from hereditary stools, made lesser appointive stools into depositories of real power and changed then hereditary positions into appointive ones.

Nkosi Shaka Zulu followed similar statehood path, during his reign the transition to a final phase of appointed bureaucracy within Kwabulawayo enabled the development task specialization and the elaboration of new areas of activity and made his changes by the 'Shakaian Revolution'. The first, and perhaps the most important, was the expansion of the center into the economic sphere. The key office in the political reform was the Induna, who looked after financial affairs and collected tributes, poll taxes, and tolls. Second, the chief linguist had the task roughly equivalent to that of a principal headman, while other linguists were attached to different departments as counselors. This group played the role of traders and tax collectors carrying out all surplus production and tribute from subdued provincial states in addition to many extra tasks directly involved in policymaking. The military unit, the *Mfecane* and the *Impi* formed the third branch of government and comprised security of law enforcement. During wartime, successive kings to Nkosi Shaka were increasingly helped by the army chief commanders and personal military companies selected for their non- hereditary belonging.

Consequently, within both empires, five internal sources of instability resulted and created problems of fragmentation within the Ashanti's and Zulu's metropolitan divisions. Since the meetings of the council of the

empire the royal council among the Zulu) were often sporadic and unwieldy, the Asantehenes beginning with Osei Kwadwo, began to nurture the council of officials that is, the Inner council which gradually evolved into the Council of Kumasi. Beginning as a miniature cabinet around the Asantehene, this council gradually came to include seventeen members, mostly office holders such as the Okyame, the Adamfo, the Amradofo, the Gyasehene, the heads of the heralds, the executioners. This council attempted to subvert the decision-making power of the Council of the Empire, and nineteenth-century kings were prone to ruling through the executive fiat, following the considerations raised for their advisers. However, for the Zulus the consequence was minimized and the reputation of the devastating army made any spirit of revolt and secession rather impossible. Besides, almost all tasks and duties were left into the Induna's hands who in his turn selected a limited number of administrative officials of the empire compared to the numerous Ashanti officials.

The Ashanti's Inner Council incorporated later new economic and bureaucratic elites, while the Council of the Empire became the repository of kin and military elites to cause frictions within the governing structure. A clash between both elites was inevitable, different organizational principles were at stake. In the course of these processes, the balance of power moved from kin to functional groups and representative principles developed conflicts among the various elites within the center itself. Two main factions developed thus in Ashanti in the nineteenth century. The so-called war party was led by representatives of the Golden Stool version of the Ashanti model; the peace party was composed of the new elites who possessed a secular and functional orientation. Conflict between these two groups colored Kumasi politics after the kwadwoian Revolution, bringing about the de-stoolment of several Ashanti monarchs. Changes in the relative power positions of proponents of each view however, provided

General Conclusion

the framework for a certain pattern of conflict which regulated tension in the Ashanti's policy, at least until 1900s.

Conflicts plagued both Ashanti's and Zulu's policies and there were perpetual center-periphery tensions as mentioned in the last chapter, which continued to play an important role in the political sphere. As an illustration, among the Ashanties, many tensions reached a peak with the attempted secessions of Dwaben (1875) in the Ashanti province, an effort put down by brutal force. At the end of the nineteenth century, the unresolved problems between Kumasi and the Omanhene led to some bitter succession disputes. Banda, Takyiman and Gyaman frequently revolted against Kumasi. Not only Dwaben, but Kumawu, Mampon, Nsuta, Bekwei and Kokofu also broke away from Kumasi. Even the small division of Mansa-Nkwanta revolted against kumasi during the reign of Mensa Bonsu (1875-1883) and was successful because none of the other chiefs would join in the war. In 1895, the chiefs of Bekwai and Abondom signed formal treaties with the British government without the permission of the Asantehene. The Omanhene frequently revolted and the revolts were not mere sporadic incidents but were symptomatic of the Union that is, the confederacy. Among the Zulus, confusion and split in ideological lines among Shaka's brothers Dingane and Mpande broke that rope holding the nation together. Hereby, king Mpande found the difficult task of plaiting the nation back together and healing the rift between his followers and those of the recently killed Dingane. As with King Shaka, Dingane left no legitimate heir to the throne and Mpande's Boer allies hailed him as 'Reigning Prince of the Emigrant Zulus' but this agreement led him to the fall of the whole empire and the confederacy as well.

Politically, the king of the Ashanties held immense power in Ashanti, but did not enjoy absolute royal rule, and he was obliged to share considerable legislative and executive powers appointed through matrilineal hereditary succession. Most importantly, the existence of

aristocratic organization and the Council of Elders was evidence of an oligarchic tendency in Ashanti political life.

Unfortunately, added to these internal conflicts, the empire witnessed a constant dislocation of its main institutions. The Asantehene was able to monopolize trade in such a way that the whole trade relationships grew into a symbiotic relationship between their economic and political stability and the consolidation of peaceful and long lasting link between the Ashanti's and their neighbours. Firstly, the Asantehene's organization of the empire officials under his direct service tended to democratize and liberalize the political process. They sought for a constant assistance at the main Councils of the Empire and ensured that their views should be seriously taken and added into the conversation. Secondly, the Asantehene had a large staff. He had his spokesmen and officials. An elaborate pattern of specific relationships existed between the chief and his principal officers in which their various performances were carefully worked out while their functions were not. The positions were, relative to western standards, functionally diffuse. Besides, although the formation of the confederacy was impelled by the need of common defense, no permanent army was established. The conquered states supplied men required for defense or for external invasions as the need arose. All able-bodied men were liable for military service, and their chief was responsible for providing them with powder and ammunition.

These internal sources of instability created problems of fragmentation within the Ashanti and Zulu Metropolitan centers. However, they were attenuated somewhat by periodic shifts in elite coalitions and by recurrent efforts to permit at least partial access to the centre. What the Ashanti empire could not control was another type of conflict, that generated between the ruling stratum either middle-level functional groups or the population at large. The introduction of new social and economic factors in Ashanti was accompanied by the beginning of social differentiation and

stratification in classes. By the waning years of the twentieth century, these divisions had superseded more traditionally rooted sources of conflict. However, Ashanties had known conflict at the apex of the social system. It had also come to terms with spatial instability and tension among the middle rungs of the social structure. The change at the end of the century induced radical instability, which became to the reconstructed social order.

Up to that point, the fundamental problem facing many state builders and their challenge of state building particularly in West and South Africa was the density of the population under control and also the ecological differences across the different provinces of each state. Be it coastal, forest, savannah or near-desert that seemed greater than European or Asian territories, different models concerned with the application of control over external provinces was more varied and here first challenges posed by the political geography of the region could not be ignored. Such fundamental problems added to other issues made differences between African and European systems

Ultimately, all what can be said is that the Ashanti kings really proved that in West Africa indigenous people can perform political and economic standards of living almost comparable to the Western standards; and that with the absence of the European occupation in the Ashanti heartlands till 1878, the development of Ashanti suzerainty over a large part of the Gold Coast, this system grew in size into a dominating bureaucracy, more like a legitimized holding company of partially independent divisions than like a formal kingdom. Yet, at the center a very real monopoly of power was held by the paramount chief, the Asantehene, whose central position of monarchy was one day under a highly centralized political control.

The failure to develop more powerful generalizations is also increasingly hurting the study of Africa itself. For instance, the effort that

came to full life in the 1960s to study the history of Africa before the Europeans has not had the impact that it should have had because commentary almost always has been devoted to one polity or one region. Similarly, the study of relations between capitals and chiefs has, but with a very few exceptions, been developed on a country-by-country basis with no hint of a comparative effort. As a result, the study of African politics has sometimes been in accord with the critiques of area studies: more a jumble of accumulated facts than a clear scholarly project that has sought to continually test facts against hypotheses. It is possible to answer those critiques without abandoning the study of African states qua African states.

To do so requires the development of an analytic perspective that allows the African experience to be understood in comparative perspective. This research thesis does not provide all of the answers to the big questions posed herein. However, we do hope that it initiates a debate that is long overdue about state consolidation in Africa and in other parts of the world. Such a debate should flourish if it is possible to recognize both the enormous variation within Africa and the possibilities of overarching similarities.

The particular institutions that mediate the pressures from the international system become of special concern to weak rulers who do not have clear control over their territory; therefore, examining them may be especially informative in understanding the politics of African state development. As elsewhere, political outcomes are the result of human agency interacting with powerful geographic and historical forces. And, as is the case in other parts of the world, the viability of African states depends on leaders successfully meeting the challenges posed by their particular environment.

In many ways the most consequential buffer mechanism is that traditional leaders and local "warlords" who have moved into the vacuum created by the collapse of the local branches of the state, may exercise substantial control, provide security, and collect taxes. Understanding that in some of the failed or failing states in Africa, rural communities already face a complex situation where sovereign control is only exercised partially, if at all, by the central government would be an important return to reality and an abandonment of the international law.

