UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

SCHOOL OF ARTS

SALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE MARINE DRIVE PROJECT SITE: DOCUMENTING THE LEGACIES OF THE INDIGENOUS-EUROPEAN ENCOUNTERS AT OSU- GHANA.

BY

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THIS THESIS/DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF PHD IN ARCHAEOLOGY DEGREE

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HERITAGE STUDIES

AUGUST, 2022

DECLARATION

I, Beatrice Darko-Yeboah hereby declare that except for references to other peoples' work which I have duly acknowledged, the research was conducted by me under the supervision of my supervisory committee. This thesis has therefore not been presented for another degree in this university or at any other institution.

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PROF. FRITZ BIVERIDGE DATE

DEDICATION

To my father, Charles Darko Yeboah (Esq)

My mother, Eunice Yeboah

My siblings, Charles Darko Yeboah and Joseph Darko-Yeboah

and

My darling husband, Bismark Brogya Owusu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My solemn and heartfelt gratitude to God Almighty for bringing this research to its finality. Many contributed significantly to this research and without them this journey would not have been possible. First, I want to express my profound gratitude to my Principal Supervisor Prof. Wazi Apoh for his support and direction. I am also grateful for the partial scholarship he secured for me since my second year from the Andrew Mellon Foundation.

I also wish to express my utmost appreciation to other members of my thesis supervisory committee namely, Dr. Fritz Biveridge and Prof. John Kwadwo Osei-Tutu. To the latter, I wish to express my profound gratitude for facilitating my inclusion in the Ghana-Norway exchange programme at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) and for the constructive contributions he made towards the completion of this thesis. I am also thankful to the Enhancing Capacity and Postgraduate Education in the Humanities (ENCAPEH) project funded by the Andrew Mellon Foundation at the University of Ghana for assisting this research with a Thesis Completing Grant.

My sincere appreciation to the chief, sub chiefs, the traditional councils and the people of Osu who were instrumental in helping me gather oral information for this thesis. I am thankful for their cooperation during the data collection phase of this research. I am also grateful to Prof. H. N. A. Wellington for granting an interview and directing my ethnographic data collection exercise. I particularly appreciate Dr. Gertrude A. M. Eyifa Dzidzienyo for her wise counsel throughout the writing of the thesis.

I also wish to thank my research assistant Lotus Asare and other faculty, Dr. David Akwesi Mensah Abrampah, Ms. Christiana W. Diku, Mr. Daniel Kuma, Dr. Mark Amenyo-Xa, Ms.

Victoria Aryee, Mr. Edward Adum Nyarko, Dr. Emmanuel Osei Boakye and Mr. Gideon Agyare for their encouraging words when things were difficult and their contributions toward the work. And to my colleagues Portia Bansa, Sharon Dede Padi, Albert Larbi and Kelvin Asare, God richly bless you all for the physical and emotional support.

Finally, my profound gratitude goes to my parents, Charles Darko Yeboah (Esq.). and Mrs. Eunice Yeboah, my siblings Charles Darko Yeboah and Joseph Darko-Yeboah, and my dearest husband, Bismark Brogya Owusu, for their immeasurable support, prayers and encouragement throughout this process.

ABSTRACT

This research investigates the legacies of trade along the coast of the Christiansborg Castle, Osu as a result of Indigenous-European interactions from the late sixteenth century to the present. Salvage archaeology being one of the main methods used, was conducted at the beachfront of Osu to rescue the material legacies associated with the early Osu people, the Trans-Atlantic Trade and the interactions that were on the verge of being destroyed due to the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project. Historical sources, oral traditions and archival data were also used to complement the archaeological data to derive as much information on the subject as possible.

The Marine Drive Project is a beachfront project intended by the Ghanaian government to plan and develop 241 acres of land, stretching from the Osu Klottey Lagoon (behind the Christiansburg Castle) to the Accra Community Centre. Osu became a fountainhead of Dutch mercantile interest and a major point of embarkation and disembarkation of cargo. This partly boosted the coastal trade and added a wide array of mainly European trade goods. The trade boom also attracted many ethnolinguistic groups to relocate to Osu. After the abolition of slavery in 1807 by the Danes, Osu's commercial viability depreciated significantly. Despite this, it became the seat of government after independence and was used by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Archaeological and historical evidence also indicated that interaction between the Africans and Europeans at Osu impacted subsistence and several aspects of traditional cultural lifeways. This is evident in the areas of indigenous dress codes and cuisine while the Europeans embraced local cuisine and cultural ties.

Western formal education and the use of European construction designs/materials such as glass windows superimposed on metal frames, asbestos, red bricks and metal hinges constituted

technologies incorporated in traditional architecture. This paper therefore assesses the findings from three excavated trenches that were characterized by midden deposits of pre-European, early Osu materials and those of Dutch, Danish and British Trans-Atlantic trade and colonial interactions.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Human activities like construction and developmental projects, negatively impact and destroy areas with socio-cultural, historical, and environmental heritage. The situation is dire in developing countries with weak regulatory laws needed to protect, preserve and rescue heritage materials. In Ghana, the lack of enforceable laws undermines the capacity of agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and institutions like the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), which are responsible for salvaging, documenting and preserving historical monuments and archaeological sites. One such site with immense socio-cultural value is the ancient settlement quarter of the people of Osu (Old Osu) located at the beachfront of Accra. The area is situated close to several notable architectural edifices such as the Christiansborg Castle built by the Danes in the year 1654 (Barbot 1732: 433; Reindorf 1895: 14,15), the Wulff house, Agba Oyeni Shrine, and the Bannaman house off the castle drive.

Since the 1900s, several areas along the beachfront of Accra and Osu have submerged in the sea as a result of climate change. Also, human factors such as developmental activities result in the destruction of historic and heritage sites. For instance, the designation of the beachfront of Accra and Osu, including parts of Old Osu for the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project (MDTIP) was going to result in the destruction of several very old European-style houses and the archaeological significance of the site. The initiation of the state-private partnership project (MDTIP) to develop the coastline of Accra and Osu as a tourism enclave in 2017, led to the Marine

Drive Salvage Archaeology work (MDSA) spearheaded by Prof. Wazi Apoh, with a research grant from the Andrew Mellon Foundation and the Accra Marine Drive Project Office.

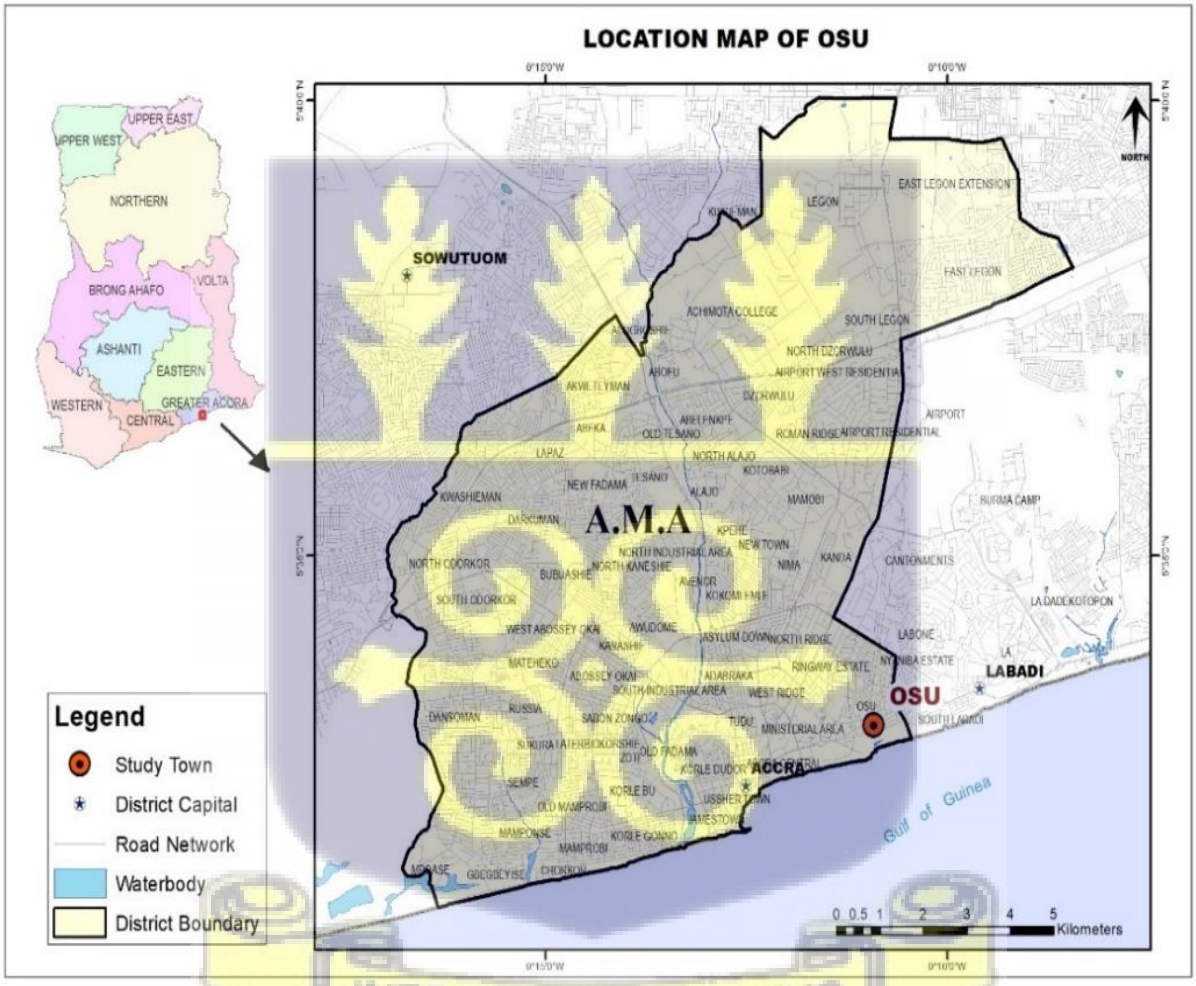
As part of the MDSA, this research was birth to use salvage archaeological methods to rescue, document and record cultural remains at the site as a way of mitigating the impact of the construction activities. It examined the effect of the MDTIP on the coastal heritage and livelihoods of the inhabitants of Osu. An eclectic approach (involving salvage archaeological excavations, surface survey, archival and library research and ethnographic methods) was used in gathering data for the research.

The study began in December 2017 with surveys of the research area. In 2018, excavations directed by Professor Wazi Apoh, the writer and a team from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies (DAHS), took place behind Asomdwe Park (Locus A). It was during this salvage work at Locus A that we discovered tractor moving activity at some part of the old Osu site, this informed my research at a midden/dump site discovered during surface survey behind the Christiansborg Castle Worker's Canteen. The site was named Locus B. These activities exposed the material culture of an ancient dump site at the Old Osu settlement (Locus B). Thus, the need to undertake a salvage archaeological investigation at the dump site.

This Chapter has three main sections. The first section (1.2) comprehensively describes the study area, Osu. Section two (1.3-1.8) outlines the research problem, the aim, objectives, some research questions posed, research methods and the significance of the research. Section three (1.9) outlines the thematic structure of the thesis.

1.2.The Study Area

The geographical focus of this research was the ancient settlement quarter of Osu (5°33´14´´N 0°10´30´´W). Osu is a coastal town located about 3 kilometres east of the Central Business District in the Greater Accra Region, Ghana. It is bounded to the south by the Gulf of Guinea, to the west by Independence Avenue, to the north by North Ridge/Ring Road East, and to the east by Labadi (Map 1.1).



Map 1.1: Contemporary map of the research area (Developed by George Owusu, Cerges 2020)

Reindorf (1895: 9) noted the people of Osu as migrants from different Ga-Dangme groups who migrated from the East and crossed the Volta River. They first settled at Osudoku Hill before migrating to their current location. This notion is supported by Wellington (2017: 4). He noted that:

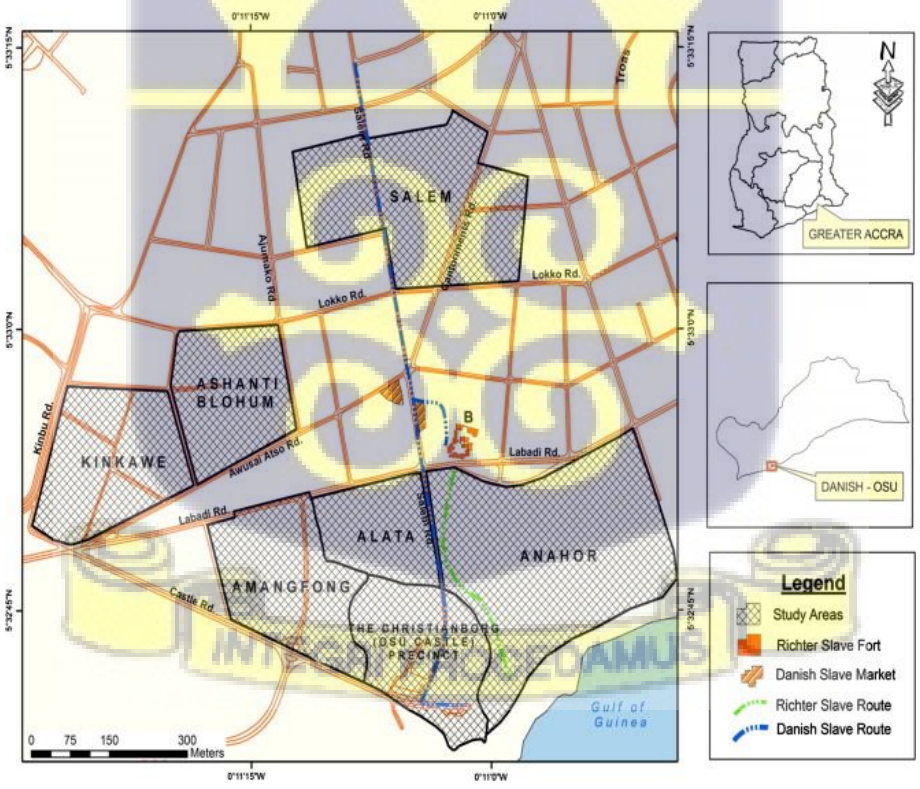
> "The fore bearers of the Osu people are a group of families that moved out of their community in Dangme land in the Sixteenth Century due to a quarrel between two families over some precious jewels. The group that fled from Dangme land was the Noete Doku family. In the plains, the group met a hunter called Kadi who led them to king Odoi Akyem of Labadey at the time. According to the narration, the king demarcated the area that lies between two lagoons (*Klottey* and *Korle*) to them. The place was named Osu when they finally settled".

Upon arrival, they met a Guan-speaking Kpeshi community and settled with them (Reindorf 1895: 10). The two groups lived peacefully together, intermarried and later adopted the name Osu to identify their newly merged community. Their adoption of the indigenous religion of the Kpeshi/Guan people is a clear attestation that the Osu people encountered the Guans upon their arrival (Field 1937: 142; Henderson-Quartey 2001; Justesen 2019: 172; Willington 2007; 2017). This is seen in the similarities between Guan-Kple music and the Klama music of the Ga Dangme. (Field 1937: 142; Henderson-Quartey 2001). The Ga language derived from the fusion of Dangme and Kpeshi languages became their lingua franca (Wellington 2017: 4).

Oral accounts collected by Wellington (2017; 6) at Osu, indicates that, there are two narratives on how the name 'Osu' was derived. The first is that, the name 'Osu' derives from the Dangme word '*wosu*', meaning 'We have arrived'. The second narrative is that 'Osu' was adopted in remembrance of their place of origin, which is '*Osudoku*' in Dangme-land (Pers. Com. with the secretary to the chief, 13/07/2020). After arrival at the coast, an integral part of their culture was the *Klama* music which was used to commemorate their histories. According to Odotei (1972: 27)

their primary modes of subsistence comprised farming, fishing, hunting, trapping and later trade with the neighbouring polities.

The original settlement, also called Old Osu was located North and west of the Christiansborg Castle. Justesen (2019: 171) noted that, the Old Osu settlement lay immediately west and north of the walls of the Christiansborg Castle and south of the Klotey Lagoon before the bombardment. The western part of the settlement was bombarded by the British in the nineteenth century when the people of Osu refused to pay poll-tax to the British government when they took over from the Danes. This led to the relocation of the community to its current location. Old Osu had four quarters: The Caboceer's Quarter, which lay to the west of Christiansborg Castle, the Broker's Quarter (*Asante Blohum*), the *Alatta* Quarter, which was the King's Quarter (traditionally called *Akutso*) and the *Aneho* Quarter, which was north of the Christiansborg Castle gate (Map 1.2).



Map 1.2: Showing the traditional quarters and the Trans-Atlantic trade relics (Wellington 2007)

Justesen (2019: 172) noted that the population of Old Osu in the 19th century was estimated to be between 1,500 and 2,000 people. Of this number, 500 were believed to be soldiers. Currently, the population of Osu is estimated at 153,452 (Ghana Statistical Service Population Survey 2021). Osu forms part of the Osu Klottey sub-district, one of the eleven sub-districts in the Greater Accra Region with the traditional quarters made up of *Kinkawe*, *Asante Blohum, Alata,* and *Anohor*. The inhabitants of Osu are mostly Ga people. However, diverse ethnolinguistic groups have settled among them, mainly due to trade, exchange and intermarriage (Amartey 1991:13; Ankoma 2014: 2).

1.3.The Research Problem

The European trading posts (forts and castles) in Ghana served not only as bedposts of early Euro-African interactions but also played a role in facilitating the coastal trade from the late fifteenth to late nineteenth century. Indigenous communities that hosted these trading stations also grew and flourished from the trade. Though these locations are repositories of significant information about the nature and scope of past commercial and social interaction, they remain archaeologically less explored. One such site is the Christinsborg castle and its indigenous community, Old Osu.

The Old Osu community used to be a thriving community to the west and south of the Christiansborg Castle. Oral accounts revealed that, due their refusal to pay the poll tax in the early 1850s, Old Osu was bombarded by the British. As a result, the community was relocated to the north of the Christiansborg Castle. Up until now, no archaeological research has been carried out to locate and reconstruct the lifeways of the ancient Osu people. However, based on the combined impacts of sea erosion, sand winning, and rising sea levels several acres of the beachfront where Old Osu was located have been washed away.

According to Addo et.al. (2011) about 1km of the former coastline of Osu/Accra has been eaten by the sea. Furthermore, the impact of Intensive construction and developmental activities (such as the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project) was potentially going to destroy the Old Osu site. Despite the glaring threats caused by natural and human activity to the Old Osu and Christiansborg Castle cultural sites, there has not been any sustained research effort to salvage the historical materials at the coast.

1.4.Research Aim

The research aimed to salvage material legacies of the Indigenous-European encounters at Locus B of the Marine Drive Project site located at the beachfront of the Old Osu settlement behind the Christiansborg Castle Worker's Canteen. Unlike other areas in the research area which had been graded before the commencement of the Marine Drive Investment Project, this area (the Locus B site) which contained an old midden/dump site was yet to be destroyed and was thus a prime area to recover archaeological data to facilitate the reconstruction of past lifeways of the Osu people.

1.5. Research Objectives

The three main objectives of this research are to:

- Unearth and salvage material legacies of Indigenous and European encounters from the locus B site before they were destroyed.
- Analyze the cultural materials to reconstruct and shed light on the past lifeways of the interactants of the research area.
- Collect and document oral accounts on the history, socio-economic and cultural lifeways of the Osu people prior to the arrival of Europeans and the period postdating it.

1.6. Research Questions

The following research questions were investigated to realize the objectives of the thesis:

- What recollections do the Osu people have of their migration, encounter and trade with Europeans through their Oral histories and other cultural expressions?
- What remains about the encounter can be recovered through excavations at the Locus B site?
- What do the salvaged tangible and intangible cultural remains from the Locus B site tell us about the lifeways of the Osu people and their interactions in the past?

1.7. Research Approach and Methodology

This research was conducted at the Locus B site of the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project Site at Osu. The study adopted Archaeological excavations and qualitative approach as the major sources of the data collection processes. Both primary and secondary data were collected and analysed. Primary data was collected by the use of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, observations and focus group discussions. These techniques were deployed in collecting primary data from members of the community, traditional authority, opinion leaders, the general public and the representative of the descendants of the Europeans who occupied the research area. Observations of cultural practices, archival research and use of photography were also undertaken to complement the primary data. The assessment of documents on proposals, literature and development interventions previously undertaken at Osu were also assessed as secondary data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted based on purposive sampling. Preliminary field visits and interviews were used to identify community social groupings for focus group discussions. These were constituted by not less than six individuals to afford good control of the focus group

discussions. Chapter Four of this research presents a deeper interrogation of the methodological approaches of this research.

1.8. Significance of Study

The research has broadened the discourse on the history of the Osu people in their encounters with local and foreign people at Osu. Through excavations of valuable cultural materials have been retrieved and preserved which otherwise would have been destroyed by the ongoing coastal development activity. Through interpretation of the retrieved tangible and intangible resources, the project has given new insight into the Trans-Atlantic trade, inter-regional interactions and the Osu legacies for the future generation. The result of the research has also increased our knowledge on shared Ghanaian-European heritage and history and aided the discourse on historical archaeology. It has enhanced the application of salvage archaeology in areas of development in Ghana and contributed to the discourse on salvage archaeology in Ghana, as well.

Another importance of this study is that, it will lead to tourism development in the sense that the documented legacies of encounters (including Christiansborg Castle, the Ritcher house, Wulff house and the other slave post) will help project Osu on a global scale. As a result, the people in the diaspora and the African continent will visit Osu to see some of these legacies where enslaved people were kept before they were sent to the Americas. It will also make the people want to preserve their history and heritage resources.

1.9.Organization of Chapters

The study is presented in eight chapters. Chapter One outlined the background of the thesis. Chapter Two reviewed literature related to the research area and the people inhabiting the research area. This review was in two parts. The first, discussed the migration and settlement histories of

the Osu people before the arrival of Europeans while the second focused on early intra-regional trade with neighbouring polities, the European arrival and the post-colonial period.

Chapter Three outlined the conceptual frameworks used to undertake the study. These included historical archaeology, culture contact studies, material culture studies and development-led archaeology.

Chapter Four comprehensively discussed the research methods and approaches used to derive data for the study. Surface survey and archaeological excavation constituted the main research methods used. This was complemented by archival and library research and ethnographic research. It also discussed the strengths and limitations of these research methods as sources of data.

Chapter Five was divided into three parts. The first discussed the physical environment of the research area under the following subheadings; climate, vegetation and soil, relief and drainage systems, rainfall patterns, temperature and humidity. The second section briefly outlined the contemporary economic, social, political and cultural settings at Osu. Attention was given to the changes and continuity in the built environment over time. It finally highlighted the development plan of the Marine Drive Initiative.

Chapter Six focused on the salvage archaeological excavations at the research site. It outlined previous archaeological works at Osu, highlighting the nature of the archaeological survey and the excavation techniques used. It also engrossed on the number of trenches excavated and the systematic description of the excavation processes. It discussed the nature of the stratigraphy and findings from the excavations at the Locus B site.

Chapter Seven comprised an in-depth analysis of cultural materials recovered from the excavations at the research area. The materials included; European imported goods and local materials

manufactured on-site or acquired from nearby communities. The chapter discussed their historical backgrounds, their techniques of manufacture, their possible primary and secondary uses, and how the materials shaped interactions between the people of Osu and the Europeans.

Chapter Eight delineated the findings of the research in three parts. The first part looked at the interpretation and discussion of all the materials recovered through the use of various research methods to answer the research questions and illustrated how the objectives were achieved. The second section summarized the findings and the third section presented the conclusions from the research and makes recommendation and fundamental limitations of the study and provides directions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SETTLEMENT HISTORIES OF OSU

2.1. Introduction

This chapter, which reviews the contextual literature on varying themes and concepts of this thesis, is divided into two related parts. The first part highlights the histories of origin, migration and settlement of the Osu people within the broader Ga historiography. The second part reviews the historical literature on the African-European encounters focusing on their social and economic interactions within the research area. This division helps to provide structure to the chapter, gives insights into the African-European encounters, and facilitates the identification of knowledge gaps that this thesis will address. Overall, chapter 2 provides the framework for historicizing Osu within the identified legacies of the encounters in the current built environment.

2.2.Migration and Settlement Histories of the Ga People

Kok (1997: 20) is of the view that defining migration (especially internal migration) is very controversial because the idea of 'migration' can be applied to situations where people travel "over some distance" or situations where the movement is localized or does not involve a change of residence. Kok, therefore, offers a precise definition that emphasizes the element of boundary crossing as a main ingredient in the definition. He notes that migration should be seen as "the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by one or more persons involved in a change of residence".

Applying Kok's migration types model to the Ga origins, I identify three broad migration narratives by scholars of Ga development, namely 'the Niger River narrative, the Nile River narrative, and the indigeneity ('Indigenous Origin') narrative.

The Niger River and the Nile River narratives emphasize the external origin of the Ga people. The main proponent of the Niger River narrative is Carl Reindorf who proposed (1895:13) that the Ga and Dangme were originally one people who migrated together from their original location between Oyo (in Nigeria) and Dahomey (Benin). He notes that:

> The origin of the Adangme tribe, as traditionally narrated is said to be a country which lie in the interior to Oyo (in Ga: Ayo) on the north and Dahome on the south. They travelled between the two powerful kingdoms, and being joined by other tribes, settled at Hwatshi. After a short stay there, they resumed their march to Tuwo, and attacked several tribes on their way, till they reached the plain of Tagologo near Lolovo. As these emigrants had no King, but every tribe had its own priest or headman, they found it very easy to separate from the main body, and so dispersed. A portion stayed at Hwatshi and Tuwo, whiles the other travelled towards the south and settled at Hume and different places, such as Noweyo (Anayosi), those are the Osudoku people; others went to Angula, Ada and Akra.

However, Rheindorf's theory of Ga origins is problematic as there are no traces of many of the locations and place names mentioned by Reindorf. Besides being spoken in the areas settled by the Anlo, the Ada and the Osudoku people currently, there are no traces of the Ga language being spoken in the Niger river area or Oyo. In addition, this narrative does not suggest a timeline for the alleged migration from the Niger River basin to the current location. Moreover, there is no material evidence from the identified places mentioned that has similarities with the current Ga material culture (such as local pottery). Above all, the narrative's assertions that the various priest of the Ga deities led the migrant groups to different locations in the Ga area is not substantiated by convincing evidence. Nor does Rheindorf's narrative offer the reason for the migration or the means of migration.

The second migration theory, The Nile River narrative, proposed by Amartey (1991:13-14) posits that;

> The Ga people once lived along the eastern part of River Nile around 1250-1700 BCE and were part of the Nubians that left Egypt after being freed from slavery. From Egypt, they sojourned in Nigeria, where they separated into two, one group moving to ancient Benin and the other towards Ife in Yoruba-land. The group that moved to Yoruba later moved to Dahomey, then to Togo and settled at Aneho before eventually moving to their present location on the Gold Coast".

The limitation of this assertion is that, he did not mention how they traversed from the eastern part of the Nile River because if they did by foot, it is not feasible considering the climatic condition of the desert and accessibility to water. However, there is no archaeological evidence suggesting that the Ga people migrated from such a place. He also did not state the reason for their movement from Nubia.

Field (1937: 142) and Henderson-Quartey (2001:70-72) support Reindorf and Amartey's claim of the external origins of the Ga people arguing that upon arriving in Nigeria the migrant group (Ga people) broke up, with the main body of migrants continuing further while another group remained in Nigeria. It is unsurprising, therefore, that most Ga people trace their origin to Ife in Nigeria.

Anquandah (1992: 74) rejects the two external origins theories. Instead, based on oral evidence collected during his research in the Accra plains, he suggests an internal origins narrative that posits the Ga Dangme originally settled at Lorlorvor … the cradle of the Ga Dangme. In other words, the Ga people were part of an original Dangme group that migrated from Osudoku (in Dangme land) to their current coastal locations. Biveridge (2010: 54) and other scholars (Boahen 1977: 94; Dakubu 1976: 32 & 34; and Quaye 1972: 12-16) support Anquandah's view that the Ga

people have been living in their current locations in Ghana since the middle of the Iron Age (500 BC).

Boahen (1977: 94) viewing from a linguistic perspective, has questioned the validity of these traditions stating that, except for the Ewe language, it is only in Ghana that the Ga and Dangme languages are spoken. It is therefore in Ghana that these languages evolved and nowhere else. He argued that it takes at least 1000 years for a language to break off from a parent language to develop into a language of its own. Some of the traditions asserts that small Guan tribes like *Asebu* and *Esti* were already settled on the coast before the Ga arrival (Biveridge 1988: 24).

Although the Ga people are believed to have a common ancestry each Ga town has its migration story. For instance, the people from Teshie claim in their oral tradition to have migrated from a town called Boma on the shores of the Congo River. Those from Labadi claim they migrated from Boney Island off the coast of Nigeria. Even Though there are no archaeological evidence to support these narratives it is clear that names of some places like Benin and Aneho have featured predominantly in the Ga migration stories of most scholars of Ga history. It is worth noting that Ewe speakers according to these traditions were an integral part of the migrant groups that journey from Benin in Nigeria through Aneho and finally to their present locations at the coast and other parts of Ghana (Kilson 1971: 22).

The Osu people also trace their ancestry to external origins and that they were part of the ancestral clans that migrated from Nigeria (precisely Ile Ife). Other notable towns mentioned as towns where they temporarily settled in their migration routes were Agoue, Kpedromede in Benin and Aneho in Togo (www.theosustool.org). Other narratives intimate that they crossed the Volta River and thereafter split up in smaller groups. It is worthy to note that the modern Osu township is distinct from Old Osu especially, the four main quarters namely, *Kinkawe, Ashinte, Alata and Anohor* were

the four quarters that replaced the quarters of Danish Osu (Odotei 1991:63; Wellington 2011, 2007**)** located North and West of the Christiansborg Castle. This can be attributed to the British bombardment in the Nineteenth Century which saw the destruction of the original quarters and relocation to their current area. According to traditions, the settlements is an ancient town that relied on fishing, farming. Other fewer subsistence practices were hunting and salt production (Odotei, 1995; 60).

Their early interactions with Europeans resulted in increased trade and cultural changes which is evidenced in the architecture of Old Osu. European names like Richter, Wulff, Cochrane, Bannaman and Engmann also attest to these interactions and were probably the result of intermarriages between Europeans and the people of Osu (Wellington 2014). The above discussion on the origin and migration of the Ga people has revealed that the migration history of people is a complex phenomenon of diverse nature and character (Falola and Usman 2009:1).

Early Subsistence Behaviour of Ga Coastal Settlers

The migration of the Ga people into coastal Accra led to changes in their cultural lifeways. Ga coastal dwellers engaged in several activities. Among such activities/occupations were fishing, farming, hunting, and trading. For instance, Odotei (1991) asserted that the Ga coastal dwellers are predominantly fish traders who traded with inland communities for forest goods like gold, timber and ivory before the coming of Europeans. Similarly, the claim of Ga people engaging in trading activities is attested to by C. Robertson (1984). In her work, *'Socio-economic History of Women and Class in Accra'*, she asserted that Ga women dominate trading in imported manufactured products, farm produce and the sale of fish.

It is well to note that documentary sources from travellers and archaeological investigations of scholars like Ozanne (1962), Anquandah (1999) and Boachie-Ansah (2009) have proved the existence of large urban towns like Akra (Accra), Osudoku, Ayawaso, Osu, Teshie, La and Tema during the Sixteenth Century. These urban towns traded with each other before the arrival of Europeans. Akra (Accra) became a major market for local and foreign commercial goods sold at the coast. During the trade, several inland markets were created. One of them was the market at Abonse, which was set up to trade in goods from the forest regions in exchange for coastal commodities. For instance, Kilson (1971), citing Wilks (n.d) asserted that the Ga people engaged in trade with other towns and that in the 17th Century, the King of Accra had control over the Abonse market; a market that existed in the forest region of Ghana together with the market at Larteh. The king of Accra permitted any trader from the interior to come there (the Abonse market) in safety to barter their goods. Such visitors were not allowed to proceed beyond Abonse. The Accra/Ga people controlled trade from Abonse to Ayawaso (the Accra capital) and from there to the coast.

Not only did the Ga people trade in legitimate goods such as fish, gold, and other farm produce among themselves but also with the Europeans in the Sixteenth Century (Kilson 1971). They traded with European nationals like the Dutch, English, Swedes, Danes, and British. The evidence of their trade is exemplified by the existence of forts and castles at some Ga Coastal settlements. Among such were Forts Crevecoeur (the present Ussher Fort), James Fort and Christiansborg Castle. Trading activities were very intensive and developed into trade in enslaved people together with the Europeans. Marion Kilson (1971: 158-159) further argued that the Ga people were involved in domestic slavery and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Apart from trade, the Ga coastal dwellers engaged in other service works. This was made possible as a result of the introduction of Western education by the colonial administration. Field (1937: 196) asserted that Osu has a long tradition of Christianity and literacy. Hauser (2004) opines that Osu is among the numerous towns that witnessed the introduction of Western education by the colonial government. This is based on the fact that the Basel missionaries in the mid-19th century introduced the study of the Gã language and culture at their school in Osu (Hauser 2004:229). That is, Osu was an educational hub in the Gold Coast during the 19th century. As a result, educated/literate Ga people had the opportunity to work with Europeans as interpreters and brokers in the castle and coastal markets (Kilson 1971:15).

2.3. History of African-European Encounters on the Gold Coast

The presence of Europeans on the Guinea Coast and the Gold Coast marked the beginning of West Africa and Ghana's incorporation into the global economic system (Boahen 1980: 107). The quest for precious minerals such as gold and alternative routes to the Far East pushed Portuguese explorers towards the west coast of Africa (Boahen 1980: 107). The people of Elmina played the first host to them as they came to trade European goods for local goods on the Gold coast. King John II of Portugal, in 1481, dispatched Don Diego d'Azambuja, with a force of 700 men, to the Gold Coast. He landed at Elmina and built the Castle of St. George, despite the opposition from Karamansa, the King of Fetu (Afutu), then the powerful state in Fante (Van Dantzig 1976).

The discovery of America by Columbus and the commencement of the West African slave trade attracted other nations to visit the Guinea Coast. After the Portuguese, the Dutch followed to the Gold Coast. They built Fort Nassau at Moore and settled at other coastal towns (Reindorf 1895:14). The English followed, and King Edward IV. proposed to establish themselves in these regions but were restrained by fear of infringing the rights of Portugal under the Pope's grant. In the latter part

of Edward IV reign, private English adventurers traded on the Coast, and the first commercial voyage from England to Guinea was performed in 1536 leading to the establishment of Fort Koromante (Cormantine) in 1624 (van Dantzig 1976).

Cape Coast Castle (the Castle at Cabo Corso) was built in 1652 by the Swedes. The foundation was laid by its commandant, Isaac Miville, a Swiss from Basel. The first name of the Castle was "Carolus-burg" (Charles'fort). In 1658 it was taken by the enterprising Heinrich Karloff, a native of Sweden, then in the service of the Danes (Reindorf 1897:14). The Danes built the forts Fredericksburg near Cape Coast and Christiansborg near Osu in 1654 (Barbot 1732: 433; Reindof 1895: 14,15), as well as those at Anomabo and Takoradi. In the same year, the Danish African Company obtained the privilege of trading on the West Coast from King Frederick III of Denmark and Norway. However, Immanuel Schmid, the successor of Karloff surrendered the Castle of Cabo Corso and those in Anomabo and Osu to the Dutch in 1659 (Ankoma 2014; Van Dantzig 1976; Wellington 2017).

News of the discovery of gold quickly spread in Europe and the Castilians were the first to compete with the Portuguese on the Gold Coast. Several clashes ensued between these two powers subsequently “forcing” the Portuguese to propose to King Caramansa, sovereign of Elmina, to build a fort there to secure for them the gold trade. In the Seventeenth Century, the Portuguese sailed to the coast of Accra and Osu. According to Reindorf (1895: 15) when the Portuguese journeyed to Osu, they may have brought Fante servants who must have told them, the place is Nkran. As foreigners, they could not pronounce it so properly, but called it "Akra" (which the English spell Accra). As their name designates, they must have been a very numerous and powerful wandering tribe who very easily subdued the aborigines (Reindorf 1897: 13).

The years following the granting of this request saw the recruitment and relocation of large numbers of expatriate Portuguese craftsmen and soldiers to Elmina to commence construction of a trade station that they named Castle Sao Jorge, after a Portuguese patron saint in 1482. They also imported large quantities of red bricks, roofing slates, doors, plaster, wooden beams, rafters and window arches from Portugal. The original design of Castle Sao Jorge bore structural similarities to the crusaders' castles in the Middle East. The similarities have led to suggestions from some scholars like Boahen (1980: 106), Stride and Ifeka (1986: 176) that trade may not have constituted their only focus and that propagation of the gospel to the natives in places where they had established forts and castles was another reason. The Portuguese built two additional trade posts in the early sixteenth century in the rich gold bearing areas along the banks of the Ankobra River at Axim (1508), and the Pra River at Shama (1550) to tap gold resources there (DeCorse 2001).

Other Europeans like the Dutch, English, Swedes, Danes and French began trading on the Gold Coast after the mid-sixteenth century and like the Portuguese, they also constructed trade stations at different locations to secure exclusive trade rights with the indigenes occupying those areas. The States-General of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for example, ordered the construction of its first trade station named Fort Nassau at Moree in 1612, and followed up in 1621 with the setting up of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) to facilitate and control Dutch trade on the Gold Coast. They halted Portuguese hegemony by "kicking them" out of Elmina in 1637 and Axim in 1642, and taking over their possessions there. The Dutch followed up by building more forts elsewhere on the Gold Coast to secure a stronger foothold in the region. In 1717, they acquired all Brandenburg possessions on the Gold Coast (Van Dantzig 1980: 12 - 13).

By 1642, the Dutch had dominated all the trade west of Elmina, and came close to controlling the Atlantic Trade on the entire Gold Coast by 1674. Dutch success on the Gold Coast can be attributed

to the fact that the capture and sale of enslaved people had become an exceedingly profitable enterprise (Anquandah 2007: 28; Boahen 1980: 107 – 108; Fage 1967: 396 – 402). The English, Danes, Brandenburgers and French also gained significant commercial in-roads during this period with the building of their trade factories several of which were located on hillocks to facilitate easy monitoring of the surrounding community as well as see in-coming vessels of nations they deemed competitors (Boahen 1980: 110; Lawrence 1963: 25 – 27; Van Dantzig 1980: 21 – 52).

Like the Dutch, the English and Brandenburgers also established national charter companies to secure their economic interest and promote trade with the indigenes. The English initially set up the Company of Adventurers Trading to Africa which went bankrupt after only a few years of operation. The Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa was quickly incorporated to trade on behalf of the English but was itself liquidated and reconstituted into the Royal Africa Company (RAC) with the injection of more capital (Lawrence 1963: 25 – 27; Van Dantzig 1980: 21 – 52). The Brandenburgers on their part formed the Brandenburger Company while the Danes established the Danish West India Company and the Guinea Company.

The French followed in 1687 with a trade post at Assini and Komenda. The French's stay on the Gold Coast was, however, short-lived because of two factors: severe competition from the Dutch and English, and their inability to establish a sound working rapport with the local peoples. The Danes focused their attention on the eastern coastal belt, a region Europeans severally referred to as "Allampey" after the Adangme ethnic group who occupied the area (Barbot 1732: 57). They first built Christiansborg Castle, one of the three most imposing fortifications on the Gold Coast. They followed with a few small forts including Fort Kongestein (Ada) and Fort Yernon (Prampram).

The encounters between the Africans and Europeans on the coast resulted in the presence of forts and castles along the coast of Ghana. These are tangible manifestations of the past presence of Europeans in Ghana. For instance, in the writings of Inga Merkyte and Klavs Randsborg (2012) on *Danish Castles, Forts and Plantations in Ghana the Archaeological Evidence*, attests to this claim. In their writing, they averred that Danish activities on the Gold Coast (now Ghana) have left tangible remains in the form of forts and castles such as the Christiansborg Castle (Accra); Fort Fredenzburg at Old Ningo; and Fort Prinsenstein at Keta (Merkyte and Randsborg 2012:317-318). Not only did the people of Accra engage in coastal trading activities with the Europeans, but they also engaged in anti-slavery activities on the Gold Coast during the latter part of the 18th century (Akurang-Parry 2004; Parker 1963).

2.4. History of Coastal Trade and Economic Interactions on the Gold Coast

Trading on the Gold Coast was intensified between the people living on the Coast and other inland towns like Akyem and Akwamu and later Asante before the arrival of Europeans in the Sixteenth Century. European arrival also led to legitimate trade between the local people and Europeans. For instance, when the Portuguese first arrived on the coast, they exchanged foreign goods such as tobacco, alcoholic beverages, European and Indian textiles, variety of metal products, guns and gunpowder, smoking pipes, glass beads and ceramics among others, for local goods like gold, ivory and food crops (DeCorse 2001). According to Fage (1967: 4), "their first trade in gold was pursued at Samma". Van Dantzig (1980: 4) however asserts that it occurred around the bank of the Pra River. The trade in gold at Elmina quickly spread to outlying coastal settlements because of intense interest in the new manufactured goods from Portugal.

