

THE NATIVE JURISDICTION ORDINANCE, INDIRECT
RULE AND THE SUBJECT'S WELL-BEING: THE
ABUAKWA EXPERIENCE C1899 - 1912

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Up to the proclamation of the Gold Coast Colony, the policy of the British Government was to allow the kings of the Gold Coast Colony 'to exercise jurisdiction without control, except that provided by appeal...'¹ The 1865 commission which enquired into the operations of the judicial system in the Gold Coast Colony advised that 'the chiefs should be rather left to exercise their own jurisdictions with only an appeal when necessary to the English magistracy.'² It criticised the Judicial Assessor for superseding the authority of the kings 'by decisions according to his own sole judgement' and for introducing 'needless technicalities and expense in connection with the employment of Attorneys.'³

Both the Supreme Court Ordinances of 1853 and 1866 recognised the Protected Kings' right of jurisdiction over their subjects, and in 1874 Lord Carnarvon, in disavowing the attempted abolition of the jurisdiction of protected kings by the Officer Administering the government, made it clear that he was 'not disposed to consider the exercise of civil jurisdiction by King Tackie as a usurpation on his part.'⁴ The supreme Court Ordinance (1876) did not only make Her Majesty's jurisdiction co-existent with the jurisdiction of protected kings.⁵ It even sanctioned the use of imprisonment by the chiefs to enforce decrees of their courts without setting a limit as to its duration.⁶

From 1880, a change in the attitude of the Colonial Government towards the autonomy of the protected kings became discernible. Henceforth a calculated attempt was made to subvert the traditional courts and usurp the sovereignty of protected chiefs. The *volte face* can be explained primarily by the persistent allegations of abuses in the traditional courts. These included ruinous fines, physical torture, bribery, miscarriage of justice and long periods of detention in native prisons.⁷ Such reports, substantiated or not, outraged the sense of justice of colonial officials and some of them began to press for the extinction of the judicial authority of protected kings in furtherance of 'the cause of humanity and justice.'⁸ The example of the coastal towns where the people tended to 'obey a judicial commissioner as much as ... their chiefs' and even feared his 'power to a greater extent naturally' because of the support of an armed constabulary, conjured up in official minds visions of direct rule. W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's advocate confidently predicted:

*As ... civilization reaches the inland towns the power of the chiefs will go as it has gone on the coast... The native chiefs will lose their power and more District Commissioners will have to be appointed to the interior districts ... and we shall rule the people through the District Commissioner as on the coast instead of depending on the tottering and uncertain power of the chiefs.'*⁹

In the meantime administrative controls were instituted from 1883 to regulate the judicial authority of the native kings. Foremost among them was the re-enactment of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (1878) as Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (1883). Under the NJO (1883) the judicial power of the kings ceased to be inherent. Henceforth it became derivative. On the one hand, the NJO made kings liable to removal by Government for gross abuse of power. On the

other, it empowered them to make bye-laws with the approval of the Governor 'for promoting the peace, good order, and welfare of the people', and 'conferred' upon them civil and criminal jurisdiction 'in the causes and matters approved under the bye-laws.' Penalties were prescribed for breaches of the bye-laws and the courts of the kings became courts of first instance. As such, a case heard by a king's court could not be re-heard by a District Commissioner's court unless leave to appeal was granted by the Commissioner for Native Affairs.¹⁰

Initially only four states in the Eastern Province were proclaimed under the NJO (1883). These were Akuapem (under king Kwame Fori), Shai (under Awah), Yilo (Western) Krobo (under king Akrobetto) and Manya (Eastern) Krobo (under king Sakitey).¹¹ Conspicuously missing from the list was Akyem Abuakwa whose king was 'probably the most powerful chief of the protectorate.'¹²

There were several reasons for the omission of Akyem Abuakwa from the proclamation. First as king Amoako Atta I was in exile in Lagos from May 1880 to March 1885 his state was without an effective political and judicial head.¹³ Second, the Government had a low opinion of the Okyenhene whom they considered to be 'a drunken, unscrupulous man.'¹⁴ Third, and most important, the proclamation of a state under the NJO (1883) was regarded from the onset as a reward and a mark of favour 'granted only to chiefs who were recognized to be loyal and intelligent.'¹⁵ In the eyes of the Colonial Government Amoako Atta's loyalty was suspect as attested by his persistent harassment of christians in his state and his continued involvement in slave dealing in defiance of repeated warnings.¹⁶

The exclusion Akyem Abuakwa from the purview of the NJO (1883) had serious political, social and economic consequences for the Okyenhene and his sub-chiefs in the last two decades of the 19th century. From 1884 the English courts regarded native courts not registered under NJO (1883) as arbitrator's court only. Judges repeatedly told protected kings outside the ambit of the NJO (1883) that they held court and imprisoned people 'at their peril.' On more than one occasion the governor 'intimated that he could not recognize judicial power in the chiefs except under the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance.' District Commissioners, taking their cue from the Supreme Court and the Governor, refused 'to recognise or give any effect' to the judgements of native courts not approved under the NJO.¹⁷

In October 1887 the Full Court in the case of *Opon vers. Ackinnie*, held that the Supreme Court Ordinance (1876) 'in no way impaired the judicial power of Native Chiefs' and that no subsequent ordinance had 'taken them away.'¹⁸ Consequently a Protected king was entitled to exercise over his subjects in his court the jurisdiction which belonged to him 'according to native law, including the power to enforce his judgements in the manner authorized by native law ...'¹⁹ Notwithstanding this judgement, the English courts and colonial officials continued to treat the courts of native kings without the powers of the NJO (1883) as before.

In the same month that judgement was given in the case of *Opon vers. Ackinnie* the Colonial Government increased its administrative control of Akyem Abuakwa by constituting the state into the administrative districts of 'Eastern Akim, by an order-in-council dated 6 October 1887. The first District Commissioner for the district, Captain H.B. Lethbridge, was instructed to take up permanent residence at Asafo or Begoro and 'make it known throughout Eastern Akim that a District Commissioner's court is now open for hearing of all cases.'²⁰ The unfavourable attitude of the English courts and the Government, coupled with the presence in Akyem Abuakwa of a British court which not only offered the people an alternative venue for the redress of wrongs but also had power to rehear cases already decided by the Okyenhene, 'on the ordinary court fees being paid,' could not but be subversive of traditional authority. In August 1886 one Ayimadu of Asiakwa forbade his niece Akua Ago to pay a fine of £5 imposed

on her by Nifanene Kwaku Amo. He not only refused to obey the summons of the Okyenhenes court to appear and explain his conduct, but also told the royal messengers that the king had 'no power to call him in [his] court,' and that he would have 'nothing at all' to do with his court.²¹ The king indignantly complained to the government only to be told that Ayimadu was 'within his rights' as chiefs 'not possessing powers under NJO could only act as arbitrators.'²² In December 1888 Odikro Yaw Tawia of Kade ignored summons from the Okyenhenes court in connection with an oath case and appealed to the District Commissioner for support.²³ The District Commissioner did nothing to uphold the king's authority even though the king's jurisdiction in oath cases was undoubted. By contrast, the government encouraged the king's subjects to bring criminal summons against him in the British courts for assault, torture, and wrongful arrest.

