

National Consciousness in Early Intellectual Work in the Gold Coast

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Abstract

This paper draws on three thematic strands to trace the concept of national consciousness in the work of Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, and Kobina Sekyi who were among the early intellectual doyens in the Gold Coast. It is argued that though the authors' approaches to writing deviate in substantial ways from the conventional methods of historical research, their work contribute significantly to the cultural, intellectual, spiritual, and physical re-awakening of African people from the near-eternal slumber brought about by colonial rule and western intellectual discourses.

Keywords: national consciousness; identity; personality; nationhood; cultural values

Introduction

Before the arrival of Europeans on the shores of the Gold Coast¹, community life was organised and grounded on the principle of oneness and underpinned by a common sense of identity. Despite internal wrangling within and among states and kingdoms², principally for expansionist motives, the underlying force was unity of purpose and a strong national psych to defend and uphold the customs and culture of the land. Indeed, it could be argued that the sense of nationhood and identity during this period was clad in virginal purity. Contact with Europeans and the consequent advent of British colonial rule of the country set in motion the gradual truncation and distortion of the traditional way of life and the near-irreparable weakening of the time-honoured national psych. It is recognised that the establishment of colonial rule in the country did not only mean the loss of African sovereignty but also an attempt by the western powers to rob the people of their culture and national identity.³

To a greater degree, the African succumbed to colonial rule, though not without initial protests which was to later result in more direct nationalist agitations. Colonial rule came with its own cultural luggage which was expressed in such common forms as language, food, dressing, and marriage, which many African people were persuaded into adopting. The result was that much of the African way of life, dignity, and institutions petered into extinction. However, this cultural decadence was not to last forever. The effect of colonialism aroused of a new unifying consciousness among the African people, both educated and uneducated.⁴ This consciousness metamorphosed into nationalist sentiments and ambitions aimed at resuscitating the once bright and enviable sense of purpose and cultural values that were sinking deeply into oblivion. The main objectives of the activities during this period were to protest against certain specific features or measures of the system⁵ in an attempt to end all forms of discrimination against the people, and at the same time, create a strong sense of awareness of cultural and nationalistic values among the people. In the Gold Coast and other African regions, this was to a greater degree engineered by the intelligentsia who through the pen's might intellectually fought to foster national consciousness by conveying their dissatisfaction about the administration of the colony and the people's slavish imitation of western ways.

Consequently, Ghana's colonial experiences have elicited a groundswell of attention on nationalism, national consciousness, and regional integration. The yearning for transformation in the national consciousness of the traditional peoples and their social institutions was intensive and extensive that it continues to engender discourses within academic circles. In many of these discourses, scholars have been at pains to show how colonialism has tainted the traditional way of life of the people and have highlighted the need to assert ourselves as capable of managing our own affairs through a firm concept of national identity. Thus, national consciousness, as applied in this paper, is the demonstration of love and attention in exercising one's duties toward achieving the ultimate good in nation building.⁶ It connotes the state of spiritual, physical, and mental awakening and awareness of the environment in which one lives and the feeling that binds him or her to it. To put it differently, national consciousness means identifying with the soul, spirit, and aspirations of the nation as the determiner and possessor of all destinies.⁷

The intellectual discourse on national consciousness has produced respectable amounts of literature. Writing in the early twentieth century, a period when colonial administration was being strengthened tirelessly in the Gold Coast and some regions across Africa, Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, Kobina Sekyi,⁸ and their contemporaries sought to conscientise the people in a bid to assert their freedom from colonial dominion. A cursory look at the work of these early intellectual luminaries reveals a common thread of national consciousness. It is this thematic thread that this paper seeks to explore. Specifically, Attoh Ahuma's *Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*, Casely Hayford's *Ethiopia Unbound*, and Kobina Sekyi's *The Blinkards*, form the focus of the analysis in this paper. The intellectual commitment in these works and several others by Gold Coast/Ghanaian writers make interesting contributions to a deeper understanding of national consciousness in the nation's intellectual development and the struggle towards independence.⁹

The focus of this paper, however, is limited to three thematic strands relating to national consciousness. The paper proceeds with Attoh Ahuma's call for nationhood and civic responsibility. It then explains the personality and identity call by Casely Hayford, and discusses the cultural values call by Kobina Sekyi.