The activities of the Portuguese during the early contact period was not only limited to trade. This is because '*The Inquiricao', (*one of the earliest written documents of the Portuguese in 1499)

asserted that they also officially engaged the services of natives who were assigned as staff at Elmina Castle. According to Anquandah (2007: 26), Portuguese royal regulations during that period allowed their top officials to make payments of gold to subordinate staff instead of providing them with statutory "service slaves". Several early European writers (Barbot 1732; Bosman 1705) posit that Elmina soon developed into an important market centre. Van Dantzig (1980: 19 - 20) and Anquandah (2007: 28), argue that several other coastal markets such as Cape Coast, Anomabo, Kormantin, Winneba, Moure and Accra expanded and developed to become bustling grand-scale commercial hubs and ports for some of the coastal Chiefdoms which had their capitals located inland or elsewhere on the coast. For example, the state of "Great Accra" and its principal market Abonse were located inland but its port of trade was on the coast of Accra.

Daaku (1970: 11) and Boahen (1980: 108) note that gold exported annually amounted to about £10,000. Therefore, various European nations struggled to gain permanent footholds on the Gold Coast to exploit the opportunities created by the coastal trade. In the end, three survived, the Danish-Norwegians, Dutch and English. By the end of the seventeenth century, these three European nations conducted their trading activities from their headquarters at Christiansborg (Osu), Elmina and Cape Coast. Each respectively functioned as a coordinating nucleus that controlled a number of trade stations (Bredwa-Mensah 1999:28).

European contacts facilitated the emergence and growth of settlements and states along the coast and the forts and castles. Towns of varying sizes such as Osu, James Town, Ussher town, Cape Coast and Elmina developed around the fort while in the hinterland, sizeable towns like Abonse and Ayawaso also developed (Daaku 1970: 11). Danish trade during the sixteenth century was inconsequential when compared to the Dutch and English because of the antagonism of Akwamu, overlords of the eastern coastal plain where the Danish forts were located. However, after the

demise of the Akwamu Empire, Danish trade revived and expanded significantly. They consequently built more trade factories at Teshie, Trubreku and Keta until 1792 when slavery was abolished in Denmark. Up to the early eighteenth century, the eastern Accra coastal stretch was considered of little commercial value by Europeans primarily because little gold passed through its hinterland to the coast.

The rise of Akwamu in the late eighteenth century and its emerging role as an important supplier of enslaved people began to attract European traders and interloper captains to the area. The Dutch were the first to move into that area and built two small trade lodges at Kpone and Tema. The English also intermittently occupied a small trade post at Tema. The period after 1650 witnessed intense commercial rivalries and turmoil between contending European nations operating on the Gold Coast. Several trade and territorial rivalries sometimes erupted into war and armed conflicts culminating in loss of lives and properties for the feuding parties (Van Dantzig, 1980: 21 – 32).

Occasionally, it extended off-shore to acts of piracy on each other's ships and crews. In some instances, conflicts developed into full-scale conflagrations and massacres which were vigorously prosecuted outside the Gold Coast. For example, the English in 1664 no longer willing to tolerate Dutch molestations of their traders sent two strong fleets against Dutch colonies and settlements in America and Africa which resulted in heavy losses. On another occasion, the English Admiral Holmes overrun and captured Dutch forts at Goree, Takoradi and Shama; and two trade lodges in Sierra Leone, Anomabo and Egya. The Dutch countered with the capture of the English headquarters at 'Kormantin'. Several English plantations along the banks of the Surinam River in Guyana, an English colony were also intentionally set ablaze and destroyed (Van Dantzig 1980: 33 – 34).

It is worth noting that the various ethno-linguistic groups which settled along the coastal Gold Coast were allied to different European nations operating there and were often quick to support their European allies in times of conflict. The Ahanta and Nzema for instance were allied to the English and Dutch respectively while to the east, the Dangme and the people of Accra were allied to the Danes and Dutch respectively. Trade in gold and other local products continued until the late seventeenth century when it shifted to the trade in enslaved people which became the main trade items exported from the region. The slave trade became an integral part of the Trans-Atlantic Trade network in addition to gold, ivory and palm oil during the establishment of plantations in the West Indies and America (Daaku 1970: 19). Mantse Okaikoi (King of Ga Mashie) wanted to have a monopoly in Accra over the slave trade between 1673 and 1677. He, therefore, prevented merchants from the forest kingdoms from having direct access to European forts on the coast. He made a law that all contact between the Europeans and other kingdoms should be conducted through Ga middlemen at the market town of Abonse (Nuno-Amanfo 2015).

The Akwamu, Akyem, Asante and Denkyira, the main forest trading kingdoms became furious and mounted a series of slave raids on Accra and war which led to the defeat of the Ga armies in 1677. King Okaikoi was captured and beheaded because the kinsmen and Asafo leaders betrayed him. They did this based on the view that the king and his father allowed Europeans to establish permanent structures on the coast after they initially destroyed the one built by the Portuguese who they expelled from Accra. This initiative destroyed the unity among the Ga. Okaikoi's son succeeded his father until 1680 when the Akwamu conquered the Ga.

Ayawaso (the then capital of the Ga state) was left in ruin and its inhabitants were chased into exile with some enslaved (Anquandah 1999). As a result, the Akwamus got into direct contact with the Europeans and controlled the trade routes into Accra. After some time, the Akwamu realized

the Ga people were more experienced in negotiating with Europeans so they later permitted them (the Ga) to trade again as middlemen between them (Akyems and Europeans). The enslaved people were used in local goldmines, and as head porters to transport imported merchandise like textiles, alcoholic beverages and metal goods inland. According to Anquandah (2007: 27), about 10,000 enslaved West Africans were sent from the Gold Coast from 1490 – 1630.

During this period of the slave trade, there arose the need for labour at the plantations in the Americas. The Europeans exported people from the African coast against their wish to work as labourers with the help of ethnic heads and chiefs who kidnapped and sold people to European counterparts. These enslaved men were put in chains in the dungeons of the fortification at the coast (Christainsborg) before they were finally transported to the Americas. Enslaved people were sent to the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix to be used as soldiers, cultivators and canoe-men to transport goods and slaves to merchant ships (Anquandah 1999; Odotei 1991; Wellington and Biveridge 2014: 184).

After several protests for the abolishment of slavery, the plantation owners realized most of these crops like sugarcane, tobacco and rice could thrive on African soil. This led to the establishment of plantations by the Danes on the Gold Coast. Some of these plantations included Fredriksnopel (1788) at Akuapem Hills, Frederikssted at Dodowa (1792), Frederiksberg at Kuku Hills (1797), Fredericksgave at Abokobi (1831) among others. Some of the crops that were cultivated included coffee, plantain, cassava, maize and dye plant (Adams 1875: 39; Bredwa Mensah 2002: 57-59; Decorse 1987: 27-32; Dickson 1971:129). The slave trade lasted until the nineteenth century with renewed interest in cash crops and other legitimate goods. This led to the protest for the abolishment of the slave trade.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a drastic change in coastal Accra. The Danes abolished the slave trade in 1803, the British in 1807 and the Dutch in 1840. Some events in Europe led to the abolishment of the slave trade. The first was as a result of the numerous slave revolts that were happening wherever slavery was practiced. Also, the French Revolution spread the idea that all men were created equal and entitled to be free. The beginning of the Industrial Revolution that saw the reduction in the use of forced and unpaid labour in the factory system, was another factor. Finally, the replacement of sailing ships reduced the time of crossing the Atlantic and therefore changed the terms of credit finances for the Trans-Atlantic trade. This was so because, it came to the realization that the tropical crops could also be cultivated on the Gold Coast hence it was unproductive to transport slaves to the Americas (Adams 1875: 39; Dickson 1971:129).

Between 1850 and 1872, the British bought all Dutch and Danish properties of interest on the Gold Coast and outlawed slavery in Accra in 1875. All children born after the abolishment of the slave trade were entitled to freedom. Enslaved people who also wanted to be free had to request for certificate of freedom to be freed from their masters (DeCorse 1987: 27-32). Legitimate goods such as gold, and palm oil were introduced into the international commerce. These were sent to Europe and the oil used as lubricants, fuel and for making soap.

Akuapem and Krobo in the Gold Coast became the main oil producers which was sent to the port at Amedeka (an inland trade port along the Volta River) to be transported to the coast of Accra (Darko-Yeboah 2016). James Town merchants became prominent oil traders and James Town the export center. Palm oil exports were replaced by rubber and cocoa export in the late 1800s. It can be argued that interactions that existed or occurred among people who settled along the coast (in this case the Ga people) have contributed to a large extent in shaping the culture, history, and heritage of the present day people in this case the Ga society of which the people of Osu are part.

2.5.Post European/Atlantic Contact Period and the Legacies of Encounters at Osu

The interactions that existed or occurred among the Ga people who settled along the coast have contributed to a large extent in shaping the culture, history, and heritage of the present day Osu society. The contact between Europeans and Osu people led to the expansion of trade and hybridization of culture of the people of Osu. This can be seen in the built environment and architecture of Osu. Some legacies of Afro-European encounters identified during the ethnographic studies include, the Christiansbog Castle, Richter House/ Richter Fort, Nii-Okantey Shikatse We, the Basel Mission legacies (Osu Salem and Presbyterian church) and the Frederichs Mind/The Wulff House.

In addition, the community has several other Trans-Atlantic slave trade relics. These include the tamarind tree-lined Danish Alley, slave market (locally called 'Awusai Atso') and many accounted descendants of Danish mulattos (Yankholmes, Akyeampong, & Dei, 2009). In the same manner, the presence of forts and castles are tangible evidence of European presence in Ghana. The writings of Inga Merkyte and Klavs Randsborg (2012: 317-318) attests to this claim. In their writing, they asserted that Danish activities on Gold Coast (now Ghana) have left tangible remains in the form of fort and castles. These tangible legacies of the Ga-European encounters are further examined below.

a. Christiansborg Castle

Built by the Swedes in 1652 as Fort Frederiksborg at Osu, it served as a trading-post and lodge with permission from the Ga King Okaikoi. Later the Danish-Norwegians rebuilt it in 1660 and developed it into a castle (Christiansborg Castle), named after the king of Denmark (Ellis 1893; Romer 2000). In 1661 it served as a Danish slave emporium and became the headquarters of the Danish Trans-Atlantic slave trade. It comprised residence for staff, warehouse, a chapel, a school

and dungeons for criminals and captives. It also incorporated a cemetery, placement of vital cisterns and a place of refuge for the Osu inhabitants in times of war.

In 1685, Christiansborg Castle became the headquarters of the Danes. The castle became vital to Denmark's economy from 1688-1747. Along with nine other forts and lodges, it enabled Denmark to acquire a near monopoly of the trade on the West African coast. In 1850 Christiansborg Castle was sold to the British by the Danes and became the seat of British administration (**Map 2.1**). It also offered protection to British officials from local riots (Anquandah 1999; Lawrence 1963; Wellington and Biveridge 2014: 183). The relevance of Christiansborg Castle in the socio-economic and political economy of Osu cannot be over-emphasized. In spite of its commercial unprofitability after the mid-Nineteenth century, it was still indispensable to the British and was never abandoned.

Map 2.1: Map of Osu showing the plan of Christiansborg by Ray Kea (1883)

Christiansborg Castle was renamed as Osu Castle and served as the headquarters of the first post-independence government in 1957. It was used as the seat of government by the Late presidents J.J. Rawlings and John Evans Atta Mills. Today, though it is no longer the seat of government, it has been labelled a world heritage site by UNESCO and is protected (Hove 2018: 260; Rask 2009:76). The Castle now serves as a tourist site and a museum has been created inside furnished with materials excavated from the site (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: East and West view of the current condition of the Christiansborg Castle

b. Richter House/ Richter Fort

The Richter House, also known as the Richter Fort, was built by Johan Emmanuel Richter. It is a 19th century slave trade residential facility. Johan was a Danish merchant in slaves and served as a commandant of Fort Fredensborg at Ningo between 1804-1816. Justesen (2003: 97-98) noted that Johan also served in the position of Governor for a brief period (December 1816 to July 1817). He traded in palm oil and gold and before his death, he put up the Richter house which came to be known as Richter Fort (Nuno-Armartefio 2010). Wellington (2011;207-215) noted that, this building was initially named "Barbara House". Anna Barbara was the name of his wife. He was noted to have had numerous children with other women. The building was later changed to Richter

Fort. The Fort is large, surrounded by storehouses, bastions and connecting walls (Justesen 2003: 127).

Information obtained through oral accounts suggested that the Fort served as a centre for social activities and hosted people like President MaClean and Dokuaa (a former Queen of Akyem Abuakwa). After the death of Johan Richter, the fort was bequeathed to his children; Heinrich and Christian Richter who were mulattos. Heinrich became a powerful merchant who also traded slaves. At one point, the fort held about 400 Asante slaves meant for shipment. Wellington (2011: 207-215) further asserted that due to the large number of people in the Fort, Heinrich built an underground water cistern inside and outside the building to provide water for the people. The foreground of the fort also served as a slave market. A boulevard was developed linking the beach to the home to facilitate the conveyance of enslaved people from the fort to ships (Ankomah 2014: 19). During ethnographic research at Osu it was observed that the fort is currently occupied by people who claim to not know anything about it. Below is the current state of the fort (Figure 2.2 and 2.3).

Figure 2.2: Current front view of stairs leading to the upper quarters of the Richter House

Figure 2.3: Current floor of the courtyard of Richter House. Note the '*Oware'* design

c. Nii-Okantey Shikatse We

According to Wellington (2011; 251-263), *Nii-Okantey Shikatse We* is a Nineteenth Century Danish stone trading house located at Osu Alata close to *Nii Ampofo We.* It was built by the Danish merchant, Jacobsen. Wellington (2011: 260) emphasized that the house was a typical stone house located within the Merchant quarter, north of the Christiansborg Castle. During Jacobson's time, the house served as a residence for his family as well as a trade house. The first floor of the building was for the resident family. The house had a holding long-room with small high level vent holes, just like that at the Richter house, where slaves were held in transit for shipment.

Wellington (2011; 260-263) mentioned an underground water cistern in the house which was fed with harvested rainwater from the roof. After Jacobsen's death, the house was auctioned and bought by another Danish trader called H.C. Truelsen. Together with his mulatto wife, Truelsen lived and raised five daughters there. After his death, the house was again auctioned and bought by Heinrich Richter who also died. His son Johann Emmanuel Richter II inherited it and later sold it to a local Osu merchant named Nii Okantey Shikatse. He was a wealthy local trader who traded

in enslaved people and gold. He expanded the house and used it in housing both male and female slaves.

From oral accounts collected during the ethnographic studies, the house is currently occupied by descendants of Nii Okantey who do not have any knowledge about the house and their forefathers. Figure 2.4 and 2.5 shows the current state of the house with a small building in the middle of the compound. It is believed to have been the entrance to the underground dungeon that held enslaved people before they were transported to the ships on the sea and sent to the Americas during the slave trade.

Figure 2.4: Current front view of '*Nii-Okantey Shikatse We'*

Figure 2.5: Water cistern located in the middle of '*Nii-Okantey Shikatse We'* compound

d. The Basel Mission Legacies (Osu Salem School and Presbyterian Church)

According to Wellington (2011: 260) the Basel missionaries arrived at Osu in 1828. At the time of their arrival, there were several Danish, Dutch and British settlements interspersed along the shores of the Gold Coast. At that time, Christiansborg was occupied by the Danes. The first four Basel missionaries who arrived included three Germans (Karl Salbach, Gottlieb Holzwarth and Johannes Henke) and a Swiss called Johannes Schmidt. By 1831 all four had died and a new team was appointed to resume missionary work in 1832. The Basel missionaries had a difficult time trying to convert the local Osu people because the people were so entrenched in their traditional religious system (Wellington 2011: 260).

Between 1828 and 1850, only fourteen adults were converted and baptized. The Osu church was founded in 1847. In 1850, Denmark ceded its possessions in the Gold Coast including that at Osu to the British. When the British took over, they imposed a poll tax on the native population in 1852 but the native people refused to pay. As a result, in 1854 the British Mission frigate *H. M. Scourge*

bombarded Osu (Anoma 2014: 21; Wellington 2011: 260). The Basel Mission church close to the Christiansborg Castle was damaged and left in ruins. The foundation of this can be seen in the area today (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: The ruins of the first Basel Mission church

The writings on the cross reads;

> In Blessed memory of the early Basel Missionaries who first landed at Osu (Christiansborg) in 1828 and tragically died within months of arrival: and in commemoration of the site of the first Chapel of the Basel mission… Those gallant men made the ultimate sacrifice so that we might know and be drawn closer to God. May they rest in perfect peace!
>
> Mr and Mrs. W. R. Koranteng and Family on Behalf of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana: Osu Ebenezer Congregation, December 2002.

In 1898, the church was relocated to the middle of the community within easy reach of worshipers (Figure 2.7). This is still in use today. It is popularly known as Osu Presbyterian Church in the community.

Figure 2.7: The Osu Presbyterian Church at the Salem Street, Osu

The Osu Salem School was first built in 1865 by the Basel Mission in the heart of town to replace the Castle School for the Danish-Osu Mulatos (Willington 2011: 263-275). According to Wellington (2011: 265), the school was built after an initial one which was at *Amangfom* had been demolished by the British Bombardment in 1854. The development of the school was because the missionaries were afraid the new convents were going to return to their traditional practices when they left to their various home. For this reason, the missionaries put up a boarding school on a land which was acquired from the chief to house and train early converts (Anoma 2014: 21).

The area was named Osu Salem or Christian Quarters. The school began with 34 boys and 7 girls. The admission of girls into the school was phased out when a separate girls school was built by the church; leaving the school to be purely for boys' school. Today, the 1865 initial building has been abandoned (Figure 2.8 & 2.9) as a new block has been rebuilt into a modern building just opposite the old building. The school has trained and produced great strides and famous Old Boys

who have attained great heights in Ghana like Professor Wellington now; a retired Architect and the late Sir. Emmanuel Charles Quist; the First Speaker of the Legislative council among others.

Figure 2.8: Front view of the abandoned Salem school compound

Figure 2.9: Side view of the abandoned Salem school

e. Frederichs Minde/The Wulff House

Frederichs Minde who is popularly known as the Wulff house is a colonial house built by a Danish Jew administrator called Wulff Joseph Wulff. The house is located on the northwest side of Castle Drive amidst four rows of houses near Christiansborg Castle. According to Winsens (2000), Wulff Joseph Wulff also worked for the Danish Board of Trade and served as a Reserve Assistant to the Governor during his absence. He later went into trade in palm oil and as a lawyer until he died in 1842. During my interview with Lesley Wulff-Cochrane, a descendant of Wulff Joseph Wulff in 2020, he gave me a document on the origin of the Wulff family.

According to the document, Wulff Joseph Wulff was born in Randers, Denmark in 1809. He arrived at the Gold Coast at the age of twenty-six (26) years in 1836. He was sent to Christiansborg as punishment because he fell in love with a Danish Princess which was frowned upon. He settled and married Sarah Malm in 1837 and had three children. He kept a detailed dairy of his activities on the Coast from the time he arrived until his death in June 1842 at the age of 32. Fortunately, his dairy has survived and has been translated, edited and published together with his will by Carl Behrens (1917) in a book with the title "*When Guinea was Danish*".

He was discriminated against by his people for being a Jew. This made him love the Gold Coast and therefore decided to settle and build his family with his wife. He inscribed the name 'FREDERICHS MINDE 1840 W.I. WULFF' on his house after building (Figures 2.10 & 2.11). The house is very historic because it contains the mortal remains of the late Wulff Joseph Wulff and his daughter Wilhelmina Wulff (Pers. Com. with Leslie S.W. Cochrain, 21/07/2020).

Figure 2.10: The Wulff-Cochrane houses in view

Figure 2.11: Researcher's interview with Lesley Wulff-Cochrane

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

3.1. Introduction

Four frameworks guided the study. They are; Historical Archaeology, Culture Contact Studies, Material Cultural Studies and Development-led Archaeology. These concepts were used to discuss issues of trade, Indigenous-European encounters at Osu and to understand the European and local material remains that occurred at the coast of Osu. European presence at the coast in the sixteenth century and their encounters with indigenous people promoted culture contact. Consequently, cultural objects and practices were exchanged and incorporated leading to acculturation and hybridisation of cultures. Contact, therefore, brings into play the agents involved as well as materials that were accepted and exchanged. The concepts, therefore, displays the connection and relationship between people, cultures, the environment and the results of the material cultural interactions and encounters.

3.2. Historical Archaeology

The archaeological studies at the MDTIPS forms part of the discipline of historical archaeology. Historical archaeology emerged in the mid-Twentieth Century as a discipline in North America and spread worldwide. In Africa, the historical archaeology methods used include ethnography, written records and oral-historical accounts to complement archaeological excavations (DeCorse 2014). Contrary to this, the Americans restricted historical archaeology to archaeology carried out on the historic period site (when the writing system began). It also includes the studies of cultural remains of societies capable of recording their history (Deetz 1996: 5; Hall and Silliman 2006: 1;

South 1977: 25). Orser (1996) and DeCorse (2014) assert that historical archaeology can be grouped into three categories; the study of a period, a research method and the analysis of the modern world. As a study of a period in the history of humanity, historical archaeology is viewed as the study of historical periods (that is, Medieval and post-medieval). Studies of these specific periods have been ongoing for years. However, Hall and Silliman (2006: 3) argue that

"if archaeologists desist from thinking about periods rather than seeing archaeology as a process, the other specializations that use documentary sources will be seen as historical archaeology and therefore can be seen as a process rather than a period".

The use of documentary sources, ethnography, oral accounts, and findings from archaeological excavations together in Ghana, for instance, has helped locate historical sites. These include Fort Ruychaver (Posnansky and Van Dantzig 1976), Fort Crevecoeur (Anquandah 2000), Elmina Castle (DeCorse 2001), Fort Amsterdam (Boachie-Ansah 2006), Fort Anthony (Gyam 2008), Kpando German colonial sites (Apoh 2008), Fort Kongesten at Ada (Aryee 2014) and Fredrickgave Plantation at Dodowa (Abrampah 2017) among others.

Most historical archaeology works have concentrated on the forts and castles in the southern part of Ghana except for those done in Northern Ghana by Stahl (2007), Kankpeyeng and Swanepoel (2013) among others. For instance, A.W. Lawrence (1963) surveyed several European forts and castles erected by various Europeans who settled on the Gold coast from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. These included the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes and English. DeCorse (2001) also combined oral accounts, ethnography and extensive archaeological excavations at Elmina to bring to light the interactions between the Europeans and the local people at Elmina. However, the threats to these outposts in Ghana are overwhelming. These threats emanate from natural and

human activities, including road construction, development activities, sea erosion and sand winning.

Historical archaeology research in Ghana previously focused on European outposts and encounters, leading to the misconception that Africans did not have any history before the European presence. In recent times, Historical archaeology has been developed to include pre-Atlantic history with the use of oral traditions and ethnography from indigenous and local people which has led to the understanding of various themes, including ethnicity, socio-cultural and economic activities and the role of gender in African society. The history and construction of forts and castles, the communities that developed around these trade posts and their relevance in African-European encounters in coastal Ghana have received attention from some scholars including A.W. Lawrence (1960), Van Dantzing (1980), Anquandah (1999, 2006), Biveridge (2014), who have conducted some research into these fortifications and their surrounding communities. Most of these researches are general and focus on interpreting African-European lifeways (Anquandah 1992, 1997) which provide important clues to changes that occurred in African societies during the Atlantic period.

This research therefore employed Historical archaeology methods to collect data from the indigenous people of Osu who lived around the Christiansborg Castle to understand the activities that ensued there and the encounter between the indigenous people of Osu and their European counterpart

3.3.Culture Contact Studies

Culture contact is defined by Schortman and Urban (1998: 102) as “any instance of prolonged, direct exchanges among members of social unit who have divergent cultural background”.

Lightfoot (1995: 199) also defines it as "how indigenous people responded to European contact and colonialism and how the outcomes of these encounters influenced cultural development in postcolonial context". Silliman (2005) on the other hand defined culture contact as the encounter and interaction between groups of people for days, years, decades, centuries or even millennia. In this regard, cultural contact can be viewed as contact between various/different indigenous groups, contact between Europeans themselves (Portuguese, Dutch, swedes, Danes and British) and between indigenous people (The Osu people) and their European counterparts on the Gold Coast. The contact can range from long to short term, the past to present or amicable to hostile, and may include a variety of elements such as exchange, integration, slavery, colonialism and imperialism (Silliman, 2005). This research looks at the nature of material remains of the contact between two groups, the Osu people on one hand and the Europeans on the other hand and how they interacted and impacted each other.

Before trade encounters (the Trans-Atlantic Trade) at the coast and in West Africa, the northern part of West Africa and the Gold Coast had earlier contact with traders from North Africa during the Trans-Saharan trade in the first millennium. The Trans-Saharan trade route connected West African economy to the Mediterranean world through the Saharan desert (north Africa). Cloth, cowrie, pottery, beads and Islam were supplied to West Africa, while West Africa supplied the Arabian Berbers with gold, salt and later enslaved people. After the collapse of the Trans-Saharan trade, Europeans in the fifteenth century discovered West Africa through their voyages on the Atlantic Ocean. This led to their presence on the Gold Coast.

Evidence attesting to local and European contact at Osu from the salvage excavation at the Marine Drive Project Site included local pottery, European ceramics, glass bottles, beads, smoking pipes among others; a reflection of both local and European materials throughout the stratigraphy levels

in the excavation. Although there was trade in enslaved people, materials from the excavations did not give direct evidence of slavery. However, the history of the Christiansborg Castle dungeon where enslaved people were kept and some of the shackles that were used in chaining them before the enslaved people were exported abroad, provides direct evidence on the legacy of slavery. Furthermore, though the people at Osu do not produce local pottery in the community today, the presence of large amounts of pottery from the lower levels of the excavations provide evidence that there might have been some potters in the community in the past. The presence of pottery from the Accra plains and Shai in the excavations shows evidence of trade relations and contact with other local ethnic groups that produced pottery. It can also be deduced that European cultures were introduced to the local people and vice versa through the interactions.

The contact between the Europeans and the indigenous people of Osu also led to both intrusive and peaceful acculturation. Different anthropologists have defined acculturation in different ways. According to Tivel (2012: 98), "acculturation is what happens to an entire culture when alien traits diffuse on a large scale and substantially replace traditional cultural patterns". Barnett (1940: 22) also defines acculturation as the loss of traditional lifeways and subsequent adoption of Western values and lifeways. Acculturation also involves any change in lifeways stemming from continuous direct contact between people of different cultures and acceptance or incorporation of "outside" ideas or technology within a generally persistent way of life (Cusick ,1998: 128; Redfield 37 et al. 1936). The European contacts in West Africa, which were manifested in their trade, territorial claims, and colonisation over the past 500 years, had profound effects on West African cultures (DeCorse, 1998: 362).

DeCorse (1998: 362) noted that European contact (trade, territorial claims and colonisation) affected West African cultures and local indigenous cultures. The material manifestation can be

seen in the foodways where new plants and animal species were introduced to the Gold coast and are still being used today. Furthermore, European material culture such as ceramics, glass, beads, smoking pipes and metal objects from excavations are still in use today. This shows evidence of acculturation of European materials in the current lifeways of the Osu people. Again, the built environment at Osu showed a mixture of both European style and indigenous architecture. Examples of such buildings include the Ritcher House, the Wulff House and Nii Okantey Shikatse We.

The non-material manifestation of the encounters at Osu is seen in European linguistic form (English language and some Portuguese and Danish vocabulary), religion (Christianity and Islam) and education. At Osu, non-material manifestation is reflected in place names, names of people and some words in the Ga language borrowed from European dialect. Religion shows another aspect of acculturation. The introduction of Christianity by the European missionaries (Basel Mission) incorporated into the religious system of the Osu people attest to this. Acculturation is seen in the introduction of education. Evidence of education in the archaeological record is the recovery of writing slate and slate pencil and the presence of the Osu Salem school built by the Basel mission at Osu which is still in use today.

3.4. Material Culture Studies

Material culture studies could be broadly defined as the investigation of the relationship between people and things irrespective of time and space (Miller & Tilley 1996: 5). These relationships and people are represented in their cultural products known as artefacts. These artefacts are a means by which we give form to and come to an understanding of ourselves (Miller, 1994: 397). Hirst (2018) defines material culture as “objects that are used, lived in, displayed and experienced”. It

includes all the things people make, including tools, pottery, houses, furniture, buttons, roads, even the cities themselves.

Apoh and Gavua (2010: 212) are of the view that material culture reveals the function, signs, and meanings embodied in artefacts (ideological, ritual, and religious function). It has been conceived as "commodities that were created for use and exchange" (Deetz 1977; Miller 1987) and as documents that communicate and convey the meaning in past human activities. A much simpler understanding of material culture is achieved when approached from the point of view that our world is a result of our thoughts. The 'tangible' aspect of our 'intangible culture' is reflected in material culture. As a result, we modify that sector of our physical environment through culturally determined behaviour (Deetz, 1977). These culturally determined behaviours which largely result from 'socialisation,' religion, and contacts, are adequately expressed in a society's material culture.

Material culture studies also entail the analysis of exchange and commerce, the introduction and consumption of foreign goods and technologies, and the process of commoditization of native or indigenous material products, service and labour. These processes, are manifested in the interchange of goods, foodstuffs, architectural knowledge, technology, religious ideas and paraphernalia, etc., and can be documented in written and iconographic sources, as well as in the artefacts themselves (Scaramelli & Scaramelli, 2005). The analysis of these interplays are particularly informative and provides the background for the examination of long-term historical process and native cultural response in the face of different colonial and postcolonial circumstances.

To be able to apply material culture studies to understand cross-cultural encounters, there is the need to adopt a dynamic and multi-dimensional approach to contact sites. The study of material culture has been applied by several scholars to reconstruct past cultural life-ways of several

societies worldwide. Patnaik (1995: 59-64) has illustrated that, "by carefully examining the manner in which certain material objects are made functional in a preliterate society and also by understanding the meaning provided to a particular material trait in a given cultural context, some light can be thrown on the relationship between the archaeological record and social organization".

Renfrew (2004) indicated that artefacts are products of a manufacturing process and that they provide insights into individual's short term decisions (intentionality) which go a long way to influence their social life ways. This means the study of material culture can provide information on agency in the archaeological record (Renfrew, 2004:30). Material culture studies can also provide information on the cognitive ideals of a society. Social contracts such as marriage, religion, status and money are often embedded in symbolic tangibles. This representative role of material culture in some cases precedes the cognitive ideals of the society so that in the absence of the tangible the intangible aspect is considered non-existent (Renfrew, 2012:130-133).

Preucel and Mrozowski (2010: 341) give a much simpler understanding of material culture to involve considering how humans construct their worlds through material means as well as physical and cognitive processes. In view of this, analysis of the materials derived from the excavations serves as a reference to the ways in which interactions were constructed. In this regard, material culture forms the basis of human engagement on the coast. Therefore, these materials inform the agents associated with the trade at the coast and how they interacted with each other. In this regard, materials that were salvaged from the project site shed light on the relationship between humans and things as well as the product of human actions and inactions. To fully understand the thought and process of a society, it is important to see the reflection of individuals in the production and use of materials.

Archaeology deals with the remains of the act of individuals. However, the evidence in the archaeological record is the result of human actions. That is to say, the consequences of intended or unintended action can be seen in the archaeological record. This means that neither the actions nor drive to act is preserved, but rather, the result of human actions are what can be seen in the archaeological record. Incidentally, the material evidence of human actions, exchange and contact found in the archaeological record at Osu depicts the result of human actions at the coast (Barret 2000; Hodder & Hutson, 2003: 7). The presence of the Christiansborg castle throws more light on the African-European contact, trade and imperialism.

In Ghana, for example, Apoh and Gavua (2010) applied material culture studies to interpret archaeological assemblages retrieved at the Katamansu site to shed light on events and occurrences which transpired there in the past. For example, they postulated that the place served as a shrine / battle site in the past based on the fact that the Katamansu site yielded several cultural materials related to battle such as bullet cartridges and whistles previously used by traditional war captains to communicate messages during battle. The research also held that the area in the past also served as a shrine based on the recovery of shrine related materials like European ceramics and fragments of alcoholic beverage bottles (mainly schnapps) used in traditional pacification rites, similar to those found in the ethnographic present (Apoh and Gavua, 2010: 128). Incidentally, the site of Katamansu has been named in several early European records as the battleground of the now famous Katamansu war of 1826.

Gavua (2015:137) in his quest to gain deeper insights into traditional religious identity and practices in the mid-west area of the Volta Region, Ghana, also combined ethnographic research with material culture studies to better understand this phenomenon. He focused mainly on material configurations and space to understand this phenomenon. He noted that several tangible evidences

(sacred buildings, images of deities, specific body adornments, colours, and landscapes) and intangible media (rituals, music and dance) were the means by which individuals and groups in the area expressed their religious identity and commitment. He noted among other things that religion had the tendency to influence daily actions. For instance, he observed that the intangible is directly connected to the tangible, meaning material manifestations were the result of intangible practices which could provide important insights into the values and mind set of the practitioners.

However, some major limitations of material culture studies are misinterpretation or over interpretation of data. To mitigate these flaws, Patnaik (1995: 64) has noted that researchers should take into account suggestions on the consideration of context and association of finds in the archaeological record, as against implication of these evidences within the societal context of the research area. The archaeological finds retrieved from Osu will be scientifically analysed paying special attention to their multiple connotations such as their social, aesthetic and ideological implications to mitigate some limitations of the Material Culture theory.

3.5. Development-led Archaeology

About 80% of all known archaeological sites in Ghana have no protection except for the few UNESCO World Heritage Sites, including some forts and castles that are protected by the law. There are a lot of different changes going on in the landscape which causes damage to these sites. Changes are caused by coastal erosion and developers building and constructing things. Development-led archaeology is a type of archaeology that is undertaken to offset the impact that developments (such as the building of houses and earth moving projects like the Accra Marine Drive Investment Project) have on our historic environment (Fielder, 2013). It is aimed at preserving archaeological sites, known in Great Britain as Rescue Archaeology and in the United

States as Salvage Archaeology or Cultural Resource Management." Development-led archaeology is widely used in Europe and the United States but is currently in its infancy in Africa

Development-led archaeology/Salvage archaeology thus seeks to rescue as many cultural materials as possible from areas which are being threatened or exposed to danger. It is the location and recording (usually through excavation) of archaeological sites in advance of earthmoving and construction activities (Renfrew & Bahn 2008: 584). Aryee & Apoh (2018: 4) also describes it as rescuing materials that are under threat of human activity and environmental destructive activities. Development-led archaeology helps to rescue cultural heritage and legacies of interactions in an endangered environment before such sites are destroyed. That notwithstanding, various laws have been set in most countries for protecting and rescuing endangered materials before destructive projects are undertaken. In Europe and the United States, for example, development-led archaeology is integral to their state and national legislations. Heritage and cultural assessments are mandatory during all earthmoving activities. This enables the rescue of materials before any developmental project occurs. In so doing, these nations protect and preserve their cultural heritage.

In Africa and most of developing countries where daily concerns about livelihood are taken more seriously than the preservation of heritage, just a few of them have laws pertaining to preservation of heritage resources, notably; South Africa (1999), Namibia (2004), Botswana (2001) and Kenya (2006), have overhauled their heritage legislation to include international Cultural Resource Management (CRM) legislations to ensure legal protection of cultural resources. These CRM legislations recognise development-led archaeology and salvage archaeology as one of the several ways to protect national heritage. According to Linden and Webley (2012: 5), archaeological projects carried out in development-led contexts may have three main stages;

a) Evaluation of the character and extent of project sites to determine whether archaeological deposits are present on the site or not.
b) Deployment of salvage techniques
c) Post-excavation analysis and production of a report.

Evaluation involves preparing a desk-based assessment in order to determine records of monuments and already marked sites in the area. Taking an aerial photograph of the site and conducting a reconnaissance site survey enables the coalification of remains. Some methods may include digging text pits instead of core excavations if the development had already begun. Test pits are mostly done to identify sites for which most evidence consists of artifacts scattered in the ploughed soil (Linden & Webley, 2012: 6). In the case of Osu, about half of the designated area for the Marine Drive Project had been cleared by earth moving machines and destroyed before the rescue began. For this reason, a reconnaissance survey was undertaken to find ideal areas for the salvage excavation to take place. This was done so that the cultural materials in the remaining areas would not be destroyed.

Though test pits are employed in some types of sites, trial trenching remains the dominant form of salvage excavations. Evaluation is then followed by excavation to rescue heritage materials before destruction. In some cases, recovered heritage are preserved *in-situ* depending on the importance of the remains and based on the heritage convention and heritage policies governing them. Salvage excavation is mostly followed by Post-excavation analysis and reporting or report writing on the work done (Linden & Webley, 2012: 5). Recommendations are also indicated in the reports on what needs to be done with the rescued materials.

Development-led Archaeology/Salvage Archaeology has gained prominence in the United States due to an increasing concern over the accelerated destruction of archaeological sites in the United

States and the world at large (Sharer & Ashmore 1993:34). Development-led archaeology has also been applied in several other countries under different circumstances but in most cases during construction works. The New York African Burial site rediscovered in 1989 (Blakey, 2010: 525) and the Arizona Highway project of 1964 are but a few of such works in a developed country (Hammack, 1973), just to mention a few. In Ghana, a few development-led archaeological works have been undertaken. They include the Volta Basin Research Project in the 1960s and 1970s; the Bui Hydroelectric Dam construction salvage project (Gavua & Apoh 2011) as well as salvage archaeological works at the Fort Kongensten site (Aryee & Apoh 2018) among others.

As stated earlier, salvage archaeology was first practiced in Ghana in the 1960s when Oliver Davies led the "Volta Basin Research Project (VBRP)" during the construction of the Akosombo Hydroelectric Dam Project (Anquandah, et.al, 2014). The Volta Basin Research Project was aimed at rescuing some cultural materials before the flooding of the Volta Basin. During his work, numerous cultural materials were recovered including local pottery. Again, James Boachi-Ansah's salvage work at Ladoku (Boachie-Ansah, 2006) is worth mentioning. In his work, the author rescued archaeological materials such as pot sherds, grinding stones, faunal remains, European glazed pottery, and glass beads (Boachie-Ansah, 2008), among others. The analysis and interpretation of the finds recovered from this rescue mission has to a large extent contributed to understanding the origins of the Ga-Dangme people.

Victoria Aryee and Wazi Apoh (Aryee 2015; Aryee and Apoh 2018) used salvage archaeology as a research method for the documentation and conservation of historic Danish Fort Kongensten (constructed in 1783) along the coast of Ada Foah that was being destroyed by the rise in sea levels. The excavations yielded a feature and a midden that comprised fragments of pottery, European ceramics, stems and bowls of smoking pipes, cowrie shells, glass bottles and metal

objects. These materials give an insight into the materiality and period of contact between the Danes and the people of Ada Foah. Overall, the work assessed the extent to which archaeology and anthropology can be used as tools in climate change mitigation projects and the conservation of heritage remains. It also highlighted the essence of rescue archaeology in safeguarding the heritage of a given community.

In 2016, Wazi Apoh and Kodzo Gavua conducted salvage archaeology during the construction of the Bui Dam (Apoh and Gavua, 2016). This salvage work arose when the communities in question tried to prevent the progress of the development work because the said construction activities threatened their heritage. For this reason, archaeologists were called upon to salvage the heritage of the communities. During such works, enormous cultural materials were recovered. Similarly, the archaeologists were able to help settle the disagreement between the development officers and the local communities by relocating the identified heritage (such as their ancestors and shrines) of the community to their newly allocated settlements (Apoh and Gavua, 2016). The research revealed the essence of archaeology in mitigating conflict over heritage issues. It brought to light the essence of heritage impact assessment or, better still, salvage archaeological works before the commencement of any developmental project. The above review on some salvage works conducted in Ghana has revealed that salvage archaeology can be said to be a means of heritage conservation. This is because it is a method that is used to retrieve cultural materials on the verge of destruction.

3.5.1. Salvage Archaeology and Legislation in Ghana.

Notably, most salvage works conducted in other parts of the world were made possible due to the availability and strict enforcement of their respective heritage laws. However, despite the increasing rate of infrastructural developments in Ghana, limited cultural impact assessments are

conducted before such projects are commenced. The reason is attributed to the weak enforcement of Ghana's heritage laws. In Ghana for instance, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) Act of 1969, (NLCD 387) is the only binding legislation that encapsulates heritage resources. Even so, the Act, does not make mention of consultations with archaeologists, or the application of archaeological methodology in protecting and rescuing endangered sites. Neither are there regulations that enforce the protection of monuments of antiquity (Aryee, 2014 :16). As a result, some cultural materials and legacies of trade and interactions have been destroyed whiles others are at the verge of being destroyed by developmental and construction activities. The need for this salvage research conducted at the Marine Drive Project Site is necessary in national development project. It has made it possible to rescue materials which will give insights into the African-European encounters and interactions at Osu during the heydays of the Trans-Atlantic trade which occurred between the Sixteenth to the Twentieth centuries at the coast.