These situations differ from the criteria discussed above for recognizing new states because no obvious authority exercises clear control over a defined piece of territory. Unfortunately, this situation is probably much more likely in collapsing African states than the appearance of a new force that can actually exercise sovereign authority over a defined piece of territory.

Having recognized the confused situation on the ground in some African countries, an important innovation would be to loosen the institutional framework governing international organizations. It would be particularly useful to encourage the participation by sub national units, be they potential breakaway regions or simply units such as towns or regions that have been largely abandoned by their own central government, in, at first, technical meetings and later directly in organizations such as WHO, UNICEF, and UNDP that provide resources directly for development.

Such a sharing of sovereignty would be a reflection of who is exercising authority on the ground, just as shared sovereignty during the pre-colonial period was an acknowledgment that no one state exercised absolute power in a particular region. Correspondingly, the messy diplomacy of the pre-colonial period, where units had complex relations with other types of units, is, in some ways, more appropriate than the

current practice of states only having diplomatic relations with other states.

Participation   in   technical   and   service   delivery   organizations by   actors (e.g., traditional leaders or "warlords") who currently exercise authority and may deliver services but are not sovereign is appealing because inter- national   acceptance   can   be   calibrated   to   the   actual power being exercised. Thus, if a region's schooling has become largely dependent on the leadership and funds provided by a traditional leader, that ethnic group might develop some kind of formal   relationship with the relevant UN agency. Of course, care would have to be taken that the new leaders were able to exercise their authority for a sustained period of time. Also, the international   community   would   be   free   to   make judgments about the degree of assistance based on human rights concerns just as it does now, in a limited sense, for countries that seek aid. Such a stance might, in at least some circumstances, be more helpful to the people of a region than pretending the old political arrangements still work. If the government of a   country   objects   to   losing   authority, it should, as the case in the pre-colonial period, be forced to   prove that it can actually govern the region.

However, in a variety of circumstances, the international community has proved adept at adapting to diplomacy with something other than   the traditional sovereign states. In fact, foreign companies have not been reluctant to negotiate with informal authority in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and are willing to make a deal with anyone who has real, as opposed to theoretical, control over a territory. Similarly, while the international community does not, in general, recognize Taiwan as a separate country, the vast majority of countries still manage to have normal   commercial relations with Taipei and, at times, what looks suspiciously like diplomatic relations only slightly hidden. Once the sovereignty issue has

been addressed, it should not be that hard for technical agencies to actually begin relating to those units that are actually providing services. Such a measure would also be a logical, if still revolutionary, departure from current practices,which tacitly allow nongovernmental organizations to cross borders during humanitarian crises without devoting much attention to the niceties of sovereignty.

The international community should also explore alternative means of providing some sort of recognition to some sub national communities that are not necessarily organized territorially. For instance, Hans Brunhart, Liechtenstein's minister of foreign affairs, has put forward an initiative that stresses the importance of every community having some level of autonomy within the nation-state and of increasing some communities.

The actual case under study, one can say that the Ashanties displayed a great ability and better than the Zulus to emerge as a highly organised empire since the first beginnings the nineteenth century. They will certainly continue to manifest a respect for the Golden Stool and all that it represents and to retain a keen awareness of the debt they owe to those who have gone before, to the ancestors. Then, the Ashanti nation may either cease to exist other than as a romantic evocation of times past or, it will forge for itself a place in a rapidly changing world, the structure of which none of us, the Ashanti included, can even begin to portray. Ashanti will surely continue to work out its destiny within the framework of the Republic of Ghana and of whatever wider configurations of African states may emerge. For the Zulus 'case study, they succeeded in a certain way to impose their hegemony with respect to their common descent but also to promote fearful maximum participation of the whole members. Successive rulers tried to do their best to keep the strengthened Shaka's model and the nationalist leaders predictably remember the honourable flawless system of governance at every Shaka Day ceremonies.

General Conclusion

This study has repeatedly shown that state systems and their institutions do not simply emerge from the minds of international lawyers but are, rather, the result of brutal political calculations about how it is possible to extend power within individual states. While there might be considerable inertia within state systems, there is no reason to believe that a yawning gulf between the legal theories and the facts on the ground do exist indefinitely. It is only a matter of time before, Africans try to reconcile actual existing states with how power, according to their state system, is exercised.

Now that so many of the props that supported the state system in Africa have been eliminated, the stage for revolutionary change has indeed been set. The only question that remains is if African states and the international community will be able, proactively, to adjust to the changed conditions or if, even in the face of persistent state failure and the accompanying human tragedy, participants and will be satisfied with   selective and self-interested changes in the old order. The wars in central Africa in the late 1990s demonstrate that state failure is becoming so pervasive that some states may attempt, on an ad hoc basis, to impose their own solutions, especially as their security is threatened by chaos in neighboring states.

To conclude, the African model of state consolidation and its established institutions has prevented much of the continent from experiencing the brutality of interstate war that so mars much of the human experience during the last one hundred years. However, it also appears that this particular avenue of state-building leads to a dead end for a significant number of countries. The African model -where states are born easily but do not die- is dramatically at odds with traditional western accounts of state- building. It is time for scholars who have avoided non-European paths toward state consolidation to begin to take the African

examples, and the examples of other regions with low population densities, into account in order to develop a truly comparative account of how states develop. At the same time, leaders in Africa and elsewhere should end their state of denial and accept that serious thinking must begin regarding alternatives to at least some of the political arrangements that were initially demarcated by the Europeans. If they do not, the response to the ever more serious political and humanitarian challenges to state failure in Africa will inevitably be too little, too late.

Both case studies and their well-organised institutions explored in this research suggested that they would last and endure without dropping out their sense of identity: a consciousness of cultural and linguistic community, an awareness of the past, and a highly particular vision of the unity of past, present, and future. Such characteristics, surely, are the stuffs of the fundamental concept of a standing nationhood.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

Only regularly recurring words are listed. Those used infrequently are explained when first used.

Principal *Ashanti terms* used in the thesis

abontendom   royal military officers
abirempon   merchants class, skillful leaders
abusua   the matrilineal clan
adamfo   royal assistants
akan   Ashanti clan
akomfo Anokye the chief priest under king Osei Tutu's reign
akyame   king's linguist
amradofo   royal direct subordinates
asantehene   king of Ashanti
asakomfo   the chief priest
batafo   royal official traders
gyasehene   royal administrator
kumasi   Ashanti capital
mperedwan   the Ashanti's currency made in gold dust)state musketeers
nhenkwa   office holders' assistants
obiri Yeboa the first Ashanti king
odehye   class administrators
odwira   the periodic Ashanti ceremony
ohyene   non-akan Lineage-Heads
omanhene   akan sub-chiefs leading the Akan States
oyoko   royal family regent of a king or a divisional chief
oyokohene   elder to divisional chief
sika   gold
sika dua   the sacred golden stool
twi   Ashanti's native language

GLOSSARY

Principal *Zulu terms* used in the thesis

amabutho   system of age-set regiments (sg. *ibutho*)
amadlozi   *a*ncestors or 'shades'
amakhosi   sub chiefs (sg. *inkosi*)
amayi   king's headman
bosberaad   Afrikaans meeting
ibandla   royal council
idecane   military company
imbizo gathering of the nation
imbongi praise singer (pl. *izibongo*)
impi   the Zulu army
induna   headman in foreign affairs(pl. *izinduna*)
indunaizi   the royal criers and heralds
inkatha   sacred coil symbolising Zulu unity and power
indunaizifo official Envoys
inkhata KaZulu first political movement in 1920s
isikhulu   the traditional elders
izangoma   diviners (sg. *isangoma*)
izinduna   state officials
isomun   war-captives
izinceku   personal attendants
izinyanga   herbalists (sg. *inyanga*)
mthethwa   neighbouring competing state
ndunankulu   prime minister
nguni   Zulu clan
nkosi   Zulu king
nkosidom   king's military companies
Kesuo   military companies
Kwabulawayo Zulu capital
kwaZulu-Natal Zulu territory
umuzi   homestead (pl. *imizi*)
Wisa   the large-headed knob-kerrie

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I : The Zulu Amabutho from King Shaka to the Anglo Zulu War

Zulu *Amabutho*
From King Shaka to the
Anglo-Zulu War

Any attempt to compile a definitive list of Zulu *amabutho* is fraught with difficulties. Although there is a wealth of source material, it can only be relied upon for the later period: European descriptions of the Zulu kings' armies become more plentiful with increased contact from the 1840s, while the British attempted to compile a list of regiments active in 1879 at the time of the Anglo-Zulu War. Although various scholars – Bryant, Samuelson, Faye – attempted to draw up a list of regiments later in the nineteenth century, working directly with Zulu informants, their sources' memory span at best dimly recalled the events of King Dingane's reign. The rapid expansion of the army, which went hand-in-hand with the state creation process in the 1820s, ensured that a plethora of *amabutho* names are associated with King Shaka; however, it is almost impossible, now, to disentangle the names of *amabutho* proper from the names of *izigaba*, or even the *amakhanda* with which they were associated. Nor does a degree of repetition help; both King Shaka and King Mpande raised regiments called uMbonambi, for example, while Mpande followed Dingane's precedent of naming a (different) regiment uDlambedlu. Similarly, no two sources agree on the exact order in which Shaka's regiments were enrolled.

