

The clash of two cultures: A historical analysis of social changes in the gold coast in the twentieth century

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Abstract

Throughout history there had existed clashes of cultures of different regions. Whenever there is a clash of cultures the superior culture tends to exert its supremacy on the weaker. The Gold Coast now Ghana is not an exception of this phenomenon. With the Gold Coast contact with the Europeans certain changes occurred in the way of life of the people of the Gold Coast this changes made most Gold Coasters turn away from their traditional way of doing things to adopt the alien culture that was introduced to them. The adoption of the alien culture by some Gold Coasters resulted in a conflict between the traditional order and the new order as most people who adopted the new order were made to segregate themselves from the traditional order and regard it as barbaric. With this insight, this paper presents content and context information on the various social changes that took place in country in the twentieth century.

Keywords: acculturation, contact, segregation, indigenious

Introduction

Societies all over the world undergo changes with time which are mostly dependant on certain factors. These factors may include education, religion and even due to contact with new group of people. These changes are normally associated with specific dates or periods of human civilizations or development. In view of this, one can say that the contact between Europeans and people of the Gold Coast obviously resulted in some changes in the conception of life and the indigenous value systems. Through acculturation, the Gold Coast people lost many aspects of their cultural behaviour and heritage, and instead adapted the European way of life. Social changes had earlier been narrowed to the coastal areas of the Gold Coast as a result of the earlier European presence in the coastal areas, and their commercial activities which attracted many people to those areas. However, by 1900, the establishment of the British authority in the Gold Coast had been accomplished. In view of this, British political influence was extended to all parts of the Gold Coast, and thus no community was excluded from the cultural modifications that accompanied the latter's exercise of authority in the Gold Coast in the twentieth century (Kimble, 1983).

The purpose of this essay is to discuss the various changes in the way of life of the people of Gold Coast as a result of their contact with European culture and the effects of these changes on the people.

Growth of Urban Centres

One of the notable social developments in the twentieth century was the growth of many urban centres. All the heterogeneous groups in the Gold Coast lived in isolation from one another. This was as a result of poor transport system, fear of warfare and slave raiding. However, European presence and activities attracted many people to the coastal villages and other commercial areas which increased in population, and eventually developed into the status of urban centres. The rise of these settlements started from areas that were close to European forts and castles in the Gold Coast. Such towns included Cape Coast, Elmina, Komenda, Accra, and James Town among others which evolved due to the presence of the Europeans. Towns like Sekondi, Accra, Kumasi, Suhum, Tamale, Koforidua and Agona Swedru also developed in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Thus, urbanization spread gradually to every part of the Gold Coast. (Boahen, 2000) listed a number of factors (basically a drift of people from the villages into towns) which contributed to the growth of the above urban centers. Among these factors included the search for quality education for the children of wealthy people, the search for jobs with better pay, the search for good standards of living or with the view of investing their capital.

Likewise, improvement in the communication sector in the twentieth century also contributed to the movement of people from rural areas into these places. A significant outcome of the construction of the Takoradi harbour, railway and roads was the growth in the population of the town. (Webster, 1980) In other words, there was a steady increase in the population of Takoradi when the harbour was constructed in 1928. Also, the people of Gold Coast were able to travel from one region to the other without much difficulty. Further, the discovery of precious metals in towns like Konongo and Obuasi contributed to its increase in population. At a point, Cape Coast became the commercial hub and the stronghold of the British in the Gold Coast. By virtue of these functions, the size of Cape Coast progressively grew such that by the 1931 census it had a population of 17,685 (Kuba, 2014). In this same year, there were about six more towns, namely Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi, Tamale, Winneba, and Koforidua, that had over 10,000 inhabitants (Webster, 1980). Nineteen towns had a population that ranged between 5,000 and 10,000 with about 349 towns having a population ranging between 2,000 and 5,000 in this same period. Thus, in the twentieth century, Gold Coast passed from one state to the other with respect to community development where different people with diverse backgrounds settled in one area or urban center. The Europeans that settled in these places carried with them their architectural designs (Amenumey, 2008).

