

THE POLITICS AND NATIONALISM OF A.W. KOJO THOMPSON: 1924-1944

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Introduction

During the period of his public political career spanning from 1924 to 1944, the Hon. A.W. Kojo Thompson aroused extreme emotions and judgements in both foes and admirers alike. To his critics and foes, he was *more extravagant than constructive*; an opportunistic self-seeker without any clearly cut political conviction and programme¹; an agitator, *hostile and condemning native authorities all the time*²; had no respect for the Europeans *who opened our eyes*³; and that his appeal as a politician was only to the *rabble*.⁴

On the other hand, estimation of his capabilities by his admirers more often than not had been rapturous. Nnamdi Azikiwe described him as *a man of destiny*.⁵ A newspaper reporter described him as *the most talked of politician in the Gold Coast*⁶; and that *he was fearless, independent, outspoken, conscientious and self-sacrificing patriot and leader; hero of the people, and a terror at the Legislature*⁷; who aimed at *purity and the highest probity in thought and action*.⁸ He was *saviour of Accra*⁹, *hero of Accra politics*¹⁰ and *patriot number one*.¹¹

Augustus William Kojo Thompson was prominently in the forefront of political activities both locally in Accra and nationally, particularly as a municipal member at the Legislative Council, during the period under review. It was a complex and explosive period during which the nationalists of the Gold Coast, both traditional and educated were forced, as it were, to re-state, reformulate, re-articulate and re-align their political and nationalistic convictions, in the face of the adoption of Indirect Rule¹², as the underlying principle of colonial administration in the Gold Coast. The subsequent adoption of such controversial measures as The Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1924,¹³ the 1925 Constitution,¹⁴ the setting up of the Provincial Council System;¹⁵ the introduction of the elective principle¹⁶ and the coming into being of local political parties. The Native Administration Ordinance of 1927,¹⁷ among others, broke the ranks of the chiefs and the intelligentsia, who had previously co-operated under the umbrella of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS).¹⁸ In effect, the period was one of struggle for political leadership between the chiefs, with the support of the colonial administration, and the western educated elite whose ranks had been broken in 1920 with the formation of The National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA).¹⁹

Research by this writer has revealed that, unlike most of his well-known contemporaries such as I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, Nnamdi Azikiwe, W.E.G. Sekyi, Dr. F.V. Nanka-Bruce, Dr. J.B. Danquah et al., A.W. Kojo Thompson never attempted to articulate and document in the form of a book, monograph, pamphlet, newspaper articles etc. his political and nationalistic persuasions, objectives and ideals. This observation by no means implies that he had none; for it is indeed unimaginable that a man, who dominated politics in Accra and was one of the most prominent nationalists and Pan-Africanists that the Gold Coast had ever produced, could be without a political direction. Indeed so much had been written about

him favourably and - more often than not, especially in official circles - unfavourably, in the Press, Debates of the Legislative Council, Official Reports, etc.

The aim of this article is, as far as possible, within the context and circumstances of the period of his public political career, to try to bring out the politics and the nationalism of the Hon. A.W. Kojo Thompson.

The Prelude

Until the formation of the National Congress of British West Africa in 1920, the Gold Coast nationalist forces made up of the traditional and western educated elite, were generally united, and their views given articulation and expression by the ARPS, which was formed in 1897 and which successfully fought a 'pernicious' Land Bill.²⁰ Subsequently, the Society constituted itself into the mouthpiece and representative of the aboriginal people of the Gold Coast, and demanded - and was granted albeit grudgingly by the colonial administration²¹ - the right to be consulted on all legislative and political issues concerning the colony.