The following list is therefore a synthesis, based on evidence given by James Stuart's Zulu informants and compared against lists compiled by Bryant, Samuelson, etc. It has been possible to find a considerable measure of agreement between sources for the period from 1828 onward, but that for the Shakan period is offered no more than tentatively. Although dates of formation of the early regiments have been included along with the rest, these should also be treated with caution.

Details of ceremonial costume and shield colours have been included, where known. Since all *amabutho* wore broadly similar costumes, differing usually only in details of headdress, those items common to all have not been listed – earflaps, cowtail body, leg and arm ornaments, and so on. Where shield colours are given, these should also be treated with caution, since it is probable that a regiment may have changed its shields up to three

261

262   The Anatomy of the Zulu Army

times during its period of active service. Colours for those regiments who fought in 1879 are generally those correct for the Anglo-Zulu War period. Where previous attempts have been made to translate the names of *amabutho* – notably by Samuelson, Faye and Fynney – a synthesis is included here, although it has not been possible to suggest the full subtlety of references implied by the more complex names.

King Shaka's *amabutho*

emBelebeleni Although there are references to an *emBelebele* ('a persistent worry') *ibutho*, this was apparently the name of an *ikhanda*, where a number of senior *amabutho* were quartered, including men 'inherited' from Shaka's father, Senzangakhona. These may have included the **ama-Wombe** ('a clash of arms') *ibutho* (formed *c.* 1816 from men born 1775–85) and, according to Bryant, the **uNomdayana**, **amaPhela** ('the cockroaches', 'taken over' from King Zwide kaLanga of the Ndwandwe after Shaka defeated him), the **amaKwenkwe**, **iziKwembu**, who carried dun-coloured shields (Lunguza *JSA* 1) and **iziZimazana** *amabutho*. Lunguza adds a section called **uMpondozobekwapi**, who carried red shields with brown patches (*JSA* 1). Bryant suggests that all of these latter were formed in the period 1821–7, of men born *c.* 1801–7, but Stuart's sources suggest they may have been older.

isiKlebhe Possibly a senior *ibutho* or grouping based at the **isiKlebheni** *ikhanda*, and formed by Senzangakhona. Bryant says formed 1816 of youths born 1790–5. Carried grey shields (Lunguza *JSA* 1).

uFasimba 'The distant blue haze', formed *c.* 1818 from youths born *c.* 1795–8. Carried white shields (Lunguza, *JSA* 1).

isiPhezi 'To stop or hold up', also known as/incorporated with **uMgu-manqa** (from a verb meaning to spoil and make stale) and **iNtontela** ('a tear') *amabutho*. The uDlangubo *ibutho* was apparently also added to the iNontela, and the amaGovu to the uDlangubo (Jantshi, *JSA* 1). Bryant says formed 1820–1, from men born *c.* 1789–99, although this may refer to the incorporated regiments, as some sources suggest the original isiPhezi were older. According to Lunguza (*JSA* 1) they carried white shields with markings; Mkehlengana (*JSA* 3), whose father Zulu was a member of the **uMgumanqa**, adds that they were white speckled with red or black hairs.

iziYendane Formed following Shaka's raids on the Drakensberg foothills, *c.* 1819, apparently consisting largely of Hlubi men, incorporated after that campaign. Carried red shields (Lunguza, *JSA* 1). Hlubi men wore their hair long, in a style known as *iziyendane*.

locust, to whom the **iNgcobinga** were likened. It is therefore interesting to note that the regiment was later called **iziNyosi** – 'the bees'. Carried speckled grey shields (Lunguza, *JSA* 1).

King Dingane's *amabutho*

iziNyosi Formerly Shaka's **iNgcobinga**.

uDlambedlu 'Those who worry at a thing and eat it up', formed *c.* 1829 from youths born *c.* 1809.

imVokwe 'Those who subjugate others', formed in the mid-1830s from youths born *c.* 1815.

imiKhulutshane 'The stumbling blocks', formed *c.*1833 from youths born *c.* 1813.

iHlaba 'The stabbers', also known as/included sections called **iziNgulut-shane**, and **izinDabakadengizbona** ('I see the affair'), who carried black shields with white spots (Lunguza, *JSA* 1). Formed *c.* 1837 from youths born *c.* 1817.

uKhokothi The name of a snake, formed 1837–8 from youths born *c.* 1817–18.

iNsewane 'The sharp youths', probably formed at the end of Dingane's reign, 1838–40.

Note: although Bryant lists the **Hlomendlini mhlope** ('the white troops armed at home') and **Hlomendlini mnyama** ('the black troops armed at home') as *amabutho*, these were in fact the names of two of King Dingane's *amakhanda*, where a variety of regiments were quartered.

King Mpande's *amabutho*

iNdabakawombe 'The affair (*indaba*) of the ambush, or clash of arms (*wombe*)', formed *c.* 1841 of youths born *c.* 1821. Was incorporated with Dingane's **uKhokothi**. Two descriptions of its costume survive: G.F. Angas sketched a member of the regiment in the 1840s carrying a white shield, and wearing a headdress consisting of a pad of fur over the crown, with ostrich feathers on top, and a bunch of crane feathers at the back of the head. A clipped ball of dark feathers is attached to the back of the head-band, and there are two large unidentified (eagle?) feathers at the side of the head. Small bunches of lourie feathers are attached to the leopardskin earflaps. By 1879 Fynney (*TZA*) described the uniform as that of a typical married *ibutho*, *ie* otter-skin headband, one or two crane feathers, white shield.

APPENDICES

lightning of the sky (*ie* British rockets). *Tshitshilizi, tshitshilizi!* This sky is dangerous' (Mpatshana).

Note: both Bryant and Samuelson list an **amaPhela** *ibutho*, formed between 1846–51, although this does not appear on other lists. Bryant provides a possible solution to the mystery, since he suggests that it was broken up and sections added to the **iNdabakawombe** and **uDlambedlu**.

King Cetshwayo's *amabutho*

uVe 'The fly-catcher bird' or **oLandandlovu**, 'the fetcher of an elephant'. Formed *c.* 1875–8 from youths born *c.* 1855–8. Incorporated on eve of Anglo-Zulu War with **iNgobamakhosi**. Uniform similar to **iNgobama-khosi**; Mangwanana Mchunu (*SOTQ* 74) of the regiment recalled that he carried a red shield with white spots in 1879. Probably this regiment carried a mixture of black and brown shields.

Note: a cadet *ibutho* was *kleza*'ing at the time of the Anglo-Zulu War; this regiment was *buta*'d by Cetshwayo on his return from exile as the **uFalaza**, 'the clouds of heaven', implying that the Zulus were tossed about hither and thither. *Amabutho* enrolled post-1879 have not been included in this list, since their function was largely symbolic.

Most of King Mpande's *amabutho* were still functioning in 1879, although the older ones were of limited military value. Elements of the **iNdabakawombe** and **uDlambedlu** were kept back at oNdini by King Cetshwayo, as a reserve, probably with any other elderly men who had answered the muster: most of the other regiments, however, were fully engaged in the fighting.

Source : Ian Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army : From Shaka to Cetshwayo 1818-1879*, Greenhill Books, London, 1985.

APPENDIX II : Principal Zulu Campaigns

Principal Zulu Campaigns from King Shaka to the Anglo-Zulu War

The exact chronology of the campaigns fought in the early days of the Zulu kingdom is uncertain due to an almost total absence of written records. For this reason only those major campaigns of King Shaka's reign, whose dates can be given with a degree of confidence, have been listed. It should be noted that conflict in the Zululand area began at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century, preceding the rise of Shaka by at least a decade. A number of small campaigns were fought by the Zulu over the period *c.* 1817–22, which resulted in the incorporation of their immediate neighbours in Shaka's kingdom; the major campaigns listed below were fought against the background of such continuing conflict.

c. 1816–18 Shaka assumes control of the Zulu chiefdom and begins to emerge as a significant political and military figure in his own right.

1818–19 At least two major campaigns were fought between the Zulu and the Ndwandwe chiefdom of Zwide kaLanga, whose heartland lay in northern Zululand, south of the Phongolo river. Tradition has it that the first campaign involved heavy fighting around KwaGqokli hill, south of the White Mfolozi river. This campaign was apparently indecisive, and led to a greater clash, which was resolved on the headwaters of the Mhlatuze river. The Ndwandwe were defeated and Zwide fled Zululand.

1824 The Zulu mount a raid into southern Natal, directed against the amaMpondo people.

1826 Elements of the Ndwandwe return to Zululand under Zwide's son Sikhunyana. They are defeated by Shaka at eNdolowane hill, in northern Zululand.

