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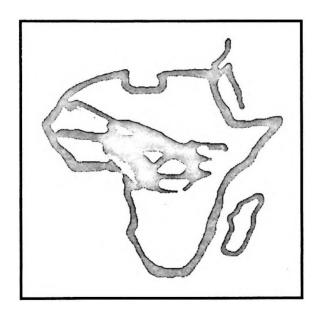
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# Facilitating Colonial Exploitation of Resources of the Gold Coast: The Role of the Police Force, 1894 – 1914

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### Abstract

Euro-African interactions between the 15th and 20th centuries were mainly motivated by the desire to exploit the economic resources of Africa. To ensure a peaceful exploitation of resources in the Gold Coast, the British policed their forts and castles for the peaceful conduct of trade. Even though policing in the Gold Coast was not a structured institution before its official establishment in 1894 by the British, it was an important institution in the administration of the colony. After the enactment of the 1894 ordinance, the Gold Coast Constabulary was renamed the Gold Coast Police Force. The police institution from this period operated under a standardized structure in the British-controlled areas of the Gold Coast. Using information from archival and secondary sources, this paper explores within a historical context, the extent to which the colonial Police Force facilitated the exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast between 1894 and 1914. To achieve this, the study looks at the changing structure and functions of the Gold Coast Police Force from 1894 to 1914. One key argument of this paper is that to ensure a peaceful exploitation of colonial resources, the colonial government upon investing heavily in infrastructure (roads, railways, and communication), set up the Police Force to protect these investments. Moreover, the British economic interest and policy outcomes (acquisition of resources of the Gold Coast) between 1894 and 1914 dictated the structure and functions of the Police Force for the peaceful conduct of trade. The paper finally demonstrates that through the performance of the Gold Coast Police Force, the British by the end of 1914 had vastly exploited the resources of the Gold Coast to their advantage.

Keywords: Policing, Exploitation, Protectorate, Brutality, Constable

### Introduction

There is a paucity of literature on the Gold Coast Police Force (formerly known as the Gold Coast Armed Police or Constabulary). The role of the colonial police in the British exploitation of resources of the Gold Coast has not been subjected to detailed scholarly attention even though there are lots of scholarly works on the police force. Significant evidence indicates that the police force was instrumental in the colonial exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast. The British, being aware of the need for protection of the capitalist economy of the Gold Coast, passed an Ordinance in 1894 to define the structure and functions of the colonial Police Force. Thus, the official operation of the Gold Coast Police Force began in 1894. The force then became the Civil Police of the Gold Coast Colony under the Governorship of William Brandforth Griffith.

Scholars who have exhibited scholarly interest in policing in the Gold Coast have mostly treated it as part of the general history of Ghana. Policing, in the history of Ghana, is only mentioned in passing.<sup>2</sup> For example, David Kimble and John Kofi Fynn provide significant pointers to the set up and functions of the Asafo Group as a law enforcement group. This group was set up by the people of the Gold Coast and Asante. They maintain that in pre-colonial Ghana, there was both a traditional system of policing in the form of Asafo groups known as the Ahenkwaa and Akwansrafo (basically found in Asante). The Fante also had the Asafo Group. The Asafo of Fante origin in the pre-colonial and colonial periods was seen as a social group comprising the 'young men' of the various indigenous states who, in war-time,

PRAAD-Accra, RG. 4/1/18. Ordinance of the Civil Police of the Gold Coast Colony. 30, June, 1894, 1.

See for example, W. B. F. Ward, A History of Ghana (London: Allen & Unwin, 1948); R. Gocking, The History of Ghana (London: Greenwood Press, 2005), 37–48; D. Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, 1850–1928 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 142 & 143; J. K. Fynn, Asante and Its Neighbours (London: Northwestem University Press, 1971), 120. These works discuss a small aspect of the activities of the Asafo Group and the colonial Police Force of the Gold Coast as part of the general history of Ghana.

constituted the bulk of the fighting men. In peacetime, they were seen as independent rival groups in the towns in variously specified relations to the chief. These scholars focus on the precolonial period and do not look at the dynamics of the structure and functions of the colonial police force. Ward briefly provides very essential information on the functions of the colonial Police Force set up by the British in the colonial period. He records that policing in the British colony was essentially aimed at achieving three goals: first, the enforcement and maintenance of security for trade in European goods; second, to serve as a vanguard for colonial expansion into the hinterland for increased exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources; and, third, to protect the ruling and propertied classes.<sup>4</sup>