Boachie-Ansah (2008), Kankpeyeng (1996), and Kankpeyeng and DeCorse (2004) highlighted lapses in legislation and factors accounting for poor heritage management in Ghana to include insufficient funding; lack of political action on the part of government; poor and low salaries of staff charged with the heritage management and lack of trained personnel. In light of this rapid pace of construction activities in Ghana, there is the need for cultural impact assessment to be taken into consideration so that our unique heritage can be preserved. For such preservation to happen, salvage archaeology should be part of legislations in Ghana as it is in the United States and other European and neighbouring African countries. It is worthy to note that despite the lack of proper management of heritage, Ghana has a few heritage laws for the protection of our national heritage. In their article, *Cultural Resource Management Archaeology in Ghana*, Nkumbaan and

Gblerkpor (2014), outlined numerous laws that have been enacted which were aimed at protecting and conserving archaeological heritage resources in Ghana. They include;

1. Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast, established by an Ordinance in 1949. This provided legal protection of the European trade forts and castles in Ghana.
2. In 1952, recommendations on the forts and castles in Ghana by the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Britain, culminated in the consolidation of the Ordinance of 1949 with the establishment of a Monument Division of the Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast. It was responsible for restoring and maintaining the forts and castles.
3. In 1957 and upon attaining independence, "the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) Ordinance No.20" *(laws.ghanalegal.com* was passed. Though it did not clearly define the functions of the Board, it expanded the scope of the Board to cover other traditional buildings in Asante and Northern Ghana.
4. "The National Liberation Council Decree (N.L.C.D, 387) of 1969" (www.whc.unesco.org), now the National Museum Act (Act 387), and the Executive Instrument (EI,118) of 1969, dealing with the National Museum Regulations were the most elaborate in terms of defining not only what antique objects were in Ghana but also spelling out the duties of the GMMB.
5. In 1973, the National Museum Regulations were revised into Executive Instrument (EI,29), dealing with regulating the sale and export of antiquities.

From the above, it is evident that, "the National Liberation Council Decree (N.L.C.D, 387) of 1969" (www.whc.unesco.org), now the National Museum Act (Act 387), is the only legal binding legislation that currently ensures the protection and conservation of heritage remains in Ghana. The Preamble of the National Museum Act of 1969 (NLCD 387) buttresses this claim: it reads that

it is "An act to provide for the establishment of a Museum and Monuments Board and for the control of antiquities and other related matters".

Section 9 and 10 of the Act are the only legal terms that govern heritage discoveries in Ghana. It respectively deals with permission to remove antiquity and duty to notify discovery.

Section (9) and (10) of the Act states;

Section (9) of the Act deals with the "*Permission to Remove Antiquity" (laws.ghanalegal.com*). It states that;

(1) A person shall not remove an antiquity from its original site without the consent of the Board.

(2) A person shall, when applying to the Board for consent under subsection (1), "state the exact locality in which the antiquity is situated and the place to which and the purpose for which, the antiquity is to be removed, "and the Board may require that person to submit an adequate photograph of the antiquity"

Section (10) of the Act deals with the *"Duty to notify discovery" (laws.ghanalegal.com).* It states that;

(1) A person who discovers an antiquity, and the owner or occupier of a land on which an antiquity is discovered on becoming aware of the discovery, shall without delay notify the Board in writing of the discovery.

(2) A person mentioned in subsection (1) shall not, without the written consent of the Board, alienate the antiquity discovered.

(3) When the Board becomes aware of the discovery of an antiquity but has not been notified, it may notify the discovery to a person who is or appears to be the owner or in control of the antiquity, and a person so notified shall not alienate the antiquity without the written consent of the Board.

The above quoted sections of the Act are the only legal terms governing Ghana's heritage discoveries. Nevertheless, the Act makes no mention of consultations with archaeologists, or the application of archaeological methodology (salvage archaeology) in safeguarding endangered sites or antiquities. It emphatically states what should be done when a discovery is made, that is, written consent should be sought from the Board. It also stipulates all the administrative procedures to be followed in case of discovery, and outlines the duty of the Board of the Museum concerning the antiquity discovered.

However, the Act does not specify how such discovered "antiquity" should be removed upon approval by the Board. That is, the Act failed to state the means by which the said 'antique' should be removed as well as the methodology to adopt in removing the said antique object. As such, any 'lay person' with no knowledge of heritage matters can remove the antique object from its location when he/she has gotten approval from the Board. And this, to me, is very detrimental since such persons may not have special knowledge in dealing with such objects; hence such individuals may destroy the 'antiquity'. Also, the Act falls short in protecting the 'antiquity' as a whole because it does not show how such antique objects should be protected but only mentions the duty of the discoverer to notify the Board. It does not include expert knowledge from archaeologists or heritage experts in its activities. This, in my opinion, leaves a gap for misconduct to take place.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1.Introduction

An eclectic approach was employed in collecting data for this study. This involved surface survey and salvage archaeological excavation, collection of ethnographic data, archival and library research and examination of written sources as well as documentation of visual evidence with the use of audio-visual equipment. The strengths and limitations of the sources of information are also discussed. Detailed descriptions of the research methods employed is further discussed below.

4.2. Library Research

Library research formed the initial stage of the study and spanned seven months (June to December 2019). The first phase was undertaken at the Balme Library, African Studies Library and Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies Library which are all located at the University of Ghana campus at Legon. The second phase was conducted at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) Library in Trondheim, Norway. The archival process involved reviewing several written sources, especially on the settlement histories of the inhabitants in the research area as well as on the Afro-European encounters on the Gold Coast.

The researcher also explored Open-Source data published on the internet. These include many sources relating to historical archaeology, salvage archaeology, classification and analysis of material culture, culture contact studies and development-led archaeology to have various perspectives on the research. A review of works published by African and European scholars who have research on African-European encounters was also conducted. A few such scholars included;

Ozanne (1962), A.W. Lawrence (1963), van Dantzig (1980), Anquandah (1999; 2006), Apoh (2001), Bredwa Mensah (2002), Gyam (2008), Boachie-Ansah (2009), Wellington (2014; 2017), Biveridge (2014), Abrampah (2017), Aryee and Apoh (2018), among others.

Additional information obtained from the library research included records on migration, the coastal trade, the intra-regional trade between local people, the arrival of Europeans on the Gold Coast and other important documented events in the Osu area. Literature on salvage archaeological investigations in Ghana and around the globe and how they were carried out was also reviewed. This helped to inform the researcher on the salvage archaeological strategies and how to analyse and interpret my findings. These reports proved very useful because some writers directly participated in the activities and events they described (travel account). The literature also facilitated a better understanding of the study area.

Though these sources were very relevant, there were some limitations associated with the use of these sources. Notably, some of the writers did not fully understand the indigenous culture and local languages of the people and for that matter, most of the travel accounts were written from their cultural perspective and hearsay with misspelt names of people and places. Also, not much is written about the history of the Ga of Osu in recent times besides the work by Wellington (2017). Most of the literature is written on the Ga people in general and therefore does not give a thorough view of the economic, social, political and religious activities of the Osu people before the arrival of Europeans.

4.3. Archival Research

Archival research constituted part of the data collection process. Archival data was sourced from the Public Records and Archives Administration (PRAAD) in Ghana as well as from digital

collections from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) library and the National Archives in Copenhagen, Denmark. Documents that described local activities, warehouse records, land documents, maps, hand-drawn illustrations, and pictures of ancient and historic Accra was retrieved and reviewed. From the record, a map of Nkrumah's initial plan of the Marine Drive Project Site was recovered together with some land documents and Ghana's Parliament agreement of the MDIP of 1963 (RG 5/1/242).

These documents also provided useful information on the socio-economic history and activities at the coast during the Trans-Atlantic trade period. Data derived from PRAAD was very helpful and informative. The main problem I encountered with the records in Europe was that almost all the Dutch records were recorded in the Dutch language and with the limited time in Norway, the researcher could not get a translator to do majority of the transcription. As a result, the focus was more on the archival materials sourced from Ghana which were in English.

4.4.Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research was essential part of the salvage fieldwork. This was done to have an emic perspective on the cultural history of the people of Osu. This activity spanned a timeframe of two months (July-August 2020). The aim of conducting ethnographic research as part of my study was to collect information on the lifeways of the Osu people and their encounter with the Europeans. It was also meant to document their socio-cultural, political, economic and religious lifeways. It was also done to confirm or dispute the histories written about Osu in historical sources. The ethnographic study also helped in the interpretation of the archaeological record. Key methods used included collection of oral accounts based on interviews, focus group discussions and observation of the built environment and the various activities taking place at Osu at the time of the research.

To guide the ethnographic study, a seven-page unstructured questionnaire was prepared. Most of the questions focused on the past and contemporary culture and lifeways of the Osu people. This included knowing about their origin, settlement and migration histories, subsistence behaviour, trade relations, contact with Europeans and other local communities, and the impact of the European presence. Their knowledge and views on the Marine Drive Investment Project were also solicited. Selected indigenes were interviewed based on each topic of interest and the use of the interview guide (see APPENDIX A). Respondents were chosen randomly because the researcher wanted the views of a range of people on the subject matter.

In Africa, oral accounts constitute a major source of information about the past and present cultures of different ethnic groups (Okoro 2008:375). It can be in the form of direct modes (example: poems, folklore, music and proverbs) or indirect modes (example: drumming and dancing). A tour of Osu was made to identify some of the extant legacies/houses built by European and indigenous merchants and traders. A few of such buildings include the Richer House, the Wulff House, Osu Salem School, and Osu Presbyterian Church, to mention a few. The researcher also collected family histories from some descendants of European settlers.

In all, 50 people were interviewed. They were made up of 15 people between the ages of 18 and 30 years. Thirty-five (35) adults aged of 40 years and above from the community were interviewed to know whether they knew about the Trans-Atlantic trade and also about the Marine Drive Project. The importance of oral accounts is that it serves as the main mechanism by which the past can be illuminated in cultures when the past is not documented. They are important and play key roles in reconstructing the culture of societies. There are, however, some limitations associated with them. There is the tendency for people to forget about their histories due to old age or ill-health, and for that matter may not be able to recollect what they knew. Also, some informants can decide to be

silent on some aspects of their histories or alter some narratives. The best way to resolve this is for the researcher to cross-check the findings by collecting data from more people and in comparison with written records (Okoro 2008: 376).

4.5.Surface Survey and Salvage Archaeological Excavation

Surface survey was undertaken around the Christiansborg Castle area and its environs to identify sites and areas with enough surface scatter. It was also done in other to sample areas for excavation. Salvage archaeological excavations followed the reconnaissance survey. Surface survey at the Marine Drive Project site was done to detect features and density of artefact scatter and salvage artefacts through archaeological excavations. The survey covered the area along the beachfront of Osu (from the Art centre to the Christiansborg castle) where the project was taking place. The survey gave an insight into the excavation techniques to be used.

A similar survey was conducted in 2017 by Professor Wazi Apoh and other Research Assistants before the project commenced. Surface survey is inexpensive and can be done with or without equipment like electro-magnetometers and ground-penetrating radars. It is a bit time-consuming as it is done carefully and not in haste. Also, without using this equipment, artefacts beneath the soil cannot be seen and recovered unless archaeological excavation is employed.

Salvage excavation followed the surface survey as materials had to be rescued due to the clearing of the land for the MDIP. Salvage excavation was employed in order to rescue materials from the dump site behind the Christiansborg Castle worker's canteen which was at the verge of being destroyed. Three trenches were excavated in the selected area. Trench One measured 1.5m x 5m in size; Trench Two measured 2m x 4m in size and Trench Three also measured 2m x 4m in size (details of this is described in Chapter Five). The strength of using archaeological excavation

method is that, materials recovered, such as European smoking pipes and alcoholic beverage bottles, can give a sequential chronology that can be used to date other cultural materials found in association with them. Excavations also give insight into the materials that were consumed and traded in the area as a result of the Afro-European contact. The manufacturers and country of origin of European materials can also be identified on materials from the archaeological record. The lifeways of both locals and Europeans can be evaluated from the materials recovered from the excavation. The possible functions of artefacts as well as their impact on trade, exchange and contact in society can be assessed from the materials as well (Joukowsky 1980: 46, 116; Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 126, 112).

Archaeological excavation is destructive. During the excavation process, the soil's stratigraphy often is disturbed in addition to the removal of organic materials and insects from their natural habitat. Materials can also break or become fragmentary if excavation is not conducted carefully and systematically. Though excavation has its limitations, it is relevant in revealing the three-dimensional feature/shape of materials buried in the matrix. This helps archaeologists to derive contextual information on materials and chronology based on the associated materials (Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 126, 112).

4.6.Ethical Consideration

According to Mack et al. (2005), ethical considerations research is concerned with the principles that guide the interaction between researchers, the people that help in diverse ways to facilitate the research, and the research subjects, participants and respondents. Such principles are premised on the need to ensure that the reservations of people concerning the research are acknowledged and given the necessary attention. Some generally agree that the ethics of research should include the attainment of informed consent, beneficence, justice, and respect for communities. Informed

consent ensures that participants understand the study and its tenets and should make informed choices of whether or not to participate in it. Beneficence is required to minimise potential risks to participants as best as possible. Justice requires that those who undertake to be participants in a study should be beneficiaries of the knowledge gained. Respect for communities is required from all researchers to respect the values and interests of the communities in which the research is conducted (Mack et al., 2005: 9).

An application for ethical clearance for this research was solicited from the Ethical Committee for the Humanities (ECH) of the University of Ghana. The application dossier included the research topic, proposal, data collection instruments, and Informed Consent Form for consideration by the Committee. The field data collection phase of the research commenced only after approval was granted by the ECH (see Appendix C). In the field, potential participants were thoroughly briefed on the purpose of the study. The rights of the participants, including conditions of anonymity and confidentiality, where desired, were communicated clearly in English and also in the Ga language in instances where English was not applicable.

The consent of participants was also sought before photographs were taken and voices recorded. Where photography or audio recording was not permitted, such was not done. After agreeing to participate in the study participants were encouraged to sign or thumbprint an Informed Consent Form (see Appendix D). Participants were, however, free to withdraw from the study at any point if they felt the need to. Also they had the liberty to clearly state their reasons for doing so or not. The study also prepared and purposed that, interviews were conducted at the participants' place, time and convenience. This was to stimulate a relaxed atmosphere. To this end, no form of inducement was offered to any participant.

4.7. Data Processing and Analysis

Materials from the excavations were subjected to post-field analysis which included the processing, classification and analysis of data in the laboratory. Post field analysis constituted the last phase of fieldwork. One of the first things that is done under post-field analysis is the removal and washing of the dirt on excavated materials using clean water and a soft brush. Materials that are often washed include local pottery, imported ceramics and glass objects, beads, stones, buttons, plastics, cowries, and local and imported smoking pipes. Ecofacts including bones and mollusc shells are dried and cleaned by brushing off dirt. Metals are often cleaned and later treated with wax to prevent them from corroding. Washing and drying are followed by labelling of the finds with black ink after which classification and sorting are undertaken.

Provenience information, often includes the site name, year, unit name, the level at which the material was found and date of excavation are inscribed on the materials during labelling. This is done to prevent information loss and easy identification of materials during analysis. The recovered materials from Locus B of the Marine Drive Project Site were analysed (see Chapter Six) after labelling with the assistance of the Technician from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, Mr Gideon Agyare, and my principal supervisor. Faunal remains recovered were sent to Professor Atuquayefio of the Department of Animal Biology and Conservation Science for specie identification. Other objects such as excavated stones and rocks were sent to the Department of Earth Science for mineralogical analysis. This helped to enrich the work and gave more insight into the socio-economic activities of the people at Osu as well as their past subsistence and dietary patterns.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING AT OSU

5.1. Introduction

This Chapter is in three sections. The first discussed the physical environment and geography of the research area. These includes the vegetation and soil, relief and drainage systems as well as the climatic conditions of the area. Secondly, it provides a brief outline of the contemporary economic, social, political and cultural settings at Osu. It again looks at the subsistence behaviour of the Osu people. Finally, it describes the Marine Drive Tourism and Investment Project (MDTTP) which is the main socio-economic developmental threat to the research area and which led to the salvage archaeological research in the area. Attention was given to the changes and continuity that occurred in the built environment over time.

5.2. Physical Background: Relief and Drainage

According to Ozanne (1964: 3), the Accra Plain slopes gently from the base of the thousand-foot scarp of the Akwapim –Togo Range to a coastline of sandy shores, interspersed by lagoons and rocks up to a hundred feet high. At its western end, the plain merged into the rolling quartzite Weija Hills. The plains are divided into two unequal parts by the craggy gneiss inselbergs of Shai, which rise to over a thousand feet (Ozanne 1964:3). In recent times, developmental activities and ocean rise have caused severe erosion along the coastline, negatively impacting the coastal biota.

As a result, the landscape of the coastal is divided into two broad sections: the southeast coastal plains east of Accra and the plains. The research area falls within the south-east coastal plains. These areas are very flat and carry only a few isolated hills which rise abruptly from the

surrounding plains. The research area is characterized by the oldest as well as the youngest rock formation in the country. The land is remarkably flat but dotted here and there with inselbergs. The general elevation of the land is not more than 75 meters above sea level and at some places on the coast, the land is even below sea level and subject to periodic invasions by the sea. The coastline is cliffed but further east, the coastline is fairly smooth without cliffs and marked by sand bars and various lagoons. The drainage pattern is fairly simple (Dickson and Benneh 1970: 9-11).

According to the Head of the Natural Resources Department of the Environmental Protection Agency, the city of Accra has four main surface water systems. They include the Densu River basin which drains into the Sakumo Lagoon and then into the sea. The Odaw-Korle-Chemu catchment baring passes through the middle of the city with a number of tributaries The Kpeshie drainage system and Songo-Mokwe catchment or drainage systems are in the east of Accra. All these drainage systems have their sources beyond the boundaries of Accra which periodically overflows and cause flooding in the city of Accra therefore impacting an ancient heritage in these areas (Amoako & Boamah, 2014).

5.2.1. Climate

Osu is located in the Dry equatorial region between latitude 05°32.808'N and latitude 000° 11.140'W. The area is marked by double maxima rainfall and mean annual rainfall averaging 930 millimetres. Almost all its rainfall is in the form of heavy showers, usually short, though at the peak of the rainy season they may last many hours. Davies (1967: 4) noted that there are two peaks of rainfall, in June and October, and usually a minor peak in April or May. At the height of the rainy season, parts of the coast come within the southeast trade winds, and sometimes wet cold mist without storms, blow in from the Gulf of Guinea. July is often cold and dry, with little sun. In the dry season, dry north-east trade winds blow down to the edge of the forest, and sometimes

for a few days to the coast, causing humidity to drop sharply. Regular southwest winds bring moisture to the coast even when there is low rainfall (Davies 1967: 4).

5.2.2. Vegetation and Soils

The Greater Accra Region and the Accra plains lie within the coastal scrub and grassland vegetation zone and cover an area of approximately 173km². There is a strip of savannah along the coast, not more than one-kilometre-wide at the west end and broadening to 50 kilometres in the Accra Plains. Along this stretch, lagoons are perpendicular to the coast (Davies 1967: 7). Instead of tall grass and trees in the research area, it is characterized by a wiry grass, and patches of thorn bushes occurring much farther south. If the land is cleared for cultivation, it becomes more and more liable to erosion. Any cleared slope will almost certainly be eroded before the natural vegetation can re-establish itself. Cultivation is carried out safely only on tablelands, and even there the dry winds blow away the soil. Tillage also becomes more and more confined to small favoured patches (Owusu 2018: 37).

On the Accra Plains, green grass and low herbs are abundant, though it is too dry for forest trees, and under normal tropical conditions, there would be semi-desert. Report from early European visitors on the coast indicates that the area used to carry more luxuriant vegetation, probably a semi-deciduous forest (Davies 1967: 5) which changed as a result of modification by humans and the development of settlements. Today, the landscape consists of dense scrub without grass west of Accra and mainly grass with isolated patches of scrub and occasional trees east of Accra. Baobab and nim trees are quite common in wetter parts (Dickson & Benneh 1970: 33-34). The soil in the research area consists of lateritic sandy soils. They are deficient in organic matter and nutrients. They tend to be acidic and become water-logged or dry depending on the season. The lateritic soils in the southeast part are developed over acid gneiss and granite and consist of pale-

coloured sandy soils overlying a hardened layer of clay at the bottom of the soil which impedes downward drainage and causes water-logging in the wet season (Dickson & Benneh 1970: 38).

5.3. Contemporary Setting and lifeways at Osu

5.3.1. Current Demography of Osu

In 2010, the population of the area was estimated at 21,723 within an area of 11.89km² (Ghana Statistical Survey 2010). In 2021, the population of the area increased to 68,633, with 33,106 males and 35,525 females. The area's population density is approximately 12,901/km², with an annual population growth rate of 2.3%. The growth rate is attributed to the high birth rate, decrease in mortality and high level of migration from the rural areas and the hinterland into Accra. The sex distribution in the area revealed that women outnumbered men with a ratio of 51.1% to 48.9%. The age structure of the population of the area is youthful, with children under 15 years constituting 25%. Those between 15 and 65 years constitute 69.3% and the 65+ years, constitute 5.7% of the population (Ghana Statistical Survey 2021).

5.3.2. Contemporary Political/ Traditional Setting of Osu

The Osu Traditional Council governs Osu. The Council is reinforced by the Chieftaincy Act of 2008. Like many African societies, two systems of governance can be found in Osu. They are, the traditional or indigenous governance system and the modern political structure of the country. The traditional governance system is headed by the Osu *Manste* and the *wulomei* and is made up of four main quarters namely, *Kinkawe*, *Anehor*, *Alata* and *Ashante Blohum* (Yankholmes, 2012). In this system, each quarter has a sub-chief and a '*Gyasehene*' (Appendix E) who reports directly to the Osu Mantse who is chosen from two lineages in *Kinkawe*. *Ashante Blohum* quarter produces the town guardian (*Mankralo*) for all four quarters (*akutsei)* (Pers. Comm. Mr Reginald-Secretary

to the stool, 13/07/2020). The Palace is situated at Kinkawe. In the absence of the chief, the *Mankralo* serves as the acting chief. There are two *Wulomei* (priests), the *Ga Wulomo* and the *Osu Klottey Wulomo*, the Chief Priest of the Klottey Lagoon and the nominal land Owner of all Osu lands (Ankoma 2014: 24). The *Osiahene* who is considered the father figure of the chief is the one who enstools a chief.

Other customary leaders who form part of the Osu traditional system are the '*Asafoatse'* and '*Asafoanye'*. Their sole duty is to advise the chief. The '*Dzaasetse'* is also the one who nominates candidates for enstoolment as chief (Pers. Comm. Mr Reginald-Secretary to the stool, 13/07/2020). The Council is made up of the stool chief Linguist who is the spokesman for following the chief, the *Gyase'*, the Kingmaker families; the *Asafoatse'* who is the head of the Osu Traditional Military and the Osu Traditional Council as well as the head of the Royal Families from the '*Owuo'* Royal House and '*Dowuona'* Royal House (Pers. Comm. Mr Reginald-Secretary to the stool, 13/07/2020). The '*Owuo'* and the '*Dowuona'* families are the ruling clans at Osu. They, therefore, take turns in ruling the Osu Kingdom. When someone from the '*Owuo'* Royal house becomes the chief and dies or is dethroned, the next chief is selected from the '*Dowuona'* family (Ankoma 2014: 25). Currently, Osu is not just governed by the traditional system but has incorporated modern standards where the Metropolitan Assembly provides social amenities.

The key modern political structure of the study area is the Osu Klottey Sub-metro of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. It is one of six sub-metros of Accra. The Accra Metropolitan Assembly is headed by a Chief Executive (Mayor) who represents central government but derives his authority from the assembly of elected members (Pers. Comm. Mr Reginald-Secretary to the stool, 13/07/2020). By accident of history, the head offices of all Ghana's three arms of the government (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary) are located in Osu, a situation which has engendered

constant facelifts to the area resulting in numerous national monuments, parks and gardens as well as ministries and offices of state agencies. Notable national monuments include the 28th February Road, the Independence Arch and Square, Basel Mission Cemetery, Accra International Conference Centre, and the Old and New Parliament Houses. Social infrastructure includes a health centre, police station, post office, Accra Sports Stadium and educational institutions. This concentration of facilities has resulted in acute land shortage and high property rates (Yankholmes, 2012).

5.3.3. Contemporary Socio-Economic Setting at Osu

The Ga language is the mother tongue of the people of Osu. Almost all the indigenes in the research area are fluent in the Ga language including immigrants. Oral accounts collected and observation of the built environments showed brought to light that small groups of other ethnic groups like the Fantis, Asante and Ewes can also be found in Osu, especially at a place called New Osu/*w)b3weku* (located on the eastern part of Christiansborg Castle. This group live in harmony with the indigenes and partake in any social and cultural activities at Osu.

The household structure at Osu mostly comprises the extended family with the grandmother, grandfather, children and grandchildren living in the same household. It is only in a few houses that you see the nuclear family system. The reason is that the Osu people believe in living together as one big family. As a result, even when the children get married, most often they still live in the family house with their spouses. However, on a few occasions, the children move out of their family house after marriage. The 2021 demographic and health survey recorded 66% male headed households as against 34% female headed households at Osu (Ghana Statistical Survey 2021).

The dominant house type at Osu observed, is a single house built in a rectangular form with the compound in the middle. There are a few one-storied structures built with concrete blocks on a

concrete foundation and roofed with aluminium or zinc roofing sheets. A small proportion comprises one story building with most of it walled with a particular design running through (Figure 5.1). Some houses were built with stones and plastered with lime while others were made from aluminium sheets and roofed with the same sheet

Figure 5.1. The wall type at Osu, from the Chrristiansborg Castle to the Salem Avenue

5.3.4. Contemporary Subsistence and Adaptive Activities at Osu

Osu was a major commercial enclave from the pre-colonial through the colonial to the post-colonial era, where several coastal and inland people traded and are still trading. The early peasant economy of Osu included fishing in the Klottey and Korle Lagoons which bordered them (Odotei (1972). They also engaged in salt production and food crop farming. Their primary economic activity comprised cross-cultural trade and long-distance maritime trade in salt and fish for inland goods from Akwamu, Akyem, and Asante traders before the arrival of Europeans in the Sixteenth Century (Amartey 1991:13).

Osei-Tutu & Von Hesse (2019: 206) noted that the economy of Osu was agricultural and large settlements and villages scattered over the territory, producing food crops for subsistence and sale. The principal market town on the inland plain was Abonse, where the king regulated trade flow in

the region and collected taxes and tribute. The coast also consisted of small fishing villages that produced fish and salt which were distributed through the market at Abonse.

Today, the major subsistence activities identified in the research area comprised fishing, vegetable farming, animal husbandry and fish farming, just to mention a few. It was observed that the majority of the youth are involved in white collar jobs. Others also do other businesses. According to the oral account, fishing was the most dominant activity of the Osu people, especially among the young men. The eastern shore of Christiansborg Castle is the main berthing point for the town's fisher folk (Figure 4.2). Most of the people engaged in the industry are related to canoe owners and do not receive direct wages or salary for their labour. A few received a small share of the daily catch.

The principal tool kits of the fishermen comprised seine nets, wooden canoes, paddles and ice chests. The few who can afford outboard motors are often constrained by the high cost of pre-mix fuel, which constitutes the major problem hindering the industry's growth. Today, most of the fishermen have relocated to Jamestown and nearby fishing towns due to the Marine Drive Project, which has led to the destruction of the landing area for the canoes. Discussions with the town's fisher folks indicated that fish-catch had declined significantly over the last two decades. When asked about the Marine Drive Project, the fishermen noted that the project contractors promised them a new landing area as part of the Marine Drive Project. A few of them still fish in the area whiles the majority have moved to Jamestown and other fishing communities where fishing is ongoing (Figure 5.2). Most young men are involved in livestock farming and other menial jobs (Pers. Com. with Quartey 20/07/2020).

Figure 5.2: Fishing canoes at Osu

Another dominant subsistent strategy at Osu is vegetable farming along the beach front and was the second most important vocation of the young men besides fishing. Vegetables such as cabbage, lettuce, carrots, spring onion and bell pepper were cultivated along the beach front near an area popularly called parks and gardens. Farming practices are based on the traditional system of rotational crop planting. With no irrigation facility, except for the use of water from the *'Naa Agyan'* Lagoon, farming is rain-fed and its productivity in terms of farm yield is dependent on the volume of rainfall and the timing of the planting.

The whole stretch which was used for farming activities has been cleared by bulldozers to pave the way for the Marine Drive Project. As a result, most of the vegetable sellers who were getting their produce from Osu beach farms now buy from the market. Though the park and garden areas have been destroyed, it was observed that a few young men were still farming in their courtyards and areas which have not yet been affected by the project (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Vegetable farming at Osu

Aside fishing and farming, other indigenes are involved in animal husbandry (Figure 5.4) and fish farming (Figure 5.5). From oral accounts collected during the ethnographic research, some of the livestock reared on seasonal basis include cattle, goats, sheep and poultry. As a result of education, most young people are involved in white-collar jobs, and some end up opening their businesses. These include; mobile money vendors, internet cafés, and pharmacies, among others. Most of the women are also involved in selling cooked food by the roadside and selling foodstuffs at the market.

Figure 5.4: Animal Husbandry at Osu

Figure 5.5: Fish farming in a pond at Osu

5.3.5. Contemporary Cultural Setting of Osu

The *Homowo* festival is the most important festival celebrated by the Ga-Dangme at Osu. *Homowo* is celebrated to remember how the ancestors of the Ga people survived severe famine and hunger that plagued them during their migration to present day Ghana. According to the oral account, as they farmed, the deities rewarded them bountifully with rain and bumper harvest. After the harvest, they jubilated and initiated the celebration of *Homowo*. *Homowo* is derived from two Ga words '*homo'* meaning "hunger" and '*wo'* meaning "to hoot at". *Homowo*, therefore, means 'hooting at hunger. (Osabu-Kle, 2020). According to informants, the festival is celebrated annually to express the cultural value of being industrious, creative and resourceful to ensure the younger generations pick up the rich values of the ancestors.

The festival is celebrated in succession among all the Ga towns on the coast.Various activities that takes place before the celebration which last four weeks. The Ga towns which celebrate the

Homowo festival include Ga Mashie, Osu, Nungua, Teshie and Tema. According to Quartey-Papafio (1920: 133), the Osu or Christiansborg people celebrate their Homowo or Harvest Festival on the second Tuesday of July after the Ga Mashie people had celebrated theirs. The people of La and a few of the towns in Ada celebrate their *Homowo* on the fourth week of July after the Ga Mashie people had celebrated it- that is on the third Saturday after the general celebration in Accra. The Nungua people celebrate their *Homowo* on the fifth Saturday after that of Ga Mashie while the Tema people celebrate their *Homowo* a week after the *Lante Dzan We Homowo* (Pers. Comm. with Prof. Wellington (25/11/2020).

The celebration begins in May when the Ga people begin harvesting maize and millet which will be used in preparing the festival food called '*Kpokpoi'* or '*Kpekple'*. The chief announces the period and date for the celebration. During this period, a ban on drumming and dancing is placed once planting is done. According to informants, even churches are forbidden from playing musical instruments. It is believed that the calmness and silence would give the deities the peace of mind to bless the people with bumper harvests and protect them. In recent years, the ban has created conflicts between the Ga Traditionalists and some Christians because drumming is an integral part of their worship but this has not changed in any way. After the ban on drumming is lifted, the maize is harvested. A day is set for the family meal and sprinkling of *Kpokpoi* on Homowo Day.

Kpokpoi is made on this day from steamed, fermented corn meal and palm oil. Okro and smoked fish are added and served with palm soup. Once the kpokpoi is prepared, it is sprinkled by the chief around the whole town including the cemetery, as a tribute and symbolic nourishment to the ancestors. Family heads also sprinkle some in places where the departed ancestors are likely to find them, especially around the doorways. After this ritual, it is a tradition for everyone in the

family to dip into the same bowl or pot of *kpokpoi* at the same time as a symbolic reminder that age, rank and gender are overlooked during the *Homowo* celebration.

Homowo is rooted in the Jewish celebration of PASSOVER, and *Kpokpoi* plays a role similar to that of the unleavened bread. Also, during *Homowo* they apply red ochre to their doorposts to keep evil spirits away (Quartey-Papafio 1920: 134). This is done to mimic how the Jews sprinkle blood on their doorways to keep the 'angle of death' from harming their firstborn sons, which seems to support this assertion. The Ga people regard all twins and triplets as a symbol of fertility; because of this, they receive special treatment. After having white clay rubbed on their skin to emphasize their purity, young twins are given a special meal of eggs and yams. Their mothers ask the deities to bless these children and give thanks for their birth gift. After all the rights are performed, *Homowo* dance takes place to mark the end of the celebration and for a successful festival (Quartey-Papafio, 1920: 134).

5.4. The Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project (MDTIP)

The Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project (MDTIP) is a government of Ghana initiative to develop parts of the Accra city coastline into a state-of-the-art tourism and hospitality enclave. The current MDTIP is a blueprint of a 1963 plan formulated by Ghana's first president Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (Agyemang 2018) and the then Minister of Housing prepared a developmental plan for its realization. The landscape consultants for the project were Mr G.A. Jellicoe, Miss S. Crowe, and the project Engineer was William Halcrow and Partners (see Appendix F of the Ministry of Housing Report of 1957). In the report, the area that stretched from the Old Winneba road to the High Street (Osu), 28th February Road, Ada Road and from Mamprobi to Labadi were to be open spaces and were to be developed into recreational and relaxation centres (MHR 1957: 27).

The proposed Marine Drive was supposed to stretch from the Anglican Cathedral in the west to the Government House (Christiansborg Castle) in the east**.** The proposed Marine Drive project outlined in Section Five and Appendix F: 113 of the Report comprised recreational and leisure facilities like cricket grounds, football pitches, a Lido with an international-standard swimming pool, sea bathing facilities, a polo ground, a golf course, restaurants, night clubs, a sea-water paddling lake and car parks (MHR: 27). The planned landscape was to be planted with trees, and the old polo ground which stretched from the 28th February Road towards the sea was to be converted into a town garden.

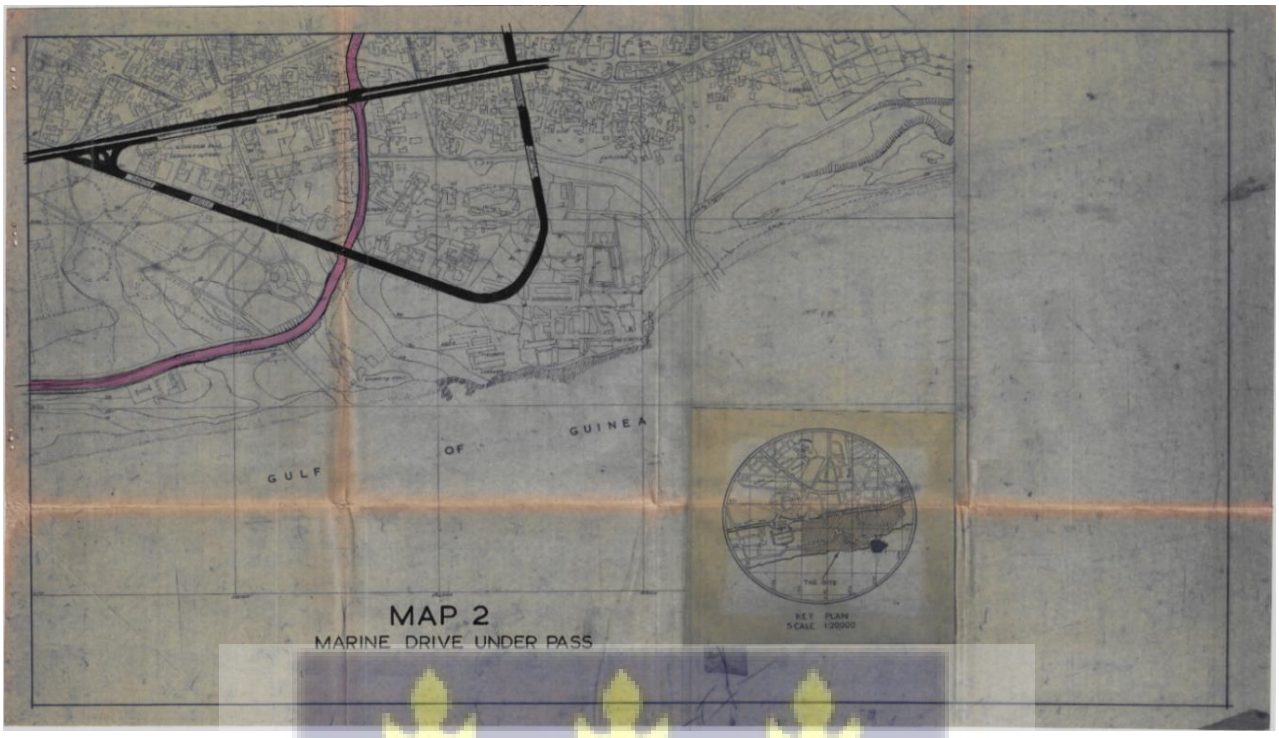
Several government offices in the locality were to be relocated as soon as provision was made for a Government Center which was proposed to be sited north of the 28th February Road or elsewhere. The plan also envisaged that the frontage of the 28th February road and the Independence square was to be developed and made attractive by developing vistas through trees to the sea (Appendix F:114). Furthermore, Section Six of the Report recommended zoning of undeveloped portion into public open spaces. Plans to control marine erosion included placing a ban on sand winning and the planting of a shelter belt of palm trees to serve as windbreaks (RG 5/1/240). In summary, the originators of the coastal tourism project envisaged it as a long-term project to be carried out in several phases over several years.

In July 1974, the National Redemption Council Government, set up another committee to study the original proposal and submit a program for its redevelopment around the Osu Castle area. The commissioner for works and housing Mr R.E.A. Kotei prepared a report and submitted it to the government for consideration and approval. The Committee admitted in its final report that the redevelopment of Old Osu and its environs was long overdue and thus, proposed short- and long-term approaches towards its development (RG 5/1/240). The short-term solutions included:

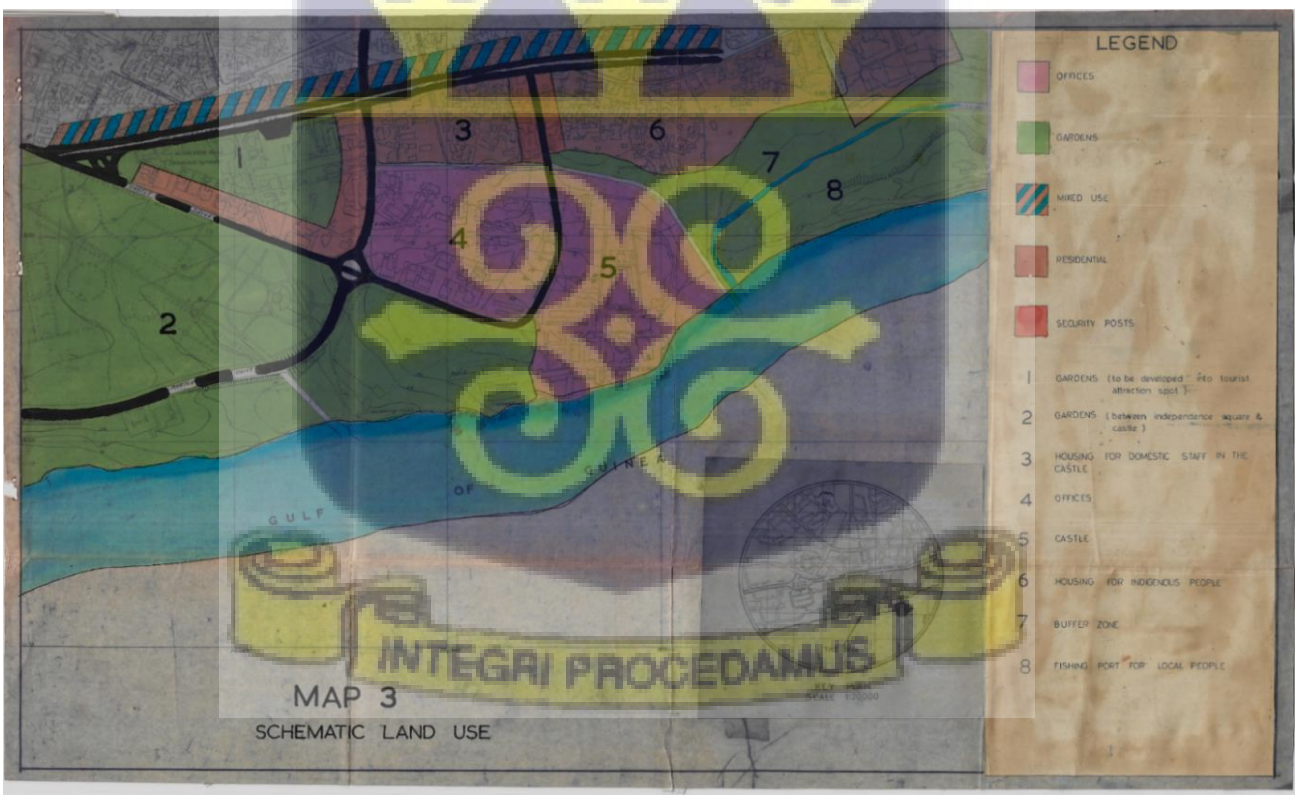
a. Demolish the public bath at the 28th February Road.
b. Fence the single-story dwelling houses opposite the approach to the Castle from the Independence Square.
c. Construct a fountain at the junction of Castle Road.
d. Fence buildings along the Castle Drive
e. Improve the *Gbatsuna* street fencing, decorate it with colour, and cover the drains along that street.

