

**An Appraisal of the British Colonial Government's Agricultural Policies in the Gold Coast, 1890 -1954**

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**Abstract**

Since the independence of many African countries, Dependency Theory played a significant role in rekindling intellectual discussions about the negative impact of colonialism on the continent. Contrary to the views of many Pan-African Dependency theorists that Western colonial rule is completely evil; this paper appraises the contributions of the British colonial administration to agricultural development in the Gold Coast as a counter-narrative. Using archival materials and secondary sources, this paper concludes that, while colonialism is generally exploitative in nature, the British colonial government had also brought a lot of development, particularly in the Gold Coast's agricultural production through the introduction of modern techniques, and the mechanization of farming.

Keywords: Agriculture, British Administration, Gold Coast, Colonial Policies, Cash-crop Production.

تقييم السياسات الزراعية للحكومة الاستعمارية البريطانية في ساحل الذهب

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إسحاق كيري / قسم التاريخ - جامعة غانا، ليجون

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الملخص

منذ استقلال العديد من الدول الإفريقية، لعبت نظرية التبعية دورًا مهمًا في إحياء المناقشات الفكرية حول التأثير السلبي للاستعمار على القارة. وعلى النقيض من آراء العديد من منظري التبعية الأفريقية بأن الحكم الاستعماري الغربي شر تمامًا؛ تقييم هذه الورقة مساهمات الإدارة الاستعمارية البريطانية في التنمية الزراعية في جولد كوست باعتبارها رواية

مضادة. باستخدام المواد الأرشيفية والمصادر الثانوية، يخلص هذا البحث إلى أنه على الرغم من أن الاستعمار كان استغلالياً بطبيعته بشكل عام، فقد حققت الحكومة الاستعمارية البريطانية أيضاً الكثير من التطوير، لا سيما في الإنتاج الزراعي في جولد كوست من خلال إدخال التقنيات الحديثة، وميكنة الزراعة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الزراعة، الإدارة البريطانية، ساحل الذهب، السياسات الاستعمارية، إنتاج المحاصيل النقدية.

## Introduction

By the middle of the eighteenth century, there were suggestions in England to develop African agriculture on an extensive scale to shift the center of production of goods from America to Africa<sup>1</sup>. Following the loss of Britain's thirteen colonies in 1783, interest was actively renewed in plantations in Africa<sup>2</sup>. This was because the American Revolution seriously damaged the mercantile system. Thus, by 1785, it was suggested that to recover from the loss of the American colonies, Britain should engage in agriculture on the Gold Coast<sup>3</sup>. There was, therefore, the need for co-operation between the Departments of Education, Health, Agriculture, and others to ensure that people in rural areas concentrated their efforts on the cultivation of cash crops<sup>4</sup>. Elastic general planning of all government activities, especially agriculture for the social and economic advance of the Gold Coast was, therefore, advanced.

Additionally, the Gold Coast's foreign trade changed as a result of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. This was because the need in Europe was for natural resources like palm oil, cotton, rubber, gum, and copal rather than slaves, which was popularly known as 'Legitimate Trade'<sup>5</sup>. Following the abolition of slavery in 1807, British interests on the Gold Coast focused on finding alternatives to the slave trade. Therefore, British traders believed that increasing the export of once-essential commodities like gold dust and ivory would increase the profitability of trade on the Gold Coast. In general, initiatives were undertaken to create plantations and inspire Gold Coast residents to cultivate profitable products including cocoa, cotton, and Shea nuts<sup>6</sup>.