Major works by Kumi Ansah-Koi, Francis D. Boateng, and Isaac N. Darko provide understanding on policing in the Gold Coast. Ansah-Koi examines the police administration in Ghana and also shows the differences between the traditional system of policing and the colonial system of policing. Boateng and Darko in an article titled "Our Past: The Effect of Colonialism on Policing in Ghana" examine the effects of colonialism on policing in Ghana, and recommend ways of improving police legitimacy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Kimble. A Political History, 142; Fynn, Asante and Its Neighbours, 120. Asafo literally means a para-military organization of a town's youth. Asafo is derived from the Akan words 'sa' (war), and 'fo' (people). The Asafo during a peacetime social event in the Gold Coast and Asante also engaged in drumming, singing and dancing. Ahenkwaa which is also known as Ahenenkoa means king's servants and Akwansrafo literally means road wardens.

Ward, A History, 45. The functions of the police explain why Governor George MacLean, who is credited with the establishment of the Gold Coast police, warned that: "...to interfere with travelers and with trade — in the local phraseology, to 'close the paths' — was a serious offence." Moreover, in 1896, the Governor of the Gold Coast ordered that "no police should be stationed where there were no Europeans." See also F. D. Boateng, and I. N. Darko, "Our Past: The Effect of Colonialism on Policing in Ghana," International Journal of Public Science & Management 18, 1 (2015), 15.

<sup>5</sup> K. Ansah-Koi, "Police Administration in Ghana," Universitas, an Inter-Faculty Journal 9 (Nov., 1989), 23; Boateng, and Darko, "Our Past: The Effect of Colonialism on Policing in Ghana." 15.

They argue that the legitimacy problems facing the police today were due to the imperialist rule by the British, and that the best way to address these problems is for the police to untie itself from the past. While these works contain much information on policing in the Gold Coast, their scope and relevance for our present purpose are limited by the fact that they do not provide enough insight into the dynamics of the structure and functions of the colonial police force and the extent to which it facilitated colonial exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast by the British authorities. The focus of this paper is not only the structure and functions of the police, but also the extent to which in the discharge of their duties, the police facilitated the British colonial exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast. It is our contention that examining the structure and functions of the police force and placing it in the context of colonial rule, would provide significant insight into their unique set up and their role in the colonial exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast. This would go a long way to highlight the differences between the structure and functions of the Police Force in colonial and post-colonial Ghana. The analyses, evaluation and interpretation of this paper are based on both primary and secondary sources. The primary information was obtained from the Ghana Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra and Cape Coast. They were retrieved from the Annual Departmental Reports and files from the Colonial Secretary's Office. Secondary information was obtained from the Sam Jonah Library of the University of Cape Coast and the Osagyefo Library of the University of Education, Winneba, Relevant articles were also accessed from online journals.

The paper argues that for the British authorities to ensure a peaceful exploitation of colonial resources, there was the need to set up the Police Force to protect the investments they had made in the colony. It also maintains that the economic interest and policy outcomes of the British between 1894 and 1914 dictated the structure and functions of the Police Force concerning peaceful conduct of trade. Finally, it asserts that through the

performance of the Gold Coast Police Force, the British, by the end of 1914, had vastly exploited the resources of the Gold Coast.

## Policing in Pre-Colonial Gold Coast

The intention of every state is to operate in a manner that ensures development. One of the institutions that executes the state's intent through the preservation of social order is the police. The police force is a legitimate institution that ensures a peaceful environment for the government to roll out its policies. In the life of the state, the police are one of the basic links between the state and society that assist a state in its maintenance of power and authority. The police ensure that the law has substance, that is, the fundamental rights like protection of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness do not only exist on paper but the police makes them real.<sup>6</sup> The police practically protects the lives of the citizens of a country. Kumi Ansah-Koi examines the social function of the police. He asserts that the police enforce law and order and that their set-up is delicately interwoven within an influential socio-cultural matrix. That is, their social function is basically the enforcement of laws and maintenance of order.<sup>7</sup>

For more information on the analysis of the roles and functions of policing in Africa, see O. Marenin, "Policing African States: Toward a Critique," Comparative Politics 14, No. 4 (Jul., 1982), 379. The description of the Police has been made clear by Marenin. "A policeman is the flesh and blood of the law. Without him the law would have form but no substance. The cold point of the Constitution and the Statutes trace the outline of protection for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These fundamental rights are dry and lifeless so long as they exist on paper only. Our rights and our liberties are made real by the flesh and blood of the policeman on the heat."

Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 23. The police ultimately through the enforcement of law and maintenance of order functions as a link between state intent and the peace of the society. See also S. Andrevski, The African Predicament (New York: Atherton Press, 1968), 93, 98 & 99; H. Bretton, Power and Politics in Africa (Chicago: Aldine, 1973), 178; R. Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 355-65; A. Zolberg, Creating Political Order (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), 77-92; D. H. Bayley, The Police and Political Development in India (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 11; M. B. Clinard and D. J. Abbott, Crime Developing Countries (New York: John

Prior to the eventual annexation and colonization of the Gold Coast by the British in 1874, policing in the Gold Coast was entirely in the hands of the traditional authorities. Chiefs authorized and provided security and protection within their jurisdictions. This was because the Gold Coast before 1874 had not been officially colonized by the British and, as a result, its affairs were in the hands of the local authorities including those in the coastal states. Ansah-Koi argues that the police in the traditional set up did not have any definite institution that was exclusively devoted to their performance but their functions were carried out within the various traditional pre-colonial polities. 9

The local chiefs or kings had the mandate to organize young and able men into small groups or units with the authority to patrol and enforce the by-laws of the community. Among such groups or units were the Akwansrafo, formed by the Asante Empire. The Akwansrafo were road wardens who patrolled trade routes and collected taxes for the state. 10 Also, one of the groups that carried out functions of law enforcement and other services associated with the police in modern times was the special officials known in the Akan language as Ahenkwaa. The Ahenkwaa were king's servants who also served members of the king's family. Another important form of the traditional system of policing was the Asafo Company. They averted aggression,

Wiley, 1973), 215-230.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 23.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

Three unique features characterized the organization of policing in pre-colonial Gold Coast. These characteristics largely defined pre-colonial policing as unprofessional. The first was that the men who were tasked to provide security in the community by patrolling and performing other policing duties did not receive salaries for their hard work. They performed police duties on a voluntary basis. Related to this was the fact that the men were only paid commissions from the taxes they collected. Third, the men were not properly organized and trained. Recruitment into the units did not follow any professional standards, as men were mostly forced or conscripted into these organisations. See Boateng, et al., Our Past, 14; See also Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 23.

searched for lost community members and also cleaned streams and other public places.<sup>11</sup>

The British in the pre-colonial period policed their forts to ensure efficient trading activities. Ansah-Koi states that British merchants in the Gold Coast around the 1820s were private individuals and, as such, organized private police institutions to protect their activities.<sup>12</sup> The British police at the time was confined to the forts only and their operations did not extend to people outside those settlements.13 This was because British iurisdiction was basically confined to the forts. The British also established a police force in the Gold Coast in 1831 to protect their forts, and castles and merchants who plied along the coast. Francis Boateng and Isaac Darko argue that policing in the Gold Coast originally started when the President of the Council of Merchants in the Gold Coast, Captain George MacLean, formed a body of 129 men to maintain and enforce the provisions of the Treaty of Peace signed with the Fante chiefs and the king of Asante in 1831.14 Interestingly, for the British to meet the ends of the developing colonial government in the 1840s, there was the need to organize a new form Police Force. With its headquarters in Cape Coast, the force carried out garrison duties at all the coastal forts. The police enforced the Bond of 1844. The bond was meant to legalize the jurisdiction that had grown up in the "Protectorate under Maclean's influence". 15 Thus, policing by the British in the pre-colonial period began in Cape Coast.

## The Police and Colonialism, 1894 - 1914

The monopolistic power enjoyed by the Gold Coast chiefs and kings came under a serious challenge when Asante finally fell into the hands of the British imperial expedition in 1874.

<sup>11</sup> Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 23.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Boateng, and Darko, Our Past, 15

<sup>15</sup> Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 24.

