

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

STATECRAFT, CHIEFTAINCY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANLO
STATE, 1560s TO 1990s



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of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,
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Philosophy degree in History.

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature

Date.....

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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Supervisor's Signature

Date.....

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ABSTRACT

This thesis traces the origins of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools and establishes their significance to the creation and consolidation of the Anlo State. It then reconstructs the socio-economic and political history of the state up to 1999 when the last descendant of the Bate royal clan, Togbi Adeladza II, ruled over Anlo. It highlights the fact that the lawlessness and moral decadence which characterised the formative years of the Anlo state were brought to an end with the enstoolment of Awoamefia, Togbi Sri I, whose wise counsels became the guiding principles for the indigenes of Anlo. The promulgation of capital punishment and banishment system (*nyikofofa*) by Awoamefia, Togbi Nditsi, also guided the people of Anlo on the path of moral uprightness. Using archival sources, other primary sources as well as secondary documents and oral interviews for information on the history of the Anlo state through qualitative method, the thesis argues that the successes achieved by the rulers of Anlo, particularly during the pre-colonial times were attributable to the legitimacy and authority they derived from the Awoame and Kaklaku stools. The advent of missionaries and later British colonial rule changed the course of the history of the administration of the Anlo state. These events served to promote the development of the state by virtue of the preparedness of the paramount chiefs of Anlo to collaborate with the missionaries and British colonial officials. The study contributes to the understanding of Anlo state under the umbrella of the Europeans – Danes and British – and its subsequent effects on the political, social and economic lives in Anlo. This study adds to the historical knowledge of students, traditional rulers, opinion leaders, historians, readers and the general public about the history of the Anlo state.

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DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my son, Mawudem Jasiel.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANSECO - Anlo Senior High School

ANYASCO - Anlo Awoamefia Senior High School

A.N.A. - Anlo Native Authority

A.T.C. - Anlo Traditional Council

C.A. - Court Act

C.B.E. - Commander of the Order of the British Empire

C.P.P. - Convention Peoples' Party

N.J.O. - Native Jurisdiction Ordinance

O.B.E. - Order of the British Empire

P.M.- Presiding Member

PRAAD - Public Records and Archives Administration Department

S.N.A. - Secretary of Native Affairs

U.G.C.C. - United Gold Coast Convention

EWE TERMINOLOGIES AND THEIR MEANINGS

<i>a.</i> Awoame	Secluded or hidden place
<i>b.</i> Adekuku	Ritual hat
<i>c.</i> Adzoyi	Sword
<i>d.</i> Ametatsolawo	Executioners
<i>e.</i> Ametsimewu	Accidental death
<i>f.</i> Atamkayi	Oath sword
<i>g.</i> Awadada	War mother / war lord
<i>h.</i> Awazi	War stool
<i>i.</i> Dɔdɔdɛ	Sanitation programme
<i>j.</i> Dɔsifia	Right wing chief
<i>k.</i> Dzidehlɔmi	Someone born into another clan or blood
<i>l.</i> Fiaga	Paramount Chief
<i>m.</i> Fɔifudzidzo	Slap it with fire
<i>n.</i> Gbagamiduwo	Change the money, let's chop people
<i>o.</i> Hlɔ	Clan
<i>p.</i> Kpɔnuwo	Gates
<i>q.</i> Legbawo and afeliwo	Smaller gods
<i>r.</i> Miafia	Left wing chief
<i>s.</i> Tɔkɔ Atɔlia	Fifth landing stage
<i>t.</i> Tɔkɔ Etɔlia	Third landing stage
<i>u.</i> Zikpuitor	Stool father

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The present Anlo state shares boundaries on the East with the Republic of Togo; on the North with Tongu; the North-east with Agotime; on the North-west with Dabala and on the South with the Atlantic Ocean.¹ A section of the people of Dogbo who later became the Anlo state, one of the Ewe groups, migrated from Ketu in modern-day Benin by the end of the sixteenth century to Notsie and then later moved to their present settlement.² The Anlo state is the largest political entity currently located in the south-eastern part of Ghana. At Notsie, the people who later founded Anlo and its neighbouring states were known as the Dogboawo.³ Notsie was a walled town in the Republic of Togo. It was located between the Haho and Shio rivers and oral tradition has it that, earlier rulers of the town ruled well. Trouble, however, began when King Agorkorli ascended the throne. His supposed tyrannical rule forced the people of Dogbo to flee from the town. Notsie was also known as the common home for Ewe ancestors, a location where there was a tyrannical rule that led to the dispersion of the Ewe speakers to present-day southeastern Ghana and southern Togo.⁴

The Dogboawo split into three groups in the movement from Notsie. The first group moved south and south-westwards. There, they founded towns

¹ Anlo Hogbetsotsoza 25th Anniversary Brochure (Accra, 1987), 10.

² D. E. K. Amenumey, 'A Brief History,' in *A Handbook of Eweland: The Ewes of Southeastern Ghana 1*, ed. F. Agbodeka (Accra, 1997), 16. Anlo refers to both the dialect and the name by which the people are known. Anlo as a state has thirty-six divisions such as Keta, Kedzi, Dzelukope, Tegbi, Woe, Seva, Alakple, Blamezado, Anyanui, Azanu etc.

³ *Ibid*, 15. The Ewe group that later became Anlo were known as Dogboawo in Notsie due to their earlier association with the settlement at Dogbo-Nyigbo. Dogbo is, however, a town between Agbome and Tado. Dogbo literally means sudden appearance hence Dogboawo means people who suddenly appeared.

⁴ S. Greene, *Sacred Sites and Colonial Encounter – A History of Meaning and Memory in Ghana*, (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2002), 14.

such as Hohoe, Matse, Peki, Awudome, Alavanyo, Ve and Kpedze.⁵ The second group settled in the central plain and founded Ho, Takla, Hodzo, Sokode and Adaklu while the third group led by Togbi Wenya went southwards and founded Kedzi, Keta, Tegbi, Woe and Anlo.

According to oral tradition, there was no state called Anlo before the arrival of the Dogbo from Notsie. 'Anlo' came as a result of a saying of Togbi Wenya, the leader of the third escapees. When the migrants reached the place now called Anloga, Togbi Wenya was said to have expressed tiredness by stating that 'menlo' which literally means 'I have coiled.' He, therefore, could not move any further with the group of migrants and hence decided to rest. The other towns such as Keta, Kedzi, Tegbi and Woe which Togbi Wenya founded earlier in his sojourn, all came together to form the Anlo state with Anloga which became the traditional capital and seat of Awoamefia, the paramount ruler of Anlo state.⁶

The Anlo state had fifteen patrilineal clans namely Lafe, Amlade, Adzorvia, Bate, Like, Bamee, Klevi, Tovi, Tsiamé, Agave, Amé, Dzevi, Uifeme, Yetsofe and Blu and each of the clans performed different roles as their contributions to the consolidation of the Anlo state.⁷ The Adzorvia and the Bate which were regarded as royal clans produced the Awoamefia (supreme/paramount ruler) while the Agave clan which was considered as the warrior clan of the Anlo produced the Awadada, warlord. The Awoame stool was a paramount stool while the Kaklaku stool was a war stool.⁸

⁵ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 15.

⁶ *Ibid*, 16.

⁷ G. K. Nukunya, 'Social and Political Organization,' in *A Handbook of Eweland: The Ewes of Southeastern Ghana I*, ed. F. Agbodeka (Accra, 1997), 47.

⁸ Paramount stool is a stool occupied by a paramount chief of a traditional area. The paramount chief exercises traditional powers and jurisdiction over the various divisions within

The institution of the Awoamefia and Awadada was ancient dating to the time of the migration of the Ewe people from Notsie.⁹ The political system of the Anlo state could be described as centralized because there was an established executive authority and judicial systems headed by the Awoamefia who was assisted by three other senior chiefs with the Awadada as the commanding officer in charge of the Anlo military structure.

The office of the Awoamefia and the Awadada had the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools respectively as state artefacts. The two royal stools of the Anlo state were paramount to the core existence of all Anlo indigenes since according to oral tradition, the two royal stools were the embodiments of the souls of all the people of Anlo and the occupants of the stools were revered throughout the state.

The history of these royal stools and the formation of the Anlo state have not been studied by historians. It is against this backdrop that the researcher sets out to reconstruct the history of the Anlo state. Beyond understanding the history of these stools, the study clarified aspects of the Anlo political history, which delved into the roles of some notable occupants of the stools and the place of the Anlo state under the Danes, Christian missionaries, British colonial rule and the early years of independent Ghana.

This work starts from the 1560s and ends in the 1990s. The choice of the 1560s as the starting point is because oral traditions of the Anlo hold that the history of the royal stools dates to the origin of the people of Anlo in Notsie. The researcher terminated the study in the 1990s since that marked the end of

the traditional area. In Anlo, the paramount stool is occupied by Awoamefia. War stool is a stool which is dedicated specifically to war and it is normally taken to battlefield with the belief of securing victory for the people. In Anlo, it is occupied by the Awadada (warlord).
⁹ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 17.

the reigns of the immediate past occupants of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools and this excluded the activities of the current occupants of the stools.

Statecraft refers to the art and practice of successfully running a state and it includes the tactics and laws that leaders employ to uphold order and accomplish political objectives. These tactics include legislation, economic management and diplomacy.¹⁰ Statecraft informs my ability to analyse and explain governance-related topics within the work.

Particularly in postcolonial states, chieftaincy or traditional authority frequently coexists with contemporary official systems. To fulfill grassroots demands and preserve unity, effective statecraft strikes a balance between autonomy and monitoring through local governance. To maintain legitimacy, stability and efficient governance, statecraft adjusts to a variety of situations by combining traditional (chieftaincy) and contemporary (local government) systems.

Statement of the Problem

The history of the Ewe people written by various scholars neglected major aspects of the history of the various sub-groups. The Ewe sub-group that received the least intellectual interrogation was the Anlo state and its two royal stools whose histories are unknown. There is a paucity of literature on the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools which represented the paramount and the war stools of the Anlo respectively. Yet, those stools and their occupants contributed significantly to the making and the consolidation of the Anlo state. This untold history had created a vacuum in the history of the people of Anlo and many

¹⁰ J. S. Nye, *The Future of Power* (New York, 2011), 45. & H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York, 1948).

people tend to narrate the history of these two royal stools with their own biases and exaggerations.

There is, therefore, the need for a comprehensive academic study to fill the vacuum in the historical discourse regarding the history and contributions of Awoame and Kaklaku stools and their occupants in Anlo state formation and administration from the 1560s to the 1990s.

Research Objectives

The research is guided by the following objectives:

1. To understand the origin of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools in Anlo society.
2. To examine the significance of the stools in the lives and development of the Anlo state.
3. To investigate the impact of the European presence on the stools in Anlo state.
4. To investigate the place of the Anlo state in independent Ghana from 1957 to 1999.

Research Questions

Certain pertinent questions need asking in view of the objectives of the research.

For example,

1. What was the origin of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools in Anlo society?
2. What were the stools' significance in the lives and development of the Anlo state?

3. What were the impact of the European presence on the stools in Anlo state?
4. What was the place of the Anlo state in independent Ghana from 1957 to 1999?

Literature Review

Although there is paucity of literature on the history of the stools and their significance to the establishment and development of the Anlo State, there are general historical accounts on the people of Anlo and Ghana. These general literature need review because they provide the basis for reconstructing the migration story, the wars of conquest and the subsequent colonial experiences of the people of Anlo. Existing general works of the Ewe and aspects of Ghana are written from the viewpoint of migration history, political, economic and social history.

In the review of migration history, D. E. K. Amenumey suggests that the Ewe people migrated from Ketu, a Yoruba town currently in the Republic of Benin. He, however, notes that it is unknown when the Ewe began to live there. It must be noted that because of the expansion of the Ketu kingdom, the Ewe moved and crossed the Mono River into Notsie where they lived under King Agorkorli.¹¹ Amenumey traces the migration of the Ewe from Ketu to Notsie where they moved in three separate groups. The group who later became Anlo moved southwards led by Togbi Wenya and they founded Kedzi, Keta, Tegbi, Woe and Anloga. Despite the fact that Amenumey's work was silent on the two royal stools, it provided a basic understanding of the Ewe migration story and

¹¹ See 'Chapters in Anlo History' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure (Accra: 1978), 6.

set the tone for further interrogation of aspects of the migration of the people of Anlo.

Amenumey notes that the Ewe left Ketu because of insecurity caused by constant wars and raids in the area.¹² At Notsie, they escaped due to maltreatment from King Agorkorli. He also argues that the migration stories of the Ewe people regarding Mesopotamia and Egypt as their place of origin cannot be supported by any scientific proof.¹³ He explains that after the departure of the Ewe from Ketu, they split into two major groups as the first group got divided into two minor groups.¹⁴ The first of the minor groups settled near River Mono and called the place Tado, while the second minor group settled between the Haho and Mono rivers and called the place Notsie. The second major group who became the Anlo, Be and Fon, however, joined their relations at Notsie and they were collectively referred to as Dogboawo.¹⁵ This information on the migration account of the Ewe set a strong background for this study regarding the migration of the people.

A. Kumassah argues that the Ewe migrated from Babel and settled in Egypt and then to Sudan, Ethiopia and Mali.¹⁶ Although this claim has not been supported by any archaeological findings or scientific proof, his work corroborates the later migration accounts of the Ewe-speaking people regarding Ketu and their settlements at Notsie. This information helped to establish the commonalities in the migration account of the Ewe from Ketu. Kumassah stated some of the occupants of the two stools, and the researcher used this information

¹² Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 15.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ A. Kumassah, *The Migration Saga of the Anlo- Ewes of Ghana* (Keta, 2005), 21.

to explore more about the other occupants that have not been mentioned in Kumassah's work.

Although these works attempt to trace the history of the Ewe-Anlo which formed the historical background of this study they, however, do not thoroughly examine the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools which served as the embodiment of souls of the living and the dead of the Anlo state.

On the existing works on political history of Ewe and other aspects of Ghana, G. K. Nukunya argues that the institution of Awoame and Kaklaku stools was as ancient as the Anlo state itself as these were the only two stools from Notsie.¹⁷ But according to Yayoh, the leaders of Dogbo were chief-priests, not kings or chiefs. Yayoh arrived at this conclusion based on his study of the northern Ewe sub-groups.¹⁸ Amenumey's account, however, debunks the assertions of Westermann and Yayoh that Anlo copied the art of chieftaincy from the Akan. He argues that the Anlo developed a system of rule by chiefs earlier and did not have to copy from the Akan groups.¹⁹ The position of the people according to their traditions is always to assign chieftaincy to their time in Notsie. This could also be due to the fact that the Ewe had experienced chieftaincy during their contact with the Yoruba who resided in Niger with their kings known as the Obas.²⁰ This information helped the researcher to establish that the Anlo state was exposed to chieftaincy earlier before their arrival in their present home.

¹⁷ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 63.

¹⁸ W. K. Yayoh, 'Transformation in Power Structures in Ewedome (Ghana) under Akan Influence, C.1670-1873,' *Drumspeak: International Journal of Research in the Humanities* 5, no.2 (2016):191.

¹⁹ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 17.

²⁰ W. K. Yayoh, 'Krepi States in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries,' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 6 (2002): 71.

Nukunya's work did not investigate the political structure of the Anlo state which would have, adequately, explored the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools of the Anlo state. This information helped the researcher to explore the occupants of these stools and further interrogated the reign and the contributions of these rulers.

A. Kyerematen in 'The Royal Stools of Ashanti,' and Adu-Agyem, Agyapong and Agyei in 'The Philosophical and Aesthetic significance of the Silver-Stool of Mampong-Asante in Ghana,' provide a brief narrative on how traditional stools emerged as royal seats in states.²¹ These stories about the origins of the stools guided the researcher to investigate the origin of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools of the Anlo.

Nukunya intimates that the Awadada, the occupant of the Kaklaku stool, was the next in command to Awoamefia who was the occupant of Awoame stool.²² This information was vital to the researcher because in the Anlo state, it was revealed during the field interview and other readings that the occupant of the Kaklaku stool was next in the hierarchy to the occupant of the Awoame stool and in the absence of the Awoamefia (supreme ruler/occupant of the Awoame stool), the Awadada who was the warlord of Anlo state (and occupant of the Kaklaku stool) acted in his stead. This research goes further to investigate the reasons behind these political and royal arrangements and their effects on the Anlo state.

²¹ A. Kyerematen, 'The Royal Stools of Ashanti,' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* vol.39, no.1 (Jan., 1969):1-10. See also, J. Adu-Agyem, K. A. Agyapong and K. Agyei, 'The Philosophical and Aesthetic significance of the Silver-Stool of Mampong-Asante in Ghana,' *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development* vol.2, no. 11, (2013):121.

²² Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 66.

Nukunya in his work, therefore, stated that the occupancy of the Awoame stool was vested in the Adzorvia and Bate royal clans while the Kaklaku stool was in the hands of the Agave royal clan.²³ This information was vital as this research interrogated the history and reasons behind such arrangements and any political and military benefits of that system. This research explores how this political system was carried out and any challenges posed by such an arrangement in Anlo state. In addition, the researcher used this information to investigate any major reasons why these clans were the custodians of the Awoamefia and the Awadada. This study also delves into the criteria and selection process for the occupants of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools, as well as the royal duties of the Awoamefia and the Awadada respectively. There were questions about whether the Awadada was a chief of any town or just a warlord in Anlo state, the processes of enstoolment of Awoamefia, Awadada and other wing commanders (left and right) and their implications on the Anlo state.

W. K. Yayoh examines oath-taking and conditions under which events become oaths for a state.²⁴ Yayoh explains that a chief's oath originates from a tragedy or disaster such as defeat in war, or the assassination of a chief of a state or town. This pushed the researcher to identify and investigate the oaths of Anlo that were used in the installation of Awoamefia, Awadada and other sub-chiefs in the state.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ W. K. Yayoh, 'Protests against Amalgamation in Colonial Ewedome, British Mandated Territory, 1920 to 1948,' *Journal of History and Cultures* 2, (2013): 8.

Kyerematen and Osafo also explain the role of the Golden Stool for the Asante people on the battlefield.²⁵ Kyerematen notes that the Golden Stool was kept in a secret place in the Stool House, but it was taken to the battlefield whenever the Asante went to war. Osafo buttresses this assertion of Kyerematen and further notes that the Golden Stool was akin to the ark of the covenant in the Bible, which was carried to the battlefield to secure victory for Asante.²⁶ This information pushed the researcher again to ascertain the significant roles of the royal stools in the military histories of the Anlo state.

S. F. Patton discusses the functions of chieftaincy stool and she posits that a stool is seen as a political symbol and the occupant is regarded as a symbol of the clan, a representation of unity and continuity of the state.²⁷ This claim of hers falls in line with the position of the researcher that the stools in the Anlo state were occupied by royals who held chieftaincy positions in the state. The occupants of these stools acted as the political, judicial and social leaders of the state.

Nukunya argues that it was rare to remove the occupant of the Awoame stool but he could be destooled if he departed from the rule of justice.²⁸ He, therefore, cites Awoamefia Adzanu who suffered that fate but, however, fails to ascribe further reasons for the destoolment of the Awoamefia. This information was useful because there was an investigation into the actual circumstances that led to the destoolment of Adzanu (Fiayidziehe) and further exploration of the

²⁵ Kyerematen, 'The Royal Stools,' 3. See also B. Osafo, 'Stripping the Soul of Asante Naked: A History of Opanin Seniagya in Asante Chronicle,' *Abibisem: Journal of African Culture and Civilization* 7 (2018): 145-167.

²⁶ Osafo, 'Stripping the Soul,' 145-167.

²⁷ S. F. Patton, 'The Stool and Asante Chieftaincy,' *African Art* 13, no. 1 (1979): 74.

²⁸ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 65.

destoolment processes and procedures involving both occupants of the two royal stools.

The military and political relations between Anlo and other states were also explored in the study. This is because Anlo engaged in a series of wars and diplomatic relations in their bid to consolidate their state. Amenumey states that Akwamu and Anlo built a political and economic alliance where Anlo supplied salt and dried fish regularly to Akwamu and Akwamu also found markets for their slaves.²⁹

R. A. Kea also argues that the Anlo-Akwamu relationship from c.1750 to 1813 was to maintain Anlo territorial and political integrity against the expansionist policies of Little Popo sovereigns and the hostile tendency of Ada, Akwapim and Akyem Abuakwa coalition.³⁰ The study shows that Akwamu was of mercantile interest to Anlo and the Danes in the slave trade because Fort Prinzenstein at the Anlo coast was a major destination for slaves from Krepi. Anlo was also assured of military assistance from the Akwamu. Although Amenumey and Kea note that Anlo's alliance with Akwamu emanated from the economic and political benefit, it was paramount to establish whether the people of Anlo went into alliance with other states due to those same reasons or other reasons such as linguistics similarity, breaking of hegemony, political dominance and cultural similarity.³¹ Again, the various wars fought by the various Awadada of the Anlo state, the reasons behind those wars and their effects on the people were explored and examined by the researcher in the study.

²⁹ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 18.

³⁰ R. A. Kea, 'Akwamu-Anlo Relations c. 1750-1813,' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* (1969): 30.

³¹ *Ibid.* See also Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 18.

E. Akyeampong notes that warfare, plunder and booty were institutionalised in Anlo as accumulation became the target for the occupants of the stools.³² The researcher, therefore, inquired further reasons for which Anlo had established warfare, plunder and booty over its neighbours and their impacts on the political lives of Anlo.

According to Amenumey, the British established the Legislative and Executive Councils in 1850 that gave rights of administration of justice in civil and criminal matters to them.³³ This pushed the researcher to investigate the political impacts of British rule in Anlo. Amenumey notes that the British were reluctant to take possession of Anlo rather they were concerned with the occupation and protection of Fort Prinzenstein to prevent other European powers from occupying it. The researcher examined the effects of the decision of the British on the Anlo political system. This study argued that the reluctance of the British to effectively stamp their authority in the Anlo area emboldened the rulers of Anlo to disregard the British law which later angered the British to wage several wars of conquest against the Anlo from 1860 to 1874.

F. M. Bourret describes the composition and roles of the Legislative and Executive Councils.³⁴ This helped in the appreciation of the functions of the first educated Awoamefia Togbi Sri II who served on the Legislative Council. Being a member of the Legislative Council in 1916, Togbi Sri II used his position to cause a change in the lives of his people. He was known to have justly and fairly adjudicated cases brought before him due to his familiarity with

³² E. Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon: An eco-social history of the Anlo of South-eastern Ghana: c. 1850 to recent times* (Athens, 2001), 51.

³³ D. E. K. Amenumey, 'The Extension of British Rule to Anlo (South-East Ghana), 1850-1890,' *The Journal of African History* vol.9 no. 1 (1968): 102.

³⁴ F. M. Bourret, *The Gold Coast: A survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland 1919 – 1946*, (California, 1949), 41-42.

the British judicial system. This enabled the chief to win the admiration of his people.

The work 'Gold Coast Colony Ordinance' looks at the ordinances that were applied to the Anlo state.³⁵ The researcher analysed how these Native Jurisdiction Ordinances in 1883, 1901 and 1910 empowered the Awoamefia of the Anlo in the administration of the state.

R. Addo-Fening discusses the passage of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O.) in Ghana.³⁶ This enabled the researcher to discuss the application of N.J.O. and its effect on chieftaincy in Anlo state. The application of the N.J.O. was seen to have limited the powers of Awoamefia in the adjudication of criminal cases.

R. Addo-Fening examines the stipulations of the N.J.O. and its application to chieftaincy with regard to the regularization of judicial powers in Ghana.³⁷ He argues that the power of political rulers to administer justice was equal to political leadership that empowered them to enjoy judicial powers over their subjects. This helped the researcher in the assessment of judicial powers of Awoamefia and Awadada in the civil and criminal jurisdiction under the ordinances. It also helped the researcher to investigate how the executive powers of Awoamefia were restricted under the ordinance and its impacts on the authority of the Awoamefia.

Amenumey argues that the 1901 Native Jurisdiction Ordinance introduced indirect rule in Anlo.³⁸ The researcher, therefore, investigated how

³⁵ Gold Coast Colony Ordinance, vol. 1, 1874 -1892.

³⁶ R. Addo-Fening, 'The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, Indirect Rule and The Subject's Well-Being: The Abuakwa Experience C1899 -1912,' *Research Review NS* 6, no. 2 (1990): 29.

³⁷ R. Addo-Fening, 'Colonial Government, Chiefs and 'Native' Jurisdiction in the Gold Coast Colony 1822-1928,' *Universitas* 10, no. 1 (1988):136.

³⁸ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 24.

Anlo was administered under the Native administration and explored the various effects of the British rule on the Anlo state in the areas of economics, social and politics.

With the creation of the Native Authorities in Gold Coast to help the British colonial government, the Anlo Native Authority was also created in 1945 to assist the British administration.³⁹ This information helped the researcher to interrogate the other roles of Anlo Native Authority and examined the effects of the Anlo Native Authority in the administration of the Anlo state. The researcher also explored the roles and powers of the Anlo Traditional Council. The paramount ruler of Anlo, Togbi Sri II, acted as the presiding member of the Authority with the Awadada, Togbi Katsriku Awusu II, deputising in the absence of the Togbi Sri II.⁴⁰ This order of hierarchy pointed out the level of political authority within the Anlo state. In the absence of the aforementioned people, the *Awafiawo* – left-wing commander, Anthonio II and right-wing commander, Tamakloe II – acted as presiding members. The researcher identified the intended reason behind that political structure in the Anlo state.

K. Arhin argues that the traditional authority of the rulers waned after independence under the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) and the successive governments that ruled Ghana.⁴¹ He states that the educated elites saw the traditional authorities as extension of colonial government and chiefs as agents used to suppress the political will of the people. He posits that the suspicion of the traditional rulers by the intelligentsia accounted for the CPP's harsh

³⁹ RAG/HO/KE 2-35 'Correspondence from Ministry of Local Government to District Commissioner, Keta.' 16 October 1951.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ K. Arhin, *Transformation in Traditional Rule in Ghana (1951 -1966)* (Accra, 2001), 37.

treatment against chiefs. This information pushed the researcher to assess the Anlo state under the CPP and found out that the situation in Anlo was different.

R. Rathbone argues that chiefs were seen as saboteurs, collaborators and vehicles of imperialism which denied the educated class the opportunity to occupy their rightful positions in government.⁴² He further posits that hostility against chieftaincy in the countryside by the Convention Peoples' Party could not entirely be linked to unsuccessful factions that emerged out of a selection of chiefs. Rather the Convention Peoples' Party had seen chiefs as colonial stooges who acquired the right to rule from birth instead of achievement. The work of Rathbone provided the background for this research into the political relationship between the CPP government and the Anlo State.

This research assessed the impacts of the 1961 Chieftaincy Act on Anlo state.⁴³ It investigated the impacts of the various actions taken by CPP towards chieftaincy in relation to Anlo. In addition, 1971 Chieftaincy Act was explored with reference to the political developments of Anlo state.

Looking at existing works on the economic history of the Ewe and aspects of Ghana, Akyeampong also talks about fishing being the economic activity of the Anlo.⁴⁴ This information helped the researcher to investigate other economic activities of the people and their impacts on the development of the state. It also identified and examined the various means adopted by Awoamefia and Awadada to keep a serene atmosphere for trading activities. It also addressed the consequences of the measures adopted by the rulers to keep Anlo active in the trade.

⁴² R. Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951 -1960* (Ohio, 2000), 10.

⁴³ Chieftaincy Act 1961, Act 81, Accra, 1961.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 24.

S. Greene discusses the impact of the slave trade and slavery on West Africa.⁴⁵ Greene also highlights the experiences of slave victims in slavery and freedom through the unpublished or untranslated West African texts. This study helped to analyse how slave merchants benefitted from the trade to become power-brokers in the Anlo polity. There was an assessment of how slaves were acquired on the coast of Anlo and the contribution of the trade to the growth of Anlo state.

R. Law describes the participation of Anlo in the slave trade and how it had become part of the Slave Coast.⁴⁶ This work, therefore, used this information to explore Anlo's participation in the slave trade and how the trade contributed towards the consolidation of Anlo state.

Amenumey notes that Anlo was heavily defeated by the Danes in the Sagbadre War and the subsequent Treaty in 1784 marked the introduction of European rule in the Anlo state and culminated in the erection of a fort at Keta.⁴⁷ This information was vital to the researcher as he interrogated the relations between Anlo and other Europeans who operated on the Anlo coast. This research identified the impacts of European presence on Anlo in terms of the roles of the Awadada in the wars, the effects of the wars on the Anlo and the roles of the Awoamefia in courting friendship with the Europeans.

S. Greene talks about the encounter of Anlo with the Bremen mission and its subsequent incorporation into British colonial power.⁴⁸ The missionaries

⁴⁵ S. Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery: Texts from late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ghana* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2011), 3.

⁴⁶ R. Law, *Slave Coast of West Africa 1550 - 1750* (Oxford, 1991), 143. See also, R. Law, 'The Slave Trade in Seventeenth-Century Allada: A Revision,' *African Economic History* 22, (1994):

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⁴⁷ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 20.

⁴⁸ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 112.

were zealous in the spread of their religion. The researcher used this information to delve into the traditional beliefs of the Anlo and then looked at the effects of the Bremen mission's activities on the religious lives of Anlo. The researcher also looked at how the British colonial power influenced Anlo's political system.

Amenumey notes that Geraldo de Lima was a slave trader whose influence in Anlo polity led to the Taleto War.⁴⁹ This research, therefore, investigated the other roles played by Geraldo de Lima in the economic and political history of Anlo. There was an analysis of Geraldo's roles in the consolidation of the Anlo state.

On the existing works about social history of the Ewe, H. W. Debrunner discusses the religious activities of the people of Anlo during the period of the Bremen missionaries in Anlo.⁵⁰ Based on this, the researcher explored further the belief systems of the Anlo state prior to the arrival of the Bremen mission. There were discussions on measures adopted by the missionaries to lure the people into the Christian faith after the missionaries faced initial rejection. The researcher conducted in-depth research into how the activities of the missionaries affected the social lives of Anlo.

J. Spieth argues that the choice of burial site formed the basis of the veneration of the deceased among Anlo.⁵¹ The researcher investigated the impact of burial services among Anlo and established how the former practice of burial changed with the advent of Christian missionaries.

⁴⁹ D. E. K. Amenumey, 'Geraldo de Lima: A Reappraisal,' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 9, (1968): 65-78.

⁵⁰ Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo*, (London, 1965), 78.

⁵¹ J. Spieth, *The Ewe People: A Study of the Ewe People in German Togo*, trans. M. Edorh, E. Tsaku, R. Avorny and M. E. Kropp Dakubu (Accra, 2011), 341.

B. Meyer examines the methods adopted by the missionaries in the conversion of the people of Anlo.⁵² She notes that the people were converted due to the material possessions of Christians, the qualifications achievable in mission schools and their usefulness in colonial institutions. The researcher analysed other possible reasons why people of Anlo gravitated towards Christianity. There was also an interrogation of how the new converts were perceived by the missionaries to ascertain if the converts fully accepted the new faith or continued to engage in traditional worship.

Methodology and Sources

In this study, the researcher employed historical research methods which involve collecting, analysing and evaluating data. The researcher relied on archival sources, other primary sources as well as secondary documents for information on the history of the Anlo state. Oral interviews were also used in this work since most of the information about the study could be retrieved from the oral accounts of chiefs, elders and knowledgeable opinion leaders of the Anlo state.

Interview appointments were scheduled with interviewees. The interview sessions with the respondents were easy, smooth and more interactive since the researcher is an indigene of the area and understands the Anlo language.

The snowball approach was adopted in the interview session which is an interview with one respondent that leads to another respondent for added information. The interviews were conversational and interactive with questions

⁵² B. Meyer, *Translating the Devil – Religion and Modernity among the Ewe* (London, 1999), 59.

ranging from names of the informants; their ages; status in the society and the Anlo state; the reasons for migration of the Anlo; the settlement patterns of the migrants and the origin of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools. There were questions on the occupants of the two royal stools and their contributions to the Anlo state; the coming of the Europeans and the European Christian missionaries and their impact on the Anlo state and the fate of the Anlo state in independent Ghana.

Respondents were interviewed using open-ended questions style. The interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed in order to enable the researcher have full and complete understanding of the responses provided to avoid omission. The researcher made notes of aspects of the interview that needed further clarification and explanation and asked follow-up questions on those areas for clearer understanding of the issues.

As oral tradition and oral history were employed in the interview sessions, *Oral Tradition as History* by Vansina was of immense help in providing guidelines for this study.⁵³ In addition, Paul Thompson's directions for a successful interview were employed in the study. Thompson notes that an interviewer must have interest and respect for people as individuals, be flexible in responses to them, exhibit understanding and sympathy from their point of view and above all, be willing to sit quietly and listen.⁵⁴ In addition, to reduce distortions and exaggerations, oral tradition validation model by David Henige was very useful and valuable to this work.⁵⁵ The guidelines provided by these

⁵³ J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Oxford, 1985), 3-32.

⁵⁴ P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral Tradition* (London, 2000), 222.

⁵⁵ D. Henige, 'Oral Tradition as a Means of Reconstructing the Past,' in Philip Edward John ed. *Writing African History* (Rochester, 2005), 185.

authors were of tremendous help in gathering of oral accounts regarding the two royal stools from the Anlo state.

For the secondary sources, the researcher used published materials such as articles and books related to the work, including articles on the Anlo Traditional Council, articles on the people of Anlo and Hogbetsotso Anniversary brochures. These sources were obtained from University of Education library, Winneba, Balme Library, University of Ghana, Sam Jonah library, University of Cape Coast as well as from some online academic databases such as the JSTOR digital library of academic journals and books. The researcher is aware that all sources of history are prone to potential distortions and exaggerations so the researcher critically reviewed and crosschecked the authenticity of the information gathered from these sources to minimize errors from these sources.

The researcher undertook research at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) at Ho and in Accra. Archival documents such as the Anlo Native Affairs, Chief list, Native Administration in the Gold Coast and its Dependencies and Anlo Traditional Council were thoroughly searched as these documents provided the needed information regarding the involvement of the royal occupants of these stools in the affairs concerning British administration in the Anlo state. The archival documents also helped to fill the gaps in the oral accounts of the history of the stools of the Anlo state.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes significantly to our understanding of chieftaincy and the political history of Anlo. It fills the gap in the history of Anlo state by focusing

on the two stools which had contributed immensely to the establishment and development of Anlo state.

The study contributes to the understanding of Anlo state under the umbrella of the Europeans – Danes and British – and its subsequent effects on the political, social and economic lives in Anlo. The study also establishes the roles of the missionaries in the political and social development of Anlo. In addition, the study explores the place of Anlo state in the independent Ghana.

The result of this study adds to the historical knowledge of students, traditional rulers, opinion leaders, historians, readers and the general public about the history of the Anlo state, the contributions of the occupants of the two royal stools – Awoamefia and the Awadada – to the making of the history and finally, the place of Anlo state under the Europeans influence and independent Ghana. More importantly, this study shows clearly that the Anlo was not colonised by the Germans. Therefore, the territory was not part of German Togoland.

