

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

A HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY PERSPECTIVE OF CROSS-CULTURAL
ENCOUNTERS AT DIXCOVE AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOODS, GHANA.

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND
HERITAGE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN
ARCHAEOLOGY.

BY

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(2014)

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Declaration.

I, Fritz Biveridge hereby declare that except for references to other peoples' work which I have acknowledged, this thesis is the work of my own research carried out and submitted to the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, under the supervision of Professor James Boachie-Ansah Principal Supervisor, Professor James Anquandah, Thesis Advisor and Professor Kodjo Gavua, Thesis Advisor.

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Funding to undertake the second phase of the study (2010-2011) was provided by the Faculty Development Research Fund of the University of Ghana which enabled me travel to the Public Records Office, Kew, in the United Kingdom, and the Rijksmuseum (State Archives) in The Hague to examine archival data. I am thankful to all the archivists who assisted me during that phase of the study. I thank the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (G.M.M.B) for granting me an

excavation permit and the people of Dixcove, especially the chiefs and elders of the two paramountcies for their cooperation throughout the entire period of the research. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to students of the Department who graduated in the 2009/10 and 2010/11 academic years as well as some people from Dixcove who assisted in the excavations. Messrs. David Adjartey and Kwesi Buame, staff at the Archaeology Laboratory also deserve recognition for helping me transpose my maps, pottery profiles and pictures. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Joseph Nii Armah-Tagoe, retired Technician of the Department for helping me draw all ten stratigraphy profiles of the units excavated at Dixcove.

Abstract of the thesis.

This research investigates acculturation patterns along the Dixcove coastline, arising out of the Anglo-Ahanta encounter which occurred there from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century. The two ancient settlement quarters of Dixcove namely, Ntwarkro (Upper Dixcove) and Daazikessie (Lower Dixcove) were the primary loci of the archaeological investigations which constituted the primary data source. Historical sources, oral traditions and archival data were also used to complement the archaeological data. This was done to derive as much information on the subject as possible. The study spanned three years and the bulk of artifacts recovered dated from the early seventeenth to late nineteenth century.

The study revealed that the settlers of the two Dixcove states were originally Akan who migrated from Takyiman and Eguafo respectively to settle at Dixcove. They currently consider themselves as belonging to the Ahanta ethnic group suggesting there has been a change in ethnicity. The two settlements which originally lay apart (on either side of the Nfuma Lagoon) and were independent of each other were small inconsequential fishing/salt producing settlements which later developed to become large cosmopolitan economic epicenters from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Dixcove became a fountainhead of English mercantile interest, a major point of embarkation and disembarkation of cargo, competing with the Dutch Fort, St. Anthony on the Western half of the Guinea Coast. This was partly the result of the construction of Fort Metal Cross by the Royal Africa Company which boosted the coastal trade and added a wide array of mainly European trade goods to the trade/artifact inventory there. The trade boom also attracted many ethno-linguistic groups to

locate to Dixcove. After the abolition of slavery in 1807, Dixcove's commercial viability depreciated significantly. In spite of this it was never abandoned like other forts on the Gold Coast because of its strategic location and easy availability of natural resources like lime, wooden beams and planks. Dixcove became an important service station for the English during this period. Archaeological and historical evidence also indicated that interaction between the two groups impacted subsistence and several aspects of traditional cultural lifeways. For example, change was glaringly evident in the areas of indigenous dress codes and cuisine while the English embraced local cuisine. Western formal education and the use of European construction designs/materials such as glass windows superimposed on metal frames, asbestos roofing sheets, red bricks and metal hinges constituted technologies incorporated in traditional architecture. However, traditional medical practices persisted in the study area despite the introduction of Western medicines. Trade in commodities like gold, hardwood and ivory contributed to the development and growth of the English economy during the period covered by the study.

Dedication - to my late mother, Edith Korkor Odartey.

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Chapter One.

Brief outline of thesis.

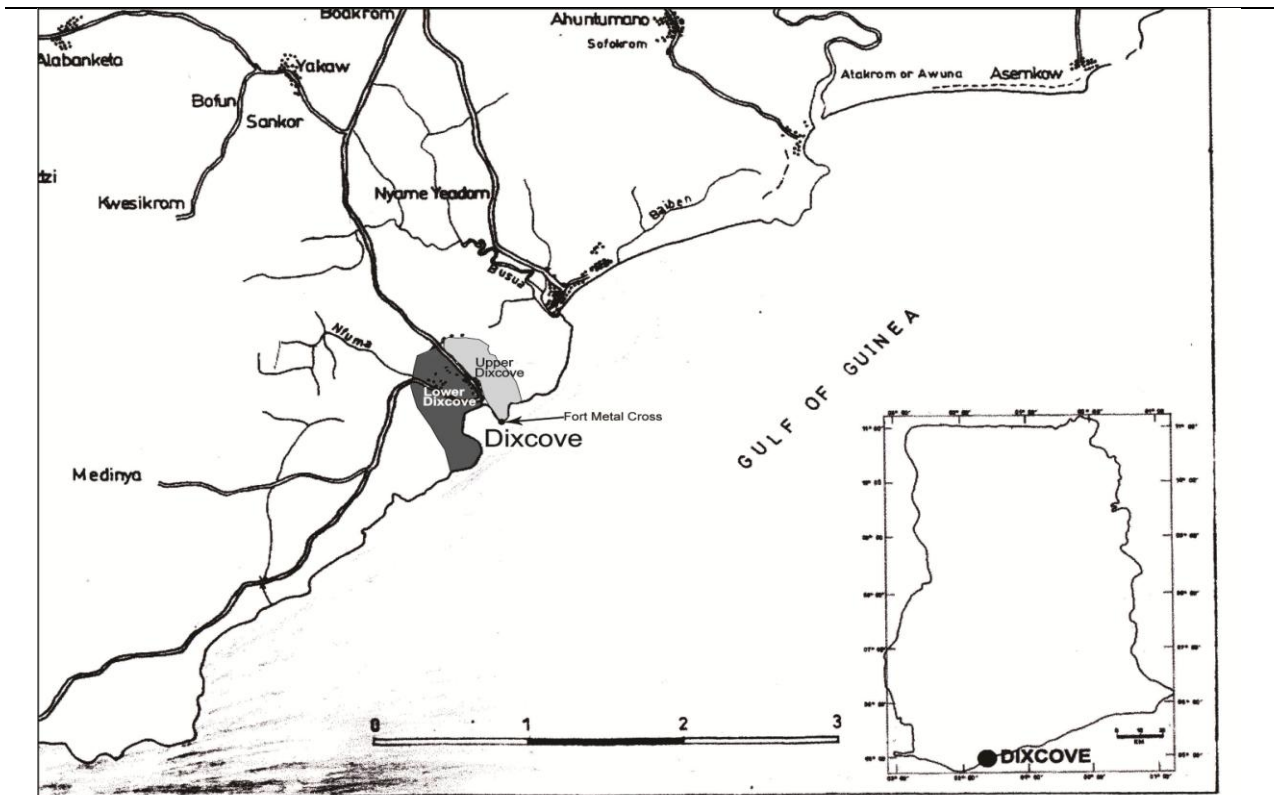
1.1.Introduction

This research is an historical archaeological investigation of cross cultural contacts at Dixcove (4°48N', 1°57'W) located approximately 24 km. west of Takoradi, the Western Regional Capital of Ghana (Map 1). The study examined the consequences of the English presence at Dixcove and explored how their encounter with the indigenous Ahanta ethnic group who occupied the area impacted the two groups and the body polity of Ahanta-land.

The goal of the research was to retrieve archaeological data (artifacts, ecofacts and features), interpret it and use it to deepen and enhance our knowledge and understanding of relations and events which characterized the early contact period between the two groups at Dixcove. The study gleaned from the archaeological record (temporal and spatial transformations) information regarding past socio-cultural and economic life-ways, especially those pertaining to how the dramatic intrusion of exotic European trade goods impacted on the indigenous population and the local economy. Archaeological data constitute the material inventory/material memory of the people who made them and thus, provide unique insights about past traditions and cultural heritage. The study of monumental structures like Fort Metal Cross which played a primal role in Anglo-Ahanta interactions and the coastal trade at Dixcove can also provide fundamental sources of information about the people associated with them and help preserve their history.

The two ancient settlement quarters of Dixcove namely: Lower Dixcove (Daazikessie) and the environs of Fort Metal Cross called Upper Dixcove (Ntswakro) constituted the principal foci of the investigation. The study spanned the period from the early seventeenth to the late nineteenth century A.D. It began in June, 2009 and covered three years. It was co-financed by the writer, the University of Ghana Faculty Development Fund and the Ghana Denmark Archaeological Project

(GDarch Project). Some final year students of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, and a few local people recruited from Dixcove also assisted in the excavation.



Map 1. Map of Dixcove showing Upper Dixcove, Fort Metal Cross, Lower Dixcove, and some neighbouring villages.

Three reasons necessitated my investigation of the study area. The first is that unlike some forts in Ghana which have been comprehensively investigated archaeologically, no such study has been undertaken at Fort Metal Cross to date to reconstruct and establish the nature of Anglo–Ahanta interactions during the early contact period. The second is that the fort has been leased to a foreign investor who is converting the facility into a hotel/leisure complex. Construction work that is currently underway has led to massive disturbance and destruction of the natural stratigraphy and artifact inventory at the site. There was thus, the need to archaeologically explore

and investigate the fort's precincts that are currently unaffected by construction work to recover archaeological data to facilitate the reconstruction of cultural life-ways and histories of the interactants.

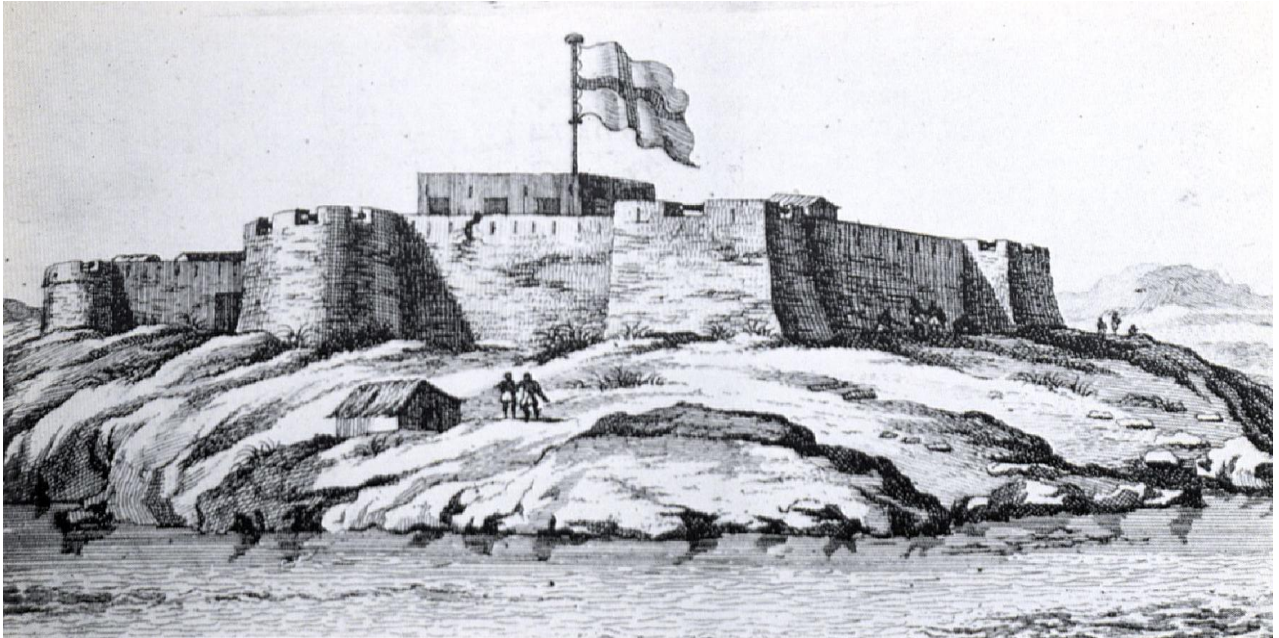


Plate 1. Fort Metal Cross, circa 1709 (Artist unknown). Source: Public Records Office, London.



Plate 2. The central courtyard and east wing of Fort Metal Cross. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

The fort was a flash point of regular armed hostilities and conflicts between the Dutch, English and Brandenburgers who contended for that stretch of seaboard. This culminated in Fort Metal

Cross being the most sieged and bombarded fort on the Gold Coast (Lawrence 1963: 292). Investigating the fort and its neighbourhoods will thus, also illuminate and enhance our understanding of power relations between the above named European nations and the native Ahanta, and how their interactions impacted on the local economy.

A multi-disciplinary approach was employed to derive data for the study. Archaeological data recovered during reconnaissance surveys and excavations at the research area constituted the principal source of information. Historical, oral traditional data and oral information constituted other sources of data used. This holistic approach was intended to provide deeper insights and generate as much information as possible on all aspects of the subject under study.

The current “forceful” expansion of Western capitalists’ economic and political systems into Africa is not a new development. It began with the Portuguese seizure of Ceuta in 1415 (Wolf 1982: 129). In the late fifteenth century, other European nations principally The Netherlands, England, Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg and France followed suit with trade being their principal motive and focus. Trade initially involved the exchange of traditional African commodities like gold, salt, ivory, pepper and timber products for European alcoholic beverages, ceramics, tobacco and textiles. Power relations between the various indigenous ethnic populations and Europeans during this early contact period were equal and symbiotic. It however changed in the mid-seventeenth century when slaves became an integral part of this commercial network due to conquests, subjugation and economic exploitation of the indigenous peoples in several regions of the continent where Europeans operated. Some scholars have guesstimated that over ten million Africans were forcefully transplanted from their natural homelands to face miserable servitude on cotton, tobacco and sugar plantations in the Americas and the Caribbean (Boahen

1980: 112; Coombs 1963: 45; www.pbs.org). To gain a foothold in their operational areas, ward off competition and facilitate their commercial interests, the various European nations built over a hundred trade factories (castles, forts and trade lodges) in their respective activity areas in Africa. Built by the Royal African Company in 1692, Fort Metal Cross constituted one such trade factory among over sixty dotted along the Gold Coast alone and it played a central role in facilitating English commerce along the Dixcove coastline.

Compared to other countries in the West African sub-region, Ghana has benefited from more historical archaeological research. In spite of this, it has not been easy to synthesize the collective data to establish the nature of Euro-African relations especially during the early historic period. Five reasons account for this which are:

(a) The central theme of majority of the early researchers was three-fold, (i) the description/documentation of the architectural histories of the forts and castles (Lawrence 1963; Hyland 1979, 1992; Varley 1952; van Dantzig 1980; Dahmen and Servaas 1992). (ii) The coastal trade and its impact on the indigenous population (Blake 1997; Ajayi 1984; Hopkins 1997; Austen 1987), and (iii) the establishment of artifact chronologies. Data on aspects of their interactions aside the above are thus lacking.

(b) Researchers concentrated on only a few forts and castles located in the Greater Accra and Central Regions. (Varley 1952; Lawrence 1963; Anquandah 1992, 1993a, 2002, DeCorse 2001; Agorsah and Butler 2008; Schafer and Agorsah 2010; Boachie-Ansah 2008). Forts in the Western and Volta Regions thus, remain archaeologically unexplored.

(c) Only a small number of investigations specifically focused on the African settlements associated with these extant trade stations and no attempt was made to study how indigenous

activities and cultural life-ways impacted the Europeans settlers (Alpern 1992, 1995; Anquandah 1992, 2002).

(d) The majority of early studies was limited in scope and involved reconnaissance surveys and small scale archaeological investigations with their main objectives being identification, description and documentation of on-site artifact inventories and dominant archaeological features (Gyam 2008; Freeman 2008). There is thus a dearth of information on the nature of the Euro-African encounter on the coast.

(e) The different ethno-linguistic groups settled along the Gold Coast interacted and responded to Europeans in different ways which shaped the consequences of these interactions in varying degrees.

1.2. Organization of chapters

Eight chapters make up the thesis. Chapter One is divided into five sections. The first, an introduction provides a general overview of the study. The second and third sections outline the research problem and main objectives of the study. The fourth discusses the theoretical framework of the research, and the fifth section outlines some major problems encountered by the researcher during the study.

Chapter Two outlines the research methods and approach used by the writer to derive data for the study. They are comprehensively discussed under the following topics: library research, archival research, oral traditional research, surface survey, and archaeological research. The chapter ends with a discussion on their strengths and limitations as sources of data.

Chapter Three provides a general survey of Ghana's forts and castles and the coastal trade. It is intended to provide the reader with an in-depth historiography of these early European trade stations and current uses to which some of them are being put.

Chapter Four is divided into three sections. The first discusses some of the major definitions of historical archaeology, their strengths and limitations as well as the scope, substance and practice of the discipline. The second discusses the historical development of the discipline in Africa from its genesis to contemporary times with particular reference to Ghana. It also deals with some of the major topical areas which have been investigated. The third is a comprehensive review of some of the major architectural/historical archaeological investigations which have been conducted on Ghana's forts and castles to date.

