

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A HISTORY OF BRITISH GYAMAN 1874-1957

BY

OKRAH YAW KENNEDY

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF
THE FACULTY OF ARTS UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST, IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER
OF ARTS DEGREE IN HISTORY

DECEMBER, 2012

CANDIDATE’S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate’s SignatureDate

Name.....

SUPERVISORS’ DECLARATION

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the dissertation were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of dissertation laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor’s Signature..... Date.....

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Co-Supervisor’s Signature Date.....

Name.....

ABSTRACT

The circumstances leading to the claim and influence over a part of Gyaman Kingdom by the British was quite fascinating and deserves scholarly accounts for others to learn. British Gyaman in Asante in the Gold Coast was established by a treaty in Europe (Paris) but not in the Gold Coast in Africa. Though secondary materials were used, the researcher relied mainly on archival materials and oral traditions in the collection of data. The study discussed the factors relating to how the European and African imperial powers competed for influence over the Gyaman Kingdom. In the end the collaborating European powers (Britain and France) subdued the conflicting African powers, (Asante and Samori). By the Delimitation Treaty signed in Paris in 1898 the British and the French divided the Kingdom into British and French spheres of influence.

British Gyaman was created in 1898. However, 1874 -1957 has been chosen for the study in order to give room for the discussion of the background events leading to the creation of British Gyaman. A brief background information about how the whole Gyaman Kingdom evolved was considered to give clear understanding of how some major historical events developed in the region.

The British colonial local government system, Indirect Rule, in British Gyaman has also been discussed. For administrative convenience British Gyaman remained part of the Asante territory. To facilitate the local government administration, the Drobohene was made the head chief of British Gyaman. The appointment of Drobohene as the Gyamanhene was regarded by other prominent

chiefs as a “warrant chief”. This brought about some bitterness among these chiefs. Protests ensued, leading to the creation of another division; Suma-Kwatwoma Division in 1948 .Conflicts, protests and secession movements became the order of the day during the rule of the British Gyaman. This affected the smooth operations of the Native Authorities, Native tribunals and the Native Treasuries in the area.

Despite the ethnic conflicts and some other shortcomings in the British part of Gyaman, as a result of indirect rule, colonialism in general set the modern socio-economic foundation for British Gyaman.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to a number of people and institutions for their diverse assistance and support which facilitated the writing of this dissertation.

I am very grateful to my supervisors, Dr. S.Y. Boadi Siaw and Dr. Adu Boahen for their patience and painstaking supervision they gave me during the writing of this work.

To Dr. K.B. Maison, Professor B.G. Der, Dr. Osei Kwarteng, Dr. Ogbeidi (of Nigeria) and all other lecturers at the Department who guided me in any way, I say thanks very much.

Similar thanks are given to Mr. Sie Kwame Stephen who provided me with free means of transport throughout my travelling in this research, and all friends who encouraged and supported me in the writing of the thesis.

I also appreciate the contribution of the staff at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department in Sunyani and Mr. Amoah Seth at the Regional Statistical Department, also in Sunyani. My further thanks go to my interviewees who provided me with the relevant information during the period of data collection. The last but not the least thanks go to Rev. Ben Ali of the Pentecost Church (a PhD student at UCC) for his wisdom and knowledgeable advice and support. To all who contributed in diverse ways towards the completion of this work, I say God Bless you.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mum, Madam Yeli Ama Sarah

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENT	PAGE
Title Page	
Student's Declaration	ii
Supervisors' Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Dedication	vi
Table of contents	vii
List of Abbreviations	ix
List of Maps	x
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO – GYAMAN, 1874-1901; THE HOST OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS	
i. Introduction	13
ii. The Sagrenti War, 1873-1874	19
iii. Samori's Occupation of Gyaman	26
iv. British Occupation of Gyaman	29

CHAPTER THREE – BRITISH GYAMAN (1902-1957)

INDIRECT RULE AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS..... 34

i. Conflicts in British Gyaman	40
ii. Suma and Sampa in Conflicting Relations	41
iii. Internal Conflicts in Sampa	45
iv. Secession Movements in British Gyaman	47
v. Awasu (Dwenem) Local Council	55

CHAPTER FOUR- EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM

ON BRITISH GYAMAN 61

i. Economic Effects	66
ii. Social Effects	71

CONCLUSION 79

REFERENCES 86

MAPS..... 92

APPENDICES..... 96

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Y. H	Your Honour
C.R.O.	Chief Regional Officer
R.D.A.	Rassemblement Democratique Africain
B.R.G.	Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana

LIST OF MAPS

1. Map showing the area of authority of the proposed Dwenem Local Council.
2. Map showing some of the oldest settlements in Gyaman
3. Map showing the borders of British Gyaman
4. New Drobo town lay out

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Gyaman, which can also be spelt Jaman was a state established by the Akwamu people. Later this migrated Akwamu called themselves Dormaa, and afterwards Abron. Gyaman was located in what is now north-western Brong-Ahafo in Ghana and north-eastern (Zanzan Region) of La Cote d'Ivoire. According to Ward, the Gyaman first settled at Kwahu but were driven out from there by the Asante before the reign of Osei Tutu (1697 – 1717) to their present home in Cote d'Ivoire.¹ From Kwahu, they settled in several other places such as Adansi, Suntreso near Kumasi, and finally at Abanpreduase near Bomaa, from where they migrated into Gyaman. Gyaman was established around the economic hub of Bonduku, the present capital town of the Zanzan Region of La Cote d'Ivoire. Originally Bonduku was a Dyula trading centre and was conquered by the Akwamu. Though the biggest and the busiest economic town in the kingdom it was not the seat of the king of Gyaman. The pre-colonial seat of the Gyamanhene also known as the Bonohene was Amanvi. Currently the seat of Gyamanhene is Herebo, a big village near Bonduku. All efforts made to settle the king in Bonduku failed.

The Akwamu immigrants met the Kulango, Nafana, Ligbi and the Gbin who lived in widely scattered villages². These indigenous people were defeated by the Akwamu and were brought under their hegemony. And from then on all the people in the region came to be referred to as the Gyaman or Abron. In the eighteenth century, Gyaman was subjugated by the Asante, and

was made part of Asanteman until the Asante were defeated by the British in 1874. In 1888, the French signed a treaty of protection with the Gyamanhene, Agyeman, but the French failed to establish a post in the kingdom leaving it susceptible to Samori's invasion. The French later expelled Samori in 1897. After defeating Samori, Gyaman became relieved only to realize that the British and the French had shared the kingdom between themselves without their consent. The result was British Gyaman in Ghana and French Gyaman now part of La Cote d'Ivoire. The Gyaman indigenous administration and political structure took after that of Asante (Akan).

British Gyaman signifies that part of Gyaman which came under British authority after sharing 'Greater Gyaman' with France. It excluded the other part that fell to France and became French Gyaman. Absorbing a section of Gyaman was part of British colonization process. Gyaman was not colonized in isolation. It was part of Asante.

The act of imposing and institutionalizing European power on the Gold Coast was quite gradual, long and complex. According to Hailey, the Gold Coast was the most complex of the multiple dependencies.³ Africans relations with Europeans were initially trade partners. Rivalry and competition resulted in the formation of alliances between some Gold Coast people and some Europeans. By 1872, only the British remained in the Gold Coast. All other Europeans had left. This gave the British the opportunity to intensify and extend their grip on the Gold Coast and their influence became more pronounced. Lack of internal competition, fear of external competition and threats of Asante invasion made the British invade Asante, subdued its people and then turned the southern part of the Gold Coast into a crown colony in

1874. Asante's reconstruction of her shattered empire after the 1874 defeat was not favourable for trade. Meanwhile, trade was a cardinal objective of the British colonization programme. Therefore, in 1896, the British invaded Asante and again in 1900-1901, had their final conflict with Asante in what was known as the Yaa Asantewaa uprising. The conquest of Asante in the Yaa Asantewaa war (1900-1901), and to check the possibility of French incursions into the northern parts of the Gold Coast, the British government annexed Asante and the Northern Territories to the British Crown. Trans-Volta Togoland which was seized from Germany at the end of World War I was trusted to the British Crown, with approval from the League of Nations and by Order in Council in July 1923.⁴ These dependencies (The Gold Coast Colony, Asante, Northern Territories, and Trans-Volta) were initially administered separately and later amalgamated to form the Gold Coast. This completed the territorial definition of the Gold Coast now Ghana.

After the British occupation, Asante was divided into four Districts: - North-eastern, North-western, South and Central⁵. The Central District was placed directly under the Chief Commissioner. Each of the other three Districts was under a District Commissioner. The North-western District included Gyaman, Wenchi, Techiman, Berekum, Wam and Ahafo. The district headquarters was first established at Sikassiko/Sampa in Gyaman in 1902, then at Wenchi and later at Odumase and finally at Sunyani in 1906⁶. The Eastern part of the Gyaman kingdom was thus, severed and attached to the North-western district of Asante.

Statement of the Problem

Literature on British Gyaman history is very limited. The little that exists is embedded in the literature of Gyaman kingdom as a whole. The history of the Gyaman kingdom itself is limited and imprecise. In most cases history scholars use historical information on Gyaman to substantiate a point and supplement materials of their focus. In fact, there have only been slight studies on Gyaman but none tackled the aspect the researcher investigates. British Gyaman in particular lacks a body of scholarly historical work. Because of these deficiencies, there is the need to adequately investigate the history of British Gyaman to resolve the incomplete knowledge concerning its history. The problem, if left unsolved, will lead to further ignorance. The study hopes to produce a scholarly historical account of Gyaman during the period under study.

Literature Review

The records available to the researcher have revealed that no work has so far adequately investigated the colonial historical events in British Gyaman. Scholars merely refer to Gyaman, and briefly discuss it in broad perspectives.

In his work *Travels and life in Ashanti and Jaman*, Richard Austin Freeman has given a good amount of information on Gyaman from a traveller's point of view. His work was more of a traveller's account and unhistorical. There is more historical information in Gyaman beyond a traveller's observations. He has however, provided enough grounds for further investigation by the researcher.

In his work *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* K.A. Busia gives an outline of Asante political institutions as they were before colonization. He describes the state council and the officers constituting it. According to Busia these officers were all heads of lineages and each lineage was a political unit. The lineage head represented it on the state council. Lineages were a pool of extended families and extended families were collection of nuclear families. Everybody was therefore represented on the chief's council. The chief's council, state council or council of elders was the Asante (Ghana) type of representative council. . Busia's focus was not on Gyaman in particular but on Asante in general, and therefore issues on Gyaman did not get the needed attention. Again his work was more anthropological than historical. His work will however, be a good reference source to the researcher.

In his book *Africa in Search of Democracy*, K.A. Busia indicates that colonialism in Africa was characterized by the rule of white people over black people. He argues against the notion by some nationalists that it was colonialism which blocked the progress of Africa. He says they (Europeans) brought administrative, commercial, technical skills and capital, they also established law and order, which were essential for progress. They again extended commerce, built roads, railways and harbours, opened schools and laid the foundations on which the newly independent states are building⁷. He, however, admits that these were not done for the well- being of the people of Africa; it was for trade and the material possession known or believed to exist in Africa. African raw material was the cause of wars and rivalry among

colonial powers for territories in Africa. It was material possession that came first but not human beings and their welfare.

Busia again argues against the allegation that colonialism was responsible for the balkanization of Africa. The present states of Africa are made up of diverse tribal territories brought together under the colonial powers and administration. He again admits that colonialism drew boundaries dividing ethnic groups. Gyaman kingdom was an example of the states through which colonialism drew boundaries. The focus of this work was on Africa which was too wide. Also its interpretations were in sociological and political contexts and therefore lacked historical underpinning. Busia's argument for or against colonialism will be used by the researcher as reference source, but in a historical point of view.

D. Kimble in his work *A Political History of Ghana, the Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850 – 1928* gives a broad history of the Gold Coast. He starts from the pre – colonial period and describes the nature of the economy as sluggish. During colonialism measures were taken to expand trade. He relates that rapid expansion of trade was facilitated by the expanded network of communication, cocoa production and the established market economy. According to Kimble, the introduction of Western education was not in response to any pre – existing demand, but was part of missionary programmes. However “Education had become the main agent of social change as well as the major determinant of social status in the new, semi – westernized society”⁸. There emerged a growing split between the chiefs and the educated community. It was the educated elite who later became the nationalist leaders. To the nationalists neither colonialism nor Traditionalism

was good for the Gold Coast. “Educated Africans were necessarily to assist in the day – to – day business of government; once educated however, they were no longer so easy to manage, and were apt to challenge authority in unpredictable ways.’⁹

On social change Kimble recounts that, new economic requirements, political proscriptions, judicial pronouncements, religious views and patterns of behaviour, reformed social norms. “Africans had to reject the old entirely if they were to reap the benefits of the new, and since this was virtually impossible the attempt must often have set up severe psychological conflicts”.¹⁰ Kimble observes that British officials in their civilizing exercise influenced the end of certain customs such as human sacrifice, slavery and pawning, cruel treatment of prisoners, riotous celebrations and the scarcity or total absence of clothing, from society¹¹. He states that some tribes including British Gyaman did not take up arms against the British during the Yaa Asantewaa uprising. Kimble’s work; as the title suggests has covered up to 1928 and not the whole period under study, 1874-1957. Since Gyaman was not his focus, information on Gyaman is very scanty. His work, however, served as a very good reference book for the research.

F. Agbodeka in his work *Ghana in the twentieth Century* discusses the establishment of indirect rule. This entails the use of African institutions to effectively administer the colony, through the agency of chiefs. For this reason the declining prestige of the chiefs was raised and their grip over their states strengthened. The Native Jurisdiction Amendment Ordinance was enacted in 1927. This ordinance empowered paramount chiefs against their sub chiefs. The writer hints that, during the Asante period of control, toll posts were

established and minimum tolls were imposed. He mentions Sikassiko / Sampa in Gyaman as one of the important toll posts. Agbodeka briefly mentioned Gyaman but did not discuss British activities in the area. The researcher will probe for more information around the little information given by Agbodeka during his (researcher's) interview.

C.C. Reindorf in his book *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* has given a brief history of Ashanti and Gyaman. In fact Reindorf was too brief to portray any meaningful knowledge on the history of Gyaman.

