

Imperialism, Economic Development and Social Change in West Africa

Raymond E. Dumett



CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS

Durham, North Carolina

Copyright © 2013
Raymond E. Dumett
All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dumett, Raymond E.

Imperialism, economic development and social change in West Africa / Raymond
Dumett.

p. cm. -- (African world series)

Previously published articles.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-59460-976-3 (alk. paper)

1. Ghana--History--To 1957. 2. Ghana--Economic conditions--To 1957. 3. Great
Britain--Colonies--Africa--Administration. 4. Social change--Ghana. I. Title. II. Se-
ries: Carolina Academic Press African world series.

DT511.D86 2013

966.703--dc23

2013007038

CAROLINA ACADEMIC PRESS
700 Kent Street
Durham, North Carolina 27701
Telephone (919) 489-7486
Fax (919) 493-5668
www.cap-press.com

Printed in the United States of America

*To my wonderful daughters,
Susan and Mari*

Contents

Series Editor's Preface	xvii
Introduction	3
West African Forest Products and The Export Trade	6
The Rubber Trade	7
The West African Mahogany Trade	8
Traditional Gold Mining	8
Indigenous Slavery, the Overland Slave Trade and Abolition	9
Interdisciplinary History	10
Alcohol and Culture: Impact of the European Liquor Trade	10
African Business Acumen and Entrepreneurship	11
The Nzeman People of the Southwestern Gold Coast	11
Merchant Entrepreneurs of the Central and Eastern Gold Coast	12
African Promoters and Capitalistic Gold Mining	13
The 'New' Imperialism	14
Administrative History, Pressure Groups and the Decision-Making Process	14
Anglo-French Commercial and Territorial Rivalry	15
Programs for Economic and Social Improvement	16
Government-Built Railways and the Growth of Mechanized Mining	17
Early Schemes for Agricultural Development: Cotton-Growing	17
Experimentation	18
Tropical Medicine, Urban Populations and Disease Prevention	20
Africa's Minerals and the Second World War	23
Part I · West African Forest Products and Trade	
Chapter 1 · The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African Innovation and Market Responsiveness	27
Origins	27
The Inception of the Gold Coast Rubber Trade: Role of African Coastal Merchants	28
The Dynamics of the Rubber Trade: Rural Producers and Travelling Middlemen	30
Grades of Rubber and Sales	32
Spread of the Money Economy, Imports, the Credit System, and Indebtedness	33
The Expanding Arc of the Long Distance Interior Rubber Trade	34
Rubber Tree Forest Concentrations and Leading Trade Routes	34
Expansion to the Côte d'Ivoire	35
Transformations	36

Conclusion	39
Summary	40
Notes	40
Chapter 2 · Tropical Forests and West African Enterprise: The Early History of the Ghana Timber Trade	49
Origins of the Mahogany Trade of Southwestern Ghana	50
Pioneering African Entrepreneurs and the Rise of the Mahogany Trade	50
Rising Demand on the European Market	53
Expatriate Merchants of the Gold Coast and Colonial Expansionism in the Southwestern Region	55
The Mechanics of the Timber Trade	56
Down-River Transport and Local Marketing of Timber	57
Ocean Shipment and Sale of Timber in Europe	58
Fluctuating Patterns in the Timber Trade	60
European Demand and West African Supply	60
Impact of the Sekondi to Kumase Railway	60
The Trade of Specific Towns and the Impact of the First World War	61
Conclusion: Problems and Opportunities	62
Notes	67
Chapter 3 · The Work of Slaves in the Akan and Adangme Regions of Ghana in the Nineteenth Century	73
Definition	75
Some Major Occupations of Slave Labor	76
Gold Mining in Relation to Food Crop Farming	77
Acquisition of New Slaves and Slaves Used as Porters in the Overland Slave Trade	79
Palm Oil Production with an Emphasis on Krobo in the Adangme Region	82
The Adangme States of Ada and Pram Pram	84
Slaves on Larger Farms of Kings and Chiefs	86
Rubber Production and Transport in the Rubber Trade	88
The Kola Nut Industry	90
Slaves Held by Certain Merchants in the Coastal Districts	91
Conclusion	92
Notes	94
Part II · Traditional Artisanal Gold Mining in the Akan Region	
Chapter 4 · Precolonial Gold Mining and the State in the Akan Region: With a Critique of the Terray Hypothesis	103
Background: The Northern Gold Trade and the Early States of Banda and Bono-Techiman	104
The Terray Hypothesis	106
Mining Techniques and the Organization of Labor	107
Land Tenure Relationships in Relation to Gold Mining and the Appropriation of “Surplus”	111
Denkyera	114