As a political and nationalist organisation, the ARPS under the influence and leadership of such men as John Mensah Sarbah,²² J.E. Kwegyir Aggrey,²³ J.W. Sey,²⁴ J.W. de Graft Johnson²⁵ and Rev. Attah Ahuma²⁶ advocated extreme pride in African culture and the revival of its institutions. The Society therefore came down strongly on those Africans whom it regarded as having severed their links with, and for that matter behaved as though they looked down on their cultural and traditional heritage. History, to the ARPS, was to be the instrument of political agitation, advocating for western educated Africans and not Europeanised natives. In the words of The Gold Coast Aborigine:

*We simply want our education to enable us to develop and to improve our native ideas, customs, manners and institutions*²⁷.

In the event of the controversy over the Lands Bill of 1897, which in the eyes of the ARPS displayed a lack of meaningful understanding and appreciation of native institutions, the Society asked to be seen as an aid to the colonial administration, to educate it in the *idiosyncracies, customs, laws, habits, and modes of thought peculiar to the natives*.²⁸

Although it advocated the progressive transformation of traditional institutions to assume responsibility in modern administrative practices, in reality, the Society tended to be conservative. Furthermore, although it claimed to represent all the aborigines of the colony, in reality it was a small group of western educated people based at Cape Coast who, by and large, ran the Society and took decision on its behalf. Serious cracks began to appear in the Society from 1912 onwards. A section led by J.E. Casely Hayford influenced by the changed economic and political situation in the world,²⁹ began to extend their political vision and aspirations beyond the Gold Coast to cover the whole of British West Africa. The narrow and insular objectives of the ARPS, as well as the conservatism of its leadership, proved a hindrance and Casely Hayford and his supporters broke off from the ARPS. In March 1920, with representatives from Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, The National Congress of British West Africa was successfully inaugurated in Accra.³⁰

Opposition to Casely Hayford led by E.J.P. Brown was bitter and vehement. Joining forces with some traditional leaders led by Nana Ofori Atta I, they charged the Congress with elitism, unrepresentative of both traditional authority and the aboriginal people, but themselves and their class interests.³¹ The colonial government, naturally, threw in their lot with the chiefs and refused to co-operate with the Congress and successfully undermined the mission of its delegation to London.

When in 1922, members of the Congress captured the leadership of the ARPS, a small

but militant and intransigent group, led by Kobina Sekyi continued to espouse the original ideals of the Society. By and large, the activities of this group, in particular, that of its leader, Kobina Sekyi, as will be seen, immensely, affected the political drama that unfolded in Accra between 1924 and 1944, in which the Hon. A.W. Kojo Thompson was a crucial player.

The Man and his Politics

There is no doubt that Kobina Sekyi,³² though many years younger, exercised a palpable and an overwhelming influence on Kojo Thompson, particularly during the early years of his career and generally in the latter years. Kobina Sekyi was unique and very sophisticated in his perception of nationalism, the basis, of which to him, was history, culture and tradition. In the words of Wight, Kobina Sekyi's

*Exercised an intangible influence as the moving spirit of the Aborigines Society.....a central figure in nationalist politics. He is not simply the leader of the intelligentsia, his thoughts and motives are often beyond their range; he is rather an intellectual, something almost uniquely rare in African life.*³³

Indeed the circumstances surrounding the entrance of Kojo Thompson into nationalist politics clearly reveal that he was a sympathiser of the original ARPS ideals championed by Kobina Sekyi. Kojo Thompson's close co-operation and collaboration with Kobina Sekyi which lasted throughout his political career began in 1921, in the famous Asamankese case. The two worked together as counsels for the chiefs of Asamankese and Akwatia in their bid for independence from the Paramountcy of Akim Abuakwa.³⁴ The case which lasted for fourteen years was to earn Kojo Thompson and Kobina Sekyi the displeasure and hostility of Nana Ofori Atta and for that matter a substantial number of influential chiefs in the Gold Coast and the colonial government.

A further indication of this close relations, and for that matter, the espousal of original ARPS ideals by Kojo Thompson, was in connection with the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1924. This Ordinance was meant to replace the one that had been in existence since 1894, which over the years had elicited much criticism and discontent. It turned out that the 1924 Ordinance for which the western educated elite, particularly - the NCBWA - had fought so hard to have enacted, was not to be implemented but had to be withdrawn, in the face of a determined opposition to it in Accra.³⁵ An opposition led by Kojo Thompson and ably supported by Kobina Sekyi which, incidentally, also marked the beginning of the public political career of Kojo Thompson.