Attoh Ahuma's Nationhood and Civic Responsibility Call

A strong sense of consciousness for one's nation cannot materialise in the void of a firm conviction among the people that they are a nation. Without this basic form of understanding, the fight for oneness of purpose would have no reasonable basis. Thus, any form of national consciousness must first begin with a well-founded conception of nationhood. The early twentieth century Gold Coast was a period when the very idea of nationhood was under a heavy threat of Europeanisation.¹⁰ Notwithstanding, some of the intelligentsia were of the conviction that a sufficient cultural bonding for all the people of the Gold Coast was necessary for the reconstruction of a new society and a strong sense of nationhood. Thus, beginning with Carl Christian Reindorf¹¹ to Attoh Ahuma, Gold Coast nationalist historiography argued that in spite of the variety of customs and languages, the Gold Coast was a single nation. In *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*, which was an assemblage of newspaper articles¹², Attoh Ahuma clearly expressed that consciousness of oneself as a nation is the only grounds by which colonial domination can be successfully fought.

In the first six chapters of the book, which clearly displayed his intellectual depth and his unflinching commitment towards the course of the Gold Coast, Ahuma gave a clear and strong call for the realisation of the Gold Coast as a nation of people with a common course for privilege and responsibility. He sought to assert Gold Coast nationhood by indicating that '*we are a nation...if we were not, it was time to invent one, for any series of States in the same locality, however extensive, may at any time be merged into a nation.*'¹³ He affirmed that no matter how miserable, down trodden, and scattered the people were or considered to be,¹⁴ they were a nation of good standing despite the effort of European and colonial powers to deny the nation of its 'inalienable heritage of nationality'.¹⁵ Justifying his claim to nationhood, Attoh Ahuma made the point that the Gold Coast possessed a political constitution, a concentric system of government, oneness in race, an intelligible language, and their own soil.¹⁶ By this, he condemned the prevalent western-oriented notion that a people of multiform composition of states that are independent of each other, and divided by intricate political institutions, laws, and customs, and speaking a variety of languages could not be described as a nation in the apropos sense of the word.¹⁷ Rather, he brought to bear the fact that only pride in the position of one's nation that can give it the impetus to rise against all odds to a level analogous to that an established independent nation.

To Attoh Ahuma, a nation is that which has driving spirit aimed at a singular destiny and identity. And it is only with consciousness that the status of nationhood can be achieved. He posed a series of thought-provoking questions to prompt the people's attention to nationhood. He wrote;

But, if we are a Nation, are we self-conscious? Do we manfully strive by legitimate means and methods to realise our responsibilities and obligations? Have we felt that we are endowed with potentialities and aspirations which suggest larger and fuller things than all we have yet seen and done? What reforming agencies are at work in our midst, and what is our individual relation to them? Our weaknesses, foibles, and susceptibilities; weaknesses, foibles, and susceptibilities; our resources, work, and destiny - do these mean anything to us? Have we exhibited, do we care to exhibit, that broad sympathetic interest in the things which make for national progress and advancement? Are the people - our own kith and kin - cultivating a national consciousness, a national conscience, national affection, national passion, and national vigilance? Bear with us. Have we the outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual graces of Cohesion, Concentration, Continuity of Purpose, and the dynamic of self-sacrifice - so highly distinctive of other nations?¹⁸

These questions were aimed at reaching out to the reason and conscience of the people of the Gold Coast nation to rise up, defend, and protect the cherished national heritage. They were to harness and cultivate both inward and outward dispositions of cohesion, concentration, continuity of purpose, and self-sacrifice. This was because, the nation, he asserted, had been overly absorbent and receptive of foreign ideals and less responsive and reproductive. Citizens were to equip themselves mentally, morally, and socially in order to forge a formidable front against mental, moral, and social attacks and/or domination from outside powers and maintain a firm sense of unity and purpose.

