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COLONIAL OFFICE

REPORT ON THE
GOLD COAST
FOR THE YEAR
1951

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LONDON: HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1952

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PART I

Outstanding Events of the Year

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE year 1951 was an important landmark in the political and constitutional development of the Gold Coast. The new constitution came into force and by the end of the year was seen to be working remarkably smoothly and effectively in spite of the contention of some politicians that it does not go far enough towards self-government. The new Executive Council which contains eight African Representative Ministers appointed from the Legislative Assembly is in effective control of the formulation of policy. The Ministers, shortly after taking over their portfolios, were presenting and defending their estimates in the Assembly and soon after that they proceeded to revise the draft development plan. A considerable measure of collective responsibility has been achieved within the Executive Council.

The new members of the Assembly had by the end of the year become familiar with the Assembly's procedure which largely follows British Parliamentary practice. One political party has built up an organisation and consequently attained an important position both in the country and in the Legislative Assembly; from it most of the Representative Members of the Executive Council have been drawn. In the Assembly when divisions have been taken this party has been able to secure a sufficient measure of party discipline to ensure that major Government measures are carried. The Opposition has not yet organised itself on a regular footing but has shown itself capable on occasions of pressing the Government hard.

The first step in introducing the new constitution was the publication in January of the Electoral Regulations. Then followed the various stages of the elections—which are described in some detail in Appendix I. These were completed in February. A number of representatives of the Press in the United Kingdom and elsewhere came to the Gold Coast to cover the elections and the introduction of the new constitution received wide publicity throughout the world.

Only one political party—the Convention People's Party—had built up an effective party organisation, with the result that it won 34 of the 38 seats which were contested on a party basis. Another party won three seats and the other seats went to persons without party affiliations. The first problem which had to be faced was that of the Chairman of the Convention People's Party and a number of his followers who were at that time serving prison sentences. The Party's Chairman—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—who was returned in the elections as first municipal member for Accra, had been convicted of inciting an illegal strike and sedition and was then in Ussher Fort Prison in Accra. The

Governor as an act of clemency remitted the remainder of his sentence of imprisonment and he was able to take his seat when the Assembly opened. A number of his supporters who had been convicted of similar offences were released at the same time.

All the members of the new Legislative Assembly were present when its first meeting opened on 20th February. This was a purely formal sitting for the election of a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker. The Speaker elected was from outside the Assembly—the Hon. E. C. Quist, O.B.E., who had been Speaker of the former Legislative Council.

During the days that followed, the Governor held discussions with the leaders of the various groups in the Assembly and, in particular, with Dr. Nkrumah whose advice was sought on the choice of Ministers. When the Assembly met again on 26th February each name in the Governor's list of persons proposed as Representative Members of the Executive Council was approved in the Assembly by secret ballot. Of the eight Representative Ministers, six are members of the Convention People's Party. On the following day Dr. Nkrumah was elected by the Executive Council to be Leader of Government Business and the Assembly was adjourned for six weeks to enable the new Ministers to take up the reins of office and for the new members of the Assembly to study the draft budget.

Although there were minor re-arrangements of portfolios during the year the Representative Members of the Executive Council remained unchanged. The Ministers, and the portfolios they held at the end of the year, are as follows :

- the Hon. R. H. Saloway, C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E., (*ex officio* Minister)—Defence and External Affairs ;
- the Hon. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—Leader of Government Business ;
- the Hon. P. F. Branigan, K.C. (*ex officio* Minister)—Justice ;
- the Hon. R. P. Armitage, C.M.G., M.B.E., (*ex-officio* Minister)—Finance ;
- the Hon. K. A. Gbedemah—Health and Labour ;
- the Hon. A. Casely Hayford—Agriculture and Natural Resources ;
- the Hon. Kojo Botsio—Education and Social Welfare ;
- the Hon. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye—Local Government ;
- the Hon. J. A. Braimah—Communications and Works ;
- the Hon. T. Hutton-Mills—Commerce, Industry and Mines ;
- the Hon. Dr. Ansah Koi, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.—Housing and Town and Country Planning.

Thereafter the Legislative Assembly held four meetings during the year, each dealing with a programme of considerable importance. The first dealt with the budget, the second with the Development Plan, and the last debated the new Local Government Bill.

The Local Government Bill, now passed into law, is designed to revise completely the system of local government throughout the Gold Coast with the exception of the five principal towns, for which there is and will continue to be separate legislation. The Ordinance is both

comprehensive and detailed and it has proved possible to assimilate almost entirely in the Ordinance the local government bodies for the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories. Its main feature is the provision of two levels of local government body—District Councils and Local, in some cases Urban, Councils whose membership will in each case be in the proportion of two-thirds elected by universal suffrage and one-third appointed by traditional bodies. Careful enquiries were being held at the end of the year in the area of each new local government body to ascertain whether the proposals are acceptable to the people of the area.

It has been decided not to set up regional administrations with representative institutions as recommended by Sir Sydney Phillipson in his report, which contained a valuable and detailed survey of federalism and regional institutions and their suitability for the Gold Coast. The regional organs of government will consist only of officials. The Northern Territories Council will, however, continue in being, retaining its advisory character, and the new region to consist of the Southern Section of Togoland and the Trans-Volta area of the Colony will have an elected Council with similar functions. The Joint Provincial Council and Asanteman Council will continue as electoral colleges and as advisory bodies in the Colony (less the Trans-Volta area) and Ashanti. The rest of the Colony is likely to be further divided into two regions at a later date.

Activity in the political field has not however been confined to the study of future regional and local government machinery. Commissions have also investigated and reported on the structure, organisation and remuneration of the Civil Service ; the Police Services ; and the system of Native Courts. The reports of these Commissions will receive detailed consideration in 1952.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Legislative Assembly at its August meeting gave approval to the Development Plan. Summarising the broad financial aspects of this plan it has been provisionally estimated that a total capital expenditure will be required as follows :

	£
For economic and productive services	12,444,000
For communications	26,110,000
For social services	24,542,000
For common services and general administration	10,896,000
	<hr/>
	£73,992,000

These figures include no provision for any part of the Volta River Project. This vast project which contemplates a barrage across the Volta, a hydro-electric plant, a factory for the reduction of bauxite to aluminium, a new harbour and extensions to the country's railway

terms of a concession are agreed and to witness the written agreement. On 31st December, 1951, 8,137·284 square miles of the Colony and 2,395·380 square miles of Ashanti were the subject of concessions. There were no concessions in Togoland.

As mentioned above, the control of all land in the Northern Territories and Northern Section of Togoland is vested in the Governor by the Land and Native Rights Ordinance. Under this Ordinance the Governor may grant rights of occupancy of land to Africans and non-Africans for terms not exceeding 99 years. A proportion of any rents received for such rights of occupancy (not being less than one half) is payable to the Native Authority of the area concerned. Prospecting for and mining minerals in the Northern Territories and Northern Section of Togoland is regulated by the Minerals Ordinance which vests all minerals in the Crown. Any fees, rents or royalties received for mining rights granted under this Ordinance would be dealt with in much the same manner as rents received for rights of occupancy granted under the Land and Native Rights Ordinance, but on 31st December, 1951, no mining lease was extant.

An additional control over alienation of land exists in Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. By virtue of the Administration (Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship) Ordinance, it is unlawful for any native of either Section without the consent of the Governor, to alienate any interest in land in Togoland to a non-native of that Section.