The role that Kojo Thompson and Kobina Sekyi played in the fight against the 1924 Ordinance must be appreciated in light of the struggle between the Old-guard ARPS and Casely Hayford. In this light, it is significant that Accra since 1920 had become a stronghold of the Congress, with the Paramount Chief, Nii Tackie Yaoboi, a leading supporter. It is also significant that it was Kobina Sekyi who wrote the petition against the Ordinance on behalf of the opposing Divisional Chiefs and elders of Accra.³⁶ It is further significant that when the Ga Mantse, Tackie Yaoboi, took legal action against the traditional leaders of the opposition, who sought his destoolment, he was represented by Messrs. Frans Dove, H.F. Ribero, Akilakpa Sawyer and Sackey, all lawyers belonging to the Congress; while the defendants were represented by Kobina Sekyi and Kojo Thompson.³⁷

The position adopted by Kobina Sekyi and Kojo Thompson, vis-a-vis the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1924 clearly reveals their allegiance to the old ideals of the ARPS. In the first place, contrary to ARPS aspirations, the new Ordinance marginalised traditional authority; the proposed councils were to be headed by Mayors, not from the ranks of the

traditional rulers or nominated by the ARPS as an electoral college and as a body representing the aboriginal people, but from the ranks of the western educated elite only. Secondly; the mode of election was contrary to traditional practice; election of the Councillors was to be by all ratepayers of the town, both male and female, who were twenty-one years and above. Thirdly, contrary to the stand of the Society, there was no way the new Councils would act as a basis for the training and as an educational institution for modern administrative practices for traditional authority.

Clearly therefore, the withdrawal of the Ordinance of 1924 was a victory not only for the destooling party in Accra, although they failed in their ultimate objective of having the Ga Mantse, Nii Tackie Yaobi destooled by associating him with the enactment, but also a moral and political victory for the ARPS old-guards vis-a-vis, the National Congress of British West Africa. Above all, it also reveals the political leaning of A.W. Kojo Thompson. Having established this, we certainly need to find an explanation for his attitude with regard to the 1925 Constitution.

The 1925 Constitution, introduced by Governor Guggisberg to reform the Legislative Council, was summarily rejected by conservatives and progressives of the ARPS and the Congress alike. Primarily, the rejection was on the issue of unofficial African representation at the Council; of the nine available to them, three were for the municipalities of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi from the ranks of the educated elite, while the remaining six were to be elected by the Provincial Councils of Head of Chiefs from their ranks.³⁸ In the words of Casely Hayford:

*Although we have been given the elective principle, it is more like getting the shadow rather than the substance ... we who have worked hard on this Council for the past 10 years had hoped that the result of our work would be such as to encourage Government to extend the franchise to more educated Africans to be able to serve their countries.*³⁹

He continued:

*The representation should be one and the same ... there should be no attempt to divide the people, as it were into sections, because our own constitution from our own usages ... we are one people. The division between educated and uneducated is a false one, because if education is good for the country, we must not at any time seek to divide the educated from the uneducated.*⁴⁰

The ARPS led by men like Kobina Sekyi, also rejected the Constitution, more or less along the lines of the argument of Casely Hayford. Furthermore, it argued for equal representation between official and unofficial members, and also objected to the way in which the constitution had marginalised the Society by not, first of all, consulting it in the drafting of the Constitution and secondly, by being given no role to play at all in its provisions. The society enjoined its members, both chiefs and western educated people, not to co-operate nor accept nomination to serve on both the Provincial Councils and on the new Legislative Council.⁴¹

