

**HISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE
FREDERIKSGAVE PLANTATION, GHANA: A CASE STUDY OF
SLAVERY AND PLANTATION LIFE ON A NINETEENTH CENTURY
DANISH PLANTATION ON THE GOLD COAST**



YAW BREDWA-MENSAH

**This thesis is submitted to the University of Ghana, Legon
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of Doctor of
Philosophy degree in African Archaeology.**

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January 2002

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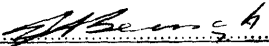
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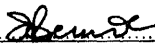
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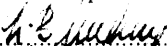
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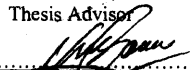
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other works, which have been duly acknowledged, this thesis is the result of my own original research undertaken under supervision and that this study has not been presented either in whole or in part, for another degree elsewhere. The thesis is therefore approved.


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2002

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of the enslaved Men, Women and Children whose history is the subject matter of this study and to the millions who were uprooted and transplanted in the enslaved world of the African Diaspora.

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ABSTRACT

The global processes that were unleashed due to the maritime exploration and commercial expansion of Europe made an impact on indigenous cultures of the Atlantic world. Between the late fifteenth and the nineteenth century the Atlantic Slave Trade, which existed due to the European contact, and basically involved trade in Africa's human cargoes, affected traditional institutions and local life. On the Gold Coast, the Royal Danish Government established agricultural plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains and along the estuary of the Volta River. The plantations, which were established in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, produced agricultural commodities for consumption and industrial processing.

The thesis surveyed the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast, highlighting on their location, historical development and production management as portrayed by Danish documentary sources. The present state of the plantations is also described. The study has demonstrated that the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast developed as a result of the European global expansionist activities particularly the Atlantic Slave Trade. The diverse archaeological objects particularly, the exotic trade goods obtained at the Frederiksgave plantation is an indication of the incorporation of the Danish plantation complex into the European dominated world economic system of the nineteenth century.

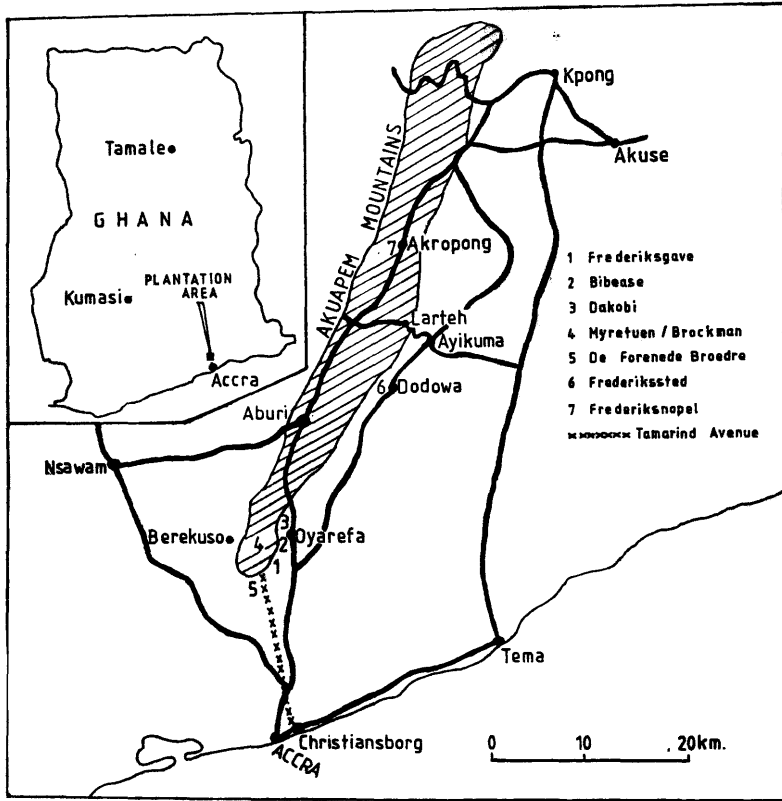
Resident enslaved African workers provided labour on the plantations. This work investigated the social conditions of the enslaved African workforce who tirelessly cultivated the plantations in the Akuapem Mountains. Originally, the Danes, who participated in the Atlantic Slave Trade, used enslaved Africans in their forts and private homes. However, when they became involved in plantation agriculture on the Gold Coast, these slaves were transferred to work on the farms as plantation workers. Archaeological data recovered from the Frederiksgave plantation was combined with documentary, ethnographic and oral information to provide insights into what the daily life was like for the enslaved workers on the plantations. The enslaved workers on the plantations were drawn from different ethnic backgrounds on the Gold Coast. They engaged in diverse servile tasks, which ranged from weeding, planting, harvesting and headloading and transporting harvested commodities to warehouses on the Accra coast. The subsistence and building construction patterns on the plantations strongly remained African. It was clear that all categories of slaves on the plantation were trapped by their enslaved condition. The slaves therefore adopted appropriate responses to resist their disadvantaged social conditions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This work is about slavery and the living conditions of enslaved Africans on nineteenth century Danish plantations on the Gold Coast (now Ghana). Generally, it is a historical-archaeological study of the socio-cultural aspects of slave lifeways on former Danish plantations located along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains in southeastern Ghana. However, the archaeological study for this research has focused specifically, on the Frederiksgave plantation, one of the Danish agricultural settlements established in the Coastal Savannah Plains below the Akuapem Mountains (Map1.1).

During the pre-colonial European expansion in West Africa, the coastline of present day Ghana, stretching from Beyin eastward to Keta attracted several European settlements. Among the various European nations that became involved in the commercial enterprise on the Gold Coast, Denmark had the highest concentration of trade stations (castles, forts and lodges), and a sizeable number of agricultural settlements in the eastern coastlands. Altogether, the string of trade stations and the plantation settlements constitute relics of the Danish involvement within the broad context of European commercial venture in West Africa during the contact period. The Danes concentrated in southeast Gold Coast (Ghana) originally to get a share in the gold trade, then made their bid in the slave trade



Map 1-1 Danish plantation sites in the Akuapem Mountains

and finally attempted to explore other economic avenues to make their colonial aspirations viable (Bredwa-Mensah 1996a: 445-458).

The Danes established their agricultural settlements along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains and along the estuary of the Volta River (Maps 1.1 and 1.2). The Danish plantation complex was a labour-intensive enterprise, which to a large extent, depended on the workforce of publicly and or privately owned enslaved Africans. The publicly owned workforce was derived from enslaved Africans called fort slaves who were used in various capacities in the Danish trade stations. As from the end of the eighteenth century the fort slaves were settled in small villages attached to the Danish agricultural settlements to cultivate the plantations for export production (Norregård 1966, Justesen 1979). This 'new' slave group then became known as plantation slaves (*plantageslaver*) or plantation workers (*plantagearbejdere*) in the Danish records. The emergence of the Danish fort slaves on the Gold Coast and the transformation of the group into plantation slaves are discussed in Chapter Three. This research is interested in investigating the range of experiences of these enslaved Africans as expressed in their social and cultural activities on the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast.

Research Objectives

A multi-stage historical-archaeological strategy was designed to pursue three major goals:

- (a) Collect oral and written information as well as conduct archaeological research and use the data generated to describe the historical development of the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast (Ghana).
- (b) Investigate the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast particularly in the Slave Trade and the deployment of African slaves in the Danish forts on the Gold Coast and how these enslaved Africans were eventually transformed into plantation slaves during the nineteenth century.
- (c) Gather material culture through excavations from the Frederiksgave Plantation and use that as the basis for investigating slave lifeways on the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast (Ghana).

Historical Archaeology in Africa: a review

Archaeologists usually have two views in mind when they use the term historical archaeology. Some archaeologists consider this discipline by its methodology. In that sense, historical archaeology is viewed as the kind of archaeology that utilizes the approach of both history and archaeology by employing primary records and material remains to investigate the recent past. However, this discipline is neither history nor what Schuyler (1970:83-89), calls “general archaeology”. It is a discipline in its own right, although as already mentioned, it has a developmental relationship with history and archaeology. By combining



both historical sources and tangible material culture in its methodology of investigation, historical archaeology, provides a balance to other more traditional approaches to the past. Ian Hodder (1987) has noted that archaeology has traditional links with history and therefore appeals to historical archaeology practitioners to recapture these links. One central issue that arises is the extent to which historical data can be used to illuminate the archaeological record. Noël Hume (1983:13) advocates for an approach which provides that every class of artefact excavated from historic sites, be treated in a detailed and thorough manner with emphasis on identifying each relic from historical and sometimes contemporary information.

Merrick Posnansky has defined historical archaeology as “archaeology undertaken in periods or for areas in which the principal source of contextual information is provided by documentary evidence” (Posnansky and Decorse 1986). Charles Orser (1996: 2) also considers historical archaeology as a discipline that “combines excavated information with traditional historical information”. These definitions are without chronological or geographical parameters and therefore allow for their application in Africa. However, in many local settings textual information is provided by oral traditions. While scholars do not deny the importance and relevance of oral traditions to historical archaeology, they caution that these sources be combined with documentary evidence, because on their own, they rarely provide the same precise contextual context. But Peter Schmidt has demonstrated otherwise. In his book entitled *Historical Archaeology: a Structural Approach in an African Culture*, Schmidt (1978)

adopted an all inclusive or holistic perspective to historical archaeology. Applying oral traditions on traditional governmental systems, cosmology, multi-layered social set-up and socio-cultural expressions, Schmidt unraveled the traditional past of Tanzania and thereby demonstrated the efficacy of oral traditions in illuminating the cultures of non-literate societies.

In contrast to the above approach to studies in historical archaeology, Stanley South (1977: 17-22) advocated for a scientific paradigm. South argued that by applying rigorous quantitative methods to artifact analyses, the historical archaeologist could recognize patterns among them and thereby allow for inter-site comparison that would lead to prediction and explanation. Despite South's strong advocacy for this paradigm it has not been very popular among historical archaeologists. Rather, they have adopted approaches, which Orser and Fagan (1995:189), consider to be, humanist or a combination of science and humanism.

Other archaeologists consider historical archaeology from the global perspective. James Deetz (1977:5) views historical archaeology as "the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the 15th century, and its impact on the indigenous peoples". This definition considers only one side of the interaction between Europeans and the indigenous societies of the Atlantic world - that is how the European contact affected indigenous lifeways. It does not give room for investigating the actions and reactions of indigenous peoples to the European contact. Orser and Fagan (1995:14) consider historical archaeology as

“a multi-disciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the post-prehistoric past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life”. This definition recognizes the global dimension of historical archaeology and stresses on the study of the historical and cultural processes of the modern world. The maritime expansion of western Europeans as from the fifteenth century was a worldwide phenomenon that brought about drastic changes in indigenous cultures. This phenomenon is unmistakably distinguishable in the archaeological record. From this standpoint, historical archaeologists are able to investigate a wide range of themes including slavery, ethnicity, racism, colonialism, imperialism, the strategies and expansion of capitalism as well as many others that help to explain the modern world system.

This work has adopted both the methodological and global perspectives of historical archaeology. As regard methodology, this work has combined written documentary evidence, oral information and ethnography with archaeological data to investigate the social conditions of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation. In addition the conceptual framework adopted to analyze the social world of the enslaved people was couched in a global perspective.

In this section a review of the practice of historical archaeology in Africa is presented. The pioneering stage, of historical archaeology in Africa, may be attributed to the research work of James Kirkman (1957, 1964, 1974) on the East

African coast. Chittick followed up (1975, 1984) in the same region later. The research of both scholars focused on coastal Islamic contact sites. Since then, historical archaeological research has gained roots. In recent years, significant researches by many historical archaeologists have centered on diverse topical and geographical interests. The review that follows is not exhaustive. It is aimed at demonstrating the amount of work done and the diverse topics that have been investigated as historical archaeology in Africa. In southern Africa, historical archaeological studies have focused on underclass life and gender diversities (e.g. Hall 1991, 1992, Hall et al 1988, 1990), contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples (Schrire 1988, Schrire and Deacon 1989, Kinahan 2000) and cognitive organization (Scott and Deetz 1990, Winer and Deetz 1990). Redman (1986) examined medieval urban lifeways in North Africa during encounters between indigenous people of the Maghreb and foreigners namely, Europeans and Arabs. In West Africa, historical archaeological studies started with the survey of European trading posts (e.g. Lawrence 1963, 1969; Varley 1952; Wood 1967), identification and documentation of extant colonial buildings (Bech 1989; Hyland 1970) and heritage management concerns (e.g. Bech and Hyland 1978; Van Dantzig 1980; Anquandah 1992a, 1997; Sinou 1992, Diop 1993). Some recent historical archaeological studies in the sub-region have focused on indigenous African settlements addressing socio-cultural changes associated with the European presence in West Africa (e.g. DeCorse 1987, 1989b, 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 1998; Kelly 1997, 1999; Stahl 1994, 1997, 1999).

However, an important area in West African archaeology that has rarely been studied is the impact of the slave trade on indigenous societies. This is indeed unfortunate because a large number of enslaved Africans were taken from this sub-region into the African Diaspora. Commenting on the neglect of this important area of research in his article, *Toward Archaeology of the Black Diaspora*, Posnansky (1984:196) wrote:

“One problem that African archaeologists initially have to face is that we have rarely studied Africa’s greatest migration; yet we have been attracted to far smaller movements that we are not even sure were folk movements at all. We have concentrated our attention on the pre-European contact period and unconsciously accepted as more significant, at least in West Africa, those societies that demonstrated the least effects of European contact. Archaeologists have not tried to study the impact of the slave trade, except for noting the dramatic increase of various categories of imports such as guns. We have left to historians to deal with the demographic effects of the slave trade. Historians in recent years have however provided a large amount of evidence relating to the numbers of slaves exported and their points of departure if not necessarily their ethnic origins...but as archaeologists we have contributed virtually nothing to the important dialogues among historians in Europe, Africa and America, and between historians and sociologists.”

In West Africa, due to the European contact and the slave trade, several sites related to slave occupation developed. These included:

- (a) Slave quarters located in the African settlements.
- (b) The fortified dungeons in the European trade posts.
- (c) Slave settlements on plantations.

Though the research potentialities of these sites have been known for sometime now (Posnansky 1984: 203, Posnansky and DeCorse 1986: 11), it is only in recent times that a systematic and extensive archaeological research has been initiated to investigate slave settlements on the Gold Coast. The archaeological research at Frederiksgave plantation is part of a larger research programme, *Slavery and the Danish Plantations Archaeological Project*, initiated by me in 1992 to investigate among other things, the nature of human interactions on the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast (Ghana). Before this project was initiated, only one archaeological study concerned with slavery had been undertaken at the Cape Coast Castle. In 1972, a preliminary testing conducted by Doig Simmonds (1973) at the fortified dungeons in the Castle examined the conditions of enslaved Africans at the points of departure to the Caribbean and the Americas. Recently, Anquandah (1997) conducted an archaeological reconnaissance survey at the Cape Coast Castle. He also test excavated sections of the Castle including the female dungeon, to ascertain among other things, the behaviour patterns, events and material culture associated with females held captive, while waiting to be exported overseas.

Archaeological materials recovered included Dutch and English smoking pipes, two tubular drawn glass beads probably of Dutch origin and a small number of imported European ceramics, liquor bottles, perfume jars and a few metal objects. Other materials found represented both wild and domesticated animal food remains. The material remains recovered demonstrated the condition of the slaves and the nature of their possessions as they waited to embark on their forced journey across the Atlantic for the African Diaspora.

The final destination for many enslaved Africans was the New World. In many parts of the Americas and the Caribbean, slave archaeology has a respectable tradition in historical archaeological studies (Deetz 1988:362). The vast majority of the literature in the archaeology of the African Diaspora concerned with slavery in the New World investigates aspects of plantation life (e.g. Ascher and Fairbanks 1971, Handler 1972, Fairbanks 1974, Craton 1978, Handler and Lange 1978, Otto 1979, Armstrong 1985, Ferguson 1992, Singleton 1996), resistance and freedom fighting (e.g. Agorsah 1992, 1993, 1994, Orser 1994).

Unfortunately, many New World archaeologists involved in the archaeology of slavery rarely have had exposure to the areas from which the slaves came or in many cases, the fullness of the recent archaeological record that is available from West Africa. But the need for a multi-disciplinary and inter-cultural approach in the archaeology of slavery is recognized. In the words of Agorsah (1993:180),

“Much interpretation of the history of the Diaspora depends on knowing the cultural patterns and the areas whence the slaves were brought”. To achieve this, Posnansky (1984:202-3) has correctly pointed out that:

“It is important for Caribbean and North American archaeologists to be aware of what is going on in West Africa, to exchange publication, possibly to visit key West African museums and attend periodic West African and Pan-African archaeology conferences. Rather than speculate on the material culture of the slave societies or attempt to replicate their handicrafts, a great deal can be learned from observing the technology and customs of the traditional societies of West Africa in rural areas away from large urban centres. Contact between two areas tied intimately during the slave trade era still has much to offer of mutual advantage. Thus, in any long-term research projects on Caribbean historical archaeology, it is important to include West African scholars. Their linguists, oral historical folkloric expertise will help Jamaican or Haitian colleagues appreciate aspects of their sites and certain artifacts or association that might otherwise be difficult to understand”.

In recent years, some researchers on the African Diaspora have employed a wide variety of material and cross-cultural approaches to interpret African behaviour patterns among enslaved Africans in the New World (e.g. Agorsah 1993, Ferguson 1992, Yentsch 1994). Yentsch (1994:325) commented on the use of

this approach to explain African ties or cultural expressions among the slaves of a Chesapeake English family in North America. She wrote: "...the reading I did on West African cultures using travelers' accounts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries A.D. ...enabled me to look again at objects I had thought of as securely British and see within them the residue that told of African behavior patterns".

Christopher DeCorse (1999:132-155) contributing to this debate pointed out that American archaeologists with research interest in the African-American past have viewed African cultures in generalized terms despite the fact that very few specific phenomena could be used to characterize African cultures as a whole. He stressed that archaeological studies have shown that African cultures were neither static nor uniform in the past. Despite these complexities DeCorse has demonstrated that material aspects of African belief systems, worldview and dietary patterns can be perceived archaeologically. He concluded that these aspects of the African society may provide the best means of evaluating African continuities or otherwise in American slave societies.

The Geographical and Cultural Setting

The gently undulating lowlands of the Accra Plains characterize the geographical landscape of southeast Ghana. The low relief of the plains rarely rises above 85m above sea level. Steep-sided inselbergs and a chain of mountain ranges, towards the interior break the monotony of the rolling plains. Prominent among the inselbergs are the Shai and Legon Hills, which rise to heights of 300m and 161m respectively. Average rainfall is about 800mm. Generally the vegetation here is

grassland with a variable development of dense thicket scrub and scattered trees. However, towards the interior, the proportion of thicket to grass increases progressively indicating that forest once covered the northern parts of these plains (Lane 1962:167).

The Densu and Volta are two major rivers that roughly serve as the western and eastern boundaries of the research area respectively. The Volta River once reached the sea via a delta, the remnants of which can be seen in the broad area of channels and lagoons dominating the coastal area of the plains east of the present mouth (Brash 1962:83). As a result of long shore drift of coastal deposits and deltaic silts, sand bars and relatively small islands formed along the channel of the Volta River in its lower reaches where it enters the sea. Some of these became the sites of Danish plantations during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.

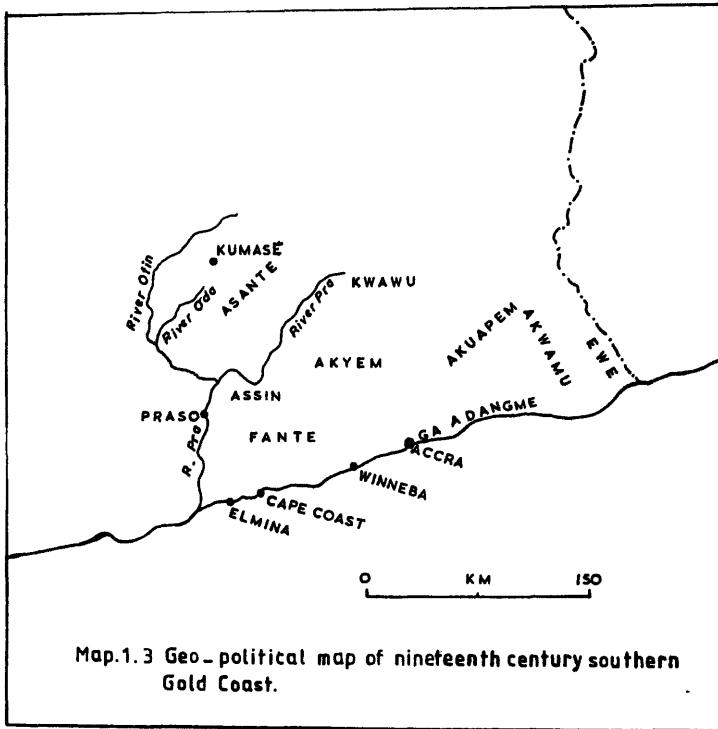
The Akuapem Mountains form the northern boundary. Generally, they are part of the chain of mountains known as the Akuapem and Togo Ranges. The eastern portions of the Akuapem Mountains are characterized by an escarpment, which drops abruptly from about 350m above sea level in places to merge with the low-lying and gently undulating Accra Plains (Dickson 1972: 8). It is along the eastern slopes and in the gently rolling plains below, that the ruins of the Danish plantations are located. The area is endowed with relatively fertile soils, a pleasant climate and attractive scenery afforded by the elevation of the

escarpment. The specific focus of this research was the portion of the escarpment, which stretches from the Accra coast in a northeasterly direction to Akropong (Map1.1), where other Danish plantations including the Frederiksgave were established.

Culturally, the Accra Plains comprise largely the Ga, Adangme and Ewe peoples. The Ga and Adangme inhabit the western part of the area from the Densu River to the Volta Delta. The Ewe on the other hand are located to the east of the Volta Delta. The Ga and Adangme share some similarities in certain cultural features particularly, in language and socio-political institutions (Anquandah 1982:113, Dakubu 1987:1, Odotei 1991:61). The Akuapem occupy the mountain range to the north whilst further inland, the Akyem and Asante are established in the tropical rainforest. Towards the northeast and on the banks of the River Volta are the Akwamu people (Map1.3). The Danish trade and agricultural venture during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D., were affected by the complex local political conditions that, entangled these ethnic groups on the southeast Gold Coast and its hinterland regions.

Review of Literature on the Danish trade and agriculture venture on the Gold Coast

The present work is basically archaeological in focus but non-archaeological data such as documentary records, oral traditions and ethnographic information have been used whenever appropriate to elucidate the material record. At the outset, it



Map.1.3 Geo-political map of nineteenth century southern Gold Coast.

is appropriate to observe that Danish and non-Danish scholars have given very little research attention to the former Danish 'possessions' on the Gold Coast. So far my research revealed that only four Scandinavian historians namely, Georg Norregård, Kay Larsen, Ole Justesen and Per Olaf Hernæs have published articles and books on the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast. The historiographical basis for my study in Danish research into Denmark's overseas trade and 'colonial' history is therefore very weak. To offset this weakness primary historical data presently located in the Danish National Archives was consulted. This was indeed a difficult and painstaking exercise. My research effort was however rewarded as gradually relevant and very crucial information generally, on the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast and in particular, about the plantations in the Akuapem foothills was gathered. The sources of the information obtained were basically, reports and letters written by Danish officials and private merchants on the Gold Coast to Copenhagen. In addition, British archival sources that relate to the European trade on the Gold Coast were consulted at the Public Records Office, Kew Gardens in London. Archival documents that yielded information relevant to this study included the Guinean Journals (*Guineiske Journaler*). Some entries in these documents provided information on purchase deeds of plantation lands in the foothills of the Akuapem Ridge. These documents gave the locations and descriptions of the plantations. Two other sources, the Inventory Lists (*Inventarbøger*) and Wage Lists (*Gagebøger for Livegne/Negrenes*) also yielded interesting information on the so-called fort slaves. These domestic slaves served in the Danish forts. The Inventory Lists gave details of

sex, age, date of birth where known and skill for these slaves while the Wage Lists indicated the wages they were paid. The last primary source consulted was a number of documents catalogued as *Generaltoldkammer*. These documents included official dispatches in the nature of correspondence and reports on diverse aspects of the administration and maintenance of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast presented to the Board of General Customs and Trade (*Generaltoldkammer og Kommercekollegium*). The control and supervision of Danish interests and affairs in West Africa were vested in this Royal Danish Government department between 1760 and 1848. One particular document of this category, *Bemaerkninger om de danske Besiddelser i Guinea, 1831*, a report by Balthazar Christensen was of immense interest. The report based on Christensen's observations provided fairly detailed accounts of the Danish plantations along the Akuapem foothills and their development.

Further survey of Danish documentary sources revealed that some early Danish officials who worked at the Christiansborg Castle published descriptions of the former Danish 'possessions' on the Gold Coast. H.C Monrad was one of them. He served as a Danish Chaplain on the Gold Coast during the period 1805 and 1809. In his book, *Bidrag til Skildring af Guinea Kysten og dens Indbyggere*, Monrad (1822) provided a good deal of information about the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast. Of particular interest were his descriptions of the Danish plantations established along the Volta River and in the Akuapem Mountains during the early years of the nineteenth century A.D.

Research into the history of Danish involvement on the Gold Coast has concentrated on Denmark's commercial relations with her so-called colonial establishment in southeast Gold Coast. Among the broad themes that have been investigated by Danish and foreign historians are Denmark's participation in the Gold Coast trade and her encouragement of plantation agriculture as a viable alternative to the slave trade. The Danish historian, Georg Nørregård published two books, which are very relevant to this work. His book, *Danish Settlements in West Africa* (1966) that draws heavily on official Danish documents from the Gold Coast, is a mine of information. Relevant to this work is the information he provides on the organization of the Danish trade, import and export commodities, social and political relations on the Gold Coast as well as the location and nature of the Danish plantation system along the River Volta and in the Akuapem Mountains. The other book of Nørregård (1964), *Governor Edward Carstensens Indberetninger fra Guinea 1842-1850*, contains a good descriptive account of the Frederiksgave plantation the main focus of this work. The book, which is a compilation of the official reports of Edward Carstensens, the last Danish governor on the Gold Coast, also provides some information on the slave trade in the Danish Guinean 'possessions' during the 1840s.

Another Danish historian, Ole Justesen (1979,1998) has written articles on the political and socio-economic conditions in the Danish 'possessions' on the Gold Coast. Among the issues examined by him are the slave trade and emancipation,

Danish agricultural experiments and the so-called legitimate trade on the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century A.D. The monumental work of Edward Reynolds (1974) on trade and economic change on the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century A.D. also provides general information on Danish trade activities and plantation agriculture on the Gold Coast.

Perhaps the most comprehensive historical research relating to the Danish slave trade in Africa is the study by the Norwegian historian, Per Olaf Hernæs. His book, *Slaves, Danes and African Coast Society* (1995), provides detailed information about the organization and volume of the Danish trade. It also makes a fascinating quantitative assessment of the human and non-human cargoes exported from the Gold Coast and European manufactured goods imported to the Gold Coast between the mid-seventeenth century and early nineteenth century A.D.

Studies by botanists, historical geographers, historians and archaeologists have focused on the Danish agricultural plantations on the Gold Coast. C.D. Adams (1957) investigated the activities of Danish botanists on the Gold Coast between the mid-eighteenth century and nineteenth century A.D. This work contains information on the crops cultivated on the Danish plantations and the condition or state of some of the plantations as observed and reported by Danish officials and other Europeans on the Gold Coast. Ray Kea's (1995) study provides relevant information on aspects of the material and social organization of the Danish

plantations in southeast Gold Coast. This work presents fairly detailed descriptions of some of the plantations, the history of their development and labour management system on the plantations.

Henrik Jeppesen (1966) carried out an extensive survey of the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast, in the 1960s. The survey led to the location of a number of the plantation houses at Bibease, Daccubie, De Forenede Brødre, Frederiksnopel, Frederiksberg and Frederiksgave. The study also reported on the on-site conditions of the plantations.

Another interesting discovery made by Jeppesen during the survey were remnants of the tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*). The tamarind trees, indigenous to the interior savannas (Hill 1994: 433), were associated with the Danish plantations in southeast Gold Coast. The Danes planted them around many of their outposts. Alleys constructed by the Danes from Christiansborg, Osu to the plantation in the Akuapem Mountains were lined on both sides with tamarinds. Remnants of this tree still mark the location of the so-called King's High Road at the villages of Pompo, Sesemi and across the eastern slopes of Legon Hill (Plate 1.1).

The archaeological study of the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast began as part of the research efforts directed to examine European settlements in West Africa. In the 1950s, A.W. Lawrence made an extensive survey of European settlements in West Africa. In his published work, *Trade Castles and Forts of*



Plate 1.1 Extant Section of Tamarind Avenue at Pompo in the Akuapem Hills.

West Africa (1963), Lawrence who focused mainly on the building histories, architectural features and the nature of on-site conditions of the European sites reported on one of the Danish plantation settlements along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains. Lawrence cleared and surveyed the site of the plantation building at Dakobi (Daccubie). He reported on the ruins of the plantation building. In addition a detailed description of the building and its plan / drawing were provided.

Unfortunately, the report was silent on the village settlement where the enslaved Africans who provided labour on the plantation lived. Also, Lawrence provided no discussion of the artefacts recovered in clearing the plantation building. C.R. DeCorse (1987,1993) surveyed the Danish plantations along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains and conducted a small-scale excavation at the Dakobi (Daccubie) plantation. This work investigated the nature of African-European (Danish) interaction on the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century A.D.

The preceding literature review indicates that there are fairly good accounts of the institution of slavery on the Gold Coast as well as descriptions of the Danish plantations. However, there is comparatively little information on the daily lifeways of the enslaved Africans who laboured on the plantations. The slaves did not write about their own lives. The little we know about them was recorded in Danish official reports sent from the Gold Coast to Copenhagen. Occasionally, mention was made about slave lifeways on the Danish plantations in letters

written by European travellers on the Gold Coast. The documentary records that provide information on the living conditions of the plantation slaves are therefore incomplete. They rarely contain information on material objects that find their way into the archaeological record: clothing, household goods and food residues from items either grown or collected by the enslaved Africans on the Danish plantations.

Although the slaves did not leave behind any written information about their lives, yet the remains of material goods exploited by them, which constitute an expression of their lifeways, can be used to reconstruct their living conditions on the Danish plantations. The present work therefore, seeks to use archaeological methods and techniques, in combination with a thorough examination of the documentary records that are available for the period, to investigate the daily lifeways of enslaved Africans on the Danish plantations along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains.

Theoretical Perspective

A conceptual framework that would permit us to focus on contact consequences was applied to investigate the social world of the enslaved Africans who cultivated the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains. Anthropologists identify trade as one of the factors that serve as the engine for moving inter-societal interactions. It was trade that brought the Europeans (Danes) to the Gold Coast and it was within this arena that their activities took place. The

development of plantations on the Gold Coast and the use of slave labour on these establishments may therefore be considered within the context of trade-based contact.

In recent years, the events and processes that unfolded after the commencement of European global expansion beginning in the fifteenth century A.D, have engaged the attention of many scholars. A suite of perspectives has been advanced to explain these large-scale cultural and historical events that have shaped the world during the past 600 years. Among the range of perspectives is the acculturation theory, which became popular in anthropological circles after the Second World War (e.g. Boas 1940, Kroeber 1940, and Rouse 1953) and the concept of modern world system expounded by the American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1989, See also Wolf 1982, Braudel 1984). In recent times, the modern world system analysis has a great appeal to social scientists. This concept and its variations have therefore been applied by archaeologists to examine the processes and inter-relationships, which characterized the expanding European globalization (e.g. DeCorse 1998, Orser 1994, Stahl 1999), and even to the histories of pre-capitalist societies (e.g. Kristiansen 1988a, 1988b, Peregrine 1991, and see also Rowlands 1998).

The underlying principle of the modern world system concept is centre/core-periphery relations. In such a relationship, the events of a periphery are to a large extent dominated or influenced by that of a centre. Again, in the centre/core-periphery relations, human social interaction involves “a totality of interconnected

processes”, which cannot be understood by disassembling this totality into small analytical units (Wolf 1982:3).

Finally, the events that occur in this relationship are basically influenced by the historic context in which they are enacted (Knapp 1992). The historical context of Wallerstein’s analysis relevant to this work was that of an expanding world system with hegemonic Europe as a core/centre and the incorporation of West Africa into it as the economic periphery. According to Wallerstein, by the mid-eighteenth century A.D, only portions of the coastal areas of West Africa had been incorporated as part of the dominated peripheral regions of the European-centred world system. The incorporation took place when slave raiding became regularized thereby facilitating the expansion of the slave trade. Slave raiding in West Africa therefore, became as Wallerstein puts it “a veritable productive enterprise that entered into the on-going division of labor of the capitalist world economy.” By the early years of the twentieth century, the rest of West Africa had been incorporated into the economic periphery.

Although both Europeans and Africans participated in the same historical trajectory, world system theory presents only one facet of the contact setting: how the centre/core (Europe) subjugated the periphery. The theory is vague when it comes to analyzing developments internal to African societies, which resulted from the complex, dynamic processes unleashed by European expansion. Addressing the impact of European expansion on Africa, Perry (1985) noted that

vast changes occurred in many African societies because the contact exposed people to one another's ideas, beliefs and customs. In West Africa in particular, the European contact led to disruption in local trade patterns, emergence of new social classes, changes in the means of accumulating wealth and an increasing dependence on manufactured European goods (DeCorse 1989b: 213).

Whilst the effects of European global expansion are well known at a broad global scale, they have not been clearly defined archaeologically at the local/micro society level. The impact of European hegemony on indigenous society is therefore not well understood (Kinahan 2000:1). The main concern in this study is to investigate contact consequences at the micro society level. Therefore the perspective that is most appropriate and will be explored to investigate the research questions outlined in this work concerns the complex inter-societal interactions commonly called "global encounters" that unfolded due to the worldwide European expansion.

The social aspects of human interaction are as equally important as the economic content of that contact. As pointed out earlier on, archaeology of slavery is a neglected research area in West African archaeology. Very little is known about the social relations in which enslaved Africans, used by Europeans (Danes) on the Gold Coast, were entwined during the contact period. The information available can be gleaned from European written sources, which were often biased in nature. However, by critically reading the written texts and then complementing with artefactual evidence it is hoped, the study can elucidate the living conditions of

“the people to whom history has been denied”(Wolf 1982:23). In addition to this, the power and control mechanisms, which regulated slave lifeways on the plantations, and the different ways the slaves responded to these experiences, will be investigated. Lastly, an attempt will be made to examine the plantation slave demography. In trying to address these issues and the other concerns outlined as research objectives earlier on in this Chapter, information was gleaned from written historical sources, oral information and archaeology. In fact the interplay between information gained from these diverse sources provided the main material for gaining an understanding of the historical development and nature of the Danish plantations as well as the factors relating to the living and social conditions of the enslaved Africans who laboured on the plantations.

Organization of Research Results

This work is archaeological in nature. However, an essential feature in the design of the archaeological investigations is a historical framework contrived on data drawn from archival sources and oral information. Generally, the historical information assembled in this work relates to the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast (Ghana) however, particular attention was given to the Danish plantation system. The research results are therefore historical-archaeological in form and content. The thesis has been structured into eight chapters to reflect the demands of the research questions and objectives outlined earlier on in this work.

Chapter Two provides an overview of the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast, highlighting on their location, historical development and production management as portrayed by Danish written records. The present state of the plantations is described in this chapter. It also evaluates the reasons why the Danes established the plantations on the Gold Coast. Chapter Three surveys the transformation of enslaved people used by the Danes in their establishment on the Gold Coast in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This is done within the general framework of the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast. Initially, the Danes who participated in the Atlantic Slave Trade used enslaved Africans in their forts and private homes. However, when the Danes became involved in plantation agriculture on the Gold Coast these slaves were transferred to work on the farms as plantation workers. Chapter Four focuses on the Frederiksgave plantation describing its location, historical development and demographic patterns in the nineteenth century. It also describes the field strategies used to obtain archaeological data for this study.

Chapter Five and Chapter Six survey the material culture used by the enslaved Africans on the Frederiksgave plantation. These artefacts provide an insight into what the daily life was like for the enslaved workers on the plantation. The different artefacts recovered, be it big or small, provide detailed information on the activities that were conducted at the slave village by the inhabitants. Chapter Five describes the European trade items that found their way to the Frederiksgave plantation from the Accra coast during the nineteenth and the early twentieth

centuries. The material inventory described in Chapter Six represents the local resources that were exploited by the enslaved people on the plantation. Together the presentations in these two chapters provide insights into the organizational aspects as well as the daily lifeways of the enslaved people on the plantation.

Chapter Seven, which draws on written documentary sources, ethnography and oral information attempts to bring meaning to the recovered artefacts presented in the preceding chapters. It therefore provides an interpretation of the archaeological data as they relate to the living and social conditions of the men, women and children whose servile labour cultivated the plantation crops. As a conclusion, Chapter Eight is a summary of the key issues discussed in the work. It concludes with some suggestions regarding the future trend of research on the Danish plantations in Ghana (Gold Coast).

CHAPTER TWO

THE DANISH PLANTATIONS ON THE GOLD COAST

In this chapter, an attempt is made to present fairly detailed accounts of the Danish plantations. The main issues considered here include the historical development, ownership, location and physical layout as well as the material and social organization of the plantations. The reasons for establishing the plantations on the Gold Coast are also highlighted.

An important aspect of the nineteenth century economic history of Ghana (Gold Coast) that has received growing research attention is the relationship between the slave trade and the export of raw materials in the commercial and production sector (e.g. Reynolds 1974, Law [ed.] 1995). In West Africa, the Danes made attempts to promote the production of the so-called colonial crops on plantations for the Danish market. This agricultural production became an integral part of the economic system initiated by the Europeans during the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, not much scholarly attention has been paid to investigate the Danish plantation enterprise on the Gold Coast.

As noted earlier on in Chapter One, the Danes, established plantations in the region of the Gold Coast where their trade posts were highly concentrated.

Specifically, the southern foothills of the Akuapem Mountains and the estuary of the Volta River were the two broad areas where the plantations were located. These plantations may be categorized into two: (a) the Royal or State Plantations, which were directly funded with state subsidies and managed by Danish officials; (b) the Private Plantations set up and managed by Danish and African Danish private merchants but supported with state subsidies. In the Danish records terms such as plantation (*plantagen*), planted fields or cultivated places (*rosarre plads*) were used to describe these agricultural settlements.

Acquisition of Land for the plantations

According to early nineteenth century European reports land was abundant on the Gold Coast. It was therefore very easy for the Danish planters to purchase large tracts of land in the areas where they set up their plantations. Danish archival documents called Purchase Deeds revealed how the Danes acquired land for the plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains in the early nineteenth century. According to these documents a Danish planter could purchase a large tract of land by negotiating with an African landowner. The bargain became legally valid when the traditional custom known as *dwaha/guaha* and *shikpon yibafo* in the Twi and Ga languages respectively was performed. In this custom the vendor (landowner) broke a straw or divided a leaf into two equal parts with

the buyer to signify the acquisition and transfer of ownership of the piece of land. Christaller (1933:148), explained it as:

“A straw or blade with some cowries strung on or added to it, serving to conclude the sale of a person or thing by tearing it asunder and putting the parts into the hands of witnesses, at the same time distributing to them the small amount of money (perhaps 25 strings of cowries) given by the buyer besides the actual price. In testimony of the sale, which seems to indicate that the previous connection between the seller and the person or thing now sold is broken the witnesses were bound to keep the ends of the straw and the cowries handed over to them, and, if necessary, to produce them in testimony of the bargain”.

The buyer provided a drink usually rum or alcohol, which was consumed by all the people present to confirm that the sale of the land was complete and sealed. For instance, the Purchase Deed on the Bibiase plantation land stated that, “After this had happened, was between the buyer and the seller a straw broken, which according to customs of the country is a sign of the completion of the bargain and that the bargain be changed no more than the straw can be put together again”(Div.Ark.v.50/Rd.prtk. 1806-13/230-2).

This clearly shows that the *dwaha/guaha* or *shikpon yibafo* ceremony was performed during the purchase of the Bibease plantation land. According to the document, a planter who acquired a piece of land this way had the right to “dispose of, sell, give away, hire out and mortgage the entire tract in major or minor parts, as he considers the most profitable for him”(Div.Arkv.50/Rd.prtk. 1806-13/230-2).

Other planters acquired lands by purchasing from the first buyers. This made it possible for the ownership of plantations to change hands from one planter to the other without the second buyer seeking the consent of the African owner for the right to use the land so purchased. However, continued use of a piece of land purchased by any of the methods mentioned, depended on the payment of either monthly or annual rent (*gasje*) to the African landowner indicating that the deal did not transfer sovereignty over the purchased land to the planter.

Historical development of the Danish plantations

According to Nørregård (1966:173) plans for the development of plantations by the Danes were first conceived in the 1760s when Bargum’s Trading Society (*Det Bargumske Handelskompagni*) was granted a Royal Concession over Danish property on the Gold Coast He observed:

“It seems the idea [possibility of plantations in Africa] was first conceived within Bargum’s Trading Society. The first project was for a garden similar to the ones that occasionally had been laid out near some of the forts, and that were always found outside the English and Dutch strong-holds on the Gold Coast. In 1769 G. F. Wrisberg mentions seeds which had been sent out, but which would not grow. The Moravian brethren were called in expressly for the purpose of starting plantations”.

This early attempt by Bargum’s Trading Society to establish plantations failed to bear positive results. However, from the late 1780s to the 1840s several plantations were laid in the rural hinterlands of southeastern Gold Coast, which formed the basis of the Danish agricultural venture in Africa. An interesting feature of the Danish plantation complex on the Gold Coast was the development of cottage settlements on the plantations, which accommodated the enslaved workers who were employed there. Concerning the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains, the Ga historian, C.C. Reindorf (1966:261) observed that:

“[The] chief object being not only to instruct the natives in better cultivation of the soil, but to improve it so as to better supply the European markets, with what they required so as to emulate the West Indies. After the abolition of the slave trade, the Danish Government

urged the people to produce vegetables, and plantations of coffee, cotton and other produce were made in the Kuku and Legong hills. Further on they bought land from the Akuapems and founded their own villages: Sesemi, Bebiase, Kponkpo, Abokobi, Akropong, Togbloku, etc. Besides coffee the Danes introduced other vegetables unknown to the natives but produced in the West Indies”.