In 1888 king Amoako Atta II's messengers were assaulted at Asamama when they attempted to arrest one Baafoo Boansi. Boansi subsequently applied for criminal summons against the Okyenhenes messengers and was awarded £10 damages by the District Commissioner's court at Begoro.²⁴ Kwadwo Essel went to Accra in September 1890 to complain of assault and wrongful imprisonment on the king's orders. He was urged to press charges against the king but he declined.²⁵ In June 1893 king Amoako Atta II was tried by J.R. Philips, District Commissioner for Accra and convicted of 'assault occasioning actual bodily harm' to Kwaku Mabreh. He was fined £25.²⁶

By the end of the 19th century central authority in Akyem Abuakwa was at the verge of collapse. Sub-chiefs and subjects alike showed gross disrespect to the king by walking out of his court in the middle of a hearing, by publicly insulting him, or by assaulting his messengers. The seemingly indulgent attitude of the government towards the citizenry of Akyem Abuakwa helped to undermine the authority of the traditional rulers and encourage habits of indiscipline and independence on the part of subjects. This coupled with the economic opportunities of an era of legitimate trade promoted a radical transformation of the village and town *asafo* organizations.

The traditional *asafo* had been a passive, subservient, *ad hoc* organization originally created by the Chiefs and Elders to carry out their bidding. Evolved primarily as an instrument of warfare, the *asafo* in Akyem Abuakwa comprised all able-bodied men in a village or town other than occupants of stools who were the councillors of the chief or *Odikro* (village chief). Outside of warfare, the *asafo* fulfilled ceremonial roles in connection with enstoolment and destoolments and carried out searches for missing persons or hunted game for the celebration of festivals. The leader of the *asafo* was the *asafoakye*, an appointee of the chief and his council, who held office at their pleasure. As a body, the *asafo* enjoyed no direct representation on the chiefs' council.²⁷

From about 1875 the *asafo* underwent a gradual transformation in composition, leadership and orientation due to the political, social and economic revolutions of the late 19th century. By the turn of the 20th century the *asafo* revealed a considerable ethnic diversity. The emancipation Act of 1874 had liberated slaves who were mainly 'foreigners - Kwahuis, Asantes and *nnonkofo* or people from the interior.'²⁸ Some of these ex-slaves had gone to the coast or Akuapem but the majority, like Petro Obesako of Fankyeneko, 'a slave from Hausa country', and Yaw Broni an Asante slave brought to Anyinam as a child, made the state their domicile. Such ex-slaves took to trade or farming 'which no-one hinders in view of plentiful land available.'²⁹ The influx of exiles and migrant cocoa farmers into Akyem Abuakwa from the 1870s turned the state into a sort of cultural or ethnic melting pot. It was from this mixed group of Akyem, Asante, Akuapem, Ga and northern peoples that the new *asafo* drew its membership. Henceforth the motivation for *asafo* action and the basis of solidarity were provided, not by ethnicity, but by a shared sense of political and economic grievance or social interests.

Asafo membership did not only reveal ethnic diversity. It also showed a certain degree of social differentiation. Within the ranks of the *asafo* were to be found Christian and non-Christian, educated and illiterate, rich and poor. From the 1870s the growth of a modern money market increased the money requirements of the people considerably. Money was required to pay for the expenses of funerals, marriage, education etc.³⁰ Consequently it became fashionable for most citizens 'to go off and trade as soon as one has a few thaler'.³¹

Participation in internal distributive trade brought increasing wealth to several individuals as manifested by the erection of fine buildings and acquisition of a wide range of personal possessions. By 1880 a trader of Asuom already owned 'a beautiful livable house with veranda unique in Akyem'.³² Among individual citizens who accumulated considerable private wealth through trade were Ntim of Begoro, James Kwaku Ashmore of Asamankese, John Bofo of Abomoso, Twum of Kyebi, John Wilson Boobae of Apiraman and Kofi Johnson (Kofi Twum) of Asafo. By 1880 Ntim was already a wealthy man and well-known money-lender with approximately £450 invested in 60 pawns of both sexes.³³ An unnamed man of Abomoso reputed to be 'the richest man in Akyem' in 1888 exploited his wealth to secure the hand of the king's sister, Amma Kyerewaa, in marriage.³⁴

Trade was not the only source of wealth for the emergent "moneyed class." Cash-crop farming, especially in kola nut and rubber, enriched the people of Tumfa, Asuom, Abomoso, Osenase, Gyadambiremso, Kade and Nsutam. Cocoa was also already 'bringing much money to the people of ... Akim ...' by 1903.³⁵ Hundreds of individuals owned cocoa farms containing between 40 and 1000 trees. One of them, Salomo Agyei of Moseaso, already owned a cocoa farm containing some 4,000 trees (c 7 acres) by 1900.³⁶ Food production also became commercialized with oil palm, bananas, cocoyams, plantains, beans, okro, yams, livestock and poultry being produced for the market. In 1909 James Okai of Asamankese kept a flock of 160 sheep, besides poultry, on his farm.³⁷

Opportunities for wage employment also expanded. The Bunso rubber estate of Mr. Pritchard employed 'a weekly increasing number of labourers quartered in two villages.' The presence of their labour force was already turning Bunso into 'a growing place with a market' by 1908.³⁸ The Goldfields of Eastern Akim Ltd. also employed considerable numbers of people on its road construction from Densu (Nsawam) to Apedwa and also on its prospecting and dredging operations.³⁹ For the educated there were growing opportunities for employment with the Basel Mission or the Government.

