

Echoes of the Past Resurface In the Present: A Thread in the Intellectual History of Ghana

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Abstract

In this era of modernization, it is easy to be drawn and eclipsed into a totalizing paradigm of external cultures that clash with one's inherent culture. Aware of the impending disaster facing African culture, it is pertinent to re-echo the voices of the pre, during and postcolonial Ghanaian writers on the prevailing issues in the African society and the option out. Using C.C. Reindorf's, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (1895), Attoh Ahumas' *Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*(1911), Casely Hayford *Ethiopian Unbound* (1911), Kobina Sekyi's *the Blinkards* (1915) and *Anglo-Fante* (1918) and Ayi Kwei Armah's *the Beautiful ones are not yet born* (1968) and *Fragments* (1969) as document text for the study, the paper stress on the paths in these writers ideological reflections on the 'troubles facing Africa' as it relates with the existing prevailing forces. The paper suggests that regardless of the nemesis facing Africans, an introspective and retrospective action, and affectation to peculiar cultures to one's culture is the only antidote that will salvage Africa and other continents as well.

Keywords: Africanism, Colonialism, Culture, Gold Coast, History, Self-consciousness

History should be regarded as a dialogue between the past and the present -- a process in which each age reinterprets its particular past.¹

E.H. Carr

1. Introduction

It was R.G. Collingwood, who jotted somewhere in the course of history that "all history is the history of ideas" (Levine, 2005,p.189). I think to a degree he is right on the premise the very happening past envisaged by the people of the present stemmed from the very thought of the constructors of the past. Let me say here that even though the topic in this paper attempts to examine the ideas of prominent Ghanaian scholars but as the topic was introduced to us by Professor Akurang-Parry, I was elated but at a loss as to what really was the demand of the question. Not being formally tutored in the history of ideas as a professional intellectual historian but as a student, I wrote back here requesting some explanation. Even though this was kindly provided, it did little to boot out my uneasiness, especially as I reminisced Henry Stuart Hughes caution about the lettering on the history of ideas: "The commonest error of the intellectual historian is to write about things he does not really understand - things he has not 'internalized' and thought through for himself"(Hughes,1977,p.7). Equally disturbing was the daunting aspect of the topic which, in pure sciences would have encouraged the use of a microscope. But alas, this is Intellectual History of Ghana! Thus I am left to operate in the confines of the discipline. More seriously, let me stress here that the task at hand is a daunting and pushy one, at least from a conceptual purview. For the purpose of producing the answer to the topic concern, let me posed some fundamental question that will serve as a frame work for my discussion. Accordingly: (1) What were the dominant ideas and thought in the late 19th century through to post-independence Ghana? (2)Who, exactly were behind the ideas that were dominant during that era? (3)What forces shaped the ideas and lastly, (4) what were the effect of those ideas on societies? Turning to the topic again, let me say here that though the topic did not indicate the caliber of work to examine, I used C.C. Reindorf, *Gold Coast and Asante* to characterize the intellectual idea of the late 19th Century, Attoh Ahumas' *Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* ,Casely Hayford *Ethiopian Unbound* and Kobina Sekyi's *the Blinkards: A short story of Anglo-Fante* to characterize the era of decolonization and finally, Ayi Kwei Armah's novels titled *the Beautiful ones are not yet born* and *Fragments* to represent ideas of post-independence era.

Change and continuity in periods is simply a process of analysing phenomenon with explanations relating to causation of specific examples.² That is, looking at change as something that has occurred in history and continuity as the factors or idea that remain the same in an entire period. Informed by this purviews, the analysis in this paper plods on the very tenets of continuity and change in C.C. Reindorf's, *Gold Coast and Asante*, Attoh Ahumas' *Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*, Casely Hayford *Ethiopian Unbound*, Kobina Sekyi's *the Blinkards: A short story of Anglo-Fante* and lastly Ayi Kwei Armah's *the Beautiful ones are not yet born* and *Fragments*.

¹ Carr, E.H. "What is History?", Harmondsworth (1964), p. 30.

² Change & Continuity Over Time Essay CCOT, retrieved from <https://www.killeenisd.org/teacherDocs/c8/e14681/documents/CCOTESsayHelp-116600.pdf>