During the field research for this study it was confirmed that Sesemi, Bebiase, Kponkpo (Pompo) and Abokobi, which lie in a horseshoe line at the base of the Akuapem Mountains were related to the Danish plantations. Of the remaining two though related to the plantation complex, Akropong is located on top of the mountain while Togbloku (Tubreku) is to be found at a different location precisely, near the estuary of the Volta River. Again, it also came to light that three other villages now derelict and not listed by Reindorf, namely Adanse, Akokome and Bantama located near Abokobi in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains were also related to the plantations. Assisted by local guides the research team traced the ruins of these villages. However it was not possible to conduct a comprehensive surface survey to map out definable artifact scatters and surface features. In the section below, the Danish plantations are described utilizing information derived from historical and archaeological research.

The Early Plantations: 1788-1811

The Frederiksnopel plantation was set up at Amanopa, a suburb of Akropong on the Akuapem Ridge in 1788. Paul Erdmann Isert, who served as a resident medical doctor in the Danish establishment from 1783 to 1787 established this plantation. The plantation represents the first definite effort to establish an agricultural settlement on the Gold Coast by the Danes. Isert's observations about the slave trade and the suitable climatic and soil conditions on the Gold Coast shaped his interest in setting up a plantation there. He was of the opinion that agricultural produce, supplied by the West Indian plantations, could be produced in Africa and that as a result slave trafficking to the Americas would become unnecessary (Jeppesen 1966:74). When Isert returned to Denmark, he campaigned for the establishment of plantations in Africa as an answer to stopping the slave trade. The Danish government became sympathetic to this cause and accordingly gave Isert financial grant and statutory authority to set up a plantation on the Gold Coast.

In 1788, he returned to the Gold Coast with his wife and a small team of craftsmen. Isert acquired a piece of land from Atiemo, the Chief of Akuapem on which he established a plantation with a village attached and named it Frederiksnopel. A road was constructed from the plantation to the coast. Isert recruited between 100 and 200 local labourers who assisted in laying the plantation. According to Kea (1995:126), "Isert's intention was to have

Frederiksnopel produce food crops, partly for local markets and partly for its own subsistence needs, and cash crops (cotton, indigo and tobacco) for export to Denmark; in addition the plantation was to raise livestock”.

Unfortunately, when everything was underway, Isert and his wife died, three months after their arrival on the Gold Coast. After Isert’s death, his assistant, Jens Nielsen Flindt continued to manage the plantation with fort slaves but the plantation did not yield any meaningful production. Flindt could not achieve what Isert had hoped for because the Danish officials at Christiansborg were unwilling to support the plantation. Plantations demanded large, long-term investments and a lot of work. The Danish officials participated in the slave trade and their main concern was to appropriate the short-term profits of that trade. As a matter of fact the plantations did not fit into this picture hence the unwillingness of the Christiansborg officials to support Flindt’s effort. By 1802 the Frederiksnopel plantation had declined; it consisted of just a few houses, a small piece of cleared land on which cotton was grown and a workforce of only seven people (Jeppesen 1966:76). Henrik Jeppesen (1966) surveyed the Frederiksnopel plantation site in the 1960s. He reported that traces of buildings were located at the site during the survey. During the recent archaeological survey for this study, the elders at the palace of the Paramount Chief of Akropong led by the Apesemakahene, Nana Obirikorang took the team to the site. It was impossible to trace the ruins as reported by Jeppesen.



Frederikssted as a plantation was established near the town called Dodowa in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains by Jens Niels Flint in 1792 with a team made up of his sister, an Englishman, Gilbert Woodard and two craftsmen. Flint was given 1370 Rigsdalers from the foundation *Ad usus publicos* in Copenhagen to start new plantations. In addition, the Danish administration at Christiansborg was to support the plantation by providing the labour needs and other forms of assistance. During the first few months, Flindt was given goods worth about 1200 Rigsdalers to support the plantation. Three dwelling houses, a sawmill, a granary for corn and a long and large building were erected on the plantation (Jeppesen 1966:76). Flindt cultivated cotton and maize on the plantation. The labourers on the plantation were 15 fort slaves who were described “as old and partly not able to work”(Guin.-Komm. af 1833.Pk. VI 1846-47).

Flindt's efforts to set up a profitable plantation were met with problems. The first problem was that the Interim Governor, Captain Christian Friderich von Hager refused to give Flindt trade goods he needed to pay the plantation slaves and the carriers he had hired. When Flindt tried to borrow money from the Dutch governor at Ussher Fort, Hager refused to vouch for him (Fk.Sch.manske FF 22/1793). The Interim Governor refused to give further assistance to Flindt because he (Flindt) had not paid the initial loan of 1200 Rigsdalers advanced to him. Another problem was the persistent illness and uncooperative attitude of the other team members. In April 1793, Gilbert Woodard left the Gold Coast because

of his failing health and later in July, one of the craftsmen died. In addition, Flindt complained that, “the white workmen had not done much except fighting and drinking”(Fk.Sch.manske FF 22/1793).

The General Customs Chamber (*Generaltoldkammeret*) who sent Flindt to the Gold Coast recalled him. The plantation was not abandoned after Flindt left the Gold Coast. The Danish administration at Christiansborg (The Council) informed the Chamber in Copenhagen that:

“The Council is not in favour of abandoning the old Colony [plantation], called Frederikssted, because we have not received any answer on the humble request made concerning it. It is therefore still maintained as before until new instructions are given; though the possibility for progress and usefulness is very doubtful because the place it is situated is a long distance from the sea and that nothing is done with zeal.”(G.J. 385/ 1798).

A small quantity of cotton between 45.4 - 90.8kg (100-200lbs) from the plantation was exported to Copenhagen in 1798 and 1800. However, by 1802, there was hardly any productive activity on the plantation; there were only a few labourers on the plantation and very little food crop was produced there. The plantation was abandoned in 1802; at that time only six old workers lived there.

The plantation **Frederiksberg** otherwise known as **Frederiksborg** was also state-funded. Governor J.P. Wrisberg established it in 1797. This plantation was located on the Kuku Hill about 1 km. away from Christiansborg. A six-room farmhouse was built on the plantation for a caretaker. There were also cabins for the farm labourers. Another interesting feature associated with the plantation was an avenue of tamarind trees called **Frederiksborg Alley**, built to link up with **Christiansborg Castle**. Cotton was the main crop produced on the plantation.

During the period 1798-1807, a total quantity of about 10 bales of cotton was exported to Copenhagen. Other crops were also grown; these included coffee, lemons, cherry, tamarinds and vegetables. Wrisberg used his privately owned slaves and the Christiansborg fort slaves as workers on this plantation. In 1808 the plantation had a total workforce of 48 men, women and children. Monrad (1822:322) described **Frederiksberg** as a “well kept plantation”. But by 1836 it had fallen into decay. Jeppesen (1966:78) located the site of this plantation during his survey of former Danish plantations on the Gold Coast. He reported that some heaps of stones on top of the Kuku Hill represented the ruined walls of **Frederiksberg**. Remnants of tamarind trees that formed part of the old road to the plantation, which Jeppesen located at Salem, a suburb of Christiansborg are still in existence.

Ejebo plantation was established by Jens Niels Flindt who returned to the Gold Coast in 1800 as the Commandant of **Fort Kongensten** with a state loan of 6000

Rigdalers. The plantation was located on a piece of land (a sand bar) at Ada between the estuary of the River Volta and the Atlantic. Flindt cultivated coffee, cotton, and sugar-cane. Other crops that were cultivated included maize, bananas, yams, beans and plantain (*pisang*). He experimented with other crops including ginger and tobacco (G.J 650/1804).

The plantation had a warehouse, a distillery and residence for the white workers. The top of the residential structure was flat and crops such as tobacco, coffee and cotton were dried there. At the distillery, there was a well with a pump to provide water for distillation and other needs on the plantation (Gtk.1773-1806/Guin.Komm.29/1805). According to available records on the plantation, it seems one area of endeavour in which Flindt succeeded was the production of alcohol. Originally, Flindt started distilling alcoholic drink with maize but due to the difficulty in procuring this raw material he switched to palm wine. He reported that Governor Wisberg and the Danish merchants Richter and Meyer claimed that his liquor was better than what was sent down to the Gold Coast from Europe.

The workforce on the plantation included four Europeans namely, a doctor, a carpenter, Flindt's sister and Christian Jansen, a planter. Jansen left the plantation and took up employment at Frederiksberg in 1801. In addition, Flindt used the fort slaves at Kongensten. In 1800, there were 50 fort slaves at Kongensten and 21

out this total were listed as labourers (G.J 412/1803 and G.J1803-4). It is however, difficult to tell whether all the 21 manual slaves at the fort, at that time were employed at the plantation. The Ejebo plantation registered some modest exports to Copenhagen; these included a bale of cotton in 1801 and in 1807, a few barrels of salt, 177.4 kg (391 lbs.) and a quantity of animal skins. The production of cotton and coffee on the plantation failed but the distillery was kept in production for many years.

According to Jeppesen (1966:79), an Asante army plundered the plantation in 1811 and Flindt was taken prisoner to Kumase. After his release Flindt tried to reactivate the plantation but his application to Copenhagen for another financial assistance was turned down because he had not paid the loan he took earlier. But Flindt's efforts were met with other problems. The production of coffee and cotton for instance, failed because the soil was sandy and the nearness of the sea rendered the soil too salty, a condition that was not good for such crops. In 1828, Captain Lind reported that the plantation had long been abandoned and it was completely in waste (G.J1662/1818).

It has already been mentioned above that by a Royal Decree passed in 1792, the Danes abolished the slave trade in 1803. As the date for the abolition drew near, a question was raised as what to do with the Danish establishment on the Gold Coast. One suggestion was to keep it with the view to settling Danish planters to

produce 'colonial' crops and as a basis for colonizing the African communities in the area. To carry out this plan, the Board of General Customs and Trade (*Generaltoldkammeret*) sent Peter Thonning to the Gold Coast in 1799 to assess the region's potential in commodity agriculture particularly with regard to dye plants (Adams 1957, Jeppesen 1966: 79). Thonning returned to Copenhagen in 1803 and he recommended the Akuapem Mountains as suitable for plantations. According to him the Akuapem area was healthier and had more rain than the coastal region where the forts were located. Based on Thonning's recommendations new attempts were made at establishing plantations in that area.

Bibese plantation was located in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains near the village of Bibese about 26 km north of Christiansborg. Christian Schiønning, a Danish official and trader started this plantation in 1802. In 1803, Schiønning, used enslaved labourers to construct a road from the plantation across Legon Hill to link Kuku Hill and Christiansborg on the coast. Remnants of tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica*) planted along this road still survive on the southern side of Legon Hill, at the village of Pompo and behind the European cemetery at Abokobi. Schiønning built a stone house on his plantation. Among the crops cultivated on the plantation were coffee, cotton and grapevines. However, the grapevines could not survive due to a long drought; there are no records of any export of coffee or cotton from the plantation.

In 1804 the plantation was burnt down when a war broke out between Accra and Akuapem. There are conflicting views about which of the warring parties burnt down the plantation. Fynn (1971:141) claimed that the Akuapem army burned down Bibease. However, a Danish report of 1809 mentioned that the Accra people burned down a plantation in Akuapem in 1804 (G.J 1034/1809). In an apparent reference to the destruction of the plantation Governor J.P.D. Wrisberg, reported in November 1804 that Bibease did not have “any special progress; such places should be fortified”(G.J 596/1805).

In 1806 Peder Meyer took over the plantation building and started a coffee plantation. In addition he bought a large tract of land from Tette Obokum, a Brekuso man. In the Purchase Deed for Meyer’s plantation, the extent of the land he purchased was defined to include “the site and town of Bibease”. Other details of the transaction provided in the Purchase Deed included the list of members of Tette Obokum’s family, Akuapem notables and Danish officials at Christiansborg who were present at the handing over ceremony and served as witnesses to the transaction (Div.Arkv.50/Rd.prtk. 1806-13:230-2).

Meyer planted more than 2,000 coffee trees in addition to cotton, oranges and tamarinds in 1808 (DafG.Gtk.15/10 1808). Meyer used both fort slaves and his own private slaves to cultivate the plantation. In 1804 there were 15 fort slaves, nine men, four women and two children employed on the plantation. In 1807 seven of the workers were listed as debtors in Christiansborg debt-book and nine years later the workforce consisted almost solely of purchased slaves and pawns

(Kea 1995:137). A Danish report of 1826 mentioned that the plantation had grown wild (GJ 6/1827).

The Danish geographer, Henrik Jeppesen (1966:81) located and described the plantation house during his survey of the former Danish agricultural settlements on the Gold Coast. In 1994 this plantation was the focus of archaeological research. The plantation site (Fig.2.1) was located with the assistance of local guides. A ground survey revealed a relatively small village of about 0.5ha. in size where the labour force of enslaved Africans lived (Bredwa-Mensah 1999:37) and the stone house, which consisted of five rooms and a terrace where the plantation owner lived (Bredwa-Mensah 1996a: 450). Excavation concentrated on a rubbish mound located at the slave village. Both locally produced artefacts and European trade goods were recovered. The archaeological data, coupled with written historical evidence were used to examine slave lifeways on the plantation.

Dakobi designated in the Danish records as **Daccubie** was established by Governor Christian Schiønning in 1808. Schiønning acquired about 233 *toender* (128.15 ha) of land from a Brekuso man called Kwaku in October 1807 for his plantation. The plantation was named after a stream that ran through the area where it was situated. It was located at the foot of a very high hill locally called Adjemante. Actually this hill is a projection of the Akuapem Mountains. According to Jeppesen (1966:81), the Dakobi plantation was the biggest of all the Danish agricultural settlements and the one, which had the greatest extent and the

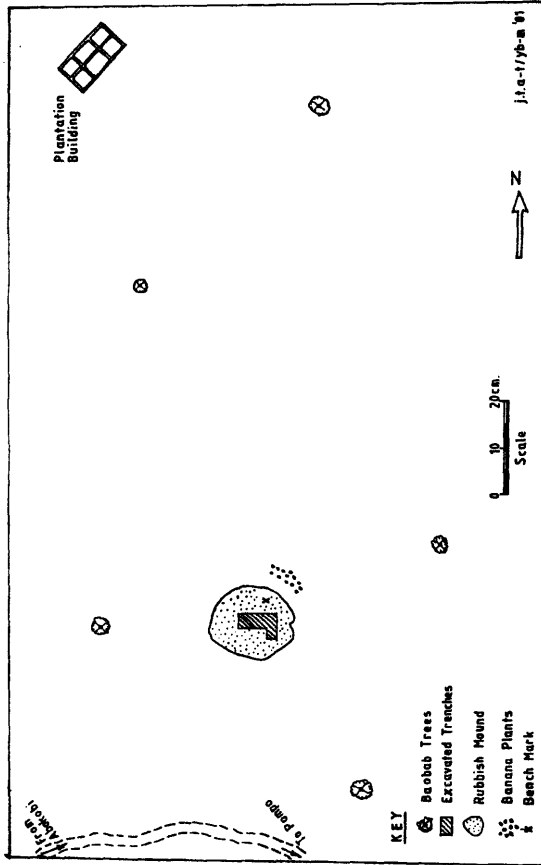


Fig.2.1 Plan of the Bibese Plantation Site

highest production. This is not surprising because evidence gleaned from archival records indicates that the Dakobi plantation was laid in an exceedingly fertile valley endowed with perennial water. Apart from the stream Dakobi, there were also two wells that never ran dry.

In a report sent by Danish officials at Christiansborg to the Chamber in 1810, the plantation setting, crops cultivated and construction methods employed were described. Concerning the buildings on the plantation, there was a common room that measured 9 m x 4.3 m (18 ft. x 14 ft.) with an accompanying house for the porter. The plantation owner lived in a stone house, which consisted of one bedroom, two living rooms and a guest- room. In front of the door to the plantation house was a staircase. In the basement of the plantation house there were storage rooms. Around half of this house, there was a veranda and below was a comfortable bathroom. Across the living house there were two structures, which could be used for storage or living rooms. Close by there was a platform for drying coffee and other products. East of the plantation house, there was another building with two rooms, which also had a platform on the roof for drying coffee and other things. Towards the south, there was a building consisting of a living room, two storage rooms and a kitchen; this building also had a platform for drying coffee. There was another building consisting of three rooms where the house servants lived. At the end of that house there is a small room and cooking house for sick workers and their wives. Beside there were also 30-35 thatched,

wattle and daub houses for the plantation slaves. Governor Schiønning employed his own slaves of 20 men and women (G.J 1030/1809) in addition to between 40-50 fort slaves whose services were occasionally hired on the plantation (Kea 1995:129).

The main crop of Dakobi was coffee however plantain, banana, cassava, maize and dye-plants were also cultivated. In 1808 Schiønning had cultivated 26,000 coffee trees; by the end of 1809 there were 40,000 coffee trees and in 1811 the plantation had 52,868 thriving coffee trees. There was a garden on the plantation, which produced a lot of edible vegetables and fruits including cherries, guavas, oranges, lemons, plume lemons, coconuts and sour sap. Livestock was kept on the plantation. There was a pigsty for pigs and besides, animals such as cattle, goats, geese, ducks, chickens and turkeys were raised (G.J 1309/1813).

In 1810 Schiønning exported 10.2 tonnes (10 tons) of coffee from his plantation to Copenhagen, and in later reports he expected a harvest of 101.6 tonnes (100 tons) in 1811. Unfortunately, that year the Asante were at war with Akuapem and they (Asante) suspected the Danes of supporting the Akuapem. When the Asante army invaded the coast, the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains including Dakobi were attacked and the plantation set up especially, the crops destroyed.

Today, the ruins of the Dakobi plantation are located on the Adjemante Hill near

the village of Pompo. The site is over-grown with thick brush. Lawrence (1963: 86-8) recorded the ruins in 1956 by drawing and describing the plantation house. However, he erroneously identified the plantation as Kpomkpo (Pompo) (Decorse 1993:163, Jeppesen 1966:81). In the 1960s Jeppesen relocated Dakobi and described the state of its preservation stressing that the eastern portion of the main plantation house had probably been two storied.

In 1987, Christopher R. Decorse (1993:149-73, 1987:27-32) conducted the first archaeological excavation at the Dakobi site. His excavation concentrated mainly on the main plantation building. Decorse conducted his archaeological research to gain insight into expatriate life on the Gold Coast. One positive aspect of his work is that he has been able to bring out the proper layout of the plantation house (Fig 2.2) at Dakobi (Decorse 1993:164). But due to the limited nature of his work nothing was said about how the enslaved Africans who also inhabited the plantation struggled to shape their lives whilst cultivating export commodities to feed European markets.

Apart from the plantations described above, the Danish records mention others that were set up during the early period (1788-1811) in the Akuapem Mountains and at the estuary of the Volta River. However not much information could be obtained about them. Danish officials established two plantations by the mouth of the Volta River, in the 1790s when the first serious attempt at setting up plantations failed due to the death of Isert. The commandant of Fort Kongensten,

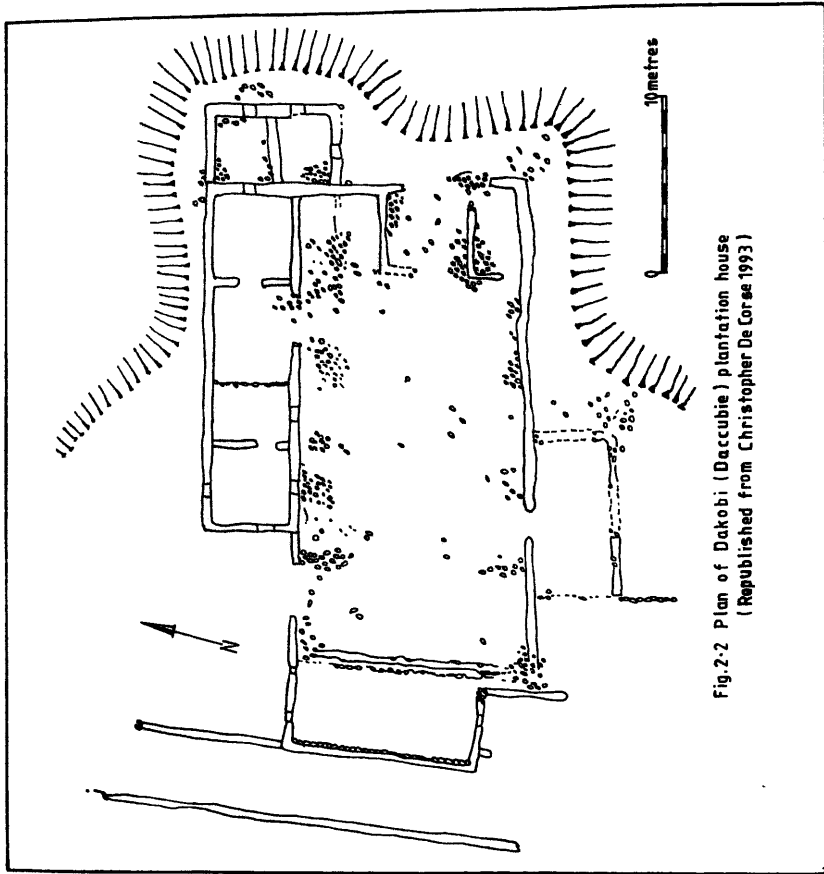


Fig.2.2 Plan of Dakobi (Daccubie) plantation house
(Republished from Christopher De Loree 1993)

Niels Lather established **Jægerslyst** plantation near the fort at Ada in 1790. That same year, Peder Meyer also established the plantation **Frydenlund**, near the former Danish lodge at Tubreku. The buildings on the two plantations were constructed in the vernacular style. By 1793 these plantations had collapsed because the Danish administration on the Gold Coast refused to support them.

In the Akuapem Mountains two private Danish merchants in Osu namely, Truelsen and Jakobsen started plantations in 1809. The plantations were established in the vicinity of Bibease and Dakobi but their exact locations are not known. In 1809, Governor Schiønning reporting to the Chamber about the state of the Danish plantations wrote that there were four plantations not too far from each other in the Akuapem Mountains (G.J 1124/1810). Between 1800-03, Peder Meyer had two plantations, one in the Legon Hill and the other near Jadufa (Oyarefa). The administration buildings of the University of Ghana, Legon, now occupy the site of the plantation at Legon Hill, about 16km. north-east of Christiansborg. The Legon Hill plantation had only 1120 coffee trees, 1200 plantain trees and a few fruit trees (Christensen 1831:49-50). The plantation at Oyarefa was cultivated with cotton, coffee, oranges and tamarinds. Monrad (1822:324) visited this plantation and described it as “the most perfect coffee plantation I have seen in Africa”.

The Late Plantations: 1820-1850

Danish efforts to maintain and develop further the plantation enterprise on the Gold Coast were met with problems that emanated from the political situation that existed on the coast between 1807 and 1826. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Asante had emerged as the dominant political force in both the interior and coastal areas of the Gold Coast. In fact Asante exercised *de facto* control over the coastal states. However, between 1807 and 1826 the coastal states embarked on a series of rebellions against Asante sovereignty. Carl Christian Reindorf, (1966:152-189) the Ga clergyman and historian documented that Asante invaded the southeastern coastal areas on five occasions during that period to deal with the uprisings by her dependencies including Akuapem and Accra. It has already been mentioned that the Asante invasions to suppress these revolts resulted in the total destruction of some of the plantations and considerable damage to others. The destruction served as a disincentive to the Danish agricultural enterprise in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains. During that period the Danes made no serious and sustained efforts to cultivate the old plantations or set up new ones due to the perpetual insecurity prompted by the invasions.

In 1826 the Asante army was defeated at the Battle of Akatamanso by combined forces of the coastal states with the assistance of the Danes and English. The coastal states enjoyed relative peace and commercial activities increased. Carl

Christian Reindorf (1966: 212), wrote about the peace and trading activities that thrived in the coastal area of Accra after this period:

“The name of Akra now became famous; their influence spread far and wide, and everyone looked up to them. Their former enemies, Fantes, Akyems, Akwamus and Akuapems, bowed down to them, and their prestige was acknowledged even at Asante and Dahome. They maintained lively traffic with foreign countries, and strangers came down to the coast for commercial purposes”.

The Danish officials and private merchants at Christiansborg were undaunted despite the fact that their plantation attempts suffered severe setbacks. They took advantage of the prevailing peace and made fresh attempts to re-establish the old plantations and to set up new ones. All the plantations of this period were located in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains. The initiative to re-start the Danish plantations is credited to Governor Steffens who took over the Bibease plantation in 1820. He provided loans to the Danish and African Danish planters to either reactivate the plantations that were ravaged by the Asante invasions or lay out new ones. In 1823 Major Richelieu became governor of Christiansborg. He also showed keen interest in the plantations by keeping the Bibease plantation in order. In addition he bought the Dakobi plantation and opened up the King's High Road from these plantations to Christiansborg Castle on the coast.

The inspiration given by the Danish administration on the Gold Coast contributed to re-establishing some of the old plantations and starting new ones in the Akuapem Mountains from 1820 to 1850 when the Danes sold their possessions on the Gold Coast including the plantations to the British. The production strategy on the plantations of this period was twofold: (a) subsistence or the so-called non-commodity production and (b) commercial (commodity) production. The first was geared towards the production of provisions [food crops] for local markets and the second for the cultivation of commercial commodities such as coffee, cotton, tobacco, indigo and sugar to Denmark and maize to Madeira and the Danish West Indies. However, in the last decade prior to the sale of Danish “possessions” on the Gold Coast to the British, all the commodities produced on the plantations were for local consumption. R.A. Kea (1995:135) has stressed that, “In the 1840s the Danish affiliated plantations were engaged primarily in producing provisions for the coastal towns. They grew coffee and other ‘colonial produce’, but these were for local consumption and not for export to Denmark or the West Indies”

It is not clear how many of the Danish plantations were in cultivation during this period. Adams (1957:30-46) estimated that eleven plantations were set up by the Danes in the Akuapem region. However Henrik Jeppesen (1966: 82) has challenged the authenticity of this estimate. Research conducted at the Danish National Archives for this study yielded information on eight of the plantations that belonged to this period. The information is based on accounts of a Danish

official, **Balthasar Mathias Christensen** who served as an Assistant in the Danish administration on the Gold Coast from 1830-31. While on the Gold Coast he took particular interest in the affairs of the Danish Guinean establishment and contributed a number of articles especially on the plantation enterprise to *Valkyrie*, a Copenhagen magazine. On his return to Denmark he was appointed as Secretary to the Guinea Commission set up in 1832 to investigate the possibility of establishing private plantations on the Gold Coast as the basis for extensive colonization.

Included in the Commission's final report of 1848 was a document written by Christensen titled *Beskrivelse af de danske Besiddelser i Guinea (1831)*. This document in the main provided the relevant information on the plantations presented below. Among the eight plantations only one, **Frederiksgave** was publicly owned, the rest were owned privately by Danes and African Danes. These were **De Forenede Brødre**, **Den Nye Prøve**, **Myretuen**, **Forsynet**, **Boi**, **Adanse** and **Abokobi** (Christensen 1831:8). It will be useful at this juncture to describe the late plantations listed above highlighting on aspects like location, ownership, crop production, and also provide information on the number of enslaved people on the plantations.

De Forenede Brødre otherwise called The United Brothers was set up by Georg August Lutterodt. The local people particularly, those from the villages of Sesemi

and Boi know the site of this plantation very well. They call the plantation *Yitoto*, which is a corruption of Lutterodt. G.A. Lutterodt arrived on the Gold Coast in 1805 and was appointed as Assistant in the Danish administration at Christiansborg by his cousin Governor J.P.D. Wrisberg. After serving for a while, Lutterodt was dismissed but he continued to live on the Gold Coast as a private merchant until he died in 1857. Lutterodt established his plantation near the Royal Plantation (Frederiksgave).

The main export crops cultivated on this plantation were maize and coffee. The plantation had 2,000 young and matured coffee trees. In 1835 it was estimated that the matured trees were expected to provide 10.9 kg (24lbs.) of coffee. Food crops grown for local consumption on the plantation included plantain, yams, pineapple, oranges and lemons. Lutterodt built a large stone farmhouse with thatched roof on the plantation. The work force on the plantation comprised 16 men, 14 women and 8 children who were said to be Lutterodt's own private slaves. They lived in a village of 20 houses. In 1843 it was reported that there were only four Danish plantations including De Forenede Brødre. Three out of the four plantations belonged to private merchants namely Lutterodt, Richter and Svanekjær. The report further said that all the three privately owned plantations yielded little or nothing (Norregard 1966:211).

Today the ruins of the plantation buildings are located on a hill about 2.4 km south-west of the Sesemi village. In the 1960s when Jeppesen (1966:86) surveyed

the Danish plantations he visited and documented De Forenede Brødre. During a field survey conducted in 1997, local guides from Sesemi led the research team to the plantation site where the ruins of two buildings were found. Also there was a single tamarind tree at the site close to the ruins of the plantation buildings. Figure 2.3 shows the plan of the plantation buildings. The main building (A) measured about 18.3 m x 6.3 m. It comprised three rooms with a terrace along the entire length of the building.

Den Nye Prøve which means the New Attempt was owned by J.F.Svanekjær. This plantation was started in 1807 at Pompo near Schiønning's Dakobi plantation. This plantation was among others in the Akuapem Mountains destroyed by the Asante army in the early nineteenth century. In 1828 Svanekjær took a loan from the Danish administration to restart this plantation hence the name the New Attempt. The entire plantation land was 40 *toender* (22.06 ha.). Among the crops cultivated were coffee, European vegetables, local fruits and vegetables. The workers on the plantation were in all 13 slaves.

The ruins of the plantation building lie not too far from the present village of Pompo. The location of the ruins is approximately to the eastern part of the extant alley of tamarind trees or the so-called King's High Road, which linked the plantations to the coast. Today the descendants of Svanikjær at Osu, Accra, own the village of Pompo and the surrounding land.

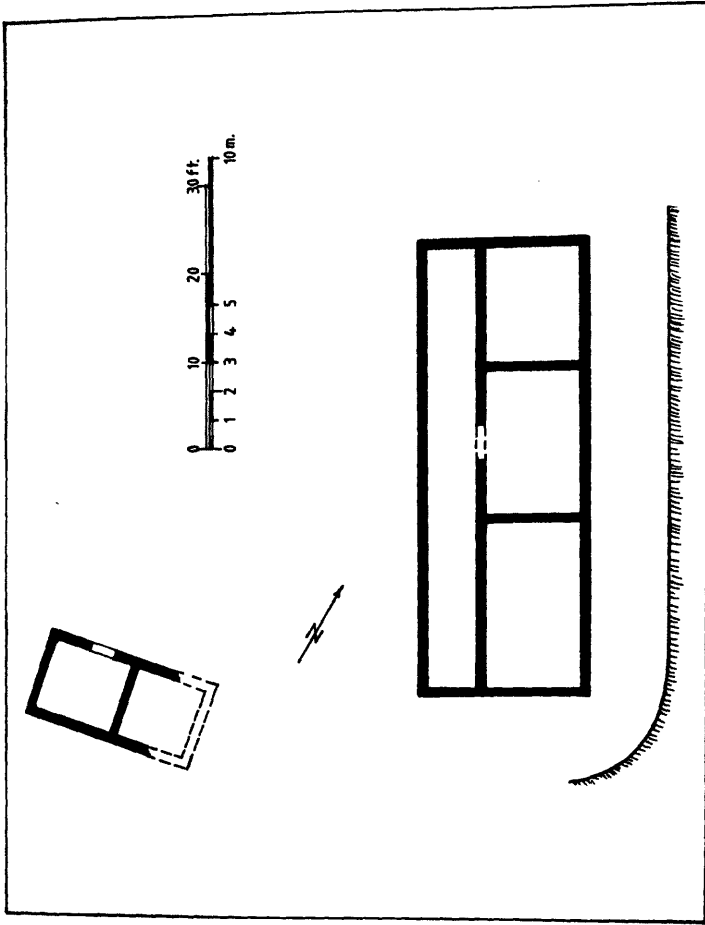


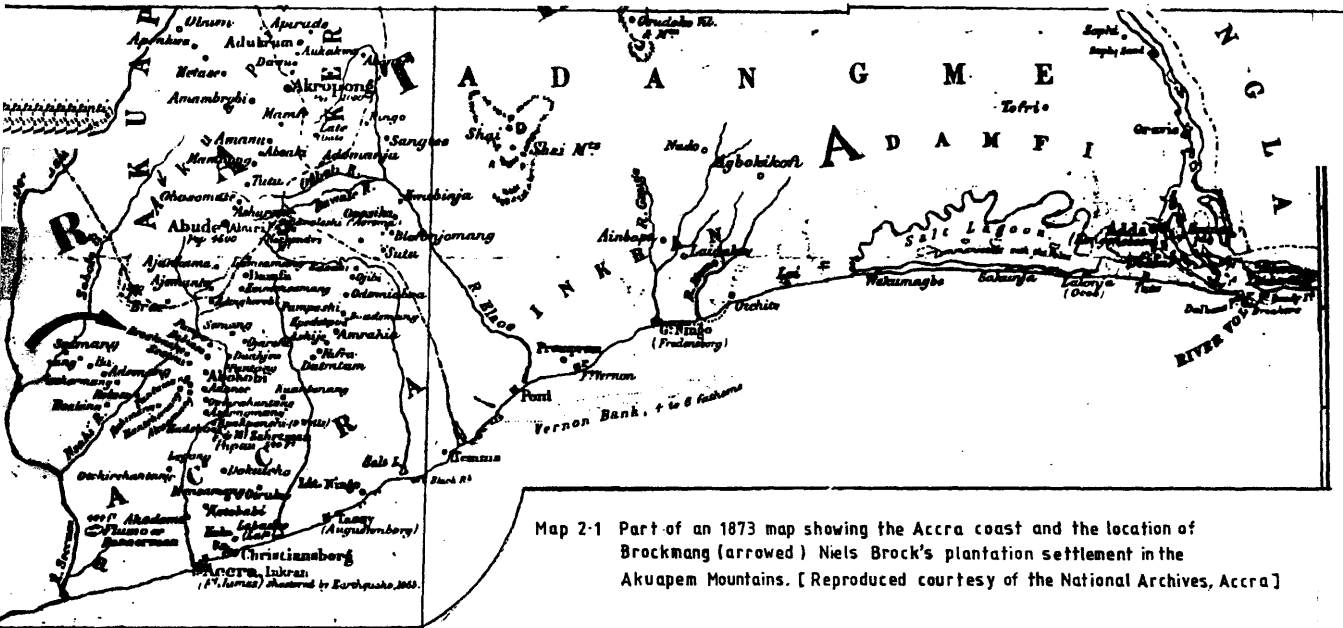
Fig.2.3 Plan of the De Forenede Brodre (United Brothers) Plantation Buildings
(after Jeppesen H. 1966)

Myretuen is a Danish term for an anthill and that was the name of the plantation established by Niels Brock, a Danish official who arrived on the Gold Coast as Assistant in the Danish administration at Christiansborg in 1820. Brock acted as Governor at Christiansborg on three occasions. It was during the third term of his administration (July 1833 – December 1834) that he purchased an old plantation in the Akuapem Hills. On 20th March 1834, Governor Brock concluded an agreement with the owner C.P. Palm during which the land was formally handed-over to him (Brock). The title deed (GJ 539/1844) on the land gives details of the transaction as follows:

“I the undersigned, C. P. Palm hereby proclaim that I have sold my plantation on the Aquapim Mountains, bordered on the east by the negro Mensa Tono’s and Mr. Lutterodt’s land, on the west by mulatto Indian Johanne Flint’s land, on the north by Mr. Lutterodt’s and the negro Obeng Kumma’s land on the south by the negro Tette Halebo’s and mulatto Indian Johanne Flint’s land. The land was bought by Governor N. Brock and Mr.Chenon a member of the present royal government on behalf of the Government. These gentlemen have paid the entire price of the plantation to me and for this reason, from this day, neither myself nor my heirs have any claim on the government, neither in respect of the plantation, buildings, trees or any other item found on the plantation.”

The plantation land was 75 *toender* (41.37 ha). There was an African village on the plantation where a workforce of 8 slaves lived. The site of Brock's plantation was located during the second field season of this project. In 1997 local guides from Sesemi village showed the ruins of a plantation building to the research team. The present footpath from Sesemi to Brekuso goes northward across the hill on which the ruins of the Frederiksgave plantation house are located. About 1 km away from Sesemi and along this footpath towards Brekuso, the stone building on Brock's plantation can be found. The foundation of the building is still extant. Measurements taken on the basis of remaining walls indicated that it was a small plantation building of about 15 m x 8.5 m.

Neither the people of Sesemi nor Brekuso had knowledge about the one who owned the plantation. When Jeppesen (1966) surveyed and mapped the Danish plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains in the 1960s, he did not record this site. A search at the National Archives in Accra produced a map of the Gold Coast Protectorate drawn by the British in 1873. On this map African villages in the Akuapem area including the plantation sites are shown. Of particular interest is a village called Brockman / Brockmang located between Sesemi and Brekuso (Map 2.1). Presently, there is no existing village of that name in the area. The term *oman* in Akan means a settlement. There is no doubt that the site indicated on the map, as Brockmang, which literally means Brock's settlement, was the one found by the research team with the assistance of local



guides. The site of the ruined plantation building located by the research team fits perfectly well into that of Brockmang on the 1873 British map.

The Abokobi plantation was set up by Christian Balck, an African Danish merchant. He came to the Gold Coast from the Danish West Indies in 1805. The plantation land was 100 *toender* (55.15 ha.). According to Jeppesen (1966:82) Balck had plantations at different times and that his plantation was among those destroyed by Asante army during the coastal invasion in 1811. He began to rebuild this plantation with loans he had taken from the Danish government. Balck used 13 slave workers of men, women and children to cultivate coffee and perhaps food crops. The enslaved workers lived in 12 cottages. However it is not known whether Balck maintained a house on his plantation. The plantation had between 200-250 coffee trees, which yielded about 18.14 kg (40lbs) of coffee every year. The exact location of this plantation is not known.

Forsynet, which means Providence, was the plantation owned by the African Danish merchant Henrik Richter. The plantation was established in 1830 near Bibease in the Akuapem Mountains. The plantation land was 130 *toender* (71.70 ha). It was first owned by Peder Meyer. The plantation produced coffee, maize, plantain, vegetables and fruits. In 1835 there were a little over 4,000 coffee trees and these produced on the average 158.76 kg (350lbs) of coffee beans. Henrik Richter who was a slave dealer maintained his privately owned slaves on this

plantation. In 1835 the slave work force included 31men, 14 women and 6 children. Today, in the vicinity of Pompo village, the descendants of Richter own property, which they claim was this plantation land.

Concerning the **Adanse** and **Boi plantations** much is not known about them except that merchant Molm and the African Danish merchant Aarestrup respectively owned them. No information was obtained about the workers who cultivated these plantations. Also there was nothing relating to the location of these plantations and their crop production. The **Frederiksgave** plantation, which is the focus of this research, is however, the subject matter discussed in Chapter Four.

The idea of establishing plantation agriculture on the Gold Coast did not begin with the Danes. In fact early attempts at cultivating agricultural products on commercial basis were made by the Dutch. In the early eighteenth century the Dutch set up cotton, tobacco and sugar cane plantations at Axim, Butre and Shama (Dickson 1971:126; Reynolds 1974:63; Van Dantzig 1978). At Butre for instance the Dutch set up a large sugar cane plantation and a liquor factory nearby to make use of the sugarcane. The British also made similar attempts to cultivate cotton, indigo, pepper, ginger and oranges on the Gold Coast in the eighteenth century. All these early attempts were however abandoned in the eighteenth century. The Danish agricultural efforts on the Gold Coast followed later. Concerning the Danish attempts Dickson (1971: 128) wrote, "Reference to the

Danes recalls the most spectacular and most successful attempt made, since about the close of the eighteenth century, by a Colonial Power to introduce commercial agriculture in the country mainly for the edification of the local peasant farmers”.

Why did the Danes establish plantations on the Gold Coast? Some Danish scholars (e.g. Nørregård 1966:172, Jeppesen 1966:48-88) have sought to establish a connection between Denmark’s abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and the promotion of plantation agriculture in the southeast Gold Coast. When the Danes abolished the Atlantic slave trade the economic foundation of the Danish establishment on the Gold Coast was removed. A debate, which was sparked off in government circles inspired two opinions, one favoured the sale of the Danish establishment on the Gold Coast whilst the other supported its retention with the intention of cultivating the land to produce tropical crops needed by European market. Denmark eventually placed a ban on slave trading and made attempts to maintain the Gold Coast settlements by introducing plantation agriculture. Georg Nørregård (1966:173) explained that even though existing documents do not reveal the reason(s) behind the abolition yet he pointed out that it was neither “humanity nor the prospect of quick profit”, which was the decisive factor. However, he argued that, once an attempt at establishing plantations in Africa to cultivate the same agricultural commodities as was done in the Americas had begun; there was no justification then, for the continual export of Africans across the Atlantic.

Henerik Jeppesen (1966:73) the Danish geographer who made a survey of the former Danish sites on the Gold Coast has also linked the abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade with the establishment of these plantations by the Danes. He argued that:

“The plans of establishing plantations and colonies should be viewed in connection with the efforts towards the abolition of the slave trade. The first attempt was made in 1788, the intention being to eliminate the slave traffic by growing such products in West Africa as were produced in the West Indies by imported slaves”.

By linking the setting up of the plantations on the Gold Coast with the abolition, the two Danish scholars may have been influenced by Denmark’s implementation of the second option of the opinions expressed. That is to retain the establishment and then start plantations to encourage the cultivation of the so-called colonial produce.

The Danish plantation enterprise on the Gold Coast could also be viewed as a source that supplied to Denmark, agricultural commodities associated with processing and mass consumption as well as non - consumable industrial raw materials. Food crops for processing and mass consumption included coffee, tobacco, sugar cane, ginger and maize. Those associated with industrial manufacturing were cotton and colour plants (indigo/dye wood). The eighteenth

century was a flourishing period in Denmark due to trade boom. The Danish economy therefore experienced significant growth, which in effect brought about prosperity. This greatly encouraged mass consumption of coffee, tea, sugar and tobacco. By the end of the eighteenth century the habit of consuming coffee and tea was spreading rapidly to almost all the layers of society in Denmark. Sugar the sweetening substance became a staple article of diet because it was used to season several drinks including tea, coffee and fruit juices as well as medicines. The Danish need for sugar for instance, was met by the production of her colonies in the West Indies. However, as consumption increased the supply from the Danish West Indies could not meet the demand. In addition, Copenhagen became the centre for the distribution of tropical and subtropical crops to other European countries as far as the Baltic and Denmark's colonies in the North Atlantic (Greenland, Iceland and the Færoes Islands). Danish industries particularly the textile-manufacturing units were in need of cotton and other vegetal fibres, as well as dye wood and indigo. The Gold Coast plantations were therefore established to produce the so-called colonial products to meet the growing demands of both the Danish public and industrial sectors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Danish plantations on the Gold Coast were geared towards the production of export crops using the labour of enslaved Africans. This Chapter has described the development of the plantations, the many problems and challenges that confronted the plantation owners including the local political forces. The next

Chapter will focus on how enslaved Africans, used in several domestic servile situations by the Danes on the Gold Coast were transformed into plantation slaves to produce the so-called export crops for the European market as well as maize for African and West Indian markets.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM FORT SLAVES TO PLANTATION SLAVES

The preceding Chapter focused on the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast. Aspects of the plantations considered included their historical development and how the Danes organized the plantations highlighting among other things the method of acquiring plantation lands, various crops cultivated, the extent of the plantations and the enslaved labour that cultivated the plantations.