Export agriculture (the cultivation of cash crops) concentrated on oil palm items started to progressively take off after Britain outlawed the Atlantic Slave Trade, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, it had become one of the empire's primary sources of wealth<sup>7</sup>. This was true for the southern region of Ghana, where the British used its legal authority to this effect. The trend toward higher agricultural diversification and output persisted starting around 1850<sup>8</sup>. By 1902, when the British annexed Asante to the Crown<sup>9</sup>, the cultivation of a variety of export crops, primarily cocoa, oil-palm, rubber, coffee, and cotton, was the main occupation for the majority of the population in Southern Ghana, including Asante and Bono Ahafo<sup>10</sup>. Cotton, for example, appeared to be the crop whose development held the most potential from the perspective of commercial agriculture. The British government expressed this viewpoint in 1902, emphasizing support for this new endeavor. Considering the Gold Coast to be one of its most promising African colonies, Britain continued to promote the production of basic agricultural products there. Because of this, and especially in comparison to its other African colonial possessions, Britain was optimistic about its possibilities for economic and political development. The Gold Coast had geographic and ethnic diversity like the majority of other African colonies; yet, due to its small size, relative compactness, and historical background, it had an advantage over other African nations where the issues of ethnic, religious, and geographical diversity were far more severe. This is because; different ethnic groups had distinct agricultural practices that contributed to a diverse range of crops, as well as farming techniques within the empire. Besides, the cooperative nature of agriculture in Asante Empire paved the way for the integration of different ethnic group's expertise. Thus, this diversity had no doubt enhanced the overall productivity and resilience of the agricultural system. Therefore, the British colonial authority developed new primary produce; completed marketing programs for export produce, and trained agricultural officers who assisted farmers in proper and cutting-edge crop planting and harvesting techniques.

Contrary to the common Pan-African literature<sup>11</sup> that is solely built on the so-called Dependency Theory, which sees nothing good in colonialism, in this paper, we respond to the numerous calls demanding for a rethink and general overhaul of the theory. Although we also believe that British colonialism in Africa was highly exploitative, particularly through its colonial economic policies it did not negate its good side. Taking the Gold Coast as an example, we assess the tremendous agricultural transformation that took place under the British colonial administration ranging from the introduction of modern farming techniques and their mechanization, the importation of a variety of plants, and improved seeds, as well as the establishment of important ministries and departments responsible for the coordination, production and marketing of agricultural produce, especially the cash-crops.

This paper is largely categorized into five important sections. While the first part provides the introduction, section two explains the methodology adopted for the study. Sections three, and four focus mainly on the British conquest of the Gold Coast, as well as its agricultural support systems in the colony. The last part is the conclusion.

### **Methodology**

In this paper, a qualitative research methodology was adopted. This is augmented with historical, descriptive, and analytical methods. Discussions and interpretation of information gathered were closely linked to the information on colonial agriculture. The paper also employed the use of primary sources, specifically colonial reports from the Balme Library, University of Ghana, and archival materials obtained from the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), Accra and Sunyani. Subsequently, relevant secondary data such as journal articles and books were also reviewed to supplement the primary sources consulted for the study.

## British Colonial Conquest, the Gold Coast and the Colonial Economy

The British conquest of the Gold Coast primarily involved military engagements and a series of conflicts with its chiefs. The biggest form of resistance came from the Ashanti Empire, a powerful state in the region, which challenged to British ambitions. For this reason, the Empire was conquered through military expeditions, notably the Anglo-Ashanti Wars<sup>12</sup>.

It should be noted that the Ashanti-British conflicts in the early 19th century were characterized by the leadership of Governor Sir Charles McCarthy, the British governor of the Gold Coast, who played a prominent role in the initial stages of the Ashanti-British conflicts<sup>13</sup>. After two bloody Anglo-Ashanti wars, Governor Sir Garnet Wolseley led British forces in a military campaign against the Ashanti Empire (1873-1874). This third Anglo-Ashanti War resulted in the capture and destruction of Kumasi, the capital of the Ashanti Empire, by British forces<sup>14</sup>. With the exile of Ashanti ruler, the British imposed a protectorate over its territories through the famous British Indirect Rule system.

With the defeat of the rulers of the Gold Coast, the British made the Gold Coast one of its colonies. This development was subsequently followed by the adoption of the Indirect Rule, a system of governance in which the British had control over the socio-economic and political life of the people of the Gold Coast through its rulers<sup>15</sup>.