Population Increment

The development of urban centres was made possible as a result of the increment in population. The Gold Coast society which previously consisted of indigenous people of African heritage saw the coming and settling of expatriates from the fifteenth century right into the twentieth century. By the twentieth century the population of the Gold Coast included a large number of foreigners of which the Europeans dominated in numbers. Expatriates from Syria, Lebanon, India, and the Americas all contributed to the rise in the census of the twentieth century Gold Coast society. In 1911, the Colonial Government reported 2,245 European residents in the Gold Coast (Boahen, 1980). Expatriates in the Gold Coast settled along the coast of the country and their presence there

attracted Gold Coasters from all parts of the country. The steady increase in population of the country also resulted from the establishment of law and order throughout the country and the improvement in health care of the people (Boahen, 1986).

Emergence of New Social Class

Another major social change in the twentieth century was the emergence of new social class. This was brought in by western education and urbanization. Before European contact there existed three principal groups: the ruling aristocratic class which was based partly on achievement but mainly on birth, the non-chiefly class and the slaves. The last group was in extinct as a result of the anti-slavery measures introduced in the 1870s and 1880s (Perbi, 2007). Three new groups steadily emerged: the educated Ghanaian elite, the European elite and the wage-earning class. These groups emerged primarily from the mission education system, and from the economic and political developments that took place in the twentieth century. Within the educated group, sub groups emerged from them (Boahen, 2000). These groups included; the educated professional elite or the intelligentsia, most of these professionals belonged to families along the coast of the Gold Coast especially Anomabu, Accra and Cape Coast. Some of these families included Bannermans, Quartey-Papafios, Hutton Mills, Grants, among others. Below them were the lower elite (these were teachers, clergymen, catechists, junior civil servants and educated few traders. The third sub group consisted of elementary school leavers employed as clerks, messengers, shop assistants, apprentices and so on. With the construction of roads, railways and above all with the development of the mining and cocoa industries, a further class began to emerge. These additional groups composed of illiterate and semi-skilled workers, cocoa farm labourers, mine workers, railway and road labourers, canoemen who operated the Accra surf boats and other artisans. The semi-skilled workers included tailors, masons, mechanics, printers and motor drivers (Kimble, 1963).

Change in the Role of Women

The change in the role of women was another major social change in the twentieth century. Marriage and house-wifery were the roles of women in traditional African society prior to the twentieth century. Women were limited to the activities in the home; and they were not as free as men. A man could marry as many women as he liked but a woman was culturally restricted to one husband. Men provided money for the up keep of the home. In this way women tended to become economically limited, of course, this does not mean traditional women had no role in leadership in the Gold Coast before the twentieth century, Yaa Asantewa; queen mother of Ejisu is just but a few women who were leaders before the twentieth century. In the twentieth century women in the Gold Coast rose in the social ladder, this was depending on their education rather than birthright. Some rose to become doctors, lawyers, teachers, bankers and politicians. These women included Prof. (Mrs.) Florence Dolphyne (first Ghanaian female professor), Dr. Susan Barbara de Graft-Johnson (first female doctor), and Dr. Ruby Quartey Papafio (first Ghanaian headmistress) among others (Akrofi, 1978). In the twentieth century marriages, women felt equal as their husbands and could choose their professions ahead of their marriages. All these new developments were as a result of education and Gold Coasters contact with the Europeans (Vieta, 1999).

Introduction of New Architectural Style

Another development that was closely connected to urban settlement was the sudden change in the architectural development of the people of Gold Coast. In the urban centers, new architectural designs of European origins were introduced by the missionaries in the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, there were a number of attractive solid brick or cement buildings, generally European or Brazilian in style, with fortified iron or shingle roofs and consisting of two or more storeys (Buah, 1980). As a result, foreign architectural designs replaced the traditional round mud houses roofed with grass. The Basel missionaries were noted to have constructed rectangular houses roofed with shingles. Their leader, Andreas Riis, was nicknamed 'Osiadan' (builder of house) by the indigenous people for his contribution to architectural development in the Akuapem area of Gold Coast. The Wesleyans were also believed to have encouraged the building of better houses in the western region, and they were known to have spent a great deal of time finding suitable roofs for houses in the tropics (Boahen, 2000). Wealthy Gold Coasters in the twentieth century copied the building styles of the European in the urban centers. The layouts of the mission township, (known as Salem or Sukuum), with rectangular houses neatly arranged and well spread out with broad streets and open gardens, were also transferred to the urban centers by the wealthy Gold Coasters. Wealthy individuals like the merchants, lawyers, and later the cocoa farmers were the class of people who were able to fund the construction of these types of buildings and thus lived together with the European minority in the same section of the urban centers.