There was a 'limiting condition' which made the acceptance of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1924 a pre-requisite by the towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi, for electing their representatives to the Council. When the Ordinance was withdrawn, the Government had to suspend the limiting condition and approached the Ga Mantse, Nii Tackie Yaobi, to nominate a western educated person to represent Accra until the necessary amendments were made to the Order-in-Council, for municipal elections to be held. The Ga Mantse replied that he could find no one willing to accept the nomination. But his detractors who were seeking his destoolment quickly submitted the name of Kojo

Thompson, who was introduced to the public at a mass rally at Bukom Square.⁴² Kojo Thompson's acceptance of the nomination surprised everyone, particularly the ARPS and the Congress. He was subjected to severe criticisms, and verbal insults. This landed him in social and political isolation for the next ten years.

Why did he accept the nomination? Needless to say he must have known that by so doing, he was, as it were, helping to make ineffective the boycott championed not only by the Congress, but also his own faction of the ARPS led by his friend Kobina Sekyi. Secondly by that act, he must have known that he was helping the colonial administration, for which he had no sympathy, out of an embarrassing and tight situation. Was it simply a matter of political immaturity or inordinate ambition? Be that as it may, it is very probable that he never wanted to disappoint those who nominated him, who had helped him to fight successfully against the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1924, and with whose help he had formed the Manbii Party, to enable him fight the municipal elections. In this connection, it is significant that one of the first things he did on the floor of the Legislative Council was to attack the Government's refusal to acquiesce to the decision of the people to destool Nii Tackie Yaoboi. Whether or not he was aware of the full consequences of accepting the nomination is not so clear for he never answered his critics.

In arriving at the decision to accept the nomination, it is very likely that he was influenced by the thought that it was only at the centre that there was a chance of influencing Government policy and possibly demanding further reform. If one accepts this argument, then it could be seen that the difference between him and the ARPS and the Congress, was not in the objectives, but in the means of achieving the objectives of the boycott. It is significant that at the Council, he held on and defended principles which clearly fell along the lines of the ARPS. He was outspoken on these and caused so much discomfort to many members, that he earned the displeasure of many, the most powerful of whom was Nana Ofori Atta, whom he single-handedly took on in the debates over the enactment of the Native Administration Ordinance of 1927.⁴³

Indeed, no less a critic of his on the nomination issue than Casely Hayford was later to regret his refusal to accept his nomination and to commend the wisdom of Kojo Thompson who accepted his with the view of fighting from within. He was also highly impressed that Kojo Thompson's voice was the only one at the Legislative Council that boldly and courageously stood against all the odds and fought the Native Administration Bill of 1927. Casely Hayford quickly re-entered politics and was elected as the municipal member for Sekondi in 1926, and began fighting, just as Kojo Thompson had done, from within.⁴⁴

At any rate, Kojo Thompson was never forgiven by the western educated elite and members of the Congress in Accra. As we have seen, when the necessary amendments to the 1925 Constitution were effected to allow for the municipal elections in 1926, his supporters constituted themselves into The Manbii Party. Unfortunately, a majority of them did not satisfy the property qualification. The Congress in Accra formed The Ratepayers Association and its candidate, Mr. J. Glover Addo, a lawyer, was successfully elected. Although he was continuously elected to serve on the newly formed Accra Town Council between 1928 and 1936, the other three elected Africans on the Council were always members of the Ratepayers Association.

The role which he played with regard to the defeat of the Municipal Corporation Ordinance, and above all, the issue of the nomination resulted in his political isolation by members of the western educated elite, a class to which he properly belonged by virtue of birth, marriage and profession.⁴⁵ What this meant was that he could never look forward to establishing a political base, or to any form of advantageous association and support from

this quarter. In fact this was what happened throughout his political career from 1924 to 1944. Indeed it is not on record that he ever tried to do this, but rather, throughout this period, for better or for worse, he depended on and cultivated the support of the mass of the people. This policy turned out to be a shrewd one which paid off in the 1935 municipal elections, when the economic and political climate turned against the leaderships of the conservative nationalists.

