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**The British Colonial Economic Policies
in West Africa: developing Agriculture
in the Gold Coast from 1900 to 1945 as
a Case Study**

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Abstract

The research is designed to examine British colonial policies in the Gold Coast were during the period between 1900 and 1945 to promote agriculture. Special concern is given to the institutions that planned and carried out the policy namely the Departments of Agriculture, Veterinary and Forestry. Since Agriculture has a coherent relation with the market, the research studies the progress of the value and quantity of different produce particularly cocoa, palm oil, kernel and timber in the period between 1900 and 1945. The Post World War I period initiated the colonial development policies which aimed to promote socio-economic sectors of the British colonies; they comprised CDF 1929, CDWA 1940 and CDWA1945.

The List of Abbreviations

CDF: Colonial Development Fund

CDWA: Colonial Development Welfare Act

CAC: the Central Advisory Committee

BCGA: the British Cotton Growing Association

General Introduction

West African territories had a long period of contact with the Europeans. The contact brought them a lot of experience; they earned different skills concerning commerce and agriculture. The Gold Coast as such benefited from the communication with foreigners; commerce was the dominant activity in the area for centuries. The most valuable commodities were gold and slaves. But trading in slaves stopped at the beginning of the 19th century before the establishment of the British colonial rule and was substituted by exploiting agricultural resources. This research attempts to explain how people shifted from trading in slaves to agricultural production; in addition how agriculture developed in the Gold Coast under the British authority; finally how the British established their economic model in the territory.

The first chapter starts by a short background about the life in the Gold Coast before the arrival of the British in 1821 identifying the major tribes and their relations with foreigners. People's contact with the European advanced slightly their capacities in trade. With the establishment of the British rule new kind of trade was initiated depending on agriculture production instead of slave trade. But how could the colonial authority introduce a foreign model on the colony? The first step was through changing the concept of developing agriculture; local people used to cultivate short pieces of land for consumption; in order to shift to commercial agriculture there must be a way for changing; therefore what did the British do to change people's pattern? Labour mostly were slaves; they rarely received wages for their work; but with the new pattern of agriculture life standards of labour shifted to different way. As to land, the British authority was familiar with land issues depending on the colonial experience. But in the Gold Coast new issues came to surface; they hampered the colonial planning and

created a discontent with the aboriginal people; therefore, the colonial government procedures to regulate land issues are examined in the first chapter.

With relation to land, the soil in the Gold Coast grew various produce; some of species were aboriginal while other were imported from foreign areas and planted in the territory. The increasing demand of local produce in the international market forced the colonial government to motivate farmers and the new enterprises to enlarge their commercial relations with foreign companies in the ports. The process showed some successful economic results; but still lacked means of transport (railways) which would provide more quantities to the market. Seeking after good quality of production required trained farmers and skilful experts; the colonial authority devoted to establish institutions, centers and schools.

However, the colonial government managed differently during the WWI (1914-1918); new policies were introduced to cope with market stagnation and the price collapse of the agricultural production.

The second chapter enquires the British colonial development policy between 1920 and 1945. The Ten Year Plan is carefully studied with its impact on education, agriculture, transport, health and trade. The study evaluates the result of the above-mentioned sectors separately. In addition, it is important to highlight the problems that hampered the application of the Plan.

The period of 1929-1945 enquires state intervention in the economy; the intervention came as a reaction to different factors that shaped the world economy; therefore, what were the major causes that led the British to adjust their philosophy vis-à-vis the colonies? The British parliament introduced CDF Act in 1929 to solve the metropolitan and local economy. Special concern is given to the financial value of the

Act and how it was collected, the sectors that benefited from the Act, and the organization that was charged of following-up the progress of the Acts. It is ended by evaluating each Act and whether they showed the expecting results or not. During the period of development policy mainly in the 1930s, the Gold Coast market recorded changes, deflation of prices and disagreement between local farmers and foreign firms. How did these problems come to surface? What was the reaction of the central government to the problem?

In 1940 and 1945, the British Parliament legislated a new Act to the British colonies with different views and goals compared to the CDF 1929; what were the new reforms in the 1940 and 1945 Acts? And what was the purpose of each one?

Chapter One

**The British Early Agricultural Policies from 1900
to 1919**

1.1 introduction

During the 19th and 20th centuries, The Gold Coast witnessed a period of British colonisation. Indigenous people used to trade mostly in slaves and gold for a long time but after the arrival of the British, people started cultivating cash crop more than in any other period. The new authority implemented various programmes to develop agricultural production and increase the economic potentialities. The chapter provides a spotlight on the main activities that took place in the colony depending on colonial reports and statistics that were recorded in the period from 1900 to 1945.

The first part of this chapter discusses briefly life in the Gold Coast before 1900. It gives a general overview of the main tribes in the territory, as well as an illustration of the major natural and mineral resources that shaped people's activities in the area. The contact between the ethnic groups created a diversity in commodity exchange. In addition, people experienced a period of trade with European which lasted for five centuries; it ended with noticeable transformation from trading in slaves to exporting cash crops.

2.1 The European Contact

2.1.1 Introduction:

The Gold Coast had already experienced a long period of local trade between tribes before the contact with European merchants. Each ethnic group marketed its own commodities and produce. People in the south and around the Volta Lake, developed fishing and hunting, while foresters around Ashanti area provided gold, wood, timber, palm oil and palm kernel. The wool and skins were available in the northern areas where considerable quantities of livestock lived. In addition, the Gold Coast people

made few contacts with the sub-continent areas; caravans transported commodities to different directions. They reached East and North African provinces.

Beside the contact with Africans, the Gold Coast had various relations with foreigners. In fact, the Europeans' need for tropical agricultural produce and mining paved the way for an establishment of a long-term economic exchange with coastal West African territories. Portuguese traders were the first. They initiated their exploration by 1482 whereas Dutch, Danish and British merchants followed subsequently and settled in different forts. They imported to the Gold Coast cotton, indigo and tobacco, in exchange for gold, maize, ivory and slaves (Edward312).

3.1 The British domination over the Gold Coast:

Before imposing their rule in 1821, the British had already founded commercial relations depending mostly on slave trade. After abolishing their trade, the British needed to continue their business but in exploiting the Gold Coast natural resources.

a. Slave Trade:

The British companies exploited the provision of slavery in the Gold Coast, they transported great number of them to Britain and the Americas to work in sugar cane plantations (Goucher, LeGuin and Walton 1). However, the uprising of the American people against the British power (1877-1883) which ended later with the independence of the American colonies, forced the British exploiters to stop exporting slaves (Reese 853). The British Parliament eventually acted the abolition of slave trade in Britain and afterwards in the British Empire in 1807. The decision came after creating a small colony in Sierra Leone, Free Town, for the freed slaves in 1807. As a result, many British companies withdrew from the area after abolishing slave trade while the

Company of Merchant continued to hold over part of the coastline until its resolution in 1821 (Reese 855).

The Company of Merchant¹ could not maintain its relations with the Ashanti to explore mining resources namely gold. But they depended on the coastal tribes, Fante as such, to be mediators with the interior gold traders. Fante middleman accumulated great wealth as a consequence of trading with the Company; they even monopolised the coastal commerce for a period of time. Although trade in gold was widely exchanged between the Company and the Fante during the period of slavery, the product could not . The decision of abolishing slavery caused great economic damages to the British Company and their Fante middlemen. It led to a collapse of revenues which ended in massive stagnation and great regression in their revenues during the period of Ashanti-Fante war between 1810 and 1821(Reese 856).

b. The Ashanti War:

According to some historians, the conflict between Ashanti and Fante rose as the consequence of their competition to dominate over the coastal trade². Ashanti reacted severely to the dissolution of slave trade which was their fundamental revenue (Reese 867). Furthermore, they tended to extend their power over the coastline and control the naval trade. The economy of the Gold Coast moved backward and marked stagnation of trade during the Fante Ashanti war, the destruction encompassed different sectors like trade, agriculture and transportation (Sanders 53). It ravaged acres of crops and perturbed the movement of people and commodities. The Company of Merchant could not protect British interests in the area against the power of Ashanti during the war. As a

¹ The company was instituted in 1751 at Cape Coast to succeed the Royal African Company.¹

² Some historians argue that the war was waged after a disagreement between Ashanti gold traders and Fante buyers. The latter were accused of spoiling the gold of the former.

result the British parliament declared the dissolution of the company in 1821 and put their possession under the control of the Crown (Reese 872).

c. The Fante Region under the British Colony:

The British declared the south of the Gold Coast a crown colony ruled by the governor of Sierra Leone, George McCarthy, in 1821 who was succeeded by Maclean in 1830. The interior region of Ashanti was annexed by 1874 after five wars named as Anglo-Ashanti Wars (Bevin 73). Fearing other Europeans' expansion to the northern areas of the colony, the British annexed the Northern Territories in 1900 (Sutton 638). By then the Gold Coast completely became under the British rule. Such domination obviously had to protect the British interests against the European competition. The new authority engaged in exploiting the raw materials which were needed in the international markets. Palm oil and palm kernel were on the list of the top products. The emergence of industrialism in European countries increased the production of palm oil and palm kernel. Because of the great availability of this produce in the interior forests, it became easy for people to collect and trade in it, despite the difficulty of transportation. This produce contributed for considerable revenues to the local economy during the period of the 1820s and 1870s (Manning 280).

Rubber production increased after developing tapping techniques under British supervision. It became the Gold Coast top export in the 1870s and 1890s. It became equal to Brazil rubber which was the world's essential exporter (Dumett 88). The international demand for timber prompted foreign companies to invest in forest areas after receiving a charter from the Forest Department. In addition, cocoa was introduced in the beginning of the 1880s after importing seeds from Fernando Po. It was estimated

to be an essential produce in the twentieth century, though local peasants had ignored its techniques of cultivation at the beginning.

Mining also was part of the activities that were carefully taken by the British colonial government. Gold and ivory added a high value to the economy and pressed the British authority to construct infrastructure and railways between the coastline of Cape Coast and Kumasi in the interior area. The authority gave too much concern to the institution which would follow up the progress of agriculture; they created an Agricultural Department in the first days of colonization.

d.The Department of Agriculture:

The British created the Agricultural Department to manage the agricultural resources and promote production through different policies. The aim of the institution was to modernize the sector to function in appropriate western ways. Following the establishment of the executive council and other departments, agriculture received great importance and consideration from officials who collaborated to put varied programs for promoting strong economy depending on agriculture, in spite of the number of preoccupations that faced people in charge of the Department during the period of the late of 19th until 1910. It is important to identify some important organisations that assisted local people to change their pattern from producing food crop to trade in cash crop (Hymer 21).

e.The New System of Farming:

With little experience based on traditional methods, African farmers were cultivating their own land for consumption purposes; natives used to market and exchange only small quantities of crops in order to cover the expenses of the family and farming.