If this form of equipment was to be operational, it was to be tied to an overwhelming change in the mode of thought of the people. National consciousness, as Ahuma alluded, appears to be inseparable from thought. In other words, thought is indescribably the most powerful force behind any action. This is because all actions originate from the thought and so one's thought patterns ultimately determine the directional paths of one's action. Consequently, a nationalist-oriented mode of thought will yield a nationalist-oriented action. Attoh Ahuma's focus here was how to activate a nationalist mode of thought in Gold Coast citizens. This was the central thrust in the chapter two of the *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness*. Ahuma professed that thinking is an art, and confessed, however, that it was difficult to think nationally. According to him;

[t]he capacity for, or the exercise of the very highest intellectual functions is not characteristic of the man in the street, nor indeed of the average man of intelligence the wide world over. Thinking is an Art; it is the greatest blessing in the gift of Heaven and may not even be found in some talented men who could box the compass of the whole circle of academical education.¹⁹

Attoh Ahuma urged his compatriots to put on their thinking caps as a form of mental and intellectual liberation from the shackles of Eurocentricism. It was a call for mental assertiveness whose rippling effect was to be a holistic development in national life. Ahuma argued that the dislocation of the mental machinery was to result in national paralysis leading ultimately to national overshadowing by more resilient minds or consciences. He emphasised that ideas rule the world and those that possess the ability to think and actually do think, will ultimately rule over those that do the toiling. To him, national consciousness begins with the conscience which lay at the heart of all human exploits. If the nation was to progress, people's thoughts and consciences needed to be liberated from mental slavery and set on the course of development. For as long as the art of thinking remains dormant, consciousness continues to suffer and national or continental progress becomes, at best, an elusive mirage.

The call to national consciousness is a call to duty. As Ahuma posited, '*our chief duty as citizens is to build up our country, mould our nation and help to effect the uprising of our race*'.²⁰ The duty call requires that citizens take up responsibilities to fight for the course of the nation. The desire to fight in an attempt to restoring the nation to her former 'glorious' state should be innate and intrinsic. It is the inbred motivation to go the extra mile for the nation without any expectation for an extrinsic reward. In other words, consciousness denotes readiness to sacrifice one's time, talents, and means to create change and not to court popularity or to display one's learning. There must therefore be an innermost yearning for a better state of affairs in the nation through practical commitment to the faithful discharge of obligations.²¹ In light of this, Ahuma questioned: what are we going to do for the homeland? He called on all and sundry; men and women of low and high status, the educated and the illiterate to rally together and participate in the task of supporting and maintaining the honour and reputation of the nation. Collaborative action, which Ahuma advocated, begets greater accomplishments. The consciousness to leave footprints on the nation's sands of time will tell later generations of our own sacrifices to the nation, just as the current generation too has benefitted from the tears and toils of their antecedents. He alluded that this is a responsibility from which one cannot escape. That is, nothing should separate the people from the love of, and service to the nation, not even the pangs of colonial rule. We must be moved to honour the call to serve our nation in all circumstances, favourable and unfavourable. He appealed to the rising generation to strive after the heroes of the nation who neither dodged difficulties nor gave up on themselves and the nation.²² The inspiration to hold on even when all seem lost is what makes and defines us. Indeed, 'I am: I can, I ought: I will'²³ should be our catchphrase to give us the recognition of our being, awaken and revivify our consciousness and push us forth to embrace our national responsibilities no matter how difficult it is or may seem.

To sum it all, Attoh Ahuma adopted an energetic approach to the discourse on national consciousness. The tone he used sent signals of the urgency of the situation at the time. The idea of nationhood was characteristic of his conceptualisation of national consciousness.

This is because it was the consciousness of one's identity and understanding of nationhood that was to propel and activate nationalist sentiments. Having established the idea of nationhood, Attoh Ahuma proceeded to the duties of the citizenry: the unflinching and undying zeal to contribute one's quota to the well-being of the nation even in difficulty. Clearly, Ahuma consummated the ideas of nationhood and civic responsibility in an exciting fashion with impeccable intellection. The style of writing is typical of a person of sound learning and reasoning, though the 'ministerial effect'²⁴ was also evident throughout the text.