Most of the urban areas were segregated; the houses built in areas where the Europeans and wealthy Gold Coast merchants lived were made of 'bricks, flat-roofed, and well white washed' and generally of relatively higher quality standard; on the other hand, the area settled by the poor natives had houses 'terribly huddled together' in a filthy environment (Boahen,2000). The segregation which started in the twentieth century due to European presence still lingers on in the twenty first century where wealthy Ghanaians have converged and built their houses in areas like East Legon, Dansoman all in Accra, Atasomanso in Kumasi among others. Evidence from oral traditions and some photographs shows that Kumasi underwent a change in appearance during the exile of Prempeh I (Okyere, 2000) while in 1896, all the houses of that town were single-storey houses built of swish and roofed with thatched leaves, upon his return to Kumasi in 1924, Prempeh I witnessed a change in the architectural design of Kumasi from a single-storey, roofed with thatched or leaves, to two-storey houses roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The concentration of large number of people in the urban centers put pressure on housing (Webster, 1980).

As stated earlier the population of Ghana steadily increased in the twentieth century and thus put much pressure on housing facilities in the urban centers. This challenge worsened after colonial rule. In tackling the gap between housing and population, the Nkrumah led government after colonial rule established the Ministry of Housing, State Housing Corporation and the Tema Development Corporation to ensure the provision of house for workers. To this end, an European firm, A.V. Shokbeton was contracted to provide accommodation for government staff and the general urban dwellers. The project spread generally in most places in the country but Tema in particular because it was the commercial hub of the country (Amenumey, 2008).

The housing project mainly focused in the urban centers; however, the government instituted a loan scheme which was accessible to rural dwellers for the purpose of building houses. The government also encouraged people to patronize the services of the First Ghana Building Society which provided a mortgage scheme that aided people to own houses. Individuals were able

to own houses built by statutory bodies by paying instantly or through the hire-purchase or house-ownership scheme. However, majority of the government houses were lease to low income earners (Buah, 1980). The twentieth century also saw the introduction of pipe borne water and electric lighting. Accra had its first drinking fountain in 1910 and Kumasi also had its first piped water supply in 1934. The first electricity installation was carried out in Sekondi, and then the main port, in 1919, in Accra in 1921, in Koforidua between 1921 and 1925 and in Kumasi in 1927. Some towns were provided with street drainage, latrines, incinerators, streets and market areas. Many people in the urban centers abandoned their fabric of being Gold Coasters and adapted foreign culture (Boahen, 2000)

Change in the Social life of the Gold Coasters

In the early nineteenth century, many Gold Coasters fancied turning away from customs they were born into for an alien culture. Actually, this became clear in the twentieth century. Many believed that it was the only way to express or demonstrate the knowledge acquired through formal education. In places like Cape Coast, the patterns of behaviour had already been created by the European merchants on one hand and the wealthy indigenous merchant and educated elites on the other hand in this century. The educated Gold Coasters especially organized meetings and specially taught their members European way of life (Boahen, 1989). Books like *Beeton's Complete Etiquette for English Gentlemen* were recommended for use by members of diverse associations. Important personalities in the society to whom many considered role models embraced western way of life. Nene Mate Kole of Krobo is believed to have opted for European dress on a special occasions of the traditional calendar on the grounds that he had embrace 'western education and enlightened ideas.' This development obviously encouraged many to have a repugnance attitude to the Gold Coast traditional way of life (Webster, 1980). This was especially associated with beneficiaries of western education and the respected people in the community. R.J. Ghartey effort of introducing the Kabasrotu, cover shoulder, faced stiff competition from European dress as many preferred appearing 'European' than in 'Kabasrotu'.

Females who wore the Kabasrotu were called 'women' whereas those who appeared in European dress were referred to as 'ladies.' Interestingly, the Ladies Mutual Club, founded in 1904 in Sekondi made a rule against its members to go out in traditional dress. Members who went against this ruling were fined. Initially, it used English language in its meetings which it later permitted members to speak the local dialect once a month in its meetings (Amenumey, 2008). The growth of the urban centers was accompanied by some unfortunate developments, especially, during the colonial period.