The long-term solution included:

a. Create a structure to cover the Castle Triangle, which should be considered within the overall content of Accra.
b. Maintain gardens between the Independence Square and Christiansborg Castle and the planting of Royal Palm trees along the Castle Road.
c. Develop the southern part of the area as official accommodation and restricted offices for the smooth running of the Castle Administration.
d. Develop the northern section into residential accommodation for domestic servants of the Castle
e. Construct road networks with an underpass at the Castle Drive to serve as a relief road to the 28th February Road **(Map 5.1)**
f. Extend the Marine Drive gardens to cover the triangle formed by the 28th February Road, the Castle Drive and the Tunmai Street **(Map 5.2)**.



Map 5.1: Map of Old Osu network with the proposed underpass (PRAAD: RG 5/1/241)



Map 5.2: Map showing the 1974 land use plan of the Marine Drive Site (PRAAD: RG 5/1/242)

It is imperative to note that the 1963 and 1974 Reports did not see the light of day due to dire financial constraints on the part of the government. The current government of His Excellency Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo Addo gave the initiative a renewed impetus and thrust in 2017 under the rubric of the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project (Nii Lartey Lartey www.citinewsroom.com ; May 2020).

This new initiative by the Akuffo Addo's government of 2017 involved the development of the beachfront along the Arts Center to Christiansborg Castle into a state-of-the-art recreational facility. The project, according to www.citinews 2019, is a public-private partnership between the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MoTAC), the Ghana Tourism Authority (GTA) and Ghana Tourism Development Company (GTDC). The projected cost was pegged at $1.2 billion with funding to be provided by the World Bank. The project was to cover over 240 acres and stretch from Christiansborg Castle through Independence Square to the Baiden Powell Hall near the Arts Centre in downtown Accra (Figure 5.6). The initiative's main objective is to help decongest the Accra City Centre and attract investment for business and leisure purposes (www.graphic.com.gh 09/09/20).

The development, according to www.motac.gov.gh, is proposed to cover ten years, specifically from 2017 to 2027. An integral part of the project will be a Monumental Garden which will be built in honour of six personalities generally referred to as Ghana's "Big Six" for their invaluable contribution to the attainment of Ghana's independence (www.graphic.com.gh). The project will include offices, retail shops, a market with high-level parking, residential apartments and hotels when completed (www.l2b.co.za) Other facilities will include shopping malls, casinos, water theme parks, a 15-floor office complex, conference and exhibition centers, and a playground among others (www.marinedriveghana.com 09/07/20). **(Map 5.3)**.

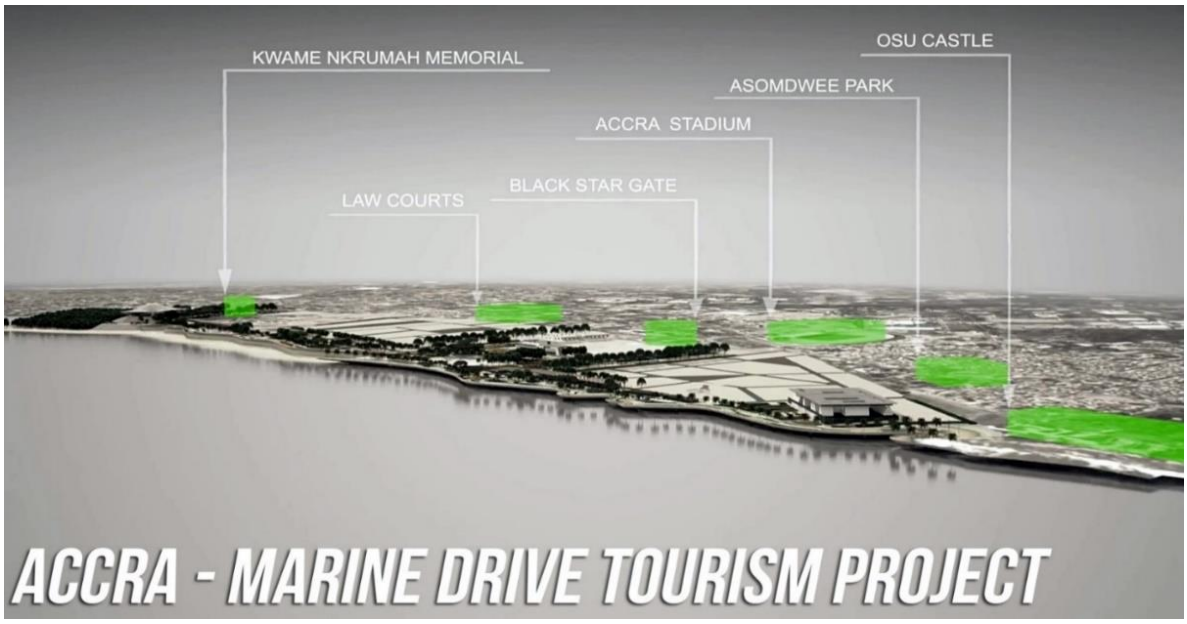
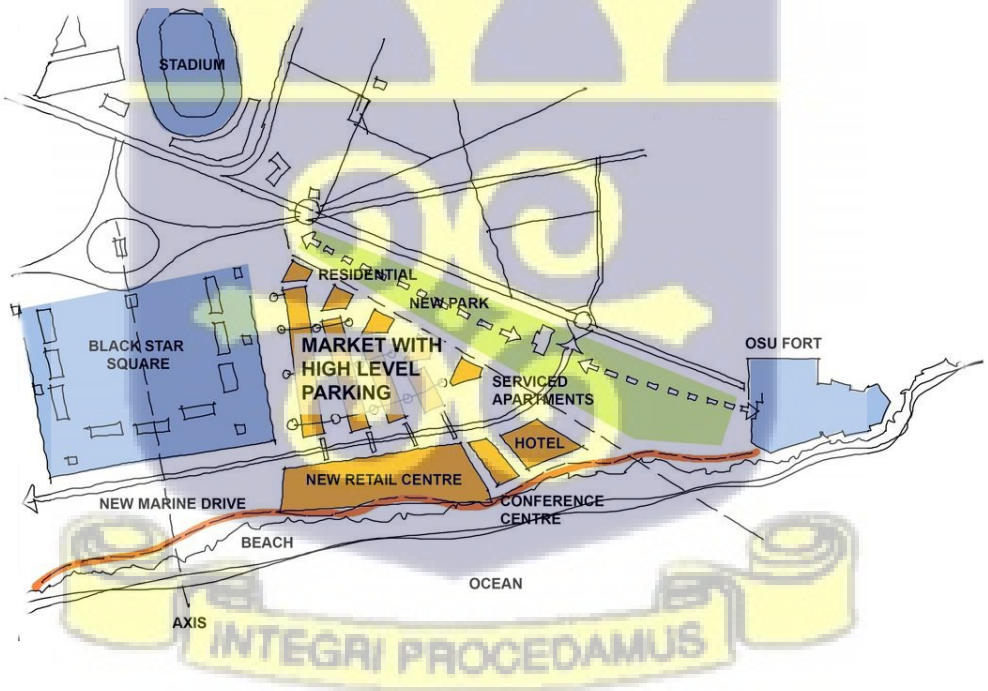


Figure 5.6: The proposed Marine Drive Project Affected areas (www.dilemma-x.net, 2017)



Map 5.3: Current map of the marine drive site and some demarcated areas to be developed (www.tpbennett.com)

The development is significant because it is expected to create 36,000 jobs, attract more trade investments and improve tourism in Ghana. In addition, it will generate revenue and increase foreign exchange earnings. Sod cutting for the commencement of the work was done in 2018 by the President of Ghana, Nana Akufo Addo, after being delayed on several occasions (Dogbevi 2017). On December 19th, 2019, the then Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Mrs. Barbara Oteng-Gyasi, at the Ministry of Information 'Meet the Press Series' announced to the press that the master plan (Figure 5.7**)** of the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project had been approved by the Accra Metropolitan Assembly (AMA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) opening the way for construction work to begin in June 2019 (www.modernghana.com, 20/12/2019).

Speaking to Joy Business, the CEO of the Ghana Tourism Authority, Akwesi Agyemang said the evacuation process was 70% completed, and work was to commence in June 2019 (www.motac.gov.gh) because the various MOUs with the landowners were now completed. To date, about 90% of the site has been cleared for construction and the various MOU's with the land owners have been completed. The initiation of the Accra Marine Drive Tourism Investment project that was going to destroy the beachfront of Accra and Osu, led to the commencement of salvage archaeology works at the site.

Figure5.7: The design of how the completed project will appear (www.dilemmaxdotnet.file)

CHAPTER SIX

RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY AND SALVAGE EXCAVATIONS AT THE MARINE DRIVE PROJECT SITE

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the basic archaeological means used in acquiring primary data (survey and excavation) from the Marine Drive Project Site. I discuss the survey methods and techniques adopted and the nature of the excavations that resulted in the archaeological materials recovered from this site. The methods applied are standard in the discipline of archaeology but I have designed it to be flexible in responding to the unique circumstances of the site as experienced in the field. I also discussed the site's nature and features which informed the excavation. A summary of the artefact types recovered from the excavation are also presented.

6.2. Review of Past Archaeological Investigations at Osu

Most of the information on Osu can be seen in historical source, however those on its archaeology are limited. Osu's archaeological potential was not recognised until 2014 when Rachel Engmann began her research in the Christiansborg Castle gardens. Her interest arose as a result of information she received about being a descendant of 'Carl Gustarv Engmann', a Dutch Christian missionary who became a Governor at the Christiansborg Castle from 1752 to 1757 (Engmann, 2018). In 2014 she conducted a preliminary survey, test excavations and salvage archaeology at the old castle gardens and its immediate environs.

In July 2016, archaeological excavations continued in the castle garden. Her main objective for conducting the research was to challenge traditional historical interpretations of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade based on European written accounts which disregarded African and Afro-European

experiences. She therefore employed several methodological approaches in collecting data. These include consulting the literature, collecting oral narratives and ethnography, as well as conducting archaeological excavations. In all, eight pits of varying sizes were excavated by Rachel Engmann inside the Christiansborg Castle gardens. A total of 26,797 artefacts were recovered from the excavations. Recoveries from her excavations included the foundations of houses, a kitchen (because it contained a hearth) and charcoal. Other materials recovered include African trade beads (produced in different parts of Africa and Europe), ceramics of European and Chinese origin, local pottery, African and European smoking pipes, European glassware, and a canon among others. She also discovered the entrance to the underground tunnel that led to the nearby Richter House where African captives were transported onto slave ships at sea (Engmann 2019: 304). Locally manufactured pottery sherds constitute 11,597, approximately 43% of the total find assemblages.

According to Engmann (2019: 307), pottery was not widely manufactured in Danish-Osu in the past, although it is claimed that some families engaged in pottery manufacture on a very small scale. The region, largely a fishing area, lacks the necessary high-quality clays granite rock for tempering the clay as well as certain botanicals and rock pebbles required (though water, sand and wood are available) for local pottery manufacture. Preliminary analysis of her materials suggested that the locally manufactured pottery recovered from Christiansborg Castle (Engmann 2019: 308) is similar to that from the Frederiksgave Plantation recovered by Bredwa-Mensah and Crossland (1997). She concluded that, though this was the beginning of the research, her research provided evidence of European presence at the coast and their encounter with the indigenous people of Osu.

Another archaeological research conducted at Osu was a preliminary salvage archaeological excavation conducted at the Marine Drive Project Site (located at the beachfront of Osu) in 2017.

The site was labelled Locus A. Wazi Apoh spearheaded this research with funding from the Andrew Mellon Foundation. He also conducted another salvage works of the Locus C site of the Marine Drive site in 2021 with funding from the Marine Drive Project Office. The objective of his work was to salvage materials which would shed light on the indigenous activities and the Trans-Atlantic trade activities that took place at Osu. His work commenced in 2017 and led to the rescue of some important material remains that were on the verge of being destroyed due to developmental activity (Apoh 2017, 2021).

His excavation at the Locus A site consisted of a 4m x 6m trench at a midden behind the *Asomdwe* park where the late president Professor John Evan Atta Mills was buried. The trench reached a sterile level of 120cm towards the west wall and 160cm toward the east wall (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The work unearthed some material remains, including European ceramics (whole and fragments), glass objects, local pottery, mollusc, faunal remains, imported smoking pipes, writing slates and pencils among others. Analysis of these materials is still ongoing (Apoh, 2017).

Figure 6.1: Excavation of a midden at Locus A (Photo by Prof. Apoh)

Figure 6.2: Trench being excavated at Locus A (Photo credit, Prof. Apoh)

6.3.Surface Survey at the Marine Drive Project Site

In June, 2018 surface survey with the general objective of identifying and delineating the extent of the sites containing artefacts and features at the beachfront of Osu resulted in the discovery of a midden/dump site behind the Christiansborg Castle worker's canteen (labelled Locus B). The survey enabled the researcher to assess the damage caused by earth-moving activities on the site. It showed great archaeological potential with a scatters of artefacts comprising potsherds, glass objects, imported smoking pipes and imported ceramics on the surface of the dump site. In December 2018, a more detailed archaeological survey and mapping was conducted on the site. With a hand-held GPS, the selected areas were plotted onto a site plan/map (Map 6.1) in relation to the sea (Gulf of Guinea), which served as a datum or benchmark.

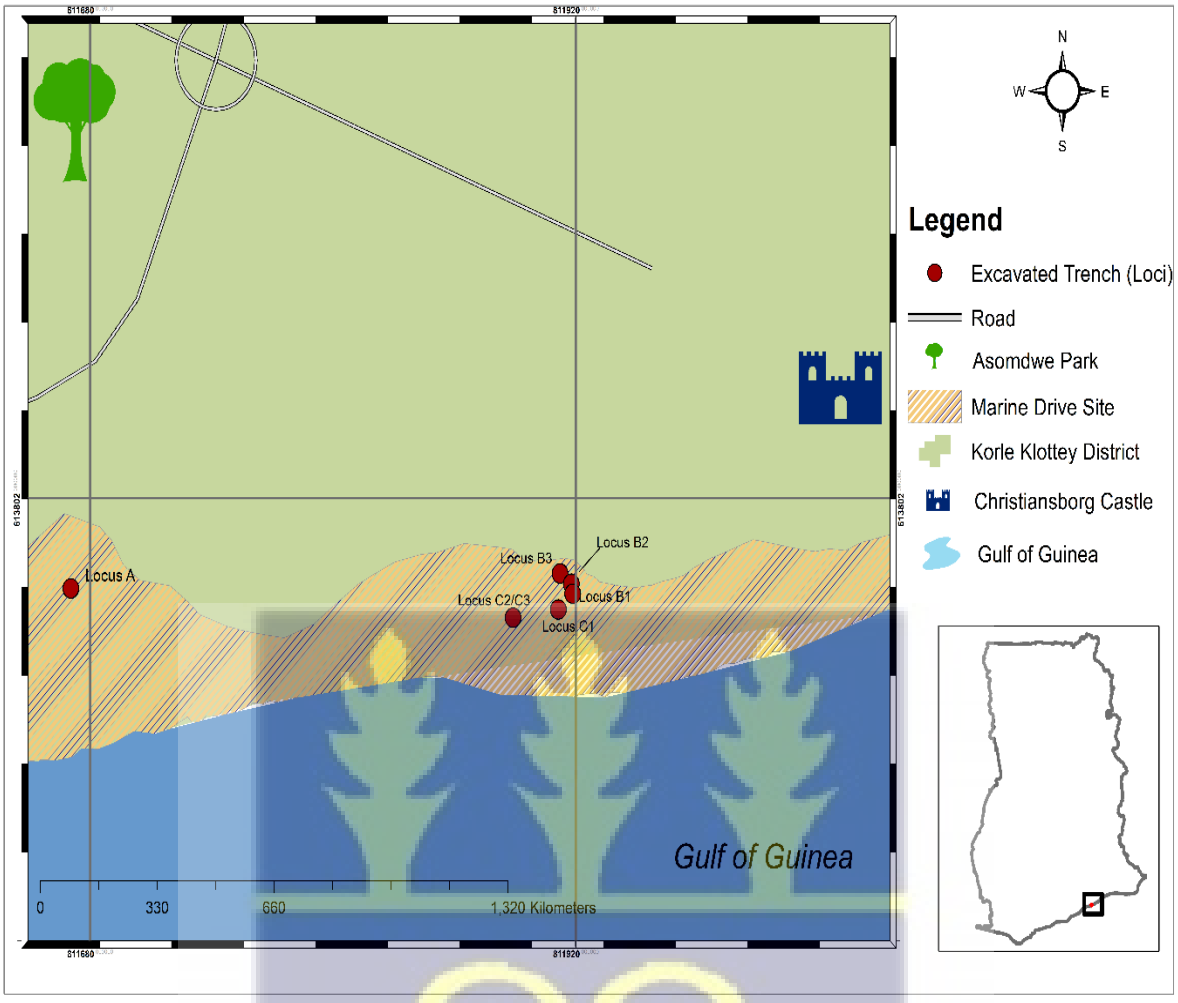
According to an oral account, it is believed that the area selected (Locus B) might have been part of the old Osu site before the British bombardment in 1862. This aroused the interest to rescue the materials from the dump site to see if materials that will be recovered from excavations would attest to the oral account on the site being part of the Old Osu settlement and the early Trans-Atlantic trade. The purpose of the survey was to:

(a) Search for and identify materials indicative of Afro-European encounters and cultural contacts which were on the verge of being destroyed.

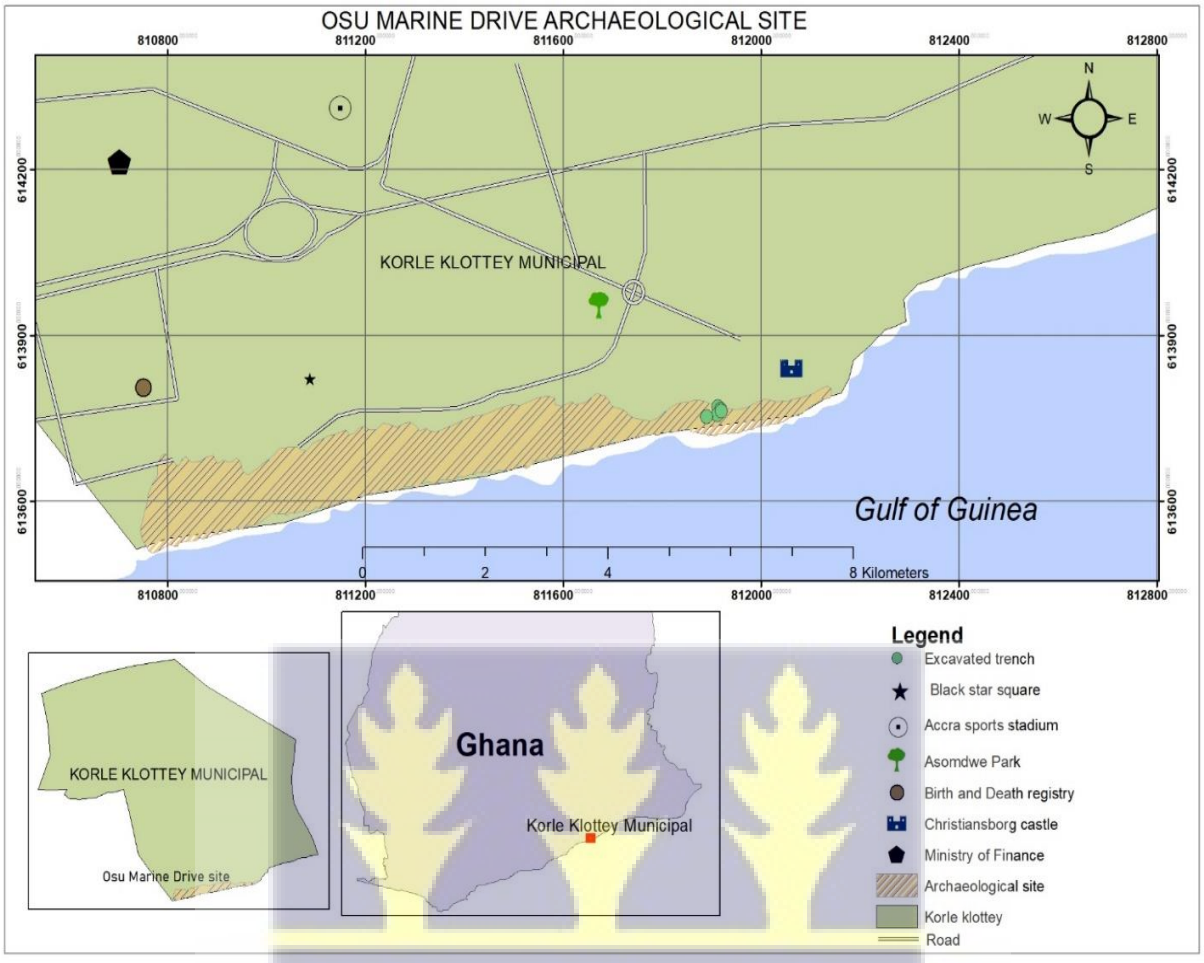
(b) Collect surface materials and conduct salvage excavations to rescue material remains from the site before destruction.

From the survey, I noticed that part of the natural topography had been washed away due to ocean tides causing erosion at the beachfront. Also, several boulders of rocks were seen on the surface, which is also present in the excavated trenches. This could be a result of tractor activities that could have moved earth in the area leading to disturbances of the stratigraphy (Figure 6.3). The bulk of materials collected during the surface survey included; glass fragments, imported ceramics, metal objects, local pottery, imported smoking pipes and floor tiles.

Figure 6.3: Survey of midden at Locus B during the tractor activities on the site



Map 6.1: Site Plan showing all excavated Loci (developed by Kelvin Asare)



Map 6.2: Site Plan showing excavated trenches of Locus B (developed by Kelvin Asare)

6.3.1. Sampling Techniques

A judgmental sampling technique was adopted in selecting specific areas for excavation. This technique, also known as purposive or authoritative sampling, is a non-probabilistic sampling technique where the researcher selects sites to be sampled based on his or her knowledge, research questions, and professional experiences and judgment. Having worked and researched in Akuse as a researcher and research assistant on several projects, my prior experiences and observations ensured the efficient application of this technique in selecting sites to peg in the trenches for excavation. Visual assessment of surface scatter of artefacts and other surface configurations informed the choice of excavated areas.

6.4. Salvage Archaeological Excavations at the Locus B Site

Two seasons (2018 & 2021) of excavations were conducted at the Osu Locus B site to recover primary archaeological data that was used institute a comparison with data from previous archaeological excavations in the area. This helped to reconstruct the cultural history of the site and interpret the activities that occurred there. Both stripping and penetrating excavation techniques were used. Whereas penetrating excavation permitted the discovery of objects vertically by probing deep into subsurface cultural deposits (Sharer & Ashmore,1993: 250) to ascertain the depth of occupation/human activity, stripping excavation, on the other hand allowed for an examination of the horizontal distribution of artefacts and features to document how they are related or associated by level bases. These techniques not only allowed for the recovery of artefacts by the depth and horizontal relationships, but they also helped to establish a relative chronology for the site and recovered materials

6.4.1. Trench One (1) Excavation

In the 2018 field season, salvage excavations commenced with the opening of Trench One which measured 1.5m x 2.5 metres in size (Figure 6.4). It was located on a higher ground above the sea with GPS coordinate 05°32.808'N 000° 11.140'W. An arbitrary level of 20cm was used throughout the penetrating excavation. The soil from the excavations were collected and sieved to ensure the complete recovery of small finds. A munsell Soil Colour Chart was used to determine the colours of the soil. At the upper levels (0cm- 80cm), the ceramics with the 'coat of arm' stamped on them were recovered.

Figure 6.4: Trench One (1.5m x 2.5m)

At Level 5 (between 80cm to 100cm deep) more cultural materials were exposed near the west wall of the trench. These clusters of objects spread into the west wall of the trench. This necessitated a 2.5 metre extension towards the west to form a 1.5 x 5 metre trench (Figure 6.5). The sterile level was reached at 210 metres below ground level. The majority of organic materials mainly bones and shells were retrieved from below 120 cm deep of the excavated trench. The bulk of European trade goods were retrieved from the upper and middle levels (0cm-140cm) and more local materials from the lower levels (140cm-210cm).

A total of 4,878 cultural materials/artefacts and ecofacts were recovered from Trench One of Locus B. Out of these, 1,419 were local pottery representing 30% (the bulk of the materials) of the total number of artefacts recovered. Others included imported ceramics (364), glass objects (897), imported smoking pipes (224), metal objects (308), stone objects (65), pieces of palm kernel (13),

pieces of cowry (35), mollusc (1,143), fragments of faunal remains (291), pieces of roofing bricks (50), pieces of lime (10), local and imported beads (36), plastic objects (11), buttons (5), Asphalt (2), coins (2), pieces of floor tiles (2) and writing slate and pencil (1). Details of recovered materials are presented in table 6.1.

Figure 6.5: Profile drawing of the north wall of Trench One (1.5m x 5m)

Table 6.1: Frequency of cultural materials from Trench 1

Artifacts	Surface finds	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total	Percentage % of total finds
Local Pottery	4	11	14	118	35	10	97	99	169	252	600	10	**1,419**	**30%**
Imported Ceramics	18	62	23	30	17	9	29	82	38	29	24	3	**364**	**7%**
Glass objects	27	480	179	61	32	4	33	13	23	34	11	-	**897**	**19%**
Smoking pipe	3	6	6	44	13	4	13	29	31	47	24	4	**224**	**5%**
Metal objects	9	92	61	21	14	13	10	41	29	13	5	-	**308**	**6%**
Stone tools	-	10	5	10	2	1	6	7	12	7	-	2	**65**	**1%**
Palm Kennel	-	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	**13**	**0.3%**
Cowries	-	2	1	2	2	-	3	1	2	6	15	1	**35**	**1%**
Shells	-	39	19	107	27	15	93	107	125	205	400	6	**1,143**	**23%**
Faunal remains	-	6	4	7	7	-	11	54	63	32	100	7	**291**	**6%**
Bricks	-	-	5	12	20	4	5	4	-	-	-	-	**50**	**1.44%**
Lime	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	**10**	**0.21%**
Beads	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	11	10	4	5	2	**36**	**1.34%**
Plastics	-	9	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**11**	**0.25%**
Button	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	**5**	**0.06%**
Asphalt	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2**	**0.03%**
Coin	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	**2**	**0.03%**
Floor tiles	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2**	**0.03%**
Writing Slate	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**	**0.01%**
Total	**63**	**729**	**321**	**418**	**172**	**60**	**302**	**449**	**505**	**637**	**1,184**	**35**	**4,878**	**100%**

6.4.1.1. Profile of Trench One

Understanding the stratigraphy of an archaeological site is essential in archaeological interpretations, particularly for considering the deposition and chronological sequence of the occupation of a given site. The concept works following the geological principle of superposition which is understood in the sense that objects or sediments deposited at a given point in time will be found at lower level than ones deposited later (Harris, 1975; 1979), in undisturbed contexts. Figures (6.9 and 6.10) below are samples of the stratigraphic profiles of the walls of some of the excavated trenches. It must be indicated that because of similarities of the soil profiles, it is not necessary to present the profiles of all the walls of the excavated trenches. The presented ones are representative of all excavated trenches.

The stratigraphy of the north wall of Trench One, consisted of 12 levels which contained some cultural materials. Layer 1 consisted of a dark-grey silty loam soil from 0-10cm depth with concrete intruding at the northwest side. From 11cm to 45cm, it was marked by dark brown clay/silt soil with concrete protruding in the northwest corner. From 45cm to 60cm was a thin grey soil with three huge pieces of concrete in between. Between 60cm to 80cm was yellowish brown soil. From 80cm to 90cm, it consisted of a yellowish red soil with silt clay patches. From 90cm to 130cm, it was dark brown silty/sandy loam soil followed by strong brown sandy clay with gravels between 130cm and 180cm. Just below this was thin dark brown soil mottled with charcoal. Beneath the mottled charcoal layer (at 180cm -195cm) on the northeast part of the trench was a dark yellowish brown sandy loam soil. The last layer (195cm to 210cm) was a dark reddish brown sandy soil mixed with yellowish red sandstone soil (Figure 6.6).

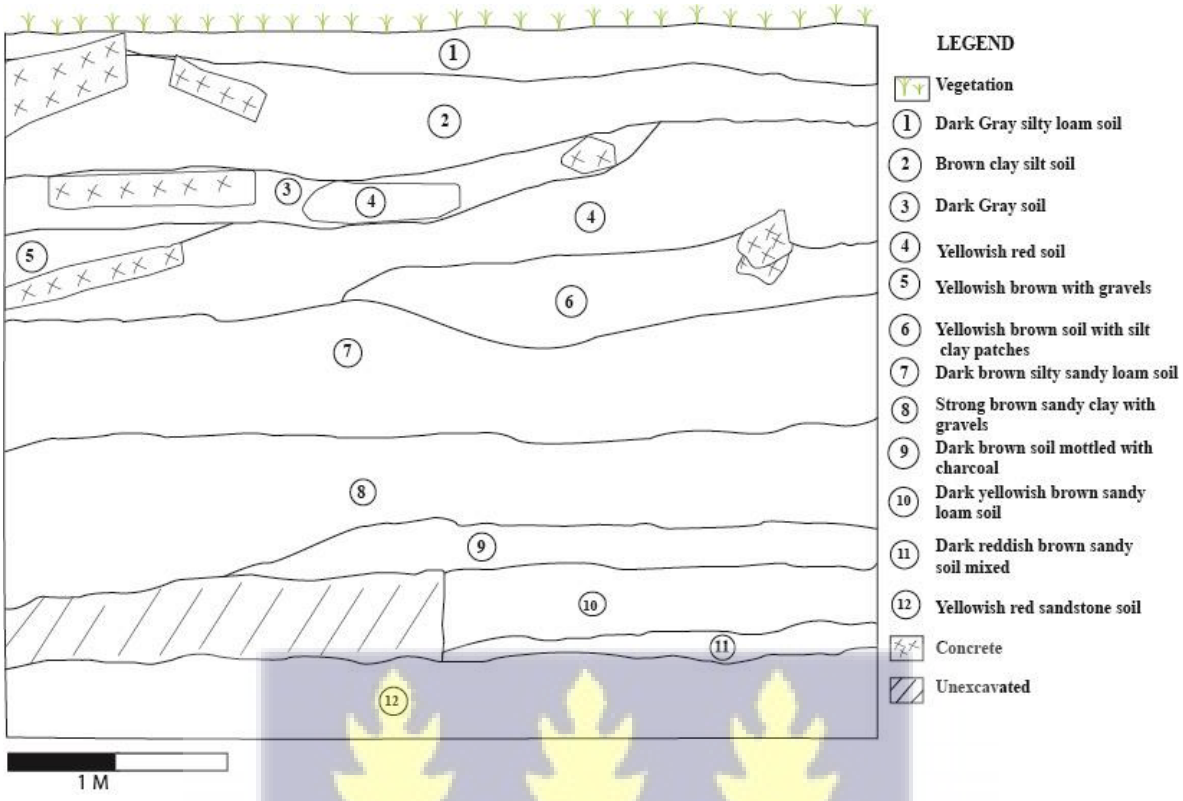


Figure 6.6: Soil Profile of the North wall of Trench One

6.4.2. Trench Two (2) Excavation

In the 2021 field season, excavations continued at the midden/dumpsite behind the Christiansborg Castle worker's canteen. This time two trenches (Trench Two and Trench Three) were excavated. Both measured 2 x 4 metres. Trench Two with GPS coordinates 06°06.104´N 001°09.032´W was excavated about 5m North of Trench One. Using an arbitrary level of 20cm, three levels were attained and the sterile was reached at a depth of 60cm (Figure 6.7). This was also due to the hard clay nature of the land, which made digging very difficult. Also, not much was retrieved from Levels one and two (0cm-40cm). For this reason, excavation was ended.

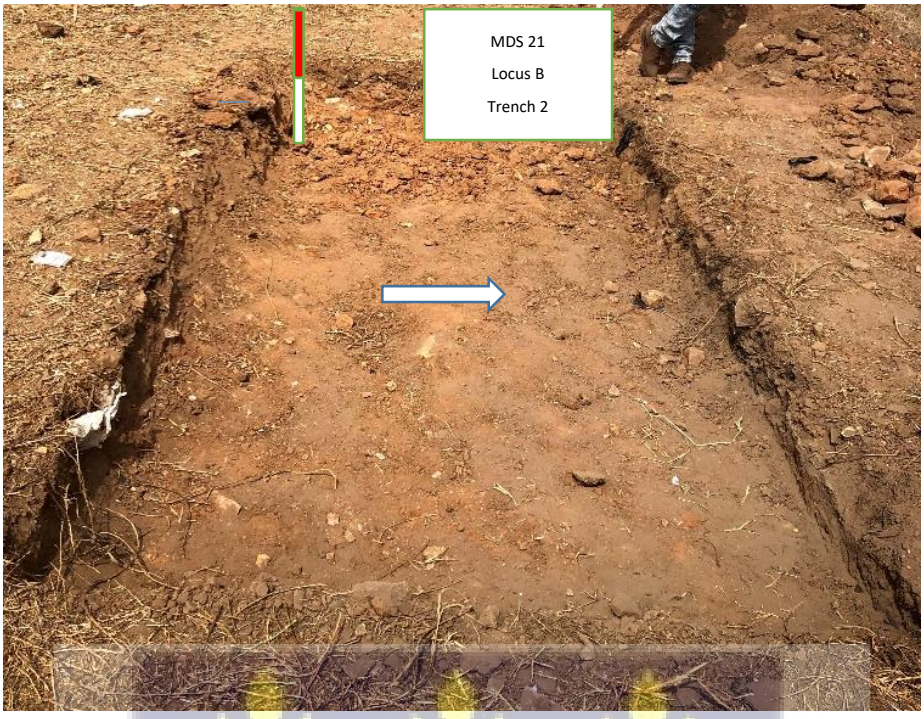


Figure 6.7: Trench Two (2) with arrows showing the direction of the north

A total of 1,471 cultural materials/artifacts and ecofacts were recovered from Trench Two. These included local pottery (29), pieces of imported ceramics (344), pieces of glass objects (81), imported smoking pipe (15), bones (25), mollusc shells (30), metal objects (947). The summary of artifacts from each level is illustrated in Table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Summary of Artefacts and Ecofacts from Locus B Trench 2

ARTEFACT/ LEVELS	POTTERY	IMPORTED CERAMIC	GLASS OBJECTS	SMOKING PIPES	BONES	MOLLUSCA	METALS OBJECTS	TOTAL
1 (0-20)	14	62	9	3	1	14	126	**229**
2 (20-40)	15	271	72	12	21	16	821	**1,228**
3 (40-60)	-	11	-	-	3	-	-	**14**
TOTAL	**29**	**344**	**81**	**15**	**25**	**30**	**947**	**1,471**
PERCENTAGE %	**1.9%**	**23.4%**	**5.5%**	**1.0%**	**1.6%**	**2.0%**	**64.4%**	**100%**

6.4.3. Trench Three (3) Excavation

Trench Three with coordinate 06°32.699´N 000°11.103´W was excavated about 5 meters West of Trench Two. This was so because some surface materials were exposed in that area therefore the need to rescue them. The trench measured 2 x 4 metre and was excavated to reached a sterile of 240cm using an arbitrary level of 20 cm. Again, at the upper levels, the ceramics with the 'coat of arm' stamped on them were recovered. From Level 5 (80cm-100cm) downwards none of these ceramic types was recovered. In all, not much material was retrieved from this trench as compared to the bulk of materials retrieved from Trench One (Figure 6.8 and 6.9).

At level 8 (140cm-160cm) we chanced on a concrete pipe at the west end of the Trench. It crossed from the north to the south of the Trench. This concrete pipe looked more like a sewage pipe either from the castle or from any of the abandoned houses close to the Christiansborg Castle worker's canteen connected into the sea. This showed that the area had been disturbed and probably been previously excavated to lay the pipe. Excavation at the eastern wall of the Trench was discontinued due to the presence of large boulders of rocks. The excavation confined at the western end.

A total of 1,888 cultural materials/artifacts and ecofacts were recovered from Trench Three. They included local pottery (275), imported ceramics (441), glass objects (495), beads (7), imported smoking pipe (49), bones (81), molluscs (115), metal objects (348), stone (7) and palm kennel (70). The summery of artifacts from each level is illustrated in Table 5.3 below.

Figure 6.8: Trench three (3)

Figure 6.9: Profile of Trench 3

Table 6.3: Summary of Artefacts and Ecofacts from Locus B Trench 3

ARTEFACT / LEVELS	POTTERY	IMPORTED CERAMIC	GLASS OBJECTS	BEADS	SMOKING PIPES	BONES	MOLLUSC	METALS OBJECTS	QUERN	PALM KERNEL	TOTAL
Surface	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**32**
1	-	98	130	-	-	-	-	28	-	-	**256**
2	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	78	-	-	**85**
3	12	160	-	-	7	8	22	96	7	47	**359**
4	-	-	-	1	-	12	-	42	-	20	**75**
5	-	28	35	-	-	3	7	10	-	2	**85**
6	-	31	261	3	8	-	18	18	-	-	**339**
7	4	43	14	-	3	-	36	20	-	-	**120**
8	14	41	-	-	4	-	-	22	-	-	**81**
9	24	40	23	3	12	17	-	22	-	-	**141**
10	59	-	32	-	-	21	32	10	-	-	**154**
11	130	-	-	-	14	13	-	2	-	1	**160**
12	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**275**	**441**	**495**	**7**	**49**	**81**	**115**	**348**	**7**	**70**	**1,888**
PERCENTAGE %	**14.6%**	**23.4%**	**26.2%**	**0.4%**	**2.6%**	**4.3%**	**6.1%**	**18.4%**	**0.4%**	**3.7%**	**100%**

6.4.3.1. Profile of Trench Three

The stratigraphy of the south wall of Trench Three consisted of 10 levels which contained some cultural materials. The first layer (0-20cm) consisted of grey soil on the northeast part and brownish soil on the northwest part. Layer two (20-40cm) consisted of a brownish yellowish loose soil with fragments of glass objects, boulders of stones and other artifacts. Layer three (40-60cm) was made up of brownish and yellowish soil. Right beneath it at about 55cm was a dark gray soil with concrete intrusion. The layer also contained lots of concrete and debris which looked like they were used as filling materials in the area. Layer four (60-80cm) consisted of a brownish yellowish soil.

At Layer five (80-100cm) only half of the trench was excavated (west corner) because of the absence of cultural materials on the east side. The stratigraphy of the layer was made up of brownish yellow soil overlaying brown soil with concrete protruding at about 82cm from the north wall into the east wall. Layer six (100-120cm) comprised brown soil with concrete protruding from the wall. Layer seven (120-140cm) consisted of dark greyish brown soil with a pipeline appearing from the north wall to the south wall close to the western corner. Layer eight (140-180cm) had a dark brown loose soil. Layer nine (180-200) had dark grey soil with a brownish yellow layer right beneath. Layer ten (200-220cm) which was the sterile level was made up of a dark yellowish brown clayey layer (Figure 6.10).