Casely Hayford's Personality and Identity Call

Consciousness forges the identity which in turn drives the national spirit and propels it toward greatness. National identity is implicative of the characteristics that set apart nation's citizenry and binds them to its vision and aspirations. Identity is often expressed in people's thoughts and actions, speeches and behaviours, and ambitions. It is consciousness that stimulates personal identity, which in turn serves to reinforce consciousness.²⁵ In other words, there is a *quid pro quo* relationship between consciousness and identity, for consciousness of oneself leads to the craving for identity, and identity solidifies one's consciousness of being and personality for that matter. Casely Hayford's *Ethiopia Unbound* undoubtedly makes one of the most important contributions to the literature on African nationalism. Although it is a work of fiction, it contains ideas that are indispensable²⁶ to the inculcation and reinforcement of a high-spirited sense national and regional consciousness. In *Ethiopia Unbound*, Casely Hayford attempted to assert African personality in an artistic fashion.²⁷ Ethiopianism,²⁸ as mentioned in the work speaks of a sense of valour and resistance against foreign domination. Casely Hayford's conceptualisation of Ethiopianism appeared to have encouraged all oppressed peoples to identify themselves as subjects who will in the end be set free. This call to emancipation is further implied in the novel's subtitle, *Studies in Race Emancipation*.²⁹

Casely Hayford sought to project this sense identity and personality beyond the boundaries of the Gold Coast by aiming at a broader continental spread. He conveyed that it is with a strong concept of African personality and identity that African people can assume control of and develop their own institutions, be free from the fetters of colonialism, and set the continent on the path of success. He stressed that the African was not inferior to any race and that African people, conscious of their identity, can lead their own course. The work confronts the enlightenment epistemology and European ethnocentrism by arguing that the African person is not to be ashamed of anything in his dealing or competition with the Aryan or any other type of people.³⁰ By this, he preached the nationalistic doctrine that before ever the British came into relations with the African, the African was a developed person.³¹ The work is set both in Africa and England, where an African student named Kwamankra interacts with his English friend Silas Whitely on issues relating to religion, culture, and philosophy.

Within the context of these discussions, Casely Hayford evaluated the stereotypic notions and inferiority attributed to African cultures by western discourses.³² African characters were presented in such a fashion as to disprove any linkage to inherent inferiority with a view to asserting their true personal identity³³ and uplifting the sunken, crude image created about them within western contexts. For instance, Kwamankra was portrayed as a symbol of an African personality in a manner that negates an archetypical western concept of an African.³⁴

This was to go far in advancing the Afrocentric argument and in affirming African identity and personality.

African identity consciousness, Casely Hayford observed, was woven into the cultural heritage which is the very index of African personality. To this he believed that education would play a key role. As such, the Africanised form of education³⁵ he advocated was to be geared towards eschewing the imitation of western education and building an authentic African identity by holding together African cultural values, and inculcating them into the youth. In *Ethiopia Unbound*, Casely Hayford attempted to convey to his kinsmen the truth that it is only by holding their culture in high esteem that Africa can rediscover herself and redeem her self-respect and dignity.³⁶ A close examination of the work shows that the need for the affirmation of a sense African personality might have arisen from a lack of due recognition of the existence of an African way of life, or a distortion of the African and his culture. *Ethiopia Unbound* thus highlights the inbred cultural, intellectual, and spiritual competencies of the African as person and the continent as a place of belonging. Casely Hayford therefore makes a useful and timely contribution to the idea of Africanness³⁷ and the confirmation of a strong notion of identity which was crucial to the inculcation of national consciousness not only in the Gold Coast but also across the entire continent.

Kobina Sekyi's Cultural Values Call

Culture is the defining construct of every people. It is the entirety of one's being characterised by a unique mode of understanding, orientation, and behaviour built overtime. Cherishing and holding on fearlessly to the cultural values of society or nation is one of the important ways through which the idea of national consciousness can be conceived and strengthened. In much the same fashion, Kobina Sekyi believed that cultural consciousness was an inevitable component of national consciousness. This was because the nation had its own set of values with which she was identified and from which she drew her very essence. *The Binkards* sought to draw awareness to the need maintain and uphold the traditions of the society and resist the infiltration of western values and/or the wholesale adoption of western cultures. Set in a largely anglicised Cape Coast, Kobina Sekyi sought to satirise thoughtfully but mercilessly, a kind of social epidemic which had appeared from the mid nineteenth century and opened the decades of the twentieth century.