From this period, Cape Coast was the capital of the Gold Coast and it remained so until 1877 when the capital was moved to Accra. But before 1874, an ordinance was enacted in 1873 to formalize the Gold Coast Police. This step was necessary for the British because they needed a strong police to suppress any insurrections from the people of the Gold Coast and Asante. The Gold Coast police then became 'The Gold Coast Armed Police or the Hausa Constabulary'. Quantson notes that 700 Hausa men were brought in from Northern Nigeria to assist with controlling insurgencies. The men, who stayed after the conflict ended, were given civilian policing duties to perform.<sup>16</sup> Manu Herbstein also shows evidence of the presence of Hausa men who formed part of the Gold Coast police. He posits that when Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived in the country in October, 1873, he had officers who were whites. West Indian and Hausa troops to support him.<sup>17</sup> Major-General Sir Garnet Wolseley was the Commander of the British expedition which set fire to Kumasi in 1874. The West Indian and Hausa troops were considered to be strong. According to Appiagyei-Atua, the Hausa paramilitary-style behaviour of discharging duties earned them the nickname buga-buga, which literally means 'beatbeat' in Hausa. 18 The British government from 1874 began to entrench colonial rule by creating territorial boundaries under the watch of military troops. 19 The Gold Coast Armed Police

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> K. B. Quantson, Reform of the Ghana Police Service (Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation, 2006), 6.

<sup>17</sup> M. Herbstein, The Boy Who Spat in Sargrenti's Eye (Acera: Techmate Publishers Ltd, 2013), 63. Even before 1873, there were officers who had protected the forts, castles and trade routes in the Gold Coast. The West Indians were just like Africans in appearance because they are the descendants of the Africans whom the British bought and sent to the West Indies-Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> K. Appiagyei-Atua, "Bumps on the Road: A Critique of How Africa Got to NEPAD," African Human Rights Law Journal 6, 2 (2006), 524-548. See also, M. Deflem, "Law Enforcement in British Colonial Africa: A Comparative Analysis of Imperial Policing in Nyasaland, the Gold Coast, and Kenya," Police Studies 17, 1 (1994), 48.

<sup>19</sup> The Gold Coast at the time had three provinces under the control of the British; Central, Eastern and Western Provinces. Cape Coast was in the Central Province.

was renamed the Gold Coast Constabulary in 1876, with the creation of several important units such as the Railways and Mines Detachments, Escort Police, Marine Police, and Criminal Investigations Department.<sup>20</sup>

The British were motivated to settle in the Gold Coast because of its resource endowments. Remarkably, after the country had been colonized by the British, they unceasingly rolled out policies that sought to exploit the resources of the Gold Coast. As stated by Frimpong-Ansah, the colonial government of the Gold Coast sought to exploit primary and mineral resources for export, especially, the period from the turn of the 1900s to about 1928.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted that the British occupation of the Gold Coast was inspired by the desire to acquire colonial resources. As a result, it was needful to apply efficiently, the factors of production to effectively exploit colonial resources.

The British occupation was influenced by three neoclassical assumptions which emphasized on the use of land, labour and capital. Here, Frimpong-Ansah mentions that the British government believed that land, though fixed, was not a constraint to development; that labour was abundant and also not a constraint to development. However, the shortage of capital was a constraint, particularly, on the development of communications which he regarded as the bottleneck to development.<sup>22</sup> The British then invested heavily in infrastructure: railways, motor roads, and a harbour at Takoradi, among others, to facilitate easy transportation of resources within the country to ease export.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Quantson, Reform of the Ghana Police Service, 6

<sup>21</sup> J. H. Frimpong-Ansah, The Vampire State in Africa: The Political Economy of Decline in Ghana (New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992), 58 shows the economic policies of Guggisberg's administration. It emphasizes how economic polices informed Guggisberg's programmes. This made him to command the economy to the benefit of British exploitation of colonial resources more especially in the 1920s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibid., 20

The economic policy outcomes of the British altered the structure of the Police Force. To protect these investments, the British government needed the police as a structured institution to ensure peace and order in the Gold Coast for exploitation of resources. In fact, the performance of the police actually made it possible for the British to successfully exploit colonial resources, particularly, at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1894, the British government established the Police Force Ordinance which officially set up the Gold Coast Police Force. The ordinance defined the structure and functions of the police and was geared towards enhancing colonial exploitation of resources. The Police Ordinance of 1894 affirmed the appointment of Commissioners of Police and other officers by the Governor. It stated that:

It shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint a Commissioner of Police and a sufficient number of Assistant Commissioners, Sub-Assistant Commissioners and Superintendents, First and Second Class Sergeants and First, Second and Third Class Constables.<sup>23</sup>

The colonial police in the Gold Coast was tasked to ensure the enforcement and maintenance of security to facilitate peaceful trade in European goods; to serve as a vanguard for colonial expansion into the hinterland for increased exploitation of agricultural and mineral resources; and, finally, to protect the ruling and propertied class.<sup>24</sup> The police was deployed to the three provinces of the Gold Coast colony: Central, Western and Eastern Provinces. Since one of the motives behind the British annexation of the Gold Coast was to create space for effectual exploitation of resources of the colony, the Police Force in the Gold Coast was set up to protect the space and assets of the British. The Police did not take into consideration the comfort and the peace of the people of the Gold Coast. In other words,

<sup>23</sup> PRAAD, Accra, R. G. 4/1/8, The Police Ordinance, 1.