It is impossible in a short space to give a picture of the complexities which have arisen in the Colony as a result of the impact of Western ideas and economic conceptions upon the various forms of customary tenure. Insecurity of title leading to involved and prolonged litigation has for many years been a serious obstacle to economic development. The Stool Lands Boundaries Settlement Ordinance of 1950 is a first step towards the solution of this problem, since it is designed to provide an inexpensive means of defining Stool boundaries. Registration of title is the aim, but this will have to await the completion of the investigations into customary land tenure and inheritance now being carried out by the Lands Department.

PART III

Chapter 1 : Geography and Climate

GEOGRAPHY

THE Gold Coast owes its name to the pioneers of trade and adventure of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who found gold to be in common use amongst the local inhabitants of that part of the coast of Guinea. The present area of the Gold Coast includes three distinct territories, the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, while a narrow strip of Togoland, held under Mandate from the League of Nations since 1919 and placed under Trusteeship in 1946, is also administered by the Gold Coast Government.

The whole area lies between 1° 12' east and 3° 15' west longitude and 4° 45' and 11° 11' north latitude and is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Guinea, on the east by Togoland under French trusteeship, on the north and west by Haute Volta and on the southern part of its western border by the Ivory Coast. The total area is approximately 91,842 square miles and is made up as follows :

Gold Coast Colony	23,937 sq. miles
Ashanti	24,379 " "
Northern Territories	30,486 " "
Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship	13,040 " "
	<hr/> 91,842 " "

The 334 miles of coast consist generally of a low sandy foreshore on which the Atlantic swell breaks almost unceasingly. Lagoons of brackish or fresh water are scattered along the littoral, separated from the sea by narrow strips of sandy soil. They are particularly large and numerous at the eastern end in the neighbourhood of Ada and Keta.

Of the rivers flowing into the sea, only the Ankobra, Pra and Volta have permanently open mouths and these are guarded by shallow bars.

The coastal area consists mostly of scrub land—much of it heavily farmed—which gives way east of Accra to open plains, until these in turn give way to the lagoons in the neighbourhood of the Volta mouth. At the western end, the forest belt comes close to the sea. Inland this forest belt extends northwards along the western border of the Colony and into Ashanti for some 170 miles. This forms the base of a rough triangle, the apex of which is at the junction of the Afram with the Volta, though a narrow band of forest stretches north and east from here along the Togoland hills. North of the forest belt is an area of orchard bush which dwindles to open park land in the north.

The forest area is broken up into heavily wooded hills which form

Together with a fifth Ashanti War in 1863-65, these difficulties led the British Government to contemplate the abandonment of their Gold Coast settlements, and, in 1865, as a step towards this ultimate aim, the settlements were again placed under the Governor of Sierra Leone.

In 1872, however, it became possible for the British Government to take over the Dutch forts. Difficulties arising out of the transfer of Elmina and other matters led to a sixth Ashanti War (1873-74), whereupon the British Government at length decided to try to destroy the Ashanti threat to the coastal tribes. Sir Garnet Wolseley was sent out as Governor and Commander-in-Chief with a large body of troops from Britain and the West Indies. He drove the Ashantis from the areas south of the Pra, pursued them into the heart of their country and rased Kumasi to the ground. By a treaty of peace made at Fomena, the Ashantis undertook to maintain perpetual peace, to pay an indemnity, to withdraw their forces from the south and to abandon all claims upon it, and to allow freedom of trade.

As a consequence of the events of 1872-74, the British Government decided that the Gold Coast needed not only protection but also the regular and permanent administration which the departure of the Dutch had made practicable. In 1874, therefore, a new Colony of the Gold Coast and Lagos was constituted. The Colony was limited to the forts and settlements, but other territory under British influence was declared a protectorate which, in 1874, was the subject of an Order in Council under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. A Legislative Council was constituted with power to legislate for an undefined area. In 1886 Lagos became a separate Colony. The boundaries of the Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate were, however, still undefined. In 1895 the term "protectorate" was abandoned and all territory in the Gold Coast under the Queen's Jurisdiction was described as a "Colony".

Difficulties with the Ashanti did not, however, end in 1874. In 1881 another dispute led to the despatch of Government troops to Prasu to protect the colony. Differences were temporarily settled after prolonged negotiations, but the Ashantis still constituted a threat to the peace of the land. The Governor finally charged the Ashantis with violating the treaty of Fomena, with molesting traders, with failing to keep open the roads to the coast and with continuing to sacrifice human beings. He demanded that they should receive a British Resident and pay an indemnity. The Ashantis failed to comply with this ultimatum and a British force marched to Kumasi in 1896, removed to Cape Coast King Prempeh and his principal followers and deported them to the Seychelles. The campaign was bloodless, but the Ashantis were by no means reconciled to the loss of their leaders, and when Sir Frederick Hodson the Governor, at a formal meeting with the Ashantis at Kumasi in March, 1900, demanded the surrender of the Golden Stool, the Ashantis rose in rebellion and a difficult campaign followed which pacified the country, established law and order and made trade safe. In 1924 Prempeh was allowed to return from the Seychelles and

was installed as Kumasihehene in 1926. His successor was made Asantehene in 1935.

About 1896, the British, impelled not only by the advance of the French and Germans into the hinterland of the Ivory Coast, Togoland and Dahomey, but also by the depredations of the slave raider Samori, concluded treaties of trade and protection with several tribes north of Ashanti and established a protectorate over the area now known as the Northern Territories. Boundary Commissions in 1898 and 1899 delimited the borders of the Gold Coast and neighbouring French and German territories. After the war of 1914-18, part of the German Colony of Togo was placed under British administration by a mandate of the League of Nations and has been governed as part of the Gold Coast ever since.

After the last Ashanti War, Britain assumed full responsibility for the Government of the Gold Coast and its hinterland. In 1901 Orders in Council were made which declared as a Colony by settlement all territories south of Ashanti; declared Ashanti a colony by conquest, and the Northern Territories a protectorate under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890. The year 1901 thus marks a distinct break with the past and the beginning of a new chapter in Gold Coast history. During the succeeding years attention has been increasingly devoted to the establishment of law and order and an adequate judicial system, economic and social progress, and to political and constitutional development designed to fit the Gold Coast people to take their place in the community of nations.

By a new constitution promulgated in 1925 the old Legislative Council, which until then had consisted of *ex officio* and a few nominated members, was replaced by a council which retained an *ex officio* majority but also incorporated elected members. Some of these elected members represented municipal areas and the others were elected by councils of chiefs set up for the purpose. The authority of the council was limited to the Colony.

A second constitutional change which took place in 1946 introduced a non-official majority for the first time in any African colonial legislature. Representation was broadened to include Ashanti and Southern Togoland, but the Governor continued to legislate alone for the Northern Territories.

The third, and most fundamental constitutional change came into effect on 14th January, 1951. By this new constitution there was set up an Executive Council consisting of three *ex officio* Ministers and eight Representative Ministers approved by the Legislative Assembly on the recommendation of the Governor. Of the 84 members of the Assembly, 75 are elected by various forms of popular franchise to represent the chiefs and the people. Provision is made for each Minister to be responsible for a number of Government Departments; and, to facilitate the introduction of a ministerial system of Government, the Secretariat was reorganised into ministries during 1950.