Organization of the Study

This work is carried out in four chapters with an introduction and a conclusion. The introductory section deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions. It also reviews literature related to the research and outlines the significance and the organization of the study. This is important in understanding the general history of the Anlo state and the need to study the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools of the Anlo state.

Chapter One traces the origins of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools from 1500 to 1570. It examines the clans that laid claim to the stools and also discusses the installation rites of the occupants of the stools. The chapter also investigates the oaths of office of the chiefs of Anlo state and explores the destoolment process of occupants of the stools.

Chapter Two interrogates the place of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools in the Anlo state from 1650 to 1750. It assesses the roles played by the stools in the social and economic lives of Anlo. It also discusses the political roles of the stools in the consolidation of the Anlo state.

Chapter Three discusses the Anlo state in the era of the European presence in the Gold Coast, 1750 –1957. The chapter further assesses the political and economic impact of the Europeans, notably the Danes and the British, on the chiefs and people of Anlo. It also examines the influences of missionary activities on the social lives of the local people of Anlo.

Chapter Four interrogates the Anlo state in independent Ghana from 1957 to 1999. The chapter analyses chieftaincy in the Anlo state under the 1961 Chieftaincy Act which was promulgated by Nkrumah's government and examines the position of chiefs under the 1971 Chieftaincy Act of Ghana.

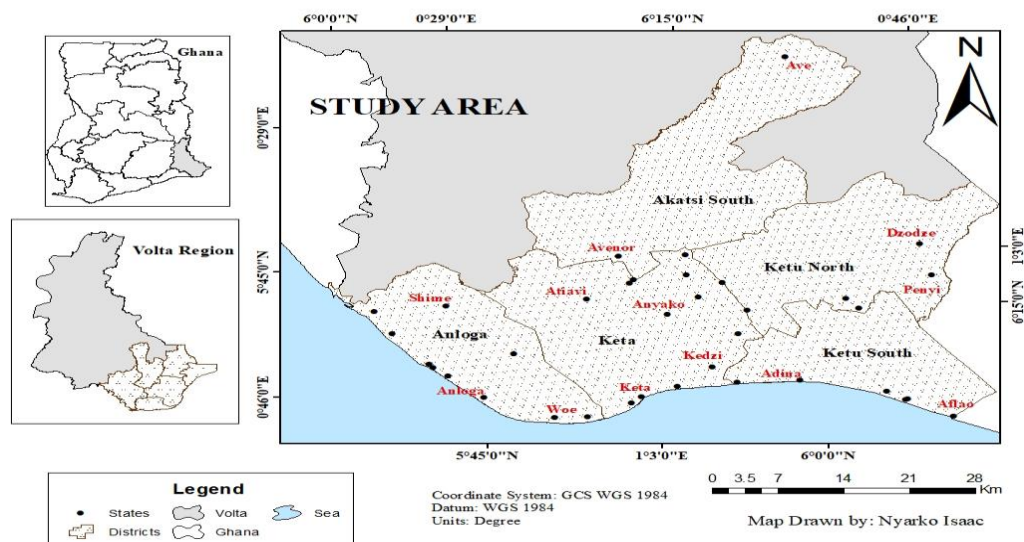
The conclusion gives an overview of the study and highlights the various major findings of the work.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF THE AWOAME AND THE KAKLAKU STOOLS, 1500 - 1570.

The political history of a centralized state revolves around the establishment of stools and skins that signify the political authority of the ruler. Stools and skins have been used as symbols of chieftaincy in centralized states in Ghanaian societies. Besides, stools and skins are seen as representations of royalty, customs and traditions. Alex Kyerematen argues that stools traditionally symbolise chieftains' leadership and they are believed to house the spirits of the living, the dead and those yet to be born.¹

This chapter first examines the study area which is the Anlo state and further traces the origins of the two most important royal stools in Anlo state and looks at the rites associated with the installation and destoolment of chiefs. The chapter assesses the royal clans that are connected with the occupancy of the two royal stools.



Map of Anlo State

¹ Kyerematen, 'The Royal Stools,' 1-10

The map above shows the spatial distribution of the Anlo state. It constitutes largely five districts, namely Anloga, Keta, Ketu South, Ketu North and Akatsi South. Anloga, Keta and Ketu South Districts are located along the coast whilst Ketu North and Akatsi South Districts are further inland (landlocked). Some of the divisional towns that constitute the Anlo state are Anloga, Keta, Dzodze, Aflao and Avenor. The towns like Shime, Woe and Atiavi are located Westward. In the Eastward are Dzodze and Penyi. The South east constitutes settlements such as Adina and Aflao. Avenor and Ave constitute the Northern sector. Conclusively, the Anlo State is largely located along the coast.

The Inception of the stools

The ancestors of the Ewe-speaking people who settled along the Keta Lagoon basin now known as Anlo in south-eastern Ghana migrated from Notsie in the Republic of Togo. Notsie was located between the Haho and Shio rivers.² Ketu, Tado and Notsie became major centres in the migration history of the Ewe-speaking people. Akyeampong, however, stated that there are difficulties in determining the Anlo relationship with Tado and Ketu although he did not assign any reason to it.³ Yet it must be noted that Tado was connected to the people of Anlo through the marriage between Wenya's sister, Asongoe and the Chief of Tado, Adza Asimadi, which produced Kponoe who later was installed as Togbi Sri I, the first Awoamefia of the Anlo state.⁴ In addition, the traditions

² Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 24.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Kponoe was the son of Adza Asimadi, chief of Tado and Asongoe, sister of Amega Wenya. Kponoe later became Togbi Sri I. Amega Wenya was, therefore, the maternal uncle of Kponoe (Togbi Sri I) and the leader of the Dogbo people in Notsie. Tado was located near river Mono in present day Togo. Tado was connected to the people of Anlo through marriage between Asongoe and Chief of Tado, Adza Asimadi which produced Kponoe who later was installed as Togbi Sri, the first Awoamefia of the Anlo state.

of the people had it that Adza Asimadi was a bosom friend of Wenya, the brother of Asongoe. Ketu is cited as the original home of Ewe-speaking people.⁵ Another issue which validates the connection between the Ewe and Ketu is the cultural similarities, traditions and the use of market days in dating events. The traditions of the people stated that the Anlo had chiefs in Notsie and the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools were their royal stools in the sixteenth century.⁶

The Awoame stool was a paramount stool while the Kaklaku stool was a war stool. The origins of the stools dated back to the time in Notsie. According to oral tradition, the preservation of stools refers to the spiritual cleansing and fortification of stools.⁷ Therefore, Awoame stool was preserved by the use of herbs while the Kaklaku stool was fortified by the blood of war captives but later the blood of a ram is used. These stools were also not expected to touch the ground so the paramount stool rested on a skin of a ram while the war stool was placed on a platform. The ram skin was used because it was the main animal used for sacrifices to the Awoame stool.

Oral tradition has it that Kponoe who was the maternal nephew of Amega Wenya was involved in a succession dispute with his half-brothers in Tado after the demise of their father, Togbi Adza Asimadi.⁸ Amega Wenya, therefore, sent his kinsmen to assist his nephew, Kponoe who was in danger and in the course of the assistance, Kponoe and his people escaped with the two

⁵ D. E. K. Amenumey, *The Ewe in pre-colonial times: A political history with special emphasis on the Anlo, Ge and Krepi* (Accra, 1986), 2-7.

⁶ Amenumey, 'A Brief History,' 17. Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022. See the images of the two stools in Appendix A.

⁷ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

⁸ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 6.

royal stools from Tado. At that time, Amega Wenya was the leader of the Dogbo people and he exercised religious, political and administrative duties. It is important to note that Togbi Agorkorli controlled the whole of Notsie town as the paramount chief (Fiaga) who had small states under his jurisdiction and one of those states was Dogbo.⁹

On the return of Kponoe to Notsie, his uncle made him ruler over the people of Dogbo and he later ascended the Awoame stool as the first Awoamefia with the stool name Sroe ('misro da' which means 'revere him') which became Sri. The stool name given to the first ruler of the Dogbo people enjoined the citizens to revere and respect the occupant of the stool. With the installation of Sri I as the sub-chief of the Dogbo people, his uncle Amega Wenya became *Zikpuitor* (Stool father) who saw to the safety of the stool.¹⁰ Amega Ameevor argued that in almost all Ewe states there was a father (tor) to every stool who was referred to as *Zikpuitor*.¹¹

Togbi Agbesi was also installed as the first Awadada of the Kaklaku stool at Notsie. In those days since bravery and valour were considered significant attributes of man, the Kaklaku stool which was a war stool was thus bequeathed to the bravest hunter in Dogbo. By the show of bravery and willpower, Agbesi was made the warlord and that position remains with his

⁹ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022. According to Amenumey, the traditions of the Ewe people recorded the existence of chiefs at Notsie.

¹⁰ *Zikpuitor* (Stool father) is the custodian of the royal stool. Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022. Also, interview with Dumega G. A. S. Ladzekpo, Vice Chairman of Hogbe Planning Committee, 72 years old, Anloga, 18 August 2022. In Notsie, because Togbi Agorkorli was a paramount chief (Fiaga -Big chief), Sri I was a sub-chief over there but with the settlement of the Dogbo (Anlo) in their new home coupled with the creation of Anlo state, Togbi Sri I became a paramount chief with thirty-six divisions under him.

¹¹ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022.

family and clan to this day.¹² These attributes were likely seen as essential for a warlord and his clan was presumed to inherit such qualities, ensuring future leaders possessed similar strength for war exploits and state administration.

The installation of Sri I did not pose a threat to the political authority of Agorkorli as he remained the Fiaga of Notsie.¹³ The emergence of the two stools on the political scene in Dogbo sought to streamline the existing political and administrative duties of the town. The Dogbo were, therefore, guided by their leaders before they undertook any task for Agorkorli in Notsie.

According to Yayoh, the leaders of Dogbo were chief-priests, not kings or chiefs. Yayoh arrived at this conclusion based on his study of the northern Ewe sub-groups.¹⁴ But the position of the people according to their traditions is always to assign chieftaincy to their time in Notsie. This could also be due to the fact that the Ewes had experienced chieftaincy during their contact with Yorubas who resided in the Niger with their kings known as the Obas.¹⁵

Although Yayoh argues that the priest-led political organization of Ewedome transited to an Akan-style chieftaincy system due to the Akan dominance of Ewedome from 1733 to 1874, yet the same cannot be said of the Anlo political structure as Amenumey debunks the assertion of Westermann that Anlo copied the act of chieftaincy from the Akan and further argues that the Anlo developed a system of rule by chiefs earlier and did not have to copy

¹² Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022 and Togbi Subo II, one of the Agave clan chiefs, 58 years old, at his residence, Nukpesekope, 11 August 2022.

¹³ Fiaga means 'Big Chief.' Fiaga is the overall ruler of an entire state who exercises jurisdiction over smaller states which have their sub-chiefs.

¹⁴ Yayoh, 'Transformation in Power Structures in Ewedome,' 191.

¹⁵ Yayoh, 'Krepi States,' 71.

from the Akan groups as the traditions made mention of chiefs in Notsie.¹⁶ He further argues that the Anlo-Akwamu relations were due primarily to the political and economic advantages the two states shared, thus, the Akwamu were sure of a regular supply of fish and salt from the Anlo as the Anlo were also assured of Akwamu military assistance.¹⁷ In addition, no Akan words or songs are used as terminologies in the description of the Anlo political system. All terminologies associated with chieftaincy in Anlo have their roots in the Ewe language as Amenumey argues that chieftaincy had been part of the political organization of the Ewe people.¹⁸ It can be argued that any Akan word in the chieftaincy setting of the Anlo can be attributed to the shared relationship the Anlo had with Asante and Akwamu in their wars of conquest and that in any human society, where there is close association there is the likelihood of cultural influences to modify or improve an existing political set-up of each other.

Furthermore, some laws that governed the entire Notsie under the leadership of Togbi Agorkorli were indications of an existence of a centralized state. One of those laws stipulated that anyone who committed murder would also experience capital punishment. This law was applied when the nephew of Togbi Agorkorli, Dzedua was accused of the murder of Aga.¹⁹ Arguably, it can be stated that the law on capital punishment could only stem from a centralized system of governance rather than a theocratic system. Again, the

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 197. See also Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 17.

¹⁷ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 17.

¹⁹ Aga was a Dogbo who was hit on the head by Dzedua, nephew of king Agorkorli when conflict ensued between them. The Dogbo people later accused the nephew of Agorkorli of murder of Aga and demanded for his execution which was granted by Agorkorli. But in reality, Aga did not die, the Dogbo people just deceived Agorkorli by organizing funeral for Aga and covering his face with la (raffia).

unsurmountable task of producing a rope/swish from clay mixed with thorns as a punitive measure for the Dogbo people in Notsie can only emanate from a powerful centralized authority, not a theocratic ruler who ruled by the decree of the gods. This has been portrayed in the *Misego* song of the Anlo;

<u>Song</u>	<u>Translation</u>
‘Togbi Agorkorli nanya ’nyi wòagbe kae	Togbi Agorkorli should knead clay into swish
Oo nanya ’nyi wòagbe kae	Oo, he should knead clay into a swish
Togbi Agorkorlia nuto nanya ’nyi wòagbe kae	Togbi Agorkorli himself should knead the clay into a swish.
Togbi Wenya kplò viawo dzoe loo.’	Togbi Wenya had gone with his children.

It must be noted that the unsurmountable task of producing a swish from clay mixed with thorns assigned by King Agorkorli earned him the nickname ‘the wicked ruler of the people.’ However, the researcher argues that the stance taken by King Agorkorli to take his pound of flesh upon the Dogbo’s deception can be described as a principled one. No ruler would be lenient after a grave deception which resulted in the killing of his family member. Ameevor and Sorkpor seemed to agree with the researcher:

Since our rulers ruled and lived by the tenets of integrity, fairness and transparency, it is appropriate to state that King Agorkorli’s actions against the people of Dogbo after he learnt of their deception were just and principled. It was even an offence to deceive a king who was a representation of the gods, ancestors and above all, a custodian of customs and traditions. Agorkorli was principled in his exercise of punishment rather than the

wide claim of Ewe oral tradition narratives that he was a wicked ruler.²⁰

The two royal stools were the embodiment of the souls of all indigenes of Anlo and the occupants of these stools were revered throughout the state.²¹ Accordingly, the Awoamefia, the occupant of the Awoame stool became the paramount ruler of the Anlo state and all divisional chiefs within the Anlo state paid homage to the Awoame stool. Awoamefia was the supreme authority in Anlo state. In his absence was the Awadada, the occupant of Kaklaku stool, who was regarded as the second in command in the Anlo state.

In the past, Awoamefia was not to be seen in public, he was in a hidden or secluded place and would be consulted in matters of grave importance. This political arrangement made the Awadada become the one in charge of the day-to-day administration of the state and only reported to Awoamefia regarding critical issues. This arrangement stemmed from Hogbe because the people observed that Togbi Tegli was of great political importance to them after he was hidden. He offered them valuable counsel regarding the unsurmountable task of kneading clay to produce rope or swish demanded from them by Togbi Agorkorli.²² Togbi Tegli's wise guidance helped them to outwit Agorkorli and escape from Notsie. It is in line with that arrangement that the Anlo sought to

²⁰ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022 and Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

²¹ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 10 August 2022.

²² *Ibid*; Togbi Tegli was one of the elders of the Dogbo people in Notsie. According to traditions, he was hidden after the King Agorkorli ordered for the execution of all older men in Dogbo community. Togbi Tegli was believed to have offered valuable advice to the Dogbo people when King Agorkorli demanded unassailable tasks from them.

It was also due to the same reason that the paramount chief was put in Awoame (secluded place or hidden place) hence the name Awoamefia. Awoame served as the hidden place of the paramountcy and it is found in Anloga, the capital of the Anlo state.

put the Awoamefia in seclusion and to be consulted in times of danger. It can also be deduced that the people did not intend to risk the life of the Awoamefia. This is because the Awoamefia was the representation of the Anlo state and in the olden times, supremacy on the battlefield was the order of the day and the capture of the occupant of the royal stool was equivalent to the capture of the whole state. The Awoamefia is still revered among his subjects and remains the paramount ruler of the Anlo state to this day.

Selection and Installation Rites of the Awoamefia

According to Amega Ameevor, the selection of the preferred candidate as the Awoamefia was not based on the right of primogeniture.²³ Although it was not a necessity, in some instances, a son, either the first or last born ruled after the father or grandfather. This explains the point that in the Anlo royal system, there were no royal princes where it would be compulsory for a crown prince to ascend the throne upon the demise of his father, the king. The selection was based on physical appearance and the selected candidate must not have any form of deformity since the state was considered flawless, the candidate to head the state must equally be without blemish. Apart from the physical selection, there was the consultation with the gods concerning the choice of a candidate.²⁴ In addition, the selected candidate must be intelligent and possess leadership qualities. These were the general qualifications a candidate must possess and the two royal clans – Adzorvia and Bate – were expected to abide by these guidelines in their choice of a candidate.

²³ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See also, Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 64.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

The selected candidate underwent some cleansing rites before installation. It was not certain if those rites were carried out for the first Awoamefia, Togbi Sri I.²⁵ That could be due to circumstances regarding his choice and installation. The Kingmakers started performing those rites from the time of the successor to Sri I.²⁶ The Lafe clan as one of the fifteen clans served as the kingmakers in Anlo state. The choice of the Lafe clan as kingmakers emanated from their founder, Amega Wenya, who was believed to have performed the first installation ceremony of Awoamefia in c. 1468.²⁷

The selected candidate had his head, armpit and pubic hairs shaved to give him a new identity as he abandoned his old personality. The finger and toe nails were also removed in preparation of the candidate spiritually. The selected individual was then taken to the beach for cleansing. He was stripped to the loins as he received the spiritual cleansing renouncing his old self and taking on the new self. There were invocations of God's blessings and ancestors' protection for the new chief. These rites were performed to spiritually sanctify and usher the candidate into a new realm of life as he prepared to ascend the Stool.

The candidate was then smeared with white kaolin and clad in white cloth and another one was turned into a turban to cover the shaved head. The smearing of the kaolin was for purification purposes. Kakla, (*Momordica charantia*/ bitter-melon /ampalaya) a spiritual herb was woven into garlands and put on the neck, elbows, knees and ankles of the new chief.²⁸ The use of the

²⁵ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Interview Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See also, Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 49.

²⁸ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

kakla indicated that he had been chosen and accepted by his people, ancestors and the gods and there was no opportunity for rejection as it was believed that removing the kakla after it was hanged around one's neck had repercussions of spiritual complications such as madness and ill health. The use of white cloth was for expression of joy for being able to undertake the installation rites and triumphant entry into a new selfdom. Kakla was also for spiritual protection. The chosen candidate was then allowed to undergo the other rites such as confinement in the stool house for tutelage.

The chosen Awoamefia was then confined for six to twelve months where he would be taken through the rites and the lessons of state leadership and administration.²⁹ The Awoamefia was spiritually and ritually strengthened, after which an appointed date was chosen in the month of October to outdoor him. On the day of the outdoorings and the presentation of the supreme ruler to the chiefs and people of Anlo, he was dressed in dark bluish cloth (bisi), woven raffia (la) with a hat and he held a royal staff.³⁰ The installed Awoamefia was carried in a palanquin where he was accompanied by elders and a crowd of men and women singing and dancing to the durbar ground for the outdoorings ceremony.³¹ His carriage in a palanquin instead of being carried on a gun was an indication that the Awoamefia as a ruler of the Anlo state was forbidden to lead his people to war. The head of the Lafe clan, therefore, enjoyed the prerogative of installing the Awoamefia by performing the rites of putting royal

²⁹ Interview Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. Also, interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022. See Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 64.

³⁰ See Appendix B for the image of Awoamefia in his regalia.

³¹ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 64.

cloth and sandals on the feet of the chosen candidate. This rite gave legitimacy to the position of Awoamefia.

Chiefs and other individuals in charge of governance rely on taboos as a tool of legitimacy and they expect those under their authority to follow these taboos. Taboos enhance Africa's cultural legacy which is essential in African civilisations and understanding it will enhance one's knowledge of social, religious and psychological behaviour. Anlo, therefore, invoked taboos which are the bases of oaths and served as means to protect chiefs during their reign and destool them in cases of arbitrary rule.

Taboos serve as an emblematic representation of authority of leaders in governance. Consequently, at the commencement of their tenure, leaders should take an oath that would serve as a mark of endorsement and guarantee to the state that, as a leader, all communal taboos would be upheld.³²

During the installation ceremony, the Awoamefia was made to swear an oath. A chief's oath refers to a tragedy or disaster such as defeat in war, or the assassination of a chief of a state or town.³³ Most often, the day of a disaster became a taboo. A stool could have one or more oaths. The oath of a chief is considered an essential aspect of customs as it evokes the wrath of ancestral spirits that were involved in misfortune and in addition, can be used as an instrument to enforce orders of the chief.³⁴ The chief derives his authority and power to rule his people from swearing the oath.

³² B. Owusu, 'Chieftaincy and Traditional Taboos,' in I. K. Odotei, A. K. Awedoba ed. *Chieftaincy in Ghana: Culture, Governance and Development* (Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2006) 222.

³³ Yayoh, 'Protests against Amalgamation in Colonial Ewedome,' 28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

The oath of the Anlo state revolved around three major battles of the Anlo - Nonobe, Datsutagba and Taleto wars. The fierce battles of Nonobe (1750), Datsutagba (1866) and Taleto (1885) brought dishonour to the Anlo state.³⁵ In the battle of Nonobe in 1750, the Awadada Togbi Aboadzi lost the battle miserably and got himself drowned in the Amewu Lake at Atorkor.³⁶ His body was later retrieved and given a befitting burial. The Nonobe battle was fought between Anlo and Ada with their allies including Akwapim, Akim Abuakwa, Krobo and Agave due to the longstanding rivalry over the salt trade in the Lower Volta. In the battle of Datsutagba 1866, the Anlo lost the battle with a casualty of one thousand and five hundred souls perishing in the hands of the invaders, the Ada and her allies.³⁷ The cause of the Datsutagba war could be attributed to the salt trade rivalry between Anlo and the Ada. The people of Ada were assisted by the English, Akwapim, Akim and the Krobo in that fierce battle which the Anlo lost.³⁸ In the Datsutagba battle, a woman by name Yakagbe displayed her resilience, valour and dexterity among the male counterparts.³⁹ A stool was created to honour her at Atorkor because of her show of gallantry at the battlefield. It can be argued that Yakagbe ranked in prowess and courage as Yaa Asantewaa of the Asante state.

Although Mama Yakagbe displayed dexterity at the battlefield which earned her a stool, women in general did not play any significant role in the state

³⁵ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, (Accra: 1978), 10-11.

³⁶ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 98.

³⁷ See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10-11; Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 33.

³⁸ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 101.

³⁹ See Appendix C for the image of Mama Yakagbe. The display of those attributes confirmed that the origins and occupation of the stool demanded a show of such qualities which further helped the occupant/ruler to administer the state.

formation of Anlo. Apart from her singular achievement in the Datsutagba war, most women worked in support roles as cooks, water workers and food distributors. Women who no longer experienced menstrual cycles were assigned roles as cooks for warriors. This is because of the fortification rituals that were performed for the warriors. It was believed that if the warriors were served by women who still experienced menstrual cycles, it would destroy the efficacy of the fortification. Women in Anlo state became state actors after the independence of Ghana.

During the Taleto War of 1885, Anlo were defeated by the British government led by Captain Campbell which resulted in the bombardment of Anyako, Dzita, Whuti and Anloga and more importantly too, the death of Togbi Gawu II of Whuti.⁴⁰ The Taleto War was caused by George Atiogbe also known as Geraldo De Lima, a slave merchant who was arrested and had his merchandise seized by the British government to enforce the Slave abolition law.⁴¹ In the process of sending Geraldo to Accra for incarceration, the men of Tenge Dzokoto prevented the escort. Later the District Commissioner invited Tenge and his men for a meeting and arrested them, but as the District Commissioner returned to Accra, he was attacked by Tenge's men and that resulted in the Taleto War with the British government.⁴² It is clear that those battles had become dark spots in the political history of Anlo and therefore were

⁴⁰ See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10-11.

⁴¹ Amenumey, 'Geraldo de Lima,' 65-78. George Atiogbe was the original name of Geraldo de Lima. He was a servant of a Brazilian slave dealer Cosar Cequira Geraldo de Lima who dealt in the slave traffic from his place at Vodza in Anlo. After the demise of his master, he took over his name, wife and the slave trade business. His choice of the master's name Geraldo de Lima was to aid him in his business transactions.

⁴² See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10-11.

used as oaths. Dutəkonyife served as the place of oath-taking for the Anlo as according to traditions, that place was the original settlement home of the Anlo.

The invocation of those three battles through the swearing of an oath was to charge the chief (Awoamefia) to be very responsive and proactive to issues of the Anlo state and carry out other responsibilities and obligations connected to the Awoame stool. The Awoamefia was expected by the pronouncement of these oaths to urgently respond to the call of the state at all times. Any contrary action of the oath taker in this case, Awoamefia, to these customs would spell disaster for the state because the oaths of Anlo set rules for standard behaviour for all chiefs within the Anlo state. It set the tone of governance of the Anlo state. The oath gave legitimacy to the stool since the oath taker was bound by the dictates of the oath to the state.

As a supreme ruler of the Anlo, there were certain rites he must observe to keep the royal stool spiritually clean. One of these rites was that the Awoamefia would not attend the funeral rites of ordinary citizens or people and would not see dead bodies. He must not be seen drinking and eating in public since it became known that the secret of the Dogbo people concerning the supposed death of Aga was revealed when Togbi Sri I got drunk and loosely spoke about the hidden secret. This sacred revelation got Agorkorli infuriated because he was deceived into ordering the death penalty for his nephew who was accused of killing a Dogbo man.⁴³ As a result of that grievous deception, Agorkorli seized the stools of Sri I and set many difficult tasks for Ewes.

⁴³ Interview with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 64.

The customs which forbade the occupant of the Awoame stool from drinking and eating in public were also to preserve the sanctity and privacy of the royal stool as the office of the Awoamefia symbolised the security and safety of the state. The customs and rites involved in the installation of the occupant of the Awoame stool suggested that the office of Awoamefia was sacred. This stemmed from the cladding of the Awoamefia in 'bisi' cloth with raffia around the neck. Also, his confinement for six months for spiritual fortification coupled with the taboos of not going to battle and seeing blood and corpses preserved the reverence and sanctity of Awoamefia's office.

Alternation of the Awoame Stool between the Adzorvia and Bate Clans.

The seat of Awoamefia alternated between the Adzorvia and Bate clans which were part of the fifteen clans of the Anlo state. Togbi Sri I was regarded as the founder of the Adzorvia clan.⁴⁴ Oral tradition has it that the Awoame Stool originally belonged to the Adzorvia clan whose leader and founder was Togbi Sri I. Kponoe who later became Togbi Sri I took the stool from his paternal family in Tado after a succession dispute ensued between him and his half-brothers.

The Bate clan emerged as the alternative claimant to the royal stool because the stool was left behind in Notsie as a result of the seizure of the stool by Agorkorli and the exodus of the people of Anlo to their present settlement. Oral account has it that Togbi Sri I requested his son, Fui Agbeve to bring the stool from Notsie, but he was prevented from embarking on the journey by his

⁴⁴ Anlo Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, (Accra: 2022), 25.

mother. The reason behind that decision by the wife of Togbi Sri I was unknown.

However, it can be inferred that she might probably be apprehensive of the actions that King Agorkorli might take considering the circumstances under which the Ewe left Notsie. At that juncture, Adeladza and Atorgolo, Sri's nephews from Bate and Like clans respectively decided to embark on the journey to Notsie. It was said that when they got to Notsie, King Agorkorli demanded the head of Togbi Sri I before he would release the Awoame stool to them. The two messengers then left Notsie without retrieving the stool. As they returned, there were consultations among the elders and the decision was made to kill one servant who had yaws around his hand like that of Togbi Sri I.⁴⁵ Atorgolo killed the man and sent his hand to Agorkorli with the excuse that Togbi Sri was old and had been bedridden with diseases, therefore, his hand was chopped off. Although, it is known in chieftaincy circles that human head was presented to another chief as evidence for captivity and loyalty, the arm of Togbi Sri was presented to Agorkorli because that arm had yaws which was known to everyone in Dogbo including Agorkorli himself so the presentation of it to him was solid evidence of the death of Togbi Sri.⁴⁶ Moreover, to ascertain the truth of the people of Anlo, Togbi Agorkorli sent spies to the Anlo state for three months but they returned without any contradictory evidence to him. Anlo were able to achieve that feat of total silence through the cooperation of the citizens.

⁴⁵ Interviews with Amega P. K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022; Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary of Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

The words they used to solicit adherence, however, formed the basis of Anlo appellation:

<u>Appellation</u>	<u>Translation</u>
‘Anlo kotsi klolo	‘Anlo kotsi klolo
Anlo godolifi	Anlo in a round state with secrecy
Du nɔ eme mase emenya.’	A town you live in without comprehension of its affairs.’

Agorkorli accepted it and released the stool with the understanding that Sri had paid for his deception through death. It is imperative to note that the demand by King Agorkorli for the head of Togbi Sri I showed that Agorkorli still had issues with the earlier betrayal actions of the Dogbo people. Moreover, this shows that the royal stools were not easily retrieved by the emissaries, they had to exchange human life for the stools.

On their return, Sri I appreciated the efforts of his nephews and decided to reward them by decreeing that his nephew Adladza should rule after his demise. Atorgolo was, however, disqualified because he soiled his hands with human blood and it was against the custom that someone who has soiled his hands is forbidden to sit on the Awoame stool.⁴⁷ Atorgolo and his descendants from that time became the executioners (*ametatsolawo*) of the Anlo state and anyone who was condemned to death was executed by the Like clan.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Interview with Amega P.K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022.

⁴⁸ *Ametatsolawo* (executioners) were people who were assigned the duty to execute the most undesirable elements in society such as thieves, adulterers etc. in the Anlo state. They also carried out execution of war captives in the state.

Adeladza, therefore, succeeded his uncle as the next Awoamefia and Nukunya opined that succession to the Awoame stool from that time alternately rotated among the Adzorvia and Bate clans.⁴⁹ This means that the Adzorvia clan's claim to the Awoame stool was by right of inheritance and the Bate claim to the Awoame stool was by right of service.⁵⁰ From the account, the Bate ascension to the Awoame stool was through female line because Adeladza, the successor of Togbi Sri I was a maternal nephew. Although Adeladza was a maternal nephew of Sri, he and his descendants' ascension to the throne remained patrilineal. Nukunya posited that the rotation of kingship within these two clans was to prevent much power from falling into the hands of one of these groups.⁵¹ This could not be much of a reason since in the past, the Adzorvia clan from 1726 to 1776 and 1784 to 1810 had installed its descendants on the throne on two consecutive times which might have infuriated the Bate clan to do the same from 1810 to 1840 and 1849 to 1906.⁵² For instance, Togbi Atsiasa I who ruled from 1784 to 1810 immediately after Togbi Atsia I (1726 - 1776) were both descendants of the Adzorvia clan. Also, Togbi Amedor Kpegla I (1849 - 1906) who succeeded Togbi Letsa Gbagba I (1810 - 1840) were both descendants of the Bate clan.

It can be observed that the various occupants of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools took different names as their stool names. The various rulers chose those names based on the various lineages that each chosen candidate

⁴⁹ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 65.

⁵⁰ Interview with Amega P.K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022. See also S. Greene, 'The Past and Present of an Anlo-Ewe Oral Tradition,' *History in Africa* 12, (1985):73-87.

⁵¹ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 63.

⁵² Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 109.

came from, for instance, the Adzorvia clan had three royal family lines of which one (Nyaxoenu family) produced the Awoamefia while the Bate clan had two royal family lines of which Awoamefia came from one (Adeladza family), so each time any of these royal families produced Awoamefia, the choice of name was based on the lineage of the said candidate. The same arrangement was used for the choice of names for the Awadada. This practice is not in line with what pertains in other traditional areas such as Kpando, Ho and Asante which practised a centralized system of government.

The clans of Anlo

Among the Anlo, everyone belonged to a clan that they called hlɔ.⁵³ There were fifteen clans; Lafe, Amlade, Adzorvia, Bate, Likɛ, Bame, Klevi, Tovi, Tsiamɛ, Agave, Amɛ, Dzevi, Uifeme, Yetsofe and Blu in Anlo and by birth, every Anlo was a member of a clan. Both boys and girls belonged to their father's clan under the paternal inheritance system. With this, there existed a social disorder which was considered a prohibition among the Anlo known as *dzidehlɔmi* (someone born into another clan or blood). This *dzidehlɔmi* occurred when a woman out of infidelity falsely gave her child to another man other than the real father of the assigned child. The *dzidehlɔmi* was considered the highest act of shame for the woman and the child and the entire family of the woman as she was seen as an unworthy person who 'smuggled a child into a different clan' if people found out about it. The *dzidehlɔmi* was disgusted among Anlo and children of such background enjoyed no form of inheritance.

⁵³ Hlɔ is simply clan and is literally referred to as bloodline.

The ancestral home of all clans was Anloga. Each clan had a governing council composed of the head who doubled as the custodian of the clan's relics and several councillors who kept custody of the clan's property in trust.⁵⁴ The clans were grouped into two divisions according to the observance of funeral rites. Those in the first group were Lafeawo, Amladeawo, Adzorviawo, Bateawo, Bameawo, Ameeawo, Likɛawo, Toviawo, Kleviawo and Xetsoafeawo.⁵⁵ They were called *Ɔkekekɔuitɔwo* (clans which observed rites for short periods) as the customary rite for a dead member was held on the fourth day counting from the day of burial. On the fifth day, rituals and prayers of parting were held for the dead. The second group *Ɔkekelegbetɔwo* (clans which observed rites for long periods) consisted of Tsiameawo, Agaveawo, Dzeviawo, Uifemeawo and Bluawo.⁵⁶ Customary observances were held on the seventh and eighth days after burial rites. These classifications of clans according to *Ɔkekekɔuitɔwo* and *Ɔkekelegbetɔwo* emanated from the observance of days regarding vigil rites for a deceased member of the clan.

In the Anlo state, membership of a clan came with its characteristics and these differentiated one clan member from the other. Among these characteristics were food, names, taboos and injunctions.⁵⁷ Each of the fifteen clans in Anlo had a totem that connected to stories about the origin and the heroic achievement of the founder. Also, some personal traits such as valour,

⁵⁴ Anlo Hogbetsotsoza, 25th Anniversary Brochure, 12.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 49.

calmness and meekness were believed to have been acquired as members of a particular clan.

The Adzorvia and the Bate clans

Members of the Adzorvia clan had the adzorvia, a specie of tilapia as a main totem and they observed certain specific taboos.⁵⁸ They were forbidden to eat adzorvia and gesosi which were breeds of tilapia. Adzorvia has multi-coloured skin while Gesosi has no tail.⁵⁹ The members of the Adzorvia clan were also forbidden to use afla (bulrushes/reeds) as firewood. It is believed that non-adherence to these taboos had dire consequences for a disobedient person.