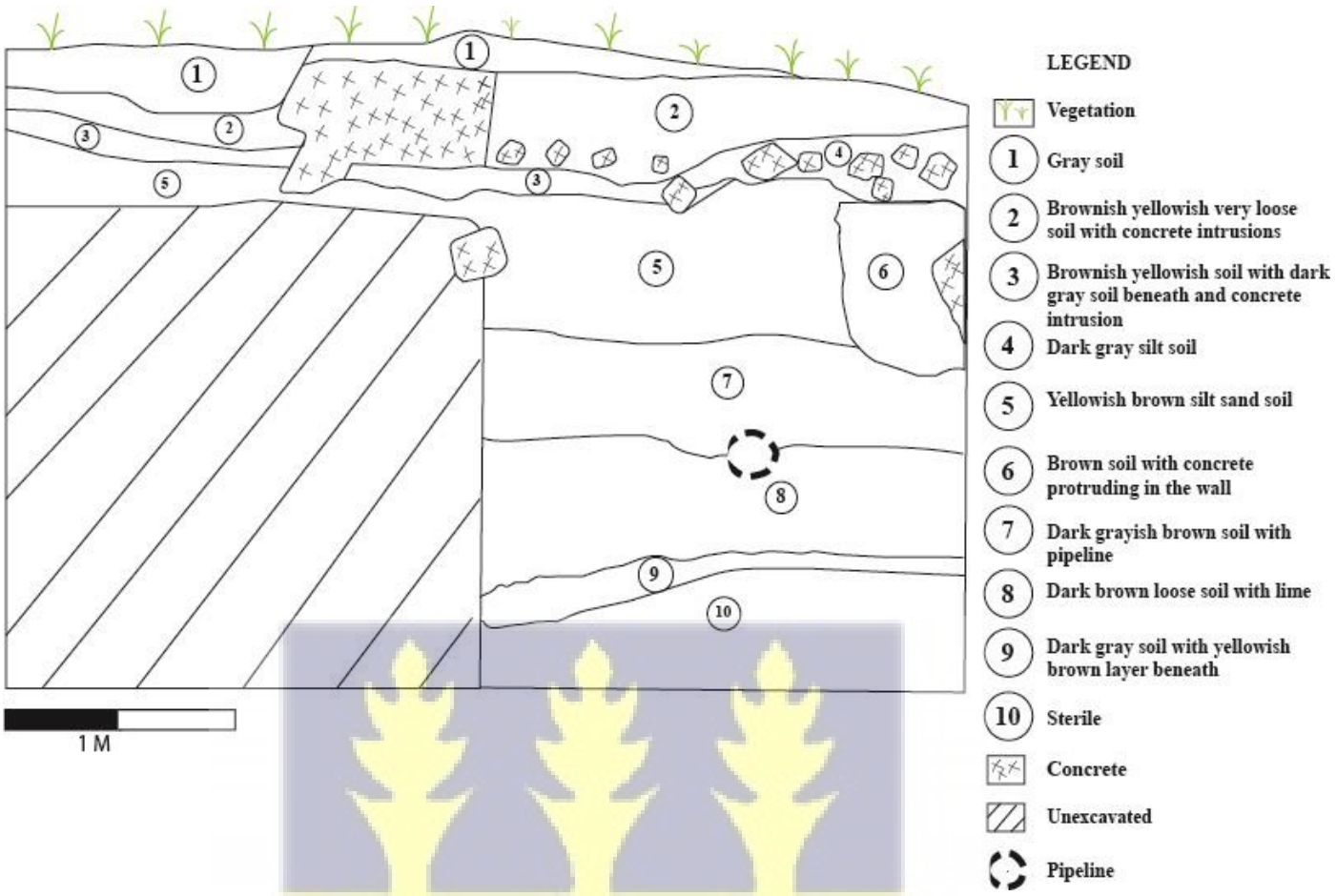


Figure 6.10: Soil Profile of the South wall of Trench Three

Figure 6.11: Photo showing the excavated trenches

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF EXCAVATED MATERIALS FROM THE SALVAGED LOCUS B SITE OF OSU

7.1. Introduction

The chapter presents the analysis and classification of the material inventory recovered from the two seasons of excavation at the Locus B site of the Marine Drive Project. The finds were first classified broadly into local materials and European materials. The chapter also discussed the historical background, manufacturing processes and various categories of styles of the materials retrieved. Analysis of the materials showed the presence of both African and European contacts and materials related to the past African occupants at Osu. Three trenches were excavated behind the Christiansborg Castle workers' canteen. A total of eight thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine (**8,179)** finds were recovered from all three trenches. Of this number, surface materials constituted less than 1% of the total (Table 7.1). For this study, the finds were analyzed and discussed under the following sub-headings:

a) Local pottery
b) Imported ceramics
c) Glass objects (alcoholic, non-alcoholic, wine glasses, mineral water, pharmaceuticals)
d) Imported smoking pipes
e) Food remains
f) Stone tools
g) Clothing and dressing accessories
h) Literacy and educational materials
i) Metals (nails, weapons and fire arms, coins)
j) Construction materials
k) Plastics

Table 7.1. Numerical Summary of Finds from Locus B Site

ARTIFACTS	TRENCH 1	TRENCH 2	TRENCH 3	TOTAL	Percentage % of total finds
Local Pottery	1.419	29	275	**1,723**	**20.60%**
Imported Ceramics	364	344	441	**1,149**	**14.60%**
Glass objects	897	81	495	**1,473**	**17.88%**
Imported Smoking pipe	224	15	49	**288**	**3.50%**
Metal objects	309	947	348	**1,604**	**19.46%**
Stone tools	62	-	7	**69**	**0.87%**
Palm seeds	13	-	70	**83**	**1.01%**
Mollusc Shells	1,178	30	115	**1,323**	**15.64%**
Bones	291	25	81	**397**	**4.82%**
Bricks	50	-	-	**50**	**0.60%**
Lime	10	-	-	**10**	**0.12%**
Local and imported Beads	36	-	7	**43**	**0.52%**
Plastics	11	-	-	**11**	**0.13%**
Button	5	-	-	**5**	**0.06%**
Asphalt	2	-	-	**2**	**0.02**
Coin	2	-	-	**2**	**0.02%**
Floor tiles	2	-	-	**2**	**0.02%**
Writing Slate	1	-	-	**1**	**0.01%**
Total	**4,875**	**1,471**	**1,888**	**8,179**	**100%**
Percentage %	**59%**	**18%**	**23%**	**-**	**100%**

7.2. Local Pottery from Locus B

A total of one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-four (1,724) pieces of local pottery constituting 20.92% of the total finds were recovered from all three trenches. Out of this, one thousand, four hundred and nineteen (1,419) sherds (representing 83.91%) of the total number of sherds were retrieved from Trench One. Twenty-nine (29) sherds (representing 1.71%) were retrieved from Trench Two and two hundred and seventy-five (275) sherds (representing 14.37%) were retrieved from Trench Three (Table 7.2). The Local pottery sherds were classified based on morphology/form, surface colour, surface decoration, surface treatment, paste characteristics and vessel form.

Table 7.2: Total Count and Percentage Value of Local Pottery from the Three Trenches

Name of Trench	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Total
Total count of pottery per Trench	1,419	29	275	**1,723**
Percentage of pottery per Trench	83.91%	1.71%	14.37%	**100%**

The sherds were designated as diagnostic and non-diagnostic. The former comprised those with visible identifiable physical characteristics such as decoration and functional attributes. They included rims, necks and body sherds with decorative motifs (Table 7.3). The non-diagnostic category consisted of plain sherds that were indeterminate on the bases of the criteria for establishing diagnostic pieces noted above. In other words, they were so badly eroded that the above diagnostic features could not be attributed to them. However, these non-diagnostic pieces

were counted, recorded, and stored. Observations were also noted on the surface finish and paste characteristics of all the sherds.

Table 7.3: Total Count and Distribution of Sherd Types from Locus B

Trench	Rim	Neck	Body	Total	Percentage %
Trench 1	123	45	1,251	**1419**	**82.35%**
Trench 2	-	9	20	**29**	**1.68%**
Trench 3	69	14	192	**275**	**15.96%**
Total	**192**	**68**	**1,463**	**1,724**	**100%**

7.2.1. Surface Treatment/ Finish Characteristics

Examination of the surface of pottery recovered from the excavations led to the identification of several surface treatments/surface finish characteristics on the sherds. Some surface treatments identified comprised burnishing, red slipping, smudging and mica inclusions. A total of eight hundred and one (801) sherds had at least one of these surface treatments on them.

i. Smudged Treatment: This is achieved by firing leather hard vessels completely with organic-rich fuel materials (like leaves or grass) in a reduced and closed atmosphere (Sharer and Ashmore 1997: 278). The smoke generated is trapped to smudge the vessels. The reduction caused by the absence of oxygen leads to the darkening of the pot to produce a black colour. Most of the potsherds recovered were smudged. A total of five hundred and thirty (530) sherds were identified as smudged, representing 66.2% of the total. Out of this number, four hundred and five (405) of them were recovered from Trench One, eleven (11) of them from Trench Two and seventy-five (75) of them from Trench Three.

ii. Slipped Treatment: This involves the use of a liquid composed of fine clay suspension in a 'peanut-soup' or 'light-soup' consistency (Joukowsky 1980:375). The slip is applied to the surface of a complete vessel, either by dipping the vessel into the liquid or by painting over the leather-hard vessel (Joukowsky 1980: 375). Slipping changes the surface colour of the vessel to red or a colour other than the original colour of the clay used. The slip also fills the pores of the vessel, hides defects and gives the vessel a glossy sheen. It is worth noting that most of the sherds that had slipped were also burnished. A total of fifty-one (51) sherds had the red slip on the exterior. This represents 6.4% of the total surface treatments on the potsherd. Out of this number, twenty-three (23) of them were recovered from Trench One, five (5) of them from Trench Two and twenty-three (23) of them from Trench Three. A few of them also had both interior and exterior slipped.

iii. Burnished Treatment: This involves polishing a vessel's leather-hard surface to achieve a smooth surface before it is fired or baked (Joukowsky 1980: 380). After firing, the vessel reveals a shiny finish with sealed pores. Burnishing is done to prevent crawling organisms like lizards from climbing into the vessel. It also limits evaporation and fast cooling of the liquids stored in the vessel. A total of one hundred and forty-one (141) of the sherds recovered from the excavations at the Locus B site were burnished. This represents 17.6% of the total potsherd. Out of this number, fifty-nine (59) of them were recovered from Trench One, seven (7) of them from Trench Two and twenty-three (75) of them from Trench Three.

Aside from these 3 major surface treatment types, fifty-two (52) of the sherds, representing 6.5% of the total number of sherds recovered were both slipped and burnished, thirteen (13) of them, representing 1.6% of the total number of sherds recovered had mica inclusions on their surfaces whiles fourteen (14) sherds, representing 1.7% of the total number of sherds recovered had eroded surfaces. The frequency of the three surface treatment types is presented in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Surface Treatment Per Trench

Treatment	TRENCH 1	TRENCH 2	TRENCH 3	Total	Percentage
Smudged	405	10	115	**530**	**66.2%**
Burnished	59	7	75	**141**	**17.6%**
Red Slipped	23	5	23	**52**	**6.4%**
Micaceous	5	1	7	**13**	**1.6%**
Smudged and Burnished	27	5	20	**52**	**6.5%**
Eroded	8	1	5	**14**	**1.7%**
Total	**527**	**29**	**245**	**801**	**100%**
Percentage %	**65.8%**	**3.4%**	**30.6%**	**100%**	

7.2.2. Decorative Patterns/Motifs on Local Pottery

A total of six hundred and eleven (611) sherds, representing 35.4% out of the one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-four (1,724) sherds recovered from all three trenches were decorated while one thousand, one hundred and thirteen (1,113) sherds (representing 64.6%) were undecorated. In all, six principal decorative patterns were identified on six hundred and eleven (611) sherds recovered from the excavations. They included, grooves, incisions, roulettes, comb stamps, punctate, wavy line impressions and applique type of decorative patterns.

i. Grooving: It is a process of dragging or pulling a blunt, or a round edged object over the surface of a freshly made vessel to produce single or multiple lines on the vessel (Joukowsky 1980: 400). The lines could be described in various ways depending on the norm established by the potters. For instance, some could be horizontal, vertical, oblique, and curvilinear or triangular in shapes, and may occur on any part of the vessel. Given the use of blunt edges, the lines or grooves made have a U-shaped style. The grooves identified on pottery from the research area were mostly made

on the rim and neck of the sherds. Grooves were observed on two hundred and fourteen (214) sherds recovered from all three trenches excavated. A total of one hundred and twenty-five (125) sherds were decorated with single grooves. Out of this number, eighty (80) of them were recovered from Trench One; five (5) of them from Trench Two and forty (40) of them from Trench Three. On the other hand, a total of eighty-nine (89) sherds from all three trenches had multiple groove decorations on them. Out of this number, thirty (30) of them were recovered from Trench One; six (6) of them from Trench Two and fifty-three (53) of them from Trench Three.

ii. Incision*:* It is generally achieved by making deep narrow strikes on the surface of pots through the use of very sharp objects (Joukowsky 1980: 400). Single and multiple incisions were made on the rims, necks and in some cases on the body which constituted the main decorative field of the vessels form the research area. Incisions were observed on three hundred and ten (310) sherds. They were done vertically or horizontally and in some cases in a criss-cross pattern. A total of one hundred and seventy-nine (179) of the sherds had multiple incisions on them. Out of this number, one hundred and forty (140) of them were recovered from Trench One; two (2) of them from Trench Two and thirty-seven (37) of them from Trench Three. On the other hand, single incisions were found on one hundred and thirty-one (131) sherds. Out of this, ninty-nine (99) of them were recovered from Trench One; two (2) of them from Trench Two and thirty (30) of them from Trench Three.

iii. Wavy line paint*:* This was probably achieved through the use of black organic paint (Apoh, 2001). The design appeared in crisscross and wavy line patterns. Their shiny surfaces were probably achieved when a special clay preparation is painted in wavy lines on the pot. Thereafter, the fired pottery is placed in a pile of bamboo shavings. The resulting smudging of the paint produces the distinct shiny black patina on the pot (Apoh, 2001). A total of fifty (50) sherds

recovered from the excavations had this type of decoration. Of this number, thirty (30) of them were recovered from Trench One and twenty (20) were from Trench Three. Figure 7.1 and 7.2 show the decorative patterns recovered from the excavations.

Figure 7.1: Decorated sherds from Locus B

Figure 7.2: Pottery decorations from locus B

iv. Punctates: This is also described as short linear stabs. It involves the use of a single-toothed object to make dots on parts of the vessels (Joukowsky 1980: 401). The common pattern observed was that the dots marked the ends of triangular corners of either grooves or incisions that decorate the sherds. Some of them occurred in combination with other decorations. Only three (3) sherds from Trench One had this type of decoration on them.

v. Comb Stamping: This technique involves the use of multiple-toothed tools to create marks on vessels by stamping. In the use of a multiple-toothed object, the marks made occur in a regular pattern and interval (Joukowsky 1980: 401). A total of twenty (20) sherds with the comb Stamp decorations were recovered from the excavations. Out of this number, fifteen (15) of them were recovered from Trench One and five (5) from Trench Three. Also, ten (10) of the sherds from Trench One had comb stamp decorations in combination with multiple grooves on them.

***vi. Roulette*:** This technique involves rolling various materials on the surface of the leather-dried vessel to produce a range of ridges and furrows, running from horizontal to oblique depictions. The marks or impressions left may be rough, medium or fine-grained depending on the substance or material used (Soper, 1985: 30). Several types of roulettes are often used (Crossland 1993: 38; Soper 1985: 31), namely, string or twisted cord, carved wood, corn cob or grass. A total of three (3) sherds from Trench One had this type of decoration on them. Also, all three sherds had single groove decorations in the interior of their rims.

vii. Applique: This type of decoration is achieved when clay in the form of a motif is applied to a vessel's surface. Only one (1) sherd recovered from Trench One had this type of decorative motif. It occurred together with multiple incisions on the exterior of the sherd. The frequency of decorations on the recovered potsherds have been presented in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5: Frequency of Decorations from Locus B of the Marine Drive Site

Decoration	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Total	Percentage Values
Single groove	80	5	40	**125**	**20.5%**
Multiple grooves	30	6	53	**89**	**14.6%**
Single incision	99	2	30	**131**	**21.4%**
Multiple incisions	140	2	37	**179**	**29.3%**
Incision with applique motif	1	-	-	**1**	**0.2%**
Wavy line impressions	30	-	20	**50**	**8.2%**
Comb stamps	15	-	5	**20**	**3.3%**
Comb stamps with multiple groove	10	-	-	**10**	**1.6%**
Punctate	3	-	-	**3**	**0.5%**
Cord roulette	3	-	-	**3**	**0.5%**
Total	**411**	**15**	**185**	**611**	**100%**
Percentage%	**67.2%**	**2.5%**	**30.3%**	**100%**	

7.2.3. Fabric / Paste Characteristics

The identification of the fabric and paste of the clay and tempering elements used in manufacturing the vessels were varied. The vessels were made of very fine-grained clay, probably very sticky or pliable considering the hardness achieved after firing. Sand, grit, broken vessels, quartz particles, and other tempering materials could have been used. Some of the tempering materials made the paste characteristics of the vessels coarse. Indeed, a small number of the vessels had very coarse paste and were crudely finished. Such sherds disintegrate quite easily and are often badly eroded and weathered. The colour of the core fabrics ranged from brown, grey, to black, which is a common feature of open-air fired vessels (Crossland, 1973: 38).

7.2.4. Measurement of Potsherds

This type of classification defines types in terms of the ratio of the principal dimensions of the sherds (Orton & Hughes 2013: 192). Pottery materials obtained from excavations at the Locus B site mainly comprised sherd fragments which were measured to determine the size of each sherd. Based on the measurements on their longest axis, a total of one thousand, one hundred and fifty-eight (1,158) sherds (representing 67. 17% of the entire sherds recovered) were less than 3cm, while five hundred and sixty-six (566) of the sherds (representing 32.83% of the entire sherds recovered) were greater than 3cm (Table 7.6).

Table 7.6: Presentation of Measured Potsherds

Sherd Type	Less than 3cm	Greater than 3cm	Sherd Total
Rim	80	112	**192**
Neck	43	25	**68**
Body	1,034	429	**1,463**
Grand Total	**1,158**	**566**	**1,724**
Percentage (%)	**67.17%**	**32.83%**	**100%**

7.3. RIM FORMS

A total of one hundred and ninety-two (192) rim sherds were retrieved from the three trenches excavated. The diameter of the rims that were measured ranged from 13cm to 36cm and was classified into bowl forms and jar forms. Bowls were identified as vessels with maximum rim diameter greater than or approximately equal to the maximum body diameter (Crossland 1989: 28; Orton and Hughes 2013: 192). Jars were defined as having rims that are attached to comparatively narrow necks above the shoulders and with heights greater than the maximum body or rim diameter (Crossland 1989: 30). The profile reconstruction of the sherds shows jars and bowls as the two

main vessel morphology obtained from the research area. The rim sherds were used to identify three main functions that the sherds may have served. They were probably used for storing, preparing and serving food and for cooking purposes.

7.3.1. Bowl Forms

Bowls are commonly shallow, ranging from 5cm to 10cm in diameter (Crossland 1989: 28). Large bowls are usually used to store grains, while smaller ones are used to prepare and serve food. A total of one hundred and thirty-six (136) of the rims were identified as bowls because their shapes were round or ovoid and the rims were slightly inverted or incurved. Six types of bowl forms were identified from the Locus B site.

7.3.1.1 Bowl Form One: It is a spherically shaped vessel with everted rim. It gently joined the neck of the vessel (Figure 7.3) with the interior ridge in the rim. The vessels probably had lids which rested on their internal ridges. The sherds were burnished and smudged on their exterior surfaces. The rim diameter of this vessel form was 29cm. The body was carinated wider than the rim diameter. A total of three (3) rim forms were recovered. Out of this, one (1) sherd was recovered from Trench One and two (2) of them were recovered from Trench Three. These vessel forms were identified with single groove and single incision decorations on the interior surface of the rim. This vessel form constitutes 0.19% of the bowl forms and 0.45% of the total vessel form. A similar bowl form has also been found at Obosomase in the Akwapem mountains in the Eastern Region of Ghana (Asare 2018: 90).

Figure 7.3: Bowl Form One

7.3.1.2. Bowl Form Two: It was characterized by shallow saucer-like straight rim (Figure 7.4). Sherds belonging to this bowl form had rim diameters ranging from 23cm to 31cm. The fabric of the sherds generally appeared brown with some exhibiting traces of smudge on the outer surfaces. The evidence of smudge suggests that these bowls were placed on fire. A total of thirty-five (35) sherds of this rim form was recovered. Out of this number, thirty (30) of them were recovered from Trench One and the other five (5) sherds were recovered from Trench Three. These bowls are believed to have originated from the Accra Plains and were mostly used to serve food or used as eating bowls.

Similar bowl forms have been found at the Brockman Plantation site (Boachie-Ansah 2007: 552) and Fredricksgave, both being Danish plantation sites located at Sesemi (Bredwa-Mensah 2002: 214). Another has also been found at Aburi, a Basel Missionary Sanatorium (Laryea 2013: 133,136) and Obusumase (Asare 2018: 93) all located in the Eastern Region, Ghana.

Figure 7.4: Bowl Form Two

7.3.1.3. Bowl Form Three: It was characterized by an open hemispherical shape with slightly incurved rims (Figure 7.5). Sherds belonging to this bowl type have rim diameters ranging between 26cm to 32cm. The fabric of the sherds generally looks dark brown. The paste of the sherds suggests that a variety of tempering agents such as crushed lateritic concretions and quartz particles were added to the pastes. This can be observed on their rough surfaces. A total of forty-seven (47) sherds were identified as belonging to this bowl form. Out of this, twenty-seven (27) of them were recovered from Trench One, seven (7) of them were recovered from Trench Two and thirteen (13) of them were recovered from Trench Three.

These bowls are believed to have originated from nearby Shai areas, and were most likely used to serve food (eating bowls). Excellent examples of Bowl Form 3 have been found at Brockman Plantation (Boachie-Ansah, 2007 :552), Fredricksgave, (Bredwa-Mensah,2002: 214), and at the Basel Missionary Sanatorium site (Laryea, 2013: 133,136).

Figure 7.5: Bowl Form Three

7.3.1.4. Bowl Form Four: It was characterized by an open hemispherical shaped with an inverted rounded rim lip (Figure 7.6). The external walls swell out about 1-1.5 cm below the rim lip making the shoulder diameter wider than the rim diameter. Represented by 23 rim sherds, these vessel form had rim diameters ranging from 22cm to 30cm. Out of the total number, eight (8) of the sherds were red-slipped and seven (7) of them were smudged with soot indicating they had been used for cooking. Almost all the sherds were burnished. The decorations on the bowls consisted of single grooved patterns on the rim/lip, single or multiple grooves were executed on the external wall just above the ledges; also a single groove were executed on the interior wall just below the rim lips. A total of three (3) sherds were recovered from Trench One and twenty (20) sherds from Trench Three. Similar bowl forms were recovered at Peki Dzake (Nutor 2010: 171) and Keta (Gokah, 2017: 103).

Figure 7.6: Bowl Form Four

7.3.1.5. Bowl Form Five: It is an open hemispherical shaped bowl with everted rims. The rim sloped gently at the exterior. It also has an interior ridge (Figure 7.7). The rim diameter which ranged from 15cm to 22 cm, was wider than the body diameter. This bowl form was represented by one (1) sherd from Trench One. It was characterized by a burnished surface and smudged. The evidence of soot suggests that this bowl was placed on fire and was probably used for cooking. The decoration on this bowl form consisted of a single groove on the outer lip. Similar bowl form has been recovered at Keta (Gokah, 2017: 105).

Figure 7.7: Bowl Form Five

7.3.1.6. Bowl Form Six: It is a deep hemispherical-shaped bowl with an inverted or everted lip. The rim diameter of this bowl form is 26cm. Only one (1) sherd was recovered from level 5 of Trench One. The sherd was burnished on the exterior with a few patches of smudge. The decoration consisted of comb stamps embossed right beneath the neck and with multiple grooves on the body and neck (Figure 7.8).

Figure 7.8: Bowl Form Six

7.3.2. Jar Forms

Most of the jar rim sherds recovered from the excavations had flaring everted rims that gradually become narrower at the neck. The outward curvature of the rims makes them separate from the necks. Almost all the jar sherds recovered are characteristically black due to their firing in open fires. Some are also red slipped and decorated with grooves on their rim lips, necks and overhanging flanges. Others are also burnished and smudged with criss-cross designs on the interior of the rim. In all, eighty-two (82) rim sherds were identified as jars from all three trenches excavated at Locus B. These have been classified into seven different jar forms based on the differentiation observed in the rim types.

7.3.2.1. Jar Form One: It had an inverted rim which curved almost sharply at the exterior to join the shoulder. The rim lip was rounded with a rim diameter measuring between 14cm to 23cm. This jar form had an eroded surface with multiple grooves on the interior surface of the rim giving the edges a zigzag look (Figure 7.9). The wall immediately below the overhanging flanges gradually curves in around the shoulder, and then curves out to the body of the vessel. Only one (1) sherd from Level 8 of Trench One was identified belonging to this jar form. The body fabric was also

thick with mica inclusions embedded in the paste of the sherd. It was not possible to establish the vessel's vertical dimension because the recovered sherds did not extend further to the base area to facilitate reconstruction.

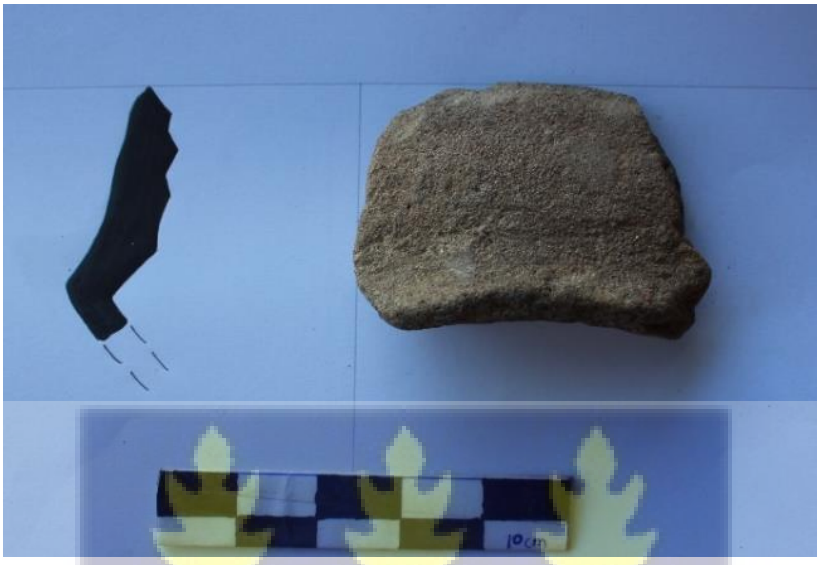


Figure 7.9: Jar Form One

7.3.2.2. Jar Form Two: It is spherical with inverted rim. The rim curves out gently at the lip. Some of the sherds belonging to this group had the rim lips rounded whiles others were straight. The rim diameter measured between 17cm and 23cm. A total of eighteen (18) sherds were identified as belonging to this jar form. Out of this number, ten (10) of them were recovered form Trench One and the other eight (8) from Trench Three. Decorations on them consisted of punctate stamps on the neck at the exterior of the jar and single grooves on the rim lip of the jar. Almost all of the jars were burnished and only a few were red-slipped and smudged (Figure 7.10). These jars are likely to have been made by the Shai people who are known for making pots which they often sold to nearby settlements. According to Boachie-Ansah (2006/2007) these type of sherds, recovered at Wodoku belonged to pots that served as storage vessels.

Figure 7.10: Jar Form Two

7.3.2.3. Jar Form Three: It is a spherically shaped vessel with a rim diameter measuring between 12cm and 18cm. The shoulder is carinated with a ridge transition to join the body. A total of sixteen (16) sherds were identified belonging to this jar form. Out of this number, nine (9) of them were recovered from Trench One and the other seven (7) jars from Trench Three. Only one (1) sherd had a single grooved decoration on the shoulder of the exterior; the other fifteen (15) had single and multiple grooves on the interior of the rims. Also, both the interior and exterior of all the vessels were burnished. However, except for three (3) sherds which had brown paste with dark exterior, the other thirteen (13) sherds recovered had brown paste with burnished and slipped interior and exterior (Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11: Jar Form Three

7.3.2.4. Jar Form Four: It has an everted rim with carination on the shoulder of the pot. It curves gently at the exterior and sharply in the interior to join the neck (Figure 7.12). The lip of the rim is rounded with a body diameter wider than the rim diameter within the range of 17cm to 33cm. A total of nineteen (19) sherds were recovered belonging to this vessel form. Out of this number, thirteen (13) of them were recovered from Trench One, two (2) of them from Trench Two and four (4) from Trench Three. The decorations identified on these jar form consisted of a single groove on the rim lip of 3 of the sherds whiles the other sixteen (16) had no form of decorations on them. Also, three (3) of the sherds were red-slipped and another four (4) sherds were smudged, an indication that the vessel was blackened by firing in an open-air fire and smudged with grass. Similar vessel forms were recovered at Keta (Gokah 2017: 98).

Figure 7.12: Jar Form Four

7.3.2.5. Jar Form Five: It is a thick lipped vessel with an everted rim (Figure 7.13). The body diameter is wider than the rim diameter which ranged between 18cm to 33cm. A total of six (6) sherds belonging to this Jar form was recovered from Level One of Trench Three. The decorations identified on these Jar forms consist of a single incision on the exterior of the neck and body. It also has shiny wavy line decorations on the body. All the vessels were burnished and smudged, an

indication that they were subjected to a form of burning. A similar vessel form was recovered at Keta (Gokah 2017: 98).

Figure 7.13: Jar Form Five

7.3.2.6. Jar Form Six: It had a short-everted rim with a flat lip. It was also characterized by a thick neck (Figure 7.14). The body diameter is wider than the rim diameter which ranged between 7cm and 21cm. A total of ten (10) sherds were identified belonging to this type of jar form. All ten (10) were recovered from Level One of Trench Three. The decorations identified on this jar form consisted of multiple incisions on the flat rims. The body, however, was undecorated. All the vessels were neither slipped, burnished, nor smudged.

Figure 7.14: Jar Form Six

7.3.2.7. Jar Form Seven: It is characterized by thick rounded short everted rim vessels (Figure 7.15). The rim curved gently at the exterior and sharply in the interior to join the neck. The body diameter is wider than the rim diameter which ranged between 16cm and 32cm. A total of five (5) sherds belonging to this vessel form was recovered from Level One of Trench Three. Multiple grooves were executed on the exterior of all the vessels in addition to multiple incisions in the interior of the rim.

Figure 7.15: Jar Form Seven

7.4. IMPORTED CERAMICS

A total of 1,149 fragments of imported ceramics were recovered from the excavations at the Locus B site of Osu. Out of the total number, three hundred and sixty-four (364) of them were recovered from Trench One, three hundred and forty-four (344) of them were recovered from Trench Two and four hundred and forty-one (441) of them were recovered from Trench Three (Table 7.7).

Table 7.7: Distribution of Imported Ceramics by Trenches and Levels

Trench/ Levels	Surface	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	18	62	23	30	17	9	29	82	38	29	24	3	**364**	**31.7%**
Trench 2	-	62	271	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**344**	**29.9%**
Trench 3	-	98	-	160	-	28	31	43	41	40	-		**441**	**38.4%**
Total	**18**	**222**	**294**	**201**	**17**	**37**	**60**	**125**	**79**	**69**	**24**	**3**	**1,149**	**100%**

Ware types and decorations constituted the main attributes used to differentiate and classify them. The ware typology identified included porcelain, creamware, pearlware, stoneware, and whiteware. The main decorative patterns identified included annular-banded wares, transfer printing motifs, blue floral prints, and Ghana coat of arms print among others. Establishing the country of origin and date of manufacture of the recovered ceramics was difficult because more than half of them, totalling 846, were heavily fragmented, unmarked and without trade mark or company logos. Only 303 pieces (representing 26.4% of the imported ceramic assemblage) were positively identified. This was made with reference to publications by Coysh and Henrywood (1989), DeCorse (2001), Biveridge (2014), Aryee (2015) and Abrampah (2017). Some of the ceramics were also submitted to Mr. L. B. Crossland, a retired Senior Lecturer of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon for analysis.

Based on classification and analysis, the date range of the ceramics recovered was between the 17th to 20th centuries with the bulk of them falling within the 19th and 20th centuries. Those identified with some form of manufacturers' embossment on them made it easy to ascertain their place of origin and dates of manufacture. Detailed discussions of the ware typologies are shown below.

7.4.1. Porcelain

The production of porcelain is said to have begun in China during the Seventh (7th) and Ninth (9th) Centuries AD (Draper 2001: 53). The Trans-Saharan trade reached its intensity around the same time (from the 8th to the early 15th Centuries). This means that porcelain might have been introduced into the Gold Coast during the Trans-Saharan trade period through the North before Europeans came to the Gold Coast in the fifteenth century. This is because, it was in the later part of the fifteenth century that trading (Trans-Atlantic trade) between West Africa and Europe (especially with the Portuguese, Swedes, Danes, Dutch, and the English) began (Finlay 2010: 6).

On the other hand, Europeans also traded with the Chinese in the fifteenth century before coming to West Africa. The trade contacts between the Chinese and Europeans had a great influence on the development of pottery in their respective countries. For instance, the Germans took the lead with the first successful large-scale production of porcelain starting at Meissen in 1710 (Stein, 2008: 402). The British also followed up and successfully commenced production of porcelain around 1745 at Chelsea and later in Derby, Liverpool, just to mention a few (Draper, 2001: 53; Stein 2008: 402).

Porcelain production increased as a result of trade between Europe and Africa. The Gold Coast (now Ghana) received generous quantities of porcelain as trade items which today can be found at most archaeological sites throughout coastal Ghana (Draper 2001: 53). A few of these were recovered from the Osu excavations. The porcelain types excavated included post-colonial deep and flat plates as well as tea cups embossed with the 'Ghana Coat of Arms' in gold and black patterns. A total of one hundred and twenty-four (124) porcelain wares were recovered from Level 1 to 3 of Trench One; ninety-seven (97) of them from Level 1 of Trench Two and two hundred and five (205) of them were from Level 1 and 2 of Trench Three (Figure 7.16).

Figure 7.16: Post-colonial deep plate embossed with the 'Ghana Coat of Arms' in white and blue colours with gold band on the rim

The types of porcelain wares recovered included a spout of a teapot (Figure 7.17), plain porcelain plates, porcelain with blue floral prints (Figure 7.18) and a cable and wire porcelain insulator for transmitting electricity (Figure 7.19) as well as fragments of tea cups (Figure 7.20) among others.

Figure 7.17: Spout of a teapot

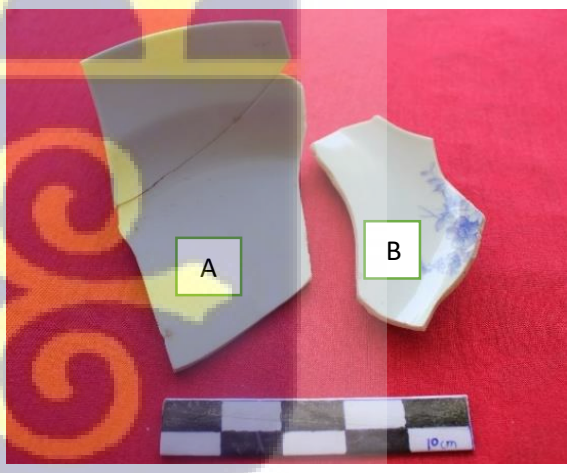


Figure 7.18*:* Plain porcelain (A) and porcelain with blue floral print (B)

Figure 7.19: Cable/wire porcelain insulator for transmitting electricity

Figure 7.20: Fragments of plain porcelain teacup

A total of ninety-three (93) of the porcelain fragments recovered had some form of embossments or manufacturer/ maker's mark on them. They included a fragment of saucer and plates with 'FINE BONE CHINA CROWN STAFFORDSHIRE ENGLAND (ESTD 1801)' embossment at the base (Figure 7.21). According to Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 32), the trade logo 'FINE BONE CHINA' belonged to a company called '*Booth, Thomas and Company'*, located in England which manufactured porcelain between 1868 and 1889. The company later relocated to Church Bank Works in Tunstall, Staffordshire. Porcelain with the Fine Bone China embossments on them was recovered from Level 1 of Trench One and Level 6 of Trench Three of the excavations.

Figure 7.21: Fragment of a saucer with 'Fine Bone China Crown Staffordshire England' embossment at the base and the Ghana coat of arm inside it

The second identified company logo on porcelain wares recovered was the 'AYNSLEY' ENGLAND BONE CHINA' embossment at the base of a soup bowl and a tea cup (Figure 7.22). Aynsley was a British manufacturer of bone china tableware founded in 1775 (www.carters.com.au). This type was recovered from Level 1 of Trench One and Level 1, 3, 6 and 8 of Trench Three.

Figure 7.22: Base of soup bowl with 'AYNSLEY' ENGLAND BONE CHINA' embossment at the base

The third identified logo was embossed with the inscription 'MASON PATENT IRONSTONE HOTEL WARE ENGLAND (EST 1780)'. The inscription was identified on the base of two fragments believed to be part of teacups (Figure 7.23). The Mason Patent Ironstone China was first produced by C.J. Mason and Company (1813) to provide a cheap substitute for Chinese porcelain, especially the larger vases (www.britannica.com). Porcelain recovered with this type of embossment included fragments of tea cups from Level 1 of Trench One and Level 1 of Trench Three.

Figure 7.23: Tea cups with the 'MASON' PATENT IRONSTONE HOTEL WARE ENGLAND' embossment

The fourth identified logo was inscribed with the name 'NAAMAN LTD' made in Israel and embossed at the base of a plate and mug, recovered from Level 3 of Trench Three. The company produced porcelain and ceramic dinner sets in 1945 (www.pitchbook.com). Other types of porcelain recovered from the excavations included, A fragment of white Japanese deep bowl in deep brown design from Level 1 and 8 of Trench Three and a plain mug with gold floral designs on the interior and exterior of the ceramics from Level 3 and 6 of Trench Three (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8: Distribution of Porcelain Wares from the Locus B site

Porcelain Types	Date and Reference	Provenience
Post-colonial soup plate and mugs embossed with the '**Ghana Coat of Arms'** (surface) in white, gold and blue with gold band on rim and gold embossment	Post-1957 (Apoh 2019: 226)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 2, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 1 and 3
Fragment of a saucer with '**Fine Bone China Crown Staffordshire England'** embossment at the base and the 'Ghana Coat of Arms' inside it (ESTD 1801)	Post-1957 (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 32)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 6
Base of soup bowl and tea cup with '**AYNSLEY ENGLAND BONE CHINA'** embossment at the base	1775 (Coysh and Henrywood 1989:32)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 2, Level 1 Trench 3, level 1, 3, 6 and 8
Fragments of tea cups with the '**MASON' PATENT IRONSTONE WARE ENGLAND** embossment at the base	1780 (Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 32)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 1
Base of plate and mug with '**NAAMAN LTD.**' made in Israel embossment at the base	Israel, 1945 (www.pitchbook.com)	Trench 3, Level 3
Plate with gold and blue pattern with '**Ghana Coat of Arm'** embossment at the base	Post-1957 (Apoh 2019: 226)	Trench 1, surface collection
Fragment of tea cup with handle and '**Ghana Coat of Arms'** embossment in black on the exterior	Post-1957 (Apoh 2019: 226)	Trench 3, Level 6
Plain porcelain and porcelain with blue floral print	1890 (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 32)	Trench 1, surface collection Trench 3, Level 8
Cable and wire insulator for transmitting electricity	1922 (www.energymin.gov.gh)	Trench 1, Level 8
Fragments of plain porcelain teacup	1850 (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 32)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 3
Spout of a teapot	20th Century	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 6

7.4.2. Creamware

Creamware is a type of earthenware which is lead glazed with cream colour over a pale body fabric. According to Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 40), Josiah Wedgewood in partnership with Thomas Whieldon, began making creamware around 1750 in Staffordshire, England. It was produced to refine the somewhat old-fashioned techniques of producing salt glazed earthenware to achieve a finer, thinner, whiter colouration with a smooth or glassy lead-glaze (Hume 1969: 123). Creamware is of archaeological importance because during the 18th and 19th centuries, it became ubiquitous in America, Europe and Africa. It turns up in most archaeological excavations along coastal Ghana.

The different types of decoration identified on the creamwares included; sponge-stamp on annular designs, annular banded designs, and plain plates with applique on the exterior of the plate recovered from Level 7 of Trench Three (Table 7.9). Other creamware patterns recovered included English Delfware and Greek key pattern creamwares dating to the 18th to 20th centuries. Another type of creamware recovered were pieces of floor tiles from Level 1 of Trench One. It is recent and probably dated to the post-independence period (Figure 7.24).

Figure 7.24: Creamware Floor Tiles

Table 7.9: Distribution of Creamwares from the Locus B site

Creamware Types	Date and Reference	Provenience
Handle of mug with gold decoration on the exterior	19th Century	Trench 1, Surface collection
Greek key pattern on creamware	1810-1825 (Clark 2010: 116)	Trench 1, Surface collection
Plain Creamware with no decorations	19th Century	Trench 1, Level 2,3,4,5,6 Trench 3, Level 9
Creamware with transfer print in green	England 1770-1815 (Hume 1969, 2001)	Trench 3, Level 9
Delftware tin-glazed	Netherland 16th Century (Hume 2001) England 17th and 18th century	Trench 1, Level 6 Trench 3, Level 7 and 9
Floor tiles	20th Century	Trench 1, Level 1

7.4.2.1. Creamware Greek Key Pattern: The Greek key pattern is a stamped decorative pattern that comprises lines turned at right angles to one another to form a continuous meander (Clark 2010: 116). The Greek pattern including a Greek key border pattern was developed during the early Iron Age or the Geometric period in Greece around 900 BCE – 700 BCE (Vickers, 1999: 12). At the beginning of the nineteenth century (1810 and 1825) interest in Greek culture in England surged substantially. This led to the use of classical Greek figures and designs such as the Greek key pattern (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 162). Different English potters and potting centres such as Herculaneum, Spode, and Wedgewood were interested in manufacturing different Greek patterns. However, the origin of the Greek key pattern has been attributed to Liverpool Herculaneum pottery around 1810 to 1820 (Coysh & Henrywood, 1982:162; Hyland, 2005: 34). Only one fragment was recovered from Level 1 of Trench One (Figure 7.25).

Figure 7.25: Greek key pattern on creamware

7.4.2.2. Creamware Delftware: Delftware is also known as Dutch tin-glazed earthenware and appear mostly in blue and white. The city of Delft in the Netherlands was the major production center. In recent times, the English have become major manufacturers of Delft which is called the English Delftware. The English Delftware is usually decorated with cobalt to give a blue colour and can withstand high firing temperatures (Pers. Com. Mr. Crossland; 12/11/2020). A total of three (3) Dutch tin-glazed Delftware fragments were recovered from the excavations. Out of this number, one (1) was from Level 6 of Trench One and the other two (2) were from Level 6 and 9 of Trench Three.

7.4.3. Pearlware

Pearlware is distinguished from creamware and whiteware by distinct faintly visible spots of cobalt blue tint in the fabric. This can, however, be identified under a microscope or by holding the ceramic up, facing the sunlight, to see a reflection of the blue tint content (www.thepotteries.org 13/01/21). The blue colour is achieved through the application of cobalt oxide on the fired ware before the object is then glazed. The final product then comes as underglaze blue painted

pearlware. This seals the designs permanently under the glaze and thus protects the clay object from scratches, flaking and the general wear and tear associated with on-glaze enamel decoration (http://www.thepotteries.org; 13/01/21).