Problems of Urbanization

Urbanization increased some social problems like the outbreak of diseases, example, bubonic plague in Accra in 1908 and the virtual reduction of the powers of the chiefs. In 1908, there was an outbreak of a bubonic disease in Accra. Also, between 1913 and 1914, there was an outbreak of yellow fever in Accra, Saltpond, and other Coastal towns together with Asante and the Northern Territories. (Amenumey, 2008) The missionaries made the first attempt in dealing with the issue of diseases in Gold Coast. However, little was achieved in the area before the twentieth century, particularly before the Second World War (Buah, 1980). The missionaries themselves suffered from tropical diseases. Individual missionary societies managed to keep doctors at a few major mission stations like Aburi, Christiansborg and Odumase. The medical work of the missions was mostly a

dispensary service. Generally the missionaries brought along chests of medicine for themselves, their converts and would-be converts. Individual missionaries who had some knowledge of health care attended to the sick. Often the dispensary service was properly organized (Buah, 1980). In 1929, for example, the Roman Catholic White Fathers started a dispensary at their new station at Jirapa in the north. In the 1931, the Basel mission opened a hospital at Agogo in Asante Akyem. On a whole, before the Second World War, missionary medical work was not considerable. Outside the activities of the traditional healers, who ministered to the great bulk of the population, the main bulk of European medical work, such as it was, was undertaken by the government. There was a renewed commitment from the government in dealing with the spread of diseases in the urban centers (Buah, 1980). The government constituted the Improvement Committee which later made recommendations for a healthy society. In 1908, a public device that supplied drinkable water was opened in Accra as part of measures to reduce the outbreak of diseases. In 1918, there was a renewed press criticism of the lack of drainage and proper condition for sewage and garbage collection and disposal.

The criticisms mounted on the colonial government by the Gold Coasters showed likelihood of success with the establishment of a Public Health Board in Kumasi in 1925 (Amenumey, 2008). This was followed with a programme for town planning by which the colonial government established rules and laws to control town development. The Guggisberg-led administration adopted the plan of Clifford, his predecessor, where they proposed an expanded version of the initial plan to the building of a hospital to include a medical school and a teaching hospital to train the human resource locally rather than training them abroad. The hospital was completed in 1923 but unfortunately the plans for the medical school became a reality only after 1957. Initially these hospitals catered for the Europeans and their families. However, under pressure from the Gold Coasters it was made open to the general public.

By 1939, there were about 38 hospitals which were provided by both the government and the missionary societies (Boahen, 1989). At independence, appropriate attention was given to the provision of improved health care under the general programme for improved welfare services. Already existing health facilities were expanded and equipped with modern equipment while new hospitals like the Okomfo Anokye and Efi-Nkwanta hospitals were constructed. Polyclinics were also constructed to provide mainly out-patient services. The government approved the opening of a number of nurses' training schools, the establishment of a medical school and the establishment of the faculty of pharmacy at the University of Science and Technology.

Introduction and spread of Christianity

Christianity played a significant role in the establishment of European influence in the Gold Coast. Before the arrival of the European, the Gold Coasters already had an idea and believed in a Supreme Being and ascribed to Him the attributes of the Almighty (Mbiti, 1991). Thus, religion played an important aspect in the life of the Gold Coasters; they had the consciousness of god in all they did. They made daily prayers and sacrifices to the Supreme Being through intermediary deities (Danquah, 1968). The chiefs and lineage heads combined their political offices with religious functions. By this, chiefs and lineages heads were considered as conservers of tradition, that is, a living link with the ancestors.

When the European missionaries arrived, they realised that they need not introduce god to the Gold Coasters because they already had an idea about Him. However, they realized that their

conception of god differed from the Gold Coasters to which they were eager to 'convert' the latter. From the start, the Christian missionaries faced frightening situations relating to local diseases and the sporadic hostility from the Gold Coasters, yet, they persevered (Boahen, 2000). Initially, Christian activities were done side-by-side with their commercial ventures and therefore could not achieve much result as expected. However, by the twentieth century, the activities of the Christian missionaries had been dissociated from their commercial enterprise and thus progress was achieved in their evangelisation mission. For instance, early in the twentieth century, that is 1900, the Wesleyan mission boasted of at least sixteen centers with a minimum of 164 church members and at least 451 scholars. This was not achieved on a silver platter as there were open clashes between the conservatives, mostly the traditional rulers, and the newly converts. The idea that 'Christians were those who were free of the restraints and taboos of the heathen town...' was a major source of friction between the traditional leaders and converted Gold Coasters.