The British colonial interest being exploitative, paved the way for the introduction of its colonial economy, which included; transportation, agriculture, taxation, the introduction of foreign currency, as well as the establishment of many departments to that effect. All these structures were put in place to maximize cash crop production supported by forced labor, which boiled down to social and economic exploitation<sup>16</sup>. The colonial economy was structured to meet the demands of the global market. In this sense, local economies were subjected to the production of commodities for export rather than for



local consumption<sup>17</sup>. This shift had implications for food security and economic self-sufficiency.

### **The British Colonial agricultural support in the Gold Coast, 1890s-1954**

The Gold Coast's economy was originally agrarian dealing with a wide range of tropical goods, including oil palm products and rubber, which were in high demand for export to Britain throughout the colonial period. Following the abolishment of the slave trade and the British introduction of cocoa and palm oil products in 1870, agriculture gained significant importance, and from 1874 to 1950, agricultural programs were primarily focused on the development of export crops and raw materials. Some of these programs included cocoa farming promotion, the introduction of new crops, the establishment of agricultural research stations, infrastructural development, and land tenure system.

A small, monetized segment of commercial trade was grafted onto subsistence agriculture<sup>18</sup>, which had hitherto dominated the Gold Coast's economy, before 1890. Between 1891 and 1911, the economy underwent a profound structural transformation<sup>19</sup>. Two areas of exploitation arose during these 20 years: the gold mining industry, which was dominated by British companies, and commercial agriculture, notably the production of cocoa, which was grown on tiny indigenous farms but sold through foreign trade companies<sup>20</sup>. To facilitate the transportation of goods and the upkeep of internal order, the government got involved in the creation of internal communications systems, especially railways. These adjustments boosted revenues because import and export duties were the main source of income. As a result, foreign commerce increased<sup>21</sup>. The British Colonial Government implemented a marketing plan for both cocoa and coffee in 1898, and gave money to growers, while the goods were sold in Britain<sup>22</sup>. However, due in part to criticism from the West African Trade Association, this arrangement did not continue for very long.

In 1903, the British Cotton Growing Association, with the support of the British government, set out to establish cotton production in the Gold Coast's northern region. Following some feasibility studies, the association sent a cotton expert, Mr. Cornish, to Northern Ghana in 1908, who reported favorably on the cotton already cultivated by peasant farmers in Gonja. He established an experimental farm in Tamale to teach local farmers scientific cotton cultivation methods and announced that the British Cotton Growing Association was willing to buy all of the cotton the farmers could bring down to Tamale<sup>23</sup>. Finally, a cotton gin and a press were installed in Tamale, and a public demonstration on how the machines worked was held. This significantly increased cotton cultivation. In Tamale, a cotton press and gin were eventually erected in 1908 to serve as Tamale's River port, as well as a hydraulic press to further compress the cotton bales for transportation down the Volta<sup>24</sup>.

The British Cotton Growing Association carried on supplying farmers in Dagomba, Northern Ghana, with improved cotton seeds in the ensuing years. It also constructed new cotton gins in Wa and Gambaga to spare farmers the high cost of shipping their cotton to Tamale, which was previously the only purchasing station. A little over 24,000 lbs. of cotton lint were shipped from Northern Ghana in total in 1914, with 54% of that quantity acquired in Tamale, 25% in Gambaga, 16% in Wa, and the remaining 5% purchased elsewhere<sup>25</sup>.

In addition, the British government organized agricultural shows on the Gold Coast. In 1908, Kumasi hosted one of such shows that provided a positive stimulus to farmers<sup>26</sup>. The show was a huge success because the competition among producers was fierce, and the many exhibitors achieved a surprisingly high standard. The spread of cocoa was accelerated from this point forward. In 1912, for example, there were large and flourishing cocoa plantations on both sides of the Mampong road, indicating the acceptance of cocoa because Asante alone made over one million Pounds sterling from cocoa exports. Besides, cocoa exports increased from 751 tons in 1908 to 91,000 tons in the 1936-1937 cocoa seasons<sup>27</sup>.