. E.A. Agyeman in his MA Thesis "*Gyaman- Its Relations with Ashanti 1720-1820*" gives a vivid historical account of Gyaman under the period of his study. According to him the period under study was chosen 'arbitrarily', since Gyaman relations with Ashanti neither started in 1720 nor ended in 1820. This means the period from the earliest to 1720 and from 1820 upwards needs similar academic attention of study. .

In his work "*African Politics and British Policy in the in the Gold Coast 1868-1900: a study in the forms and force of protest*" Agbodeka narrates the activities of Asante and the British in Gyaman after the 1874 war. These activities were basically diplomatic missions to the Gyamanhene, King Agyeman, each trying to win the King to his side. Asante tried to restore Gyaman, to its vassal status to the Asante kingdom. The British on the other hand wanted Agyeman and his Gyaman state to secede to weaken Asante power. Agbodeka's discussion is made to support his work and does not intend to treat Gyaman history in particular. .He therefore concentrates on areas that justify his academic interests. There is therefore the need to research into Gyaman history to fill any gap that is created.

In his MPhil Thesis *The People the Boundary Could not Divide: Gyaman of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, Historical Perspective 1880-1960*, J.K.Agyeman has given a general account of Gyaman history. His account covered both the British and French Gyaman, because the study area was wide, British Gyaman lacked the needed detail attention, and needs to be provided to eradicate any incomplete knowledge.

The Purpose of the Study

It is evidently clear from the above, that none of the existing works have adequately investigated British Gyaman. As a result, most people in Ghana know very little about the Gyaman kingdom. In addition few people have good knowledge of the nature of British rule in Gyaman. The study aims at making a contribution to knowledge in the proposed study area, by expanding the literature on the history of British Gyaman in particular and Gyaman kingdom as a whole.

Significance of the Study

The study will basically be useful to historians, students, researchers and the ordinary reader. The study will also benefit politicians, traditional rulers, social commentators and development agencies. Other beneficiaries are policy makers and policy implementers. It may be used as a guide or reference source by any of the beneficiaries. It may inspire others to do further research in the region.

Organization of the work

This work has been divided into three main chapters. Each individual chapter has also been divided into sub-sections to ensure a clearer and scholarly analysis of the information provided. Chapter one examined the activities of Samori, the French and the British in Gyaman just before colonization. Chapter two discussed indirect rule, native authorities and inter-ethnic relations in British Gyaman. Chapter three deliberated on the social, political and economic consequences of colonialism. The conclusion is a summary of the main points discussed in the work.

Methodology

The quantitative method of analysis and critical examination, description, and interpretation of historical events was used in this work.

Materials for the work were obtained from three different sources: archival, oral tradition and secondary materials. The researcher made use of files and papers of the colonial district office at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department, Sunyani. In addition petitions and memoranda by traditional authorities to the colonial government, reports of commissions of inquiry which were relevant to the study and records of traditional councils were also used. These documents provided data on the day-to-day local administration of the area. They were indeed, quite useful.

Oral traditions were obtained during field trips. The researcher interviewed and had discussions with traditional authorities, some opinion leaders, and some knowledgeable personalities on the history of British Gyaman. This means, the researcher travelled to as many villages and towns

as possible to conduct interviews. Notes taken during the interviews were compared and analysed. Distortions that were revealed were corrected. Apart from exaggerations another common problem associated with the interviews was that of dating and chronology. Therefore incidents like death of renowned chiefs and wars were used to determine the date and chronology of historical events.

Finally, secondary sources were used to support the primary evidence. Both published and unpublished works were used. The relevant books were obtained from the libraries of the University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, the Balme Library at the University of Ghana, Legon, and the Institute of African Studies Library, Legon.

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CHAPTER TWO

GYAMAN 1874 – 1901; THE HOST OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS

The eventual defeat of the Asantes by the British opened a new era for Gyaman. It became autonomous. Its wealth and position continued to attract many groups, who wanted to annex it by means of force or dialogue. This unit deliberates on how the British, French, Asante and Saomori competed for the favours of Gyaman.

Gyaman occupied an area between the river Comoe, the Black Volta and the Tano River. Before a group of the Akwamu who called themselves Dormaa migrated, settled and adopted Gyaman as their name, the area had no generally recognized name. The region was occupied by widely scattered villages, each isolated and independent of the other¹. The indigenous inhabitants whose origin and history were quite remote, almost forgotten and mixed up with myths included Gyamera, Koti, Broko Bonduku and Kong. The only popular names among these isolated settlements were Bonduku, Kong and the ancient demolished town of Begho. Their popularity was earned from commercial activities rather than political achievements. The area was gradually settled by waves of immigrants. Among the earliest immigrants were the Jinini, Tampi, Asiri, Mayera, and Sampa. These first migrants did not have any significant influence on the area. The Tampi in La Cote d'Ivoire, Sampa and Jinini claimed to have migrated from Kakala in the Ivory Coast. According to Jinini tradition they migrated because they were being forced by their senior brother who was a king to serve him². The Jinini, Tampi and

Banda came together, and were later followed by the Sampa. The Mayera migrated from Tuobodom near Techiman to their present home.³ The Asiri people were said to have come from a hole near Nyame.⁴ Nyame is near Drobo in the Jaman South District. They then moved to Abrewadua near Mayera before moving to their present settlement.

The new arrivals were under normal circumstances hospitably received, shown a place and helped to settle where the need arose. The most significant of the hosting ceremony was setting fire for the guests. The piece of live fire wood used in setting the fire was usually kept as a witness of the host being senior or first to settle in the area. When a hunter met fire set by an unknown person in the area he put the fire off and made sure the other fetched fire from him. By that means he maintained his seniority over the other.

The Akwamu group which became Dormaa was the last to migrate into the region. They migrated from Suntreso near Kumasi in about 1680⁵. The name Gyaman was a nickname given by the Asantes to the Akwamu (Dormaa) who were driven out of their original home of Suntreso. It connotes those who have fled their nation; *gya – wo-man*. It was originally applied to all the Dormaa who left Suntreso and settled at Bomaa. They were led by Adu Bene into Bomaa. But some time later Bofo Tantan led out a faction which established a state in a region later referred to as Gyaman. It was the break-away faction who adopted Gyaman as their name to differentiate them from ‘the mother body’ the Dormaa. The rest, some of who left Bomaa founded the Dormaa state and maintained Dormaa as their name. Though the last to settle Gyaman, they revolutionalized the social and political development in the area. Through diplomacy, threats and use of force, the various settlements in

the region were influenced or conquered and brought under their hegemony.⁶ A central government was established and its power and influence engulfed the whole area. The Nafana, Kulango, Gbin and the Ligbi were all subjugated. The indigenous Brons (Koti, Mayera, Asiri.) in the area were also defeated. The Gyaman state that emerged out of these conflicts became a multi-ethnic and complex society. Multi-ethnicity brought new ideas, values and practices, which in turn led to frequent political and cultural modifications, dynamic and changing culture. Gyaman prospered, grew and expanded. Situated in a transitional vegetation zone between the rain forest and savanna the Gyaman area came to produce both forest and savannah products of enormous commercial importance. The Gyaman polity encompassed people of different origins, language, history and culture. In Gyaman, the Abron group was a minority but its people skilfully organized the others into a state and monopolized the political authority. The people who were subordinated were quite inter-woven and collectively creative, clever and skilful.

The creativity of the people was manifested in their skill as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potters and spinners. As goldsmiths they produced gold necklace, gold swords, gold bracelet, and gold sandals for the king, his nobles and attendants. The blacksmiths produced farm and war implements. The enormous deposit of clay at Bonakre was used by the women of Bonakre to make pottery. They grew cotton which was used in spinning and weaving their own local cloth known as '*Kyekye*'. The women did the spinning while the men made the weaving. The Hausa who settled in Bonduku from the early nineteenth century were the dyers.⁷ Though the name *Kyekye* was of Nafana origin the art of weaving was believed to be taught by the Kulangos. The

kingdom produced ivory, kola and snails from its forest region and goats, sheep, cattle and horses from the savannah region. It also produced yam in abundance from the savanna.⁸

Gold, an important mineral was also abundant in Gyaman. The kingdom became known for the importance of its gold mines. The fame of Gyaman gold was heard of in Kumasi and spread as far as to the Fezzan in the North.⁹ “The gold provinces best known to us are now three Wasa... Akim...and Gyaman, the rival of Ashanti”.¹⁰ Mining in Gyaman was done in two different ways. In the first place gold dust was obtained from the sediment deposited by certain rivers. Typical among them was the Barr River. In the second place pits, two feet in diameter were sunk to reach the gold bearing veins. These veins were followed and dug until they were exhausted. The miner descends by foot holes dug into the sides of the pit. He worked with a small hoe and piled the ore into his calabash which was drawn up by his companions when filled. A group of workers washed the soil away and trapped the gold back in the process designed for that. Gold in Gyaman was higher coloured, cleaner, and more valuable than that of Ashanti ¹¹. The king of Gyaman became immensely rich by the produce of his miners and, according to Bowdich, his bed had steps of solid gold.

The Gyaman kingdom was established around the economic hub of Bonduku. The position of Bonduku in particular and Gyaman in general made it enjoy both locally produced forest and savanna products. Some of these products were brought to Bonduku for sale or exchange. Gyaman, unlike many other traditional kingdoms, which were not popular, was opened and heard of by the outside world. A trade route from the north through Timbuctu

and Jenne ended at Bonduku. Another one from the Hausa states in the North Eastern also joined Bonduku from Salaga. Goods from these parts of the world were brought to Bonduku for exchange. The Gyamans enjoyed foreign products as if they were produced in their own country. Bonduku was not only a market centre, but was a place for Islamic religion and scholarship. It therefore produced a great deal of Islamic scholars who advised the Gyamanhene on political affairs. These Muslims were welcomed as scribes and medicine men and played a significant role in the trade linking the north and the south¹². These and other benefits made the kingdom an enviable one. The Gyamanhene, chiefs and the people were jealous of their rich resources and therefore put in place measures and mechanisms to defend, protect and preserve them.

Socio – political structures were established to administer the kingdom in about 1700. This was intended to maintain law and order within the kingdom. The Gyamanhene or Bonohene was the head of the administration. The state was divided into Divisions to facilitate administration. A head was assigned to each division. The heads of these Divisions came together to form the king's council. Several or even many villages were grouped into a division. The heads of each village came together to form the divisional council. Heads of lineages constituted councils of elders for the Adikrofo (village heads). Distinguished among the divisional chiefs were the Sumahene, Pinankohene, Gyeenehene, Sonkorehene, Drobohene, Kwatwomahene, Dwenemhene and Fumasuahene.¹³ The head of the Moslem community in Bonduku was also privileged as a divisional chief.¹⁴ The Divisions were, to a large extent, autonomous in their daily administration. The chiefs had power

similar to that of the king in his domain for all matters concerning politics, religion and administration of justice. However, decisions on the administration of justice could be appealed to a higher ruler on the hierarchy. For instance, an appeal could be made from a divisional chief's court to the king's court.¹⁵

The administrative machinery did not end with keeping internal law and order; it also dealt with defence and external affairs. It was the king's council (the king and council of chiefs) which took the major decisions concerning war, alliance and other foreign affairs. The king was a military leader, the commander-in-chief of the Gyaman army. The divisional chiefs were commanders of their respective divisions. Gyaman like many Akan states had no standing army. Every healthy male adult formed part of the army. It was a communal exercise. Patriotism and heroism were the driving forces which moved the youth to defend their kingdom. Despite these measures, neighbours, typically Asante, posed a threat to Gyaman and its treasures. In 1740 the Gyaman defensive mechanism was not good enough to withstand an Asante attack. After a hard fight the kingdom was defeated and annexed to Asante. Founded in about 1680 and defeated and annexed in 1740 Gyaman enjoyed independence for only about sixty years. It remained a vassal state for approximately 135 years. Though there were numerous revolts as in 1750, 1764, 1802 and 1818, it could not regain its independence until 1875 after the British decisive defeat of Asante and destruction of Kumasi during the Sagrenti war of 1873-74.

The Sagrenti War, 1873 – 1874

The 1874 war known as the ‘Sagrenti war’ was between Asante and the British and their allies of the Gold Coast. It was called Sagrenti because the British army which defeated Asante was led by Sir Garnet Wolseley, a name the Asante could not pronounce well and corrupted the British army leader’s name to ‘Sagranti’¹⁷. The gradual entrenchment of British power on the coast alarmed Ashanti leaders. In 1872, the British purchased the Dutch forts and became the only European power left on the coast. For years Ashanti had favourable friendly relations with the Dutch. Missing the Dutch meant a loss of an important link to the coast. Asante resented this and invaded the British territory in 1873¹⁸. After initial success the Asante army was infected by small pox disease and was forced to retreat. The British army commander Sir Garnet Wolseley refused to negotiate for a peaceful conclusion. Instead in January 1874 he organized and led a large expeditionary force into Asante. He captured Kumasi and burnt it down. The war, to Asante, was for the survival and preservation of the Asante Empire; but the British were directly involved for economic reasons. The British traders believed that if Asante’s power could be broken the vast hinterland region would be open to them. As one British wrote to his brother in London in 1823 “we could then have direct and free access and intercourse with the Bontookos in fact with Kong and leading from there, with Timbuctoo Housa-etc.”¹⁹. They wanted to check the power of Asante and stop her from controlling trade which would in turn decrease the prices of goods sold to Europeans. Again if Asante power remained unchecked, Christianity and education could never reach the interior. The

Sagrenti war gave the Asante military power a blow from which it never recovered.²⁰

The war ended with a peace treaty signed at Fomena between Asante and the British. In the treaty Asante recognized British sovereignty over the coast and agreed to pay war reparation. Asante again renounced her influence over all the territories under British protection²¹. In return the British permitted Asante commercial access to the coast. Gyaman, a vassal state of Asante which did not know what the war would bring to her fought on the side of Asante against the British. After the war had reduced Asante power, however, Gyaman decided to secede from Asante.

