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European languages in similar ways, so that their speakers make the same mistakes. Almost all West Africans have to be taught the sound 'th' as in "thing", because almost no West African languages use it.

In accordance with these considerations, the working party recommended to the Council of the Society that a questionnaire be constructed and administered to collect comparable data on the more important languages of West Africa, with special emphasis on tense and aspect systems. Something of this kind has already been done on the major languages of Nigeria, by Elizabeth Dunstan of the University of Ibadan.

M.E. Kropp.

RESEARCH MATERIAL IN THE GHANA NATIONAL ARCHIVES,
ACCRA ON THE HISTORY OF ANLO 1850-1890

The catalogue of material that follows is the result of my own research at the Archives in course of my search for material for the M.A. Thesis on the period.

It is necessary to preface this catalogue with a sketch of Anlo, showing its position and extent and so that the catalogue can have meaning for any one who may consult it. The geography of Anlo is sketched in detail because Anlo's history in the 1880's was greatly influenced by the geographical division of the country into two by the Keta lagoon, the coastal belt and the mainland.

Anlo is the name particularly applied to the Ewe people and country lying on the coast in the extreme south-eastern corner of Ghana. It is bounded on the south by the sea; on the north by Apipe, Wheta, and Klikor; on the east by Some; and on the west by Avenor and Tongu. The Anlo have a tradition of having migrated from Notsie in the Republic of Togo. It is not certain when they arrived in their present home, but it is probable that they were already well established by 1682 when Ofori, the King of Accra and his people were fleeing from the Akwamu to Little Popo.

The Keta Lagoon divides the country into two - the coastal belt and the mainland. The coastal belt running from Anyanui on the banks of the Volta in the West to Blekusu in the east, is a long narrow spit of sand, at nowhere wider than two miles; at some places about a hundred yards; yet it has very thickly-peopled settlements of varying sizes, "in continuous streams like beads along a string"¹. The most important of these settlements are Keta, Dzelukofe and Anloga. As might be expected from the nature of the soil it is particularly barren, and "has no farming land whatsoever and many essential commodities for life are drawn from the other side of the lagoon"². But the coast abounds in the "the coconut which has been found to thrive well and has afforded a valuable food supply cultivable on a sandy soil incapable of growing anything else"³. The same physical cause has helped to foster the rearing of poultry by a people following a sedentary mode of life in spite of the poverty of their soil. On the Anlo coast, every home-stead is a 'poultry farm'.

The Anlo coast also offers opportunity for the fishing industry. This industry has become the most important of the people, and has aptly earned for the area the distinction of being the "home of Gold Coast fishermen"⁴. Daniel Chapman who has made a study of the "Human Geography of Eweland" again emphasizes that "a good deal of the fishing in other parts of the Gold Coast was in the hands of those people, and fishing from Keta and nearby villages were found as far afield in the Ivory Coast, Dahomey"⁵. As recently as 1963, Polly Hill could still point out⁶ that the Anlo coast was more heavily fished than any other in West Africa. Fish caught there find ready market on the Anlo mainland and in the interior, especially in the Krepi country.

The mainland is "a long depression running almost parallel to the coastal belt and containing fresh and salt water creeks and lagoons"⁷. The chief settlements are on the islands and the northern shores of the lagoon. Some of these are Anyako, Sadame, Afiadenyigba, Atiavi and Tsiamé. Anyako is the most important because "in ancient times matters of state and war concerning all Anlo were finally determined under the 'Three Trees' of Anyako"⁸. Anyako was a convenient rendez-vous for both the littoral and mainland people.

The whole of the lagoon fringe is flat and sandy and in many parts swampy especially during the rains. But the country gradually rises and forms low chains of undulations in the distance. It is almost woodless with

isolated "clumps of trees to be seen spotting the whole surface like a park"⁹. Though by no means fertile the soil is much better than that of the coast, and produces nearly all the food the littoral needs. In response to their own needs, situation and natural resources the people have taken to farming, fishing and trading as well as practising various arts and crafts.

The Keta lagoon stretches from North to South for about 20 miles with an average width of about 10 miles, receiving its water partly from the rains and partly from a narrow inlet from the river Volta. From its shallowness it is not difficult to believe that it often dries up and passengers cross it dryshod, and herds of duicker are at times seen playing across it in every direction. It is known that in 1858 it was completely dry and the Bremen missionaries at Anyako were blamed for this natural phenomenon, as an expression of the displeasure of the gods with the people for permitting white men to stay on their land. When the lagoon dries up "large incrustations of salt which provide a most important article of trade for the locals"¹⁰ are collected for sale mainly to the inland Ewe and beyond. The lagoon is navigable for boats and large canoes as far as to Blekusu, the eastern limit of the Anlo country, and for small canoes as far as to Amutinu. In the rains, canoes ascend to Adafienu where the lagoon terminates in a swamp which extends almost to Denu. Apart from being used for communication, it also serves as a means of protection for the residual peoples who inhabit its shores and islands. It did contribute to the persistence of the slave trade in the Anlo country; and rendered smuggling easy because it afforded every facility for concealment and distribution of contraband goods. In spite of the 'divisive' nature of the Keta lagoon, "the economic relations between the towns north of the lagoon and those on the spit are very close, perhaps symbiotic, and therefore the Anlo country may be regarded as a geographical and economic entity, looking back on the lagoon as well as facing the sea"¹¹.