Chapter Five is divided into three sections. Section one discusses the physical environment and geography of the research area. The geology, vegetation, relief, drainage systems, rainfall patterns, temperature and humidity levels are discussed in this section. Section two discusses the historical background of the Ahanta ethnic group. Their ancient subsistence strategies, migration, and settlement histories are some topical areas covered under this section. Section three provides a brief outline of the contemporary economic, social, political and cultural setting at Dixcove.

Chapter Six discusses the field research. The results of the reconnaissance surveys undertaken around the precincts of Fort Metal Cross and other areas in Upper Dixcove are presented. The ten units which were excavated are comprehensively described. It assigns reasons why they were selected for investigation. Their stratigraphic profiles and the finds recovered from them are also described and quantified in table form in this section.

Chapter Seven is an in-depth qualitative and quantitative analysis of both local and imported cultural materials recovered from the research area. Their major attributes and the criteria used in

the analysis such as form variability, function, paste, surface treatment types and decorative patterns are discussed in detail. It also attempts to identify their country of origin, the corporate institutions which made them and uses to which they were put in the past. The relevance of European imports and how they helped shape Anglo-Ahanta relations are also discussed. The chapter concludes with results of the botanical and faunal analysis.

Chapter Eight presents a synthesis of the findings. Two sections make up the chapter. The first analyses and discusses the combined data (archaeological, historical, oral traditions, archival and ethnographic data) as well as other evidential sources to answer the research questions and objectives while major conclusions derived from the study make up the second section.

1.3. The research problem.

The forts and castles of Ghana are striking architectural and historical monuments. They served not only as the bedpost of early Euro-African interactions but also as the fulcrum of the coastal trade from the early sixteenth to late nineteenth century. Areas bordering these European trade factories were also heavily settled by the indigenous community. Their intrinsic value as sources of information on the socio-economic and cultural past therefore cannot be overemphasized. In spite of this, several forts and their precincts including Fort Metal Cross remain archaeologically unexplored. The only study undertaken there in 1952 was limited in scope and focused primarily on the fort's architectural parameters and history (Lawrence 1963). To date, no in-depth archaeological investigation has been conducted there. The contribution of archaeology to our knowledge of Anglo-Ahanta trade and interactions at Dixcove is therefore minimal.

Construction work by the foreign investor has also negatively impacted the archaeology of the fort and its environs. Much of the original clayey soil lying south and east of the fort has been

removed and replaced with red laterite to facilitate construction of two swimming pools and a number of chalets to accommodate guests. There was thus the need to undertake a comprehensive archaeological investigation of the fort and its precincts which are currently undisturbed by the construction work to recover archaeological data to shed light on the early contact period.

1.4. Research objectives.

The research has three overarching objectives which are to:

- (a) Document the migration and settlement histories of the people of Upper and Lower Dixcove.
- (b) Carry out reconnaissance surveys and conduct excavations at the ancient settlement quarters of Upper and Lower Dixcove to unearth and document the finds (cultural and biological), and
- (c) Investigate and reconstruct Anglo-Ahanta interactions as revealed by the material culture which was recovered from the excavations, and establish how the life-ways of the English residents and the indigenous population impacted on each other.

1.5. Theoretical framework of the research.

This research is primarily about culture contact between two population groups – specifically the English on one hand and the Ahanta on the other, and how their interactions impacted on each other. Interaction between cultures oftentimes promotes culture change because it opens to the interactants unlimited ranges of new raw materials, manufactured products, ideas, technological systems and know-how; and because all cultural systems are made up of several interrelated sub-systems, transformation in one necessitates changes in the other component parts thereby affecting the whole.

In archaeology, one area where evidence of interaction is frequently encountered is in burial contexts where certain artifacts have been found in contexts far removed from their areas of origin. This phenomenon called acculturation has proved to be a very useful tool for discussing colonial and migrant societies and for examining change alongside interpretations involving collapse, rapid transformation, invasion or diffusion (Dark 1995: 194; Kottak 2005: 446 - 447). First coined by Herskovits and colleagues in the United States, acculturation can be defined as “a process by which cultures in contact borrow ideas and practices from one another, thereby modifying or replacing traditional ideas and practices” (Lavender and Schultz 2005: 173). Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1998: 149 - 152) have also defined acculturation as the exchange of cultural features that results when groups have continuous and firsthand contact. The original cultural patterns of either or both groups may be changed by this contact. According to Beals (1970: 220), “dimensions such as the size of the populations in contact, who dominates and who submits, the adaptability and flexibility exhibited by the cultures involved, the number and kinds of compatible and understandable behaviours and ideas which the people of the system present to another – these are all important considerations to be taken into account in the study of culture contact or acculturation”.

The term acculturation is usually used when the contact is between nations or cultures. However, studies have shown that acculturation can occur among a small group within the populace and not the entire society. Also implicit in the study of acculturation is the concept of “strong” and “weak” cultures and customs. Cultural attributes having a greater potential for endurance and survival in circumstances of competition or stress are considered “strong” while cultural attributes with low endurance potential are considered “weak” (Nanda and Warms 2004: 370 – 380).

Studies on acculturation indicate that it can occur in either of two forms. The first which can be spontaneous or mutual occurs when the two interacting cultures involved in the contact take and give to one another on an equal, non forcible and unconstrained basis. This form normally involves partially reshaping or modifying the borrowed trait and adapting it to suit the pre-existing cultural arrangement/micro-environment. The second form occurs when the two cultures have unequal power relations. The end result is assimilation of the less “dominant” of the two cultures. Sometimes, this can be accompanied by disappearance of several distinctive cultural traits of the less “dominant” culture. This form of acculturation is often skewed in one direction and involves the “weak” or “subordinate” culture wholly adopting the customs and cultural traits of the “strong” dominant culture without resort to any modification. Studies have also shown that in some instances, the dominant culture employs coercion, and the “weaker” culture can be physically, psychologically and legally forced to adopt ideas and products of the “strong” culture, and are punished if they do not commit (Nanda and Warms 2004: 372; Bodley 1988: 78; Kottak 2005: 447; Beals 1970: 220 - 225).

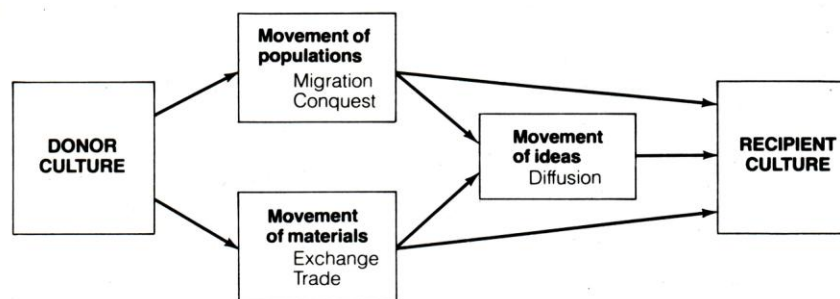
It is imperative to note on one hand, that occasionally, refugees and immigrant groups who have moved into more “powerful and influential” cultures with very different cultural traditions from what pertained in theirs have sometimes been assimilated without being forced to. On the other hand, some cultures portrayed as homogeneous are in effect culturally and ethnically pluralistic and made up of a multiplicity of heterogeneous sub-groups, each with its own unique cultural life-ways, identity, and interests. These sub-groups often give the appearance of cultural uniformity within the whole but in reality have only accommodated these values and traditions because they need to get by in their new environment.

Acculturation differs from diffusion and cultural borrowing. Diffusion and cultural borrowing can happen without any form of firsthand physical contact between two cultures. Many middle class Ghanaian families for example, consume “frankfurters” (hot dogs) but have never visited Frankfurt, Germany. Kottak (2005: 447) has noted that the term acculturation has also sometimes been used to describe Westernization (the influence/adoption of Western traditions on native cultures). This is erroneous because many native cultures outside the Western industrialized world, especially in Africa have made significant contributions to world culture. Jazz music, Igbo-Ukwu and Benin art are two examples which amplify this point (Cole 1984: 3 – 19, Jolaoso 1980: 28 – 35, Shaw 1973: 18). Sometimes, implicit in the study of acculturation are the concepts of cultural hybridization and creolization. The former refers to cultures produced by the blending of two diverse cultures or traditions. Examples include the culture of persons of European descent born in the West Indies or Spanish America. The term is also used to refer to the offspring’s of people of different races (Kottak 2005: 92 - 95). The latter refers to a language based on two or more languages that serve as the native language of its speakers (Nanda and Warms 2004: 109). A good example is *Pigin* English (a blend of English and indigenous grammar), widely spoken in English West Africa.

In Ghana, acculturation has been the focus of several historical archaeological investigations. However, it is worth noting that the majority of these investigations emphasized the impact and consequences European settlers had on indigenous populations with little emphasis and regard on how indigenous populations impacted on Europeans (Blake 1997; Austen 1987; Alpern 1995; Freeman 2008). Exceptions include studies by DeCorse (2001 & 2005), Anquandah (2007) and Bredwa-Mensah (2005). DeCorse (1998: 235) for example, indicated that it was the mutual form outlined above which occurred at Elmina Old Town concluding that, “resilience rather than

dramatic transformation, continuity rather than change in African beliefs and identity occurred at Elmina in spite of the tremendous changes in artifact inventory recovered there”.

The research will apply the *External Cultural Model* which is one of the theoretical models utilized by archaeologists in the study of acculturation. The model has been used extensively to investigate acculturation patterns in parts of Aboriginal Australia, and the northeast and south of the United States of America where immigrant English and Spanish traders and explorers respectively interacted with indigenous populations, some of who were later colonized by them. The main conceptual tools of the *External Cultural Model* are diffusion, exchange (trade), and movement of human populations (migrations, invasions and conquests). Sharer and Ashmore (1996: 506) and Beals (1970: 223) have noted that in addition to the above named conceptual tools, the degree of change which will be experienced within a given culture as a result of culture contact will also depend on the complex interplay of the following set of variables: time, distance, the mode of dispersal, degree of acceptance or rejection of the idea/object, and utility of the idea/object.



Diagrammatic representation of the External Cultural Model (From Sharer and Ashmore 1996:

510)

Diffusion is defined as the transmission of ideas from one culture to another. It is integral to socio-economic and cultural development because throughout human history, no society has truly remained isolated for extended periods. It is thus, an important mechanism of culture change.

According to Kottak (2005: 44), diffusion can occur in three forms. It is direct when two cultures trade, intermarry or wage war on one another. It is forced when one culture subjugates and imposes its customs and traditions on another. It is indirect when products manufactured in culture A move to culture C via culture B, without any firsthand contact between culture A and C.

When new ideas or products are diffused into a given society, it may be wholly accepted, modified to suit the new society, or wholly rejected. Two examples ethnographically documented to illustrate all three diffusion forms discussed above are the “Ghost Dance” of the Paiute Indians of Nevada, and the 260-day ritual calendar of Mesoamerica. In the 1890s, the “Ghost Dance” spread across the Great Plains among several Native American Indian populations and was accepted without modification in some societies, modified in others, and outrightly rejected in others. In the case of the 260-day ritual calendar of Mesoamerica, day names based on the calendar were accepted without modification in some societies but modified in others (Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 507). Over the years, the concept of diffusion has been abused and used uncritically by some scholars to explain cultural similarities between different cultures. A clear example to illustrate this point is the *Heliocentric Theory* whose proponents traced all world civilizations to dynastic Egypt.

Exchange (trade) as used here refers to the transfer of goods and services between individuals and societies. Haury (1970: 1 – 6) has named four things which prove that exchange (trade), and population movement (migration) have occurred at a place. These are:

(a) That new cultural traits must suddenly appear in large numbers in the archaeological record, too many to be feasibly accounted for by diffusion or invention, and that there should be no evidence of earlier local prototypes.

(b) That there should be evidence that the migrant group (newcomers) have modified or used the forms and styles of local materials differently from the culture which introduced them.

(c) A source for the immigrant population must be identified, a homeland where the intrusive cultural elements do have prototypes.

(d) The artifacts used as indices to support population movement must exist in the same form and at the same time level in both the homeland and the newly adopted home.

Unlike diffusion, exchange (trade) can be substantiated and scientifically proven more easily in the archaeological record. This is primarily because trade involves the exchange of material objects some of which are durable and have long life spans and can thus remain in the archaeological record for a long time. Sometimes, the raw materials used for their production are known to be unavailable locally and their recovery is suggestive of culture contact. The important implication of trade distributions for cultural change is that archaeologists can use them to demonstrate contact between different cultural groups.

Another mechanism of cultural change involves population movements (via migrations, invasions and conquest). Migration as used here refers to the movement of human populations from one place to another, usually resulting in cultural contact between them. Population movements can occur peacefully (via migration), or forcefully (via conquest and invasions). An example to illustrate a peaceful movement of population is Emily H. Haury's ethnoarchaeological investigation of a late thirteenth century Native Indian migration from their northern Arizona homeland into the Point of Pines region of east central Arizona. The recovery of new specific ceramic attributes and new secular and sacred architectural styles all of which suddenly appeared in the archaeological record were used by Haury as conclusive evidence to support his assertion of migration. In northern Arizona, he also noted a decline in population levels and found the same

ceramic attributes and architectural styles at levels which corresponded temporally with the Point of Pines levels. Robert Dyson's (1960: 118 – 129) reconstruction of the city of Hasanlu, Iran, is an excellent example of population movement by invasion. Dyson's excavation revealed ruins of burnt buildings, remains of people trapped under collapsed walls and falling debris, all of which attested to sudden destruction of the City of Hasanlu. Sharer and Ashmore (1996: 510) have cited massive burning, large scale loss of life, and destruction of property as important elements supporting invasion and conquest.

The study will use the above named conceptual tools/variables to establish if acculturation occurred between the two groups at Dixcove. It will test whether this model will be valid when matched against the archaeological data recovered at Dixcove, and verify their relevance for deriving deeper insights into the past cultural environment at Dixcove.

The concept of diffusion will be validated at Dixcove if ideas/cultural attributes uniquely European such as Western building designs/technology and education are manifested archaeologically or above ground level in the research area. The concept of exchange (trade) and population movement (migration) will be validated if intrusive cultural elements (trade goods) of European origin suddenly appear in large numbers in the archaeological record at Dixcove. These objects must not have local prototypes and must occur at levels which overly/date later than locally produced ones (for example, imported ceramics should overly locally produced ceramics in the archaeological record). Identification of a homeland (outside Dixcove) where the intrusive cultural elements (trade goods) originated will support the concept of trade/migration. Another conclusive evidence to support exchange/migration will be the recovery of new ceramic attributes/new architectural styles, all of which must suddenly appeared in the archaeological record at Dixcove.

1.6. Problems of research.

Translating early Dutch records into English constituted the most outstanding problem encountered during the research. The majority of these documents consisted of correspondences between employees of the erstwhile Dutch West India Company which actively operated on the Guinea Coast from about the early seventeenth to late nineteenth century. Apart from several grammatical mistakes and spelling irregularities, some of the words had lost their original contextual meanings because of the over four hundred year time lapse and it became increasingly difficult to assign correct meanings to them in spite of my engagement of a translator and the use of a Dutch-English dictionary to facilitate translation.

Most of the English records also focused on commercial peculiarities and Anglo-Fanti interactions at “Ogua” and Cape Coast Castle. The few directly related to Dixcove comprised ledger summaries and early architectural drawings and illustrations of Fort Metal Cross. While the ledger commentaries were generally extensive, they were not exhaustive enough making their interpretation difficult. Another major limitation of the English records relating to Dixcove was that there were many time gaps to allow for proper correlation and appreciation of Anglo-Ahanta interactions and events. For example, there would be documented records of events and commercial transactions for particular months followed by gaps in subsequent months for that same year.

Oral traditional data gathered at Dixcove were also limited in scope. Many of the respondents interviewed were only fairly knowledgeable on their migration/settlement histories and past traditional subsistence strategies. There was a dearth of information on the nature of Anglo-Ahanta interactions, the coastal trade, settlement patterns and the archaeological inventory. It was thus, difficult to reconstruct this aspect of their cultural past.

Another herculean problem was the very convoluted settlement pattern at Upper and Lower Dixcove which made the selection of areas to excavate extremely difficult. The settlement pattern at Lower Dixcove in particular was unplanned and characterized by several deep gullies with rubbish heaps. Houses had also been built very close to each other leaving very little space to conveniently work. Furthermore, much of the ancient settlement area at Upper Dixcove, especially the fort's precincts had been disturbed by construction activities of the foreign investor. All of the original soil covers of the area designated Unit 3 down to about 160cm below ground surface level for example, had been removed and replaced with red laterite to facilitate construction of two swimming pools and a number of chalets to accommodate guests and tourists. This explains why very few artifacts were recovered there (refer Table 6.5). The topography of much of the area north of the shoreline also consisted of very rocky steep-sided hills with very thin top soils. This made hammering in of pegs, surveying and gridding exceptionally difficult.

Chapter Two.

Research approach and method.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter discusses the research approach and methods used to derive data for the study. The work presented in this thesis involved library research, the collection of oral traditions from the indigenes, archival research, oral information, archaeological surveys and excavations. Recourse to a multi-disciplinary approach was necessitated by the fact that archaeology as a tool for reconstructing past cultural life-ways has limitations. The strengths and limitations of the above named sources are also comprehensively discussed in this chapter. The study was undertaken in phases over a three year period.