1827 Campaign to subjugate Chief Bheje of the Khumalo in central Zululand.

1828 Second campaign against the amaMpondo; the *ihlambo* campaign, the ritual 'washing of the spears' following the end of the mourning ceremonies for the death of Shaka's mother, Nandi, in August 1827.

269

APPENDICES

270   The Anatomy of the Zulu Army

1828 The oBhalule campaign, against the followers of Soshangane living along the Oliphants river in southern Mozambique. While the army was away on this campaign, King Shaka was assassinated, and succeeded by King Dingane.

1832 First expedition against the Ndebele kingdom of Mzilikazi ka-Mashobane in the eastern Transvaal.

1837 Second expedition against the Ndebele (note: there is some confusion regarding the number and exact dates of Dingane's campaigns against Mzilikazi).

1838 6 February: Massacre of Boer-leader Piet Retief and his followers at eMgungundlovu.

17 February: Zulu attacks on Trekker encampments in Drakensberg foothills.

10 April: Boer force routed at eThaleni in central Zululand.

17 April: Natal settlers and their African allies routed at 'battle of the Thukela', near Thukela mouth.

13 August: Second Zulu attack on encampments in Drakensberg foothills repulsed.

16 December: Zulus defeated at Ncome (Blood) River.

27 December: Boer force narrowly avoids entrapment at White Mfolozi.

1839 'The breaking of the Rope' – Prince Mpande abandons King Dingane and appeals for Boer help to defeat him.

1840 30 January: battle of amaQongqo – Mpande defeats Dingane.

c. **1852** Zulu raid into Swaziland.

1856 Civil war between followers of Prince Mbuyazi kaMpande (iziQoza) and Prince Cetshwayo kaMpande (uSuthu). Decisive battle at 'Ndonda-kusuka, near Thukela mouth, on 2 December, leaves uSuthu victorious.

1879 11 January: Outbreak of Anglo-Zulu War.

22 February: Zulu forces defending coastal area are defeated by Colonel Pearson's column at Nyezane. Main Zulu army defeats Centre Column at Isandlwana, but part of the reserve is repulsed during the mopping-up operation at Rorke's Drift.

February: Low intensity fighting around Eshowe in the south and Hlobane in the north.

12 March: British supply convoy overrun at Ntombe River.

28 March: British attack at Hlobane Mountain repulsed.

29 March: Main army defeated at Khambula.

Source: Ian Knight, *The Anatomy of the Zulu Army : From Shaka to Cetshwayo 1818-1879*, Greenhill Books, London, 1985.

APPENDIX III: Senior Zulu Commanders 1818-1879

Senior Zulu Commanders 1818–79

King Shaka kaSenzangakhona Most traditions agree that Shaka was a talented general who frequently commanded the Zulu army in the field, particularly during major campaigns, such as those against the Ndwandwe in 1818–19 and 1826.

Mdlaka kaNcidi Head of the emGazini, a collateral lineage to the Zulu royal house, Shaka's most trusted commander, who acted as second-in-command when the king accompanied his forces, but commanded a number of distant expeditions himself, notably towards the end of Shaka's reign.

Ndlela kaSompisi Rose to a position of rank under Shaka, was appointed *induna* of the Ntuli people, and became the Zulu army's senior general when Mdlaka was killed in the coup following Shaka's assassination. Ndlela was one of the most powerful *izinduna* within Zululand during King Dingane's reign, and is thought to have commanded the Zulu army in the attacks on Mzilikazi and the war with the Boers. He commanded Dingane's forces in the battle at amaQongqo, and was apparently killed by Dingane following the defeat.

Nongalaza kaNondela Chief of the Nyandweni section of the amaQwabe, a senior commander under Dingane who was present at the battle of the Thukela, and subsequently became Mpande's commander-in-chief.

Ntshingwayo kaMahole Chief of the Khoza, an important adviser of King Cetshwayo, who was entrusted with the command of the main army during the early stages of the Anglo-Zulu War. He commanded at Isandlwana and Khambula, and may have been present at oNdini (Ulundi).

Mnyamana kaNgqengelele Chief of the Buthelezi, and one of the most powerful *izikhulu* in the kingdom, Mnyamana was King Cetshwayo's senior adviser. He accompanied the army during the Khambula campaign as the king's representative, an indication of the importance the Zulu placed on that expedition.

Mavumengwana kaNdlela Joint commander with Ntshingwayo during the Isandlwana campaign, a son of Ndlela kaSompisi. Also present at Gingindlovu.

272

Godide kaNdlela Chief of the Ntuli, commanded the coastal forces in early 1879, defeated by Colonel Pearson at Nyezane. An elder brother of Mavumengwana and son of Ndlela.

Somopho kaZikhala Thembu lineage head and senior commander on the coast during the Eshowe relief expedition; defeated by Lord Chelmsford at Gingindlovu.

Zibhebhu kaMapitha Young but powerful *isikhulu*, head of the Mandlakazi section of the Zulu royal house. Widely thought to have been one of the most original and dynamic commanders in the Anglo-Zulu War; commanded the scouts during the Isandlwana campaign, and was responsible for almost trapping Buller's horsemen on 3 July.

Prince Dabulamanzi kaMpande Younger brother of Cetshwayo who, through circumstance, found himself in command of the reserve at Isandlwana, and led them to attack Rorke's Drift. Also present at Gingindlovu.

Prince Ziwedu kaMpande Brother of Cetshwayo, who acted as his representative at the battle of oNdini (Ulundi).

Prince Mbilini waMswati Exiled member of Swazi royal house who gave allegiance to King Cetshwayo, and proved a daring guerrilla leader in the northern theatre during the 1879 war. Killed in action.

APPENDICES

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Source : Elizabeth Eldredge, *The Creation of the Zulu kingdom 1815-1825, War, Shaka and the Consolidation of Power*, Cambridge University Press, First Edition, U.K,1993.

APPENDIX IV: Gold Coast : Report for the Blue Book for 1920

GOLD COAST.

REPORT ON THE BLUE BOOK FOR 1920.

APPENDICES

I.—GENERAL.

ADMINISTRATION.

The Government of the Colony was administered by Brigadier-General Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.E., Governor and Commander-in-Chief, from the beginning of the year until 1st June, when he proceeded on leave. Mr. A. R. Slater, C.M.G., C.B.E., Colonial Secretary, administered the Government from 2nd June until 5th October. General Guggisberg returned from leave of absence and administered the Government from 6th October, until the end of the year.

HONOURS.

Commandership of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (Military Division) was conferred by His Majesty the King upon Captain H. G. Harris, late Gold Coast Regiment, West African Frontier Force.

OBITUARY.

Mr. Justice Lionel Edward Hawtayne.
Mr. Owen Mitchell, Comptroller of Customs.
Captain William Merrick Fowler, Commandant, Northern Territories Constabulary.

Captain Stanley Douglas King-Mason, Gold Coast Regiment.
Mr. Gilbert Moody, Assistant Commissioner of Police.
Captain H. G. S. Branch, Senior Superintendent, Agricultural Department.
Captain Spencer, Assistant Transport Officer.
Mr. William John Bernasconi, Mechanician, Posts and Telegraphs Department.

Mr. G. P. Edgerton, Foreman of Works.
Mr. Joseph Platt, Foreman of Works.
Mr. R. O. Reid, Foreman of Works.
Mr. L. W. Richards, District Station Master.

APPOINTMENTS.

Captain Cecil Hamilton Armitage, C.M.G., D.S.O., Chief Commissioner, Northern Territories, was appointed to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gambia Colony and Protectorates on the retirement of Sir Edward Cameron on the 20th November, 1920.

Mr. Arthur James Philbrick, Provincial Commissioner, Ashanti, was promoted to be Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories in succession to Captain C. H. Armitage.

Mr. Charles Henry Harper, o.b.e., Chief Assistant Colonial Secretary, was appointed Chief Commissioner of Ashanti, in place of Sir F. C. Fuller, k.b.e., c.m.g., who retired on pension on the 24th July, 1920.

Mr. A. A. C. Finlay, Senior Assistant Colonial Secretary, was promoted to be Chief Assistant Colonial Secretary, in succession to Mr. C. H. Harper, o.b.e.

Mr. R. W. H. Wilkinson, was appointed a Puisne Judge from the 29th March, in place of the late Mr. Justice L. E. Hawtayne.

Mr. Justice E. R. Logan, was appointed a Puisne Judge on transfer from Seychelles on the 9th June.

Mr. Carnegie Brown, was transferred from Sierra Leone to be Solicitor-General, from the 8th September.

Captain Cookson, Assistant Colonial Secretary, was appointed Inspector-General of Prisons, from the 28th February.

Captain J. M. Reid, Comptroller of Customs, British Guiana, was appointed Comptroller of Customs to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Owen Mitchell.

ESTABLISHMENT.

The European Establishment of the Colony and its Dependencies during the year was 662.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN THE COLONY.