2. Carl Reindorf, the preacher of the past before the dawn of the 20th Century

The era before British formal colonization of the Gold Coast in 1902 was characterized with a series of ideas revolving Gold Coasters and Asantes. Jotting down these thoughts, was one such Rev. Carl Christian Reindorf. Carl Christian Reindorf (1834-1917) began his ideas on the history of the Gold Coast and Asante in the early 1860s (Jenkins, 1977). Born in Prampram (Gbugblā) to Hackenburg Reindorf, a half-Danish and Anowah Cudjoe¹ a Ga in Dutch Accra received his prime education in a mission schools at Osu (Ofosu-Appiah, n.d.). Ordain as a catechist and teacher, and later as a pastor by the Basel Mission until his retirement in 1893 is given the accolade of a pioneer historian in the intellectual history Gold Coast (Hauser-Renner, 2009). His history of the Gold Coast and Asante is based on traditions and historical facts comprising a period of more than three centuries from about 1500 to 1860 which took a score and decade to be published (Jenkins, 1977). In his work, he envisaged the Gold Coast and Asante as a people who need to document their cultural identity. That is, a collective conservation, preservation and dissemination of Gold Coast peculiar heritage (Hauser, 2004). Classifying history as a discipline that plods on chronology, beckons on his countrymen to cognizance the fact that their history is fading away (Reindorf, 1966). Motivated by the works of Zimmerman, Christaller and the demise of his grandmother was inspired to document the place of a national history as a collective consciousness of the western educated community in the Gold Coast. Although this idea never materialized, Reindorf managed to manuscript his thought on the perspective of African history, precisely Gold Coast and Asante on a thematic paradigm.

2.1. Africa's amateur historian, his motives and methodology

According to Hauser-Renner there is no single Ghanaian history that has not used Reindorf's History as a source of piece in his or her work (Hauser-Renner, 2008). Reindorf's purview on history and its process is peculiar to the 21st century approach to writing history. Grounding history as a 'methodical narration of event in a chronological order' envisaged the Gold Coast and Asante as people whose history needed to be reconstructed from an African lens and not that of the Europeans. The focus of his history was to inform western educated community the urgent need for an authentic national history which he arrived at through a thoughtful plod on the tools of oral tradition and cultural materials. To Reindorf, the call on Gold Coasters and Asante's elite to recognize the supremacy of their history as associated with distortion from Europeanist account of Gold Coast and Asante which to a degree was right on his part (Reindorf, 1966). Scribbling dates and times in his work indicate how historically his work can be envisaged but the sources of reconstruction coupled with the use of artifact remains and oral tradition dint the accuracy of his work.² Regardless of this, the thrust of his approach to history remain relevant to modern day historian who attempt to document the past in sequence; making reference to causation and explanation.

History from the purview of Reindorf was a tool that embodied the existence of nation in its stages of progress. Thus it is no surprise that Reindorf posits in his preface that a nation with no insight of its past has no factual identity of its stages of evolution in a society. History further to Reindorf was means to forecast the future of the generation to come, which in a confirmatory way can deduct from Jenkins assertion that the measure of history as tool of ascertaining the progress of nation's present vis-à-vis the present was derived from Reindorf's Basel Mission education narrative (Jenkins, 1985).

2.2. Ideas on African Language and a Nation

Reindorf's ideas of nationhood is situated from the influence from Johannes Gottlieb Christaller and Johannes Zimmermann whose ideas of nationhood were also deeply influenced by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) notion of 'Volk', which simply refer to a people with shared features that distinguished them from others; a common history, a culture, and, most important, a common language (Hauser-Renner, 2009). Evolving around this aura, Reindorf's idea of nationhood and language begins with the domestication of the African language which is all seen in his manuscripts projecting African consciousness and nationhood.³ To him the creation of the Gold Coast language will preserve the identity of Gold Coast since she has accepted Western civilization (English) as superior to her culture (language-- Ga, Asante, and Ewe etc.). Language and nationhood were synonymous to Reindorf since to him languages were expressions of the human "identity" and encapsulated the

¹ Reindorf's father, Christian Hackenburg Reindorf (1806-65), was of Euro-African descent from Osu (Christiansborg), near Accra, and he worked as a trader. Reindorf's mother was Hannah Naa Anoa Ama Ashong Cudjoe, a Gã woman of Kinka (Dutch Accra). Reindorf's paternal genealogy goes back to Johann Frederick Reindorf (or Reindorph), a Danish merchant at Fort Christiansborg from 1750 to 1760.

² Artifact do not speak for themselves but historian subjectively speak for artifact, Oral tradition provide and in consistency in historical narration.

³ Reindorf, "Gã MS History," p. ii; Reindorf to J. P. Werner, London (Osu), December 30, 1891, BMA D-20.27, 8; see Thomas Bearth, "J. G. Christaller: A Holistic View of Language and Culture—and C. C. Reindorf's History," in *Recovery of the West African Past*, ed. Jenkins, p. 92.

core of being human, which was the same argument put forth by Christaller that the honoring of human dignity should be honored in the light of their language (Christaller, 1893). Thus to Reindorf and Christaller, according to Miller (2003) there was the real danger that the Gold Coast native language would disappear with the advance of English.