2.2. Library research

Library research constituted the first phase of work. This aspect of the study was undertaken primarily at Balme Library, University of Ghana (U.G), Legon and D. H. Hill library, North Carolina State University (N.C.S.U), Raleigh. It involved the examination of several written sources and spanned six months (June - December, 2009 and September - November, 2012). Documents examined during this phase can be grouped broadly into two. The first included reports by early European writers like John Barbot (1732), William Bosman (1705), Peiter de Marees ([1812]1987), Olfert Dapper (1668), John Atkins (1753) and Duarte Pacheco Pereira ([1892]1967) among others. These records spanned the early sixteenth to late nineteenth centuries and their relevance cannot be over-emphasized because of five things namely:

- (a) The writers provided excellent depictions of indigenous cultural lifeways.
- (b) They documented several aspects of the coastal trade.
- (c) They provided a wealth of information on the floral and faunal resources of the coastal Gold Coast.

- (d) They recorded important navigational peculiarities, and
- (e) They recorded notable events and occurrences of the period.

These reports proved very useful because some of the writers directly participated in some of the activities and events they described. Despite the wealth and relevance of these records, they are not to be regarded as perfectly reliable and should be authenticated and used with caution because of eight reasons. These are:

- (a) The writers did not understand the languages of the people they interacted with. They thus lacked the capacity to fully grasp the nature, significance and meanings of what they wanted to record.
- (b) They depended on native interpreters some of whom did not fully comprehend European languages to facilitate proper translations.
- (c) The writers lacked the requisite training in historiography and as a result some of their writings were more like allegories and myths.
- (d) Their discourses were limited in scope; the majority focused on the coastal trade and navigational peculiarities' of the period. There was thus, a dearth of information on areas like indigenous settlement patterns, ideology, belief systems and the social organization of the people they reported on.
- (e) Their unsympathetic attitude towards traditional norms and customs merits some explanation. For example, their prejudicial and distasteful reportage on traditional institutions like chieftaincy, ethno-medicine, traditional religion, and the rituals associated with its practice simply mirrored their gross intolerance, ignorance, and misunderstanding of the African cultural landscape. The casting of aspersions, imputations, derisions and calumniations about indigenous life-ways was thus a common characteristic feature of several of these writers.

(f) Many found the hinterland inaccessible and so depended on second-hand reports about events occurring inland.

(g) Many were partial observers because they sought to advance the causes of their employers (the national chartered companies they worked for) and thus, concerned themselves with events which tended to be favourable to their interests. Bosman's reportage of the 1712 Ahanta siege of Dixcove for example, has been described as "disingenuity, partiality and malice" against the English who fiercely competed with the Dutch for a stretch of the Dixcove coastline (C.O. 96/251. H.C.412), and

(h) The few maps, pictorials and illustrations accompanying these writings were hand drawn, lacked established reference points, and scales. Thus, they cannot be related to specific archaeological provenances.

The second group of writers was also Europeans but trained historians. Their main focus was the documentation of the history of the Gold Coast from the pre-colonial to the early post independence era. They include A. B. Ellis (1969), W. W. Claridge (1972), and W. E. F. Ward (1958) among others. The major limitations of these writers were two-fold. First, only a few of these writers integrated oral traditional history in their works. Two, the principles of political organization as well as the constitutional, economic and social history of the people they studied were to a large extent ignored and at most given only incidental treatment in their works. This culminated in biased reportage on aspects of African culture reflecting the ethnocentric attitude of European scholars of the period.

2.3. The Archival Research.

Examination of archival data constituted the final stage of this phase of the study and was carried out locally and abroad. The former was undertaken at the Public Records and Archives

Administration (P.R.A.A.D), Accra, Balme Library, University of Ghana, and the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (G.M.M.B). Except for a few old maps and hand drawn illustrations, nothing worthwhile was obtained at P.R.A.A.D and the G.M.M.B. However, the Furley Collection at Balme Library provided very useful information on the socio-economic history of the Gold Coast during the period covered by the research. The study abroad was undertaken at the Public Records Office, Kew, (London) and the *Rijksarchief* (The Hague). Major documents inspected and scrutinized included the Colonial Office Series (C.O.1) and early correspondences between the various Director-Generals of the Royal Africa Company and the Committee of Merchants Trading in Africa who served on the Gold Coast and the mother company in England. The Dutch records were the more informative of the two because additional to documenting local activities, they also provided account books, warehouse records, deeds, maps, as well as several hand drawn illustrations and pictures. The main problem with these records was that they were not properly indexed. They were also recorded in Dutch necessitating the engagement of a translator which increased the research cost.

2.4. The collection of Oral Traditions.

The collection of oral traditions constituted the first phase of the field work. This phase of the study spanned six months (September, 2009 - March, 2010) and involved a total of eight visits to the research area. A seven page questionnaire was devised by the writer to guide the oral traditional investigation (refer Appendix A). Selected indigenes from whom data were gathered included the two Paramount Chiefs of Dixcove, and their sub-Chiefs serving on the Upper Dixcove and Lower Dixcove Traditional Councils. Other respondents included heads of the various clans and some family elders. Majority of the questions focused on ancient and contemporary cultural issues relating to the Ahanta such as their origins, migratory and settlement

histories, past and current subsistence strategies, settlement patterns, the *Kundum* festival and rituals associated with it.

Vansina (1985: 13 - 27) has defined oral traditions as verbal messages from the past which are transmitted from mouth to mouth, and are beyond the generation that gave rise to them (beyond the life time of the informants). According to Henige (1998: 58), oral traditions should also be commonly and universally known in the given culture. The messages in oral traditions are usually spoken, sung, or called out on musical instruments. Oral histories vary from oral traditions and can be defined as verbal accounts of events and situations recounted by an eyewitness. Unlike oral traditions, “they are contemporary, and the historical consciousness in the communities involved is still in flux” (Vansina 1985: 13). Many oral historians tend to bypass in-depth analysis of individual testimonies and rely more on the collective testimonies.

In Africa, oral traditional data constitute a major source of information about the cultural past of different ethnic groups and their mode of communication can be direct or indirect. According to Okoro (2008: 375 - 400), poems, folklore, music and proverbs fall under the former, while drum language and horn blowing fall under the latter. Folklore refers to all traditions, customs, sayings and tales unique to a specific cultural group or people, and which are orally preserved by them. It is unique and specific to individual cultures. In some cultures, oral traditional data are a “mixture of factual data, myths and even parables usually recited according to a well defined narrative plot” (Okoro 2008: 402 – 4005). They focus on notable personalities of that ethnic group and important developments and events which have occurred in the community in the remote past. Vansina (1985: 27) has also noted that even though the essential contents are generally similar, the theme may vary from speaker to speaker.

Phillipson (1985: 8) asserts that oral traditions are:

“Most carefully preserved and retold among peoples who have a strong centralized state system. In such cases the function of the historical traditions is often to support the established political authority, for example by explaining the origin of the ruling clan or family and the manner by which its members claim their right to rule. Several societies recognize this aspect of oral tradition and have official historians, whose tasks it is to preserve and transmit orthodox versions of state history”.

While we cannot underrate the value of oral traditional data as an important source of history, they are often subject to all kinds of bias. For example, there is the tendency of some resource persons to selectively choose content materials which positively highlight their ethnic group while being silent on aspects which malign, asperse, defame, and belittle past leaders and the ethnic group. Sometimes, events which portray them in a bad light are also left out altogether. This makes it arduous and cumbersome to critically establish what is factual. Another major shortcoming of oral traditions is that it requires retention in human memory for its continuity and because historical memory is in the head, conditions like ill health, old age, low intellectual capacity, and even lack of interest can negatively impact on a person’s ability to recollect and correctly narrate oral tradition (Okoro 2008: 376).

The tendency of some literate indigenes to incorporate published materials into indigenous renditions further invalidates its authenticity as a source material (Henige 1973: 223 - 35). Furthermore, because their antiquity and linear chronology are very difficult to establish, relating it to past occurrences and activities can sometimes delimit, restrict, and even circumscribe its validity and reliance (Vansina 1982: 186 – 187; Phillipson 1985: 8). Miller (1972: 74; 1976: 37) and Phillipson (1985: 8) have also noted that absolute chronology (in the Western sense) is not

the primary focus of custodians of oral traditions. The events and occurrences they thus narrate could be significantly earlier or later and where they stretch beyond four centuries, they should be used cautiously and if possible interfaced or validated against other sources. In spite of these shortcomings, oral tradition does play a key role in reconstructing the cultural past in many African societies.

2.5. The Surface Survey and Archaeological Excavations.

The second phase of field work involved a total of six surface surveys to collect artifact scatter and note spatial geographical features. The survey universe covered a total area extent of 92,224 sq. m. and included the precincts of Fort Metal Cross and the two ancient settlement quarters of Dixcove. A concerted effort was made during this phase of the study to establish the different settlement/occupational parameters of these ancient settlements. This was done to provide a glimpse of past settlement patterns. The surface survey also helped assess the appropriate sampling and excavation techniques to use for the excavation. The advantage of surface survey is that it is inexpensive and can be conducted without the use of expensive earth probing equipments like the Proton Electro-Magnetometer. The major limitation however is that data buried below ground surface cannot be recovered.

The recovery of archaeological data constituted the third phase of field work. A total of three visits, each spanning ten days were made to the research area and ten units were opened at different locations (Refer to pages 120, 125, 132, 134, 137, 143, 147, 150, 154 and 157 for their locations and dimensions). The strength of archaeological data lies in four areas. These are:

(a) Some artifacts like European manufactured tobacco pipes and alcoholic beverage bottles can provide veritable sequential chronology/time production ranges, and by association can be used to

date other cultural materials found at the level where they were recovered (Dillion 1989: 45; Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 112).

(b) Local and foreign life-ways can be gleaned from archaeological data (Bunn et al 1980: 29; Joukowsky 1980: 116).

(c) The study of artifact use-patterns can provide glimpse of their functionality (Joukowsky 1980: 46), and

(d) The impact of exchange/trade goods on society can be gauged from archaeological data (Chang 1972: 78; Binford 1978: 102; Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 126).

The advantage of excavation is that it reveals the three dimensional structure and patterning of archaeological data buried within matrixes which help the investigator assess and derive contextual, functional, and temporal information pertaining to the data. According to Sharer & Ashmore (1996: 112), it also “reflects the processes of site formation, activities that took place at any one point in time are represented by the horizontal dimensions while sequential activities are represented by the vertical dimensions”.

In spite of its relevance, the use of archaeological data to reconstruct the human past has limitations. For instance, the poor preservation regimens of tropical soils promote putrefaction and decomposition of cultural materials, especially those made from organic materials like wood, bone and mollusc shell (McIntosh 2003: 58 – 60; Anquandah 1982: 48). This often results in meager, incomplete and fragmentary archaeological record. Archaeological data in many instances also weighs heavily towards technology, crafts and trade while data relating to ideology, demography and settlement patterns, social and political organization occur incidentally or are non-existent altogether.

Chapter Three

A brief history of Euro-African interactions, trade stations and the coastal trade in Ghana.

3.1. Introduction.

This chapter details the history of the advent of Europeans, the coastal trade, and origination of the forts and castles from the earliest times to the period preceding Ghana's independence on the 6th of March, 1957, when she gained independence from Britain. The central role the forts played in facilitating the coastal trade and the part played by Europeans and the indigenous populaces in the construction of the forts and castles are comprehensively discussed. Other areas covered include the functional capacity of the forts, the nations which built them and materials used in construction are examined and presented. It assigns reasons for the construction of the forts and castles and why they were sited at their various locations along Ghana's expansive coastline. It also delves into their role in Ghana's checkered history and how they facilitated and contributed to Europe's overseas expansionist efforts as well as the shaping of the global politico-economic system.

3.2. A Brief History of the Euro-African Encounter on the Guinea Coast.

The forts and castles of Ghana are a great legacy and cannot be divorced from her history. Without these European trade stations, the history of Ghana, especially as it pertains to the coastal and forest populations would have been very different. Not only do they stand out as unique and striking architectural monuments but collectively they serve as important historical inheritance to the world. Built between 1480 - 1790, these trade fortifications have aided scholars measure the scope of Ghana's great cultural past and unearth the depth of its history spanning several centuries.

For others, they evoke the horrendous scars of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade because they served as the focal points of this infamous network which saw the forceful transplantation of millions of

Africans from their natural homelands across the Atlantic to Europe and the Americas. After over five hundred years, many still stand in relatively good condition and have been adapted for other uses as administrative centres, state penitentiaries, schools, post offices, courts and museums. Others are in various states of ruin and dilapidation, while a few are barely traceable. Their authors were Europeans: Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes, Brandenburgers, Swedes and French. They number over 60 along Ghana's 500 kilometer coastline averaging about one per every 15 kilometers and sometimes within cannon range of each other. According to St. Clair (2006: 1) and van Dantzig (1976: 52), their large numbers along Ghana's coastal front which Europeans previously referred to as the Gold Coast was because that stretch was more accessible compared to the coastline lying on either side of it. To the west, it was skirted by shallow sandy lagoons while to the east, strong waves along the deltas of the Volta and Niger Rivers made berthing difficult for European mariners. Another reason was that the Gold Coast had abundant reserves of quality gold close to the coast.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the Gold Coast. This was after King Alfonso V of Portugal had leased a ship, "The Enterprise of Africa" to Fernao Gomes for five years on condition that he explored at least 100 leagues of the African coastline annually (van Dantzig 1980: 2 - 4). Gomes and his crew arrived on the Gold Coast in 1482 and were impressed with the large quantity of gold obtainable at Elmina and so named the place *Mina de Ouro*, meaning goldmine. According to Fage (1967: 4), "their first trade in gold was pursued at Samma". Van Dantzig (1980: 4) however, asserts it occurred around the mouth of the Prah River. The trade in *Mina* gold quickly spread to outlying coastal settlements because of intense interest in the new manufactured goods from Portugal. Activities of the Portuguese during the early contact period was not only limited to trade because one of the earliest written documents of the Portuguese, a

Committee of Enquiry Report in 1499 titled *The Inquiricao* which reported on Portuguese activities on the Guinea Coast 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 in lieu of providing them with statutory “service slaves”.

Several early European writers (Barbot 1732; Bosman 1705; Meredith 1812; Pereira [1892]1967) posit that Mina soon developed into an important market centre. According to van Dantzig (1980: 19 - 20) and Anquandah (2007: 28), several other coastal markets such as Cape Coast, Anomabo, Kormantin, Winneba and Moure 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 Abese were located inland in the area of Nsawam but its port of trade was “Little Accra”. Similarly, “Little Kormenda” was the port of trade of “Great Kormenda” (Eguafo).

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 Caramanca, sovereign of Elmina, a small kingdom along the banks of the Benya Lagoon to build a fort there to secure for them the gold trade. 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 which they named Castle Sao Jorge, after a Portuguese patron saint in 1482. They also imported from Portugal large quantities of red bricks, roofing slates, doors, plaster, wooden beams, rafters and window arches. The original design of Castle Sao Jorge bore structural similarities to the crusaders’ castles in the Middle East. This has 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 mouths of the Ankobra River at Axim (1508), and the Prah River at Shama (1550) to tap gold resources there. From the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, they also initiated the “Slaves for Gold” enterprise which involved buying slaves from West and Central Africa and exchanging them for gold and other African merchandise at Castle Sao Jorge. The slaves 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 West African slaves were brought into the Gold Coast from 1490 – 1630. The historical relevance of the Portuguese era was that a *modus vivendi* developed between indigenous traders and Europeans.

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 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 after the Stadthoelders at Moree in 1612, and followed up in 1621 with the setting up 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 Gold Coast can be attributed to the fact that the trade in slaves 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 own trade factories several of which were located on hillocks to facilitate easy monitoring of the surrounding community as well as in-coming vessels of nations they deemed competitors (van Dantzig 1980: 21 – 52; Boahen 1980: 110; Lawrence 1963: 25 - 27). The security of existing fortifications on the coast was also structurally strengthened with the construction of bigger and wider wall curtains, metal balustrades, drawbridges and sometimes watchtowers. Other security enhancements included bastions and the use of bigger guns and cannons.

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 to enable it compete with the WIC. 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. French stay on the Gold Coast however was short-lived because of two factors: severe competition from the Dutch and English, and their inability to establish sound working rapport with the local peoples.

The Danes focused their attention on the eastern coastal belt, a region Europeans severally referred to as “Lay,” “Allampo”, “Alampi” and “Allampey” after the Adangme ethnic group who occupied the area (Barbot 1732: 57). They first built Christiansborg Castle, one of three most imposing fortifications on the Gold Coast. They followed with a few small forts including Fort Kongestein (Ada) and Fort Fredicksborg (Prampram). 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 slaves 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. According to Bosman (1705: 304), the main trade of the people of the area “consisted in slaves which are also brought up by the mentioned Negroes (*Aquamboes*) but most of them are transported hence by English, French and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave trade here proves very advantageous, especially about the village of Lay”.

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 over-run 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 also worth noting that the various ethno-linguistic groups 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 Great Accra were allied to the Danes and Dutch respectively.