Wealth and education changed the political and social orientation of the rising generations, and *ipso facto* of the *asafo*, in Akyem Abuakwa. The educated, largely products of the mission schools, were gradually becoming enamoured of western ways and concepts of government. Contact with coastal society, and especially with lawyers, through residence, litigation or trade, undermined traditional attitudes and habits of subservience to the chiefs.⁴⁰ The traditional political order appeared obsolescent in the eyes of the youth and there was a discernible longing for the democratization of the traditional order. Particularly the educated wanted a distinction to be made between stool (public) revenue and the private purse of the chiefs. Through contact with such 'opinion leaders' the generality of the people became gradually infected with the spirit of egalitarianism and democracy. Ex-slaves particularly became jealous of their new status and resented privilege based on birth. The new spirit was symbolised by the impunity with which an ex-slave pupil of the Kyebi boarding school ordered 'a member of the royalty to fetch drinking water for the dining table. [Kosaw nsu bra afei ye nymaa ye pe - Go and fetch water we are all equal now].⁴¹

The leadership of the *asafo* also changed. In the traditional *asafo*, the *asafoakye* as an

appointee of the chief and his elders, was liable to dismissal. He was thus an instrument of the chief and his elders. From the last quarter of the 19th century the *asafo* asserted a right to choose their own leaders and merely present them to the chief and councillors for confirmation. Asafoakye Abam was 'elected from the able-bodied men' of Begoro in the 1870s as was asafoakye Kwaku Nkroma of Akyease elected in 1902.⁴² Until the last quarter of the 19th century the main qualification for the office had been subservience and loyalty to the chief. Henceforth the desirable qualification was a combination of courage and eloquence, and sometimes wealth. Asafoakye Abam was eloquent and daring besides being a trader of considerable means.⁴³

The new breed of asafoakyes enjoyed power that rivalled that of the chiefs. They also enjoyed the loyalty and confidence of the youth. The new *asafo* were also capable of acting independently, and in defiance of the chiefs' wishes. Abam often held meetings with the Begoro *asafo* on his own responsibility and initiative. Buck remarked about one such meeting:

The chief was absent from the town but *his presence would not have made any difference* as Abam is his rival and has all the young hot heads on his side. The chief and his elders will avoid conflict with us but not this chief elected from the able-bodied men.⁴⁴

This was the nature of Abuakwa society that the Colonial Government had to confront at the turn of the 20th century at the inauguration of the policy of 'Indirect Rule.'

Abuse of N.J.O. (1883)

In December 1900 Sir Mathew Nathan arrived in the Gold Coast Colony with instructions to implement the policy of Indirect Rule.⁴⁵ This policy was dictated in the late 19th century by sheer pragmatism. The increased strain on administrative resources which accompanied the expansion of the British Empire in the 19th century made it imperative that African talent be used at the level of local government to ease colonial governments of their burdens of finance and trained personnel.⁴⁶ In Akyem Abuakwa, as elsewhere in the colony, the obvious group was the *ahenfo* (chiefs), the acknowledged leaders of the local communities. Nathan, however, found to his utter dismay that as a result of the colonial Government's own past attitude and policies the kings and chiefs of the protectorate had 'so little control ... over their people that he doubted if it would ever be possible to apply the policy of indirect rule ...'⁴⁷

At the time of Nathan's arrival the state of affairs was most grave in Akyem Abuakwa where Amoako Atta II had by 1899 become 'a most weak and impotent person'⁴⁸ and was in danger of becoming a *roifaineant*. The extent of the political impotence of the Okyenhene is best illustrated by two incidents which occurred toward the end of 1899. On 6 August 1899 Mr. Cummings, District Commissioner for Akuse who was on a visit to Kyebi asked the king to preempt a riot by ordering one of the *asafo* companies involved, that of Tafo to disperse. The king frankly told the District Commissioner that 'he was quite powerless and (sic) that if he ordered them to disperse the people would laugh at him.'⁴⁹ Again early in 1900 the response to the mobilization of Abuakwa citizens for the Yaa Asantewaa war was half-hearted owing to the king's 'want of influence.' When the Okyeman Council ultimately assembled through the personal intervention of Mr. Hull 'it was only too apparent how little weight attached to his [i.e. king's] counsels and word.' The individual chiefs 'did as they pleased and clearly showed that they ... would recognize no central authority.'⁵⁰

It was thus obvious by the end of the 19th century that some steps would have to be taken to save traditional authority in Akyem Abuakwa from total collapse if the state was to be able to play the role envisaged for chiefs under the proposed system of Indirect Rule. It was against this

background that a year before Nathan's arrival the Colonial Government decided to extend the operation of the NJO (1883) to Akyem Abuakwa. In April 1899 both the Attorney-General and the Colonial Secretary came to the conclusion that it would be 'desirable' to bring Akyem Abuakwa under the authority of the NJO (1883) to enable the Okyenhene 'to exercise effective criminal and civil jurisdiction over his subjects.'⁵¹ A meeting of the Executive Council on 17 May 1899 agreed to the issue of a proclamation extending the NJO to Akyem Abuakwa. The proclamation 'signed and sealed by Acting Governor William Low came into force on 1 June 1899. Amoako Atta II was informed about it by letter dated 6 June 1899.'⁵²

The extension of the NJO to Akyem Abuakwa was intended to inaugurate a new era of partnership and co-operation between her chiefs and the Colonial Government, a clear indication that the visions of direct rule through District Commissioners were receding. The new partnership reversed the policy of allowing 'the powers of the chiefs ... to die out' as a way of 'furthering the cause of humanity to justice,'⁵³ a policy inspired in official circles in the 1880s by the prospect of indirect rule. The result of the betrayal of the commoner class was political and social strife in the first decade of the 20th century.

Under the NJO which became the foundation of the Indirect Rule policy the Abuakwa *ahenfo* were empowered to exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. The former extended to personal suits for debts and damages not exceeding £25, suits relating to land ownership 'held under native tenure' and suits relating to inheritance of property. The Criminal jurisdiction of the chiefs extended to criminal charges such as petty assaults, wilful disobedience of the authority of a chief, or of the chief's oath, and 'knowingly offering any insult to a headchief, chief or headman.' The chiefs were also authorised to punish any violation of their bye-laws 'by fine, or by personal detention, or other native punishment not repugnant with natural justice or with the principles of the law of England.'⁵⁴

King Amoako Atta II was very fond of power, alcohol and money. Tall, heavy, fair-complexioned and broad-faced, he was a 'confirmed stammerer', 'morose and irritable', 'impulsive and excitable', 'greedy avaricious and mean.'⁵⁵ This king with imperious looks could not resist the temptation of using his new powers as an instrument for crushing opposition, exacting obedience, and replenishing his empty treasury.