Although as a teenager he refused to delight speaking in Ga language, growing up he went contrary to that philosophy by documenting and communicating in all his literal work the Ga language. Reindorf may have projected that the African language is keen to its development but the naivety in his infant stage for his mother tongue could likely be associated to the first environment he found himself in. Thus, it is no surprise that growing up he defended himself arduously against those who posited he preferred English to Ga.¹

2.3. Ideas on Christianity and Politics

On the issues of religion, Reindorf seems to be clouded with his shrewd thought about the native religion, its potency and thus creates room for the coming of Christianity as 'eye opener' for Gold Coasters to abandon their tradition. To this, he indicates that the introduction of Christianity has maligned the influence accorded to local chiefs since it has dwindle the authorities of the chief as Gold Coast is now turn as an English Colony.

Plodded with politics, Reindorf seems to be inclined to a modernist approach positing that Gold Coast could only turn to nation as it restructure its old systems of government to a Christian principle. This to Reindorf was the only way nationhood and sovereignty of Gold Coast could be achieved (Reindorf, 1966). The succinct description provided by Reindorf appears to be a shadowy ground that all Gold Coasters especially educated community trod on to feel accepted or acknowledged as modern in the world. Thus this myopic argument indicates his deep admiration for educated he claim would salvage the Gold Coast community.

2.4. The Gold Coast Economy and its prescriptive measure for Growth

Reindorf had an insider perspective of the economy of the Gold Coast and what should be the ideal basis for its operation. To Hauser, Reindorf's inclination to Gold Coast economy is rooted in his deep stench facing natives abandoning the core of their economic booster to commerce, which to Reindorf the nation was in jeopardy and is likely to be crippled. The remedy to Reindorf was the appropriation of people in the industries in the Gold Coast, i.e. farming, fishing, weaving and clerical duties in offices. This to him would help to alleviate the load placed on the one aspect of economy. His proclivity on the Gold Coast economy informs how disenchanted he is with the abandonment of the backbone of the economy, which is agriculture to a so called white coloured miniature job in clerical and commercial activities (Hauser, 2004). The very preaching of this tells how agriculture is now ventured in by both people in walks of life in any country of which Ghana is no exception.

2.5. Education, womanhood, pleasure and discrimination

The introduction of European Education to the shores of Gold Coast derailed learned women to shy from the domestic chores. To Reindorf the very educated women in the Gold Coast society no longer felt the essence of schooling rather a delight in European dressing which became the custom of the day. Reindorf was convinced that Gold Coast societies have misunderstood education and work in the light of civilization. To him the Sierra Leones and Lagos women understood this principle very clearly and they did not compromise their education with their chores (Hauser, 2004). On the contrast, his very own country men and women do not only refrain from laughing at women who imitate European dressing and do their chores but also discriminate amongst themselves.

This want of principles in us Africans, especially we Gold Coast Africans, that those who have got education in Europe look down on our own brethren who were educated in the country, is the sole cause of the unimproved state of the country. Such of us who are so providentially favoured, prefer to keep rather with the white men, who in reality will never take them as one of themselves; yet they ingratiate themselves into their society. (Reindorf, 1966, p.282)

This proclamation is a clear indication of Reindorf's awareness of the mistakes committed by Gold Coasters and Asantes including himself with the considerate idea of retrogressing and re-considering the African values of brotherliness and togetherness as one people. Which in this mind, was to be a change characterized with the diffusion of the better qualification into the society coupled with the Christian morals (Reindorf, 1966).

Reindorf in all acknowledges the atrocities committed by him and his societal members and thus beckons them to go back to the past social modes of action, with a general pride in the common customs and institutions that identify the Gold Coast and Asante as a unifying people.

In all, the thrust of Reindorf's work has been the basis that calls on Western Educated Africans to re-

¹ In one of his letters to Christaller of August 1893, Reindorf defended himself against the claim that he preferred English to Ga: "If that is true, why [do] I try myself to find out old Ga words and use them in my work? 2 years and 1 1/2 year respectively that both my son in law and my son were absent to England, I never write them in English but in Ga? Ga is spoken in my family and my wife and children blame me for that. I write English letters when I must." p. 32

embrace the very worthwhile activities about their cultural system- abandoning the superstitious practices. That not ending here, his ideas on African history is distinct such as the need to conserve African verbal arts, cultural practices and lastly, the valuing of oral tradition. Although, his mode of thinking was geared toward his contemporaries, his ideas re-surfaced during the formal British colonization of Gold Coast and Asante (1902-1957) and post-independence era.