It is important to emphasize that the Department of Agriculture served as the main conduit for the colonial government's support of the agricultural industry. Farmers' cooperatives were founded by the colonial administration in the early 1920s, and its members profited from loans given by these cooperatives. Agricultural agents also suggested dependable farmers with high yields to the Department of Agriculture, and loans were made available to these remarkable farmers<sup>28</sup>.

In 1927, the Department of Agriculture pursued a well-known line of colonial policy to finance and support agriculture. In the same year, the Department imported Sumatra-Deli oil palm seeds and distributed them to a selected group of farmers for cultivation<sup>29</sup>. The objective of crop-yield competitions was to enhance and grow farms. Additionally, precise yield statistics were kept at experimental stations to the point where three new, very detailed lines of advisory work related to cocoa were formed in 1928<sup>30</sup>.

The Department Committee on Agricultural Policy and Organization later recommended the system of District Agriculture Committees in 1927. A short time later, the British Government tentatively approved it. Akuapem, Asokore, Axim, the Volta River, and the other ten districts even formed committees<sup>31</sup>. The committees dealt with agricultural issues such as seed and seedling distribution and agricultural show organization. Later, the Department of Agriculture was responsible for the welfare of local agriculture, advising the government on policy, and implementing stimulus measures as the government deemed appropriate. The organization was established to address the general concerns of farmers<sup>32</sup>.

In 1928, the issue of expanding export agriculture in Northern Ghana was brought up, but this time, the Department of Agriculture understood the issues revolving around some challenges debilitating against farmers in the region. To address the farmers' environmental and technical challenges leading to a serious drop in cash crop production, the Department put into practice soil erosion prevention techniques in the 1930s, including ridging across slope contours and



controlled grass burning during the dry season<sup>33</sup>. A more advantageous crop rotation system was also implemented by the Department following extensive testing on experimental farms, although farmers did not like it wrongly assuming its adoption would lead to a decrease in the output of grains. This issue emerged because the Department was unable to persuade the farmers of the propensity of the new crop rotation system.

Farmers' co-operatives and cocoa growers' societies were established under the Co-operatives Societies Ordinance of 1931<sup>34</sup>. The Department of Agriculture supervised the formation of Societies, and all cocoa sold through these Societies was of high quality and commanded a premium price. Furthermore, the Department of Agriculture provided loans to Gold Coast cocoa farmers<sup>35</sup>. This was because agriculture was the primary occupation of the people of the Gold Coast. The main agricultural industry in the Colony and Ashanti in particular was the cultivation of cocoa for export<sup>36</sup>. The Department of Agriculture also constructed the Tamale Shea Mill in 1931<sup>37</sup>. The mill was used to make shea fat, which was sold in Kumasi and other markets. In addition, in the early 1930s, the Sekondi – Dixcove District Agricultural Committee proposed the establishment of a banana industry<sup>38</sup>. Although there were no agricultural or co-operative banks in 1933, there were 385 agricultural societies administered by the Department of Agriculture with a total membership of 9,711 people<sup>39</sup>. The colonial government also made an effort to help some farmers who were having financial problems, especially as a result of the 1930s Great Economic Depression. Although cocoa farmers gained a lot of money from the sale of their crops, a significant amount of it was lost due to a lack of business education, commercial acumen, and asset management skills. The unequal distribution of cocoa income throughout the year was the biggest problem. The cocoa season, which normally lasts from October to February, was when the growers collected all of their yearly cash income<sup>40</sup>. Normally, most farmers did not know how to manage their profits to the extent that many cocoa producers had to borrow money to cover living expenses before the

start of the following harvest season<sup>41</sup>. Subsequently, their entire annual income was consequently decreased by a quarter, or even more in many situations. In other words, before they had any money for themselves, they had a lot of debt to pay off. To address these problems, the government founded cooperative societies.