<sup>24</sup> Ward, A History, 46.

the interest of the colonial police, as established by the British, was rather to augment the British colonial exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast more than to protect the people of the Gold Coast.

# The Administration and Structure of the Gold Coast Police

The administration, structure and functions of the police force underwent some changes as well as continuity from 1894. These were tailored along the economic motive of the British government. The 1894 police ordinance officially set up the Gold Coast Police Force. It comprised one Commissioner, four Assistant Commissioners, four Sub-Assistant Commissioners, six Superintendents, ten First Class Sergeants, twenty Second Class Sergeants, thirty First Class Constables, one hundred Second Class Constables and two hundred and twenty-five Third Class Constables.<sup>25</sup> In all, the strength of the Civil Police at the time stood at three hundred and seventy-five. The Governor had the power to either increase or reduce the number of the police at any time as it would seem necessary.

The police force as a body of disciplined and reliable men subdued riots and insurrections disruptive to the colonial state. <sup>26</sup> That the police force in the Gold Coast was established to protect the colonial interest of resource exploitation rather than to protect the lives and property is evident in the declaration of the police constable upon enlistment of true allegiance to His Majesty, King George VI, his Heirs and Successors. From the time of the formation of the Police Force in 1894 until 1902, the outstanding duties of the force included arresting criminals, prosecution of offenders, crime detection and prevention, guarding of European residential quarters, office blocks, and colonial officials. <sup>27</sup>

From the 1900s, some changes were made in the administration, structure and functions of the police. From

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid., 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Kumi Ansah-Koi. 24 & 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

1901, the police force in the Gold Coast had five departments. These included the General Police, Escort Police, Mines Police, Railway Police, and Marine Police.<sup>28</sup> The General Police examined motor-vehicles to verify their road-readiness, vehicle licensing, and to direct motor-vehicles. The Escort Police was to ensure the safety of British merchants in the Gold Coast. The Mines Police ensured a peaceful atmosphere in all mining areas and also prevented gold theft in these areas. The Railway and Marine Police maintained law and order in their respective stations.<sup>29</sup> Although their functions differed from one department to the other, the outstanding duties they performed were arresting criminals, crime detection and prevention. The British increased police presence in the colony and, by 1916, the General Police in the Gold Coast numbered 459, the Escort Police were 506, the Mines Police 39, the Railway Police had 91 men and the Marine Police 9. On the whole, the Police Force was made up of 1,104 personnel as of 1916.30 It is clear that the number of policemen in the General and Escort Departments were more than the other departments. This suggests that there was a concern about crimes in the areas under these departments.

# The Role of the Police Force in the Colonial Exploitation of Resources of the Gold Coast

The Gold Coast Police Force facilitated the British exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast. As a step towards the exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast, the British colonial government came out with regulations to deal with crime on the one hand and regulate closely exploitation of resources like minerals. In the mining sector, for example, three regulations were made. First, the frequency of inspections by the mines department was to be increased, that is, regular inspections were to be done. Second, minor infringements

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> PRAAD, Accra, R. G. 5/1/12, Annual Departmental Report, 1901, 6-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid.

AD, Accra, R. G. 5/1/12, Annual Departmental Report, 1901, 1903, 1906, and

should be more severely dealt with by the Chief Inspector of Police. Third, imprisonment shall be the only punishment for offences. These regulations were to be enforced by the Mines Police under the supervision of the District Commissioner of Police.<sup>31</sup> The effect of the regulations was an annual increase in numbers of the General Police, the Escort Police, the Railway Police and the Marine Police.<sup>32</sup>

The main function of the Gold Coast Police Force was to ensure a peaceful environment for the colonial government to do its business. In view of this, the force was used to subdue riots and insurgencies considered disruptive to the colonial state.<sup>33</sup> The work of the police in this regard, culminated in the arrest of criminals who were mostly sent to prison. It is worthy nothing that most of the policemen, who were largely indigenes of the Gold Coast, were illiterate and lacked training in police work. Most of them committed wrongful arrests, unlawful detentions and assaults, to mention a few. According to Boateng, the police were ineffective, especially, in protecting the local people of the Gold Coast. Ineffectiveness was not the only issue facing the police. Equally important was the extreme public distrust of the police as a result of excessive police brutality.<sup>34</sup>