Pearlware was developed and produced by the English potter Josiah Wedgwood in 1779 and became a leading ceramic material from around 1810 to 1820 (Draper, 1984: 51). Pearlware has also been found on most early nineteenth century sites taking different ceramic shapes such as mugs, jars, and bowls decorated in horizontal bands of black, green, light brown or pale blue, which are collectively referred to as "annular wares" which were common in 1795 to 1815 (Hume 1969: 130). A total of 96 Pearlware finds with decorations were recovered in several layers of the Trenches excavated. The assemblage included underglaze hand painted polychrome floral decoration, transfer printed decorations and willow transfer prints.

7.4.3.1. Pearlware Willow Pattern: Willow is one of the several types of blue-on-white ceramic patterns with depictions of landscapes and were imported into England from China in the eighteenth century (Coysh & Henrywood 1982: 402; Hume, 1969: 130). The Oriental pattern "Willow" first appeared as hand painted patterns on eighteenth century Chinese porcelain, and later on English porcelain and earthenwares after 1813 (Hume, 1969: 130). Quite many potteries in the United Kingdom still produce the "Willow" pattern (Snodin, 2006: 84;). The Willow pattern is usually printed on circular or ovate pearlware ceramics, with the entire pattern set in waterside background/landscapes or garden scenes. The main features of standard willow patterns on pottery include a teahouse or pagoda, willow tree, a bridge with people crossing it, a boat, two birds, a fence (set in zig-zag manner) and a garden (Snodin & Haward, 1996: 203).

Fragments of pearlware soup plates with the willow patterns were recovered from Level 6 of Trench One and Levels 7, 8 and 9 of Trench Three of the excavations at Locus B. They were

characterized by typical willow patterns printed in underglaze blue colour. Though there was no form of embossment at the base of the plate recovered, the design inside the plate can be assigned to the Two birds willow design with the tree house (Figure 7.26) dating to circa 1840-1880 (Pers. Com. Mr. Crossland 13/01/2021). The types of pearlware recovered from the Marine Drive site look similar to those from the Fredrickssted Plantation site, Dodowa (Abrampah, 2017; 179). They include fragments of rim of plates with willow and stencil decorations (Figure 7.27), pearlware underglazed hand-painted polychrome with floral patterns (1820-1840) and a transfer printed polychrome in blue and green designs (1795-1840) (Figure 7.28).

Figure 7.26: Pearlware with willow and two birds' decoration on soup plate (1840-1880)

Figure 7.27: Pearlware rim fragments of plates with Willow (A) and stencil decorations (B)

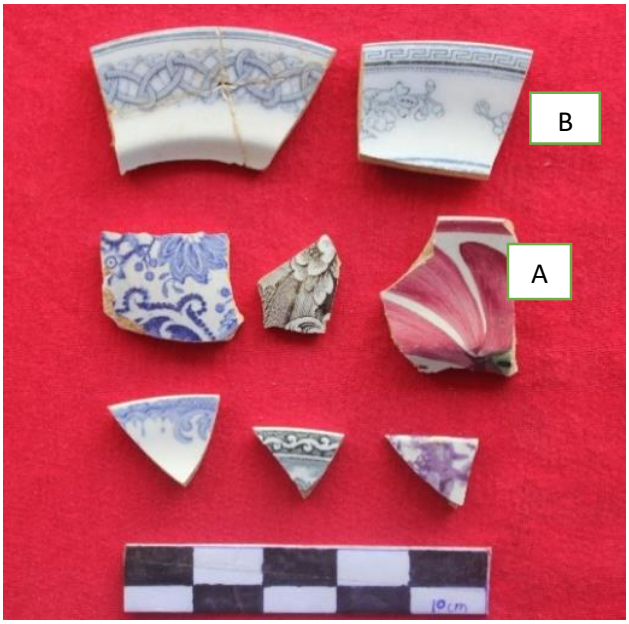


Figure 7.28: Underglazed hand painted polychrome with floral pattern (A) and transfer printed polychrome (B)

Table 7.10: Distribution of Pearlwares from the Locus B site

Pearlware Types	Date and Reference	Provenience
Pearlware plate rim fragment with willow pattern (two birds willow design with the tree house) and stencil decorations	1840 -1880 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 6 Trench 3, Level 7, 8 and 9
Underglazed pearlware hand painted polychrome floral pattern (blue, green, orange and black)	1820-1840 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 4 Trench 3, Level 7, 8 and 9
Transfer print on polychrome (blue, green)	1795-1840 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 8
Transfer print on monochrome (red, blue, green)	1830-1890 (Snyder 1997)	Trench 3, Level 8
Underglazed transfer printed polychrome in blue	England 1784-1840 (Hume 1969; Miller 1991)	Trench 3, Level 6

7.4.4. Whiteware

The second largest category of ceramic wares recovered from the excavations at Locus B was whiteware. Also known as Ironstone, it was introduced into the European market in the early nineteenth century in the hope of achieving a ceramic type that was either porcelain or close to porcelain (http://www.deltaarchaeology.us/historic_ceramics.htm). European manufacturers kept decreasing the content of cobalt blue in the paste to whiten the ceramic. It was through this process that they produced whiteware into the market and began trading in it (www.hobbylark.com). Whiteware belongs to the earthenware group, which also includes creamware and pearlware. Whiteware is usually the whitest of all the three. However, whiteware was produced later to replace pearlware. Whiteware was first produced by Wedgewood in Britain in 1820, making creamware and pearlware direct ancestors of modern white earthenwares (Draper, 2001: 51).

A variety of whiteware ceramics were recovered from the excavations. They included flow blue transfer printed whiteware (sometimes seen/used on porcelain), whiteware with narrow annular bands in blue and red (Figure 7.29 & 7.30), hand painted floral pink designs (1820-1870) (Figure 7.31), blueware/ blue on white (Figure 7.32) made in the 1840s (pers. com. Crossland, 13/01/2021) and whiteware plain soup plates (Figure 7.33).

Figure 7.29: Photo of whiteware with narrow, annular rings in blue and red

Figure 7.30: Annular Banded Whiteware (1770- 1840)

Figure 7.31: Whiteware with hand painted floral design in pink (1820-1870)

Figure 7.32: Whiteware with blue on white design 1840- 1880

Figure 7.33: Plain whiteware soup plates

Table 7.11: Distribution of Whitewares from the Locus B site

Ironstone/Whiteware Types	Date and Reference	Provenience
Whiteware with narrow, annular rings in blue, red, black, green and pink	1840- 1875 (Lange & Carlson 1985:104)	Trench 1, Level 6 and 7 Trench 3, Level 7, 8 and 9
Whiteware banded annular ware	1770- 1840 (Lange & Carlson 1985:104)	Trench 1, Level 8 Trench 3, Level 7 and 8
Whiteware hand painted in floral designs in pink , blueblack and blue	1820-1870 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 3 Trench 3, Level 8 and 9
Whiteware blue on white	1840- 1880 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 3 Trench 3, Level 8
Whiteware plain deep plates	1820-1900 (DeCorse 2001:153)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 7, 8 and 9
Whiteware flow blue	England 1820 (Hume 1969)	Trench 1, Level 6 Trench 3, Level 9
Base of bowl/jar with 'CRESCENT & SONS ENGLAND' embossment at the base	1873-1920 (www.thepotteries.org)	Trench 3, Level 7

7.4.5. Stoneware

The name stoneware is derived from its fired dense, stone-like character. It is waterproof, typically opaque and is often fired at temperatures that vitrify it (Stein, 2008: 402). Stonewares are typically fired between 1200 and 1300 degrees Celsius and are usually brown but can also assume other colours (Krill, 2010: 127). The natural colour of stoneware clay is normally grey but the firing process changes it into light-brown or buff coloured, and different glazes may then be applied. Stoneware clays have been used in the manufacture of wares for commercial purposes, as well as creating fine art pottery by artists, and the earliest stoneware was produced during the era of Shang Dynasty in China around c.1400 BCE (Leach, 1976).

Stoneware was first perfected in Europe by German potters in the Rhineland sometime in the fifteenth century. It was later in the seventeenth century that the English also started producing a salt-glazed type of stoneware which was traded in Europe and other British Colonies including the Gold Coast. Stoneware bottles have been important utilitarian vessels from the beginning of the fifteenth century even up to the twentieth century (https://sha.org/bottle/index.htm). The stoneware fragments recovered from excavations included German Rhenish stoneware decorated with cobalt blue incised decorations (Figure 7.34), dated to 1575-1775 (Hume, 1969: 279).

Figure 7.34: German Rhenish stoneware with cobalt blue designs

Other stonewares recovered included a white glazed stoneware, a cork sealed stoneware (Figure 7.35), a rim of a brown Rhenish stoneware (Figure 7.36) and a brown salt-glazed stoneware which dates to 1820-1873 (Figure 7.37) (www.floridamuseum.ufl.edu). Table 7.12 shows the distribution of Stonewares across the excavations at Locus B.

Figure 7.35: White glazed and cork sealed stoneware

Figure 7.36: Rim of a Brown Rhenish stoneware

Figure 7.37: Brown salt-glazed stoneware (1820- 1873)

Table 7.12: Distribution of Stonewares from the Locus B site

Stoneware Types	Date and Reference	Provenience
White glaze and cork seal Stoneware	19th Century	Trench 1, Level 2 and 9
German Rhenish gray **stoneware** with cobalt blue decoration	1575-1775 (Hume 1969: 279)	Trench 1, Level 7 Trench 3, Level 8
Rim of a brown rhenish stoneware	1870 (Hume 1969: 279)	Trench 1, Level 7
Brown salt-glazed stoneware	1820- 1873 (Hume 1969: 279)	Trench 1, Level 5 and 7

7.5. GLASS OBJECTS

Glass fragments recovered from the excavations totaled one thousand, four hundred and seventy-three (1,473) pieces. Out of this number, eight hundred and ninty-seven (897) pieces were recovered from Trench One, eighty-one (81) pieces from Trench Two and four hundred and ninty-five (495) pieces from Trench Three. The bulk of the glass objects were retrieved from Level 1 and 2 of Trench One, totaling 659 (representing 80% of the total number of glass objects). The least number of glass objects came from Level 5 and 10 of Trench One (Table 7.13).

Table 7.13: Distribution of glass objects by levels

Trench/ Levels	Surface	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	27	480	179	61	32	4	33	13	23	34	11	**897**	**60.9%**
Trench 2	-	9	72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**81**	**5.5%**
Trench 3	-	130	-	-	-	35	261	14	-	23	32	**495**	**33.6%**
Total	**27**	**619**	**251**	**61**	**32**	**39**	**294**	**27**	**23**	**57**	**43**	**1,473**	**100%**

The bulk of the glass objects were fragments and were designated as undiagnostic because no full bottle was recovered. This made identification very difficult. The few identified were classified based on their form/style, decoration, maker's mark and probable uses. The glass objects recovered were classified into alcoholic beverages, non-alcoholic beverages, food related bottles, table wares/drinking glasses, perfume bottles, ink bottles, body cream bottles, medicinal bottles and other household glass objects. Some bottles had embossments, letter inscriptions and manufacturer's trademarks on them. These attributes facilitated company identification and helped determine the chronology and the place of origin of the glass objects.

It is important to note that, there was patina on all the bottles recovered from Locus B. According to Clifford & Semeniuk (2020: 19), patina is a micro-crust of interlaminated silica and calcite that develops on glass bottles that have been partially buried for 70-100 years. Dawdy (2017) noted that, Patina is a material layer that accrues over time on the surface of an object (especially glass), congealing social values and a sense of the past. It arises due to the actions of water, temperature, air, pollutants, chemicals as well as materials coatings that have been used in construction (Edensor, 2005: 313).

Clifford & Semeniuk (2020: 2), further asserted that, the process of patination (weathering) is dependent upon the composition of the glass itself, the nature of the surface of the glass, the surface areas exposed and aspects of the environment (temperature). Patina glass may be found in areas such as the marine environment and historic refuse sites in humid and arid climates. From the above assertions, it is not surprising that all the glass objects recovered had patina as they were excavated from a historic refuse site in marine environment. This gives a clue that the site excavated is more than seventy (70) years of age as described by Clifford & Semeniuk (2020: 19).

Table 7.14 shows the breakdown of bottle fragments, their quantity, probable country of origin and dates of manufacture.

Table 7.14: Distribution of Diagnostic Glass Objects at the Marine Drive Site

Glass type	Quantity	Origin	Date	Provenance
Alcoholic Beverage				
a. Champagne/wine	12	England	1860s (Switzer 1974:24) After1820 (Doreen 1977:38)	Trench 1, Level 1 Trench 2, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 5
b. Schnapps	15	Holland	1850 (Van der Sloot 1975)	Trench 1, Level 1, 2 and 9 Trench 3, Level 5 and 6
c. Beer	79	England	1910 (Hedges 1989: 13).	Trench 1, Level 1 and 3 Trench 2, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 5
Decanter	1	England	Mid 18th Century (Davis 1972: 14; Leigh 2002:5) 1780-1840 (Jones & Sullivan 1989:134	Trench 3, Level 5
Non-alcoholic Beverages				
Carbonated drinks (Coke, Pepsi and Sprite)	169	Ghana	20th Century	Trench 1, Level 1, 2 and 3 Trench 3, Level 1, 5 and 6
General Household				
a. Sauce/syrup bottles	6	England	1880-1900 (Musey 1970:152)	Trench 1, Level 1 and 2 Trench 3, Level 5 and 6
b. Base of Pyrex Bowl	1	-	20th century	Trench 1, Level 1
Toiletries				
Body creams/ pomades	2	Britain/France	1930s and 1980s (Amedekey 2018: 95).	Trench 1, Surface collection Trench 1, level 4, 6, and 7
Perfume bottles	5	England	1820-1930 (Decorse 1998:34)	Trench 1, Surface, Level 3 Trench 2, Level 1, Trench 3, Level 5

Drinking glasses				
a. Wine glasses	320	Dutch	18th and 19th century (Mr. Crossland)	Trench 1, Surface, Level 1, 2 and 3 Trench 2, Level 1 and 2 Trench 3, Level 1, 5 and 6
b. Tumblers	7	Germany	Late 18th Century (Decorse 2001:162)	Trench 1, Level 1 and 2 Trench 3, Level 5 and 6
c. Mirrors/louver blade	8	England	18th C (Jones & Sullivan 1989: 171)	Trench 1, Level 3, 6, 7 and 8
Chemicals /Medicines				
a. Medicine bottles	7	England	Mid 1800s (Hedges 2002: 15)	Trench 1, Level 1 and 2 Trench 2, Level 1 Trench 3, Level 5 and 6
Educational bottles				
Parker Ink bottles	3	England	1888 (www.parkerpen.com)	Trench 1, Level 1
Gestetner Ink toner	4	England	1881	Trench 1, Level 1 and 2 Trench 3, Level 5
vintage little amber glass oil lamp shades	5	Holland	20thC (www.laurellaffarm.com)	Trench 1, Level 1
Bottle stopper	4	-	--	Trench 1, Level 8 Trench 3, Level 6
Base of jar	1	-	--	Trench 3, Level 5
Non-diagnostic	**823**			
TOTAL	**1,473**			

7.6.1. Drinks/ Alcohol Bottles

Fragments of alcoholic beverage bottles recovered from the excavations included schnapps, champagne, wine and beer bottles. A total of 56 alcoholic bottles were retrieved from all the three trenches excavated. These have been described below.

Schnapps: A total of 15 schnapps bottles were recovered from Level One and Three of Trench One. They consist of various parts including rim, body, base, neck and shoulder. Dutch schnapps were imported into West Africa by European travelers (with a variety of marks) throughout the 19th Century (DeCorse, 2001:160). The schnapps bottles recovered comprised fragments of a dark green glass with a "Star", embossed on it (Figure 7.38). This fragment was a **J.H HENKES** schnapps bottle which is similar to the type recovered by DeCorse at Elmina (DeCorse, 2001:160). These bottles probably date to the late 19th to early 20th centuries (van der Sloot, 1975).

It is known that Dutch spirit breweries such as **J. J MELCHERS** and **J.H HENKES** exported schnapps from Geneva to West Africa from the 1850's. Some of the popular brands at the time were the Stork brand of gin (Geneva) and Star brand which represented Aromatic Schnapps produced by **J.H HENKES** (Van der Sloot 1975). Aside the star embossment identified, all the other schnapps bottles recovered were non-diagnostic.

Figure 7.38: Star embossment on a schnapps bottle

Champagne Bottles: Another type of alcoholic beverage bottle remains recovered was that of the Champagne bottle. It is in the form of a cylindrical bottles with flat base and with a string collar below the lip. The fragments of champagne bottles recovered from the excavations included rims

with parts of the neck, base and fragments of the body attached (Figure 7.39). Their rims had rings and therefore may have been capped with corks. They originated from England and date to 1810 (DeCorse, 2001: 148 – 149). There was no form of embossment, inscriptions or manufacturer logos on these bottles fragmentary to aid in identification. It is imperative to note that they were recovered from all three trenches excavated and have probably been popular with the locals.

Figure 7.39: Champaign bottles

Beer bottles: The rims, bases and body fragments of a variety of beer bottles were also recovered from the excavations (Figure 7.40 & 7.41). The seamlines on the rims clearly showed that chronologically, they belonged to the twentieth century. This is because Hedges (2002: 13) has noted that seamlines found terminating below the collar-line were dated to the pre 1910 period while bottles with seamlines that run through the body and the collar to the lip were post 1910. Since most of the fragments had their seamline running through the body and collar, they thus, belonged to the 20th century context.

Bottling companies were set up its Ghana in the twentieth century to produce more alcoholic beverages as the demand became high. Although these companies were set up here in Ghana, beer bottles could still have been imported. Some local people in Accra were in the business of

collecting and selling all manner of bottles, including beer bottles for reuse. Some of these bottles could have also been traded by these bottle dealers, thereby putting them into secondary contexts.

Figure 7.40: Beer bottles

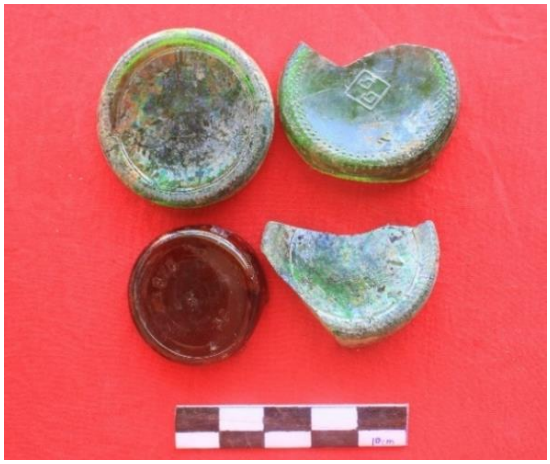


Figure 7.41: Base of beer bottles

7.6.2. Non-alcoholic Beverage

Non-alcoholic beverage bottles retrieved from the excavations included fragments of carbonated bottles (Figure 7.42). Carbonated water usually contained dissolved carbon dioxide gas either artificially injected under pressure or through natural geological processes (www.healthline.com). Some of the soda water bottles retrieved from the excavations included Coca-Cola, Pepsi and Sprite dating to the 20th century. A total of eighty-seven (87) of them were retrieved from Levels 1, 2 and 3 of Trench One and fifty-two (69) of them from Levels 1, 5 and 6 of Trench Three. Only thirteen (13) fragments were recovered from Level 1 and 2 of Trench Two. Due to their fragmentary nature (no full bottle was recovered) it was difficult to describe the inscriptions on them in order to identify the exact type and the date of manufacture of the recovered fragments.

Figure 7.42: Fragments of Carbonated drinks

7.6.3. Food Related Bottles

Sauce holding bottles constituted the least category of food containers recovered from the excavations (Figure 7.43). They were characterized by wide mouth and cylindrically shaped bodies. Sauce bottles are generally transparent but occasionally, come in different colourations (Polak 2010: 150). A total of four (4) fragments of sauce bottles were recovered from the excavations at Locus B. Out of this number, two (2) of them were recovered from Level 1 and 2 of Trench one and the other two (2) from Level 5 and 6 of Trench Three. All of the sauce bottles recovered were without labels and embossments as they were heavily fragmentary. It was thus difficult to establish their contents and manufacturers.

Figure 7.43: Sauce bottle

Glass stoppers

A stopper is a plug which is inserted into the neck or the bore of a vessel to effect a seal from within the vessel (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 149). Glass stoppers are made up of two main parts; a shank, which is the plug and a knob which is the area where the stopper is held for closure and removal but these two parts could be joined by a neck. The adoption of glass stoppers was meant to replace corks for bottle closures due to the cost involved in producing corks and the variations that came with the finish or the aperture of the bottle neck (Schulz et al., 2016: 360). According to DeCorse (2009: 90), stoppers were commonly used in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The adoption of glass stoppers was meant to replace corks for bottle closures due to the cost involved in producing corks and the variations that came with the finish or the aperture of the bottleneck (Schulz et al., 2016: 360).

Ceramic closures on the other hand were designed to fit an internally stopper rubber mechanism. The shank could sometimes contain wire threads to help twist into the neck. A total of 4 stoppers were recovered from the excavations at Locus B (Figure 7.44). Out of this number, two (2) of them were recovered from Level 8 of Trench One and the other two (2) from Level 6 of Trench Three. These probably dated to circa 1874 -1890 (Green, 1978: 68).

Figure 7.44: Glass Stopper and Ceramic Stopper

7.6.4. Tableware

Wine Glasses and Tumblers: About two-hundred (200) diagnostic wine glasses (Figure 7.45) and seven (7) tumblers (Figure 7.46) were recovered from the excavations. They were probably used for drinking alcoholic beverages and non-alcoholic beverages. Wine glasses and tumblers are often used at meal tables at the same time but for different purpose. The wine glasses recovered had thick funnel-shaped bodies with thick bases. A total of three hundred and twenty (320) fragments of wine glasses were retrieved from the excavations at Locus B. Out of this number, one hundred and sixty-three (163) of them were retrieved from Trench One, thirty (30) of them from Trench Two and one hundred and twenty-seven (127) of them from Trench Three. Varieties of wine glasses were manufactured from the Seventeenth century forward but the types recovered dated to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries (Pers. Com. Mr. Crossland, 13/01/2021).

The tumblers recovered were characterized by flat and shallow concave bases with plain rims in a cylindrical shape. All those recovered were undecorated except two that had straight lines in the form of grooves on them (from the body area to the base on the exterior). The tumblers are likely to have been manufactured around the late eighteenth century (Jones & Smith 1985: 35). The design at the bottom of the tumbler glass (Figure 7.48) indicates that it is a German crystal glasses bottles (Pers. Com. With Abrampah, 22/ 09/2021). A total of seven (7) tumblers were recovered from the excavations at Locus B. Out of this number, four (4) of them were recovered from Levels 1 and 2 of Trench One and three (3) from Level 5 and 6 of Trench Three.

Figure 7.45: wine glasses

Figure 7.46: Tumbler glass

Figure 7.47: German crystal tumbler glass

Decanter

Another type of tablewear recovered was a decanter. It is a glass vessel generally characterised by a narrow mouth and neck but with flared rims and mostly used in serving and/or storing alcoholic beverages. It is usually designed for reuse (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 133-134). Decanters in most cases are decorated with various motifs and occur in a variety of body shapes and sizes. Some

decanters have stoppers while others do not. Decanters were manufactured and added to the bottle inventory in England between 1700 and 1830 (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 134). By the end of the Seventeenth Century the practice of decanting and the associated bottle decanters came to imply pouring alcoholic drinks from the original storage vessel into another vessel (decanter) for serving at the table. Thus, bottles made to decant came to assume the name decanters (Davis 197: 18).

George Ravenscroft is credited with having played a pioneering role in making the earliest forms of decanters during the late Seventeenth Century, which he called 'bottles'. The decorations embossed and printed on them suggested that the decanters were intended to serve as both decorative as well as utilitarian vessels (Davis, 1972: 18). From the excavations, only a fragment was recovered from Level 5 of Trench Three.

7.6.5. Perfumes and Body Care Products

According to Shuman (2003: 78), a desirable perfume is usually composed of 10 to 15 pe rcent scented oil, other aromatic products and 85 to 90 percent high proof alcohol. The aromatic element consists of essential oils (obtained by distilling the roots, leaves, flowers, and/or bark of plants), natural flower oils, synthetic and aromatic isolates, vegetable gum, resins, and some animal products. The use of perfumes for various purposes date back to prehistoric times and various cultures have used them for different purposes such as medical purposes for healing, religious/ritual purposes and personal enhancement of the body (Walker 1987: 3). Perfumes are made in special bottles because they are mostly expensive.

Only one perfume type was identified. This was a clear transparent cylindrical bottle with collar and rings on the rim (Figure 7.48) and comprised a lavender perfume bottle with no embossment on it. This made it difficult to identify the makers and date of manufacture.

Figure 7.48: lavender perfume bottle

***Body creams and Lotions*:** Bottles containing body creams and lotions have shorter necks and broader rims to facilitate the dipping of fingers to scoop the cream/lotion. The necks and rim of these bottles suggest that they were capped with threaded lids (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 47). The cream and lotion containers were identified as white transparent and translucent Vaseline bottles. The transparent type was characterized by an inscription on the outer body of it (Figure 7.49) whiles the white translucent bottle had some form of incision on opposite sides of the bottle (Figure 7.50). These according to Jones & Sullivan (1989: 47) originated from Britain/France and dates between 1930s and 1980s. Similar bottles were recovered in Adaklu (Amedekey 2018: 95).

Figure 7.49: Vaseline Jar

Figure 7.50: Ointment bottle

7.6.6. Medicine Bottles

A total of seven (7) bottles were identified as medicine bottles. Out of this number, two (2) fragments were recovered from Level 1 and 2 of Trench One, one (1) fragment from Level Two of Trench Two and four (4) fragments from Levels 5 and 6 of Trench Three. Medicine bottles come in a variety of shapes but generally appear in flat, round, panel, or oval nature. The bottles identified from the excavations had no identifiable features apart from their short necks and rounded lips with some having some form of metal cover around the rims. During the Victorian era, English chemists also adopted the use of acid detached cylindrical bottles to stock patented medicines. This has enabled archaeologists to easily identify these bottles when recovered from the archaeological record.

In the early Nineteenth Century when hinged moulds were introduced, chemists developed the practice of embossing the contents and dosages on medicine bottles. Few of them were identified with the names of the maker's marks on them. This facilitated easy identification (Hedges, 2002: 15; Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 47). An example of such was a cobalt blue bottle with long neck (Figure 7.51) identified as castor/cod liver oil bottle.

Figure 7.51: Allen & Hanbury castor oil bottle

It had no logo or name of the manufacturer on it but was identified to have been produced by '**Allen and Hanbury's pharmacy'** in Britain. This type of oil was made in different sizes and in some cases had the 'Allen & Hanbury castor oil' written on it. It dates to the nineteenth century (www.antique-bottles.net). Castor oil has been used for some time now in cosmetic products including creams, moisturizers and perfumes.

7.6.7. Ink Bottles

A total of seven (7) ink wells were recovered from the excavations. Out of this number, three (3) of them had the inscription '*Parker*' close to the base of the bottles (Figure 7.52). The other 4 had the inscription '*Gestetner*' on the body of the bottles (Figure 7.53). "*Parker*" is a high quality and luxury bottled ink and pen manufacturing company founded by George Safford Parker (www.internet-ink.com). He was a teacher of telegraphy by profession, his aim of producing the *Parker* ink was to make a better ink and pen which wrote well and did not leak everywhere like the others and to also increase his income as a teacher (www.parkerpen.com). The company was birthed in Janesville Wisconcin, USA in 1888. All three (3) *Parker* bottles recovered from the excavations were from Trench One (2 from the surface and 1 from Level 1).

Gestetner on the other hand is a cyclograph company which produced duplicating machines, stencils, styli and ink rollers. It was founded by David Gestetner in 1881 at Tottenham, England. He first developed the stencil duplicator to allow for the production of numerous copies of documents quickly and inexpensively. At the time, duplication of documents was done manually, and was time consuming with numerous cases of errors (www.tottenham-summerhillroad.com). A total of three (3) bottles with *Gestetner* inscriptions were recovered from Trench One (2 from Level 1 and 1 from Level 2) and one (1) bottle from Level 5 of Trench Three, had the '*Gestetner'* inscribed on them. The presence of these ink bottles in the upper layers of the excavations suggest

that the introduction of inks replaced the use of writing slates and pencils and sheds light on the development of education and related matters over time in the research area.

Figure 7.52: Parker Ink bottles

Figure 7.53: Gestetner ink toners

7.6.8. Household Glass Items

Mirrors: Mirrors have been classified into a category of glass known as flat glass which also includes window glass. Mirrors are made from plate glass and their production is undertaken by casting molten glass on large metal tables. The resultant plate glass is then polished on both surfaces before finally exerting silver to produce reflective images (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 171). It can also be back painted, gilded and framed. In Europe, plated glass was produced in the Seventeenth Century, beginning in France. In England, plated glass production witnessed a boom in the late Eighteenth Century. At most archaeological sites, plated glass fragments that are recovered were mirrors (Jones & Sullivan, 1989: 171).

Mirror fragments recovered from the research area were identified from the traces of the silvering material and remnants of the back painting which was in grey/ brown colour. A total of eight (8) pieces that looked more like mirrors were recovered from Levels 3, 6, 7 and 8 of Trench One (Figure 7.54). It was not clear exactly what they were because some were in the form of flat glass

with polished surfaces like window panel/louver blades whiles others had silvering which had lost its reflective mercury coating.

Figure 7.54: Louver blades or mirror

Aside from the above discussed, other glass objects retrieved from the excavations included one (1) thick base of a glass bowl (Figure 7.55) with a spherical shape (Pers. Com. Mr. Crossland, 13/01/2021) and fragments of a Twentieth Century vintage amber glass oil lamp shade (Figure 7.56) (www.laurellaffarm.com). The use of oil lamps extends into antiquity, although they are less patronized in recent times. In the past, they were used as alternatives to candles before the introduction of electric light. In recent times, these lamps have been replaced with gas-based fuel lamps.

Figure 7.55: Base of a glass bowl

Figure 7.56: Fragments of a lantern shade

7.7. SMOKING PIPES

A total of two hundred and eighty-nine (289) fragments of smoking pipes were recovered from the excavations. They comprised one fragment of a locally manufactured clay smoking pipe from Trench One and two hundred and eighty-eight (288) imported smoking pipes from Trench One, Two and Three. The detailed analysis and breakdown according to trenches have been described below.

7.7.1. Local Clay Smoking Pipe

Part of the bowl of a locally manufactured clay smoking pipe was recovered from Level 9 of Trench One (Figure 7.57). The interior of the pipe was burnished and smudged whiles the exterior was characterized by multiple channels and appliques in-between the channels of the bowl. Before being discarded, this clay smoking pipe was likely made and used by the Africans who lived in the old Osu settlement. Its association with forty-seven (47) imported smoking pipes from the same level (the level with the largest number of imported smoking pipes), could probably be that, the local people tried to reproduce a replica of the imported smoking pipe brought in by the Europeans or that it was made and used by the Europeans themselves.

Figure 7.57: Bowl fragment of local clay smoking pipe

7.7.2. Imported Smoking Pipes

A total of two hundred and eighty-eight (288) fragments of imported Kaolin smoking pipes were retrieved from the research area. Out of this number, two hundred and twenty-four (224) of them were recovered from Trench one, fifteen (15) of them from Trench Two and forty-nine (49) of them from Trench Three. Table 7.15 gives a breakdown of imported smoking pipes recovered from each trench according to stratigraphic levels

Table 7.15: Distribution of Imported Smoking Pipes According to Stratigraphic Levels

Trench/Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Level 12	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	9	6	44	13	4	13	29	31	47	24	4	-	**224**	**77.8%**
Trench 2	3	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**15**	**5.2%**
Trench 3	-	-	7	-	-	8	3	4	12	-	14	**1**	**49**	**17%**
Total	**12**	**18**	**51**	**13**	**4**	**21**	**32**	**35**	**59**	**24**	**18**	**1**	**288**	**100%**

All the fragments recovered were well fired and relatively well-preserved with smooth and well-burnished surfaces. Out of the total number of pipes recovered, two (2) of them were complete bowls, two hundred and sixteen (216) were stem fragments and fifty-six (56) of them were only bowl fragments. Out of the bowl fragments, five (5) of them had heels and another two (2) were bowls with spur. On the other hand, out of the stem fragments recovered, two (2) of them were stems with spur and another four (4) were stems with heels.

A total number of eighteen (18) sherds were identified with some form of decorative patterns on them. Out of this, fourteen (14) of them were bowls (6 from Trench One and 3 from Trench Three)

and the other four (4) were stem fragments. Out of the fourteen (14) bowl fragments with decorations, five (5) of them had letters ('I' and 'F') and shield symbols embossed on opposite sides of their heels whiles one (1) stem with spur had a shield embossment. On the other hand, all the three (3) stems identified with decorations had elaborate floral designs on them (Figure 7.59). While majority of the stem fragments were undecorated, several others displayed quite elaborate designs consisting of largely geometric, floral and circular designs.

Figure 7.58: Bowls with stem and heels

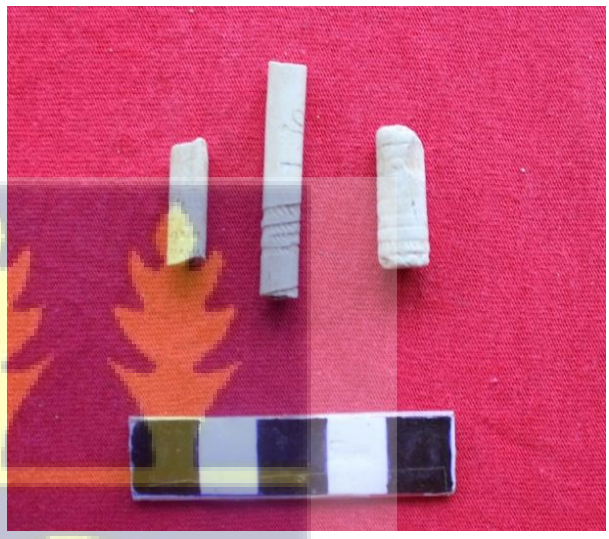


Figure 7.59: Stems with elaborate designs

A few fragments marked with 'G'- signs which stands for 'GOUDA', 'I'- which stands for "IVERSLU (made by Jan Versluijs) all dating to the 19th century (Atkinson 1972; Duco 1982; Higgins 2017; Oswald 1975; Van der lingen 2018). The remaining 270 fragments were plain pipes without decorations or manufacturer attribution logos on them which made it difficult to establish the production company and country of origin (Table 7.16).

Table 7.16: Distribution of imported smoking pipe from Locus B

Trench	Bowl fragment	Bowl with heel	Stem	Full bowl	Bowl with spur	Stem with spur	Stem with heel	Total
Trench 1	33	5	176	2	2	2	4	**224**
Trench 2	6	-	9	-	-	-	-	**15**
Trench 3	17	-	31	-	1	-	-	**49**
Total	**56**	**5**	**216**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**4**	**288**
Percentage	**19.4%**	**1.7%**	**75%**	**0.7%**	**1%**	**0.7%**	**1.4%**	**100%**

However, four (4) of the bowls recovered from Trench One were erect bowls with their stems joining the bowls at different angles. One bowl from Level 10 joined its stem at an angle of 180°. The second bowl from Level 10 with letters 'I' and 'F' inscribed at opposite sides of the heel, joined the stem at an angle of 172°. The third bowl from Level 7, joined its stem at an angle of 160° and the fourth bowl with heel from Level 10 joined its stem at an angle of 176°.

Evidence of use is found on some stems and few of the bowls which had black/grey colouration on their interior or exterior surfaces. A few were identified as Dutch and English pipes based on inference (Engman et.al., 2018: 45). The majority however were unidentified. Two bowls with the tops/rims broken with vertical incision decoration close to the stem (Level 3 and 7 of Trench One) were similar to one found and published by Engmann (2018) in her work '*Dutch Clay Smoking Pipes from Christiansborg Castle' (*Engmann et al., 2018:45). She identified it as '*Fluted Dutch pipes'* with the mark '65' crowned on the bowl facing the smoker. It dates to the first half of the Nineteenth Century and was manufactured by 'Maarten Heerkens' from Gouda between 1805-1841 and Adrianus van Duijn in 1841-1882 (Figure 7.60).

Figure 7.60: Fluted Dutch pipes

7.8. FOOD REMAINS

A total of one thousand, six hundred and fifty-eight (1,658) fauna remains were recovered from the excavations. They comprised, three hundred and ninety-seven (397) bones and one thousand, two hundred and eighty-eight (1,288) mollusc shells from the three trenches. The detailed description, analysis and breakdown according to trenches and levels are described below.

7.8.1. Bones

Understanding the past food ways at Osu was made possible from the analysis of faunal remains. The total number of bones recovered from the study area was three hundred and ninety-seven (397) and represented 6% of the total number of finds from the excavations. Out of this number, two hundred and ninety-three (293) of them (representing 73.8% of the fauna assemblage) were classified as non-diagnostic because they could not be identified on account of their fragmentary nature. On the other hand, a total of one hundred and four (104) of them (representing 26.2% of the total) were identified. They comprised mainly of the long tubular bones (*femur and humerus*), skull, rib bone, tooth canine, molar, lower Jaw bones and Scapula (Figure 7.61). Majority, two hundred and ninety-one (291) of the bones recovered were from Trench One, twenty-five (25) of

them from Trench Two and eighty-one (81) from Trench Three. The breakdown according to levels are represented in Table 7.17.

Figure 7.61: Bone fragments

Table 7.17. Total Count of Bones and their Percentages per Trench

Trench/Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	6	4	7	7	-	11	54	63	32	100	7	**291**	**73.3%**
Trench 2	1	21	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**25**	**6.3%**
Trench 3	-	7	8	12	3	-	-	-	17	21	13	**81**	**20.4%**
Total	**7**	**32**	**18**	**19**	**3**	**11**	**54**	**63**	**49**	**121**	**20**	**397**	**100%**

Analysis of the bones recovered was done by Proffessor Attuquefio of the Department of Animal Biology and Conservation Science, University of Ghana. The bulk of the bones especially those from Trench One were heavily fragmented and charred and lacked established reference marks to

facilitate identification. In spite of this handicap, a total of one hundred and four 104 of them were positively identified and classified and comprised mostly *Mammalia species (*both wild and domesticated*).*

The wild species identified were associated with both savannah and forest ecology and included species like Giant Rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*), wild Pig (*Potomocheoerus proms*), Grasscutter (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), Antelope (*Bovidae*), Squirrel (*Sciuridae*), Leopard (*Panthera pardu*), Hyena (*Hyaenidae*), Buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*) and Lion (*Panthera leo*). The domesticated species also included; Cattle (*Bos sp*.), Goat (*Capra sp*.), Sheep (*Ovis Aries*), Cat (*Felis catus*), Dog (*Canis familiaris*), Horse (*Equua caballus*), Rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*) and Monkey (*Cercopithecidae*). The wild species may have been hunted or collected by opportunistic or skilled hunters. Table 7.18 gives the details of the species, the body parts identified, the total count and the provenance information of the identified bones.

It will be observed from Table 7.18 that, the species that were exploited the most in Trench One included mid-sized mammals like rodents, herbivores and carnivores (Antelope, cat, dogs, rats/rabbit, horse, cattle and leopard). On the other hand, the most consumed identified Trench Two and Three were grasscutter, dog, cat, sheep and goat.