The purpose of the Gold Coast cooperative societies was not to offer a quick and inexpensive means to get credit, but to educate members on how to handle their own money<sup>42</sup>. The societies offered savings options, and they also accepted deposits from their members. They used a portion of this money that was deposited for brief periods to make loans to their members<sup>43</sup>. The campaign saw some progress, and as a result, many more farmers received fundamental instruction on how to manage their income. These societies additionally provided loans to farmers to meet their financial demands. In 1931, there were 2,176 members overall, and £1,707 worth of shares had been subscribed. In 1937, the number of members had increased to 9,628 and the share capital was £25, 053 12s<sup>44</sup>. Despite these successes, by 1935, some illiterate members disturbed the societies. This is because they found it impossible to comprehend the activities of the societies and ended up in protests. In response, the government stepped in and gave its officers permission to set up committees that would oversee the activities of the societies<sup>45</sup>.

In 1935, the colonial government stepped up its efforts by founding a cooperative bank. Along with farmer cooperatives, the bank also maintained branches in significant commercial, mining, and cocoa buying hubs for its operations<sup>46</sup>. Many farmers received loans from this bank, which helped them increase their yields. For example, in 1935, the amount of cocoa exported was 261,030 tons (maritime) and 7,841 tons (overland), but in 1936, it increased dramatically to 302,149 tons (maritime) and 9,002 tons (overland)<sup>47</sup>.

Since the turn of the 20th century, cocoa exports have been a major part of the Gold Coast economy despite efforts to diversify by including mineral resources in its exports. Between the 1930s and 1957 when Ghana attained independence, foreign mercantile firms engaged

in extensive economic activity with the support, encouragement, and assistance of the colonial authorities<sup>48</sup>. Cocoa was initially bought and sold on the international market by retail businesses and some manufacturing enterprises. Following the creation of marketing boards in 1947, the companies served as their purchasing agents. UAC, John Holt, and Cadbury were three of the major British concession companies that were involved in buying cocoa from producers and selling it to the marketing boards at the port for export to the international market<sup>49</sup>.

In 1940, the Cocoa Marketing Scheme became a permanent arrangement. The Colonial Office took over the duty of buying West African cocoa crops and set up the West African Cocoa Control Board<sup>50</sup>. To minimize the cost to Britain, prices paid to cocoa producers were fixed as low as possible to deter output that was believed to be more than realizable demand<sup>51</sup>. The possibility of retaining the cocoa-established colonial buying scheme as a permanent system in the post-World War II period was considered as early as August 1941, though it was not until October, 1943 that the Colonial Office decided to take this path. By then, the West African Produce Cocoa Board (W.A.P.C.B.) had amassed substantial profits from cocoa, particularly in US dollars, and the scheme appeared to have solved what was perceived to be an underlying problem of pre-war marketing structures and fluctuating prices<sup>52</sup>. This legislative system of cocoa marketing let long-established British trading companies maintain their hegemony during the war years and served as a crucial tool for maintaining political stability in West African colonies<sup>53</sup>. It evolved into a strategy used by the British government to guarantee low-cost cocoa supplies to the country<sup>54</sup>. Indeed, the wartime scheme persuaded the Colonial Office that a peacetime system of fixed buying prices set far below the world price was desirable as a means of eliminating 'middleman abuses' and accumulating large 'stabilization funds' to 'protect' cocoa farmers in future years when prices might fall<sup>55</sup>. In the actual sense, this step was taken to ensure the continuation of British exploitation in Africa.

In the 1940s, the colonial government also provided critical assistance to the agricultural sector. The British colonial government recognized a number of issues confronting Gold Coast farmers. In 1944, a Gold Coast Co-operative Federation was formed under the auspices of the Department of Cooperation<sup>56</sup>. Following that, in 1946, the Gold Coast Co-operative Bank Limited was established to serve as the central banking organ for all co-operative societies<sup>57</sup>. It was formed under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance to provide credit to co-operative movements<sup>58</sup>. On a trial basis, the bank provided seedlings and loans for farm expansion<sup>59</sup>. Long-term agricultural policy was generally based on maintaining soil fertility through mixed farming of crops for subsistence and local exchange<sup>60</sup>.