The defeat of Asante in 1874 led to a series of historical events in Asante and in Gyaman. The British felt relieved after the defeat of Asante and hoped to have a flourishing trade. Asante embarked on political reconstruction of her empire. When they (British) heard of Asante rebuilding plans they hated it and tried to incite Juaben and Gyaman to secede from Asante.²² Juaben and Gyaman were two strong states in the Asante kingdom; their secession would reduce the power of Asante. It would again attract Asante attention to deal with these states with force or diplomacy, which would further wear down Asante. When the British encouraged Juaben to secede an English flag was given to the king of Juaben implying British extension of protection to the state.²³ Asante responded, firstly, by deposing Kofi Karikari, who they thought was not responsive enough to their war-intended plans, and replaced him with Mensah Bonsu, his younger brother, as the Asantehene. Mensah Bonsu observed that diplomacy could not dismantle the developing relationship between the British and Juabens, so he opted for war and defeated

them (Juabens).²⁴ With the help of the Governor, new settlements were established between 1876 and 1880 for the defeated Juabens who had fled into the protectorate.²⁵ Asafo Agyei, the king of Juaben ran to Accra. While in Accra he and his followers decided to launch a fresh attack on Asante. A captain of Asafo Agyei, Opoku Ansurugya was sent to Gyaman to organize a war party against Asante. Ansurugya was joined by 20 of his companions.²⁶ These Juaben intrigues had the support of king Tackie of Accra and that of the British Governor.²⁷ Again Asaido, a Fanti, did not only join the Juabens in Gyaman but became their head. They moved into Gyaman and informed the Gyamanhene, Kwadwo Agyeman, that they had been sent by the British Government to make war on Ashanti.²⁸ They were waiting for their king Asafo Agyei, while Gyaman prepared for the war.

They lied that the white troops would be joining them. On behalf of the Governor, Asaido declared war on Ashanti. Kwabena Fofea of Takyiman, Bekwai of Seikwa and Kwaku Kyei of Safwi joined them. Asaido and his followers caused a great deal of havoc in Gyaman and Ashanti. They captured about 30 Asante traders.²⁹ Apart from these, they plundered others, kidnapped some, molested and sold some for guns and powder. They plundered some villages, killed domestic animals like sheep, fowls; raped peoples' wives and extorted heavy amounts of money from them³⁰. Berekum and some territories of Asante were also attacked. Asaido and his followers could not sustain their invasion efforts, for the inhabitants fought back and repelled them³¹.

When the Asantehene heard of the collaborative effort between Asafo Agyei and king Tackie of Accra he reported the matter to the Governor and informed him of his readiness to invade Accra. The Governor advised Asafo

Agyei to halt his activities against Asante, fearing that he might provoke further wars. Asafo Agyei was reluctant to stop. To avoid fanning future conflicts between the coast and Asante the British arrested Asafo Agyei, imprisoned him in Elmina and later exiled him to Lagos in 1880 where he died in 1885.³² After the indirect plan of resistance against Asante had failed the government of the Gold Coast decided to give direct assistance to Gyaman. Gyaman had requested for a white ambassador to be stationed in Bonduku. She also asked for gunpowder and military assistance³³. Carnarvon, a colonial secretary, sent a mission to negotiate a direct link between Gyaman and the coast. But Asante protested and reacted accordingly.

The then Asantehene, Mensah Bonsu sent a mission to the Gyamanhene to inform him that he (the Gyamanhene) was still his wife.³⁴ This message reflected the level of respect the Asantehene had for the Gyamanhene. This is because during those times in Africa and specifically in the Gold Coast, wives were not taken as equal partners to their husbands. They were subordinates to their husbands. In some cases female slaves were bought and married to their husbands. The Asantehene's message to the Gyamanhene implied that king Agyeman of Gyaman was still a subordinate to the Asantehene. 'Agyeman replied that he had married to the British; a stronger man'. Both the British and Ashanti did not win the favour of Gyaman. Intensive diplomatic conflict emerged between Asante and the British.

Mensah Bonsu, the Asantehene, sent messengers to the Governor to inquire whether Gyaman had been added to the protectorate³⁵. He was told that was not the case. Again, he sent messengers to Gyaman with the message that the British government had given the whole of Gyaman to him. Kwadwo

Agyeman, the Gyamanhene, did not believe this and sent messengers to ask the British Governor if it were true. The Governor denied the information and instead offered Gyaman protection. The Gyamanhene wanted to come under the British protection, but most of his chiefs wanted to remain under Asante, so the idea of British protection was dropped. Some Asante chiefs became alarmed about the failure of diplomatic missions and wanted the use of arms against Gyaman. Mensah Bonsu, the Asantehene, objected to this. This was because the Asante army might have been weakened by the immediate two major wars- the Sagranti and Juaben wars. The king also thought a war with Gyaman would attract so many enemies to rally behind Gyaman against him.³⁶ Again, Asante might have remembered the past wars with Gyaman which were not won easily. Gyaman was a strong kingdom and must not be met with a weakened army like that of Asante at the time.

Early in 1877, Gyaman envoys came to Kumasi to hold peace talks. As a consequence Mensah Bonsu sent a new mission to Gyaman. The leader of the mission was a Danish military instructor to the Kumasi forces, Mr. Carl Nielson. Mr. J.J.C. Huydecoper, a Fante, was appointed as Nielson's interpreter³⁷. By the time Nielson arrived in Gyaman, Asaido and his team had influenced King Agyeman to their side. Agyeman did not give audience to Nielson and his team. He played hide and seek with the Danish military instructor, who was anxious to get in touch with him. In the process, he died because of too much heat of the sun. J.J.C. Huydecoper took over as the head of the mission of peace to the king of Gyaman. Meanwhile, the British mission, made up of John Smith and some Hausa soldiers, were approaching Bonduku. The Asante mission, on hearing of John Smith and his group retired

from Gyaman and entered Banda with three of the most powerful Gyaman chiefs. The activities of the Asante mission created further rift between King Agyeman and his chiefs. In 1879 when Smith was at Bonduku, he questioned the chiefs on their reason for being angry with the king,

They replied that they had a grievance, and that the king had received several chiefs into the Gyaman alliance who were formerly allies of the king of Ashanti without consulting them, that he had also received several sums of money, without apportioning their share to them as customary.³⁸

Huydecoper again strengthened the Asante party in Gyaman. As a consequence, the British mission headed by Smith failed. The people refused to meet him, played hide and seek with him. The king tried several times on the 7th, 8th, and 15th August 1879 to get some chiefs and elders to meet the British mission. But they always gave flimsy excuses for their inability to attend the meeting. Other attempts on the 20th, 21st and 23rd in the same month failed; Smith and his entourage left on the 24th August 1879 disappointed.³⁹ Asante had successfully solved a secession problem and prevented the British expansionist plan.

In another development, there existed adultery related conflict between the Badu and Seikwa people⁴⁰. The two towns were Kulango speaking people that migrated from Bona in La Cote d'Ivoire. The Seikwa, Badu and Buni people under their leader, King Kaka, first settled in Sampa before moving on to their present homes. The Baduhene is said to be a nephew to the Seikwahene. The matter of the conflict was that, a man from Seikwa had an affair with the wife of the chief of Badu. The two sides came together to settle the matter according to custom. They resolved, according to tradition, that the two adulterers should be killed. The king of Badu executed his part of the

resolution but King Yakye of Seikwa hid his man and lied that he had also executed his part. Later, it was discovered that King Yakye lied to the people of Badu. The Badu people were embittered by the development. Though the two towns were not directly within the Gyaman kingdom, they once settled in Sampa in Gyaman and knew its power, fame and influence.⁴¹ The people of Badu therefore reported the matter to the Gyamanhene, King Agyeman, for his intervention. The king sent his two linguists, Korkobo from Awasu and a subordinate linguist to intervene. They had prejudice against King Yakye and planned to kill him as his punishment for unfaithfulness.⁴² In the process they incited the Badu people to be armed and eliminate the Seikwahene.

On the other hand they informed Seikwahene that they were going to solve the matter peacefully. When they met at Namasa, in the Tain District, the people of Badu were armed but Seikwa people were not. King Yakye sensing danger fled the scene. He was chased and caught at the outskirts of Brodi. King Yakye was fat and bulky and therefore could not walk fast. He was killed (beheaded). The chin was removed and given to linguist Korkobo to be given to King Agyeman to be added to his trophies of enemies' skulls.⁴³ Before this episode the Seikwahene had made his people strangle a man from Kokoa to death for having an affair with his wife. Kokoa people opted for war against the Seikwahene but were advised by the Sampahene to abandon the idea, for he said, "The rotten egg breaks into the mouth of a dog which steals it". The man was from Sakum lineage. The people of Sakum later migrated to Brodi in the Tain District.⁴⁴

The Sargrnti war ended the Asante hegemony over Gyaman. It however started a new era for other imperialists to compete for Gyaman.

Samori an African imperialist was the next to occupy Gyaman after Asante's exit.

Samori's Occupation of Gyaman

Samori Toure, an African military leader, waged an 18 year resistance against the French in the Senegal – Niger region of West Africa. He began this in 1880. He occupied Gyaman in 1896. Knowing Gyaman was part of Asante he was careful not to add Asante to his enemies. For that reason he explained to the Asantehene why he had occupied Gyaman. His reason for the occupation being that the Gyamanhene had refused him access to the Bonduku market where he could have sold his captured slaves. He, however, did not destroy Bonduku, the commercial capital. This might be because Bonduku had already accepted Islam- one of Samori's reasons for expansion being forced Islamization of the conquered territories. Again what he needed was the market. Capturing Bonduku meant he had got what he wanted (Bonduku market for the sale of his captured slaves) Destroying Bonduku would mean destroying his own market. He therefore, maintained Bonduku and its market. Furthermore the Gyamanhene and his army had fled leaving no force to fight against Samori. According to an informant the king and his followers fled to Sunyani. By tradition it was a taboo for the Gyamanhene to cross the river Tain, therefore several human beings were sacrificed before the "taboo to cross the river Tain" was spiritually lifted⁴⁵. A man known as Kramo and the son named Senase refused to move and remained behind in Bondugu. When Samori's sofa (army) met him and the son they were surprised, and asked why they did not run away. Kramo replied that his 'Mallam' told him never to run away from war. When he indicated that he has knowledge on the where about

of King Agyeman, he was given a horse to go and bring him back. He went but the king thinking it was a trick would not come back.

The Gyamanhene and his followers had heard of the war tactics of Samori. His advance guard would always visit the next people to attack and pretended to make friends with them. They carried friendly greetings and message to the king and his people of the area. The people then ignorantly accepted them. The harbingers then studied the people, their way of life, the food they ate, the weapons they used in wars and their military organization and reported back to the main army, they then attacked with good knowledge of the area.⁴⁶ Being aware of these tactics the Gyamanhene did not return. He thought he would be killed. Instead, he sent someone else and lied that that person was the king. Samori promised that he would not fight in Gyaman. But the people would not believe him. It was after they had “drank fetish” that they believed in what he said. Truly he did not destroy Bonduku, though he occupied the city for a while and turned it into a slave market. Samori adopted Kwaku Kosono alias Piampi or Papi, the Kyidomhene, as the Gyamanhene during his occupation of the kingdom. According to Jinini tradition some of Samory sofa (army) occupied Jinini and turned it into a slave camp, many of them died there⁴⁷. These dead slaves were buried in mass graves and hence Jinini is known to have one of the largest mass graves in the area.

Meanwhile, rumours reached the Governor that Samori and the Asantehene were collaborating to help Asante regain its lost empire. Earlier in 1893 Nana Kwame Afari, the Sumahene had requested military aid from the British Governor in Accra. The French activities south of the Niger bent in response to Samori alarmed the British. If the French pushed east wards from

Bondugu and took Ashanti also under their protection, the Gold Coast would be closed in on the north and its trade would be ruined. The British therefore dispatched a military detachment into the area. Due to the treaty of protection signed between Gyaman and France in Bonduku the British could not enter Bonduku. Instead they stayed in Sampa and established a camp at Buko a near-by village and hoisted the British flag there as a sign of effective occupation of the area. The Asantehene desired Samori to help him regain his empire. According to Agbodeka, “Danburnu said that, the 300 Asantes he saw carried 30 loads of spirits, 30 kegs of powder, 30 loads of salt, 40 loads of Kola Nuts, and 30 loads of cloths, as presents to Samori”.⁴⁸ The Asantehene requested Samori’s help to regain his empire. Samori demand 1000 oz of gold as the cost of a war that could reconquer his rebellious states.⁴⁹

Samori’s occupation of Gyaman was in opposition to the interests of the French. The French had to drive Samori out of Gyaman in order to take control of the Brong state.

French Occupation of Gyaman

Though the French signed a treaty of protection with the king of Gyaman, the French did not establish a post in Gyaman making it easy for Samori to take over. However, the French came back and drove him out of the kingdom, in 1896. The French then occupied it. There seemed to be a misunderstanding in the terms of the treaty. While the Gyamanhene did not intend to exchange his independence for protection, the French meaning to the protection was colonization and subordination of the kingdom. Some of the chiefs who were not happy with the French extent of protection attempted to practically reveal

their feelings. This was unacceptable to the French who suppressed the act. The French in the process assassinated Nana Kwame Afram, the Sumahene, and two others, Nana Kwaku Kosono alias Papi, the Kyidomhene, to the Gyamanhene and Basarko, the Fumasuahene.⁵⁰

The French rivals, the British did not want the French to take control of the whole of Gyaman. In response to French occupation the British moved a contingent to Sampa and Buko in the eastern part of Bonduku.

British Occupation of Gyaman

Rumours reached the coast that a French officer had come to Kumasi at Prempeh's invitation. Samori had conquered Gyaman in order to establish a trade route through it to the coast. Asante had planned to ignore the British and tried to reach the coast through German territory (Lome) in the east and a direct route from Kumasi to Kinjarbo to deal with the French. By this means they (Asante) could acquire supplies of gun and powder from the French which the British would not permit. But the British would not allow the French or the German to take Asante and the hinterland, as this would mean the Gold Coast colony could no more stretch to the north. That would be detrimental to British trade. Nor would the British allow the Asante and Samori collaboration. On January 17, 1896, the British army entered Kumasi, the reason being that the Asantehene had broken the Treaty of Fomena. He had not paid the 50,000 oz of gold he promised to pay as indemnity to the Governor.⁵¹ When Prempeh I, the Asantehene was unable to pay the money he was taken a prisoner with some other prominent chiefs. They were first kept in the Elmina Castle, and later in Sierra Leone and in 1900 he was deported to the Seychelles Islands.⁵² This made Gyaman and other secessionists' dreams

becoming more of a reality. In the ensuing uprising in 1900 known as the Yaa Asantewaa uprising Gyaman did not take part.