Table 7.18: Total Count of Bones and their Percentages per Trench/Level

Trench/level	Total Count of identified	Total count of unidentified	Name of body parts	Genus	Animal Type
Trench 1					
Level 1	2	4	Humerus/femur (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Antelope, Cat, Dog
			Vertebra (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Antelope, Cat, Dog
Level 2	1	3	Humerus/femur (1)	Mid-sized rodent	Rat
Level 3	2	5	Tooth (1)	Large herbivore	Horse, Cattle
			Vertebra (1)	Large mammal	Horse, Cattle, Pig
Level 4	5	2	Humerus (1)	Mid-sized rodent	Rat, Rabbit, Hare
			Teeth (2)	Large herbivore	Horse, Cattle, Buffalo
			Scapular (1)	Large rodent	Giant Rat, Squirrel, Grasscutter
			Femur (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Sheep
Level 6	5	6	Femur (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Sheep
			Part of Scapular (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Sheep
			Teeth (2)	Large herbivore	Horse, Cattle
			Tooth (1)	Large carnivore	Cat, Leopard
Level 7	19	35	Tooth (1)	Mid-sized herbivore	Sheep, Antelope
			Tooth (1)	Mid-sized carnivore	Dog, Cat

			Humerus/femur (4)	Small rodent	Mouse, Rat
			Humerus/femur (1)	Large rodent	Giant Rat, Squirrel, Grasscutter
Level 8	6	57	Teeth (4)	Large mammal	Horse, Cattle, Buffalo
			Teeth (2)	Rodent	Rat, Mouse, Grasscutter
Level 9	6	26	Tooth (1)	Mid-sized carnivore	Dog, Cat
			Vertebra (1)	Large mammal	Horse, Cattle
			Humerus/ femur (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Lower jaw with teeth (1)	Carnivore/Omnivore	Dog, Monkey, Antelope
			Canine (1)	Large carnivore	Lion, Leopard
			Molar (1)	Large carnivore	Lion, Leopard
Level 10	26	74	Teeth (4)	Large carnivore	Lion, Leopard, Hyena
			Jaw with teeth (1)	Mid-sized rodent	Rat
			Canine (1)	Mid-sized carnivore	Dog, Cat
			Vertebrae (3)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Cat, Sheep, Antelope
			Molar/Premolars (5)	Large carnivore	Lion, Leopard
			Molar/Premolars (1)	Mid-sized carnivore	Dog, Cat,
			Molar/Premolars (1)	Mid-sized herbivore	Sheep, Goat, Antelope
			Canines/incisors (7)	Mid-sized mammal	Dog, Cat, Sheep, Goat

			Canines/incisors (3)	Large mammal	Horse, Buffalo, Cattle
Level 11	-	7	-	-	-
Total	**72**	**219**			
Trench 2					
Level 1	-	1	-	-	-
Level 2	7	14	Vertebra (1)	Large mammal	Horse, Cattle, Pig
			Vertebra (1)	Mid-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Skull bones (3)	Mid-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Femur/humerus (2)	Mid-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
Level 3	-	3	-	-	-
Total	7	**18**			
Trench 3					
Level 2	3	4	Vertebra (1)	Large mammal	Horse, Cattle, Pig
			Vertebra (2)	Small mammal	Rat, Mouse, Grasscutter
Level 3	4	4	Humerus (3)	2 large mammals 1 small mammal	Horse, Cattle, Pig Rat, Mouse, Grasscutter
			Vertebra (1)	Small mammal	Rat, Mouse, Grasscutter
Level 4	4	8	Teeth (2)	Large herbivore	Horse, Cattle, Buffalo
				Small mammal	Rat, mouse, grasscutter

			Humerus/femur (1)		
			Skull bone (1)	Mid-size mammal	Sheep, Goat, Cat, Antelope
Level 5	-	3	-	-	-
Level 9	7	10	Vertebra (1)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Skull bones (3)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Femur/humerus (2)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Rib bone (1)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
Level 10	4	17	Vertebra column (1)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Teeth (3)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
Level 11	3	10	Vertebra (2)	Medium-sized mammal	Sheep, Dog, Cat, Antelope
			Femur/humerus (1)	Small mammal	Rat, Mouse, Grasscutter
Total	**25**	**56**			

7.8.2. Molluscs

A total number of one thousand, two hundred and eighty-eight (1,288) marine molluscs belonging to a variety of species were recovered from the excavations. Out of this number, one thousand, one hundred and forty-three (1,143) of them were recovered from Trench One and one hundred and

fifteen (115) of them recovered from Trench Three. Most of the shells collected appeared well preserved on account that they had retained their natural reference marks with a few broken and unidentified ones. A breakdown is presented in Table 7.19.

Table 7.19: Total Count of Molluscs and their Percentage from the locus B Site

Trench/Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	39	19	107	27	15	93	107	125	205	395	11	**1,143**	**88.7%**
Trench 2	14	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**30**	**2.3%**
Trench 3	-	-	22	-	7	18	36	-	-	32	-	**115**	**8.9%**
Total	**53**	35	**129**	**27**	**22**	**111**	**143**	**125**	**205**	427	**11**	**1,288**	**0%**
Percentage %	**3.41%**	**1.66%**	**9.36%**	**2.36%**	**1.31%**	**8.14%**	**9.36%**	**10.94%**	**17.94%**	35%	**0.52%**	**100%**	**100%**

All the molluscs were categorized broadly into two classes namely *Gastropoda* and *Bivalvia*. The species recovered under *Gastropoda*, included *Triphoridae, Achatinidae and Thais haemastoma* (Figure 7.62), *Olivanacillaria hiatula, Cyprea stercoria* (Figure 7.63). On the other hand, the species recovered under *Bivalvia* included: *Ostrea denticulata* (Figure 7.64), *Lithophaga antillarum, Pitaria tumens* (Figure 7.65) *and Arca afra* (Edwards 1978).

The presence of both marine and terrestrial molluscs in the excavations suggest the people of Osu exploited both types of food. The presence *Cyprea Moneta* and *Annulus* (Figure 7.66) also suggests the currencies and trade relations that existed in the other local communities and with the Europeans. Cowries served as some form of payments of goods during the Trans-Atlantic trade.

Figure 7.62: *Ostrea denticulata*

Figure 7.63: *Pitaria tumens*

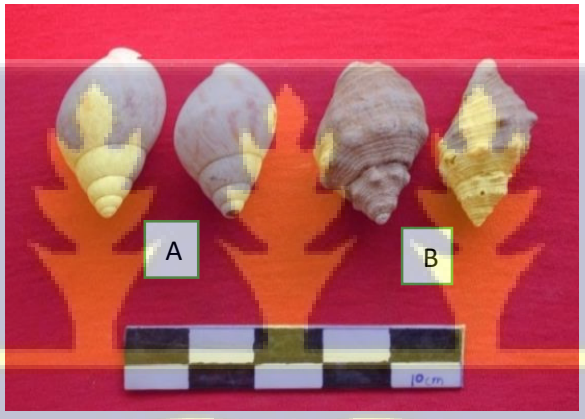


Figure 7.64*: Achatina* (A) and *Thais Haemastoma (B)*

Figure 7.65: *Cyprea stercoria*

Figure 7.66: *Cyprea Moneta & Annulus*

Table 7.20 shows the various mollusc species belonging to *Gastropoda* and *Bivalvia* classes, their natural habitat, utilitarian value to the community, count, and their percentage values.

Table 7.20: The Class and Species of Molluscs

Biological name	Class/Genera	Uses	Natural Habitat	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Total	Percentage % Values
Triphoridae	Gastropoda	Food	Marine	50	-	-	**50**	**3.88%**
Thais haemastoma	Gastropoda	Food	Marine	91	-	19	**110**	**8.54%**
Olivanacillaria hiatula,	Gastropoda	Food	Marine	282	2	10	**294**	**22.82%**
Cyprea stercoria	Gastropoda	Food	Marine	98	5	5	**108**	**8.36%**
Achatinidae	Gastropoda	Food	Land	22	5	5	**32**	**2.48%**
Ostrea denticulate	Bivalvia	Food	Marine	56	-	8	**64**	**4.97%**
Lithophaga antillarum	Bivalvia	Food	Marine	110	8	5	**123**	**9.55%**
Pitaria tumens	Bivalvia	Food	Marine	493	10	60	**563**	**43.71%**
Arca afra	Bivalvia	Food	Marine	20	-	3	**23**	**1.79%**
Total				**1,143**	**30**	**115**	**1,288**	**100%**

7.8.3. Palm Kernel Nuts

A total of eighty-three (83) palm kennel shells (*Elaeis guineensis)* constituted the only plant remains recovered from the study area. Out of this number, thirteen (13) of them were recovered from Trench One, ten (10) were recovered from Level 1 and 2 and three (3) from Level 9) and seventy (70) from Trench Three (forty-seven (47) were recovered from Level 3, twenty (20) from Level 4, two (2) from Level 5 and one (1) from Level 11). None was recovered from Trench Two. Palm kennel nuts from Levels 2 and 9 of Trench One were characterized by dull dark-grey

pigmentation compared to those recovered from Level 1 of Trench One which was light grey (Figure 7.67).

Figure 7.67: Some palm kennel shells from the research area

The bulk of palm kennel nuts recovered from the upper layers of Trench One and Three indicated that the exploitation of palm kennel grew during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries as most materials recovered from these levels date to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Table 7.21 below shows the distribution of palm kennel nuts according to Trench and stratigraphy levels.

Table 7.21: Total count of palm Kennel and their percentage

Trench/Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	10	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	**13**	**15.66%**
Trench 3	-	-	47	20	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	**70**	**84.34%**
Total	**10**	**2**	**47**	**20**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**-**	**1**	**83**	**100%**

7.9. STONE TOOLS

A total of sixty-nine (69) stone tools were recovered from the excavations. Out of this number, sixty-two (62) of them were recovered from Trench One and seven (7) from Trench Three. Those recovered comprised three European made gunflints (Figures 7.68), two grinders (Figure 7.69) and some pebbles (Figure 7.70). Apart from Level 10, stone tools were recovered from all layers of the stratigraphy of Trench One with the bulk recovered from Level 8 (Table 7.22).

Table 7.22: Total count of Stone Tools/Querns and their percentage

Trench/Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Level 11	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	10	5	10	2	1	6	7	12	7	-	2	**62**	**89.9%**
Trench 3	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**7**	**10.1%**
Total	**10**	**5**	**17**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**7**	**12**	**7**	-	**2**	**69**	**100%**

In the analysis of the flint materials/ European made gunflints recovered from the marine site drive, there were three pieces recovered from Level 8 (140-160cm). the flint material depict European made gunflint that may or may not have been used as strike-lights.

Figure 7.68: European made gunflints

However, the 2 querns recovered from Level 11 of Trench One were shaped in the form of grinding stones (Figure 7.69). From ethnographic information collected, the 2 stones might have been used as grinding stones for grinding foods, cereals and herbs. They were mostly used with large grinding stones or rocks with smooth surfaces. The grinders indicate that grinding constituted one of the methods used by the people to process foods at Osu in the past. Aside from the grinders and stone tools (the blades and flake tools), the rest of the stones recovered were in pebble-like forms (Figure 7.70).

Figure 6.69: Stone Grinders

Figure 6.70: Pebbles

7.10. Clothing and Dressing Accessories

A total of 48 accessories associated with clothing and dressing were recovered from the excavations. They comprised five (5) buttons from Trench One and forty-three (43) different types of beads from Trench One and Trench Three. They are further discussed below.

Button: A total of five (5) dress buttons were recovered from Levels 1, 7 and 8 of Trench One. They comprised one (1) metallic button and four (4) plastic buttons (Figure 7.71). All the buttons did not have back-marks which could be used to establish the manufacturer and probable country of origin. The metal buttons together with two (2) big plastic buttons were recovered from level 8 while the two (2) small coloured white ones were recovered from Level 1 and Level 7. Aside from the 2 white ones from Level 1 and 7 that were similar in size and colour, the remaining three from Level 8 were different in colour and design. All five (5) buttons had the same rounded shape. Its presence in the lower levels suggest they were probably among the earliest European materials to have been introduced or traded in Osu.

Figure 7.71: Buttons

Beads: A bead is a small object with a hole at the center that can be threaded. Beads can be made from a variety of media such as stone, glass, wood, bone, seed, ceramic, shell and plastic (Francis 1995: 64 – 65). The importance of beads was well established in West Africa long before the arrival of the Europeans in the late Fifteenth Century. Bone, ostrich-shell and metal beads have been recovered from many Late Stone Age and Iron Age contexts, and there appears to have been a trade in stone beads in Western Sudan by the first millennium A.D. (Mcintosh & Mcintosh, 1980: 162). Glass beads found their way to West Africa prior to the 15th century via the Trans-Saharan trade with North Africa. Indications of their importance in West Africa can be found in the writings of Arab travelers (like Ibn Battuta and Ibn Hawqal) of the 12th to 14th centuries (Levtzion & Hopkins 1981: 128-287).

While beads and other trade items undoubtedly reached West Africa in significant quantities before the arrival of Europeans, identification and dating of these materials are often difficult within an archaeological context. However, the confusion between pre- and post-European beads is exacerbated by the fact that the first European traders on the coast probably made a conscious effort to offer items for which there was already a demand (DeCorse, 1989: 41). Their arrival created new trade patterns and utilized and expanded already existing networks. Trade was increasingly redirected away from the long-established north to south Trans-Saharan trade network toward the new frontier of opportunity provided by coastal sites like Lagos, Whydah, Elmina and Osu.

A greater variety and quantity of goods were offered, including an increasing number of glass bead types and without adequate documentation it is difficult to trace their ultimate origin. Significant quantities of Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries Chinese porcelain, brought by European

traders, have been recovered from the Guinea Coast and it is possible that there might existed a trade in Oriental glass beads.

The European merchants traded beads such as Venetian, Dutch, and Bohemian glass beads. Some of the specific bead varieties traded in West Africa were '*aheyne coffe', 'olevetjes', 'madrigettes' and 'paternosters'* (DeCorse, 1989: 43; Van Dantzig 1978: 32). It is for this reason that European glass beads have been commonly found at most archaeological sites along coastal Ghana. For instance, Anquandah (1992: 35) has documented several *Venetian rosette beads* from the Seventeenth Century context at Adwuku Hill. DeCorse (1989: 45) also posited that over 30,000 European glass beads were recovered at Elmina old Town, all of which he dated to Nineteenth Century context. These were closely dated by association with European trade materials. Bredwa-Mensah (1996), during his excavations at the Danish plantation site at Bibiase, recovered a variety of imported beads some of which included polychrome glass beads of Venetian and Dutch origins, blue Aggrey beads (most likely early imported glass beads) and Carnelian beads believed to have been made in the mid-Nineteenth Century.

Beads from Osu, Locus B site

A total of forty-three (43) beads were recovered from Trenches One and Three. They were identified as originating from Venice and Bohemia and dated to the mid-Nineteenth Century. The beads retrieved were made from both natural and artificial materials. Out of the total number, thirty-six (36) of them were recovered from Trench One and seven (7) from Trench Three (Table 7.23).

Table 7.23. Total count of Beads and their percentages

Trench/ Levels	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10	Total count	Percentage %
Trench 1	-	1	3	-	-	11	10	4	5	2	**36**	**83.7%**
Trench 3	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	3	-	**7**	**16.3%**
Total	-	1	3	1	-	14	10	4	8	2	**43**	**100%**

Most of the beads were not well preserved as some had their outer coverings peeling off whiles others were fragile when held in the hand. This made it difficult to identify the original colours. The beads recovered were classified according to their shape, type and physical characteristics. Most of the beads recovered were tubular (cane beads that were cut). Others were monochrome and some polychrome. From analysis and classification, the beads recovered included venetian beads and blue and green Bohemian beads dating to the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Francis, 1995: 64). Venetian glass beads were made primarily by winding and drawing.

Another bead type recovered from Osu comprised chevron glass drawn bead. Chevron beads are great favourites with most collectors. They are drawn beads made from tubes with multiple layers, at least some of which are moulded into cogwheel patterns before they are drawn out (Francis Jr. 1995: 56). Drawn beads are made from plain or multi-layered tubes which are pulled or drawn out, cut apart after which the ends are smoothened and rounded off by tumbling or pinching (Francis Jr., 1995: 56 – 57). They date to the Nineteenth Century. Glass bead assemblage from the research area also comprised moulded beads. These type of beads are manufactured by putting hot molten

glass, usually cane heated in a lamp into a mould which closes on it to form the bead. A short rod is pierced into the centre while still molten to create perforations to allow for stringing. Glass beads of this collection were further classified according to the technique of manufacture. A total of ten (10) beads were identified as made by the mould method. Out of the total number of beads recovered from the excavations, thirteen (13) were glass beads made by the drawn method, and eight (8) beads made by the wound/winding method (Francis Jr., 1993:1-3, 2003:120- 131).

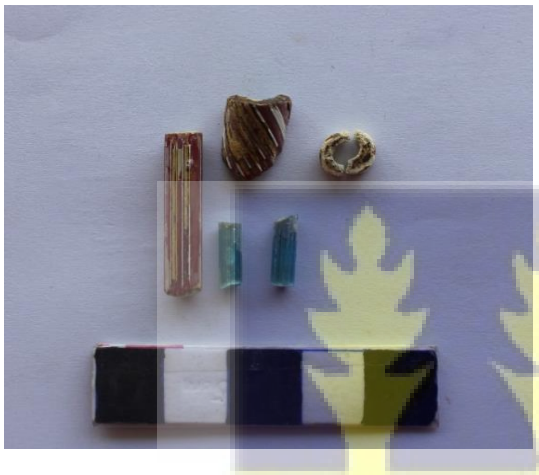


Figure 7.72: Brick red translucent and blue glass beads

Figure 7.73: venetian bead & blue/green Bohemian beads

Another bead type recovered was the Czech bead made with the help of grinding. These were drawn tubes with six sides, which were cut apart. Such cornerless hexagonals were quite popular from about 1820 to 1900. Variations included different colours, short and longer beads with more facets. These beads were made with a hand-held mold that left a conical perforation. They were then put on a stick and the facets on ground. The type recovered from the excavation was *Brown Czech beads* 1830-1 900 (Francis, 1995: 105). Other beads recovered included; Prosser mould bead from England/Italy dating to 1830 (Francis Jr.,1994: 58) and small yellow Hebron bead dating to the 19th century, among others (Table 7.24).

Table 7.24: Types of Beads, Origin and Dates

Bead type	Origin	Date/Chronology
Brick red translucent green and black venetian drawn bead	Venice	18th-20th Century
Prosser mold bead	England, Italy	1830 (Francis (Jr),1994:58)
Blue and green Bohemian beads	Bohemia	18th & 20th Century (Francis 1995: 64).
Chevron glass drawn beads	Venice, Italy	20th Century
Polychrome glass beads	Venetia, Dutch	Mid-19th Century (Bredwa-Mensah 1996)
Venetian yellow glass discs	Venetia, Dutch	1870 (Francis Jr. 1995: 104)
Brown Czech bead	Czech	1830-1900 (Francis (Jr), 1994: 105)
Small yellow hebron bead	Hebron	19th Century (Francis (Jr), 1994: 90)

7.11. METAL OBJECTS

A total of one thousand, six hundred and four (1,604) metal objects were retrieved from the research area. Out of this number, three hundred and nine (309) of them were recovered from Trench One, nine hundred and forty-seven (947) from Trench Two and three hundred and forty-eight (348) from Trench Three. The degree of corrosion and abrasion on the metal products recovered were extensive and it made object identification difficult and cumbersome. A few however, were identified and included bottle nails, iron rods, copper wires, door hinges, roofing nails and metal balls (Figure 7.74). The breakdown according to Trenches and their percentage values are presented in Table 7.25 below.

Figure 7.74: Treated nails and rods

Table 7.25: Metal Objects and their Percentage per Trenches/Levels

Levels	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Total	Percentage values
Surface	9	-	-	**9**	**0.6%**
Level 1	92	126	28	**246**	**15.3%**
Level 2	61	821	78	**960**	**59.8%**
Level 3	21	-	96	**117**	**7.3%**
Level 4	14	-	42	**56**	**3.5%**
Level 5	13	-	10	**23**	**1.4%**
Level 6	10	-	18	**28**	**1.7%**
Level 7	42	-	20	**62**	**3.9%**
Level 8	29	-	22	**51**	**3.17%**
Level 9	13	-	22	**35**	**2.2%**
Level 10	5	-	10	**15**	**0.9%**
Level 11	-	-	2	**2**	**0.1%**
Total	**309**	**947**	**348**	**1,604**	**100%**
Percentage %	**19.3%**	**59%**	**21.7%**	**100%**	

The metal finds associated with construction numbered eight hundred (800) pieces. They included five hundred and forty-three (543) nails, ninety-six (96) metal rods, seven (7) metal wires, one

hundred and thirty-one (131) bolts, twenty-one (21) door hinges and two (2) bulb cocks. Also recovered were food related metal objects such as one hundred and sixty-seven (167) bottle caps or tops. Other recovered metals included one (1) earring, five (5) pieces of European canon machine/barrel (Figure 7.75), two (2) rounded metals and two (2) bulb cap. Also retrieved were two coins both from Level 6 of Trench One. One consisted of a perforated British West African coin (Figure 7.76) similar to types recovered at Obosomase and dates to 1951 (Asare 2018). The ear ring (Figure 7.77) from Level 7 of Trench One was found in association with some plastic and glass beads. The unidentified metal objects numbered six hundred and forty-nine (649). The diagnostic metals provided insights into the lifeways and materials used by the inhabitants who settled in the area.

Figure 7.75: Parts of a canon machine/barrel

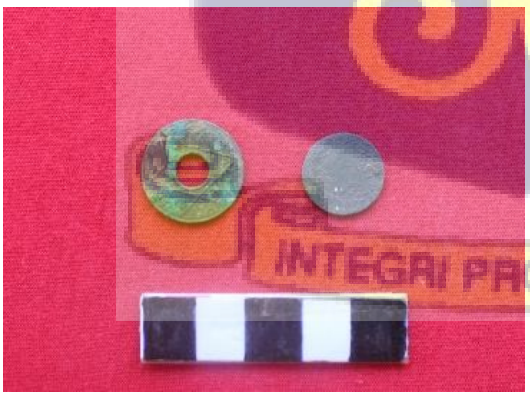


Figure 7.76: British West African penny coins

Figure 7.77: Earring

Establishing the ages of the metal assemblage was difficult to pinpoint as it could only be dated by association with materials (including imported ceramics, glass fragments, beads and local pottery) from the same stratigraphy dated by inference with other sites with similar materials (Pers. Com. With Mr. Crossland, 2021). For example, the pieces of canon barrels recovered from Levels 1, 2 and 5 of Trench One were found in association with Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century ceramic objects including fragments of alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottles, shells, bones, palm kennel nuts and local pottery (Table 7.26).

Table 7.26. Metal objects and their Probable dates

Metal Object	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Total
Building materials				
Nails	143	300	100	543
Metal rods	26	50	20	96
Wires	7	-	-	7
Door hinges	1	20	-	21
Bolts	1	115	15	131
Bulb cap	2	-	-	2
Food related				
Bottle covers	25	125	17	167
Beautification				
Earrings	1	-	-	1
Other items				
Canon machine/barrel	5	-	-	5
Round metals	2	-	-	2
Miscellanus/Unidentified	116	337	196	649
Total	**308**	**947**	**348**	**1,604**

7.12. Construction Materials

Construction materials such as lime, asbestos roofing sheets and red roofing tiles were recovered from Trench One. These provided insights into earliest Eighteenth to late Nineteenth Century architectural styles and building materials used in the past. For instance, the recovery of ten (10) pieces of lime from Levels 2, 4 and 9 shows how lime was used in their occupational periods (Figure 7.78). Also recovered were forty-one (41) pieces of asbestos roofing slates. Out of the total number, one (1) was recovered form Level 1, twenty-seven (27) from Level 2, six (6) from Level 6 and five (5) from Level 7, all of Trench One. A majority had dark-grey colour patches on them, an indication that they were fired. Its presence in the archaeological record brings to light the type of roofing materials that were used in the past.

Another construction material retrieved was fragments of imported red roofing tiles (Figure 7.79), the bulk of which were recovered from Trench One. A total of fifty (50) fragments were recovered from Levels 2 to 7 with the bulk (20 pieces) from Level 4. These bricks may have been used for the roofing of European constructed buildings in the past. Also, the recovery of both asbestos and brick from the same Level shows they were used in tandem in the area.

Figure 7.78: Lime

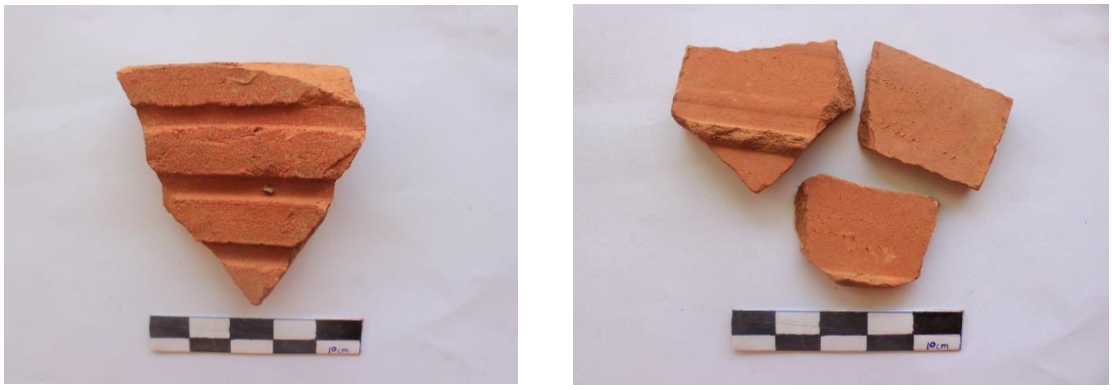


Figure 7.79: Fragments of imported roofing bricks

7.13. Education Related Materials

Some education related materials were recovered from the excavations and included one (1) fragment of black writing slate and one (1) slate pencil from Level 4 of Trench One (Figure 7.80). Both the slate and pencil were black and had parts of them broken. One end of the pencil was deliberately sharpened for writing. The slate and pencil recovered provided clues about the literate population at Osu. There is also a probability that, the slate and pencil were discarded from the Christiansborg Castle where children of Europeans descent and locals were formally educated. The slate and pencil may have been used for educated related purposes and/or to keep track of business transactions and other activities that took place at the research area.

Figure 7.80: Writing slate

7.14. Plastics

A total of eleven (11) plastic objects were also recovered from Trench One of the excavations. Out of the total number, nine (9) of them were recovered from Level 1 and two (2) from Level 3. All comprised fragments which made it difficult to identify (Figure 7.81). The only identified materials were a plastic lipstick container and a fragment of a syringe from Level 1 of Trench One (Figure 7.82).

Figure 7.81: Unidentified fragments of plastic objects

Figure 7.82: Fragments of lipstick container and syringe

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

8.1. Introduction

This final chapter presents and encapsulates the findings of the research in three sections. Section one (8.2) concerns the interpretation and discussion of all the materials recovered through the use of various research methods to answer the research questions and illustrates how the objectives have been achieved. The second section (8.3) presents the conclusions from the research and makes recommendations for the salvaging and protection of the remains of the African-European interaction. Also, the chapter highlights the fundamental limitations of the study and provides directions for future research.

8.2. Summary

The objectives of this research were to unearth, recover and salvage the material legacies of Indigenous-European encounters from the Marine Drive Project Site (Osu) for analysis and conservation. In order to achieve the objectives, several research methods were employed. They included surface survey and salvage archaeological excavations, library and archival research and ethnographic studies on the field. The findings from the research enabled the researcher to reconstruct the settlement history, socio-cultural lifeways, past subsistence strategies, architectural styles and trade links of the inhabitants and their encounters with other indigenous communities and Europeans prior to the Trans-Atlantic trade period and the period postdating it.

The writings of several early European writers support the assertion that the people of Osu were originally part of the Dangme ethnic group who migrated from Osudoku to their current location

on the coast (Field 1937; Reindorf, 2007). Historical evidence shows that the change in ethnicity (from Dangme to Ga) occurred around the early fifteenth century. According to Justesen (2019; 171) Guan/Kpeshi settlements occupied the area before the arrival of the Ga-Dangme migrant group. This situation would have made the Guans the most predominant of the two ethnic groups (Guan and Dangme), enabling the former to exert stronger cultural influence and assimilate than the smaller migrant Dangme group. Instead, the two groups merged, lived together and intermarried.

The economic and political ascendancy of Osu (arising from vibrant trade links with other neighbouring towns and European traders, especially after the construction of Christiansborg Castle) attracted neighbouring populations to settle there. The presence of pottery from the Accra plains for instance in the archaeological record attest to this and buttresses the argument that people living in the surrounding communities may have migrated and traded at Osu. Apart from limited archaeological surveys conducted by Rachel Engmann (2014) there has been no in-depth archaeological investigation undertaken at Osu. The initiation of the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project in 2017, led to the salvage archaeological research at the Old Osu settlement and the construction impact zone which were at the verge of being destroyed.

The salvage archaeological excavations conducted at the Locus B site (Old Osu) have provided data for understanding the Indigenous-European encounters at Osu and the nature of their relations on the coast. It has also brought to light the material content to add value to existing knowledge on Osu. The reason is that using the interpretative approach, some meanings were derived from the materials recovered from the excavations within the site's context.

The study yielded large quantities of artefacts comprising local and imported ceramics, glass objects, beads, food remains, local and imported smoking pipes, writing slate and pencil, lime, button, asphalt, metal objects and coins.

The local pottery recovered from the excavations are similar to pottery from the Accra plains as recovered by various scholars who have worked on different sites in the plains (Abrampah 2017; Anquandah 1992; Asare 2018; Boachie-Ansah 2006; Bredwa Mensah 1996, 2002). As a result, analyses of the rims of the local pottery, revealed two typologies; Bowls (136) and Jars (82), with various uses ascribed to them (Anquandah, 1992; Bredwa-Mensah, 1996: 454). The Jar vessels excavated at Osu were mainly domestic utilitarian vessels used for water conveyance, storage and cooking. Others comprised soup preparation bowls. On the other hand, Bowls were generally used in the preparation and serving of food and as grinding vessels. The frequent handling of local bowls and jars make them prone to breakages and discard. The jars were mostly used for storage purposes and as such, were most of the time stationary, thus their small numbers recovered as compared to the bowls. Some of the pots may have also been used for medicinal preparation and storing grains, dough, and palm wine.

The type of paste used in making these vessels was brown and black. However, the surfaces of these pot sherds were decorated with colours such as black, red, brown-red and brown. Sherds covered with smudge or soot (black colour) suggest that they were used as cooking utensils that were frequently placed on hearths fire to cook food. They could have also been blackened by rubbish burning practice (Pers. Com. Prof. Apoh, 05/05/2022). Vessel forms, especially the carinated type (Figures 7.3 and 7.4) are vessels commonly found in the Accra plains, popularly called '*Akyemka*'. Its presence at Osu shows Akan influence in the area. This shows that, the Akans

from the plains of Accra traded and exchanged their goods (pottery, palm oil and gold) with coastal goods (salt and fish and later European commodities) at Osu (Boachie-Ansah 2007: 537).

In response to market demands, the Shai potters also made a variety of wares for different communities in the Accra plains. Based on these observations, the Osu pottery reflects Akan/Akuapem and Ga Dangme(Shai) presence in the area with potsherds dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In terms of decoration, the majority of the sherds (1,113) were undecorated. Those decorated included incisions (n = 310), applique motifs (n =1), comb stamped (n = 20), wavy line impression (n = 50) and grooving (n = 214). The greater majority of the sherds (n = 923) had no form of surface treatment. However, those with surface treatments included those with smudged surfaces (n = 530), eroded surfaces (n = 14), burnished surfaces (n = 114), red slipped treatment (n = 51), smudged and burnished surface (n = 52), and micaceous surfaces (n = 13). The large variety of undecorated sherds suggests that users needed anything utilitarian and not objects with fanciful decorated patterns.

From the surface and excavations, different types of imported ceramics were recovered. Some scholars have adduced that from the Seventeenth Century and continuing into the Twentieth Century, European imports of ceramics into West Africa intensified (Bennett and Brooks 1965; DeCorse 2001; McNulty 1971). While the Dutch and Germans sold a sizable number of stoneware during the Seventeenth Century, the English also exported a substantial quantity of earthenwares to the Guinea Coast during the latter part of the Eighteenth Century (DeCorse 2001: 154). The European imported ceramic assemblage at Locus B (Table 7.8) emanated from different countries including Britain, Germany and the Netherlands. The collection included categories such as creamwares, pearlwares, whitewares, porcelains and stonewares. They are similar to those

recovered at Ada Foah (Aryee, 2014) and Frederikssted (Abrampah, 2017) and they mostly comprised kitchenware (plates).

Decorations identified on the ceramics recovered from the excavations included annular or banded wares, whiteware with transfer prints in underglaze blue and willow designs and hand painted floral patterns. These types are similar to those excavated from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries contexts at Elmina (DeCorse, 2001: 152-153). This suggests that the occupants of the Old Osu settlement used similar ceramic materials as the locals and Europeans who lived on the Elmina coast of the Gold Coast. The prevalence of these comparable ceramics in coastal Ghana is an indication that they were imported either for trade with the local African population or for use by European administrators working in the Gold Coast between the Eighteenth and the Twentieth centuries.

Most of the sherds were without manufacturers' marks except for a few embossments such as the Ghana Coat of Arms, Fine Bone China and Aynsley England Bone China. Notably, they have been identified by their decorations as having mostly British origin, an indication that English potting centres in Staffordshire, Burslem and Liverpool dominated the pottery business during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. The ceramics recovered also comprise mostly utilitarian vessels such as plates, mugs/cups, saucers and bowls. These utilitarian vessels were used to serve various foods consumed by the Europeans and the local elite/upper-class people. For instance, the presence of post-colonial deep and flat plates embossed with the 'Ghana Coat of Arms' (Figure 7.16) recovered from the upper levels of the excavations provide clues that they were probably made for and used by the presidency in the Christiansborg Castle after independence.

Glass materials were among the numerous items that the Europeans imported into the Gold Coast between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Glass items have been mentioned as essential

items that were always part of European imports that ships carried to West Africa. They were specifically mentioned as items that "must be on board" to amass the full benefit of the European trading activities in Africa (Bennett & Brooks, 1965: 42). Glass was used for different purposes: predominantly as containers for medicines, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages such as beer, wine, Pepsi, Coca-cola and Sprits. Others also included wine glasses and decanters.

Bottles have also been known to contain materials other than those they were originally manufactured to contain. They may have been subjected to a variety of other uses (secondary context) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, some Dutch gin bottles have been used to contain other liquids apart from gin (DeCorse, 2001:159). McNulty (1971:100) recounts situations where products like syrups, olives, capers, anchovies, tuna, and perfumes were shipped in bottles. Bottles found in secondary contexts are commonly seen even in contemporary Ghanaian societies. They are used as receptacles for solid and liquid materials like edible oils, fuel, salt, pito (local beer brewed from millet or sorghum) and sometimes decanted alcoholic drinks.

This is similar to the industrial bitters still being produced in Ghana today. These bitters, prepared by individuals, are often put in reused bottles. It must also be stated that bottles that archaeologists encounter in the archaeological context are often fragmented and could have been extensively moved (Busch, 1987; Staski, 1984: 38). After their original content had been emptied, they assume secondary functions. An example is the nineteenth century amber beer bottle found at Locus B-Trench One site (Figure 7.40). This could have been reused in the primary context by the Europeans and later in the secondary context by the local people or both.

It was observed that from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, gin, rum, brandy and wine became common European imports in the Gold Coast. Dutch gin 'Genever' and 'Schnapps' in particular continue to be essential elements in the pouring of libations and ritual offerings. Most

of the excavated bottles believed to have contained alcoholic drinks had no embossed marks on the seals, as a result, it made identification difficult. However, one identified embossment was the star embossment believed to be a J. H. Henkes Company bottle with its distinctive Stork and Star marks. founded in Holland in the 1820s. J. H. Henkes remains one of the popular imported Schnapp brands in Ghana to date. From the analysis conducted on the bottles recovered from the research area, apart from the decanters and the tumblers, all the others mostly contained consumable items dated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Chapter 7). Evidence of other European food-related items such as sauce bottles could represent material culture related to the affluent lifestyle of Europeans and some of the local people (DeCorse, 2001:159).

Other consumables obtained from the excavations include local and European smoking pipes (Figures 6.58-6.61). A fragment of locally made clay smoking pipe (Figure 6.57) recovered from the excavation attest to smoking by the locals. Pipes were the most common media through which tobacco was smoked, although it could also be rolled in plain paper and leaves. Tobacco was one of the essential articles, which the Christiansborg traders desired to purchase from the Portuguese and Dutch interlopers (Nørregård, 1966: 161).

Most clay pipes recovered from archaeological excavations in Ghana are locally made short-stemmed earthenware pipes. In such pipes, a hollow stick is inserted into the short borehole to lengthen and enhance smoking (Handler, 1997: 106). Ozanne (1962, 1964) and Shaw (1961) have described and illustrated very similar local pipes dating to the late-seventeenth century from Shai, Adwuku, and Old Accra archaeological sites. Shaw (1961) also recovered about a hundred fragments of locally made clay tobacco-pipes from Dawu. In linking the clay pipes produced in the Accra area and the Shai Hills as well as Dawu in Akuapim area of Ghana, there are striking

similarities among the pipes. This suggests the existence of smoking pipe manufacturing skills in various areas of Ghana in the past.

The use of white or kaolin clay pipes for smoking tobacco was a favourite leisure pastime among most Europeans on the Gold Coast evidenced by the large quantity of pipe stems and bowls which have been found in many archaeological excavations. The use and discard of European-made tobacco pipes can be attributed to the Europeans stationed on the Gold Coast (DeCorse, 2001: 165). Most of the European smoking pipes recovered from Osu (Figures 6.60) were plain, showing no designs or manufacturers' attribution marks on them. A few of the bowls and stems, however, had geometric and floral designs as well as symbols (the shield) and alphabets ('I' and 'F') on them which suggested they originated from Gouda, Holland. Historical and archaeological research had shown that a large number of foreign pipes that were traded and used in the Gold Coast originated from Holland in the eighteenth century (DeCorse, 2001: 165) when production centers in Gouda, South Holland dominated the pipe business. The foreign pipes recovered from the Marine Drive site were found in association with other materials dating to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Excavated artefacts, such as cowry shells, perforated coins and schnapps bottles, are essential ritual paraphernalia in both historical and ethnographic contexts in most traditional Ghanaian societies. Since the cowry shells recovered from the excavations were found in association with local and imported materials, they were most likely part of a business or religious materials. In situations where cowry shells were used by people for ornamentation, especially in jewelry, they were still infused with magico-ritualistic meanings, such as in divination, protective amulets, or charms (Engmann, 2019).

Evidence of three occupational phases from Trench One of the excavated trenches clearly supports the oral traditions and historical sources that affirms the old Osu people occupied the West part of the Castle before it was bombarded by the British in the 1850s. It also brings to light their interactions with other local communities and Europeans and attests to the fact that the Old Osu settlement predates the arrival of Europeans at Osu. The first Occupational phase (the Pre-European/Old Osu phase) lay between the sterile at level 11 and the base of level 9 (about 210-180cm) and comprised about 95% of African cultural materials (especially local pottery and bones). The 95% African cultural material presence in the lower levels and the sixteenth and seventeenth century Akyem and Shai pottery is a evidence that the Old Osu settlement predated the arrival of Europeans at Osu.The second Occupational phase (the European contact period) comprised a combination of African and European cultural materials in comparable amount which lay between levels 9 to the base of level 4 (180- 80cm). The final phase (post-colonial period) comprised ceramics with Ghana Coat of Arm embossed on them and their associated materials and lay between levels 4 to the surface (80-0cm).

Analysis of the materials from the research area provided an insight into the past lifeways of the Osu people. This is so because the recovered eighteenth and nineteenth centuries European artefacts indicate that the rich and local elite who associated with the Danes and other Europeans purchased and used European material culture to define their new status. However, the use of these European materials by the local people did not make them undermine their indigenous cultural processes. That is to say, in the face of widespread European technological innovations and material culture (for example imported ceramics, glass objects, beads, and literary devices), the Osu people still maintained their sense of identity through the use of indigenous material and non-material culture (example: local pottery, stone tools and food remains). It affirms that the Osu

people have certainly not been cultural clones of Europeans because they still use indigenous material culture, their beliefs, rituals, and worldview.

Some of the material culture representing the presence or lifeways of the local Osu people were recovered from Trench One and Three of the excavations. The materials included local pottery, a fragment of local smoking pipes and food remains (Table 7.1). These items were either obtained in the environment and from markets in other towns they traded with (example: Shai, Akyem, Akwamu, Akuapem) or manufactured by the local people of Osu. The Osu people who made use of these African related material culture did not only use local materials but to some extent incooperated European materials into their lifeways. The European materials that can attest to this were recovered from the middle levels of the excavations. Thus, it can be concluded that the local people were to some extent acculturated. The material manifestations of the acculturative behaviour of the Osu people is demonstrated in the array of artefacts related to architecture, diet, bodily decoration, literacy, economics/trade, subsistence, and ornamentation.

Dietary Pattern and Food-Ways

The material inventory from the Marine Drive Project Site provided valuable insights into past vocations, subsistence, and adaptive strategies of the ancestors of the people of Osu. The archaeological evidence indicated the exploitation of off-shore and on-shore food resources. Exchange/trade, animal husbandry, hunting and trapping constituted the major vocations of the indigenes during the period covered by the study. Though there was no evidence in the archaeological record to support salt production, historical and oral accounts (Bosman 1705: 115) claim that it was also important and constituted an integral aspect of the local economy in the past.

Archaeological data was required to reconstruct past dietary practices of the Europeans and the local people from the excavations were deficient in quality and quantity. Therefore, it was difficult to scientifically establish this aspect of their lifeways. That notwithstanding, certain artefacts, ecofacts and documentary sources helped to provide evidence of past dietary patterns in the research area. The earliest evidence of paleo-botanical remains on the Gold Coast consisted of palm fruits (*Elaeis guineenis*) and cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*). Its presence in the archaeological record gives an insite of its use in part of their diet.

Data relating to food-ways during the historic era indicate that a wide variety of plant foods, and domesticated and undomesticated fauna (Mammalian, Pisces, Aves and Reptiles) were the principal foods exploited by coastal populations settled on the Gold Coast (Davies, 1973). Reconstruction of food-ways at the research area was scanty as the plant remains recovered were in relatively small numbers. However, Isert (1788,1992: 125) recorded the cultivation of Indian corn, cassava, guinea corn, and yam and the dependence on these local staples on the Gold Coast. Also, the European residents of the Christiansborg Castle relied on trusted castle workers for regular supplies of these food items in exchange for imported provisions like liquor (Bosman 1967: 106 – 107; Feinberg 1989: 86). The recovery of stone grinders and vessels used to process these foods is veritable evidence that the Danish residence of Christiansborg Castle heavily relied on these indigenous foods for their subsistence.