In this Chapter, a closer attention is paid to the servile labourers used by the Danes on the plantations. Danish archival sources clearly indicate that two categories of enslaved Africans laboured tirelessly to cultivate the plantations. The first category was made up of publicly owned slaves who had been 'employed' initially by Danish officials to provide labour at their trade forts on the Accra coast. They are referred to in the Danish records as fort slaves. The second category was privately owned slaves. They were slaves acquired privately by the Danes to provide domestic service in their homes and business concerns. When the Danes became involved in the plantation enterprise in the nineteenth century, these slaves were transferred from their previous servile roles and engaged as enslaved plantation workers. In the Danish archival sources, information about the fort slaves, who were in the majority, was available and

quite detailed but it was difficult to get same on the privately owned slaves. This Chapter will therefore highlight on the characteristic nature of fort slavery and will further investigate the transformation of the group into agricultural or plantation slaves during the nineteenth century.

Before delving into the details of the main concerns of this Chapter, it is useful to examine the Danish involvement on the Gold Coast. This will assist in delineating the Danish zone of influence on the Gold Coast. Additionally, it will provide general insights into the economic and socio-cultural patterns of the southeastern Gold Coast and the extent to which the Danes exploited these to their advantage. Attention is focused on how the Danes gained a foothold on the Gold Coast, their gradual expansion on the coastal region east of Accra and their involvement in the coastal trade, first, in the natural resources and later, in the African slave trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Danish Settlements on the Gold Coast

By the 1660s the Danes had gained foothold on the Gold Coast. Denmark's overseas commercial ventures required permanent trade posts. The Danes obtained their first trade post, Fort Carlsborg, which later became known, as Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast by some strange happening. Hendrik Carlof had established the Carlsborg trade post in 1650 when he served as the Swedish

Africa Company's trade representative on the Gold Coast. In addition, he successfully, established smaller trade lodges at Butre (1650), Anomabo and Osu (1652), Tarkoradi (1653), and Jumoree and Cape Apollonia in 1655 (Van Dantzig 1980:23-32). Henrik Carlof was able to accomplish the task of setting up these series of trade posts for the Swedes because of his previous successful career with the Dutch West India Company on the Gold Coast.

In 1665 Carlof returned to Europe and not long afterwards got into a serious disagreement with his Swedish financiers. He transferred his allegiance to the Danish Crown and was commissioned to capture the Swedish trade posts on the Gold Coast for the Danish East and West India Company then in charge of Denmark's overseas trade. Carlorf arrived on the Gold Coast in the early part of 1658 and succeeded in capturing Carlsborg and the other Swedish trade posts with assistance from the Dutch. Denmark was therefore, ushered into the Guinea trade through the machinations of Henrik Carlof.

The Danish triumph over the Swedes on the Gold Coast was short lived. Within two years the Swedes gained back Fort Carlsborg and the Dutch forcibly took over the other trade posts. The Danes however, did not give up after these setbacks. The first permanent Danish trade post on the Gold Coast was Fort Frederiksborg built at Cape Coast in 1660. Joos Cramer the first commander sent

by a re-consolidated Danish West India Company successfully negotiated for a piece of land on top of Amanful Hill where he constructed a small triangular-shaped fort, mainly of timber, mud and stone with the help of the Fetu (Van Dantzig 1980: 29). Additional structures were later constructed to improve conditions at the fort. For instance Commandant Henning Albrectht built three bastions to support a thatched house within the fort and a wall around the entire fort structure in 1663.

Despite the modest improvements the fort was plagued by misfortunes. The supply of provisions from Denmark to the fort was very unreliable. In addition lack of funds made the administration of the fort more difficult. To maintain the Danish garrison, the commander often had to borrow money from the English at Cape Coast. According to Van Dantzig (1980:31), the Danes were so much indebted to the English that they pawned Fort Fredriksborg to them in 1679. Six years later, the English eventually bought the fort from the Danes and renamed it Fort Royal. It was refurbished and it became the outpost of Cape Coast Castle.

The site of Fredriksborg has been the focus of historical and archaeological investigations. The Danish historian Georg Nørregård (1963:33) reported that seven cannon guns were located at the site during an investigation there in 1933. He reported further that in the same year, a mounted cannon with a metal plaque was erected at the site. A.W. Lawrence (1963) discussed the architectural history

of the fort. His descriptions were based on contemporary information and drawings. The Dutch historian, Albert Van Dantzig (1980:31) wrote“ At present the vague contours of a triangular building and some old cannon, recovered by a recent Danish excavation, still indicate the site (of Fredriksborg) on top of Amanful Hill”. An archaeological reconnaissance survey conducted in 1987 and 1990 by Christopher R. DeCorse (1993:159) revealed that an irregular pattern of mounds and pits, occasional brick and stone fragments and two sherds from a blue-grey Rhenish stoneware jug marked the site on top of the hill.

The Danes shifted their attention to their trade post at Osu (Accra) on the eastern portions of the Gold Coast. Thereafter, they continued for about the next two hundred years to have their share in the commercial opportunities that opened up to Europeans on the Gold Coast. Originally, Joos Cramer built a small stone fort after he acquired a plot of land from King Okai Koi of Great Accra in 1661. Christian Cornelisson, the Chief Trader of the Danish area of Osu expanded the fort and named it Christiansborg Castle.

This Danish trade post also had an eventful history. On two occasions, the castle came under 'foreign' control. The first occurred in 1679 when the commandant, Johan Ulrich was murdered by mutineers led by Peiter Bolten .The castle was sold to Julian de Campo Barretto, a former Portuguese Governor of Sao Tome (Larsen 1918:25, Van Dantzig 1980:31). The Portuguese renamed the castle St.

Francis Xavier and occupied it for nearly four years. During the Portuguese occupation, the bastions of the castle were raised and a chapel was added to the existing structures. In 1683 the Danes regained the castle. The second event took place ten years later. In 1693 Asameni, a trader from Akwamu seized the castle with the assistance of a small number of men disguised as traders. The small number of Danes at the castle sought refuge at the nearby Dutch fort Crevecoeur. For about a year, Asameni and his men occupied the castle where they transacted business with both African and European traders. In 1694 the Danes paid the sum of 50 marks of gold and Asameni handed over the castle to them. The Danes made extensions to several parts of the castle particularly, the storerooms and quarters for the garrisons. Christiansborg was among the Danish assets sold to the British in 1850. According to A.W. Lawrence (1963:216), an earthquake, which hit Accra in 1862, caused considerable damage to the castle. The British replaced the collapsed structures above the ramparts with wooden buildings. During the 1950s the Public Works Department reconstructed these portions of the castle to 'conform' to its former outlines. Today, the Christiansborg Castle is the seat of the Government of Ghana.

Since there were no trade posts east of Christiansborg Castle, any European nation that established there was bound to enjoy monopoly of the trade in that region. The Danes saw the vast trade opportunities and quickly took the initiative to expand toward the coastline east of Accra otherwise referred to as the Lower

Coast by the Europeans. The Danish initiative to gain a footing on the Lower Coast was taken by Erik Olsen Lygaard, who posted an assistant at Keta to trade with the local people in the early years of the eighteenth century (Nørregård 1966:95). Later attempts were made to secure the trade at Ponny (Kpone), Tubreku and Ada. Trade lodges were built in these African settlements to protect Danish interests. These early attempts however, yielded meagre results because incessant local wars and annual inundation of the Volta River disrupted trading activities in the region.

The Danes planned for a new and better stronghold for their trade on the Lower Coast. In April 1736, Governor Severin Schiellerup started a small triangular fort at Great Ningo and named it Fredensborg. According to Nørregård (1966:97), the fort measured just over twenty yards on each side and had room for ten cannons and a garrison of three or four soldiers. Between 1740 and 1783, Fort Fredensborg was expanded. The triangular shape was transformed into a four-sided layout of four bastions and a continuous battery along one short end towards the lagoon (Lawrence 1963:77). A fine water reservoir was also built in the courtyard of the fort. At present the fort is in ruins. A recent archaeological survey revealed that the ruins are buried under sand blown from the seashore. Only a few fragments of the walls of the fort are still standing. A wide range of material culture including glass bottles, smoking pipes, glass beads, rusted cannons, remains of shellfish and both imported and local pottery were noted during the survey.

The construction of Fort Fredensborg provided the Danes with an excellent starting point for the expansion of their influence on the Lower Coast. However, the Danish inroads into that region were confronted by the Anlo (Awuna) who preferred to trade with all nations and therefore consistently refused to let any European establish a stronghold, which might dominate their territory. Consequently, the Danish lodges at Keta and Ada were frequently, attacked by the Anlo. In 1783, the Anlo planned an attack on the people of Ada with whom they had a dispute over fishing rights on the River Volta. Also the Danish lodge at Ada was targeted for demolition during the planned attack (Nørregård 1966:146).

The Danes saw in this, an opportunity to put an end to the incessant Anlo threats to their influence in the area. A combined military force comprising the Danes and their African allies defeated the Anlo in the battle of Atokko fought in the muddy marshlands of the Volta delta. Before the commencement of hostilities the Danes built a new fort namely, Kongensten at Ada to protect themselves and their allies against Anlo attacks. According to (Lawrence1963: 361), Paul Erdmann Isert, a Danish medical officer on the Gold Coast, who participated in the war, reported that Fort Kongensten was rectangular in shape with four bastions and measured 280 ft. x 268 ft. The fort was situated close to the River Volta and a few kilometres away from the sea. Some building materials particularly, cut stones and bricks required for the construction of the fort were shipped from Accra. However, the lime for mortar was obtained on the spot by burning seashells. Fort

Kongensten was quite a strong fort equipped to withstand armed attacks. At the time Lawrence (1963:376) carried out his survey, a few bricks and a cannon marked the site of the fort. Presently, the site is completely obliterated.

After the Anlo people were defeated the Danes secured the right to build and maintain a proper fort at Keta. Consequently, their small lodge was converted into a larger and stronger trade-post in 1784. Fort Prindsensten as it was called, was a slightly enlarged version of the Ada fort. It was situated about 200-300 metres away from the beach (Nørregård1966: 148). Stones and bricks for the construction of the fort were conveyed from Accra. In the 1840s the Danes rehabilitated the fort. The British occupied the fort after the Danes sold all their 'possessions' on the Gold Coast to them.

Towards the first half of the twentieth century the British constructed a series of concrete buildings within and outside of the fort and as a result distorted its original appearance (Lawrence1963: 364). The Government of Ghana has used the fort as a prison in the past. A recent archaeological survey conducted by me revealed that the fort is not much better than a ruin. It stands desolate and at the mercy of the sea. Some of the rooms of the fort especially those facing the sea have collapsed due to sea erosion and the constant pounding of the fort by sea waves. The entire site of the fort is submerged in seawater during high tide. The survey further revealed that a variety of artefacts are embedded in the

stratigraphic layers of the eroded beach between the fort and the Bremen Mission compound. There is only one cannon left on the upper floor of the fort.

The last Danish fort on the Gold Coast was Augustaborg built at Teshie. Reindorf (1966: 130) reported that after the Anlo had been defeated in 1784, the chiefs of Teshie, Nungua and Tema who allied with the Danes submitted to the authority of the Danes by hoisting the Danish flag. In recognition of this friendly relationship the Danes paid monthly stipends to the chiefs of these towns. This paved the way for the Danes to construct a fort at Teshie in 1787. Only isolated bits of wall and arches of this fort are left huddled amongst modern structures at Teshie. Other Danish trade posts (lodges) were established at Labadi, Tema, Kpone (Ponny), Tubreku, Aflao (Aflahu) and Popo.

The emerging picture is one in which the Danes built a string of trade-posts that stretched from the Accra coast eastwards to Keta and beyond. Eventually, they wielded much influence in the foreign trade of that coastline and the immediate hinterland regions north of it. The Danes considered this region as their 'colony'. Paul Erdmann Isert ([1788] 1992:151) reported on the Danish influence on the Gold Coast in 1786 as follows:

“At present we have four forts and six lodges or trading stations. These establishments lie within a stretch of fifty miles along the coast. Along

this stretch we alone are the masters of trade, except for an English fort, called Prampram, lying between Christiansburg and Friedensburg”.

In 1820 a royal instrument issued by the King of Denmark to the Danish Governor on the Gold Coast confirmed Isert’s report. The royal instrument defined His Majesty’s ‘colony’ as, “The whole stretch of coast from Osu by Christiansborg Fort to Keta by Prinsensten Fort, together with the inhabitants with the sole exception of the two negro towns of Great Prampram and Little Prampram which for the time being are under a foreign power”(Reindorf 1980:6).

Apart from the trade-posts described above, the Danes established a number of plantations in southeastern Gold Coast between 1788 and 1850. Earlier on in Chapter Two, a detailed description of the Danish plantation system on the Gold Coast has been presented. It was observed among other things that most of the plantations had settlements attached to accommodate their owners or overseers and the enslaved Africans who lived and worked there. Recent archaeological research along the foothills of the Akuapem Ridge indicated that there are still traces of substantial ruins of these settlements at some of the plantation sites.

The Danish African Trade in the 18th and 19th Centuries

The Danish overseas trade was based on the Portuguese *feitoria*, or “factory”

concept. The basic elements of this concept as applied to the Danish African enterprise were that in Copenhagen (Denmark), a monopolistic Chartered Trade Company (*Handelskompagnier*) served as the umbrella unit that co-ordinated the Gold Coast trade. In Africa, Christiansborg Castle, the Head Fort (*Hovedfortet*) controlled all imports and exports and thereby functioned as a regional centre, which controlled the other Danish trade establishments.

Like other Europeans, the primary interest of the Danes in West Africa was trade. Denmark wanted a share in the lucrative European market for West African gold to meet the costs of rising military expenses and to fuel her growing monetary economy. Also, the Danes were in need of raw materials to feed their manufacturing industries. However, the Danish trade in West Africa remained in a precarious state throughout the seventeenth century because Denmark could not secure firm foothold on the western Gold Coast due to frequent take-over of Danish settlements in that area by other European nations. What saved the Danish African trade was a re-organization of the Danish West India Guinea Company (*Vestindisk-guinesisk Kompagni*), which by the late 1690s moved to capture a share in the African trade (Gøbel 1983:24, Hernæs 1996:170).

Danish scholars describe the eighteenth century as the “golden age or a flourishing period” for the Danish overseas commerce due to trade boom in

Denmark (Justesen 1979:11, Feldbæk1991: 3, Hernæs1995: 307). On the Gold Coast, this period witnessed a gradual expansion of the Danish settlements and trade on the southeast coast from Accra towards the River Volta. Trade was carried on via the Danish forts largely by the barter system. Thus the Danes obtained the export commodities or return goods (*retour vahre*) in exchange for import goods, which were in demand by the local people.

Writing about the Danish trade to the West Indies and Guinea in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Erik Gøbel (1983:30) distinguished between two types of goods shipped out to the Danish establishment in West Africa. These were in one-part necessities of life for the Danes who resided there and in the other trade goods. Of the latter, textiles particularly Danish printed calicoes and East Indian prints constituted on average 41% by value of the goods carried to Africa (Gøbel 1983:29). Other equally important trade goods included ingots and metal articles (such as iron knives, fishhooks, brass bangles and pewter basins), decorated flintlock muskets, gun powder, flaked flint stones, assorted Danish grain spirits, coloured corals and, finally, cowries. Actual evidence of the commodities that constituted the homeward cargo is provided by archaeological finds recovered from the Danish Guinean Company (*Guinesisk Kompagni*) slave ship *Fredensborg* which sank off the coast in southern Norway in 1768. Among the goods salvaged from this ship were elephant and hippopotamus tusks as well as dyewood and varieties of fine tropical wood (Svalesen 2000:181-2).

The export commodities from the Gold Coast demanded by the Danes in the eighteenth century included slaves, gold, ivory, indigo, quantities of wood and spices. It must be pointed out however, that due to the growth of the West Indian plantation system enslaved Africans became the principal trade commodities. The Danish participation in the export of human cargoes from Africa across the Atlantic to Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean islands occurred within the broad context of European trade. The sheer volume of humans forcibly taken by various European ships, the long span of time and the geographical regions of the world covered by this trade and its consequences, have made the trade, commonly referred to as the Atlantic Slave Trade, a central field of research interest to many scholars.

As already pointed out, the Danish plantation experiments on the Gold Coast cannot be divorced from the European contact and the slave trade. An important question worth raising at this point is how related was the internal and external demand for slaves and what impact this had on slavery in European establishments including the plantations set up by the Danes on the Gold Coast? The first concern here will be the external demand for slaves. Also of significant importance to this study is the internal demand for slaves and the different forms of slave deployment in the domestic domain. As far as this study is concerned the term domestic domain means the different ways enslaved labour was used by Europeans (Danes) on the Gold Coast.

The External Slave Trade

Research into the history of the Atlantic Slave Trade has tended to concentrate on a wide variety of issues including its contribution to the economic development of Europe (e.g. Williams 1966, Anstey 1968, Engerman 1972, Solow and Engerman [eds.] 1987), volume of slave exports (e.g. Curtin 1969, 1975, Anstey 1975, Inikori 1976, Lovejoy 1982, Hernæs 1995) and the impact of the trade on Africa (e.g. Gemery and Hogendorn [eds.] 1979, Inikori 1982, 1992, Lovejoy 1983, Eltis 1987, Manning 1990, Law [ed.] 1995). In this section a general overview of the Atlantic Slave Trade is presented highlighting on the Danish involvement; its abolition and subsequent replacement with the so-called legitimate trade in colonial products.

Long before the arrival of Europeans to the coast of West Africa contact had been established between the indigenous societies of this sub-region and other areas of Africa via trade. The trans-Saharan trade for instance, brought metal goods, ceramics, cloth and beads to West Africa from the north, while the savanna and forest regions provided gold, slaves and salt (e.g. Austen 1979, Garrard 1980). The European presence on the West African coast contributed in no small measure in redirecting these ancient routes and establishing new trading patterns to link the sub-region to wider parts of the globe. It is also evident that the enslavement of people from West Africa and the exploitation of their labour in the Islamic world were in existence before the arrival of Europeans.

The beginning of the Atlantic slave trade can be traced to the fifteenth century when the Portuguese charted the West Coast of Africa. Portugal's slaving activities in West Africa were geared towards securing labour to work on sugar plantations on the offshore Atlantic islands of Africa (Madeira and Sao Tome) and later the Americas. The Portuguese controlled this trade and they made frantic efforts to keep other European nations out but these attempts failed. By the mid-seventeenth century, other European powers namely, the Dutch, English and French were also trading in West Africa exporting slaves to their plantation colonies in the Caribbean and the Americas.

Initially, this trade in human cargoes was on a modest scale, but the volume increased dramatically in the second half of the seventeenth century. West Africa remained a principal region from where Europeans obtained slaves for the Trans-Atlantic trade until the mid-nineteenth century, when the so-called colonial produce replaced slaves as the principal export. After years of scholarly research and debate, views on the number of Africans exported across the Atlantic are divergent. However, many scholars agree that an estimated 12-13 million Africans were enslaved and brought to the New World due to the growth of the slave-based agricultural economies of that region (Lovejoy 1989, Hernæs 1996:171, 1998:134).

Danish involvement in the slave trade started in the 1660s when they gained a foothold on the Gold Coast. Denmark's commercial venture in Africa

corresponded with her colonial interests in Asia and the West Indies, including the agricultural plantation system. Denmark acquired Tranquebar her Asian colony off the Coromandel Coast in India in 1620. In the Caribbean, Denmark colonized St. Thomas in 1671, St. John in 1717 and St. Croix in 1733. The control of these establishments made Denmark a minor colonial power with a strategically important place in the European-centered global trade framework.

By the time Denmark acquired her West Indian colonies, the Portuguese and the Spaniards had already introduced sugar cane into the American tropics. Plantation agriculture based on the production of sugar was established and remained the backbone of the economies of the islands in the West Indies. The Caribbean islands gained a comparative advantage in the production of sugar cane because they were endowed with a favourable tropical climate, relatively fertile soils and availability of land. The cultivation and processing of sugar cane were labour intensive.

Therefore, as the plantation economies of the Americas expanded due to the demand for this sweetening substance in Europe, the colonies became dependent on imported supplies of labour. Denmark was no exception. According to Hall (1994:6), the Danish colonization of the West Indies was characterized by the paucity of a colonizing Danish population. There was also the absence of a sufficiently large indigenous Amerindian population. According to him,

Denmark's solution to the colonial manpower problem in the approved manner at that time was the use of indentured servants (*servinger*). But in the words of Hall, this was "a certifiable failure". As elsewhere in tropical America, a large number of enslaved Africans were imported to the Danish West Indian colonies. Majority of them was taken to large-scale plantations where they worked under dehumanizing conditions to produce sugar.

An aspect of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that has engaged the research attention of historians is the estimate of the volume of the trade. Considerable progress has been made since Philip Curtin published his path-breaking estimates in 1969. Since then, other researchers have published revised versions of the volume of the trade focusing on the role of specific European nations. As regards the volume of the Danish slave trade, Curtin (1969:212) estimated that the Danes exported 56,800 enslaved Africans between 1761 and 1810. Since then, two Scandinavian historians have revised Curtin's estimate. The first, was Green-Pedersen (1975:201), who published a projection of the Danish slave exports from Africa to the Danish colonies in the West Indies at 50,350 for the period 1733-1802. Recently, Per Hernæs (1995:226) followed up by exploring detailed historical data, which covered the beginnings of the Danish involvement in the slave trade to the abolition.

Table 3.1 shows the estimates of the two Scandinavian scholars on enslaved Africans imported into the Danish West Indies via Christiansted, Frederiksted and

Period	Hernæs (1995)	Green-Pedersen (1975)
1660-1689	3,000	-
1690-1697	2,900	-
1698-1733	6,800	-
1734-1765	15,500	16,500 (1733-65)
1766-1776	5,300	3,300
1777-1789	21,100	19,500
1790-1792	1,050	1,050
1793-1806	30,000	10,000 (1793-1802)
TOTAL	85,650	50,350

Table 3.1: Danish Slave Exports From Africa To The West Indies
Source: Per Olaf Hernæs, "Slaves, Danes And African Coast Society", University of Trondheim(1995) Table 4 p. 226

Charlotte Amalie, the three major urban centers of the colonies between 1660 and 1806. As can be seen from the table, the current estimate of slaves exported from Africa by ships flying the Danish flag is within the region of 85,000. This estimate appears to be very significant because the detailed work done by Per Hernæs covered all the important centuries of the trade. Again, the estimate is empirically grounded on archival sources. However, he admitted that it could be possible he overlooked some bits and pieces of historical information, which would have enabled him, arrive at a more definitive and accurate estimate. Whatever the limitation, his overall figure of African slaves exported to the Caribbean throughout the period 1660-1806 is no doubt a great improvement of all previous estimates. As already pointed out, the various European nations that traded with Africa exported an estimated number of Africans between 12-13

million across the Atlantic. Considering that the maximum limit of 13 million represented the number of enslaved Africans shipped to the New World then the Danish share of the trade through the entire slaving period stood at about 0.7%.

When attention is focused on the Gold Coast, where the Danes established good number of their trading posts, and as a result controlled much of the trade in the eastern coastal area the picture is different. Table 3.2 presents the proportion of Danish slave exports from the Gold Coast to the total European slave exports from the same region between 1660-1809. As presented in the table, the total European exports from the Gold Coast during that period amounted to 755,836 slaves of which the Danes share stood at 32,150. The Danes therefore carried about 4.3% of the total European slave exports from the Gold Coast during the slaving period.

Another aspect of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which is relevant to this work, is the pattern of slave exports from the West Coast of Africa. The first attempt to establish regions of slave origin in West Africa was by Philip Curtin (1969) three decades ago. In the course of further archival research for fresh evidence on the numbers of enslaved Africans shipped into the Diaspora, scholars have discovered new data that have thrown much more insight into patterns of slave origin in the West African sub-region (e.g. Klein 1978:30, Inikori 1982:23, Eltis 1987:250-52, Richardson 1989:17). It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss this issue with

Period	Total European slave exports*	Total Danish slave exports**
1662-1670	12174	3000 (1660-1689)
1671-1680	20597	
1681-1690	15333	3749 (1690-1699)
1691-1700	17407	3040 (1700-1709)
1701-1710	82925	1106 (1710-1718)
1711-1719	31650	2985 (1718-1727)
1720-1729	65110	1517 (1728-1737)
1730-1739	74460	1202 (1738-1747)
1740-1749	83620	3945 (1748-1757)
1750-1759	52780	979 (1758-1767)
1760-1769	69650	453 (1768-1777)
1770-1779	54370	
1780-1789	57650	10174 (1778-1789)
1790-1799	73960	-
1800-1809	44150	-
TOTAL	755836	32150 (4.3%)

Table 3. 2: Danish slave exports from the Gold Coast in relation to European exports from the same region between 1660-1809

Source: *Adapted from S.D Behrendt et. al *The Bights in Comparative Perspective the Economics of Long-Term Trends in Population Displacement from West and Central Africa to the Americas before 1850. In Identifying Enslaved Africans: The "Nigerian" Hinterland and the African Diaspora.* UNESCO/SSHRC Project, York University, 1997. **P.Hernæs Slaves, Danes and African Coast Society, Trondheim 1995. Table 4 p.226, Appendices II & III p.394, 396.

regard to all the European nations that traded with West Africa. However, a general observation may be required here: the picture, which has emerged out of these researches, is that the European slave trading nations drew slaves from diverse coastal outlets.

What was the pattern of the Danish slave exports from West Africa? Neville A.T. Hall (1994:70-71) has rightly observed that it should not be assumed that the concentration of Danish slave trading forts on the Gold Coast necessarily meant that a preponderance of the slaves exported to the colonies in the Caribbean were

drawn from the ethnic groups of that region. In the mid-eighteenth century, C.G.A. Oldendorp, a Moravian missionary visited the Danish West Indies. He compiled detailed ethnographic data on the inhabitants of the islands particularly, those of African descent. From the rich information he compiled, we are able to know about the geographical and ethnic patterns of the Danish slave exports from West Africa.

He observed that a large number of ethnic groups in the Danish West Indies included the Akan-speaking Amina [Elminas] and Akims [Akyems], Fulani, Mandingoes, Kango, Popos, Kalabari, Ibos and Yorubas (Highfield and Barac1987: 207-265). This clearly shows that the Danes exported slaves from a large geographical area, stretching from the Senegal River across the Volta and Niger Rivers to the Congo.

On the Gold Coast the Danes exported slaves from a number of coastal outlets. Archival research in Copenhagen yielded information on the coastal patterns of the Danish slave trade on the Gold Coast. In the eighteenth century, a report dealing with the Danish slave trade in Guinea was presented to the Grand Commission on the Negro Slave Trade (*Kommissionen for Negerhandelen*). Table 3.3 below was among others submitted as supporting documents to the report. From this table the outlets from where the Danes exported slaves on the Lower Guinea coast can be identified as Osu (Danish Accra), Old Ningo, Keta, Ada, Kpone and Aflahu on the Gold Coast as well as Little Popo on the Slave Coast.

Year	Fort Christiansborg (Osu)	Fort Fredensborg (Old Ningo)	Fort Prinsenstein (Keta)	Fort Kongensten (Ada)	Factory at Ponny	Factory at Aflahu	Factory at Popo	Total for the year
1777	257	155	20	21	-	-	32	485
1778	359	186	63	90	-	-	47	745
1779	343	169	64	64	-	-	52	642
1780	122	136	71	88	-	-	45	462
1781	504	351	132	73	-	-	198	1258
1782	365	174	109	95	-	-	76	819
1783	278	289	162	145	30	-	107	1011
1784	299	233	170	194	38	54	167	1155
1785	280	175	132	344	52	97	177	1257
1786	413	240	344	83	30	83	170	1363
1787	398	190	199	111	19	103	206	1226
1788	155	232	151	156	35	95	171	995
1789	172	111	62	102	23	52	72	594
Total	3945	2641	1679	1566	227	484	1520	12062

Table 3.3: Coastal outlets for African slaves purchased on the Gold and Slave Coasts 1777-1789

Source: RA.Gtk.1771-1816 Dokumenter vedr. Kommissionen for Negerhandelens bedre Indretning og Ophaevelse. Vol. I (1783-1806).

This table has also been published by S.E. Green-Pedersen, 'The Scope and Structure of the Danish Negro Slave Trade', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review*. Vol. XIX nos. 1&2 1971 p.191 Table 10. See also P.O.Hernæs, 'Slaves, Danes and African Coastal Society, (1995) Trondheim, Appendix iii p. 396.

Whydah also on the Slave Coast was another important coastal outlet where the Danes obtained and shipped their slaves though it did not appear in the table. These coastal settlements are located within the geographical area where the Danes established their slave trading forts.

It must however, be pointed out that the Danes were sometimes compelled by inadequate supply of slaves in these areas to penetrate areas on the Guinea coast "controlled" by other European slave trading nations. According to Nørregård (1966:85), the Danes always tried to buy slaves at their forts or lodges, but they

rarely, if ever, had a full cargo ready when the ships called at Fort Christiansborg. The slave ships either had to wait until the cargo was complete or they would have to supplement their cargoes at other places along the coast.

It must also be pointed out that the pattern of the Danish slave exports was not as simple as already described. There was a veritable trade carried on between the Danish forts on the Gold Coast and ships that belonged to other European nations namely, Portugal, France, Britain and Holland. Nørregård (1966:86), noted:

“Because of the irregular intervals between the arrivals of Company ships at Accra, it was natural for Fort Christiansborg to sell continually to foreign purchasers when there were numerous slaves in stock. On one occasion a French captain in four days bought more than 500 slaves from the fort. The first decades [of the Danish slave trade] brought many Portuguese ships to Fort Christiansborg. Later the Dutch succeeded in driving them farther east. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century it was mainly French ships, which helped Danish trade. From the start Dutch interlopers played an important part, too. In the latter part of the century, English trade flourished”.

Quite often, erratic supplies plagued the Danish trading outposts on the Gold Coast due to irregular ship sails from Copenhagen. To sustain these outposts, the Danes were compelled to sell slaves to foreign company ships in exchange for consumables for their own sustenance and marketable goods. Again the Danes

had to engage in this trade because slaves in transit at the forts could not be kept for a long period of time due to the cost of feeding, the danger of an outbreak of epidemic and the loss of slave lives.

The Internal Slave Trade

In West Africa, the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries was characterized by an expansion of the scale of political organization, with the emergence of large states and kingdoms. On the Gold Coast, notable kingdoms that emerged during this period included Denkyira, Akwamu, Akyem and later Asante. According to Perbi (1997:46), “the institution of slavery was strengthened and woven into the political, social and economic fabric of states during this phase”. Thus when Europeans first began trading on the coast of West Africa, there seems to be already in existence a strong institution of domestic slavery (Klein and Lovejoy 1979:199, Perbi 1997). As the main export commodity to the Europeans was gold; its high demand may have increased the provision of slaves to work the gold mines in many of the gold-bearing states of West Africa. On the Gold Coast for instance, the Portuguese who pioneered the European contact participated in an on-going southern coastal trade among the existing indigenous states in the sub-region. They acted as middlemen transporting slaves and other goods from the Senegambian and Benin coasts to exchange for gold on the Gold Coast. The sixteenth century Portuguese navigator, Duarte Pacheco Pereira reported in the *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* (Kimble 1936:126) that:

“The kingdom of Beny (Benin) ...is usually at war with its neighbours and takes many captives, whom we buy at twelve or fifteen brass bracelets each, or for copper bracelets which they prize more; from there the slaves are brought to the Castle of St. Jorze da Mina (Elmina) where they are sold for gold”.

In addition, Pacheco wrote that the Portuguese bought from Benin trade items such as cotton cloths, panther skins, palm oil, and some blue shells with red stripes called ‘coris’ greatly considered valuable on the Gold Coast. They were also sold to the African merchants at Elmina for gold. As other European nations namely, the Danes, Dutch and English later arrived and they maintained permanent establishments on the Gold Coast, demand for African gold may have increased local demand for domestic slaves to work the gold mines. Later on, in the 17th and 18th centuries when the Atlantic slave trade gained ground, slaves were retained and deployed as labourers in the European trade posts. According to Postma (1972:237-248) slaves employed in the European forts were often obtained from the Slave Coast or the Niger Delta region. Whenever the slave supply to the forts decreased, the Europeans sent ships to get more from these regions. Reynolds (1974:13) also points out that some of these enslaved Africans at the forts were obtained from the Gold Coast. He explains that the reason for bringing some of the slaves from the outside was to avoid free Africans from fraternizing with them on the coast. The fort slaves as they were commonly

called became part of a European fort community. As a group that represented the labour force at the forts the slave establishment became indispensable to the European settlements on the Gold Coast.

Other members of the fort community were Europeans and mulattoes. According to A.W. Lawrence (1963:46), the fort communities of all the European trade-posts were divided and sub-divided with exceptional clarity, by their status and pursuits. The Europeans occupied the top-level positions followed by the mulattoes in the middle-level and the fort slaves at bottom-level positions. In the European forts such occupational positions generally paralleled social divisions. Everyday life for the individual members of the fort social groups on the Gold Coast was characterized by interaction with the local African coastal societies.

One level of social interaction was that European men who took African or Euro-African wives set up their homes (*casa*) outside the forts and close to town. Again fort slaves and mulattoes lived within the town wards.

The Danish fort community centered at Christiansborg Castle, the headquarters of the Danish African trade. The Norwegian historian Per Hernæs (1996:175) has observed that the size and composition of the Danish fort community changed considerably between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to him the total Danish fort population in 1703 numbered up to 50 individuals. During the first decade of the nineteenth century the number reached a level somewhere between 300-400. Figure 3.1 below shows the demographic pattern of the Danish

fort community at Christiansborg between 1700 and 1800. Indeed the observation made by Hernæs about the size and composition of the Danish fort community is generally correct. These two aspects of the fort population at Christiansborg changed considerably during the 18th century. However, a closer look at statistics presented in Figure 3.1 shows that the European population remained relatively stable throughout the century while that of mulattoes and enslaved Africans (fort slaves) increased. The increase was in response to Denmark's expansion on the Lower Coast and a burst of growth in the Danish African trade during the eighteenth century. Of the Danish fort community on the Gold Coast it is the so-called fort slave group that is relevant to this study. Unfortunately, much has not been written about this group of the fort community on the Gold Coast. Even though the fort slaves constituted the single largest social group yet earlier researchers have treated them as passive participants in the social and economic interactions in the forts. The concern here is to highlight on the characteristic nature of fort slavery and to examine the transformation of this socially marginalized group into agricultural or plantation slaves during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Scholars have examined slavery from different perspectives ranging from the chattel/commodity model to the kin-based model. The proponents of the chattel/commodity model consider that a slave was both an item of production as

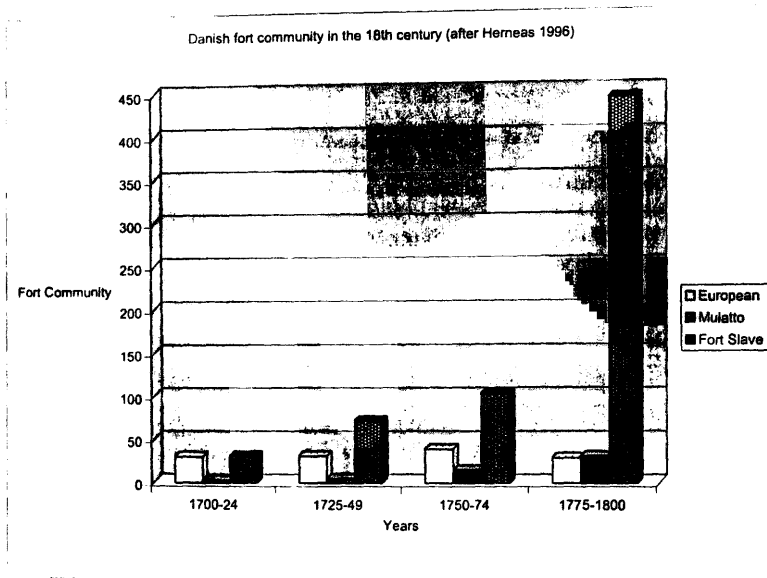


Fig. 3.1 Demographic pattern of the Danish Fort Community.

well as an instrument for production (e.g. Elkins 1968: 38-40, Hall 1994, Tomich 2000: 413, Beckles 2000: 732). In this regard, a slave was perceived by the owner as a commodity that had to be produced and also as a producer in agriculture and domestic activities. Enslaved people in this category had no control over their destiny. Plantation slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, which emanated from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, is often examined in the parameters of this model. Miers and Kopytoff (1977: 3) have succinctly explained that the term slave is perceived in the context of this model as:

“...first and foremost a commodity, to be bought and sold and inherited. He is a chattel, totally in the possession of another person who uses him for private ends. He has no control over his destiny, no choice of occupation or employer, no rights to property or marriage, and no control over the fate of his children. He can be inherited, moved, or sold without regard to feelings, and may be ill-treated, sometimes even killed with impunity. Furthermore, his progeny inherit his status”.

The kinship model is steeped in an assimilationist framework. Adherents to this concept explain that enslaved people occupied the fringes of their adopted society in terms of status and material accumulation. Slavery is therefore, perceived by these scholars on the basis of the degree of lineage bonding or affiliated relations enjoyed by slaves in their alien social environment. Africanist researchers have

sought to investigate the role and development of slavery within Africa during the era of the Trans –Atlantic trade from this perspective. Curtin (1975:34-5,155) has argued that in the domestic domain of African slavery, slaves acquired a fictitious quasi-kinship relationship to the master's lineage and by that process gained subordinate membership in their adopted society.

Miers and Kopytoff (1977) amplified this model in their discourse on domestic slavery in West Africa. According to them, slaves were brought into lineage affiliations by reducing their marginal position. This process they called 'institutional marginality'. Perbi (1997) has discussed slavery in the Ghanaian context within the kinship model in which, she demonstrated that slaves grafted into lineage structures were granted certain rights and privileges which provided avenues for social, political and economic mobility. In this way, slaves were accorded participation in the host society. However, such a social acceptance of slaves, which was not steeped in biological kinship, was superficial. In reality, slaves could be subjected to physical and social degradation.

In which of these two social concepts do we place the fort slave establishment at Christiansborg? To answer this question it will be proper to examine how the Danes perceived the fort slaves at Christiansborg. Strictly speaking in the 18th century, they were categorized into three main groups based on the method of acquisition: outright purchase, contract purchase and indentureship.

- (a) The first group was the so-called Inventory or Company Slaves (*Inventarieslaver*). Slaves in this group were acquired through outright purchase. They were considered as property and as such, the Danes listed them together with trade goods, buildings and equipment in Inventory Records and Account Books. Some of the inventory slaves were born in the forts of parents who had themselves been inventory slaves, and spent the whole of their lives in the forts.
- (b) The second group was the 'Contract Slaves'. Slaves in this category were acquired through contract purchase. They comprised three groups of enslaved people. The first, were individuals who for various reasons and by their own decisions, sold themselves as slaves to the fort on condition that they could redeem their freedom later. The second group was made up of already enslaved people, who were released on contract by their masters over a period of time to the fort. Usually, an amount of money was paid to any slave master who released his or her slave(s) on contract to the fort. The third group comprised slaves who were to be exported but were bought by the fort on the request of their families and on condition that these slaves could later be redeemed.
- (c) The third group constituted the so-called Pawns or Debt Slaves. There were two categories of debt slaves. The first comprised individuals who have been pledged as security for loans or debts by their family heads. The other

category was made up of people, who became enslaved because they belonged to a debtor's family or quarter and, so were forcibly detained at the fort to try and compel the debtor to pay the debt owned. In principle the labour of a pawn was recognized as some sort of interest on the debt. In the event that a pawn died, another member of family was sent to replace him or her.

There was a degree of difference in status between the contract slaves and pawns on one hand, and the inventory slaves on the other. First, pawns and contract slaves could be redeemed but inventory slaves could not. Second, once it was established that the well-being of a pawn had been neglected, an indebted family could demand compensation. Third, the offspring of inventory slaves were considered as property but those of pawns were not, even though the fort paid some allowance to support the children of pawns. In a report sent by the Danish administration to the General Customs Chamber (*Generaltoldkammeret*) in 1806 it was mentioned that Commander Holm who administered Fredensborg at Old Ningo had taken charge of four negroes who had been pawned by their owners due to poverty. The report went further to say that Holm was forced to support the slaves and to ensure the well-being of their children even though it was expensive to do so (GJ 794/1806).

Despite the seemingly apparent differences, in practical terms, there was no difference whatsoever in the social conditions of the various categories of fort slaves. Pawns and inventory slaves shared the same labour and living conditions. In principle pawns were set free once debts got paid but majority of them were

never redeemed. Quite often debts were never paid and so many of them continued to live as such. They were gradually included in the category of inventory slaves. In addition to these, every fort slave enjoyed complete security for life. It was the practice of the Danish administration in Guinea that fort slaves were not to be exported to the West Indies except as a form of punishment for a serious breach of fort regulations concerned with slave conduct (Nørregård 1966:162, Lawrence 1963:56).

By the close of the 18th century, the expressions applied in describing the Danish fort slaves were gradually dropped and replaced by neutral terms such as Inventory Negroes (*Inventarieneger*). In the 19th century however, all the slaves in the Danish establishment on the Gold Coast were described as the Royal Serfs (*Kongelige Livegne*). The change in the terminology used to describe these enslaved Africans was in response to the passage of a Royal decree in 1792 abolishing the Danish involvement in the export slave trade by the end of 1802. But the change did not transform the social conditions of the slaves. According to Nørregård (1964:203) Edward Carstensen, the last Danish Governor on the Gold Coast, who made a case for the discharge of fort slaves in 1846, observed that: "Although one has given these people the name of serfs, they are in reality slaves just like the ones the Negroes have, and subject to the same predicament as these. Presently, however, when slave emancipation is on the agenda, the Government would hardly wish to be known as owner of slaves".

By comparison fort slavery on the Gold Coast cannot be placed entirely in any of the prevailing anthropological models. Obviously, it does not fit the commodity/chattel model as typified by the plantation slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean for the fort slaves cannot be considered chattel in the real sense of the word. Unlike the enslaved Africans on the plantations in the New World, the fort slaves enjoyed relative freedom of movement. They were not shackled or kept under constant surveillance. In fact the fort slaves did not live inside the fort walls. They lived within the African town wards and therefore, became integrated in familial or other social and economic networks in the town. As demonstrated above, they enjoyed certain rights and privileges. In that sense, it can be said at least in part, that they conformed to the Africanist model without the implied lineage bonding or affiliate relationship.