Economically, low cocoa prices in the 1930's had led to hold-ups' by the farmers, who were refusing to sell their cocoa to European firms and boycotting their imported goods, until prices improved. The conservative political leadership of the educated elite was blamed for doing nothing to help.⁴⁶ Politically, it was the arrival and activities of two radical West Africans in Accra, namely I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson and Nnamdi Azikiwe.

I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, a Sierra Leonean, educated in the Soviet Union arrived in the Gold Coast in 1933, full of Communist and Pan-African ideas, with the ultimate aim of uprooting colonialism in Africa. The economic discontent of the farmers of the Gold Coast gave him the opportunity he wanted and in 1934, with Bankole Renner formed the radical West African Youth League, in his words *to give political organisation to the conservative Gold Coast forces ... under the common bond of brotherhood and comradeship*.⁴⁷ The WAYL joined forces with Kojo Thompson and his Manbii Party. With superb organisational ability and tireless energy, Wallace-Johnson helped in the mobilisation of the masses in Accra behind Kojo Thompson and his party, and helped to restructure and to give it a new radical identity.

Nnamdi Azikiwe came to settle in Accra in 1934 after his education in the United States of America. He was appointed the editor of *The African Morning Post*, which he in no time made the best-selling daily, not only in the Gold Coast but also in the whole of West Africa,⁴⁸ by his romantic and brilliant style of journalism. He expressed his motivation to enter the Gold Coast political arena thus:

*If constitutional reforms must come in dribs and drabs at the pleasure of the colonial ruler and not be regarded as a logical sequence in the historic evolution of any people towards statehood, then such people must agitate militantly within the law to bring about a rapid change in their status, to enable them to formulate and implement policies that would reflect the reforms desired by them and their forefathers. Hence my conviction that only dominion status would enable the Gold Coast to discover its national soul.*⁴⁹

'Zik', - as he came to be known - and Wallace-Johnson by using the columns of the newspaper and by public lectures, launched an all out attack on the colonial system and the conservative nationalist forces of the Gold Coast. Their support for Kojo Thompson and his Manbii Party was very crucial.

The political agenda of the radical forces that helped to bring Kojo Thompson out of the political doldrums and championed by him, Zik, Wallace-Johnson and Kobina Sekyi, were aimed firstly at the overthrow of the unconstitutional powers that the chiefs were assuming under indirect rule. This, in their view, was undermining the true traditional set-up of this institution. The chiefs in their view, had not only become mere mouth pieces of the colonial system but were also enjoying considerable powers and privileges contrary to custom and so bringing the institution into disrepute. Secondly, they attacked the intelligentsia for their conservative and selfish interests, and misleadership.⁵⁰ Thirdly they attacked the colonial system and sought its overthrow because it was inimical to the social, economic and political well-being of the people.

In the 1935 municipal elections, largely due to the influence, activities and support of

his radical allies, Kojo Thompson won, beating Dr. F.W. Nanka-Bruce of the Ratepayers Association. Legal objections by the Ratepayers Association resulted in fresh elections which were again won by Kojo Thompson and his Manbii Party. The ascendancy of the radical nationalist forces in Accra as a result of the victory of Kojo Thompson shifted the political pendulum, as it were, from hitherto, collaboration and accommodation with, and the desire for the reform of the colonial structure, to its total rejection. Furthermore, fresh awareness on social political and economic issues affecting their lives began to be awakened in the people. Thus a foundation of radical nationalism was laid, not only in Accra, but in the whole of the Gold Coast colony.