THE EXTENT OF ANLO

The term 'Anlo is also used comprehensively to cover what is called Anlo Akuaku or Anlo Proper, the territorial unit as has been delimited, and other sub-states that are in confederacy with Anlo Akuaku. The Anlo have always claimed to be paramount over all the Ewe peoples east of the Volta up to Togo, with the exceptions of the Tongu and Peki states. Included in this claim therefore are: Some, Aflao, Dzodze, Avenor, Wheta, Apipe, Klikor, Adaklu, Agave and Mafi. The Crowther Commission of Enquiry, 1912, has

shown that this claim was generally admitted by all, with the exception of Some, Agave and Mafi. Commenting on the relationship between Anlo Proper and these states that had acknowledged the Anlo claim, Crowther has this to say: "I can find no evidence to show that any strong rule has ever been exercised over any of them. With some of them no doubt there has been a sentimental alliance"¹². Anlo Proper and these states were all regarded as "the various divisions of Anlo"¹³, and as "independent sister states united by ties of common ancestry, history, language and custom"¹⁴. The other States acknowledge sovereignty of Anlo Proper only in their external relations, diplomacy and war. Anlo had to apprise them of any projected expedition, and they were free to join her or remain neutral as circumstances determined.

Some, also called the Ketas, was the Right Wing of the Anlo fighting forces. But in 1792 a quarrel broke out between them and the rest of Anlo. The Ketas were driven away to found their present home among the "fan palms" hence their name, Some¹⁵. Since then they have been independent of Anlo and friendly to her enemies.

The Agaves regarded themselves as a client-state of Ada. But some Agaves have their homes east of the Volta, on Anlo territory and often allied with Anlo in times of war. Only the Agaves west of the Volta remained loyal to Ada.

All Mafi, before 1865 was dependent on Ada. But in that year, a large portion of them defected, crossed to the east of the Volta and joined the Anlo forces encamped at Adidome under Geraldo and Akrobotu. Thus came into existence the Anlo-Mafi, "who crossed the river and never returned"¹⁶. They are under the King of Anlo, but were not necessarily subordinated to Anlo. For the purpose of this survey, therefore, the term 'Anlo' would mean, Anlo Proper and her 'dependencies' - ruled by semi-autonomous stools, linked to her by kinship and self-interest, "but without the politically unifying force of a common sovereign ruler"¹⁷.

In 1850 the British took over the Danish Fort Prinzenstein at Keta. Thus began the British confrontation with the people of Anlo.

The bulk of material at the Archives comprises the correspondence between the Colonial Offices and British Government Officials on the

Gold Coast; and is in the main, administrative reports. It is catalogued ADM.1. The following contain useful material on Anlo History:-

1. ADM.1/451 (1850)

Governor Winniet's Journal - an account of the takeover of the Fort at Keta by Governor Winniet and his impressions of the Anlo country. The nature of the country and the important villages he passed through were mentioned. It is, important for the study of this period because it gives a background information on the whole period.

2. ADM.1/452 - ADM.1/453 (1851-53)

Early British attempts to exercise power and jurisdiction over Anlo. The fort was to be garrisoned because of the slave trade and "nature and character of the people, who in the words of Governor S. Hill, 'though now submissive needs to be controlled'. British administrative measures met opposition in every way".

3. ADM.1/455 (1857-59)

No garrison and Commandant at Keta. Keta outside the Protectorate, and Britain no longer responsible for any occurrences in the Anlo country. But in 1858 Governor Pine appointed Edmund Bannerman to take charge of Keta, but not to interfere in the affairs of the people generally.

4. ADM.1/456-462 (1860-1871)

Policy of non-intervention, the Anlo-Ada Wars and the years of unrest, ending in fruitless negotiations for peace. The Anlo-Ashanti alliance, the Krepí War. Ascent of the Volta by Glover gun-boat diplomacy and its repercussions in Anlo affairs.

5. ADM.1/463 (1871-73)

Twilight of non-intervention. Re-occupation envisaged through negotiation.