The recovery of the cocoa sector was given top priority by the British government after World War II. The Department of Agriculture promoted poultry farming, cattle ranching, vegetable growing, and even pig breeding to the extent that a government bacon factory was built<sup>61</sup>. The British government took control of the marketing of raw materials—particularly cocoa and groundnuts—in support of World War II<sup>62</sup>. Additionally, the Department of Agriculture financed major programs involving mixed farming, poultry, husbandry, and fertilizer distribution in the early 1950s. Over a hundred locally operated rice hullers were erected across the nation, and departmental demonstrations followed<sup>63</sup>. The Department also conducted studies on plant breeding, food preservation, insect pest management in crops, and mechanized farming. Besides, it promoted the expansion of the shea tree in the northern regions. The growth of imported tobacco and sugar cane varieties was investigated by the Department of Agriculture. It also investigated the growth and twitching of fibers<sup>64</sup>.

In the mid-1950s, an Agricultural Produce Marketing Board was established as a statutory body for marketing agricultural produce other than cocoa. By 1953, it had exported a variety of commodities, including palm kernels, copra, coffee rubber, tobacco, and shea butter<sup>65</sup>. The colonial government also assisted in the eradication of cocoa diseases that had been causing problems for cocoa farmers. In



1951, the British government introduced a new deal for cocoa farmers<sup>66</sup>. Swollen shoot trees were cut down beginning on November 11, 1951, as part of a voluntary campaign that lasted fifty-six days<sup>67</sup>. Meanwhile, the Public Relations Department was tasked with the responsibility of providing the machinery for public campaigns. The Legislative Assembly also gave its approval to the project.

Established in 1952, the Agricultural Loans Board provided loans to farmers and cooperatives to improve agriculture and, in 1953, it helped to reduce farmers' debt<sup>68</sup>. This was concretized through the Gold Coast Marketing Board, which distributed £125,000 to local development communities in the country's cocoa-producing areas in 1953<sup>69</sup>. The duties of the Cocoa Marketing Board included negotiating the best terms for the acquisition, grading, export, and sale of Gold Coast cocoa, as well as making every effort to advance the development of the Gold Coast cocoa sector. The Board bought cocoa from farmers through authorized buying agencies, one of which being the 1952-founded Cocoa Purchasing Company<sup>70</sup>.

To execute specialized experimental agricultural plans, the Gold Coast Agricultural Development Corporation was established in 1953. Large-scale resettlement and cooperative farming projects, like the Damongo Scheme in the Northern Territory's Gonja region, were one of the Corporation's main undertakings<sup>71</sup>. The Gonja Development Company, a subsidiary of the corporation, financed and built a 30,000-acre farming area.

To encourage the cultivation of high-quality cocoa, the British Colonial Government established a mechanism for inspecting cocoa beans before they were exported, thereby encouraging cocoa farmers to produce or present high-quality cocoa beans. The Cocoa Industry Regulation Ordinance, of 1937 was used to carry out this task and was passed to ensure the effectiveness of that assignment<sup>72</sup>. When sampling cocoa, inspectors may find smoked beans or wet beans, which can be easily removed by the owner or exported under such circumstances by the inspector. The agreement came into being shortly after the law was enacted in Accra by the Governor in Council in March 1954.



In the 1950s, the Department of Agriculture was important in the implementation of the government's programs that impacted positively on agriculture. It built earthworks such as terraces and dams, and by the end of 1952, 24 farms had been built<sup>73</sup>. 14 dams were built in the Dedoro – Tankoro area. Along the riverbanks, windbreak trees such as Neem and Dalbergia were planted. In 1953, the Department also established local land planning committees to address the issue of soil erosion<sup>74</sup>. The Committee established priorities for defining land planning areas and developed overall land-use plans for such areas.