The social and economic history of the Gold Coast in the twentieth

century has been affected in particular by the spread of education and the development of the cocoa industry.

The prosperity of the various African companies for nearly four centuries depended in a large measure on the slave trade. Its suppression in the nineteenth century, coinciding with the Ashanti wars, reduced commerce on the coast to straits from which it revived only temporarily when the security of Captain Maclean's administration fostered the development of the palm oil trade. Vegetable oils remained for several decades one of the principal objects of commerce on the coast. This and other trades were, however, displaced in importance by the cocoa industry which from small beginnings rapidly expanded in the twentieth century until the Gold Coast became the world's largest producer, and cocoa the key to the country's prosperity. This prosperity is being threatened by swollen shoot, a serious and contagious virus disease of cocoa whose depredations constitute a grave menace to the economy of the country. A strenuous campaign based on the best scientific advice and research is being waged by Government, and slow but steady progress is being made in the eradication of the diseased trees and the rehabilitation of the devastated areas.

From the days of the Portuguese, gold attracted to the coast adventurers of many nations. Towards the end of the nineteenth century deep mining for gold was introduced by European companies and, in spite of some failures, production steadily rose from 7,237 fine oz. valued at £32,866 in 1880 until 1939 when the value of gold exported amounted to £3,910,757 or 26 per cent of total Gold Coast exports. In recent times the prosperity of the Gold Coast has been increased by the discovery and working of diamonds, manganese and bauxite, and by the rapid expansion of the timber industry.

Takoradi Harbour, built during the Governorship of Sir Gordon Guggisberg and opened in 1928, has become the economic gateway of the country and contributes greatly to its prosperity and development.

The pioneers of education in the Gold Coast were the Wesleyan and Basel (Presbyterian) Missions of the early nineteenth century. They were followed by many others, the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches being prominent among them. Education was for many years left entirely to the missions, assisted in the latter part of the century by increasing subventions from the Government. Throughout the present century the Government, while continuing its aid to the missions, has also built many schools of its own, and Native Authorities have taken an increasingly prominent part in the extension of schooling facilities. The Government has in these and other ways pursued a policy of wide educational expansion of which the opening of Achimota College in 1924 afforded remarkable evidence, and the establishment of the University College in 1948 a proof of continued progress.

Chapter 3: Administration and Public Relations

The Legislative Assembly

The general election for which such careful preparations had been made during 1950 was held in February, 1951. The preparations for the elections and the holding of the elections themselves were tasks of unprecedented magnitude and were carried out successfully, unmarred by any breach of the peace or untoward incident. It was the first time that popular elections had been held outside the municipalities and the secret ballot which was used at both stages of the elections was introduced in the rural areas. In view of the general interest which has been shown in the methods used to enable a largely illiterate population to vote, a further account of the elections and the steps leading up to them has been given in Appendix I.

The new Legislative Assembly provided for in the Gold Coast (Constitution) Order in Council, 1950 met for the first time on 20th February, 1951. It is composed as follows:

A Speaker* ;

34 Members representing the Colony—4 Municipal Members, 19 Rural Members and 11 Territorial Members ;

19 members representing Ashanti—1 Municipal Member, 12 Rural Members and 6 Territorial Members ;

19 members representing the Northern Territories and the Northern Section of Togoland ;

3 members representing the Southern Section of Togoland—2 Rural Members and 1 Territorial Member ;

3 Ex-officio members : and

6 Special Members representing commercial and mining interests (only two of these members have votes in the Assembly itself).

The principal qualifications for a candidate for election to the Legislative Assembly are that he must not be the holder of a public office and must be a British subject or protected person of 25 years of age or more ; he must have sufficient ability to speak and to read the English language to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly.

This is the first Legislative Assembly in which all areas of the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship have been represented. Elections in the municipalities, are by a single stage ; in rural areas of the Colony and Ashanti the elections are carried out in two stages by means of electoral colleges ; and in the Northern Territories and Northern Section of Togoland all the representatives are elected by a single electoral college of 120 persons. Each stage and each type of election is by secret ballot.

The Legislative Assembly has adopted Standing Rules and Orders

* The constitution does not require the Legislative Assembly to elect one of its own members as Speaker and in fact the first Speaker, the Hon. E. C. Quist, O.B.E. was not a member of the Assembly when he was elected.

which lay down a procedure broadly similar to the practice in the United Kingdom Parliament. The constitution provides for a general election at least once every four years.

The constitution empowers the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly, to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Gold Coast. There are however two important limitations to this power: first, no law may make persons of any racial community liable to disabilities to which persons of other such communities are not made liable; secondly, laws repugnant to the Trusteeship Agreement for Togoland are void in Togoland to the extent of the repugnancy.

Any Member of the Legislative Assembly may introduce any bill or motion except that the consent of the Governor is required for any bill or motion which amounts to a money measure, affects the salaries or conditions of public officers or determines constitutional questions affecting traditional authorities. Government bills are introduced by Ministers: the Legislative Assembly debates them and may approve, modify or reject them.

As will be seen in the next section, the Legislative Assembly plays a part in the appointment and removal of Ministers.

The Executive

The Executive Council consists of the Governor as President, three *ex officio* Ministers and not less than eight Representative Ministers. The *ex officio* Ministers—the Ministers of Defence and External Affairs, of Justice and of Finance—are also the three *ex officio* members of the Legislative Assembly. The Representative Ministers have to be appointed from the Legislative Assembly. They held between them at the end of the year the portfolios of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Health and Labour, Education and Social Welfare, Communications and Works, Housing and Town and Country Planning, Local Government and Commerce, Industry and Mines. The Leader of Government Business held no portfolio for most of the year.

The manner in which the Representative Ministers are chosen is as follows. The Governor submits to the Assembly a list of those of its members whom he proposes for membership of the Executive Council, and the Assembly resolves whether the Governor's choice should be approved. If the Governor's choice is approved the persons concerned are appointed by the Governor to be members of the Executive Council. The Governor is empowered in his discretion to allocate the portfolios. The Ministers elect from their own number a Leader of Government Business in the Assembly.*

The Assembly may by a two-thirds majority request the Governor to revoke the appointment of any member of the Executive Council and the Governor must then revoke the appointment. A Representative Minister may also be removed from the Executive Council if the Executive Council considers that he has failed to carry out any

* This post was abolished early in 1952 with the creation of the office of Prime Minister.

policy or decision of the Executive Council. In this manner a very considerable degree of responsible government and collective responsibility within the Executive Council has been achieved.

The constitution provides for a Minister to have to assist him a Ministerial Secretary, whose functions are roughly the same as those of a Parliamentary Under Secretary in the United Kingdom, and a Permanent Secretary who is a senior civil servant and who, under the general direction and control of his Minister, exercises supervision over the departments for which his Minister is responsible.

The Executive Council is the principal instrument of policy for the Gold Coast and Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship. The Governor must consult the Executive Council in the exercise of all his powers except in the case of a strictly limited number described below. Decisions are taken in the Executive Council by simple majority and the Governor must act in accordance with the advice of the Executive Council except as set out in the Royal Instructions. These provide that the Governor may, with the prior approval of the Secretary of State, or without such approval if urgent necessity so requires, act against the advice of the Executive Council if he considers it "expedient in the interests of public faith, public order or good government".