Several conflicts of interests converged in Gyaman. The British, the French, Asante and Samori each had interest in Gyaman. This led to competition for sphere of interest in the Abron Kingdom. The British encouraged Gyaman secession, which was intended to undermine the political reconstruction of Asante. The British detested the re-organization of the Asante Empire. They (British) initially did not want to penetrate the interior, and hence objected to the offer by Gyamanhene to protect him.⁵³ It was the rival action by France and Germany and the suspected collaborating plans by Samori and Asante that motivated British hurried entry into Gyaman. The French occupation of Gyaman was to establish and expand her colonial empire, contrary to the protection of her (Gyaman's) sovereignty from Samori and Asante invasions.⁵⁴ Samori occupied the kingdom to establish a market for his slaves captured in his slave-raiding activities. Asante wanted Gyaman back in order to rebuild her power. Gyaman was a great power which wanted to maintain her independence. At the end of it all each of the three competing powers got their share in Gyaman. Samori's power was totally wiped out of Gyaman. France and Britain shared it between them with France gaining the lion's share. In their local government efforts the British added British Gyaman to Asante and it remained part of Asante until 1957.⁵⁵ Fortunately, there were no violent campaigns among the competing powers in Gyaman.

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CHAPTER THREE

GYAMAN 1902 – 1957: INDIRECT RULE AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS

After Asante's defeat by the British, and Samori's by the French, Gyaman became independent. Though independent, its future lay at the mercy of the two European rival powers, Britain and France. To avoid violent confrontation for the Brong State, the two European powers compromised on a peace treaty signed in Paris. This treaty was known as "the delimitation treaty", signed between Britain and France in 1898 without the participation of Gyaman. It resulted in the division of Gyaman into British and French spheres of influence. In the British sphere of influence, the British employed local chiefs to execute colonial course of actions. This means some chiefs were recognized, elevated and empowered. Chiefs and some sub-chiefs unleashed struggles for autonomy. Group identity was propagated, faction solidarity, awareness creation and a wish for recognition originated. This chapter discusses how Indirect Rule was implemented, with its resultant struggling among the various ethnic groups for colonial developmental benefits.

The Gyamanhene's power was not only reduced by taking away British Gyaman, his independence was completely eroded by the French. Gyaman's allies could no more go to her for any collaborative measures against Asante.¹

In British Gyaman the socio-political environment was not better. This part of the kingdom was left without a head chief. In actual fact the Sumahene

who was next in command to the Gyamanhene in the pre – colonial days was expected to be the British Gyamanhene. Instead, the British imposed the Drobohene as the Gyamanhene of British Gyaman. Since the people were not serving the Gyamanhene through the Drobohene most of them did not like the idea of serving the Drobohene. Typical among them was the Sumahene who protested against the action of the British, but to no avail. The aim of dividing Gyaman was to protect their trade but not the people and to exclude each other from the trade in the sphere of influence each was having. The protection led to colonization. The main objective of the colonization process was exploitation. “Colonialism’s economic strategy for Africa was not designed to benefit the continent”.² J.R Evelyn and Immanuel have quoted Lugard a colonial technocrat, as saying:

“These products (foodstuffs and other raw materials) lay wasted and ungarnered in Africa because the natives did not know their use and value. Millions of tons of oil-nuts, for instance, grew wild without the labour of man, and lay rotting in the forests. Who can deny the right of the hungry people of Europe to utilize the wasted bounties of nature...”³

Though exploitative, no doubt, colonialism met some humanitarian missions.

The cultural differences between the Gyamans and the colonizers were quite great. To get in touch with the grassroots the British invented an administrative technique that would be acceptable to both and brought them closer together. This was the policy of Indirect Rule. The British required a form of governance with which Asante would comply willingly rather than coercively. Lord Lugard believed the people of Africa would be more likely to follow someone who looked like them, spoke their language and shared their customs. Indirect Rule was a cost effective means of imposing British

hegemony over Asante of which British Gyaman was part. It involved the use of local chiefs to implement colonial policies. Chiefs were appointed as Native Authorities and were empowered to collect tax revenue within their jurisdiction for expenditure by the colonial administrator or on his advice. The Gyaman Local Government machinery was organized around the Drobohene. All the chiefs in the sub-region were made subordinate to the Drobohene including the Sumahene. The Gyaman local government was a colonial administrative institution made up of three allied institutions. These were Native Authority, Native Court, and Native Treasury. Each allied institution complemented the smooth operation of the others.

From the earliest times of occupation the aim of British colonial administration was to subdue traditional forms of administration, colonize them, encourage trade and protect the people. British officers were encouraged to acquaint themselves fully with their districts. District Commissioners travelled to every part of the district before they could reach most of the people. The chiefs were responsible for carrying the District Commissioner in a hammock from his town to the next town. According to an informant, when the District Commissioner gave an itinerary of his visit to an area they cleared and swept the path along which he would be carried. "It was quite intimidating", he concluded.⁴ For instance from Seikwa, the people of Seikwa carried the D.C to Bepoase, Bepoase then carried him to Kokoa, and Kokoa to Sampa.

The Drobohene remained the symbol of Gyaman Local Authority until 1935. Its headquarters was set up at Old Drobo. British Gyaman's Native Court was a grade 'C' court. It was limited to cases where the debt, demand or

damages did not exceed £50; in succession suits where the whole value of property of the deceased did not exceed £200, and in criminal cases to offences which could be adequately punished by a fine of £25 or three months imprisonment or both. Cases from Drobo native court grade 'C' could be appealed to the Asantehene's court grade 'A', and then to the Chief Commissioner's court and to the West African Court of Appeal. Further appeals could be made to the Privy Council. Civil cases which were not land-related could be appealed to the magistrate's court headed by the District Commissioner. Further appeals could be made to the Chief Commissioner's court, and then to the West African Court of Appeal.⁵

The Native Authority for the British Gyaman Division consisted of the head chief, who was the Drobohene, and some sub-chiefs within his jurisdiction. It exercised its powers over the "natives".⁶ The Gyaman Native Authority was responsible for the maintenance of order and good government within its territory. It also established a Native Treasury into which all rates, fees, tolls and other taxes were paid. Out of the treasury, the cost of administration of the area and the provision of health and social services were met. Certain measures of control were vested in the District Commissioner for the North Western District of Asante, which included the Gyaman Native Authority. He was in turn under the supervision of the Chief Commissioner for the Asante Province.⁷ British Gyaman had one unified native Authority under the Drobohene until 1935.

In 1935 the colonial government set up a committee known as the Committee of Privileges. Its objective was to hear complaints from aggrieved states and towns which were wrongly put under others. It was presided over by

the Chief Commissioner of Asante, Major F.W.K Jackson.⁸ Immediately after colonizing Asante, the British for administrative convenience, divided Asante into districts and sub-districts and assigned to them heads in an un- customary manner. For instance, in Gyaman, Suma, Kwatwoma, Dwenem, Japekrom which were not traditionally under the Drobohene were for colonial administrative convenience put under the Drobohene. On June, 18, 1935, Suma and Seketia (Kwatwoma) made a joint complaint to the Committee against being wrongly placed under the Drobohene, Nana Kwame Bosea.⁹ They claimed their autonomy. After critical consideration, supported by the evidence given by the Gyamanhene in the Ivory Coast, the Committee ruled in their favour. Dwenem and Atuna separately followed suit and both were declared autonomous. Though they were made autonomous, none of the chiefs of the four states was made a divisional chief. On 14th March, 1947, the Chief Commissioner in a letter to the District Commissioner stated that “As will be seen I do not consider that Suma should be Divisional status as was recommended in your letter above quoted”.¹⁰ On 19th January, 1948, the District Commissioner recommended to the Chief Commissioner in Kumasi that as a result of recent confederation between Suma and Kwatwoma, Suma deserves a Divisional status.¹¹ Based on the recommendation Suma was granted Divisional status on 19th January 1948. British Gyaman now had two Divisions, Suma- Kwatwoma Division popularly known as the Suma Division, and Drobo Division. Atuna in the south and under Drobo preferred Suma division to that of Drobo and was made part of Suma Division. Dwenem also left Drobo and joined Suma.

By means of immigration and hospitality of the indigenous inhabitants of Gyaman the Abron kingdom steadily developed into a united state. Not even the Asante invasion and annexation could dismantle its common destiny and united front. The people saw themselves collectively as Gyaman without any strong sense of ethnic identity. But the European colonial activities, in the first place divided the kingdom in 1898.¹² Again, pressure was put on the traditions that held them together. A sort of warrant chief was imposed on British Gyaman, which also divided it further. In 1935, through the Committee of Privileges the British Gyaman's Native Authority was even fragmented the more. As if to implement a divide and rule policy, a second and rival division was established in 1948; the Suma-Kwatwoma Division.¹³ British Gyaman could no more hold together, but was divided along the lines of ethnicity:- common history, ancestors, language and religion. Thus, through the Indirect Rule system, the colonial local administration, reinforced ethnic divisions and encouraged ethnic differentiations.

Colonial social forces reshaped ethnic identity through awareness creation in British Gyaman. Indirect rule made the people develop a strong sense of ethnic identity, a sectarian organisation and fragmented independent communities. Uneven spread of colonial economic and infrastructural development resulted in sectional competition. Conflicts, expression of grievances, struggles for autonomy, and petitions were the matters of concern throughout colonization and the period of the Indirect Rule in British Gyaman. The notable conflicts and grievances created as a consequence of colonial influence will be discussed below.

Conflicts in Gyaman

Suma's petition to the Committee of Privileges and her elevation to autonomous status were not taken kindly by Drobo. Consequently, rivalry developed between the two states. On 22nd June, 1949, the Sumahene, Nana Kwaku Konadu, wrote to Otumfuo, Nana Sir Agyeman Prempe II, to inform him about the disturbances the Drobohene wanted to create and encourage in the area.¹⁴ Earlier on October, 22, 1947, the Sumahene had asked permission from the Otumfuo to go to French Gyaman –Bonduku to settle a long standing dispute between the Gyamanhene and his people. This was in response to an invitation served by the French colonial Government through the British colonial Government to him. After the settlement it was ruled by him (Sumahene) that Prince Adinkra was no more a chief. His Aduana Black Stool was therefore burnt.¹⁵ This cooled down tempers and peace prevailed. The French Government, being pleased with these fine results, wrote a letter through the District Commissioner in Sunyani to thank him.¹⁶ In the morning of 22nd June, 1949, two bearers from the Kyidomhene, Pinanko and Fumasua of French Gyaman (Bonduku) came to inform him that the Drobohene had been with them since twenty-eight days ago and was resettling the case which he the Sumahene had already settled.¹⁷

The Drobohene in the process reinstated Prince Kwami Adinkra as the Aduanahene. As a reward to the Drobohene from Prince Adinkra, all the people under Suma were to be made to serve the Drobohene. The towns targeted were:-Dwenem, Nyami, Atuna, Kokosua, Febi, Biama, Bodaa, Brobete, Kabri, Kofitiakrom and Nsonsonmia.¹⁸ In addition, all Suma people farming on French Gyaman soil should no more enter their farms because all

such farms were confiscated. About eighty –two farmers were involved and were driven out by the supporters of the Gyamanhene and Prince Adinkra. The matter then became a conflict between Sumahene and the Gyamanhene. Each reported to his colonial District Commissioner. The conflict extended into the circles of District Commissioners. The Assistant District Commissioner of Sunyani had stated in a memorandum on 8th September 1949 that he discussed the matter with the Adjoint at Bonduku. “We had some difficulty in reaching any definite conclusion as he speaks no English and my French is hardly adequate enough for the discussion of rather obtuse political problems.”¹⁹ The Commandant in Bonduku stated that the petitioners themselves were to appear before the court at Grand Bassam on a charge of “breaking the peace and assault”²⁰. The Commandant even suggested that the Sumahene may himself be opposed to the French colonial administration and further that he may be a supporter of the Rassemblement Democratique Africain (R.D.A.) in the Ivory Coast.

The Drobohene denied stirring up this conflict. He had been to Bonduku for reasons of health alone and had no hand in any political action. The District Commissioner wrote to Bruhat, Comandant, Du Cercle de Bonduku, assuring him that he had written to the Sumahene, instructing him to withdraw all his farmers to the British side of the boundary on 14th March 1950. The Drobohene kept on fanning the conflict between the Gyamanhene and Sumahene. The Sumahene, Kwaku Konadu, demanded £500 from his subjects who were farming in the Ivory Coast, to enable him settle the conflict between them and the Gyamanhene; after receiving the money he squandered it without tackling the problem.²¹ The two District Commissioners in Sunyani and

Bonduku resolved the matter in their own way. Consequently, Gyamans in each part became aliens in the other part.²² Those in British part of Gyaman farming in the French part had to comply with the alien rule of the French rather than the age old traditions and customs of Gyaman.

The Drobo - Suma conflict marked the beginning of series of disputes among the traditional groups in British Gyaman. Among them were the misunderstanding between Sampa and Suma.

Suma and Sampa in conflicting relations

In 1942, the District Commissioner in Wenchi approved the construction of the Wenchi – Sampa road. Feeder roads from Badu and Banda joined this road which would facilitate trade and other commercial activities in the area.²³

“Badu have built a road to connect with this road and so have Banda. Consequently this road gives, where before there was none, lorry communication to Badu (3,000), Nsawkaw (5,000), Banda (5,000), Menji and Namasa (700) and several Suma Kumasi villages (say, 1,500) a total of 15,000 people”.²⁴

In 1944, the Sampa – Frontier road was also approved for construction to link the two Gyamans –French and British. Sampa –Babianiha road was also constructed in 1945. Another road from Sunyani –Dumasi -Seikwa through Kokoa to Sampa was in the ‘pipe line’. Sampa was becoming a nodal town, an entrepot and a commercial hub.