By the late 19th century and early 20th century the impecuniousness of Akyem Abuakwa chiefs stood in sharp contrast to the relative affluence of their subjects. The expenses of king Amoako Atta II's trial and exile to Lagos (1880), the fine of £450 imposed on Akyem Abuakwa in 1887 as compensation for christian property damaged in the anti-christian riots of December 1886, the funeral expenses of Amoako Atta I (February 1887), the expenses of the Nsuaem ferry crisis of 1888, and the costs of various lawsuits had overwhelmed the state with debt.⁵⁶ The ruins of the Okyenhene's new palace, 'a two storey house begun in 1875 stood as a grim advertisement of his impecuniousness. The death of Ohemaa (queenmother) Amma Ampofoa in March 1892 added to the financial woes of the king which were only marginally relieved by a donation of £10 from the Government.'⁵⁷ In her very first letter to the Governor, the newly installed queenmother, Amma Kyerewa, solicited financial assistance from the Government for the 'rebuilding [of] an old house which had fallen into ruins.'⁵⁸

Several chiefs were indebted to their subjects. Abomosuhene Danso who was already 'heavily in debt' in 1878 had John Boafso the 'rubber broker' from Abomосу for a creditor;⁵⁹ in 1902 Odikro Duodu Kumi of Ahwenease appeared before the Okyenhene's court on a charge of failure to re-pay a loan of £2 borrowed from one of his subjects;⁶⁰ to defray a debt of £100 owed to a lawyer Edmund Bannerman in legal fees in connection with the Nsuaem ferry crisis of 1888, the

Wankyi stool had to be pledged to an Asamankese trader, James Kwaku Ashmore, for a loan at 100 percent interest.⁶¹ Odikro Kwaku Apontua of Muoso became indebted to a prosperous trader of Afigyaase called Yaw Kusi in the sum of £150 borrowed to finance a lawsuit against Odikro Buaben of Anyinam; ⁶² Apiramanhene Kofi Boaten I had to borrow £2. 13s. Od. from Kwame Birikoran to enable him make a visit to Adasawase. A nugget of gold which he pledged for the loan was never redeemed till his death in 1905.⁶³

To extricate themselves from their indebtedness, the Okyenhene Amoako Atta I and his chiefs attempted to collect a direct tax of 1/- per man and 6d. per woman in 1885 but they met with considerable opposition and had to abandon it after one year.⁶⁴ In October 1892 Amoako Atta II, sought permission from the Colonial Government to revive this tax but he received no support. He was warned that 'contributions should be voluntary and no one should on any account be compelled to contribute...'⁶⁵ A tax which he tried to impose on the rubber trade in 1888 was similarly disallowed. In a minute of 9 May 1890 Mr. Riby Williams was instructed to inform kings Kofi Kyinto, Asibe, and Attafua that the Governor had 'forbidden Amoakwanta of Kyebi to levy tax and consequently their people must not pay any such demand...'⁶⁶

With income from court fees drastically reduced, enforcement of payment of fines by indefinite detention banned, and his power of taxation denied, Amoako Atta and his chiefs were at their wits' end when the extension of the NJO occurred out of the blue with a promise of an end to their financial woes. All over the state *adikrofo* (minor-chiefs) taking advantage of the absence of any specific provision in the NJO (1883) to the contrary, set up courts 'in the smallest villages' which the District Commissioner was powerless to close except with the permission of the paramount chief.⁶⁷ Such courts joined the courts of the Okyenhene and his divisional chiefs in oppressing their subjects.

In July 1903, one Kofi Badu acting on the orders of Tafohene Peasa, arrested Kwame Bredu and James Donkor on a charge of stealing. Donkor was acquitted after a trial in Accra and took action in the Okyenhene's court for damages against Badu for wrongful arrest. The Okyenhene's court ignored Badu's plea that he acted on the orders of the Tafohene and held that he was liable. When Badu refused to pay the damages and costs he was promptly arrested and detained in king's prison for nearly three months.⁶⁸ The case of Oworae, a christian convert of Begoro further illustrates the high-handed manner in which Amoako Atta II administered justice under the NJO. Oworae, an 'old feeble woman' was arrested and taken to Kyebi, ten hours distance, on the king's orders and convicted of witchcraft. The king took offence and detained her relatives, a man and two women, who protested against the decision and gave notice of their intention to appeal against the fine of £20 imposed. Their landlord at Kyebi who stood surety for them was imprisoned till they paid £11 out of the fine.⁶⁹

Amoako Atta spared no pretext that promised him a good income in fines. In 1907 his court imposed a fine of £16 on Joseph Boaten (alias Nkroma), a Basel Mission schoolteacher, for wrongly but inadvertently referring to the late Okyenhene Obuom as 'Baafuo'.⁷⁰ In 1909 he fined the elders of Begoro £141. 7s. Od. for alleged concealment of a breach of his personal oath (*ntamkoko*) by one Benjamin Dakwa. The penalty prescribed by a state council bye-law of March 1904 for this offence was £12 plus four sheep and two dogs. The Begoro elders paid the fine and complained to the District Commissioner of Akuapem.⁷¹ The Okyenhene's dependence on court fees reached such proportions that one of his subjects remarked sarcastically that 'he swore the Omanhene's oath so that the Omanhene could get chop.' For saying so the subject was fined £80.⁷²

It was not the king alone who treated his subjects in a high-handed manner. Divisional chiefs and *adikrofo* were equally guilty. Nifahene Kwaku Agyei fined George Kwaku Donko of

Asiakwa £72 for failing to report the discovery of *abramoo* (pot of treasure) on his farm. As if that was not enough, he seized the farm in question which was made in the time of his two predecessors on the pretext that it had been made "near heathens burying ground", in disobedience of orders. In addition, the chief remitted, in a most arbitrary manner, a debt of £9 owed to Donkor by the informant called Osei.⁷³ Kwaku Agyei's successor, Okoampa, fined Emmanuel Asare £25 for having 'sold a meat of sick swine' when £2 was the maximum fine allowed by the law for the offence.⁷⁴

For the poor, payment of such heavy fines could only be made by borrowing from money-lenders, some of whom like Botwe, made a living 'by waiting in the principlins of the Omanhene's court and advancing money at high rate of interest to the litigants to enable them pay their fines...'⁷⁵ Interest rates on loans which were normally granted for periods of up to one month were as high as 50 percent or more. Rev. Ad Mohr knew people who took loans of £8 and had to pay back £12 in two weeks.⁷⁶

Prior to the coming into force of the NJO (1883), Abuakwa citizens had the option of being tried in the District Commissioner's court, or the right of seeking redress directly in the English courts. From June 1899 that option or right could no longer be exercised. Amoako Atta II's subjects were no longer free to boycott their chiefs' courts in matters within the purview of the NJO. Henceforth they were obliged to take all such cases before the court of a chief in the first instance. Nor was it easy for them to appeal readily against judgements of the Okyenhene's court without the prior approval of the commissioner for Native Affairs.⁷⁷ In lieu of permanent residence of a District Commissioner in the state from 1888-1912 it was easy for the king to intimidate people into acquiescence in verdicts of his court.⁷⁸ In any case many aggrieved persons would rather suffer in silence than endure the trouble and expense of travelling to Accra or Akuse to petition for a re-hearing of their cases. The exorbitant fees charged by lawyers also made rural people 'have the same dread and dislike to bringing their cases to be heard at the English courts as ... to taking them to the Native courts.'⁷⁹ Such a situation bred despair and disaffection towards their chiefs and the colonial government.