Asante	116
Gyaman	121
Conclusion	123
Acknowledgment	124
References	125
Chapter 5 · Pre-Colonial Gold Mining in Wassa: Innovation, Specialization, Linkages to the Economy and to the State	129
Introduction	129
Political Background	130
Population, Land Use, and the Economy of Wassa	133
Migrant Groups Who Mined in Wassa	133
Mining Techniques and Specialization	134
Placer Mining	134
Tools and Innovation	135
Shallow-Pit Mining	136
Deep-Level Reef Gold Mining	136
Obstacles and Limitations	137
Ore Crushing and Gold Extraction	138
Relations of Production and Connections Between Mining and State Surplus	139
Customary Land Law	140
State Slavery and/or Corvée?	140
The Role of Women	141
Dysfunctional Features of the Linkages between Mining and State Administration	142
Profits, Opportunity Costs, and Links to the General Economy	143
Acknowledgments	144
Notes	144
Part III · African Slavery and Its Prohibition	
Chapter 6 · Traditional Slavery in the Akan Region in the Nineteenth Century: Sources, Issues, and Interpretations	149
Testimony in Government Reports	151
Bowdich, Dupuis, and Cruickshank	153
The Basel Mission Archives	154
R.S. Rattray and the Assimilation Model	155
Other, More Recent Interpretations	157
Ivor Wilks and Kwame Arhin	158
Conclusion	162
Notes	163
Chapter 7 · Britain and the Suppression of Slavery in the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories	169
British Policy toward Slavery Before 1874	171
Categories of Slaves and Pawns	172
Enactment of and Immediate Reactions to the Anti-Slavery Legislation in the Gold Coast Colony, 1874	174

The Attack on the Overland Slave Trade	176
Slaveholding and Slave Emancipation	178
Akyem Abuakwa and the McSheffrey Hypothesis	179
Role of the Basel Mission in Akyem	179
Estimates of Numbers of Freed Slaves	180
Slave Villages of Refuge	181
Alternatives for Former Slaves: Emancipation and Wage Labor	182
Impact of the Ordinances on Pawnholding	183
Ashanti	184
The Dilemma of Colonial Rule	185
Pawns in Ashanti	187
The Demise of Slavery and Pawning in Ashanti	187
Suppressing the Slave Trade and Slavery in the Northern Territories	188
British Administration in the North	189
Evidence for a Revisionist Interpretation	189
Conclusion	191
References	193
Notes	200

Part IV · Interdisciplinary Research

Chapter 8 · The Social Impact of the European Liquor Trade on the Akan of Ghana (Gold Coast and Asante), 1875–1910	207
Introduction: The Victorian Argument and the Basis for a Reassessment	207
Liquor Importation and Consumption	210
Ritual Uses of Alcoholic Beverages	213
Drinking, Violence, and Crime	217
Economic Expansion and Social Change	219
Notes	223

Part V · African Entrepreneurship

Chapter 9 · The Nzemans of Southwestern Ghana: Gold Miners, Rubber Traders, Loggers, and Entrepreneurs	233
Diaspora: The Outward Migration of Nzeman Gold Miners	236
The Role of Nzemans in the Expansion of the Rubber Trade	238
The Role of Nzemans in the Development of the Mahogany Trade	240
Notes	243
Chapter 10 · John Sarbah, the Elder, and African Mercantile Entrepreneurship in the Gold Coast in the Late Nineteenth Century	247
Sarbah's Managerial and Accounting Skills	252
Palm Products, Rubber, and the Export Trade	253
Labour Recruitment and Diffusion of Innovation	255
The Import Trade	258
Other Activities	260
Civic Affairs	261
Reasons for Decline	262