However, traditional agriculture had a very narrow circulation and could not provide sustainable economy for locals as the British intended to construct. Soon after the establishment of the colonial government, new policies and programs were introduced to develop agriculture of the Gold Coast. This marked a smooth change from the production of food for local needs to provide cash crop for commercial purposes (Hymer 23). The Agricultural Department presented western ideology of managing any given sector. Competitive private companies, waged labour and free trade were the major characteristics of the new system during British rule.

f. Enterprises:

The objective of the Department was to legislate laws and execute policies for agricultural development. In other terms it did not interfere in every single affair with regard to agriculture. As a matter of fact, the incapability of unskillful indigenous people to manage and to invest compelled the institution to encourage foreign companies to invest and exploit in the Gold Coast. Under the philosophy of "Laissez Faire", the Department's duty was to charter and protect the enterprises during their period of exploitation and cut taxes accordingly (Lawane 46-47).

A group of African merchants emerged in the period of 1830s and 1874s; they succeeded through exploiting in agricultural produce to accumulate a considerable wealth. They were involved in farming and forestry. Many of them succeeded in achieving their ambitions and establish a strong economy; whereas others switched their investment to other produce (Reynolds 254). Rubber planters decided to abandon tapping rubber and invest in cocoa plantation after the later had flourished.

In fact, some enterprises received grants in aid from London so as to promote agriculture primarily in the isolated areas. The British Cotton Growing Association

(1902-1914) in the Northern Territory received assistance from the Chamber of Commerce to complete the dream of the "Cotton Empire"; however, the lack of transport and the cease of aids aborted the company's efforts. The competition between enterprises contributed to the innovation of cultivating techniques in addition to the quality of the produce. Regardless the financial aspect, one of the paramount causes of failure was the scarcity of labour in sufficient number.

g. Labour

The rise of private farming enterprises was a sign of liberal ideology in the Gold Coast. It led to the emergence of cash crop or commercial agriculture. The latter truly depended on cultivating large surfaces; it required a great number of skillful workers. However, after the abolition of slave trade this sector witnessed volcanic changes particularly in wages, integration and migration for better jobs.

People of the Gold Coast used to rely on slave labor to serve different tasks mainly hard work in mining. The governor of the Gold Coast introduced an act dealing with the Prohibition of Slavery and Slave Dealing in 1874³. It became obvious that each slave had the right to be emancipated. It was hoped that the Ordinance would be a smooth transition to "legitimate trade" and could supply extra labour for agricultural enterprises and investors. However, these estimations did not succeed namely when many workers preferred working in other sectors (Lawani 48).

Mining, transport and agriculture were the main sectors that absorbed great amounts of slaves. In agriculture as such, slaves used to be central assistants in seeding, irrigating and cultivating. But few exceptions can be known in what was named "family farm" where people of the same family shared farming tasks. The echo of abolishing

³ Labour used to be slaves, so they could not ask for wages until the 1874 when the colonial government Ordinance saved their rights (Lawani 44).

slavery had immense impact on agriculture in which slave labour marked a severe reduction.

Wage labour took effect mainly after "Master and Servants Ordinance of 1877" (Lawani 46). It contained various laws which preserved the labor's rights and duties; in addition it defined the relationship between the employees and their masters. In section 15 of the Ordinance, it stipulated that labour should receive their wage in money unless there had been another agreement as in some cases when labour gained the third of the crop.

The colonial government thought of strategies to increase the number of wage employment by imposing taxes regularly on the adult male population. In one way or another, it was aimed to motivate people to engage in the modern pattern and coerce them to work on the one hand, and to accumulate revenues to cover the expenses of roads, schools and hospitals on the other (Lawani 46).

h. Labour Issues that Faced the Department of Agriculture:

Farmers' qualifications seemed as an essential element to provide better production. The Agricultural Department took many steps to protect labour and guarantee their rights and freedom; however some other new problems took place in the 1890s and 1900s such as: training and migration.

Local farmers used to rely on traditional methods for cultivation. However, they could not practice under the foreign enterprises which had their own modern techniques. The appropriate solution for eliminating traditional cultivation was through education. Although Missionary had the initiative in introducing education for the natives they focused only on literature, geography, religion and European civilization; scientific training was not provided in their curriculum. The government introduced officially the

Technical schools in 1899. It seemed an opportunity for learning different skills. Learning techniques of cultivation were part of the objectives of the school. Native students received modern information presented by European experts. In addition, the school exhibited experiments where the students learned practical applications (Colonial Reports Annual 1899 p 15).

As to local labour, a large number of natives refused to work in fields; they favored working in mines, ports, road construction and in other European stations to get better salary. Meanwhile some Africans mainly landowners depended on renting their land to foreigners.

1. The Migration of Labour:

Labour was available in remarkable quantities particularly in the north; the demand of workers encouraged labour to migrate to active areas of mining, railways building and agriculture where they found better wages. Meanwhile labour in the southern areas preferred to migrate to work in mines and railways in the interior region. Labour issues were not the sole challenge for the colonial government; but land also had its own affairs in the matter of leasing and ownership.

2 Land:

The Gold Coast land was commonly owned by natives. Most land issues were managed by traditional rulers and each tribe had its proper borders. Land was acquired as a gift for marriage or sort of present. The British authority restricted the chiefs' prerogatives and power in some domains such as: law legislation and development policies. The British already experienced land policies in different parts of the world: America, India and East Africa. In the latter areas the colonial rule controlled the

ownership of land to coerce people for wage payment. By contrast with West African territories and the Gold Coast particularly, the British could not execute Land Bill in 1874 which allowed the authority to limit the indigenous land ownership.

The British Parliament in London rejected the Gold Coast Land Act and legitimized the African right for land ownership. Foreign investors were obliged to rent land from natives notably from chiefs to exploit whatever product they intended to grow. Some British claimed that the aim of the Land Bill was to press the indigenous people to cash crop and stop subsistence farming which would not in any way improve the economy of the Gold Coast while others believed that land ownership could not encourage people to work and earn money. Land was not the only interest for the colonial government but there had been others. Palm oil as such was widely spread in the territory; and it was urgently needed in European factories; therefore, how could the officials introduce it to the market?

4.1 The main Agricultural produce in the Gold Coast:

4.1.1 Palm oil

Palm oil was considered an intriguing produce for the West African people chiefly in the Gold Coast. It played a central role in the economy of the territory through its wide consumption among natives as food. The immense growing of the plant in the southern east and southern west areas expanded the consumption of the produce even in the neighbouring territories. It was promoted to a major export to European and American markets principally after the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century (Bevin73).

Palm oil seemed widely consumed by natives who utilized it largely in their ingredients, frying foods and some dishes. The importance of this food to natives can be known through historical statistics. The average of palm oil consumption in 1889 was estimated at one-fourth of the amount exported. It was reported also that a minimum consumption of individual was 10g a day. The amount that had been used as food for a person could be approximated by 3.65 kg annually (Maier and Donna 5) .

The produce grows twice a year; the first period being from April to November which yields better than the second rainy period that starts from December to March. 70 percent of the crop is collected in the first (peak season). The quantity could be great in the second period if the tree was trimmed nicely; as a result leaves would not absorb too much sap. It should be borne in mind the amount of the fruits that can be produced by any plant relied on the quality of soil, irrigation or rainfall quantities (Sarbah 236-237). Most palm oil was collected from the interior forests namely from Krobo and Akim.

4.1.1.1 The Tree Varieties and the Conditions of Cultivation:

The experts defined four major species of the tree: Abe-ohene, Obe-nim, Abe-tuntum and Abedem. There might be some other types which were collected in small amounts. The oil palm trees naturally grew in forest zones especially in warm, rich and loamy soil. Few efforts were made by farmers and landowners; they were only transforming the young plants to uncultivated areas during the period prosperity of palm oil (Sarbah 233).

In addition to its consumptive role, palm oil was intrinsic revenue for the territory after the abolition of slave trade in 1807. Though the non-British merchants continued to trade in slaves for a while, anti-slavery squadron pressed the British merchants to exploit other resources in what was named as "legitimate trade". The latter remained

the sole solution to solve the economic stagnation; luckily this procedure coincided with the European industrialization. Some British companies with the cooperation of African traders compensated their loss of slave trade by providing oil for the European machines as a lubricant and fuel. Small enterprises engaged in the affair for economic interest.

Palm oil was considered the sole produce that received great demands in local and foreign markets. During the leadership of George Maclean in the 1830s, the statistics marked an immense development which stimulated natives to collect and transport more quantities to the coast. In 1850, an exceptional achievement had been made when the records reached 577,523 cwt. It was followed by other achievements 804,393 cwt and 1,058,989 cwt in the years of 1890-1895 respectively (Donna and Maier 3).

This period of prosperity was entailed by another period which witnessed an extreme deterioration of the value in the European markets. Some experts referred to numerous causes behind the backwardness of palm oil export, namely 1) The British official occupation of Nigeria in the 1851 contributed to the collapse of palm oil revenues in the Gold Coast. Nigeria with its large scale of palm oil around the Niger River increased the offer of the produce in the market in the following decades. 2) Palm oil production was influenced also by the lack of transport means from the interior areas to the ports. It depended on carriers and headloading. 3) and the disturbances of prices in European markets. 4) The lack of labour.