3. The 20th Century Preachers of Gold Coast before Independence

An analyses of Attoh Ahuma's, *the Gold Coast Nationa and National Consciousness* (1911), Kobina Sekyi's satirical play, *the Blinkards* (1915) and *the Anglo-Fanti* (1918) and Casely Hayford's *Ethipian Unbound: studies in Race Emancipation* provides an appealing continuity and change in the ideas espoused by C.C. Reindorf. Though the writings of these writers are not simply agglomeration of facts, they challenge readers to analyse and absorb the very atmosphere revolving in the Gold Coast before independence, which in short is the essence of the history of ideas.

4. Attoh Ahuma the editor and nationalist

Rev. S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma (1863-1921), the leading pioneer and nationalist to Gold Coast nationalism was formally referred to as S.R.B. Solomon but later changed his name to S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma due to his intense call for nationalism (Ahuma, 1971). Influenced by Westernism and his education at Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina and the Land question (ARPS: Aborigines Rights and Protection Society) in the Gold Coast documents his thought on the ideas and concept for Gold Coasters. Unlike Reindorf who championed the historisation of the Gold Coast history, Attoh Ahuma was more ideological in his writing. He was into moral philosophy and what he termed as *Intelligent Retrogression*.¹ In consonance with Reindorf, Attoh Ahuma opined that the cultural and political crisis of Gold Coast could only be solved through a Collective Thinking. Being southern in their writing, Reindorf and Ahuma perceived the menaces facing Gold Coast to be internally orchestrated. To this, Ahuma pictorializes the cultural and political deficiency among Gold Coast to her in ability to think for herself. Thus to Ahuma, the paralysis facing Gold Coasters were only to be alleviated collectively by both educated and non-educated members in the society which was not same to Reindorf. Although, he seem to be calling both educated and non-educated members his writing is somewhat dense which deters the thrust of his message, since communication is much more understood in simple plain language.

Al-ready our diction and style appear to irritate a handful of men, and the frequency with which we have been noting the visible marks of external progress in one of the New Ventures in town is most unrighteously disapproved and condemned. This attitude savours of unreasoning antagonism. It does not contribute towards the advancement of the Motherland.
(Ahuma, 1971,p.14)

The above statement symbolizes Ahuma's disdainment to his critics. Although, as a preacher like Reindorf, the alacrity of his writing are nationalistic and Gold Coast inclined.

4.1. Thinking as a Nation to regain the lost Paradise

In idealizing the solution to the problem facing Gold Coasters, Ahuma identifies the problem of Gold Coast nation as associated with dementia. Gold Coast to Reindorf, has missed the pulsation, vibrancy and full volume of life as a nation due to her inability to embroid in her existence the flowers of the intellect and the fruitage of her soul (Ahuma, 1971). This to Ahuma, could be perceived as the dementianess of Gold Coast to make informed decisions to return to her ancestry (Backward Movement).

Collective thinking to Ahuma encompasses a national consciousness, a national conscience, national affection, national passion and national vigilance which were all to be exemplified in cohesion, concentration, continuity of purpose and the dynamic of self-sacrifice- Altruism (Ahuma,1971). To Attoh Ahuma, the case of gaining the lost paradise deals with letting go the very things that pulls a nation's advancement:

To effect such an end, we must leave severely alone the empty pageantries of triflers, the eccentricities of pedants, the inanities of agitators, and the ingenuities of sycophants. These are novelties which must perish with the using.

Thus the very the cohorts that negate the progress of a nation lies much more with the people themselves than a foreigner. This presupposes that Ahuma envisages the need to fight intuitively the very things that militates against the progress of a nation.

¹ Intelligent Retrogression is the only Progression that will save our beloved country. This may sound a perfect paradox, but it is, nevertheless, the truth; and if all educated West Africans could be forced by moral suasion and personal conviction to realise that 'Back to the Land' signifies a step forward, that 'Back to the Simple Life' of our progenitors expresses a burning wish to advance, that the desire to rid ourselves of foreign accretions and excrescences is an indispensable condition of National Resurrection and National Prosperity, we should feel ourselves amply rewarded. See foreword Attoh Ahuma's "The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness."p.vii

4.2. Ideas on Nationhood, Politics of who matters to lead

Ahuma had a clear vision of what nationhood and politics is about. The synergy between the two was to earmark the ascendancy of a restoration to an African identity. Ahuma sought to establish the premise on which Gold Coast should be a nation. Although, Reindorf establishes the genesis and distinctiveness of the states in the Gold Coast, Ahuma continued by establishing the fact that Gold Coast are one people with a political constitution as well as a concentric system of government. This idea was paternalistic in nature. It involved a certain nationalistic tendencies echoing the voice of a prophet in the wilderness justifying his true identity.

Ahuma's idea of politics is quite contrary to what Reindorf's operates on. Unlike Reindorf, Ahuma saw the ideal politics of Gold Coast to operate on the principle of altruism- willingness to do things which bring advantages to other people, even if it results in disadvantage for oneself which was the hallmark of the past- according to Rousseau before the upsurge of the rational state, political activities were matter undergirded by moral laws. For Ahuma, politics is not only confined to the state but an activity that relays the extension of extended family that are bonded in purpose and in thought.