In view of this, there were occasional outbreak of violence, (especially in the Akyem Abuakwa and Asante areas), between traditional leaders and newly converted Christians as the latter failed to observe certain cultural practices (Boahen, 1986). An idea of these conflicts could be found in the conclusion of the 1909 Colonial Report which observed that, 'the Ashanti organization which was powerful in older days became disintegrated as a result of spread of western civilization and more liberal ideas. To solve this problem, a joint committee of government officials and missionaries met in Kumasi in 1912 to draw demarcation between fetish and purely ceremonial services. The aim was to compel Christians to perform ceremonial services and avoid the fetish practices. An extreme decision was reached when the government encouraged Christians to form separate settlements in order to reduce the possibility of conflicts (Buah, 1980). In this same century, the unnecessary demand of the Christian missionaries for their converts to part way with indigenous practices, (that were undesirable to them but not necessarily sanctioned by the Christian faith), was firmly entrenched which produced a lot of changes. They insisted on their converts to appear in 'decent' clothes and change their 'heathen' names. Thus, European clothes and names, (after baptism), became postulates of the Christian life. Surnames of fathers were added to the names of their children.

Again, by 1884, Gold Coast recognised three types of marriage which became obvious and recognised by many in the twentieth century. These were; 1.Through customary law 2.Christian rite and 3.The legal law (Kimble, 1963). Marriage union between a Christian and an 'unbeliever' was considered as 'not expedient' though not prohibited. By the twentieth century, the major Christian societies started organising Christian rite of marriage for all their members. They also promoted their individualistic tendencies and by that they sought to create a distinct family from the traditional extended family system. This was alien to the indigenous Gold Coasters who cherished the larger or broader extended family which served as a basic unit of their existence (Boahen, 1986).

Christianity was branded as the 'white man's religion' by the indigenous people in the periods before the twentieth century. A change ensued in the twentieth century when the Christian societies realised the need to use the African in the evangelisation process and thus adapted 'the policy to win Africa with the help of the Africans'. This was to erase the description of Christianity as being the 'white man's religion'. In view of this, the Wesleyan mission achieved a great feat with respect to the training of Gold Coasters; there were 47 African ministers, 367 catechists, 479 day-school teachers, 1,500 local preachers, 2,500 class leaders, and 2,600 Sunday school teachers (Gifford, 1998).

Also, the twentieth century witnessed the formation of many separatists' churches by the Gold Coasters most of which were inspired by a combination of dissatisfaction, the advancement of personal ambition, and spiritual conviction (Boahen, 2000). Others broke away from the main churches with the view of Africanising churches and a complete break from the irksome discipline of the European authority. An example was the Nigritian Church which aimed to use local languages to attract members. It was founded by the Rev. J.B. Anaman. 'Prophet' Jehu Appiah, of the Methodist church who broke away on the grounds that he needed maximum attention for his desire to establish a prayer-healing ministry also founded the Musama Disco Kristo Church in 1922 (Boahen, 2000). Thus, in the twentieth century, there was a change where Gold Coast had indigenous ministers and churches founded by black people which also promoted Christianity from the African way. By 1980 more than 50% of Ghanaians were recorded as Christians. The churches were held high esteem and the voices of the leaders were heard and carry great influence over government policies and decisions (Buah, 1986).

Introduction and the spread of Western Education

Before European presence, the home served as the main and immediate agency responsible for the education of individuals. Parents served as teachers in this arrangement. Children were expected to learn from their parents. This type of education was described by a Danish merchant as thus: 'From the age of eight or nine the boys would follow their father to learn some trade and be initiated into the customs and traditions. As the Fetu knew no alphabet, the young had to seek information about the past by listening to their elders (Buah, 1986). The young men especially had to attend sessions of the law courts, to become acquainted with tribal law. This was how traditionally, the Gold Coasters imparted knowledge to the young; fathers taught their sons whereas mothers taught their daughters. However, Western education, (which was organized and done in a precise manner), accompanied European settlement and absorbed the traditional mode of education (Foster, 1965). In pre-colonial times education was part of the daily activities of the people of Gold Coast. Traditional education was aimed at introducing the people to traditions and instruction to help the individual to live according to the dictates of the traditional order. Western form of education was however, introduced to the people in order to enhance evangelical activities of the Europeans (Antwi, 1992).

It started in the sixteenth century from the castles, mostly, for children of European merchants and later wealthy indigenous merchants. However, there was a change in the twentieth century as formal education was made accessible to every child of school going age (Amissah, 1992).