However, it must be emphasized that, the use of neutral terms to describe the fort slaves, was a mere window dressing. In reality, they remained slaves. For almost half a century after the Danes abolished slavery, they continued to provide servile labour under harsh living conditions as before, this time on the plantations or agricultural settlements along the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains until their final emancipation in March 1848.

As already noted above, there has been a long tradition for the use of slave labour on the Gold Coast. Right from the outset of the European contact, the need for both skilled and unskilled labour confronted the various Europeans in West

Africa. Activities such as maintenance of trade posts, handling and transporting of trade goods from the beach to the storehouses, and slaves from the dungeons to waiting ships all required intensive labour. Initially, the European forts relied on free wage labour for the transportation of goods and slaves. One particular group the Europeans depended on was the so-called *remidors* or canoemen, whose everyday occupation was fishing or the transportation of goods along the coast. It was a common practice for European slave ships to hire local canoes with experienced *remidors* from the Gold Coast to transport supplies of trade goods to the Slave Coast (the Bight of Benin and Biafra) and obtain slaves from there (Nørregård 1966: 162). These free transport labourers were paid wages either in cash or in kind.

The Danes at Christiansborg employed free *remidors* recruited from local fishermen for their transportation needs. In 1699 the Danes hired fifteen *remidors* at 300 Rigsdalers to accompany their slave ship to the Slave Coast (Hernæs n.d.). It must however, be emphasised that, the use of free labour gradually became a supplement, employed to deal with occasional peak workloads and it was chiefly confined to *remidors*. In the early eighteenth century, the Danes changed their labour policy. More emphasis was put on developing a permanent and stable labour force of enslaved Africans. The shift in the Danish labour policy was due to several factors. First the existing free wage labour was quite expensive. Hendrich von Suhm, who was Governor at Christiansborg from 1724 – 1727, bemoaned the high cost of hiring the services of *remidors* in Accra. In a report

sent to the Secret Council in Copenhagen, Suhm lamented that to hire *remidors* for one occasional transport assignment would cost as much as operating the fort's two to three canoes by slave *remidors* for a whole year (VgK. 800/RA). As professionals, the *remidors* were conscious of the value of their labour. Therefore, they demanded substantial wages sometimes in gold or in trade goods for carrying out jobs. Second, wage labourers particularly, the *remidors* were unreliable. Being free workers, they were independent and could therefore leave their employment with the forts at will. As already noted, the everyday work of the *remidors* was either fishing or the transportation of goods along the coast. Consequently, they had other job opportunities that could provide competitive wage incomes. Confronted with alternative opportunities, the *remidors* of Accra, often declined to provide service to Christiansborg particularly, during the peak fishing season when income accrued from fishing could be much higher than what the Danes offered.

Third, there was the need for a permanent and stable work force at Christiansborg. Quite often there were large jobs of repair at the forts and new construction in European techniques to be carried out. In the early days, the Europeans brought out skilled artisans to carry out these jobs. However, this could not be sustained in the long run as the forts were hit by constant shortage of skilled staff due to the susceptibility of Europeans to tropical diseases, which caused constant deaths among them. An alternative means of satisfying the labour need of the Danes on the Gold Coast was to employ enslaved Africans.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the enslaved Africans employed in the domestic service of the Danes were listed in the inventories at Christiansborg. The fort slaves were broadly grouped into skilled artisans and unskilled labourers. The inventory lists gave details of trade or skill for the fort slaves. Among the skills listed were canoemen (*remidors*), carpenters (*snekere*), blacksmiths (*smede*),

Skill/Trade	1800	1803	1804	1805	1806	1808	1812	1821	1824	1826	1834	1845	1846	1847
Cook												1	1	1
Coopers	3	5	5	5	5	5	6	6	5	4	3	3	4	5
Canoemen	21	22	24	25	25	27	25	21	16	15	12	11	9	9
Carpenters	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	10	10	9	8	10	10	10
Blacksmiths	6	7	7	7	7	6	9	7	7	5	4	3	3	4
Masons	6	9	9	10	10	10	6	7	5	4	3	12	13	11
Stonebreakers	4	3	3	2	2	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Labourers	45	45	48	53	53	63	51	-	4	16	8	15	12	6
Boatmen	7	-	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Soldiers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Overseers	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
Pensioners*	9	12	12	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Women*	43	47	48	51	51	51	41	12	12	10	14	18	20	19
Girls*	19	17	17	10	13	18	16	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
Boys*	19	17	12	10	10	12	15	-	-	-	7	-	-	-
Infants*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
Total	192	194	196	194	194	206	181	63	59	69	68	74	73	67

Table 3.4: Danish Slave Establishment at Christiansborg in the 19th century

Sources: 1800-1804 *Mantals Rulle* Jan. 1803/Ad 412/1803/SGJ:GtK: RA, og General Mandtals & Gage Rulle 20 Jan. 1804/SGJ 1803-04:GtK: RA; 1805-1806 *General Mandtals og Gage Rulle* 30 April 1805/SGJ 1805-06; og *General Mandtals og Gage Rulle*, Jan. 1806/SGJ 1805-06/GtK: RA; 1808/1812 *General Mandtals og Gage Rulle* 1808/Ad1033/1809/SGJ:GtK:RA; 1812/Ad1346/1814/SGJ:GtK:RA; 1821/1824 *Overleveringsforretning* 1821/Ad 56/1821:SGJ: GtK/RA; 1824/Ad 412/1824:SGJ: GtK/RA; 1826 *General Mandtals og Gage Rulle* Jan. 1826/Ad 734/1826/SGJ: GtK: RA; 1834 *Overleveringsforretning* 1834/Ad 102/1834:SGJ: GtK/RA; 1845-47 *Reviderede Guineiske Regnskaber*: GtK & K&L

*Listing not by trade/skill

coopers (*bodkere*) and masons / bricklayers (*murere*). Towards the end of the eighteenth century the number of skilled men among the fort slaves increased and they replaced Danish craftsmen. There were also unskilled slaves at the Danish

forts. They served as labourers/cleaners (*renovationsmænd*). Table 3.4 above is a summary of the Danish fort slave establishment at Christiansborg during the 19th century. The skill or trade of the fort slaves shaped their work life. There were always many things to be done both in the forts and outside of them. At Christiansborg for instance, some portion of the buildings was nearly always undergoing repair or alteration whilst equipment also required attention. Skilled slave artisans like masons were responsible for carrying out repair works on the fort buildings and the construction of private homes set up by Danish and African-Danish merchants outside the fort. The unskilled slaves were used mainly as cleaners and carriers. Among their regular tasks, they maintained general cleanliness at the fort. Again they were responsible for carrying the fuel wood needed for daily household purposes. Whenever the local people permitted, the unskilled slaves went into the woods themselves to cut the firewood and carried it back to the fort. If there were goods to be unloaded from a newly arrived ship, the *remidors* transported them ashore by canoes or small boats belonging to the fort. From the beach, the unskilled slaves carried the goods to storerooms in the fort. They were also responsible for maintaining the fort garden. A small number of the male fort slaves were used as soldiers and sailors while a few even occupied such trusted positions as trade and diplomatic envoys. Apart from being cooks for the Danish officials, the women among the Christiansborg fort slaves also cooked for the export slaves and in addition were occupied with other general or domestic

service. A few female slaves were however, assigned with specific routine duties such as laundry-work.

The fort slaves served as a stable workforce that provided solution to the labour problem at Christiansborg. Table 3.5 below provides data on the sex composition of the slave population at Christiansborg during the nineteenth century. From the data it is clear that the largest proportions of the slave workforce at Christiansborg

Sex Group	Period & Percentage of Total Slave Population per each Period													
	1800	1803	1804	1805	1806	1808	1812	1821	1824	1826	1834	1845	1846	1847
Adult *	111	113	119	123	120	125	109	51	47	55	38	56	53	48
Males **	57.8	58.2	60.6	63.4	61.8	60.7	60.2	80.9	79.7	79.7	55.9	75.7	72.6	71.6
Adult	43	47	48	51	51	51	41	12	12	10	14	18	20	19
Females	22.4	24.2	24.5	26.2	26.3	24.8	22.7	19.1	20.3	14.5	20.6	24.3	27.4	28.4
Girls	19	17	17	10	13	18	16	-	-	-	9	-	-	-
	9.9	8.8	8.6	5.2	6.7	8.7	8.8	-	-	-	13.2	-	-	-
Boys	19	17	12	10	10	12	15	-	-	4	7	-	-	-
	9.9	8.8	6.3	5.2	5.2	5.8	8.3	-	-	5.8	10.3	5.8	23.5	-
Total	192	194	196	194	194	206	181	63	59	69	68	74	73	67

Table 3.5: Sex ratios of Danish Slaves at Christiansborg in the 19th century

*Total Number of Slave Population by Sex

**Percentage of Slave Sex Group

Sources: 1800-1804 Mantals Roulle Jan. 1803/Ad 412/1803/SGJ: Gtk: RA, and General Mandtals & Gage Rulle 20 Jun. 1804/SGJ 1803-04: Gtk: RA1805-1806 General Mandtals and Gage Rulle 30 April 1805/SGJ 1805-6; and General Mandtals og Gage Rulle, Jan. 1806/SGJ 1805 -06/Gtk: RA1808 General Mandtals og Gage Rulle 1808/Ad 1033/1809/SGJ: Gtk: RA 1812 General Mandtals og Gage Rulle for 1812/Ad 1346/1814/SGJ: Gtk: RA 1821 Overleveringsforretning 1821/Ad 56/1821:SGJ:Gtk/RA1824 Overleveringsforretning 1824/Ad 412/1824:SGJ: Gtk/RA1826 General Mandtals og Gage Rulle Jan. 1826/Ad 734/1826/SGJ: Gtk: RA1834 Overleveringsforretning 1834/Ad 102/1834:SGJ: Gtk/RA 1845-47 Reviderede Guineiske Regnskaber: Gtk & Kkl

were male adults. Comparatively, there were a few adult women and children.

Overall, the data shows that adult males and females constituted about 63.8 % and 23.9 % respectively of the total 1,830 slave workers 'employed' at various times

at Christiansborg during the nineteenth century. In fact, the evidence shows that the ratio of adult male to adult female slaves was about three to one.

The adult fort slaves were paid wages every month so that they could provide their own sustenance. Though the wages were generally low, the skilled slaves comparatively received more than the unskilled ones. Table 3.6 below shows the

Skill/Trade	Sex/Number		Monthly wage in Rigsdalers
	Male(s)	Female(s)	
Blacksmiths	3	-	12-18 Rdl
Carpenters *	10	-	6-18 Rdl
Cook	1	-	18 Rdl
Coopers **	4	-	6-24 Rdl
Masons	12	-	12-30 Rdl
Overseer	1	-	30 Rdl
Cleaners	-	18	6 Rdl
Work negro/Gardener	1	-	12 Rdl
Remidors	11	-	18-24 Rdl
Labourers	5	-	12-18 Rdl
Herdsmen	1	-	12 Rdl
Debt collectors	6	-	12-18 Rdl
Total	55	18	

Table 3.6: Showing the monthly wages of Christiansborg fort slaves according to their trade and gender

Source: GtK. Guineiske Regnskaber –1845 *Only 2 apprentices were paid 6 Rdl
**Only 2 apprentices were paid 6 Rdl

monthly wages paid to adult fort slaves at Christiansborg in 1845. It will be observed that all the eighteen women who were classified as cleaners received the lowest wages of 6 Rigsdalers (Rdl) each. Apart from four men who were paid 6 Rdl the rest of the men received between 12-30 Rdl. The wages were paid either

in cash or in trade goods. Although in the Danish records payments to fort slaves were stated in Rigsdalers, in real or actual terms slave wages were paid in the cowry unit (See Chapter 4). Trade goods given out as pay to the Christiansborg fort slaves often included rum (*rom*), tobacco (*tobak*), iron bar (*jernstang.*), gun powder (*krudt*), knives (*knive*) and lead (*bly*) (Div.Arkiv No.67/1808). Apart from the regular wages, the fort slaves were sometimes given presents on special occasions such as the celebration of annual African festivals. In practical terms the fort slaves received just enough to keep them going. They supplemented their food needs by farming during their 'free' times. Whenever a fort slave fell ill or became old and could not work, the Danish administration took care of him or her. Pensioners were those over the age of 50 years and they were paid monthly wages. It was reported to the Guinea Commission that six fort slaves at Christiansborg were pensioners. One was paid 12 Rdl, three received 18 Rdl and two of them were paid 6 Rdl each. However, on the whole the fort slaves were faced with hardships because they lived under very poor conditions.

The transformation of fort slaves to plantation slaves

As from the late eighteenth century to the nineteenth century West Africa switched from the supply of human cargoes to the Atlantic world and began to export agricultural commodities produced by its own slave labour to Europe. This became possible because of the abolition of the slave trade. Denmark was the first European nation to abolish the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. As already indicated, in 1792, the Danes passed an anti-slave trade Legislation, which came into effect in

1803. Great Britain and the Netherlands also abolished the slave trade for their subjects in 1807 and 1814 respectively.

On the Gold Coast it was Denmark, which took the initiative in establishing a number of plantations in the immediate hinterland of the southeastern coastland, which were organized for the export of tropical crops. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Danish plantation complex was a labour-intensive enterprise, which to a large extent, depended on the workforce of publicly and or privately owned African slaves. The publicly owned workforce on the plantations was derived from the fort slaves. The privately owned ones belonged to either the Danish planters or notable Africans and were leased to work on the plantations for a fee. As from the end of the eighteenth century these 'new' slaves that emerged were described as plantation slaves (*plantageslaver*) or plantation workers (*plantagearbejdere*). In the Danish records the so-called plantation slaves/workers were categorized into property/house negroes (*ejendom negre/negrinder*) and mortgaged/pawned negroes (*pante negrene/negrinder*) (GJ539/1844). They were settled in small African villages attached to the Danish agricultural settlements in the coastal hinterland to cultivate the plantations for export production.

CHAPTER FOUR

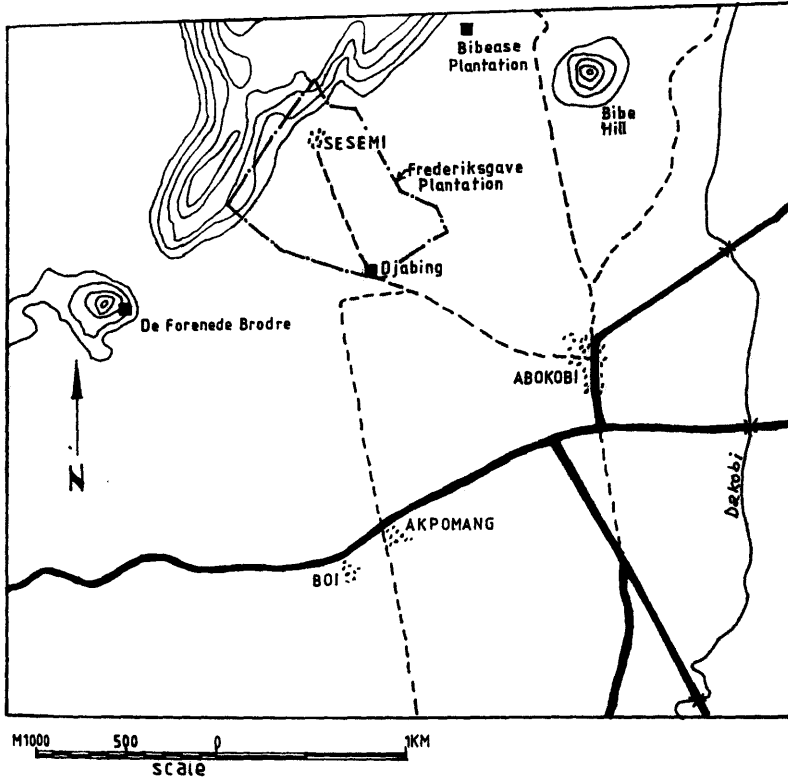
THE FREDERIKSGAVE PLANTATION

This Chapter deals with the Frederiksgave plantation as a case study to illuminate the past living conditions of enslaved Africans on Danish plantations on the Gold Coast. In this presentation, the location and the history of Frederiksgave's development are highlighted. An attempt is made using the available data to sketch in a broad manner the slave demographic picture on the plantations. The archaeological investigations conducted at the site are also described.

Location and historical background of the Frederiksgave Plantation

The Frederiksgave plantation site ($5^{\circ} 45' N$ and $0^{\circ} 15' W$) is located in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains near the Sesemi village (Map 4.1). The plantation site is about 27 km away from the coast. It can be reached from the coast (Accra) by proceeding north along the Accra-Aburi Road. Turning off at the junction of the Pantang Mental Hospital, the road leads to the village of Abokobi. After turning left at the Presbyterian Church Mission House, the plantation site and Sesemi village lie about 6 km away, at the relatively gentle base slope of the Akuapem Hills.

The history of the Frederiksgave plantation commenced in the 1820s when Governor Henrik Gerhard Lind surveyed the Volta River and the Akuapem area. He chose the southern foothills of the Akuapem Mountains for his plantation. In



Map 4.1 Location and approximate size of the Frederiksgave plantation

1828, Governor Lind bought from Jeremias Engmann a plantation called Sansabi (GJ 539/ 1844). In the following year (1829), he purchased yet another plantation adjacent to his from the Danish merchant George Lutterodt (GJ 539/1844). Governor Lind named the plantation Bikuben (meaning the beehive). In 1831 Governor Ludvig Vincent Hein bought the plantation from Lind and it became a Danish government property.

Governor Hein was given a loan by the Royal Danish Government to erect a building on the plantation to be utilized both as a plantation house and a convalescent home for Europeans (Danes) on the Gold Coast. The building was completed in 1832. Following the granting of royal consent, the plantation was named Frederiksgave (meaning Frederik's gift or endowment) after Frederik VI, the reigning monarch. It was sometimes referred to as the ' Royal Plantation'.

In 1844 Lieutenant J.V. Svedstrup (Priv.arkiv 6411/1855) visited the Frederiksgave plantation. He provided a vivid description of the plantation layout:

“By this place lay the Royal Plantation Frederiksgave 3.5 miles away from Christiansborg. The Frederiksgave house is built of cut granite stones by the foot of the Adjamante Hill. A flight of steps leads to a covered gallery that covers the whole house length. From there one can enter into a large hall, which is very dark as the windows open out towards the hill whose fairly, steep abrupt slopes are overgrown with

large, tall Papao trees [*Azelia africana*]. Each end of the building has two memorable rooms arranged for bedrooms. The frontage is towards the plantation farm where there are to be found 2-3000 coffee trees, in another part a field of oranges and lemon trees, banana, plantain, tamarind, guava etc”.

Sir W. Winniett (I.L.M. Vol.XXXIV 1995), the British Governor at Cape Coast provided further insight into the state and condition of the Frederiksgave plantation as well as a description of the plantation house. In 1849 he inspected the Danish possessions on the Gold Coast prior to their transfer to the British in 1850. In a despatch sent to Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies he reported:

“At 6 a.m. we resumed our journey from Abodi (Aburi), travelled for about an hour along a very gradual descent towards the plain and then encountered the steep declivity of the mountain. At 9.30 a.m. we reached the plantation Fredericksgoar (Frederiksgave), at the foot of the mountain and there took breakfast. The chief public property connected with this plantation is a convenient dwelling house, containing five rooms on the second floor and also a covered gallery with other offices as well as kitchen etc. It is built with swish and stone and thatched with grass. Its chief value would be as a sanatory station for invalid officers and it is connected with government. There are in the plantation, a few coffee trees just coming into bearing fruit.

Its chief ornament is a fine grove of orange trees. The site is not well selected for a plantation, the soil being too dry and stony.”

The Frederiksgave plantation occupied 100 *toender* (55.15 ha.) of land. Coffee was the principal crop on the plantation even though citrus, tobacco, sugar-cane; indigo and guava were also cultivated. At the time that Governor Hein bought the plantation, Lind had already planted 2,000 coffee trees. As the plantation was reported to have gained a good reputation for its beauty and relative wealth (Adams 1957:42), it is no wonder that it was kept in good repair and formed part of the Danish property sold to the British in 1850.

Available evidence on production performance of the Frederiksgave plantation especially coffee, the principal crop is a depiction of struggles and frustrations that confronted the Danish planters on the Gold Coast. In a report to the Chamber of Customs in Copenhagen in 1836, Governor Morch lamented that crop production had failed due to lack of precipitation, soil erosion and poor soil conditions (GJ 539/1844). Between 1833 and 1835, a total of 84 lbs (38.10kg) of coffee was harvested. The annual harvest was distributed as follows:

1833	-	20 lbs (9.07 kg)
1834	-	60 lbs (27.21kg)
1835	-	4 lbs (1.81kg)

In 1842 Governor Edward Carstensen (GJ 270/1842) reported that the prospects of the Frederiksgave coffee production was encouraging. He wrote, “The Frederiksgave plantation this year shows prospects of high yields, the coffee trees can hardly bear the weight of the multiple heavy fruits and that in this month when harvest begins, there is no doubt that it will be exceptionally plentiful.” Despite this good report it turned out later in the year that harvest costs were very high, while coffee price was too low. The net performance of coffee production was therefore negative. The production levels of the other crops on the plantation were also poor.

Demographic patterns on the Frederiksgave Plantation

At the formulation stage of the research for this study, an issue that became a clear and pressing need for investigation was the demographic nature of the work force on the Frederiksgave plantation. In Africa, a number of archaeological studies have designed and tested quantitative techniques based on documentary and/or archaeological sources to obtain palaeo/historical-demographic information such as population estimates, age(s), gender, physical stature, dietary patterns, causes of mortality etc. among ancient societies (e.g Redman 1986:232-9, Anquandah 1987:171-180, 1993:642-651, Effah-Gyamfi 1978:376-80). This study has relied on information gleaned from archival sources in Ghana and Denmark to describe the characteristic nature of the enslaved work force on the Frederiksgave plantation. Comparable information about other enslaved workers

on the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains could not be obtained due to time constraints and the fact that the data was widely scattered in the Danish archival sources.

Table 4.1 below presents the demographic picture of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation between 1831 and 1930. The data for the period 1841 to 1850 could not be obtained. However, looking critically at the statistics between 1831-40 it was unlikely that a drastic change took place in the demographic trend on the plantation prior to the British take-over of Danish possessions on the southeast Gold Coast in 1850. The British conducted the first official population census throughout the Gold Coast Colony (including the former Danish plantation villages) as from 1891. There is therefore demographic data for the Frederiksgave plantation as from that time until 1931 onwards when Djabin, the slave village was no more listed in the Population Census Records of the Gold Coast Colony.

Though the evidence is scanty, it is nevertheless possible to piece together some picture of the slave population on the Frederiksgave plantation. It is significant to mention that the data for the period 1831-40 reveal unnatural sex ratios on the plantation. This resulted from the system of slavery practised in the European settlements on the Gold Coast. In other words, the proportion of male slaves to females was skewed in favour of males. The imbalance was due to the fact that

Sex	Period						
	*1831-32	**1833-5	*** 1839-40	++ 1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-30
Males	19 (59.38%)	19 (45.24%)	18 (43.9%)	8 (44.4%)	8 (13.3%)	13 (21.7%)	13 (21.7%)
Females	13 (40.62%)	8 (19.05%)	8 (19.5%)	10 (55.6%)	10 (55.6%)	17 (28.3%)	17 (28.3%)
Boys	-	6 (14.28%)	6 (14.6%)	-	-	8 (13.3%)	8 (13.3%)
Girls	-	2 (4.76%)	2 (4.9%)	-	-	8 (13.3%)	8 (13.3%)
Children	-	7 (16.67%)	7 (17.1%)	-	-	14 (23.3%)	14 (23.3%)
TOTAL	32	42	41	18	18	60	60

Table 4.1: Sex ratios of enslaved people on the Frederiksgave Plantation (Djabin) 1831-40, 1891-1930.

Source: *DocumentervedGuineiskeJournaler(GJ539/1844);**B.Christensen,'Bemaerkninger om de danske Besiddelser i Guinea, 1831', p.59, Den Guineiske Kommission II (1788) 1820-1847, Copenhagen, Generalstodtkammerets Archiv[GKA], ***Guineiske Kommission III 1833(1800-1846); GtK. 1816-1848; ++ Reports on the Censuses, Colony of the Gold Coast 1891-1930, Africana Section, Balme Library, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra.

males were favoured to be more appropriate for slave labour than females. The trend however reversed when the Danes left as the data for the period 1891-1930 has shown. The proportions of females exceeded males. The decline in the ratios of males derived mainly from the fact that some of the male slaves left the Djabing village to Akyem and Kroboland where they engaged in the gold and oil palm industries and later the cocoa industry by providing labour for wages.

Another important and interesting characteristic feature of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation was its gender and ethnic diversity. In 1831 when Henrich G. Lind sold the plantation to Governor Hein the labour force on the

plantation was made up of 32 men, women and children. This number consisted of 22 slaves privately owned by Lind and 10 persons who had been pawned. Of the total 19 represented adult males and 13 adult females (GJ 539/1844). Between 1833 and 1835 the work force on the Frederiksgave plantation was 42 slaves. They comprised 19 adult males, 8 women, 6 boys, 2 girls and 7 children (Christensen 1832:59). By 1840, there were 18 men, 8 women, 6 boys, 2 girls and 7 children on the plantation (Guin. Komm.III [1833] 1800-1846; Gtk. 1816-1848).

Table 4.2 was compiled from the list of the work force (Appendix 1) on the Frederiksgave plantation for the period 1831-5. It demonstrates the ethnic diversity of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation. In West Africa many societies have laid-down procedures for naming and identifying newly born persons. Among the various ethnic groups of West Africa the names given to individuals have meanings. They may reveal the history of the individual or his/her ancestors, have religious connotations or tell of an event etc. (Agorsah 1994:16). However, the names given and the procedures followed in the naming process in the past strongly differed from one ethnic group to another. It is therefore possible to reasonably use names of individuals to determine their ethnic background. The available names listed in Table 4.2 clearly show that almost all the enslaved people employed on the Frederiksgave plantation were drawn from the ethnic groups of the Gold Coast. It is significant to mention that the

Name		Sex	Ethnic Group Name Is Derived
Danish Rendering	Modern spelling		
Tette	Tetteh / Tettey	Male	Ga-Dangme
Kanaathe	Akai Nettey	"	Ga-Dangme
Ajothe	Adjetej	"	Ga-Dangme
Nothey	Nortey	"	Ga-Dangme
Amon	Amon	"	Ga-Dangme
Odoi	Odoi	"	Ga-Dangme
Afang	?	Male	?
Eieku-fio	Ayiku-fio	"	Ga-Dangme
Yan	?	"	?
Adum	Adum	"	Akan
Ankamma	Ankama	"	Akan
Maesan	Mensa	"	Akan
Asom Niame	Asomanin	"	Akan
Kudjo	Kwadwo	"	Akan
Koffi	Kofi	Male	Akan
Danzo	Danso	"	Akan
Koza	?	"	?
Doh	Doe	"	Ewe
Srumani	Srumani	"	Northern Sudanic
Adjuva	Adwoa	Female	Akan
Okravah	Okrawa	"	Akan
Akorosi	?	"	?
Ade	Ade	Female	Ga-Dangme
Afia	Afia	"	Akan
Amma	Amma	"	Akan
Sewah	Sewaa	"	Akan
Akosijiva	Akosua	"	Akan
Toloh	Tolo	"	Northern Sudanic
Doh	Doe	"	Ewe
Javah	Yawa	"	Ewe
Margrethe	-	"	Danish/European
Susanne	-	"	Danish/European

Table 4.2: Showing the Ethnic Diversity of Enslaved Workers on the Frederiksgave Plantation, 1831.

Source: Dokumenter ved Guineiske Journaler (GJ 539/1844), National Archives, Copenhagen.

preponderance of the slave population on the plantation was Akan. The Akan-speaking people of Ghana (Gold Coast) are the most numerous of all the ethnic groups in the country. However, there is no concrete documentary evidence indicating a preference for Akan slaves on the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Hills. Fairly good numbers of Ga-Dangme and Ewe-speaking peoples who dominate the eastern Accra coast were also part of the plantation work force. Only two of the enslaved workers were identified as originating from the northern

Sudanic areas where due to the influence of Islam, people were named in accordance with the practice of that religion. Slaves from this area were called *nnɔnkɔfoɔ* [ɔɔnkɔ sing.]. Concerning this term Zimmerman (1858 reprinted 1972:45), the Basel missionary wrote that it was “ the name of the mostly Mohammedan countries in the plains at the upper [reaches of the River] Volta, in the interior of Ashanti, Akyem, Akwamu and Ayigbe... Most of the slaves come thence”(See also Christaller1933: 92, Reynolds1974: 19). Interestingly, two of the enslaved female workers on the Frederiksgave plantation were known and called by Danish/ European names.

Archaeological Investigations at Frederiksgave

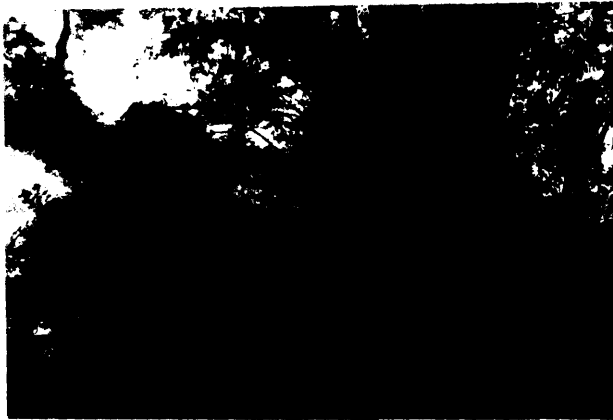
Even though some documentary records that generally relate to the Danish plantations are available yet very little information can be gleaned from these accounts as to the specifics of individual plantations including how the plantation slaves toiled tirelessly to produce export agricultural commodities. In an attempt to gather the greatest amount of information about slave lifeways and settlement pattern on the Frederiksgave plantation, an archaeological research programme was initiated between 1992 and 1996. The goals of this archaeological programme were two fold:

- (a) Conduct an intensive surface survey to locate and delineate the layout of the plantation.
- (b) Select appropriate areas for excavation.

Surface Survey

In April 1992, an extensive archaeological surface survey of a 25 km sq. area was conducted from the village of Boi, to the Nsaki and Dakobi Valleys and to Berekuso, Adenkrebi and further on to the north of the Akuapem Mountains (Map 1.1). The area was extensively surveyed utilizing footpaths, watercourses and third class motor roads (Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland 1997:59-71). Five of the plantations reported by Henrik Jeppesen (1966:80-88) when he surveyed the Danish sites in the Akuapem Mountains in the 1960s were visited. These were Forenede Brødre, Bibease, Pompo, Dakobi and Frederiksgave. The Frederiksgave plantation was selected for further extensive survey in 1992. Frederiksgave's location in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains today is very much as described by Lieutenant Svedstrup and Governor Winniett. The site of the plantation house was heavily overgrown, and several days were spent clearing the brush.

The ruins of the plantation house are located halfway up the relatively gentle slope of the Akuapem Mountains from which, the whole aspect of the plantation can be viewed. Some of the walls of the plantation house still standing have been colonized by parasitic plants whose large roots have caused considerable damage to the surviving masonry (Plate 4.1). Figure 4.1 shows the plan of the plantation building area. The main building (A) was erected on a cut stone footing or foundation about 3 m above the ground level. It measured 16 m x 9 m. A double



Plaste 4.1 Ruins of the Frederiksgave Plantation Building.

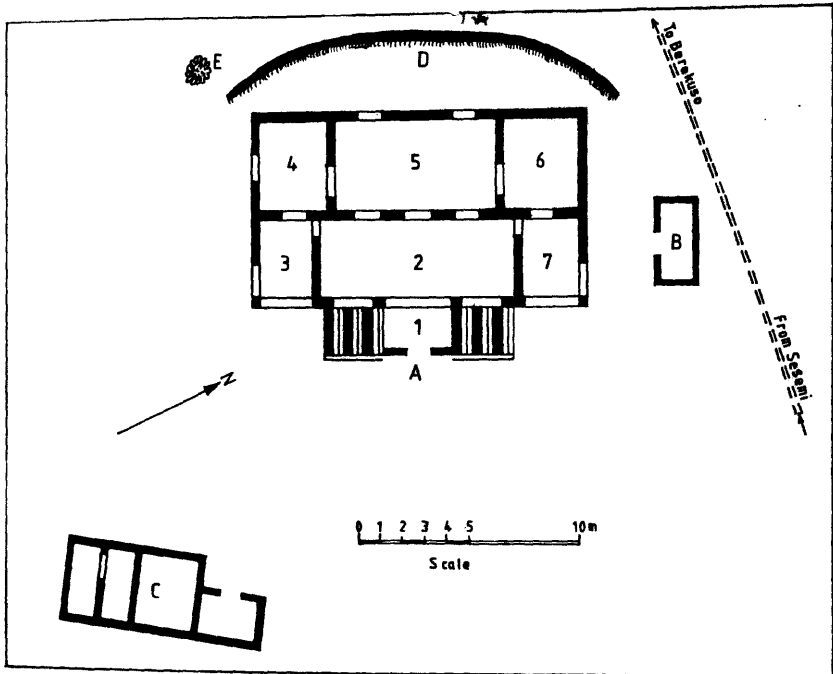


Fig 4-1 Plan of the Frederiksgave Plantation house and other structures

staircase leads to a terrace (1). A small room was located under the staircase. The terrace opened on to a living room (2), and there were five other rooms (3-7). The walls of the building were made of hewn stones set in mortar made from seashells, presumably from the Accra coast. The external and internal faces of the walls bore traces of whitewashed plaster.

Next to the main house was the foundation of a small building (B), which comprised one room and measured 4 m x 2.65 m. Its location suggests that it was probably a kitchen. Further down the slope was the foundation of a four-roomed stone building (C), which measured 10 m x 4 m. The plantation structure is enclosed behind by an embankment of dressed stone (D), which runs along its entire length possibly to protect the site from run-off water from the relatively steep slope above. Further up the slope and immediately behind the main plantation building is a quarry (E). It is marked by a large heap of cut stones and a relatively broad crater or hole created by cutting stone blocks, apparently for the construction of the plantation structures.

At the formulation stage of the research, it was noted that no attempt had been made by earlier researchers (e.g. Lawrence 1963, Jeppesen 1966) to locate traces of slave buildings or any associated definable features and surface artefact scatters at the plantation sites. This therefore became a clear and important goal for investigation. Surviving oral traditions that were gathered at Sesemi village provided clues to other sections of the Frederiksgave plantation. One section

mentioned and identified was Lindman (Lind's village) where the slaves of Governor Lind were settled on the plantation. In a preliminary report on this plantation (Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland 1997:61) it was mentioned that this village was probably abandoned in, or shortly after, the 1862 earthquake which devastated the Accra area and caused the village to be moved down the slope to its present location at Sesemi. However, it is now established that when Governor Lind sold the plantation including his slaves to Governor Vincent Hein in 1831 and a plantation house was constructed near Lindman the slaves were moved away into the plains south of the plantation house. The oral traditions identified this new African slave village, which supplied the manpower needs of the plantation as Djabing, Dsabeng, Juabeng or Dwaben. The survey team was guided to the site of this village and the nearby fields where the plantation crops were cultivated. The village is presently abandoned and in ruins.

A surface survey was conducted in the area pointed out to the research team by our guides as the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation. This was done in the hope that surface artefact scatter, features and structures associated with human habitation and activity could be located. A rubbish mound and discrete surface scatter of artefacts were found and these confirmed human occupation. Also of significance was a big baobab tree (*Adansonia digitata*) at the site. The site of the slave village was easily identified by the presence of this tree. Oral traditions mentioned that the shade of this tree served as the market place for the slaves who lived on the plantation.

The location of the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation was confirmed by an 1837 map of the area between Christiansborg and Akuapem, drawn by Grønberg, the mill-builder. The map (Map 4.2) shows the Danish plantations and the attached slave villages as well as farming villages or cultivated places (*aklowai* [Ga-Dangme]/*akuraa* [Akan]) of the Africans. On this map the Frederiksgave plantation is prominently marked out at the base of the Akuapem Mountains. The slave village on Frederiksgave is also shown as Djabing, and can be located to the south, about 1.5 km away from the plantation towards Abokobi village.

An impressive avenue of tamarind trees (*Tamarindus indica*) was planted using slave labour to link the plantation to the Accra coast over Legon Hill. Henrik Jeppesen (1966:85) reported that the last stretch of the road from Abokobi to Sesemi was lined on both sides by about 10-15 tamarind trees, being remnants of the 'King's High Road'. During the 1992 survey the team did not locate this avenue. Our enquiries did, however, reveal that the remnant section of this avenue mentioned by Jeppesen had been removed in the 1970s when the present road from Abokobi to Sesemi was constructed. However, a big tamarind tree, probably part of this avenue, now stands in the compound of Nii Abbey at Sesemi. Also of interest are groups of bamboo trees located at various places on the Frederiksgave plantation. The bamboo was deliberately cultivated on the plantation. In an 1835 report sent from Christiansborg, Osu by Governor Frederik Siegmund Mørch to



Map 4.2 Part of Gronberg's map of 1837 showing the Akuapem Mountains, the Frederiksgave plantation, Djabing slave village and other Danish plantation settlements. [Reproduced from Niels Bech, 1989:105].

Copenhagen he mentioned that bamboo was also planted at Frederiksgave (G.J 539/1844).

Excavations at the slave village

Excavations were conducted at Djabin in two seasons with the sole aim of generating data that will elucidate slave lifeways on the Frederiksgave plantation. The first was carried out between January and March 1997. To begin, a station marker or benchmark was established to provide the reference for a grid system. A grid of 3 m intervals oriented to the magnetic north was laid to guide the excavation. Grid pegs were identified by the east and south coordinates from the station marker. The present road leading to the Sesemi village cuts through the ruins of the Djabin site conveniently dividing it into two. On the basis of this division the site was designated Locus A and Locus B. Four trenches designated J-90, J-93, J-96 and K-93; measuring 2 x 3 m were dug at Locus B about 30 metres away from the baobab tree. The choice of the spot was opportunistically determined by the concentration of surface artefact scatter. The excavations revealed that the spot was a large borrow pit probably dug to obtain soil for the construction of slave houses. This was later filled with refuse resulting from the daily domestic activities of the enslaved people on the plantation. A relatively large number of both locally made goods and imported ones were recovered during the excavation.

The second season of excavation was undertaken in August and September 1997. Encouraged by the large number of diverse artefacts recovered during the first dig, the research team continued to excavate in the same area, that is Locus B during the second phase of work. Two additional 2 x 3m trenches H-90 and H-93 were sunk to recover artefacts. Three 2 x 3m trenches M-39, M-42 and N-33 were also sunk on a rubbish mound at Locus A (Map 4.3). As much as possible an effort was made to recover all artefacts *in situ*, however to ensure a high artefact recovery rate all the excavated soil was sifted through a 2 mm wire mesh screen before discarding.

Stratigraphy

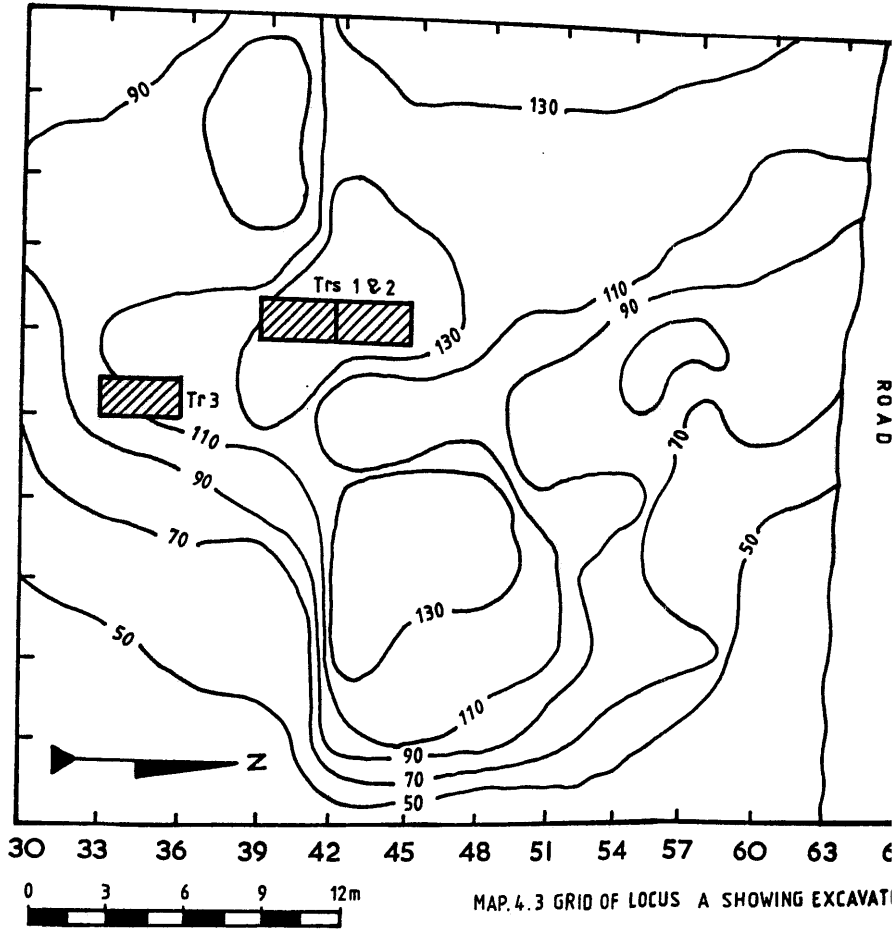
The excavations were conducted using 20cm arbitrary levels with the aid of trowels, locally made short-handled mattocks and hoes as well as brushes. All the selected trenches were excavated to the sterile soil layer devoid of artefacts. The profiles of the excavated units were drawn to follow the natural stratigraphic divisions of soil layers identified on the basis of soil colour difference and change. The profiles of the trenches at Locus B extended to a depth of between 2.0-2.2 m while the trenches at Locus A also excavated to sterile layers varied in depth between 1.8-2.0 m. The profiles of all the excavated trenches showed that trash from different slave households was deliberately deposited there throughout the period of occupation. It was observed that layers of discontinuous lenses of ash and charcoal as well as loose, dark and brown sandy/gravelly soils mixed with cultural materials occurred in sections of the profiles. Profiles of Trench M-42 (Locus A) and Trench J-93 (Locus B) are shown in Figures 4.2 and 4.3

respectively. Table 4.3 describes the cultural layers of Trenches J-93 and M-42.