Disaffection and disillusion were not only a consequence of abuse of judicial power and unreasonable fines. Sheer irresponsibility on the part of the chiefs was also a contributory factor. Akyem Abuakwa land-tenure vested ownership of land in the community as a whole. Chiefs were mere custodians.⁸⁰ Some chiefs, however, seemed to think that the NJO (1883) gave them licence to do as they pleased with stool (public) property also. Nifahene Kwame Okoampa (1905-1908) sold Asiakwa stool lands to J.J. Fisher 'giving no account whatever of the sale contrary to native custom.'⁸¹

The most classic examples of irresponsibility were displayed by chiefs Gyamera and Otupiri of Begoro. During the former's two year's occupancy of the stool, (1905-1907) he 'sold stool lands to the value of heavy £3,000 and actually collected £1,732.' His own account book showed '£1,232 paid of which the elders and people knew nothing.'⁸² Between October and November 1907 alone Gyamera sold £766 worth of lands to individual Krobo without the knowledge and consent of his elders.⁸³ Gyamera's successor, Otupiri (1908-1913) sold £521. 9s. 3d. worth of stool lands without the consent of his elders and made use of the money.⁸⁴

Even more reprehensible was the manner in which revenues from the sale of stool lands and other sources were frittered away. Gyamera and Otupiri spent a good deal of stool revenues on alcoholic drinks and when they were short of money they did not hesitate to pledge stool property against drinks bought on credit.⁸⁵ Nifahene Kwaku Agyei (1905-1908) was 'a terrible drunkard' and 'a physical wreck from drink.' He not only saddled his people with debt but also insulted them publicly.⁸⁶ Kwaku Agyei paid little attention to his duties as chief. He was

always in a semi-drunken state and to a degree not responsible for his action.' Travelling commissioner Phillips considered him to be 'entirely unsuited for the stool of Asiakwa'.⁸⁷ Gyasehene John Robert Kwaku Oware was another alcoholic who, in his bouts of drunkenness, would take to the streets 'half-naked, scorning' any elder he met and disclosing the servile origins of 'some of the citizens' much to their embarrassment and annoyance.⁸⁸ Amoako Atta himself regarded Kwaku Ware as 'unfit', one chief whose destoolment he would 'unhesitatingly recommend to Government' to confirm.⁸⁹ District Commissioner Hobbs was alleged to have remarked at a public meeting that 'if all the chiefs in Eastern Akim were like Kwaku Ware, the country would before long fall into ruins.' Such was the calibre of Abuakwa chiefs that were entrusted with wide powers under the NJO (1883) during the first decade of the 20th century.

Asafo Protests

The Asafo protests against abuse of power and misappropriation of public funds by chiefs began in 1900 and grew in intensity with the passage of time. The protests took several forms. One form was to withhold certain customary services to the chief. The Begoro asafo, for example, discontinued the time-honoured practice of providing free labour on the farms of the chief. Chief Gyamera as a result had to rely on hired labour to clear his cocoa farms.⁹⁰ Another was to compel chiefs to enter into some kind of bond binding them to certain courses of action, reforms, or new life styles. After the abortive destoolment of Amoako Atta II in October 1900, the *Amantoomiensa asafo* presented the king with a document which he was called upon to accept as a condition of his re-instatement. *Inter alia*, the document insisted on the abolition of the oath of *Ehyira*, frequent consultation with the *Amantoomiensa*, reduction of court charges, and financial accountability.⁹¹ A similar bond presented by the Begoro asafo to Gyamera in 1907 to execute, barred him from drinking and from further sales of Begoro stool lands without prior consultation with his elders.⁹² In September 1910 Gyasehene John Robert Oware was similarly forced to sign a document committing him 'not to touch any rum'.⁹³

Asafo protest often took the form of asafo intervention to prevent vexatious arrest or trial of members. As severe fines and arbitrary exercise of power became a feature of the native tribunals, attendance at those tribunals became a nightmare and people avoided it if they could, with asafo support. In 1902 Ohyira of Sansami (near Nsawam) refused three times to appear before the Okyenhene's tribunal to answer a suit. With the help of the local asafo he attacked the king's messengers sent to arrest him and seized the handcuffs.⁹⁴ At the end of the year Kwame Botwe of Tafo refused to answer the summons of the Okyenhene's tribunal telling the king's messengers that 'he had consulted lawyer Papafio in Accra who had given him a note to the effect that he need not appear before any native court'.⁹⁵ When the king sent messengers to arrest him

*the Tafo company urged on by the oaths of their Captains Krodua, Dente, Boadu, Kwadwo Ben and Kwabina Kuma ... assaulted them and allowed Botchi to escape with his handcuffs.*⁹⁶

By far the most common and violent form of protest was the destoolment of chiefs. As against three recorded cases of destoolment and three others of attempted destoolment in the 19th century⁹⁷ there were no fewer than thirteen cases of destoolment or attempted destoolment within twelve years of the proclamation of the NJO in Akyem Abuakwa. Of these two involved the Okyenhene's stool, eight involved Divisional Chiefs (*mpakaafo*) and three Adikrofo. Significantly the spate of destoolments began with Okyenhene Amoako Atta II on October 31, 1900. He was saved by the Government's refusal to approve of the asafo action.⁹⁸ In November 1912 his successor Amoako Atta III (alias Kwaku Sereko) was destooled after less than two

years' reign.⁹⁹ The eight Divisional Chiefs involved in destoolment or attempted destoolment were Adontenhene Kofi Aberante of Kukurantumi (1901), Benkumhene Kwaku Asare of Begoro (March 1904) Osewuhene Kwabena Atwere of Wankyi (1905), Nifahene Kwaku Agyei of Asiakwa (1908), Benkumhene Gyamera of Begoro (1908), Nifahene Kwame Okoampa of Asiakwa (1910), Gyansahene Kwaku Ware of Kwaben (1910) and Takwahene Kwabena Amo of Akyease (1911). The Adikrofo were Kofi Twum of Asafo (1909), Kwabena Antwi of Osino (1910) and Kwabena Moro of Kade (1911).

Government Intervention

By the beginning of 1903 a state of near anarchy prevailed in Akyem Abuakwa. Rev. A. Ph. Bauer of the Basel Mission reported early in 1903 that ... 'all the Akims are unruly people. They are very obstinate, and do neither obey nor respect their chiefs, especially the youngmen.'¹⁰⁰ An official report in that year confirmed the incapability of the traditional authorities 'to maintain order among the youngmen in their towns.'¹⁰¹ As Asafo pressure mounted against the chiefs, they turned to the Colonial Government for protection and support. In 1903 Benkumhene Kwaku Asare asked for a supply of handcuffs and authority to commit 'to prison the youngmen who are constantly playing foolish on me.'¹⁰² Osewuhene Kwabena Atwere also asked Government for a supply of 'a pair of handcuffs' to be used to curb the growing insubordination among his subjects.¹⁰³ At the beginning of January 1905 the Okyenahene and his chiefs sent a formal appeal to the government to strengthen their hand in dealing with asfo insubordination.