*In matters of the soul our rulers are inaccessible, unapproachable. We need intermediaries—
Buffers between the people and the government. (Ahuma, 1977,p.5)*

On who should lead the front to the political independency needed by Gold Coast, Ahuma's purview is in tangent with Reindorf ideology that the well-trained and experienced native Africans are those who qualify to lead the governance of the country. To end on Ahuma, it is quite intriguing to cognize the fact that the ever increasing problems facing Africa today could be truncated with the early idealism, honesty and altruism projected by people like Attoh Ahuma.

Away from Ahuma, Casely Hayford's offers another paradigm of ideology on Gold Coast which is a bit akin to that of Reindorf and Attoh Ahuma. According to Manning (2003) Hayford's ideology in the Ethiopian Unbound, offers deep antagonistic historical fiction that uses the language of race to write positively the experience of Black people. Although, the book is characterized as a historical fiction, the very tenet of his ideology projects the distinctiveness of the Negro race and a desire to maintain the integrity and equality of black race (Asante, 1997; Ugonna, 1977). Influenced by the very ideologies of Edward Wilmot Blyden, Marcus Aurelius, Booker T. Washington and W.E.B Dubois, contributed colossally to the activities of the Aborigines Rights and Protection Society (ARPS) and National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) which all saw to the truncation of the Land Bill of 1897 and the introduction of the first University in the Gold Coast Colony (Amenumey, 2008; Hayford. 1969; Kimble, 1963).

Although it is sparsely recognized that, Casely Hayford ideology in Ethiopian Unbound is a reflection of the tenets of Pan-Africanism, it can somewhat be said that like Reindorf, Hayford took a historical approach to writing whiles Attoh Ahuma's was entirely ideological in nature. Aside, it could be added that his style of writing is congruent with the Biblical approach to writing adopted by Reindorf and Attoh Ahuma (See e.g. Reindorf History (1895),p. 1,74 ; Attoh Ahuma Gold Coast (1911),p.8,17-18; and Casely Hayford Ethiopian Unbound (1911), p.5,9.). Skeptical on the issue that Africa's problems are internally induced, contradicts the ideas of Reindorf and Ahuma and comprehend the problem of Africa to be colonially induce.

4.3. Ideology on Gold Coast

Hayford's ideological exposition on Gold Coast exemplify a deep resentment for British colonialism on Gold Coast. Unlike Reindorf and Ahuma who seem to have a mild attribute to the problem of Africa cultural crisis, Hayford allot and blames colonial superiority as dint behind the African cultural crisis. From Nnabuenyi Ugonna it appears the purpose of Hayfordian ideology was to eradicate all inequalities arising from racial differences to a quest of salvaging Africa from what he termed as "national and racial death" (Hayford, 1969, p.19). Although the very ideologies preached by Reindorf and Attoh Ahuma are confined to the audience in Gold Coast and Asante territory, Hayford cramps his ideology to its terrains in and outside the boundaries of Gold Coast. To him the cronies of colonialism negate human liberty, irrespective of race, creed, or class; universal human dignity; equality under laws which are all nemeses to its enthroned human pride and exploitation. In furtherance to this, Hayford's ideology provides lucid and thorough aspect to the tenet and component of the African culture in the area of communal life, arts, land tenure, justice and so on. To this, he writes:

Before ever the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, and so had native institutions the state, the king, the People, the Judicial, the Commercial, the Religious and the Municipal systems, and that it was about time that the Authorities at Downing Street left the people to develop upon the national lines of their own institutions. (Hayford, 1903,p.161)

The above text succinctly projects the position of Hayford towards the colonial nuances on traditional African customs. Consequently, the Hayfordian ideology in Ethiopian Unbound further pictorializes the nuance associated with education, religion and social institution and a fair criticism on colonial government as a function on African society in terms of its callousness and exclusiveness of colonial missionaries and political officers,

corruption, the neglect and dilapidation suffered by public utilities such as railways, water supplies and electricity and the general absent of sound development scheme (Ugonna, 1977). Although to Hayford the hybridity in the cultural elements of African in terms of marriage, education and dressing cannot be presently associated to native citizenry, the vices associated out of the anomaly lies in a collective thinking to retrogress to the ancient ancestry of African past (see Hayford, p.175). This to a higher degree is similar to the ideas of Reindorf and Ahuma on the very care of the interest of a state or nation (see Hayford, p.75).