4.1.1.2 Palm oil from 1900 to 1914:

The export situation improved later during the war of Ashanti for two reasons: first, the remoteness of palm oil plantation from Kumasi where the war took place. The

second seems close to the first; traders for a short time marketed palm oil instead of other produce because of (palm oil) its provision in safe regions

The Production of Palm Oil in the Gold Coast from 1896 to 1914:

Year	Gallons	Values (£)	Year	Gallons	Values (£)	Year	Gallons	Values (£)
1896	2,394,563	126,857	1903	.....	221.373	1909	.....	120.978
1898	2,145,138	114,288	1904	.....	180.98	1910	.....	161.388
1899	3,323,919	183,204	1905	.....	.....	1911	1,010,209	128,916
1900	4,238,685	238,812	1906	2,143,118	123,008	1912	1,444,432	112,885
1901	3,146,390	178,174	1907	1,867,945	119.408	1913	860,165	65,652
1902	7cwt Ton16.977	132.058	1908	2.356.371	129.535	1914	495,763	37,646

1 UK gallon= 4.5460 Litre Source: collected from the colonial reports of the Gold Coast in the 1896p 10, 1899 p 10, 1900p10, 1901 p17, 1906 p 18, 1908 p22, 1909 p 15, 1911 p 12, 1913 p 11

The table shows the amount of palm oil that was exported for a period of 18 years. It highlights an augmentation of the value of the produce in the first five years (1896-1900) while 1900 marks an increase in quantity and values in spite of the rebellion and disturbances in Ashanti. From 1900 to 1914, the export of the produce witnessed a fluctuation in the market; as a result, it caused a depletion of the values in the market and a perplexity among traders and farmers. Colonial reports refer to five major factors: first, poor weather: the document highlights an exceptional dry season between 1902-1903; the amount of rainfall had been insufficient for good crop. A considerable improvement registered in the (1906 -08) after a sufficient rainfall in the season. Second, the period of (1909-1914) saw a severe collapse of the palm oil in the quantity and value. The reports focus more on the flourishing trade of cocoa which had badly

affected the other produce. Farmers abandoned their lands in the areas where the soil could not grow cocoa while others destroyed and removed palm oil trees to be replaced by cocoa. Third, transport: the lack of means of transport slowed the development of agricultural commerce. Forth, the reduction in the amount of labor resulted from the cocoa profitable revenues while some preferred working in mining and other European stations. In addition to palm oil, rubber received considerable concern from the colonial government and investors.

4.1.2Rubber:

Trade in rubber began in the 1860s when a Basel Mission agent exported *Funtumia elastica* rubber; however, this process did not stand for long. Mr. Grant in the 1880s endeavoured another experiment in the centre of production of Cape Coast at Denkyera and Sefwi (Arhin 50). Later he tried the same experience in eastern Aowin, Wassa, and in Accra near Volta districts. Some historians counted three motives behind the spread of rubber trade. Firstly, palm oil prices marked a fluctuation in the European markets, secondly, the inception of effective rubber tapping industry started in 1882 under the ordinance of Governor Alfred Moloney. He published instructions in government newspapers and conducted peasants to modernize techniques of tapping rubber. Thirdly, the source of rubber in Ahafo and Nkoranza became accessible for the Fante traders after the British occupation of Kumasi in 1902 (Dummett 80).

The Gold Coast Rubber Exports, 1900-14:

Year	Volume lb	Value £	Year	Volume lb	Value £
1900	3,452,440	328,156	1908	1,773,248	168,143
1901	1,520,009	104,030	1909	2,764,190	263,694
1902	1,599,974	88,602	1910	3,223,265	358,876
1903	2,258,981	196,500	1911	2,688,667	219,447
1904	4,013,837	360,644	1912	1,920,699	168,729
1905	3,633,106	323,774	1913	1,228,942	87,978
1906	3,649,668	334,504	1914	654,133	21,632
1907	3,549,548	333,120	1915	647,982	25,166

Sources: (Dummett, 99) quoted from: *Gold Coast Agriculture and Forest Department Reports* for 1909, 1910 and 1915. * The suddenness of the downturn in 1914 reflected the impact of World War I, which interrupted trade and shipping throughout the world.

Trade in rubber in the Gold Coast in 1900 witnessed a decrease in production. It fell down as compared to 1898 and 1899. The reasons behind the decrease were the low prices in European markets and the method of tapping; natives used their traditional tools that caused the exhaustion of trees. In the Fante region the local people felled down the tree to take latex. Another difficulty was labour; the producers could not obtain workers to collect rubber and carry it to the port for shipment. The majority of labour went to mining and railway construction where they obtained better wages. The following years witnessed a progress in rubber cultivation. The Botanic Station at Aburi experimented samples of Para rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*) and African rubber (*Funtumia Elastica*) and the result was satisfactory (Dumett 100).

In a technical school the governor promised grants and prizes for teachers to train natives in appropriate methods of cultivation, tapping and preparing for marketing; even the missionary schools were attached to rubber plantation. The Accra governmental school also offered an improvement of industrial instruction for locals. During 1906, 12

130 plants and 259.000 seed of Para variety and 3.278 plants and 3.237.106 seed of *Funtumia elastica* were distributed from the Aburi station. At Tarkwa 62.240 *Funtumia* plants raised; the workers in the station distributed plants to Ashanti chiefs. The satisfactory results of the Para rubber in 1904 motivated the workers to cultivate 23 acres in the station of Aburi (Colonial Reports Annual 1906 p 19).

The director of agriculture applied many experiments to improve the method of preparing latex from indigenous rubber. By the end, he succeeded to improve the elasticity and the tenacity of latex. The results advanced the value of this variety from 4s. 6d. to 5s.3d (Colonial Reports-Annual1906 p 19).Capitalist companies turned their attention to the Gold Coast as a promising area for investment in rubber. In the eastern province the African Development Company took a tract of land at Abonso, and it cleared wide ground and raised wide qualities of rubber plants.

Another company, West African Plantation Company, took five square miles of land and raised a huge quantity of para rubber and *Funtumia elastica*. At Axim the African Plantations Company benefited from 32.000 acres to cultivate various products including rubber. 27.000 trees planted in west Sekondi, Prestea and Imporbo. The rubber trees covered an area of 610 acres where 22.000 plants of the *Funtumia elastica* and 200 of Para were planted and grew successfully (Colonial Reports-Annual 1906 p 22).Cultivation of rubber extended rapidly; it was collected only from the interior forests. Because rubber grew wildly and quickly, many districts of the colony and the Ashanti region benefited from trade in rubber.

In 1910, rubber exports increased noticeably toward European markets. The quantity marketed was 3.223.265 lbs., valued at £358.876, against 2.764.190 lbs. It was valued at £ 263.694 in the preceding year (Colonial Reports Annual 1910 p 19).

The appropriate method of tapping Para rubber trees yielded great quantities. The recovery of prices returned and prompted the African Rubber Company to acquire more space; however, African Plantation Company traders and brokers fell in speculation, which destroyed rubber trade. In addition to rubber, the forest in the interior area contained great quantities of timber. For a long period the local people marketed this product, but the British authority became interested in its exploitation.

4.1.3 Timber:

Timber is a type of wood which is collected from trees. There are several species of timber in the Gold Coast; the Mahogany (*Khaya Ivorensis*) is one of them. The Gold Coast 's vast forests contained a great stock particularly in the tropical interior areas. The timber region named as the Tropical High Forest. The Akan region in the western areas was the principal location for timber forests. Timber also extends to other regions such as Wassa, Aowin, Sefwi, Brong- Ahafo, Ashanti, Akyem⁴. The height of timber tree reaches 200 feet but the trunk average height extends to 15 feet. The overall climate conditions of timber are available in the south of the Gold Coast; it prospers in high humidity, great rainfall and wet soil (Dumett 82).

Natives used primitive tools such as manual saws and axes to cut and collect timber. Labor as well needed physical force and efforts to accumulate satisfactory quantities. They worked in dangerous conditions before the development of cutting equipment with the arrival of British investors. The latter brought electric machines which helped to collect more timber during the nineteenth century. As to transport, natives for a long time depended on headloading and carriers to transport timber to the

⁴ Natives widely utilised timber for different activities such as building boats, houses, furniture and sculpture while the leaves of *Khayaivorensis* (timber) used for extracting medicine; leaves were pounded together with Guinea grains, to form an ointment for healing cuts and scratches.

ports and markets. The traditional method of transport allowed small quantities of transport while the British entrepreneurs used modern means including railways and roads to transport greater quantities. The conservation of timber faced some difficulties particularly cracks, diseases, rainy seasons and white ants which were known as "termite". The operation needed skilful experts and vigilant centres to inspect the progress of the field. The problems had been solved mainly after the establishment of the Forestry Department in 1909 (Colonial Reports Annual 1910 p 20).

Timber was needed for different purposes locally and abroad; natives used to construct houses, windows, doors and roofs ...etc. It was an essential element for equipping schools, churches and later hospital and ports. Shipbuilding for trade and military purpose required solid timber which could resist heavy weights.

4.13.1 The Evolution of Timber Trade:

Historically, the timber of the Gold Coast was not very known in the international markets until 1888. Before this period, great parts of the timber trade were monopolized mostly by the two British firms, F. and A. Swanzy and Alexander Miller Brothers (Dumett 93).

The quantity of timber that was sold in the markets reached 13,620,965 Cubic feet in 1888. The trade of timber pressed the colonial authorities to establish the Forestry Department and the colonial government could attract different companies to extend their investment in forestry beside palm oil and palm kernel exploitation. The chartered foreign companies exhibited Gold Coast timber in various international markets with its different qualities. Furthermore, there had been other institutions that were charged of following up the progress of the timber sector, namely the Royal Botanical Gardens, the Forestry Department and the Botanical Centre of the Gold Coast (Dumett 81).

The traders formed a group so called “the Merchant Princes”; they comprised Anomabu, Winneba and T. H. Although foreign enterprises controlled partly the activity, African merchants competed to engage in the domain as well. African merchants included Henry" Barnes as a powerful Eurafrican exporter emerged in the hinterland of "Anamaboe" in the 1898 after receiving a great support from the Gold Coast aborigines; while other African producers and traders largely dominated the market in Axim and Assim. As to the Europeans, the essential firms were A. Bissoe, Daniel Ussher and Company, A. Darmiyeh and Company, and Albert Bodue. A number of companies were compelled to lease the land from natives and needed to take admission from chiefs and the Forestry Department. In fact, the investors were obliged to pay the different taxes concerning transport, trade and export (Dumett 84).

The increasing requirements for timber boosted the price from 3d.to 6d per cubic foot in 1890. However, some problems appeared in the timber market including obstacles and restrictions made by European brokers to devaluate the product, but *mahogany* imposed its value among international kinds of wood and was bought in auction in loads. Later, it met a large scale demand in the European markets. Timber exports marked an exceptional achievement during the years of 1888, 1899 and 1904 and improvements in the quantity and value as it is shown in the table page.