Before the twentieth century, the provision of formal education was largely the work of the missionary societies. The provision of education was considered a means to furthering missionary work. The idea was to provide schools where the young could be educated and converted in the process. The schools taught English grammar, catechism, arithmetic, Bible study; and the history and geography of Europe. However, education became the official policy of the British government in 1850 which was subsequently institutionalised in 1852 when Governor Hill passed the Education Ordinance "to provide for the better education of the inhabitants of His Majesty's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast" (Amissah, 1992) Having passed the bill, the twentieth century witnessed a commitment from the British colonial government to the provision of adequate schools in response to the increasing number of children of school going age (Bening, 1990).

In 1901, there were 122 schools in the Gold Coast. The colonial government provided seven of these schools whereas the missionary societies provided 115 of these schools. In 1903, the colonial government introduced the awarding of certificates for primary school leavers who passed the Standard Seven Examinations. Provision of schools was mainly restricted to the coastal towns of the Gold Coast. However, in 1907, it was extended inland to cover Asante and the Northern Territories (Bening, 1990). This was made possible because of some political developments which started from the nineteenth century and ended in the twentieth century. By 1901, the northern areas including (Asante and the territories lying above it), had been captured and brought under British authority, Provision of school therefore extended to cover these places. In 1909, the colonial government established a technical and teacher training schools in Accra. Between 1913 and 1918, Government and Assisted schools increased to 154 and 204 respectively. Assisted schools were mission schools that were supported by the colonial government. At the same time, pupil enrolment increased from 18,609 to 26,496 while the average attendance also increased from 13, 894 to 21,317 (Antwi, 1992).

The first secondary school was established by the Wesleyan Mission in 1876 which was later developed into Mfantsipim School. This was followed with the establishment of the Church of England Grammar School, 1910, and the St. Augustine's College, 1936 by the Church of England and the Catholic Missions respectively. The establishment of secondary schools by both the missions and the colonial government spread from the coast of Gold Coast to other parts of the country. The Presbyterian Mission, formerly known as the Basel Mission, registered its name in this regard when it established the Odumase Krobo Secondary School in 1938 (Antwi, 1992). The curriculums of the early schools were characterised with a foreign dominated way of appreciation where it employed European system of teaching. Reading, writing and religious instruction were the subjects taught. The advanced level students did arithmetic, geography and history in addition to the above three subjects. This was prevalent in the missionary schools (Antwi, 1992). The provision of schools by the colonial government witnessed some structural changes under the administration of Guggisberg.

Prior to the appointment of Guggisberg, many Europeans took little interest in the customs and institutions in the Gold Coast and, in fact, condemned certain traditional practices to the core. However, in order to appreciate indigenous institutions for a sound and peaceful administration, Guggisberg established the Anthropological Department where he appointed Capt. R.S. Rattray as its boss in 1921 (Guggisberg, 1927). This speaks volume of how Rattray made significant scholarly contribution to the history, culture, art, religion of some traditional institutions in the Gold Coast. Largely through the anthropological department, Rattray was able to study some selected local institutions and documented some of them. Notably among his works include; *the Asante Law and Constitution*; *The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland* etc. Indeed, the Europeans studied and appreciated the way of life of the Gold Coasters through this department. It is therefore not surprising when R.S. Rattray emphasized in the 1920s 'the fact that to the African "religion" was co-extensive with every action and thought; that it is not possible to pick and choose from his culture and say, "I will retain this and this"...' The appointment of Guggisberg brought a change to the curriculum (Antwi, 1992).

His initial work as a surveyor exposed him to the nature of education provided by the missionaries. As governor, he opposed it on the grounds that much emphasis was not paid to the practical aspects and thus introduced the kind of education he preferred for the colony. He introduced the 'Sixteen Principles of Education' in a bid to improve the provision of education in

the country. Some of the principles included: increasing enrolment of girls; building training colleges; instructing pupils in their local history and languages etc. He established the Achimota School as a model school together with four vocational schools (Antwi, 1992). The School was opened in 1927 with a kindergarten, primary, secondary and a university college. He was much concerned with practical and equipping students with skills needed to become professionals right after their period of education. This was evidenced in a remark he made in 1920, ‘...continue their education for one-third of their time, the remaining two-thirds being employed in learning the latest methods of cultivation of one or more commercial agricultural products’ In view of this, he established four industrial schools to serve the needs of the Colony, Asante and the Northern Territories. Thus, formal education witnessed a number of changes during the Guggisberg-led administration (Antwi, 1992).