The Adzorvia clan had three *kpɔnuwo* (gates) namely the Nyaxoenu/Yorxoenu, Alagbati, and Deti gates.⁶⁰ The Nyaxoenu served as the seat of the Awoame stool. Alagbati was the abode of their god Tormi where they performed initiation rites for ‘foreigners’ who wanted to become indigenes of the Anlo state. Deti also served as the abode of two other gods namely Togbi Asimatsogunui and Mama Uanyevi of the Adzorvia clan.⁶¹ Deti was commonly known as *Avɔnɔtɔkɔ* or the fourth landing stage. Blacksmiths were also found at Deti in the Anlo state. Oral history has it that Togbi Sri I stayed at

⁵⁸ See table 1 under Appendix D for names given to boys and girls born into the Adzorvia clan. See also, P. K. M. Ameevor, *Ŋkɔwo de?* (Keta, 1998), 6.

⁵⁹ Interview with Amega P.K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022.

⁶⁰ *Kpɔnuwo* (Gates) referred to the royal families that emerged to lay legitimate claim to the Awoame stool. Adzorvia had three royal families that were in charge of various activities regarding the Awoame stool, but the selection of the Awoamefia was from the Nyaxoenu family or gate. The Bate also had two royal families, but the choice of Awoamefia was from the Adeladza family or gate. These gates were similar to those of the North because the gates over there referred to the two royal families in Dagbon - Adani and Abudu families - that emerged as claimants to the skin hence, the Adani and the Abudu gates.

⁶¹ Greene, ‘The Past and Present,’ 78 -79. Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

Alagbati on their initial arrival at Anlo and later moved to Nyaxoenu as his final place of residence, hence Awoamefia emerged from the Nyaxoenu gate of the Adzorvia clan.⁶² The Deti gate served as a centre of blacksmithing for the Anlo where war and farming implements were manufactured and the Alagbati gate served as the abode of the god Tormi.

The Bate clan

Togbi Adeladza I is regarded as the founder of the Bate clan. The Bate clan was the only clan that shared the Awoame stool with the Adzorvia clan.⁶³ This claim of legitimacy to the throne was by way of compensation received for the service rendered to the Awoamefia, Togbi Sri I. This was what Greene referred to as the 'right of service.'⁶⁴

The Bate clan also observed some taboos. One of their greatest totems was the use of la (raffia). To cover the faces of their dead, they used la (raffia). In Dogbo or Hogbe, this was the way they disguised the face of the then dead man, Aga, to trick and deceive King Agorkorli I to kill his nephew. They believed that for a deceased person to pass into the next world safely, his or her face must be covered with raffia. As a result, it was forbidden to use la (raffia) as firewood. They prohibited pregnant women from passing through any opening in a fence or wall.⁶⁵ Clan members were also forbidden to eat 'bateborlu' (Bate lobster/shrimp).⁶⁶

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See table 2 under Appendix D for names given to boys and girls born into the Bate clan. See also, Ameenor, *Ŋkɔwo de?* 6.

⁶⁴ Greene, 'The Past and Present,' 78.

⁶⁵ Anlo Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, (Accra: 2012), 25.

⁶⁶ 'Bateborlu' is a kind of lobster (shrimp)

Mama Bate was the god of the Bate clan. They had two gates – Avorke and Tsatsu Adeladza at Lasibi Atsite and Torgbletorkor – respectively.⁶⁷ Avorke gate served as the abode for their clan gods while the Tsatsu Adeladza gate served as the royal place for the clan.⁶⁸

Origins of Awadada

The position of the Awadada which means ‘war mother’ originated from Hogbe. The position had a military connotation and, therefore, was reserved for the craftiest and most fearless hunter who had displayed his prowess and daring character in hunting down animals.⁶⁹ The people believed that since a dexterous hunter could display valour and was skilful in handling weapons, the first Awadada to ascend the Kaklaku stool must possess the above skills.

As the Anlo developed a more structured political system because they engaged in a series of warfare against their enemies in their settlement exploits in the mid-seventeenth century, the role of the Awadada was redefined as he was regarded as a war leader or commandant of the army rather than his earlier role of a hunter of animals. Anlo later courted friendship with the Akwamu in c.1750 due to the latter’s demand for fish and salt and the former’s quest for military superiority among its neighbours in the Lower Volta.⁷⁰ It can be argued that the friendship also shaped the military structure of the Anlo as they incorporated the three wings of Akwamu’s army formation in their military set-up. The Awadada, the war mother/warlord, therefore, served as the commander-

⁶⁷ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 15 August 2022.

⁶⁸ See table 3 in the Appendix D for the roll of honour of the Awoamefia of the Anlo state.

⁶⁹ Interview with Togbi Subo II, one of the Agave clan chiefs, 58 years old, at his residence, Dzelukope, 11 August 2022.

⁷⁰ Kea, ‘Akwamu -Anlo relations,’ 30.

in-chief of the three wings of the Anlo military structure. The Anlo- Akwamu relationship from c.1750 to 1813 was to maintain Anlo territorial and political integrity against the expansionist policies of Little Popo sovereigns and the tendency of Ada, Akwapim and Akyem Abuakwa to engage in hostilities with Anlo.⁷¹ It can be argued that Akwamu presence was to assist in the consolidation of Anlo hegemony over the Lower Volta basin and the coast from the Volta to Aflao as well as districts in common boundary with the northern shores of the Keta lagoon because the people of Anlo continuously supplied fish, salt and slaves to Akwamu. Arguably, it can be stated that this relationship between Anlo and Akwamu influenced the Anlo military system. The right-wing was headed by a chief of Whuti known as Dusifia (right-wing chief) while the left wing was headed by the chief of Woe called Miafia (left-wing chief). These two wing chiefs were also known by the title asafohenegawo, a title which was acquired through a military alliance with the Akwamu people.⁷² It is possible that there would be influences as a result of any relationship between the two states.

The Awadada was not a chief of any town in Anlo state like his other colleagues since he was a commander of the state army. This could be due to the fact that Kaklaku stool was a war stool indicating military position. The political arrangement of Awadada not being a chief of any town exists up to this day. This provided him with the opportunity to relate directly with the Awoamefia as he acted as next in command. The Awadada was able to develop good military strategies to outwit the enemies of the state because he did not

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 65.

have the power as a chief. This is evident in the numerous successful battles won by Anlo such as the battles against the Ada in 1769, 1770, 1776 and 1880. That political arrangement of Awadada not being a chief of any town allowed the Awadada to fully fulfil the responsibilities of the Awoamefia under its delegated authority.

Awadada was the only one permitted by customs and traditions to act as the head of the Anlo state should the Awoame stool become vacant or due to the absence of the Awoamefia.⁷³ It was in line with this tradition that, from 1906 to 1907, Awadada Togbi Katsriku II acted as the Awoamefia.⁷⁴ Also, from 1997 to 2011, Awadada Togbi Agbesi Awusu II served as the head of the Anlo state when Togbi Adeladza II died in 1997.⁷⁵ The Awadada was answerable only to the Awoamefia, so he stayed in Anloga for regular and easy communication with the Awoamefia.⁷⁶

Due to the fact that the two other military wing chiefs of the Anlo state, (that is the right and left wings leaders) also functioned as Dufiawo (chiefs of town) of Whuti and Woe towns respectively, their installations followed the general procedure laid down for the installation of any other chief of a town (Dufia) in the Anlo state. They were confined for two to three weeks after which they were presented to the Awoamefia and later to the people at a durbar.⁷⁷ During the confinement, they were taught lessons on state administration and rites were performed to strengthen their spiritual ties. The installation of the

⁷³ Interview with Togbi Subo II, one of the Agave clan chiefs, 58 years old, at his residence, Dzelukope, 11 August 2022.

⁷⁴ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 108.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 66.

⁷⁷ Interview with Togbi Subo II, one of the Agave clan chiefs, 58 years, at his residence, Dzelukope, 11 August 2022.

Dufia was marked by the firing of musketry and the use of guns for carriage.⁷⁸ The gun-carriage of these sub-chiefs means that they were considered as warriors and protectors of their towns and they could be called upon any time there was war. A day was set aside when the royal sandals were put on the feet of the installed chiefs. The rites associated with putting on royal sandals which were performed by the head of the Lafe clan showed the legitimacy of the chief's authority. The spiritual fortification of chiefs was a very significant aspect of the customs regarding the confinement of chiefs to prevent any test of power by unscrupulous people.

Installation of Awadada

The Awadada was confined for three months. These three months were periods of his spiritual fortification, tutelage on military strategies and other state crafts. The Awadada was installed on specific dates in the Anlo state. The Anlo set aside any Monday within the month of September or October as the installation date of Awadada.⁷⁹ During the installation, Awadada wore a war helmet called Dzengba.⁸⁰ He also wielded the 'oath-sword' (atamkayi) called adzoyi but the tip of the sword pointed down to signify peace at home.⁸¹ As part of his installation rites, the Awadada was also carried on a gun, unlike the Awoamefia who was carried in a palanquin. It is worth noting that the gun -carriage of Awadada signifies his readiness for battle. In the past when the Awadada

⁷⁸ Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 67.

⁷⁹ Interview with Togbi Subo II, one of the Agave clan chiefs, 58 years old, at his residence, Dzelukope, 11 August 2022.

⁸⁰ Dzengba also known as Awadekuku was a war helmet worn by the Awadada during battles.

⁸¹ Adzoyi was a sword. It had an appellation Adzoyi baɖa be yele akume si akuto (treacherous/bad adzoyi that is hidden in scabbard but injures the owner). It was mostly used in the battlefields by the Awadada. It also served as the sword of swearing oath. See Appendix E for the image of Awadada Katsriku Awusu II holding adzoyi.

pointed the tip of the sword up, it signified wartime or danger at home. He dressed in his war regalia and marched to the battlefield.⁸²

During the installation rites, the Awadada was also made to swear an oath of allegiance to the state by the invocation of the three battles – Nonobe, Datsutagba and Taleto – which demanded Awadada to be very responsive and proactive to issues of Anlo state.

Aside from these state items, there was the Kaklaku stool which was the (awazi) war stool of Awadada and it was the only stool that accompanied the Awoame stool from Hogbe.⁸³ During all the wars the Anlo state fought, Awadada had control of the state military. The Kaklaku stool was a war stool that was taken to battlefields to help the Anlo warriors to secure victory.

Although the Kaklaku stool secured victory on battlefields and all human heads that were slaughtered were placed in front of it, Awadada always appeared in white garments to signal victory. The white apparel also showed that should the Awadada die on the war front he would be buried in white apparel to bring peace to the land. In other words, the white apparel of the Awadada showed peace at home and also a victory on the battlefield.

The Agave Clan

Awadada came from the Agave clan. The Agave clan was one of the fifteen clans in Anlo state. Agave was believed to have been founded by Aga who also

⁸² Interview with Amega P.K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022.

⁸³ Awazi was a war stool which was taken to battlefield by the Anlo military led by Awadada. It was believed that the presence of this stool secured victory for the Anlo. War captives were also slaughtered for the stool.

founded several towns such as Agavedzi, Bomigo and Agave in Tongu towns.⁸⁴ This is why they believed that the people of Tongu were descendants of Aga. The founding of Agave township in Tongu by Aga explains the reason for having Anlo Agave and Tongu Agave.

The Agave clan was the only clan that produced the Awadada, 'the warlord'. The Agave clan was the custodian of the Kaklaku stool and the Adzoyi, the sword. Therefore, members of Agave clan were regarded as the warriors of the Anlo state.⁸⁵ Although the choice of Awadada was hereditary within a particular family, the selection of a particular candidate depended on qualities such as bravery, courage, intelligence and resilience exhibited at the warfront.

As clans in the Anlo state had peculiar totems and taboos, the members of the Agave clan had cashew nuts as their totem.⁸⁶ In their clan, certain avoidances were considered taboos. They used the fruits of the cashew nut tree, but it was forbidden to use its dried sticks as firewood.⁸⁷ Non-adherence to this taboo would make the disobedient person have spotted skin. The members of the Agave clan also did not use salt that poured on the floor in their cooking or food preparation. On the sixth or seventh day after a funeral, Agave clan members performed a post-burial ceremony. The members of the Agave clan

⁸⁴ Tongu means 'riverside'. It is located at Lower Volta and has towns such as Agave, Mepe and Mafi.

⁸⁵ See table 4 in the Appendix D for the list of Awadada.

⁸⁶ See table 5 under Appendix D for names given to boys and girls born into the Agave clan. See also, Ameevor, *Ŋkɔwo de? 7*.

⁸⁷ Interview with P.K. M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, on 11 August 2022.

had Togbi Gbe as their god and they regarded Nyaxoenutoko or Tòkò Etòlia (the third landing stage) as their gate.

Destoolment of chiefs

The occupants of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools could be destooled if they departed from the rule of justice and engaged in actions that brought disrepute to the stools and the state. Some of the activities included abuse of power – thus becoming a law unto himself, criminal activities and violation of cultural norms such as selling stool properties and conniving with unscrupulous persons to denigrate the state.⁸⁸ When a chief was found guilty, the elders met and deliberated on the issues. The accused was, however, given an opportunity to explain himself. The elders assessed the evidence adduced before them after which they passed their verdict.

After all these, if the chief was found guilty, the kingmakers remove the sandals from the chief's feet and any other regalia. There was announcement that the said destooled chief could not hold himself as chief again. Anlo believed that *du menɔa fia gbɔ o, fiae nɔa du gbɔ* literally meaning the state does not live with a chief, it is the chief who lives with the state. This implies that the power of the people was sovereign in all activities and that cannot be abused by any chief. The power as exercised by the chief emanated from the people.

According to the traditions of Anlo, after the destoolment of a chief, a new chief would not be installed because Anlo believed that the destooled chief

⁸⁸ Interview with Mama Uui Amegashie III, Member Hogbe Planning Committee, 56years old, at her residence, Abutiakope, on 15 September 2023.

might spiritually attack the new chief.⁸⁹ A new chief would only be installed when the destooled chief died.

Conclusion

Whilst there is no consensus among historians about the origin of the institution of chieftaincy among the Ewe-speaking people of present-day Ghana, the traditions of the people of Anlo assert rather strongly that the institution was not a borrowed one. This notwithstanding, it is safe to say that the Anlo state became more centralized after its contact with Akwamu and Asante. The two royal stools of Anlo state were seen as the embodiment of the souls of all Anlo indigenes that fostered unity and cohesion in the Anlo land and its occupants were revered by all indigenes.

The political arrangement within the Anlo polity where the Awadada, the occupant of the Kaklaku stool, deputised for the Awoamefia helped to prevent usurpation of power in the demise or absence of the Awoamefia. The alternation of the Awoame stool between the Adzorvia and Bate clans to a great extent had prevented any other clans from laying claim to the royal stool. The several rites and prohibitions regarding the installation and activities of the Awoamefia put the office and the position in a religious context which strongly suggest that the Awoamefia was a chief-priest in the past. The political provision where the Awadada was not a ruler of any town offered him the opportunity to focus on the defence and protection of the Anlo state. It also

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

allowed the Awadada to fully dispense the responsibilities of the Awoamefia under its delegated authority.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PLACE OF THE AWOAME AND THE KAKLAKU STOOLS IN THE ANLO STATE, 1650 –1750.

This chapter focuses on the formation of the Anlo state and discusses the roles associated with the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools which served as the two most significant stools in the Anlo state. The chapter further looks at the roles regarding the socio-economic importance of the stools in the lives of the people of Anlo as the fish and salt trade from Anlo and Keta also expanded farther afield. It also examines the stools' political importance regarding the consolidation of the Anlo state. The chapter explores how native political systems support or impede local governance initiatives.

The formation of the Anlo state

Anlo as a state was formed as a result of the amalgamation of the various political units founded by Wenya, Sri I and their people during their migration to their present settlement. According to Amenumey, in the early seventeenth century, the third group of the Dogbo people who later became Anlo under Wenya established Atiteti, Keta, Kedzi, Tegbi, Woe and Anloga.¹ Wenya's nephew, Sri also moved with his followers and founded Klikor, Wheta and later Kodzi. Agavedzi was also founded by Aga, the man who was supposedly killed by Agorkorli's nephew. Oral tradition has it that when Wenya and his people reached the place now known as Anloga, he expressed tiredness and stated that 'menlo' which literally means 'I have coiled' and that he could not move forward with the group of migrants, therefore, he decided to rest at Anloga

¹ Amenumey, 'A Brief History,' 15.

which became the traditional capital and seat of Awoamefia, the paramount ruler of Anlo state.² At that point, Sri joined his uncle Wenya and the towns Wenya and Sri with their families founded became one state, Anlo state.³

For the meaning of the name ‘Anlo,’ Nukunya argued that Anlo cannot be used to describe one term as it is associated with several meanings.⁴ Anlo refers to Keta municipality and Anloga district. In addition, it can be used as a generic name for Keta municipality and Anloga district joined with sub-units forming Akatsi, Ketu South, and Ketu North districts due to cultural and historical connections with Anlo whose ruler Awoamefia exercised jurisdiction over Some and Avenor local chiefs.⁵

Anlo comprised thirty-six divisions under the jurisdiction of the Awoamefia, the royal occupant of the Awoame stool. These towns were also under the command of the Awadada, the royal occupant of the Kaklaku stool who doubled as the next in command.⁶

These thirty-six divisions made up the Anlo state were located in the southeastern part of Ghana. The people spoke the Anlo dialect, which was one of the variants of the Ewe language. In Anlo, membership of a clan determined access to resources, including land, belonging to religious organizations, social identities and gender relations through marriage and inheritance. Due to this, social and political activities such as marriage, naming ceremony, funeral rites,

² *Ibid*, 16.

³ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022. See also Amenumey, ‘Brief History,’ 15-16.

⁴ Nukunya, ‘Social and Political,’ 8-9.

⁵ *Ibid*. ‘Some’ referred to cluster of towns such as Agbozume, Adina, Agavedzi, Sukladzi and Amutinu located in the Ketu South.

⁶ See Appendix F for the list of the thirty-six (36) divisions of the Anlo area.

ascension to political offices – chiefs, executioners, linguists, libation officials – within the state were organized on clan basis.

Religious system

As the people were believers in nature gods, there were legbawo and afeliwo (smaller gods) which played vital roles in their daily activities.⁷ Some of these gods were believed to have protected the people from misfortunes or accidents such as fire, poisoning and outbreak of diseases. Legbawo (smaller gods) were mostly erected at the entrance of houses to prevent bad spirits from entering the house while the afeliwo (smaller gods) were erected in the middle of houses to serve as protectors and means of detecting unfaithful wives. It was believed that any married woman from that family who committed adultery and stepped into the compound where afeli was, that woman ran mad or displayed acts of mental instability. As a result of that prohibition, it was difficult to find adulterous women in Anlo land as they were apprehensive of the repercussions that came with it.

Apart from these gods, there was the Duli or Toli which was believed to serve the entire township.⁸ Duli was considered the owner of the town while the dulegba was seen as the warrior of the town. These emanated from the roles and the positions of the gods. These gods were offered sacrifices in the form of goats, fowls and libations by the Nyigblanua under the supervision of the Awoamefia.

⁷ Legbawo and Afeliwo were smaller gods who served as protectors of members of a household. By this, they can be referred to as household gods. Legbawo were placed at the entrance gates of houses while Afeliwo were placed at the centre of houses.

⁸ Duli or Toli was referred to as the owner of the town as it was believed to maintain peace and serenity in town. Duli protected people from any outbreak of diseases in the town.

In addition, Anlo had certain practices concerning burials. They buried their dead in the homes of their ancestors or the owners. The family members made the grave which was called *tɔ fe yɔ / tɔyɛ* (father's grave) for someone who died at home or at old age. The graves of those people were carefully constructed and they were dug very deep. But those who lost their lives through sicknesses or accidents, whose deaths could be described as 'unacceptable death' were hurriedly buried. Spieth argued that the choice of burial site formed the basis of the veneration of the deceased among Anlo.⁹ The people had a belief that if a man died peacefully and was buried in his own house, he served as protection for the households and also maintained healthy relations with the relatives. The rooms where the deceased were buried were believed to connect family members with ancestors. There was also the practice of burying the firstborn child who died prematurely in homes, preferably bathing places, to keep the family ties and allow for the birth of other children.¹⁰ According to the traditions of the people, those who died through accidents such as motor accidents or diseases were not buried in homes, rather they were buried at the outskirts of the town because they were considered *ametsiwumewo* (accidental deaths) and a befitting burial was not accorded them because it was believed that any such ceremony would mean endorsement of that unpleasant death which would likely happen again should the person reincarnate. Their death was also described as unacceptable death because it was a sudden death that shook people. Spieth, therefore, argued that the 'bad death' attracted a lot of

⁹ Spieth, *The Ewe People*, 341.

¹⁰ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023; Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 67.

sympathy from people and even drew people to see the corpse to confirm the death.¹¹

Greene argues that the manner in which Anlo handled burials demonstrated their appreciation of the spiritual and material worlds.¹² This is because the people believed that in every situation, there were physical and spiritual aspects to it. That explains why they always tried to find causes of illnesses, diseases or death through the act of divination. These diviners known as afakalawo and nukalawo predicted what would befall people (either a fortune or misfortune) in the future.

Awoame and Kaklaku stools in the Anlo justice system

The Awoame and the Kaklaku stools helped to shape the social systems with regard to the general behaviour and moral upbringing of the people of Anlo. The royal occupants formulated policies such as *nyikofofa* and Togbi Sri's proclamation which served as guiding principles against moral decadence for the citizens of Anlo. According to oral tradition, during the reign of Awoamefia Togbi Sri I, he made a proclamation which became the guiding principle of the Anlo indigenous people. These words of wisdom were popularly referred to as 'Togbi Sri fe nuxlomenyawo' (The wise counsel of Togbi Sri).¹³ Awoamefia Togbi Sri I's wise counsel to all indigenes became the underpinning ethics that governed the Anlo state from time immemorial. These words entreated the people of Anlo to be truthful and loyal in their daily activities. There was a call on debtors to settle their indebtedness while liars were expected to turn a new

¹¹ Spieth, *The Ewe People*, 333.

¹² Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 67.

¹³ See Appendix G for the wise sayings of Togbi Sri I.

life and live a worthy life. Parents were to guide their children on the right path since it was through that the nation in this case Anlo state could grow in love, strength and bravery. In addition, parents were called to be shining examples to their wards by giving them the highest standard of upbringing for this remained the only way to benefit from the riches of the Anlo land.

The words exhorted Anlo indigenes to eschew unworthy lifestyles such as stealing, adultery and murder that brought dishonour to their families and the Anlo state as a whole. There was also an opportunity for thieves, adulterers and murderers to change from their nefarious activities. Failure to abide by these, there would be a condemnation to *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia*, a place of no return for social misfits. *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* (fifth landing stage) was the last stage of the five landing stages. The grove beside the fifth landing stage became the condemned place for criminals, a place where *nyikofofo* took place. *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* became a punishment ground for those who were considered social misfits such as criminals, adulterers, murderers, debtors and people who slept with another man's wife.

Arguably, this wise counsel from the supreme ruler redefined acceptable norms, values and justice for the Anlo indigenes even after the demise of the progenitor, Togbi Sri I. Parents normally used those values to instill discipline in their children. These words of counsel were very weighty in language and formed the core values of the Anlo character which included integrity, accountability, honesty and diligence as it enhanced the Anlo identity.

The people of Anlo were known in their social life to be law-abiding and held their moral values in high esteem. But since not all people were principled and just in society, there were a few bad nuts. To further strengthen the moral

fibre and social order in the Anlo state, other social laws were promulgated by Awoamefia Togbi Nditsi in 1730.¹⁴ Awoamefia Togbi Nditsi, therefore, introduced a *nyikofofa* which was a punishment system to maintain law and order within the Anlo state. *Nyikofofa* was a form of punishment where the offender was condemned to death by burying him alive up to the neck level at the grove or forest at Tɔkɔ Atɔlia (fifth landing stage).¹⁵ Offenders like murderers, criminals, thieves and adulterers were the ones who underwent the nyiko punishment. *Nyikofofa* could be used to mean banning of acts or spiritual acts that were not in conformity with the state such as Sibusaba and occultism that were considered inappropriate. This type of *nyikofofa* took place at Agorwowunu. *Nyikofofa* was also used to outlaw or neutralize evil spiritual acts which were considered detrimental to the well-being of indigenes at Agorwowunu.¹⁶ During Togbi Nditsi's tenure as the Awoamefia, the introduction of *nyikofofa* at Gbakute also known as Tɔkɔ Atɔlia (the fifth landing stage) dealt with a series of lawlessness within the state which made it peaceful and civil environment.

The institution of the nyiko punishment established the Awoamefia court as the final and supreme court in Anloga to adjudicate cases in the state. Punishments were meted out to offenders based on the gravity of the offence. Minor offences such as stealing a finger of plantain attracted a fine, but major offences such as sleeping with another man's wife, murder, stealing and use of black magic attracted major punishment of nyiko. Although major offences

¹⁴ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 112.

¹⁵ See Fig. 1 under Appendix H for the artistic impression of Tɔkɔ Atɔlia.

¹⁶ See Fig. 2 under Appendix H.

were subject to the nyiko punishment, the nyiko was also resorted to if the family of the offender thought that the behaviour or attitude of the said offender would bring disgrace to the family's name or if the offender committed those same offences repeatedly and was deemed recalcitrant.¹⁷

It is imperative to note that this did not mean that a family could cover up the wrongdoing of its members. This is because the family of the victim could initiate the process of nyiko punishment apart from the family of the accused. This can be described as checks and balances in the justice system of the Anlo polity to maintain order since a family could make a complaint about the bad behaviour of its members or any indigene could do the same. As the lineage group was responsible for the actions and inactions of its members, the nyiko customs held that kinsmen would be accountable for the wrong perpetrated by a person unless the offence was atoned for by the punishment of the offender.¹⁸ This puts a lot of responsibility on family members to guide and counsel their members in their daily activities. From the narration, it can be stated that there was the involvement of the culprit's family in the decision making and punishment processes with the primary goal of ensuring a fair trial.

There were two nyiko drums known as atsu and asi (male and female drums). The sounds of those drums indicated that someone had been sent to the fifth landing stage. The male drum sounded 'miede zã miegbɔ zã' (we left in the night and returned in the night and the female drum sounded 'gbe woe nye

¹⁷ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022. Also, interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

¹⁸ Chris Abotchie, *Social Control in Traditional Southern Eweland of Ghana: Relevance for modern crime prevention* (Accra, 1997), 15.

gbe' (your voice is the voice).¹⁹ The sounds of these drums frightened the hearts and the whole being of all indigenes in the Anlo polity as the sounds indicated that the law had caught up with someone.

The system was crafted in much secrecy that the offender did not know his or her fate until the appointed date although he or she had committed the offence. The elders of the condemned person consulted Awadada, the military commander of the Anlo state at Anloga about the development so that an appointment was booked for the *nyikofofo* and he then informed the executioners. The execution process was under the purview of Awadada who was delegated by the Awoamefia. This arrangement buttresses the fact that the Awadada as the next in command to the Awoamefia was in charge of secular matters. It must be established that the legal and execution processes were under Awadada's control, but there were state executioners from the Likɛ clan who carried out the actual work.

To sanction the offender, two elders would request from the offender's parents that he accompany them to a nearby village in the evening. Later in the evening, the elders would come for the offender and let him carry a load with a lantern on his head which was an indication that he was the culprit.²⁰ As the elders together with the offender journeyed to the next village, the executioners appeared from the bush and whisked the culprit away. The culprit or the offender was then buried alive up to neck level. His head was left for scavengers

¹⁹ Interviews with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe -Anloga, 28 January 2023; Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51years old, at Lagbati -Anloga, 15 February 2023. See the male *nyiko* drum in Fig. 3 and the structure that holds the female *nyiko* drum in fig. 4 under Appendix H.

²⁰ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

including vultures, hawks and cheetahs to feed on at Gbakute. After the burial, the executioners washed their hands in the Uelifo stream as a form of self-purification to ward off any evil spirits that might have accompanied the condemned person.

The following day, those elders would return with a message that the deed was successfully carried out and that the forefathers had received the victim well. This marked the end of any discussion regarding the culprit or the condemned person. Several people were condemned by the nyiko customs, and in the diary of Paul Sands, on 20 February 1856, Aye was murdered by Asamyamer, a domestic of Abr; he was handed over for execution or delivered to be killed.²¹ It was an experience nobody wanted within the Anlo state. It was known to be a painful and disgraceful death for the offender and everyone shied away from being a victim.

In the clarification of whether both men and women suffered the ordeal of nyiko customs, Alorvor and Sorkpor intimated that women were also condemned to Tɔkɔ Atɔlia as their male counterparts for some forbidden acts. For instance, a woman who was found to be sleeping with two or more men could be tried by the nyiko customs. This is because that sexual misconduct of the woman could result in alɔkpɩ, a deadly disease that killed men within a few days.²² Alɔkpɩ occurred when a woman slept with two men and these men

²¹ The statement 'he was delivered to be killed' referred to the nyiko custom or Tɔkɔ Atɔlia, which meant the handing over of convicted relative by family members to be executed at Anloga, the capital of the Anlo state and seat of the Awoamefia. Also, Paul Sands was a descendant of a slave who was born and raised in Keta. He was not a slave himself, but he suffered from the stigma of being a descent of a slave during his childhood days. He took interest in writing about the happenings at the time in his diary. See also, Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery*, 165.

²² Alɔkpɩ was a respiratory disease associated with a type of coughing that eventually leads to death. The type of coughing was similar to coughing associated with tuberculosis. As alɔkpɩ

unknowingly came into contact with each other. When one was sick and the other visited him or when they shared food from the same bowl, the other too would fall sick. Again, when one of them died, the other drank or ate food at the funeral or saw the corpse, he was bound to be afflicted with *alɔkpɩ*.²³

To buttress the fact that women were victims of the *nyiko*, Paul Sands's diary stated that on Friday, 3 January 1879, Akolatse's wife was killed at Anloga by *nyiko*.²⁴ This suggests that the law was applied to all indigenes who failed to live within the confines of the law governing the Anlo state, irrespective of one's gender.

There were instances of misapplication of the customs. Amega Alorvor intimated that there was an instance of victimization arising from jealousy within the society. In such cases, the victim's close associates planned and dug up the victims who were then helped to escape to different places. Some people also thought the act was cruel as a fellow man was put through that form of torture and a dehumanizing act of that nature.

In a nutshell, the hierarchical procedure of adjudicating cases in Anlo established the court of Awoamefia as the final arbitration for cases brought before him. But this function was performed as a delegated role by Awadada, the second-in-command. Cases were either reported by the culprit's family members or the victim to the Awadada. Awadada, in council with other sub-chiefs, looked into the matter and passed judgement.

was a deadly disease, any woman found to be engaged in acts that would lead to the contraction of it was seen to be a miscreant and, therefore, condemned by *nyiko* customs to *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* forest.

²³ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga, 15 February 2023.

²⁴ Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery*, 169.

Since the major offences attracted capital punishment (*nyikofofa*), the elders of the culprit were involved in every stage of the arbitration until the final determination of the case which was *Toko Atolia* stage.

Notwithstanding that, the implementation of the capital punishment and banishment system introduced by Togbi Nditsi promoted law and order and above all, peace and harmony within the Anlo state as nobody wanted to be found on the wrong side of the law and endure those torturous and unpalatable ordeals. This put fear in Anlo indigenes to be responsible for their activities. Nyiko customs, therefore, served as a means of social order, ensuring indigenes adhered to the rules of Anlo society. The institution promoted abhorrence of crime by the community. It also deterred people from committing crimes and helped maintain good relations among community members.

Apart from those laws that guided the people's social lives, the chiefs instituted a sanitation policy to rid the state of filth. This policy was known as *dodede* which was organized by every indigene within the state in their various homes.²⁵ The chief priest carried out the spiritual cleansing of the entire state since the people believed that diseases were brought upon the state through the evil spirits that lived in filth. The physical and spiritual cleansing of the state was to prevent diseases and illnesses that afflicted the society and to keep it clean. These traditional laws also made the seat and office of the Awoamefia and that of Awadada highly respected by the Anlo indigenes as they were seen as the custodians and enforcers of customs and traditions.

²⁵ *Dodede* was a sanitation programme which was carried out by people to get rid of filth. The cleansing of the society was done by the chief priest at dawn with the idea of removing the evil spirits responsible for those diseases.

The Stools and the Economy

The economy of Anlo was agriculture which was shallot farming, fishing and salt production.²⁶ The Lower Volta's brackish water and the associated lagoons provided an aquatic environment that was suitable for both freshwater and marine fish.²⁷ Possible locations for salt production in the lagoons were also determined by the degree of brackishness. The Awoamefia ensured an atmosphere of peace for Anlo indigenes to engage in their farming and fishing activities. This was done by the passage of certain laws that forbade farming and fishing on Tuesdays. The occupants of the Kaklaku stool also ensured a peaceful and serene environment for economic activities to thrive because of the several wars that they had to fight with opposing forces, especially Ada which were their competitors in the salt production business.

According to traditions, the Awoamefia together with the Nyigblanua (head of the Nyigbla god) on several occasions consulted the gods in times of drought. It was believed that when the necessary rites were performed and there was heavy rainfall, it meant the gods answered their prayers. Greene noted that 'if it is raining, the people say . . . Nyigbla is walking about. But if there is a persistent lack of rain, which is a frequent plague of all African regions, they have to regain Nyigbla's goodwill.'²⁸

According to the traditions, it means that the reliance on the Nyigbla deity for rains was significant and it was also dependent on the people's good behaviour as such the Awoamefia was always in consultation with the

²⁶ Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 6.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 116.

Nyigblanua (head of the Nyigbla) to ensure continuous rainfall which would help the Anlo in their farming and fishing activities. Farmers and fishermen prayed to Nyigbla for abundant rain and, therefore, connected bumper harvests and successful fishing expeditions to him.

The people also depended on the lagoon for inland fishing activities. There was a part of the lagoon that belonged to the Adzorvia clan.²⁹ The usage and control of that portion of the lagoon by the Adzorvia clan was based on some restrictions. Inhabitants were permitted to go there for fishing after an amount of money was paid and the funds went to the clan head who was directly under the Awoamefia. These funds were used for the purchase of items needed for rites performance in the clan house and for the renovation of the clan house.

Activities such as the production of salt, smoked and dried fish were also major economic activities. These activities led to trade between the coast and interior in the second half of the eighteenth century because the people of Anlo controlled the riverside traffic of dried fish and salt, as they were described as ‘masters of the Rio Volta.’³⁰ Anlo were considered a very prosperous people because of their engagement in the salt and fish trade with the hinterland. This is because the Akwamu and its merchants provided a large and lucrative market for salt and other commodities from Anlo.³¹

In addition, Anlo’s engagement in the slave trade in the eighteenth century brought commercial prospects as they controlled the interior which helped them supply slaves to the Danish establishment at Fort Prinzenstein built

²⁹ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga, 15 February 2023.