Volumes and Values of the Gold Coast Timber Trade:

Year	Cubic feet	Value(pounds sterling)	Year	Cubic feet	Value(poundss terling)
1888	13,620,965	110,330	1907	18,528,348	169,458
1899	11.990.832	87.075	1908	19,009,963	158,306
1900	7.443.987	67.747	1909	9,838,959	82,937
1901	6.886.065	55.298	1910	14.938.749	148.122
1902	2.228.618	21.895	1911	13.973.396	138.821
1903	7.385.984	48.835	1912	23.573.651	228.745
1904	16.012.560	54.295	1913	37.391.848	366.094
1905	8.363.362	84.424	1914	24.587.217	82,937
1906	7.765.022	80.013	1915	9.217.622	90.658

Source:(Dumett 116).

The UK was the top European consumer of Gold Coast timber; in 1900, the UK exported about 10% of the total production of timber. From 1900 to 1903 timber recorded low prices because of the big stock in the market; in addition, Tano and Ankobra rivers around timber forests witnessed a series of floods at that period. The timber trade marked an improvement after the opening of railway line from the port of Sekondi to Kumasi in 1903. It linked the southwestern coast and Ashanti in the south. From 1904 to 1907 export progressed than it had been because of two factors: high price of Liverpool and the completion of the railways.

However in 1909, the fluctuation of prices in the European market led to a severe collapse of the timber trade. Some studies examined the causes of the fall of timber commerce in the Gold Coast. It was due to the improper and inelastic productivity in the local stations. In the same year the colonial government established the Forestry Department to backup the progress and provide more protection to the field. Trade increased in 1913 after a careful management of the timber stock. The outbreak of the First World War caused a falling down of prices and a trade depression from 1915 to 1918. The European market was not supplied only with timber but it received another produce (Dumett 108).

Palm kernel appeared as another profitable resource for the colony; it supplied the European industry with considerable oils and sustained the local economy by satisfactory revenues.

4.1.4 Palm kernel:

The fruit was collected from the interior forests mostly by females. Traditionally, the local people consumed the fruit excessively particularly for preparing dishes. The palm kernel trade emerged during the period of European industrialization. As a result, many enterprises were compelled in the 19th century to exploit the Gold Coast palm oil and palm kernels to feed the European factories. The number of companies increased after the full establishment of the colonial rule in Ashanti in 1902 when the British authority secured the access to the interior areas. The table examines the marketed quantity and value of palm kernel in the period of 1897-1915 (colonial report Annual from 1897 to 1915).

Palm Kernel Trade in the Gold Coast from 1897 to 1915

Year	Quantity ton	Value £	Year	Quantity ton	Value £
1897	10.838	69.818	1907	9.753	20.988
1898	9.732	66.378	1908	8.956	77.821
1899	12.663	106.156	1909	11.598	112.525
1900	12.811	96.936	1910	14.182	185.058
1901	12.844	89.794	1911	13.254	175.891
1902	.....	.....	1912	14.628	205.365
1903	.....	.....	1913	9.744	159.128
1904	.....	.....	1914	5.633	88.671
1906	9.355	80.834	1915	4.064	50.512

Source: Collected from the Colonial Reports of 1901 p17, 1908 p22, 1907 p18, 1909 p15 , 1910 p15, 1912 p 12, 1913 p11, 1915 p10.

The year of 1898 saw an exceptional sharp decrease of both quantity and value in the export of palm kernels. The following three years registered an increase in quantity but a decrease in revenues. The opening of western railways line in 1902 prompted the export of palm kernel; it connected the coastal ports with the interior palm trees districts. In 1903 the climate and reduced shipment to Germany affected the quantity exported compared with the previous seasons; the production was reduced by 2 million gallons (Colonial Report Annual 1903 p 22). During that year the British attempted to make experiments with machines for cracking the nuts; this technology contributed to increase the quantities of palm kernels in short time while the natives wasted substantial quantities of nuts while relying on primitive methods allowing the machine reduced labour cost and had the advantage of providing great quantities in short time it could not

function properly; 19% of nuts remained unbroken. The dry season decreased the value in 1905 dropping to £7.961. But there was a slight increase in quantity and value in the following years (1906 and 1907). In 1908, the production showed a decrease in quantity and value of £24.001 because of the cocoa domination over other crops (Colonial Report Annual 1908 p22).

The prosperity of palm kernels trade lasted from 1909 to 1912. In fact, this period experienced a development in the export of palm kernels in 1910. Some studies (Kew Bulletin) published the results of palm oil experiments which later showed successful statistics and considerable revenues during the following three years. In 1909 the value of exporting palm kernels increased by £ 34.704 (Colonial Report Annual 1909 p 15); it increased by £39.892 in 1910 while it dropped by £ 9.109 in 1911. The value grew in 1912 when it rose by 29,474 (Colonial Report Annual 1912 p 12).

Production in 1913 registered a decrease in the matter of quantity and value; this was due to the advancement of cocoa production. The former required more efforts comparing with the latter which was less laborious and more profitable. It was followed by a similar regression in the period of 1914-1915 as a result of the outbreak of WWI. Germany was the top market for palm kernel before the War, but the growing conflict with Britain stopped all economic relations. Britain had to import considerable quantities of palm kernels during the German boycott against British goods. In addition to palm kernel, international markets demanded cotton as well for the textile industry; the British colonial authority attempts to enlarge its plantation in the Gold Coast as it would be mentioned below (Colonial Report Annual 1915 p11).

4.1.5 Cotton production:

Cotton was among the essential plants that received importance from the colonial authority since the early years; it was needed for developing the textile industry in Britain. Some European merchants preceded the British colonizer in exploiting the cotton of Gold Coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch attempted to cultivate cotton in Apollonia while the Danes experimented their cultivation in the Accra region. Later it was followed by British travelers in the nineteenth century who discovered primarily three indigenous kinds of cotton in the interior "Green Seeds", "kidney" and the highly qualified "Volta River"(Dumett 158).

The Savannah areas in the interior were the major place for cotton plantation. The majority of cotton cultivators were the Ewe people in the trans-Volta districts in the south east, and from Dagomba and Northern territories. They made few efforts to grow cotton in big quantities although the previous varieties provided good qualities and enabled them to make different clothes. But peasants could not develop the produce and techniques of cultivation; they used to mix cotton with other food crops without respecting the methods of farming (Dumett 158).

The growing of cotton in the late 19th century showed some improvements in matter of techniques, quality and quantity. They were introduced by foreign enterprises which received a considerable support from the colonial authorities. F. and A. Swanzy mercantile firm, the Methodist Church, African and British Groups in addition to the Gold Coast Agricultural Society had dominated cotton cultivation; they encouraged people to grow cash crops. The process was entailed by the colonial government's support; the Governor W. Brandford Griffith initiated the procedure. In 1888 he

founded the Botanic Station at Aburi to motivate local farmers to experiment and recognize the conditions of growing cotton and other plants. However; most of these efforts crashed after two or three years; some reports referred to the unsuitable climate, the lack of financial means and the traditional cultivation as factors that affected and deteriorated cotton plantations. The small amounts of cotton collected had been consumed locally in traditional textile (Dumett 159).

The advancement of cotton growing in the Gold Coast had to wait until the world cotton crisis in the late 1890s. Four major factors triggered the cotton crisis in the world namely the United States' massive damage of cotton plants, Lancashire cotton industry's decline, the scarcity of low-waged black labor, the insufficient supply of British India and Egypt stock. The British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) initiated the exploitation of cotton with a better equipped and experienced enterprise in this field by 1902. The firm invested in different areas and served for almost twenty years (Dumett 159).

The company was supported by a number of political and economic figures and institutions from Liverpool and Manchester particularly the Chamber of Commerce. BCGA's fund began with £100.000 and increased later to £ 500.000 after receiving a grant from the Royal Company. Moreover, the company's propaganda for British "Cotton Empire" assisted by additional supports from the Secretary of State for the Colonies Joseph Chamberlain (1895-1903). The B.C.G.A extended the project to other British West African territories; the efforts aimed to: 1) widen the British agricultural exploitation; 2) cover US shortage of cotton provision; 3) and get rid of monoculture exportation (palm oil) (Dumett 159-161).

To prompt agricultural development, the Association decided to pay £ 1.500 annually for the colony unless the colonial government could contribute with the same amount. Furthermore, it promised to buy all quantities of cotton that were collected from all parts of the Gold Coast. The Association provided seeds, wages for farmers and covered the expenses of transport to the coastline (Dumett 161).

In early 1903, the Association's cooperation with the colonial government selected experts to examine the appropriate soil for cotton cultivation. They ended up with choosing the Krepi province around the Volta River as a strategic place already experienced in indigenous cotton plantation. 27 acres were sowed in this district, in addition to the 105 acres and other 95 acres that was prepared as a reserve in Labolabo about four miles from Anum. The experts' attempts failed to cultivate the Egyptian cotton seeds because of inappropriate soil and the weakness of irrigation capacities. The Agricultural Department instead gave huge consideration to US Southern seeds and assumed that they would cope with the West African climate (Dumett 161-162).

Cotton growing results proved to be successful in the first seven years. There had been a regular contact between the Agricultural Department presided by W.H Johnson and two assistants representing the Cotton Association. The representatives' meeting with the Governor in Manchester aimed at investing in cotton cultivation. It was a way of introducing commercial agriculture and an occasion to employ native workers and train them under the supervision of European experts (Dumett 162).

Gold Coast Cotton Exports, 1899-1916 (lb.)

Year	Volume lbs	Year	Volume lbs	Year	Volume lbs
1899	14.100	1905	29.124	1911	9.701
1900	20.900	1906	92.886	1912	20.395
1901	2.600	1907	56.100	1913	27.600
1902	-----	1908	51.480	1914	23.600
1903	10.400	1909	81.290	1915	12.000
1904	57.616	1910	11.421	1916	18.000

Source:(Dumett176). Quoted from *Obstacles to Government-Assisted Agricultural Development in West Africa: Cotton Growing Experimentation in Ghana in the Early Twentieth Century* by Raymond E. Dumett

The table above shows the quantity of cotton produced in the Gold Coast during the period of 1899-1916. It highlights the instability of the collected quantities. During the years 1900-1902 the produce crashed by a tenth; in 1909-1910 the production dropped by eighth; in 1904-1905, 1906- 1907, the quantity fell by almost half. Hard efforts had been made to establish a strong economy through distributing huge amounts of seeds annually and providing local soil with British technology. Furthermore, the soil had been tested frequently with different varieties from the United States and Egypt. The former showed satisfactory results while the latter ended fruitlessly. Some experts considered the climate as a major obstacle for suitable yielding; however, others referred to the inadequacy of transport. The government's support to cotton cultivation stopped at 1910; and the British Association of Growing Cotton followed later in the same year.