Conclusion	263
Notes	264
Chapter 11 · African Merchants of the Gold Coast, 1860–1905	271
Dynamics of Indigenous Entrepreneurship	271
Theories of Causation with Reference to West Africa	273
Socio-Psychological Models	273
A Geographic Hypothesis	273
New Economic Opportunities	274
Traditional versus Westernizing Sociocultural Elements	275
Merchants of Ada in the Eastern Gold Coast	277
R.J. Ghartey of Winneba, Apam, and Anomabu	280
African Merchants of Cape Coast	281
Management and Salesmanship	283
Attempts to Promote New Forms of Enterprise	285
Investment in Land, Houses, and Retailing	286
Commercial Agriculture	287
Mining, Banking, and Local Processing Ventures	288
Decline	289
Notes	290

Part VI · Territorial Imperialism

Chapter 12 · Pressure Groups, Bureaucracy, and the Decision-Making Process: The Case of Slavery Abolition and Colonial Expansion in the Gold Coast, 1874	301
The Mid-Nineteenth Century Background: Limited Intervention and the Problem of African Internal Slavery	302
Components of Policy Formation	304
The Roles of Parliament and the Press: The Genesis of Policy Changes	307
Economic Interests as a Component of Policy	309
Humanitarian Pressure Groups	311
Bureaucratic Processes and Policy Change	312
The Final Debate in Parliament	313
The New Instruments of Government and the Anti-Slavery Ordinances	315
Conclusion	317
Notes	317
Chapter 13 · Joseph Chamberlain, Imperial Finance, and Railway Policy in British West Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century	323
Imperial Government Constraint: “The Treasury View” and Gladstonian Fiscal Doctrine	324
The Advent of Chamberlain and the Role of Pressure Groups	327
Radical Schemes for Financing Colonial Development	332
Dynamic Improvization: Circumventing Bureaucratic Barriers	334
Conclusion	342
Notes	343

Chapter 14 · Anglo-French Commercial Rivalries, African Agency, and Imperialism on the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast Frontier, 1880–1904	353
Geographic and Ethnographic Background	353
Early European Commercial Contacts and African Responses	355
French Colonial Foundations on the Côte d'Ivoire	356
The Tariff Factor in Anglo-French Commercial Competition	357
Conflicts Over Control of the Timber Trade	358
Early Boundary Negotiations	359
The Rising Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast, 1880–1895	360
French Imperial Designs in West Africa	364
The New Imperialism and the British Conquest of Asante	364
Conquest of the Northern Territories	366
Final Anglo-French Boundary Settlements for the Gold and Ivory Coasts	367
Notes	368
Part VII · Colonial Programs for Economic Development	
Chapter 15 · British Imperial Transport Management: The Gold Coast	
Sekondi-Kumase Railway, 1903–1911	375
Problems of Technology Transfer in the Third World	375
Construction Lapses and Safety Hazards	377
Organizational and Personnel Problems	379
Railway Accounting Procedures: Costs and Earnings	381
Receipts and Profits	385
Capital Account and Funded Debt	387
Conclusion	389
Notes	390
Chapter 16 · Edwin Cade and Frederick Gordon: British Imperialism and the Foundations of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, West Africa	393
Foundations of the Enterprise: The Age of Concessionaire Companies	394
The Corporation's Relations with the British Imperial Government	395
Mining Concessions and Territorial Control	397
Company Finance: Founding Directors and Investors	399
Early Company Management	401
Relations Between the Company and the British Government — The Regime of the Concessionaire	402
Connections Between the AGC's Goals and the British Military Invasion of Asante	404
Ashanti Goldfields, the Imperial Government and Railway Construction	405
Conclusions	406
Notes	407
Chapter 17 · Obstacles to Government-Assisted Agricultural Development in West Africa: Cotton-Growing Experimentation in Ghana in the Early Twentieth Century	411
Background to Cotton-Growing Experimentation in British West Africa	412
Initial Cotton-Growing Projects in the Volta Region	414