³⁰ Kea, ‘Akwamu-Anlo Relations,’ 57.

³¹ *Ibid*, 59.

in 1784 at Keta. The Akwamu, who were the trusted political ally of the Anlo controlled the upper areas from Kwahu in the west to Agu in the east and that helped the Anlo in the slave trade.³² Kea stated that Akwamu dominance of Krepi was of 'mercantile interest to the Danes and of coastal middlemen like the Anlo.'³³

The economic importance of the slave trade to the Anlo caused them to oust Awoamefia Togbi Adzanu also known as Fiayidziehe (the king had gone to the south) from the throne by the middle of the eighteenth century.³⁴ Togbi Adzanu was believed to be against the economic interest of his people and that retarded their profit from the trade. Togbi Adzanu as the paramount chief of the Anlo state bemoaned the sale of able energetic youth of Anlo land into slavery by a few selfish people. He noted that the sale of these young populations into slavery affected the workforce of the state because the people of Anlo predominantly engaged in fishing and farming activities that required the services of those able-bodied men. In addition, Togbi Adzanu was of the view that since the slave trade only benefitted a few individuals who were the slave merchants and a section of divisional chiefs, it would be inappropriate for the paramountcy to allow it. But Togbi Adzanu's action was seen as counterproductive to the wellbeing and economic progress of the state so he was ousted and banished. This destoolment of Togbi Adzanu buttresses the fact that the chief derived his powers from the people and could not act contrary to the agreed will of the people.

³² *Ibid*, 58-59.

³³ *Ibid*, 56.

³⁴ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51years old, at Lagbati -Anloga, 15 February 2023. See Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 119; Nukunya, 'Social and Political,' 65.

This development again showed that the role of Anlo in the slave trade cannot be underestimated. Anlo served as middlemen in the trade by supplying slaves from the Akwamu to the Danes. Fort Prinzenstein was used as a dungeon to keep all slaves before transportation to the plantations in Denmark. Fort Prinzenstein was built during the reigns of Awoamefia Togbi Atsasa who ruled from 1784 to 1810 and Awadada Togbi Korwuga I who ruled between 1776 and 1792.³⁵

Akwamu raided Krepi villages and supplied slaves to Anlo who acted as middlemen to the Danes along the coast. The middlemen's role of the people of Anlo generated a lot of economic prospects for them. There were several methods of slave acquisition such as debtors, war victims, seizure of people and undesirable elements including thieves, murderers and adulterers. The coastal towns of Atorkor, Anlo, Woe, Dzelukope, Keta, Blekusu, Vodza and Adina served as slave centres where slaves were delivered to the slave traders to be resold to the European merchants. These slaves were obtained from the interior, for example, Krepi and exchanged for salt from the coastal states. There were wealthy slave merchants such as George Atiogbe also known as Geraldo de Lima at Vodza, Ndorkutsu at Atorkor along the coast of Keta.³⁶ As a result of their activities in the slave trade, these merchants became influential power brokers in Anlo political sector and, therefore, it can be argued that any chief who wanted to sabotage their activities would incur the wrath of these merchants. It came as no surprise when the slave merchants with the support of some divisional chiefs ousted Awoamefia Togbi Adzanu.

³⁵ See Appendix I for the images of Fort Prinzenstein.

³⁶ Greene, *West African Narratives of Slavery*, 187.

It is worth noting that Anlo-Akwamu relations solidified Anlo's trading activities in the slave trade as middlemen. This is because their ally, Akwamu, controlled the source of slaves, Krepi, and hence supplied slaves to them. All Krepi towns and towns such as Sokode, Ave, Agu, Tove, Gble or Gbele, Seve and Agotime served as sources of slave supply. The coastal settlements between Ada and Aflao relied on a wide network of trade routes to transport slaves, ivory, gold, and provisions to these settlements, the majority of which were ruled by the Anlo. These routes crossed Akwamu or land that was under Akwamu control. A lot of the salt and dried fish trade that Akwamu controlled along the Volta was diverted to the shore of Anlo, which benefited Anlo. Canoes usually went up the river to the commercial hubs of Quahu (Kwahu), Akwamu, Asante and Krepi.³⁷ The trade that travelled south from Kpesse to Keta appeared to have passed through Agu, where the Anlo traded in salt, dried fish and European goods. As salt, dried fish and European goods were under their authority, Akwamu and Anlo were drawn to the growing trade and became active traders.

Bioern noted 'here a good slave trade is carried on from all the surrounding Crepe towns, and from the lands Sokkedo (Sokode), Awe (Ave), Augo (Agu), Towe (Tove), Blee (Gble or Gbele), Seve and Akotim (Agotime) which were Republics and each has about 12, 20 to 24 smaller tributary Negro towns. The next trade can be had from Great Quahu, which is an impressively large kingdom, situated opposite Creepe (sic) country, between the Dunko and Assianthe kingdoms; and tributary to the Assianthe king.'³⁸ This presupposes

³⁷ Kea, 'Akwamu -Anlo relations,' 56.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

that Krepi was significant in the slave trade as a major source of slave supply to the Akwamu and Anlo.

Kioge provided more insight into the slave trade:

The Crepee [Krepi] slaves, or the slaves who are purchased on Crepee, are undeniably the very best who can be obtained on the whole Guinea Coast. Crepee lies north-west of Rio Volta, and can in fairness be called the Slave Coast; and the land is populous, and a great number of slaves are sold there yearly, some to the Black Negro merchants who convey them to Accra, some to Quitta [Keta], Way [Woe] and Augona [Anloga], who bring them to the ships, part to Popo.³⁹

Yayoh, therefore, notes that Krepi was in a deplorable and wretched state due to many years of Akwamu's excessive control.⁴⁰ Krepi towns were continuously raided and its traders had their wares and money seized by the Akwamu. It is arguable to state that the Anlo who were friends of the Akwamu benefitted excessively from the misfortunes of the Krepi, thus the slaves raiding as the Anlo exchanged these slaves for European goods.

The Stools in the Anlo Wars

The political, social and economic policies designed by the Awoamefia in consultation with the Awadada were believed to have been crafted from the dictates of the Nyigbla which was known to be a deity of war and rain.⁴¹ It is believed that in all the battles of the people of Anlo, he was seen on a horse

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Yayoh, 'Krepi States,' 75.

⁴¹ Nyigbla was a local deity of the Dzevi clan which the people of Anlo later adopted as their state deity. This happened when the Anlo experienced series of defeats in their wars. The Nyigbla deity proved very successful and efficient in the battles fought by the Anlo.

leading his people. He rode on a white horse, dressed in a long white flowing robe with a hat and carrying a gun.⁴² As Nyigbla was believed to ride on a horse, it was taboo for a horse to enter Anlo land specifically Anloga, the capital of the Anlo state. As Nyigbla was a god of war of the Anlo state, the Awadada through the Nyigblanua (priest of Nyigbla) performed fortification sacrifices before embarking on their wars with the opponents.

In the Anlo wars, three military formations (awalogo) which were adotri-dome (central wing), lashibi-mia (left wing) and woe-dusi (right wing) were employed at battlefields.⁴³ The Awadada who led the adotri-dome was the field marshall of the Anlo military set-up. The various warlords (Awadadawo) engaged in a series of battles which led to the consolidation of the Anlo state. These battles were fought mostly for defensive and offensive purposes. According to traditions, Awusu I, for instance, fought and established Axorlukorme as a fortress for the western frontier of the Anlo state. In 1769, Anlo attacked Ada and in 1770, Anlo was also invaded by Ada and their allies which were Akwapim, Akyem Abuakwa and Krobo but Anlo with the assistance of Akwamu successfully drove the invaders away.

Anlo's wars made Akwamu the preferred ally of Anlo because the Akwamu exhibited a high level of resilience and fighting spirit in their battles. Anlo, in 1833, helped Akwamu against the Krepi who were enemies of Akwamu.⁴⁴ Although Anlo and Akwamu were defeated, that courted Anlo into a solid friendship with the Akwamu. The Anlo always supplied fish and salt to

⁴² Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

⁴³ See Appendix J for the structure of the military formation.

⁴⁴ See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10-11.

Akwamu in exchange for guns.⁴⁵ It can be said, therefore, that the Anlo relationship with the Akwamu was of political and economic importance to the two states.

Kea argues that Anlo-Akwamu relationship from c.1750 to 1813 was to maintain Anlo territorial and political integrity against the expansionist policies of Little Popo sovereigns and the hostile tendency of Ada, Akwapim and Akyem Abuakwa coalition.⁴⁶ It can be argued that Akwamu assisted in the consolidation of Anlo hegemony over the Lower Volta basin and the coast from the Volta to Aflao as well as districts in common boundary with the northern shores of the Keta lagoon as the people of Anlo continuously supplied fish, salt and slaves to Akwamu. This regulated the political and commercial ties between Anlo and Akwamu. The political friendship between Anlo and Akwamu maintained Anlo's economic prospects and prevented the collapse of the Anlo polity. It also helped Akwamu to control the trade route from Accra to the interior. Yayoh, therefore, intimates that Akwamu collected tolls from traders who used the routes and this further helped Akwamu to purchase firearms and ammunition.⁴⁷

Anlo fought several wars with Ada and defeated them as such until 1750. Ada was later supported by the Danes and other allies such as Krobo, Akwapim, Akim Abuakwa and Agave defeated Anlo and peace was brokered in 1757.⁴⁸ That battle saw the loss of Awadada Aboadzi who drowned himself although his corpse was later retrieved. This is why the Nonobe War became a dark spot

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Kea, 'Akwamu-Anlo relations,' 30.

⁴⁷ Yayoh, 'Krepi States,' 74.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51 years old, at Lagbati -Anloga, 15 February 2023.

in the history of the Anlo hence the oath-taking words for chiefs of Anlo originated from it.⁴⁹

The Anlo's wars against her neighbours were primarily for economic reasons. As a fish and salt-producing state, they wanted to maintain their control and dominance over the trade. The importance of the Anlo military pursuits can be argued based on the limited economic activities of Anlo and Akyeampong argues that warfare, plunder and booty were institutionalized in Anlo as accumulation became the target for the occupants of the stools.⁵⁰ This is because there were no stool lands and the lands in Anlo were predominately owned by the various clans so the Awoamefia only depended on gifts from traders and fines.⁵¹

It is, therefore, imperative to argue that the economic limitations of the Anlo accounted for the military engagements of Anlo against Ada, their trade rival, to strip Ada of their salt and fish possessions.

The victories in the Akovu War of 1776 and other Anlo-Ada Wars in 1769, 1770 and 1880 consolidated the Anlo state as a valour state. The various wars helped the Anlo form alliances and political friendships with several states. In 1792, Anlo established political connections with Asante thereby making Anlo an ally of the Asante. The new friendship and the already existing Anlo-Akwamu relations provided Asante with unique support in terms of Asante aggression towards the coast in 1807 and 1811.⁵² For instance, in 1807 after the defeat and ransacking of the Fante states, some fugitives escaped to Anlo, but

⁴⁹ See Appendix K for the list of wars fought by the Anlo.

⁵⁰ Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 51.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵² Kea, 'Akwapu-Anlo relations,' 48.

they were rounded up and sent to Asante. Also in 1811, both Anlo and Akwamu supported Asante's aggression towards the Lower Volta basin in response to a revolt by Fante, Akyem Abuakwa and Akwapim. Anlo supported the Asante in the invasion of Krepiland in 1869. This invasion was necessitated by the Dutch and British exchange of their possessions on the Gold Coast in 1868. Asante interest in Elmina as a trade outlet to the sea and the British influence over Elmina prevented arms to get to Asante through the Volta pushed Asante to invade Ewedome.⁵³ Asante reactivated their 1790s alliance with Anlo to enter the Anlo-Ada war of 1865 and used it as a ploy to attack Ewedome and restore access to the Volta route. Anlo under Awadada Axorlu I was gifted a sword by the Asantehene Kofi Karikari as a symbol to solidify their friendship. The Ewedome, however, were uncomfortable with the contributions of Anlo-Ewe in the promotion of the slave trade by Akwamu and later offering assistance to the Asante invasion of the Ewedome area.⁵⁴ Arguably, it can be stated that the political relations between Anlo and her allies, Akwamu and the Asante benefitted the Anlo state in areas of politics and economic gains.

Conclusion

Anlo state was made up of thirty-six divisions founded by Wenya, Sri and their people on their way to the present settlement. These states were connected by their clan system which was under the jurisdiction of Awoamefia and the Awadada.

The place of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools within the Anlo state was responsible for the behavioural changes of Anlo indigenes through the

⁵³ Yayoh, 'Transformation,' 195.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

several laws enacted by the royal occupants. Those laws inculcated a sense of discipline, integrity and patriotism in the citizens. The laws further promoted peace, harmony and moral values among the people. Also, there was a surety that fair judgement was assured to the perpetrators of crimes. The words of counsel by Togbi Sri I were weighty in language and formed the core values of the Anlo character which included integrity, accountability, honesty and diligence as it enhanced the Anlo identity.

Various wars were conducted by Anlo, and those wars were primarily for offensive purposes to secure control over salt and fish production. Their engagement with Ada was always intended to rip the latter off that enviable possession. It must be established that those engagements occurred as a result of Anlo rulers' lack of political will to seize Anlo land and establish themselves as landed aristocrats as opposed to different clan-held lands under the control of clan heads.

Anlo as a state formed alliances with Akwamu and Asante that contributed significantly to the growth and consolidation of the Anlo state because the cooperation was of political and economic importance to the three states. Anlo's active participation in the slave trade also contributed immensely in the consolidation of Anlo state as they accrued enormous benefits from Akwamu's persistent raiding of Krepiland. The Akwamu and the Asante, on the other hand, benefited from the Anlo alliance. Akwamu, for example, was sure of the smoked, dried fish and salt that the Ada denied her persistently while the Asante used the alliance to access the coast. The tripartite agreement among Anlo-Akwamu-Asante projected the three states as superior political forces to reckon with in terms of inter-state supremacy.

It can be established that the Anlo political systems supported local governance initiatives through the economic and political engagements of Anlo with Asante and Akwamu which inured to the benefits of the three parties. In addition, the removal of Togbi Adzanu as the Awoamefia of the Anlo state means that the people of Anlo had the power to remove unpopular chiefs from office. The citizens thus abhorred dictatorship. The chapter argues that the active participation of Anlo in slave trade might be responsible for the political and economic consolidation of the state.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ANLO STATE IN THE ERA OF EUROPEAN PRESENCE, 1750 - 1957.

The coming of the Europeans such as the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes and British to Africa and in particular Ghana, in the fifteenth century and onwards, influenced the political, economic and social lives of the local people. It can be argued that the consequences of the Europeans' activities on the local people were both positive and negative. This chapter assesses the political, economic and social impact of the Europeans, notably, the Danes and the British on the state and the people of Anlo.

The State and the Europeans

By the fifteenth century, Europeans established contact with the Gold Coast, now Ghana which covered the Anlo coast. The Dutch were the first Europeans to have established contact with the Anlo coast particularly Keta, a sub-area of the Anlo state in 1714, as a result of trade in slaves.¹ The Dutch contact with Keta was necessitated by the decline in the slave trade in Whydah due to its disputes with Allada. Whydah and Allada were cities in Benin which were major slave centres from which a lot of African slaves were exported to the United States, the Caribbean and Brazil during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It can, therefore, be stated that the initial contact of Europeans with the people of Anlo was through trade which was followed by political activities of the Europeans.

¹ Law, *Slave Coast*, 143.

By the eighteenth century, the Danes launched their commercial interest in the area after the Dutch's position weakened in the Gold Coast. Until the 1680s, there were few attempts by Europeans to trade with people of the Anlo state which might be due to their disinterest in the area. In 1682, however, the Dutch in Elmina sent boats to Volta to purchase slaves and cloth.² Then in 1683, the English Royal African Company at Whydah reported that a ship of the company had received its cargo of slaves at Quitta (Keta).³

By 1730, the Dutch, the Danes and the British all had trading posts at Keta in their quest to take advantage of the commercial prospects of the area.⁴ It must be noted that Keta remained the commercial centre of Anlo state while Anloga was the political capital of the state. Keta became a commercial centre because of its active participation in the slave trade which brought a lot of economic benefits to the Anlo state. In addition, the eastern trade route from Salaga through Krepi states ended up in Keta, a slave centre. The people of Keta, thus, realized the hidden agenda of the Dutch in establishing autonomy over the slave trade and were reluctant to give up their trade. The people of Keta, therefore, engaged in political gimmicks by playing the Dutch against the Danes. They subsequently seized the Dutch lodge in 1730 which they later offered to the Danes.⁵ This probably might have pushed out the Dutch from the trade competition in the Anlo state. After the Dutch lost control, the Danes took advantage of it to establish themselves in the area. Although the concentration was at Keta, the effect of the trading activities of Europeans resonated

² *Ibid*, 143.

³ *Ibid*, 144.

⁴ *Ibid*, 146 -7.

⁵ Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 46.

throughout the Anlo state.⁶ This was because the benefits of the trading engagements were felt by chiefs and people of Anlo state as they were opened to new market opportunities such as European goods, salt and fish that dominated the trade in the area.

The Danes chose the Volta Delta due to other stronger European powers' lack of interest in the area.⁷ The Danes wanted to monopolize the trade from that area for financial reasons, but again the people of Anlo were unwilling to give up their financial benefits in favour of the Danish presence. Anlo ferried their trade items across the River Volta and had control over the salt and fish trade connected to the Volta Delta and, therefore, saw the interest of the Danes in the region as an intrusion into their 'commercial hub.' More importantly, Anlo remained a thorn in the flesh of the people of Ada who were trade partners and close associates of the Danes.⁸ Anlo controlled the Lower Volta and that frustrated the Danish activities east of the Volta. In addition, the successive victories of the Anlo over Ada in the years of 1769, 1770, 1776 and 1780 pushed the Danes to forge alliances with other states to end Anlo's hegemony over Ada.⁹ The last straw that broke the camel's back was the looting of merchandise at the Danish lodge at Keta by some Anlo young men. The Danes used that incident as an excuse to launch an invasion of Anlo in March 1784. This

⁶ S. Greene, 'Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Anlo: The Role of Technology, Markets and Military Conflict,' *Journal of the International African Institute* vol. 58, no.1 (1988): 70-86.

⁷ Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 46. See also the map of the Volta Delta at Appendix L.

⁸ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

⁹ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 18-19.

culminated in the Sagbadre War.¹⁰ The Danes sought the services of Ada, Akwapim, Osu, Ga and Osudoku to deal with the Anlo state.

The army of Anlo was completely overwhelmed leading to their defeat and they all fled to Wheta and Ve located at the north of the Keta lagoon for shelter. Woe, Tegbi and Pottebra together with Anloga, the capital of Anlo state were burnt down. Anlo warriors fled Anloga but some resilient ones managed to inflict casualties on the allies of the Danes. According to Isert, forty (40) locals were wounded and killed and some committed suicide.¹¹ This defeat of Anlo has been demonstrated in this *Akpoka* song;

<u>Song</u>	<u>Translation</u>
‘Fikae loviawo yi?	Where are the children of Lo gone?
‘Fikae loviawo yia?	Where are the children of Lo gone?
Dzo dze afe glikpowo tsi anyi	The town is on fire and the houses deserted
Lowo gayi dzo tsi ge	The Lo are gone to fight fire
Lo kple Adzakpa woyi dzo tsi ge le Gbaganu	Lo and all Adzakpa are all gone to fight fire in Gbaganu
Loviawo yia dzo dze afe glikpowo tsi anyi’	Lo’s children are gone, the town is on fire and the houses are deserted. ¹²

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ S. K. Gbolonyo, ‘Want the history? Listen to the music! Historical evidence in Anlo Ewe musical practices: A case study of traditional song texts’ (MA Thesis, University of Pittsburg, 2005), 58-60.

¹² Interview with John Joco Adzrah, Tsamiga, 66 years old, at his residence, Setsinu- Anloga, 15 September 2022. See also, *Ibid.*

Subsequently, the Danes signed a treaty with the Anlo which paved the way for the construction of Fort Prinzenstein in 1784 at Keta and that brought free access to Anlo. The Danes also obtained the right to establish a trading post at Anloga, the capital of Anlo, which had to be rebuilt.¹³

Anlo reluctantly signed the treaty because the war resulted in the loss of territories formerly held by Anlo. Anlo jurisdiction was limited to Anlo proper – Keta, Tegbi, Woe, Anloga and Kodzi – thus the boundaries of Anlo were defined from Agave areas to Tegbi on the coast and to the northern shores of the Keta lagoon.¹⁴ The areas that laid outside Anlo proper were Klikor, Wheta, Avenor and Aflao. The Sagbadre war weakened Anlo military strength and those towns used the opportunity to declare themselves independence of Anlo State, but the 1912 Crowther Commission restored them under Awoamefia because the commission recognised Awoamefia's jurisdiction over these states. The new political arrangement witnessed a reduction in the size of territories which were formerly under the Awoame and Kaklaku stools.

The presence of the Danes affected the political authorities of Awoamefia and the Awadada because they found themselves under the control of the Danes. The Danes prevailed upon the Anlo to desist from waging war against Ada who had been trade partners and close associates of the Danes before the Anlo trading partnership was established.

This, in effect, limited Anlo's persistent interference in the affairs of Ada and reduced the military strength and engagements of the Awadada, the occupant of the Kaklaku stool of Anlo state. Anlo continued to push the Danes

¹³ Amenumey, *The Ewe in the Pre-Colonial Times*, 48-50.

¹⁴ Akyeampong, *Between the Sea and the Lagoon*, 43.

with the belief that the latter would withdraw from the coast and there would be the complete restoration of trade and political benefits for the people of Anlo. Apart from the negative effects of the Anlo-Danes relationship, there were mutual benefits since Anlo supplied slaves through Fort Prinzenstein and these slaves were sent to plantations in Denmark.¹⁵ The new relationship based on the slave trade boosted the economic fortunes of the Anlo state because the chiefs and people of Anlo profited from the sale of slaves.

In 1850, as a result of the withdrawal of Danes from the Anlo coast in the Gold Coast and the British purchase of Danish possessions which included Fort Prinzenstein and its settlements, the people of Anlo came under the jurisdiction of the British. The British acquisition of the Danish possessions east of the Volta River marked the formal British political control of Anlo. The British government was only concerned with Fort Prinzenstein to prevent other Europeans from occupying it. The government expressed no interest in jurisdiction over the territory that was adjacent to the fort, but rather demanded the observation of abolition of slavery laws and payment of poll tax from those territories.¹⁶ This indifferent attitude of the British government towards enforcement of their authority in the area can be said to have emboldened the Awoamefia, Togbi Amedor Kpegla, to stamp his authority over his people and reject the British government commandant as his superior. This was because the British were not firm in the establishment of its control over Anlo but only sent a commandant there without any desire to appropriate the area which created a laneway for Awoamefia and its people to exploit in their conduct of the illegal

¹⁵ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

¹⁶ Amenumey, 'The Extension,' 102.

slave trade. The Anlo state under Awoamefia Togbi Amedor Kpegla prevented his people from paying poll tax to the British government. Togbi Kpegla also refused civil and criminal matters to be addressed by the British government.

Consequently, in 1859, the fort was abandoned and the British withdrew from the territory.¹⁷ The inability of the British to enforce the abolition of Slavery Act in 1851 and its withdrawal from the Anlo territory in 1859 made the Anlo state under Awoamefia indulge in the slave trade with impunity and caused the Awoamefia to disregard the British authority. It is imperative to state that Anlo's rejection of British control was phenomenal as the state continued to enjoy autonomy although with minor interruptions from the British. This allowed the Awoamefia to apply his judicial powers over states under his jurisdiction.

The British, however, continued to interfere in the activities of the rulers in a bid to stamp their authority in the area from 1860 to 1873. This had been evident in the various wars that the British launched against the Anlo state and its rulers between 1865 and 1866. This was because of the high volume of oil palm trade owned by Geraldo de Lima, an Anlo businessman. Lima was known to have built a big factory for oil production and had a lot of out-stations which were usually managed by his wives and children. His control of the oil palm trade with tacit support from the Anlo leaders resulted in many troubles for him and the chiefs of Anlo.¹⁸ Amenumey argues that although the volume of trade could not be measured, Lima's success in the oil trade earned him many trade

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 103.

¹⁸ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022 and Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

enemies such as the people of Ada and European merchants based in Accra.¹⁹ The significant role of Anlo together with Lima in the oil trade destroyed the monopoly of Ada and the Accra middlemen. Anlo routed all oil produce from Accra and the Prampram region to their location in Mafi on the Volta River before transporting it to Anlo. This took the trade completely away from the other competitors in the oil trade which made Anlo the target of other merchants in the oil business.²⁰

It was recounted that Lima seized some quantity of oil from a debtor in Ada who declined payment of his indebtedness. The chiefs of Ada revenged by attacking Lima's house at Ada and he had to escape to Anlo to seek support from his people.²¹ Amenumey, therefore, links the petty misunderstanding between Lima and a debtor to the full-scale wars of 1865/66 because the merchants solicited the support of the British government to destroy all Anlo coastal towns and to station troops along the Volta.²² It can be argued that Geraldo de Lima used his economic power and ingenuity to influence and lure chiefs and people of Anlo to battles against his trade rival, Ada who were also arch-enemies of Anlo.

In 1866, there was another fierce battle known as the Datsutagba War which could be attributed to the salt trade rivalry between Anlo and Ada. The people of Ada were assisted by the British, Akwapim, Akim and the Krobo in that fierce battle which the Anlo lost.²³ Anlo lost 1500 men against 500 to 600

¹⁹ Amenumey, 'Geraldo de Lima,' 65-78.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

²² Amenumey, 'Geraldo de Lima,' 69.

²³ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 101.

of the invaders.²⁴ More bombardment followed and the casualties were against Anlo so they sent emissaries to the British governor and a peace treaty was reached with the provisions that the Volta should be open to all lawful trade, all feuding parties should lay down their arms and all disputes should be referred to the Governor for final settlement.²⁵ These provisions were directed at the gradual subjugation of the rulers of Anlo and their stools which would deprive the rulers of the independent judicial and political powers to adjudicate matters relating to their states.

Although those wars be referred to as commercial wars, Anlo's enemies – Ada and Accra chiefs – solicited the help of the British under the pretext of a political factor. This was supported by Amenumey when he argues that what seemed to be a trade war between Anlo and its rivals – Ada and Accra – was intentionally misreported to the British government by Ada and Accra that Anlo had engaged in a wanton spoliation of the 'protectorate.'²⁶ This incurred the wrath of the British and lured them into wars against Anlo in which the British fought on the side of Ada and Accra. Arguably, the activities of the British affected the economic prospects of Anlo as the British took charge of the economic fortunes which basically denied the rulers the needed economic gains that adversely affected their efforts in carrying out developmental projects in their areas.

In 1874, there was another British invasion of Anlo due to the Anlo-Asante relationship. As Anlo were allies of Asante, the British thought it

²⁴ See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10-11.

²⁵ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022. See also Amenumey, 'Geraldo de Lima,' 65-78.

²⁶ Amenumey, 'The Extension,' 104.

appropriate to deal a death knell to Anlo as they attacked the Asante that same year in the Sagrenti War. The British took that decision of attacking Anlo and Asante the same year probably to forestall any assistance from Anlo to Asante or vice versa. The war was to break the Anlo hegemony over the Lower Volta and subjugate them once and for all. The decisive battle was known as Gbedzidzavu of 1874. The Gbedzidzavu War was also known as Glover War because of the role played by Captain Glover, a British army commander in Gold Coast. He invaded Anlo with forces from Ga, Ada, Krepi and Akwapem.²⁷ Anlo was defeated at battles near Adidome, Avenor and Wheta. Under the conditions of the peace treaty signed on 22 March 1874, Anlo recognised His Majesty's authority to occupy any places in Anlo that might seem necessary to subjugate under the same jurisdiction which was exercised by H.M.'s administration on other parts of the Gold Coast.²⁸ Consequently, the whole Anlo area came under the British sphere of influence proper. As such, the Gold Coast Colony was declared on 24 July 1874 and an Order-in-Council of 6 August 1874 mandated the Legislative Council to promulgate ordinances which would be applied to the whole protected area as required by powers and jurisdiction of the crown.²⁹ The defined rights and jurisdiction of the British concerning all places – Anlo in particular – held by Britain included preservation of public peace, protection of individuals and property, administration of civil and criminal justice, the enactment of laws, determination of appeals from the chiefs

²⁷ See 'Anlo Wars' in Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 10 -11.

²⁸ Colonial Office 96/112, no. 8105 of 23 June 1874. Also, Amenumey, 'The Extension,' 104.

²⁹ Colonial Office 96/112, no. 8105 of 23 June 1874. See also, Amenumey, 'The Extension,' 106.

to the British courts, supervision and regulation of chiefs' courts, maintenance of an armed police force and settlement of disputes between chiefs.³⁰

All those provisions deprived the Awoamefia of executive, legislative and judicial powers and it also meant the diversion of custom dues collected by chiefs of Anlo on those items to the coffers of the British. This denied the Awoamefia and his sub-chiefs of the Anlo state the needed funds to support their state and welfare. To meet the high demand of British custom duties, the merchants who traded along the Anlo coast and acted as the agents of F. and A. Swanzy, G. B. Williams, S. B. Cole, J. H. Welbech, Chief Akolatse, B. P. Johnson, Ledlum, and C. Rottman for the Bremen Company resorted to high pricing of their goods.³¹ This resulted in a high standard of living among the indigenes of Anlo because the British, rather than the Anlo supreme ruler, accumulated the benefits from the prevailing trade.

It is imperative to state that Anlo were easily drawn into those wars because of the benefits accrued from the oil business and primarily because of the long-standing enmity between Anlo and Ada over the salt and fish trade and the warlike and combative nature of Anlo. This is evident in a statement of Togbui Acolatse, an Anlo chief before a 1912 Colonial Commission of Inquiry that the Anlo had no work and money and their source of livelihood was war from which men and women were caught and sold to slave traders.³² The women of the vanquished were also married by Anlo citizens. In all those wars, Anlo used their military forces to defend their son, Lima, on one side and on the

³⁰ D. Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928* (Oxford, 1963), 304.

³¹ Amenumey, 'The Extension,' 106.

³² PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1661. 'Notes of Evidence, 1912 Commission of Inquiry: Awuna, Ada and Akwamu.'

other side to protect their territory because the stools and their occupants benefitted from the trade which helped in the consolidation of the state. In those wars, the authorities of the occupants were challenged because the aim of the British was to subjugate the Anlo state and its people.

Anlo Native Tribunal and Administration of Justice

With the British subjugation and passage of the Supreme Court Ordinance of 1876, chiefs were detailed to use detention to enforce their court orders without setting a time limit for the confinement.³³ This further empowered the chief to exercise unlimited powers in terms of imprisonment of culprits. The court of Awoamefia became supreme since he, through his divisional chiefs, exercised that unlimited power – no restriction was placed on them in exercise of their jurisdiction and had the right to enforce decrees of their courts by imprisonment – bestowed on them by the Supreme Court Ordinance.

The institution of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O.) in 1883 regulated the judicial authority of indigenous kings.³⁴ The N.J.O. (1883) allowed Head Chiefs, Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs to establish tribunals in the indigenous states with clearly defined and exclusive civil and criminal jurisdiction. All lawsuits involving debt or money claims valued at not more than 7 oz of gold or 25 pounds sterling; all lawsuits involving the ownership or possession of land held under native tenure and all lawsuits and matters

³³ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/1477. 'Confidential Memorandum on Native Prisons,' 3 Dec. 1887. See also, Addo-Fening, 'The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance, 29.

³⁴ G. E. Metcalfe, *Great Britain and Ghana: Documents on Ghana History 1807-1957* (London, 1964), 390-393. See also, Addo-Fening, 'The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance,' 30.

involving inheritance of property valued at no more than 140z of gold or 50 pounds sterling came under the civil jurisdiction of these tribunals.³⁵

Section 24 of the Ordinance outlined procedures for redress. Without appealing to a higher Native Tribunal, a person who disagreed with a Native Tribunal's ruling could apply to the Secretary of Native Affairs (SNA) for relief by ordering a further inquiry by the same Native Tribunal or higher Native Tribunal, or by granting an appeal or re-hearing before the court.³⁶ A person who felt wronged should not file an appeal directly with a court without first having their case heard by the Secretary of Native Affairs (SNA) and no court should consider an appeal from a native tribunal without having it first heard by the SNA.

The Native Tribunals were also given the authority to enact bye-laws on an array of subjects, including building, repairing, clearing, regulating and protecting roads, wells, springs, watercourses, watering and bathing places, protection of unoccupied lands and conservation of forests, prevention of accidents in hunting by gunshot or other means, provision of burial grounds, regulation of mines and mining of gold and other materials, suppression of fetish worship and dealing. This provision made the chiefs carry out developmental agenda in their respective states. These developmental works such as construction of roads, wells, market places and burial grounds pushed the welfare of the people.

³⁵ Gold Coast Colony Ordinance, vol. 1, 1874 -1892. 396. See also, Addo-Fening, 'Colonial Government,' 136.

³⁶ Gold Coast Colony Ordinance, vol. 1, 1874 -1892. 399. Section 24.

Violations of the tribunal's bye-laws carried fines that did not exceed 8 ackies of gold or prison terms that lasted longer than one month. The courts of the kings became courts of first instance under the N.J.O. as the kings exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction and the laws were aimed at promoting peace, good order and welfare of the people.³⁷ The N.J.O. further provided that cases which were heard by the king's court could not be revisited by a District Commissioner's court unless a leave to appeal was permitted by the Commissioner for Native Affairs.

In 1901, Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O.) which was passed in 1878 by the Legislative Council and reenacted in 1883 was applied to Anlo which introduced a level of indirect rule where chiefs administered their states on behalf of the British.³⁸

The 1910 N.J.O. amendment contained the provisions which stipulated that appeals from a native tribunal could not be made directly to the British courts without first having been heard by the 'highest Native Tribunal' in the state and sentences imposed by the highest native tribunals could only be appealed against if they exceeded a fine of 5 pounds sterling in a civil suit, and 10/- or 7 days imprisonment in criminal cases.³⁹ This empowered and strengthened the authority of the court of the Awoamefia as it was the highest court in Anlo land. The provision enjoined all divisional chiefs and sub-chiefs under the Awoame Stool to first send their appeal cases to Awoamefia and could not proceed to the British court unless the Awoamefia's court heard the cases.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Also, Clause 24 of Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (1833), 401. See also, Addo-Fening, 'The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance,' 30.

³⁸ Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 24.

³⁹ Gold Coast, Ashanti and Northern Territories Ordinances 1910, 17. See also, Addo-Fening, 'Colonial Government,' 141.

The provision deepened the recognition of the powers and jurisdiction of the Awoamefia.

With approval from the Governor, the Awoamefia and his council members made by-laws that promoted peace, good order and the welfare of the people. Awoamefia Sri II under the N.J.O. had civil and criminal jurisdiction in cases approved under the by-laws. Anyone who breached the by-laws was penalized and that made the court of Togbi Sri as courts of first instance and 'Sri police' enforced those laws to the letter. A District Commissioner could not attend to cases that were already heard by a king's court unless an appeal was granted by the Commissioner for Native Affairs.