The legacy of the Europeans in the provision of schools continued during the limited self-government and after colonial rule where the Nkrumah-led government carried out two main objectives for the provision of education in Ghana. The first was the extension of education to many parts of the country, so that the individual could live a life in line with “modern way of life”. The second was to equip people with skills needed for general administration and industrial services. It was to the attainment of these goals that the government drew up educational policies which incorporated all aspects of formal education that is, from primary school to the university level and in effect brought some changes to what it inherited from the colonial government (Kwarteng, et al, 2012).

Even before the attainment of independence, the Nkrumah led CPP Government introduced the Accelerated Development Plan for Education (ADPE) in 1951. The main reason for the introduction of the ADPE was to expand the provision of primary schools, thereby, increasing access to education at the primary level for children in that stage of development. Through the ADPE, 500,000 primary school locations were established. This was accompanied with an increase in the enrolment of middle schools. In effect, the expansion and increase access to primary education called for an increment in the enrolment in secondary school as well as an increased demand for teachers. Increase in enrolment contributed profoundly to the rise in government’s expenditure from £207,500 in 1950-51 to over £900,000 in 1952 (Kwarteng, et al, 2012).

In September 1961, the government introduced a compulsory free tuition for primary education in an attempt to ensure education for all. This plan however came with a difficult task because an additional one thousand schools were to be built to meet the increment that followed the fee-free education (Kwarteng, et al, 2012). Such a project was not financially viable because the government was not financially positioned to provide the one thousand schools. In view of this, the Ministry of Education introduced the shift system, where two streams of school were organized each day in the same educational facility. The number of hours spent by each stream of school was four and a half hours. Before long, the free-tuition was extended to the second cycle educational institutions with an arrangement for free textbooks in the 1962-1963 academic years. At the second cycle level, schemes started emphasizing diversified curricula and syllabuses.

The aim of this trend was to produce manpower for skilled and manual work rather than for white-collar jobs alone (Amenumey, 2008). The government through the Ministry of Education introduced the Ghana Education Trust, a statutory institution, which speeded up the provision of educational facilities especially at the secondary school level in the country. The government and other private institutions and individuals awarded scholarships to brilliant but needy students in a

bid to encourage schooling among Ghanaians and also to train the manpower needs of the country (Amenumey, 2008). The tertiary level was also expanded to include polytechnics, teacher training colleges, universities and institutes for professional studies like medicine and nursing. In 1958, the government established the National Research Council to promote research and scholarship among Ghanaians.

The Ghana Academy of Learning, now Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences was also established in 1959 (Kwarteng, et al, 2012). In 1961, the University College of the Gold Coast was granted a full university status and named, the University of Ghana. In the same year, the University of Science and Technology was established at Kumasi in the Ashanti region. In an attempt to ensure the supply of graduate teachers and also to promote research in education, the Nkrumah-led government founded the University College of Education in 1962 which was later renamed University of Cape Coast after it had attained full autonomy in 1971 (Kwarteng, et al, 2012).

Outside the educational institutions, the government was also committed to educating members of the society on their cultural heritage. To this end, a department in the Ministry of Education and the Arts Council were set up to ensure the campaign for cultural studies. With the initiative of Dr. Kyerematen, the government founded a cultural center, now Centre for National Culture, in Kumase. Centers for cultural studies spread throughout the country. Attention was also paid to the development of education among adults (Antwi, 1992). This was done under the patronage of the University of Ghana, Legon. Students were instructed, (in the evening after close of work), on how to read and write the vernacular and also mounted general subjects like economics, history et al to widen the knowledge scope of its students (Buah, 1980). The Department of Social Welfare and Community Development in conjunction with other government agencies also ensured the promotion of informal education to adults and children above school going age especially on health and sanitation.

This approach to education was known as the Mass Education which spread all over the country (Amenumey, 2008). The government funded the cost of textbooks to pupils in the primary and middle schools. In the 1964/1965 academic year, the combine number of schools for both primary and middle schools were 9,988 with a population of 1,286,486. In this same period, Ghana had 89 registered secondary schools and 47 teacher training colleges with a student population of 32,971 and 10,168 respectively. Attention was also paid to technical education. A number of technical schools were opened to equip students with skills in various trades namely, masonry, welding, carpentry among others. Tamale, Sunyani, Koforidua, Asuansi, Kikam, Ho, Kpando, were some of the places with technical schools. The technical schools established in the above places were funded by a UK/Ghana Technical Assistance Scheme in 1960. As at the 1964/1965 academic year, there were about eleven technical schools in the country (Amenumey, 2008).