The activities of the radicals, naturally, began to worry the colonial administration. Not only was there a call for its overthrow, but racial and cultural pride, as a result of the activities of Garvey and Du Bois⁵¹ was beginning to affect the thinking of many people. Furthermore, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia began to drive home a Pan-African aspect to the nationalist struggle. But perhaps more worrying to the colonial administration was the dissemination of radical and socialist literature in the Gold Coast. In 1936, an article, *Has the African a God?* by Wallace-Johnson in *The African Morning Post* criticising the colonial system was all the authorities needed to charge Azikiwe and Wallace-Johnson with sedition. Although Azikiwe was freed, he soon left for his native Nigeria, while Wallace-Johnson was found guilty and deported to his native Sierra Leone. With their departure the leadership of the radical wing of the nationalist movement fell on Kojo Thompson, G.E. Moore and Kobina Sekyi;⁵² their bold and fearless stand making them more and more unpopular with the colonial administration and the conservative forces of the nationalist movement.

In Accra, from 1936 to 1944, Kojo Thompson became a popular political leader and worked hard at the Legislative Council to justify the trust that the people had in him. This is attested by the fact that in 1940, by a general agreement of all the political parties, he was returned unopposed for another term of office, as part of a measure of bringing unity within the local body politic.⁵³

In 1943, Kojo Thompson's political career, came to a dramatic end; he was convicted of the charge of demanding a bribe of 25,000.00 from one Mr. Barrow of the Association of West African Merchants (AWAM),⁵⁴ so that he would not expose their activities at the Legislative Council. It indeed was an unfortunate end to what was otherwise, a brilliant political career.

Summary and Conclusion

It is very clear from the foregoing that, although not definitely articulated, the politics of A.W. Kojo Thompson was strongly influenced by the original ideals of the ARPS as espoused by such men as John Mensah Sarbah, Rev. Attah Ahuma and more particularly by Kobina Sekyi. Primarily, these were: the protection and upholding of traditional values, laws and customs; promotion of close co-operation and of unity of purpose not only among the chiefs, but also between the chiefs and the educated elite; opposition to elitist politics such as the Provincial Council concept of Head Chiefs and the leadership aspirations of the intelligentsia of the National Congress of British West Africa, and an uncompromising defence and advancement of the social, economic and political aspirations of the aboriginal people of the Gold Coast.

In methods of approach, however, he sometimes differed sharply and controversially, even with such close collaborators as Kobina Sekyi, such as the issue of accepting the nomination to the Legislative Council in 1926. Although this was to cost him dearly

politically, at least for some time, it shows an aspect of his character; that he was his own man. Although isolated and rejected by the chiefs and the educated elite, he became popular with the mass of the people and with their support he won a decisive victory in the 1935 municipal elections.

He was a thorn in the flesh of the colonial administration. It was said of him that he got into politics on the slogan *oppose the government*.⁵⁵ Again, he had been described as *an outstanding critic of the British government*⁵⁶ and that his greatest asset was his willingness to insult the colonial regime and being *in the forefront of any agitation against the government*.⁵⁷

Whatever impression one gathers of him, there is no doubt that A.W. Kojo Thompson was fired by lofty ideals of patriotism and Pan-Africanism. In 1941, he, together with Dr. J.B. Danquah and K.A. Korsah drafted a new constitution on behalf of the chiefs and the intelligentsia.⁵⁸ Although it was not accepted by the government, this move culminated in the introduction of the 1946 Burns Constitution. As a Pan-Africanist, he co-operated closely with the Pan-African ideals of Nnamdi Azikiwe and I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson; he was a member of the West African Youth League; he was instrumental in organising a protest movement in Accra against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and was a patron of the local Ethiopian Defence Committee.

Perhaps the abiding legacy of A.W. Kojo Thompson to his successors, was not only his brand of radical nationalism, patriotism and Pan-Africanism; over and above these, it is the idea of a political party that drew its strength not from elitism with its narrow and parochial interests, but from the masses and their effective mobilisation. A legacy, which needless to say, was inherited by Kwame Nkrumah in the formation of the Convention Peoples' Party in 1949.