The Colony experienced a period of great prosperity to the first half of the year. At the beginning of 1920 the price of cocoa rose to the unprecedented height of £122 per ton. Farmers and merchants reaped very large profits ; internal trade boomed and many new firms and individuals entered the market and shared in the general prosperity of the Colony. The money so made was in the majority of cases spent on luxuries, with the result that when towards the latter part of the year the price of cocoa began to decrease steadily until it reached £39 per ton and remained there, many individuals and firms were ruined.

Great development in building, road making, and railway construction took place during the year but progress was hampered by an insufficient supply of labour consequent on the cocoa boom and by difficulties due to the slow fulfilment of orders owing to post-war causes.

An event of the year was the formation of the National Congress of British West Africa, which sent a deputation to England to represent their political aspirations. Considerable opposition to their action was manifested by some of the Chiefs and people whom the Congress professed to represent. The year ended before the deputation had returned to West Africa to give an account of their mission.

COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

The price of cocoa rose to 60s.per load in April and money being plentiful, trade was so good that the revenue from specific and ad valorem Import Duties and the Parcel Post exceeded the estimate by £911,224. The landed cost prices of imported articles were the highest on record in the Colony, and this accounted for part of the large increase in the Duties collected on ad valorem goods. The Export Duty on cocoa yielded £568,912, but the newly imposed duty on palm kernels brought in only £1,683. In spite of the enhanced export value of the latter, the price of cocoa was so high that the whole surplus population devoted their energies to the output of cocoa to the detriment of the palm kernel industry.

EXPENDITURE.

The expenditure for the year was £2,856,347, and is the largest on record exceeding that for 1919 by £1,075,177.

The following table gives a comparison of the Expenditure for the years 1919 and 1920 :—

Head of Expenditure.	1919.	1920.	Increase.	Decrease.
1. The Governor	7,981	15,072	7,091	..
2. Supreme Court	12,339	18,467	6,128	..
3. Law Officers	5,064	6,602	1,538	..
4. Colonial Secretary's Office, etc.	14,395	22,514	8,119	..
5. Printing Office	17,179	25,369	8,190	..
6. Political Administration	74,851	112,289	37,438	..
7. Treasury	18,015	31,285	13,270	..
8. Audit Department	5,855	8,799	2,944	..
9. Customs	32,429	54,919	22,490	..
10. Customs Preventive Service	13,093	14,275	1,182	..
11. Marine	2,941	4,532	1,591	..
12. Accra Harbour Maintenance	3,348	..	..	3,348
13. Railways	233,562	363,508	129,946	..
14. Posts and Telegraphs	63,336	94,483	31,147	..
15. Transport Department	7,125	..	..	7,125
16. Medical Department	64,687	103,798	39,111	..
17. Sanitation	55,713	101,421	45,708	..
18. Veterinary	1,295	3,259	1,964	..
19. Education	54,442	56,442	2,000	..
20. Agriculture	16,363	31,169	14,806	..
21. Forestry	1,705	5,947	4,242	..
22. Mines	2,388	3,531	1,143	..
23. Geological Survey	4,173	7,714	3,541	..

Head of Expenditure.	1919.	1920.	Increase.	Decrease.
24. Gold Coast Regiment	107,205	100,212	..	6,993
25. Volunteers	1,713	1,384	..	329
26. Police	65,093	93,999	28,906	..
27. Prisons	30,381	48,901	18,520	..
28. Public Cemeteries	1,600	2,513	913	..
28a Survey Department	3,314	43,334	40,020	..
29. Northern Territories Constabulary	12,967	14,258	1,291	..
30. Miscellaneous Services	292,600	163,182	..	129,418
31. Pensions and Gratuities	35,739	49,808	14,069	..
32. Public Debt Charges	143,721	262,427	118,706	..
33. Public Works Department	57,355	172,085	114,730	..
34. Public Works Annually Recurrent	90,651	228,874	138,223	..
35. Accra Water Works Maintenance..	10,335	..	..	10,335
36. Seccondee Water Works Maintenance..	6,315	..	..	6,315
37. Public Works Extraordinary	28,985	405,455	376,470	..
38. Railways—Capital Improvements	36,200	97,277	61,077	..
39. Posts and Telegraphs Extraordinary	1,115	27,655	26,540	..
40. Special Works	138,081	59,323	..	78,758
41. Repayment of Loans	..	..	..	..
42. War expenses	5,521	265	..	5,256
	1,781,170	2,856,347	1,323,054	247,877

The yearly revenue and expenditure for the period 1915 to 1920 is shown below :—

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure.
	£	£
1915	1,456,190	1,627,015
1916	1,835,989	1,465,946
1917	1,624,124	1,424,279
1918	1,298,674	1,369,486
1919	2,601,360	1,781,170
1920	3,721,772	2,856,347

GOLD COAST, 1920. 13

III.—TRADE.

IMPORTS.

The total value of all goods imported into the Colony during 1920 (excluding expenses on specie and the value of free goods imported across the inland frontiers) amounted to £15,152,145, as compared with £7,946,981 in 1919, an increase of £7,205,164 or over ninety per cent.

The following statement shows the values of Imports for 1919 and 1920.

	1919.	1920.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Ad valorem	3,242,357	6,771,012	3,528,655
Specific (other than Wines, Spirits and Malts)..	1,402,657	1,699,072	296,415
do. Wines, Spirits and Malts ..	310,006	395,185	85,179
Free Goods (Commercial)	2,488,556	4,575,485	2,086,929
do. (Government Stores) ..	238,431	1,143,589	905,158
Post Parcels	264,974	567,802	302,828
	*7,946,981	*15.152,145	7,205,164

*Exclusive of Expenses on Specie.

During 1920, all the above items showed increased imports in value over 1919, the two principal heads of increase being ad valorem goods and free goods for commercial purposes. There was also a large increase in the value of goods imported by parcel post, the value of this trade rising from £264,974 in 1919 to £567,802 in 1920.

14 COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

The following summary shows the import duties and revenue collected during the years 1919 and 1920, and the percentage that the revenue collected under the different heads bears to the total revenue collected.

Heads of Revenue	Duties Collected		Increase.	Decrease.	Percentage 1920.
	1919.	1920.			
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Specific (Other)	249,477 10 10	216,980 8 10	38,852 17 0	71,349 19 0	12.76
do. Wines, Spirits and Malts	382,639 7 3	167,303 4 6	15,076 15 6	230,412 18 3	9.84
Ad valorem	571,596 8 2	1,208,350 9 2	636,754 1 0	..	71.08
Post Parcels	48,746 2 5	107,452 4 11	58,706 2 6	..	6.32
Aggregate Receipts	1,252,459 8 8	1,700,086 7 5	749,389 16 0	301,762 17 3	100%.

APPENDICES

The increased importation of motor vehicles was due to expectations of the continuance of the cocoa boom, and also to the increase in the number of roads open to motor traffic in the Colony and Ashanti. The increases under the other heads were due to the completion of orders indented for in previous years but not fulfilled until 1920, owing to causes connected with the war.

Decreases are shown under bags and sacks and cooper's stores. The former amounted to £413,549 and was accounted for by over importation of these articles in 1919. The latter amounted to £7,613 and calls for no special explanation.

SPECIE.

The following table shows the imports of Specie during the past three years.

1918.	1919.	1920.
336,284	835,062	1,010,694

EXPORTS.

The following table shows the various classes of exports for the past three years.

	1918.	1919.	1920.
	£	£	£
Domestic Produce and Manufactures	2,604,803	9,302,060	11,336,046
Foreign Produce and Manufactures	56,764	73,624	76,930
Bullion	1,365,000	1,403,760	889,248
Specie	446,358	34,731	49,983
Totals	4,472,925	10,814,175	12,352,207

The value of the domestic produce and manufactures exported, £11,336,046, is an increase of about 22 per cent. over the value of similar exports for 1919,

COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

INCREASES.

The following table gives particulars of the main exports of domestic production.

Articles.	Denomination.	Increase in Quantity.	Decrease in Quantity.	Increase in Value.
				£
Cocoa	Tons.	..	51,403	1,777,744
Kola Nuts	lbs.	..	116,121	101,996
Cotton, Raw	lbs.	25,394	..	1,309
Diamonds	Carats.	102	..	365
Guinea Grains ..	lbs.	5,666	..	17
Gum Copal	lbs.	70,388	..	2,605
Lumber (Native Timber)	Sup : feet.	11,188,263	..	238,877
Ores, Tin	Tons	3	..	86

The percentage of export values of cocoa to those of other products of the Colony has risen from 8.02 in 1901 to 82.26 in 1920. It was responsible for the largest increase in export values during the year, the increase in value over 1919 reaching the large sum of £1,777,744, despite the fact that the exports as regards quantity were 51,403 tons less than in 1919. The exports in the latter year were 176,176 tons, but in 1920 only 124,773 tons were sent out of the Colony. The average price of the cocoa shipped during 1919 was £47 per ton, while the average price of the 1920 exports was £80 per ton which is a record. These prices are f.o.b. prices inclusive of the export duty, which amounted to £4 13s. 4d. per ton during 1920.