The Ordinance also protected chiefs from lawsuits arising out of deeds or orders they gave in good faith while exercising or purportedly exercising the authority and jurisdiction granted to them. The purpose of the Ordinance was to strengthen the chiefs' judicial authority and ensure that chiefs exercised their powers in a just and prudent manner. This provision made the Tribunal of Togbi Sri II very powerful within the Anlo state.

The ordinance set forth the fees and fines that native tribunals could impose, as well as the maximum punishment of 50 pounds sterling for extorting fines that were excessive compared to the set amounts. Legal oaths or forms created especially for this purpose were used to start cases in native tribunals. Chiefs presiding over Native Tribunals were required to sign summons, warrants of arrest and warrants of imprisonment if literate and kept proper records of the proceedings. This provision made the chiefs, in this case, Awoamefia, Togbi Sri II accountable to the British government while the

government took account of all cases that were handled by the chiefs to prevent abuse of powers by the chiefs.

Native Police and Local Prisons

In the Anlo state, in order to fulfil the provisions of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance which led to the recognition of Togbi Sri II's judicial powers within the state, there was the institution of the local police of Awoamefia Togbi Sri II, known among the people as 'Sri police.' These police were used to enforce the orders of the Awoamefia. Indigenes who disregarded the summon orders of the Awoamefia were forcibly brought by the 'Sri police' to face arbitration from the court. These local police were recruited based on their ethical background, intelligence, trust and bravery by the Awoamefia. There was no formal training as such for these local police since they were selected based on their valour and strong moral background.

The police also acted as detectives in the Anlo state because they arrested people who had ill-motivated plans against the state. For instance, the arrest of young men who planned to escape Anloga due to the workload involved in the construction of the road from Atiteti to Aflao. The presence of these police put fear and panic in people because of their high-handedness in addressing issues. A culprit who refused to heed to a call from the Awoamefia was apprehended by these police and sent forcefully to the courts of the Awoamefia. In cases where 'Sri police' were unable to effect arrest due to

resistance on the part of the culprits, Togbi Sri applied to the District Commissioner for Government police to assist him.⁴⁰

In addition, the use of slanderous words or songs, the placing of people in fetishes, the wilful destruction of homes or property by fire, the wilful insulting of chiefs or disobeying their lawful orders, seduction, theft, extortion and panyarring were all crimes under the jurisdiction of the Native Tribunals.⁴¹ These crimes carried fines of 5 pounds sterling or less, or imprisonment with or without hard labour, not to exceed three weeks. This stipulation within the Ordinance ensured strict adherence to law and order which promoted a peaceful atmosphere for harmonious living since all indigenes were aware of strict sanctions which would be applied should anyone commit these offences. On 28 February 1927, there was a writ of summon issued against one Dogboe Agbo by Tamakloe, all of Viepe. Dogboe was accused of trespassing into the coconut plantation of Tamakloe.⁴² From the summon, the action of Dogboe was deemed to have breached the peace of the Anlo state and he was fined thirty pounds (£30).

With civil lawsuits, judgments were enforced through the sale of the condemned person's movable and immovable property or through other means that did not violate the principles of natural justice or English law. Depending on the seriousness of the offence, a fine of 1 ackie of gold up to 32 ackies was

⁴⁰ RAG/H/KE 2 -11, 'Letter from Togbi Sri II to the District Commissioner, Keta.' 13 March 1929.

⁴¹ Gold Coast Colony Ordinance, vol. 1, 1874 -1892. No. 5 of Schedule, 404 -405.

⁴² RAG/H/KE 2 -11, 'Writ of Summon.' 23 February 1927. See Appendix M for a copy of the Writ of Summon from Anlo Native Tribunal.

the penalty set forth for criminal offences.⁴³ The tribunal was given the authority to sentence culprits to three months in jail if payment was not made on time or if the situation called for it or to administer another punishment that was not more severe or repugnant with the principles of English law. Every sentence of imprisonment lasting longer than one month had to be carried out at a place designated as a prison under the terms of the Prisons Ordinance of 1876.

As a result of the Prison Ordinance, there were the local prisons under Togbi Sri II which served as the prisons for culprits in the Anlo state.⁴⁴ Togbi Sri's prison had prisoners who committed various offences, including assaults, insults, sexual connection, stealing and disobedience.⁴⁵ The duration of imprisonment in Togbi Sri's prison was from one month to three months after which the offender was discharged from the prison. In instances where Togbi Sri realized that the imprisonment of a culprit in his prison at Anloga would pose some difficulties, he asked for the transfer and imprisonment of that culprit at a Government prison in Keta.⁴⁶ This was done to prevent any inconvenience faced by Togbi Sri in the discharge of his judicial duties from the people. This further suggests that in some imprisonment cases, the Awoamefia faced some challenges as some people prevailed upon the ruler to temper justice with mercy because of their personal relationship with the supreme ruler.

⁴³ Gold Coast Colony Ordinance, vol. 1, 1874 -1892. No. 5 of Schedule, 404 -405. See also, Addo-Fening, 'Colonial Government,' 136. See Appendix M which is a sample of the fine paid by offenders to the Anlo state.

⁴⁴ See Appendix N for the images of the historical site of the Togbi Sri II's prison. The building of the prisons had been destroyed and its place stood a different structure).

⁴⁵ See Appendix N for the list of prisoners during the first and second quarters of 1930.

⁴⁶ RAG/H/KE 2 -11, 'Letter from Togbi Sri II to the District Commissioner, Keta.' 30 August 1927.

The enactment of the Native Jurisdiction Amendment Ordinance in 1910 and the implementation of the recommendations of the Crowther Commission in 1912 gave recognition to Awoamefia, Togbi Sri II's authority over Anlo, Some, Aflao, Klikor, Dzodze, Wenyi, Afife, Weta and Avenor.⁴⁷ The Crowther Commission was set up to investigate Awoamefia's jurisdiction over some states due to Amendment and issues involving land tenure and property rights throughout the Gold Coast. There were land disputes involving Avenor and Agave, Anlo and Agave, and Anlo and Ada and the decision of the British to expand Anlo's political authority.⁴⁸ As a result of the Commission's work, Anlo was given sovereignty over Some, Aflao, Klikor, Dzodze, Wenyi, Afife, Weta and Avenor. The recommendations of the Commission established Awoamefia as having jurisdiction over these territories. Hitherto, these states which were once under the Anlo state fell outside Anlo following the defeat of Anlo in the Sagbadre War of 1784. But with the 1912 Crowther Commission, these states were restored under the Anlo state. This recognition solidified Awoamefia's control and jurisdiction over these states which had earlier claimed independence of Anlo state.⁴⁹ It can be stated that this was due primarily to Anlo's ferocious, combative and confrontational nature among the Ewe states. The choice of Anlo helped the British government to effectively administer the area through indirect rule. Although the Crowther Commission sought to place those states under the sovereignty of Anlo, their rulers disputed

⁴⁷ F. G. Crowther, 'The Ewe-Speaking People', *Gold Coast Review* 3, no. 1 (1927): 11. See also, Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 25. Francis Crowther was a Secretary for Native Affairs who chaired the Commission of Enquiry into affairs of Anlo state in 1912. The recommendations of the Commission established Awoamefia as having jurisdiction over territories such as Some, Aflao, Klikor, Dzodze, Wenyi, Afife, Weta and Avenor.

⁴⁸ P. A. Afleade, 'Crowther Commission in Ewe History,' *IJOHIS* 10, no. 8 (2018): 93- 112. See also Amenumey, 'Brief History,' 25.

⁴⁹ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

against such arrangements and always claimed to be independent of Anlo polity. But the Awoamefia still exercised control over these states as their sub-chiefs paid homage to him. The homage took the form of gifts and the physical presence of these sub-chiefs at Hogbetsotso and other public functions to extend pleasantries to the Awoamefia.

Although these new arrangements about chiefs under the British rule sought to give legal backing to the powers of the traditional rulers, it also limited them to the political whims and caprices of the British. Any chief without the power of the N.J.O. was not given the needed recognition, but rather left to his fate, that chief had no power and authority to exercise his right as a ruler of any state.⁵⁰ The initial indifferent attitude of the British made sub-chiefs and subjects disregard authority of their superior chiefs because the British government supported the subjects and even encouraged them to use British courts for redress of issues affecting them. This arrangement pushed most chiefs to opt for the N.J.O. to solidify their chiefdoms and maintain their recognition.

The State under Togbi Sri II

In view of the several changes associated with British rule and Awoamefia Togbi Sri II's desire to bridge the gap between the Anlo state and the developmental agenda of the British earned him more recognition.⁵¹ In 1914, the warriors of Anlo assisted the British government in their campaign against the Germans in Lome. Togbi Sri II was awarded a Sword of Honour in the

⁵⁰ Addo-Fening, 'The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance,' 31.

⁵¹ Togbi Sri II was known in private life as Cornelius Kofi Kwawukume. He was born to Hayibor Kwawukume and Nyatoawonu in c.1852. He was educated at the Bremen Mission school, Keta and worked at several places such as storekeeper for G. B. Williams Store at Keta, Commissioner Agent for Blackstock at Bagida and a tailor by vocation. He worked in Cameroon as a fishing net owner. He reigned on the Awoame Stool from 30 July 1907 to 6 May 1956.

Togoland campaign. The Anlo were easily drawn into the war because they thought that after the war, they would be reunited with their relatives in Togo under the British but to their disappointment that portion was placed under the French.⁵² The people of Anlo wished for reunification with their relatives due to the oppressive measures of the German government against the Ewe in German Togoland.⁵³

Togbi Sri II served on several councils such as the Legislative Council of Gold Coast in 1916 and the Eastern Provincial Council in 1926. The Executive and Legislative Councils were created as part of the direct government system to help the Governor administer the British Crown colonies. The Executive Council had British officials which included the Colonial Secretary, the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti and the Northern Territories, the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary, the Director of Medical Service and the Secretary of Native Affairs.⁵⁴ The Executive Council acted as the advisory body to the Governor on bills before submission to the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council was another section of the British central government which was formed in the nineteenth century and in 1916, it was given a new structure: eleven official members and nine unofficial members.⁵⁵ The official members were members of the Executive Council and heads of departments while the unofficial members were three chiefs, three educated Africans from the coastal towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi and three Europeans representing

⁵² RAG/HKE 2- 11, 'Investiture of Togbi Sri II, Awoamefia at Keta, Wednesday, 3 August 1921.'

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Bourret, *The Gold Coast*, 41-42.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

commercial interests. The Governor reserved the right to appoint chiefs to the Legislative council.

Awoamefia Togbi Sri II used this position on the Council to push for the welfare of the people. By that, he won the admiration, trust and confidence of the people of Anlo with his fair-mindedness. On 3 August 1921, he was awarded the King's Medal for West African Chiefs by His Majesty the King of Britain for his services to the British government. He was also awarded the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) and Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.) These orders were instituted to award individuals who distinguished themselves in innovative contributions under British rule. As a result of his meritorious service to the British and the people of Anlo, he was awarded those orders. These orders brought honour and recognition to the Anlo state.

The chiefs under the Anlo Native Authority (ANA)

Traditional authorities were affected by policies introduced by the colonial government. With the introduction of the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance 1944, the Anlo Native Authority (ANA) was created in 1945 which witnessed a great change in the roles and functions of Awoamefia and the Awadada. Awoamefia Togbi Sri II was made the Presiding Member and occasionally in his absence, Awadada Katsriku Awusu II, who was the highest in the line of authority acted as the Presiding Member.⁵⁶ Togbi Anthonio II and Togbi Tamakloe II who doubled as right-wing and left-wing chiefs of the Anlo State respectively acted in that order anytime the Awoamefia or the Awadada was

⁵⁶ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Resolution by Anlo Native Authority under Section 11 of the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance, 1944.' 30 June 1951.

absent at the meetings of the authority. This arrangement demonstrates the level of political hierarchy within the Anlo state which confirmed the earlier positions of the leaders of the Anlo state.⁵⁷

There was no alteration to the actual political hierarchical structure, the only change was the creation of offices of ANA secretary and treasurer for administrative and financial matters because of the advanced age and physical disabilities of Awoamefia. However, there could be administrative challenges in case the four notable hierarchical chiefs mentioned within the Ordinance were limited in the performance of their duties as no provision was made for any of the sub-chiefs to act in the absence of these four high-level chiefs.

The creation of the Native Administration provided for a dual system of justice where chiefs retained legal powers over crimes of violence and property in their native courts while the British had legal control over major crimes such as murder or arson.⁵⁸ The chiefs exercised considerable control over issues relating to people's daily lives and enforced them with the Native Authority police force and the local jails. As a result of the earlier existence of 'Sri police' in Anlo state, Togbi Sri II, therefore, used the police force to continue the maintenance of law and order. The police arrested indigenes who committed offences such as wilfully insulting chiefs or disobeying their lawful orders, seduction, theft and extortion.⁵⁹ Togbi Sri II became an effective leader due to the work of the police by clamping down law breakers and enforcing the orders of the supreme ruler. In addition, issues including marriages, birth, death and

⁵⁷ See Appendix O for the structure of the Anlo Native Authority.

⁵⁸ R. Rathbone, 'Native courts, Local Courts, Chieftaincy and CPP in Ghana in 1950,' *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2000):126.

⁵⁹ See Appendix P for the image ANA police.

inheritance came under what was regarded as 'customary laws' and the British intervened in the judgement of chiefs at their discretion that is, when they thought the sentences were in breach of 'natural justices'.

But Rathbone argued that these interventions were mostly done on political basis because most powerful and trusted chiefs experienced less interferences as against the weaker chiefs.⁶⁰ This was because such interferences had the tendency to undermine the authority of that local chief so the British tried as much as possible to avoid the interventions in cases of their allies. It must be noted there was no form of interference whatsoever in the judgement of Togbi Sri II because he was one of the respected chiefs who always supported the decisions of the British government in the colony. Also because of his membership of the Legislative Council.

In the promotion of education, the Anlo Native Authority also established a school in the state for the education of the indigenes. This school was known as the Anlo State School. It was founded in 1935 as a result of the ill-treatment meted out to Emmanuel George Godonu- headmaster, Peter Kofi Seade, Faustinus Cobla Alissah and Francisca Boger all teachers of Keta Roman Catholic School.⁶¹ The headmaster and the teachers petitioned the Awoamefia Togbi Sri II who took steps to resolve the issue but all to no avail. So, on 21 January 1935, the foundation of the new school was established. The school began in the premises of P. K. Seade with eleven (11) pupils. The Anlo Native Authority later adopted the school in 1945 and started financing the school. The salaries of these teachers were paid by the ANA and the activities of the school

⁶⁰ Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 13.

⁶¹ Anlo State School Log book. See Appendix Q for the images of Anlo State School.

such as financial assistance and donation of land were supported by other benevolent people such as J. K. Quashigah and Johannes Kumazor Afenu respectively.⁶²

The ANA was also involved in the activities of the Keta and Anloga market centres in the 1940s.⁶³ The authority collected market tolls from traders. These fees were used to administer activities within the state such as payment of workers of Native authority. It is imperative to note that Anlo Native Authority faced much opposition in payment of direct tax by the people and the authority had to rely solely on these market tolls, fees and fines from native courts and government grants-in-aid.

The Anlo Native Authority, in 1949, requested from paramount chiefs to submit state images to the Assistant District Commissioner, Sutherland, to create state emblems, but Anlo failed to submit its images to the government.⁶⁴ In 1950, there was a reminder, yet Anlo state was unable to honour the request. The state did not offer any major reason for the delay in the submission of the particulars for the state emblem. With the enactment of the State Council (Colony and Southern Togoland) Ordinance 1952, the Anlo state emblem was created which had a pot on a tripod with one burning firewood with the inscription *Anlo godolifi du no eme mase emenya. Naketi deka no dzo me bi nu.* (Anlo in a round state with secrecy, a town you live in without comprehension of its affairs. One firewood cooks food).⁶⁵ From the motto of the Anlo state, the sacredness and

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 September 2023.

⁶⁴ RAG/H/KE 2 -61, 'Letter from Chief Commissioner, Cape Coast to Senior District Commissioner, Ho.' 3 November 1949.

⁶⁵ See Appendix R for the Anlo State Emblem, 1953.

secrecy of the state should be maintained at all times. The motto also appreciated the effort of any single Anlo indigenes in building the state. It further urged all citizens of Anlo to give their best in every endeavour to uplift the name and image of the state.

As the ANA journeyed through the discharge of its mandate of political and administrative duties, there were issues of some people who wanted to thwart the efforts of the Anlo Native Authority in 1951.⁶⁶ These people challenged the validity of the resolution of ANA regarding the establishment of administrative and financial offices to be headed by the Native Authority Secretary and Treasurer respectively. The rejection of the Authority's resolution was occasioned by the absence of the Awoamefia and any of the other three high-ranked chiefs – Awadada, the right-wing chief and the left-wing chief – to act as a presiding member at the meeting of the authority.

But for the ANA, a Presiding Member here referred to anybody or chief in terms of seniority approved customarily to act in the absence of the Awoamefia. But that interpretation was challenged because the designated senior members – Awadada Katsriku Awusu II and Togbi Anthonio II, right-wing chief – had their salaries stopped because of alleged judgement awarded against them for the fact that these chiefs belonged to the Anlo division. Given that, they distanced themselves from the ANA activities. Moreover, no other sub-chiefs had been approved customarily to act as Presiding Member (PM). The stoppage of Awadada's salary put the highly revered position of Awadada into disrepute as his roles and authorities were challenged and disregarded in

⁶⁶ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Letter from W. J. Caldow, Assistant District Commissioner to Senior District Commissioner, Ho.' 6 July 1951.

the Anlo state because of the British administration. This is because the new role with its privileges bestowed upon the Awadada as Presiding Member in the absence of Awoamefia within the political structure was subject to the dictates of a higher authority which was the State Council created by the British administration.

The order (Order No. 6 of 1945) establishing the ANA did not project for such a situation, that was the administrative void, so the amendment was needed to avoid such difficulties. The amendment, therefore, provided that the Awoamefia might act as PM for meetings he attended.⁶⁷ This was done to honour the office of Awoamefia as the traditional head of the Anlo State. In addition, the District Commissioner supported the creation of offices of secretary and treasurer to be in charge of administrative and financial matters respectively. This was done to keep the day-to-day business of the Anlo Native Authority going.

The ANA faced some limitations in the discharge of its mandate. Aside the stoppage of the salaries of the two senior chiefs, C. S. Dey, the Native Authority Secretary also had his appointment terminated by the Anloga faction.⁶⁸ Anloga faction might have emerged as a result of the misunderstanding and division between the members of ANA which was composed of people from Keta and Anloga. This could be linked to Keta which was the commercial capital of the Anlo state while Anloga became the political capital. Moreover, the people of Keta who were members of the ANA had the

⁶⁷ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Resolution by Anlo Native Authority under Section 11 of the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance, 1944.' 30 June 1951.

⁶⁸ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Letter from Assistant District Commissioner to Senior District Commissioner, Ho on Anlo Native Authority Treasury.' 12 July 1951.

support of the British administration concerning the activities of the ANA. Keta was also made the administrative capital by the British. It can be argued that all these developments led to the perceived adamant posture of the Anloga group of the ANA. Those developments pointed out that there was division and power play among members of the ANA. When the majority resolved that payment should be made to the two chiefs and C. S. Dey be reinstated as Secretary of ANA, the treasurer refused because he had no authorization regarding payment from the acting chairman of the finance committee, E. N. Sorkpor.

As a result of that, a gazette notice No. 1158 appointed a new Finance Committee for the 1951/52 financial year. However, Deddor, the Native Authority treasurer, refused to cooperate and carry out the chairman's order because of the Anloga faction of the Native Authority which prevented him from associating with the new finance committee.⁶⁹ This means that people acted based on their dispositions rather than the collective good of the people and Anlo state. The ANA, therefore, decided to close the treasury in the presence of the Assistant Superintendent of Police at Keta on 4 July 1951.

On 7 July 1951, a deputation made up of Deddor and his two sureties including Chief Tamakloe and Akrobotu, Quarshie, Assistant State Secretary and some sub-chiefs and linguists from Anloga visited the Assistant Commissioner to inquire into the situation leading to the closure of the treasury.⁷⁰ The Assistant Commissioner explained that Deddor acted contrary to the majority decision of the Anlo Native Authority by refusing to accept the orders of the chairman of the finance committee. Deddor, however, remained

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

adamant after an opportunity was given to him to change his stance. Deddor rather, clearly stated that he had handed over the treasury's keys to the Awoamefia. The Assistant Superintendent, therefore, visited the paramount chief and it was revealed that the keys were in the custody of Awoamefia. However, Mr. Togobo and Chief Leh, Anloga elders and handlers of Awoamefia and Mr. Quarshie, Assistant Secretary of ANA prevailed upon the Awoamefia not to yield to the demands of the NA. This shows that the handlers of the king were powerful and influential in the king's decision-making towards the Anlo state.

The ANA, however, visited the Assistant District Commissioner, W. J. Caldow to have the locks to the treasury changed but their offer was rejected because that might result in an open confrontation between the two parties. A request to audit the treasury books was also sought because the other party believed that some malfeasance had taken place. There was a level of mistrust among members of the NA.

The acting Senior District Commissioner, Packham, in his arbitration of the matter, in the presence of Assistant District Commissioner, Keta, Caldow, Togbi Sri II, Chief Dzewu, Chief Kukubor, Togobo and Quarshie, noted that the government and its officers were bound by the existing legislation to support lawful decisions of the majority members of the NA and that the officers decided to ensure efficient and smooth administration of affairs of the NA.⁷¹ He directed that the keys of the treasury should be handed over to allow for the resumption of normal activity.

⁷¹ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Notes of a meeting held between Acting Senior District Commissioner, Ho and Togbi Sri II at Anloga.' 13 July 1951.

Togbi Sri II objected to the directive by the Acting Senior Commissioner, Mr. Packham. His rejection of the Senior Commissioner's directive was to maintain some level of respect and confidence from his people. He did not wish to be considered a weak person by his subjects which would automatically affect his authority and political stature. Togbi Sri II, however, called for another meeting to resolve the issue but the Acting Senior District Commissioner insisted that nothing would change the position of the government as they acted in the right frame of the law and the NA might force entry into the office for local government business to resume without further delay. The government had not realized the implications of the rigid stance its appointees had chosen which might lead to destruction.

This posture by the government pitched the citizens (subjects) against the occupant of the Awoame stool and lowered the authority of the chief over a section of his subjects, especially the people of Keta who formed the majority of the ANA. This intervention created chaos within the Anlo state and sabotaged the authority of the occupant of the Awoame stool.

This development resulted in unrest in Anlo state because the office of the ANA secretary was closed down and later broken into. The offices of the ANA treasury were also sealed up resulting in the financial business of the state being held up.⁷² The offices were later broken into and the safe of the ANA treasury was forcefully opened without the approval of the treasurer. The unrest drew the attention of the Anlo constituency Convention Peoples' Party representative and they took a resolution on 15 July 1951 calling on the

⁷² RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Letter from Anlo Citizens to His Excellency, Sir Charles Nobel Arden-Clarke through Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Leader of Government Business.' 18 July 1951.

Governor to exercise his powers and impose an interim injunction restraining the operation of the whole machinery of the Anlo Native Authority to ensure that the funds of the masses were safeguarded. They also requested an order-in-council appointing an interim Anlo Native Authority under the proviso to section 3(1) of the native authority (colony) ordinance, 1944 which stated that no administrative officer shall be appointed as president or member of the said interim Anlo Native Authority.⁷³

The first and third resolutions of the Anlo constituency Convention Peoples' Party representatives had the potential to resolve the issue. The second resolution on the appointment of an interim Anlo Native Authority would further escalate the already volatile issues because there was an earlier rejection of the decision of the authority due to mistrust. Also, the purpose for the institution of the proposed interim authority had not been stated. The government requested for the reinstitution of the ANA after some months.

The government, on 16 October 1951, issued an order in respect of the declaration and the gazette of native authorities which included the Anlo, New Juaben and Agona. The declaration reinstituted the Anlo Native Authority.⁷⁴ Although the new declaration of the Anlo Native Authority put it under new administration, the Anlo faction of the Native Authority still had issues with the Keta faction of the Anlo state.

There was also the Anlo State Council which was created as a constitutional body that worked side by side with the Anlo Native Authority

⁷³ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Resolution from Anlo State Convention People Party to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Leader of Government Business, E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, Minister of Local Government, Awoamefia of Anlo Togbi Sri II, the Senior District Commissioner and Gold Coast Press.' 15 July 1951.

⁷⁴ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Letter from Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Local Government to Chief Commissioner of the Colony, Cape Coast.' 16 October 1951.

which was a governing body.⁷⁵ Both councils had Awoamefia as their president. The Anlo State Council was a constitutional body while the Anlo Native Authority was a governing body which was responsible for the daily administration of the state. The Anlo State Council was absorbed into one compact mass with the Anlo Native Authority for administrative purposes and that made the staff of the Anlo Native Authority secretariat serve in a dual capacity.⁷⁶ However, the challenge was that most people who were members of both the State Council and the Anlo Native Authority did not attend meetings which in effect delayed the work of the Anlo Native Authority.

The Anlo State Council complemented the efforts of the colonial government in the administration of justice in the territory. The State Council was an advisory body to Togbi Sri II. The Council had its meetings at Keta but occasionally at Anloga. Meetings at Anloga, however, were not attended by chiefs because they saw Anloga as unprogressive when it came to developments because Anloga always rejected the imposition of taxes which were meant for development projects. The indigenes were of the view that the collectors were *gbagamiduwo* (change the money, let's chop people).⁷⁷ Moreover, the indigenes rejected taxation because of the absence of Awoamefia Togbi Sri II in Anloga. The paramount chief chose to live in Keta instead of Anloga, the political capital because of its proximity to the District Commissioner.⁷⁸ The people of Anloga saw that as a sabotage as they wanted the Awoamefia to reside in Anloga, the

⁷⁵ See Appendix S for the structure of the Anlo State Council.

⁷⁶ RAG/H/KE 2- 72, 'Petition from Anlo State Council to His Excellency the Governor in Council.' 4 November 1953.

⁷⁷ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 September 2023.

⁷⁸ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 123.

political capital rather than Keta, the commercial and administrative capital. They, therefore, regarded Togbi Sri II as a government agent rather than their chief. This development reduced the people's confidence in him.

With the establishment of the Local Authority, the State Council had become an insignificant establishment in Anlo state because the emoluments of the council members were not paid and their roles diminished with time.⁷⁹ The enactment of the State Council (Colony and Southern Togoland) Ordinance 1952 did not provide for the maintenance and upkeep of the state council in terms of travelling and sitting allowances for its traditional rulers, members and employees. This did not affect the other state councils in Asante and northern territories because they had stool lands and other natural resources.

Again, the provision in the Local Government Ordinance 1951 that the urban or local councils provided for any traditional office or customary title was not fulfilled in Anlo state because that provision was not mandatory rather it was left at the discretion of the urban or local councils. For example, in the 1952/53 financial year, the Anlo State Council was due £1200 as subvention but it was paid £520 by the urban or local councils.⁸⁰ In addition, the Minister of Local Government and Housing had given his attention to only the urban or local councils and neglected the State Council because of the non-existence of the establishment list and condition of service for the Anlo State Council. The State Council was not placed under any organization after the native authorities were changed to local authorities.

⁷⁹ RAG/H/KE 2- 72, 'Petition from Anlo State Council to His Excellency the Governor in Council.' 4 November 1953.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

The enactment of the Local Government Ordinance 1951, which culminated in the establishment of Keta District on 1 May 1952 sought to accelerate development in the area and ensure the establishment of new local authorities for smooth administration. Under the Keta District existed eight local councils namely Keta Urban, South Anlo, North Anlo, Avenor, Dzodje (Dzodze), Wheta/Afife/Klikor, Some and Aflao.⁸¹ These eight local councils replaced the former Anlo Native Authority which was seen to cover large areas resulting in difficulty in keeping contact with the people. Although the Native Authority also lacked confidence and enthusiasm in the collection of rates from the people, it can be argued that the Native Authority laid the foundations for the local government in the Anlo state. With the new arrangement, there was an improvement in rate collection within the eight councils of Keta district. In 1952/53, a total of £15,655 was collected as rates under the new local councils than the £349, £400 and £140 in the respective years of 1949/50, 1950/51 and 1951/52 by the Native Authority.⁸²

Although there was an improvement in the collection of rates, in 1953 there was stiff opposition towards the introduction of poll tax popularly known as 'lempo' among the people of Anloga. The people of Anloga rejected the poll tax because they believed the money would not be used for its intended purposes - building market stalls, lavatories and schools. They also thought that the levy would be increased yearly which would make payment very difficult for them. In January 1953, this opposition resulted in deadly disturbances at Anloga and there were arsons and the murder of Fiamaple Adjorlolo and Avevor Zomyiti,

⁸¹ RAG/H/KE 2- 80, 'Progress Report on the establishment of District, Urban and Local Councils in the Trans-Volta Togoland Region.' May 1952 -June 1953.

⁸² RAG/H/KE 2- 80, Trans-Volta Togoland, Urban and Local Councils. See Appendix T for revenue from rates in 1949/50 to 1952/53.

councillors.⁸³ The people believed that the enforcement of the poll tax was violation of election promises made to them in 1951 election. The riot attracted people who demonstrated against the tax imposition from other areas. In the end, the riots were suppressed by the government and the rioters were jailed at Keta.

In 1952, the government designed administrative districts to conform to district council areas and the headquarters of the district councils would be the administrative headquarters. In view of that Anlo District Council was established on 20 December 1952 with its headquarters at Keta.⁸⁴ The area of the Council covered Keta Urban, South Anlo, North Anlo, Avenor, Dzodje (Dzodze), Wheta-Afife/Klikor, Some and Aflao Local Councils. The membership of the Anlo District Council was forty-five which comprised thirty representative members and fifteen traditional members.⁸⁵ The one-third traditional membership as compared to the two-third elected representatives pointed out a reduced power of traditional leaders although the Awoamefia became the president of the Anlo District Council and ex-officio president of all local councils in the area. In his absence, the Awadada became the president. This was to foster cooperation, harmony and uniformity of action between the urban and local councils of a Local Authority area and the traditional authority.

This was done to recognise the position of the Awoamefia in the new local government and win his support in the collection of rates which was the life-blood of local government within the state. The urban and local councils

⁸³ RAG/H/KE 2- 80, 'Progress Report on the establishment of District, Urban and Local Councils in the Trans-Volta Togoland Region.' May 1952 -June 1953.

⁸⁴ Gold Coast, *The Local Government Ordinance (1951)* Instrument Establishing the Anlo District Council. 25 December 1952.

⁸⁵ See Appendix U for the list of members of the Anlo District Council, 1952.

were in charge of the collection of rates and market tolls for the construction of markets, schools and lavatories. The councils received grants-in-aid for the payment of officials. But this provision reduced the authority of Awoamefia and other sub-chiefs with the coming into being of the local councils which was made up of some elected representatives. There were less mutual goodwill and cooperation between these elected representatives and traditional authorities due to inadequate allocation of grants to the traditional authorities. The elected representatives were also assigned duties such as building, public order, road construction and agriculture. The thirty elected representatives of the eight councils that constituted the Anlo District Council were educated elites and that put them in a better position to appreciate local governance issues than the fifteen uneducated traditional members.

The local authorities under Anlo District established schools such as Tegbi-Agbedrafor, Agorve-Dzoduagu, Avete, Atihepe, Dzita, Salo, Afife and Wheta. These local authority schools are currently known as District Assembly schools.

Christian Missionary Activities, 1853 -1957.

Before the arrival of Christian missionary activities in Anlo land, the people of Anlo were believers of nature gods of which Nyigbla was highly recognised among them to have control over the rain and the fertility of the soil. In Anlo state, religion played an important role in the governance system. The whole institution of chieftaincy and the lives of the citizens were regulated by religious beliefs and practices.

With the belief systems of the Anlo deeply rooted in indigenous worship, the Awoamefia and the people found it extremely difficult to change

to an alien religion which came with a departure from their ways of life. Christian missionary activities had a difficult beginning as there were pockets of rejection from the traditional rulers and their people.

Awoamefia Togbi Amedor Kpegla who ruled from 1849 to 1906 was an ardent critic of the activities of the Christians in Anlo land. He won the support of elders who were against the inception of Christianity making the progress of the religion very frustrating and slow for the missionaries. Those who decided to show acceptance and welcomed the new religion and the new ideas of the missionary and the British government were heavily criticized and excluded from any activity regarding the state by Awoamefia Togbi Kpegla and his supporters.⁸⁶ The indigenous people who did not accept the Christian religion saw the new converts as enemies and displayed antagonism towards them. The deep-seated belief of the people of Anlo in Nyigbla deity remained the greatest obstruction to missionary activities. Nyigbla deity was believed to have sent its elders to Dzelukope, a suburb in Anlo state to inquire from them reasons for their disobedience by allowing missionary works in the area.⁸⁷ This demonstrates Nyigbla's abhorrence of missionary works and its spiritual roles and dictates in the lives of the people.

In addition, the association of the white man with the slave trade was another factor that militated against the activities of the missionaries because to the people of Anlo, the missionaries (white men) were slave traders. It became

⁸⁶ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023. This has been confirmed by Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 120.

⁸⁷ Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers*, 78.

difficult to convince the local people that these batches of white men were on a different mission which would liberate the locals.

Despite these rejections, the North German mission from Bremen referred to the four stations – Keta, Anyako, Waya and Ho – as ‘places of refuge.’⁸⁸ This was because the Bremen mission experienced acceptance and peace at these places. The missionaries adopted certain measures to lure and win the love of the local people because they exhibited hatred for the missionaries. For instance, in 1862, a fetish priest attacked a missionary in the mission house with a cudgel to show his hatred for the missionaries.⁸⁹ The missionaries engaged in payment of ransoms to prevent captive children from being sent into slavery. The missionaries believed that these captive children were from the Lord and needed to be protected. Above all, the children were to be taken care of, shielded and guided as they were prepared for the Lord’s ministry and calling.

The mission, therefore, began works at Keta in September 1853 after unsuccessful attempts at Peki.⁹⁰ The missionaries were led by Wilhelm Daeuble and Plessing to Keta. The station at Keta had missionary workers such as Missionary Plessing and his wife, Lydia Schlegel who taught and educated most of the girls, Rottman, a transport officer and an industrial worker. The others were the baptized and unbaptized locals, including Samuel Kwist (Quist) an interpreter from Dschelukowe (Dzelukope), Moses Akuete (laundry man),

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁰ Hogbetsotsoza Brochure, 1978, 9-10. See also, Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers*, 84.