FOOTNOTES

- 1) See Wight, Martin, *The Gold Coast Legislative Council* (Faber and Faber, London, 1946), p. 72.
- 2) Nana Ofori Atta, quoted in Wight, Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
- 3) Nelson, Padu E., *African Morning Post*, April 8, 1936.
- 4) Sawyer, Akilakpa, *Gold Coast Independent*, p. 1074.
- 5) Azikiwe, Nnamdi (ed.) *The African Morning Post*, August 21, 1935.
- 6) *Spectator Daily*, April 25, 1941.
- 7) *Ibid.*
- 8) *Ibid.*
- 9) Mr. Myers of Akamadze, *The African Morning Post*, September 17, 1935.
- 10) *Ibid.*
- 11) *Ibid.*
- 12) See Kimble, David, *Political History of Ghana 1850-1928* (O.U.P., 1963), p. 469 - 479.
- 13) It was Gazetted on 23rd September, 1924.
- 14) See the Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1925. Amended by the Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1927, and by the Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Amendment Orders in Council of 1933, 1934, and 1939. First Gazetted on 10th December 1925.
- 15) See The Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1925 Section XVI(1).
- 16) Under the 1925 Constitution Provincial and Municipal unofficial African

- members were to be directly elected, not nominated, as hitherto was the practice. See Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Order in Council 1925 Section XVIII and XX.
- 17) Enacted in April 1927 (G.U.P., 1971), p. 34 - 62.
 - 18) See Kimble, David, *A Political History of Ghana: 1850 -1928* (O.U.P., 1963).
 - 19) For a study of the Congress see De la Ray, E. Denzer, *The National Congress of British West Africa: The Gold Coast Section*. (University of Ghana unpublished Ph.D. Thesis 1964).
 - 20) See 18, above. Also the Constitution of 1907, *Gold Coast Leader* 26th December 1908.
 - 21) See Kimble, David *op. cit.*, p. 355 and p. 359.
 - 22) John Mensah Sarbah (1864 - 1910) was born at Cape Coast, he was the first Gold Coast African to be called to the bar; he was unofficial member of the Legislative Council from 1901 -1910. In his two books *Fanti Customary Laws* (1897) and *The Fanti National Constitution* (1906), he espoused the ideals of the ARPS. See Tenkorang, S. *John Mensah Sarbah: 1864-1910. T.H.S.G.* xix, 1973.
 - 23) See Smith, E.W. *Aggrey of Africa* (London, 1929) for the life and achievements of this remarkable man.
 - 24) He was made the first President of the ARPS and was a member of a three-man committee who went to London in 1898 to protest against the Land Bill on behalf of the ARPS.
 - 25) His book, *Towards Nationhood in West Africa* (London, 1929) explains the reason and ideals for which the ARPS was formed.
 - 26) An ordained Priest of the A.M.E. Zion Church. He changed his name from S.R.B. Solomon to Attah Ahuma to reflect his cultural nationalism. He was the editor of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* and *The Gold Coast Aborigines*. He was a staunch supporter of the ARPS and an author e.g. *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* (Liverpool, 1911).
 - 27) *Gold Coast Aborigines*, 8 February, 1902. Quoted in Kimble, David *op. cit.*, p. 360.
 - 28) See Kimble, David *op. cit.*, p. 372.
 - 29) This was mainly due to the Pan-African activities of W.E.B. Du Bois and the Pan-Negro activities of Marcus Garvey. See Langley, J.A. *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa: 1900 - 1945* (O.U.P., 1975, p. 67 - 69).
 - 30) See note 19 above.
 - 31) Agbodeka, A.A. *Ghana in the 20th Century* (G.U.P., 1972), p. 65, quoting Appendix V in Guggisberg to Amery, G.C. Conf. 21 April 1927; CO 96.673.
 - 32) William Essuman Gwira Sekyi (1892 - 1956) has recently been an object of study and rehabilitation. To Langley he was a philosopher, nationalist, lawyer and traditionalist. A controversialist and prolific writer - Sekyi was one of the most interesting personalities in Gold Coast public affairs. See Langley, J.A. *op. cit.*, p. 98.
 - 33) Wight, Martin *op. cit.*, p. 75. See in particular Baku, D.K. *An Intellectual in Nationalist Politics: The Contribution of Kobina Sekyi in the evolution of Ghanaian National Consciousness* (unpublished D. Phil. Thesis, University of Sussex, 1987).
 - 34) The Asamankese Case was important politically and economically. Revenue