The brutal nature of the Police in Gold Coast was the result of the belief of the British colonial authorities that only in a very conducive and peaceful atmosphere could successful trade take place. The consequence of the brutalities and arrests in the Gold Coast was that by the end of 1901, an estimated 3,171 people composed of 2,997 men, 142 women and 32 juvenile offenders from the mining towns were imprisoned. An estimated gross value of prison labour by the close of 1901 was £7, 819 5s. 7d., and the amount realized from the sale of work executed by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> PRAAD, Accra, R. G. 5/1/12, Annual Departmental Report, 1901, 7

<sup>32</sup> lbid.

<sup>33</sup> Kumi Ansah-Koi, Police Administration, 24 & 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> F. D. Boateng, "Students and the Police in Ghana: Mixed feelings. Police Practice and Research," An International Journal 18, (1) 2015.

prison industry was £267 14s. 7d. The total revenue generated from the mining sector amounted to £18, 658 11s. 5d.<sup>35</sup>

Determined to reap super profits, successive colonial governments continued to increase the number of policemen. By 1914, the number of policemen in the mines department had increased from 50 in 1913 to 77. The value of gold produced in 1914 amounted to £1, 744, 498, being an increase of £95,729. Out of the total amount of gold, 402,231 ounces was obtained by mining and 8,423 ounces through police operations. The prisoners in 1914 numbered 5, 697, compared to 5,358 in 1913. The total earning in respect of prison industry labour in 1914 amounted to £4,639, as compared to £2,345 in 1913, an increase of £1,294, which was due to the increase in the number of the prisoners. It can therefore be concluded that, the unlawful arrests and imprisonments by the mines police were calculated attempts to ensure a peaceful atmosphere for the exploitation of the resources of the colony.

By the end of 1914, the police were in total control of all motor licensing, registration of domestic servants and duties in connection with immigration and the registration of foreigners. Auctioneers' and goldsmiths' licenses were also controlled by the police. Indeed, the rapid progress made by the colonial government in terms of revenue mobilization in the various departments in the economy between 1894-1914 clearly demonstrates the instrumental role played by the police in the economic exploitation of the Gold Coast. The table below shows the total revenue generated from 1901 to 1914.

<sup>35</sup> PRAAD-Accra, R. G. 5/1/9, Annual Departmental Report, 1902, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> PRAAD-Accra, R. G. 5/1/14, Annual Departmental Report, 1914, 19

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> lbid., 20

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

Year	Revenue (£)	
1901	471,193	
1903	554,552	
1905	586,221	
1906	683,101	
1912	1,230,850	
1913	1,301,566	
1914	1,331,713	

Source: PRAAD - Accra, RG/5/1/14, Annual Departmental Report, 1914.

#### Conclusion

The British colonization of the Gold Coast has had enormous impact on the history of the Gold Coast. The establishment of the Police Force to facilitate the British occupation in the Gold Coast needs to be given the necessary scholarly attention. The study, therefore, sought to examine the extent to which the Gold Coast Police Force facilitated British exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast from 1894 to 1914. The study demonstrates that the colonial government routinely relied upon the police to achieve its economic objectives. The police throughout the period under consideration performed functions like crime prevention, crime investigation, the prosecution of criminals, as well as general deterrence and prevention of criminal acts. The study also maintains that the police regularly enforced precautionary measures to safeguard the lives and property of the British colonial authorities and to maintain peace to enable them effectively do their business. The colonial government used the police in its attempts to enforce legal statutes, suppressing smuggling, profiteering, and hoarding of essential consumer items by retail traders.

More importantly, the Gold Coast Police Force as part of their functions, examined motor-vehicles to verify their road-readiness, vehicle licensing, and also direct motor-vehicles on the roads. The police furthermore, functioned to maintain the colonial integrity of the state through the seizure of arms and ammunition, regular patrols and searches, arrest of insurrection leaders, gathering and transmission of intelligence information and the actual quelling of irredentist moves. In fact, the performance of the Gold Coast Police Force during colonialism indicates that it was one of the major arms of the colonial government that maintained law and order to facilitate exploitation of the resources of the Gold Coast. Through the performance of the Gold Coast Police Force, the British, by the end of 1914, had vastly exploited the resources of the Gold Coast to their advantage.

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