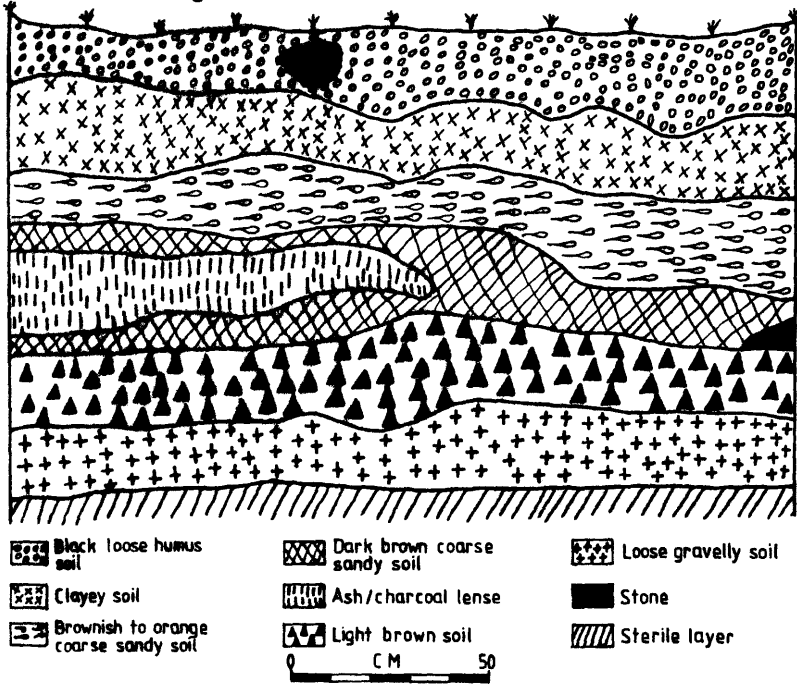
It also summarizes the archaeological materials recovered from the occupational layers of these trenches.

Unit	Description of Cultural Layers
Trench J-93	<p>Layer 1-Black loose and lumpy humus soil containing numerous roots, dead organic debris; small pieces of locally manufactured pottery; a small number of glass beads; European ceramics and kaolin smoking pipes.</p> <p>Layer 2-Loose clayey soil with discontinuous ash/charcoal lenses; local pottery; slate and slate pencils, European ceramics; glass bottles and beads; animal bones; terrestrial, marine and freshwater molluscs; imported smoking pipes.</p> <p>Layer 3-Brownish coarse sandy soil layer containing both local artefacts and faunal remains; imported artifacts; metal objects.</p> <p>Layer 4-Dark (burnt?) soil with ash containing terrestrial, marine and fresh water molluscs; local pottery; faunal remains; smoking pipes; metal objects; beads; glass materials; imported ceramics.</p> <p>Layer 5-Brownish loose soil mixed with charcoal pieces; local pottery; faunal remains; smoking pipes; glass bottles; beads; European ceramics; grinding stones; metals.</p> <p>Layer 6-Reddish brown ashy soil mixed with numerous local pottery; faunal remains; shell beads; few glass beads; metals; European ceramics.</p> <p>Level 7-Fine-textured sandy clay layer mixed with charcoal, ash local pottery; shell and stone beads; faunal remains.</p>
Trench M-42	<p>Layer 1- Black loose humus soil highly organic with roots and rootlets; few local and imported artefacts.</p> <p>Layer 2-Clayey soil characterized by cultural deposit containing local pottery relatively larger in size; European imports and faunal remains.</p> <p>Layer 3-Brownish to orange coarse sandy soil layer with increasing local and imported artefacts.</p> <p>Layer 4-Dark brown coarse sandy layer with an extensive ash/charcoal lense containing large concentration of faunal remains mixed with local pottery and imports.</p> <p>Layer 5-Light brown soil with specks of charcoal and ash; local pottery faunal remains and European imports.</p> <p>Layer 6-Loose gravelly soil associated with a noticeable decrease in artifact density.</p>

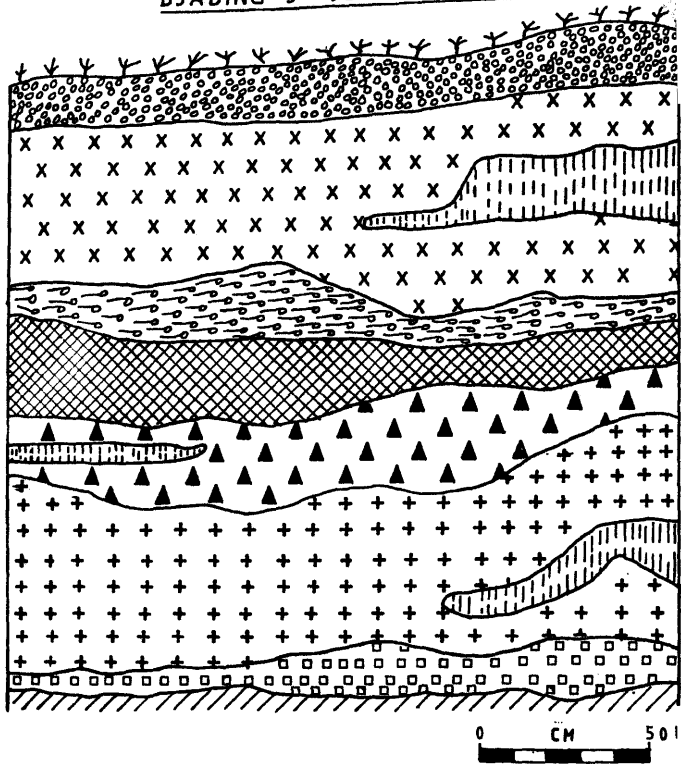
Table 4.3. Cultural Layers of Trench M- 42, Locus A and Trench J- 93, Locus B, Djabing.



DJABING TRENCH M-42 LOCUS A
Fig. 4.2 Stratigraphy of East Wall



DJABING J-93 WEST WALL



KEY

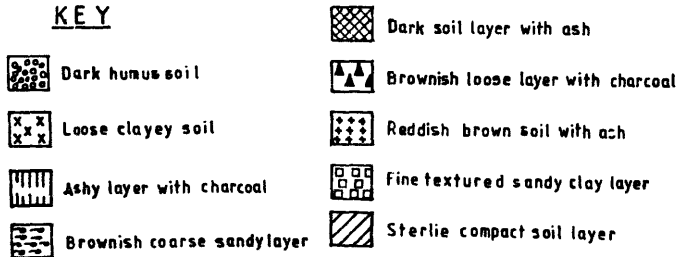


Fig. 4.3 Stratigraphy of Trench J-93 Locus B Djabing Frederiksgave plantation

Depositional history and Chronology of Occupation

The depositional history at the site revealed two unsealed deposits that most probably are indicative of two different periods and varied social conditions in which the occupants thrived. Two horizons reflecting these occupational episodes can therefore be distinguished. The basal layers above the sterile up to about the middle of the stratigraphy constituted Horizon A. The upper layers of the occupation (the topmost half) also formed Horizon B. The natural stratigraphy and artefact distribution patterns however, strongly indicated that the same group of people continued to inhabit the site throughout the period of occupation. This is consistent with general similarities in material culture between the two occupations most especially the locally manufactured ceramics.

By combining evidence based on recovered dateable European manufactured goods and written historical sources, a temporal framework for the occupation of the site can be worked out. The beginnings of the Frederiksgave plantation and the associated slave village are dated to between 1828 and 1831 by the Title Deeds on the land. It has been stated earlier on in this chapter that Governor Lind purchased the land from Jeremias Engmann and started a plantation with his own African slaves in 1828. The Djabing slave village was established in 1831 when Governor Hein took over control of the plantation on behalf of the Royal Danish Government. The middle levels of the occupation are dated by the presence of a pair of blue sponged-printed European ceramics (Plate 4.2), probably of mid-

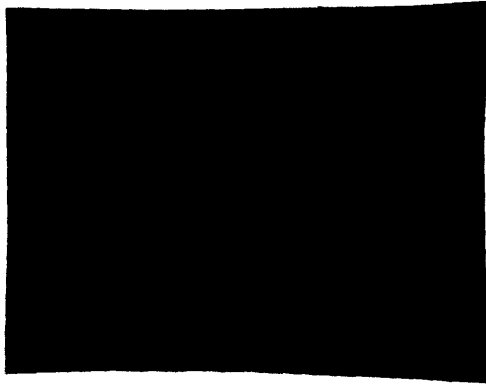


Plate 4.2 Blue sponged-printed European ware.

nineteenth century English origin (Decorse per comm.). Sponged wares are cheap mass-produced earthenwares decorated in bright colours and popular with rural folks in Europe. It is believed that this technique originated in Scotland around 1835-45 (Kelly 1993). Large quantities of spongewares were produced without makers' marks and exported by Scottish, English and Dutch potteries to trading centres in Africa and other parts of the world as from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. The two pieces excavated from the middle levels of the stratigraphy at Djabing did not carry a maker's mark. Therefore attributing the excavated pieces to a particular manufactory or time period is admittedly problematic. However, considering the 1835-45 date for the origins of the spongeware technique, the mid-nineteenth century date suggested by DeCorse is acceptable. The mid-nineteenth century date is also consistent with the historically known date of 1850 when Denmark sold her so-called possessions on the Gold Coast including the plantation settlements to Britain and officially left Africa for good. Finally, the presence of European trade goods in the top (upper) deposits at the site especially two British ceramics indicates that the site was in occupation even in the early 20th century. One of the British ceramics, a bone china was impressed with the maker's mark of the Doulton family who produced a wide range of wares at Burslem and Lambeth since 1815. The mark (Fig.5.1 #2) belonged to the 1880-1903 period (Godden 1974:299). The other, ironstone chinaware, which became very popular in the expanding world-market of the 19th century, was inscribed with a printed mark of Powell and Bishop, who established their factory in the Hanley District from 1865-1878 (Thorn 1947:58). The mark,

an oriental hat with a seated figure under it, further carried the inscription 'ORIENTAL IVORY' (Plate 5.1b). The terminal date of the occupation cannot be identified precisely. However, population census data of the Gold Coast Colony from 1891 to 1931, give clues to the period the settlement was abandoned. The British who took over the Danish Guinean establishment organized the first population census on the Gold Coast in 1891. A fairly good number of the former Danish slave villages including Djabing (Dsabeng or Juabeng) were listed.

The last time this village was listed in the census was in 1921. As from 1931 onwards it never appeared in the census list of the Gold Coast Colony (Population Census Reports 1891-1932). This suggests that the occupation terminated between 1921 and 1931. The Horizon A formation is considered to represent a period of plantation enslavement that is 1828-1850 whilst the Horizon B represents post-emancipation era from 1850 to the early decades of the 20th century.

CHAPTER FIVE

EUROPEAN TRADE GOODS AT FREDERIKSGAVE

Different categories of material culture being locally produced African items and European trade goods were excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation. In all a total of 15,388 of varied archaeological objects were recovered during the excavation at Frederiksgave. This Chapter is devoted to the description and analysis of European material culture utilized by the enslaved workers on the plantation.

Table 5.1 presents a summary of the broad range of artefacts recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation. The European trade goods represented in the assemblage included ceramics, kaolin smoking pipes, beads, gun parts (including flints or strike-a-light, lead shots, percussion cap and a cartridge), cowry shells, metal objects such as hoes, knives, nails and spikes, assorted buttons and bottle glass. This range of artefacts represents typical European trade items of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Generally, the artefactual assemblage reflects the trade connections between the various Africans and their European representatives on the Accra coast during these periods. This is a clear indication of the incorporation of the Gold Coast including the Danish plantations in the immediate hinterland of the Accra coast in the Europe dominated world economy. This became apparent in the nineteenth century (Wallerstein 1976, 1986).

Specifically, these items and those produced locally inform on the daily lifeways or activities of the Africans who provided servile labour on the plantation.

Artefact Category	Number
Local ceramics	8175
Imported ceramics	1608
Cowry shells	705
Imported tobacco pipe fragments	625
Firearm/Weaponry: gun parts, flints, lead shots etc.	27
Beads: glass, stone, shell etc.	542
Buttons: metals, glass etc.	13
Glass	2105
Metals: knives, construction hardware, agricultural tools, thimbles, nails etc.	38
Lithics: grinding stones, stone axes, writing slate and pencils	29
Daub pieces	10
Faunal remains: terrestrial/ marine/Freshwater resources	1490
Misc. metal and clay small finds: buckles, rings, gaming pieces etc.	18

Table 5.1: Summary of excavated artefacts by analysis category

Ceramics

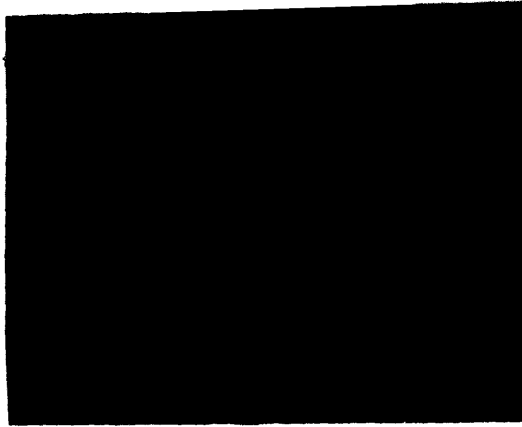
A variety of European ceramics was excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation site. They included deep and shallow bowls and plates, drinking jugs and mugs, chamber pots and stoneware bottles. All the excavated ceramics belonged to the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and majority of them was utilitarian wares.

The ceramic sherds were classified into the following ware categories: Porcelain, Creamware, Pearlware, Whiteware, Yellowware, Ironstone and Stoneware. These were further classified into types based on the various decorative techniques. A wide range of decorations executed on some of the excavated vessels included blue transfer floral prints, hand-painted colourful floral patterns, thick and narrow bands and a variety of cut-sponge, stamped decorations.

Manufacturer marks were on thirteen base sherds. Five of them were identified as marks of Continental manufactories. One of them picked from the surface of the site bore the printed mark of a Lion surmounted by the inscription **SOCIETE CERAMIQUE MAESTRICHT HOLLAND** (Plate 5.1a, Hæstrup 1987:234). This company produced hand painted ceramic vessels for the West African trade during the twentieth century. The piece recovered may be dated to between 1900-30. The other four vessels made up of one deep faience plate and three whiteware vessels carried the impressed mark of the Grohn factory of Germany established in 1870 (Fig.5.1 #1, Thorn1947: 33). The rest of the marked sherds were of English origin. One marked piece was ironstone chinaware inscribed with a printed mark of an oriental hat with a seated figure under it. The mark further carried the inscription **ORIENTAL IVORY** (Plate.5.1b). Powell and Bishop,

(a)



(b)

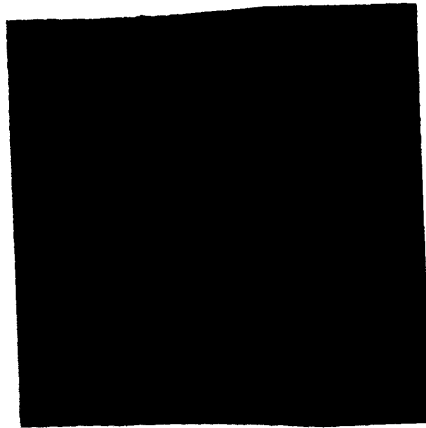
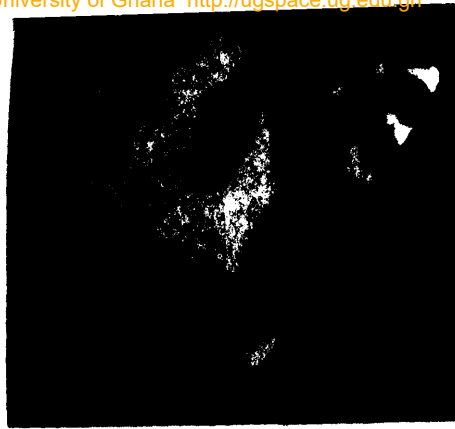


Plate 5.1 Manufacturer's marks on early 20th century European earthenwares.

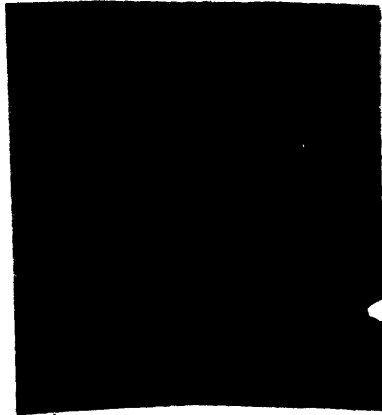
(a) Dutch vessel carrying a printed mark of a Lion surmounted by the inscription **Societe Ceramique Maestrich Holland** (b) Ironstone chinaware with a seated figure under an Oriental hat carrying the inscription **Oriental Ivory**.

(c)



Printed mark of Wedgwood and Co., England.

(d)



Printed mark of the Burslem Pottery Co., England.

Plate 5.1 Manufacturer's marks on early 20th century European earthenwares.

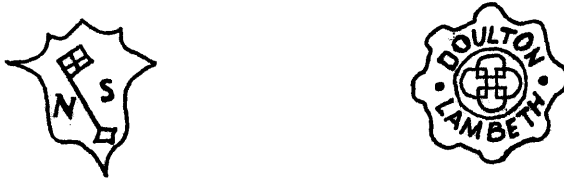


Fig.5.1 Impressed marks at the bases of European ceramics

who established their factory in the Hanley District from 1865-1878 (Thorn 1947:58), manufactured this vessel. Another of the British ceramics, a bone china was impressed with the maker's mark of the Doulton family who produced a wide range of wares at Burslem and Lambeth since 1815. The mark (Fig.5.1 # 2) belonged to the period 1880-1903 (Godden 1974:299). The rest of the British factory marks included the printed mark **WEDGWOOD & CO. LTD.** and the words **TRADE MARK** in black (Plate 5.1c). The true Wedgwood firm did not manufacture ceramic vessels that carry this mark. Earthenware pieces with this mark were imitations or fakes of the true Wedgwood. Geoffrey A. Godden (1974:129), one of the leading experts in English pottery has observed that:

“ If imitations be the sincerest of flattery, then Josiah Wedgwood must be the most flattered of potters, for countless English and Continental firms emulated in various degrees the Wedgwood styles. These imitations fall into two categories, those bearing the true name-mark of their maker and those which we can fairly regard as fakes, rather than imitations, in that they bear a copy, or near copy, of the Wedgwood name mark.”

The imitations can easily be distinguished as their printed marks always carried the additional '**& CO**', while the true Wedgwood firms used only the single name '**Wedgwood**' (Godden 1974:130). The plate recovered at Frederiksgave with this

mark was probably manufactured by Wedgwood & Co. of Tunstall, Staffordshire. This firm operated from 1860 until 1965 when it was renamed Enoch Wedgwood (Tunstall) Ltd. (Hæstrup1987: 232, Godden1974: 129). Another manufacturer's mark of British origin printed in blue was found on a vessel attributed to **THE BURSLEM POTTERY CO. ENGLAND** (Plate 5.1d). The Scotia Works at Burslem manufactured ceramic vessels that carry this mark in the Staffordshire District in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

Whitewares were the predominant ceramic category. They included plates, bowls, mugs, ointment containers and chamber pots. Some of the excavated sherds were decorated others were undecorated. The decorated ones included annular-banded bowls, blue shell-edged plates, sponged and stamped decorated plates and bowls, annular-banded mocha decorated mugs (Plate 5.2a), plates and two chamber pots, one plain (Plate 5.2b) and the other exhibiting broad hand-painted floral patterns. Blue transfer-printed whitewares depicting a wide variety of designs including the 'Willow' pattern, floral, geometric, and historical and other scenes were also excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation site (Plate 5.2c). The ware depicting the 'Willow' pattern was recovered from a Formation A layer indicating a pre-1850 date.

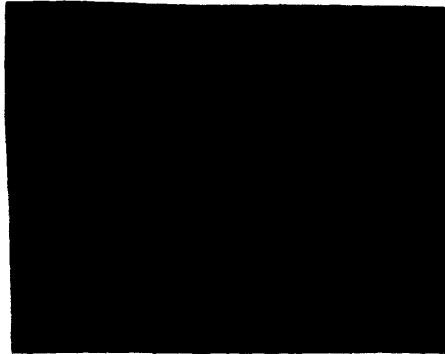
Three pieces of glazed sherds apparently belonging to the same bowl vessel, blue decorated and depicting a Chinese scene of two figures on a bridge and a Pagoda

(a)



Annular banded mug with mocha decoration.

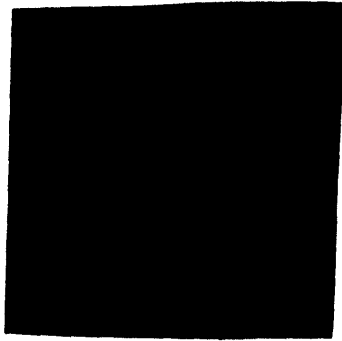
(b)



Ceramic chamber pot.

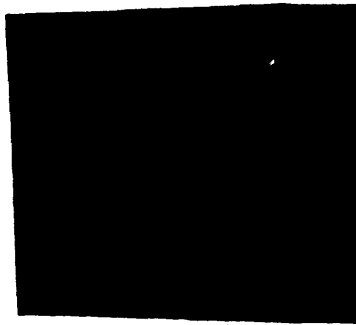
Plate 5.2 Nineteenth century European ceramics.

(c)



Blue transfer-printed plate decorated with the Willow and the wild Rose floral patterns.

(d)



Glazed bowl with a typical Chinese scene.

Plate 5.2 Nineteenth century European ceramics.

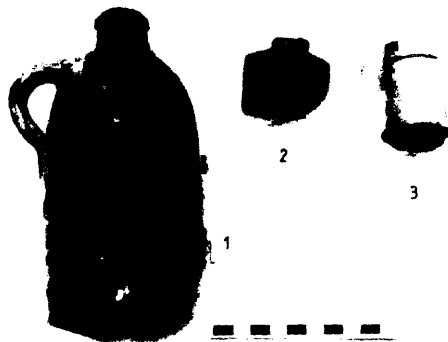


Plate 5.3 Stonewares.

building in the foreground (Plate 5.2d). It is unlikely that a Chinese factory produced this vessel, as “the market for Chinese wares seems to have declined in the nineteenth century (DeCorse 1989:115). This vessel may have been produced by one of the European pottery factories probably British that operated in the nineteenth century.

Eight pieces of stoneware containers recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation included the long cylindrical utilitarian earthenware containers with small handles connecting the abrupt shoulder and short neck (Plate 5.3). There were also other examples, which were smaller in size with constricted necks. The paste varied from reddish brown and buff yellow to grey. One of the pieces carried an incised mark of the place of manufacture - BRISTOL. In the nineteenth century Bristol became one of the important centres for the manufacture of English stoneware. According to Geoffrey A. Godden (1974:54), “The stoneware potters from Bristol, also other West Country potteries, in London and up to and including Scotland made thousands of plain pots of different sizes to serve as food and other containers (ink etc.)”

Stoneware containers are used in traditional homes on the Accra coast today for storing liquid materials especially local alcoholic drink tapped from the palm tree (*tɛdaa*) and non-alcoholic drink brewed from maize and sweetened with sugar

(*nmedaa*). The recovered specimens were probably scavenged by the slaves and reused because of their convenient size and shape.

Smoking Pipes

A total of 625 European pipe fragments were excavated. The majority of the pipe fragments recovered were portions of stems. Of the total, 235 were bowl fragments. However, 105 of the bowl fragments were too small to be diagnostic. The remaining 135 bowl fragments were complete or nearly complete in shape and carried diagnostic features. The pipes were analyzed on the basis of the following attributes: the bowl shapes, degree of surface finish, maker's marks and decorative motifs (Walker 1975:165-193, Calvocoressi 1975:195-200, 1977:136-39, Oswald 1975).

The majority of the pipes excavated from the Frederiksgave plantation site were of English manufacture. Of the 135 pipe bowls analyzed only three were identified as Dutch and one as a French product. The Dutch pipes carried delicate denticulation around the rim. Also on the heels of two of the bowls were marker's marks, which comprised the diminutive letters W and L, surmounted by a royal crown motif (Plate 5.4 #1&2). They were recovered from the first two stratigraphic levels immediately above the sterile layer. On the basis of their positions in the profile, the two pipes may be dated to between 1820-1835. According to Calvocoressi (1975:197), the presence of a particular maker's mark

does not provide any more than a time range within which a pipe may have been made and used. Citing Helbers and Goedewaagen (1942), he pointed out that the crowned L registered with the Gouda guild in 1726 was still on the manufacturers' records in the middle of the nineteenth century. The other Dutch pipe also highly burnished carried denticulation on the entire rim. The lower part of the bowl was covered with ribs (Plate.5.4 #3). This was recovered from late nineteenth century context.

One unique bowl piece was identified as a nineteenth century French pipe. It was moulded in the shape of a human head wearing a hatband (Plate 5.4 # 4). The stem was extremely short, designed to take a detachable stem and mouthpiece made of some different material. The outer surface was elaborately coloured with red varnish. Walker (1975:186) commenting on the moulded French pipes traded in Africa wrote:

“In the nineteenth century the French produced, along with countless more modest forms, vast numbers of superbly moulded pipes with bowls frequently in the shape of heads. These were usually of the stub-stemmed variety, that is pipes in the form of a bowl with a short stubby stem, designed to take a stem and mouthpiece of some different material, as with the modern briar pipe. Frequently, the bowls were highlighted with coloured glazes.”

The stub-stemmed character and portrait pipes generally referred to as 'figural's' (Ayto 1994:26) were produced by three French firms – Fiolet of St. Omer (1765-1921), Dumeril-Leurs also of St. Omer (1845-85) and Gambier of Givet (1780-1926). The piece recovered from the dig did not carry any mark so it was not possible to identify, which of the three-pipe making firms manufactured it.

Clay smoking pipes produced by English pipe makers were also represented in the assemblage. Six of the pipes depicted various TD marks indicating they were of English origin (Plate 5.5). All of them had the marks embossed on the bowl facing the smoker. Two of the pipes in this category carried long pedestals. These pipes may probably be attributed to London pipe makers, particularly Thomas Duggan and Thomas Davidson & Company, firms that are known to have been in production in the nineteenth century. However, Walker (1975:183) has cautioned that possibly the most common of all the pipes manufactured in the nineteenth century were those marked with TD marks. Many European pipe makers plagiarized this trademark. Of interest was one pipe bowl recovered from the top 20cm layer of the profile. The bowl with part of the stem attached to it was slightly bulbous and looked like a copy of briar pipe (Plate 5.4 #5). On the right side of the stem was a mould mark, which read GLASGOW. The reverse side carried a mould-number 106 ahead the maker's name MCDOUGALL. According to a classificatory system by Ayto (1994:8) based on bowl shapes, this type of pipe was manufactured by European pipe makers from about 1860-1930.

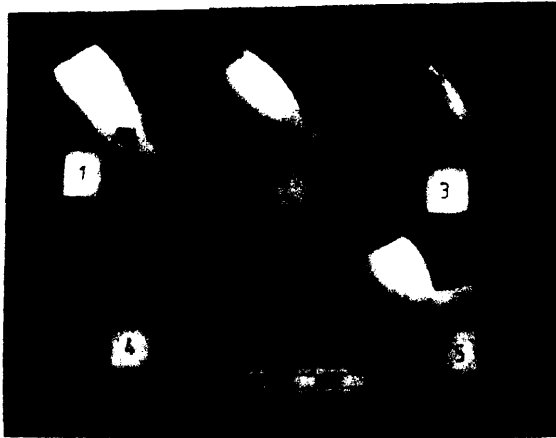


Plate 5.4 Assorted European smoking pipes.

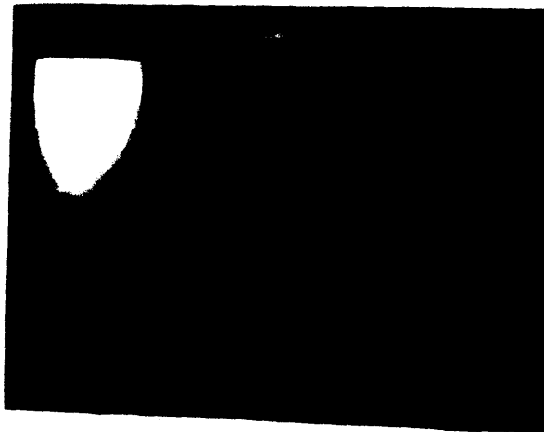


Plate 5.5 European smoking pipes [TD types].

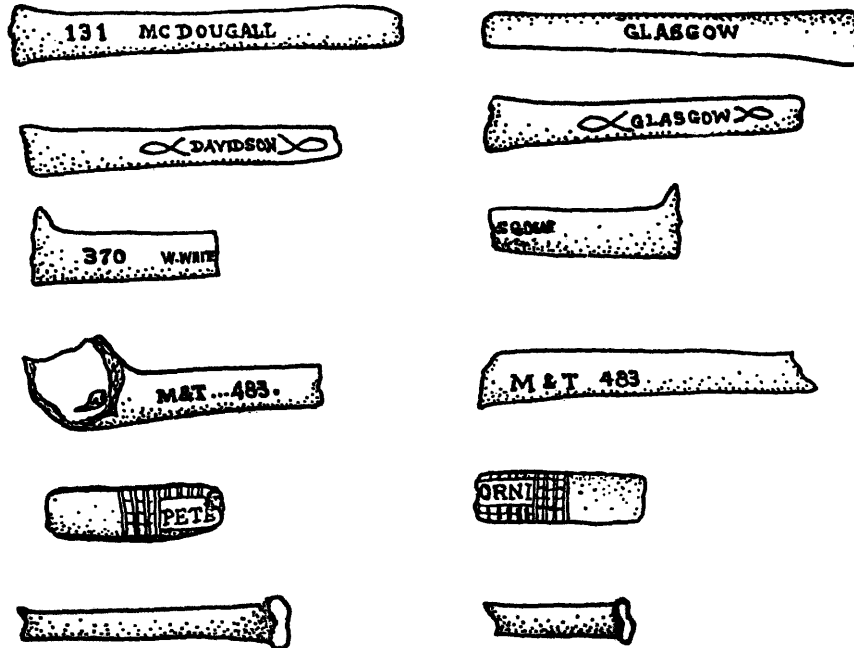


Fig.5.2 Impressed marks on nineteenth and early twentieth century English and Scottish kaolin smoking pipe stems

This piece manufactured by McDougall, the Glasgow pipe making firm can securely be dated to the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century.

In the Frederiksgave Plantation pipe collection 390 were stem fragments. However, only 28 pieces carried decorations or names, as well as places of manufacture and in very few cases numbers stamped parallel to the stem. Pipe stem marks and decorations represented in the collection have confirmed that some of the pipes were of the nineteenth century to early twentieth century British/Scottish origin. Four of the pipe fragments were marked with **MCDUGALL** preceded by type numbers for instance 370 and 131 on the left side and the place of manufacture **GLASGOW** on the reverse side (Fig 5.2 #1 & 2). Three other stem pieces carried the mark **DAVIDSON** on the left side and **GLASGOW** on the right; each mark was encased in a frame (Fig 5.2 #3&4). Another stem fragment bore the mark of a Glasgow pipemaker. On the left side of the stem was impressed **W WHITE**, preceded by the type number 370. The reverse side of the stem carried the mark **GLASGOW** (Fig 5.2 # 5&6). William White & Sons Company was one of the largest and best-known nineteenth century Glasgow pipemaking firms that exported large numbers of its products overseas particularly to West Africa by the 1880s (Walker 1975:180). Four other stem fragments carried double marks indicating the initials of the maker(s). The initials indicated were **M&T**, followed by one or three dots and the type number 483, all mould-imparted and raised (Fig 5.2 # 7&8).

The maker's name on one stem piece revealed that another pipe was made in France. The name **PETER** was moulded in relief on one side of the stem, **DORNI** opposite it on the other side (Fig 5.2 #9&10). These marks were located within sections of the stem profusely decorated with heavy moulded lines and raised dots. Pipes produced by Peter Dorni, whose industry flourished in northern France from about 1850-80, were said to have also carried the mark of a milkmaid (Omwake 1961:12-15). Two of the Frederiksgave stem fragments depicted mouthpieces that probably imitated briar pipes (Fig 5.2 #11&12). Briar pipes appeared around 1856 (Walker 1975:184) indicating that if the two stem fragments were imitations of briar then they were probably late nineteenth century pipes.

It was noticed while analyzing the pipes that one bowl had been inscribed on both the right and left sides with the mark **X**. The mark was scratched into the pipe bowl probably with a sharp cutting edge. This mark, perhaps the owner's was inscribed to distinguish it from similar ones owned by other slave workers on the plantation. The tear and wear analysis on the stems revealed that when pipes broke, the slaves on the plantation did not discard them. The slaves reworked the broken stem remnant on the bowl to obtain a smooth mouthpiece with a slightly rounded-off end. In several cases such reused pipes had relatively deep dents at the ends of the mouthpieces. The dents were created probably because the slaves constantly clenched the mouthpieces in their teeth when smoking. The European

pipes recovered from the Frederiksgave Plantation were comparable to similar ones of the nineteenth century contexts at Bantama, near Elmina (Calvocoressi 1975, 1977), the Elmina old town (DeCorse 1989b) and Fort St. Jago (Anquandah 1992a).

Cowry Shells

Over 700 cowry shells known in Danish as *bos* were excavated. Two species namely, *Cypraea moneta* and *Cypraea annulus* were recovered from the dig (Plate 5.6). These species do not inhabit the Atlantic Ocean and for that matter the West African coast. However they are both Indian Ocean species, the former widely distributed throughout the Maldives Islands, the latter from the East African coast and islands particularly Zanzibar (Edmunds 1978: 36, Johnson 1970:17). Of the two species, *Cypraea moneta* was the first to be introduced to West Africa from the source area via the Mediterranean world across the Sahara. According to York (1972), this species was used as medium of exchange in the Western Sudan by the eleventh century A.D. It is not yet known how far they penetrated further south to the rainforest and coastal regions of the sub-region. The Portuguese introduced the other species, *Cypraea annulus* from the East African coast to the coastal areas of West Africa during the seventeenth century. By 1850 the Gold Coast was importing 150 tons of cowry shells annually from the Maldives and other Indian Ocean islands (Johnson 1970:22).

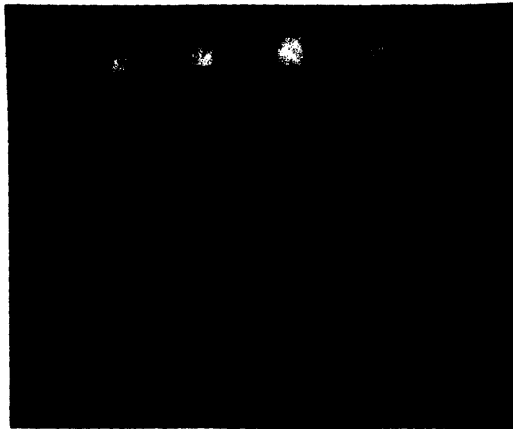


Plate 5.6 Cowry shells.

The contact situation generated a system of exchange that facilitated trade and payment on the Gold Coast. The cowry was used as a unit of account and was usually counted in strings or heads. This became the local currency in the area east of Accra as far as the Slave Coast. At Christiansborg the cowry system was harmonized into the Rigsdaler, the Danish national currency and also in a gold currency based on the standard weight of an ounce. Nørregård (1966:161) mentioned that cowry was in everyday use among the people of West Africa as currency. The cowries recovered from the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation were probably used as such. According to Johnson (1970:352) by the beginning of the twentieth century cowries had begun to go out of use in several areas in West Africa where they had been accepted as medium of exchange for centuries. On the Gold Coast for instance he pointed out that English silver coin had long replaced cowries for all the smaller market transactions.

Firearms/Weaponry

Firearms formed a very significant portion of European trade items to West Africa. R.A Kea (1971:191,194-5) has pointed out that large-scale import of firearms to the Gold Coast started in the 1660s mainly by the Dutch and the British. However, the Norwegian historian Per Hernæs (1995:364-5) is of the opinion that by the eighteenth century onwards, the Danes had established a much stronger position in the gun trade. The Dane gun (*Gebisde Flint*), a long-

barrelled flint-lock musket had achieved an uncontested position as the most popular gun on the Gold Coast by the mid-eighteenth century.

Africanist scholars have extensively discussed the importance of firearms in inter-ethnic relations in West Africa and their role in the slave trade (Kea 1971, Inikori 1977, Tenkorang 1968). There is no doubt that as from the mid-seventeenth century to the nineteenth century, the various European traders controlled an elaborate trade in firearms in West Africa. As already noted the Danes played a significant role in the gun trade. Extracts from Trade Ledgers (*Negotie Hovedbøger*) of Christiansborg Castle in the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century have indicated that major categories of Danish trade items sold to African merchants included firearms and their accessories namely, gunpowder and flints as well as metal ware, textiles and liquor. Of these items, guns by far became the most important category of trade item in the Danish commercial venture on the Gold Coast. For instance in March 1772, information gathered from the Christiansborg trade journals indicated that the Danes exchanged assorted trade goods, which included 263 Danish flintlocks, 10 English guns, 11 French guns 3,140 lbs. of gunpowder and 2,500 flints (Hernaes 1995:359,375). This clearly shows the diverse sources of guns sold by the Danes to the people of the eastern Gold Coast. The firearms supplied to the slaves on the Danish plantations therefore may have come from different European sources.

The flintlock became so popular in the African trade that it was widely in use in West Africa even in the nineteenth century when percussion cap firearm had almost replaced it in Europe. Unfortunately, firearms have not been well reported in archaeological contexts in West Africa. In Ghana reports on recovered gun parts have come from the Elmina old town (DeCorse 1989), Fort St. Jago (Anquandah 1992a), Banda (Stahl 1994) and Bibease (Bredwa-Mensah 1996a). The excavation at Frederiksgave provided evidence of firearms that were probably used by the slaves on the Danish plantations. They included a flintlock plate almost complete that carried a goose neck cock, battery (frizzen) and its spring, the jaw part and a pan for accommodating gunpowder (Plate 5.7 # 1). Also found were a lock and frizzen probably belonging to the same mechanism. Another lock smaller in size was also recovered. This probably came from a holster flint-lock pistol (Plate 5.7 #3). It was difficult to determine the place of manufacture of these firearms. However, a Danish source cannot be ruled out since the Danes owned the plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains and the fact that the Danish flintlock was also very popular on the Gold Coast.

Other important finds associated with the use of firearms on the Frederiksgave plantation were two types of primers namely flints and a metal percussion cap as well as a cartridge (Plate 5.8). Primers were used to supply the flame or spark necessary to ignite gunpowder. Twelve flints (12) were found at the Frederiksgave plantation site (Plate 5.8 Rows 2&3). Of that number of flints

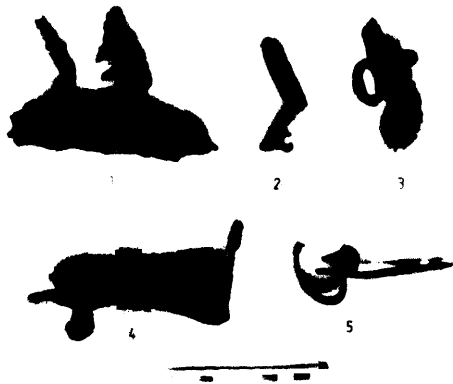


Plate 5.7 Gun parts/Weaponry.

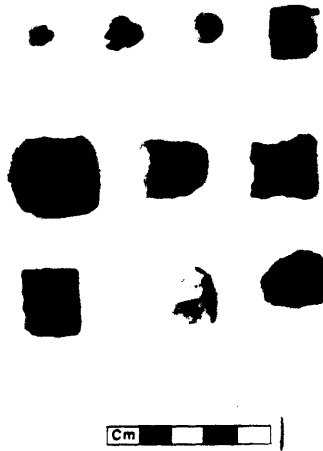


Plate 5.8 Gun accessories.

recovered from the excavations five were of English source, three French and the rest may be of Nordic origin.

The flints were distinguished on the basis of two main characteristic features: the physical qualities of the source material and the manufacturing technique. The French gunflints are distinguished by their honey – yellow or blonde colour and the source material may contain white inclusions. The English type otherwise called Brandon flint grades from one that is very dark nearly black, translucent fine-grained to a grey, opaque flint with inclusions (Kenmotsu1990: 95-6). English and French flints are described as ‘prismatic or blade flints’ (Withoft 1966: 23-34). However, the English flint can be distinguished by the presence of percussion scar on each side at the bed level (Blanchette 1975: 46). The Nordic flints, manufactured in the Jutland in Denmark were “bifacially flaked by coarse percussion chipping. They are square to rectangular and pillow-shaped, with their edges bilaterally symmetrical rather than beveled toward one face. Most of them are tiny” (Withoft 1966:22, 24).

As a primer flint was necessary in the use of flintlock guns. It was used to obtain the spark necessary to light the gunpowder during firing. All the recovered pieces exhibited worn features particularly; some pieces clearly showed a U-shaped wear pattern indicating that they were probably used as strike-a-lights.

One piece of lead shot was recovered during the dig (Plate 5.8 Row1 #1). At Christiansborg, lead (*bly*) was one of the trade goods used by the Danes as

payment to fort slaves (See Chapter Three). According to Van Dantzig (1978:77) lead was one of the metal objects traded by European traders to the people of West Africa. It is likely that the local Africans put this metal to several uses including cutting and moulding into bullet shots.

About the second half of the nineteenth century gun makers in Europe developed many different kinds of improved cartridge guns. One of them was the pin-fire gun, which could be breech-loaded and fired with a conventional-type hammer mechanism. Appropriate self-contained cartridges were designed for this mechanism. One category of such cartridges was the patent ignition. The pin-fire is the oldest type in this category of cartridges. A Frenchman, M. LefaucheuX invented the first pin-fire cartridge about 1836 (Moore 1963:66). This cartridge had a cardboard case and brass head. Ten years later another French gun maker, M. Houllier patented an improved pin-fire cartridge, which consisted of a full-length case constructed of thin copper or brass. Pin-fire weapons received wider patronage particularly in Europe.

One 12mm caliber short case pin-fire cartridge (Moore1963: 66) and a pink-edged, pink-faced wad belonging to the cartridge were found in the middle levels of the profile (Plate 5.8 Row 1 # 3&4). The metal percussion cap found was the type known as the 'top hat or musket cap' (Plate 5.8 Row 1#2). This cap was commonly used on military weapons. Also they marched with percussion cartridges for the Gallager breech-loading carbine (Moore 1963:77). The presence

of these indicated that the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation had access to improved weapons.

Glass

Glass fragments recovered during the excavation were 2,105 in number. An interesting aspect about the glass objects was that some of them possessed technological features, which provided clues to function and chronology. Some of them carried embossed identification of the contents and the manufacturer. The container sherds included a number of liquor bottles, soft drink bottles and a small number of pharmaceutical bottles.