A mass of Kulago traders had left Ivory Coast to settle and establish shops in Sampa. A Lebanese trader Zeni, father of the popular Louis Zeni of Techiman also opened a big shop in Sampa. Kwabena Konadu, the Sumahene, had foresight, and foresaw the commercial prospects of Sampa. He might have

compared the commercial prospects of Sampa against the traditional prospects of Suma and found that commercialism outweighed traditionalism. He therefore suggested that the Suma Native Authority's capital should be moved to Sampa.²⁵ Sampa was within the Suma Native Authority. Earlier Nana Assi Kwaku, the Sumahene, had such plans but was destooled.²⁶ It was Kwabena Konadu who succeeded in moving the capital from Suma to Sampa. He started building his palace in Sampa.²⁷ His action did not please his people both in Sampa and in Suma. In view of this, in 1948 many allegations were levelled against him, leading to his destoolment in 1951. He was succeeded by Kwame Afram. Nana Kwame Afram embarked on restoring the capital at Suma. This was done without the notification of Sampa. Nana Yaw Samodua, the Sampahene, complained bitterly about it. He complained that since Sampa contributed to the treasury which kept up the Native Authority they deserved to have been consulted. The youth of Sampa, also agitated saying Sampa was the greatest contributor to the Treasury, therefore, if the capital was moved back to Suma, they would not allow tolls, fees and taxes from Sampa to get into the treasury in Suma.²⁸ Though the District Commissioner did not support Suma's moving of the capital, he equally did not like the reaction of the youth of Sampa.²⁹ This was the beginning of the conflict between Sampa and Suma.

In another development a woman named Yakum died at Duadaso II in 1953. According to custom her "body was carried"³⁰ and it revealed that she was a witch. She was buried according to custom. Witches were buried in a separate cemetery, a place preserved and perceived as evil. Rituals were performed to give thanks to the god or gods that eliminated the witch. This was followed by pacification and cleansing of the earth or land on which the

body was buried. The earth or land cleansing ceremony was supervised by the eldest clan who was also the landlord of the area. This was the Sienaku Clan of Duadaso I. But the actual earth cleansing rite was done by the Kori-Katoo Clan also in Duadaso I, under the supervision of the Sienaku Clan. In effect, Duadaso I was made up of two big clans, Sienaku and Kori – Katoo clans. The leader of Sienaku was the Krontihene and the landlord while that of Kori-Katoo was the chief and the administrator of Duadaso No 1. After every land cleansing ceremony, usually a goat was used, the meat was shared according to the position each had.³¹ What was due the Krontihene was the chest and the hind leg of the sacrificed animal. But in this special case of Yakum, the newly elected chief defied the usual practice and instead sent a foreleg to the Krontihene (the landlord). Nana Oba Kofi, the Krontihene of Duadaso 1 and his elders immediately rejected it, sent it back to him and demanded what was due him according to custom. But the chief and administrator, Nana Kwasi Takyi, would not agree with him, claiming he was the chief and the landlord³². Kwasi Takyi claimed the land belonged to the Sumahene on whose behalf he was the landlord of the area. Obah Kofi on the other hand said that the land belonged to the Sampahene on whose behalf he was ruling and supervising. The matter was taken to the Suma-Kwatwoma native court where it was ruled in favour of Kwasi Takyi and Suma. Thereafter the litigation assumed new dimensions. It became a dispute between Sampahene and Sumahene.³³ Nana Samodua of Sampa appealed to the Asantehene's court where it was ruled in favour of Sampa. Suma was not satisfied with the ruling so he appealed to the Chief Commissioner's court. After looking into the case it was referred back to the Asantehene's court to be constituted by different people.³⁴ The case was

then referred back to Suma-Kwatwoma Native Court for rehearing. Samodua of Sampa appealed to the West Africa Court of Appeal. He was invited twice to Seketia, but he refused to attend, saying “in the court of the hawk the chicken can never be innocent”. At the West Africa Court of Appeal it was finally ruled in favour of Samodua. Though title to the land was given to Sampahene, Sampa stool could not be elevated to paramountcy. The Krontihene and landlord of Duadaso No 1, was elevated as the chief of Duadaso No 1. The other chief, Nana Kwasi Takyi became the chief of his faction – Kori – Katoo.

Another conflict developed when a son of Nana Twene Kwame, a Sampahene, was enstooled as the Sumahene. His name was Kwabena Asare. Prince Kwabena Asare took the stool name Kwabena Afram. Nana Kwabena Afram was destooled shortly after he was enstooled for the reason that when he walked his footsteps sounded “*Frantra, Fantra, Frantra*”, meaning because he was a Fantra-born, he did not know how to walk majestically as a chief. The Suma youth said enstooling a Fantra born on the Suma stool, meant it had been desecrated.³⁵ Therefore after the destoolment the stool was cleansed with a sheep. Kwabena Asare came back to Sampa where he was given a heroic welcome back to his fatherland. According to the 95 year old widow of Kwabena Asare, she herself was never maltreated. “But what was being done to my husband was quite painful”, she said.³⁶ The widow, named Yelimor Fofie said she gave birth to her fourth child Adwoa Ahenkan at Suma. The people of Sampa and its surrounding villages met and sent a strong delegation to Suma with the message that “your act has proved to us that Suma and Sampa are not the same people and hence as from today Suma should never

count Sampa as part of her.”³⁷ Suma responded quickly by apologizing to Sampa, but the harm had already been caused and Kwabena Asare could never be re-instated as the Sumahene. Sampa then took a secession step from Suma.

The Sampa people did not succeed in their secession action. Formally Sampa remained an integral part of Suma –Kwatwoma Local Council. However, the Sampahene and his people were not under any traditional obligation to serve the Sumahene. The two remained traditionally independent of each other. The uncompromising relations between the two delayed the creation of a separate local council for the area. It led to the malfunctioning of Suma – Kwatwoma Local Council when it was lately established and retarded the development of the area.

Internal conflict in Sampa.

After the Kwabena Asare episode a delegation was sent to the Akyempemhene in Kumasi with the message that they did not want to serve the Asantehene through the Sumahene anymore but rather through the Akyempemhene himself. The Akyempemhene was the landlord (adamfoo) to Sampa in Kumasi. After giving their reason their petition was accepted, which implied that Sampa would be elevated to paramountcy and granted autonomy.³⁹ The question of who should be the paramount chief of the Sampa (Fantra) was raised. Both the Gyamerahene and Sampahene demanded it. The Gyamera- Kalie clan claimed they were the oldest in the area; the owners of the land and therefore nobody deserved the paramountcy more than them. Sampa admitted that Jamera was the first to settle the area. However, they sold the land they said they were the owners to the people of Sampa.

The tradition relates that the Sampa people on their way from Kakala in the Ivory Coast first settled in Tampi also in the Ivory Coast. They were known as “*Si –nguu-Lor*” meaning “The Great Archers”.⁴⁰ They were simply warriors and that nobody had ever defeated them in a war since their migration from Kakala. The Gyamera heard of them and invited them to help the people of Gyamera against the Klulosa of Namasa who were always killing and harassing them. The Klulosa had bleached mouths, arms and feet. They were fearful and strongest in the area. The Sampa people came and within a short time defeated the enemies. Meanwhile Gyamera people had promised to pay Sampa people with a bronze pan full of gold if successful in the war. After the war the people of Sampa demanded payment, but the Gyamerahene had no gold to pay. They came to an agreement that the people of Sampa should take the land around Gyamera in lieu of gold. It is believed that Gyamera people did not pay in gold because she needed the protection of Sampa people and hence lured them to be around her. The claims for paramountcy divided the Sampa (Fantra). The whole of Sampa was behind the Sampehene. The Sienaku clan of Duadaso No I, Safi-Yaa clan of Duadaso No II, Gyamera Kagbor clan were also behind the Sampahene. The whole of Kokoa, Kabile, Buko, Bonakre, Adadiem and Jinini were supporting the Sampahene.

Kori-Katoo clan of Duadaso I, Kato-Gbor of Duadaso II, were supporting Gyamera Kalie to be the paramount chief. Suma protested against Sampa being Paramount and supported Gyamera Kalie. The struggle continued into the independence of Ghana in 1957. Customarily, the Sampahene was independent of Suma but formally he remained part of Suma – Kwatwoma Local Council.

Secession Movements in British Gyaman

Drobo and Suma emerged as divisional states in British Gyaman. The local government machinery was set up around them. Both represented Gyaman on the Asanteman Council; - the Drobohene as the Gyamanhene while Sumahene was invited as an ex-officio member. The towns associated with secession plans were Sampa, Dwenem and Japekrom.

“The secessionist movement have flourished in the Drobo and Suma states because in neither state is there a stool to whom all the people there traditionally owe allegiance. Both Drobohene and Sumahene, as Y.H is aware, were not rulers of homogeneous units. Those groups who did not serve Jamanhene through Drobohene or Sumahene in the past are not willing to do so in this period of disintegration of constitutional arrangements. It would appear logical, therefore, that there is more chance of unity under elected councils than that under Native Authorities”.⁴¹

On February 10, 1942, the Akwamuhene of Drobo and chief of Japekrom wrote to the Drobohene that he, the Japekromhene, would not be under the Drobohene again. His reason was given as being marginalized by the Drobohene. On May 5, 1942, the Chief Commissioner E.G. Hawkeworth, instructed the District Commissioner at Wenchi to appoint a Committee of Enquiry under the chairmanship of the Distinct Commissioner to look into the matter.⁴² The Japekromhene in a letter on 4th June, 1942, requested to be removed from the authority of the Drobohene to serve Otumfuo through their ancestral head the Ankaasihene owing to wrongs and grievances they were presently suffering under the Drobohene. He continued that, according to traditional history the ancestors of Japekrom migrated with the Dorma and the Gyaman from Akwamu under the leadership of a female ancestress Takyiwa Bansua and settled at Mpoasu. They were serving the Gyamanhene direct,

while Drobo was serving the Gyamanhene through Sonkwarehene, a wing chief of Gyaman. Takyiwa Bansua and the then Drobohene became friends and later on this friendship developed into marriage. Consequently Japekrom and Drobo became friends and treated one another with mutual respect and consideration. After the division of Gyaman between the French and the British, Japekrom remained in Asante under British government and were then placed for administrative purposes under the Drobohene by the government. Due to the kind treatment given to them by the previous chiefs of Drobo, Japekrom decided not to raise any objection at the time. But “the present Drobohene Nana Kofi Busia, has treated us with such indignity and has subjected us to several acts of oppression and wrong doing that he has alienated our feeling”⁴³ In the olden days the Japekrom people were not subjects to the Drobo stool. They (Japekrom and Drobo) were mere friends.

The Sampa Improvement Association at a meeting held on the 16th day of March 1952, resolved among others that:

“7. And whereas the Brongs have rejected a Sampa bred heir to the Suma stool to rule, for the simple reasons that he was brought up by Fantra chief. 8. And whereas the Brongs have broken their allegiance to the Asantehene and the Ashanti confederacy council, because the Brongs and the Ahsanti are not one distinct race. 9. And whereas the Fantras and the Brongs are not one distinct race... 14. That we will not in any respect join with the Brongs to form the Suma Native Administration again but prefer to have a separate administration comprising of only Fantra people.”⁴⁴

On 20th September, 1951, a general meeting was held by all the chiefs and young men of ‘Awasu’ (Dwenem) state within the Brong Division under the chairmanship of the Dwenemhene, Nana Bene Yaw. At the meeting it was resolved that, the state levy for 1951/52 year would not be paid to Drobo and

Suma states, because these two states were members of the new Brong Kyempem Federation. A voluntary contribution of £1,000 had been collected to build their own state treasury⁴⁵. The Dwenemhene on 2nd May, 1952, petitioned the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti through the District Commissioner in Sunyani to have their own Court, Treasury and Local Council.⁴⁶ He assured the Commissioner that the personnel to man all these would be readily available without any hindrance. The villages which came together to form the Awasu state were as follows.

Dwenem	Atuna
Bodaa	Konsia
Korase	Buobunu
Sebreni	Bar Anafuor
Dodosuo	Kwamepimkrom
Kwameseikrom	Nyame.
Kwameprakrom	

The Kwatwoma, a group under Kwatwomahene at Seketia, formed confederation with Suma. This made the District Commissioner recommend Suma for a Divisional status. Though, not a secessionist, the Kwatwomahene demanded almost equal rights and rank as the Sumahene. This was because he felt cheated; while the Sumahene was receiving £80 for his travelling allowances, he, the Kwatwomahene, was given only ten shillings for each journey.⁴⁷

These secession movements resulted in malfunctioning of the Native Authorities of Suma and Jaman Divisions. It again delayed the migration from

the Native Authority system into the new Local Councils.⁴⁸ The refusal of Sampa to co-operate with Suma or vice versa, led to the suspension of the Suma Native Authority twice in 1953 and 1956, and a Committee of Administration was set up in its place. A Committee of Administration was also set up for Gyaman (Drobo) Native Authority. In each case a government agent was appointed as its chairman. Another factor which contributed to the malfunctioning of Native Authorities in Gyaman was misappropriation of the treasury funds. On June 1, 1953, the Government agent in Sunyani noted that,

“The treasury has sustained large losses through misappropriations. A year ago, a sum of approximately £500 was misappropriated by the Treasury clerk. Again one month ago, a new Treasury clerk, appointed at the instance of the Sumahene, misappropriated approximately £300 the day after he took over his duties”.⁴⁹

He further related that if local government reform was to be carried out in this Division it was essential that the administration is separated from the traditional elements who could not, at the time agree with each other and have allowed the local government administration to deteriorate to a level where it has virtually ceased to exist.⁵⁰ The Government Agent in Sunyani reasoned that the Jaman and Suma Divisions be administered for some time longer under the Native Authorities (Ashanti) Ordinance and not under the Local Government Ordinance because both were thrown into confusion by the secession of the former Drobohene and the former Sumahene from the Ashanti Confederacy.⁵¹

Despite the confusion and the Chief Commissioner referring to British Gyaman as backward, he put certain measures in place to facilitate its early transition into the reforms. He instructed the Government Agent in Sunyani to

find out the possibility of establishing a Local Council in the area. After several meetings in the Suma-Drobo area and with all the secessionist movements, it was found out that the two paramount stools (Suma and Drobo) would never agree to be considered under one Local Council. The area which was once part of the Division had been arbitrarily divided into two groups, and the manner in which the two stools were elevated to paramountcy was quite obscure and the Asantehene could not give enough information to substantiate it⁵². The District Commissioner, however, recommended that workable Local Councils could be organized around the two Paramount stools.