### Conclusion

Built on both primary and secondary data, this paper appraised the contributions of the British colonial administration to the development of agriculture in the Gold Coast. Although we also believe that British colonialism was highly exploitative, especially based on the way and manner the colonial economy was structured, which included; marketing boards, taxation, and the compulsion of indigenes to prioritize cash-crops production to serve colonial needs, the British government played a significant role in the modernization, and mechanization of agriculture in the Gold Coast.

Farmers were urged to grow kola and coffee on plantations in addition to cocoa during the process, which truly benefitted them a lot. To encourage improved replanting techniques wherever the disease was under control, and conditions were favorable, payments to farmers who pulled down infected trees were doubled, which was subsequently re-adjusted in 1951, and 1952. As a kind of agriculture financing, grants from the Chief Commissioner's Reserve were utilized to upgrade farms<sup>75</sup>. Farmers were also assisted with seeds, farm plowing, land clearing, and the provision of farm machinery. Furthermore, the British Colonial Government safeguarded the nation's cocoa production and developed new agricultural products with export potential<sup>76</sup>. Following World War II, the colonial government enhanced food production under the direction of the Agricultural Development Co-operative without fundamentally affecting the socio-

economic landscape of Northern Gold Coast. The mixed agricultural policy was one example of this. The postwar concern for food production also led to investment in large projects such as the Gonja Scheme rather than peasant agriculture<sup>77</sup>. The Gold Coast's resources, initiative, and attitudes were also factors.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Reynolds, Edward. 1973. "Agricultural Adjustments on the Gold Coast after the End of the Slave Trade, 1807-1874," *Agricultural History* 47 (4): 308-318.

<sup>2</sup> Littlefield, Daniel C. 2018. "Plantations, paternalism, and profitability: factors affecting African demography in the old British Empire." In *Plantation Societies in the Era of European Expansion*, Routledge, 199-214.

<sup>3</sup> Reynolds, Edward. 1973. "Agricultural Adjustments on the Gold Coast after the End of the Slave Trade, 1807-1874," *Agricultural History* 47 (4): 308-318.

<sup>4</sup> They are crops normally grown primarily for sale and profit rather than personal consumption. These crops are cultivated for their market value, while contributing to the economic income of farmers and regions where they are produced. Some of these crops include; cotton, tobacco, or coffee.

<sup>5</sup> McSheffrey, Gerald M. 1983. "Slavery, Indentured Servitude, Legitimate Trade and the Impact of Abolition in the Gold Coast, 1874-1901: A Reappraisal". *The Journal of African History*, 24(3), 349-368, Law, Robin, ed. 2002. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: the commercial transition in nineteenth-century West Africa*. No. 86. Cambridge University Press, and Heath, Christopher, Anke Moerland, and Anselm Kamperman Sanders. 2018. "Intellectual Property Rights as Obstacles to Legitimate Trade?" *Intellectual Property Rights as Obstacles to Legitimate Trade?* : 1-228.

<sup>6</sup> Dickson, Kwamina B. 1968. "Background to the problem of economic development in Northern Ghana." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 58, no. 4: 686-696.

<sup>7</sup> Drescher, Seymour. 2022. "Whose abolition? Popular pressure and the ending of the British slave trade." In *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 71-102. Routledge.

<sup>8</sup> Kea, Ray A. 1995. "Plantations and labour in the south-east Gold Coast from the late eighteenth to the mid nineteenth century." *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce*: 119.

<sup>9</sup> A term used to refer to the Queen of England under whose authority the then British colonies were placed.

<sup>10</sup> Adu-Gyamfi, Samuel, Emmanuel Bempong, Henry Tettey Yartey, and Benjamin Dompheh Darkwa. 2020. "British Land Policies in the Gold Coast and Her Relations with Asante." *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae* 38, no. 1: 163-181.