Analyses of the fauna remain from Osu show that a wide variety of fauna was exploited at Osu. They included fresh water and terrestrial molluscs. The fishing of marine and freshwater molluscs was another important vocation of the people. The archaeological recovery of 1,288 edible molluscs remains attest to this fact. Those recovered in large quantities included *Pitaria tumens, Olivanacillaria hiatula, Lithophaga antillarum, Thais haemastoma, and Arca afra*. According to

respondents, all the above-named species were exploited for food. This is indicative that the mollusc recovered are food related waste. European writers including Barbot (1732: 76) and Bosman (1705: 115) wrote that shells such as *Arca senelis, Arca afra and Terebra sp.* were burnt to derive lime while the inedible parts were utilised as bait to catch fish off-shore. The recovery of molluscs from almost all levels of the excavated trenches suggests their continuous exploitation from the Fifteenth into the Twentieth century. The large quantum of mollusc recovered also shows that consumption of shellfish was widespread and integral to the indigenous diet. It also proves that molluscs exploitation constituted an important aspect of the subsistence economy of the people in the past (Barbot 1732: 76).

In addition, a zooarchaeological analysis of excavated fauna by Prof. Attuquafio (at the Department of Animal Biology, University of Ghana) has revealed a mixed consumption culture of wild and domesticated animals. These were associated with local materials like local pottery, metal objects, grinding stones, and some European imports. Isert (1788,1992: 126) recorded both wild and domesticated animals exploited by the coastal people of Accra. The recovery of domesticated animal species attests to the practice of animal husbandry which is still practiced in Osu today. The domesticated species identified included goats, sheep, cows, dogs, cats and horses The recovery of remains of undomesticated species such as antelope, leopard, buffalo, glasscutter and squirrel also attest to the importance of hunting and trapping as a major subsistence strategy at Osu. The presence of both domesticated and undomesticated fauna remains in the archaeological record of Locus B provided valuable insights into past hunting and consumption patterns.

Some of the bones recovered displayed jagged fracture lines (mostly found on undomesticated animals) as opposed to straight linear lines and edges (mostly found on domesticated animals). The jagged fractured line on the bones recovered is an indication of the use of traps, sometimes

accompanied by butchering with large blunted objects. Similar lines found on domesticated animal bones indicate cracking bones using heavy flattened surfaces to reach the marrow. This constitutes one method of processing meat, a vital butchering technique. Roasting game meat over open fires may have constituted another method utilized by the local population to process meat; several charred marks on bones evidence this. Indirect evidence of foodways can be determined from local and European pottery, sauce bottles, mineral water bottles, alcohol bottles, cooking materials, and cutlery.

The predominance of deep bowls such as Bowl Form Two (Figure 7.4) in the excavations at the research area is a strong indication that they were used in the preparation and serving of soups and stews. These foods currently constitute the principal diet of Ghana's coastal populations. The recovery of lithic devices like grinders and querns suggests grinding was a major method of processing food.

The recovery of 83 palm kernel shells (*Elaeis guineensis*) constituted the only direct archaeological evidence attesting to horticulture at Osu. The majority of them were recovered at the upper levels of the stratigraphy. According to Barbot (1732: 576), oil palm was widely cultivated by several ethnolinguistic groups on the Gold Coast before the arrival of Europeans. Bosman (1705: 305) for example noted that: "Besides trade, the inhabitants employ themselves in agriculture and fishing, the first of which proves reasonably profitable". Crop cultivation involved the use of simple hand-held tools like the hoe and cutlass; the former for clearing the land and the latter for cultivation. The introduction of several varieties of South American cultigens like maize, tomatoes, pineapple, guava, avocado, sweet potato and cassava most likely transformed local cultivation strategies and the food types exploited. DeCorse (2001: 111 - 112) also noted that these introductions impacted

local consumption patterns and the available crop varieties. They also led to the development of new technological innovations and the production of new clay vessel forms to process them.

Trade/Exchange

Materials recovered from excavations at the research area were classified and analyzed and dated to between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. According to Barbot (1732: 433), these dates corroborate historical data on the construction and habitation of the research area. Trade was the most important factor that facilitated cross-cultural contacts in the research area. Evidence from excavations indicated that two trade systems operated simultaneously in the research area. The first was an inter-regional trade network with coastal Ga-Dangme and inland populations on the Gold Coast like the Akwamu, Akyem and Asante and the second was an inter-continental Atlantic trade with European companies and interloper traders which contributed immensely to the growth and development of the local economy (Daaku, 1970: 5-7).

Barter was the initial method used to facilitate the exchange before the Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century. The use of cowries took over as the means of payment for goods and services. This changed in the late nineteenth century when coins became widely used as a medium of exchange on the Gold Coast. Historical sources assert that the intra-regional trade network predated the arrival of Europeans and involved the exchange of a variety of local products like fish, salt, beads, bauxite, leopard skins, pottery and shellfish (Barbot, 1732: 433; Daaku, 1970: 5 – 7; Fage, 1967: 42).

Contact with European traders did not only increase the volume of goods traded through this trade network but also diversified it to create new vistas of trade in Europe and the New World. The intra-regional trade system made possible the transfer of items readily available in one area to less

endowed areas based on demand for them. Except for mollusc remains which were recovered in large quantities (total count 1,288), the scarcity of the other commodities (palm nuts and other food remains) in the archaeological record can be attributed to their highly perishable nature and the vagaries of tropical weather conditions which generally hindered their preservation.

The bulk of cowry shells in the lower level of Trench One shows trading among local people as it was used as a barter payment medium for trade goods before European arrival. It also attests to inter-regional trade and the circulation of cowries in West Africa prior to the arrival of Europeans. The research results suggest that most of the bowl and jar forms recovered are typical pottery from the Accra plains (example: *Akyemka* etc.) and their presence at Osu shows contact and trade between local pottery making towns. Cumulative evidence indicates that the coastal trade facilitated the evolution and growth of a new social stratum of wealthy property-owning indigenous merchants like Nii Okantey Shika,(a wealthy local trader who traded in enslaved people and gold (Wellington, 2007: 97-100) and massed his wealth during the Trans-Atlantic Trade at Osu) and European merchants as well (see Chapter Two).

Trade appeared to have been central to the functioning of the local economy, especially from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries because it made possible the mass introduction of several European materials. The recovery of large quantities of imported trade goods attested not only to the active economic activities in the study area but also to the enhanced socio-economic and cultural contact between the Danes, the Osu people and different ethnolinguistic groups who occupied the research area (Fage 1967: 45). The recovery of only two coins in the research area, however, makes it doubtful that the occupants carried or kept numerous amounts of coins on them, as barter was still an important aspect of trade and exchange even up to the early part of the twentieth century (Barbot 1732: 433-435). The coins were characterized by perforations and the

others were without perforation. The presence and primary functions of the perforated coin (Figure 7.66) as legal tender support the notion that vibrant formal trade relations existed at the site. This is reflective of buying and selling, which was one of the principal activities in the area. However, from oral accounts, the perforated coin was used in a secondary context as a neck pendant for children and as a healing device for different forms of childhood diseases.

Architecture

The architectural materials recovered from the excavations included, roofing bricks, tiles, lime, asbestos slates, nails and hinges. The building of several large storied European styled houses using both local and imported building materials is an attestation of an elitist class. Most of them are sited on the Castle Drive Close. Others, such as the Ritcher House and Nii Okantey *Sikatse We* (once served as storage homes for enslaved people before they were transported to the New World through the Christiansborg Castle). While utilizing foreign building materials and European architectural styles, wealthy indigenous merchants built European styled houses and incorporated the traditional African use of space. These feature large open central courtyards in the houses, thus blending the architectural designs of the two cultures. Thus, the architectural materials recovered from the excavations indicate the use of both indigenous material culture and European imported materials.

Literacy and Western Education at Osu

The recovery of European-related educational materials (Slate; Figure 7.80, ink bottles and the Osu Salem school) undoubtedly provides strong indication of European style education and instructional training at Osu. It was probably a type of European cultural trait that was embraced by the people and may have played a major role in the global economies and helped maintain

connections with the outside world in the eighteenth to the twentieth century. This is because the evidence of writing slate, slate pencils and ink bottles reflects the fact that there was a growing network of literate Africans who acted as brokers between the Europeans and the indigenous communities.

According to Bosman (1967: 121 - 122), except for a few places like Elmina, formalised education was uncommon along much of the Gold Coast prior to this period. DeCorse (2001: 37), Van Dantzig (1978: 60), and Feinberg (1969: 123) have noted that it was not uncommon for mulattos, and children of wealthy indigenous merchants to be formally schooled in the art of letters, the Holy Scriptures, foundations of economics, crafts, and the making of plantations (Biveridge, 2014: 302). The presence of the Basel Mission and the introduction of Western education at Osu including setting up Osu salem school, which is still in session, led to the growth of formal education in the area. For this reason, it facilitated communication and trade between the locals and European counterparts.

The late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries also saw many Africans on the lower social ladder. They eventually began to learn to read and write because it afforded a valuable means which guaranteed access to upscale jobs (example: brokers and interpreters), which were considered prestigious and affluent during the period (Graham, 1976). It can be argued that Western-style education enhanced socio-cultural interactions between the local people and the European at Osu. The presence of the Osu Presbyterian Church built by the Basel Mission (Figure 4.12) at Osu is evidence to support the fact that Europeans propagated the gospel and converted the local people to Christianity. Evidence of the ruins of the initial foundation of the church which was bombarded by the British when they took over the Christiansborg castle in the nineteenth century is located about 100 meters North of the excavated Locus B site.

For example, during the late nineteenth century, the Basel Mission schools, including Osu Salem, which were fashioned along with the formal European educational system, became widespread on the Gold Coast. They include the Osu Salem School built by the Basel Mission at Osu (Figure 2.13). European education and Christianity were successful as the school and the church are still in use at Osu. The school has produced prominent people who occupy high positions in Ghana including Professor Wellington; a retired Architect and Sir. Emmanuel Charles Quist; the First Speaker of the Legislative Council of Ghana, just to mention a few.

Bodily Decoration and Ornamentation

The recovery of local and imported glass beads (Figures 7.72 and 7.73) in the archaeological record supports the notion that Africans cherished beads. The evidence from the Marine Drive Site shows that the people used both imported and locally made beads to enrich their body decorations. Other materials recovered from the excavations and used as part of body decorative items comprised European toiletries, cream/pomades (Figures 7.50 & 7.51), perfumes and perfume oils (Figure 7.49). Other evidence of body decorative adornments included buttons (Figure 7.71), beads and earring (Figure 7.76).

8.3. Conclusion

Salvage Archaeology at the Locus B site at the Marine Drive Project Site has enhanced the practice of rescuing cultural materials through archaeological excavations, collection of indigenous oral accounts and documentation of past information. The African element (oral histories and traditions) helped to illustrate the varying nature of the European contacts in Africa; more especially to better understand the technological, social, and cultural changes within the indigenous African societies during the period of African-European interaction. This is significant

because it has led to the interpretation of archaeological findings, written records and oral accounts of the Osu people. In this circumstance, the research explored not only the European documents and the archaeological data but also oral accounts from the indigenes to understand the variety of themes such as ethnicity, economic activities and status differences represented in the archaeological record.

It is clear from the oral and documented accounts that the ancestors of the people of Osu were originally Dangme immigrants from Osudoku, who relocated and settled at Osu sometime in the Fifteenth Century. It is well to note that the 1200 A.D or earlier date stated for the origins of Ga by Anquandah (1992: 74) during his excavation, did not specifically conclude that Osudoku was the cradle of the Ga people. Indeed, current archaeological evidence and oral sources is inconclusive when it comes to establishing the origin of the Ga people. However, the Osu people currently consider themselves as Ga indicating there has been a change in ethnicity from Dangme. They have also adopted several cultural traits of their Guans and Ga neighbours including the annual *Homowo* festival and the Kpleto rites for twins.

Before the arrival of Europeans at the research area, their primary subsistence strategy was based on the exploitation of marine resources and salt production. Other important past economic vocations of the people included horticulture, exploitation of freshwater molluscs, animal husbandry and hunting. They also conducted intra-regional trade with inland towns like Akwamu, Akuapem and Ashanti in salt and fish for forest goods including, foodstuffs and gold. The primary motivations of Europeans in West Africa was to deal in gold in exchange for European goods. Before the slave trade began, the daily livelihoods and existence of the people of Osu depended largely on local goods. The fact that the indigenous community at Osu largely controlled the local environment ensured the Europeans were continuously under local cultural influences, a situation

which compelled Europeans to adapt to the traditional social systems. Their use of local pottery and staples attests to this. The onset of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade brought about an escalation in the trade of enslaved people in West Africa and the Americas. There is no archaeological evidence to assess the impact of slave export on the economy except for studies undertaken elsewhere in the sub-region which have indicated that it depopulated large areas and transplanted a large pool of involuntary workforce with a wide range of cultural, intellectual, technical and scientific expertise to the Americas.

There were significant developments emanating from the African-European interactions at Osu. This includes the expansion of African diplomacy from local inter-tribal affairs to negotiations with several competing European commercial entities. It also ushered in new contractual obligations regarding employment and social services on that stretch of coastline. The multiplicity of economic opportunities and incentives created by the coastal trade, coupled with migrations from hinterland polities and commercial links with neighbouring states, appear to support this assertion (Biveridge 2014). These internally orchestrated factors promoted and facilitated social stratification, and multi-culturalism, and induced changes in the socio-economic and political structure of Osu.

Christiansborg Castle played a significant role in the ascendancy of the political economy of Osu. It served not only as the principal catalyst which boosted trade and tilted the balance of power in the region to her advantage but was also the single most important factor which facilitated the rise and expansion of Osu from small fishing village status to cosmopolitan status. It is linked to bustling European ports, thereby directly connecting the coastline of Osu to the global economy. The castle's strategic location made it a commercial hub and central to the facilitation and success of Indigenous-European trade. The quantum and wide variety of trade goods retrieved, the town's

specialised workforce of primary and secondary workers (fishermen, farmers, traders), and the emergence of a new wage-earning class comprising brokers, interpreters and canoe men bears testimony to this.

The research validated all the conceptual framework associated with *Culture Contact Studies*: exchange/trade, materiality and agency as well as acculturations between cultures in contact. Acculturation was particularly apparent from the mid-Eighteenth Century forwards and appeared to have occurred in commercial setting. For the Ga people, the changes were externally induced and were facilitated primarily by European trade goods, culture and novel opportunities created by the coastal trade. It was exemplified by adopting European dress codes, architecture practices and leisure pastimes like smoking tobacco through pipes.

Other notable adopted cultural traits including Western education and European construction technology such as masonry and carpentry were also passed on to interested local people keen on learning these crafts. Some indigenous manifestations of acculturation included the adoption of European dress codes (evidenced by metal and plastic buttons, and glass beads), pastimes (evidenced by white clay smoking pipes, European liquor varieties), cuisines (evidenced by European food containers), and technology (Western architecture, construction materials). Conversely, the adoption of indigenous African cuisine (evidenced by local pottery, shellfish remains) constituted some indigenous cultural traits that were adopted by the migrant Europeans at Osu.

At Osu, population movement was via voluntary migrations though some were induced precipitated through invasion or conquest and occurred on two fronts - externally involving migration of European traders to Osu and internally involving migration of neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups such as Akwamu, Akyem, Asante, Fante and Dangme to Osu.

Trade constituted the main channel by which some unique cultural traits of the two cultures in contact acculturated directly to each other at Osu. Exchange and materiality were evidenced archaeologically with the recovery of several imported European novelties such as ceramics, glass beads and pharmaceutical repositories, which were traded for African resources like timber, gold and ivory. These European materials were seen and recovered in the archaeological record, including their places of origin (England, Denmark, Netherland, Japanese materials).

8.3.1. Impact of the Marine Drive Project on the Research Area

Oral accounts collected from the inhabitants at the coast of Osu suggest that about 70% of the people have been affected by the Marine Drive Tourism Investment Project. This is because, according to the narratives, prior to the inception of the project, the location known as parks and gardens was used by some natives as vegetable farms where crops such as cabbage, lettuce, carrots and the like were cultivated. As a result of the construction activity on the land, most of these farmers have left Osu to make ends meet elsewhere. Meanwhile, the land has been left bare and exposed to erosion (Figure 8.1).

Figure 8.1: Showing the cleared parks and garden area

Furthermore, most of the people who lived and worked in this area have been displaced as several structures including offices and makeshift structures that served as homes to several squatters along the coast have been destroyed (Figure 8.2). At the time of the research, the affected squatters were frustrated, but the project coordinator (Mr Frederick) speaking to Citi News, assured there were plans to duly compensate those affected (www.citinews.com 11/10/2021). For instance, workers at the Art Center of Accra have been relocated to *Kawukudi* around Nima where a new Arts and Craft village has been built for them by the government (www.modernghana.com 20/12/2019). However, after three years of clearing the land, the work is yet to commenced and the land has been left bare. Ethnographic data collected suggest that the inhabitants of Osu are not pleased with the Marine Drive Project since it had destroyed their source of livelihood.

Figure 8.2: Demolished squatters residence at the research area (www.primenewsGhana).

8.3.2. Construction Activities as a Key Contributory Factor to Cultural Heritage Loss

The increasing rate of construction activities that form part of the rapid pace of infrastructural development has enormous effects on archaeological sites and cultural material. These construction activities, to a large extent, contribute immensely to the loss of heritage resources, especially in Ghana, where laws regarding heritage management are barely enforced. The construction of the sea defence walls at Fort Kongensten site in Ada-Foah, for instance, and the construction of the Bui Dam are test cases. In the phase of this accelerated pace of infrastructural developments which culminates in the indiscriminate loss of heritage resources, Ghana as a country needs to amend its existing laws that regulate the protection, preservation and conservation of heritage resources.

One way of ensuring that heritage in Ghana is not destroyed is to include the role of the archaeologists in the construction and development site planning so that before any construction activities take place, an archaeologist will be consulted to conduct a cultural impact assessment and detailed archaeological research on sites to rescue materials to void destruction.

8.4. Research Limitations

This study had several challenges. First, the volume of the archaeological and ethnographic data collected and the constraints of time and space to elaborately present and discuss the data lessen the sum of knowledge that could have been obtained from this research. Also, due to the construction activities at the Marine Drive Project Site, archaeological excavations had to be done hurriedly before the materials were destroyed. As a result, some materials could not be salvaged because the researcher had to use judgemental sampling to select areas to excavate. Again, due to

the Covid-19 pandemic, most people did not allow the researcher to interview them during the ethnographic data collection, and for that matter, it limited the sample size interviewed.

8.5. Recommendations for Future Researchers

Though Rachel Engmann have conducted archaeological research at some parts of Osu, the Marine Drive Salvage archaeology research at Osu is the first Salvage archaeological research that has been conducted at the beachfront of Osu. This is because Rachel's work was conducted inside the Christiansborg Castle garden, and no archaeological research has been conducted in the community. As a result, there is little done in terms of the archaeology of Osu.

Further archaeological research should be conducted in the community because much of what is known of Osu is in the historical documents which do not have much evidence other than oral accounts. This will broaden the scope of archaeological work in the area to yield additional information with evidence on issues on the migration and settlement histories and their relations with outlying settlements which the current data was unable to address adequately.

Given that the components of this project was concerned with salvage archaeology, there is the need for regulations and legislation that requires cultural and archaeological impact assessment prior to developments involving land moving activities just as this research has helped to recover materials and collected potential information that would have been lost if this project had not been done.

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The Report for the Ministry of housing 1955-1958

Report of the committee on Face lift for parts of Osu near the Castle

Personal Communication

1. Prof. Wellington; 25/01/2020

2. Mr Reginald; 13/07/2020

3. Pers. Com. Quartey 20/07/2020)

4. Mr Crossland; 13/01/2021

5. Dr. Akwesi Mensah-Abrampah; 29/09/2021

6. Professor Apoh Wazi; 05/05/2022

APPENDIX A

SAMPLES QUESTIONS

A list of questions that will guide the research during data collection and fieldwork at Osu and the Marine Drive project site

Migration and settlement history

What is your migration History?

What was the reason for their migration?

Did they settle in other places before arriving at their final destination?

If yes, do you know any of the places they settled during their migration?

What led to their migration from their ancestral home to Osu?

Who was the leader of the group during their migration?

Why did they finally decide to settle at Osu?

Upon their arrival, did they meet some people at Osu?

If yes, who were they?

How did your ancestors relate with the earlier settlers of Osu?

What language were the people they met speaking?

Is there any notable event that occurred during their migration?

Political organization

How was the state of government when u first arrived at Osu?

Was the system different from where you migrated from?

How did your people live together with the people they met upon arrival?

Did the people allow your ancestors have their chief when they arrived at Osu?

How is the system of government at Osu today?

Was the system of governance in the past different from that in the present?

If yes, what are the changes and continuity and what necessitated them?

How many paramount chiefs do you have in Osu today? Name them/him

What is the symbol of authority of the paramount chief of Osu?

When did Europeans first arrive at Osu?

Who was the chief at the time of European arrival?

Was there an organized army at Osu upon their arrival?

How was the army organized in ancient times?

Who led the people to war in ancient times?

Did the people of Osu ever go to war?

If yes, which ethnic group did they fight?

What was the cause of the war?

What was the effect of the war on the people of Osu?

Traditional religion and social organization

Which religion did the people of Osu practice in the past?

What was the mode of worship?

Which god (s) did they worship?

Were there priest(s) who led the people in the worship?

How were the priests chosen in the past?

Have there been any changes in this system?

Does Osu have any special religious festival that it celebrated?

How old is this festival or ritual?

When is this festival celebrated?

Did this festival evolve internally or it was introduced from outside?

Has the celebration of this festival changed over time?

If yes, what are these changes?

Why did it change?

What items are used during the observation of this festival?

Can you describe the celebration and how long it is done?

Subsistence: farming

Was farming a mode of subsistence in the past?

When did it begin?

What were some of the main crops cultivated?

Were any of these crops exported in the past?

If yes, where were they exported?

What items or commodities were exchanged for these crops?

Were there any sexual roles in farming practices in the past?

Was animal husbandry, hunting and trapping an important economic activity in the past?

What animal types were involved, hunted and trapped?

Can you mention any taboos or rituals associated with crop farming, hunting, trapping and livestock keeping?

What were the main tools used by your ancestors in crop farming or livestock keeping?

How were these tools procured in the past?

From where did your ancestors procure these tools?

Were certain crops widely collected in the past which are not important today?

Was any day regarded as taboo to undertake farming in the past?

Is farming still practised at Osu today?

If yes, what crops are cultivated?

Which people engage in farming at Osu today?

Subsistence: fishing

Was marine fishing an important mode of subsistence in the past?

How were fishing expeditions to sea organized in the past?

Are these expeditions different from what is presently practised?

What were the main tools used for fishing in the past?

Are these tools still used today?

Are any days regarded as taboo days for fishing?

What types of fish were caught in the past?

Are there any fish caught today which were not caught in the past?

Were there any special rituals associated with fishing in the past?

If yes, name and describe them.

Are these rituals still practised today?

What time of the day was considered most appropriate to undertake fishing expeditions?

Please describe a normal fishing expedition.

Did your ancestors exploit fish from the Lagoons (Korle and Klortey) in the past? If yes, name them.

Are these fish types still exploited today?

Is fishing an occupation restricted to any special clan or class in society?

What are some of the dangers associated with fishing?

Was fish an important item of trade in the past?

Was fish processed or preserved in the past?

How was the processing or preservation undertaken?

Were any special tools used in the processing and preservation process?

Was fish processing and preservation restricted to any gender?

Subsistence: trade

Did your ancestors undertake any trading activity with neighbours in the past?

If yes, who were they?

How was the trade undertaken?

Which trade items were involved?

Was this trade undertaken within a market?

If yes, where was this market located?

How were goods transported to these markets?

Did your ancestors trade with Europeans?

If yes, which European nations were involved in the trade?

Which form did the trade take?

Which trade items were involved?

What was the medium of exchange in the trade with Europeans?

Was the barter system used in the trade?

If yes, how was it undertaken?

Did Osu as a state enact any laws to regulate trade with Europeans in the past?

Did your ancestors directly participate with Europeans in this trade or did they use middlemen?

Where did Europeans stay during their trading activities with your ancestors?

Can you locate any such settlements in Osu now?

Did the trade with Europeans bring any benefits to your ancestors?

Did your ancestors have any problems with Europeans during their trading activities?

Were your ancestors engaged in other traditional industries like blacksmithing, potting, goldsmithing and bead production in the past?

Were any of these vocations limited to a specific clan or people in the past?

Did the practice and technology associated with any of the above vocations evolve and develop internally or was it diffused from outside?

If it was diffused from outside, where was it?

Did blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths or bead producers hold any special positions in ancient Osu?

Marine Drive Project

Are they aware of the Project going on at the beachfront?

If Yes, what is the project about?

Who first initiated the project?

Which company is responsible for the development project?

When did it begin?

How long will it take for the project to be over?

Which area will the project cover?

Is it in any way going to affect the people living in the area?

Have there been any negotiations between the squatters and the company responsible or the government?

Are the squatters going to be moved?

Appendix B.

List of some respondents interviewed at Osu

	Name of respondent	Occupation	Age
1.	Professor Wellington	Retired Professor (DAHS)	85
2.	Leslie Stanley Wulf-Cochrane	Descendant of Joseph Wulff	83
3.	Nee Bannerman	Descendants of the Bannermans	97
4.	Quartey aka Nii Kwartei	Fisherman	34
5.	Papa Nii	Descendants of C.C. LOKKO	50
6	Cynthia Lokko	Descendants of C.C. LOKKO	73
7.	Mr Reginald	Youth development Secretary to the Chief of Osu	36
8.	Pius Quanu (Cochrane Wulf house)	Vegetable farmer/ electrician	38
9.	Isacc	Farmer	29
10.	Onesmous Sowah	Fish farmer/National security military	49
11.	Naa Yeyeye	Trader	40
12.	Jonathan Otto Afro	Livestock farmers (pigs, cattle, goats, sheep, duck)	35
13.	Mohammed Harrison	Livestock farmers (pigs, cattle, goats, sheep, duck)	38
14.	Emelia Armah	Trader	52
15.	Mr Richard Mingle	Trader	56
16.	Mawuli	Student	25

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
ETHICS COMMITTEE FOR THE HUMANITIES (ECH)

Ref. No.: **ECH 009/19-20**

February 18, 2020

Beatrice Darko- Yeboah
Archaeology and Heritage Studies
University of Ghana
Legon

ETHICAL CLEARANCE
(ECH 009/ 19-20)

On December 18th, 2019 the University of Ghana – Ethics Committee for the Humanities (ECH) at a full committee meeting reviewed and approved your protocol as follows:

TITLE OF PROTOCOL: **SALVAGE ARCHAELOGY AT THE MARINE DRIVE PROJECT SITE, OSU ACCRA, GHANA: DOCUMENTING THE LEGACIES OF THE EUROPEAN-GA ENCOUNTER**

STUDENT INVESTIGATOR: **BEATRICE DARKO- YEBOAH**

Please note that the final review report must be submitted to the Committee at the completion of the study. Your research records may be audited at any time during or after the implementation. Any modification of this research project must be submitted to ECH for review and approval prior to implementation.
Please report all serious adverse events related to this study to ECH within seven (7) days verbally and in writing within fourteen (14) days.

This certificate is valid till 18th February 2021. You are to submit annual reports for continuing review.

Please accept my congratulations.

Yours Sincerely,

Ethics Committee for Humanities
18 FEB 2021
Valid Until.....
(University of Ghana)

Professor C. Charles Mate-Kole
ECH Chair

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
• P. O. Box LG 74, Legon, Accra, Ghana. • Telephone: +233 (0) 303 933 866 • Email: ech@ug.edu.gh

APPENDIX D

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Official Use only
Protocol number

Ethics Committee for Humanities (ECH)

PROTOCOL CONSENT FORM

Section A- BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Title of Study:	Salvage Archaeology at the Marine Drive project site, Osu Accra, Ghana: Documenting the Legacies of European-Ga Encounter.
Principal Investigator:	Beatrice Darko-Yeboah
Certified Protocol Number	ECH 009/19-20

Section B– CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

General Information about Research

My name is Beatrice Darko-Yeboah. I am a Student at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana. I am interested in undertaking a Salvage Archaeology at the Marine Drive project site, Osu Accra, Ghana to Document the Legacies of European-Ga Encounter before they are destroyed. The study involves excavation, in-depth interviews and some archival research, and I will have a short discussion with you. In order to be sure that you are informed about being in this research, we are asking you to read (or are reading to you) this Consent Form. You will also be asked to sign it (or make your mark in front of a witness). I will give you a copy of this form. This consent form might contain some words that are unfamiliar to you. Please ask me to explain anything you may not understand. The purpose of this study is to undertake a salvage archaeological investigation and to explore and collect material remains from the Marine Drive Project site that will shed light on activities that occurred along that part of the coast before the area is destroyed. It also aims at reconstructing European-Ga interaction and encounter. There is no set structure, but there is an outline that will guide our conversation. If you agree to be in the research you will be interviewed for about 40 minutes. I will have a conversation with you about the European-Ga encounter and about the Marine Drive Project, and not about your own particular situation. I will record the conversation between us on tape and will take some notes on paper. I will not be conducting any medical exams or tests. In all, about 150 participants (people in the community, occupants who have been asked to relocate from the project site, the construction company and the director of the Ministry of Tourism, Art and Culture are targeted for this research.

1

Benefits/Risks of the study

The issues that will be discussed, combined with responses from other informants will help understand scholars and the world be informed about the value of the legacies of Ga-European encounter. The research will aid the discourse on the history of the Osu people in encounters with foreign traders. It will help preserve materials that will be retrieved from excavation for future generation. The result of the research will also increase our knowledge on shared Ghanaian-European heritage and history. It will also aid the discourse on Historical Archaeology of the Christiansborg Castle. The risk associated with the study could include emotional and Psychological tremor on the event of the Transatlantic slave trade. That is to say, the families that were affected as a result of slavery will have some emotions attached during the interviews. This could affect them psychologically. As a result, I have provided the name and contact of a psychologist who will help in this case.

Confidentiality

I will protect information about you and your taking part in this research to the best of my ability. Your research records will be kept securely locked up at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage. However, some students and researchers of the Department may sometimes look at your research records. Thus, either you or your representative will be signing or thumb printing a written consent form, which will authorize such access. Biographical data will be kept confidential except in cases where participants agree to be quoted for emphasis.

Compensation

There is no compensation package either in cash or in kind available for participants who participate in the study. However, if you agree to the interview, lunch or some form of money will be provided at the end of the interview if participant demands for something of the sort.

Withdrawal from Study

You are free to decide if you want to be in this research. Your participation is voluntary. In the course of the discussion you may choose not to answer a question or even stop the interview altogether. If you choose to stop the discussion, all the responses you provide will be deleted from the study. Your decision will not affect any service(s) and benefits you would normally receive. Either you or your legal representative will be informed as soon as possible if information becomes available that may be relevant to your willingness to continue participation or withdraw from the study. While this study is anticipated to be an on-going discussion, the researcher may terminate study when adequate information has been collected.

Contact for Additional Information

After our interview, if you have any additional questions about this research or any concerns regarding the study you may contact me Beatrice Darko-Yeboah (0248125554) or bdarko-yeboah@st.ug.edu.gh or Dr. Wazi Apoh and Dr. Fritz Biveridge, Department of Archaeology & Heritage Studies. P. O. Box LG 3 University of Ghana-Legon

Section C- PARTICIPANT AGREEMENT

"I have read or have had someone read all of the above, asked questions, received answers regarding participation in this study, and am willing to give consent for me, my child/ward to participate in this study. I will not have waived any of my rights by signing this consent form. Upon signing this consent form, I will receive a copy for my personal records."

_____

Name of Participant

_____ _____

Signature or mark of Participant Date

If participant/volunteers cannot read and or understand the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

_____

Name of witness

_____ _____

Signature of witness / Mark Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

_____

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

_____ _____

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent Date

APPENDIX E

Glossary of Ga Words in the Text

Ga Words	Meaning in English
Shikatse We	Rich Man's house
Manste	Overlord
Wulomei	Traditional Priests
Gyasehene	The caretaker of their properties
Mankralo	Town guardian/father
Akutsei	Quarters
Osiahene	One who enstools a chief
Asafoatse and *Asafoanye*	Those who advice the chief, head of the Osu Traditional Military and the Osu Traditional Council
Dzaasetse	The one who nominates candidates to be conceded for enstoolment as chief.
Dzaase	The spokesman for the Kingmaker families
W)b3weku	We have no family
Homowo	Hooting at and ridiculing hunger
Kpokpoi	The food eaten by the Gas during the Homowo festival

APPENDIX " F"

OPEN SPACE—DETAILED PROPOSALS FOR THE COASTAL OPEN SPACE BETWEEN MANPROBI AND LABADI

Extent of Area

The coastal open space to which reference is made on pages 23 and 27 stretches from Sakumo Lagoon (west of Manprobi) in the west to Kpeshi Lagoon (east of Labadi) in the east and lies on the seaward side of Old Winneba Road, High Street, 28th February Road and Ada Road, which together form a continuous coastal road. A further length of this coastal strip extending eastwards to the boundary of the Accra Planning Area east of Nungua is also important but lies outside the area covered by the present plan.

Present Condition

The coast is potentially very attractive but has been marred by inappropriate development in several places. The tipping of refuse and the uncontrolled removal of sand detract from the natural appearance of the open areas particularly where the sand digging has caused many of the palm trees to die.

Special ImPortance of the Coastal Strip

The coastal open space is not merely a part of the open space system but it constitutes the forecourt or front garden of Accra. It provides a vital part of the setting for Government House, the Independence Arch, the Government Ministerial area, and the site for the future Parliament. It also provides some of the local open space for Manprobi, Korle Gonno, Central Accra, Christiansborg and Labadi. If its development is suitably guided this coastal open space will form one of the major amenity features of Accra having a special national significance in view of Accra's role as the capital city.

Division into Sections

For the purpose of this appendix the coastal strip will be dealt with in sections running from west to east.

SECTION ONE

Sakumo Lagoon to Kawli Lagoon

This section lies on the seaward side of the Old Winneba Road and provides part of the local open space for Manprobi and Korle Gonno. It extends to 130 acres and contains a number of small fishing hamlets. Much of the area is planted with palm trees but in recent years many have died due to sand excavation. The width of the strip varies from about 1,000 feet in the west to 200 feet in the east near the sewage tipping point.

Recommendations

The whole area to be zoned as public open space. No extension of the fishing hamlets to be permitted and no reconstruction of the huts in permanent materials. Further excavation of sand to be prohibited except opposite Sakumo Lagoon. Suitable areas to be levelled for football and other sports. The open land near Sakumo Lagoon would be suitable for camping and for the construction of a swimming pool.

SECTION Two

Kawli Lagoon

This section is only 1,500 leet long and 100 feet to 200 feet wide (nine acres). It forms the seaward portion of a sand bar between the lagoon and the sea. The beach is used by fishermen and for sand extraction.

Recommendations

The whole area to be zoned as public open space. Sand extraction to be concentrated at the outlet to the lagoon. This stretch of beach will become pleasanter when the present sewage outfall is replaced by a modern one discharging in deep water or by other disposal methods. Improvements to the sea outlet of the lagoon are necessary and will affect this section.

SECTION THREE

Oil Depot to Ussher Fort

About 5,000 feet in length and varying in width from 200 feet to 500 feet, (50 acres). Includes the harbour, warehouses, harbour railway, James Fort Prison, Customs House, several commercial properties, the Town Engineer's yard and offices and some poor housing development.

Recommendations

The whole area to be zoned as public open space but implementation to be regarded as a long term project. No permits to develop to be given by the Committee except with special authority. It is proposed that as the commercial activity at Accra harbour declincs with the opening of Tema harbour the existing facilities should be made availablc to the fishing flects and that an association of the fishermen should bc formed to take responsibility for the management of such facilities. It is suggested that provision should be made for a sailing club if practicable when commercial activity has declined.

It is recommended that as a long term policy the commercial and residential development in the Brazil Street area between the harbour and Ussher Fort should be cleared and the area made available as coastal open space to benefit the inhabitants of the densely populated Usher Town and James Town areas. Suitable landscape treatment of the area in question will be necessary and consideration should be given to the construction of a sea-water swimming pool on the beach.

SECTION FOUR

Ussher Fort to the Y.M.C.A.

This section is about 2,000 feet in length and varies in width from 200 feet to 600 feet (17 acres). The western portion is occupied with commercial development including the old Kingsway, Cadbury and Fry, the old Union Trading Company warehouses. The eastern portion contains public and cultural buildings and the Anglican Cathedral.

Recommendations

The whole area to be zoned as public open space within which certain special buildings will remain (notably the Cathedral, the Legion Hall and SCOUtS Headquarters) and where ultimately further special public or cultural buildings may be permitted. The clearance of the existing commercial development will be a gradual process. No new development has been permitted for several years and most of the buildings in question are old and in poor condition.

The opening up " of this central portion of the coastline in the very heart of Accra is a most important measure to give added amenity and dignity to the town. This area, within a short distance of the commercial centre, is at present in a very unsightly and insanitary condition. With its attractive natural features of rugged cliffs (at present almost inaccessible) and the fine coastal views, it offers an opportunity for the creation of a centre piece to the coastal strip which would be of great benefit to Accra.

It is recommended that in view of the central situation of this section the implementation of the above recommendations although long term should be given precedence over the proposals for section three. (See also Chapter Fourteen.) SECTION FIVE

Community Centre to Government House " Marine Drive " Area

This area is about miles long between 500 feet and 1,500 feet wide (210 acres). It lies between the Government Area and the sea and is at present used for recreation (football, golf, polo and riding). The beaches on this length are popular and special facilities are offered at Area Beach (changing rooms, chairs, surf boards, etc.). Buildings in the area include three clubs (Accra, Ghana and Syrian), the Accra Community Centre and a collection of Government Offices most of which are of a temporary nature and are haphazardly sited. The area is gently undulating with low cliffs and affords pleasant conditions for coastal walks and for various forms of recreation. Most of the area is Crown land.

The area has been zoned as open space since the first draft plan was prepared and it has been generally accepted for some time that it should be developed for public recreation. A proposal for a Marine Drive was put forward several years ago and detailed proposals for the construction of this route, the landscaping of the area generally and the provision of sports and leisure facilities were prepared prior to Independence Day. (Consulting Engineers, Sir William Halcrow and Partners. Landscape Consultant, G. A. Jellicoe and Miss S. Crowe.) The proposals have not been implemented but are regarded as deferred and not abandoned. The recommendations below incorporate the proposals of the consultants. Recommendations

The whole area to be zoned as public open space with the exception of the grounds of the existing clubs which are shown as private open space. Reservation to be made for the following recreational and leisure facflities .__

A cricket ground
Football pitches
A lido incorporating a swimming pool up to international competition standards

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Additional sea bathing facilities
Polo ground
Golf course
Restaurant
New clubs
A sea-water paddling lake.

The proposed Marine Drive will extend from the Legion Hall to Government House (Christiansborg Castle). Car parks will be provided.

The whole area to be suitably landscaped with planting of trees and shrubs. The area of the old polo ground to be converted into town gardens leading from 28th February Road towards the sea.

The various single storey temporary Government offices to be removed as soon as provision is made for their accommodation in the Government centre north of 28th February Road or elsewhere.

Special attention is required to be given to the treatment of the 28th February Road frontage to ensure (a) an attractive appearance from this important trunk road (b) a suitable setting for the Independence Arch and (c) the creation of vistas through the trees to the sea.

SECTION SIX

Government House to E.C.M. School, Labadi

This section is almost two miles long and varies in width from5 00 feet to 1,500 feet (175 acres). Along this length there is considerable development south of the coastal road including

two new Government housing estates (the Christiansborg Estate and the Labadi South Estate). There is also the Christiansborg Police stables and parade ground, light industrial development adjoining the Regal Cinema, the undulating Osu Fisheries land Station but includes and two an schools. extensive The low area lying remainingarea

undeveloped is mostly gently surrounding the Klotey Lagoon at Christiansborg. There are pleasant beaches. Most of the area is Crown land.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the whole of the undeveloped portion of the area should be zoned as

public made. open space Sand within excavation which should provision be controlled for football

to prevent pitches and erosion possibly of the a coast. cricket groundShelter

may be trees should be planted both as an amenity and to afford a wind break belts of palm in connection with the sports grounds. The possibility of an eastern extension of the Marine Drive along this length (from north of Government House to the Labadi By-pass) should be borne in mind as a long term project to provide a coastal way of particular benefit to the inhabitants of Christiansborg and Labadi.

Reservation should be made for the provision of a sea-water swimming pool south of the Christiansborg Estate.

SECTION SEVEN

E.C.M School to Kþeshi Lagoon

This section is about two miles long and from 300 feet to 1,000 feet wide. (160 acres.) It will accommodate the Labadi By-pass. The coastline is very attractive here due largely to the numbers of trees and there is a popular bathing beach near the Kpeshi Lagoon.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the whole area south of the Labadi By-pass should be zoned as public open space and that a belt of open space between the by-pass and the residential development to the north should be maintained. There will be no vehicular access to the by-pass except at its junctions with the existing main road and in view of its traffic importance and the risk of injury to persons crossing the road it is strongly recommended that since the road crosses ground traversed by gullies these should be utilized as pedestrian ways beneath the road to give access to the beaches and the coastal open space from the residential areas of Labadi.