This epidemic was the total rejection of African values in favour of European values.³⁸ In other words, it was a response to the people's imitation of European ways with careless abandon. Sekyi's move to assert cultural consciousness was probably because he was brought up in a society whose educated members were made to believe that everything African was to be despised and that thorough Anglicisation was the key to progress.³⁹ *The Blinkards* captures succinctly this fatality among the elite Gold Coasters who had despised their African ways of dressing, eating, worship, and celebration as well as indigenous political, social, economic, and educational arrangements.⁴⁰

Sekyi's belief was that it was the traditional institutions⁴¹ themselves, which being the valid results of society's long evolution in its environment, that would form the basis of the future nation no matter the form it finally takes.⁴²

To him, the white man does what in his deluded opinion, is considered the hall-mark of respectability, civilisation and refinement. However, it will not be in the favour of the African to strive manfully to become Anglo-African, Europeanised or Anglicised in anything. It is indeed a suicidal weakness to copy the outward signs of 'refinement' without making any effort to appreciate and follow the inward spiritual grace of being African.⁴³ Sekyi expressed his utter disgust and revulsion about his own society which was under the threat of cultural crises, and stylishly poured out his venom against colonial indoctrination. Sekyi emphasised that those 'who are proud in every way of their nationality are wiser, healthier and infinitely more respectable and dignified than those who are anglicised'.⁴⁴ He conveyed that the African would appreciate his or her culture by paralleling African cultural institutions with the corresponding western forms and then showing the advantages of the African patterns over western forms.⁴⁵

Even though Sekyi vehemently criticised the alienation of African values, he was not against modernisation. Instead, he believed that modernisation should be creatively controlled by the creative and integrative elements of tradition.⁴⁶ This is because whatever is borrowed is superficial and only taints our culture and chains the nation to the whims of external powers. The message was to conscientise the people of his time and society to develop awareness and knowledge of their cultural identity and heritage and recognise factors that affirm national life and to resist social forces that threaten Afrocentric identity. The call to national consciousness given by Kobina Sekyi therefore beacons the African to recognise their cultural traditions and institutions amidst the storms and temptations of Europeanism since culture is indispensable to our national life, personality, and identity. The proviso is that the development of consciousness about one's cultural heritage, and attitudes and beliefs about one's race are as crucial as anything else in fostering national consciousness.

Discussion

Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, and Kobina Sekyi were among the active nationalist intelligentsia in the Gold Coast. Attoh Ahuma for instance was the secretary of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (ARPS), originally formed to fight the Public Land Bill of 1897. Casely Hayford, having been part of the ARPS later formed the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) to oppose some features of colonial governance in British West Africa. Kobina Sekyi, on his part, ever present on the nationalist forefront between 1920 and 1952, having played an active role in the NCBWA. These elite nationalists used their works to convey their displeasure about the state of affairs in the Gold Coast and in the continent at large. In their intellectual works, their personal philosophies about Africanness were brought to bear. Writing in the early twentieth century, a period of the junction of westernization and Africanisation, they sought to create the awareness among African people in general that it was time they rose to embrace what defined them as a people. As such, from the three works discussed, it could be argued that a firm understanding of the concept of consciousness was crucial in driving home the desire for freedom and self-rediscovery. Thus, a common thread of national consciousness is glaring in their intellectual output.