Gold Coast Cotton Exports	419
Cotton-Growing in the Northern Territories	420
Evaluation: Colonial Schemes for New Crop Technologies	421
Notes	423

Part VIII · Health, Medical Research and Social Change

Chapter 18 · The Campaign Against Malaria and The Expansion of Scientific Medical and Sanitary Services in British West Africa, 1898–1910	431
Background: The White Man's Grave and the Black Man's Grave	432
The Work of Patrick Manson and Ronald Ross	434
Imperial Government Support	435
The London and Liverpool Schools of Tropical Medicine	435
The Application of Policies and Programs	437
The Gold Coast Colony	438
Preventive Measures	439
Questionable Practices: Slum Clearance and Segregation	440
Uneven Treatment: Africans and Europeans	442
Sierra Leone Colony	443
Lagos Colony and Protectorate	445
Sir William MacGregor, M.D.	446
Niger Coast Protectorate and Northern Nigeria	448
Conclusion	450
African Doctors: Official Discrimination	452
Acknowledgments	454
Notes	454
Chapter 19 · The Gold Mining Centres of Tarkwa and Obuasi, Ghana: Colonial Administration and Social Change at Company Towns in an African Setting	471
The Labour Recruitment Problem	472
Size of the Early Mines Labor Forces	473
Mining Town Housing, Water Supply and Health	474
Problems of Law and Order in the Early Gold Coast Mining Towns	474
Railway Construction: An Interim Between Gold Rushes	475
Impact of the Second Gold Rush, Wassai and Asante, 1899–1903	476
Population and Ethnic Subdivisions at the Mining Towns in the Early Twentieth Century	477
The Town Councils Ordinance	478
Housing, Health and Town Sanitation	479
European Health and Housing	479
African Housing and Health Conditions at Tarkwa and Aboso	480
Conflicts Between the Government and Mining Companies Over Health Conditions in the Mining Towns	482
The Provision of Law and Order	482
Westernization Through Mission Schools in the Mining Towns	484
Conclusion	486
Notes	487

Part IX · Africa's Minerals and World War II

Chapter 20 · Africa's Strategic Minerals During the Second World War	493
The Union of South Africa	494
The Belgian Congo	500
Northern Rhodesia	503
Southern Rhodesia	506
British West Africa	509
Conclusion	512
Summary	514
Appendix	515
Acknowledgments	518
Notes	518
Raymond E. Dumett Publications	523
Books	523
Book Chapters	523
Articles in Scholarly Journals	524
Encyclopedia/Dictionary Entries	525
Selected Book Reviews	525
Index	529

Series Editor's Preface

The *Carolina Academic Press African World Series*, inaugurated in 2010, offers significant new works in the field of African and Black World studies. The series provides scholarly and educational texts that can serve both as reference works and as readers in college classes.

Studies in the series are anchored in the existing humanistic and the social scientific traditions. Their goal, however, is the identification and elaboration of the strategic place of Africa and its Diaspora in a shifting global world. More specifically, the studies will address gaps and larger needs in the developing scholarship on Africa and the Black World.

The series intends to fill gaps in areas such as African politics, history, law, religion, culture, sociology, literature, philosophy, visual arts, art history, geography, language, health, and social welfare. Given the complex nature of Africa and its Diaspora, and the constantly shifting perspectives prompted by globalization, the series also meets a vital need for scholarship connecting knowledge with events and practices. Reflecting the fact that life in Africa continues to change, especially in the political arena, the series explores issues emanating from racial and ethnic identities, particularly those connected with the ongoing mobilization of ethnic minorities for inclusion and representation.

Toyin Falola
University of Texas at Austin