The next point that arose was the fact that several villages in both Suma and Drobo were in fact situated in the other side of the opposite Division. Both state councils had agreed that this anomaly should be rectified as far as Local government was concerned.

The Villages were as follows:

(1) Suma villages to join Drobo Local Council

Villages	Population
Nyame	unknown
Atuna	390
Men	31
Kwamepimkrom	368
Nyamefie	200
Nyameye	52
Batia	72

(ii) Drobo villages to join Suma – Kwatwoma Local Council

Villages	Population
Old Drobo	47
Drobo Amanfoso	56
Pongo	17
Dawiri	89
Koraso	81

Old Drobo was the seat of the Queen Mother of Drobo and the Omanhene's black stools were kept there. The Queen Mother agreed that the towns should come under the Suma Kwatwoma Local Council.⁵³

On 27th July, 1951, the Drobohene, Nana Kofi Busia Gyinantwi III, wrote a letter through the Dormaahene to the Brong Kyempim Federation

Chiefs, that his Akwamu chief, Kyedom chief, and Brafohene had deliberately withdrawn their allegiances from his stool and therefore could not attend their meeting at Techiman.⁵⁴ On 4th January, 1953, it was reported to Prince Kwame Adinkra, the Aduanahene at Amanfi in the Ivory Coast, that the Krontihene, Ohemaa and their few supporters have destooled the Drobohene Nana Kofi Busia Gyinantwi III without the consent of the entire Drobo Divisional Council. This resulted in the division of the Drobo State into two: the Brong Section and the Asante Section. They therefore asked for advice and help from their overlord and head of the Brong people⁵⁵. The letter was signed by the Secretary of the Brong Kyempim Federation⁵⁶. The Adontehene, Nifahene, Benkumhene, Abakomahene, Awerempohene, Akyeamehene, Elders and the youth of the Brong section of Drobo on 27th December, 1952, resolved that;

- i. they would call themselves the ‘Brong section of Drobo State’
- ii. The Brong Section has nothing to do in common with the ‘Asante Section’, either in the form of administration, customary practices, paying of taxes et cetera. The Asante Section comprised the Krontihene, Ohemaa, Gyasehene, Ankobeahene, Pinankohene, Twafohene and the Aduanahene.
- iii. The existing Native Court of Drobo State which was under the control of the Asante Section of Drobo State should cease from operation in whatever form of its jurisdiction.
- iv. All cases involving any member of the Brong Section of Drobo State should be transferred to the magistrate court.⁵⁷

On 6th January, 1953 the Brong Section of Drobo State met in Gorasua and wrote to the Government Agent in Sunyani that, since the destoolment of Drobohene the Drobo State had been in disagreement and without any recognized head. They the Brong Section had appointed Nana Kofi Nyarko,

the Adontehene to act as their head.⁵⁸ The Brong Section was in support of the Brong Kyempem Federation, while the Asante Section was in support of the Asante Confederacy. With time the Asante Section gradually dissolved into the Brong Section.

Drobo and Suma - Kwatwoma Local Councils

Drobo constituted a group of people under the Drobohene with New Drobo as the headquarters. Drobo did not occupy an entirely contiguous area of land. With the exception of the villages adhering to the Awasu secessionist movement, there was no secessionist group in this division so far as the creation of a local council was concerned. However, due to the prevailing stool dispute over the ex-omanhene, the division had split within itself. The Government Agent believed the dispute would not permanently affect the future of a local council.

The Government Agent in Sunyani recommended that, the Kwatwomas and the Sumas would work together in co-operation. The two groups the Fantra (Sampa) and Suma - Kwatwoma each formed approximately 50% of the population of the proposed council. As a matter of fact Suma-Kwatwoma constituted slightly less than 50%.⁵⁹ It has already been stated above that Kwatwoma constituted about 25%, Suma therefore made up the remaining 25%. The Fantra numbering just over 50% were adamant at every meeting that they would not join with Suma and Kwatwoma in the council.⁶⁰ The Government Agent suggested that, if the government was firm and offered no alternative they would join and make the council work. He therefore designed the wards of the council to give these two groups equal representation.⁶¹ Wards 1 to 5 were entirely Fantra and 6 to 10 entirely Suma- Kwatwoma. He

recommended that the headquarters of the council be sited between Nweneme and Sampa which were half-a-mile apart.⁶²

The name Suma-Kwatwoma was accepted by all except Sampa (Fantra) who had a problem with it. Sampa suggested that the name should reflect the fact that there were three groups of people in the area, and proposed 'North Jaman' and 'Suma-Kwatwoma-Fantra' Local Council to be chosen as a name for the council. The former was historically appropriate since it was part of the old Gyaman Kingdom. But this did not appeal to the Suma and Kwatwoma. The latter was quite unacceptable to the Suma and Kwatwoma who asserted that there were only two states in the area and that Fantras were serving the Gyase wing of Suma state. Suma said the Fantras were secessionists from the Suma division therefore to grant their request would amount to recognizing their movement.⁶³ Sampa on the other hand argued that the relationship between Sampa people and Suma people was never the master-servant type of association, but rather a friendly one of equal status. The tradition is that Sampa people settled the region before Suma people. On arrival, the people of Suma brought salt to Sampa people as gift; Sampa reciprocated the kind gesture by sending a gift of yams to Suma.⁶⁴ It turned out to be an annual ritual between the two; Sumahene gave a gift of salt to Sampahene, while Sampahene gave a gift of yams to Sumahene. After some time, when salt became a common commodity, the Sumahene stopped giving salt as gift to Sampahene. Sampahene did not stop immediately but continued for some time. This was never a portrayal of Sampahene serving Sumahene. During those days, Sampa people were deriving her salt from fan-palm. The leaves were burnt and out of the ashes a salt-like element known to them as *gba-*

wenge was extracted and used as salt. Suma people never conquered the people of Sampa in a war neither were the Sampa people servants of Suma stool.

Awasu (Dwenem) Local Council

The Awasu was a group of people under the Dwenemhene. Dwenem was on the borders of Drobo and Suma. They do not occupy a contiguous area of land. They were in fact, scattered about all over the Suma and Drobo divisions. At a meeting in Dwenem with the Government Agent in which all the chiefs of the villages were present, the Awasu were obstinate in their attitude that they would only be satisfied with a local council based on Awasu division. The Government Agent, however, pointed out to them that they were so scattered that their proposal was impossible and asked them to state which local council they would like to join but they said they would not co-operate with either. The Government Agent recommended that they be included in Drobo Local Council for:-

- i. The best solution for the welfare of both councils would be to leave Dwenem out of both but that would be retrogressive.
- ii. They would upset the balance of seats in the Suma-Kwatwoma Local Council which would negate that council's chances of success.⁶⁵

The Dwenem people refused to comply and on 25th, October, 1955, the Dwenemhene and his supporters petitioned the Senior Government Agent for a separate local council, court and treasury.⁶⁶ The number of Adikrofo supporting him increased from 16 to 29. They all appended their signatures to the petition. Copies were sent to; The C.R.O. Kumasi, The Minister of

Local Government, The Prime Minister, Accra, Mr. S.W. Yeboah Member of the Legislative Assembly, Accra.

The Awasu chiefs numbering five with their 24 Adikrofo and their youth argued categorically that historically, they were never under the states of Drobo nor Suma, but were forced by the imperial government to come under these authorities. The whole of Awasu had been deprived of social, economic and political freedom by the two states. The two states were so much divided against themselves that no co-operation was expected from them sooner or later.

That scholarships have been awarded to some Fantra boys in the grass land to study at various schools without consulting or sending a single soul from Awasu to even a primary standard whilst the greater proportion of the levy was collected by Awasu⁶⁷.

Such was the prevailing situation in British Gyaman, full of grievances, conflicts and petitions. Surprisingly, Dwenem's petition gained the attention of the government and in 1956 an instrument under the Local Government Ordinance Cap. 64 established the Awasu (Dwenem) Local Council⁶⁸. The Council consisted of 20 representative members and 9 traditional members. The office of the President was filled by the Dwenemhene with its offices located in the town of Dwenem. In the same year instead of Suma-Kwatwoma and Drobo local councils, Jaman Confederacy Local Council was created.⁶⁹ The Presidency of the Council were filled in annual rotation by the Sumahene and the Drobohene. In 1957, two instruments were made, one establishing Suma-Kwatwoma Local Council with Sumahene as the president and the offices located at Sampa⁷⁰. The second one only changed the name from Suma-Kwatwoma

to North Jaman Local Council⁷¹. Though there continued to be some frictions among and within the various groups, most of the demands were met. Sampa and Japekrom (New Drobo) were placated with the headquarters of their respective local councils. Dwenem was given its own local council, Sumahene and Drobohene filled the presidency of their local councils.

By 1957, British Gyaman had been polarized into the north and the south. Each section had its own division and divisional head, urban centre, and emerging educational and health facilities. Apart from inter-divisional alienations, there were also intra-divisional struggles and discrimination. All these were created by the influence of colonialism, which in most of the cases benefited the colonists. On the other hand Gyamans reaction was to attract the attention of colonial powers for developmental projects.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECTS OF COLONIALISM ON BRITISH GYAMAN

Colonialism was a force propelled by European invented technology. It was justified by its humanitarian and civilization missions and was unjustified on the grounds of its exploitative tendencies. Its most attractive feature was technology driven development projects. Though not directed at the upliftment of the African, it indirectly benefited her. It was things (material wealth) that came first and not human beings and their welfare.¹ The force, power and policies of colonialism were revolutionary in nature. It shook African traditions, customs and practices and intended to replace them with European culture. In the colonial process some practices were disbanded, some discouraged and others encouraged; the interplay resulted in a significant change in the lives of the people. In this chapter the factors of change in British Gyaman emanating from British colonization are categorized into political, economic and social spheres.

The earliest, greatest and long lasting effect of colonialism on Gyaman was the dividing of the state into two spheres of influence. By this act the Abron Kingdom was divided between the French and the British. Lineages and families were divided by artificial boundaries. Lineage or family members in British or French sphere became aliens in the opposite sphere. The Bonohene went to the French section of Gyaman. The British section was severed from the political care and the unifying force of the Bonohene. According to an informant, the British Gyaman was made a ‘political orphan’

without a head to organize and manage it. It would have been prudent for the colonialist to consult and negotiate with the Bonohene to delegate his traditional political powers in a customary way to one of his traditional political subordinate chiefs in the British section. That would have been more binding and acceptable to the people. This did not happen because it would have been in contradiction to the exclusive occupational policy resolved by the European powers at the Berlin conference. Instead, the British took the traditional laws into their own hands and appointed the Drobohene as the head chief of the area. To some of the chiefs the Drobohene was just a colleague and an equal, to others he was a subordinate and had no political right and capacity to rule over them. Drobo was a small state and might have lacked experience, courage and established traditions and customs to rule a region which was an amalgamation of divisions most of which were larger than Drobo itself. The elevation of the Drobohene to head chief of British Gyaman led to jealousy, distrust and unfair competition within the region.

Colonialism through its invented system of local government put British Gyaman under Ashanti Province., which comprised the present Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti Regions. Ashanti Province was then divided into four districts. In 1934 Ashanti was reorganized into seven districts². There were several reorganizations and re-arrangements in the province. These ruffles affected the fortunes of the people in the area. In 1902 Sampa (Sikassiko) was made the headquarters of the North western District of Ashanti. This made Sampa receive more attention from the District Commissioner, and its image and prestige rose higher in the estimation of the people. Its trade became brisker. However, when the headquarters was moved to Wenchi two years later its

importance and wealth declined. The withdrawal reduced the fortunes and opportunities of the people of the area.³

Again the various groups in Gyaman under Ashanti found it difficult to find a political place for themselves. They felt their group identity was threatened. Consequently group consciousness was created. A 'We' and 'they', 'us' and 'them' syndrome developed. It resulted in conflicts, struggles and secessionist movements. Among the Abrons, chiefs or elders were spokesmen; the chiefs were powerless to act without popular consent. But colonialism meant the superimposition of a new bureaucracy in which the indigenous political systems were destroyed or radically modified. Under the colonial system power was placed in the hand of a single ruler. The chiefs became subject to the authority and direction of the District Commissioner. The people's initiative and participation were killed for they were not expected to initiate but to obey. According to an informant during the pre-colonial days each and every one wanted to show his or her loyalty to the state by hard work or sacrificing for the state but with colonialism they made them (Gyamans) expect something from the government; instruction or development projects.

Colonialism did not only create inter-group disputes and struggles it also created inter French and British Gyaman disagreements and intra- group quarrels in British Gyaman. Due to the prevailing political environment developed by the colonialists, conflict erupted among the Drobohene, Sumahene and the Bonohene in the Ivory Coast. Details of the matter are given in chapter two above. As a consequence of that conflict, the people under Sumahene were not only seen as aliens in French Gyaman but their

farms were confiscated by the Bonohene supported by his imperial power, the French. The British system of indirect rule led to chieftaincy disputes and destoolments as well as land litigations. In 1925 a protracted litigation originated between the Odikro of Asiri, Kofi Murofie, and that of Wamsua, Kwabena Sekyere. Both claimed ownership to a land and palm plantation.⁴ Kofi Murofie, the Asirihene, died and his successor continued with the litigation. It moved out of the Gyamanhene's court to the District Commissioner's court in Wenchi, where it was settled in favour of Asiri. This litigation dragged the surrounding villages, Mayera, Koti and Dawiri into its fold as witnesses.

While the Asiri – Wamsua litigation was going on, the Odikro of Korti, Kwabena Tawiah, also a witness to the litigation, came forward and swore the Omanhene's oath that all Suma, Drobo and Kwatwoma lands belonged to him. Kojo Bai on hearing him responded to the oath that at least one portion of those lands, the Asiri land, the disputed land with Kwabena Sekyere was his. The matter went to the Omanhene and litigation began. It passed through the Omanhene's native court and the District Commissioner's Court in Sunyani to the court of the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti in Kumasi. There were many other land disputes like the Sampa – Suma, and Atuna – Drobo cases. The Native Tribunal could not handle these litigations because colonialism disrupted the smooth traditional systems and replaced them with foreign legal systems.