- from Diamond exploitation in Asamankese and Akwatia led the chiefs of these places to claim independence of the Akim Abuakwa stool. Kojo Thompson's involvement was to put him on a collision course with Nana Ofori Atta, throughout his political career. The secession is rooted in history. See Wilks, Ivor Twifo and Akwamu T.H.S.G. 33, 1958, pp. 215 - 217.
- 35) The rejection of the Ordinance was the outcome of a big conspiracy. The merits and the demerits of the Ordinance were not at issue. See Quarcoopome, S.S. *The Rejection of the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1924 in Accra: A Review of the Causes, Research Review (New Series) Vol. 3, No. 1 January 1987, p. 24 - 49.*
 - 36) See *Gold Coast Leader* 15 November 1924, p. 8.
 - 37) *Ibid* The defended Chiefs who opposed the Provincial Council System in the 920s, with the demise of the NCBWA, the dispute was between the ARPS and the Supporters of the Provincial Council. Many thanks to Dr. D.K. Baku of the History Department, University of Ghana, Legon.
 - 38) See Gold Coast Colony (Legislative Council) Orders in Council, 1925 Sections XVIII and XX
 - 39) Casely Hayford, J.E. Speech at the Legislative Council, 18th March, 1926 in Metcalfe, G.E., *Great Britain and Ghana* (London, 1964).
 - 40) *Ibid.*
 - 41) See Kimble, David *op. cit.*, p. 445.
 - 42) Resolution of Mantsemei of Asere, Gbese etc. dated 28th August, 1926 ADM 11/925 N.A.G., Accra.
 - 43) See Legislative Council Debates 19 - 20 April 1927.
 - 44) See Kimble, David *op. cit.* 497.
 - 45) Kojo Thompson (1880 - 1950) was born to J.S. Thompson and Ellen Mills. He was educated at Collegiate and the Wesleyan Schools in Accra. Went to study law in Britain sponsored by his uncle, and called to the Bar in 1914. For brief Biography, see Ofofusu-Appiah, L.H. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Africana: Dictionary of African Biography* Vol. 1 (Ref. Publ. Inc. N.Y. 1977, p. 320 - 321).
 - 46) See Agbodeka, Francis *op. cit.*, p. 195
 - 47) See I.G.P. Vrs. I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson (I.A.S. Library), p. 12.
 - 48) See Azikiwe, Nnamdi My Odessey: *An Autobiography* (London, 1970), p. 259.
 - 49) Azikiwe, *op. cit.*, p. 279
 - 50) In the 10th October issue of *The African Morning Post*, Azikiwe said "We joined hands with the Manbii because we held that if ... tribal affiliation, and if the cultivation of inferiority complex were the determinant factors and criteria of leadership ... then it was a definite indication of misleadership.
 - 51) For example see Langley, J.A. *op. cit.*, pp. 69 - 70.
 - 52) See Wight, Martin *op. cit.*, p. 75.
 - 53) See *Resolution of Ratepayers Association and allied Parties*, 7th February, 1940, C.S.O. 193/32, N.A.G., Accra.
 - 54) AWAM was hated by all the traders and farmers of the Colony because of its monopolistic activities. Kojo Thompson had given notice that on 23rd March, 1944, he was going to expose the activities of the Association. See Quarcoopome, S.S. *Party Political Activities in Accra: 1924 - 1945* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, I.A.S., Legon, 1980), p. 155. Also see *Spectator Daily*, 13th May, 1944.

- 55) See Wight, Martin *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- 56) See Ofofu-Appiah, L.H. (ed.) *Ibid.*
- 57) *Ibid.*
- 58) *Ibid.*