Lastly, the colonial government had encouraged entrepreneurs to promote the cotton plantation by facilitating the procedures and providing equipment but it did not succeed to continue for a long term. Many obstacles had faced the project, particularly the lack of transport which would be analyzed in a following section. Shea nut was also an important produce in the north areas with great quantities; the colonial government tried to promote its production and exhibit the produce in the southern market. Did the colonial authority succeed? (Kwaku Brutum 192)

5.1 Introducing British colonial policies in the Northern Territories:

The Northern Territories are located in the north of Ashanti areas; they are separated from the south by the Volta River. The Northern Territories had been annexed in 1900 with a strategic view of preventing German and French colonizers from annexing the region. The colonial extension also intended to exploit their resources (Kwaku Brutum 177).

It seemed obvious that the areas were located in a remote place where the contact with Europeans was less than in the south. In order to promote their resources, the Gold Coast government commissioned a Fante geologist named George Ekem Ferguson to make treaties with local chiefs and figure out assess the major economic potentialities of the areas. The management of the northern areas was under the Governor of the Gold Coast; he was charged of appointing a High Commissioner to administer the various districts. The following paragraphs will tackle the agricultural policies with respect to two of northern territories' resources shea nut and livestock, highlighting the capabilities and the major obstacles facing colonial development (Sutton 638-639).

The economy of the northern tribes was mostly commercial and agricultural. The Hausa had a great reputation in commerce; they used to exchange commodities

depending on caravan trade mainly with neighboring tribes of Ashanti in the south and the Upper North East and Upper North West (Togoland and Burkina Faso). The area was well-known for its different resources principally indigenous cotton, rice, shea nut and extensive surfaces of grassland and quantities of livestock. Furthermore the area contributed with a great number of stock labour; most of them migrated to the south Ashanti to work in mining, railways building and fertile lands; it contributed with revenues which were imposed on caravans (Kwaku Brutum 188).

The colonial government created a special economic developing agenda for the Northern Territories including grants in aid for foreign companies to grow crops and transport them to the coastline. The policy comprised establishing a technical school in Tamale, training engineers, supplying vaccines to preserve livestock from different diseases, and founding a Veterinary Department to control the updates in cattle rearing. The policy was aimed to create active areas in the north to reduce people's suffering and exploit the excessive number of labor to promote agriculture. The colonial government sponsored investors to cultivate acres of different produce particularly rice, cotton, tobacco, and groundnut. Some companies initiated their projects with a considerable budget and struggle during a period of time, but their experience failed in the same way as it happened to the British Association of Growing Cotton (Kwaku Brutum 176-177).

Shea nut is a fruit growing in many parts of Africa; it contains pulp surrounded by oil-rich seed; in the Gold Coast, the shea tree was a widely spread plant in the Northern Territories. The item grew wild and was mostly collected and prepared by females. It had great potential to contribute in obtaining profitable revenues to the producers; easy availability of labor in the territory was motivating for the investment. Its large quantities encouraged the authorities to think of suitable methods for introducing it to the market (Kwaku Brutum 193)

The colonial administration commissioned N.C. McLeod as a Conservator of Forests. With regard to shea nut he deduced that 257.200 ton of shea butter could be extracted annually. He promised the investors tempting rewards including grants and reductions in the transport cost and paying taxation. As to the hard conditions in the north, some foreign enterprises demanded more concessions from London to obtain modern techniques to boost production. Among them were African Merchants, John Walkden & Company, W. Bartholornew and Company and Millers of Kumasi (Nana James 194). However, most of these companies failed and did not continue for a long period; their obstacle would be analyzed commonly with livestock.

5.1.1 Livestock:

Beside the importance of cultivation, the colonial government had appreciated livestock and animal products of the Northern Territories. The area with a surface of 70,384square kilometers had a large scale of important livestock species such as cows, sheep, goats and poultry. The region as well had great surfaces of grassland around the Volta Lake and Salaga, and large savannah areas in the north. The development policy started after 1907 according to Beal, principal veterinary officer of the region, he noted that "*there were too many people consulted and allowed to put their fingers in the pie*" (quoted in Kwaku Brukum189).

Initially, the colonial government launched a policy to preserve the cattle of the Northern Territories by providing veterinarians, vaccine and eventually founding the Veterinary Department. Then, they paved the way for breeders to trade with the southern Ashanti⁵. As to the first, the areas needed European qualitative veterinarians to fight the affections of Tsi Fly and other infectious tropical diseases. The basic step

In 1920 the demand of the south regions reached 40,000 head ⁵

was to count the animal population, protect the local species and localize the diseased areas. As to the second, the colonial officials supplied the region with an appropriate quantity of vaccine; however, the latter absorbed the financial potentials of the Agricultural Department particularly with the excessive number of cattle. This procedure pressed the staff to control the movement of breeders to the neighboring areas or vice versa. The annual colonial report of the 1902 indicates the content of the ordinance that comprised cutting taxes on breeders, namely on the following animals⁶:

An example of the taxes imposed on herdsmen:

	s.	d.
For each horse	5	0
For each head of cattle except calves	3	0
For each calf	1	6
For each sheep or goat ...	0	6
For each lamb or kid...	0	3
For each donkey	2	0

source: colonial report 1902 p 11

d: denarii / s: solidus

As to the last point, in 1912 the government gave an advanced pace to livestock development by founding the Veterinary Department. Interestingly, this institution was destined to supervise the evolution of livestock and accommodate veterinary or surgical treatment and experiment for animals in the Gold Coast and principally in the Northern Territories. The veterinary procedures could guarantee for the colony a long period of proper health for animals. This was a solid platform for many subsequent projects of the colonial authority mainly for promoting the livestock industry, covering the southern

More details about available in *The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast under British Colonial Rule*,⁶ 1897-1956p182 -243 by Nana James Kwaku Brukum

demand for meat, and introducing breeding and crossbreeding to the native farmers. The early developing steps of the 1910s had ensured healthy animal species and increased the number of livestock; they rose from 68,500 in 1920 to 70,000 in 1921 and to 324,000 in 1957 (Inez 648). Furthermore, the demand for animal products reached higher rates; the growth of population during the 1920s-1930s raised the consumption of milk, meat, eggs, wool and skins.

For both items Shea nut and livestock, the capacities for earning high capital were attainable especially when production was constantly available and the demand for livestock products was growing; but it was hampered by the scarcity of railways and roads. The latter appeared important to markets in the south Ashanti or to the neighboring French and German territories in the north. This confirms Balstonef's remarks in 1911 to the Governor: *"I do not think that any form of commercial cultivation can be attempted with success until a proper system of transportation is introduced"*(Kwaku Brukum 195).

Migration of workers to southern regions was a major obstacle for the government; a considerable number of people preferred to work in mines and railway building where they could earn better payment. Finally, the period was entailed by a breakdown of the international and local economy which disturbed the whole development policy. Local produce was not alone in the market. A new crop was introduced in Abori station. It became in few years a dominant produce in the territory.

6.1 Cocoa

Cocoa was important for the economy of the colony. It was brought from a foreign country and it succeeded in adding huge revenues to the economy of the colony. The following lines will highlight its history, the role of the colonial governmental and

nongovernmental policy in developing its profits, labour, land, the market and companies, and evaluate the produce during the 1st World War (Green and Hymer 301).

The tree was indigenous to the rainforest of Central America. In 1879 a Gold Coaster farmer brought cocoa seeds from Spanish Fernando Po and planted them in the Akwapim hills; the plants started giving fruits after a period of time. Cocoa flourished quickly in the late 20th century particularly when its demand in the international market increased. The commerce of chocolate increased in Europe; people started consuming this luxury item in remarkable quantities. As cocoa is considered an essential for chocolate production, the British chocolate companies such as Quaker companies – Fry's Cadbury's and later Rowntrees– marketed large quantities of the product from different countries.

The Basel Mission had already proceeded with the process by distributing seeds and modern methods of farming among their students. The colonial governmental institutions increased their support by providing seeds and techniques of planting. The colonial authority created the Botanic Station as a scientific centre for supervising the growth of the plantation and farming in the Gold Coast. The station took the responsibility of examining, experimenting and orientating indigenous farmers towards serious methods of raising fruits. Natives had been granted access to this station and had consulted experts mainly in the early years of cocoa plantations (Southall 95).

Land was important as well for growing; demand for it increased massively during the first decade of the 20th century after the successful results of cocoa trade. The continuous expansion of cultivating cocoa threatened the traditional crops whose prices fell in the market; planters eventually were pressed to substitute them by cocoa.

Cultivation began in Akwapim hills in the east; afterwards it extended rapidly to northern and western regions; cocoa gradually became the dominant crop of the Gold

Coast (Amanor106). Fortunately, the great revenues brought up modern equipment and techniques for the agriculture of the colony. As a consequence, planters and enterprises searched for more spacious arable land to profit from the high price of the market. Land ownership became necessary whether for native or foreigner investors. It should be noted that there had been two ways to obtain land for cultivation either selling or leasing to cultivate the maximum surface, the entrepreneurs needed number of workers⁷.

Labour became an essential element for growing cocoa especially when export crop production increased; the demand for cocoa pressed the chiefs and enterprises to extend land surfaces and look for more planters. This urgent need prompted labour from the northern territories, Niger, Mali and other neighbouring regions to migrate and settle around cocoa zones. As to the natives, people from both gender engaged in farming cocoa to increase their capital. The economic benefit of cocoa also attracted rubber and palm oil farmers to cultivate the new crop. Meanwhile, many of them quitted their land towards cocoa regions, while others deforested the ancient crop to plant cocoa. Most labour had no wage before the 1920s they used to share their masters' crop during the harvest season⁸. The international demand for chocolate consumption improved the prices incredibly and guaranteed acceptable payments especially in the first and second decades of the 20th century (Amanor113).

The prosperity of cocoa production forced the British to extend a network of roads and railways to link Accra coast with the interior areas of cocoa. The western railway linked Kumasi with Accra in 1903 (Southall 189). In addition, they started building a

⁷ There was a dispute between Town Chiefs of Akyem and the Paramount Chiefs. The former wanted to sell lands for migrants while the latter wanted a share of the proceeds. Later on the dispute led to the establishment of Land Secretariat in 1950s

⁸ Labour organized series of protests against the colonial government demanding more rights mainly suitable wages; the governor Guggisberg carried out a number of policies for improving their situation; it was ended by establishing the Labour Department in 1920s

new network later chiefly Nsawam in 1910, Pakro in 1911, Mangoase in 1913 and Koforidua in 1915. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Great War affected most of public works. As a result, the construction of infrastructure marked great perturbation by which the Accra Kumasi railway project remained unfinished until the 1923.