No bill becomes law until the Governor has assented to it in Her Majesty's name or Her Majesty has given her assent, and any law to which the Governor has given his consent may be disallowed by Her Majesty. The Governor is prohibited from assenting to bills which fall within certain classes without having obtained Her Majesty's instructions. The chief of these classes are bills for the divorce of married persons; bills affecting currency or banking; imposing differential duties; inconsistent with treaty obligations; affecting the control of Her Majesty's Armed Services; or prejudicing the trade, transport or communications of Her Majesty's dominions or protectorates. Moreover the Governor must reserve for Her Majesty's pleasure any bill inconsistent with the constitution and any bill which regulates the privileges, immunities or powers of the Legislative Assembly or its Members.

The Royal Instructions provide for the exercise of pardon in capital cases and a Committee of the Executive Council has been set up to advise the Governor in capital cases.

Provision has been made for the exercise by the Governor in certain circumstances of reserved powers. If the Governor considers that it is expedient in the interests of public order, public faith or good government that any bill introduced or motion proposed in the Assembly should have effect and if the Assembly fails to pass such bill or motion within such time and in such form as the Governor may think reasonable and expedient, the Governor may declare that the bill or motion shall have effect. The expressions "public order, good faith or good government" in this context include the responsibility of the Gold Coast as a territory within the British Commonwealth of Nations and all matters pertaining to the creation or abolition of any public office or the salary or other conditions of service of any public

officer. The Governor may not make any such declaration except in accordance with the following conditions :

- (a) in accordance with a resolution of the Executive Council ; or
- (b) if the Executive Council, having been consulted, fails to resolve that the declaration be made, then the Governor may make the declaration without submitting the question to the Secretary of State, if, in the Governor's opinion urgent necessity demands that the declaration be made without obtaining the authority of the Secretary of State, but he must immediately report this action to the Secretary of State.

There did not occur during the year any occasion for the use of the Governor's reserve powers.

The Civil Service

The Public Service Commission provided for in the new constitution was set up during the year, to advise the Governor on questions relating to the appointment, promotion, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of public officers and certain other matters connected with the public service. The Governor is responsible in his discretion for the appointment etc. of public officers. The Public Service Commission observes certain principles which ensure that officers shall not be recruited from overseas unless no suitable Gold Coast African candidates are available. There is generally a serious shortage of trained and qualified Africans suitable for immediate appointment and one of the duties of the Commissioner for Africanisation, who is a member of the Public Service Commission's staff, has been to ensure that each suitably qualified African, whether now in the Gold Coast or overseas is made aware of the opportunities for careers in the Civil Service. There are in existence, many training schemes designed to fit Africans for promotion within the service. A comparative table giving the numbers of Africans in the Civil Service in 1947, 1949 and 1951 will be found at Appendix VI.

The organisation, staffing and remuneration of the Gold Coast Civil Service in general has been the subject of the report of a special commission set up in 1950 to examine the matter. This report, which is lengthy and detailed, had not been fully considered by the Legislative Assembly by the end of 1951. In general its recommendations supplement the measures already taken to adapt the machinery of Government from the service of a highly centralised administration to a system by which administrative and executive responsibility is dispersed among a number of Ministries and regional authorities.

External Relations

Late in 1950 plans were completed for the setting up of the office of the Gold Coast Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and the Gold Coast Commissioner actually started work in January, 1951. His duties are the fostering of Gold Coast trade, the provision of information about the Gold Coast, assistance in the recruitment of staff and

the welfare of people of the Gold Coast visiting or residing in the United Kingdom. The main work performed by the office in 1951 was that of supplying information about Gold Coast conditions to firms interested in building up trade with the Gold Coast and endeavouring to popularise Gold Coast timber among smaller users. The Commissioner has now been joined by a Trade Commissioner and by an Assistant Secretary. In 1952 it is proposed to appoint a Deputy Commissioner who will be an African.

Towards the end of the year the Commissioner's duties were further expanded to enable him to superintend the United Kingdom end of the scheme for training artisans and trademen in the United Kingdom referred to in Part II, Chapter 7.

On three occasions during the year Ministers travelled abroad to represent the Gold Coast. The Leader of Government Business and the Minister of Education and Social Welfare paid an official visit to the United Kingdom and the United States of America and the Minister of Health and Labour visited Western Germany and Switzerland in addition to the United Kingdom. The Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources attended an important conference in the United Kingdom on the subject of cocoa.

Regional Administration

The Gold Coast is divided into three areas—the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories—each of which is administered on behalf of the Governor by a Chief Commissioner. The Southern and Northern sections of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship were administered respectively as parts of Colony and the Northern Territories. During the year Sir Sydney Phillipson's Report on Regional Administration was published and considered by the Government. This report made a careful and detailed analysis of the implications of federalism and went on to propose a lesser degree of local autonomy—the establishment of regional administrations performing a number of important functions on behalf of the central Government, without at the same time vesting in the regions extensive legislative powers on the lines envisaged in Nigeria. The Government has decided to modify Sir Sydney Phillipson's proposals and not to set up the comparatively elaborate regional structure he proposes : a further level of representative bodies does not seem to the Government to be called for, and it is proposed that the regional administration shall be purely official in character. The Gold Coast and Togoland will be divided into five regions (the Colony and Southern Togoland being subdivided into three regions). The senior administrative officer in each region will represent and act for all Ministries as required. Nevertheless the Joint Provincial Council and Asanteman Council will remain as electoral colleges and will retain all their traditional functions. The Northern Territories will continue to have a Council on the pattern of the present Northern Territories Council ; and the new region comprising the Trans-Volta (Ewe) area of the Colony and the Southern Section of Togoland will have a Council having the same

wide advisory functions as the Southern Togoland Council, which will be merged into the new body for the larger area.

Local Government

During 1951 the local government of the country has continued to be exercised by a large number of Native Authorities, four town councils, and a Sanitary Board (in Obuasi).

A Native Authority normally consists of a chief and council, but there is considerable scope for the variation of this pattern, where circumstances demand that the council should be more representative by the addition to the council of non-traditional members; and a number of Native Authorities have during the past year been reorganised in this direction. One new Native Authority was established during the year for two out of the three divisions in the Southern Section of Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship that still lacked local government machinery. Native Authorities now cover the whole area of the Gold Coast with the exception of this one Togoland Division.

Native Authorities are required to assist in the maintenance of peace, order and good government in the communities over which they have authority. With the approval of the Governor, exercised through the Chief Commissioner of the region (the Colony, Ashanti or the Northern Territories, as the case may be) they may make orders on any of a variety of subjects, including the protection of health and the regulation of certain forms of trade and cultivation.

In the towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi/Takoradi in the Colony and Kumasi in Ashanti there are town councils each established under its own Ordinance. The Ashanti mining town of Obuasi possesses a statutory Sanitary Board and, in the Colony mining town of Tarkwa, and in a few other towns, non-statutory sanitary committees carry out some local government functions.