Maurice Samuel, Henry, Paul, Christian and Joseph Reindorf, Yofu (stable man), Odoli (cook), Onyame, Frederick and Edward Lawson.⁹¹

Initially, a communication barrier between the local people and the missionaries resulted in the slow progress of missionary work. The Bremen missionaries, therefore, carried out their activities through interpreters. The missionaries such as Schlegel and Westermann studied the Ewe language and produced an Ewe primer, Ewe grammar and dictionary and Ewe Bible.⁹² The missionaries considered the Ewe spoken by the people of Anlo as the purest and standardized form of the Ewe language, which became the basis of the written and spoken Ewe.⁹³ For instance, the sentence – ‘come here’ is ‘va afi sia’ as standard Ewe, but Anlo say ‘va afi ya,’ Ewedome say ‘va afi’ and Tongu say ‘va gie ya.’ – illustrates Anlo dialect as the basis of the standard Ewe. The missionaries argued that this standardisation would play a vital role in the reunification of the scattered Ewe ‘tribes’ speaking various variations of the Ewe language. With that progress made, schools were established as a means to educate children and have them converted to Christianity and by 1874, the missionaries won the confidence of Anlo.⁹⁴ The Anlo state saw the missionaries as a great blessing to the land and they were not to be molested by anyone. The missionaries were distinguished from the English and all citizens treated the missionaries well; anyone who mishandled a missionary would have his or her house destroyed and anyone who killed a missionary during a war would also be killed.

⁹¹ Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers*, 80.

⁹² Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 59.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers*, 91.

By 1890, the conversion of indigenes of Anlo had begun. People got converted because of the material possessions of Christians and the qualifications achievable in mission schools.⁹⁵ Also, people converted because of sickness, misfortune or social problems. Christianity was seen as a way out of social constraints to the new converts because most of them believed that Christianity offered the needed rescue. To become a Christian, one had to take lessons in baptism after which one was baptized. He or she underwent interrogation to ascertain his or her acceptance or rejection of Christianity. The converts could be rejected based on what the missionaries called inadequate mission's ideal of conversion. The term 'Ideal Conversion' means a complete change in a person's inner state and behaviour after a feeling of total sinfulness.⁹⁶ The missionaries were doubtful about the convert's inner state since there was no complete detachment from old lifestyles and adoption of new religious lives. Initially, the missionaries were worried about the inability of the converts to internalise the gospel which they believed would lead to a total reformation of converts' lifestyles and finally acquisition of grace to earn them safe entry to 'heaven.'

It must be noted that tremendous missionary work was done after the demise of Togbi Amedor Kpegla in 1906 and that marked the era of great relief and development in Anlo state. After Kpegla's death, a new Awoamefia who was a Bremen mission school trained and opened to new ideas was installed on the Awoame stool under the stool name Togbi Sri II. Togbi Sri II's ascension to the throne marked the beginning of the political, social and economic changes

⁹⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil*, 97.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 98.

in the lives of the Anlo state. Being a Bremen-trained persona, he embraced the activities of the church and the British government.

Togbi Sri II stood against many customary prohibitions regarding the stool he occupied as the Awoamefia. Under his leadership, the image of the Anlo state was enhanced through the acceptance of formal education and its attendant benefits. The state was, therefore, seen as a centre of attraction for Christian missionary activities and the British colonial government. Being the first educated Awoamefia, Togbi Sri II came into conflict with many customary beliefs and practices. Greatest among them was his rejection of six months to one-year seclusion and its associated rites as required by customs. His rejection of the months of seclusion for fortification did not cause any spiritual challenges to him but it was rather a step towards the progressive development of Anlo. Togbi Sri II had the support of the council of elders who were also opened to the new Anlo state that he envisaged.⁹⁷ To make himself easily accessible and be able to achieve his agenda of modernizing the Anlo state, he also broke the customs that demanded the Awoamefia not to be seen by ordinary people by riding bicycles in Anloga township. This helped his developmental policies and opinions to resonate well with the people since the office of the Awoamefia was made visible to all citizens.

Another major reform happened with the order from the priests of Mama Bate and Togbui Nyigbla deities regarding the use of sails on the Keta lagoon. The priests banned the use of sails on canoes in 1906 with the reason that the

⁹⁷ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

lagoon waters were drained making them shallow when the winds blew.⁹⁸ This directive made it impossible for sailing boats to travel on the lagoon waters thereby impeding the economic gains of the people of Anlo state. In 1914, Togbi Sri II reversed the order of the Mama Bate and Nyigbla priests on the grounds that even with the strict adherence to the prohibition of sailing canoes, the lagoon waters still dried.⁹⁹ It, therefore, means that the reduction of the water level in the lagoon could not be based on the use of sails. More importantly, the law was against the economic benefits of the people.

Also, there was a revocation of the order to wear sewn clothing given by the Nyigbla.¹⁰⁰ Togbi Sri II allowed anyone who wished to wear clothing from European stores to do so as he dressed in European-style clothing himself. His dressing in European apparel, as against the dressing code of the Awoamefia, pointed out that he was willingly ready to embrace the innovations that came along with missionary activities.¹⁰¹ He encouraged the building of churches and schools within Anloga township as it was done at Keta. He sent his police to arrest miscreants who pulled down school buildings and assigned the destruction to the Nyigbla deity. These miscreants were severely punished by the Awoamefia to deter others. To encourage people to fully embrace the new developments connected with the inception of missionary education and other economic activities, some elders such as Togbi Nyaho Tamakloe and Togbi Joachim Acolatse enrolled their children in mission schools.¹⁰² This influenced

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* See also Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 44.

⁹⁹ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 44.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022. *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ See Appendix V where Togbi Sri II wore European apparel to demonstrate his acceptance of the new trends of the missionaries.

¹⁰² Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 44.

people's ways of life because many got converted to the new faith and education.

Nyiko custom (capital punishment and banishment system) also came under attack with the inception of Christianity and the advent of colonial powers in the late nineteenth century. Most of those Christians believed that since God is a forgiving and compassionate God, it would be appropriate to outlaw the obnoxious practice of *nyikofoyo* (indigenous capital punishment and banishment system). They thought the act was inhuman, ungodly, barbaric and a destruction of human resources. Arguably, the nyiko was successfully outlawed because of the advent of the slave trade. There were a lot of profits made from the sale of undesirable elements into slavery as the trade became a profitable venture at the beginning of the eighteenth century until its abolishment in 1803 by the Danes.¹⁰³ Anlo state being part of the Slave Coast, supplied a lot of slaves to the American, Brazilian and Cuban vessels that operated along the coast.¹⁰⁴ Europeans referred to the region between the east of the River Volta and the Bight of Benin as 'the Slave Coast' and Anlo was located within this territory.¹⁰⁵ Slave traders had branches in the coastal towns of Atorkor, Great Anlo, Woe, Keta-Dzelukope, Vodza, Blekusu and Adina which served as slave markets.

The coming of Christianity changed the outlook of the people of Anlo in diverse ways. In the area of sanitation, the people of Anlo were put under strict sanitation laws. Burial of people in homes stopped with the promulgation

¹⁰³ C. C. Reindorf, *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Basel, 1895), 152.

¹⁰⁴ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 46.

¹⁰⁵ Law, 'Slave Trade,' 1.

of sanitation laws. In 1878, the first ordinance was passed by the Gold Coast colonial government for the establishment of public cemeteries.¹⁰⁶ This was done to reduce cases of burials in homes. Greene states that the connections between spiritual and material aspects of Anlo's awareness of the environment came under serious disagreement because the Bremen missionaries through their schools and churches explained that there was no link between the physical and the spiritual.¹⁰⁷ Public cemeteries were opened in every residential part of Anlo by 1910 and there were regular inspections to check appropriate burial practices that were sanctioned by the government. The colonial government demanded from the chiefs in Anlo state the enforcement of the sanitary by-laws which were promulgated in 1910. To push his modernisation agenda to his people, Togbi Sri II encouraged the establishment of public cemeteries to avoid house burial and made Anloga a well-laid-out township.

The colonial government entreated all Anlo chiefs and headmen to enforce the Sanitary By-Laws of 1910, enacted as an amendment to the 1883 Native Jurisdiction Ordinance. Key clauses in the Ordinance included construction of latrines and rubbish pits which should be more than 100 yards outside the town and chiefs should fine 2 shillings and 6 pence for offenders. Failure to clean houses and clear bushes around houses attracted a fine of 10 shillings. Construction of a cemetery 100 yards outside the town and all dead bodies must be buried there. Failure to adhere attracted a fine of 20 shillings. All infectious diseases must be reported to the government by chiefs and all residents. Failure attracted a fine of 20 shillings. Chiefs should give permissions

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 61.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*.

before houses could be constructed. The houses must be erected 12 feet from the nearest house and 30 feet from the front or back of any other building; it cannot be built on a roadway and provisions must be made for proper drainage. Houses which were built without permission should be demolished. The demolition fee would be paid by the owner.¹⁰⁸ These were the provisions included in the Native Jurisdiction Amendment, 1910 that assigned chiefs more social and political roles in the administration of their states.

Sir Hugh Clifford implemented the sanitation reform in 1910 and Dr T. E. Rice was appointed officer in charge of the sanitary branch.¹⁰⁹ The effects of these sanitation programmes were aimed at the reduction of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, whooping cough, chicken pox and measles. Most of these diseases were believed by the locals to have been caused by gods but with the inception of missionary activities and enforcement of sanitary laws, it became clear that the gods were not responsible for the causes of these infectious diseases, but rather unhygienic lifestyles. This, in effect, brought the strong spiritual authority of the gods into disrepute because people no longer believed the pronouncements of the gods. This further enhanced Togbi Sri's transformational activities in promotion of Christian values among his people.

The numerous reforms undertaken by Togbi Sri II were aimed at bringing the Anlo state to the new regime that flourished with the arrival of the missionaries and the British colonial influence. This was evident in his revocation of nyiko (banishment) that banned the tax collection with the explanation that nyiko (banishment) could not be applied to tax which would be

¹⁰⁸ PRAAD, Accra, ADM 11/1/450, 'Sanitary By-Laws.' 1910.

¹⁰⁹ S. K. Addae, *History of Western Medicine in Ghana 1800-1960* (Edinburgh, 1997), 33.

of financial benefit to the state.¹¹⁰ These reforms went further to enhance the outlook of Anlo and to avoid the gap that would have been created had the Awoamefia delayed in embracing the ‘modernization’ of the time. These reforms sent Anlo on the path of progress and development which led to the total rebranding of the Anlo state.

There was a great fire known as *Fuifudzidzo* (slap it with fire) which occurred in Anloga on 5 August 1911.¹¹¹ This fire was believed to have been caused by enemies of Anlo during the dry season which destroyed lives and properties throughout Anloga township.¹¹² As people lived in thatch houses which were clustered in the olden days, the fire spread quickly to other houses and within a short time, many houses were razed down. This type of clustered settlement made it difficult for firefighters within the state to quench the fire because the houses were not accessible. As a result of the initial grand scheme of rebuilding Anloga town to reflect the new developmental agenda and the changing needs of the people, Togbi Sri II with the help of the District Commissioner, Harry Scott, seized the opportunity to rebuild Anloga township into a modernized town with well-laid out streets with the buildings in a linear order.¹¹³ With this layout, it was believed that in the future, if there was any fire outbreak, firefighters would easily get access to the town through the proper road network to prevent destruction of lives and properties. This made that part of Anloga town to be referred to as ‘Anloga Newtown’ as it was different in

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 172.

¹¹¹ *Fuifudzidzo* means a sudden slap of fire. The fire spread from house to house due to the building materials which were mostly thatch. The outbreak of fire was named *Fuifudzidzo* because of how the fire caught houses and razed them down in rows.

¹¹² Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

¹¹³ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 122.

settlement patterns and road networks from the other parts of the town which had clustered settlements. In addition, he constructed road networks from Atiteti through Keta to Aflao to connect the western and eastern sections of his paramountcy. The road network allowed for lorries to ply Keta to Aflao then to Lome and that further lessened the difficulty of people in travelling along these roads and quickened the transportation of goods to markets. Townfolks who wanted to abandon the work on the construction of the road network because of the workload were arrested by Sri's police.¹¹⁴

It can be stated that Awoamefia Togbi Sri II's actions were not borne out of his desire to destroy and disregard the traditional authorities and the commands of the gods but to bring modernity to the people of the Anlo state. But his modernisation bid indirectly challenged the authorities of priests of Nyigbla and Mama Bate gods who had been predominant in forming Anlo's political and religious settings and activities. Greene, therefore, argues that Togbi Sri II's activities merely served to further the challenge posed to the Anlo's religiously based perception of their natural surroundings that was initially made by the Bremen missionaries.¹¹⁵

Moreover, it must be noted that there was initial resistance from the people of Anlo to accept these rapid transformations but persistent efforts from Togbi Sri II made its implementation and acceptance easy. He was credited with building the modern Anlo township, thus, bringing tradition and modernity together.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

¹¹⁵ Greene, *Sacred Sites*, 45.

Conclusion

Anlo was a target of hatred by her trade rivals notably, Ada and Accra traders and that made it possible for Denmark and Britain to conveniently recruit allies from these trade rivals of Anlo. Denmark chose the Anlo territory because of other stronger European powers' lack of interest in the area. The Danes attempted to monopolize the trade from that area for financial reasons but the people of Anlo were unwilling to give up their financial benefits in favour of the Danish presence. This resulted in several wars that the Anlo fought with their trade rival especially, Ada who were a trusted ally of the Danes.

Britain took over affairs along the coast in 1850 following the exit of Denmark. The activities of the British also affected the economic prospects of Anlo because the British diverted the economic fortunes which primarily denied the rulers of Anlo the needed economic gains that adversely affected their efforts to carry out developmental projects in their areas and their welfare. Anlo resisted, but in the end, Anlo was finally subjugated in 1874, thus Anlo effectively became part of the British Colony of the Gold Coast. Consequently, Togbi Sri II embraced British system of administration in the discharge of judicial and executive functions.

Awoamefia Togbi Sri II's activities of bridging the gap between the Anlo state and the developmental agenda of the British earned him more recognition. He served on several councils such as the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast in 1916 and the Eastern Provincial Council in 1926. As a result of his meritorious service to the British and the people of Anlo, he was awarded the Order of the British Empire (O.B.E.) and Commander of the Order of the

British Empire (C.B.E.) and according to traditions, he was known to have remarked that ‘yevu kutsa de wódia ɲuti,’ literally meaning ‘the white man’s sponge cleans well.’¹¹⁶ This statement demonstrated his wholehearted acceptance of Europeans’ presence and way of life with its associated benefits.

In addition, the activities of the missionaries paved the way for many religious reforms which invariably seemed to challenge the authority of the gods of Anlo and indirectly the authority of rulers. These reforms brought the people of Anlo to a new faith and new ways of life. The Awoame and Kaklaku stools and their occupants under European presence from 1750 to 1957 affected the occupants’ political authority and the state’s military strength. In effect, things were not the same, there were so many systemic changes due to the European presence in Anlo.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kportorgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ANLO STATE IN INDEPENDENT GHANA, 1957 – 1999.

Chieftaincy is a highly revered and sacred institution in Ghana but the use of chiefs in the British colonial administration resulted in hatred for the chieftaincy institution from the educated elites. When Ghana attained her independence from Britain on 6 March 1957 and Kwame Nkrumah became the leader of Independent Ghana, he promulgated laws aimed at reducing the powers of chiefs within the country. The chapter, therefore, assesses the effects of the 1961 and 1971 Chieftaincy Acts on the occupants of the Awoame and the Kaklaku royal stools of Anlo. It further looks at the survival of these occupants and their stools under the various regimes up to the year 2000 because chieftaincy was seen as being bound to the life of communities and its disappearance would be disastrous to the people.

Convention Peoples' Party and the Stools' Occupants in Anlo state

Before Kwame Nkrumah became the leader of government business in 1951, the British colonial government solely depended on traditional rulers for the governance and administration of Ghana. The British believed that the traditional rulers had control over economic power centres and had access to land and the people who worked on it and would provide the needed peaceful environment for their trading activities.¹ Also, the British seemed to have progressively worked with the chiefs because the British had inadequate personnel and resources to undertake direct rule. With these benefits, the British developed the local administration which witnessed the domination of local

¹ Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 10.

administration and justice by chiefs and their councils although with limited powers but high advantage over their subjects. By that, it can be argued that the Awoame and Kaklaku stools and their occupants in Anlo state who had been in existence during that period were also direct beneficiaries of all British activities regarding chieftaincy in southern Ghana. The continuous validation and regard for chieftaincy under the colonial government as most chiefs served on committees – Legislative councils, Coussey committee, Chief councils and State councils – created more hatred for them in the eyes of politically educated people. The Coussey committee recognised the institution of chieftaincy and took the view that ‘chieftaincy was so closely bound up with the life of our communities that its disappearance would spell disaster - chiefs and what they symbolised in our society were so vital that issues concerning their position must be approached with caution.’² The committee emphasised the utilization of wisdom and goodwill of chiefs.

This, therefore, means that chiefs were highly placed and recognised than the modern elite and pioneers of nationalism, and that inflamed the passions of these aggrieved educated people to use their newly acquired political power to subvert authorities of chiefs who were considered to have contributed to the woes of the people. The modern elites regarded traditional authorities as an extended arm of colonial rule and that accounted for hostilities against chiefs.

To solidify and protect the institution of chieftaincy, the colonial government passed some laws. The constitution (Order-in-Council) 1957 sought to provide a balance between the chiefs and the CPP to safeguard chiefs.

² *Ibid*, 20.

The 1957 Order-in-Council Section 63 (a-e), therefore, provided for the establishment of regions and heads of regions. The whole of Ghana was divided into five regions; Eastern (including Greater Accra), Western (including Central), Ashanti (including Brong Ahafo), Northern (including Upper East and Upper West) and the Trans-Volta (Volta region).³ In each of these regions, 63 Section 2 stipulated that the heads of each region were to be chosen by the Regional House of Chiefs to hold office as determined by the Act of Parliament except Ashanti whose head would be the Asantehene. Section 66 set out that ‘the office of chief in Ghana, as existing by customary law and usage, was hereby guaranteed.’⁴

Section 67 (1) ordered the establishment of the Regional House of Chiefs by an Act of Parliament within twelve months of the appointed day or as soon as practicable. The duties of the Regional House of Chiefs included consideration of matters referred to it by the Minister or the Assembly, offering of advice to the minister and to ‘the Governor-General or the Assembly so request, or submit to the Governor-General or the Speaker as the case may be a written declaration of what in its opinion is the customary law relating to any subject in force in any part of the area of its authority.’⁵ All these provisions within the 1957 Order-in-Council projected and secured the positions of chiefs in the country.

The CPP government was unsatisfied with the Independence constitutional provision regarding chiefs and decided to pass an amendment to

³ The Ghana (Constitution) Order-in-Council, 1957. 27.

⁴ *Ibid*, 28.

⁵ *Ibid*, 29.

the constitution. The Local Council Act 1958 dissolved the Native Authority Tribunals which was a point of controversy between chiefs and educated young men. There was also the passage of the House of Chiefs Amendment Act 1959.⁶ These two Acts called for the creation of additional paramountcies aimed at reducing the status of some paramount chiefs who had previously exercised jurisdiction over other sub-chiefs. There was also the deletion of names of chiefs from the chiefs' list to prevent their attendance at meetings of the Regional House of Chiefs. All these steps were directed at curtailing the powers and recognition of chiefs and also served as punishment for chiefs considered conspirators and enemies of the CPP. With the provision of this Act, the Anlo paramountcy was created in 1962 under the supervision of Awoamefia to deal with chieftaincy activities within the Anlo traditional area. By the existence of the Anlo Traditional Council, the Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II later became a member of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs in 1963 and participated in discussions of matters which were later referred to the Minister or the Assembly. He also served as a representative of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs advisory body to the minister on customary law relating to any subject in any part of the region.

The Convention Peoples' Party employed measures and policies such as the use of newspapers, threats and chieftaincy Acts to limit the powers of chiefs. The newspaper, *Accra Evening News* of the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) was used as a political tool against chieftaincy. The institution of chieftaincy was linked to imperialists who had oppressed and suppressed the people of Ghana for centuries and had drained all the good elements in the God-given land

⁶ Arhin, *Transformation in traditional rule*, 37.

to their towns.⁷ To buttress the efforts against the chiefs, Nkrumah cautioned that chiefs who were in support of them would be rewarded but those chiefs who were in alliance with the imperialists would bear the brunt of the CPP.⁸ Komla Agbeli Gbedemah also stated that the party was not against chiefs but to liberate them. He stressed that chiefs who stood by the party would be honoured while those against the party would have themselves to blame when the die was cast.⁹ These words of intimidation by CPP and its top leaders, Kwame Nkrumah and Komla Gbedemah, brought the chiefs under attack as members of the CPP saw chiefs as opposition groups working against the progress of the party and the country. The CPP, therefore, criticized and frustrated chiefs who were assumed to be against them but favoured and supported chiefs who were believed to be on their side. The CPP clashed with the institution of chieftaincy for the simple reason that chiefs were regarded as saboteurs and accomplices of the colonial government and it was CPP's agenda to cripple chiefs especially those who were seen as oppositions. The CPP government, however, refuted the claims of being against chiefs, the party rather asserted that it was time for the common man and chiefs who refused to respect themselves would be disrespected by their subjects and those attacks on chiefs were the results of bad behaviour shown by chiefs.¹⁰

Regarding CPP and its activities with the occupants of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools, the occupants did not incur the wrath of the CPP government. This is because no chief in Anlo state was destooled by the CPP

⁷ Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, 22.

⁸ *Ibid*, 23.

⁹ *Ibid*, 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

and there was also no installation of chief to counter chiefs from the royal families. There was no attempt from the CPP to curtail the authority of any chief within the Anlo state. In other areas of the country, however, CPP members were openly opposed and attacked by some traditional rulers who joined forces with the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), for example, in Tamale, it was alleged that some Northern territory chiefs led by Naa Yiri attempted to crush CPP branch there.¹¹

Within the Anlo state, CPP was highly welcomed by the chiefs and people of Anlo. The warm reception and the solid support base enjoyed by the CPP could be linked to Komla Agbeli Gbedemah who was the Legislative Assembly Representative for Anlo in 1951.¹² His works as a member of the Legislative Assembly won the confidence of the people of Anlo. Gbedemah also served as Minister for Health and Labour in 1951 and Commerce and Industry from 1952 to 1954. Gbedemah also became the Finance Minister of the CPP government in 1954.

It can be stated that because Gbedemah was an indigene of the Anlo state and a Legislative Assembly Representative of the chiefs and people of the Anlo area, it would be difficult for CPP to be against chiefs in Anlo. Moreover, Gbedemah was the right-hand man of Nkrumah, the leader of CPP and later the president of Ghana.

In addition, the CPP had a solid and vibrant constituency branch and a women's wing in Anlo state in 1950 and that could have been the reason for non-violent activities and non-aggression against the supreme ruler of the Anlo

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² 'Gbedemah tours Constituency,' *Daily Graphic* (Accra), 3 September 1952.

state. The CPP Anlo constituency branch was known to have intervened when there was unrest over the Anlo Native Authority treasury.¹³ The CPP did not face any form of resistance from any quarters in Anlo land so the party also did not show any act of vengeance towards any chief or person in Anlo land.

Establishment and Roles of Anlo Traditional Council (ATC)

The Chieftaincy Act, 1961, Act 81 consolidated the amendments related to chieftaincy in Ghana. With the 1961 Chieftaincy Act 81, a chief had been defined as an individual who had been nominated, elected, and installed as chief in accordance with customary law and recognised by the Minister for Local Government.¹⁴ The institution of chieftaincy had been put under the Ministry of Local Government because the institution was seen as an arm of the central government that was in charge of local affairs. The placement of chieftaincy under the purview of the Minister of Local Government was a tactical move to regulate the powers and roles of chiefs in the new dispensation. This is because the Minister was in charge of making legislative instruments of the draft of customary laws that were applied to a traditional area. The legislative instrument gave legal effect to the rule and laws of a chief in a traditional area.

The Act stipulated the creation of a traditional council in a territory which had been designated as an area where a paramount chief exercised jurisdiction.¹⁵ This was done to streamline activities related to chieftaincy issues in the country and subsequently, Anlo state under the Awoamefia also witnessed

¹³ RAG/H/KE 2- 35, 'Resolution from Anlo State Convention People Party to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Leader of Government Business, E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, Minister of Local Government, Awoamefia of Anlo Togbi Sri II, the Senior District Commissioner and Gold Coast Press.' 15 July 1951.

¹⁴ Chieftaincy Act 1961, Act 81, Accra, 1961.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

the creation of a traditional council known as Anlo Traditional Council to enable the Awoamefia, the paramount chief of the area exercise his authority. The Anlo Traditional Council with its headquarters at Anloga replaced the earlier Anlo State Council and was seen as a proof of government interest in traditional responsibilities. The ATC was used as an avenue through which constitutional needs of the people could reach the central government and the ATC exhibited cooperation in administrative issues and maximum support towards the Seven Year Development Plan of the government.¹⁶ For example, the ATC encouraged farmers within the traditional area to invest in agriculture and support the State Farms and Cooperatives to increase agricultural production.

The traditional council had a paramount chief who was its chairman and exercised jurisdiction to hear and determine chieftaincy disputes. The traditional councils formed the basis for the entry of chiefs into the Regional and National House of Chiefs.¹⁷ Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II became a member of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs in 1963. This provision also empowered the Paramount chiefs to exercise some level of control over their sub-chiefs. It prevented traditional power from falling into unscrupulous hands who had nothing to do with chieftaincy which further eliminated chieftaincy-related disputes regarding ascension to stools or skins.

The 1961 Chieftaincy Act further provided for the establishment of the offices of Judicial Commissioners under the Judicial Service Act. The Judicial Commissioner had jurisdiction to hear and determine issues affecting

¹⁶ RAG/H/KE 2-76, 'Address by J. K. Aidam, District Commissioner on the occasion of the opening of second session of the Anlo Traditional Council.' 21 May 1965.

¹⁷ RAG/H/KE 2-76, 'Letter from Secretary of the Regional Commissioner to District Commissioner, Keta and the Clerk, Volta Region House of Chiefs, Ho.' 1 November 1962.

chieftaincy. They also dealt with matters related to alienation, recovery and seizure of stool property. A traditional council operated within the confines of a customary law which stipulated that the Traditional Council may consider the customary law in force within its area; and if the law is uncertain or it is considered desirable that it should be modified, or assimilated by the common law, the Council shall make representations to the House of Chiefs having jurisdiction over the area.¹⁸ This provision offered an opportunity for traditional rulers to modify laws that were unclear by the use of common laws for the traditional areas after attendance and clearance from the recognised House of Chiefs.

There was an Interpretation Act, 1960, Court Act (C.A.) 4 which defined customary law as rules of law and customs that applied to particular communities in Ghana, not being rules included in common law under an enactment providing for the assimilation of the rules of the customary law as suitable for general application.¹⁹ This shows that the operation of the traditional councils was limited to the customary laws of their traditional areas and in cases where the customary laws were unclear or ambiguous, the Regional House of Chiefs, Ho, that exercised control over that traditional area would have to step in to resolve that matter.²⁰ This, therefore, suggests that the Regional House of Chiefs could make amendments to any customary law that had become an issue of disagreement within a traditional area. This provision offered amicable resolutions of traditional area issues brought before the House of Chiefs.

¹⁸ Chieftaincy Act 1961, Act 81, Section 58, Accra, 1961.

¹⁹ Interpretation Act 1960, C.A. 4, Accra, 1960.

²⁰ Chieftaincy Act 1961, Act 81, Accra, 1961.

In 1962, based on the recommendations from the District Commissioner for the establishment of traditional and joint traditional councils, the Anlo Traditional Council was instituted in 1962 and had become the mother traditional council in the Anlo state.²¹

Traditional Councils were said to have been created as a result of the dignity Dr Kwame Nkrumah placed on traditional matters in the country.²² But this cannot be the case because Nkrumah and his CPP government wanted to control and regulate the activities of traditional authorities or even destroy their existence. As a result of the creation of the Anlo Traditional Council in 1962, twenty-five (25) chiefs were duly elected as maiden members of the Council.²³ The tenure of office for members of Anlo Traditional Council was two years after which other members were elected to the Council.²⁴ The Anlo Traditional Council had fifteen divisions within it. These divisions included Kome-Shime, Anloga, Fugo, Amugo-Wego, Aflao, Klikor, Dzodze, Ave Hevi, Afife, Atsiame, Ave Afiadenyigba, Ave Xevi Atagba, Wheta, Penyi and Some.

On 14 February 1963, the Anlo Traditional Council was duly inaugurated amid drumming, dancing, firing of musketry and pageantry befitting the traditional status of a state as demanded by the president of the country.²⁵ In 1965, although the tenure of the former members of the ATC had

²¹ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from R. Segbaya, District Commissioner to Chairman, Anlo Traditional Council, Anloga.' 2 February 1963.

²² R. Rathbone, 'Kwame Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Fate of 'Natural Rulers' under Nationalist Governments' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 10, (2000): 45 -63.

²³ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from District Commissioner to the Secretary of the Regional Commissioner, Ho.' 13 December 1962. See Appendix W for the list of members of the Anlo Traditional Council, 1962.

²⁴ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from District Commissioner to the Secretary/ Treasurer of Anlo Traditional Council, Anloga.' 3 March 1965.

²⁵ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from R. Segbaya, District Commissioner to Chairman, Anlo Traditional Council, Anloga.' 2 February 1963.

ended, it became important to elect new members to the council because the former members who were chiefs were employed in different sectors and were not permanent residents in the traditional area. This made it difficult for the ATC to form a quorum to transact business.

The Anlo Traditional Council was headed by the Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II who supervised the activities of chiefs under his authority by exercising jurisdiction to hear and determine chieftaincy disputes. As part of Awoamefia's jurisdiction, all newly elected, nominated and enstooled chiefs submitted to him for due recognition as chiefs within the Anlo state. Any chief who was not recognised by the Council was unable to enjoy any rights attached to the position. That was also another avenue for the traditional ruler, Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II to exert his authority and power as stipulated by the 1961 Act. But chiefs within the Anlo Traditional area who failed to present themselves to the Awoamefia for due recognition, made it difficult for the Council to possess an updated list of recognised chiefs for submission to the District Commissioner and other governing bodies.

In addition, as a result of the creation of the traditional councils, the activities of chiefs within the council were regulated, especially finances. An example was the preparation of the annual estimates in 1962/63 for the administration of the Anlo traditional area. After the preparation of the estimates for the council, the estimates had to be scrutinized and approved by the Regional Commissioner through his secretary. A traditional area could only be financed to carry out its activities through the Standing Orders of the Council. The Anlo Traditional Council had its subvention catered for by the Keta Urban Council

and Anlo Local Council.²⁶ The chiefs within the Anlo Traditional Council received an attendance allowance such as chairman - £5, fiagawo - £2 and other members - £1.²⁷ Paramount chiefs were paid £50 as their monthly salary. The ATC also had a secretary or treasurer who was in charge of correspondence between the Council and the District and Regional Commissioners.²⁸ H. W. Chapman became the first full-time secretary/treasurer of the Council. He was entitled to a salary of £300 per annum.

Major activities such as the construction of schools, roads and hospitals within traditional areas were sponsored by the Central government, but the chiefs played supervisory roles. Some of the minor projects were financed through revenue generated from the collection of market tolls and payment from licensing of letter writers and purveyors of medicine.²⁹ In 1987, when the Keta Sea ravaged the people of the area, fifty cedis (¢50) was collected from the people as a Sea Defence Levy to supplement the Government's efforts in solving the sea erosion problem.³⁰

On the employment of chiefs, a directive was given from the Ministry of Justice that chiefs should not be employed in Judicial and Local Government Services but could be considered for other jobs in areas such as agriculture, social welfare, industry, community development and education.³¹ The

²⁶ RAG/H/KE 2-76, 'Letter from District Commissioner to the Secretary of Regional Commissioner, Ho.' 12 July 1962.

²⁷ RAG/H/KE 2-76, 'Address by J. K. Aidam, District Commissioner on the occasion of the opening of second session of the Anlo Traditional Council.' 21 May 1965.

²⁸ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from District Commissioner to Secretary of Regional Commissioner.' 5 December 1962.

²⁹ Interview with Amega Winner Alorvor, retired teacher, 64 years old, at his residence, Kporgbe - Anloga, 28 January 2023.

³⁰ 'Speech by J. K. Akpade, PNDC District Secretary' in Hogbetsotso Anniversary Brochure. October 1987.

³¹ RAG/H/KE 2-133 'Letter from Ministry of Justice to all Houses of Chiefs.' 28 August 1963.

consideration for employment should not be based on the person's chieftaincy rights but on qualifications.

In arbitration of cases, the Awoamefia was not allowed to receive excessive fees or customary drinks but a maximum fee of £1(1 pound) as arbitration fee and 'amededezidziga' should not exceed £2.³² These fees formed part of the accounts of the Anlo Traditional Council which were then submitted to the Secretary of the Regional Commissioner who then called for an audit of the accounts. These were the measures that regulated the activities of the ATC and its chairman. With regard to the arbitration of cases, a party to a quarrel that refused arbitration compelled the arbitrators (chiefs) to discontinue the case. This put the offices of Awoamefia and his sub-chiefs in disrepute as indigenes chose to disregard invitations for arbitration, yet they suffered no penalty or punishment. The directive also stated that the outcome of the arbitration was to be reported in writing to the District Commissioner. Chiefs were, therefore, arbitrators but bound by the directives of District Commissioners. These put the office of paramount chiefs under strict supervision and made them accountable to the Central government through the District Commissioner.

The 1971 Chieftaincy Act did not differ so much in terms of stipulations or provisions regarding the operation of the Traditional Councils that were established by the 1961 Chieftaincy Act. The 1971 Chieftaincy Act 370 solidified the operations of the council by stipulating that the Traditional Council had exclusive jurisdiction to hear and determine any case or matter

³² In Anlo, 'amededezidziga' referred to money paid to chiefs after settlement of cases. It was assumed that the arbitrator was put on a seat to adjudicate cases so after everything, he should be compensated by the parties to the quarrel.

affecting chieftaincy within its area.³³ It further consolidated the positions of the traditional councils created earlier and called for the creation of new ones for other traditional areas. In terms of membership to the traditional council under the 1971 Act, all former members were still in place. The National House of Chiefs, however, would be notified of any change in membership of the council through the Regional House of Chiefs.³⁴ This means that traditional council members who misconducted themselves were not allowed membership. Anlo Traditional Council was not affected by the new directive as a result of the passage of the 1971 Act. Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II subsequently served as a member and the president of the Volta Regional House of Chiefs from 1975 to 1978.³⁵

Regarding meetings of the Traditional Councils under the 1971 Chieftaincy Act, the president of the traditional council had been mandated to decide the time and venue of such meetings and serve as the chair for the meetings. Meetings should also be called by more than one-half of the members of the traditional council. In the absence of the president of the council, the next chief in seniority would preside over such meetings. The Act clearly stated that there would be no business transaction if attendance at such meetings were less than one-half of the members of the council and without the presence of the Council's president or senior chief.