*We cannot but submit this application as we find that men in this district are growing very insubordinate; and cases of contempt and disobedience of Elders and Chiefs are becoming so numerous that we venture to approach the Government with a view to augmenting our authority in stopping some ...*¹⁰⁴

The government was fully aware of the profligacy of some of the chiefs as well as their habitual abuse of their powers under the NJO.¹⁰⁵ Yet, as a Government committed to the policy of Indirect rule which rested on the effectiveness of the traditional authorities, it could ill-afford to take any steps that might in the longer term prove harmful to the authority of the Abuakwa chiefs. It therefore tended, of necessity, to stand firmly by the Okyenahene and his chiefs.

In February 1903, for instance, Mr. T.E. Fell, Travelling Commissioner personally arrested Kwabena Botwe of Tafo who had resisted arrest the previous year with the help of the Tafo asfo and took him in handcuffs to Kyebe to face trial in the Okyenahene's tribunal.¹⁰⁶ Travelling Commissioner, Captain Hawtrey considered it absolutely necessary for Benkumhene Asare to have a prison and authorized him to construct one, without hesitation.¹⁰⁷ On his return from Kwahu, Hawtrey paid an unannounced visit to Begoro using an 'unfrequented road' and managed to apprehend five youngmen against whom specific complaints had been made by the Begorohene. Two of them Yaw Tano and Kwasi Glatzle were ordered to stand trial before the Begorohene's court which ultimately sentenced them to one month's imprisonment each.¹⁰⁸ Of the remaining four tried by Hawtrey personally, Kofi Anno was sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour for insulting the chief; Kwadwo Bona to six months with hard labour for striking a policeman and Yaw Mabre to eighteen strokes of the cane in the main street of Begoro as the Commissioner felt that 'an object lesson was needed and needed badly in Begoro.'¹⁰⁹

In March 1904 the Colonial Government assigned Captain G.W.C. Soden to Akyem Abuakwa as resident District Commissioner. The new District Commissioner with an escort of 13 policemen was urged by the Secretary for Native Affairs to give the chiefs all the assistance he could 'in all cases of disobedience', and help with the arrest of offenders. He was, however, to

leave the actual trial and conviction under the NJO to the chiefs themselves.¹¹⁰ As acknowledged by Okyenhene Amoako Atta II, in June 1904, the presence of Captain Soden was a great source of support for traditional authority.

*Since his arrival, the Commissioner has been upholding my authority in every way possible and is endeavouring to enforce discipline and obedience in the district.*¹¹¹

Captain Soden left Akyem Abuakwa in September 1904, but his successors including Francis Crowther, H.G. Greenway and H.J. Hobbs continued to support the authority of the *ahenfo*. Instead of public rebuke as in the 19th century, the Okyenhene, henceforth received a private admonition for misconduct.¹¹² Travelling Commissioner Eliot urged upon the government that the Okyenhene 'should be supported in insisting upon proper respect being paid' by all his subjects.¹¹³ By 1909 official support had led to the consummation of the partnership between the *ahenfo* and the colonial government. The chiefs were now convinced that their future security lay in close collaboration with the colonial regime.

The *ahenfo*-government partnership was further strengthened, and the authority of the chiefs considerably enhanced, by the passage of the Gold Coast Native Jurisdiction (Amendment) Ordinance (1910) and the Native Prisons Ordinance No.10 of 1910. The former made the chiefs court 'compulsory courts of first instance with Government guarantee for the enforcement of its findings'; while the latter, which came into force on 26 August 1910, extended the maximum period of imprisonment in native prisons from one to three months.¹¹⁵ These enactments made it easy for the Akyem Abuakwa State Council to enforce its bye-law of March 1909 which made it a punishable offence for any youngman to insult any elder or Royal publicly.¹¹⁶ The firmness of the Government's support for the *ahenfo* led to an abatement of the *asafo* offensive against the chiefs after 1910. However, as it turned out, the abatement was merely the lull before the storm.

Conclusion

In the 1880s it appeared to British colonial officialdom that the championing of the interests of the broad masses offered the best guarantee of colonial rule in the Gold Coast. It was believed then that with the advance of western education, western civilization and christianity, the rising generation of education and westernised Africans would show preference for direct rule by British officials to rule by their traditional authorities. The power of the chiefs would wane and the institution would become redundant. In line with this expectation the power of chiefs in Akyem Abuakwa was hamstrung to the point of atrophy.

As hopes of direct rule receded in the last decade of the 19th century, a major shift in British policy occurred. The growing rapport between the government and the masses was reversed in favour of an alliance between the government and the chiefs. Henceforth, in the words of acting colonial secretary Hughes, 'those chiefs who [had] it in their power to assist the Government' were 'not to be interfered with unless there [was] plain proof of injustice, corruption and want of humanity.'¹¹⁷ In lieu of strict official supervision of the chiefs' tribunals by the Government, the chiefs' exercise of power was characterised by licentiousness and irresponsibility. The result was the growing alienation of the generality of Abuakwa citizens from chiefs and colonial government alike in the first decade of the 20th century.