During the latter half of the year the market became depressed and the situation one of anxiety to producers and stock holders. As the Gold Coast produces about forty per cent. of the world's consumption of cocoa the stagnant condition of the market in this commodity affected adversely the whole trade of the Colony.

The exports of kola nuts showed a decrease of 116,121 lbs. on the 1919 Exports but an increase in value of £101,996. Ninety-nine per cent. of the exports of this commodity was consigned to Nigeria, where there is a ready market for Gold Coast kola nuts.

A company has been formed to work the diamondiferous area. So far the diamonds discovered have been small, but they are reported to be of good quality.

The exports of lumber, almost entirely mahogany, were greater by 11,188,263 superficial feet than those of the preceding year. Seventy-five per cent. was shipped to the United States where there is always a good demand for furniture woods of all kinds. Almost the whole of the balance went to the United Kingdom.

APPENDICES

DECREASES.

The principal decreases in the exports of domestic produce are shown hereunder.

Articles.	Denomination.	Increase in Quantity.	Decrease in Quantity.	Decrease in Value.
				£
Copra	Tons.	..	557	12,530
Gold and Gold Dust	Oz.	..	129,341	514,512
Auriferous By-Product ..	lbs.	..	31,780	10,313
Ivory	lbs.	..	7,370	2,957
Ores, Manganese ..	Tons.	10,418	..	3,789
Palm Kernels ..	Tons.	..	2,229	30,780
Palm Oil	Gallons.	..	308,983	26,079
Rubber	lbs.	..	422,408	6,306

In spite of the enhanced export value of copra, palm kernels, and palm oil, the exports of these commodities decreased in quantity. The price received for cocoa was so high during the greater part of the year, that all available labour was absorbed by it to the detriment of other industries.

The exports of rubber decreased by over 58% and though no doubt this was partly due to the scarcity of labour, the great fall in the price made the industry less attractive.

The decline in exports of gold and auriferous by-products was also mainly accounted for by the shortage of labour, Exports of manganese increased in quantity but decreased in value. The increase in the quantity exported would no doubt have been greater, but for the lack of sufficient rail transport and the difficulty experienced in handling the ore at Seccondee which is the port of shipment.

DIRECTION OF TRADE.

The value of the external trade in 1920 was £27,518,066, which far exceeds the value for 1919, £18,746,717, which was a record.

No. 31.—The Second Spirituous Liquors Ordinance repeals and re-enacts the Spirituous Liquors Ordinance No. 5 of 1920, the main purport of which was to make provision for the better effectuation with respect to this Colony of the International African Liquor Traffic Convention of the 10th September, 1919.

ASHANTI.

During the year 1920, nineteen Ordinances were enacted with respect to Ashanti.   Several of these were enacted for the purpose of applying to Ashanti various Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony.

No. 6.—The Probates (British and Colonial) Recognition Ordinance provides for the recognition in Ashanti of Probate and Letters of Administration granted in the United Kingdom or in a British Possession or Protectorate or in a British Court in a foreign country.

No. 8.—The Revised Edition of the Laws Ordinance, 1920.   The general purport of this Ordinance is similar to that of the Gold Coast No. 16 of 1920.
No. 19.—The Judicature Amendment Ordinance, 1920, adds a proviso to section 4 of the principal Ordinance to enable the Circuit Judge to deal with Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in Ashanti.

NORTHERN TERRITORIES OF THE GOLD COAST.

During the year 1920, twelve Ordinances were enacted with respect to the Protectorate.   Several of these were enacted for the purpose of applying to the Protectorate various Ordinances of the Gold Coast.

Apart from these, Ordinance No. 5 of 1920, namely the Revised Edition of the Laws of the Protectorate seems to deserve mention, the purport of which is similar to that of the Ordinances of the Gold Coast Colony and of Ashanti, No. 16 of 1920 and No. 8 of 1920 respectively.

V.   AGRICULTURE.

Cocoa :—This is the principal revenue producing crop of the Colony and it has been developed entirely by peasant proprietors.

The rapid growth of this industry is indicated by the following table of exports :—

Average quantity exported annually (Customs figures).

1910–14	40,888 tons.
1913–17	68,769 ,,
1916–20	106,071 ,,

Customs returns show that 124,773 tons of cocoa were exported during the year 1920, a decrease of 51,382 tons when compared with the total for the previous year.

26   COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

Kola :—This product is also obtained from an indigenous tree. There is a constant demand for the product in Northern Nigeria, and the volume and value of the exports has considerably increased during the last six years. The export figures of the sea borne portion of the Trade for that period are as follows :—

			Packages.	Value.
1915	..	..	8,267,100	£139,163
1916	..	..	6,742,898	130,571
1917	..	..	11,984,645	239,134
1918	..	..	13,254,538	262,144
1919	..	..	16,319,972	350,249
1920	..	..	16,203,851	452,245

The annual average of the declared value has again risen from 5.15d. in 1919, to 6.7d. per lb. for the year under review.

Coconuts :—The total exports amounted to 427 tons valued at £17,561 ; this is less than half the quantity recorded for 1919.

Special steps have been taken by the Department of Agriculture to foster and stimulate the copra industry along the littoral. Towards the formation of three Communal Plantations 82,000 seed nuts were purchased and planted, while the services of coconut experts from Ceylon have been obtained to supervise the establishment of these plantations.

Rubber :—The export figures of this product, which are the lowest on record for a considerable number of years, indicate that this industry has fallen to almost insignificant proportions.

During 1920, 299,180 lbs. were exported, a decrease of 422,378 lbs. compared with the previous year.

Food Crops :—As in 1919, the scarcity of food crops was a conspicuous feature, and during the months from March to June became more marked than in the previous year, with the result that prices reached even higher levels. The scarcity was increased by the abnormally dry conditions which were experienced.

Horticulture :—The distribution of plants and seedlings continues in ever increasing numbers.

Training :—The number of teachers and students to whom instruction in agricultural matters was imparted at five Stations of the department totalled 146 for the year.

Considerable attention has been given by the Department to the development of such products as sisal, rice, ground-nuts and shea-butter, but the results of these experiments will not be forthcoming until 1921. The cocoa industry has proved so lucrative to the farmers, middlemen, and traders that little attention has been paid to the cultivation of these and other products to which conditions in the Gold Coast are particularly well adapted.

APPENDICES

VII.—GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS.

HOSPITALS AND ASYLUMS.

During the year 2,898 Europeans and 55,687 Natives were treated in the Hospitals and Dispensaries of the Colony as compared with 2,038 and 56,267 respectively in the previous year.

The number of patients admitted into the Accra Lunatic Asylum during the year was 41 males and 15 females. The number discharged was 12 males and 5 females. The daily average number of inmates was 132.27 as compared with 127.3 in 1919. There were 33 deaths—29 males and 4 females.

VIII.—JUDICIAL STATISTICS.

POLICE.

The authorized establishment of the Police Force of all ranks on the 31st of December, 1920, was 1,449 made up as follows :—

General Police	373
Escort Police	780
Railway Police	97
Marine Police	34
Recruits	60
Disciplinary Staff, etc.	60
Band	45
	1,449

This is an increase of 63 over the establishment for 1919.

This force is distributed in the Colony and Ashanti (separate provision being made for the policing of the Northern Territories by means of the Northern Territories Constabulary, as to which information is contained in the annual report on the Northern Territories).

The total number of recruits enlisted in 1920 was 342 as compared with 408 in 1919, and the casualties from death, desertion, discharge, resignation and dismissals amounted to 105 as against 72 in 1919.

Government specie was escorted during the year as usual; £254 was realised in commissions for the escorting of private specie as compared with £280 in 1919.

The Police dealt with 13,151 cases of crime during the year under review, a decrease of 548 as compared with the previous year.

The decrease in Crime is accounted for by the fact that the number of petty offences was considerably lower than in 1919.

Murder shows a decrease.

During November the topographical work was inspected by the Surveyor-General in the field, and the following additional instructions issued, and the work begun :—

      (i) Formation of the Survey School.
      (ii) Production of new Wall Map.
      (iii) Production of new one million Map.
      (iv) System of dividing the Colony into Standard Cadastral Sheets.
      (v) Arrangements for facilitating the supply of Maps to the public.

(a) *During December* inspection of the Provincial Survey Sections was begun by the Director of the Cadastral Branch.

(b) *By the end of December* the triangulation had been successfully observed and computed from Accra to Appam, and from Accra to Akuse, on the Volta River, and the triangulation reconnaisance carried from the Volta River as far as Bompata. From that place it will probably reach Coomassie or the neighbourhood in two polygons. This connection by triangulation from Appam *via* Accra, to Akuse, and thence to Coomassie, will have a very beneficial effect on the general accuracy of the Colony Survey, especially in future Cadastral work.

(c) *By the end of December* an area of approximately 1,200 square miles has been topographically surveyed in the field, and eight concessions or other surveys carried out by the Provincial Survey Sections.