3.3. A Brief Historical background of the Coastal Trade

Prior to 1670, the trade in gold was the most lucrative on the Gold Coast. According to Boahen (1980: 108) and Daaku (1970: 11), the value of gold exported annually was about £10,000 which was equivalent to one-tenth of total world supply at that time. Eric Williams (quoted in Anstey 1975: 40 - 41) also noted:

“The triangular trade made an enormous contribution to Britain's industrial development. The profits from this trade fertilized the entire productive system of the country. It was only the capital

accumulation of Liverpool which called the population of Lancashire into existence and stimulated the manufacturers of Manchester”.

Elsewhere in the United Provinces (Holland), almost all the gold used for coinage came from the Gold Coast. During the first 13 years of the Dutch West India Company’s operations on the Gold Coast, the United Province imported about 40,461 *Marks* of gold estimated to be worth about 17,733,899 *Florins* (Daaku 1970: 14). From the late seventeenth century however, trade in slaves became the main occupation of European traders. It became an integral part of the Trans-Atlantic Trade network additional to gold, ivory and palm oil due to rapidly expanding plantation economies in the West Indies and America. It was the most lucrative export commodity superseding and overshadowing gold and ivory in terms of quantity and value (Drolor Bosso Adamtey 1 2007: 18; Daaku 1970: 19). Currently, there is no consensus regarding the numbers transported and figures vary from researcher to researcher. Boahen (1980: 109) and Davidson (1965: 285) for example, assert that from about 1530 – 1600, an average of 13,000 was exported yearly, rising to 27,500 in the seventeenth century, 70,000 in the eighteenth century and 135,000 by the early nineteenth century. The table below provides a nation by nation guesstimate of total slaves exported from the Guinea Coast.

Table 3.1.

Carriers	Quantum export of slaves
English	2,532,300
Portuguese	1,796,300
French	1,180,300
Dutch	350,900
North Americans	194,200
Danish	73,900
Sweden / Brandenburgians (others)	5,000
Total	6,132,900

‘The volumes of Atlantic Slave Trade: A synthesis’. Source: Paul Lovejoy: *Journal of African History*, (1982: 483).

According to Dow (1927: 90), the Royal Africa Company, one of several European shippers in 1768 transported 60,783, using 249 vessels of which 14,378 died in the “middle passage”. Beckles and Shepherd (2007: xxii) and Lawrence (1963: 39) also assert that throughout the tenure of the Atlantic Trade, an estimated 10 – 15 million landed alive in the Americas; that one in every six died on the voyage. This translates to between 2 – 2.5 million perishing out of the estimated 60 million captives who departed the Guinea Coast. According to St. Clair (2006: 3), about 11 million Africans passed through the “door of no return” during that period while Philip Curtin (1969: 43), a leading authority on the African slave trade has put out a conservative figure asserting that only 6.3 million were shipped. Curtin’s figure is not plausible because in the 1650’s, the Royal Africa Company alone reported it had transported some 5,000 slaves across the Atlantic annually. The company branded its captives with the letters “DY” after its Chief Operating Officer (the Duke of York) or “R.A.C.” which was the company’s abbreviation. According to www.blackpast.org, this rose to 90,000 – 100,000 from 1672 – 1689. Whatever the figure, it was exceedingly profitable for the English and Dutch. The latter for example, bought slaves on the Gold Coast for about 45 *Florins* per head and sold them for 200 *Florins* in the New World (Daaku 1970: 19).

For Africans however, it was devastating. Beckles and Shepherd (2007: xxii - xxiii) have guesstimated some 50 million victims were caught in the web of this horrendous trade as people who were either killed, injured, socially displaced or shipped, of which 10 - 20% died from hunger, disease, trauma or simply thrown overboard during the “middle passage” crossing. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade involved a total of about 27,000 voyages with the majority embarking from the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin with a few infusions from West-Central Africa (Morgan 2007: 123 - 126). Estimates by Beckles and Shepherd (2007: 42) and

Pentecost (quoted in Dow 1927: xix - xx) suggest that about 45% of slaves transplanted to the New World were political/war prisoners, 40% were kidnapped, and the remainder constituted debtors and convicts of the judicial system. The majority laboured on tobacco, sugar, coffee, indigo and cotton plantations and in factories where these crops were processed for consumption and export while the remainder worked as miners, domestic servants and soldiers.

The coastal trade was a high risk volatile venture requiring very large capital outlays. The cost of fitting ships was prohibitive and insurance premiums additional to cargo were generally high ranging from 5% - 25% of value. This necessitated the formation of joint-stock companies as a major means of raising money to finance their operations, reduce risks, and protect investments (Beckles and Shepherd 2007: 27 - 30). Designed to maximize the use of wind power, hardwood constituted 90% of basic construction material for the Atlantic trading ships. Average ship weight was about 200 tons and each transported about 5,000 enslaved persons across the Atlantic during its service career. Average crew size was about 40 and generally comprised a captain, doctor, cooks and artisans, with sailors making up the remainder (Beckles and Shepherd 2007: 31 - 40).

Much of the wealth of the Atlantic economies was derived from trade in slaves, gold and slave produced commodities in what was the world's first multi-national production system for mass markets. Not only did these coastal fortifications link the Gold Coast to bustling European ports like Bristol, London, Liverpool, and to the new fledging colonies in America but also to several hinterland markets on the Gold Coast such as Salaga and Techiman where much of the gold, ivory, slaves and other traditional export merchandise were procured. Up to about the 1680's, the Dutch were the biggest beneficiaries, especially of the slave trade relying on the Slave Coast, the Bight of Biafra and Angola for much of their supplies and reserving the Gold Coast exclusively for gold trade. On the other hand, the English procured the bulk of their slaves from the Gold

Coast and by 1700 had overtaken the Dutch as the principal beneficiary of the trade. According to van Dantzig (1980: 40) and Boahen (1980: 110 – 112), this was achieved through the importation of large quantities of firearms to facilitate the capture of slaves. Research by Inikori (2002: 53) for instance, has shown that from about 1796 - 1805, England exported a total 1,615,531 guns to West Africa, the bulk coming from the industrial city of Birmingham. He also guesstimated the annual total from Europe excluding England to be in the range of about 333,000 during the second half of the eighteenth century.

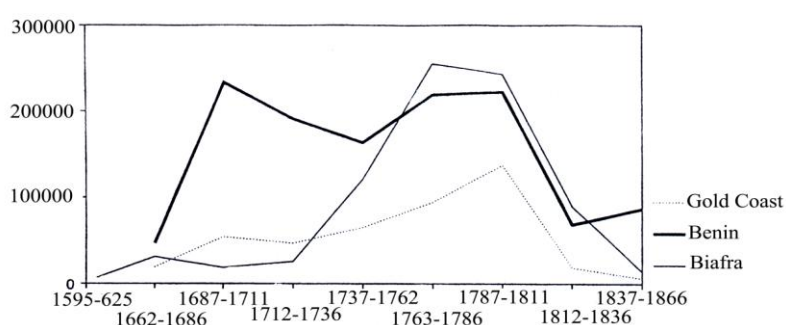


Figure 2.1. Slaves exported from West Africa, circa 1595-1866
Source: Compiled from the Du Bois Institute slave ship data set

For the English, the growth of the slave trade was largely based upon the development of the sugar industry in the West Indies, especially after colonizing Barbados and Antigua (Boahen 1980: 116). The Dutch and English during this period extended several of their forts with spurs and outworks to house slaves when the dungeons became full. These structural extensions during crisis periods also functioned as service and refuge yards for the local people from the surrounding community (Lawrence 1963: 35, 295 - 303).

3.4. The Forts and Castles of Ghana

Early European fortified structures can be broadly classified into three types on the basis of size, material content, and functional capacity. These are trade lodges, forts and castles (Lawrence

1963: 70; van Dantzig 1980: i). (Refer to pages 39 & 40 for the full lists of Ghana's trade lodges, forts and castles).

Trade lodges are small temporary trading posts mostly built of earthen material, swish or wood on a stone foundation. Most had their exterior walls protected against vagaries of the tropical weather by lime-wash. They lacked formidable defense structures because they served primarily as points for the exchange of goods. However, a few had one or two cannons to defend them. Several remained unoccupied for months until they received goods from nearby forts or till ships berthed (Lawrence 1963: 36). Occasionally, they were inhabited by one or two local employees of the company operating in the area "to maintain the flag". Currently, the few trade lodges still standing are severely dilapidated and in dire need of repair on account of the non-durable materials used for their construction. There are no traces of the majority except for a few stone blocks which were used to buttress their foundations.

Forts are of a more permanent nature built with bricks and stone and held together course by course with lime based mortar. They contain several rooms and quarters housing the commandant, officers, soldiers and their servants. They also had many installed guns, wall curtains and occasionally hollow bastions, muskets and ammunition depots. Nearly all the forts are outflanked at every corner by bastions or a roundel and their precise shape and angle were determined by the arc of fire required. The earliest of these buildings had their cannons and guns located on the land side because their European occupants initially expected antagonists would attack from on-shore. However from the sixteenth century, the real danger shifted to the sea-side against ships of their commercial rivals, unsanctioned traders and interloper captains who had arrived in large numbers on the Gold Coast to cash in on the trade boom. They were administered by Commandants who reported to Governors.

Castles are more elaborate, expansive and covered several acres with a complex network of buildings connecting each other. Like forts, they were well fortified against attack and additionally ‘functioned as a coordinating nucleus that controlled a number of satellite stations’ (Bredwa-Mensah 2005: 28). All had large underground cisterns with floored walls and vaulted in brick to store harvested rainwater. They were administered by Governors and were virtually self-sufficient in almost everything. They also housed staff of a varied nature such as security men, medical doctors, clerical and mercantile personnel as well as several skilled African handicraftsmen. According to Anquandah (1999: 11), some indigenes from the outlying communities employed as domestic servants, canoe men, porters and interpreters also lived in designated quarters within some of the castles.

Van Dantzig (1999: xii) has noted that the historiography of the forts and castles on the Gold Coast can be broadly categorized into five eras. The first spanning 1470 – 1600 was characterized by Portuguese hegemony and saw the construction of only one castle, two forts and a lodge. During the second era (1601 – 1650), two forts and two lodges were built. This period also saw the Dutch and English making significant commercial in-roads onto the Gold Coast. Main exports from the Gold Coast during the first and second eras comprised gold, ivory, salt, palm oil and timber. These traditional exports were exchanged for metal products, European and Indian textiles, alcoholic beverages, mirrors, guns, gunpowder and tobacco. Other exports to the Gold Coast included glassware, smoking pipes, glass beads and ceramics (DeCorse 2001). The third era which spanned seventy years (1650 – 1720) witnessed intense constructional activity culminating in the building of two additional castles, twenty two forts and several trade lodges at different locations. The vibrant nature of the coastal trade during this period can be attributed to the emergence of the new “commodity” – slaves, which turned out to be a very lucrative venture for

both European and African traders. During the fourth era which spanned 1720 - 1800, five forts and a few trade lodges were built. The fifth period 1800 - 1870 saw the construction of few trade factories many of which also functioned as military fortifications. Trade during the fifth era was characterized by the exchange of legitimate goods like palm oil, gold, timber, and cereals. The tables below show a full list of the various European trade stations (Castles, Forts and Trade Lodges), their locations on the Coast/hinterland, year of construction, and European nations which built them.

Table 3.2. Table showing list of early European Forts

	Name of Fort	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	Fort St. Antonio	Axim	1515	Portugal
2	Fort St. Sebastiao	Shama	1520	Portugal
3	Fort Nassau	Mouri	1612	The Netherlands
4	Fort Amsterdam	Kormantse	1638	The Netherlands
5	Fort Crevecoeur	Accra	1649	The Netherlands
6	Fort Witsen	Takoradi	1652	The Netherlands
7	Fort Ruychaver	Near Awudua Dada	1652	The Netherlands
8	Fort Batenstein	Butre	1656	The Netherlands
9	Fort Fredriksborg Royal	Cape Coast	1658	Denmark
10	Fort Coenraadsburg	Elmina	1660	The Netherlands
11	Fort Oranje	Sekondi	1670	The Netherlands
12	James Fort	Accra	1673	Britain
13	Winneba Fort	Winneba	1673	Britain
14	Fort Royal	Cape Coast	1697	Britain
15	Fort Vreedenburg	Komenda	1682	The Netherlands
16	Fort Groot Friedrichburg	Princetown/ Pokesu	1683	Brandenburg
17	Fort Dorothea	Akwada	1685	Brandenburg
18	Fort Metal Cross	Dixcove	1692	Britain
19	Fort Sophie Louise	Takrama	1694	Brandenburg
20	Fort Patience (Lijdzaamheid)	Apam	1697	The Netherlands
21	Fort De Goede Hoop	Senya Beraku	1705	The Netherlands
22	Elize Carthago	Near mouth of Ankobra River	?	The Netherlands
23	Fort Komenda	Komenda	1708	Britain
24	Fort Tantomquery	Tantomquery	1721	Britain
25	Fort Singelenburgh	Keta	1734	The Netherlands
26	Fort Fredensborg	Old Ningo	1741	Denmark
27	Fort Venon	Prampram	1745	Britain
28	Fort William	Anomabu	1753	Britain
29	Anomabu Fort	Anomabu	1754	France
30	Fort Apollonia	Beyin	1768	Britain
31	Fort Prindsenstein	Keta	1783	Denmark
32	Fort Kongesten	Ada	1783	Denmark

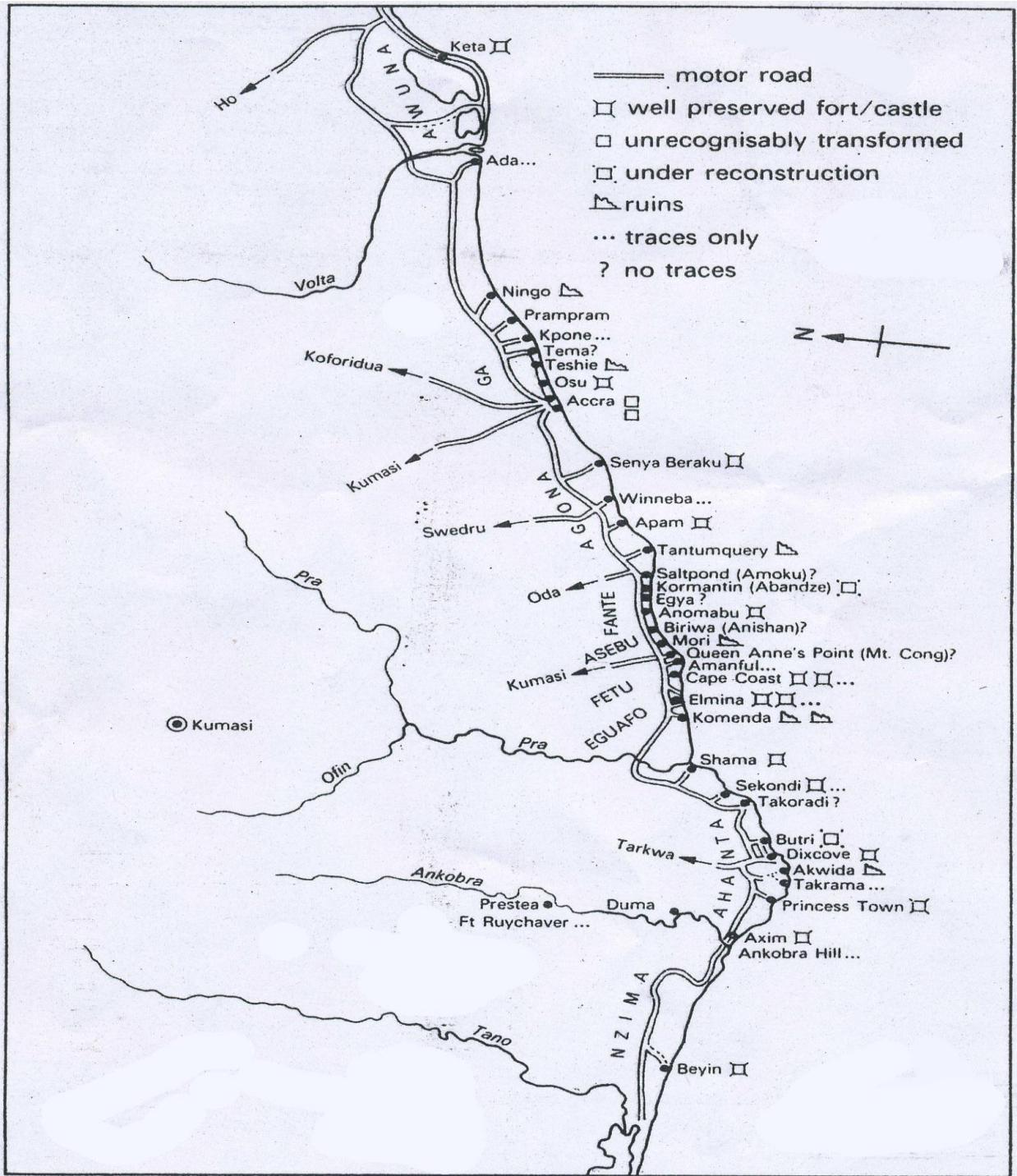
33	Fort Augustaborg	Teshie	1783	Denmark
34	Fort Amoku	Amoku	1787	France