With these provisions in the 1971 Chieftaincy Act, Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II became the permanent president of the Anlo Traditional Council

³³ 1971 Chieftaincy Act 370 Section 15 (1)

³⁴ 1971 Chieftaincy Act 370

³⁵ Kumassah, *Migration Saga*, 123.

and Awadada Axorlu II acted in his absence since within the Anlo hierarchy of authority, the Awadada was the next in rank to Awoamefia. Togbi Adeladza II, the occupant of the Awoame stool delivered his duties without fear or favour. It means that nothing or no decision regarding the Anlo state could be taken without the consent of the Awoamefia. This further raised and validated the positions of the Awoamefia and the Awadada and their authorities were unquestionable. Section 17 of the 1971 Chieftaincy Act further stated that under the customary law, every person was required to perform or assist in any duties required of them by the council, but should the person act contrarily to that, he would be guilty of an offence and be fined not exceeding Nc.100.00.

The Anlo Traditional Council under the patronage of Togbi Adeladza had chalked many successes in all sectors. Awoamefia Adeladza II's achievement in the education sector cannot be underestimated. He engineered the establishment of two notable second-cycle schools and several basic schools. The two secondary schools were Anlo Senior High School (ANSECO) and Anlo Awoamefia Senior High School (ANYASCO) established in 1959 and 1987 respectively. As a result of Togbi Adeladza's role in the formation of Anlo Senior High School, he was made the first Chairman of Board of Governors of the school and a boarding house was named after him in the school.

The institution of these second cycle schools had accommodated indigenes from the area which prevented further movement to other areas to seek academic knowledge. The schools had contributed immensely to the provision of inclusive, equitable and quality formal education to all students which had resulted in the production of well-trained human resources to man various sectors relevant to the manpower needs of the country.

The Hogbe Park was also constructed by Togbi Adeladza to serve as a place for hosting programmes and other recreational activities like football and volleyball games. This was to foster unity and cohesion among the people of Anlo. It can be stated that Awoamefia Togbi Adeladza had immense interest in the promotion of education and sports among the indigenes of Anlo.

The road from Keta to Dabala and the road from Keta to Denu were constructed during the reign of Awoamefia Togbi Adeladza.³⁶ His role as the Awoamefia in the construction of these roads to link Anlo state to other parts of the country cannot be underestimated. He called for the support of all indigenes towards these projects and ensured the compensation for people whose buildings laid on the roadway from the central government. He also petitioned the WAYSS and FRETAG Construction Company for the construction of gutters along the roads to allow for a proper drainage system.

In 1963, the ATC abolished the graths (atsidza) system of fishing.³⁷ The graths system of fishing was banned following complaints from canoe owners who found it difficult to navigate the lagoon due to the scattered graths which impeded smooth lagoon communication and also destroyed a large shoal of young and small fish in the lagoon. The directive was aimed at the free movement of canoes and the growth of fish in the lagoon waters. This directive restored the fishing economy of the people of Anlo because the fishermen could navigate the lagoon waters for more fish which would earn them a lot of income.

³⁶ 'Message from Awoamefia Togbi Adeladza II' in Hogbetsotso Anniversary Brochure. October 1987.

³⁷ RAG/H/KE 2-76 'Letter from Secretary / Treasurer to all Chiefs of the Anlo Traditional area, District Commissioner Keta and Anloga and the Clerk Keta Urban and Anloga Local Councils.' 20 September 1963.

The ATC also used the opportunity to marshal all indigenes and chiefs of the Anlo state to institute the celebration of Hogbetsotso festival in 1962 to mark the migration of the Anlo to their present settlement and to solicit funds for developmental projects within the Anlo state. Hogbetsotso – Hogbe refers to Notsie which was regarded as the ancestral home for the Ewe while Tsotso means to move or exodus.³⁸ The institution of Hogbetsotso festival was highly commended by the District Commissioner, J. K. Aidam as ‘a noble achievement and a preparation by Awoamefia to shoulder greater responsibilities for the progress of Anlo and Ghana in general.’³⁹ The Hogbetsotso festival for the Anlo state was to unite indigenes both at home and abroad and as a means to harness the human and natural resources of the state for the development of the state.⁴⁰ In the maiden celebration in 1962, a committee was established to oversee the activities of the celebration. The committee had twenty-four members.⁴¹

The theme for the maiden celebration was not known but during the celebration, there was a dramatic re-enactment of the exodus from Hogbe to imbibe in the indigenes the history of their migration. The re-enactment usually portrayed King Agorkorli as a wicked ruler who set unsurmountable tasks for his subjects. According to oral narration, those actions were taken by King Agorkorli after the Dogbo people misled him into ordering the killing of his nephew.⁴² Agorkorli was highly infuriated after he learnt that the murder

³⁸ Interview with Amega P.K.M. Ameevor, Regent of Togbi Gbordzor III, 85 years old, at his residence, Woe, 27 August 2022.

³⁹ Address by J. K. Aidam, District Commissioner on the occasion of opening of the Second Session of the Anlo Traditional Council. 21 May 1965.

⁴⁰ Interview with Mr. S. Wordzro, 53 years old, at his residence, Anloga, 20 August 2023.

⁴¹ RAG/H/KE 2-61 ‘Letter from C. M. K. Mamattah, Organizing Secretary of Hogbe Committee to Hogbe Committee Members, Anloga.’ 20 August 1962. See Appendix X for the list of members of maiden Hogbetsotso committee.

⁴² *Ibid.*

accusations levelled against his nephew were a political ploy to get the King to kill the nephew because the law in those times prescribed killing for murderers.

In addition, the Hogbetsotso festival was celebrated to cut any cultural and social ties the people of Anlo had established with Notsie (Hogbe - the ancestral home) and to foster a new cultural identity for the Anlo state. The Hogbetsotso festival was celebrated on the first Saturday of November every year. It was celebrated under various themes aimed at improving the gains of the Anlo state. The twenty-fifth (25th anniversary) celebration of Hogbetsotso in 1987 was based on the theme 'Save Keta now.' This theme was chosen because of the ravaging effects of the sea in the destruction of Keta. The sea has continued to cause havoc to the inhabitants of Keta and its environs even to this day. Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II and his council of elders thought it wise to pin the twenty-fifth Hogbetsotso anniversary on that theme to bring the attention of the central government on the damaging effects of the sea in the Anlo area. Although some measures were taken to lessen the effects at that time, the sea continued to rage its destruction on the lives and properties at some places such as Kedzi, Agavedzi, Agorkedzi, Fuveme, Akplorwotorkor and Adina.

It must, however, be noted that there was a break in the Hogbetsotso festival for thirteen solid years. The break was due to the demise of Togbi Adladza II and the emergence of another claimant to the throne of Awoame Stool in the person of Francis Nyonyo Agboada. Agboada, however, decided to renounce his claim to the stool after careful soul-searching and peace in Anlo land.⁴³ More importantly, the Adzorvia royal clan had already chosen and

⁴³ K. Okoampa-Ahoofe, 'Francis Agboada (Togbi Sri III) floors his enemies,' *Ghanaweb* (Accra), 23 January 2008.

started the initiation process of a new Awoamefia. The Bate and Adzorvia royal families did not take it lightly and it resulted in bloodshed and confusion in 2007 in the Anlo land. That event had become a dark spot in the chieftaincy history of the Anlo state. The ATC also ceased to function properly due to the administrative vacancies within the council following the demise of its president Togbi Adeladza II and the delayed installation of the next Awadada who was supposed by law to deputise in the absence of the Awoamefia. From 1997 to 2003, there were no activities from the Anlo Traditional Council. Its activities resumed in 2003 with the swearing-in-of council members under the supervision of High Court Judge, Justice P. K. Gyaesaayor.⁴⁴

The Anlo Traditional Council was faced with some initial limitations. These included the inability of the newly elected, nominated and enstooled chiefs to present themselves physically to the Awoamefia or the Anlo Traditional Council for due recognition as demanded by customs.⁴⁵ This unfortunate circumstance prevented the Awoamefia from getting an updated list of chiefs under his jurisdiction to be invited for meetings and public functions.

Under the Fourth Republic of Ghana, there were provisions to regulate the institution of chieftaincy. Article 270 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana provided for the institution of chieftaincy as established by customary law. Section 2 (a and b) stated that ‘parliament shall have no power to enact any law which confers on any person or authority the right to accord or in any way detracts or derogates from the honour and dignity of the institution of

⁴⁴ B. Akuaku, ‘Ghana: Anlo Traditional Council Re-Established,’ *Ghanaian Chronicle Newspaper* (Accra), 8 July 2003.

⁴⁵ RAG/H/KE 2-76 ‘Letter from Secretary / Treasurer to all Chiefs of the Anlo Traditional area.’ 12 March 1963.

chieftaincy.⁴⁶ This provision limited the powers of parliament from undue interference in chieftaincy issues. The establishment of a Traditional Council or the National House of Chiefs which would operate a procedure for registration of chiefs and public notification in the Gazette of persons as chiefs in Ghana had been guaranteed in the constitution.

The constitution also outlined qualifications for chiefs which included no conviction for high treason, treason, high crime, fraud, dishonesty or moral turpitude. In addition, a chief shall not take part in active party politics and any chief who wished to do so would have to vacate his stool or skin.⁴⁷ This provision differed from the earlier chieftaincy Act where chiefs were seen actively engaged in politics and were also given representations on Legislative Councils. But there were appointments of chiefs to certain positions. Article 89(2b) stated that the president of the National House of Chiefs should be an automatic member of the Council of State, the highest advisory body to the president. Also, Article 153 (m) stated that a representative of the National House of Chiefs shall be on the Judicial Council. Article 255 (1c) stated that two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs should be on the Regional Coordinating Council. These stipulations were aimed at protecting the sanity of stools or skins and giving the needed recognition to the stools or skins.

The Anlo Traditional Council established four traditional committees which included the Finance Committee, the Welfare Committee, the Judicial Committee and the Research Committee. The members of these committees

⁴⁶ *Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana*, Article 270. Accra, 1992.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

were all gazetted chiefs in the Council. The Finance Committee was responsible for the finances of the state. The committee was in charge of the collection of market tolls and rates and saw to its disbursement on projects within the state. The Finance Committee also set up a team in charge of soliciting funds for the celebration of the annual Hogbetsotso. It was also responsible for the preparation financial budget of the state.

The Welfare Committee looked at the well-being of the chiefs and people of Anlo. It took care of resources of the state and provided for equal distributions of these resources. The Judicial Committee dealt with matters relating to laws within the state. It also addressed chieftaincy issues and any matter between traditional rulers and their subjects within the state. In addition, it was responsible for conflict resolution between traditional rulers in the state. The Research Committee looked at historical issues. It researched into traditions of the Anlo state in order to address any misunderstanding with regard to the application of customs and traditions in the state. These committees were for effective administrative purposes in the Anlo state. Arguably, the Anlo Traditional Council had been positioned to enhance community development because the Council under the chairmanship of the Awoamefia had the power to resolve disputes, attain the welfare of the people and pursue progressive development of the state.

The new Emblem of Anlo state

The old emblem of the Anlo state existed till 1993 when the Anlo Traditional Council developed a new emblem to reflect the will and the core values of the people.⁴⁸ The images in the emblem were unique seals that portrayed the cultural identity and foundation of the Anlo state. The emblem of Anlo was used for official purposes and was held in high esteem. It was featured on all official properties of the state such as the vehicles, letterheads and the flag. The star at the top of the emblem portrayed the Anlo state as the shining star among the Ewe states. The star of the Anlo state also presented the state as being one of the three kingdoms (Asante, Dagbon and Anlo) to have existed in Ghana.

The crossed swords within the upper left corner of the state emblem signified the strength, authority and power of the state. These three attributes – strength, authority and power – of the state were transferred to the Awoamefia, the paramount ruler of the Anlo state. It, therefore, suggests that the Awoamefia derived his authority from the people and he was to be guided by this in the discharge of his functional duties as the paramount ruler. During the installation of the Awoamefia, he used the sword to take his oath of allegiance to the people and the state. During the installation, the oath statement – *du menɔa fia gbɔ o, fiae nɔa du gbɔ* literally meaning the state does not live with the chief, it is the chief who lives with the state – was a critical statement which served as guidance to the Awoamefia in justice delivery and other administrative issues.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mr. F. Sorkpor, Secretary to the Hogbe Planning Committee, 51years old, at Lagbati -Anloga on 25 August 2023. See Appendix Y for the image of the new emblem of the Anlo state.

It can be noted that people were prominent in the political structure and this was to prevent arbitrary rule from the paramountcy.

The pot on the tripod with one burning firewood at the lower part which occupied the third segment of the emblem symbolised another important customary aspect of the Anlo state. The tripod signified that the state rested on three major poles which were the sea, the lagoon and the land. The people believed that as the state rested on these three major poles, it could not be shaken or moved by any internal or external force. The burning firewood under the pot illustrated the famous story of *naketi deka no dzo me bi nu* (one firewood cooks food). There were two schools of thought regarding this symbol. One school says that the symbol emanated from the incident in Notsie when the Dogbo hid one elder whose advice, later on, was beneficial to them in dealing with the unsurmountable tasks set by King Agorkorli. Also, it was the advice of that person that pushed the people to plan and escape from Notsie without traces.

The second school of thought has it that during Anlo's conflict with the Ada, it was one man who disguised himself as the ally of the Ada by carrying them across the Volta River. He capsized the boat and many warriors of Ada drowned from his singular action which gave victory to the people of Anlo. From these short accounts, it stands to reason that the people believed the singular effort of any of these individuals in the rescue of the Anlo state. The people of Anlo by this, valued the efforts of individual indigenes who excelled in their private lives.

The stool represented the paramount seat, which was the Awoame stool of the Anlo state. The stool symbolised the supreme authority of the

Awoamefia. On the stool was the Adekuku (ritual hat) of the Awoamefia which he wore on special occasions such as reconciliation rites.

Conclusion

The occupants of the Awoame and Kaklaku stools experienced changes in the discharge of their chieftaincy duties as a result of the numerous laws passed by the colonial administration and the CPP government. The local administration which was created gave more recognition to chiefs which led to the domination of local administration and justice by chiefs and their councils. In Anlo state, the chiefs were used because of their ferocious and warlike nature and above all, they accepted the administration created by the colonial government.

The CPP which was a party for the common man and the newly educated class, however, regarded the chiefs as saboteurs due to the chiefs' political and administrative relationship with the colonial government. The educated class blamed their woes on the chiefs because they saw the chiefs as collaborators of the imperialists.

It must be noted that the occupants of the two royal stools in the Anlo state did not experience any form of discrimination against them because Komla Agbeli Gbedemah was the Legislative Assembly member for Anlo in 1951 which accounted for the cordial relationship between CPP and the chiefs and people of Anlo. The CPP even had a vibrant constituency branch and women's wing of the party within the Anlo state. Furthermore, Komla Agbeli Gbedemah was an indigene of Anlo and that could have contributed to the mutual support and the goodwill enjoyed by the party in Anlo. The people of Anlo might have

seen Gbedemah and his political party as their own and could not have been hostile towards it.

The passage of the 1961 Chieftaincy Acts which witnessed the creation of the Anlo Traditional Council in 1962 empowered the Awoamefia Togbi Adladza II to exert authority over all chiefs within the traditional area because all newly elected, nominated and enstooled chiefs submitted to him for due recognition as chiefs within the Anlo state. This, arguably, made the Awoamefia the supreme ruler of the Anlo state. The 1961 Chieftaincy Act also enabled the Awoamefia to undertake certain activities such as the collection of market tolls, rates and levies from the people on behalf of the government. The Awoamefia instituted the Hogbetsotso festival to unite and harness the human and natural resources of the state for the development of the state. The construction of Hogbe Park for recreational activities of the state and the construction of Keta to Dabala and Keta to Denu roads were done during his tenure. In addition, Togbi Adladza II's interest in education culminated in the establishment of two second-cycle schools in the state. He became a development agent of the state.

The Anlo state which comprised thirty-six divisions remained a united state under the supreme leadership of Awoamefia with the assistance of Awadada, the warlord.

CONCLUSION

The study interrogates the origins of chieftaincy in Anlo state and reconstructs the history of the colonial and post-colonial administration of the state. It includes the presence of the Europeans and the place of the Anlo state in independent Ghana. It investigated the roles of chieftaincy in the social, economic and political lives of the people of Anlo.

The thesis traces the origin of the name 'Anlo' and it states that it came about as a result of a statement made by Togbi Wenya when he expressed tiredness after their exodus from Notsie to their present homes by saying 'menlɔ', literally meaning 'I have coiled' which has been corrupted over the centuries as Anlo. Anlo refers to the present-day Keta Municipality and the Anloga District. In addition, it can be used as a generic name for the Keta Municipality and the Anloga District joined with sub-units to form Akatsi, Ketu South Municipalities and Ketu North District. This was due to cultural and historical connections with Anlo whose ruler, Awoamefia, exercised jurisdiction over Some and Avenor local chiefs. All the divisions that formed Anlo were connected by their clan system which regulated the social and political activities of each indigene. Anlo had thirty-six divisions located in the southeastern part of Ghana.

The people of Anlo had two royal stools - the Awoame stool which was a paramount stool and the Kaklaku stool, a war stool. The origins of the stools date back to the time in Notsie. The two clans which were claimants to the Awoame stool were the Adzorvia and the Bate clans. The Kaklaku stool was for the Agave clan. Adzorvia's claim to the throne was by right of inheritance as against Bate's claim which was by right of service. In addition, from the

account, the Bate clan laid claim to the Awoame stool through a female line because Adeladza, the successor of Togbi Sri I was a maternal nephew. Although Adeladza was a maternal nephew of Sri, he and his descendants' ascension to the throne remained patrilineal since the sons who were honoured were members of their father's clan. The different names for the occupants of the Awoame stool stemmed from the fact that different royal families produced the Awoamefia. For example, the Adzorvia clan had three royal family lines of which one (Nyaxoenu family) produced the Awoamefia. But the Bate clan had two royal family lines and the Awoamefia came from one - Adeladza family. Each time any of these royal families produced Awoamefia, the choice of the title was based on the lineage of the said candidate. This is different from the other traditional areas that practised a centralized system of government such as Asante, Ho and Akwamu. There were also different names associated with the occupants of the Kaklaku stool. This was because of the different families – Agbesi, Awusu, Axorlu and Katsriku – who produced the Awadada.

The Awoame stool alternated between the Adzorvia and the Bate clans to prevent usurpation and capture of state power. Thus, the rotation of the stool was to prevent any of the two clans from staying in power continuously but in 1726 to 1776 and 1784 to 1810, the Adzorvia put their heirs on the stool for two consecutive times. The Bate clan also retaliated by the installation of members of the clan on two consecutive times from 1810 to 1840 and 1849 to 1906.

The findings showed that the political arrangement of Awadada as second in command to the Awoamefia and acting in his absence in case of death and ill health was to avoid the creation of a political vacuum which might be seized by any unscrupulous person; a situation which nearly arose in 2007 when

the Awoame stool became vacant and the installed Awadada was out of the jurisdiction of the Anlo state. Also, because the Awadada was not a chief of any town it allowed him to develop tactical military strategies to outwit their enemies and to act promptly concerning all delegated duties of the Awoamefia.

It is clear from this study that in Anlo political organization, there were no established royal princes or heir apparent or system of primogeniture. There were no royal princes which would require a crown prince to ascend to the throne upon the demise of his father, the king. The royal clans only selected a suitable candidate after consultations with the elders and the kingmakers. Regarding the initiation rites, the Awoamefia had a longer period of initiation rites than the Awadada. Awoamefia spent six months to a year in his preparation to ascend the throne while Awadada spent three months as period of tutelage.

It showed that the creation of the Anlo state led to the promulgation of laws to guide the indigenes within the state. The first Awoamefia, Togbi Sri I achieved sanity in Anlo state by his famous saying which became known as Togbi Sri *fe nuxlɔmenyawo* (the wise counsel of Togbi Sri). This proclamation demanded citizens to be law-abiding and eschew any immoral engagements which would lead to their destruction. The counsel exhorted the indigenes to abide by the core values of the Anlo state such as integrity, accountability, honesty and diligence. The study revealed that during the reign of Togbi Nditsi, he also enacted indigenous capital punishment and banishment (*nyikofofof*) to redefine the behavioural patterns of citizens of Anlo. As a result of that law, there was absolute sanity, peace and harmony in Anlo. Anlo abhorred crime because of the tortuous and humiliating effects of *nyikofofof*.

The arrival and activities of European Cartesian missionaries on the coast of Anlo as well as colonial policies changed the outlook of the Anlo state. The advent of missionaries changed the image of the Anlo state. There were tremendous developments in the social lives of the state due to the activities of the missionaries. The Bremen mission that operated within the Anlo area promoted education through the establishment of schools and the linguistic studies of the Ewe language which witnessed the production of Ewe grammar, Ewe dictionary and Ewe Bible. Anlo as a variant of the Ewe language was considered as the standard Ewe language.

The presence of the Danes and the British in Anlo altered the political and economic position of the stools and the entire outlook of chieftaincy in the Anlo state. Initially, Anlo resisted the attempts of the Danes and its allies, especially Ada, by engaging in continuous wars in 1769, 1770, 1776 and 1780. In 1784, the Danes with the help of their allies waged war against the Anlo state which culminated in the Sagbadre War and the subsequent building of Fort Prinzenstein at Keta. The treaty that Anlo hesitantly signed with the Danes prevented Anlo state from interfering in Ada. Consequently, the Danes obtained free access to Anlo. The treaty affected the military strength of Anlo as there was a reduction in its territories. The reduced territory limited their desire to have more allies for a united Anlo polity. The presence of the Danes also reduced the political authorities of Awoamefia and Awadada because the rulers were under the control and dictates of the Danes.

When the British took over the Danish possession in 1850 as a result of the withdrawal of the latter from the Anlo coast, Anlo came under the British administration. However, the delayed attitude of the British empowered the

Awoamefia, Togbi Kpegla, to disregard the jurisdiction of the British. Anlo under the leadership of Awoamefia Kpegla rejected poll tax and indulged in the slave trade with impunity despite the British's attempt to stop the trade. It is reasonable to state that the British indecisiveness to establish effective administration from 1850 to 1873 enabled Anlo state to enjoy some degree of autonomy although with minor interruptions from the British. The defeat of Anlo in the Gbedzidzavu War / Glover War of 1874 marked the beginning of formal British rule over Anlo. An Order-in-Council of 6 August 1874 mandated the Legislative Council to promulgate ordinances which were applied to the whole protected area (which included Anlo) as required by the powers and jurisdiction of the British Crown.

The provisions of the 1883 Native Jurisdiction Ordinance effectively deprived the Awoamefia of executive, legislative and judicial powers. The Awoamefia and his divisional chiefs were, however, permitted under the jurisdiction of the Native Tribunals to try criminal cases such as the use of defamatory words or songs, the placing of people in fetish, the wilful destruction of homes or property by fire, the wilful insulting of chiefs or disobeying their lawful orders, seduction, theft, extortion and panyarring. All these crimes attracted fines or imprisonment. The ordinance ensured strict adherence to law and order which promoted a peaceful atmosphere for harmonious living.

In 1901, through the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance (N.J.O.) Anlo was introduced to indirect rule and chiefs administered their states on behalf of the British. The 1910 Amendment of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance strengthened the judicial powers of the court of the Awoamefia since it became the highest court in Anlo land. The provision enjoined all divisional and sub-

chiefs under the Awoame stool to first present their cases to Awoamefia. They could not proceed to the British court unless the Awoamefia's court heard the cases. The provision strengthened the powers and jurisdiction of Awoamefia. The 1912 Crowther Commission solidified authority of the Awoamefia over Anlo, Some, Aflao, Klikor, Dzodze, Wenyi, Afife, Weta and Avenor. That made Awoamefia the supreme ruler of these states which constituted the thirty-six divisions of Anlo.

In addition, with the ascension of Togbi Sri II, who was trained by the Bremen missionaries, to the Awoame stool, he brought drastic progressive change in Anlo state. Awoamefia Togbi Sri II served on the Legislative Council in 1916 and used that position on the Council to push for the welfare of the people. The measures adopted by Togbi Sri II changed the outlook of Anlo in several spheres of life ranging from dressing, sanitation, architecture and religion. Togbi Sri II embraced the modernity that came with Christianity by wearing European dress and standing against the customs of staying in seclusion. He availed himself to the people and won their admiration. He reversed Mama Bate and Nyigbla's order on the use of sails and that decision was welcomed by all citizens of Anlo because it boosted the fishing economy of Anlo. The Nyiko custom was also banned since it was seen as obnoxious and unprogressive. There was the establishment of public cemeteries to stop burial in homes. Togbi Sri II rebuilt Anloga township in a modernised town with well-laid out streets and the buildings were in a linear order. The research showed that Awoamefia, Togbi Sri II's actions were not borne out of his desire to destroy and disregard the traditional authorities and the commands of the gods but to bring modernity to the people of the Anlo state. Togbi Sri II's

reformational agenda put Anlo on the path of progress and development which led to the total rebranding of the Anlo state.

The influence of post-colonial political activities on chieftaincy in Anlo resulted in defined responsibilities of the occupants of the stools. There was also the introduction of the Native Authority (Colony) Ordinance 1944 which saw the establishment of the Anlo Native Authority (ANA) in 1945 headed by Awoamefia assisted by Awadada, the right-wing chief and the left-wing chief. The Awoamefia was made the Presiding Member of the Anlo Native Authority which honoured the office of the Awoamefia as supreme ruler of the Anlo state. The ANA established the Anlo State School which was meant to provide formal education to the indigenes of Anlo. The ANA also collected market tolls from traders but the Anlo Native Authority faced much opposition in payment of direct tax by the people and the authority had to rely solely on these market tolls, fees and fines from local courts and government grants-in-aid.

There was the Anlo State Council that complemented the efforts of the colonial government in the administration of justice in the territory and was an advisory body to Togbi Sri II. The Anlo State Council, however, diminished when the Local Authority was introduced in 1953 and in 1962 the Anlo State Council was replaced by the Anlo Traditional Council.

The use of chiefs in the colonial administration of Ghana brought anger to the politically educated class. Because of that, the political power holders especially the Convention Peoples' Party (C.P.P.) in independent Ghana decided to adopt certain measures to frustrate the institution of chieftaincy. The thesis argued that the Anlo state did not suffer any form of abuse. Anlo was for

C.P.P. due to Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, who was a Legislative Assembly Representative of Anlo, in 1951 and an indigene of Anlo state. Furthermore, the CPP had a solid and vibrant constituency branch and a women's wing in Anlo state and that could have been another reason for non-violent activities and non-aggression against the supreme ruler of the Anlo state.

The work argued that the placement of chiefs under the local government was to regulate the activities of chiefs. This enabled the Awoamefia as the chairman of the Anlo Traditional Council, (ATC) to exercise jurisdiction over the states / divisions under him. This is because for all newly elected, nominated and enstooled chiefs to be given the needed recognition they must present themselves physically to the chairman of the Council for approval. The provision regularised the entry of chiefs into the Regional and National Houses of Chiefs and prevented traditional power from going into the hands of illegitimate candidates within the traditional area. The creation of the ATC gave power to the Awoamefia to exert his authority and power over the traditional area.

Awoamefia, Togbi Adeladza II who was the president of the Anlo Traditional Council used his position to influence the establishment of two second cycle schools and instituted the celebration of the Hogbetsotso festival in 1962. These schools contributed to the literacy of the indigenes of Anlo. The Hogbetsotso festival united indigenes both at home and abroad and served as a means to harness the human and natural resources of the state for development. The growth and consolidation of the Anlo state can be linked to the activities of the occupants of the Awoame and the Kaklaku stools and their contact with the

Europeans. The stools were believed to serve as the repository of the soul and spirit of all indigenes of Anlo.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A



Fig. 1: Artistic Impression of the *Awoame* Stool of Anlo State



Fig. 2: Artistic Impression of the *Kaklaku* Stool of Anlo State

APPENDIX B



Togbi Sri III dressed in dark bluish cloth (bisi), woven raffia(la) around his neck with a hat. (Photo credit: Facebook/Flickr photos)

APPENDIX C



An image of Mama Yakagbe

APPENDIX D

Boys	Girls
1. Efui	Kokui
2. Tsatsu	Abui
3. Tsidɔ	Edzoe / Dzoe
4. Akɔli	Esa /Sa
5. Dɛ	Kuya
6. Lotsu	Afɛ /Avaye
7. Letsa	Afala
8. Dra	Uala
9. Akɔɔ	Ualawɔɔ
10. Akɔɔtse	Ualawui
11. Etui/ Tui	Gbato

Table 1: Clan names for both boys and girls of the Adzorvia clan.

Boys	Girls
1. Efui	Kokui
2. Tsatsu	Abui
3. Tsiɖi	Edzoe / Dzoe
4. Akɔli	Esa /Sa
5. Dɛ	Kuya
6. Lotsu	Afɛ /Avaye
7. Letsa	Afala
8. Dra	Uala
9. Akɔɔ	Ualawɔɛ
10. Akɔɔtse	Ualawui
11. Etui/ Tui	Gbato

Table 2: Clan names for both boys and girls of the Bate clan.

Name of Awoamefia	Clan	Dates
1. Togbi Sri I	Adzorvia	c.1468 - 1504
2. Togbi Tsatsu Adeladza I	Bate	c. 1504 - 1524
3. Togbi Zanyedo	Adzorvia	c. 1525 - 1538
4. Togbi Akotsu	Bate	c. 1540 -1568
5. Togbi Agorleha I	Adzorvia	c. 1568 - 1594
6. Togbi Drafo	Adzorvia	c. 1595 - 1630
7. Togbi Agodo	Bate	c. 1630 - 1660
8. Togbi Nditsi	Adzorvia	1661 -1685
9. Togbi Adzawu Aduadui (Adzanu)	Bate	1685 - 1725
10. Togbi Atsa (Atsia)	Adzorvia	1726 -1776
11. Togbi Atsasa (Atsiasa)	Adzorvia	1784 - 1810
12. Togbi Letsa Gbagba	Bate	1810 - 1840
13. Togbi Amedor Kpegla	Bate	1849 -1906
14. Togbi Sri II	Adzorvia	1907 -1956
15. Togbi Adeladza II	Bate	1957 - 1997
16. Togbi Sri III	Adzorvia	2011 to date.

Table 3: Roll of Honour of Awoamefia

S/N	List of Awadada	Dates
1.	Togbi Agbesi	c.1468 – 1488
2.	Togbi Agorglormor I	c. 1488 - 1500
3.	Togbi Anagba I	c. 1512 - 1557
4.	Togbi Awusu I	c. 1562 -1598
5.	Togbi Abiwu I	c. 1610 -1670
6.	Togbi Afetormasi I	c. 1675 - 1682
7.	Togbi Aboadzi I	c. 1700 - 1750
8.	Togbi Korwuga I	1776 - 1792
9.	Togbi Katsriku I	1794 - 1830
10.	Togbi Axorlu I	1841 - 1874
11.	Togbi Katsriku II	1899 - 1924
12.	Togbi Katsriku Awusu II	1939 - 1967
13.	Togbi Axorlu II	1975 - 1999
14.	Togbi Agbesi Awusu II	2000 to date.

Table 4: Roll of Honour of the Awadada.

Boys	Girls
1. Efui	Evi
2. Tsatsu	Egbo / Gbo
3. Tsiɖi	Tolo
4. Akɔli	Esa / Sa
5. Dɛ	Kuya / Safi
6. Lotsu	Afɛ / Auaye
7. Letsa	Afala
8. Dra	Uala
9. Akɔɔ	Ualawɔɛ / Ualavala
10. Akɔltse	Ualawui
11. Etui/ Tui	Gbato

Table 5: Clan names for both boys and girls of the Agave clan.

APPENDIX E



Awadada Katsriku Awusu II holding the *Adzoyi* (sword) with the tip pointing downwards to signify peace at home. (Photo credit: Perseverance photos, Whuti -Anloga).

APPENDIX F

Divisions of Anlo State	Sub-divisions
1. Anyanui	Atiteti, Fuveme, Agorkedzi, Kpɔkpɔgbɔ, Bomigo and Tunu
2. Dzita	Agbledomi, Batefe and Akplɔwotɔkɔ
3. Atɔkɔ (Atorkor)	Amegatsekɔfe and Dakɔdzi
4. Whuti (Uti)	Genui (Yenui)
5. Srɔgboe	Salo
6. Aɲlɔga	The seat of the Overlord of the Aɲlɔ land
7. Woe	Bawe, Dzidzoave, Aklorbordzi
8. Tegbi	Also known as 'Kumatsoagbegbor', Kpota, Azumagbor, Agbedrafor
9. Dzelukofo ('Whuga' or 'Zomayi')	Vui, Tetekɔfo, Tetevikɔfo and Nukpesekɔfo
10. Keta	Abutiakɔfo, Kedzikɔfo and Adzido
11. Vodza	the new Zongo
12. Kedzi	boundary with Blekusu along the Keta-Aɲlao Road
13. Blekusu	lone-standing town along the coastline of the Aɲlɔ land best known for marine fishing.
14. Agavedzi	
15. Adina	Amutinu, Agɔko and other small villages
16. Adafienu	A place of fish harvest
17. Denu	Xedzranawo and Akame
18. Aɲlao (Aɲlao)	Viefe, Avoeme, Whudoaba (Uudɔba)
19. Agbozume	Nogokpo and Sonuto
20. Klikor	It shares borders with Agbozume
21. Afiadenyigba	Tengekɔfo and other adjoining communities
22. Weta (Ueta)	Avalavi or Awalavi (Avalavi), Klenɔmadi, Atiteti Exi, Adzortsi
23. Afife	Agɔvega, Tsiyinu, Kpɔkuve, Vume, Whute (Uute), Woxavu
24. Abɔlɔve – ɲɔlɔfi/Nolofi	ɲɔlɔfi
25. Anyako-Konu	Efe and Seva
26. Sasieme	Fiasienyeame
27. Abor (Abɔ)	Heluvi, Atsiame, Weme, Kutsime and Kutsidzi
28. Tsiamе	Netsime and Dɔveme
29. Asadame	neighbour to the Tsiamе community
30. Atiavi	Hatɔgodo, Agɔvinu, Lawoasime, Hɔtagbɔ, Gbetuinu, Aveli and other villages.
31. Kome	Fi XOR, Kodzi, Deta, Atito, Lɔtame and Alakple.
32. Shime	Tregui, Adzato, Agortoe, Klomikpota, Akploefudzi, Azanu, Banadzi, Nyikuto, Trekume, Bleamezodo, Dosookɔfo, Sakome, Hadota
33. Avenɔ	Avenɔfeme, Avenɔfedo, Dzogadze, Xavi, Akatsi, Xikpo, Whute (Uute) and Atidzive.
34. Penyi	Kpoglu and other towns
35. Dzodze	Kuli, Tadzevu, Xevi and other villages
36. Ave	Afiadenyigba, Havi, ɔakpa and their environs

THE THIRTY-SIX DIVISIONS OF THE ANLO STATE

APPENDIX G

Vinyewo! miganlɔe be o,	Children, forget not that
Nuvɔwɔla la dugbāla wonye	Evil doers are nation wreckers
Migbe nya na mia viwo	Reprimand your children
Eye miahe wo le dzɔdzɔenyenye	Bring them in righteousness
Blibo me. Wo tɔe nye du la	for the Anlo state belongs to them
Elabena egbea koe nye mia tɔ,	Because we live today and
Ke etsɔ la míegali o	Tomorrow we are dead and gone,
Mida wo ɔe mɔ dzɔdzɔe dzi,	Put them on the right path
Bena du la natsi ɔe dzi	For the prosperity of the state
Le ɲusɛ kple lɔlɔ kple kalɛ me.	In strength, love and bravery.
Atsyɔnue vi setonu nye	Obedient children are jewels
Na dzilawo kple dukɔ siaa;	to their parents and the state
Gblotsi kple suie wɔnye;	sapphires and corals they are
Eganye adzagba kple sika	and are also pearls and gold
Duwo <i>fe</i> lekewɔnuwo	the adornment of the state
Eya nye nunya si doa	the knowledge that prospers/projects
Dukɔ sia dukɔ ɔe ɲgo;	the state
Eya nye dzidzɔ le agbe sia megbe	it is the joy after this life
Ee, ewɔ Segbe dzi, elé du ɔe te.	Truly the one who lives well is an asset
	to the state.
Eya ta vi dzeaglā netrɔ kɔ,	Therefore, let the recalcitrant child
	repent
Efe agbenɔnɔ neso	let his life conform to the norm
Fenyila nedzudzɔ ɲku gā toto.	Debtors should refrain from greed

Alakpatɔ nesrɔ nyatefetoto	liars should learn to speak the truth
Ke fiafiwo, amesrɔxɔlawo	thieves, covetous
Kple amekudolawo ya la,	and murderers
Gomea ɔke meli na wo	have no stake
Le Anlo fe kesinɔnuwo dome o.	in the wealth of the Anlo state.
Nye dukɔ kple ame siawo	my nation and these people
Maɖu hotsui nyui o,	shall never live together
Negbe dzaa ɔe wotrɔ nɔnɔme.	Unless they reform.
Ke vi si gbe tonu masemase la	Therefore any citizen who refuses to reform
Miakpɔ nɔfe nɛ le Tɔkɔ Atɔlia.	Shall find his place at the fifth landing stage.