(d) *By the end of the year* 12 sheets of detail of the Accra Town Survey, on 1 : 1,000 had been surveyed on the ground, but no sheets produced, owing to delay in obtaining draughtsmen.

XV. IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.

(SOUTH KENSINGTON, LONDON, S.W. 7)

WORK CONDUCTED AT THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE DURING THE YEAR 1920, FOR THE COLONY OF THE GOLD COAST.

Economic Investigations and Enquiries.—Reports on a number of products forwarded by Government Officers were furnished to the Government of the Gold Coast during the year as a result of investigations carried out in the Scientific and Technical Department, supplemented when necessary by reference to commercial experts. In addition, information relating to a variety of Gold Coast products was supplied to enquirers.

Cassava.—In connection with the examination of a sample of cassava roots from the Gold Coast in 1919, the Imperial Institute suggested that the question of the production of cassava products (dried roots, flour or starch.) in the Colony for export might be considered, and that a larger sample of the dried roots should be forwarded for further investigation. The results of the examination of the second sample showed that the material agreed in composition with the recorded figures for cassava roots, and that the yield of prussic acid, although higher than in the case of the previous sample, was too small to be injurious.

COLONIAL REPORTS, ETC.

The following recent reports, etc., relating to His Majesty's Colonial Possessions have been issued, and may be obtained from the sources indicated on the title page:—

ANNUAL.

No.	Colony, etc.							Year.
1084	St. Helena	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1085	Basutoland	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1086	Ceylon	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1087	Barbados ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1088	Gilbert and Ellice Islands	..	..	..	..	..		1919–1920
1089	East Africa Protectorate	..	..	..	..	..		,,
1090	Sierra Leone	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1091	Zanzibar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1092	Cayman Islands ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1918–1919
1093	Cyprus	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1094	St. Vincent	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1095	Bahamas ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1096	Nyasaland	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1097	Weihaiwei..	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1098	Nigeria	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1099	New Hebrides	..	..	• ..	..	..	..	,,
1100	Somaliland	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1101	Straits Settlements	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1102	Swaziland	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1103	Trinidad and Tobago	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1104	Turks and Caicos Islands	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1105	Northern Territories of the Gold Coast		..	..	..	..		,,
1106	Seychelles	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1107	Ashanti	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1108	Hongkong	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1109	British Guiana	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1110	British Honduras	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1111	Malta	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1112	Uganda	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1113	Leeward Islands..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920–1921
1114	Nigeria	..	..	..	..	..	..	1921
1115	Mauritius ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
1116	Jamaica ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1921
1117	Cyprus	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,
1118	Weihaiwei	..	..	..	..	..	..	,,

MISCELLANEOUS.

No.	Colony, etc.				Subject.
83	Southern Nigeria..	..	..	..	Mineral Survey, 1910.
84	West Indies	..	..	..	Preservation of Ancient Monu·ments, etc.
85	Southern Nigeria..	..	..	..	Mineral Survey, 1911.
86	Southern Nigeria..	..	..	..	Mineral Survey, 1912.
87	Ceylon	..	..	..	Mineral Survey.
88	Imperial Institute	..	..	..	Oil-seeds, Oils, etc.
89	Southern Nigeria..	..	..	..	Mineral Survey, 1913.
90	St. Vincent	..	..	..	Roads and Land Settlement.
91	East Africa Protectorate	..	..	..	Geology and Geography of the northern part of the Protectorate.
92	Colonies—General	..	..	..	Fishes of the Colonies.
93	Pitcairn Island ..	..	..	..	Visit by the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific.

(8766) Wt. 7165/312 625 6/22 Harrow G. 75/2

Source: Colonial Office Annual Report, Report on the Blue Book for 1920: Gold Coast, N°1119, Government Press Accra, Ghana, 1922.

APPENDIX V: Zulu State: Strength of Forces in the Field (1906)

APPENDIX III

III.—STRENGTH OF FORCES IN THE FIELD, 7TH MAY, 1906.

REGIMENT.	Number in the Field.	Number still available.
Natal Naval Corps - - - - -	100	—
Natal Carbineers - - - - -	596	82
Natal Mounted Rifles - - - - -	287	—
Border Mounted Rifles - - - -	—	254
Umvoti Mounted Rifles - - - -	260	—
Northern District Mounted Rifles - -	120	—
Zululand Mounted Rifles - - - -	120	—
Natal Field Artillery - - - - -	229[1]	134[2]
Natal Royal Regiment - - - -	154	22
Durban Light Infantry - - - -	444	60
Natal Medical Corps - - - - -	63	33
Natal Veterinary Corps - - - -	7	10
Natal Telegraph Corps - - - -	34	7
Natal Service Corps - - - - -	78	14
Transport - - - - - - -	28	—
Natal Police - - - - - -	210	—
Zululand Native Police - - - -	90	—
Royston's Horse - - - - - -	548	—
Transvaal Mounted Rifles - - - -	481	—
	3,849	616
Newcastle Reserves - - - - -	78	—
Estcourt ,, - - - - -	101	—
Dundee ,, - - - - -	68	—
Umsinga ,, - - - - -	50	—
Umvoti ,, - - - - -	88	—
Krantzkop ,, - - - - -	82	—
	467	—

[1] With ten guns. [2] And eight guns.

Note.—Conductors, drivers, leaders, scouts and servants are not included herein. With exception of scouts and servants, their numbers will be found in Appendix V.

APPENDICES

IV. DISPOSITION OF FORCES ON MAY 7, 1906.

PLACE.	REGIMENT.	NUM-BER.	GUNS.	COMMAND.
BABANANGO (*en route* to Nkandhla) (Colonel D. McKenzie).	Transvaal Mounted Rifles	481	—	
	Royston's Horse - -	548	—	
	Durban Light Infantry -	58	—	
	Natal Field Artillery -	32	2*	
	Departmental - -	32	—	
FORT YOLLAND (Lieutenant-Colonel G. Mansel).	Natal Police - - -	210	—	
	Natal Naval Corps. -	100	—	
	Natal Field Artillery -	31	2	Colonel D. McKenzie.
	Zululand Native Police -	90	—	
	Departmental Corps -	8	—	
ESHOWE (Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Wylie).	Natal Mounted Rifles -	30	—	
	Durban Light Infantry -	251		
	Departmental Corps -	12	—	
GINGINDHLOVU (Lieutenant T. McCubbin).	Durban Light Infantry -	70	—	
	Departmental Corps -	8	—	
GREYTOWN (Captain J. Fraser).	Natal Royal Regiment -	50	—	
	Departmental Corps -	6	—	
	Reserves - - -	88	—	
KRANTZKOP (Major H. G. Plant).	Natal Royal Regiment -	50	—	
	Umvoti Mounted Rifles -	7	—	
	Reserves - - -	70	—	
	Departmental Corps -	8	—	
MAYOUGUATE KOP (Colonel G. Leuchars).	Umvoti Mounted Rifles -	223	—	
	Natal Field Artillery -	49	2	Colonel G. Leuchars.
	Departmental Corps -	25	—	
KEATE'S DRIFT (Lieutenant J. H. C. Nuss).	Umvoti Mounted Rifles -	30	—	
MAPUMULO (Lieutenant-Colonel H. Sparks).	Natal Mounted Rifles -	105	—	
	Durban Light Infantry -	65	—	
	Departmental Corps -	9	—	
	Carry forward,	2,746	6	

APPENDICES

VI. STRENGTH (ALL RANKS) OF ACTIVE MILITIA CALLED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH THE DINUZULU EXPEDITION, DECEMBER, 1907.

UNIT.	First Mobilization, Nov. 30.	On Dec. 11.	On Dec. 22.
Natal Carbineers [1]	491	795	581 [3]
Natal Mounted Rifles [1]	209	264	—
Umvoti Mounted Rifles [1]	202	221	184 [3]
Border Mounted Rifles [1]	200	204	194 [3]
Northern District Mounted Rifles	—	215	—
Zululand Mounted Rifles	— [2]	140	—
1st Brigade Natal Field Artillery [1]	177	85	—
" C " Battery, Natal Field Artillery [1]	77	34	—
Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve [1]	95	150	—
Natal Royal Regiment [1]	184	319	—
Durban Light Infantry [1]	349	400	—
Natal Medical Corps [1]	55	43	43
Natal Veterinary Corps [1]	18	11	11
Natal Service Corps [1]	25	58	58
Natal Telegraph Corps.[1]	34	31	31
Searchlight Detachment	—	8	—
Total	2,116	2,978	1,102

[1] Given authority on 30th November to recruit up to war strength.
[2] Ordered to be in readiness to mobilize on short notice. [3] Approximate.