Like a loop in both ears, Hayford further plods on the segregation projected by Reindorf by indicating the disparity among the colonized and the colonizer, the white and black in terms of arrangement in the church, place of burial, work duties or responsibilities and payment system (see Hayford, p.82). Though introducing a bit of feminism in writing (i.e. talking of Ekuba and Mansa) which was not same to Ahuma but similar to Reindorf elucidates the indictment associated with monogamy to Africans.

4.4. Education as an Ideological Combat to Africa's rich Cultural Heritage

Rejecting violence as a medium to Africa consciousness, prefer to project Africa's rich cultural heritage through "the gentler art of persuasion." (see Hayford, p.168). To Hayford, it is wrong for Africans to use violence to salvage their identity and this could perhaps be associated with his legal background as lawyers. Voicing a constitutional and peaceful means to a degree, serves as the baseline or building block of gaining back Africa's rich cultural heritage.

What the unspoiled educated African feels he wants is, rest—rest to think out of his own thought, and to work out his own salvation. (Hayford, p.189).

The crux of the educational question, as it affects the African, is that Western methods denationalize him. He becomes a slave to foreign ways of life and thought. He will desire to be a slave no longer... And now I come to the question of questions: How may the West African be trained so as to preserve his national identity and race instincts? (Hayford, pp.192-4).

The above statement indicates the peak of Hayford's ideology to liberation of Africa from foreign domination in economics, religion and social institutions. Character, which to Hayford is the embodiment of ones make-up stems from education, which to him is the prerequisite to Africa's place of completeness. The *back to simple life* to the African is inherent in an education system which peculiarities hoof on curricular issues which has no relation with colonial ideology. From an outsider perspective, it is right to postulate that Hayford had nationalistic attitude towards the very nemesis facing Gold Coasters and this was the acme of his writing.

Although, it may sound here from my lettering that Hayford was the only one, who associated the problems the facing Gold Coast to be colonially induced, I must add here that Kobina Sekyi (1892-1956), writings projects the same ideology of Hayford, especially on the context of the salvaging the African identity. To add here, his ideology stress most in congruence with natural tenets on an African live, the importance of the family as the basic political unit, an organic conception of society and the state as a moral being (Langley, 1970).

Unlike Reindorf who before the era of colonization did not attach any vices to Christianity, Sekyi (1997) posits that the due attention given to civilization and Christianity has been the basis for Africans pushing their moral and cultural values to the background (Yirenkyi & Amponsah, 2014). Added to that, his writing highlights the role of women in society which is a bit akin to Reindorf and Casely ideology. However, just as McClintock (1995) asserts that women are naturally constructed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, Sekyi (1997) diverge that by associating westernism to feminism which make him almost a misogynist. Informed by this, his very thought on Africa's cultural identity crisis are documented in the *Blinkards* (1915) and *Anglo-Fante story* (1918).

4.5. Ideology on Gold Coast - Mimicry and ambivalence

The *Blinkards* and the *Anglo-Fante story*, according to Yirenkyi and Amponsah (2014) are the creative pieces of Sekyi that address the self-styled salt of the earth; the inclination of educated Africans towards foreign things are all articulated in the characters in those piece of writings. The use of the personified English and Fanti names coupled with the combination of English and Fanti language in the characters of *Blinkards* to Kerr (1995) is a technique which opened the play up to popular audience, which in this case were the citizenries of Gold Coast. Away from that, the thrust of the Sekyi ideologies in the *Blinkards* and the short story of the *Anglo-Fanti* is the projection of Africanism. According to him, the western ideas and colonialism have dislocated Gold Coasters from their native food, dressing, games and language. Thus, the enigmas boggling the educated population in the mist of their displacement from the African identity as a homogenizing unifying force invalidate their imminent make-up (Bhabha, 1994). Ideologizing same with Reindorf, Attoh Ahuma and Hayford on the call of Africans to preserve the cultural heritage, decries the reckless attitude of Africans adopting hook line sinker the cultures of Colonizers into its terrain. Though against the cohorts of colonialism on the shores Africa, Sekyi (1997), typified in the *Blinkards* and the *Anglo-Fanti* the absurdity of colonialism, which he classified as a social hybrid, born into one race and brought to live like members of another race. Like Reindorf and Hayford, Sekyi envisaged the

peculiarities of the African identity aside the domestication of marriage, food and dressing to the character of our Language. As culture entails language, so is Sekyi voicing for reservation and pride in the African language. As said earlier in the beginning pages of this paper that language is the expressions of the human “identity” and encapsulate the core of being human, Sekyi envisages the affectation of English and valuing of English language in the Gold Coast as a hook shadowing the Fanti language and culture (Collins, 2011).