Footnotes & References

1. NAG. Adm 29/6/32 History of Legislation in connection with native Jurisdiction by W.A. Jones, SNA 1931.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. NAG Adm 11/1/1706 Report of Committee on Tenure of Land in West African Colonies and Protectorates pp. 11-13; Also NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Confidential Memorandum on Native Prisons by W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's Advocate 3 Dec. 1887.
5. NAG. Adm 11/1/1706 Report on Committee on Tenure of Land, p.13.
6. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Confidential Memorandum on Native Prisons, 3 Dec. 1887.
7. *Ibid.*, parag. 18.
8. *Ibid.*, parag. 16.
9. *Ibid.*, parag. 31.
10. Metcalf G.E., *Great British and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History 1807-1907*, Nelson and Sons 1964, pp. 390-393; NAG. Adm 11/1/3 JTH to Col. Sec. 20 Dec. 1891; Gold Coast Colony Ordinances Vol. i, 1874-1892 p. 399 Clause 24 of NJO (1833) also p. 401.
11. The 4 states were proclaimed under the Ordinance on 21 Aug. 1883.
12. NAG. Adm 1/5/1 H.T. Ussher to Lt. Governor Griffith 15 May 1880.
13. See R. Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abuakwa c1874-1943; A study of the Impact of Missionary Activity and Colonial Rule on a Traditional State*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis 1980, Legon, pp. 126-133, 147-148.
14. NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Col. Sec. to H.E. 28 Aug. 1886.
15. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 C.J. to Ag. Col. Sec. 27 Sept. 1899; NAG. Adm 29/6/32 History of Legislation.
16. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission*, Balme Library, Legon, p. 615. Buck's letter to Basel 2 March 1880; NAG. Adm 1/9/2 H.T. Ussher to King Atta 20 Nov. 1879.
17. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 W. Brandford Griffith's Memorandum on Native Prisons 3 Dec. 1887.
18. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Excerpts of Judgement.
19. NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Chief Justice to Col. Sec. 22 March 1889; NAG. Adm 11/1/3 J.T.H. to Col. Sec. 20 Dec. 1891.
20. NAG. Adm 11/1/1094 General Instructions to the D.C. Eastern Akim 11 Oct. 1887.
21. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Amoako Atta I to H.E. Griffith 12 Aug. 1886.
22. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 W.B.G. to Commissioner for Native Affairs 31 Aug. 1886; Col. Sec. to King Amoakua Atta 17 Sept. 1886.
23. NAG. Adm 11/1/1094 Kade Chief to Smith 11 Dec. 1888.
24. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 J.S. Fulsbury Smith to Ag. Col. Sec. 7 March 1888.
25. NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Queen's Advocate to Ag. Col. Sec. 8 Oct. 1890; Statement of Kwadwo Essel taken at Victoriasborg 16 Sept. 1890.
26. NAG. Adm 1097 D.C. to Col. Sec. 8 June 1893.
27. See R. Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abuakwa c.1874*, p. 23.
28. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 129, Mohr's Report 10-26 April, 1880.
29. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts* p. 585A Asante Mohr and Werner to Sec. 27 June 1875; NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Yaw Broni's Statement 18 January 1889.

30. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts* p. 105 Mohr's Report to Basel on the attitudes of the peoples of Begoro 10 April 1878; p. 610 Bucks Report 30/31 Dec. 1879; Annual Report of Deacon, Theophilus Opoku 31 Dec. 1882; p. 106 Stations Conference Protocol 1 Nov. 1878; p. 646 minutes of Achim Synod 6 Feb. 1883.
31. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 105, Mohr's Report to Basel 10 April 1878.
32. *Der Heidenbote* No. 12, Huppenbauer's Report 21 July 1880.
33. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 130 Mohr's Report 26 April 1880.
34. *Der Heidenbote* No.1 Jan. 1888.
35. NAG. Adm 11/1/1773 Nathan at Kumasi 9 March 1903.
36. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 List of Dwaben cocoa farmers expelled from Akyem towns 1900.
37. NAG. Adm 11/1/103 James Okai to C.R. Williams Aug. 1909.
38. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 C.E.P. to S.N.A. 6 October 1908.
39. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Hull's memo. on Akim 22 Dec. 1900; Adm 11/1/136 Hillips, T.C. to S.N.A. 28 June 1909.
40. In 1906 Governor Rodger issued a confidential instruction debarring lawyers from appearing before chiefs courts in cases between chiefs and subjects NAG. Adm 11/1/6 Minutes
41. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 591 Asante to Basel 18 Oct. 1906.
42. *Der Heidenbote* No.7 July 1887; NAG. Adm 11/1/371 Enquiry into the destoolment of Yaw Darku, Ohene of Akyease 22 Aug. 1922.
43. *Der Heidenbote* No.7 July 1887; Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 104 Mohr's Report to Basel 10 April 1878.
44. *Der Heidenbote* No.7 July 1878.
45. NAG. Adm 29/6/32 Confidential History of Legislation in connection with Native Jurisdiction ... by W.J.A. Jones, SNA 1931 p.14.
46. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Ag. Col. Sec: Hughes to H.E. 22 Jan. 1888.
47. *Ibid.*
48. NAG. Adm 11/1/1451 Cummings, D.C. Akuse to Hon. Col. Sec. 17 Aug. 1899.
49. *Ibid.* The other *asafo* company was that of Kukurantumi.
50. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Memo. by Hull on the position of Affairs in Akim 22 Dec. 1900.
51. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Attorney-General to Hon. Ag. Col. Sec. 7 April 1899; Col. Sec. to Ag. Governor 10 April 1899.
52. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Proclamation of Akim Abusakwa under NJO (1883).
53. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Ag. Col. Sec. (Hughes) to H.E. 22 Jan. 1888; Confidential memorandum on Native prisons by W. Brandford Griffith, Ag. Queen's Advocate 3 Dec. 1887.
54. See Gold Coast Ordinances Vol. 1878-1892 Clauses 11-13 and schedules 3 and 4 of NJO pp. 396-97, 403-405.
55. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Hull's memo on Akim 22 Dec. 1900; Adm 11/1/1096 Mr. Eliot D.C. Volta River District to SNA 15 Oct. 1906; Also personal communication by the late Kwaku Amona of Kyebi (c. 77 years) son of Amoako Atta II.
56. See R. Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abusakwa c1874-1943*, pp. 132-190. Also R. Addo-Fening, 'Nsuaem Ferry Crisis 1888: An Episode in Abusakwa-Kotoku relations,' *Ghana Social Science Journal* Vol. No.41 (May 1977).
57. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 11 June 1892; Paul Jenkins *Abstracts* pp. 583, 628.
58. NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Queen Anna Kyerewa to Governor 17 Aug. 1892.
59. NAG. Adm 11/1/1440 Notes on Evidence in John Boaffo vers. Amponsa 5 Oct. 1905; Paul