Table 3.3. Table showing list of early European Castles

	Name of Castle	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	St Jorge	Elmina	1482	Portugal
2	Cape Coast Castle	Cape Coast	1653	Sweden / Britain
3	Christiansborg Castle	Osu, Accra	1661	Denmark

Table 3.4. Table showing list of early European Trade Lodges

	Name of Fort	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	Axim Trade Lodge	Axim	1502	Portugal
2	Moure Trade Lodge	Moure	1503	Portugal
3	Shama Trade Lodge	Shama	1526	Portugal
4	Brazil Lane / Lodge	Accra	1576	Portugal
5	Kormantin Trade Lodge	Kormantin	1598	The Netherlands
6	Moure Trade Lodge	Moure	1598	The Netherlands
7	Ankobra Trade Lodge	Near mouth of Ankobra River	?	Portugal
8	Duma Trade Lodge	Akwaso	1623	Portugal
9	Jumore Trade Lodge	Jumore	?	Sweden
10	Butre Trade Lodge	Butre	1650	Sweden
11	Komenda Trade Lodge	Komenda	1687	France
12	Louisa Trade Lodge	Takrama	1685	Brandenburg
13	Veersche Schans Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
14	Beeckesteyn Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	Brandenburg
15	Schomerus Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
16	Java Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
17	Nagtglass	Elmina	c. 1665	The Netherlands
18	Queen Anne's Point	Cape Coast	?	The Netherlands
19	Egya Trade Lodge	Egya	?	Britain
20	Egya Trade Lodge	Egya	c. 1725	The Netherlands
21	Anomabu Trade Lodge	Anomabu	1754 - 58	French
22	Legu Trade Lodge	Legu	c. 1745	Britain
23	Legu Trade Lodge	Legu	c.1697	The Netherlands
24	Shidoe Trade Lodge	Shidoe	c. 1725	Britain
25	Teshie Trade Lodge	Teshie	c. 1764	Denmark
26	Teshie Trade Lodge	Teshie	?	The Netherlands
27	Nyinyanu Trade Lodge	Nyinyanu	?	The Netherlands
28	Labadi Trade Lodge	Labadi	?	The Netherlands
29	Labadi trade Lodge	Labadi	?	Denmark
30	Kpone Trade Lodge	Kpone	1701	The Netherlands
31	Tema Trade Lodge	Tema	1701, 1714	The Netherlands



Map 3.1. Map of coastal Ghana showing the geographical locations of some European trade station including Fort Metal Cross. (From *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, van Dantzig 1980: 89)

The overriding purposes for the construction of these fortifications were four-fold. First, they served as trade/logistical outposts to gain a foothold and support European commercial interests. This objective was achieved by securing permanent accommodation for the various Director-Generals, Governors, Commandants, and their supportive administrative and military staffs who played key roles in the political, economic and social activities and events in their operational areas. Second, they served as warehouses where slaves, palm oil, ivory, and gold were stored awaiting shipment to Europe and the Americas. Exotic European export merchandise like alcoholic beverages, firearms, gunpowder, textiles, glass beads, ceramics, metal tools and implements were also stored there prior to being traded for local goods. Third, they served as garrisons to facilitate European political expansionist policy and global capitalism and fourth, they served as administrative centres for the various European powers operating in the region. Cape Coast Castle for example, was the administrative headquarters of British operations in Africa. For 143 years (1664 – 1807), it served as the grand emporium of their Trans-Atlantic Trade network. British fortifications located at Whydah, Gambia, Sierra Leone and for a time Goree Island in Senegal were all controlled and administered from Cape Coast (St Clair 2006: 2). Several reasons have been assigned for the siting of these structures at the places where they were built. By far, the most compelling factor was defensive – to ward-off attacks from rival European traders who would want to gain access to their markets. This explains why several of them were located on hill-tops to allow for optimum monitoring of the outlying areas bordering them (St. Clair 2006: 1 - 2).

Another factor was geographical. Much of the coastal front of the Gold Coast especially between Accra and Axim was characterized in many places by large irregular rocky outcrops. These were

used as natural landing harbours, bays and capes where merchandise was off-loaded and on-loaded onto ships (van Dantzig 1980: iii – ix).

That the Gold Coast was the only area in the sub-region to have had abundant reserves of gold and hardwood timber very close to the coast served as additional attraction for early European traders to build their trade stations at the places where they were sited to enable them exploit these resources which were in high demand in Europe (van Dantzig 1980: ix – x; Lawrence 1963: 31). The easy availability of local building materials like rock (gneiss and granite), hardwood, and lime (derived from burning molluscs shells) have been cited as other prime factors responsible for the location of some of these fortifications at the places where they were built because it went a long way to reduce building and maintenance cost (Bosman 1705: 12; Barbot 1732: 151; Anquandah 1999: 8; Lawrence 1963: 294).

Nearly all the trade factories on the Gold Coast “were built with the consent and sometimes at the urgent request of the chiefs and local peoples at the areas where they were sited, the only exception being Keta where the natives fiercely resisted the Danes opting for free trade in preference for military protection (Lawrence 1963: 66 – 71; van Dantzig 1980: xii). It was also meant to “uphold the sovereignty” and defend the interest of coastal states against adversaries and antagonistic neighbors (Anquandah 1999: 18). In return, Europeans guaranteed to defend the towns in the event of an attack by protagonists. One typical example of this type of arrangement is the 1681 agreement between the Elector of Brandenburg on one hand and the Chiefs and people of Eastern Nzema. It read in part: “You bound yourself by oath to trade with no one whomsoever except our ships and people, also to bring the neighbouring places in with you into such an arrangement, and to indicate to our officers a site whereon to build a fort, and to accept us as your protector” (Lawrence 1963: 66).

The Danish Officer Rømer (2000: 25) also noted that the people of Ningo particularly the women and children together with all their household items took refuge in the fort's courtyard and around its batteries where they would not have suffered injury when the town was attacked by adversaries such as occurred in 1742 when Ashantis attacked the town. A similar situation occurred at Dixcove during the Ahanta 1750 siege. The English Governor of the fort allowed all non-combatants to take refuge inside the fort and when their water and food supplies began to dwindle, transferred them by ship to another English fort instructing the Commanding Officer there to take care of them (Lawrence 1963: 67).

That these fortifications were well secured with heavy canons and guns, some of which were directed inland supports the notion that it was done to seek European assistance in times of war and distress. This however was not always the case as was demonstrated at Winneba in 1812 when the English destroyed not only their own fort but severely bombarded the town and massacred several indigenes as punishment for the murder of the English Commander of the fort (Lawrence 1963: 68).

Where relations were cordial, European companies as added incentive were granted monopolies on the export/import trade in their operational areas. All the European nations which operated on the Gold Coast tried tenuously to obtain exclusive trading rights from traditional rulers of the coastal kingdoms where they had built their trade factories. It is therefore not surprising that in some instances when political disintegration occurred within some of these states, the European nation operating there went to great lengths to secure and ensure optimum security of the townsfolk against the contending enemy. Occasionally however, lands on which trade stations were built were purchased outright, leased in perpetuity on an annual rent, or made to pay a

retaining fee to the Chiefs as was the case at Elmina, Cape Coast, Kinka (Accra) and Dixcove. For example, an 1814 report by James Mollan (quoted in Metcalfe 1964: 31) intimated that:

“Quashie Bundy, ground landlord (Chief) of Dixcove was paid: 30s; Tando Cudjoe, principal *Caboceer*, 40s. These persons have each great influence over the towns they reside in, and their predecessors have shown great attachment to the English in various disputes with the Dutch who have a fort immediately to windward and another to leeward of Dixcove”.

It is worth noting that elsewhere on the coast, Europeans did not have total territorial jurisdiction beyond the walls of the forts they occupied.

Studies on artifact patterning and use-wear has shown that extensive changes occurred in the socio-economic and cultural life-ways of the local peoples in the centuries following the post European contact period (DeCorse 1997, 1998, 2001; Anquandah 1982, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2002, Hopkins 1997; Lawrence 1963; Boachie-Ansah 2008; van Dantzig 1978, 1980; Brukum 1985; Blake 1997). For example, archaeological investigations at Elmina, Anomabo and Axim have indicated the local people embraced European cultural life-styles like smoking tobacco through pipes, dress codes, cuisines, architecture, and even adopted European names (DeCorse 2001; Freeman 2008; Gyam 2008). However, in other aspects like dietary patterns, construction technology, ideology, belief systems and the peoples’ shared world view, change was less dramatic (DeCorse 2001: 92 – 126).

Trade competition on the Gold Coast was not limited to European traders but was equally intense among African traders and wherever forts were built, the indigenes benefited directly and indirectly. According to Lawrence (1963: 68), Chiefs of towns with forts as well as places with an important natural resources demanded by Europeans like timber, lime, gold, and indented labour

were also remunerated or paid a regular retaining fee. Other items readily offered by Europeans to buy the goodwill of the local communities included annual Christmas presents, Commander's custom, ground rent, water custom, Sunday's and Wednesday's liquor, and gifts presented to the traditional authorities during festivals and special ritual ceremonies (St. Clair 2006: 34).

One consequence of the building of forts and castles on the Guinea Coast was that it generated employment opportunities for the indigenous populace. The major ones included interpreters, brokers, canoe men and porters. Porters for example, increased their earnings tremendously by carrying loads between ships and the beach as well as plying for hire to other forts located outside their home areas. The local people also sold fish, shellfish, and staples to Europeans for profit. African merchants actively involved in the coastal trade accrued great wealth, some of which was used to build large houses in European styles. John Conny of Pokesu, a broker for The Prussian Company can be cited as one of the most successful and wealthiest African traders of the period. According to van Dantzig (1980: 50 – 51), he was referred to as “king of the Prinze Terre” by the Prussians and Brandenburgers who were active along the western half of Gold Coast. He had great political power on the coast and had extensive economic links with several inland polities from where he procured regular supplies of gold and slaves. He is reputed to have had his own army which he commandeered against European nations and local states which sought to undermine or challenge his authority. With the departure of the Prussians in 1716, the affairs of Fort Gross Friedrichsburg was left to him and he is reputed to have conducted a brisk trade in gold and slaves from there with several interloper captains from all nations at prices about twenty percent lower than those pertaining in the neighbouring forts. His commercial activities at Axim, Butre and Sekondi crippled the Dutch trade there and it was only the timely intervention of the

Dutch and English with assistance from a Prussian “General” in 1712 which prevented his army from over-running Dixcove and its neighbourhoods (van Dantzig 1980: 51),.

The various European nations actively involved in the coastal trade also benefited immensely. In England, some of the major beneficiaries included the British royal family, the Church of England, and the British aristocracy (St. Clair 2006: 159 - 160). Many ordinary Englishmen also benefited directly and indirectly. They included the designers and engineers who built the specialized sailing ships used during the Trans-Atlantic Trade, persons employed in the armament industry, companies providing financial capital and insurance, and several other complex services essential for the successful operation of the trade. A similar reckoning can be made for the other slaving nations in Europe. In America and the West Indies, plantation owners and slave trading families constituted some of the highest beneficiaries while ordinary folks who supplied simple non exotic items like deerskins to in-coming settlers constituted the lesser beneficiaries (St. Clair 2006: 160).

The function of the forts and castles changed dramatically in the nineteenth century and Europeans no longer relied on them to protect their economic and commercial interests on the Gold Coast. The emphasise was now on their military value and many now functioned as naval garrisons and refueling bases. The forts and castles also served as fortified bulwarks against powerful local polities like Akwamu, Akyem and Ashanti due primarily to five factors. The first was that over a century of intensive slave raiding thoroughly disrupted the traditional gold mining industry culminating in the abandonment of several goldmines in the interior from where much of the gold was sourced. Second was Britain’s loss of some colonies in America which considerably reduced the market for slaves from Guinea. Third was the abolition of slavery in 1807 in England. Fourth, the new class of European industrialists was more interested in sourcing raw materials and

markets for their products rather than for slaves and last, the rise of Ashanti hegemony created serious insecurities in the interior where much of the gold, ivory and slaves were sourced. In the light of these developments, nations involved in the coastal trade had to review their internal operations. The Danes simply sold their five possessions to England for £10,000 and evacuated the Gold Coast. The Dutch and English initially exchanged a number of their trade factories with the former now controlling a continuous strip of coast west of the Sweet River (between Cape Coast and Elmina) and the latter the area east of it. In 1872, the Dutch repudiated this agreement and sold their possessions to the English for £3,790. 1s. 6p. Others like the French and Brandenburgers simply abandoned them and left the Gold Coast. Many fell into rapid decay in the early 1900's due primarily to lack of funds to maintain them. However, recommendations in the O'Neil Report of 1951 generated renewed interests in them and several including Fort St. Jago, Fort Metal Cross, Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Christiansborg Castle were systematically restored and opened to the general public and foreign tourists. A few including Fort Metal Cross, Fort William and Fort St. Anthony were partially restored and excellently presented as museums with comprehensive historical information to educate the public about their past.

According to Davidson (1965: 259, 284 – 286), the coastal trade on the Guinea seaboard was facilitated by these fortifications with long lasting positive and negative consequences for the peoples occupying the region. The mass importation of European firearms/artillery for example, helped fuel wars/conflicts in the sub-region, enabling polities like Denkyira and Ashanti to subjugate weaker states and enlarge their political jurisdictions. The Atlantic trade in slaves on one hand deprived the region of much of its valuable human labour force. On the other hand, it expanded the array of items traded (initially dominated by traditional items like salt, *quaqua*

cloths, *Acori* (*Akory*, *cori*) beads, leopard skins, grains and shellfish (Daaku 1970: 23 – 28) to include gold, ivory, slaves and exotic European imports like tobacco, alcoholic beverages, timber products, European and Indian cloth, and metal products. Lawrence (1963: 29) has noted: “In all history, there is nothing comparable with the effects produced by the forts of West Africa; nowhere else has small and transitory communities of traders so changed the life of the alien peoples who surrounded them, and indirectly of a vast region beyond”.

Chapter Three

A brief history of Euro-African interactions, trade stations and the coastal trade in Ghana.

3.1. Introduction.

This chapter details the history of the advent of Europeans, the coastal trade, and origination of the forts and castles from the earliest times to the period preceding Ghana's independence on the 6th of March, 1957, when she gained independence from Britain. The central role the forts played in facilitating the coastal trade and the part played by Europeans and the indigenous populaces in the construction of the forts and castles are comprehensively discussed. Other areas covered include the functional capacity of the forts, the nations which built them and materials used in construction are examined and presented. It assigns reasons for the construction of the forts and castles and why they were sited at their various locations along Ghana's expansive coastline. It also delves into their role in Ghana's checkered history and how they facilitated and contributed to Europe's overseas expansionist efforts as well as the shaping of the global politico-economic system.

3.2. A Brief History of the Euro-African Encounter on the Guinea Coast.

The forts and castles of Ghana are a great legacy and cannot be divorced from her history. Without these European trade stations, the history of Ghana, especially as it pertains to the coastal and forest populations would have been very different. Not only do they stand out as unique and striking architectural monuments but collectively they serve as important historical inheritance to the world. Built between 1480 - 1790, these trade fortifications have aided scholars measure the scope of Ghana's great cultural past and unearth the depth of its history spanning several centuries. For others, they evoke the horrendous scars of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade because they served as the focal points of this infamous network which saw the forceful transplantation of millions of Africans from their natural homelands across the Atlantic to Europe and the Americas. After over

five hundred years, many still stand in relatively good condition and have been adapted for other uses as administrative centres, state penitentiaries, schools, post offices, courts and museums. Others are in various states of ruin and dilapidation, while a few are barely traceable. Their authors were Europeans: Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes, Brandenburgers, Swedes and French. They number over 60 along Ghana's 500 kilometer coastline averaging about one per every 15 kilometers and sometimes within cannon range of each other. According to St. Clair (2006: 1) and van Dantzig (1976: 52), their large numbers along Ghana's coastal front which Europeans previously referred to as the Gold Coast was because that stretch was more accessible compared to the coastline lying on either side of it. To the west, it was skirted by shallow sandy lagoons while to the east, strong waves along the deltas of the Volta and Niger Rivers made berthing difficult for European mariners. Another reason was that the Gold Coast had abundant reserves of quality gold close to the coast.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to visit the Gold Coast. This was after King Alfonso V of Portugal had leased a ship, "The Enterprise of Africa" to Fernao Gomes for five years on condition that he explored at least 100 leagues of the African coastline annually (van Dantzig 1980: 2 - 4). Gomes and his crew arrived on the Gold Coast in 1482 and were impressed with the large quantity of gold obtainable at Elmina and so named the place *Mina de Ouro*, meaning goldmine. According to Fage (1967: 4), "their first trade in gold was pursued at Samma". Van Dantzig (1980: 4) however, asserts it occurred around the mouth of the Prah River. The trade in *Mina* gold quickly spread to outlying coastal settlements because of intense interest in the new manufactured goods from Portugal. Activities of the Portuguese during the early contact period was not only limited to trade because one of the earliest written documents of the Portuguese, a Committee of Enquiry Report in 1482 titled *The Inquiricao* which reported on Portuguese activities on the Guinea Coast

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 in lieu of providing them with statutory “service slaves”.