The first export of cocoa from the Gold Coast began in 1891 by the Basel Mission Trading Company. They exported it to Hamburg via the German West Africa Trading Company (GWAC) which controlled nearly 40 per cent of Gold Coast export. The remaining 60 per cent was shared by British and non-British firms mainly Alexander Miller Brothers, F. & A. Swanzy, and the African Association that had benefited from rubber and palm oil trade. The latter firms and the Basel Mission Trading Company discussed the cocoa price to form an agreement for decreasing the price of cocoa, rubber and palm oil in 1903, 1904 and 1905. The agreement extended to other five years after 1906. However, the agreement was challenged by new firms entering the cocoa trade. The new firms adopted the policy of buying directly from producers instead of dealing with speculators.

As a result of the internal competition for the cocoa benefits, the German West Africa Trading Company and the Basel Mission could not contest Millers, Swanzy and the African Association in 1909/10. Starting from 1910 the cocoa market witnessed a settlement of European enterprises. The continuous increase of the value during the first decade of 20th century attracted ambitious investors to engage in long running commerce. The productivity continued, but not for long time; it lasted until 1916 before it fell incredibly in the international markets (Southall 95).

The outbreak of the WW I had atrociously affected cocoa production as well as the German investors in the Gold Coast. They were pressed to cease their properties from

the areas and were prohibited from all commercial activities. The British companies remained alone in the field, but they could not dominate over the entire market after 1916 because of the market crash. The consequence of wartime damaged the British economy; it became necessary for Britain to restrict their import of cocoa from the Gold Coast. The lack of shipment impacted positively on the revival of local cocoa prices during the period of 1915-17. It attracted a number of speculators to enlarge their business in a period marked by fluctuation in the international demand. After all that the prices of cocoa rose to £250,000 in 1919/1920 meanwhile they lost a value of £1,794,796 in 1920/21 (Southall 98).

Distribution of Trade amongst Cocoa Shippers to the U.K 1916 to 1917

	1915 /16		1916/17 (10months)	
	Number of exporters	Percentage of exports	Number of exporters	Percentage of exporters
Large European firms over (1000)tons	12	75.94	14	75.20
Small European firms under(1000)tons	23	13.53	26	10.58
African exporters	23	8.60	29	10.56
Exporters of indeterminate origin	3	1.68	7	3.66
Total export to UK	44425 tons 44		44536 tons	

Calculated from: National Archives of Ghana, Accra (Henceforth cited as NAG) ADM 12 3 27, Memorandum on the Gold Coast Trade Prospects for , 18, by A.R .Slater, 20 / p96

At the beginning of the War the main allies of trade in the Gold Coast were the African Association, Swanzy and Millers who sustained their relation by a series of agreements. However, the newcomer, Lord Leverhulme, tried to persuade the three firms to join the group in what was named as the African and Eastern Trade Corporation (A and ETC) in 1919. This merger coincided with the rise of small firms namely Crombie Steedman & Co., the Gold Coast Machinery & Co. Ltd., and the Tarquah Trading Co. Ltd (Southall 96).

The outcome was the ability of A and ETC to export a quarter of the product of the Gold Coast from 1919 to 1920. Another partnership was created between Cadbury Brothers Ltd. and J. S. Fry & Sons Ltd to form the British Cocoa & Chocolate Company in May 1919 to serve Swiss and Dutch manufacturers (Southall 96).

In the table above, the period of 1916-17 was much better than 1915-16. The former recorded an increase in the number of firms that exported cocoa comparing with the latter; in addition, the exported quantities of the same firms were greater in 1916-17 against 1915-16. The decrease of external demand during the First World War lowered cocoa prices and allowed the companies to stock more quantities; they waited until the prices improved in 1916-17 when they could export their quantities. Exporters relied on the stock of Accra which had an average price of 27 per cwt in 1918; prices soared incredibly to 47 in 1919 and 80/6d in 1920 (Southall 97).

7.1 The Role of Roads and Railways in Developing Agriculture between 1900 and 1914:

Agriculture became an important economic sector in the Gold Coast after the abolishment of slave trade. Gold and ivory could not compensate for the financial forfeiture that was caused by slave trade, whereas agriculture grew as an essential

alternative to substitute slave trade and bring up considerable wealth to the territory. Its prosperity coincided with a great international demand for palm oil and kernels, rubber, timber and eventually cocoa. The agricultural development could not be achieved without effective modern infrastructure including transport to connect the interior areas with the coastline.

For a long time, the native people relied on headloaders, carriers and sometimes caravans to transport commodities to interior markets and ports; but with the rise of cash crop and the international demand for palm oil and kernels, people needed modern means to carry heavy loads to distant areas. In addition, constructing railways and roads seemed lucrative projects, so how could they finance them and cover their expenses? And where did the money come from to finance the construction of infrastructure?

The authority decided to finance the railway and road buildings from the revenues of trade and taxes. Taxes were collected from most people of the Gold Coast⁹ while traders and enterprises paid more. The Public Work Department was charged with building infrastructure; it put the foundation stone to build three lines between 1898 and 1916. Railway building depended on local and foreign workers under the supervision of European engineers. The first line connected Sekondi and Tarkwa via gold mines and timber area; it reached Obuasi in 1902 with a distance of 60 km. The second line covered 65km; it linked Accra with Mangosi in 1912. The third was supposed to connect Mangosi with Kumasi via Insuaim with a length of 40km but the line remained

⁹ The British colonial government imposed tasks on the native people to force them to get jobs; because many of them used to depend on leasing land. The aim of the policy was to involve people in the economic machinery.

unfinished until 1923. The expenditure of constructing roads and railways seemed the largest in the territory¹⁰.

The result of railway building appeared with the growth of cocoa trade in the first decade of the 20th century; moreover, the network motivated foreign enterprises to exploit in the interior crops; it also facilitated the movement of people and merchandise. The reduction in transport cost increased the number of users and improved the economic machinery of the colony. However, the WWI marked an economic deflation and a fall of the prices of cocoa, timber and palm kernel; in fact, this affected negatively the construction of other infrastructure.

8.1 The Colonial Development Policies during the First World War (1914-1919):

The Gold Coast engaged in a new period of colonization after years of the establishment of the British rule. As many other British colonies, the Gold Coast participated with their masters in the War. The War caused a deflation for both sides Britain and the Gold Coast. The involvement of Britain in the Great War had badly affected its economy. In the Gold Coast the War caused a deflation of the produce, an increase of taxes and a complete stop of railway building.

The most profitable exporting items were palm oil and kernel, rubber, timber, kola nut and copra; however, they had registered various economic records during the period between 1914 and 1918. First, the export palm oil did not stabilize; it fell in the period of 1914-15 then its production rose in 1916 and 1918 after a sudden drop in 1917. Second, rubber export rose only in the years of 1915-16-17, whereas it dropped in the years of 1914-18-19. Third, timber recorded worse results and witnessed a total

Alexander, and Remi “Revolutionizing Transport: Modern Infrastructure, Agriculture and ¹⁰ Development in Ghana” p08

instability in the market. Fourth, palm kernel dropped severely and marked bad records; the real reason was the loss of the German market. Fifth, the production of kola nut in 1916-17-18 appeared satisfactory comparing with the other produce though it marked depletion in 1915-14 (Colonial Reports Annual 1914-15-16-17-18).

The overall reduction of the incomes pressed the colonial government of Sir Huger Clifford (1912-1919) to legislate different laws to control the economy during this period. The first act included a tax amendment; more duties were imposed on cocoa trade and transport. As to imports, taxes increased from 10 to 12 per cent (Karin 5). Second, as expenditures exceeded revenues, the government reduced its policy in which the construction of infrastructure especially railway building was delayed until the end of the War.

Chapter Two

The British Developing Acts from 1920 to 1945

2.1 introduction

The colonial development policies between 1919 and 1945 were significant series of socio-economic developing programs that took place in the Gold Coast and other British colonies under the supervision of Colonial Office and the British Parliament. The programs came to remedy the crashed metropolitan economy and reduce the rate of unemployment. At the colonial level, the investments aimed at satisfying native people mainly after supporting British forces in the First World War; moreover, the rise of African elites¹¹ who demanded rights and positions in the colonial institutions pressed the British government to intervene through a number of reforms and improvements in different sectors. The following paragraphs are devoted to study the main economic ordinances and acts from 1919 to 1945 with a special concern to agriculture. Governor Guggisberg introduced a Ten Year Plan (1919-1929); the project was exclusive to the Gold Coast. But the British central plans of CDF 1929, Import Duties Act 1932, CDWA 1940 and CDWA 1945 were destined to all British colonies ("British Aid 5 Colonial Development p 14, 21, 22").

2.2 Guggisberg's Governorship 1919-1927

Guggisberg had already an experience in the colonial administration in the Gold Coast as an officer in the Public Works Department in 1914. The Colonial Office appointed him General Governor in 1919; his governorship faced economic upheaval caused by the WW I and the fall of prices of important produce. He proposed a Ten Year Plan for promoting socio-economic sectors particularly trade, transport, health, education, and agriculture ("*Development Plan of Guggisberg Prior to 1957 p 2*").

¹¹. Educated people and some politicians created the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) in 1920 to express their refusal to the British policies in West Africa.

2.2.1 Trade:

The Gold Coast trade recorded a period of instability; the amount of export and import marked inflation. The total sum of exports reached £4.5 million in 1918; it doubled to £ 10.8 million in 1919 and finally rose to £ 12.4 million in 1920. As to the total sum of imports and consumption of foreign commodities, it marked an amount of £3.3 million in 1918; it increased to £ 7.8 and doubled to £ 15.2 in the years of 1919 and 1920 respectively. The governor concentrated on agricultural production especially where revenues from cocoa helped to develop evolved the network of transport ("History of Development Planning in Ghana" p1).The total value of Guggisberg's developing planning amounted to £24 million ("*History of Development Planning in Ghana*" p1); £21 was collected locally from taxes and revenues while the remaining received as loans from the central institutions in Britain.