Class	Number	%
Liquor	77	70
Mineral water	13	11.8
Toiletry	6	5.5
Culinary	-	-
Medicine	14	12.7
Total	110	100%

Table 5.2: Bottle classes from the Frederiksgave Plantation site

Other glass manufactures included glassware and a variety of miscellaneous glass bottle containers. Table 5.2 shows the identifiable bottle classes from the Frederiksgave site. Liquor bottles were by far the most predominant class (70%).

They included alcoholic beverages such as gin and aromatic schnapps contained in case bottles, champagne, brandy and wine (Plate 5.9). Of these, hard liquor gin and aromatic schnapps, were very popular (28.1% and 17.5% respectively; Table 5.3). The embossed inscriptions on one side of the square-faced bottles and emblems on their almost square-off shoulders indicated that majority of the bottles that contained gin and aromatic schnapps were of Dutch origin. The names of the manufacturers identified were **J. HENKES**, **I.A.I NOLET**, as well as **CURLEW** and **J. J. MELCHERS**. The emblems on the shoulders of some of the liquor bottles depicted a star and others the stork (Fig 5.3 a-c).

Liquor products of the J. H. Henkes Company seemed to be very popular. This Company had been in business in the Delftshaven area of Rotterdam since the early decades of the nineteenth century. The Company became so successful that by the middle of the nineteenth century it had established itself as a leading exporter of gin and schnapps products to West Africa, South America and the Dutch East Indies. But Dutch liquor especially gin was already known in West Africa before the nineteenth century. The Schiedam area of Holland was the centre of gin production since a Dutch doctor first distilled the drink in the mid-seventeenth century and it became popular. Small distilleries in this area depended on old-fashioned production of malt wine, which was re-distilled and blended to produce varieties of gin for export to all parts of the world (Anniversary Handbook 1975:33). Some of the bottle fragments, which carried liquor, produced by J. H. Henkes and I. A. I Nolet were marked **SCHIEDAM**



Plate 5.9 Alcoholic beverages bottles.

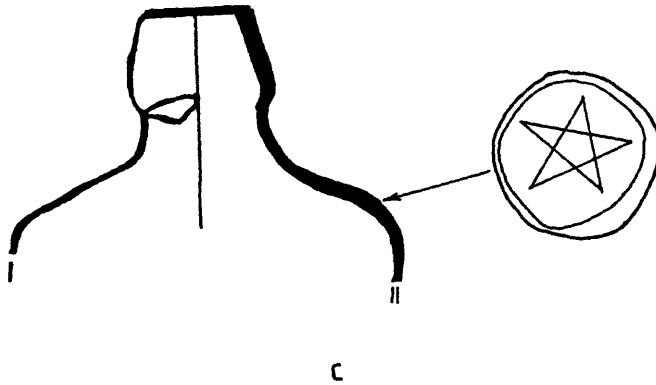
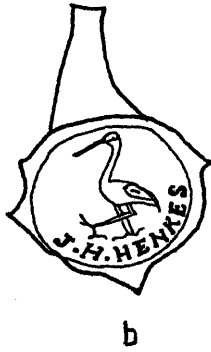
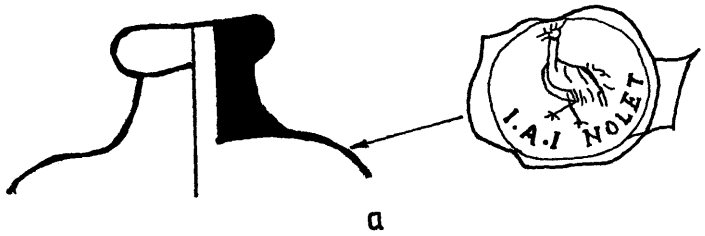


Fig.5.3 Manufacturers emblems on case bottles (Schnapps)

Class	Type	Number	%
Liquor	Aromatic Schnapps	32	28.1
	Gin	20	17.5
	Whiskey	10	8.8
	Brandy	3	2.6
	Champagne	4	3.5
	Wine	8	7.0
Mineral Water	Soda Water	4	3.5
	Lemonade	9	7.9
	Toiletry Florida Water	6	5.3
Medicines		14	12.3
Unidentified		4	3.5
Total		114	100%

Table 5.3: Bottle types from the Frederiksgave Plantation site

indicating that the slaves on the Frederiksgave Plantation consumed liquor from that region of Holland.

Wine was another liquor product preferred by Africans (7.0%). In the nineteenth century the bulk of wine marketed in Christiansborg and the Accra littoral came in wooden barrels. This was rather poor stuff; the better came in ceramic and glass containers. Comparatively, wine bottle fragments from the Frederiksgave Plantation were small in number. They did not exhibit makers' marks or embossed inscriptions to assist in determining the source and the manufacturers. However, going by the lip and shape features, three main wine bottle types namely, Burgundy, Claret and Hock were identified from the bottle fragments.

These were typical wine bottles that evolved in the wine-producing districts of Continental Europe before spreading to Britain after 1802 (Beck 1984: 38).

Soft drink bottles also featured among the glass objects recovered from the dig (11.4%). They came in different shapes and forms. These bottles contained artificial carbonated mineral and soda water. Examples of soda water containers from Frederiksgave were thick, sturdily built fancy sub-marine or egg-shaped bottles with blob-tops introduced by William Hamilton in the early nineteenth century (Hedges 1998: 13, Beck 1984:74). Their hemispherical bases made it impossible to keep them standing upright. Those recovered during the excavation were embossed with the lettering **PITTS LONDON** or **SCHILLING BRIGHTON** (Plate.5.10 #3). By the late nineteenth century mineral water bottles with pushed-bottoms or flat-bottomed versions had come in general use. One type with a hemispherical base, which could hold 375 ml of soft drink, was embossed with the maker's mark **CROWN WHEELER & CO. LTD. BELFAST**. This mineral water bottle came from late nineteenth century context. The flat-bottomed versions in the range of soft drink bottles recovered from the Frederiksgave Plantation usually carried a ceramic stopper and metal clamp and could contain about 500 ml of drink. Some of them probably of Danish /German origin were embossed with the mark of **STEINIKE AND WEINLIG** (Plate 5.10 #1).

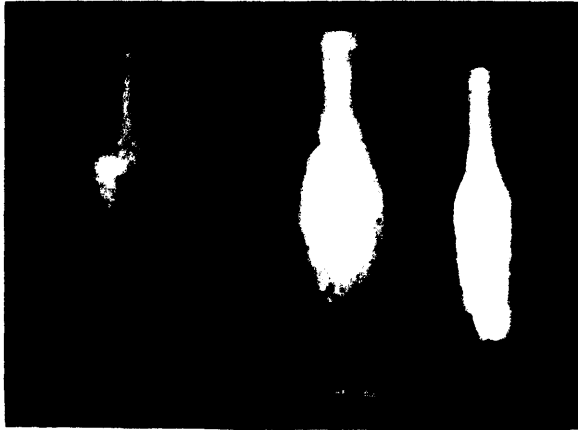


Plate 5.10 Mineral water and Florida water bottles.

Glass containers for pharmaceutical products from the site constituted 12.3% of the identifiable bottles. They came in different shapes and sizes. According to Hedges (1998:15) towards the end of the eighteenth century, patent medicines were marketed in odd-shaped easily recognizable bottles. However in the early nineteenth century when hinged moulds were introduced chemists embossed their names on the bottles and in some cases the contents and dosages. A small medicine bottle carried at the base the embossed name ZIMMERMAN. Also of interest was a bottle fragment that was embossed with the German word SCHUTZMARKE. Beneath this was the crown of medical practitioners: a hand holding a walking stick on which a snake is entwined.

Six perfume bottles were recovered from late nineteenth century to early twentieth century contexts (Plate 5.10 # 4). All these bottles probably contained Florida Water. Florida Water is a type of scented spirit that is used as a fragrance. It belongs to a class of scented spirits called colognes or toilet waters. The ingredients for making Florida Water varied from one manufacturer to another. However lavender was always the main ingredient and to obtain a particular quality and variety bergamot, lemon, orange, rose and cinnamon could be added. Florida Water was manufactured almost exclusively in North America during the nineteenth century although German and English brand names for the product are reported (Sullivan 1994:80). The American Company Murray and Lanman of New York seems to have been the best-known producer of this scented toilet water. The bottles recovered did not carry any embossed marks to allow for

identification. However, all of them were what American glassmakers called the castor oil or lemon syrup bottles. Today the tradition of the use of Florida Water still continues in Ghana. The modern bottle has no embossed mark; it carries a paper label indicating the trade mark- Florida Water- prepared by Lanman and Kemp-Barclay & Company Inc. Westwood, New Jersey.

A small number of glassware (5) was recovered from the Frederiksgave site. They all came from the upper levels of the stratigraphy. They were very delicate, characterized by globular, acorn-shaped bowls; straight stems and round bases. The paucity of drinking glasses is not surprising since it is ethnographically known that the coastal people on the eastern Accra coast serve liquors in containers fashioned out of tiny coconut fruits. This may be an African innovation that originated from the introduction and use of glassware by the Europeans on the Gold Coast.

Building Construction Hardware

Architecturally related items were found at the Frederiksgave Plantation. The recovered objects from this site included a variety of materials partly reflecting vernacular architecture and constructional practices. More common in the hardware assemblage were various fasteners namely spikes, nails, locks and hinges. All the spikes were cut specimens with square shafts and tapered on two sides to form a chisel point. The nails from Frederiksgave were both machine-cut and hand-wrought specimens. Some of the spikes and nails had wood adhering to the shank, probably reflecting their use in building construction (Plate 5.11).

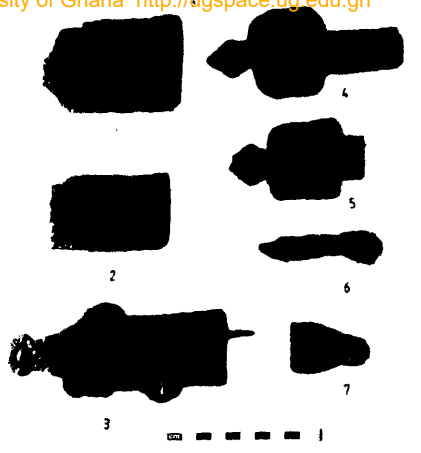


Plate 5.11 Building construction hardware.

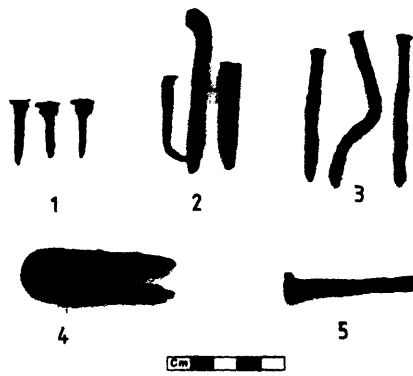


Plate 5.12 Building construction hardware.

Four hinges were among the recovered hardware. All of them were iron loose-joint hinges (Plate 5.12 # 4-7). The loose-joint hinge has a fixed hinge pin on one side. The opposing leaf slips over the pin allowing easy removal of the door. Three of them had a spike fastener on the jamb-end and a strap leaf on the door-end. The door-end portion of the strap leaf had three holes to accommodate either screws or nails (Plate 5.12 # 4&5). In addition to the hinges four door locks were found. The locks were of two kinds: the plain stock-lock and the plate stock-lock.

Relatively large chunks of clay, some of which depicted deep-impressed surfaces, were recovered. These clay lumps are believed to be broken pieces of wattle and daub walls of slave houses. Even though house foundations were not excavated, the presence of these large chunks of clay with pole impressions indicated that huts of wood and mud similar to present-day countryside village houses of a roughly rectangular shape were built and used as dwelling places by the Frederiksgave Plantation slaves.

Brass objects

A pair of brass bells was among the excavated metal objects (Plate 5.13). A large one was 5 cm tall and the diameter of the beveled base measured 4.5 cm. The other bell, which was relatively smaller, was 2.5 cm tall and had a diameter of 3 cm at the broad base. Similar types are known ethnographically as part of the paraphernalia of local diviners and fetishes in southern Ghana.

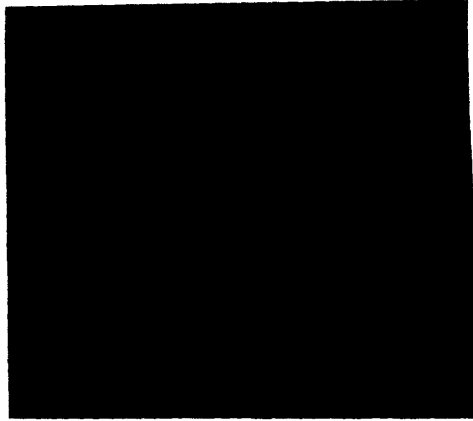


Plate 5.13 Brass objects.

Farm tools

Agricultural implements were among the iron objects excavated from the Frederiksgave site. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European trade items sold in the Danish trade on the south-eastern Gold Coast included a variety of so-called cheap 'commoner oriented' goods or 'non-luxuries'. Typical of such trade goods, which found regular sales at the Danish forts were assorted textiles, cheap pots and pans, iron bars for the local foundries and agricultural tools: fishing hooks, knives and hoes (Hernæs 1995:363). The farm tools recovered were three iron hoes and two cutlasses. They were heavily worn probably as a result of constant usage. The blade of one of the hoes measured 16 x 11 cm. The shank of each of the hoes was cylindrical. The wooden handle of the hoe probably extended down into the cavity of the shank. The iron blade of the cutlasses measured about 40cm long from the handle tip to the tapering cutting end. The metal projection, which was driven into the wooden handle of the cutlass, was intact on one of the blades (Plate 5.14).

Knives

Five iron knives probably utilized in the kitchen in relation to food preparation and for other functional purposes were excavated. Three of the knives had bone handles. The other two without handles were crudely shaped perhaps indicating that an African blacksmith probably manufactured them locally (Plate 5.15).

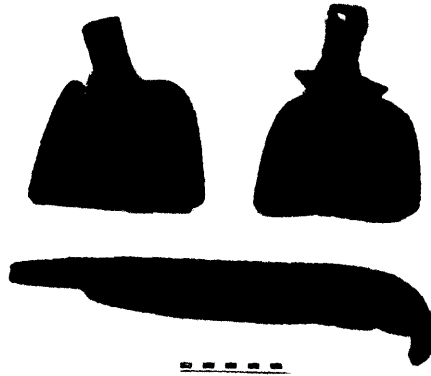


Plate 5.14 Farm tools.



Plate 5.15 Knives

Slate and Slate Pencils

An interesting category of the recovered artefacts related to reading, writing and computation. The upper stratigraphic levels, which chronologically fall within the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, produced five polished slate fragments and six slate pencils (Plate 5.16). By the late nineteenth century, formal education based on school system was established particularly in the Gold Coast Colony and the Protectorate. Many of the schools were linked to the Christian missionary activities of the Basel (Presbyterian), Wesleyan (Methodist) and Catholic Churches. Literacy drive was strongly considered as a useful tool to facilitate the propagation of the Gospel. In the research area the Basel Mission exerted much influence on the social and cultural landscape by establishing schools at Christiansborg (Osu), Akropong and Abokobi to train the local people to read and write as well as acquire skills particularly in agriculture and vocations such as carpentry and bricklaying. Reindorf, the Ga historian and a beneficiary of the Basel Mission training reported on the achievements of the Mission in the research area. He wrote:

“ We will now sketch the outward features of our progress during the last ten years. In 1868 we were able to assert that we had filled the regions of the Eastern Province of the Colony with the Gospel. Congregations had been gathered, schools founded, native assistants educated, the Bible translated into two languages, other books for



Plate 5.16 Slate and slate pencils.

school and church published in the native tongues, workshops opened, agriculture promoted”.

Of particular interest to this study was the policy of the Basel Mission towards enslaved people in the research area. The Basel missionaries directed their energies towards the spiritual and socio-economic progress of slaves in the research area. The Mission established a policy to purchase the freedom of slaves who had been converted to the Christian faith in the south-eastern coastland and its hinterlands. In pursuance of this policy the missionaries established Christian communities called *Salem* where liberated slaves lived. The liberated slaves were taught to read and write. In addition, many received practical training in agriculture and vocational skills such as carpentry, joinery, masonry and shoemaking. The town of Abokobi was one of the Basel Mission centres where liberated slaves were trained as from the mid-nineteenth century. Former slaves who continued to live in the villages attached to the Danish plantations after their departure became targets of the Basel missionary outreach activities. Oral information gathered at Sesemi mentioned attempts made by European missionaries and their educated African catechists to teach the slaves on the Frederiksgave and the nearby plantations to read and write. The spot at the Djabing village where the slaves gathered for this purpose is mentioned in the narrative as *Tikya blofo* (which literally means where the white man’s language was taught).

Beads

A variety of beads was recovered from the Frederiksgave Plantation site. In all 542 beads were excavated. They comprised European trade beads as well as locally made beads of stone and shell. In the section below the variety of European glass beads recovered from the plantation site is described.

European trade beads

A large variety of European trade beads (n = 504) was excavated at Frederiksgave. These imported beads were fairly distributed throughout the archaeological levels and they can be divided into two broad groups namely, stone beads and beads formed from glass.

Stone Beads

Four imported stone beads were recovered during the excavation. They were all made from the semi-precious quartz mineral called chalcedony. Three of them belonged to the banded or patterned chalcedony commonly called agate and the other one was carnelian (Plate 5.17a #1-3). Carnelian and agate beads have been produced in India at Arikamedu (Francis 1991:36), Khambat (Kenoyer and others 1991: 44-63) and Cambay (Possehl 1981: 39 - 47). These and other beads made of precious and semi - precious stones have been traded along well established routes linking these manufacturing centres with the Red Sea Coast and East Africa (Kenoyer and others 1991:51) then transported from here to West Africa between A.D 500 and 1500 (Dubin1995: 66). However, India's role as a major

exporting stone bead producer steadily declined due to the global European contact. European beadmaking centres gradually encroached on India's market. One particular European beadmaking centre that succeeded in supplanting India's position in the manufacture of carnelian and agate beads was Idar-Oberstein in Germany. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries German bead manufacturers imported chalcedony raw materials from the region of Minas Gerias in Brazil. They then made large quantities of carnelian and agate, which were copies, designed to imitate Indian beads, for the African market.

The Idar-Oberstein chalcedony beads are easily identified and distinguished from Indian made types by their straighter holes, which result from the manufacturers use of drill press and sometimes by their dusky hue and finely ground surfaces. All the chalcedony beads recovered at the slave village on the Frederiksgave Plantation were identified as probably German made.

Glass Beads

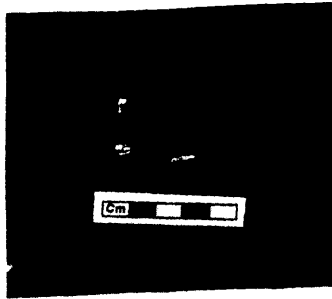
By far glass beads (n = 500) constituted the largest component of the excavated European trade beads. They are classified and described on the basis of three main attributes:

- (a) manufacturing technique – drawn; moulded; wound; blown etc
- (b) general shape categories – tubular; spherical, cylindrical etc.
- (c) colour – navy blue; brick red; white; light green etc.

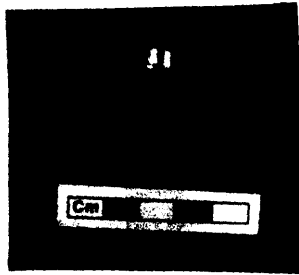
Drawn Glass Beads

Drawn beads recovered from Djabing, the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation constituted the largest number ($n = 260$) of the bead assemblage. Drawn beads were manufactured from plain or multi-layered, hollow canes drawn from a molten gather of glass. The canes were then cut into the required bead-length segments. They may be left as tubes, cut into a variety of shapes and as well as rounded off by hot tumbling or fire finished. The drawn beads were probably Venetian. All the recovered drawn beads are grouped into three main classes based on colour that is whether single or multi-coloured and finished-unfinished treatment.

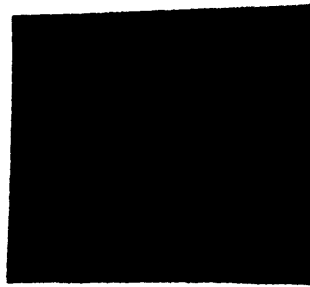
Class A - Polychrome Drawn Beads: Beads of this class numbered 52. They exhibited multi-coloured layers produced when the bead maker pulled from a gather of glass layered with multi-colours. Some of the bead specimens were short to long segments chopped from the drawn canes (Plate 5.17b # 1– 4). They do not appear to have been fire polished or hot tumbled. Included in this Class were small multi-coloured beads with hot tumbled finish. Two of the excavated beads that belonged to this Class had a satiny finish produced purposely by introducing bubbles into the glass gather. When the tube was drawn out the bubbles elongated to produce the satiny effect.



Stone beads.



Drawn polychrome beads.

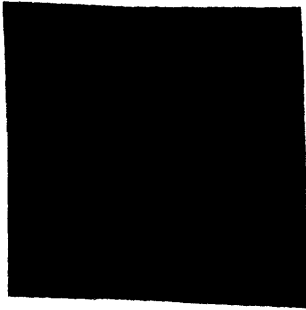


Drawn monochrome beads.

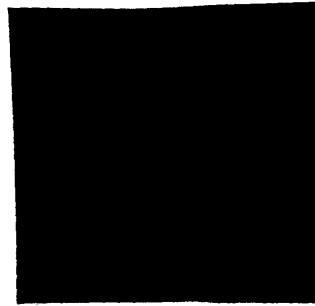
Plate 5.17 European-made beads.



Specialized polychrome drawn beads



Prosser moulded beads



Mandrel pressed beads

Plate 5.17 European-made beads.

Class B – Monochrome Drawn Beads: The total of specimens that constituted this broad bead class was 194. They included tubular or cylindrical beads and short discs with cut ends. These constituted the majority and simplest of the class. The predominant colours of these beads were marine and navy blue, yellow, opaque gold, red and green (Plate 5.17c # 1– 4). Other specimens of this class were a number of small beads with their ends rounded off probably by either fire polishing or hot tumbling.

Class C- Specialized Polychrome Drawn Beads: A total of 14 beads from the Frederiksgave plantation belonged to the group commonly called chevrons. Chevrons are specialized drawn glass beads. They are formed from glass tubes with multiple layers. To form these beads a bit of multi-layered gather of glass is blown into a tapered mould with cog design. The original glass gather now hollow may be encased with additional layers of different colours. The multi-layered hollow gather is then quickly drawn out to form a cane. The drawn tube is chopped into pieces. Finally, the cut pieces are ground on the ends or heated and pinched to show the cog design as a row of chevron zig-zags. Chevrons were among the most popular trade beads exported to West Africa by European traders during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chevrons from the Frederiksgave plantation site were mainly tubular and disc-shaped and probably originated from Venice (Plate 5.17d # 1– 4).

Moulded Glass Beads

Out of the grand total of beads recovered 183 were identified as moulded beads. They constituted the second most common group of beads at the Frederiksgave plantation site. Moulding was a technique used to produce either single or multiple beads by pressing a bit of molten hot glass in simple moulds. Moulded beads evolved and became increasingly important trade items throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ross 1989). The beads recovered from the Frederiksgave plantation were perhaps manufactured in Bohemia and the Jablonec region in Czechoslovakia. They are grouped in two broad classes based on the technique of manufacture.

Class A- Mandrel Pressed Beads: A small number ($n = 7$) of the moulded beads were manufactured by the mandrel pressed technique. This involved the use of a two-part mould. A bit of hot glass was pressed in the mould to produce the bead. The hole of the bead was produced by pushing a pin into the mould and through the glass or by a tapered pin that has been an integral part of one cavity. The excavated beads carried seam lines or ridges being the result of molten glass that escaped between the halves of the mould. These were made smooth by tumbling or manual grinding. Three were faceted and carried designs cut or moulded on their surfaces. One of them transparent green in colour had a conical hole, which appear to have been partially punched through (Plate 5.17e # 1 & 2).

Class B-Prosser Moulded Beads: Majority of the moulded beads (n =176) was produced by the *Prosser* technique. In the 1830s two brothers, Thomas and Richard Prosser patented a pressing machine with multiform moulds, which was used to manufacture uniform beads named after them. Francis Jr. (1994:58) describes the manufacturing process and the nature of moulded beads produced:

“The machine subjects a pellet of clay mixed with other ingredients to great pressure in a dye. The pressure vitrifies (makes into glass) the clay and the finished bead is quite exact in form. Prosser beads will have seams but they are hard to spot”.

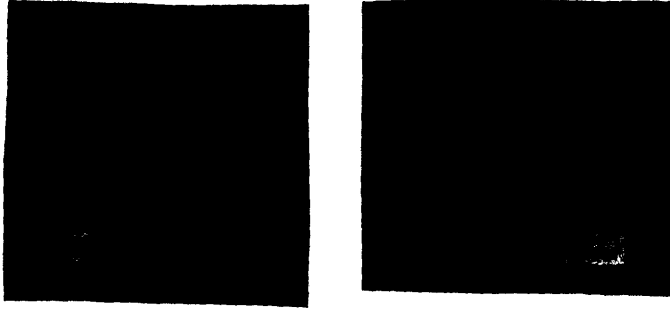
In shape and form, the excavated specimens from the Frederiksgave plantation included those that were flat and round as well as interlocking beads and short cylinders otherwise called tile beads (Plate 5.17f # 1–7). Colours of the recovered beads were mainly apple/ light green, navy/marine blue and yellow or gold. All the beads had one of the ends being smooth and shiny and the other pitted.

Wound Glass Beads: The excavation produced 43 wound beads. Wound beads are manufactured individually by winding molten glass around a rotating mandrel, which could be a rod coated with clay slip or lime as a separator. Some of the specimens recovered appear to have been moulded by rotating the warm plastic bead in a mould. Complex decorative motifs such as stripes, trailed concentric lines and dots were applied on the smooth surfaces. Among the excavated

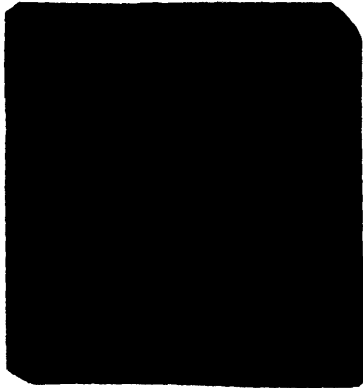
specimens were lamp-wound beads of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries probably Venetian in origin. They included:

- (a) Two tubular translucent dark green beads with 15 and 19 'eyes' of transparent navy on opaque white, on opaque redwood, on opaque light gold (Plate 5.17g #1 & 2).
- (b) Four barrel-shaped beads of opaque light gold glass with a transparent bright navy on opaque white, on opaque brick red, on dark green band around the middle, and blue on white on red dashes on the ends (Plate 5.17h # 1–4).
- (c) Twenty-five pieces of apple-green and opaque light gold bi-cones with multiple stripes of light gold, black and barn red (Plate 5.17i # 1–5).

Comparison of the Frederiksgave plantation beads with excavated examples from Elmina and relatively well-dated specimens from four trade bead cards of Moses Levin, a London bead merchant photographed (Plate 5.18) in **The History of Beads (Concise Edition)** by Lois Sherr Dubin (1998:40-41) indicates that they are of similar age. Some of the beads from the Frederiksgave plantation are similar in style and manufacture to examples recovered from nineteenth century contexts at Elmina (DeCorse 1989a: 45). According to Lois Dubin (1998:40-41) the import-export business of Moses Levin to Africa operated from 1830 to 1913. Karklins (1985:31, 81) quoted by DeCorse (1989a: 45) has placed the date of the Levin Catalogue between 1851 and 1869. These dates are consistent with the 1850–1931 date assigned to the Horizon B (that is the upper stratigraphic levels)



Wound beads.



Specimen trade bead card of Moses Levin [Lois Sherr Dubin 1995].

Plate 5.18 European-made beads.

of the Frederiksgave plantation site and associated artefacts including all the excavated beads, some of which are similar to those on Levin's trade cards. See specimens on Levin's trade card Plate 5.18 and excavated examples in Plate 5.17 particularly, specimens **g**, **h** and **i**. The Levin Bead Catalogue therefore helps to accurately date the upper stratigraphic levels of the Frederiksgave plantation to the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.

Clothing

Apart from beads, other interesting categories of artefacts relating to clothing used by enslaved Africans on the plantation include a few buttons, finger rings and a buckle (Plate 5.19). These provided only a very limited and indirect indication of the clothing probably worn by the slaves on the plantation. The buttons were made of brass (n=7), porcelain (n= 4) and bone (n =1). The brass buttons were characterized with sunken panels. The margins of some of them carried stamped designs and words such as **EXCELSIOR** followed by three stars, **SUSPENDER** with four concentric rings, **DOUBLE RING** and **BEST RING EDGE**. The largest of the metal buttons was a cast domed-disc with soldered ring-shaped eye. The back carried the inscription **ARMFIELD'S BIRMINGHAM** and the front a bunch of flowers in a horn. The remaining metal objects included three finger

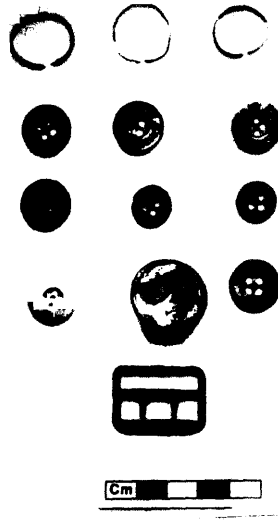


Plate 5.19 Clothing Items.

rings made of thin brass wire and a buckle probably from a shoe. The brass finger rings had an internal diameter of between 1.7 cm-2.0 cm and their opening left unsoldered. All the brass buttons were recovered from Horizon B levels indicating that they can be dated to the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the other hand, the porcelain buttons came from Horizon A stratigraphic levels and can be dated to between 1828-1850.

CHAPTER SIX

AFRICAN MATERIAL CULTURE AT FREDERIKSGAVE

Over 8,000 locally produced material remains excluding a wide range of faunal resources were recovered from the Frederiksgave plantation site. This formed over 50% of the over all excavated artefactual assemblage. This material inventory represents a broad array of local resources from the coastal and hinterland areas of the eastern Accra Plains exploited by the enslaved Africans who lived on the plantation. Apart from faunal remains the other locally produced material culture recovered included pottery, brass objects, lithics such as stone axes and grinding stones, beads and daub fragments. The analysis and description of these material objects and their occurrence at the Frederiksgave plantation are presented below.

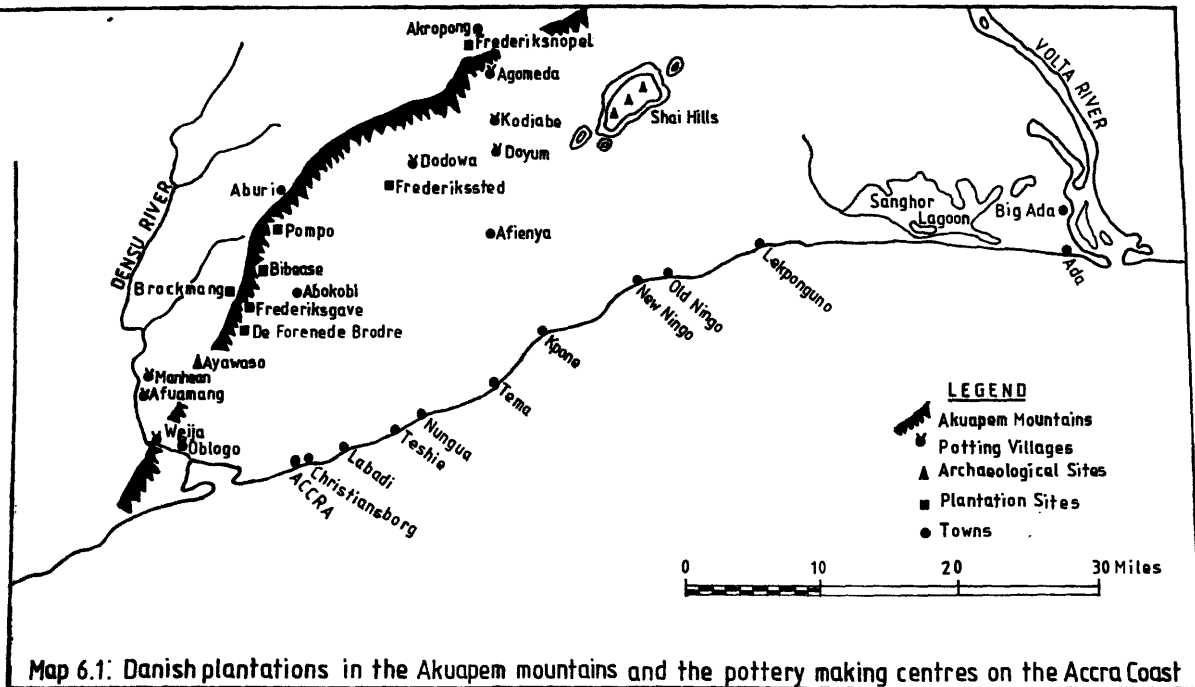
Locally produced Pottery

Locally made pottery formed the largest category and therefore the most common item of the recovered artefacts at the Frederiksgave plantation (8,175 sherds). Archaeologists take particular interest in the pottery they excavate because it can provide insights into the very nature of the society that produced and / or used it (Redman 1986:103). Therefore the approach adopted in the analysis of the pottery assemblage from the Frederiksgave site was to make the identified vessel types

culturally meaningful. To this end the analysis was carried out to answer two main questions:

- (a) Did the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation produce their own ceramic vessels, in that case, the excavated specimens? Or did they source them from another area?
- (b) To what extent does variation in technique(s), shape and form; as well as the physical and chemical constituent properties of the excavated vessel types reflect the source or location of manufacture and their functional roles in the past?

Thus apart from investigating to establish the source of the Frederiksgave pottery, it was also of prime importance to decode the past behaviour patterns that they represented. Ethno-archaeological studies have indicated continuity in pottery production processes in the coastal Accra Plains region. Two pottery traditions with long antiquity are known in the Densu Valley region (Bredwa-Mensah 1990, 1996b) and the Shai Hills of the coastal Accra Plains (Anquandah 1992b: 1-8, Quarcoo and Johnson 1968:47-88). The Danish plantation sites in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains are located in between these two different pottery traditions (Map 6.1). Could any of the two traditions be the source of the



Samples	Description
Frederiksgave Soil Sample	Reddish clayey soil, hard to very hard consistence when dry with few fine and medium distinct clear brown mottles.
Frederiksgave Pottery Sample 1	Black dry potsherd. Central part is dark to very dark gray. Sherd matrix includes many white sand grains.
Sample 2	Weak red to reddish yellow dry potsherd. Central part is very dark gray. Sherd matrix includes a few white sand grains.
Sample 3	Black dry potsherd. Central part is black. Sherd matrix includes many white sand grains.
Sample 4	Potsherd decorated with black and gray paintings. Central part is reddish brown. Sherd matrix includes many white sand grains.
Sample 5	Brown dry potsherd. Central part is black. Sherd matrix includes many fine and coarse gray sand grains.
Sample 6	Light yellowish brown potsherd. Interior part is brown. Sherd matrix is stratified; contains numerous mica flakes and many dark red mottles
Densu Valley Pottery Sample 1	Reddish brown dry potsherd. Central part is very dark gray. Sherd matrix includes iron nodules and many white sand grains.
Sample 2	Brown dry potsherd. Central part is dark gray to very dark gray. Matrix includes many white sand grains.
Sample 3	Reddish brown dry potsherd. Interior part is weak red. Sherd matrix contains iron nodules and few white sand grains.
Sample 4	Reddish brown dry potsherd. Central part is dark gray. Matrix is red and contains many white sand grains.
Shai Hills Pottery Sample1	Pale brown dry potsherd. Interior part is strong brown. Matrix contains much reddish but few white sand grains.
Sample 2	Reddish brown dry potsherd. Interior is yellowish red. Matrix contains many shiny black sand grains, fine gravel and few iron nodules.
Sample 3	Brown dry potsherd. Central part of potsherd is also brown. Matrix contains white sand grains.
Sample 4	Reddish brown dry potsherd. Interior part is black. Matrix contains shiny black sand grains.

Table 6.1: Summary of Physical properties of soil and pottery samples

pottery from the Frederiksgave plantation? To ascertain the source of the excavated pottery the following samples were submitted to the Chemistry Department of the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural University (KVL) in Copenhagen, Denmark for physical and mineralogical analyses:

- (a) Soil sample from the Frederiksgave plantation site
- (b) Specimens of excavated pottery from the Frederiksgave plantation, Adwuku Hill in the Shai area and the Okai Koi Hill site near Ayawaso in the Densu Valley.

Table 6.1 above is a summary of the physical properties of the soil and pottery samples submitted for analysis while Table 6.2 below presents the mineralogical composition of the same samples. The two tables reveal similar results on the source of the pottery used by the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation. Table 6.2 shows that the sediment on the Frederiksgave plantation is composed of silicate minerals namely quartz and kaolinite. Therefore it is unlikely that the archaeological pottery from Frederiksgave were manufactured on the plantation. The two tables show clearly that the physical and mineralogical compositions of the Frederiksgave pottery are similar to that of the Densu Valley. Physically, mainly gray or white sand grains characterize the matrix of the pottery from the Frederiksgave plantation and the Densu Valley. The mineralogical composition of the pottery from the Shai Hills is dominated by plagioclase (hornblende), amphibole and garnet while the Densu Valley and the Frederiksgave plantation

pottery has a high content of quartz and devoid of garnet. The pottery from the plantation site and Densu Valley could have been made of the same kind of sediment. The ceramic vessels recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation were therefore assigned to the Densu Valley pottery tradition contrary to my preliminary submission that they were probably produced in the Shai Hills (See Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland 1997:68).

Before the pottery samples were selected for geo-chemical analysis a preliminary classification of the excavated potsherds from the Frederiksgave plantation was conducted. Two broad groups of pottery (one large and the other small) were identified on the basis of surface colour, fabric, vessel form and decorative motifs. Only 20 sherds represented the small group of pottery. The potsherds of this group are mainly light yellowish-brown and reddish-orange in colour. They are relatively well fired, plain and undecorated. Both the outer surface and the inner core of potsherds in this group display the presence of numerous micaceous (probably muscovite) inclusions. In addition, the core matrix contains many dark red mottles. Sample 6 of the Frederiksgave pottery in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 represents this small group of potsherds.

The vessels of the large group are either coarsely or finely built. They are characterized by hard, well-fired fabrics, which are usually of black, brown and reddish orange colours. The vessel assemblage of this group displays a great variety of shape and form. The bowls range from shallow to relatively deep

S A M P L E S	M I N E R A L S								
	Quartz	Plagio- clase	Micro- cline	Clay	Kaolinite	Amphi- bole	Heulan- dite	Garnet	Mica
Frederiksgave Soil Sample	X				X				
Frederiksgave Pottery Sample 1	X	X	Tr						
Sample 2	X	X	X						
Sample 3	X	X	Tr	X			X		
Sample 4	X	X	*	X		X	X		
Sample 5	X	X	Tr	X			X		
Sample 6	X	X	X						X
Densu Valley Pottery Sample 1	X	X	X	Tr		X			
Sample 2	X	X	X			X			
Sample 3	X	X	X			X			
Sample 4	X	X	X			X			
Shai Hills Pottery Sample 1	X	X	X	X		X		X	
Sample 2	X	X	X	X		X		X	
Sample 3	X	X	X			X		X	
Sample 4	X	X	X			X		X	

X = Present Tr = Trace amounts of the mineral * = Identification uncertain

Table 6.2 Mineralogical composition of soil and pottery samples

forms. Two broad groups are distinguished among the bowls. One of them, the **Kukwei Group** constitutes shallow to relatively deep bowl forms with wide and short sharply everted rims on angular shaped bodies. The other, designated as **Ka/Apatsyowa Group** (grater) includes both coarse and highly burnished brown, reddish orange and fire smudged, black shiny, wide-mouthed bowls (Figs 6.1 and 6.2). The jars designated as **Gbe Group** (conveyance/storage), comprised relatively large pots, some of which were plain, coarse, and the others burnished (Fig.6.3). It is this large group of the Frederiksgave pottery that has been assigned to the Densu Valley pottery tradition.

Ethno-archaeological research has revealed that potters of the Densu Valley pottery tradition have supplied the western Accra plains with their wares for more than four centuries (Bredwa-Mensah 1990,1996b). A fairly good ethno-archaeological data on techniques of manufacture and functional classes of the Densu Valley pottery has been established. It was therefore possible to tie the excavated pottery at the Frederiksgave plantation into the established functional classes to make them culturally meaningful.

Today pottery making in the Densu Valley is the sole responsibility of women. Production is non-mechanized and it is carried out on household basis as an integral part of the daily domestic activities. The Densu Valley potters form vessels by the moulding and drawing techniques (Plate 6.1). These techniques contrast with that of potters in the eastern Accra plains (Shai Hills) who



**Plate 6.1 Moulding and drawing technique of pottery manufacture, Manhean,
Densu Valley**

commonly use the coil method (Quarcoo and Johnson 1968). The surfaces of ceramic vessels may either be burnished with a smooth pebble or left roughened particularly in the leather hard stage. Other forms of surface enhancement include fire smudging and slipping with clay or organic solution. The Densu Valley potters produce a wide range of ceramic vessels. They include storage pots, ritual pots and medicine pots, eating bowls, wine pots, cooking and steaming pots.

All the locally produced pottery used by the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation was hand-built. Bowls of the **Ka/Apstyowa** and **Kukwei Groups** dominated the pottery inventory. They exhibited great diversity in vessel categories. In all fifteen vessel categories were recognized in this group. Together all categories of jars (**Gbe Group**) added up to three. The Frederiksgave pottery assemblage may have served a variety of primary functions that ranged from the preparation of herbal medicine, ritual performance, conveyance and storage to food preparation and serving.

KUKWEI GROUP OF VESSELS

This group composed of medium to large-sized cooking and food serving vessels with burnished outer surfaces. They were often but not in all cases fire-smudged. Those that were smudged exhibited shiny black surfaces. A characteristic feature of some of the vessels in this group was that, they were carinated. They ranged between shallow to relatively deep vessels with wide, open mouths. Three broad sub-groups were distinguished:

Kukwei/Didisen

This sub-group included small, medium and large bowls. They were either shallow or relatively deep vessels characterized with everted rims and carinated bodies. The height of the vessels ranged between 5-15 cm and rim diameter between 18-32 cm (Fig.6.1 a-e). Some of the vessels in this sub-group carried stepped-lips indicating that they probably accommodated lids. They were identified by the elderly potters in the Densu Valley and the old folks at the Sesemi village as male eating bowls. The small-sized types were used to serve juvenile males while meals for individual adult males were served in the medium-sized bowls. For group or communal eating, adult males were served their meals in the large bowls.