VII. STRENGTH OF RESERVES ACTUALLY IN THE FIELD DURING DINUZULU EXPEDITION, DECEMBER, 1907.

DISTRICT.	On Dec. 11.	On Dec. 22.
Dundee, 1st	39	—
Umsinga	16	—
Weenen	46	46
Umvoti	90	—
Ixopo	30	—
Louwsberg	40	—
Newcastle	50	—
Estcourt	50	60
Lion's River	45	—
City, 1st	58	—
Umgeni	26	—
Newcastle, Town	26	—
Ladysmith, Town	9	—
Utrecht	150	—
Newcastle Division	46	—
Vryheid	50	—
Krantzkop	—	50
Total	771	156

Source: Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention*, Harvard University Press, U.K, 1998.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX VI: Report on the Matabele Rebellion (1869)

THE CAUSES, SUPERSTITIONS AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REBELLION.

The Matabele War of 1893 came to an end owing to the King, Lobengula fleeing from the country after his capital, Bulawayo, had been seized and burnt by the British South Africa Company's forces. He died in January, 1894. No one, of course, was appointed to succeed him. As many of the Natives desired to continue the war-a number of the regiments not having fought at all—it is not surprising that, although a settlement was arrived at, the people did not regard themselves as having been really conquered. Still, less did they look on the Company as entitled to appropriate their cattle as they proceeded to do. These, indeed, all belonged to the King in theory. The Company held that, having conquered the country and expelled the King, right of possession had reverted to themselves.

The cattle there upon began to be confiscated by way of indemnity. A large number was taken, whilst the remainder, about 90,000, were branded with the Company's brand and allowed to remain with the Natives for the time being. Seizure of smaller lots took place periodically during 1894 and 1895. Had confiscation been made immediately and universally on the conclusion of the War, far less irritation would have been caused than actually occurred. As it was, it was believed the Company intended to so impoverish the people as to reduce them to a position of slaves and paupers.

There was in Matabeleland another class of Natives known as amaHole. These were found living there by the Matabeleon arrival from the south with Mzilikazi (Moselekatze) about 1836. After conquering them, the latter proceeded to make slaves of them, and this was the position when the Chartered Company, taking advantage of concessions previously acquired, entered the country in considerable numbers in 1890 to prospect and mine for gold, etc.
After the war, the Company recruited some 400 Natives, chiefly from the amaHole, and formed them into a police force. The latter, remembering their former subjection, were not slow to avenge themselves on the Matabele as opportunity offered. "In days gone by you had your turn," they jeeringly said to the

Matabele, "it is ours now." And opportunities presented themselves in two principal ways. First in regard to the cattle question, by the hunting about in all directions to see who possessed any. On secretly obtaining information, they conveyed it to the authorities, showing the cause why the stock should be seized. Confiscation usually followed. Secondly, in regard to the labour regulations. The Company required each Chief to furnish periodically a certain number of labourers to work on the mines, etc. The police were employed on this duty by the Native Commissioners; the manner in which they dealt with the people was frequently exasperating. Although, towards the end of 1895, the Company waived all further right to the cattle after receipt of two-fifths of the whole (70,000), much strong dissatisfaction continued to prevail on account of the tactics that had been employed. And this was accentuated by the disease rinderpest breaking out in 1895 and sweeping off many of the cattle still possessed by Natives. A plague of locusts and a long continued drought added still further to their troubles.

Underlying the whole was the deep resentment felt by men who, under their own regime, had held high rank, but were now condemned to inferior status, with, corresponding loss of influence, material perquisites and opportunities for advancement. The feeling, moreover, was still latent that the nation had never been realty conquered.
It being characteristic of all Bantu races, and particularly so of those of Matabeleland, e.g. Makalanga and Matabele, to resort to diviners (izangoma) to ascertain the causes of troubles as well as the remedies, it is not surprising something of the kind should have taken place at the present juncture.
Perhaps the most famous of the oracles was one reputed to inhabit a cave in the well-known Matoppo Hills. To this cave many had repaired from time to time, in connection with their private troubles, such as cases of illness or other misfortune, mysterious loss of property, and so forth. So great was the reputation that had been acquired by this particular oracle and, under so weird circumstances and in so peculiar a manner did it impart the knowledge obtained, as believed, direct from the departed spirits (knowTi by Matabeles asamadhlozi), that it was commonly referred to as Umlimo, that is, the Deity himself. Such Umhmo—really the god of the oldest residents of the country, the Makalangasis said "to be able to speak all languages, as well as to be possessed of a faculty of roaring lion, crowing like a cock, barking like a dog, etc."

APPENDICES

However, is that the oracle was an isangoma, that is, an ordinary person who, whenever it was known anyone had come to seek advice, would stealthily proceed to the cave and there, on being consulted, communicate the reply to the inquirer. This reply was given by the speaker who was inside the cave and invisible, thevoice appeared to the inquirer (who was outside) to issue from the very bowels of the earth. The extreme ingenuity of the device will be better appreciated when it is known that the spirits of the departed are universally believed by Natives to dwell in an underworld. For a ventriloquist to practice his calling as diviner in the foregoing manner is probably not unworthy of that oracle which Socrates himself felt it necessary} to consult at Delphi. On being appealed to by Mlugulu, one of the principal men in the country, and others, as to the troubles that were. afflicting the people in general, the Umlimo directly attributed them to Europeans. It was they who were the sorcerers that had caused the disasters. But for their presence, neither locusts nor rinderpest would have invaded the country. The aborigines were thereupon exhorted to rise and deliver themselves from their thraldom. A recent total eclipse of the moon was said to portend that the white man's blood was to be spilt; Lobengula himself was not dead, but about to return from the north at the head of a huge army, whilst other armies were advancing to his assistance against the Europeans from the west and east. The tremendous potency of such a ' voice ' at such a time can hardly be over-estimated.

The reason why most obvious precautions, e.g. blocking the main road to Mangwe(50 miles south-west of Bulawayo) were not adopted by the rebels was said to be due to the Umlimo'sexplicit instruction " to give the white man an opportunity of escaping from the country." Possibly this also explains why the telegraph wire between Bulawayo and Mafeking was not cut. " It certainly seems very strange," says Selous,^ " that no attempt has ever been made to stop waggons and coaches on this road, . . . nor was Government House (less than three miles from the centre of Bulawayo) burnt, the reason for this being, it is said, because the Umlimo told the people that when Bulawayo had been destroyed, and aUthe white men in the country killed, they would find Lobengula sitting there, ready to rule them once more ; for, be it said. Government House has been built in the centre of the old kraal of Bulawayo, just where the King's house stood."

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Les Institutions Politiques, Militaires et Economiques des Ashanti et des Zoulous -Une Etude Comparative- (1824-1920)

Résumé

Cette thèse de doctorat porte sur l'identification des institutions étatiques qui ont émergé et évolué parmi les Ashanti d'Afrique de l'Ouest et les Zoulous d'Afrique du Sud. Il fait valoir que l'étude de la formation des institutions à l'ère précoloniale par rapport à l'Afrique occidentale et australe coloniale peut aider à comprendre les causes profondes des problèmes qui abondent sur le continent aujourd'hui. De plus, les deux États étudiés ont connu des aspects étonnamment similaires et certains chemins différents vers le statut d'État. Du point de vue historique, cette étude revêt une importance urgente pour les peuples ethniques d'Afrique et pour ceux qui sont chargés de les gouverner.

Mots clés : Ashanti, Zoulou, direction, vues euro-centriques, État, stratégie militaire, institutions.

The Ashanti's and Zulu's Political, Military and Economic Institutions

-A Comparative Study- (1824-1920)

Abstract

This doctoral thesis aims at scrutinizing the identification of state institutions that emerged and evolved among the Ashanti of West African and the Zulu of South Africa. It argues that the study of the formation of institutions in pre-colonial era compared with colonial Western and Southern Africa can help the understanding of the root causes of problems that abound in the continent today. Additionally, both case study states experienced surprisingly similar aspects and some different paths to statehood. From the historical aspect, this study is of pressing importance to the ethnic people of Africa and to those who are responsible of governing them.

Keywords: Ashanti, Zulu, leadership, Eurocentric views, statehood, military strategy, institutions.

مؤسسات أشانتي و الزولو السياسية والعسكرية و الاقتصادية
دراسة مقارنة (1824-1920)

ملخص

تتناول اطروحة الدكتوراه تحديد مؤسسات الدولة التي نشأت وتطورت بين أشانتي في غرب إفريقيا وزولو جنوب إفريقيا. وهي تجادل بأن دراسة تشكيل المؤسسات في عصر ما قبل الاستعمار مقارنةً بأفريقيا الغربية والجنوبية الاستعمارية يمكن أن تساعد في فهم الأسباب الجذرية للمشاكل التي تنتشر في القارة اليوم. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، وجدنا أن كلتا الدولتين دراسة الحالة واجهتا جوانب متشابهة بشكل مدهش وبعض المسارات المختلفة لإقامة الدولة. من الناحية التاريخية ، تعد هذه الدراسة ذات أهمية ملحة للشعب الإثني في إفريقيا ولمن يتحملها.

كلمات مفتاحية: أشانتي ، زولو ، القيادة ، وجهات نظر مركزية أوروبا ، الدولة ، الإستراتيجية العسكرية ، المؤسسات.