In all the Africanist ideologies espouse by Sekyi indicates his disenchantment towards the British colonial system which he saw as irreconcilable to the African idea on morality and social development. The tenet of this is seen in the great importance he attached to the African ideal form of dressing, family, communes, marriage, religion which he saw to be effectualise through an Africa educational system. Though, Sekyi ideology may seem to have ended in 1918, it resurfaced in 1937 and was the core of Achimota College’s Council Memorandum on a Proposed Institute of West African Culture and is succinctly expressed in the voice of the Chairman of the Council:

the whole question is so profound in its relation to the complicated situation in the Gold Coast that nothing short of an almost revolutionary approach to the subject will be of any real value... [the] premature desertion by the African of ancient practices and traditions which have not only served to give unity and cohesion to his society, but have also in them elements capable of indefinite development and of assimilation to those European ideas and usages which now exercise such a strong attraction [on us]

To end it here on Sekyi, let me say that his vehement position on the cultural crisis facing Africans makes me consider Sekyi as a conservative revolutionist on the tenets of Max Assimeng’s statement that: “The appeal of cultural revivalists is often to the usual targets of conservative and reactionary amoury and defence: religion, sex, women and morality...” (Assimeng, 1969, p.10). Although, Reindorf, Attoh Ahuma, Hayford and Sekyi calls on preservation on African culture was dominance in the in the first part of the twentieth century, I must add here that the very things they eschewed and spoke against in this paper [what language to esteem, the ideal marriage, the role of religion to humanity, the delicacy to prefer, the ideal dressing to ones’ culture, the components of Africa education, the role governance and attitude to work] are majority maligned and still fruiting in Africa.

Away from the ideologies during the era of decolonization, let me end my longwinded exposition in this paper on the two ideological books of Ayi Kwei Armah, that is, “The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born” (1968) [hereafter referred to as *The Beautiful Ones*] and “Fragments” (1969) which I characterize as the ideology prevalent in the post-independence Ghana [i.e. after independence of Ghana in 1957].

Ayi Kwei Armah is one such prolific writer who has contributed massively to the idea of the stemming on the socio-economic and political aura of Ghana after the emergence of Ghana as an independent state. Born in Takoradi, currently lives at Popenguin, Senegal (Adeoti, 2005). On the very thought contributed to the general public, Armah is attributed for writing the *The Beautiful Ones* (1968), *Fragments* (1969), *Why Are We So Blest?* (1972), *Two Thousand Seasons* (1973), *The Healers* (1978), *Osiris Rising* (1995), and *KMT: In the House of Life* (2002) (see Amala, 2013). The very thought of his work according to Amala (2013) interrogates the nature and causes, and the possible solutions to the myriad problems antagonizing Africa. Influenced from his education and the writings of Wole Soyinka coupled with the problem facing pre and post-independence Ghana, attempts to bring to the public domain the import of colonialism as a post-conquest European strategy for keeping Africans usably underdeveloped and dependent. As asserted by Mazrui (2005) that African societies are marked ‘conquerability, docility, malleability, and fundamental inferiority, the very acclaimed and self-positioned educated Ghanaians who took over power from the colonialist, rather than disassembling the colonial structures of social injustice and oppression naively domesticated them for opportunistic ends. Hence, the period after independence in many ex-colonies of Africa are characterized by tenets of underdevelopment: economic dependency, huge foreign and local debt, mass unemployment, ethno-religious violence, poverty, illiteracy, corruption, electoral fraud, dysfunctional infrastructures and so on. To Ngugi (1993), Neo-colonialism concentrates economic and political not in the hands of the masses but in the minority whose loyalty seem to be more toward the advanced nations of Europe or America and the Bretton Woods institutions (World Bank and the International Monetary Fund [IMF]).¹ Grappled with this, Ayi Kwei Armah is one such writer whose polemic writings offer a deep philosophical dilemmas facing Africa then and now.

5. Ideology on post-independence Ghana – Decadence to its core

Like Hayford and Sekyi who turn to see the forces of colonialism as a viper biting the progress and development of Africa, Armah’s *The Beautiful Ones* and *Fragments* project Africans as the walls hindering their own development. To Armah, the idea of development involves a social security system that promotes egalitarianism,

¹ The Bretton Woods Institutions are the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). They were set up at a meeting of 43 countries in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, USA in July 1944. Their aims were to help rebuild the shattered postwar economy and to promote international economic cooperation. Retrieved from www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2005/08/art-320747/

freedom, security, self-reliance, self-worth and enlightenment as well as a less look at industrial development, military influence and urbanization. In the novel, *The Beautiful Ones* Armah presents a community deep rooted with the stench of corruption in the public domain. To Armah the change of embezzlers in Ghana facing the toppling of Nkrumah's administration by Colonel Kotoka and Major Afrifa on 24th February, 1966 ushered in a society that continue to wallowed in maggot with filth and dint.