Notwithstanding how differently these early writers conceptualised national consciousness, it is evident that their ideas seem to reinforce one another's ideas. The idea of nationhood and civic responsibility conveyed by Attoh Ahuma is dependent on a strong sense of identity and personality which Casely Hayford consummates in an interesting fashion. Further, the root of identity or personality is also found in the inculcation of and strong attachment to one's cultural values, which is presented in Sekyi's *The Blinkards*. Thus, in *The Blinkards*, one sees the strenuous and consistent attempt to rediscover a lost identity.⁴⁷ Taking it bottom up, it is by embracing the cultural heritage of one's society that one's personal identity is shaped and reinforced, and it is with a strong personality concept that the idea of nationhood could be borne and civic responsibility be honoured. In *Ethiopia Unbound*, Casely Hayford also appears to support Kobina Sekyi's position by showing that 'African culture was not synonymous with barbarism and cruelty, backwardness and crudity' and that African cultures developed independent of western culture.⁴⁸ Gold Coasters and African people were therefore charged to eschew, at all times, the tendency of mindless imitation of the west in order to keep their cultural integrity and purity intact in order to create a worthwhile, meaningful African personality,⁴⁹ with which a strong national psych and consciousness would materialise.

Thus, Kobina Sekyi, like Casely Hayford, believed that western methods denationalised the African, who subsequently became a slave to foreign ways. However, it is worth questioning how Sekyi could be trained in England, and yet maintain his national identity. To this Sekyi offers a response that 'to study in England is not to have English education'.⁵⁰ Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, and Kobina Sekyi argued that the cultural forces which shape nationalist thinking also affect the broader context of national consciousness.

These writers give remarkable illustrations of a resolute Pan-African consciousness and a firm historical agenda. Their zeal to express the idea of the need for a genuine re-awakening of the African and question the sunken nationalist and cultural identity encourage all African people to come back to their roots. To be national therefore, we need to be more rational in approach and reputable in spirit and action.

Conclusion

The early intellectual works of the elite Ghanaian nationalists took different forms and approaches. Some were clear-cut expression of individual thoughts on societal issues while others were woven into stories and fictions. Whichever form it took the message put forward was clear to its audience. The works of the three intellectual luminaries examined in this paper treated the subject of national consciousness in appreciable depth and interestingly learned fashion. The works were targeted at reminding Gold Coasters and African people in general of their being and their responsibilities toward their nation and continent. In other words, the authors sought to elevate the hearts and minds of the African in an effort to engender national self-determination.

Their major preoccupation was to dismiss as pedestrian any notion of African inferiority by admonishing African people to realize their potentials and prowess as a people and hearken to the call to serve their nation and continent in all respects. Together, the authors attempted to intellectually create in people's minds a sense of oneness in aspiration, response and action. Though the styles of writing deviate from the conventional way of historical research, the works are no doubt great intellectual products of eternal historical significance, essentially, as far as the subject of national consciousness is concerned. Although these works form part of the early intellectual discourses on nationalism and national consciousness, the thematic areas examined in this paper remain the primary objectivities of national consciousness today. Mkandawire indicates that both nationalism and its main projects have fallen on hard times. This is because the concept has been betrayed by some of its heroes, undercut by international institutions and the forces of globalisation, reviled and caricatured by academics, and alien to a whole new generation of Africans born after independence.⁵¹ However, this paper argues that the ability of all citizens of Ghana and of Africa to inculcate these values espoused by Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, and Kobina Sekyi will set in motion a revolution promoting nationalism, and national consciousness.

Notes

¹ Gold Coast was a name given by early European traders upon discovering that the land was a rich source of gold for the lucrative trade they sought to carry out. This name changed to 'Ghana' after independence in 1957. A common argument is that the country was named after the 'Ghana Empire' (Ancient Ghana), a state that existed on the southern fringe of the savannah belt of West Africa (West African Sudan) between the 9th and 11th centuries. However, some scholars refute any historical connections between Modern Ghana and Ancient Ghana. Research has yet to establish how the country was christened before the name 'Gold Coast' was given it.

² It is argued that the Gold Coast was not a centrally organised unit before the European contact but it was made up of independent states and kingdoms prominent among which were the Ashante, Akwamu, Denkyira, Fante, Akyem, and the Ga.

³ A. A. Boahen, J. F. A. Ajayi & M. Tidy, *Topics in West African History* (2nd ed.). Singapore: Longman Group, 1986.