6. ADM.1/464-466

Anlo conquered in the Glover War of 1874 and re-occupied. British control re-established; Anlo's independence at an end. But only the littoral occupied. Britain extended the area of her jurisdiction into Some territory without informing the King of Some.

False alarm of Captain Williams about the State of affairs in the Anlo country.

7. ADM.1/468-469 (1878-1879)

The Ellis Period: Years of provocation, and smuggling on the increase; strict but unscrupulous measures to put fears into the minds of the Anlo and to overcome them with Britain's physical strength. Petition against the Hausa Constabulary.

Aflao and Denu acquired for revenue purposes.

8. ADM.1/484-485 (1884-1885) (Anxiety about the Mainland)

Geraldo's arrest followed by attack on Campbell at Huti. Imposition of fines on Anlo Shelling of coastal towns, excepting Dzelukofe and Keta. Anyako shelled by the use of flotilla of surf boats.

Differences between the coast and the mainland became manifest. The mainland led by Tenge and Tsitsi and the coast by Tamakloe and Akolatse.

9. ADM.1/488-90 (1888-1890)

The last phase of Anlo resistance to British rule. The 1889 Expedition; Tenge fled. The Keta Palaver.

Keta trade adversely affected by the Tariff system of Togo and Agwei, neighbouring German and French territories.

The Keta Tariff Ordinance of 1890 passed to put the duties at par with those of Germans and the French, September 1, 1890; the Governor reported Keta was sending money to Accra.

10. The replies from the Secretary of States, Colonial Office also come under ADM.1 and begin from ADM.1/1. Reference to the date of the reply should make one get the trend of colonial thinking on Anlo affairs.

ENCLOSURES

At times attached to the Administrative Reports are correspondences between District Officers and the Governor or Reports of Special Commissioners. These documents throw light on specific situations in any district.

One important enclosure for Anlo history is Report of the Assistant Colonial Surgeon, W.J.G. Lawson, on the countries between Lagoons and Quittah, for information of the war office, Lagos, August 22, 1879.
ADM.1/642.

It gives an account of the nature of the country thus surveyed, names and approximate population of the main coastal villages of Anlo, Denu and Aflao, and calls attention to smuggling at Denu and insecurity of traders in the Aflao area. Undoubtedly it influenced the decision to take over Denu and Aflao in December 1879.

CONFIDENTIAL PRINTS Catalogued ADM.12.

Despatches between the Governor and the Colonial Office. These documents are not open to the public, except after 50 years of the incidents recorded therein. Confidential Prints ADM.12/8-9 (1888-1889) are useful for Anlo history. They show Britain's anxiety about Keta, especially after Germany began to take over states in the interior of Eweiland. It deals with the German proposal to take over the east of the Volta and the British reply to this gesture from a rival colonial power.

DOCUMENTS SPECIFIC ON ANLO

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|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| (a) ADM.11/1106 | <u>Awunah Native Affairs</u> | (1878-1901) |
| (b) ADM.11/1113 | <u>Keta Native Affairs</u> | (1886-1910) |
| (c) ADM.11/1091 | <u>Agbozume Native Affairs</u> | (1884-1930) |
| (d) ADM.11/775 | <u>Ada-Awunah Boundary</u> | (1884) |

These documents are mainly reports of the District Commissioner of Keta, on the internal administration of the district. They are most revealing and therefore very useful.

AWUNAH NATIVE AFFAIRS: Information on the struggle for balance of power between the mainland and the coastal areas of Anlo. The roles of Tamakloe, leader of the left wing of the Anlo fighting forces and his counterpart, Chief Tenge, the warrior, come out clearly.

Anxiety and unrest on the mainland from 1884-1889, the arrest of Geraldo, and its repercussions on the mainland, culminating in the Anlo expedition of 1889 are recorded in these documents.

There is also a document on the Political State of affairs in Awunah 1882-1889.

Ada's reaction to the Keta Customs Ordinance of 1887 is found among these papers.

There are two papers with earlier dates: These are: Correspondence relating to the Awoonah War of 1874 and a Memo on the Anlo-Ada Wars of 1865-66. The former contains information on the actual fighting of the war and on the defeat of the Anlo. The latter contains Geraldo's role as the instigator of this 1865-66 war, the attempts at negotiations before and after the war, and reference to the Ashanti alliance with Anlo.

KETA NATIVE AFFAIRS: The D.C.'s letters on events in the Keta district. Mention has been made of the slave trade in the Some area, the acquisition of Denu, and stipends for the chiefs.

AGBOZUME NATIVE AFFAIRS: The Agbozumes and their struggle with the British over stipends, reference is made to the slave trade and kidnapping in Some.

ADA-AWUNA BOUNDARY - The question of whether the Volta was a convenient boundary between the Anlo and the Adas is discussed here.