One of the most important legislative acts of the year was the enactment of the Local Government Ordinance, 1951, which will in the near future replace the present system by one more completely representative of the people. It is intended to bring the new system of local government into effect in each area when the preparations are complete there. The first of the elections for the new local authorities will, it is expected, be held in April, 1952. The basis of the new system is a body of representative local councils for areas approximating in general to those of the present Native Authorities, although in many places Native Authority areas have been divided in response to demands expressed by the people. These Councils, when set up, will be enabled to exercise all powers at present exercised by the Native Authorities which they succeed and the Minister of Local Government is empowered to confer on them additional powers extending over the fields of public order, agriculture, forestry, regulation of trade and industry, operation and regulation of markets, land conservation, building and town planning, education and public health. Similar bodies are being constituted for certain towns, with the title of Urban

Councils; these will not necessarily have at the outset functions different from those of local councils, but may be expected to develop rather more rapidly. Any council may make bye-laws, subject to approval by the Minister, for carrying into effect any function conferred upon it.

All urban and local councils are to contain both members directly elected by all adult residents and members representative of the traditional authorities, normally in the proportion of two-thirds of the former and one-third of the latter. There is provision for the addition to councils in exceptional cases of special members to represent commercial or other special interests of outstanding importance in the life of the locality. The president of each council will be a chief but these presidents will sit only on ceremonial occasions and will not vote. Otherwise the council will elect a chairman from its own number, except in the Northern Territories where a council may invite the president to act also as chairman.

Local and urban councils will elect members to district councils, covering larger areas and providing those services which gain most in economy and suffer least in personal contact with the people by being administered on the larger scale. Membership of district councils will be divided between traditional and representative members in the same general proportion of one-third to two-thirds as in the local and urban councils and special members may be elected as for those councils.

Each council, local, urban or district, will be established by instrument made by the Minister of Local Government on the basis of local enquiries which have been held to elicit the views of the people concerned. Even after the election of the new local authorities a continuing review will for some time be necessary to determine the suitability of their provisional areas and compositions and what further powers may be entrusted to them.

With the approval of the Minister, a local council may appoint town, village or area committees within the locality under its administration and may delegate powers to them. In such a case the constituting council specifies the method of selection of members of the committee.

The town councils in the four municipalities will continue to derive their authority from their separate Ordinances until the latter part of 1952, when it is hoped, a new Ordinance will be passed for each of these towns, giving wider powers and a more democratic composition. The present councils already have a majority of members popularly elected on a wide franchise, together with a representative of the Native Authorities of the area, a representative of the local chamber of commerce and members nominated by the Governor, one of whom, an officer of the political administration, is the president.

State councils, which have formed the basis of most existing Native Authorities, are to be completely separated from the new local authorities and will be empowered by Ordinance to discharge a variety of

customary functions. Traditional relations of allegiance will be respected.

One essential task consequent upon the introduction of the new local government system is the training of adequate staffs for the new local authorities. These, like the present Native Authorities, will engage and control their own staffs, subject to any regulations which the Minister may make to ensure suitable minimum standards and conditions of service, and it is assumed that, again like the present Native Authorities, the new councils will provide for the training of their staffs. For the training of technical officers they will receive the help of the departments of the central Government.

The urgency of the need presented by the new Ordinance for the rapid creation of a body of efficient superior officers equal to the administration of a modern local authority has, however, been considered to require a new departure in training, and a residential Local Government Training School was opened in Accra in November. The twelve-week course is practical and relies largely on the active participation and the experience of the students, most of whom are serving officers of Native Authorities—many of them of considerable seniority. In addition to the permanent tutorial staff, visiting lecturers are drawn from a wide variety of Government departments, from the University College of the Gold Coast and elsewhere. Ten of the best students completing the course in any one year will be offered scholarships for a planned course of attachment to local authorities in the United Kingdom lasting about six months. Such training has already been found of great value in training officers for the highest local government posts.

Public Relations

Events in 1951 required an intensification of the Public Relations Department's activities. Preparations for the country's first general election in February were followed by arrangements for a campaign to publicise the New Deal for Cocoa. The usual services were maintained and in many cases greatly expanded.

Interest in the general election was world-wide, and many of the leading British newspapers sent representatives to cover them. At one time the Department was host to eight overseas journalists, as well as a special correspondent of the B.B.C.

By the end of the year there were 14 African officers of the Department taking courses of advanced training in the United Kingdom, and four African officers had returned to duty after completing overseas courses in 1951.

Nine newspapers were enabled by Government subsidy to take Reuter's Coastal Service twice a day, and they made extensive use of it. All papers availed themselves of the London Press Service, while 97 per cent of the Department's 1,630 press releases were published. Eleven press conferences were held, four of them by Gold Coast Ministers.

The *Gold Coast Bulletin*, an official newsheet published by the Public

Relations' Department, was superseded during the year by the *Gold Coast Weekly Review*, an enlargement and improvement on its predecessor, and 35,000 copies a week were issued free, several of the issues containing special supplements. Other material distributed on a large scale included copies of the magazine *Today*, posters, photographs and picture-sheets, all received from the Colonial Office and Central Office of Information in the United Kingdom; and three million leaflets and booklets produced locally.

The Photographic Section produced 69,000 prints, and display sheets of these photographs were sent to a large number of schools, community centres and social organisations.

The Department again produced a number of photogravure booklets, printed in London. The main one was *Achievement in the Gold Coast* which was prepared specially to coincide with the Festival of Briatin. It contained 96 pages and included 97 photographs—nine of them in colour—and was sold or distributed free in the United Kingdom and the United States as well as West Africa. Other photogravure booklets were *Gold Coast 1951* for the British Industries Fair, *Know your Council* which dealt with the Sekondi-Takoradi Town Council, and *Ashanti Native Authority Finances*, which fulfilled a similar function with respect to Ashanti.

The cinema vans continued to be extremely popular. They visited 1,600 towns and villages and gave shows to audiences estimated as totalling well over a million. A disastrous fire in November destroyed almost the whole of the film and film-strip library. The vans were kept on the road, however, thanks to the loan of films from the British Council and the United States Information Service.

The Gold Coast Film Unit made a short comedy for the Savings Committee, and a one-reel instructional film on rural water supplies. It also covered the General Elections and considerable use of this material was made by British newsreel companies. The Unit's main task was a full-length story feature on the problem of juvenile delinquency, the editing of which is expected to be completed by the middle of 1952.

During 1951, so far as records are available it seems that 321 articles and 241 pictures—the material for which was supplied by the Department—were published in the United Kingdom press on matters affecting the Gold Coast. Furthermore the press of some 30 different countries published between them 450 articles on the Gold Coast and 200 pictures which also originated from the Department.

There is also a great demand outside the United Kingdom for factual information about the Colonies and during 1951 many individual requests were received from 18 countries for booklets and leaflets about the Gold Coast.

APPENDIX I

The 1951 General Elections

THE introduction of the new constitution involved a complete revision of the electoral laws for all parts of the Gold Coast (including Togoland under United Kingdom Trusteeship). The scope and the detailed nature of the arrangements place the elections in a different category from any others previously held in this part of Africa. It seems likely therefore that they will be regarded as being of sufficient interest to warrant a fairly detailed description.

There were four important factors of general application which added to the many difficulties encountered in preparing for the elections.

- (1) Except in the four municipal areas, any form of universal suffrage combined with election by secret ballot was previously unknown.
- (2) A high rate of illiteracy, limitations of communications and staff, and shortness of time were serious handicaps to the education of the electorate in the meaning of the elections.
- (3) Virtually no precedents were available for any aspect of the preparations for the holding of the elections in the circumstances applicable to the Gold Coast.
- (4) Adherence to a strict timetable allowed no free margin of time at any stage.