Closely related to land disputes were chieftaincy disputes. In 1947, Suma was engulfed in a stool succession dispute. As a result of the abdication of a Sumahene, the stool became vacant. The Nifahene of Suma

unconstitutionally elected Asi Kwaku as candidate to the Suma stool. But J.K. Botchey opposed Asi Kwaku's candidature, swore, the great oath and claimed to be the rightful candidate and asserted that Asi Kwaku was no royal to the stool.⁵ The matter was brought before the Otumfuo Nana Sir Osei Agyeman Pprmpheh II. At the end Asi Kwaku was destooled. On 9th May, 1949, Opanin Kwame Mfodwo protested against the Asirihene, Kwadwo Bai, for taking from him his rank as Abontendomhene of Asiri and giving it to Opanin Adu Kofi. Opanin Kwame Mfodwo was rather given the title and rank as Akwamuhene.⁶ Through protestation and litigation Opanin Kwame Mfodwo reclaimed his rightful title and rank. In August, 1955 there was an objection to the enstoolment of Nana Kojo Adinkra III as Drobohene.⁷ Despite the protest the supoters of Nana Kojo Adinkra III, went ahead and enstooled him as the Drobohene.

In addition to Asi Kwaku, Kwaku Konadu, a Sumahene was also destooled in 1951.⁸ Kofi Bosia Gynantwi III, the Drobohene, was also destooled in 1952. Colonialism in fact made insecurity a characteristic feature of chiefship.⁹ According to Busia, before colonization, chiefs were mostly destooled for failure to consult the elders or breaking of custom.¹⁰ During colonization the most common cause was that of misappropriation of stool funds. For instance, the following misappropriation of funds and misconduct charges were preferred against Drobohene, Nana Kofi Bosia III, by the elders of Drobo:

1. That Nana Kofi Bosia in his capacity as Drobohene collected Rubber Tributes in the sum of £8.5 / from the people residing on Nifahene's land at Minaamamu and made use of it without paying it into the stool treasury, where he really knew that was stool money. This was

contrary to the native courts' ordinance; furthermore he did not like the progress of the stool, but instead seeking [sic] his own selfish interest.

2. That Nana Kofi Bosia in his capacity as Drobohene, who was having people or subjects assigned to him purposely to carry state drums (funtumfom etc) did force his Nifahene Kwasi Agyei and five chiefs (adikrofo) to carry state drums (Funtumfrom) which were beaten by drummers from one outskirt of the town to the other outskirt. After this he forced them to rub their respective mouths against the ground and further asked them to stay in the heat of the burning sun for a considerable period of time. This act done by Drobohene against them as Elders who held positions in his administration was quite contrary to the Asante Native customary law. An Ohene should not treat his Elders in such a way as he did for even if they had offended him at all his only remedy was to put them before the court and not by an ordeal.

The third reason was that he used a profane language against Adwoa Nkroma the wife of Moses Yetimi.¹¹

On the positive side it can be said that these conflicts could have easily erupted into civil war or wars but for the structure put in place by colonialism to resolve grievances. Another positive side of colonialism was that it helped to eliminate slavery and its related institutions like pawning and panyarring. Human sacrifice was also eliminated from the affairs of British Gyaman.¹²

Economic Effects

According to Kimble, the pre-colonial economy was sluggish. Its trade was irksome and lacked marketing facilities; its agriculture was subsistence with its transport and communication system being backward¹³. But the Europeans came to the Gold Coast mainly to trade¹⁴. In order to expand, diversify and make trade attractive and profitable the colonial powers endeavoured to remove the barriers that hindered trade. There was no generally accepted medium of exchange. The barter system was part of the trade. Gold dust, iron bars and cowries served as mediums of exchange in

Gyaman. Trading was full of inconveniences. It was not easy for two traders who needed each other's goods to meet and exchange their goods. Gold dust was too scarce to be obtained by the common man. Iron bar was too heavy to be carried about and cowries were bulky. The British introduced the nickel coin popularly known as the "*Akoo dua*". It was attractive, durable, and simple and could be easily carried around. It was generally accepted and replaced iron bar and cowries as the medium of exchange. It also gradually eliminated the barter system. In 1912 the Gold Exchanged (standard) Board was set up, and started issuing the British West African coins in 3d, 6d, and 2-shillings denomination in 1913. In 1916, the Board started the issuing of the first currency in notes in the denominations: 2-shillings, 10-shillings and £1¹⁵. The introduction of coins and notes facilitated the economic development in the area.

The growth of a country's economy depended very much on the development of its transport and communication system. Apart from improving trade, roads served as channels of civilization.¹⁶ The British strove to construct the Wenchi – Sampa road in 1944. According to the District Commissioner of Wenchi, the road was commercially valuable because products like rubber, yams, groundnut, cotton, pigs, poultry, and cattle in the area could be carted to Kumasi¹⁷. Imported manufactured goods from Europe could reach the people in the area through that road. The greatest obstacle on the road was the river Tain. The road crossed the Tain River near its confluence with River Nyimpin. It made that part of the river to be wide and flowed with swift currents. It therefore needed special technology to build a bridge across the river. This was provided by the colonial expertise.

Administratively, the road was a great asset for:

- (a) About 15,000 people were frequently visited instead of once a year.
- (b) There was a court and treasury at Nsawkaw and Banda which were visited at least quarterly.
- (c) Menji was an immunization centre for North- Western Ashanti and was made easily accessible.
- (d) Suma and Drobo required to be visited at least every two months; Sampa was fifty miles direct from the west but a hundred and thirty via Sunyani¹⁸.

The construction of the Sampa frontier road was made possible due to colonial technology. The work cost about £1,400 made up as follows: 300 yards of embankment £300, bridge over Tain river at the boundary £450, three 8^{ft} culverts £ 300 and putting existing road in order £550.¹⁹ By 1949 the Seketia-Jankufa – Goka road and Seikwa – Kokoa – Sampa roads had been constructed. Related to road construction was the introduction of lorries and bicycles as means of transport. Telegram services were also introduced at Sampa. These made movements of goods and people quite easy. Trade became brisker and the economy boomed. European goods: clothes, hardware, cooking utensils reached every part of the area. Locally manufactured goods were replaced by European manufactured goods. The local industries were, however, killed.

The introduction of cocoa as cash crop in the region had an immense effect on the area. Vast arable lands which were good for cocoa were turned into cocoa plantations. Typical areas good for cocoa production included Zezera, Adamsu, Japekrom, Nyamefie and Atuna. In areas where the land was not good for cocoa like Sampa and Suma, the people migrated into cocoa growing areas. Areas like Ponko, Asiri and Old Drobo which had limited land also migrated to acquire land for cocoa cultivation. New villages were

established in the cocoa growing areas causing stunt growth in the villages from where they migrated.

The following table indicates the sources of migration and the villages established by migrants.

SOURCES OF MIGRATION	ESTABLISHED VILLAGE
Pongo	Adiokor
Korase	Dodosuo
Old Drobo and Amanfoso	Komfokrom
Old Drobo and Amanfoso	Abrikasu
Suma	Buobunu
Pongo and Pinda	Gonasua
Bomaa and Pongo	Katakyliekrom
Dawiri	Kofuko
Kormaa and Pongo	Faaman
Anor and Pango	Konsia
Pongo	Tekese
Amanvoso and Pongo	Baano

They settled in their present location to acquire land for cocoa cultivation²⁰. The consequence was that their ‘mother’ towns of Pong, Korase, Old Drobo, Dawiri and Amanvoso have remained stunted and could not grow. Some are even ‘dying’ for the old buildings are falling and new ones are not built to replace them. Some of the cocoa farmers who prospered did not go back to their respective home towns but rather moved to the urban centres, where they

built mansions and enjoyed city life. Those who failed to make it refused to go back. They persevered trying again in the same place or moving to new places. Nevertheless, some prosperous cocoa farmers went back home and built beautiful modern houses. These farmers sent their children to school to acquire knowledge.

Migration was not limited to intra-British Gyaman. Other people migrated outside British Gyaman. In the late 1940s a group of people from Kokoa led by the Kokoahene, Nana Kwame Kwarteng, moved to Danyame in the Dormaa District to acquire land to cultivate cocoa. A village, New Kokoa, was established. Another group from Duadaso I led by their chief, Nana Amu Kwadwo, joined the Kokoa people in New Kokoa to make cocoa farms. Again a group from Duadaso II and Kokoa went to Asuokor and Kwasiameadwene in the Ivory Coast. Prominent among this group were: Opanin Wolli Yaw (Duadaso II), Opanin Sah Yaw Gyato and his brother Obah Kokoh from Kokoa and Opanin Kwaku Bricher from Goka, all went to Asuokor, a town in the Ivory Coast to cultivate cocoa farms. Others from Duadaso I and Kokoa led by Opanin Kofi Dum and Opanin Kofi Owusu went beyond Kong in the Agni area and settled at Yabraso and Adukro in the Ivory Coast. The informant, Opanin Kwasi Bile of Kokoa who gave this information has cocoa farms in both British and French Gyaman as well as in Agni- land in the Ivory Coast.²¹

The introduction of cocoa, diverted labour into cocoa farming at the expense of local food production. According to Busia the chiefs in Asante raised an alarm in 1938 that “already there have been more than sufficient cocoa farms cultivated at the discount or neglect of food farms. All attention

has been diverted from the cultivation of food stuffs farms on the pretext that there is not much money in food farms as compared with cocoa farms, and therefore it is not worth while wasting ones time and energy over them²².

Social Effect

Colonial activities in British Gyaman had a severe impact on the social structure and institutions of the state. Before colonialism there were three main social classes in British Gyaman. These were the ruling or royal class, the commoners and the slaves²³. During colonialism the ruling class (chieftaincy institution) was transformed with most of its traditional duties taken away with new prescribed ones taking its place. For instance, policing and military service were no more in the hands of the Drobohene or Sumahene. The slave class was disbanded. Ex-slaves diffused into the commoners. However, new classes emerged. These were the educated elite class and the successful traders and rich cocoa farmer's class. The works performed by slaves continued to be carried out by the same people or different people but under different conditions and sometimes for different people. New opportunities for wealth creation through expanded trade and cash-cropping opened new channels for acquiring prestige and status outside the traditional models.²⁴ Kinship ties and loyalty were weakened; this was because certain types of economic pursuits were incompatible with the kinship ties of Gyaman.²⁵

Migration seemed to be an unceasing practice in Gyaman. There were migrations in pre-colonial days and migrations during the colonial days. Different reasons prompted people to migrate at these different times. During colonization people migrated in or out of Gyaman, basically for economic reasons; to trade or to acquire land for cocoa cultivation. People migrated from

rural to urban centres to trade and from rural to rural areas for the cultivation of cash crops. During colonial times at least two small urban centres developed in British Gyaman. These were Sampa in the Suma division and Japekrom in the Drobo division. Urbanization resulted in the development of markets in Sampa and Japekrom. New economic activities emerged and a greater number of people also involved in economic activities. The changes in economic activities and occupation led to changes in the way the people lived. These changes challenged the existing values, beliefs and social practices. New jobs evolved for women. Women began to cook and sell food to temporal migrants and traders. Moslem women made *lomru-gie* (orange quash), *amuduro* (ginger lemonade), and *disab* (a flower lemonade) for sale. An economic capacity base was emerging for women in the urban centres and consequently improved their quality of life, which in turn attracted more women into the urban centres. Urbanization on the other hand brought along with it certain social vices like prostitution and armed robbery into these urban centres.

Colonialism influenced housing and community planning in British Gyaman. Spatial needs of man in his home, his work place and that of his animals, tools and belongings were determined taking modern health and safety needs (accessibility), fire prevention and ventilation into consideration. Proposed community and housing layouts which agreed with service routes were made at the early stage to avoid later adjustment which could be both time consuming and costly. The location of schools, hospitals and markets were predetermined. In 1949 the new Drobo town layout was drawn and submitted to the people for their approval before they began the building of

the town.²⁶ Under the town planning schemes and services earlier houses which were found to be out of place in Sampa, Suma, Duadaso II and Seketia were demolished in 1948

Others in Adamsu, Dwenem, Japekrom and Atuma were also demolished. Towns like Kokoa and Duadaso I, which resisted the demolition exercise, later realized their mistake and agreed to plan the emerging suburbs. According to an informant, the planner, a Mr. Amu, was beaten up and driven away from Kokoa and Duadaso I. According to S.K. Sie, the Regent of Sampa, the tradition of building houses with mud walls and thatched roofs gradually died out.²⁷ People started building houses with cement blocks and zinc roofs. Though this started in the cocoa growing areas and by the rich cocoa farmers and traders it gradually spread to other parts.

The educated men emulated the British way of dressing. They put on a pair of shorts, trousers, shirts (long sleeves and short sleeves) to replace the traditional cloth that was loosely hanged over and around the body. Educated women were few and picked up their European counterparts ways later. Female Europeans were very rare in British Gyaman. Perhaps that had an effect on the women's way of life in British Gyaman. The educated elite became a reference class. Others, typically the successful traders and some rich cocoa farmers imitated this class in one way or the other. The European way of dressing was preferred to the traditional way of wearing cloth.²⁸

During the pre-colonial days, local brewed beer, a product of maize known as "*kakyaw*" and palm wine were used in cultural festivities like pouring of libation, 'head drink' in marriage ceremonies and during funeral

rites and celebrations. The alcoholic content in such local drinks was quite soft. Alcoholism was rare in British Gyaman by then. The introduction of European made drinks quickly gained root and was adopted into Gyaman cultural system. Schnapps, gin and brandy replaced palm wine and '*kakyaw*' in most ceremonies. The drinking glass was used instead of the calabash. The European drinks were conveniently packaged in bottles. Their aromatic scent was quite appetizing. The alcoholic content was very high. The admission of European made drinks into British Gyaman led to alcoholism and alcohol related problems in the area.

“In all my experience of the country (which extended from 1887 to 1891) I can recall only one case of genuine habitual drunkenness, and my friend Mr. Commissioner (now a judge) Rayner assured me that during the twelve months that he acted as police magistrate at Cape Coast he had no single case of drunkenness brought before him.”²⁹

R.A. Freeman admitted that sending gin as a gift to the people of Gyaman was the greatest mistake and believed that 'fire water' (gin) was one of the many popular delusions in regard to West Africa³⁰. Closely related to alcoholism were tobacco production, consumption and addiction.