Several early European writers (Barbot 1732; Bosman 1705; Meredith 1812; Pereira [1892]1967) posit that Mina soon developed into an important market centre. According to van Dantzig (1980: 19 - 20) and Anquandah (2007: 28), several other coastal markets such as Cape Coast, Anomabo, Kormantin, Winneba and Moure 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 Abese were located inland in the area of Nsawam but its port of trade was “Little Accra”. Similarly, “Little Kormenda” was the port of trade of “Great Kormenda” (Eguafo).

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 Caramanca, sovereign of Elmina, a small kingdom along the banks of the Benya Lagoon to build a fort there to secure for them the gold trade. 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 which they named Castle Sao Jorge, after a Portuguese patron saint in 1482. They also imported from Portugal large quantities of red bricks, roofing slates, doors, plaster, wooden beams, rafters and window arches. The original design of Castle Sao Jorge bore structural similarities to the crusaders’ castles in the Middle East. This has 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 mouths of the Ankobra River at Axim (1508), and the Prah River at Shama (1550) to tap gold resources there. From the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, they also initiated the “Slaves for Gold” enterprise which involved buying slaves from West and Central Africa and exchanging them for gold and other African merchandise at Castle Sao Jorge. The slaves 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 West African slaves were brought into the Gold Coast from 1490 – 1630. The historical relevance of the Portuguese era was that a *modus vivendi* developed between indigenous traders and Europeans.

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 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 after the Stadthoelders at Moree in 1612, and followed up in 1621 with the setting up 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 Gold Coast can be attributed to

the fact that the trade in slaves 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 own trade factories several of which were located on hillocks to facilitate easy monitoring of the surrounding community as well as in-coming vessels of nations they deemed competitors (van Dantzig 1980: 21 – 52; Boahen 1980: 110; Lawrence 1963: 25 - 27). The security of existing fortifications on the coast was also structurally strengthened with the construction of bigger and wider wall curtains, metal balustrades, drawbridges and sometimes watchtowers. Other security enhancements included bastions and the use of bigger guns and cannons.

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 to enable it compete with the WIC. 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. French stay on the Gold Coast however was short-lived because of two factors: severe competition from the Dutch and English, and their inability to establish sound working rapport with the local peoples.

The Danes focused their attention on the eastern coastal belt, a region Europeans severally referred to as “Lay,” “Allampo”, “Alampi” and “Allampey” after the Adangme ethnic group who occupied

the area (Barbot 1732: 57). They first built Christiansborg Castle, one of three most imposing fortifications on the Gold Coast. They followed with a few small forts including Fort Kongestein (Ada) and Fort Fredicksborg (Prampram). 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 slaves 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. According to Bosman (1705: 304), the main trade of the people of the area “consisted in slaves which are also brought up by the mentioned Negroes (*Aquamboes*) but most of them are transported hence by English, French and Portuguese ships. Sometimes the slave trade here proves very advantageous, especially about the village of Lay”.

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 over-run 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 also worth noting that the various ethno-linguistic groups 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 Great Accra were allied to the Danes and Dutch respectively.

3.3. A Brief Historical background of the Coastal Trade

Prior to 1670, the trade in gold was the most lucrative on the Gold Coast. According to Boahen (1980: 108) and Daaku (1970: 11), the value of gold exported annually was about £10,000 which was equivalent to one-tenth of total world supply at that time. Eric Williams (quoted in Anstey 1975: 40 - 41) also noted:

“The triangular trade made an enormous contribution to Britain’s industrial development. The profits from this trade fertilized the entire productive system of the country. It was only the capital

accumulation of Liverpool which called the population of Lancashire into existence and stimulated the manufacturers of Manchester”.

Elsewhere in the United Provinces (Holland), almost all the gold used for coinage came from the Gold Coast. During the first 13 years of the Dutch West India Company’s operations on the Gold Coast, the United Province imported about 40,461 *Marks* of gold estimated to be worth about 17,733,899 *Florins* (Daaku 1970: 14). From the late seventeenth century however, trade in slaves became the main occupation of European traders. It became an integral part of the Trans-Atlantic Trade network additional to gold, ivory and palm oil due to rapidly expanding plantation economies in the West Indies and America. It was the most lucrative export commodity superseding and overshadowing gold and ivory in terms of quantity and value (Drolor Bosso Adamtey 1 2007: 18; Daaku 1970: 19). Currently, there is no consensus regarding the numbers transported and figures vary from researcher to researcher. Boahen (1980: 109) and Davidson (1965: 285) for example, assert that from about 1530 – 1600, an average of 13,000 was exported yearly, rising to 27,500 in the seventeenth century, 70,000 in the eighteenth century and 135,000 by the early nineteenth century. The table below provides a nation by nation guesstimate of total slaves exported from the Guinea Coast.

Table 3.1.

Carriers	Quantum export of slaves
English	2,532,300
Portuguese	1,796,300
French	1,180,300
Dutch	350,900
North Americans	194,200
Danish	73,900
Sweden / Brandenburgians (others)	5,000
Total	6,132,900

‘The volumes of Atlantic Slave Trade: A synthesis’. Source: Paul Lovejoy: *Journal of African History*, (1982: 483).

According to Dow (1927: 90), the Royal Africa Company, one of several European shippers in 1768 transported 60,783, using 249 vessels of which 14,378 died in the “middle passage”. Beckles and Shepherd (2007: xxii) and Lawrence (1963: 39) also assert that throughout the tenure of the Atlantic Trade, an estimated 10 – 15 million landed alive in the Americas; that one in every six died on the voyage. This translates to between 2 – 2.5 million perishing out of the estimated 60 million captives who departed the Guinea Coast. According to St. Clair (2006: 3), about 11 million Africans passed through the “door of no return” during that period while Philip Curtin (1969: 43), a leading authority on the African slave trade has put out a conservative figure asserting that only 6.3 million were shipped. Curtin’s figure is not plausible because in the 1650’s, the Royal Africa Company alone reported it had transported some 5,000 slaves across the Atlantic annually. The company branded its captives with the letters “DY” after its Chief Operating Officer (the Duke of York) or “R.A.C.” which was the company’s abbreviation. According to www.blackpast.org, this rose to 90,000 – 100,000 from 1672 – 1689. Whatever the figure, it was exceedingly profitable for the English and Dutch. The latter for example, bought slaves on the Gold Coast for about 45 *Florins* per head and sold them for 200 *Florins* in the New World (Daaku 1970: 19).

For Africans however, it was devastating. Beckles and Shepherd (2007: xxii - xxiii) have guesstimated some 50 million victims were caught in the web of this horrendous trade as people who were either killed, injured, socially displaced or shipped, of which 10 - 20% died from hunger, disease, trauma or simply thrown overboard during the “middle passage” crossing. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade involved a total of about 27,000 voyages with the majority embarking from the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin with a few infusions from West-Central Africa (Morgan 2007: 123 - 126). Estimates by Beckles and Shepherd (2007: 42) and Pentecost (quoted in Dow 1927: xix - xx) suggest that about 45% of slaves transplanted to the New

World were political/war prisoners, 40% were kidnapped, and the remainder constituted debtors and convicts of the judicial system. The majority laboured on tobacco, sugar, coffee, indigo and cotton plantations and in factories where these crops were processed for consumption and export while the remainder worked as miners, domestic servants and soldiers.

The coastal trade was a high risk volatile venture requiring very large capital outlays. The cost of fitting ships was prohibitive and insurance premiums additional to cargo were generally high ranging from 5% - 25% of value. This necessitated the formation of joint-stock companies as a major means of raising money to finance their operations, reduce risks, and protect investments (Beckles and Shepherd 2007: 27 - 30). Designed to maximize the use of wind power, hardwood constituted 90% of basic construction material for the Atlantic trading ships. Average ship weight was about 200 tons and each transported about 5,000 enslaved persons across the Atlantic during its service career. Average crew size was about 40 and generally comprised a captain, doctor, cooks and artisans, with sailors making up the remainder (Beckles and Shepherd 2007: 31 - 40).

Much of the wealth of the Atlantic economies was derived from trade in slaves, gold and slave produced commodities in what was the world's first multi-national production system for mass markets. Not only did these coastal fortifications link the Gold Coast to bustling European ports like Bristol, London, Liverpool, and to the new fledging colonies in America but also to several hinterland markets on the Gold Coast such as Salaga and Techiman where much of the gold, ivory, slaves and other traditional export merchandise were procured. Up to about the 1680's, the Dutch were the biggest beneficiaries, especially of the slave trade relying on the Slave Coast, the Bight of Biafra and Angola for much of their supplies and reserving the Gold Coast exclusively for gold trade. On the other hand, the English procured the bulk of their slaves from the Gold Coast and by 1700 had overtaken the Dutch as the principal beneficiary of the trade. According to van Dantzig

(1980: 40) and Boahen (1980: 110 – 112), this was achieved through the importation of large quantities of firearms to facilitate the capture of slaves. Research by Inikori (2002: 53) for instance, has shown that from about 1796 - 1805, England exported a total 1,615,531 guns to West Africa, the bulk coming from the industrial city of Birmingham. He also guesstimated the annual total from Europe excluding England to be in the range of about 333,000 during the second half of the eighteenth century.

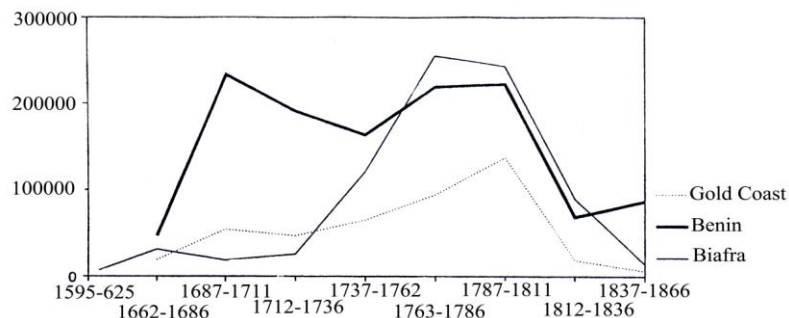


Figure 2.1. Slaves exported from West Africa, circa 1595-1866
Source: Compiled from the Du Bois Institute slave ship data set

For the English, the growth of the slave trade was largely based upon the development of the sugar industry in the West Indies, especially after colonizing Barbados and Antigua (Boahen 1980: 116). The Dutch and English during this period extended several of their forts with spurs and outworks to house slaves when the dungeons became full. These structural extensions during crisis periods also functioned as service and refuge yards for the local people from the surrounding community (Lawrence 1963: 35, 295 - 303).

3.4. The Forts and Castles of Ghana

Early European fortified structures can be broadly classified into three types on the basis of size, material content, and functional capacity. These are trade lodges, forts and castles (Lawrence

1963: 70; van Dantzig 1980: i). (Refer to pages 39 & 40 for the full lists of Ghana's trade lodges, forts and castles).

Trade lodges are small temporary trading posts mostly built of earthen material, wattle or wood on a stone foundation. Most had their exterior walls protected against vagaries of the tropical weather by lime-wash. They lacked formidable defense structures because they served primarily as points for the exchange of goods. However, a few had one or two cannons to defend them. Several remained unoccupied for months until they received goods from nearby forts or till ships berthed (Lawrence 1963: 36). Occasionally, they were inhabited by one or two local employees of the company operating in the area "to maintain the flag". Currently, the few trade lodges still standing are severely dilapidated and in dire need of repair on account of the non-durable materials used for their construction. There are no traces of the majority except for a few stone blocks which were used to buttress their foundations.

Forts are of a more permanent nature built with bricks and stone and held together course by course with lime based mortar. They contain several rooms and quarters housing the commandant, officers, soldiers and their servants. They also had many installed guns, wall curtains and occasionally hollow bastions, muskets and ammunition depots. Nearly all the forts are outflanked at every corner by bastions or a roundel and their precise shape and angle were determined by the arc of fire required. The earliest of these buildings had their cannons and guns located on the land side because their European occupants initially expected antagonists would attack from on-shore. However from the sixteenth century, the real danger shifted to the sea-side against ships of their commercial rivals, unsanctioned traders and interloper captains who had arrived in large numbers on the Gold Coast to cash in on the trade boom. They were administered by Commandants who reported to Governors.

Castles are more elaborate, expansive and covered several acres with a complex network of buildings connecting each other. Like forts, they were well fortified against attack and additionally ‘functioned as a coordinating nucleus that controlled a number of satellite stations’ (Bredwa-Mensah 2005: 28). All had large underground cisterns with floored walls and vaulted in brick to store harvested rainwater. They were administered by Governors and were virtually self-sufficient in almost everything. They also housed staff of a varied nature such as security men, medical doctors, clerical and mercantile personnel as well as several skilled African handicraftsmen. According to Anquandah (1999: 11), some indigenes from the outlying communities employed as domestic servants, canoe men, porters and interpreters also lived in designated quarters within some of the castles.

Van Dantzig (1999: xii) has noted that the historiography of the forts and castles on the Gold Coast can be broadly categorized into five eras. The first spanning 1470 – 1600 was characterized by Portuguese hegemony and saw the construction of only one castle, two forts and a lodge. During the second era (1601 – 1650), two forts and two lodges were built. This period also saw the Dutch and English making significant commercial in-roads onto the Gold Coast. Main exports from the Gold Coast during the first and second eras comprised gold, ivory, salt, palm oil and timber. These traditional exports were exchanged for metal products, European and Indian textiles, alcoholic beverages, mirrors, guns, gunpowder and tobacco. Other exports to the Gold Coast included glassware, smoking pipes, glass beads and ceramics (DeCorse 2001). The third era which spanned seventy years (1650 – 1720) witnessed intense constructional activity culminating in the building of two additional castles, twenty two forts and several trade lodges at different locations. The vibrant nature of the coastal trade during this period can be attributed to the emergence of the new “commodity” – slaves, which turned out to be a very lucrative venture for both European and

African traders. During the fourth era which spanned 1720 - 1800, five forts and a few trade lodges were built. The fifth period 1800 - 1870 saw the construction of few trade factories many of which also functioned as military fortifications. Trade during the fifth era was characterized by the exchange of legitimate goods like palm oil, gold, timber, and cereals. The tables below show a full list of the various European trade stations (Castles, Forts and Trade Lodges), their locations on the Coast/hinterland, year of construction, and European nations which built them.