It would be wrong, very wrong, to think as he was already thinking that the change would bring nothing new. In the life of the nation itself, maybe nothing really new would happen. New men would take into their hands to the power to steal the nation's riches and use it for their own satisfaction. That, of course was to be expected. New people would use the country's power to get rid of men and women who talked a language that did not flatter them. There would be nothing different in that. That would only be a continuation of the Ghanaian way of life. (Armah, 1968b, p.162)

The filth and maggot associated with Nkrumah's regimes is in sharp contrast of the gleaming whiteness associated with government when it was first installed (see Armah, 1968, p.7). In short the decadence facing the Ghanaian can be akin to a child in the mothers in the womb who is deformed but in the public domain in is alive and healthy. Similar to Armah the story of the old man child in the Standard Five reading book containing the freaks and oddities depicts the transition of the Ghana from her short lived glory.

It was a picture of something the caption called old man child. It had been born with all the features human baby, but within seven years, it had completed the cycle from babyhood to infancy to youth, to maturity and old age, and its seventh year it had died a natural death. (Armah, 1968, p.63)

The decadence of corruption facing Ghanaians is engineered from the harsh economic aura that compels the very majority to use foul means to get what they want due to the low salary payment. Aside, the very tenets of egalitarianism in Ghana is sublimed and shadowed with stench making it difficult to ascertain whether Ghanaians are free or under bondage (see Armah, 1968, p.93). Aside this, Armah recognize that the earlier voiced statement by Hayford and Sekyi on what Fela Anikulapo-Kuti indicates as the colonial mentality¹, is demonstrated in the preference for foreign names which he identified as:

MILLS-HAYFORD...PLANGE-BANNERMAN...ATTOH-WHITE...KUNTU
BLANKSON,...ACROMOND...GRANTSON...FETENGSON...BINFUL

Away from these absurdities, Armah in the *The Beautiful Ones* projects insequential characterization of protagonist whose life affects the happenings in the novel. The use of the narrative techniques of causality in event is abruptly displaced in the episodicity of the narration which is much more concentrated in the interiority of protagonist, the man and his friend, the Teacher. Although Armah, project in the protagonist in the mist of the rottenness of the Ghanaian society as man with no dint of corruption, the discursive shift from his work to *Fragments* illuminates deeper the spills of corruption, materialism and Westernism among Ghanaians (Armah, 1969, Wright, 1990). Differing from Hayford and Sekyi on the issue of the Africa man capable of thinking and doing what is right in a communal way, throws light on Africans on a disjointed or partial community who frowns and maligned the very morally upright people in the society even after the 1966 Coup. Being a bit pessimist on the future of Africa since situation in Ghana has been the same, projects Baako in *Fragments* as the ideal guidance for morality or intellectual vision that needs to be emulated (Nnolim, 1992). However, the very make-up of Baako's moral idealism obstructs with the selfish materialism the people have taken over from western culture (Amala, 2013).

In all the ideology espouse by Armah brings to light the wrongs and the ills handed down from Colonizers now practiced and deepened by post independent states. The paradox of this shows hopelessness and injury inflicted by African states leaders for their inability to identify and plod on the germane issues for its developments.

6. Conclusion

To end it all, I have identified in this paper the trend of change and continuity in the intellectual history of Ghana, from the history of Gold Coast to the absurdities of colonialism and the outcry of immoral and corrupt decadence of Africa after independence. I must emphasis here that nationalist authors addressed in this paper shared a practical view of the forces prevailing the imperialist system as well their own locus of weakness. Thereafter, they build their positivity on the easier forces of history, such as their own self-consciousness and appeals to the moral, legal or political facets of the colonizer. Not only are they concerned with the diagnosis of the ills facing Africa, they extend insight into the historical and political goodies available to contemporary Africa. From their work you and I can comprehend the following factors as central to the realization of the

¹Fela Anikulapo Kuti - Colonial Mentality retrieved from <http://mp3lie.org/en/index.php?q=Fela%20Kuti%20-%20Colonial%20Mentality> see excerpt from song "E be say you be colonial man, You don be slave from before , Dem don release you now , but you never release yourself"

Africa's renewal: a vertical and horizontal dialogue between the past and present; an egalitarian pattern of government that operate on facets of Rule of Law; a united Africa that domesticate its cultures and truncates foreign ill cultures; a creation of a unique or peculiar African personality and a reformed educational system that plod on Africa in form and content. Arising from the here, it is my contention that the literally works of Carl Reindorf, Attah Ahuma, Casely Hayford, Kobina Sekyi and Ayi Kwei Armah be cognizance in the pre-tertiary curriculum for a deep African thought on the ideals of a society. Added to that, I suggest to Africans and concerned readers outside the vicinity of Africa to attaché much affectation to their culture so as not become social hybrid born into one race and living in the other.

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