The effective period for the organisation of the elections was in fact a little over six months.

Constituencies

The elections for the Rural Members demanded most preparation. The first step that was necessary was the delimitation of constituencies. This began in September, 1950. The basis for the delimitation of the constituencies was that laid down in the Ewart Report which was adopted by the Legislative Council in July, 1950. This report in turn largely followed the lines laid down in the Coussey Report on Constitutional Reform. In general the boundaries of the constituencies follow the boundaries of the States, or of groupings of States on a basis of similar language and interests and, though this was popularly acceptable, it meant an abandonment of the principle of parity between constituencies. The boundaries of constituencies were generally coterminous with boundaries of existing Administrative Districts or sub-Districts. The average constituency had a population of some 80,050 but the largest single member constituency had as much as 141,094 and the smallest as little as 48,082.

Each rural electoral district was divided into sub-districts, each

designed to contain as nearly as possible 1,000 inhabitants. It was provided that each sub-district would elect by universal adult suffrage one person as its representative to the electoral college, which in turn would elect a member of the Legislative Assembly. By the end of October delimitation was complete. In some cases a single town was divided into a number of sub-districts, in other cases a number of small, widely separated farming hamlets had to be combined into a single sub-district. In rural areas definitions were generally left vague. In some cases where the boundaries of villages were in dispute there was difficulty in persuading the States involved that this delimitation was for purposes of voting only and did not effect ownership of land or the planned local government re-organisation. In all, a total of 2,759 electoral sub-districts were set up in the Colony, Ashanti and Southern Togoland.

Registration

Before the election could be held in the rural and urban districts, it was necessary to compile lists of qualified voters, and accordingly registration began in November, 1950.

The following qualifications were laid down for the insertion of voters' names in the electoral rolls of rural constituencies :

- (a) British nationality or protected status ;
- (b) a minimum age of 21 ;
- (c) residence in the constituency for a period of six months prior to registration ; and
- (d) payment of local tax.

Women were qualified to vote on exactly the same terms as men.

People were disqualified from voting if, apart from not fulfilling the above requirements, they

- (a) had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment exceeding one year and five years had not elapsed since their release ;
- (b) had registered in any other constituency ; or
- (c) were certified lunatics.

After persons wishing to be enrolled as voters had registered, three further steps had to be taken before the election could take place :

- (1) the lodging of complaints or objections ;
- (2) the hearing of complaints and objections by special revising courts ; and
- (3) the preparation of the final list of voters.

A Registration Officer was appointed for each District, being the District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner of the Administrative District in which the electoral district lay. In each sub-District there was appointed an Assistant Registration Officer, usually a member of the Government Junior Service or a school teacher, most of whom worked part time. In addition, 130 members of the Government Senior Service were seconded for registration

duties. Some 45 per cent of those worked full time and were given supervision over groups of 10 to 20 sub-Districts. The whole process of registration was completed on 19th January, 1951. Not only had it been necessary to allow a period for the hearing and listing of objections etc., but the actual collection of names and the explanation of the purpose of the registration itself was a task involving much work within a strictly limited timetable. Assistant Registration Officers were carefully briefed by the Registration Officers concerned. The Registration Officers held large numbers of meetings in towns and villages, with the full co-operation of State Councils and Native Authorities, and the information was widely spread by local customary means. Furthermore 77,000 copies of a simple pamphlet in English were printed by the Government Press, and 280,000 copies of a summary of this leaflet were printed in English and in eight vernaculars. Almost all local daily newspapers printed the text of the pamphlet in serial form, the insertions being paid for by Government at commercial advertising rates. The Public Relations Department made its wired broadcasting services fully available and extensive broadcasts were made of the vernacular texts. Finally, 15 mobile information teams, selected and trained by the Public Relations Department with the assistance of the Mass Education Branch of the Department of Social Welfare, toured Ashanti, the Colony and Southern Togoland. The teams of two men each (in two cases the officers concerned were women) covered approximately two rural districts each, and went over a prepared itinerary twice. In practice it was found that the teams were not always able to reach places away from the main roads and did not always have time to win popular confidence in places where initial misunderstanding was met with, or where the teams had little detailed local knowledge.

When the registration was complete it was found that only some 40 per cent of those people believed to be qualified to register had actually done so. Registration was uneven and it is felt that this was mainly due to the novelty of the idea, but many other causes contributed to it; in some places the suspicion became established that registration was a prelude to military conscription (at a time when United Nations forces were suffering reverses in Korea), or that it was a prelude to more taxation, or that it was connected with the cutting out of diseased cocoa trees (many of the Assistant Registration Officers were in fact officers of the Cocoa Rehabilitation Department). Again the qualification that to be a voter one must be a ratepayer led to many disqualifications particularly in areas where owing to local disputes or for other reasons few people had paid their rates.

Nevertheless, despite difficulties of this sort, registration, which speeded up greatly in the last few days of the time allotted, was duly completed, all claims etc., heard and electoral lists drawn up.

Preparation for the elections

While registration was proceeding preparations were being made for the elections themselves; at first these were little publicised, in

order to avoid burdening the public with too many unfamiliar instructions at once. Considerable attention was devoted to the preparation of draft Election Regulations, including consultation with District Commissioners, chiefs and local government officials and by 8th January, 1951, an approved draft of the Regulations was put into force.

The organisation for holding the elections was very similar to that used in registration. There were Returning Officers in Rural and Municipal Districts who were always senior Administrative Officers and generally the same officials who had previously acted as Registration Officers. Instructions were issued by Chief Commissioners both by notes and by the holding of conferences and a considerable degree of uniformity was achieved, at the same time leaving a fair measure of initiative to individual Returning Officers in the issue of instructions to subordinate staff.

As it was considered advisable to hold all the rural primary elections on the same day, namely 6th February (in some of the more remote areas, the primaries were held a day sooner in order to give time for the successful candidates to reach the electoral colleges by 8th February) and as the Election Regulations did not make it possible until the day itself to know whether primary elections would be contested or not, it was necessary to make arrangements for a contested election in every sub-district. About 2,300 Assistant Returning Officers had therefore to be found. A high proportion of the persons selected were junior officers of the Government Service, but Native Authority staff, Mission teachers and others were also enrolled. The services of all the Assistant Returning Officers were required for about a week for briefing, travelling, making the necessary polling arrangements and conducting the elections. For the supervision of this junior staff, there were also appointed Senior Assistant Returning Officers on the basis of approximately one for every 10 electoral sub-districts. They were mostly officers of the Government Senior Service and they were made responsible for briefing their junior staff and ensuring that proper arrangements were made for the voting. Most of these worked from their own headquarters but a number had to work in more arduous conditions in the remoter areas.

The municipal elections also required large staffs, but as they were held after the rural elections it was possible to employ a number of persons for both duties. The problem in the municipal areas was to provide enough polling stations and staff to ensure that a very large electorate (48,773 in Accra) should all have the opportunity to vote in the eleven hours allowed for voting. Provision had further to be made for the identification of voters and for recording the votes of illiterates who were estimated to be more than half the electorate. The municipal areas were divided into wards, each with polling stations. At each polling station there were polling assistants and a presiding officer, and groups of polling stations were supervised by deputy Returning Officers.