Table 3.2. Table showing list of early European Forts

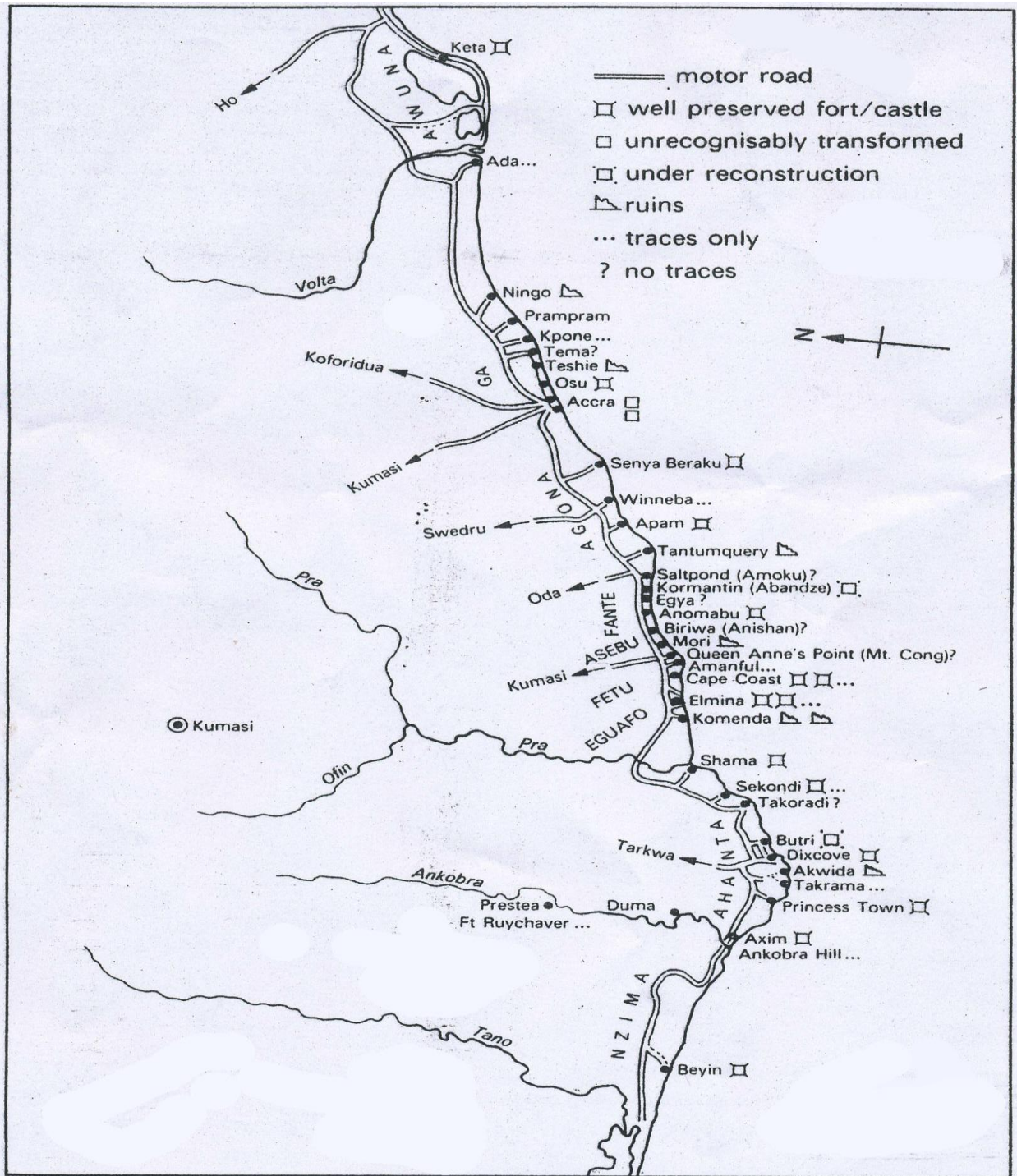
	Name of Fort	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	Fort St. Antonio	Axim	1515	Portugal
2	Fort St. Sebastiao	Shama	1520	Portugal
3	Fort Nassau	Mouri	1612	The Netherlands
4	Fort Amsterdam	Kormantse	1638	The Netherlands
5	Fort Crevecoeur	Accra	1649	The Netherlands
6	Fort Witsen	Takoradi	1652	The Netherlands
7	Fort Ruycaver	Near Awudua Dada	1652	The Netherlands
8	Fort Batenstein	Butre	1656	The Netherlands
9	Fort Fredriksborg Royal	Cape Coast	1658	Denmark
10	Fort Coenraadsburg	Elmina	1660	The Netherlands
11	Fort Oranje	Sekondi	1670	The Netherlands
12	James Fort	Accra	1673	Britain
13	Winneba Fort	Winneba	1673	Britain
14	Fort Royal	Cape Coast	1697	Britain
15	Fort Vreedenburg	Komenda	1682	The Netherlands
16	Fort Groot Friedrichburg	Prinestown/ Pokesu	1683	Brandenburg
17	Fort Dorothea	Akwada	1685	Brandenburg
18	Fort Metal Cross	Dixcove	1692	Britain
19	Fort Sophie Louise	Takrama	1694	Brandenburg
20	Fort Patience (Lljdzamheid)	Apam	1697	The Netherlands
21	Fort De Goede Hoop	Senya Beraku	1705	The Netherlands
22	Elize Carthago	Near mouth of Ankobra River	?	The Netherlands
23	Fort Komenda	Komenda	1708	Britain
24	Fort Tantomquery	Tantomquery	1721	Britain
25	Fort Singelenburgh	Keta	1734	The Netherlands
26	Fort Fredensborg	Old Ningo	1741	Denmark
27	Fort Venon	Prampram	1745	Britain
28	Fort William	Anomabu	1753	Britain
29	Anomabu Fort	Anomabu	1754	France
30	Fort Apollonia	Beyin	1768	Britain
31	Fort Prindsenstein	Keta	1783	Denmark
32	Fort Kongesten	Ada	1783	Denmark
33	Fort Augustaborg	Teshie	1783	Denmark
34	Fort Amoku	Amoku	1787	France

Table 3.3. Table showing list of early European Castles

	Name of Castle	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	St Jorge	Elmina	1482	Portugal
2	Cape Coast Castle	Cape Coast	1653	Sweden / Britain
3	Christiansborg Castle	Osu, Accra	1661	Denmark

Table 3.4. Table showing list of early European Trade Lodges

	Name of Fort	Location	Year of construction	Owner of facility
1	Axim Trade Lodge	Axim	1502	Portugal
2	Moure Trade Lodge	Moure	1503	Portugal
3	Shama Trade Lodge	Shama	1526	Portugal
4	Brazil Lane / Lodge	Accra	1576	Portugal
5	Kormantin Trade Lodge	Kormantin	1598	The Netherlands
6	Moure Trade Lodge	Moure	1598	The Netherlands
7	Ankobra Trade Lodge	Near mouth of Ankobra River	?	Portugal
8	Duma Trade Lodge	Akwaso	1623	Portugal
9	Jumore Trade Lodge	Jumore	?	Sweden
10	Butre Trade Lodge	Butre	1650	Sweden
11	Komenda Trade Lodge	Komenda	1687	France
12	Louisa Trade Lodge	Takrama	1685	Brandenburg
13	Veersche Schans Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
14	Beeckesteyn Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	Brandenburg
15	Schomerus Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
16	Java Trade Lodge	Elmina	?	The Netherlands
17	Nagtglas	Elmina	c. 1665	The Netherlands
18	Queen Anne's Point	Cape Coast	?	The Netherlands
19	Egya Trade Lodge	Egya	?	Britain
20	Egya Trade Lodge	Egya	c. 1725	The Netherlands
21	Anomabu Trade Lodge	Anomabu	1754 - 58	French
22	Legu Trade Lodge	Legu	c. 1745	Britain
23	Legu Trade Lodge	Legu	c.1697	The Netherlands
24	Shidoe Trade Lodge	Shidoe	c. 1725	Britain
25	Teshie Trade Lodge	Teshie	c. 1764	Denmark
26	Teshie Trade Lodge	Teshie	?	The Netherlands
27	Nyinyanu Trade Lodge	Nyinyanu	?	The Netherlands
28	Labadi Trade Lodge	Labadi	?	The Netherlands
29	Labadi trade Lodge	Labadi	?	Denmark
30	Kpone Trade Lodge	Kpone	1701	The Netherlands
31	Tema Trade Lodge	Tema	1701, 1714	The Netherlands



Map 3.1. Map of coastal Ghana showing the geographical locations of some European trade station including Fort Metal Cross. (From *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, van Dantzig 1980: 89)

The overriding purposes for the construction of these fortifications were four-fold. First, they served as trade/logistical outposts to gain a foothold and support European commercial interests. This objective was achieved by securing permanent accommodation for the various Director-Generals, Governors, Commandants, and their supportive administrative and military staffs who played key roles in the political, economic and social activities and events in their operational areas. Second, they served as warehouses where slaves, palm oil, ivory, and gold were stored awaiting shipment to Europe and the Americas. Exotic European export merchandise like alcoholic beverages, firearms, gunpowder, textiles, glass beads, ceramics, metal tools and implements were also stored there prior to being traded for local goods. Third, they served as garrisons to facilitate European political expansionist policy and global capitalism and fourth, they served as administrative centres for the various European powers operating in the region. Cape Coast Castle for example, was the administrative headquarters of British operations in Africa. For 143 years (1664 – 1807), it served as the grand emporium of their Trans-Atlantic Trade network. British fortifications located at Whydah, Gambia, Sierra Leone and for a time Goree Island in Senegal were all controlled and administered from Cape Coast (St Clair 2006: 2).

Several reasons have been assigned for the siting of these structures at the places where they were built. By far, the most compelling factor was defensive – to ward-off attacks from rival European traders who would want to gain access to their markets. This explains why several of them were located on hill-tops to allow for optimum monitoring of the outlying areas bordering them (St. Clair 2006: 1 - 2).

Another factor was geographical. Much of the coastal front of the Gold Coast especially between Accra and Axim was characterized in many places by large irregular rocky outcrops. These were

used as natural landing harbours, bays and capes where merchandise was off-loaded and on-loaded onto ships (van Dantzig 1980: iii – ix).

That the Gold Coast was the only area in the sub-region to have had abundant reserves of gold and hardwood timber very close to the coast served as additional attraction for early European traders to build their trade stations at the places where they were sited to enable them exploit these resources which were in high demand in Europe (van Dantzig 1980: ix – x; Lawrence 1963: 31). The easy availability of local building materials like rock (gneiss and granite), hardwood, and lime (derived from burning molluscs shells) have been cited as other prime factors responsible for the location of some of these fortifications at the places where they were built because it went a long way to reduce building and maintenance cost (Bosman 1705: 12; Barbot 1732: 151; Anquandah 1999: 8; Lawrence 1963: 294).

Nearly all the trade factories on the Gold Coast “were built with the consent and sometimes at the urgent request of the chiefs and local peoples at the areas where they were sited, the only exception being Keta where the natives fiercely resisted the Danes opting for free trade in preference for military protection (Lawrence 1963: 66 – 71; van Dantzig 1980: xii). It was also meant to “uphold the sovereignty” and defend the interest of coastal states against adversaries and antagonistic neighbors (Anquandah 1999: 18). In return, Europeans guaranteed to defend the towns in the event of an attack by protagonists. One typical example of this type of arrangement is the 1681 agreement between the Elector of Brandenburg on one hand and the Chiefs and people of Eastern Nzema. It read in part: “You bound yourself by oath to trade with no one whomsoever except our ships and people, also to bring the neighbouring places in with you into such an arrangement, and to indicate to our officers a site whereon to build a fort, and to accept us as your protector” (Lawrence 1963: 66).

The Danish Officer Rømer (2000: 25) also noted that the people of Ningo particularly the women and children together with all their household items took refuge in the fort's courtyard and around its batteries where they would not have suffered injury when the town was attacked by adversaries such as occurred in 1742 when Ashantis attacked the town. A similar situation occurred at Dixcove during the Ahanta 1750 siege. The English Governor of the fort allowed all non-combatants to take refuge inside the fort and when their water and food supplies began to dwindle, transferred them by ship to another English fort instructing the Commanding Officer there to take care of them (Lawrence 1963: 67).

That these fortifications were well secured with heavy canons and guns, some of which were directed inland supports the notion that it was done to seek European assistance in times of war and distress. This however was not always the case as was demonstrated at Winneba in 1812 when the English destroyed not only their own fort but severely bombarded the town and massacred several indigenes as punishment for the murder of the English Commander of the fort (Lawrence 1963: 68).

Where relations were cordial, European companies as added incentive were granted monopolies on the export/import trade in their operational areas. All the European nations which operated on the Gold Coast tried tenuously to obtain exclusive trading rights from traditional rulers of the coastal kingdoms where they had built their trade factories. It is therefore not surprising that in some instances when political disintegration occurred within some of these states, the European nation operating there went to great lengths to secure and ensure optimum security of the townsfolk against the contending enemy. Occasionally however, lands on which trade stations were built were purchased outright, leased in perpetuity on an annual rent, or made to pay a retaining fee to

the Chiefs as was the case at Elmina, Cape Coast, Kinka (Accra) and Dixcove. For example, an 1814 report by James Mollan (quoted in Metcalfe 1964: 31) intimated that:

“Quashie Bundy, ground landlord (Chief) of Dixcove was paid: 30s; Tando Cudjoe, principal *Caboceer*, 40s. These persons have each great influence over the towns they reside in, and their predecessors have shown great attachment to the English in various disputes with the Dutch who have a fort immediately to windward and another to leeward of Dixcove”.

It is worth noting that elsewhere on the coast, Europeans did not have total territorial jurisdiction beyond the walls of the forts they occupied.

Studies on artifact patterning and use-wear has shown that extensive changes occurred in the socio-economic and cultural life-ways of the local peoples in the centuries following the post European contact period (DeCorse 1997, 1998, 2001; Anquandah 1982, 1992, 1997, 1999, 2002, Hopkins 1997; Lawrence 1963; Boachie-Ansah 2008; van Dantzig 1978, 1980; Brukum 1985; Blake 1997). For example, archaeological investigations at Elmina, Anomabo and Axim have indicated the local people embraced European cultural life-styles like smoking tobacco through pipes, dress codes, cuisines, architecture, and even adopted European names (DeCorse 2001; Freeman 2008; Gyam 2008). However, in other aspects like dietary patterns, construction technology, ideology, belief systems and the peoples’ shared world view, change was less dramatic (DeCorse 2001: 92 – 126).

Trade competition on the Gold Coast was not limited to European traders but was equally intense among African traders and wherever forts were built, the indigenes benefited directly and indirectly. According to Lawrence (1963: 68), Chiefs of towns with forts as well as places with an important natural resources demanded by Europeans like timber, lime, gold, and indented labour

were also remunerated or paid a regular retaining fee. Other items readily offered by Europeans to buy the goodwill of the local communities included annual Christmas presents, Commander's custom, ground rent, water custom, Sunday's and Wednesday's liquor, and gifts presented to the traditional authorities during festivals and special ritual ceremonies (St. Clair 2006: 34).

One consequence of the building of forts and castles on the Guinea Coast was that it generated employment opportunities for the indigenous populace. The major ones included interpreters, brokers, canoe men and porters. Porters for example, increased their earnings tremendously by carrying loads between ships and the beach as well as plying for hire to other forts located outside their home areas. The local people also sold fish, shellfish, and staples to Europeans for profit. African merchants actively involved in the coastal trade accrued great wealth, some of which was used to build large houses in European styles. John Conny of Pokesu, a broker for The Prussian Company can be cited as one of the most successful and wealthiest African traders of the period. According to van Dantzig (1980: 50 – 51), he was referred to as “king of the Prinze Terre” by the Prussians and Brandenburgers who were active along the western half of Gold Coast. He had great political power on the coast and had extensive economic links with several inland polities from where he procured regular supplies of gold and slaves. He is reputed to have had his own army which he commandeered against European nations and local states which sought to undermine or challenge his authority. With the departure of the Prussians in 1716, the affairs of Fort Gross Friedrichsburg was left to him and he is reputed to have conducted a brisk trade in gold and slaves from there with several interloper captains from all nations at prices about twenty percent lower than those pertaining in the neighbouring forts. His commercial activities at Axim, Butre and Sekondi crippled the Dutch trade there and it was only the timely intervention of the Dutch and

English with assistance from a Prussian “General” in 1712 which prevented his army from over-running Dixcove and its neighbourhoods (van Dantzig 1980: 51),.

The various European nations actively involved in the coastal trade also benefited immensely. In England, some of the major beneficiaries included the British royal family, the Church of England, and the British aristocracy (St. Clair 2006: 159 - 160). Many ordinary Englishmen also benefited directly and indirectly. They included the designers and engineers who built the specialized sailing ships used during the Trans-Atlantic Trade, persons employed in the armament industry, companies providing financial capital and insurance, and several other complex services essential for the successful operation of the trade. A similar reckoning can be made for the other slaving nations in Europe. In America and the West Indies, plantation owners and slave trading families constituted some of the highest beneficiaries while ordinary folks who supplied simple non exotic items like deerskins to in-coming settlers constituted the lesser beneficiaries (St. Clair 2006: 160).

The function of the forts and castles changed dramatically in the nineteenth century and Europeans no longer relied on them to protect their economic and commercial interests on the Gold Coast. The emphasise was now on their military value and many now functioned as naval garrisons and refueling bases. The forts and castles also served as fortified bulwarks against powerful local polities like Akwamu, Akyem and Ashanti due primarily to five factors. The first was that over a century of intensive slave raiding thoroughly disrupted the traditional gold mining industry culminating in the abandonment of several goldmines in the interior from where much of the gold was sourced. Second was Britain’s loss of some colonies in America which considerably reduced the market for slaves from Guinea. Third was the abolition of slavery in 1807 in England. Fourth, the new class of European industrialists was more interested in sourcing raw materials and markets for their products rather than for slaves and last, the rise of Ashanti hegemony created serious

insecurities in the interior where much of the gold, ivory and slaves were sourced. In the light of these developments, nations involved in the coastal trade had to review their internal operations. The Danes simply sold their five possessions to England for £10,000 and evacuated the Gold Coast. The Dutch and English initially exchanged a number of their trade factories with the former now controlling a continuous strip of coast west of the Sweet River (between Cape Coast and Elmina) and the latter the area east of it. In 1872, the Dutch repudiated this agreement and sold their possessions to the English for £3,790. 1s. 6p. Others like the French and Brandenburgers simply abandoned them and left the Gold Coast. Many fell into rapid decay in the early 1900's due primarily to lack of funds to maintain them. However, recommendations in the O'Neil Report of 1951 generated renewed interests in them and several including Fort St. Jago, Fort Metal Cross, Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Christiansborg Castle were systematically restored and opened to the general public and foreign tourists. A few including Fort Metal Cross, Fort William and Fort St. Anthony were partially restored and excellently presented as museums with comprehensive historical information to educate the public about their past.

According to Davidson (1965: 259, 284 – 286), the coastal trade on the Guinea seaboard was facilitated by these fortifications with long lasting positive and negative consequences for the peoples occupying the region. The mass importation of European firearms/artillery for example, helped fuel wars/conflicts in the sub-region, enabling polities like Denkyira and Ashanti to subjugate weaker states and enlarge their political jurisdictions. The Atlantic trade in slaves on one hand deprived the region of much of its valuable human labour force. On the other hand, it expanded the array of items traded (initially dominated by traditional items like salt, *quaqua* cloths, *Acori* (*Akory*, *cori*) beads, leopard skins, grains and shellfish (Daaku 1970: 23 – 28) to include gold, ivory, slaves and exotic European imports like tobacco, alcoholic beverages, timber

products, European and Indian cloth, and metal products. Lawrence (1963: 29) has noted: “In all history, there is nothing comparable with the effects produced by the forts of West Africa; nowhere else has small and transitory communities of traders so changed the life of the alien peoples who surrounded them, and indirectly of a vast region beyond”.