Colonialism dragged British Gyaman into the world economy and world conflict. Gyaman timber, cocoa and coffee were exported into the world market. Again between 1939 and 1945 the British lured British Gyaman citizens to be trained as soldiers and fought on the side of the British against the Axis forces. At least a soldier or two were lured into the British army from each village or town in British Gyaman.³¹

The colonialists introduced a modern health delivery system into British Gyaman. In 1949 a health post was built at Sampa in the Suma division and

another one at Drobo in the Drobo division. Diseases such as leprosy, yaws, sleeping sickness, sores and injuries were catered for at these posts under the supervision of medical doctors who resided in Sunyani.³² These posts were visited every two weeks by the medical doctors. This modern health delivery system caught the attention of the people and gradually displaced the traditional superstitious methods of diagnosis and the unscientific application of traditional medicine.

Missionary occupation and education work were twin duties undertaken by the missionaries. The Basel Mission and the Roman Catholic Church were the only missions that operated in British Gyaman during the colonial era. The Basel missionaries first settled in Suma (Nweneme) in 1920 and established a school for the community in 1925. They moved their station to Sampa in 1930 and built a school there in 1934. They later opened a sub-station at Banda. The Sampa – Suma – Banda district was then carved out.³³ In 1947 the Suma Native Middle School was established at Sampa. This served the Sampa, Suma, Banda and Dibebi communities. After a successful completion of primary six, pupils in these communities competed for a place in middle form through entrance examinations. Some prominent products of this school included Martin Adane, former Member of Parliament for Jaman, Rev. Minister Abrampa, K.K. Kwayie, former Brong-Ahafo Regional Secretary during the PNDC Regime, Nana S.K. Sie, Regent of Sampa and Mrs. Elizabeth Obah, the First DCE for Gyaman North District. In 1937, the Basel Missionaries opened a primary or basic school at Japekrom and in 1953 Japekrom Presbyterian Middle School was built. The Rev. I.A Amaning was the manager while Samuel Frank Assa Akuffo was the headteacher³⁴. In 1937

the Catholic missionaries built a primary school at Kwasiabuokrom. In 1949 the Kwasiabuokrom – New Drobo Middle School was opened³⁵. The Catholic Church arrived in Sampa in 1945.

The missionary works eroded many traditional practices, beliefs and values. They preached against these practices, beliefs and values. Through education they taught their pupils the scientific way of reasoning. It brought about divided allegiance and disloyalty to traditional authority. Marriage was another institution which the missionary work affected. The Christian religion preached against polygamy. It refused to recognize marriage rites performed according to the people's own customs and practices. Couples who did not marry according to the Christian practices forfeited some benefit like the Holy Communion and Christian burial rites.

Colonization was a groundbreaking power that hit Gyaman. It carved British Gyaman out of Greater Gyaman, reshaped its customs, practices and relations, internally and externally. Though, by this means it incidentally benefited the Gyaman people, paradoxically, it turned to bred hatred between the colonizer and the colonized. This resultant dislike for colonialism led the British Gyamans to join the entire Gold Cost Colony to agitate to unseat colonial dominance.

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8. PRAAD Sunyani BRG. 1/2/15, “Ex – Sumahene Kwaku Konadu V ”, p.30
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18. Ibid, p.2
19. PRAAD Sunyani BRG. 1/1/2, "Sampa – Frontier Road", p. 51
20. J. K. Agyeman, 'The People the Boundary Would not Divide: Gyaman of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire a Historical Perspective (1880 – 1960)' (Mphil Thesis to the University of Ghana, Legon, 2008). p. 62
21. Kokoa Tradition given by Opanin Kwasi Bile at his residence at Kokoa on 14th June, 2011,
22. K. A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1951). p. 121

23. Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana*, (London, Routledge & Kagan Paul, 1967). p. 22
24. K. A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief*, p. 127
25. Ibid., p. 128
26. PRAAD Sunyani, BRG. 28/17/13, “New – Drobo Town Layout”, p. 12
27. Sampa Tradition given by Nana S. K. Sie at his residence in Sampa on 12th August, 2011.
28. Ibid.
29. R. A. Freeman, *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jaman* (London: Frank Cass and Co Ltd. 1967). p. 187
30. Ibid.
31. Sampa Tradition given by Nana S. K. Sie at his residence on 12th August, 2011.
32. Ibid.
33. This district was a missionary district and not a political district.
34. J. K. Agyeman, *The People the Boundary Would not Divide*, p. 97
35. Ibid. p. 98.

CONCLUSION

The study has endorsed the view that Koti, Broko and Gyamera were the first settlements in the Gyaman kingdom. The wide region was sparsely populated and attracted many immigrants. The first of these immigrants included the Bonduku, Soko, Asiri and Mayera. These were followed by the Tampi, Jinini and Sampa. Up to this time, the region had not acquired any generally recognized name. The last of the immigrants were the Akwamu who fled their original home and settled at Bomaa. From Bomaa, part of the Akwamu broke away and migrated into the region around Bonduku. Through diplomacy and force they instituted political control over the areas. They adopted the name Gyaman a nickname assigned to them by the Asante meaning, “to flee ones nation” (*gya-wo-man*). These last immigrants into Gyaman also mobilized the rich resources in the state to their advantage. The other group that remained in Bomaa after Gyaman people had left went and established the present day Dormaa state.

The Gyaman kingdom stretched across forest and high savannah regions. It therefore enjoyed both forest and savannah products. It was rich in gold for ornaments and clay for pottery. Bonduku was its greatest commercial centre. The geographical position of Bonduku made Gyaman to access markets and products in the north, east and the south of the subregion. The kingdom was made up of heterogeneous ethnic groups whose interaction provided high traditional technology. The hard working people and craftsmen were quite loyal to the Gyamanhene. Freeman described Gyaman products to be of higher quality than those in Ashanti.

Gyaman's rich resources made it an enviable kingdom. Neighbours who wished they possessed such resources desired to conquer Gyaman and control its fortunes. The people of Gyaman were aware of these ill-wishes against them, and so planned to protect and preserve themselves. Social and political institutions were set up to keep internal law and order and to defend them against external aggression.

Despite Gyaman's well organized military force, an Asante invasion in 1740 succeeded in subjugating the kingdom and annexed it. Gyaman rebelled many times in order to redeem herself from Asante subjugation but to no avail and remained a satellite state of Ashanti until 1874.

In 1874 a large British organized army under Sir Garnet Wolseley invaded Asante and burnt down Kumasi, its capital. Many satellite states felt relieved and dreamed of becoming independent. But Asante did not want to waive its grips over the conquered and annexed states. With diplomacy and sometimes the use of force Asante started rebuilding her power. The British, alarmed by the rebirth of Asante power, encouraged Juaben to secede from Asante. In the course of Asante rebuilding plan, Kumasi attacked Juaben and defeated her. The Juabenhene Asafo Adjei fled to Accra. From Accra the Juabenhene planned to launch fresh attacks on Kumasi, so he sent some of his captains led by Ansurogya to Bonduku to collaborate with the Gyamanhene, Agyeman to organize a war party against Asante. Other fugitive chiefs like Kobena Fofea of Techiman and Bekwai of Seikwa joined Ansurogya in Gyaman against Kumasi. King Agyeman supported the common idea of the fugitive chiefs but his sub-chiefs did not. They preferred to join Asante rather than against it.

Meanwhile, France and Samori were hunting each other over Gyaman. France needed Gyaman to satisfy its east wards expansion of the French colonial empire, while Samori needed it for its Bonduku market. As a result a host of interests converged in Gyaman; four empire builders, two Africans and two Europeans, and a struggling group of fugitive chiefs who needed Gyaman to lead in a fight against Asante for their independence. In the end the interests of the Africans were subdued by the Europeans interests. Gyaman itself was divided between the collaborating European powers.

After the division, British Gyaman did not have an overlord Chief, since the Gyamanhene went to the French side. The British made the Drobohene the Gyamanhene of their side. In fact the Drobohene's elevation was tantamount to that of 'warrant chief'. The Sumahene protested against the imposition of Drobohene as the Gyamanhene, but his protest was not given any attention until 1935. In 1935 a Committee of Privileges was set up by the British government to listen to states and chiefs whose traditional political rights had been trampled upon during the early local government implementation. Suma, Kwatwoma, Dwenem, and Atuna petitioned the Committee for autonomy. After critical deliberations with the help of contribution from the Gyamanhene in the Ivory Coast they were each given autonomy. In 1948 a second Division; a Suma – Kwatwoma division was established in British Gyaman. The creation of a second division was not likely to be in the interest of the Drobohene whose area and power of influence were reduced. One might expect competitive developmental exercise between the two divisions but rather a seed of conflict germinated within Gyaman. Group identity crisis emerged, and 'they' and 'we' syndromes evolved. Groups belittled 'they' and

enhanced the 'we' atmosphere. Groups desired to maintain their political identity as they feared they would be controlled by other indigenous groups in a way against their will.

Due to one reason or the other, each division experienced conflict and secessionist movements. Sampa in the Suma division had a series of conflicts with Suma and consequently threatened to secede from her. In Japekrom the Akwamuhene of Drobo felt he was being "over ruled" by the Drobohene and therefore wished to secede from Drobo. Atuna and Dwenem formerly under Drobo which were each autonomous did not satisfy the population requirements for a division, preferred to be part of Suma rather than Drobo division. The conflicts led to mal-functioning of the native authorities and delayed their migration into local councils. In 1951, however, Dwenem petitioned the Chief Commissioner in Kumasi for her own local council and insisted she would not compromise with any of the divisions until Dwenem was given her own local council. By 1957, three local councils had emerged in British Gyaman. These were; Dwenem Local Council, Suma – Kwatwoma (North Jaman) Local Council and Drobo Local Council.

During the colonial era British Gyaman experienced a tremendous economic growth. Cash crops (cocoa and coffee) were introduced; roads, bridges, and schools were built, churches and health centres were all material testimonies of European contacts.

The drawing of an arbitrary political boundary across the Gyaman kingdom was one of the most unforgettable and unforgivable colonial historical events. The artificial colonial boundary disrupted tribal patterns and

has remained so for ever. The new schools and hospital served relatively limited numbers of people. By 1957, there had been no single secondary school in the area. Colonial rule supported Christianity in the campaign against certain social institutions like polygamous marriage and undermined the extended family system. The traditional political institution (chieftaincy institution) was suppressed and made subservient to colonial rule.

Colonialism created awareness and a wish for self-determination in British Gyaman, while the negative elements left a sense of bitterness. The interplay of the effects raised self-consciousness, unified and focused the people on the common enemy, colonialism, and endeavoured to overthrow it for self determination. Hatred of colonialism had been a great unifier.

As has been indicated above, Gyaman population was made up of many ethnic groups. The British Gyaman history in particular, was characterised by convergent and divergent opinions. One may perhaps be tempted to hastily conclude that British Gyaman historical events were destructive, divisive, and weakened the states' strength in unity. The main historical problems of British Gyaman were identity preservations, identity restorations and protectionism. No violence and bloodshed were involved. There were also land and chieftaincy disputes in British Gyaman, like many other areas in the Gold Coast. These misunderstandings were mere inter-group rivalries enhanced by colonial administration. Side by side with the divisive features of the various groups in British Gyaman were ancient bonds of values, norms, customs and practices which held them together and which colonialism could do nothing to discourage. Inter-marriages, marriage rites, funeral celebrations and certain other rituals brought the people together in unity to observe traditions,

customs, and practices without obstructions. Again, new Agricultural practices, exchange of new agriculture seeds, and transfer of traditional technologies were all unifying elements of the British Gyaman people. Also common socio- economic problems like bad roads, lack of good drinking water, lack of health and educational facilities, pulled the people together, irrespective of their background to speak with one voice.

Colonial influence and impact, was quite pervasive. It brought about considerable benefits as well as disbenefits to the people of British Gyaman. The culture of the people was shook to the roots. However, despite the power of colonialism, the values and norms that held the people of Gyaman together remained intact.

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B. Persons interviewed

NAME	POSITION OCCUPATION	DATE OF INTERVIEW	PLACE OF INTERVIEW	AGE
Opanin Kwame Sei	farmer	10 th and 11 th June 2011	His Kokoa Residence	75 years
Mr. Kwadwo Bour	Retired Educationist	13 th June 2011	At his Residence Kokoa	70 years
Opanin Kwasi Bile Alias (Kwasi Gallon)	Farmer	14 th June, 2011	His Kokoa Residence	68 years
Tole Safufuo II & Opanin Welli Tumgba	Traditional ruler Farmer	15 th and 21 th June 2011	At the Jamera Kalie Chief's Palace	62 years 70 years
Nana Kwadow Sebo & Okyeame Sie Kwaku	Traditional Ruler. Linguist	22 nd June 2011	Jinini Chief's Palace	80 years 70 years
Mr. Kofi Adani Alias Onipaba And his Mother Yeli-Mmor	First born of the distooled chief of Suma. Widow of the	26 th and 27 th July 2011	At their Residence Sampa	71 years 95 years

Fofie	distooled chief.			
Nana Kwame Lauphia	Ex-Catechist, Retired Educationist, Traditional Ruler	5 th 6 th and 10 th August 2011	At his Residence Sampa	73 years
Nana S.K. Sie	Retired Educationist, Regent of Sampa	12 th August 2011	At his Residence Sampa	72 years
Nana Kwaku Lor Okyeame Sange Ndo Sah Geoge	Traditional ruler, chief linguist, Traditional ruler	15 th and 16 th August 2011	Sienaku Chief's Palace Duadaso No 1	59 years 65 years 55 years
Opanin Kwadwo Afrimu Mr. Kofi Nsia	Abakumahene of Buni, Farmer	17 th August 2011 17/08/2011	His Residence at Buni	89 years 50 years
Mr.G.A Maimu Nana Boadi Amponin	Retire Police officer and Assemblymen. Traditional Ruler and farmer	20/08/2011 21/08/2011	His Residence at Jankufa His Residence at Jankufa	71 years 53 years
Mr. Takyi Abiam Thomas Obeng Mr. Yaw	Farmer Trader Farmer	23 rd 24 th and 25 th August 2011	At Mr. Takyi Abiams Residence	41 years 55 years 58 years

Gyarko				
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