Wonu kukwei/Kwansen

The second sub-group constituted large, deep, almost flat-bottomed carinated bowls with short and long everted rims. Height of vessels ranged between 10-21 cm and rim diameter ranged between 20-26 cm (Fig.6.2 a-c). They may have served within the household as food preparation vessels specifically for preparing soups and stews that usually accompanied the food. Today, the coastal Ga people use similarly shaped bowls to prepare and serve soups and stews during the celebration of their annual *Hɔmɔwɔ* [hooting at hunger] festival.

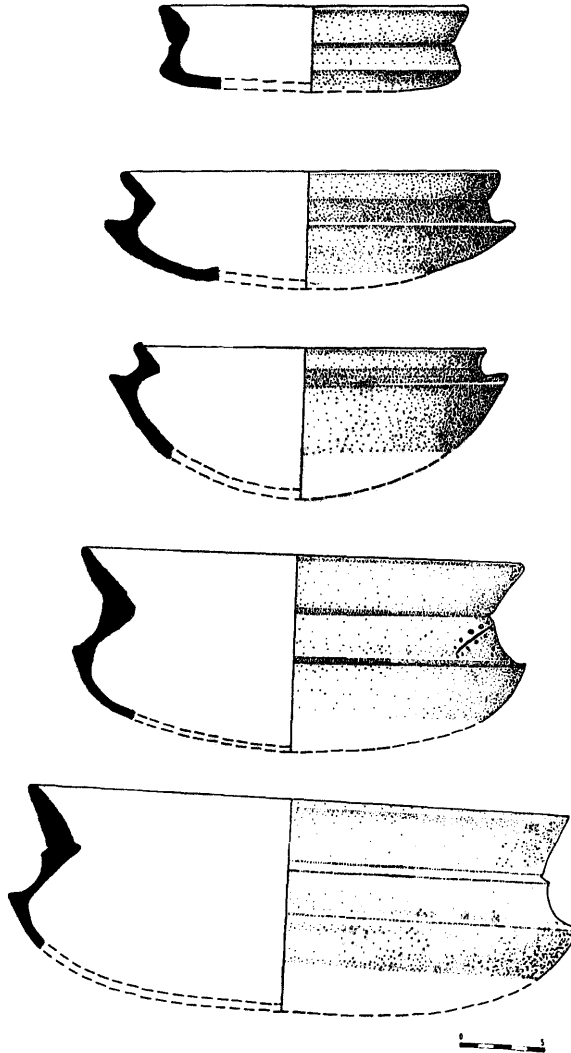


Fig. 6.1 Kukwei/DidisEn - Bowls

Tsofa kukwei/Aduro kukuo

This third sub-group comprised small and medium-sized, round-bottomed bowls. The rims of majority of them were everted while the others had stepped-lips. Height of the vessels ranged between 15-22 cm and the rim diameter between 20-28 cm (Fig.6.3 a, b). The outer surfaces were plain and coarse or burnished and fire-smudged to shiny black. Primarily, the vessels of this sub-group were used for cooking herbal medicine.

KA/AP:TYOWA GROUP OF VESSELS

The group constituted small, medium and large wide-mouthed bowls. Bowl forms were the most numerous in the Frederiksgave pottery assemblage. Height of the vessels ranged between 5-20 cm and rim diameter between 20-35 cm. The bowls primarily served as food preparation, serving and consumption vessels. They were composed of two sub-groups:

Ka

The Ka sub-group composed of shallow and relatively deep hemispherical bowls. Height of vessels ranged between 5-11 cm and diameter between 20-32 cm. In almost all cases, the rim diameter was greater than the height. Rims of some vessels of the group were thickened to the exterior and flattened horizontally on the top edges. In some cases, the rims extended as thin flanges that protruded to

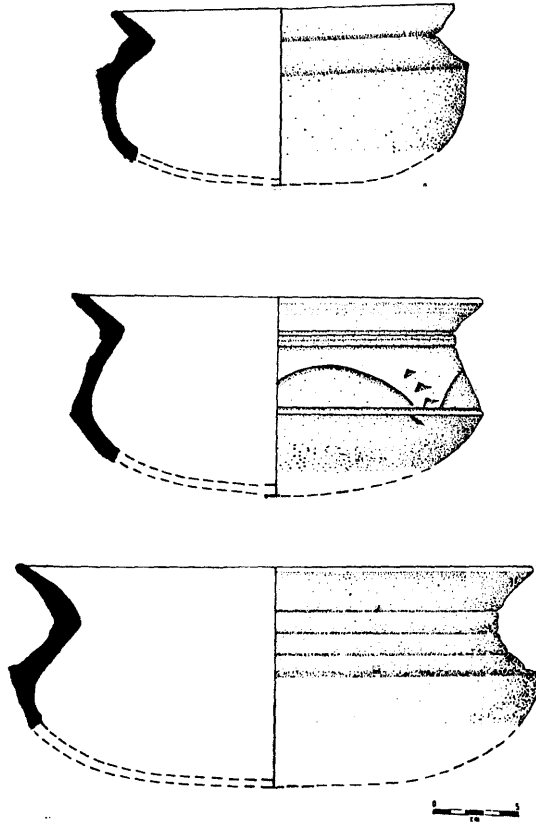


Fig.6.2 Wonu KukwEi/KwansEn- Bowls

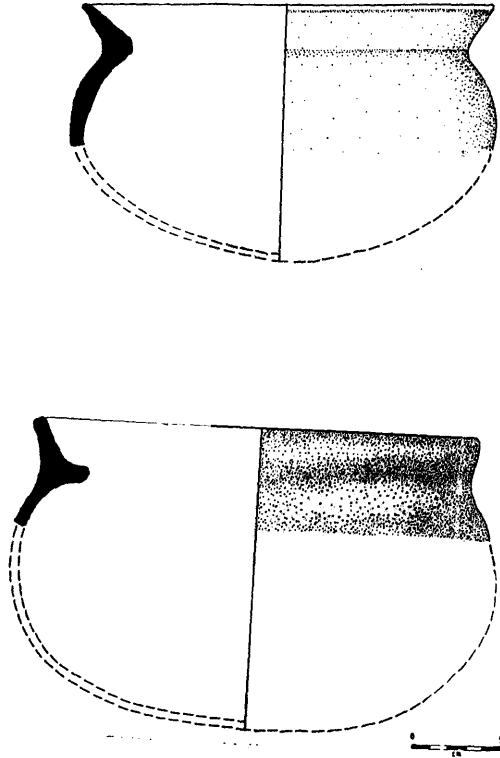


Fig. 6.3 Tsafa Kukwɛi/Aduro Kukuo- Bowls

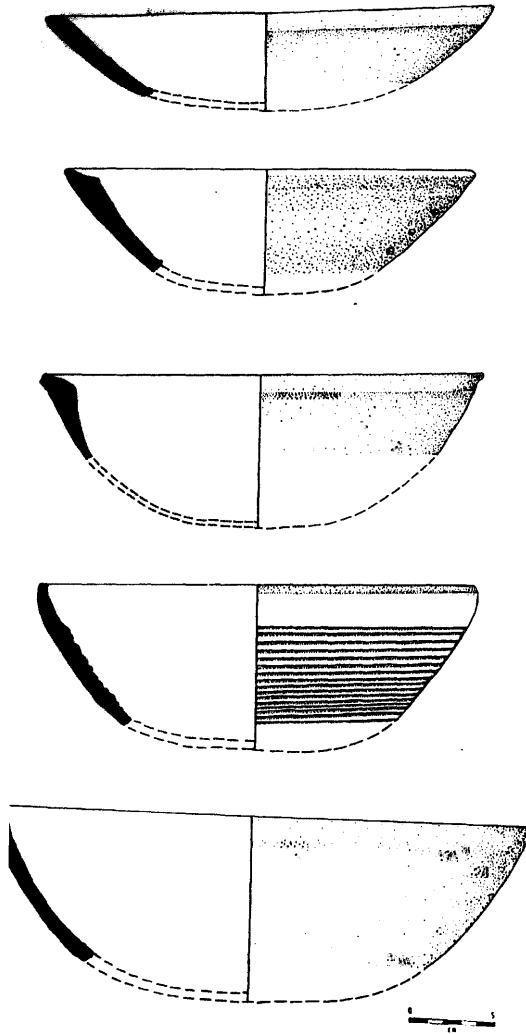


Fig.6.4 Ka/ApDiDyowa Group of vessels- Bowls

the outside. The flattened rim portions of some vessels in this sub-group carried decorative bands of concentric grooves. This sub-group included plain, coarse and highly burnished brown and reddish orange open bowls. Others were fire smudged, black shiny, wide-mouthed vessels (Fig 6.4 a-d). The inside surfaces of these vessels were smooth and they served primarily as female eating bowls.

Apɔtyowa

The vessels of this sub-group were hemispherical in shape. They were medium-sized and fire-smudged. Vessel height ranged between 8-12 cm and rim diameter between 18-28 cm (Fig.6.4 e). The inside surfaces were designed with incised concentric patterns. These bowls were used primarily for grinding, particularly condiments for soups and stews. The Densu Valley potters asserted that grinding bowls originated from their Akan neighbours. The Ga potters started to produce them in response to local demands. Interestingly, these vessels were recovered from late nineteenth century and early twentieth century contexts. Today, households in the research area commonly use ceramic grinders and a wooden pestle in grinding cooked vegetables for preparing soups and stews.

GBE GROUP OF VESSELS

This group comprised medium, large and extra large pots. They have globular bodies with either wide or short everted rims on very sharp shoulders that separate the body from the upper parts of the vessels. The angular necks and inner rims of



some of the pots and occasionally, the bodies carried simple line incisions, simple punctates, simple curvilinear lines and a range of dots. The inner rim parts and shoulders of some of the jars are decorated with a wide range of painted designs. These include criss-cross and wavy lines, narrow bands and reticulate designs (Fig.6.8). The Densu Valley potters who were shown potsherds that carried these painted designs explained that they were achieved by painting the designs with a solution of lateritic clay and palm oil or palm kernel oil boiled in water when the vessels are in the leather hard stage. These designs are usually reddish pink but they turn into dark brown after the vessels are fired. A small number of the jars are calabash-like in shape and form with broad inturned mouths (Fig.6.6 b, c). Three sub-groups were identified:

Did

Extra large globular pots with thick everted rims that measured between 8-12 cm. Maximum rim diameter ranged between 24-36 cm while estimated vessel height was between 40-65 cm. Outer body surfaces were imperfectly burnished. They served as household vessels probably used to store water for domestic purposes. Today, in the research area these extra large water storage pots are kept in one place in the compounds resting on hollow rings such as the neck rings of old pots.

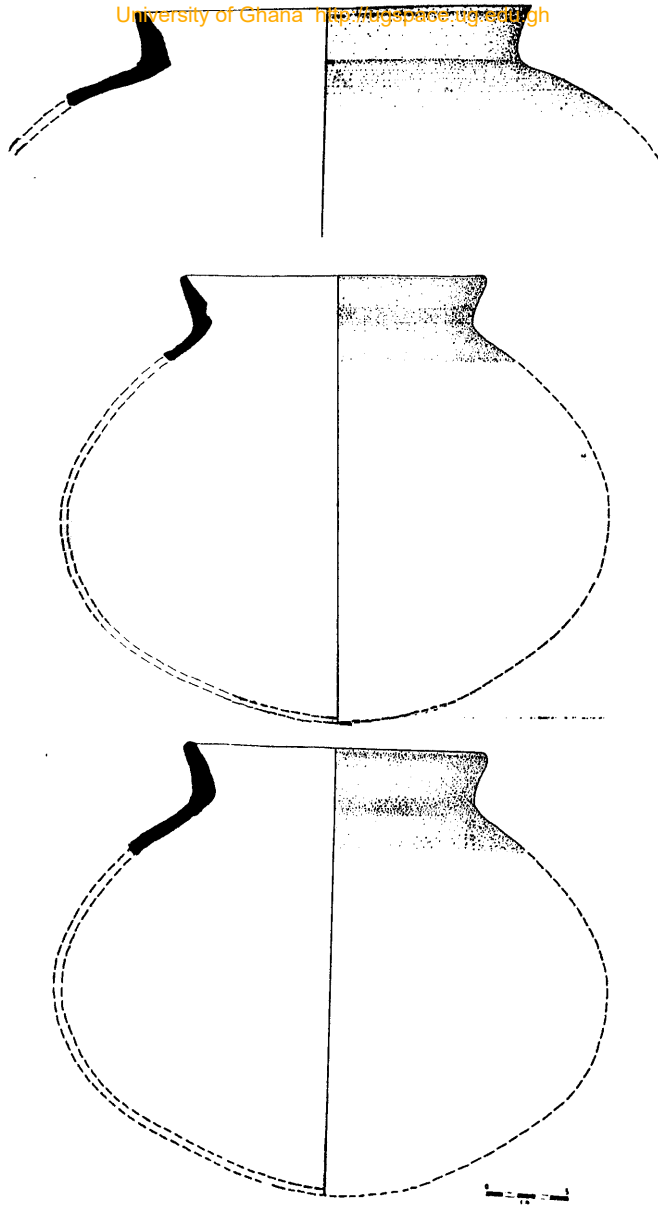


Fig.6.5 GbE Group of vessels- Jars

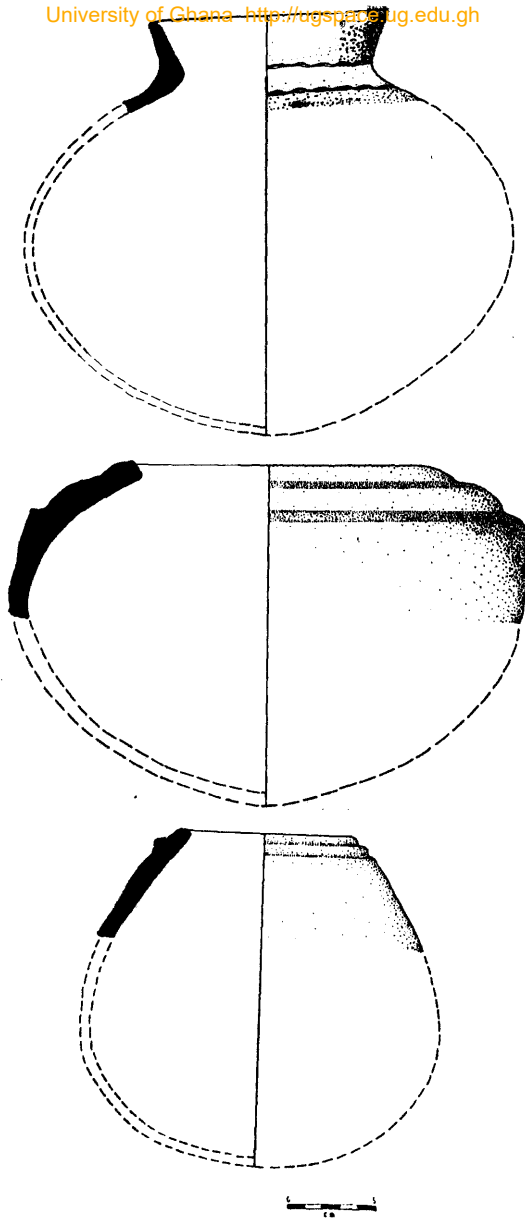


Fig.6.6 GbE Group of vessels- Jars

Tsumli gbe

Large globular pots with short everted rims on constricted necks. Estimated height ranged between 35-60 cm and rim diameter between 20-30cm. The inner portions of rims were decorated with a series of semi-circular painted designs. They may have been used to store drinking water. Today similar pots used for this purpose in the research area are kept in living rooms or very cool places in the house.

Fanyaa gbe

Large pots with constricted necks. Rim diameter ranged between 20-30 cm and estimated height about 30-50cm. The shoulder parts are decorated with cross-hatched painted lines. The local name given to these pots today means water conveyance vessels. They may have been used in the past for fetching water from the riverside to the house.

Saasɛn

This group comprised small and medium-sized, oval-bodied and round-bottomed vessels with very constricted necks. Height ranged between 18-28 cm and rim diameter between 8-16 cm. The upper body parts were burnished and sometimes fire-smudged to shiny black while the lower parts were coarse and not burnished. They may have been devoted to the storing and serving of locally produced drinks. Today these vessels are used to collect, store and dispense palm-wine (*tɛdaa*), and a non-alcoholic maize drink (*nmedaa*).

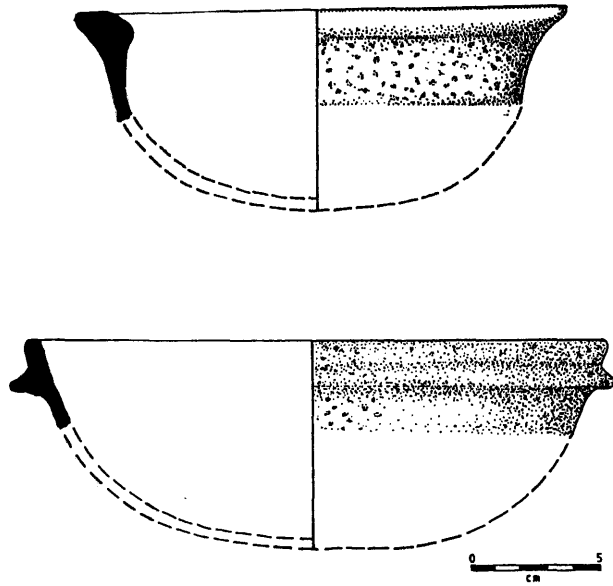
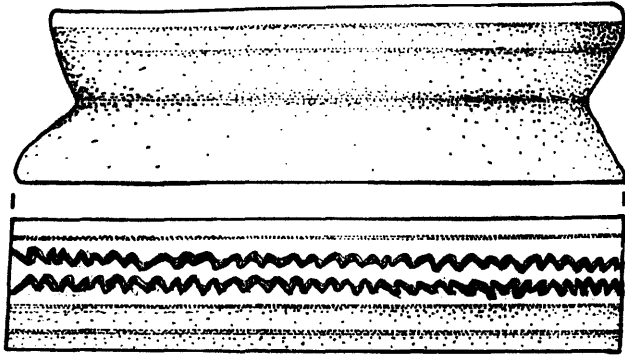
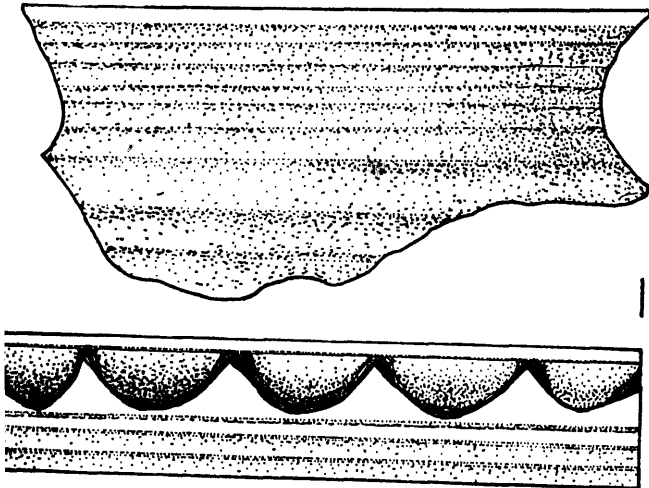


Fig. 6.7. Micaceous Wares- Bowls



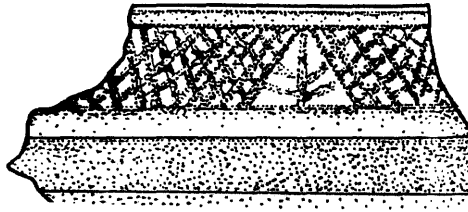
Wavy-lines design



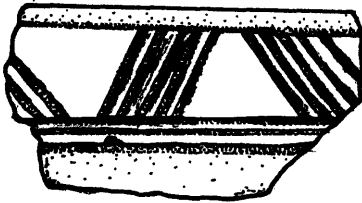
Semi-circular design



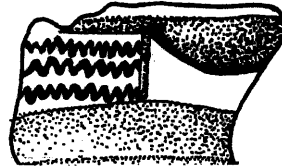
Fig.6.8 Painted decorative designs on the plantation pottery



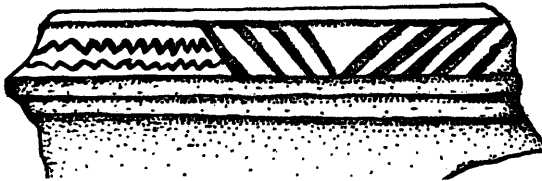
Cross-hatch design



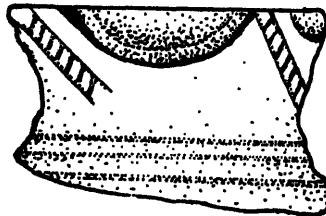
Narrow bands design



Combination of wavy-lines and semi-circular design



Combination of wavy-lines and narrow bands design



Combination of striped narrow bands and semi-circular design

Liklik

The vessels of this group were medium and large in size. They were round-bottomed with inturned rims. The vessels were burnished but not fire-smudged. There were two subgroups of vessels. The first comprised squat-like, medium-sized vessels with constricted orifices. Estimated height was between 14-24 cm and rim diameter ranged between 12-20 cm. The other sub-group consisted of large vessels with orifices that were relatively narrow. Estimated height ranged between 22-30 cm and rim diameter between 16-24 cm. The squat medium-sized vessels were probably used for cooking while the large, tall ones served as storage vessels for solid food materials such as corn dough.

MICACEOUS WARE

Vessel forms identified among this group are shallow and relatively deep bowls. The range of variation among the identified bowls is very minimal. Only four bowl forms hemispherical in shape were identified. Three of them are shallow bowls characterized by inturned mouths with a ledge around the maximum diameter. The other is a deep bowl with a T-shaped rim thickened to the exterior and the interior; and flattened horizontally on the top edge (Fig 6.7 a-b). The source of this group of vessels is not known.

Observations about the Frederiksgave Plantation Pottery

Although scientific analyses have shown that the Frederiksgave plantation pottery were manufactured in the Densu Valley, it is significant to point out that they differ markedly from pottery also produced in the same area and recovered at sites in coastal Accra dated to the sixteenth century particularly, from Ayawaso and Wodoku. The differences are apparently observed in the patterns of decoration and infusion of new forms during the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century plantation pottery carried decorations such as simple line incisions, punctates, simple grooving, a range of dots and interestingly a variety of design paintings. On the other hand the Ayawaso Phase pottery carried applied complex plastic decorations, channelling, fine multiple grooving and perforating in addition to punctates, simple grooving and incisions (Bredwa-Mensah1990: 96-123). During the nineteenth century new pottery forms characterized by distinctive, light to heavy, fire-smudged carinated vessels had been infused into the pottery repertoire of the Accra area. Again painted decorations are generally absent on pottery from southern Ghana. The only reported design-painted pots in southern Ghana have come from Vume Dugame in the Lower Volta Region (Davies 1961:35-45). But they do occur on specimens recovered from several sites in northern Ghana and Brong-Ahafo such as New Buipe (Davies1962: 4-11, York 1973: 93-160), Daboya (Shinnie and Kense 1989:124), Yendi Dabari (Shinnie and Ozanne 1962: 87-118), Begho (Crossland 1973) and Bono Manso (Effah-Gyamfi 1978). Their

presence on some of the nineteenth century vessels of the eastern Accra coast may probably point to influences from outside the Accra area.

Paul Ozanne (1962,) also noted that there was a radical difference between the pottery of the late sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century, a period he called Early Historic and that of Late Prehistoric Period in the eastern Accra coast area. Ozanne's Early Historic Period pottery is referred to as Ayawaso Phase pottery in this work. According to Ozanne, the Early Historic Period pottery was characterized by a greater standardization of wares and vessel forms. He argued that the difference in this pottery was essentially due to "a change in attitude towards form, inspired by the brass [European trade] vessels"(Ozanne 1962:65). Even though Ozanne's observations about the differences in the pottery of the two periods are correct his reason for the change is problematic. It sounds too Euro-centric. Ozanne correctly pointed out that archaeological evidence from the eastern Accra coast indicated greater urbanization, state formation and influxes of new ethnic groups due to the European presence but he did not see that the change in the pottery might have come as a result of internal influences such as demand for vessels by new ethnic groups to satisfy their domestic tastes.

The appearance of new pottery forms on the Accra coast during the nineteenth century was probably due to the heterogeneity of the coastal population during that period. The African population on the Accra coast had radically become heterogeneous due to the Atlantic slave trade and the European trade in general.

This is corroborated by the heterogeneous nature of the Frederiksgave plantation workers as revealed by demographic data in Chapter Four. It is therefore not surprising that archaeological evidence from the Frederiksgave plantation has also indicated differences in the pottery of this period and that of other sites in the Accra Plains dated to the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century A.D. The plantation pottery may reflect influences from different ethnic areas and therefore provide some indication of coastal Accra's heterogeneous nature. The presence of light and heavy carinated wares, the majority of which were fire-smudged to shiny black may indicate Akan influence. Also the design painted decorations on some of the vessels may be indications of influences from the Lower Volta basin, the interior woodland savanna and savanna grassland areas. However, in general the pottery assemblage from the plantation site appears to share characteristics with pottery from other coastal sites like Wulff's House at Osu (Bredwa-Mensah 2000) and Katamanso (Wazi Apoh pers. comm) not connected with the plantations.

Faunal Remains

Evidence about diet or food at the Frederiksgave plantation was limited to animal and fish bones, shells of land snails as well as marine and freshwater shellfish. No palaeo-botanical remains were recovered. In all, 1,490 fragments of faunal remains that weighed 8.4 kg. were recovered. The recovered specimens were analyzed and grouped into the following categories: Bovinae, Suidae, Caprinae, Carnivora, Avian, Crustacea, Reptilian, Pisces, Gastropoda and Molluscs. Tables

CLASS	COMMON & SCIENTIFIC NAMES	NO. & % OF IDENTIFIED SPECIMENS
BOVINAЕ	Cattle (<i>Bos Sp.</i>)	24 2.2
CAPRINAЕ	Sheep/Goats (<i>Ovis/Capra</i>)	330 30.3
SUIDAЕ	Pig (<i>Sus Scrofa</i>)	37 3.4
CARNIVORA	Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>)	13 1.2
BOVIDAЕ	Royal antelope (<i>Neotragus pygameus</i>)	21 1.9
	Unidentified (Large mammals)	143 13.1
	Unidentified (Small mammals)	106 9.7
RODENTIA	Giant Rat (<i>Cricetomys gambianus</i>)	71 6.5
	Grass cutter (<i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>)	202 18.5
	Ground squirrel (<i>Xerus erythropus</i>)	15 1.4
AVES	Chicken (<i>Gallus gallus</i>)	55 5.0
	Turkey (<i>Haleagris gallopavo</i>)	9 0.8
	Francolin (<i>Francolinus sp.</i>)	13 1.2
	Unidentified (Birds)	17 1.6
REPTILIA	Land tortoise (<i>Kinixys sp.</i>)	4 0.4
PISCES	Freshwater mud fish (<i>Claris sp.</i>)	18 1.7
	Unidentified (Marine fish)	12 1.1
TOTAL & %		1090 100%

Table 6.3 Showing individual species among excavated vertebrates

CLASS	COMMON & SCIENTIFIC NAMES	NO. & % OF SPECIMENS IDENTIFIED	
GASTROPODA	Giant Forest snail (<i>Achatina achatina</i>)	20	4.9
	Giant Land snail (<i>Archachatina</i>)	39	9.6
CRUSTACEA	Crab (Freshwater)	4	0.9
	Crab (Marine)	3	0.7
MOLLUSCA		53	13.1
(Freshwater)		21	5.2
	<i>Olivancillaria hiatula</i>	35	8.6
	<i>Sterescopa</i>	10	2.5
MOLLUSCA	<i>Arca senilis</i>	15	3.7
(Marine)	<i>Natica marochiensis</i>	24	5.9
	<i>Donax</i> sp.	22	5.4
	<i>Arca afra</i>	22	5.4
	<i>Thais nodisa</i>	18	4.4
	<i>Thais haemastoma</i>	74	18.2
	<i>Ostrea denticulata</i>	22	5.4
	<i>Tympanatus fuscata</i>	24	5.9
TOTAL & %		406	99.8%

Table 6.4 Showing individual species among excavated invertebrates

6.3 and 6.4 present the details of the classified faunal remains the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation exploited for food.

Vertebrates constituted the largest proportion of the faunal remains excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation site. They included both wild and domestic fauna. Remains of mammals dominated and accounted for 88.2 % by total bone count of all the faunal remains recovered. The remains of birds (8.6%) comprised the second most common class followed by fish (2.8%). Reptile remains (0.4%) comprised a minor component of the assemblage. It can be inferred from Table 6.3 that the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation exploited both wild and domestic fauna. Some of the faunal remains (25.5%) could not be identified as wild or domestic and were therefore classified as unidentified. This comprised specimens in the following categories from the vertebrates: unidentified mammals, unidentified birds and unidentified marine fish.

Three groups of invertebrates that belong to the classes Gastropoda, Crustacea and Bivalvia were recovered at Frederiksgave. These represent two types of land snail, twelve species of marine and freshwater shell-fish. Also represented were remains of freshwater and marine crabs. All the excavated specimens were edible. The frequency of classes represented in the invertebrate faunal remains at Frederiksgave indicates that marine shell-fish (65.4%) was highly exploited while freshwater shell-fish (18.3%) was the second most exploited class. Land snails

(14.5%) also formed an important component of the diet of the enslaved inhabitants on the Frederiksgave plantation. Marine and freshwater crabs comprised a minor component of the assemblage. However, crab shells are often ingested today, a practice that would mask their archaeological visibility.

Lithics

Two ground stone axes and eighteen grinding stone tools constituted the lithic assemblage recovered at Frederiksgave. Ground stone axes are locally known and called *Nyame Akuma*. The last Danish Governor on the Gold Coast, Edward Carstensen, who had great interest in African material culture, collected both ethnographic and archaeological artefacts from different parts of the Gold Coast. He visited Frederiksgave and collected three specimens of ground stone axes in the vicinity of the plantation. These stone axes were donated to the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen. Presently, they are in the collections of the Foreign Department, Section of Ethnography. H.C. Monrad (1822: 114), who served as the Chaplain in charge of the Danish trade-posts on the Guinea coast between 1805 and 1809, commented on the presence and use of ground stone axes at that time on the Gold Coast. He wrote:

“Without doubt other weapons were in use in Africa in antiquity; at least one finds a type of stones which points to this; they look from their appearance like serpentine [*greenish mineral*] and are, as it

seems, well polished, wedge-shaped or rounded and flatly pointed in the end. Probably they were, like battle-axes, tied to a shaft. Strangely, it seems to me, that I have never found this type of stones except in the indicated shapes. The Negroes call them fetish-stones, and believe that the one who is owning such has, as it is said, a strongly protecting fetish.”

Ground stone axes are known archaeologically to be Late Stone Age tools but there is no evidence for any prehistoric settlement in and around the plantation area. Among the various ethnic groups in the country, it is believed that stone axes are the products of thunder and lightning. These tools play an important role today in the ritual ceremonies of the local people. They are therefore found among herbal and plant medicinal materials that are sold by peddlers of traditional medicine at market places. The examples from Frederiksgave may have continued in use long after their manufacture.

The grinding stones are made of rock materials that are available in the locality. They included quartzite, sandstone and schist. They are characterized by smooth worn-out or abraded surfaces suggesting evidence of having been used for grinding or rubbing purposes. They are of various shapes and vary from those with flat surfaces on both sides to others that are rounded, rectangular and nearly oval (Plate 6.2). Some of them had concave depressions on the already worn out surfaces indicating that they were later used as pounding objects. The grinding stones were fairly evenly distributed throughout the archaeological record.



Plate 6.2 Grinding stones

Grinding stones were used in diverse processing contexts. For instance potters used them in preparing clay and temper. However, the distribution pattern of these tools in the excavated profiles is significant as it is probably an indication of their been connected with food preparation (Chapter Seven).

Brass Objects

Metalworking was an important and well-established craft in West Africa long before the nineteenth century. The production of objects of iron and copper alloys is known archaeologically on the Gold Coast in pre-nineteenth century contexts. Imported brass from Europe was used to produce a wide range of artefacts on the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century.

Two brass oil lamps were among the excavated objects at Frederiksgave (Plate 6.3). The oil lamps, which are rectangular in shape measured 8 x 7 cm and 7.4 x 6.2 cm respectively. The four top corners of each of the lamps have been beaten to form short open channels to accommodate twisted dry grass or a strip of old cloth as wick. One of the ends could also serve as a handle. Some type of plant oil such as palm oil or palm kernel oil was probably used to keep the lamp burning. It is difficult to tell whether they were moulded of sheet brass or pieces scavenged from old brass basins, pans and plates. A pair of cast brass bells otherwise known as crotula was among the excavated metal objects. Castings of this type are known ethnographically as part of the paraphernalia of the dance ensembles of some ethnic groups in northern Ghana, particularly the Frafra people.

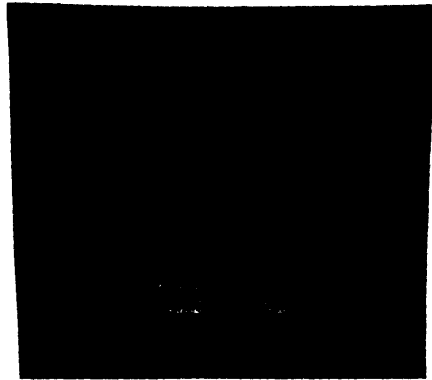


Plate 6.3 Brass oil lamp.

Beads

The locally produced beads were relatively small in number. Only 25 specimens made up of stone, shell and glass turned up from the excavation. These constituted 4.6% of the total number of beads recovered. In spite of the small number, they were of interest because they represent bead types that presently feature prominently in the traditional setting. Unfortunately, archaeologists casually mention the recovery of these beads without investigating the variety of traditions they represent.

Stone beads

Eleven of the beads were made from stone materials. Seven of them were bauxite beads and the other four were quartz beads (Plate 6.4 a & b). Three of the quartz beads were crudely fashioned and bi-conically perforated. All the seven bauxite beads were disc-shaped. The Akan-speaking Akyem people in the Eastern Region of Ghana presently produce bauxite beads. The Akan people call the beads, *aboo* while their Ga-Dangbe speaking neighbours call them *Akyem te* (which literally means Akyem stone). Six Akyem villages straddled along the foothills of the Begoro Plateau have exploited the bauxite resources of two local hills, Odumparara Bepo and Ataso for bead making (Shaw 1945:45-50, Bredwa-Mensah 1996/97: 11-21). Production is now centered at the village of Abompe. The bead makers chip the raw bauxite cobbles or slabs into smaller blank pre-forms. The chipped blanks are then drilled on the flat surface by using bow drills.

The drilled preforms are slipped on lorry-tyre spokes and firmly secured in place by small fruit nuts at the ends of the spokes. The beads are then rubbed back and forth on a hard grinding stone of sandstone or quartzite until the edges are evenly shaped. To speed up the grinding process small volumes of water are scooped by hand and poured on the beads while grinding. Finished beads are strung on raffia fibre in preparation for marketing. Intermediary traders, mostly women, travel to the bead making area to purchase the beads for re-sale in local markets. The Akyem bauxite beads are traded throughout Ghana and her immediate neighbours namely, Burkina Faso, Togo and Cote d' Ivoire. Beads likely produced in Akyem have been noted in Sierra Leone, Senegal, Mali, South Africa, Zimbabwe and the United States of America (DeCorse 1996: pers. comm.).

Apart from the specimens recovered from the Frederiksgave Plantation site, small numbers of bauxite beads have been excavated from a couple of Iron Age/Historic sites in other parts of the country. Excavation conducted by Nunoo (1957: 12) at Asebu produced twenty glass trade beads and locally produced stone beads. One of the stone beads was made from bauxite. Through the association of imported ceramics probably from the Rhineland and European smoking pipes, he estimated that the site might pre-date 18th century A.D. Anquandah (1992c: 35-6) has excavated the site of Adwuku Hill, an Iron Age/ Historic hill top settlement of Dangme-Shai. The site produced a total of 98 assorted beads. Two of them were bauxite beads. The beads were recovered from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century A.D. contexts. Excavations at Ladoku, another ancient Ga-

Dangme settlement produced 140 beads. Many of the beads were recovered from a large rubbish pit. Eleven of the beads were fashioned from various stones, namely quartz, carnelian, agate and bauxite. The chronological sequence of the site spans the period, 1400 - 1700 A.D (Anquandah n.d). Archaeological research at the old Ga capital of Ayawaso near Accra yielded a number of beads. Seven of them were bauxite beads recovered from stratigraphic layers dated between 1620 and 1680 A.D (Bredwa-Mensah 1990).

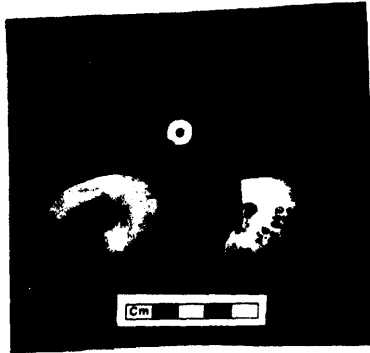
Shell beads

Fifteen shell beads were excavated from the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation. All of them were made from grey/white marine shells. They were mainly flat, cylindrical discs. In addition, short faceted as well as square tabular and square cylinder types were recovered (Plate 6.4c). The local communities on the south-east coastland particularly, the Ga-Dangme and Anlo call the shell beads *afli*. The Danish physician, Paul Erdmann Isert (1788 [trans] 1992:114) who served at Christiansborg described the ornamentation of Akra (Accra) women in one of his private correspondence to Copenhagen in the late eighteenth century. Additionally, he provided a brief description of the technique used by the local peoples to manufacture shell beads on the Gold Coast. He wrote:

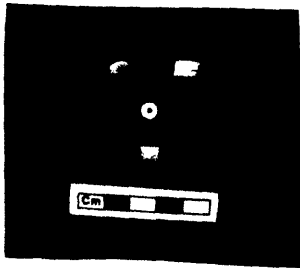
“Their further ornamentation is so extremely varied that one could write a book if one wanted to describe all the kinds of adornment. Some wear ear-rings of the European kind; others wear a necklace of

beads. They make a type of bead out of white mussel shells, which they grind with stones for this purpose”.

The shell beads were recovered from different levels of both the upper and lower stratigraphic horizons. Marine shell beads have been recovered at archaeological sites that chronologically range from the prehistoric Late Stone Age to the Iron Age/Historic Period. The earliest known beads in Ghana have been recovered from archaeological contexts in the K-6 and K-8 rock shelters at Kintampo in the Brong Ahafo Region. These Kintampo Culture sites are dated by radiocarbon age determination to about 1450 B.C. This was about the period when the Pupun Phase populations of the Late Stone Age were being replaced by the pioneers of farming and settled village life known as the Kintampo Culture people in Ghana. Two burials of a female adult and a young male adult excavated at the K-6 and K-8 sites respectively were adorned with beads. The female adult wore a necklace of small disc shell beads while the male adult also wore stone beads on the wrists of both hands (Flight 1967: 69). Ntereso, another Kintampo Culture site located in the savanna grassland region of Northern Ghana has also yielded a large number of small-sized shell beads (Davies 1980:219). Excavations conducted at the ancient Ga settlement of Ayawaso produced a variety of ninety beads. Out of that number, thirteen were marine shell beads of different sizes and shapes. The beads were recovered from dateable contexts between the sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries A.D. The ancient hill top settlement of Dawu in the hinterland of the Accra coast has also produced a number of beads including those of shell (Shaw



Stone beads



Shell beads



Polychrome powder beads

Plate 6.4 African-made beads.

1961:72). The site which clearly belongs to the Iron Age/Historic Period was probably contemporaneous to Ayawaso. Anquandah (1992c: 35) excavated ninety-eight assorted beads from the ancient Dangme-Shai hill top settlement of Adwuku. They included European glass beads, Indian carnelian, cowries and locally made beads of stone and marine shells.

Powder –glass beads

Thirteen glass beads manufactured locally were recovered from the Frederiksgave site. The origins of glass beads among the various local communities in West Africa are steeped in myths. According to Kumekpor and others (1995:15), traditions of the Akan, Ga-Dangme and Ewe of Ghana, about the origins of ancient glass beads refer to them as 'rainbow beads and are deemed to have come from the house of God in the Sky. These beads are believed to be found at the end of the rainbow (in the forest) after a rainfall'. Statements such as these describe events and conditions, which are difficult to substantiate with historical, archaeological and ethnographic facts. The absence of chronological framework and systematic documentation on the origin of bead traditions encouraged a general belief that bead working in West Africa presumably depended on imported sources of glass (Lamb 1969). However, there is a tenuous hypothesis that silica glass, a by- product of iron smelting could have been used for the manufacture of beads (van Landewijk 1970: 96).

Historical evidence provided by early European writers who visited West Africa as from the fifteenth century onwards noted that trade in beads and other commodities already existed along the coast. The European traders seized upon this trade and eventually monopolized it (Kimble 1936: 120, van Dantzig and Jones 1987:120). According to Ozanne (1962:65 footnote), the European traders particularly, the Dutch were known to have bought the beads known variously as *aggrey*, *aigris*, *accary*, *akori*, *acoris* and *koli* from the coast of Accra for sale further west on the Guinea Coast as from the mid-seventeenth century AD. Unfortunately, positive identification of the material the original *aggrey* bead is made of is difficult although it has been hypothesized that it was made of coral, stone, glass or iron slag (Davison 1970, Fage 1962, Kalous 1979, Landewijk 1970, Mauny 1958).

A type of local bead industry with firm archaeological evidence to show that its antiquity goes back at least four hundred years is the powder-glass bead making. A number of Iron Age/Historic Period sites in Ghana have produced powder-glass beads. Excavation conducted by Calvocoressi (1969:69) at the funerary terracotta site of Adansi Ahinsan yielded powder-glass beads. The site is dated between 1680-1750. Powder-glass beads have been reported from Twifo Hemang another funerary terracotta site by Jim Bellis (1972:85) and dated to 1690-1710. The mound site of Dawu in Akuapem, excavated by Shaw (1961) and dated to between 1400-1700 also yielded locally produced powder-glass beads and a variety of European trade beads. Christopher DeCorse (1998b: 202-3) has

reported that powder-glass beads were among a large variety of non-European beads recovered in eighteenth century contexts at the abandoned old Elmina settlement.

Today powder-glass beads are produced in several villages in Asante (e.g. Dabaa, Asamang, Ohwim and Abrade) and other villages in Kroboland (e.g. Somanya, Odumase and Sikaben) using techniques that are perhaps ancient. Powder-glass beads are produced by crushing and pulverizing glass usually scrap bottles into a fine powder. The powder glass is then poured into fired clay moulds with cavities that may produce beads, which are conical, cylindrical or prismatic in shape. The cavities in the clay moulds may be horizontal or longitudinal. Long tubular beads are produced on the moulds with horizontal cavities while relatively short disc beads are formed on those that carry longitudinal cavities. To form the beads pieces of dry cassava leaf stalk are placed in the cavities. The glass powder is then poured in the cavities. If polychrome or multi-coloured beads are to be formed, glass powder of different colours are poured in combination or alternatively into the cavities depending on the design wanted. Once a number of moulds have been filled they are placed in an updraft oven. The heat in the oven then causes the powder glass to coalesce and the cassava stalks to burn resulting in perforated sintered beads. The finished beads are shaken from the moulds, cleaned in water and sometimes polished and smeared with shea butter oil.