During December and January there was carried out an educational campaign, very similar to that carried out for the registration. Once again the District Commissioners and their staffs, with the help of the Native Authorities, were the principal agents. In addition, for the benefit of the literate electors, two simple pamphlets were prepared to explain election procedure; 60,000 copies of the pamphlet dealing with rural elections, and 15,000 of the pamphlet dealing with urban elections were distributed, and their texts were also inserted in the local press at commercial advertising rates. Once again full use was made of the wired broadcasting service and once again mobile information teams were organised. A preliminary course for the teams was held from 17th to 20th December at which attention was paid to the lessons learnt from the previous month's experiences. From 3rd to 27th January, the teams travelled the rural areas, after which date they were concentrated in the urban areas.

One matter which had to be attended to before the preparations could be considered complete was the provision of equipment needed for the elections. As early as September the construction was put in hand of the 6,825 ballot boxes required for the primary elections, at a cost of about 15s. each. This number allowed a contested election in every sub-district and for three-cornered contests in 50 per cent of them—as events proved, a great over-estimate. It was decided that at the elections the boxes should be screwed down and sealed with sealing wax. Some 2,000 screwdrivers had therefore to be provided by local manufacturers. Locked boxes were made for the municipal and for the rural secondary elections. Sheets of paper in three different colours and symbols (brown with an elephant, blue with a fish, green with a cock) for the identification of candidates' ballot boxes had to be designed and printed. Three thousand ink pads were improvised from cigarette tin lids and pads cut out from blankets and 10,000 bottles of indelible ink had to be obtained and transported by air from England for marking elector's thumbs as a precaution against double voting. In addition vast numbers of ballot papers, forms, posters etc., were printed by the Government Printing Department and arrangements had to be made with the Postmaster General for the priority transmission of candidate's nominations and of election results.

The Elections

On 8th January, when the names of the Returning Officers and the dates finally fixed for the election were published, notices were also published calling for nominations for candidates to the rural and municipal constituencies as well as for the territorial elections. The closing dates for the various types of election were not all the same but the period in which nomination could be accepted was never less than 17 days, and except in the case of the elections for the Territorial Members the period in which nominations could be accepted ended a fortnight before the date of the elections. The following table shows

the number of candidates nominated by the various closing dates:

<i>Type of candidate</i>	<i>Number nominated</i>	<i>Number of seats</i>	<i>Latest nominations date</i>
Municipal	14	5	25th January
Rural	103	33	25th January
Northern Territories	34	19	25th January
Special Members	12	6	27th January
Territorial (Colony, Ashanti and Southern Togoland)	90	18	3rd February

Four days after the nominations were received the names were published in the *Gazette*, and two days were allowed for withdrawals during which time one municipal and 14 rural candidates withdrew. The last lists for the rural and municipal elections were finalised by 31st January and the printing of ballot papers was arranged accordingly.

The primary rural elections were held wherever practicable on 6th February (a Tuesday). In the remoter areas they had to be held on the 5th, to allow the candidates time to reach the electoral college on the voting day. In a few exceptional cases the primary elections were held on Saturday, the 3rd. Both the rural secondary election and the municipal elections were held on Thursday, the 8th.

Rural Primary Elections

No primary elections were held in one constituency, Winneba, as the seat was uncontested. Elsewhere elections were held in sub-Districts with the following results:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Total sub-districts with registered electors.</i>	<i>Total sub-districts where no nominations were made.</i>	<i>Total uncontested elections.</i>	<i>Total contested elections.</i>
The Colony including Southern Togoland	1,736	43	1,232	461
Ashanti	730	5	534	191
TOTAL	2,466	48	1,766	652

The high proportion of uncontested elections (74 per cent) did not necessarily imply apathy on the part of the electorate since it is known that in the majority of cases the person to represent the sub-District (often the normal spokesman such as the local headman, a leading farmer etc.) had already been chosen at a village meeting in accordance with the usual custom and without recourse to the novelties of the ballot box. On the morning of the election when the Assistant

Returning Officer called for nominations he was frequently informed that a candidate had already been chosen.

The actual machinery for the primary election was simple and even if the reason for the election might have caused some bewilderment in places, the procedure was readily understood and there was only one known case of a voter who was heard to ask whether it mattered into which box she put her ballot paper. Each candidate was allotted a ballot box distinctly marked with his name and one of the colours and symbols. The ballot papers required no marking, but were numbered and endorsed. The voter, once identified from the electoral list, had his thumb marked in ink as a precaution against attempts to vote twice and was given a ballot paper, the voters then went in, one by one, to a screened room or booth (many were made of palm leaves) and put the paper into the box of their choice. At the end of the statutory time limit, the Assistant Returning Officer then publicly unsealed the box and after a count proclaimed the winning candidate.

In the sub-Districts where there were contested elections, an electorate of 166,908 was involved, of these there was a 43.7 per cent poll in the Colony and a 40.4 per cent poll in Ashanti.

Rural Secondary Elections

Since there was no contest in Winneba, and since two districts (Akim Abuakwa and Anlo) elected two members each, a total of 30 electoral colleges met to choose 32 members of the Assembly out of a total of 89 candidates. In 15 constituencies there were straight fights between two opponents, in six others there were three candidates, in a further six there were four and in one there was five; in the two two-member constituencies there were five and six candidates respectively. The Convention People's Party contested every seat and (including the uncontested seat) won 29 out of the 33. The remaining candidates were in most cases independents of various sorts, opponents of the C.P.P. rather than members of any political party, though the United Gold Coast Convention put forward several candidates and won three seats. The remaining seat was won by an independent. Most of the independents were moderates in outlook, had little or no popular appeal and carried out virtually no campaigning. Thirty-five candidates forfeited their deposits.

Most of the secondary elections were over by midday and passed off without incident. Less than 2 per cent of the electors were absent. At least two of the electors were women and the number of illiterates in the electoral colleges varied from 3 to 30 per cent. Only in the towns did the primary elections seem to have been conducted over political issues; it is known that an appreciable number of the electors chosen to go to the electoral colleges were elected on a "party ticket", but no accurate assessment is possible, nor can it be gauged how many members went to the colleges with a definite mandate from their constituencies and what proportion obeyed it. The members of the electoral colleges were as a general rule subjected to vigorous canvassing by rival candidates.

Municipal Elections

In the four municipal constituencies, there was a total poll of 47 per cent of the registered electorate. The following table indicates the size of the poll.

<i>Electoral District</i>	<i>No. of Candidates</i>	<i>No. of Seats</i>	<i>Total Electorate</i>	<i>Total Poll</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Accra	6	2	48,773	23,122	47.4
Cape Coast	2	1	10,208	3,639	35.6
Kumasi	2	1	20,097	9,123	45.4
Sekondi Takoradi	3	1	11,647	6,912	59.3
TOTALS	13	5	90,725	42,796	47.2

Voting took place from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. and queues began to form shortly after 6 a.m. The rate of polling was high throughout the morning but slackened as the day lengthened so that there were no reports of queues waiting to vote when the polls closed. It was estimated that the women voters were at least equal in number to the men, and that not more than half the voters were able to mark their own ballot papers. The Election Regulations provided that the Presiding Officer should mark the ballot papers of illiterates and this system, shown to be the only practicable one, was strongly attacked by the Press and the political parties. It is believed that an appreciable number of literates posed as illiterates so as to be able to check the integrity of the Presiding Officers. In the event one protest only was raised that a paper had been wrongly marked and this was not fully substantiated.