WISE COUNSEL OF TOGBI SRI I

Curled from F.K. Fiawoo's non-fiction drama titled *Tɔkɔ Atɔlia* (Accra, 1981), 3.

APPENDIX H

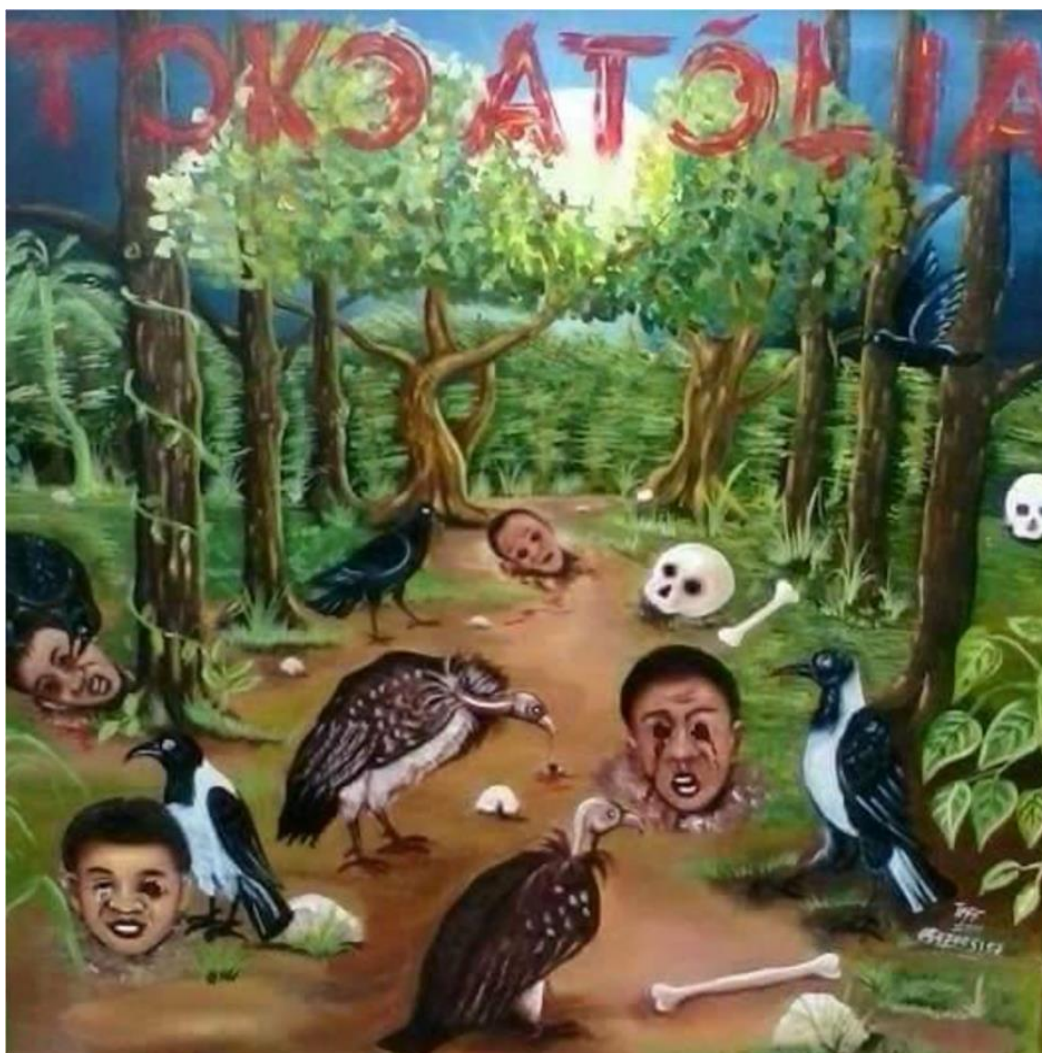


Fig. 1: Artistic Impression of *Toko Atolia*. (Source: public domain image/
Kartey, 2016)



Fig. 2-- A picture of Agorwowunu which was a sacred place where bad spirits were rendered powerless. It was also a place for the performance of reconciliation rites (nugbidodo). The arrow pointed to the *klogo* (tortoise shell) where evil spirits were covered. (Photo credit: researcher).



Fig. 3 -- A picture of the male *nyiko* drum (photo credit: researcher)



Fig. 4 -- A picture of a structure housing the female *nyiko* drum. (Photo credit: researcher).

APPENDIX I



Fort Prinzenstein in 1970. (Photo credit: Facebook)

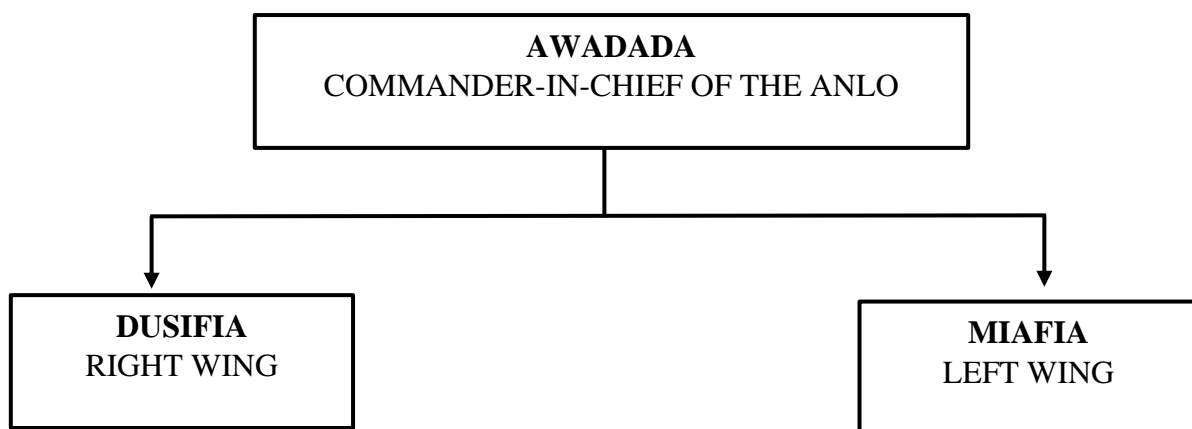


Front view of Fort Prinzenstein in 2023. (Photo credit: Researcher)



Back view of Fort Prinzenstein in 2023. (Photo credit: Researcher)

APPENDIX J
MILITARY STRUCTURE

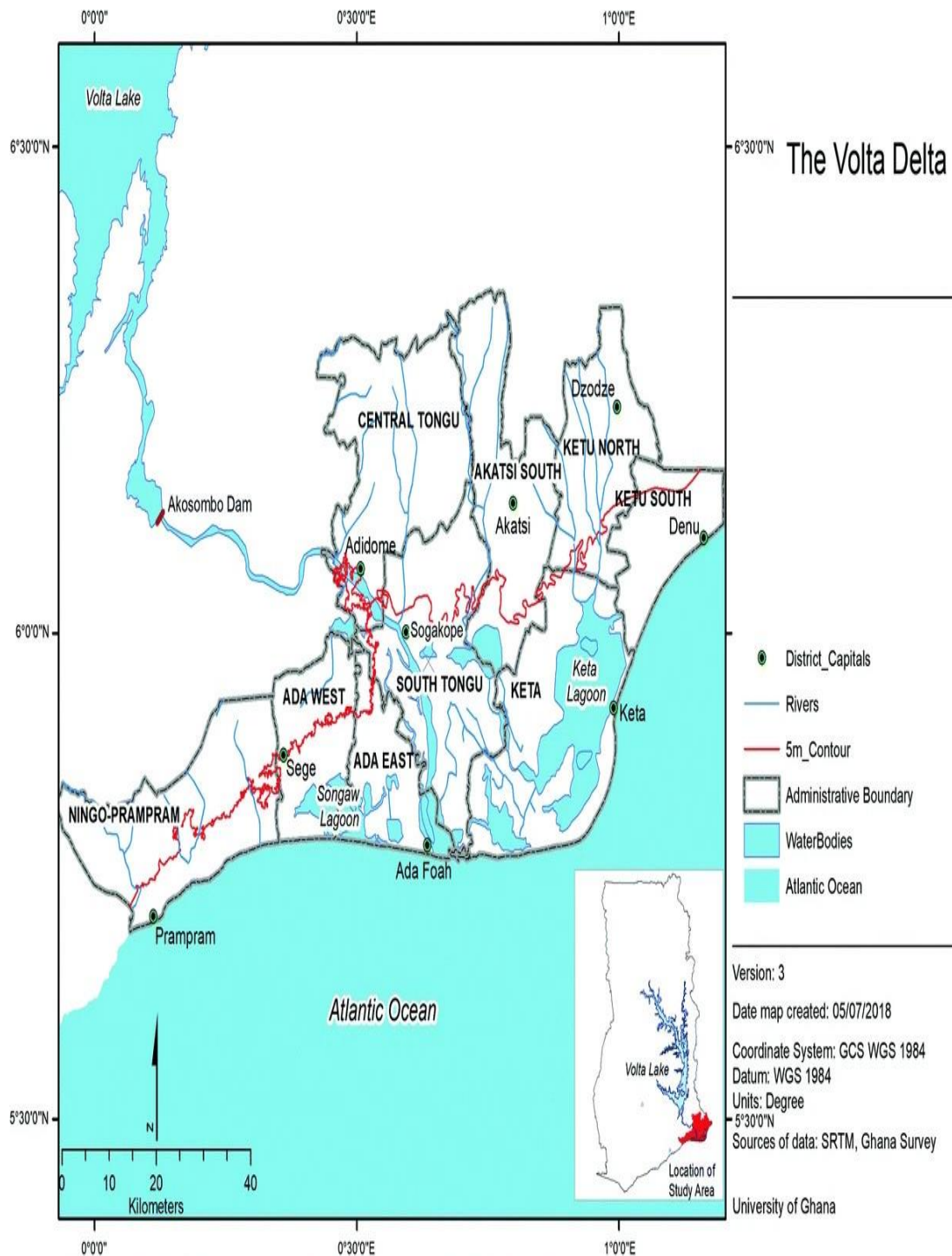


APPENDIX K**List of wars fought by the Anlo**

- 1682 --- Grand Popo expedition against Anlo for helping Ga fugitives to settle at Glidzi.
- Later 1680's Genyi now turned against Anlo. Attack by Foli Bebe. Heavy defeat of invaders. Death of Foli Bebe
- 1700 --- Renewed Anlo- Genyi War. Anlo driven away from some of their towns.
- 1702 --- Recovery of Anlo towns with Akwamu aid.
- 1737 --- Dahomey army despatched against the Dutch at Keta
- 1750 --- Anlo-Ada War. Battle of Nonobe. Ada supported by Akwapim, Akim Abuakwa, Krobo and Agave. Anlo defeated. Later General Anyamakpa restored Anlo's fortunes.
- 1769 --- Anlo attack on Ada
- 1770 --- Invasion of Anlo by Ada, Akim Abuakwa, Akwapim, Krobo and part of Mafi. Anlo, supported by Akwamu, drove invaders out.
- 1776 --- Anlo attack on Ada. Anlo now master of the Lower Volta basin
- 1776 --- Anlo attack on Aveno. Akovu
- 1780 --- Anlo attack and burning of Ada
- 1784 --- March: Sagbadre War. Danes supported by the Ada, Ga, Krobo, Akwapim, Aflao, Be and Genyi invade and defeat Anlo.
- 1792 --- Nodzome (Sham) war leading to Some war. Genyi and former residents of Keta defeat Anlo. Founding of Agbozume by former residents of Keta.
- 1833 --- Akomu (Akwamu) war. Anlo aided Akwamu against Krepi who rose against Akwamu. Defeat of Akwamu and Anlo.
- 1847 --- Keta war. Anlo against the Danes bombarding and burning of Keta.
- 1860 --- Agoue War.
- 1865 --- Anlo espoused Geraldo de Lima's cause and attacked Ada canoes on Volta. British government of the Gold Coast mustered Ga, Akwapim and Krobo forces led by a British officer supported by a detachment of the 3rd West Indian Regiment and armed with rockets.
- 1866 --- April. Battles of Wutegbedzi and Datsutagba. Defeat of Anlo 1,500 dead as against 500-600 of the invaders.
- 1869 --- Agotime War. Anlo joined the Akwamu and Asante invasion of Krepi.
- 1874 ---- January. Gbedzidzavu or Glover war. As part of the British invasion of Asante in 1873, Captain Glover invaded Anlo with a force drawn from the Ga, Ada, Krepi and Akwapim. Anlo was supported by Aveno and Mafi. The defeat of Anlo at battles near Adidome, Aveno and Wheta.
- 1878 --- October. Lo War. D.C. at Keta wrongly concluding there was going to be an uprising fired on people at Abolove, later also burnt part of Kedzi
- 1885 --- Futa war (Taleto). Tenge Dzokoto's party stopped Geraldo de Lima who was being escorted over land to Accra at Anloga. The D.C. of Keta called Tenge and Tsigui to a parley and then arrested them. On D.C.'s return march to Keta, Tenge's men attacked the D.C. party which returned the fire. This resulted in the Taleto War.

APPENDIX L

MAP OF VOLTA DELTA



Credit: University of Ghana

APPENDIX M

(Summons to Accused.)

Form 1. Suit No. 3/27

In the Native Tribunal of AWUNA.
Gold Coast Colony.

To Dogboe Agbo of Viepe.

You are hereby commanded to appear before this Tribunal

at AWUNAGA on MONDAY
the 28TH. day of FEBRUARY 1927

to answer a complaint made against you by A. A. TAMAKLOE of VIEPE

(a) Charge For that you on the 3/2/27 did wilfully trespass by entering Complainant's coconut plantation and pluck from the trees a large quantity of coconuts about 2 tons II. That you did so with intend to provoke the complainant to commit a breach of peace contrary to Rule 3 paragraph 12 of the Schedule to the N.J.O. of 1883 as amended 1910.

Issued at AWUNAGA the 23rd.
day of February 1927.

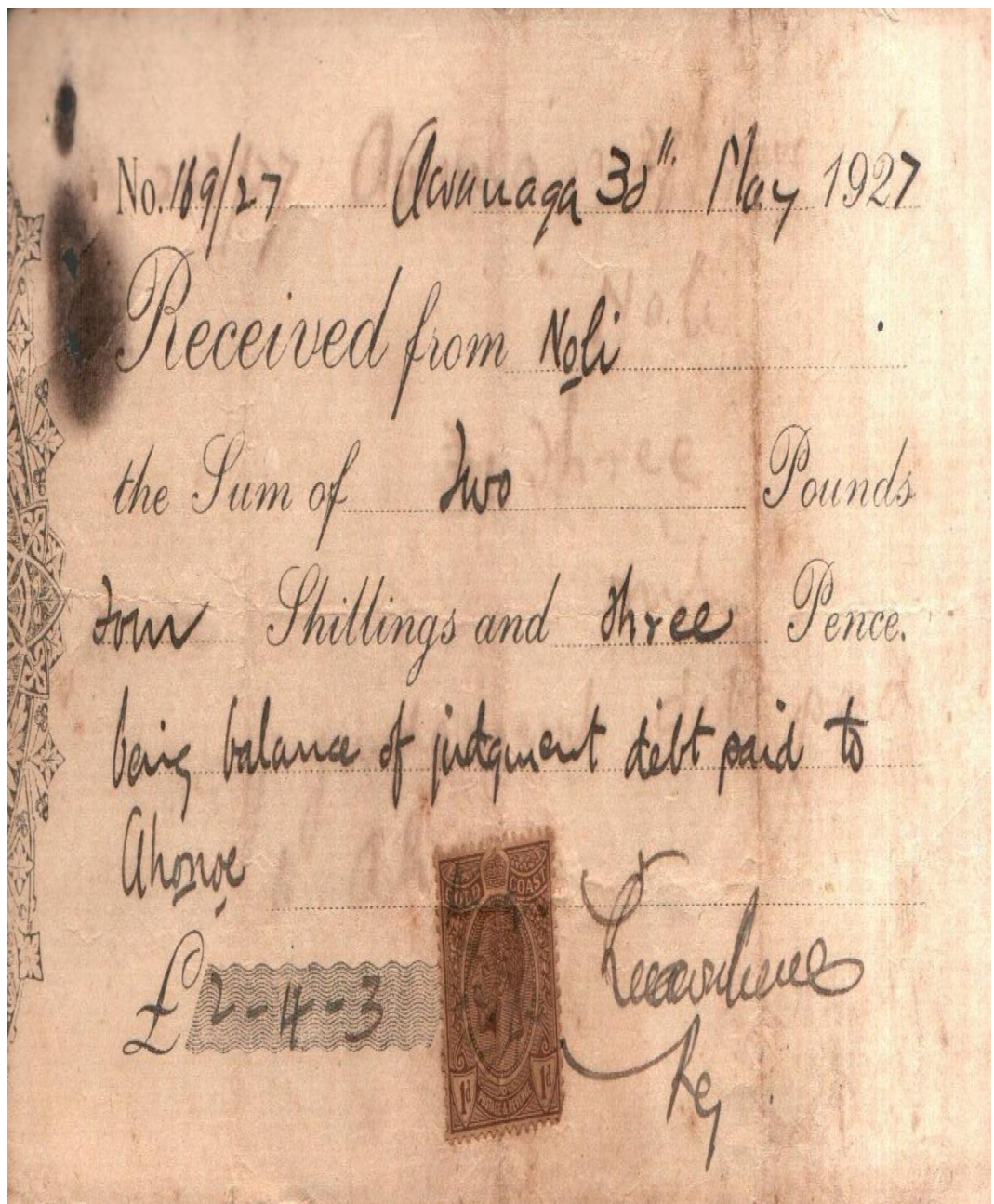
Witness to Signature or Mark

N. C. Awanunne
Registrar.

Sgd. Sri II Ha
Signature or Mark of Chief.

(a) State offence, with place and date.

Sample of Writ of Summon from Anlo Native Tribunal



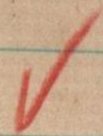
Sample of fine paid by culprits to Anlo state in 1927

APPENDIX N

List of person imprisoned in the Awunegah Native Prison (Anloga) during the 1st. and 2nd. Quarters ended 30th. June 1930

No.	Name and Address	Date of Conviction	Date of Discharge	Remarks.
1.	Sam. M. Nutsugah of Jeku-Koim	29-1-30	27-2-30	Assault
2.	Sethuagbe Avor of Amejiemkoim	14-3-30	14-5-30	Sexual Connexion
3.	Goku of Sasinyeme	28-3-30	28-4-30	Disobedience
4.	Hine " "	28-3-30	28-4-30	"
5.	Kwakugah " "	28-3-30	28-4-30	"
6.	Doe Agboku of Agosome	14-4-30	21-4-30	Insult
7.	Adzoyori of Anlogah	19-5-30	19-6-30	Stealing.

Registrar

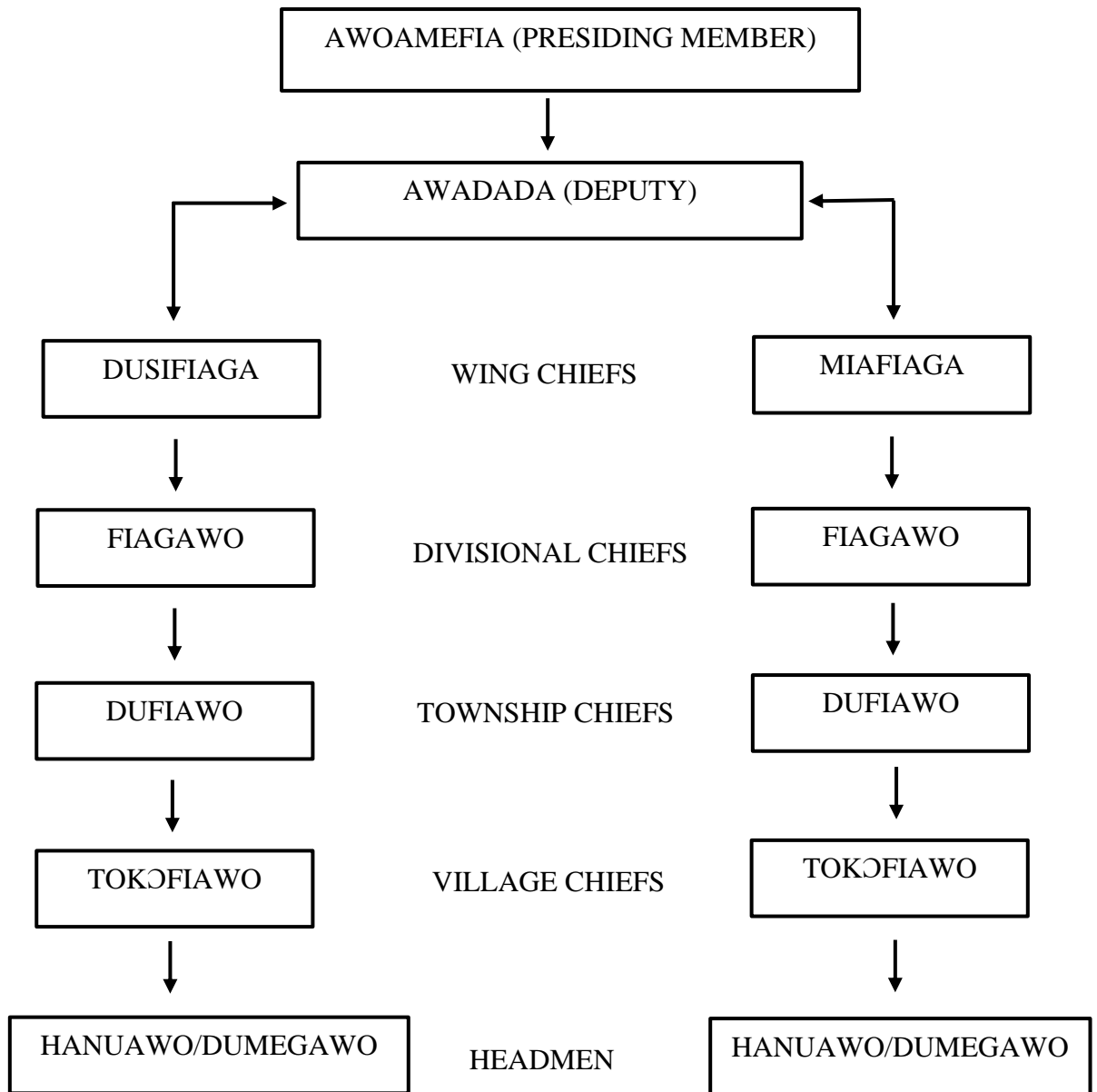


List of prisoners in the first and second quarters of June 1930



Historical sites of Togbi Sri II's prison. (Photo credit: Researcher)

APPENDIX O
STRUCTURE OF ANLO NATIVE AUTHORITY



APPENDIX P



An image of Anlo Native Authority police (credit by Charles M. K. Mamattah in *The Ewes of West Africa*, Accra:1978)

APPENDIX Q



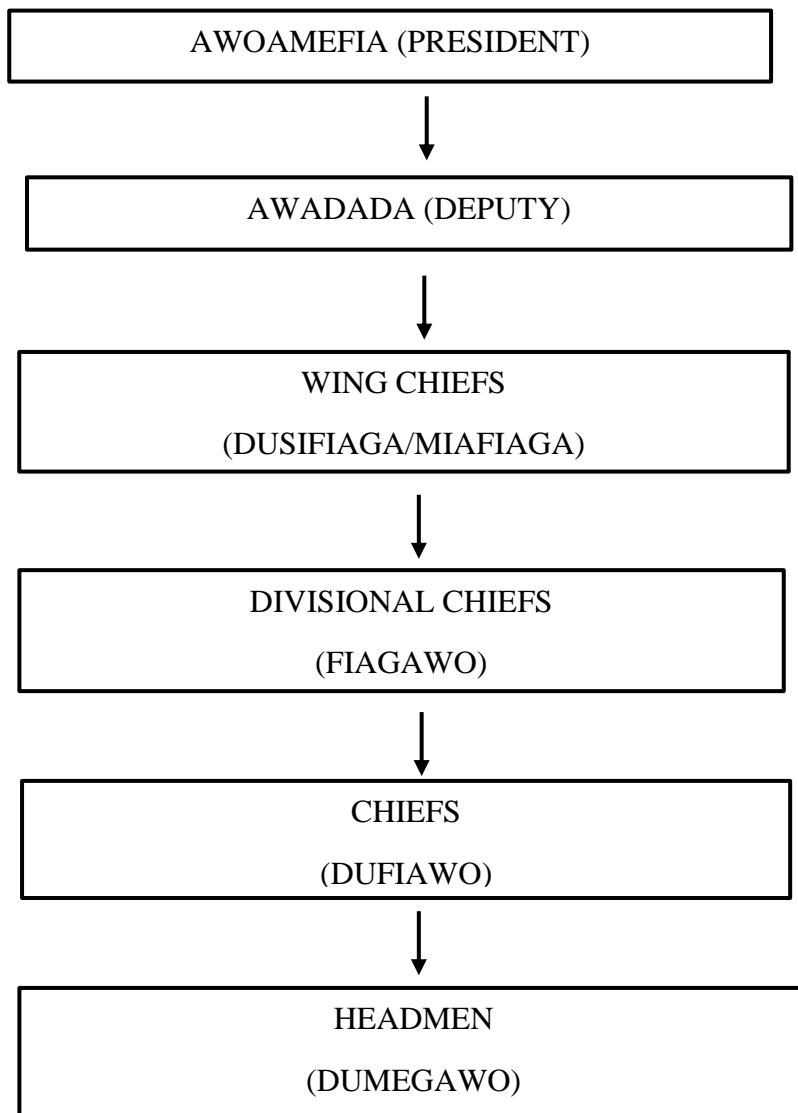
Photo credit: Researcher. Images of Anlo State School, 2023.

APPENDIX R



Anlo State Emblem, 1953.

APPENDIX S
STRUCTURE OF ANLO STATE COUNCIL



APPENDIX T

Native A-authority	Total revenue from rate.		
	1949-50	1950-51	1951 - 52
1. Anlo	349	400	140
2. Tongu	434	616	425
3. Peki	-	-	927
4. Asogli	1149	2867	3548
5. Awatime	2030	1284	2223
6. Akpini	1495	2208	2362
7. Atando	1384	1326	1269
8. Buem	6176	7130	7426
9. Ayonkodo	-	-	1100
10. Krachi	3464	7161	6857

Revenue from rates in 1949/50, 1950/51 and 1951/52 of Anlo Native Authority

120

TOWN AND LOCAL COUNCILS.											
Name of Council	Population	Date of Establishment	Former Native authority	Est. Revenue 1952/53	Actual Revenue 1952-53	Approved Rates 1952-53		Special	Est. Revenue from Rates 1952-53	Actual Revenue from Rates 1952-53	Rate per head of total population
						Basic	Graded				
Keta District											
Keta Urban	18,000	1. 5.52	Anlo	201.2	17283.1.4	6/-	4/-	-	3800	2493	2/9
South Anlo	29,000	1. 6.52	"	8672	6554.9.0	3/-	3/-	-	4650	1715	1/2
North Anlo	29,000	1. 5.52	"	10479	8262.7.8	4/-	2/-	-	4000	2343	1/7
Avenor	28,000	1. 6.52	"	8195	5829.14.3	3/-	3/-	-	3150	1926	1/4
Usedje	22,000	1. 6.52	"	10331	6323.5.9	4/-	2/-	-	3400	1874	1/8
A/A/Klikor	24,000	1. 6.52	"	8543	6277.14.9	2/-	3/-	-	2550	2085	1/9
Some	14,000	1.12.52	"	2628	2706.17.11	3/-	3/-	-	1500	1712	2/5
Flao	6000	1.12.52	"	3361	2799.6.0	2/-	4/-	-	1150	1507	5/-
	170,000									15,655	1/10
Tongu District											
Central Tongu	34,000	1.11.52	Anlo & Tongu Confed.	2188	1777.-.-	2/-	4/-	-	400	765	6d
Upper Tongu	28,700	1.11.52	Tongu Confed.	1052	944.-.-	1/-	1/-	-	100	130	1d
Lower Tongu	12,000	1.11.52	"	1652	1393.-.-	1/-	1/-	21 males 5/-females	350	357	8d
East Tongu	25,471	1.11.52	"	2230	1771.-.-	1/-	1/-	21 males 10/-females	275	286	2d
	100,171									1538	3d

Revenue from rates in 1952/1953 from the eight local councils of Anlo.

APPENDIX U
MEMBERS OF THE ANLO DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1952

COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVE MEMBERS TRADITIONAL MEMBERS

Keta Urban Council	N. D. Tamakloe	W. S. Chapman
	S. Y. G. Fiawoo	T. K. Tagbor
	C. H. Chapman	
North Anlo Local Council	G. K. Tsegah	J. K. Sadika
	A. Sowah	Chief Dzokoto IV
	E. A. Kumahor	
	G. K. Hlovor	
	C. K. Anaglata	
South Anlo Local Council	K. Lardii-Glawu	Chief Avudzega III
	G. L. Anthonio	Chief Leh II
	D. K. Awedo	
	L. K. Agbozo	
	M. Mawuko Tagbor	
Dzodje (Dzodze) Local Council	A. M. C. Tamakloe	Chief Ahiadzro Adjofiala
	S. K. Adenyo	G. O. Adjogble
	E. K. Gohoho	
	E.B. Williams	
Wheta-Afife/Klikor Local Council	A. A. Kuadey	Chief Adukpo II
	A. K. Nukporfe	Dotse Wemega
	G. A. Kutsoati	
	G. A. Nornyiba	
Avenor Local Council	John G. Bedzo	Asafohene Keteku II
	Paul D. Nyakpo	Asafohenega Samlafo III
	Lucas D. Dokpe	
	Nelson K. Maglo	
	Joseph A. Sewornu	
Some Local Council	K. Dzomeku	Chief Baku III
	N. A. Kumaka	Asafohene Ga-Aklini
Aflao Local Council	M. A. Mensah	Chief Anubo III
	M. C. Kuvodu	

APPENDIX V



Awoamefia Togbi Sri II in European apparel surrounded by some sub-chiefs. (Photo credit: facebook)

APPENDIX W

1.	Togbi Adeladza II, Awoamefia of Anlo – Chairman
2.	Togbi Katsriku Awusu II, Awadada of Anlo
3.	Togbi Zewu III, Dufia of Anloga
4.	Dusi Fiaga – Togbi Anthonio Gbordzor II of Woe
5.	Mia Fiaga – Togbi Nyaho Tamakloe III of Whuti
6.	Chairman, Keta Urban Council
7.	Chairman, Anlo Local Council
8.	Dufia Tengey Dzokoto IV, of Anyako
9.	Fia Teteagbi II of Anloga
10.	Fia Avege II of Anloga
11.	Fia Leh II of Anloga
12.	Dufia Adaku VI of Atorkor
13.	Fia Saba III of Dzita
14.	Fia Samlafo Edegbe of Woe
15.	Dufia Sokpui of Dzelukope
16.	Dufia James Ocloo of Keta
17.	Dufia Kukubor of Vodza
18.	Fia Tagbor of Kedzi
19.	Dufia Avudzega III of Alakpla
20.	Dufia Adri III of Atiavi
21.	Dufia Dzisam of Nolopi
22.	Dufia Kadzahlo III of Afiadenyigba
23.	Fia Kposegee III of Anyako
24.	Dufia Dalla Anini of Weme
25.	Fia Makwa of Tsiamé

MEMBERS OF ANLO TRADITIONAL COUNCIL (ATC), 1962

APPENDIX X

i.	Togbi Adeladza II	Chairman
ii.	Awadada Katsriku Awusu II	Vice Chairman
iii.	Ag. Chief Zewu III	Treasurer
iv.	Chief Anthonio Gbordzor II	Member
v.	Chief Nyaho Tamakloe III	Member
vi.	Rev. C. K. Dovlo	Member of Parliament
vii.	Mr. C. D. Tay	Member
viii.	Rev. Dr. F. K. Fiawoo	Member
ix.	Prof. C. G. Baete	Member
x.	Mrs. Annie Jiggae- Baete	Member
xi.	Mad. Selina Tamakloe	Member
xii.	Miss Elizabeth Tamakloe	Member
xiii.	Mr. J. K. Aidam	District Commissioner, Anloga
xiv.	Mr. S. Y. Fiawoo	District Commissioner, Keta
xv.	Mr. D. A. Chapman	Member
xvi.	Mr. C. H. Chapman	Member
xvii.	Mr. S. W. Chapman	Member
xviii.	Mr. Philip Gbeho	Member
xix.	Mr. Ben Gadzekpo	Member
xx.	Mr. C. G. Kwami Kpodo	Member
xxi.	Mr. E. B. Alormatu	Member
xxii.	Mr. J. K. Humado	Member
xxiii.	Mr. G. K. Dzokoto	Member
xxiv.	Mr. C.M.K. Mamattah	Organizing Secretary

MAIDEN MEMBERSHIP OF HOGBETSOTSO COMMITTEE, 1962

APPENDIX Y



THE NEW EMBLEM OF ANLO STATE, 1993.