The powder-glass beads recovered from the slave village on the Frederiksgave Plantation included polychrome types with either straight or spiral stripes and monochrome types of blue, green and brown. They were retrieved from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century contexts (Plate 6.4d).

Pottery Discs

Four pottery discs were among the locally produced objects excavated at the plantation site. They measured 2.4 - 4. cm in diameter and weighed between 3.86-6.59g. Archaeologists have recovered similar pottery discs at Iron Age/ Historic sites in Ghana. These sites include Dawu (Shaw 1961:54), New Buipe (York 1973:30), Amuowi (Effah-Gyamfi 1974 196-200), Begho (Posnansky 1976:57, Crossland 1989:45), Banda (Stahl 1998:67-72), Wodoku and Bonoso (Boachie-Ansah 1998:8, 2000:11). Thurstan Shaw (1961:54) has described these rounded pottery objects as gaming pieces. Tim Garrard (1975:60, 1980:180-81) has given another explanation that these objects were probably used to weigh gold dust. According to Garrard the ceramic discs from Begho, New Buipe and Amuowi relatively conform to the Islamic *mitkal* and *uqiya* standard weights of North Africa. It is difficult to tag the four discs from the plantation site as gold weights.

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION:

GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS AND SLAVE LIFEWAYS ON THE FREDERIKSGAVE PLANTATION

The processes of globalization characterized by Europe-centered economy that engulfed and dominated Africa and the rest of the Atlantic world affected these so-called peripheral regions in different ways. The European contact enabled African societies to participate in a broader political economic system that supplied European mass-produced goods in exchange for Africa's natural products. The encounter, which was dynamic and complex largely made an impact on local lifeways. In West Africa, the impact of global encounters differed in the coastal areas where indigenous African societies were directly entwined in socio-economic contact with European traders and the hinterland regions, which had indirect or remote links with these encounters.

Archaeologists have noted the consequences of the European contact on coastal African communities. Christopher DeCorse (1989b, 1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1997, 1998) combining oral traditions and written historical information with archaeological data has illustrated in his discussion of African-European interaction at Elmina that between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries a great deal of technological and social change took place within cultural continuities in the Elmina society. According to Decorse, excavations at Elmina (Gold Coast) turned out quite large numbers of both locally produced artefacts

and European imports. Among the imports there was material from different parts of Europe, Africa and Asia testifying to the global nature of the trade links and Elmina's incorporation into a world economic system dominated by Europe. Although a small coastal village of only several hundred Africans, Elmina had grown into a large town with a population of about 15,000 by the nineteenth century due to her global trade connections. His research revealed that the African population at Elmina enjoyed assorted foreign luxury goods such as smoking pipes, bottled drinks, ceramics and glassware as well as clothes and firearms. In addition, rich African merchants at Elmina lived in multi-layered stone constructed houses. Nevertheless the people of Elmina maintained an African lifestyle as they kept household shrines and buried the dead beneath house floors. Also the presence of zoo-archaeological remains believed to have been exploited for food, grindstones and locally manufactured ceramics reflected African foodways and therefore continuity in African traditional practice.

The research of Ken Kelly (1997, 1999) at Savi, the capital of the kingdom of Whydah on the Slave Coast (now the area from Togo to western Nigeria) also illustrates the responses of indigenous Africans to the European contact between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. The kingdom of Whydah extended over 60 km from the coast of modern Benin. It burst into international fame in the late seventeenth century and Savi became an important trading port that accommodated European traders namely the Dutch, Danes, English, French and Portuguese. From Savi, the European traders shipped African slaves from the

interior and coastal regions of the Bight of Benin to the New World. Dahomey, an interior state destroyed the Whydah kingdom in 1727 and Savi was never occupied. Archaeological investigation at Savi by Kelly revealed that the town extended more than 2 km across. Mounds of varying dimensions representing domestic refuse dumps and former buildings and a system of substantial ditches and embankments characterized the on-site surface configuration. Excavations showed that Savi was divided into two distinct sectors: the royal district and the commoner district. The royal district was confined within the ditch system whilst the ordinary people lived outside of it. A palace complex of long narrow rooms with Dutch brick-lined floors arranged to enclose a large rectilinear compound was excavated within the elite zone. Kelly combined documentary evidence, oral traditions and archaeological data to investigate the political and social meanings of the trade contact between the Whydah society and European traders who lived at Savi. The emerging picture in this contact setting is one in which the Whydah king and the elite ruling class exploited the benefits accrued from the European trade to enhance their political and socio-economic status. The market at Savi was located in the elite district and very close to the palace complex where trade interactions could be scrutinized and controlled by the ruling elite. The European trading posts at Savi were built within the enclosure of the royal palace. The European presence was therefore circumscribed with walls and royal regulations. This indeed was very unique in contrast to other regions on the coast particularly the Gold Coast where European trading posts were placed directly on the shore overlooking the African towns.

In the interior regions, Ann Stahl (1994, 1998,1999) combines historical information, ethnographic and archaeological data to generate insights into the responses of the indigenous Banda society of west-central Ghana (Gold Coast) to trade encounters in the late eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth century. Archaeological data representing three phases of occupation: Kuulo, Early Makala and Late Makala during the period under consideration, reveals that the Banda society experienced kaleidoscopic patterns of continuity and change in settlement, abandonment, craft production, subsistence and exchange (Stahl 1999:74). During the Kuulo phase, which is reflected in the occupation of Kuulo Kataa, villages characterized settlement pattern in the Banda area where specialists like potters, iron smelters and farmers engaged in their specialist pursuits. The Banda society at this period participated in regional trade in craft and subsistence goods as well as interregional trade in prestige goods with the Middle Niger area and the Mediterranean World. However, carbonized remains of New World crops particularly maize recovered at Kuulo Kataa points to coastal connections and for that matter participation in the Atlantic trade.

After a period of dislocation due to Asante conquest the Banda society enjoyed relative stability during the Early Makala Phase. Archaeological data reveal that the Banda society relied on local resources for subsistence, building, craft production and exchange. People continued to build rectangular compound houses with local materials. Local craft production continued with households producing

and consuming their own food and textiles while pottery and metal goods required for household activities were obtained through local exchange networks. Trade in material goods with the Atlantic coast was very limited due to Asante control of the long-distance exchange networks in the hinterland areas. However, as from this period the Banda area began to supply slaves to Asante and the Atlantic trade.

The Banda area came under the control of the British in the late nineteenth century when Asante hegemony over the ethnic groups in the forest and interior savanna regions was broken by British invasion of Asante in 1874. The Late Makala Phase represents this period. Archaeological evidence corroborated by oral historical sources indicate that after a period of lingering uncertainty and dislocation the Banda people settled down to rebuild their society. Excavations turned up many European manufactured goods including luxuries such as kaolin smoking pipes, glass beads and drink bottles of which some probably contained alcoholic beverages. There was greater reliance on maize, cassava and groundnuts New World food crops and a decline in the consumption of sorghum, an indigenous African cereal. It is evident that Banda villages were vitally drawn into broader exchange networks that supplied European manufactured goods. Village life also changed as the Banda people were compelled by British administrators to lay their villages in grid fashion, adopt organized cemeteries and participate in a monetized colonial economy.

Even though the research efforts cited are not exhaustive, it is clear that scholars who have investigated the effects of the European contact in West Africa have painted this important aspect of the African past in broad wide strokes. Again, none of these investigations has focused on slave contact settings. Therefore there are gaps in our understanding of the processes that unfolded during the European contact in West Africa. The former Danish plantation sites are unique as they afford the opportunity to apply a perspective on global processes for understanding local level societal events and thereby fill some of the yawning gaps in our understanding of the impact of global encounters on a peripheral society. The uniqueness of the Danish plantations for such a research focus is due to three main factors. Firstly, unlike slave sites located within African settlements, which are not archaeologically visible, the Danish plantations located in the coastal hinterland and directly associated with the European presence are relatively well preserved and therefore visible. Secondly, they constitute individual contact settings that form only a small component of the complex encounters, which unfolded due to the European presence. Thirdly, the interaction on the plantations occurred in a specific historical context: that of the transition from the export slave trade to the export of commercial agricultural produce. Rather than focus on the European aspect of the interaction, during that transitional period, this study has sought to investigate the social effects of this interaction on the enslaved Africans who laboured on the plantations and how they responded to the contact situation.

The Intersection of Daily Life on the Frederiksgave Plantation with Global Processes

As already noted (in Chapter Three), Denmark's commercial interests in West Africa began in the seventeenth century. This was long after the Portuguese and later the Dutch, English and French had established trade contacts on the Guinea coast. The Danish enterprise in West Africa may be seen as part of the European overseas trade relations generally. At the time Denmark entered the arena of overseas trade her economy was largely peripheral to that of the capitalist core countries of Europe namely, England, France and Holland (DeCorse 1993:153). However, by the close of the seventeenth century, Denmark had gained status as one of the minor colonial powers occupying a strategically important position in the European-centered global economy (Hernæs 1995:173). Denmark's overseas ventures were characterized by expanding commercial network linking her so-called 'colonial possessions' in Asia, the West Indies and Africa including the plantation system on the Gold Coast.

How were the Gold Coast plantations incorporated in the Danish (European) economic system? My analysis of the concern raised by this question proceeds from the argument of R.A. Kea (1995:123) that the Danish plantation system on the south-east Gold Coast originated from 'a concerted political effort by Denmark to establish an agricultural colony, a projected alternative to the external slave trade'. This 'colony' was perceived to become a source of crops associated

with industrial manufacturing, processing and consumption. The Danes were therefore to use the crops from the plantations and the trade in the so-called legitimate 'colonial products' to feed their industrial sector and in exchange, export mass-produced industrial goods to the Danish Guinea establishment and thereby create wealth to support the Danish economy.

Denmark's interests in the Gold Coast plantations stemmed from both internal and external factors. Internally, in the eighteenth century the Danish economy registered significant growth due to trade boom. However, this flourishing period collapsed and the Danish economy suffered losses. In the nineteenth century Denmark tried to find her way back to the world market of shipping and trade. It is significant to note that this positive policy pursued by Denmark created opportunities for economic development, which internally contributed to the social transformation in the Danish rural agrarian structure and urban growth. The agrarian reforms involved the emancipation of peasants as manorial tenants from feudal ties and their transformation to a peasant-farmer class of free landholders. The agrarian reforms led to the promotion of capitalist relations among rural peasant folks and the eventual emergence of a petit bourgeoisie class in the agrarian sector (Kea 1995:138). As regards the urban sector growth, the Danish historian Vagn Wahlin (1980:153) perceptively points out that:

"In the second half of the eighteenth century a grand bourgeois milieu that was in many respects international in character with a club life and

political debate in the newspapers and journals developed in Copenhagen. It was based on commercial and financial circles, the leading officials of the strong Danish Absolutist State and some of the large landowners who had links with the centre and a residence in Copenhagen”.

These internal developments were inextricably linked to the external factor: the world market. Wahlin (op cit) further explains, “This urban growth enabled Copenhagen and ultimately the provincial towns to cease merely being an appendage to the agrarian sector and to develop on their own terms in constant interaction with, on the one hand, the agrarian sector and, on the other, foreign industry and the world market”.

It is the interaction of the expanding Danish economy with the world market (in our case the Danish establishment on the Gold Coast and precisely the plantations) that this study is partly concerned with. Denmark’s interests in the plantations can be seen as part of a deliberate state policy, to create enabling conditions for a revival of the Danish long-distance international trade. The positive internal socio-economic developments in Denmark led to an increase in the consumption of tropical products especially sugar and coffee. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Danish need for sugar for instance, was met by the production of Danish West Indies. Coffee, another tropical crop also became popular as the habit of drinking this product spread to all layers of Danish

society. Denmark's industrial sector needed tobacco, cotton and dye-wood, as well as other vegetal fibres to produce industrial trade goods for both internal consumption and export. The high consumption pattern of these tropical products always created a short fall in supply, which had to be met. The Danish plantation system on the Gold Coast, which experimented with these and other tropical crops, can therefore be perceived as a source to produce and supply the much needed, industrial raw materials to augment the Danish economy.

There is no doubt that the plantations on the Gold Coast were enmeshed in the global processes unleashed by the European presence. But what can be gleaned from the available data in respect to the daily life of the enslaved people who laboured on the plantations as these agricultural settlements intersected with such intercontinental relations? The material inventory from the Frederiksgave plantation coupled with ethnographic data, oral information and written historical accounts allow us to investigate the daily life of the enslaved people on the plantation. Written historical accounts provide an overview of the slave society by describing events that affected the daily life of the inhabitants on the plantation. Observations of contemporary traditional practices in the study area provide general insight into how the enslaved people perceived and manipulated the material world around them. The range of material culture recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation site and presented in Chapters Five and Six constitute a major database for archaeological inference. Encoded in the archaeological objects is a wealth of information on the activities carried out on

the plantation and about the enslaved people who acquired, used and discarded these objects. These artefacts include storage items, tools, kitchen-related objects, construction hardware, clothing and jewelry, weapons and many more. The artefacts represent tangible evidence of the daily activities, housing, subsistence, personal adornment, exchange system, leisure and general lifestyle of the enslaved people who cultivated the Frederiksgave plantation.

Our view of the daily life of the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation begins with housing. Unfortunately, very little literal information with respect to the size of plantation villages was obtained from the Danish Archives. Apart from the ground plans of two unidentified plantation houses, which were stumbled upon, no contemporary ground plans or illustrations of entire plantations were obtained. However, early nineteenth-century Danish accounts mentioned that the plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains had small slave villages by each. Djabing the slave village on the Frederiksgave plantation consisted of two rows of ten houses on each side of the tree-lined alley that linked Christiansborg on the coast to the plantations in the interior.

Balthasar Mathias Christensen (1831:275), a Danish official on the Gold Coast observed that the plantation slaves lived in “cottages of clay, battened in wood and thatched with grass”. He intimated further that these slave dwellings were cheap and easy to construct and that, they were put up by the slaves “without a whit of expense to the [plantations] owners”. Despite these uncomplimentary

comments and the lack of detailed description of slave houses by Christensen, it is significant to remark that the slaves on the plantations constructed their houses in the typical vernacular architectural style of the coastal hinterland commonly called wattle and daub. Paul Erdmann Isert (1788 [trans] 1992:280) provides further insight into similar dwellings constructed by the Akuapem in the late eighteenth century. He observed:

“The houses of the Mountain Blacks [Akuapem] are square, being built of poles, and the walls are covered with clay. The interiors are kept very clean. The floor is washed every morning with red earth, which gives it a very nice appearance... the houses are not more than one storey high...”

Today there is continuity with the construction of wattle and daub dwellings at Sesemi, the present village where the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation moved to in the early decades of the twentieth century. A building of this architectural design may either be a single or double-unit structure almost square/rectangular in shape and measuring about 3 x 5 m. sq. (Plate 7.1). The corners of the layout and foundation of such a house are marked by four forked-shaped, upright posts firmly placed in the ground. In-between the four corner posts, a few more vertical posts are placed. Thin, pliable sticks called wattle are woven into the posts and then plastered with plastic clay [daub] to produce the house. Meanwhile, the four corner posts are linked together at the top by an equal

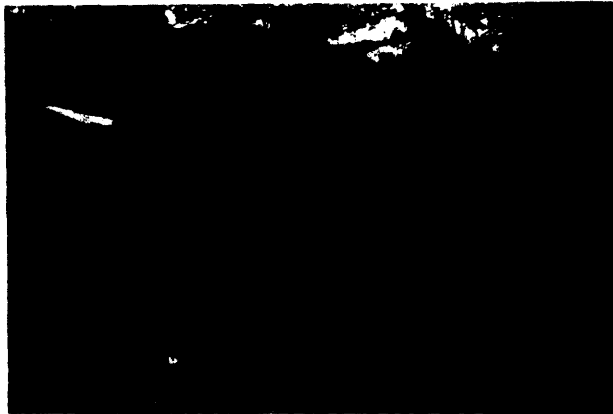


Plate 7.1 Wattle and daub architecture, Sesemi village.

number of horizontal sticks. The rafters of the roof that link together in a crest rest on the horizontal sticks. To complete the house, the roof rafters are covered with thick, plaited raffia palm leaves or dry grass to provide a thatch. The building is primarily used for sleeping accommodation. A fence around the house provides an inner space where daily activities such as cooking, eating, animal raising and various forms of socialization are conducted.

No physical traces of slave dwellings were found during the dig. However, pieces of pole impressed reddish-brown clay lumps believed to have been part of broken walls of wattle and daub houses used by the slaves corroborates the literal evidence that the plantation slaves lived in timber and clay buildings. In contrast, the plantation houses where the owners or the overseers lived were constructed with cut and dressed stone blocks from the rock formation of the Akuapem Mountains. It is interesting to note that the enslaved people did not copy this European way of building. However, the presence of construction hardware such as hand-cut nails and spikes, iron hinges and door locks shows that the slaves adopted European building materials in the construction of their houses. The precise overall dimensions of the slaves' dwellings are not known likewise the daily activities that took place in them. However, it can be conjectured that the enslaved people on the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains utilized the physical spaces in and around their houses for various daily activities such as sleeping, shelter, raising of animals, storage, cooking and socializing.

In Chapter Four (Tables 4.1 and 4.2) a demographic analysis of the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation was presented. Of the total of 32 enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation in 1831-2, males represented 59%, while 41% were females. Between 1833-5, there were 42 slaves on the plantation. Adult males of that number constituted 45% and 19% stood for adult females. Boys and girls were 14% and 5% respectively, while the remaining 17 % stood for children. It is clear from these figures that the proportions of male slaves to females were deliberately skewed in favour of the former. A picture that emerges from Table 4.2 strongly suggests that the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation and perhaps the other plantations comprised heterogeneous ethnic groups such as Akan, Ga-Dangme, Ewe and those of northern Sudanic extraction. Could such diverse enslaved people establish family and kinship networks within the context of plantation slavery? Marriage is the starting point for establishing family structure and kinship networks. It was the responsibility of a Danish plantation owner to provide his male slave with a wife (Christensen 1831:275). However, in practical terms adult male slaves could contract their own marriages within the enslaved plantation communities. Children of such marriages became slaves and remained the property of the plantation owner as their slave parents although it was the responsibility of enslaved couples to bear the reproduction costs of their households. In as much as the plantation slaves did not have control over their destinies; and the fact that innocent slave children had no choice but remained the property of plantation owners, it would not be far fetched to say that ties of fictive kinship bound families together on the plantations.

Plantation agriculture required intensive labour. Enslaved people comprising men, women and children provided the required labour to cultivate the Danish plantations on the southeast Gold Coast. As indicated above, the enslaved labourers on the Frederiksgave plantation constituted a heterogeneous group drawn mainly from ethnic groups on the Gold Coast. The daily tasks of the slaves were tough and demanding. The labour management system, which operated on the plantations, was that slaves worked for their owners three or four days in a week (Christensen 1831:275). The rest of the days were given to the slaves to attend to their private needs. However, slaves could forfeit their 'free' days in order to complete urgent and pressing plantation assignments such as sowing and harvesting. The production processes on the plantations dictated the duties of the enslaved workforce. Generally, the plantations specialized in the production of both subsistence and commercial crops, which were either seasonal or perennial. The major crops cultivated on the Frederiksgave plantation were coffee, cotton and maize. Other crops cultivated included sugar cane, orange, lemon, banana, plantain, cassava, tamarind and guava. The required slave duties included bush clearing, planting, hoeing, harvesting, smoke-drying coffee beans and transporting harvests by head loading to warehouses on the coast as well as conveying provisions like salt, fish and trade goods back to the plantations (Nørregård 1964:44-5). No information about the work detail on the plantations was obtained. It is therefore difficult to say whether in the field the enslaved labourers worked in gangs or each slave was assigned a specific field task to be completed each day.

The production management on the plantations was under the close supervision of overseers/managers and headmen. The overseers were either Danes or free men brought down from the Danish West Indies to manage the plantations. They lived in stone-block houses put up on the plantations by the proprietors. Grønberg, a mill-builder and a pensioned non-commissioned officer at Christiansborg, managed the Frederiksgave plantation for several years (Jeppesen 1966:87). The supervision of slaves in the field was the responsibility of the headman otherwise called a *bomba*. He was also a slave and his major responsibility was to ensure that slaves did not malingering in the field.

Written documentary sources and archaeological data provide evidence about the subsistence of the enslaved workers on the plantations. According to Danish documentary accounts the slaves were responsible for their own subsistence. However, the plantation owners provided their slaves with farm tools, household goods and a flintlock musket to start them up on the plantations. To meet their daily food requirements slaves were allotted plots of land to farm. On the Frederiksgave plantation slaves used their so-called free times to cultivate maize, cassava, yams, plantain and a variety of vegetables for their daily subsistence.

Archaeological data provides a great deal more information about the subsistence base of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation. No palaeobotanical remains were recovered. Direct evidence about the diet of the workforce

on the Frederiksgave plantation was a variety of faunal remains including animal and fish bones, shells of land snails as well as marine and freshwater shellfish. The animal bones represented both wild and domesticated types. The wild animals exploited by the slaves were antelopes, grass cutters, giant rats, ground squirrels, land tortoise and small birds like francolins. Among the identified domesticates were cattle, sheep/goats, pigs, chickens and turkeys.

The list of wild fauna suggests that the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation adopted a mixed strategy of hunting trapping and collecting to obtain the protein component of their subsistence. Documentary accounts mention that plantation owners supplied their slaves with guns. The recovery of parts of flintlock muskets and flint stones (strike-a-light) confirms that the slaves on the Frederiksgave plantation had access to firearms. They may have used either the flintlock muskets provided by their master or a variety of traps to obtain wild animals such as antelopes, grass cutters, giant rats, ground squirrels and small birds especially francolins. The slaves also collected freshwater shellfish and two kinds of giant land snails for food. The land snails, *Archachatina* and *Achatina achatina* today occur in the gallery forests along the banks of the nearby Dakobi and Mamman streams. The villagers in the research area presently collect land snails for food.

Remains of freshwater and marine fish, crabs and shellfish were among the excavated faunal resources at the Frederiksgave plantation site. Together they

constituted an important component of the slaves' diet. The freshwater fish, crabs and shellfish were perhaps collected from the Dakobi and Mamman streams while the marine and estuarine resources could have been obtained by the slaves whenever they visited the Accra coast. Most of the animal bones excavated were broken and only a few showed butchering marks. Also some of these bones were charred indicating that meat was roasted. These observed conditions of the bones are consistent with the food processing practices in Ghana today. Meat is roasted to keep from going bad. Bones are often cracked during consumption to extract marrow. Soups probably consisted of a mixture of pulverized vegetables combined with meat, fish and snails in varying degrees. Cooked yams, cassava, plantains and maize were perhaps combined in different ways and eaten with soups, stews and sauces.

The profile of domesticated animal remains recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation indicates that the slaves on the plantation probably raised chickens, turkeys, pigs and sheep/goats. These were perhaps allowed free range to roam the neighbourhood during the daytime returning to their owners in the slave village at the nightfall. The eggs of poultry (chickens and turkeys) probably supplemented slaves' diet. While some of the animals reared by the slaves may have been sold to get money to buy needed items such as salt and European trade goods.

Lithic objects and ceramics related to the processing, serving and consumption of food were among the artefacts recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation. Eighteen

grinding stone tools exhibiting worn-out surfaces perhaps due to persistent grinding were recovered. They were fairly distributed throughout the excavation profiles. Presently, in the research area, cooked vegetables used as condiments are pulverized using a grinding stone or pottery mortar prior to the preparation of soups, stews and sauces. The presence of grinding stones, the charred and shattered nature of majority of the recovered animal bones are consistent with the diet of mixed dishes of soups, stews and sauces prepared and consumed in the research area today. Both locally produced and imported ceramic wares provide circumstantial clues to the diet of the slaves. Among the locally produced utilitarian pottery those related to food preparation and consumption were cooking pots (*likɔlikɔ*), eating bowls (*ka/ayowa*), grating bowls (*ka/apɔtyowa*) and soup preparation bowls (*wonu kukwei/kwansen*). As already noted, the locally produced pottery may reflect the responses of the Densu Valley potters to diverse consumer demands and an indication of ethnic heterogeneity on the Accra coast including the Danish plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains. The imported (European) ceramics included bowls, drinking mugs and deep plates, all of which were probably related to food consumption. The presence of all these ceramics suggest that the enslaved workforce on the Frederiksgave plantation prepared African meals which were eaten out of bowls and deep plates with the hand. This is a common consumption pattern among contemporary traditional societies in Ghana.

Archaeological evidence has provided some indication that the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation indulged in liquor. A variety of drink bottles were recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation site. Among the bottle glass recovered from the excavation were reddish-brown and olive green bottles, square-bodied case bottles and sturdily built egg-shaped bottles suggesting the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave indulged in intoxicating beverages such as wine, brandy, whiskey and schnapps as well as mineral and soda water. Nørregård (1966:161) in an exaggerated statement about local demand for alcoholic drinks observed that, “the natives [on the Accra coast] were fond of the good Danish liquor. They were prepared to do almost anything to get hold of a bottle of it and it was the greatest treat at local banquets”. However, as bottles could readily be re-used those discarded by the plantation’s overseer/manager could have been scavenged and re-used as containers for liquid products. Some of the bottles particularly the relatively large wine, brandy and whiskey bottles contained residues of bitumen/tar an indication that they played secondary functional roles on the plantation.

Archaeological information provided by local pottery recovered at the Frederiksgave plantation indicated that the enslaved workforce on the plantations consumed locally produced alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks. The excavated narrow-necked, globular-bodied pots locally known as *saasen* were probably used in serving and dispensing of drinks. Today, these pots are devoted to the tapping,

storing and serving of *tedaa*, an alcoholic drink tapped from the palm tree and *nmedaa*, a non-alcoholic drink brewed out of maize.

The enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation indulged in tobacco too. Large numbers of kaolin smoking pipes were excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation. Some of the pipes that carried maker's marks indicated that they were manufactured in Britain. Others were produced in France and Holland. Majority of the pipes was unmarked and therefore it was difficult to determine the source countries. The clay pipes were of cheap quality and hence belonged to the so-called Negro pipes. As noted in Chapter Five, the tear and wear analysis on the excavated pipe stems revealed that when pipes broke, the slaves on the plantation did not discard them. It was observed that they often reworked the stem remnant on the bowl by smooth grinding the broken end to obtain a mouthpiece with a slightly rounded-off end. In several cases such reused pipes had relatively deep dents at the ends of the mouthpieces. The dents were created probably because the slaves constantly clenched the mouthpieces in their teeth when smoking. These repaired mouthpieces may indicate that slaves access to clay pipes described by European writers as very cheap on the Gold Coast was restricted by their purchasing power, which was rather weak and pitiful and therefore could not afford to buy new ones whenever the pipes broke. Tobacco was one of the trade items exported to the Gold Coast by Europeans and the plantation owners occasionally 'rewarded' the enslaved workers with tobacco. It was also among the crops experimented on the plantation. The enslaved workers could have obtained their tobacco needs from the plantation.

Archaeological data provide a glimpse of the worldview of the enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation. Artefacts such as stone axes, a pair of brass bells, white/gray shell beads and alcoholic square case bottles, which were recovered during the excavations are ethnographically known ritual paraphernalia associated with African cognitive systems. Fetish priests and priestesses of traditional cults in Ghana wear the white/gray shell beads on their wrists and ankles for spiritual protection and identification. Stone axes and brass bells also feature in the healing, divination and protective rituals of these traditional spiritualists. While these may be considered as material expressions of African religious beliefs it is difficult to identify the specific cult these were associated with. Liquor perhaps played an important role in uniting and strengthening the social and spiritual worlds of the enslaved people on the Frederiksgave plantation. As a socially deprived and marginalized group of people drawn from different ethnic backgrounds into slavery, social drinking among adult slaves or sharing drinks together would have facilitated the building of a bond of social cohesiveness among themselves. Among African societies, alcohol is regarded as a powerful fluid that is used to communicate and mediate between the living (the known and present) on one hand and the ancestral and spiritual world (the future and unknown) on the other. Today this functional role of alcohol is observed during the ritual performance(s) connected with various rites of passage such as birth and naming, puberty, marriage and death. The enslaved workers on the Frederiksgave plantation may have used alcohol in such ritual situations to bridge the gap

between their physical world and the spiritual world of their ancestors. The strong and powerful alcoholic beverages were probably used in libation prayers to strike a harmonious balance between the plantation community and the ancestral (spiritual) world that ruled over the individual and collective destinies of the enslaved workers.

Documentary information about slave clothing is very scanty. Christensen (1831:134-5) tersely mentioned that the plantation owners allocated simple clothing to the enslaved workers on the plantations every year. Men's clothing probably consisted of long trousers of cheap rough linen and a shirt of the same material. Women were probably supplied with a cheap quality skirt and a shirt. Archaeological data provides a great deal more information. The different kinds of buttons, a buckle, finger rings probably fashioned out of metal wire by the slaves and the variety of both foreign and locally produced beads excavated at the Frederiksgave plantation provided evidence of slave clothing. The presence of buttons is probably an indication that the enslaved workers were supplied with European clothing. The beads tell of the slave's expression of a rich and complex African cultural and social identity. The use of beads in West Africa pre-dates the arrival of Europeans to the coast. Beads have been used in West Africa not only for body adornment but also as essential features in various rites of passage (Kumekpor et.al 1995:16). The composition of the Frederiksgave plantation beads shows that they were individual pieces sporadically lost and swept away as part of household trash. It seems that these beads featured as constant and regular items of body adornment among the Frederiksgave slaves.

The material evidence from the Frederiksgave plantation reveal the nature of both local and imported trade items acquired by the enslaved workers. The diversity of exotic goods obtained from the excavations is an indication of the incorporation of the coastal African towns and the Danish agricultural settlements in the immediate coastal hinterland into the European dominated world economic system of the nineteenth century. Also, the presence on the Frederiksgave plantation of local pottery manufactured by potters of the Densu Valley about 25-30 km away and remains of marine food resources from the Accra coast suggest an active internal trade system. The slaves on the plantation probably acquired their material possessions either by direct barter of commodities or by purchase using cowry shells as currency. The two species of cowry shells (*Cypraea annulus* and *Cypraea moneta*) obtained during the excavation are known to have been used as money in West Africa particularly, as from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century (Johnson1970, Shaw1977: 86, York1972).

Slave control and Resistance

Slavery was fundamentally inhuman. All systems of slavery sought to oppress and degrade the enslaved. Slavery in any form constrained the enslaved to make a life of their own and therefore live as human beings. Flogging was a common mechanism administered to control slaves in the Danish Establishment and on the Gold Coast as a whole. The world of the enslaved people on the plantations was always limited by the demands of their masters to render some form of service

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related to plantation productivity. On all the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains, the houses of the plantation owners were located on higher elevations (along cliff surfaces of the Mountains) where the planter or overseer had a clear and commanding view of the slave villages and the cultivated fields directly below in the plains. In my view, this afforded the planter or overseer a psychological edge over the enslaved workers. The idea that the master had a clear view of the activities of the slaves both at home and in the fields was intimidating and certainly created a sense of fear and inferior status in the enslaved workers. Again, this arrangement naturally allowed the planters to infringe upon the privacy of the slaves and as result manipulate their behaviour in both outright and subtle ways.

The enslaved workers on the Danish plantations therefore resisted their entrapment and enslavement in one way or the other. Anthropologists and historians with research interests in slavery agree that slave resistance was not only perennial but also multifaceted (e.g. Beckles 1988:1, Shepherd 2000: 896, Moitt 1992:136-160). Michael Craton (1997:222), wrote about resistance to slavery in the Caribbean and noted that:

“Defining slave resistance merely to include plots and acts of overt rebellion is unduly limiting and misleading...it is necessary to define slave resistance to include all forms of resistance short of actual (or proposed) overt action. This proposes a whole spectrum of activities and behaviour, shading from covert sabotage, through manifestations

of internal rejection and anomie, to forms of dissimulated acceptance and accommodation that were, perhaps, as subversive as other forms”.

The little information gleaned from documentary sources indicates that the enslaved workers on the Danish plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains were dissatisfied with the condition of slavery on the plantations. Accordingly, they pursued a range of actions to resist their enslaved condition on the plantations. What was the pattern of resistance on the plantations and how did the Danish planters respond to them? The pervasive and persistent forms of resistance on the Akuapem Plantations in the nineteenth century were by nature covert, small-scale, individual, equivocal and non-violent.

A persistent feature of resistance included acts that tended to slow down work on the plantations. One of such acts, which became perennial, was that the slaves feigned sickness and infirmity. In 1843, Edward Carstensens, the Danish Governor at Christiansborg reported on the possibility of growing colonial crops on the Gold Coast and decried the practice whereby the enslaved workers constantly became ill every year at harvest time so that they were exempted from work. In the said report, he noted that the central problem on the plantations was the annual illness of the plantation workers, which compelled the plantation owners to employ waged labourers hired from the nearby Akuapem, Osu and other Accra towns to harvest the crops. The services provided by waged labourers were expensive. The costs therefore wiped out the profits on the harvests.

Concerning the Frederiksgave plantation and this problem Carstensens wrote (Nørregard 1964:46):

“[The] expenses in connection with the harvest have been so high, that the benefits from the rich harvest have been neutralized, so to say. The reason is that a year of abundant harvest means the same as a rainy year; with a rainy year diseases always follow, [in particular the Guinea worm], whereby the plantation workers are prevented from participating in the harvest and thereby forcing the plantation owner to hire people to harvest the coffee beans”.

A common anti-slavery resistance culture, which permeated every aspect of enslaved life on the Accra coast and may have affected the plantations, was the practice of slaves running to secure shelter in traditional cult worship centres. Danish documentary sources mention a number of these centres as “powerful fetishes that serve as refuge for runaway slaves”. The sanctuaries included the Kyenku Cult at Obosomase in Akuapem, La-Kpa Cult at Labadi near Accra and others at Brekuso (Akuapem), Odumase-Krobo and Osudoku near Shai. Kyenku, which literally means ‘the one who surrounds’ is the war god and protector of the Akuapem State. The proximity of this Cult to the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains perhaps made it a favourite spot where the plantation slaves sought refuge. The Danish surgeon Paul Erdmann Isert (1788 [trans] 1992:162)

described how runaway slaves to the Kyenku Cult secured their 'freedom' in the eighteenth century. He noted that:

"A fetish priest is the caboceer [kabossie] who rules Schentema (Obosomase)... A slave who is not well satisfied with his master makes an effort and comes to this village. Then he goes to the fetish, or the temple of the idol, and seats himself inside on a kind of altar. The fetish priest, who goes there daily to make sacrifices, asks him what he is seeking. He answers, 'I want to give my body to the fetish'. The priest who now understands him perfectly, accepts him, and from then on he is in reality the slave of the fetish priest for the rest of his life- without the priest having had to pay a single cowry (the customary payment here) for him."

However, by the 1820s, the various European, mulatto and African merchant groups on the Gold Coast who owned slaves and therefore relied on the labour of enslaved people challenged this practice. It was not uncommon for armed European officials and soldiers to pursue runaway slaves to their hideouts and by show of power forcibly retrieve them. In 1843, the Danish Governor, Edward Carstensen in the company of 20 armed soldiers marched to Obosomase in pursuit of two runaway slaves. This happened after the fetish-priest backed by the leading men of the town had refused the Governor's requests for the release of the slaves

on two occasions. Carstensen (Nørregard 1964:65) described the encounter as follows:

We arrived at Bosomach [Obosomase] at 6 a.m when it was already daybreak. The fetish-priest had escaped, but I arrested his three sons plus the Lieutenant of the town and two spokesmen. Not long after, we heard a continuous yelling and shouting from the fetish grove: there were the two runaway slaves who invoked the help of the fetish against us. I entered the grove ahead of four soldiers and there encountered the two slaves armed with guns jumping around like mad. At my order to surrender, one of them aimed at me. In that moment, I fired my pistol and he fell. The other ran out of the enclosure upon which a shot was heard: he had shot himself⁹.

Later it turned out that the slave who was shot at by Carstensen was not hit by the shot but he remained on the ground and pretended to be dead till the Governor and his men left the town. He was handed over to Carstensen at Christiansborg three days after the incident. The fetish priest was pardoned and the six arrested men from Obosomase were released from custody after a fine of one hundred Cakes Boss (cowry) had been paid by the fetish priest to the Danish Administration (Royal Chest).

The above incident illustrates the nature of European interference in a traditional institution that provided the means for slaves to secure their freedom during the nineteenth century. Again it demonstrates how runaway slaves resisted their enslaved conditions even to the point of defending themselves with guns. It also demonstrates the slaves' preparedness to die rather than submit to the armed power of the Danish authority to be humiliated and brutalized by public flogging.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has investigated the archaeological evidence of contact consequences on enslaved workers who laboured on the Frederiksgave plantation, one of the Danish plantations set up in the Akuapem Mountains in the coastal hinterland of southeastern Ghana. Documentary, ethnographic, oral information and archaeological data have been utilized to examine certain aspects of the material and social organization of the nineteenth century Danish plantations. This chapter therefore summarizes the interpretations of the range of information on the physical and social conditions of the plantations using the Frederiksgave farm as a case study. Future research trends regarding inquiries in the study of slave life on the Danish plantations are put forward.

The study has demonstrated that the Danish plantations on the Gold Coast developed as a result of the European global expansionist activities particularly the Atlantic Slave Trade. The diverse archaeological objects particularly, the exotic trade goods obtained at the Frederiksgave plantation is an indication of the incorporation of the Danish plantation complex into the European dominated world economic system of the nineteenth century. But the idea of establishing plantations on the Gold Coast was not new and restricted to only the Danes. Representatives of other European nations particularly the Dutch and English

made several unsuccessful experiments on the Gold Coast to cultivate agricultural commodities such as coffee, cotton and sugar-cane on large-scale for export.

However, the Danish endeavour in plantation agriculture in the nineteenth century was unique. The plantation complex in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains was envisioned to fill the gap during the transition from the export slave trade to the export of so-called legitimate primary products. The state or public plantations were fully supported by the Royal Danish Government by providing direct state subsidies and state management under the control of officials at Christiansborg Castle, Osu. The government through the provision of loans also indirectly supported private plantations owned by Danish and African Danish traders at Osu. The production processes on these plantations to a large extent depended on a resident labour force of non-waged, enslaved workers. Occasionally, the plantation practitioners employed the labour of paid non-resident free labourers from Akuapem, Osu and other coastal towns to assist in the production activities on the plantations. It is the former group of dependent labour force that has been the focus of this study.

The enslaved workers on the plantations were probably drawn from different ethnic backgrounds on the Gold Coast as portrayed by documentary evidence on the Frederiksgave plantation. Archaeological data recovered at Frederiksgave also to some extent illustrates the ethnic diversity of the plantations' workers. They were drawn as individuals and bound together on the plantations by slavery to share diverse individual and collective skills and experiences. Both documentary

and archaeological data indicate the use and adoption of goods introduced by Europeans such as plates, cups, smoking pipes and assorted alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks as well as turkeys, cassava, maize etc. However, they are not indicative of drastic changes in the consumption practices of the slaves. The subsistence pattern on the Frederiksgave plantation strongly remained African. Other behavioural practices that remained indigenous are evident in the construction of slave dwellings.

The slaves on the Danish plantations engaged in a range of servile tasks that ranged from weeding, planting, harvesting and head loading and transporting harvested commodities to warehouses on the Accra coast. However, it was not possible to determine occupational distinctions as may have been prescribed by the labour management system on the Frederiksgave plantation. Notwithstanding, it was clear that all categories of slaves on the plantation were trapped by their enslaved condition. The slaves therefore adopted appropriate responses to resist their disadvantaged social conditions.

The range of information on the physical and social conditions of the plantations presented in this study has demonstrated that basic lifeways and many details of slave culture can be reconstructed by integrating both archaeological and historical data. However, further excavations and historical research can provide a great deal more insight into the lifeways of enslaved Africans on the Danish plantations. Certainly, more work needs to be done. There are other interesting and important areas relating to the living and social conditions of the enslaved

workers of the Danish plantations, which require research attention. These interesting areas of concern include detailed investigation into how the enslaved workers on the plantations lived in their houses and organized their domestic spaces and mortuary patterns. These may be difficult issues to investigate archaeologically. Slaves combined mud and plant materials in constructing their dwellings. These produce ephemeral architectural remains difficult to trace in the archaeological record. As regards burial customs of the slaves on the plantations no documentary information was obtained. Attempts to seek information about the location of slave burial ground on the Frederiksgave plantation from the local people proved futile. All the people interviewed were tight-lipped and unwilling to give information about mortuary patterns on the Frederiksgave plantation. According to one informant burial sites are of immense value and importance by reason of their spiritual and emotional association with the local community. It was therefore improper for them to disclose information about burial sites on the plantation. This attitude of the local people has remained a major constraint to the study.

The relevance of this work to studies of the African or Black Diaspora has not been considered and that is a limitation of this work. The Gold Coast was one of the important areas in West Africa from where many Africans were shipped across the Atlantic into the Diaspora. Since the late 1960s when African-American archaeology started many researches have been conducted at slave sites to examine aspects of slavery and lifeways of enslaved Africans. These research

areas continue to be the most investigated aspects of the African-American experience. Unfortunately, these studies are constrained by American researchers' lack of acquaintance with African cultural materials. Some Africanist scholars have pointed out that if archaeologists, who work on African-American sites, are to understand African survivals in the New World, then they must be familiar with archaeological research in Africa and appreciate the complexity of the cultural milieu of that continent. African materials from the Danish plantations in the Akuapem Mountains may be relevant comparative data that can be used to guide American researchers in determining African cultural elements, their meanings and significance to the social 'worlds' created by the enslaved Africans in the Diaspora. Unfortunately, research at the plantations in the Akuapem Hills is in its pioneering stage. Further work undertaken at other plantation sites in future will provide additional data that can be used to throw more light on the enslaved workers on the former Danish plantations. At that stage it may be appropriate to consider the relevance of the Danish plantations' studies to that of the African Diaspora.

The issues raised above will be the main agenda for future archaeological research at the Frederiksgave plantation. Also excavations are planned for the other plantation sites in the Akuapem Mountains to address some of the research concerns raised here. As future research endeavours rise to these challenges, it is hoped that a greater understanding of the social conditions of the enslaved workers on the former Danish plantations in the foothills of the Akuapem Mountains will be achieved.

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APPENDIX 1 (Overleaf)