In all four towns the good humour and orderliness of the entire population was remarkable, and incidents were very few. That everything went so smoothly was largely attributed to careful organisation, but the absence of any effective opposition to the one active political party took away much of the tension sometimes associated with close contests.

The counting of the votes began immediately the polling ceased and went on throughout the evening. In Accra, the result was not declared until after midnight, but elsewhere rather earlier. Outside Accra popular interest was not great, but in Accra a crowd of some 10,000 to 15,000 waited to hear the results in a very cheerful and orderly fashion, and did not disperse until after 2 a.m. No disturbances occurred. In the municipal areas, the Convention Peoples' Party polled 58,858 votes against 5,574 for their opponents.

Northern Territories Elections

In the Northern Territories voting was carried out by an electoral college of 120 persons. This figure was composed of the 16 members of the Northern Territories Council and 104 persons nominated on a

population basis by the six District Councils. Both these types of Councils are representative of the Native Authorities in the Protectorate. The nominations from the District Councils were complete by 18th January and the nominations for election (34 in all) by the 25th January. A candidate for election was required to be a member of the electoral college and to be nominated and supported by members. Voting was carried out without incident but considerable difficulty was experienced by electors, particularly by illiterate electors, in deciding how they should cast the nineteen votes to which they were entitled among 34 candidates, many of whom were unfamiliar to them. There was a tie for the last two members, so the President of the Northern Territories Council was called upon to use his casting vote, as provided for in the Regulations. The following table furnishes some information as to how the seats were distributed among the various areas of Northern Territories.

District Council Area	Population	Representatives in Electoral College.	Candidates nominated.	Seats gained
Dagomba-Nanumba .	224,000	25	5	5
Gonja-Volta .	84,000	13	4	1
Lawra Confederacy .	89,000	10	5	1
Mamprusi .	389,000	42	9	6
Northern .	142,000	16	3	2
Wala-Tumu .	116,000	14	8	4

The members elected included six Chiefs and eight Native Authority servants or pensioners. Eight out of the total are trained school-teachers.

Territorial Members (Colony, Ashanti and Southern Togoland).

The election for the territorial seats by the Joint Provincial Council, the Asanteman Council and the Southern Togoland Council were held on 10th February, at the Council Chambers at Dodowah, Kumasi and Ho respectively. Nominations were accepted by the Presidents up to 3rd February, and were published by 7th February. Ninety nominations were made as follows :

Colony	53 nominations for 11 seats
Ashanti	31 nominations for 6 seats
Southern Togoland	6 nominations for 1 seat

38 of the nominees were Chiefs or traditional office holders.

52 were commoners including 12 legal practitioners.

15 of the 90 nominees had been members of the former Legislative Council.

The Councils conducted their elections in accordance with well established procedure. As a result of the elections, 10 Chiefs and

eight commoners were elected. Seven of these eighteen had been members of the former Legislative Council including three who had also been members of the former Executive Council.

Special Members

The choosing of these six members was carried out on 10th February. The three members for the Mines were returned unopposed, but there were nine candidates nominated for the three seats for Commerce. Elections were accordingly held at the Chambers of Commerce in Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi and Sekondi. Voting was by secret ballot and the votes were counted by the Presiding Officer—a Government Officer. The results were declared on Monday, 12th February. With the publication of this result, the 81 elected seats in the Assembly had all been filled.

General

The full results of the elections were published on 14th February, 1951. Their publication marked the successful conclusion of a task of unprecedented magnitude in the Gold Coast. That it was successful and unmarred by any breach of the peace or other untoward incident is mainly due to the Administrative Service, backed by the full co-operation of all Departments of the Government. Of vital importance too was the good sense and good-will of the people and the high degree of co-operation on most occasions of the Chiefs, the political parties, and the Press. Apart, moreover, from the smooth organisation and orderly conduct of the elections throughout the country, it can further be held that, taken as a whole, the results of the elections reflected the wishes of the majority of the people of the Gold Coast and the Trusteeship Territory at the present time.

The approximate cost of the elections was :

	£
Remuneration of Assistant Registration and Returning Officers	15,700
Temporary Clerical Staff	5,330
Travelling and Transport	13,450
Office Expenses	1,150
Registration in Municipal Districts and expenses of Municipal Elections	2,750
Publicity expenses	3,500
Northern Territories Elections	450
Construction of ballot boxes	5,120
	<hr/> £47,000

Gazettes. Six *Extraordinary Gazettes*, totalling 36 pages, were published in addition to a large number of *Gazette Notices* in the ordinary *Gazette*. Election legislation accounted for 163 pages in the *Gazette Supplements*.

Publicity material. The three pamphlets on registration and electoral procedure totalled 152,000 copies and the leaflets numbered 200,000 in English and 330,000 in eight different vernaculars. In addition the Public Relations Department's weekly, the *Gold Coast Bulletin* had 11 special election editions with an increased circulation totalling 410,000 copies.

Ballot Papers. One million numbered ballot papers for primary rural elections were printed. For the municipal and secondary rural elections different ballot papers were required for the 34 constituencies and these totalled 121,500 including tendered ballot papers. All these were printed under security arrangements between Tuesday, 30th January and Friday, 2nd February.

Forms and Posters. For the registration of electors five different forms and three posters were printed, of which the major items were 1,500,000 forms of application to be registered and 305,000 pages for the electoral registers. For the elections themselves, in addition to the ballot papers, one poster and four forms were printed. The overall total was 1,830,200 forms and 17,630 posters printed and distributed.

APPENDIX II

Finance

GOVERNMENT REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

The financial out-turn for 1950-51 is summarised below :

	Approved Estimates £	Actual £
Revenue	16,997,770	20,861,032
Expenditure	16,652,038	14,074,741
Surplus on the year's working	345,732	6,786,291
Development Expenditure	3,972,040	3,759,227
Estimated decrease in Surplus Funds	3,626,308	
Increase in Surplus Funds		3,027,064
Appreciation in value of investment		7,496

The General Revenue Balance, which stood at £8,833,937 on 1st April, 1950, was thus increased to £11,868,497 on 31st March, 1951. This balance does not include a General Reserve Fund of £1,500,000, a Supplementary Sinking Fund of £1,106,966 and an interest-free loan of £800,000 made to the United Kingdom Government during the war.

The estimates of revenue and expenditure for the year 1951-52, as approved by the Legislative Assembly, provided for a surplus of £523,670. The revised estimates indicate that the year will probably close with a surplus of £4,797,410, excluding development expenditure.

The revised estimate of development expenditure is £8,851,136, compared with an original estimate of £6,716,050. It will no longer be met from an excess of assets over liabilities, as in the past, but from a Development Fund established by resolution of the Legislative Assembly in August, 1951.

The revised estimate of the financial position on the 31st March, 1952, is as follows :

	£	£
Excess of assets over liabilities on 1st April, 1951		11,868,496
Revised estimate of revenue, 1951-52	29,113,240	
Revised estimates of expenditure, 1951-52		
Ordinary £21,268,970		
Extraordinary 3,046,860		
Estimated surplus on year's working	24,315,830	4,797,410
		16,665,906
Amount transferred from surplus assets to Development Fund and Supplementary Sinking Fund		9,000,000
Revised estimate of excess of assets over liabilities on 31st March, 1952		7,665,906