- Jenkins, *Abstracts*, p. 604 Buck to Basel 17 June 1878.
60. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Amosko Atta II to C.S. 20 May 1902.
 61. NAG. Adm 1097 Notes on Public Enquiry at Wankyi 7-9 May 1906.
 62. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Statement by Yaw Kusi ex-Odikro of Kankan 10 Jan. 1906.
 63. NAG. Adm 11/1/1721 Apirang Native Affairs.
 64. Paul Jenkins, *Abstracts* 660 Huppenbauer's Report 27 July 1885; E. Ofori's supplement to the Kyebi District Yearly Report 29 Dec. 1886.
 65. NAG. Adm 11/1/1095 Col. Sec. to Amosko Atta 11 Nov. 1892.
 66. NAG. Adm 11/1/1126 Minute dated 9 May 1890.
 67. The NJO (1883) made the authorization of tribunals for sub-chiefs in a state the sole prerogative of the Paramount Chief. See NAD. ADM 11/1/490 J.S. Phillips D.C. Kibbi to Ag. CEP 22 Sept. 1914; Adm 11/1/667 Ag. CEP to SNA 13 March 1925; CEP to SNA May 1925; Minute by Attorney-General to SNA. 11 May 1925; Minute by R.W.H. Wilkinson to Ag. SNA 8 June 1926.
 68. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Col. Sec. to Amosko Atta II 11 Nov. 1903.
 69. NAG. Adm 11/1/1440 W.J. Rottman and Fischer to SNA 12 May 1905.
 70. NAG. Adm 11/1/1440 Joseph Bonten to SNA 13 April 1907.
 71. NAG. Adm 11/1/1492 Bye-law made on 19 March 1904; Adm 11/1097 Elders of Begoro to D.C. Akwapim 19 May 1909; Adm 11/1/1096 D.C. Akwapim 29 May 1909; Adm 11/1/1096 D.C. Birrim to SNA 14 June 1909.
 72. NAGK. Adm 29/6/2 C.N. Curling to SNA 20 May 1907.
 73. NAG. Adm 1097 Kwaku Donkor vers. Ohene Kwaku Adjeki 22 Sept. 1906.
 74. NAG. Adm 11/1/747 Thomas Dampney to T.C. 4 July 1909; J. Phillips to SNA 22 July 1909.
 75. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 D.C. Crowther to SNA 6 Aug. 1905.
 76. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Rev. Mohr to SNA 18 July 1903. See also Statement of Chief Yaw Kusi 1904; Anin Agyei to SNA 12 Sept. 1904.
 77. Gold Coast Ordinances Vol. 1 1874-1892, p. 399; NAG Adm 11/1/1440 D.C. Greenway's interpretation of NJO and Amosko Atta's protest Feb-March 1908.
 78. Dr. Spilsbury Smith was withdrawn in 1888. From then on the district was administered by D.C. Accra till March 1892; then by D.C.K. Akuse till 1904; and thereafter, by Travelling Commissioners.
 79. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Capt. Soden to SNA 3 Aug. 1904.
 80. R. Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abuakwa c1874-1943*, Chapter One.
 81. NAG. Adm 11/1/747 Arbitration into complaints against Chief Okoampa 22 April 1910.
 82. NAG Adm 11/1/1452 C.N. Curling to SNA 26 June 1908; NAGK. Adm 29/6/2 Elders and people of Begoro to Napier Curling 15 May 1907.
 83. NAG. Adm 11/1/457 Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera 13 Jan. 1908.
 84. NAG. Adm 11/1/457 Enquiry into destoolment of Kwaku Tupri 20 Dec. 1913.
 85. NAG. Adm 11/1/457 Enquiry into destoolment of Gyamera; Elders of Begoro to Ofori Atta 12 Dec. 1912.
 86. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 CEP O'Brien to Hull 27 May 1905; Adm 11/1/747 Yaw Nkwabo, Ag. Ohene and 15 others to D.C. 8 Jan. 1908.
 87. NAG. Adm 11/1/747 J. Phillips T.C. to SNA 22 July 1909.
 88. NAG. Adm 11/1/291^A Queen Kyerewa and 15 others to Omanhene Amosko Atta II 25 Nov. 1910.

89. NAG. Adm 11/1/291^A Amoako Atta II to Provincial Commissioner Akuse, 3 Dec. 1910.
90. NAG. Adm 11/1457 Begoro Native Affairs.
91. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Rules given to King Amoako Atta II after his re-instatement by the Amantoomiensa 3 Dec. 1900. The Oath of Ehyira otherwise known as ntamkoko involved a curse on the king's life. For the role of Amantoomiensa. See R. Addo-Fening, *Akyem Abuakwa c1874-1943*, pp. 24-28, 36-43.
92. NAG. Adm 11/1/457 Bye-laws made by Begoro people and Mumuadu for the observance of the chief, Begoro 12 April 1907.
93. NAG. Adm 1291^A Queen Kyerewa and 15 others to Omanhene Amoako Atta II 25 Nov. 1910.
94. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Amoako Atta to CS 20 April 1902.
95. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 H.E. Fell to SNA 16 Feb. 1903.
96. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Complaint by Amoako Atta II against the Chief and people of Tafo 25 Dec. 1902.
97. Those destooled were Kwaku Fening of Begoro (June 1873), Yaw Tawia of Kade (1898) and Kwame Ben of Gyadambirem (April 1898). The cases of attempted destoolment were those of Kwabena Atwere of Wankyi (1898), Amoako Atta II (1892) and Kofi Aberantee (Oct. 1898).
98. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Chiefs and Captains of H.E. Hon. Whiam Low 1 Nov. 1900; NAG. Adm 11/1/3 Ag. Governor's interview with Amantoomiensa deputation 23 Nov. 1900.
99. NAG. Adm 1097 Amoako Atta III to D.C. Birrim 16 April 1911; Chiefs and Councillors of Kyebi to D.C. 27 Nov. 1912.
100. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 A Ph. Bauer to Col. Sec. 29 Jan. 1903.
101. NAG. Adm 11/1/3 T.E. Fell to H. Chief Amoako Atta 4 May 1903; F. Crowther D.C. to Ag. SNA 17 Oct. 1905.
102. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Chief David Asare to SNA. Redc. Feb. 1903.
103. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Chief Atwere to D.C. Saltpond 18 Jan. 1904.
104. NAG. Adm 11/1/667 Amoako Atta II to SNA 30 Jan. 1905.
105. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Col. Sec. to Amoako Atta II Nov. 1903; NAG. Adm 11/1/1440 W.J. Rotmann and Fisher to SNA 12 May 1905.
106. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Akim Abuakwa Native Affairs.
107. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Hawtrey to SNA 25 April 1903. This prison gazetted on 16 May 1904 brought the number of Native prisons in Akyem Abuakwa to 2. See NAG. Adm 11/1/250.
108. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Hawtrey to SNA April 1903.
109. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Hawtrey to SNA April 1903.
110. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Capt. Soden to SNA 16 March 1904; COP to SNA 28 March 1904; Fell to COP 12 April 1904.
111. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Amoako Atta II to Ag. SNA 3 June 1904.
112. NAG. Adm 11/1/1440 SNA to D.C. Okwahu and East Akim 16 Feb. 1906.
113. NAG. Adm 11/1/1096 Eliot to SNA 23 Oct. 1906.
114. Simenson, J. "Rural Mass Action in the context of Anti-Colonial Protest: The Asafo Movement of Akim Abuakwa, Ghana" *Canadian Journal of African Studies* Vol. 8, No.1 1974.
115. NAG. Adm 11/1/361; Adm 11/1/1477; Also Gold Coast Colony Ordinances Vol.1 1874-1892.

116. ASAK Civil Record Book Vol. 19 Dec. 1908 28 May 1909 No. 4.
117. NAG. Adm 11/1/1477 Ag. Col. Sec. to H.E. 22 Jan. 1888.