After the overthrow of the first independent government in 1966, several attempts had been made by both civilian and military regimes to improve upon education and social services in the country. The National Liberation Council, NLC, which assumed control after the fall of the CPP government, established the Centre for Civic Education. This body was given mandate to educate Ghanaians in their duties and on citizens' responsibilities. The Centre through the organization of open lectures reached out to many Ghanaians (Buah, 1980). The NLC also decided on uniform fees to be charged in private schools and colleges. It also decided that only academic performance should be considered for the award of scholarships for education.

The government of the Busia-led Progress Party, (PP), made remarkable strides in rural development when it took over from the NLC as a civilian government. In reducing the rural-urban drift, the government provided the rural areas with facilities found in the urban centers. The government launched a programme for the construction and maintenance of feeder roads to link up major roads, an extended programme for water supply and general health care (Buah, 1980). Thus, between 1969 and 1971, thirty-five water projects were completed whereas sixty-four were also under construction. The government also contributed profoundly to health care delivery and communication in the country by constructing 54 health posts and “upgraded 150 miles of gravel roads to all weather”. Fifty-four health facilities were also completed across the country. Thus, the PP government brought changes and comparatively made rural settlement an attractive one (Amenumey, 2008).

In 1974, a noteworthy reform in the history of education in Ghana came into existence. This was the Dzobo educational reforms by the National Redemption Council (N.R.C.) government under the leadership of Ignatius Kutu Acheampong. It reduced the number of years spent during pre-university education from seventeen years to thirteen years. Before the enforcement of this reform, pre-university education in the country was characterised with a six year primary school which ushered students into the elementary school for a four years period of study (Antwi, 1992). After successful completion of the elementary school, students continued their education with a five year secondary school course where they were expected to complete by sitting for the Ordinary Level Examination. Students finally ended their pre-university education at the sixth form which had two stages of Lower Six and Upper Six and students finished this level with the Advanced Level examinations for admission into the university.

This was however replaced in 1974 when the Dzobo reforms came into existence. Primary school leavers proceeded to the junior secondary school, thereby, avoiding the elementary education, and continued with the senior secondary school upon completion. The junior secondary and senior secondary schools lasted for three and four years respectively. There was another reform in 1987 (Antwi, 1992). This was the initiative of the Provisional National Defence Council. It reduced the Dzobo reform to twelve years. Primary school lasted for six years. Junior and senior secondary schools both lasted for three years.

Without breaking stride in the provision of schools, Ghana achieved remarkable successes fifteen years after independence. Primary and middle school enrolment increased from 571, 580 to 1, 365, 203, that of secondary schools from 9, 860 to 71, 860 and that of training colleges from 3, 873 to 18, 814 (Antwi, 1992). In 1952, the West African Examination Council, WAEC, was established to organize and administer exams and revised syllables to meet the requirement of member states. Ghana benefited from this examination body as it organised exams to the needs of West Africa. WAEC actually took over from the Cambridge University Local Examinations Syndicate in 1960. Thus, secondary school examination in Ghana assumed the name, “School Certificate Examination of the West African Examinations Council”. By 1970, the content of subjects taught was Africanised in a varying degree. Students at the secondary schools studied predominantly African history and literature for ‘O’ level courses. Education played a far greater role in the social structure of twentieth century Gold Coast (Buah, 1980).

However, it must be stated that the magnitude of these social changes were not felt equally in all the various regions of Gold Coast. The northern territories for instance, were regarded as commercially and economically negative area which offered none of the readily exportable minerals,

forest and agricultural resources as compared to that of the Ashanti and the Gold Coast colony. As a result, the region was conveniently relegated to the background in most of the schemes of the development initiated by the colonial government in the early part of the twentieth century (Buah, 1980).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been revealed that, the twentieth century social changes in the Gold Coast to a larger extent were facilitated by the indoctrination of the Gold Coasters. This indoctrination made the so called African educated elites to fancy the alien culture to the detriment of the traditional order. It also made them see themselves to be better than those who had not received western education. In pursuance to this, there were series of clashes between the 'new class westernised Africans and the indigenous Africans. The result of these clashes led to segregation between the new class and the old traditional order. Despite all these conflict, European contact with the people of the Gold Coast contributed to the growth of certain towns that might have not existed if not for the people contact with the European. Better building style, health conditions and improved sanitary conditions were introduced to the people that helped to improve the living condition of the people of Gold Coast.

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