PRIVATE PAPERS

These in the Archives are labelled Special Collections (Sc.) Those useful for Anlo history are (a) the Christian Jacobson Diary and (b) the Bannerman Papers.

(a) Jacobson Diary: 1879-1951. SC.14.

Jacobson himself prefaced the diary as follows: 'Remarkable occurrences of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, compiled from various sources' by C. Jacobson of Native Factory, Quittah, W.C. Africa. Started in 1879.

Christian Jacobson came to Keta in the late 1870's. He took much interest in local politics. His keen observation of daily happenings in Keta made the diary a very useful

document of the history of Anlo from 1879 to 1951. He became the Secretary of Chief Akolatse, the Government Chief of Anlo and remained so through our period. The events he recorded were mainly political.

His record of the Ellis Period (1878-9) indicates that Captain Ellis' measures in Anlo were calculated to provoke the Anlos and to incite them to rise against the Government. Captain Hay and Jackson's Commission authenticated Jacobson's record of events.

The Papers also contain valuable information on the oral tradition of the Anlos. It is appropriate to sum up by saying that events in the Anlo district from 1879 to 1890 are well covered.

(b) Bannerman Papers: Sc.2.

Private letters of William Bannerman, Commandant of the Accra District in 1853. The collection contains letters between Governor Stephen Hill and Bannerman - reflecting the Government's opinion about the Anlo soon after the British take over of Fort Prinzenstein in 1850. One of the letters from Hill congratulated Bannerman on being able to make the Anlo pay the Poll Tax in 1853.

THE CROWTHER REPORT, 1912

NOTES OF EVIDENCE

Awuna, Addah, Akwamu.

F.G. Crowther, Secretary for Native Affairs of the Gold Coast was appointed in 1912 to enquire into the 'Constitutions of the Ewe-speaking peoples'.

The report contains the oral traditions of the Anlos, their history and reflections on contemporary events. The evidence of Chiefs Akolatse and Tamakloe are most revealing e.g.

1. Akolatse told the Commission "We (the Anlos) are fond of war. (During wars) we kill some people; catch some and sell and chop and marry their women".
2. The attitude of the Anlos towards the slave trade was revealed at the Commission. "There was no work, and we had to sell slaves".
3. Anlo's involvement in the war with the Adas in 1865-66, in the Krepi War in 1869 and the Glover war in 1874 are in the report.
4. Anlo's relationship with her neighbours - Ada, Accras, Akwamus, is given in great detail by Noah Kwami, linguist to the King of Ada.

No history of Anlo could be written without adequate use of this report.

All the documents listed contain a large number of place-names, whose spelling present some difficulty. Names of towns have been spelt differently in different official reports and in some cases the same town has been spelt differently in the same document. This poses difficulties of identification. In some instances Europeans gave names to towns which already possessed local names or they wrote down the names as they sounded to them; and spellings differ from writer to writer: Mary Caunt in her Alone in West Africa, London, 1912 points out "The English have decided that Keta shall be called Quittah which means nothing at all, but the native name is, and I imagine will be for a long time to come, be Keta which means 'on the top of sand', and on the sand the town literally". p.284. The following are found in the records:-

Ahwoonlah, Awoonah, Awuna, Ahuna, Angua, Angua, Angorah, Angolas	- Anlo
Afflowhoo, Affloho	- Aflao
Blockhouse	- Blekusu
Crepee, Keraapy	- Krepi
Elmina Chica, Adinnar Cooma, Little Elmina	- Adina
Adafie, Addafia	- Adafienu
Jellah Coffee	- Dzelukofe
Kwittah, Kwitta, Quittah	- Keta
Attokor, Ahtokhoh	- Attoko
Voji, Vogee	- Vodza
Mlafi, Miefi, Mlantifi	- Mafi
Aggravie	- Agave
Away, Vay, Ve	- Woe
Suroubgoe, Sorobay	- Srogbe
Tebay	- Tegbui

With this, I close this brief survey of available materials on Anlo history 1850-1890. The survey goes as far as I can make it, but there is no claim whatsoever to finality, but I hope the usefulness of this work to others will be commensurate with the labour which has been so freely spent upon its production.

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2. Hill, Polly: Ewe Seine Fishermen, Legon, 1963, p.2. 'But there is some form of subsistence agriculture - cassave, maize, vegetables, shallot growing on the fringes of the Keta lagoon, especially in the vicinity of Anloga, made possible by effective manuring'.

3. Gold Coast Government: Report on the Census of the Gold Coast, 1891, p.11.

4. Chapman, D.A.: Our Homeland, Vol.1. Achimota, 1943, p.98-9.

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16. Evidence of Kwame Beko, Linguist of Asem, King of Mafi: Crowther Commission 1912, p.84.
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J. Yegbe.