2.2.2 Transport:

Many farmers as well as enterprises abandoned their exploitations because of the lack of transport facilities; they faced difficulties to carry their commodities to ports. Guggisberg's foresight was to continue the advancement of building railway networks which stopped during the War. The crucial design was to provide an easy access to forest, mining and agricultural areas with a forward expansion to Savannah and the Northern Territories. Furthermore, his ambitious plan was prepared to facilitate the movement of people, merchandises and create an active local industry and commerce. The transport cost became lower than any period of time with remarkable revenues collected from the users such as enterprises and passengers. Improving infrastructure can be discussed in three major points: 1-construction of railways 2- building motorways 3- building ports ("*Development Plan of Guggisberg Prior 1957*" p3).

Railway building had already been initiated in 1901 by introducing the western and eastern lines as it was mentioned in the previous part. Extension of the third line stopped for a financial reason of wartime and the fall in revenues. The third line was supposed to link Accra too Kumasi through a paramount gold mining station in Ashanti, Konongo; the construction carried on and the line was opened officially in 1923. The reviving prices of produce namely cocoa in the 1920s stimulated the authorities to carry on their road and railway construction. The government gave too much consideration to the productive areas which could pay back the expenses of building railways namely Akim, Kumasi, Accra and the Cape Coast.

Extension network to the Northern Territories and Savannah was possible; the scheme remained unbuilt because the proposal did not come until the late of 1920s. However, motorable roads were built. The length of roads advanced from 2,241 mile (3,606 kilometres) to 6,738 miles (10,841 kilometres) in 1930-1932. The evolution of railways contributed to the rise of cocoa production; rails loaded over 83% of cocoa exports in 1922-23. The policy of developing the means of transport prompted peasants to grow more quantities each year. Cocoa production augmented from 10,000 tons in 1919 to 256,000 by 1932 ("Development Plans of Guggisberg Prior to 1957" p 04).

Besides building railways and roads, ports required a special concern to increase the economic capacity. Cape Coast, Accra, Keta, Sekondi and Axim were the essential traditional ports in the territory. In fact, with the rising export of cocoa and the continuous demand for other mineral and natural resources, it became necessary for the colonial government to construct a modern harbor with a great capacity. The experts chose Takoradi as the appropriate place. Its construction started in 1923 and officially opened in the 3rd April 1928 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The port's capacity was approximated one million tons of cargo annually. Transport was not the

only requirement for people but labor's health was necessary as well to protect them from the prevalent diseases.

2.2.3 Health:

Farmers, miners, railway builders needed good health care to protect themselves against infectious tropical diseases. The governor constructed health centers for natives; furthermore, during his leadership he established the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital to train African nurses and provide the service for 200 patients with modern equipment ("Korle-Bu. Com"). The cost of building the infrastructure reached £12 million sterling. Education appeared obligatory for people in order to cope with ongoing researches; therefore, the governor introduced education to prepare native student to manage their own institutions.

2.2.4 Education:

Until the 1920s, schools and the education system were controlled by the missionary societies; their courses in overall focused on literature, civilization, geography and Christianity. The colonial government merely granted aids to the advanced schools. The ordinary schools were characterized by the lack of qualified teachers, poor equipment and absence of organization. So what could the governor do with the increasing demand of education from natives? ("Development Plans of Guggisberg prior 1957" p2)

The colonial government profited from the improvement of agricultural produce in the markets namely cocoa and tax revenues in constructing schools of different levels primary, middle and high schools. The governor ordered to include technical courses mainly mathematics, physics in the curriculum. Moreover, he advocated the idea of

promoting education among the African indigenous people and preparing them to administer their own institutions ("Development Plans of Guggisberg prior 1957" p2). Interestingly, he put the foundation stone for building the college of Achimota in 1924 which was known then as "*Prince of Wales College and School*"; the college began officially in 1927. The governor emphasized to include a native African named Dr. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey in the administration of the school; he was the first African Assistant Vice -Principal between 1924 and 1927. The school adopted the British teaching model to prepare very qualified students equipped with modern knowledge.

Under what he named "the sixteen principles" which became the Ordinance of Education in 1925, the Governor emphasized on fulfilling vocational training and professional education for the Gold Coast people. He ordered more constructions of technical schools in many parts of the southern areas to train engineers and surveyors. During the Ten Year Planning the governor established four commercial schools; he also initiated the expansion of education to the Northern Territories before he left the office in 1927.

Though his governorship term ended two years earlier, his achievements remained exceptional in the history of the Gold Coast. According to a former education official documenting in 1935 the Guggisberg's reform, he said:

In the primary schools, infants were properly graded in classes and the teaching was updated to the needs of young children. Mission and government organizers changed the whole character of the schools...the need for education of girls was recognized by a large section of the community, women came forward for training in that specialized

work...it was time for better building, better equipment, better staff and better methods of teaching, brought willing cooperation between Government and missions through pooling of resources, of money and personnel. (Williams 290)

Education was an essential element to train students and planters; the governor gave a consideration to agriculture which appeared an important activity for natives.

2.2.5 Agriculture:

Agriculture was a profitable field; Guggisberg devoted to bolster the advancement of the cocoa industry and promote other produce as well. His period witnessed a radical change in the matter of technological techniques of irrigation. The new materials aided the local farmers to produce more and improve the agricultural production in the first years of 1920s.

The farmers widened their plantation and fought against the foreign speculations which were controlled by European enterprises. The former could control the prices temporarily; this lasted from 1918 to 1924 before their domination broke down. They formed associations and protested against the European companies; they demanded better prices for their crops. Meanwhile, more associations were created whose pressure became stronger and effective.

Generally speaking, the stability of prices increased the export of cocoa which reached 244,000 tons in 1919 and an outstanding rate of 637,000 tons in 1923. Starting from the 1920s, the Gold Coast economy benefited from the rise of cocoa production which coincided with a high international demand. Its plantation extended to eastern and western districts of Ashanti, northern Togoland, Krobo and central provinces. While timber cultivation extended to the Western provinces, coconuts were increased in

Ada and Keta districts; in fact, other crops rose in small quantities like cotton, coffee and rubber ("Development Plans of Guggisberg prior 1957" p5).

Guggisberg motivated the peasants to diversify their cultivation in many parts of the Gold Coast. His goal was to balance the sources of revenue and provide more stability to the economy (Agbodeka55). He asked to promote the palm oil industry and exploitation of timber. He insisted upon increasing the quantities of minor produce such as groundnut, coffee, sugar, tobacco and sisal, but he ignored some obstacles such as the inappropriate expertise and the dependence on a single crop (cocoa). He failed in establishing these products as cash crops. After 1925 the governor launched projects including the establishment of an experimental farm for palm oil and sisal around Takoradi while the exploitation of timber was restricted by a Forestry Ordinance. The improvement of agriculture needed qualified labor ("Development Plans of Guggisberg prior 1957" p5).

Generally, labour in the Gold Coast benefited from the arrival of Guggisberg although their recruitment became partly under control of the enterprises rather than that of the government. The establishment of the Labour Department guaranteed more rights for local workers. Their wages recorded an improvement mainly after the rise of cocoa prices. Working in cocoa plantations was preferable and advantageous than in mines and government services; the former enabled people to earn better payment than the latter during the first seven years of the 1920s.

During the last years, many projects had been on the agenda of the governor but his departure from the Gold Coast in 1927 made these projects uncompleted. The development budget also remained unexpended because of the economic upheaval particularly the drop of cocoa prices and the Great Depression. The Gold Coast

revenues marked a considerable collapse in the world markets. The revenue dropped from £11.7 million in 1927 to £4.0 million in 1934. The decline of prices in the major international markets was conjectured as a sign for the World's Economic Crisis known as "the Great Depression".

2.3 The Great Depression and the Colonial Development Fund 1929:

The increasing damages of the American economy affected the European countries; they started penetrating most sectors in early 1928. Unemployment rates mounted by then; many British politicians and economists called for state intervention to secure the economy. Saving the economy needed an act from the metropolitan parliament allowing the government to interfere in economic affairs. However, the usual pattern of ruling colonies depended on the deep-rooted philosophy of "Laissez Faire"; the principle had to be urgently reviewed in order to cope with the given situation. The Labour Party came to power in 1929 with the ambition of finding out a definite solution to the economic crisis and the increasing rates of unemployment. Labour members suggested for the British Parliament what had already been proposed by a conservative politician named Leo Amery including an ordinance of investment in the British colonies to revive and recycle the depressed British economy. The Act was discussed in the House of Commons; it comprised loans for promoting infrastructure and agriculture in the British colonies; it aimed to reduce the unemployment rates at home and backup the industry as the British MP Thomas. J. claimed in unofficial meeting of the parliament: "*..... This measure has been introduced by a Labour government, not only because we believe in the colonial development and because it is urgent. I think it will assist me in carrying out my ideas of dealing with unemployment*"(quoted in: Abbou 101).

Locally, the emergence of nationalism and the establishment of the National Congress of British West Africa pressed the British authorities in London to reconsider policies towards the West African colonies. The movement represented the rise of awareness among the African educated people who demanded rights in the colonial administration. These calls became a threat to the British interests in the tropical African colonies. Series of meetings in London came after the parliamentary legislation of C.D.F; they discussed the duration of the fund, the financial value, the way of introducing the Act whether in loans or grants, the institution that would be charged of following up the progress of the Act, the sectors that were concerned of the Act, and the area of investment whether in the colonies or Britain.

Parliament launched a ten year development planning with an amount of 1million pound per year; according to some historians, the sum was extracted from the British Treasury as loans and grants. However, the British Treasury had never intervened or had given grants to whatsoever institution; taxpayers in Britain would not allow the government to invest their money abroad in colonies where they could not have any interest. Therefore, in July of the same year, the British parliament discussed the C.D.F. The expenditure reached £ 8.8 million in period 1929-1940¹². Parliament showed the important fields which would give advancement to the economy such as: harbours, fisheries, transport, forestry, agricultural equipment, electric power, land reclamation and irrigation. Education and public services were excluded from the loaned sectors.

The Central Advisory Committee (CAC) took the responsibility of managing and supervising the development of the project in the period of 1929-1939. The C.A.C was aided by similar committees from the British colonies. The latter's task was first to

British Aid – 5 Colonial Development 7s 6 d, published by the Overseas Development Institute ¹²

evaluate the needed projects with respect to the previous sectors, second to develop programs and finally contact the central committee. As to the Gold Coast committee, it designed nine developmental economic projects; the Central committee accepted eight of them with a total amount of 265,203 pounds.