⁴ Boahen, et al, *Topics*.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ J. B. Akoto. *African Cultural Traditions and National Consciousness in the Intellectual works of Kwame Nkrumah, 1944-1966*. Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Ghana, 2014.

⁷ G. O. Ozumba. National Consciousness, Value Reorientation and Identity: An Integrative Humanist Approach. *Journal of Integrative Humanism – Ghana*, 147-156, 2014.

⁸ Attoh Ahuma, Casely Hayford, Kobina Sekyi were nationalist intellectuals in the Gold Coast who wrote to address a range of socio-political issues in the country during the British colonial administration. Casely Hayford and Kobina Sekyi for instance were active in the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) which was a regional nationalist group focused on seeking changes in the colonial regime and ensuring the political and judicial rights of the people in the British West African colonies.

⁹ Akoto, *African Cultural Traditions*.

¹⁰ The period witnessed high levels of intellectual and cultural crisis, and most people lost their appreciation and self confidence in their own ideal of nationality.

¹¹ Carl Christian Reindorf is considered a pioneer of Ghanaian and African historiography. His book, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, published in 1895, was a well-researched masterpiece that contributed to systematic inquiry and documentation of Ghanaian and African history from an insider's perspective.

¹² Attoh Ahuma was an editor of the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* and the *Gold Coast Nation*. He used the pages of these newspapers to support popular agitation against colonial domination.

¹³ A. Ahuma, *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* (2nd ed), Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1971, p. 1.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.1

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. pp. 2-3.

¹⁹ Ahuma, *The Gold Coast Nation*, p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ahuma, *The Gold Coast Nation*.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Attoh Ahuma was the son of a Wesleyan minister, and he became a minister of the Wesleyan Methodist church. He was educated at the Wesleyan elementary schools and the Wesleyan high school at Cape Coast, and was then trained for the ministry of the Wesleyan Church. With a solid religious background, his writings were probably influenced by his role as a Reverend Minister.

²⁵ Ozumba, *National Consciousness*.

²⁶ C. Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation* (2nd ed.). London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd, 1969.

²⁷ N. Ugonna. Casely Hayford: The Fictive Dimension of African Personality. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, 7(2), 1977.

²⁸ Ethiopia, at the time was the only independent nation in Africa. It thus became a symbol of African resilience to colonial rule and a beacon of hope for the entire continent. It was from its name 'Ethiopia' that the concept 'Ethiopianism' was carved.

²⁹ K. Osei-Nyame, Pan-Africanist Ideology and the African Historical Novel of Self-Discovery: The Examples of Kobina Sekyi and J. E. Casely Hayford. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 12(2), 1999.

³⁰ Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound*.

³¹ C. Hayford, *Gold Coast Native Institutions*. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1903.

³² K. Osei-Nyame, *Pan-Africanist Ideology*.

³³ Ugonna, *Casely Hayford: The fictive*.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ In *Ethiopia Unbound*, Casely Hayford advocated for an Africanised western university, with a faculty of education which was primarily to diffuse African culture and champion the development of the African personality and identity.

³⁶ Ugonna, *Casely Hayford: The fictive*.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ K. Sekyi, *The Blinkards*, Ghana: Readwide publishers, 1997.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ F. D. Plockey. Indigenous Knowledge Production, Digital Media and Academic Libraries in Ghana. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 8(4), 32-44, 2015.

⁴¹ By ‘traditional institutions’ Sekyi spoke of traditional religion, marriage (polygamy), chieftaincy, manner of dressing, names, language and others. It was through these the culture of the society was made evident.

⁴² Sekyi, *The Blinkards*.

⁴³ Ahuma, *The Gold Coast Nation*.

⁴⁴ Sekyi, *The Blinkards*, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound*.

⁴⁶ Sekyi, *The Blinkards*.

⁴⁷ Sekyi, *The Blinkards*.

⁴⁸ Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound*, pp. 162-163.

⁴⁹ Ugonna, *Casely Hayford: The fictive*.

⁵⁰ Sekyi, *The Blinkards*, p. 69.

⁵¹ Mkandawire, T. *African Intellectuals and Nationalism*. London: Zed Books, 2005.