<sup>11</sup> Dietz, James L. 1980. "Dependency theory: a review article." *Journal of Economic Issues* 14, no. 3: 751-758, Simon, Lawrence H., and David F. Ruccio. 1986. "A methodological analysis of dependency theory: explanation in Andre Gunder Frank." *World Development* 14, no. 2: 195-209, and Frank, A., Lawrence R. Alschuler, and H. Bernstein. 2012. "Dependency theory." *American Sociological Review* 48: 468-479.

<sup>12</sup> Wasserman, B. 1961. "The Ashanti War of 1900: A Study in Cultural Conflict1." *Africa* 31, no. 2: 167-179.

<sup>13</sup> Ukpabi, Samson C. 1970. "The British colonial office approach to the Ashanti war of 1900." *African Studies Review* 13, no. 3 : 363-380.

<sup>14</sup> Brown, James Wilson. 1972. *Kumasi, 1896-1923: urban Africa during the early colonial period.* The University of Wisconsin-Madison.

<sup>15</sup> Edgerton, Robert B. 2010. *The fall of the Asante Empire: the hundred-year war for Africa's Gold Coast.* Simon and Schuster.

<sup>16</sup> Reynolds, Edward. 1975. "Economic imperialism: The case of the Gold Coast." *The Journal of Economic History* 35, no. 1: 94-116.

<sup>17</sup> Crook, Richard C. 1986. "Decolonization, the colonial state, and chieftaincy in the Gold Coast." *African Affairs* 85, no. 338: 75-106.

<sup>18</sup> The system of agriculture refers to a farming practice that is primarily meant to produce enough food and resources to meet the basic needs of a household or a community. Under this system, farmers grow crops and raise livestock mainly for their own consumption rather than for sale.

<sup>19</sup> Sederberg, Peter C. 1971. "The Gold Coast under Colonial Rule: An Expenditure Analysis," *African Studies Review* 14 (2): 179-204.

<sup>20</sup> Report on the Department of Agriculture 1931-32.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Dickson, Kwamina B. 1968, op cit., 686-696.

<sup>24</sup> Dickson, Kwamina B. 1968, op cit., 686-696.

<sup>25</sup> Dickson, Kwamina B. 1968, op cit., 680.

<sup>26</sup> *Bulletin of the Ghana Geographical Association*, vol.15, 1973, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 44.

<sup>28</sup> *Gold Coast Annual Report 1937-38.*

<sup>29</sup> Report on the Department of Agriculture 1931-32. See also; *The Gold Coast Handbook Report 1928*, 25.

<sup>30</sup> *The Gold Coast Handbook Report 1928*, 25

<sup>31</sup> Report on the Department of Agriculture 1931-32, 2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>33</sup> Grischow, Jeff, and Holger Weiss. 2011. "Colonial famine relief and development policies: towards an environmental history of Northern Ghana." *Global Environment* 4, no. 7-8: 50-97.

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<sup>35</sup> The Gold Coast Report 1933-34.

<sup>36</sup> Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the Gold Coast 1931-1932.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>39</sup> Gold Coast Annual Report 1937-38, 37.

<sup>40</sup> The Teachers' Journal, volume ix (issue 30-32), 1937, 78-79.

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 79.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 80.

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<sup>53</sup> Stockwell, Sarah E. 1995. "Political strategies of British business during decolonization: the case of the Gold Coast/Ghana, 1945-57." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 23, no. 2: 277-300.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Apter, David E. 1954. "Some Economic Factors in the Political Development of the Gold Coast," 422.

<sup>66</sup> BRG 2/1/46, Agriculture (cocoa). PRAAD, Sunyani. 1950

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<sup>68</sup> The Gold Coast Yearbook Report 1953, 40.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> The Gold Coast Yearbook Report 1953, op cit.

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<sup>72</sup> Laws of the Gold Coast, Subsidiary Legislation Supplement No. 1, Supplement to Gold Coast Gazette No. 2, 1954, 611.

<sup>73</sup> Gold Coast Colonial Report 1953, 42.

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