The Main Sectors which Benefited from CDFM

Sector	Percentage	Sector	Percentage	Sector	Percentage
Agricultural development	6	Internal transport and communication	30	Land reclamation and drainage	5
Water supply/ water power	10	Electricity	2	Mineral resources	9
Surveys	3	Scientific research	7	Public health	16
Fisheries	2	Harbours	5	Miscellaneous	4
		Forestry	1		

Source: (Edward Greig 44)

The table shows that the Act was destined to: first, promote infrastructure rather than socio-economic life of the indigenous people; it paved the way for farmers to exploit more agricultural resources. Second, it decreased the severe rate of unemployment in Britain. Finally, transport received 30 per cent of the act which seemed the highest rate; it was designed to strengthen the economic capacities of the colonies. As to the Gold Coast, the territory seemed to some extent in a quite better economic position comparing with the other colonies; thanks to the profitable revenues from gold, ivory, palm oil and palm kernel and particularly cocoa which improved the infrastructure. However, the collapse of the cocoa market after 1927 handicapped the process of development policy; it led also to a conflict between farmers and European traders.

2.4 The Hold-up and Cocoa Crisis in 1930s

The hold-up was a reaction used in the Gold Coast against the fluctuation of cocoa prices in the international market. The area witnessed several hold-ups since cocoa fell in the hand of speculators and brokers; the important ones were in 1927, 1930, 1934-1935, and 1937. The reason behind the hold-up was the predominance of the European firms mainly UAC and Cadbury on imposing low prices on farmers. The local people collaborated to refuse the European plan through an organization comprising farmers, brokers, lenders of money, renters of land and chiefs. They agreed to choose the Amnasia district as a center for organizing the important procedures/- (Austen 78).

Under the decision of chiefs, the hold-up began in Manso Nkwanta in 1927; they prohibited selling cocoa load for less than 27/- (Austen 78). In the 1930s the chiefs enlarged the notion of hold-up; this led to conflict between African producers and European expatriate purchasers and led to a severe economic crisis mainly in 1937-38.

They illegally stocked considerable quantities of cocoa in order to market them when the prices increased. The brokers used to receive "advance contracts" from firms to provide large quantities of cocoa. Firms and brokers also propagated false fall of prices to attract more buyers. The rising economic crisis in the Gold Coast and other territories obliged the British to try different plans to facilitate the trade of raw material and commodities with their dominions and colonies.

2.5 Import Duties Act 1932:

Britain proposed five years for regulating trade and reducing unemployment; this procedure depended on strengthening export and import with the colonies of the Empire under the principle "*home producers first, empire producers second, and foreign producers last*" ("imperial Preference")¹³. In addition, the Act of 1932 came to existence as a result of the Imperial Economic Conference of Ottawa in 1932. As the crisis was running then, new measures were proposed to deal with the economic affairs mainly imposing tariff on the imports to recycle the local economy. Tariffs were unique among Britain and her colonies; however, tariffs could be higher if the commodities were imported from another country. Britain received harsh criticism from many countries as a result of the application of Import Duties Act accusing her of exploiting the indigenous people. The following years brought the crisis cocoa and disagreement between farmers and the colonial government.

Monthly Exports of Cocoa from the Gold Coast October to April 1936-37

Month	1936-37 (tons)	1937-38 (tons)	% Difference
October	24,534	9,856	-60
November	32,953	13,678	-58
December	46,039	11,619	-75
January	34,363	5,578	-84
February	38,913	3,311	-91
March	36,790	4,545	-88
April	32,101	3,462	-89
TOTAL	245,693	52,049	-79

quoted in (Rod 96)

¹³ For more information see : "Imperial Preference." *Economics*. Encyclopedia Britannica

The competition among traders put the prices in downward rate; it created a stagnation of the cocoa crop and caused economic damage for the colonial government, firms and farmers. After these changes in trade, the conflict appeared between firms and producers. The colonial officials meditated to end the conflict in the Gold Coast mainly when the relation deteriorated between farmers and firms. The Secretary of State accepted a proposal for finding solutions to cocoa crisis. He appointed William Nowell, the former director of the East African Agricultural Research Institute (Rod 99).

The commission ended with four points that satisfied both sides as follows 1- the termination of the buying agreement, 2-the creation of Gold Coast Farmers' Association with mandatory membership to regulate cocoa market, 3-the transfer of the brokerage function to the Farmers' Association (which would presumably employ many brokers and sub-brokers as salaried employees)4-andthe initiation of a marketing scheme in which farmers would be reimbursed for their cocoa only after the payments of foreign buyers were credited to the Association (Rod 101).

Finally, the hold- up ended when the chiefs withdrew their support to farmers while the firms sustained their position in the market. The cocoa crisis deepened natives' hostility to the colonial government. In order to contain the discontent, the British authority introduced programs for welfare economy.

2.6 The Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940:

The continuous effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s pressed the colonial powers to introduce a development program to recycle their metropolitan economy and reduce the rate of unemployment. Some historians explain the state's intervention on economies as propaganda to show the world how traditional colonialism respected and assisted

their colonies while others explain the issue differently; they believed that colonial powers wanted to earn human support to defeat rising Nazism.

2.7 The Colonial Development Advisory Committee:

It managed the economic Acts during the period of 1929-1940; comprised skillful members drawn primarily from trade unions, finance and business; they had produced 11 reports and had 125 meetings during the period of 1929-40. The function of the Committee was to improve the position of the colonial economy or as they put it: "*is to protect and advance the interests of the inhabitants of the colonies*" (British Aid 21). The statement was announced after the breakdown of the War in February 1940 and introduced officially to legislation in July 1940. The Act was extended to ten years with £5 million per year; moreover, the British government allocated £ 0.5 million annually for research work. The Gold Coast received a total amount of £161,000 comprising £73,000 loans and £88,000 as grants. Most British colonies were agricultural rather than industrial areas; therefore, the British authority gave special consideration to sectors related to agriculture particularly health, transport, communication, harbours, fisheries, forestry, electricity, water supply and scientific researches. The Act started prosperously with an ambition of ameliorating both the colonial and metropolitan economies but it was hampered by the continuation of the WW I, in which the British government had totally withdrawn its program temporarily until 1945.

As a conclusion, the Act did not meet the expectations of neither the British parliament nor the indigenous people in the colonies. Few projects and welfare had been achieved in agriculture, health and housing while industrial capacities of the colonies remained undeveloped because of the lack of competence among locals.

2.8 The Colonial development and Welfare Act 1945:

The British war against Nazism and the stagnation of the economy weakened their capacities to repair the machinery of the metropolitan economy. Moreover, the lack of security in Europe during the War decreased shipping and reduced the import of raw materials from Africa. They imported ready-made American commodities which were widely spread in Europe during the War. When the European continent restored order and peace, the British parliament announced policies to reconstruct multiple sectors mainly trade, industry and decrease unemployment rates. They majorly relied on the colonial raw materials to revive the ravaged economy.

The British support for the colonial economy stopped temporarily during the early years of the War. The colonial power reestablished new policies to handle inflation which led to serious problems. Different developing planning had been discussed in the British parliament meetings to elucidate the appropriate scheme for the 1945 CDWA. It was hoped that such proposal would end the economic crisis and revive the ailing British industry. Besides, the indigenous workers and elites throughout the Empire forced the British authority to acknowledge their rights of economic development. As to the Gold Coast, the rising of political parties and nationalism among natives seemed an essential factor that prompted Britain to reform some policies and improve their living standards.

1945 CDWA comprised loans and grants to develop education, health, infrastructure, trade and agriculture. The ordinance amounted to £12 million per year in addition to £5 million allocated to scientific researches. Concerning agriculture, the authorities worked to respond to the international demand for the raw materials particularly rubber, palm oil and palm kernel, cotton, banana and cocoa. Their prices

rose significantly and put the Gold Coast in productive position. Cocoa boomed after a long period of stagnation and speculation; it brought up unprecedented prosperity and considerable capitals. Transport played a major role in increasing the quantity of agricultural produce despite the long distances. The sector received loans and grants to improve roads and continue building railways. In addition, the Colonial Office enlarged medical and agricultural researches in the British colonies particularly after the 1940s; the authorities proposed some councils to examine the economic potentialities of the colonies. This new application would allow the British to find other natural resources beside the existing items.

These councils developed through different stages; by the 1950s a group of medical and technical experts including agricultural extension officers, plant breeders, entomologists, doctors, medical researchers and other specialists in different fields put into contact with the British colonial authorities to examine the growth of machinery in the most important sectors. It was estimated that around forty institutions were created throughout the British Empire in order to develop different sectors; in fact many specialists were recruited in the new Colonial Research Service. The aim of establishing such scientific research councils was to assist the Agricultural Departments of the British colonies and decrease pressure on them. Thinking of better agricultural productions, the Colonial Office instituted a Committee for Colonial Agricultural, Animal Health and Forestry Research or CCAAHFR in place of ARC to provide more agricultural researches for the Colonial Office. The new body had greater power and privileges than the older one; it was destined to execute and determine methods for the colonial agricultural researches. The committee had autonomous decisions from the Agricultural Department.

Conclusion

The British colonial authority in the Gold Coast instituted new machinery which was unknown before; people changed their commercial activity from slave trade to legitimate trade relying on palm oil and palm kernel production; furthermore, the philosophy of agriculture changed from subsistence cultivation to commercial cultivation. As to the principle of "Laissez Faire", the officials in the early years decided to let indigenous people build and construct their economy without any intervention of the state. However, the necessary need for the resources of the Gold Coast in Europe compelled the colonial authorities to intervene to reform some sectors. They initiated building railways and roads to facilitate the transport of agricultural production, and prepared schools and agricultural centers to train students.

Introducing cocoa to the market in the first two decades of 20th century seemed successful and advantageous; the produce contributed by considerable capital to the revenues of the Gold Coast. However, it also dragged the colony to a severe crisis in the late 1920s and 1930s when it developed to a monoculture. The colonial government could not develop the alternatives to balance the sources of revenue despite Guggisberg's attempts.

The colonial development policy of CDF 1929, CDWA 1940 and CDWA 1945 featured the state intervention to solve the metropolitan and local economy and decrease the rates of unemployment but the British government achieved little these policies for two reasons. First, the projects were destined to various colonies where the British government could not control the advancement of the policy. Second, the policies were affected by economic and political conflicts in Africa and the world.

Although the colonial government failed to fulfill some agricultural projects, it succeeded in establishing strong institutions such as different departments, and founding long term infrastructure which lasted years after the independence of Ghana in 1957.

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