Chapter Four

Definitions, data sources and reviews of some historical archaeological investigations in Ghana

4.1. Introduction.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first discusses some common definitions of historical archaeology, particularly as they pertain to Africa as well as their strengths and limitations. It also traces the development of the discipline, particularly in West and East Africa from its inception on the continent in the early 1950's to contemporary times, emphasizing its different parameters and interdisciplinary nature. The second discusses the major sources of data utilized by contemporary historical archaeologists in Africa in their investigations, their strengths and limitations as source materials and how they have facilitated and enhanced the reconstruction and interpretation of the human past on the African continent. The third outlines the scope and practice of historical archaeological research in Ghana from its inception in the country to contemporary times. It discusses some important historical archaeological and architectural investigations which have been undertaken in Ghana, particularly on the forts and castles over the last six decades. Major problems hindering its practice in Ghana as well as achievements chalked by both Ghanaian and non Ghanaian historical archaeologists over the period are also discussed.

The majority of the early researchers were non Ghanaians and some were not even archaeologists or historians. However, in recent times, Ghanaian researchers from the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, including some graduate students have played pioneering roles in documenting the historical archaeological histories and architectural parameters of these early European trade stations and have unearthed aspects of the cultural histories of both European and indigenous settlers who occupied the Gold Coast coastline during the period. The objectives of the early researchers, the types and quantum of cultural assemblages retrieved from the sites investigated, their relevance as data for reconstructing the socio-economic

and cultural life-ways of the settlers and significance of these research projects constitute the other main issues examined in this section.

4.2. Definitions, the scope, substance and practice of historical archaeology.

Historical archaeology can be defined as a branch of archaeology that draws on varied sources of information and techniques such as oral traditions, written sources, archaeological, anthropological, pictographic, and ethnographic data to interpret and reconstruct the human past.

The Society for Historical Archaeology on its website has described the discipline as:

“The archaeology of the modern world. Most historical archaeologists focus on the period after the fifteenth century. Historical archaeology is global in scope and deals with all groups of people, not simply those of European descent. Even though many earlier societies had writing: Sumerians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Olmec, and Mayans, specialists in other fields study the archaeological remains of these societies” (Veit 2003).

Historical archaeology originated in the United States in the 1920's. The primary focus and attraction of the early practitioners was the study of colonial European material culture. Some of the earliest historical archaeological investigations also focused on the context of restoration and conservation work using archaeological data as aid to architectural reconstruction (Harrington 1955, Noel Hume 1983). The idea and practice of the discipline has since spread to parts of Canada, Australia and Africa where Europeans settled and colonized in the last few centuries. James Kirkman (1957, 1974) and Neville Chittick (1975, 1984) are the pioneers of historical archaeological research in Africa. According to Swanepoel (2011: 565) and DeCorse ((2014: 147), the term “historical archaeology” was first used in Africa by James Kirkman in the early 1950s during his study of some sites along the East African coastline which were occupied by

Islamic settlers as far back as the eighth century A.D., and Europeans in the late fifteenth century. Kirkman and Chittick's focal areas of study were the Portuguese and Arab contact settlements on Pate Island, Kilwa and Sofala, and their long distance trade connections with the Indian Ocean communities. They also investigated the origins, nature and development of Swahili culture and the arrival of the Omani Arabs. They combined archaeological data with a variety of written sources such as the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and *Geographica* which pre-dated the first century A. D. Early Arab and Portuguese documents dating from the ninth century A. D. to the late fifteenth century constituted other material sources used by them to investigate and reconstruct ancient cultural life-ways of the indigenous populations on one hand and the Portuguese, Arab and Indian settlers on the other hand.

Historical archaeological research has since taken root on the continent with researchers branching into new areas like acculturation studies (Charles Redman 1986, Gyam 2008, Freeman 2008), the underclass and gender (Hall 1993), features of the European contact and the indigenous peoples (Schrire 1998, DeCorse 2001, Anquandah 1997, 1999, 2002, and Kinahan 2000) and contact with colonial and colonizing powers (DeCorse 2001). Other current areas of study include the study of different kinds of texts (Kirkman 1957), the nature and role of ironworking (Reid & Mclean 1995), socio-political complexity (McIntosh 1999) and cognitive organization (Winer and Deetz 1990).

The period subsequent to the 1970's also saw the formation of several historical archaeological societies worldwide to spearhead the goals and practice of the discipline. It also witnessed the proliferation of several world class journals/bulletins which published results of important historical archaeological investigations across the globe. Some of the earliest of these societies are the Australian Society for Historical Archaeology (www.asha.org), Society for Historical

Archaeology, U.S.A (www.sha.org), Society of Africanist Archaeologists and the Society of American Archaeologists (www.saa.org). Some of the prominent historical archaeological journals include *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* (www.kluweronline.com/issn/1092-7697/current), *Historical Archaeology* (www.sha.org) and *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology* (www.jada.org).

Currently, historical archaeology in sub-Saharan Africa is a burgeoning sub-discipline within African archaeology investigating diverse facets of the African experience over the last five hundred years. There has also been a radical shift in the focus and loci of historical archaeological investigations with the Western and Southern Africa sub-regions of the continent gaining increasing attention of historical archaeologists. Swanepoel (2011: 565) and Robertshaw (2004: 27) assert that two reasons account for this. The first was that West Africa was the ancestral home and point of embarkation of the large African-American Diaspora populations in America and was thus, of intense interest to African-American and African scholars and second, that Southern Africa has a history of settler colonization. Most studies in the above named sub-regions focused on the structural legacy of early European contact and colonization as well as the cataloguing and description of early European trade stations especially the castles, forts and trade lodges sited along the coast (Posnansky and DeCorse 1986; Mitchell 2002).

There is currently a great deal of disagreement among scholars regarding the definition of historical archaeology. This situation has arisen partly because historical archaeologists emphasize different time periods, employ different approaches, and diverse methods to derive data for their study. While some scholars emphasize specific areas and things in its practice, some consider the discipline by their methodologies which are the data sets used and their underlying epistemologies. Orser and Fagan (1995: 2) for example, define historical archaeology as a

discipline that “combines excavated information with traditional historical information.” Most historical archaeologists recognize the close developmental relationship between history and archaeology and view the discipline as a kind of archaeology which utilizes both primary records (history) and tangible material remains (archaeology) to investigate and reconstruct the human past. However, an adverse criticism of this definition has come from Africanist historical archaeologists because it excluded many societies in sub-Saharan Africa which were non-literate and hence could not document their past in writing. These groups of scholars reject the notion that it is archaeology used solely in conjunction with documented data and to remedy the anomaly, they argue historical archaeologists need to incorporate oral traditional history as an important source of information when researching non-literate societies.

Merrick Posnansky and Christopher DeCorse (1986: 6) also defined historical archaeology as “archaeology undertaken in periods or for areas in which the principal source of contextual information is provided by documentary evidence.” While recognizing the relevance of contextual data and its complementary role in buttressing archaeological data, critics have noted that even in literate societies, the extent to which historical data can be used to illuminate the human past is limited because of inconsistencies in the historical data and biased reportage especially when they have come from European writers and explorers during the early contact period. Furthermore, Posnansky (1959) and Schmidt (1978) have noted that studies of the “African Iron Age” sometimes have incorporated oral traditions, historical data and ethno-historical records, anthropological and ethno-archaeological studies in their reconstruction of the past and can thus be termed historical archaeology

Other scholars emphasize the chronological and geographical parameters of the discipline. Stanley South (1977b: 25) defines historical archaeology as “archaeology carried out on sites of

the historic period.” This definition places emphasis on chronology and geography and considers the two as integral in contemporary historical archaeological research. It can thus be used to study non-literate cultures.

Yet others like James Deetz and R. L. Schuyler consider the discipline from a global perspective. The former defined it as “the archaeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the fifteenth century and its impact on indigenous peoples” (Deetz 1996: 5). The latter defined it as “the study of the material manifestation of the expansion of European culture into the non-European world starting in the fifteenth century and ending with industrialization or the present, depending on local conditions” (Schuyler 1970: 88). These definitions have been rejected by most Africanist historical archaeologists mainly because they reflected the ethnocentric views of European scholars who only highlighted the impact of European culture on the indigenous populace and ignored the impact of indigenous cultural life-ways on Europeans. Schmidt (2006) for example, has categorically rejected this definition which emphasizes European expansionism and its attendant rise of global capitalism and industrialization primarily because it “privileges Western history over indigenous local understandings.” Scholars like Pikirayi and Pwiti (1999) have also noted that this definition completely negated African interactions with indigenous populations outside Africa such as India and China which long predated European contact. Connah (2007: 35) has noted that there can be serious chronological problems with the application of definitions which emphasis chronology because there are interfaces between pre-literate and literate societies in Africa which sometimes span several thousands of years. He noted for example, that in ancient Egypt and China, chroniclers were documenting their history as far back as 5,000 B.C. Therefore, ascribing a chronological framework to definitions can pose problems with its application. There have also been instances of regression in some areas as was

the case in Bornu located north of Lake Chad. Ibn Fartua, the Chief Imam of King Idris Alooma of Bornu documented in Arabic detailed reports of the latter's reign and activities in the late sixteenth century (1571 – 1583). There was however no written records of subsequent rulers and their activities after that till the nineteenth century (Conah 2007: 34 – 36).

Connah's views have received strong support from several scholars worldwide. Swanepoel (2011: 566) for instance, noted that the presence of documentary texts in Africa varied over time and space, noting that documentary records relating to events in the Sudanic and Sahelian belts go back as far as 800 A.D. while some documents relating to East Africa date back to the classical, Arabic, and Chinese periods. She however acknowledged that some of these sources are difficult to correlate to specific places in the archaeological record.

To remedy the problem of regression and ethnocentrism, Orser and Fagan (1995: 14) defined historical archaeology as “a multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the post prehistoric past and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life.” This definition is multi-faceted and encompassing because it recognizes the different research methods and approaches used to derive data (archaeological, historical, oral tradition, rock art and pictographic data). It also emphasized the cultural and historical processes of the modern world as well as the global dimension of the discipline. Most African archaeologists prefer Orser and Fagan's definition because of its usage of a wide diversity of source materials, its emphasis on indigenous populations and the investigation of a wide scope of topical issues like state formation, ethnicity, technology and other cultural historical developments (DeCorse 1996). Another all inclusive definition worth mentioning is Pikirayi's definition of historical archaeology. He defined it as “the study of sites

which can be interpreted with the aid of historical evidence such as written sources, oral traditions and historically datable imported artifacts” (Pikirayi 1999: 70).

The majority of these definitions and their emphasis on issues like chronology (time/period), methodology, and geographical location have done little to promote and define the practice, scope and parameters of the discipline. Orser (1996: 26) contributing to the debate has suggested that the crisis in historical archaeological theory can be addressed by providing a clear research focus on the global nature of modern life. In his view, the major defining aspects of historical archaeology should seek to understand the following: colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism and modernity (Orser (1996: 27 – 28). According to Orser (1996: 57), the above four themes “exist at every site, on every laboratory table, within every map and chart made”. While it is true that much of current historical archaeological investigations involve research questions centred on the above named thematic areas, this perspective can be misleading and problematic. For example, many populations in sub Saharan Africa and elsewhere outside the continent did not encounter Europeans or witness colonization. Furthermore, over the last fifty years, several investigations researching the archaeological record of the last 500 years have been on sites with little or no documentary records to draw on. A good example to illustrate his point is Peter Schmidt’s (1978, 1983, 2006) research in northwestern Tanzania. It is important to note that in many instances, even where Euro-African interactions/documentary sources exist, the accounts have focused almost exclusively on commercial events/occurrences within the European enclaves with little on the African settlement bordering them.

Africa’s pre-Atlantic history extends into antiquity, long before the arrival of the first European to the continent. Limiting the discipline to thematic perspectives like colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, modernity; and definitive chronological parameters like the Atlantic/post Atlantic

period limits Africa's history to only 500 years (Ogundiran and Falola 2007, DeCorse 2001b, Monroe and Ogundiran 2012). Terminologies which arbitrarily divide the continent's history into chronological perspectives such as historic/prehistoric, colonial/pre-colonial should be relegated to the past. Research designs/agendas of researchers' intent on carrying out archaeological investigations should be formulated and framed without conceptual labels like "historical archaeology. DeCorse (2014: 154) has noted that until "generic heuristic labels" are de-emphasized and the focus of practitioners are directed at answering specific research questions, the controversy will persist.

4.3. Major source materials of historical archaeologists.

Contemporary African historical archaeologists depend on a wide variety of source materials in their investigative research. The types, chronological sequences and ranges are however often specific to particular regions and localities rather than generalized for the entire continent. According to Swanepoel (2011: 567), classical, Arabic and Ethiopic texts constituted the earliest of these records with some dating to the late first millennium A.D. The vast majority of these records mainly reported on events and occurrences along the East African Coast, the Horn of Africa and the Western Sudan (*Bilad as-Sudan*) while subsequent Arabic documents from these regions particularly from the fourteenth century onwards consisted mainly of royal chronicles and religious texts. The *Kilwa Chronicle* is one example belonging to this period. Other sources belonging to the latter period include early European accounts most of which documented their commercial activities, specific events and some navigational peculiarities along the coastline where they settled. Like the Arabic and Ethiopic records, some of these records are inaccurate and contain glaring inconsistencies and exaggerations. This was partly because the writers elicited information and reports from second and sometimes third party informants. They also did not

have an understanding of indigenous African culture. According to DeCorse (1997), there exist also several indigenous writing systems such as the Vai Script (Liberia) and Nsibidi script (Nigeria). These however have limited usage because they were invented in the nineteenth century and thus have a narrow scope.

Even though there is a great deal of disagreement about the reliability, efficacy and time depth for which oral traditions can be used, they have proved very useful in contemporary historical archaeological research and scholars are increasingly drawing on clan and lineage histories, king lists, praise songs, poetry, myths and legends (Vansina 1965, 1985; Okoro 2008). Studies by Schmidt (1978, 2006) for instance, clearly showed that among some ethnic groups in Africa such as the Masai, knowledge of the landscape is often encoded in their myths and traditions. Reliance on oral accounts of European missionaries, administrators, traders, explorers and the indigenous elite have also proved very useful in recent times and are being increasingly used by contemporary historical archaeologists to help illuminate the past.

In spite of the usefulness of oral traditions, some major problems are associated with its usage and these include its unscientific mode of transmission from person to person, manipulation of the traditions to meet present day political needs and the fact that some of the information being passed on may be rendered symbolically. There is also the problem of telescoping (collapse of time) or feedback from more recent historical studies and texts (DeCorse 2001; Schmidt 1990).

Some scholars like Posnansky and DeCorse (1986) have consistently argued that ethno-archaeological data should constitute an important source material for historical archaeologists because much of “African Iron Age” archaeology draws on oral traditions and might as well be characterized ethno-archaeology or ethno-history. Lane and Reid (1998) on the other hand assert

that some long term ethno-archaeological studies spanning several decades undertaken in areas like the Kalahari in Africa qualify it as a form of historical archaeology because the researchers employed methodologies and data sets used by historical archaeologists in their investigations. However, Swanepoel (2011: 567 – 568) has cautioned that the degree of acceptance of ethno-historical data as a source material for historical archaeologists will be largely dependent on the contexts, the nature of the inquiry and research questions being answered.

4.4. A brief review of historical archaeological researches in Southern Ghana.

Historical archaeological investigations in Ghana can be categorized broadly into three major topical areas namely: structural and architectural surveys, historical archaeological investigations and restoration and conservation works. Under the first category, three projects come to mind. The first by Lawrence began in 1951 and spanned six years. He was the first European to conduct a detailed study of European trade stations in Ghana and his study involved the documentation, survey and elaboration of the architectural histories of eighteen forts and castles all located along Ghana's 500 km coastline. He also attempted to describe some of the artifacts he found during his surveys. His descriptions however were dismally done because they were not detailed and focused mainly on artifacts of foreign origins. He also failed to describe ecofacts found at the sites where he worked (Lawrence 1963).

Lawrence's work was outstanding because he used a variety of archival data the earliest of which dated to 1629. They included original manuscripts, dairies of Governors of the first and second Dutch Chartered Companies, hand drawn maps, old architectural plans and newspaper illustrations from the *Portuguesa Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina*. Other archival materials examined included old correspondences by staff of the Royal Africa Company lodged at the Public Records Office (London), the Courland Archives, The States Archives (The Hague), the

Danish Records Office (Copenhagen), General Direction of National Buildings and Monuments, the Commercial and Maritime Museum and the Arsenal Museum (Copenhagen). Lawrence also examined several micro-films lodged at different libraries in Portugal, The Hague, London and Denmark which he used to reconstruct the different constructional/architectural phases of the eighteen forts and castles he investigated.

Lawrence is also credited with “modernizing the spelling and punctuation of several English words and quotations to ensure uniformity” (Lawrence 1963: 18). He standardized the diverse methods of referring to dignitaries. For example, he used the word “Governor” to refer to the highest officer in a region, “Commander” for the officer in charge of a subordinate fort and “Chief” for an African who would be so described under present circumstances (Lawrence 1963: 18 – 22). The main limitation of Lawrence’s study was that he focused primarily on the architectural designs and structural transformations these buildings had undergone over time and space mainly as a result of trade and attacks from competitors. He also made no attempt to use the cultural materials recovered from his surveys to establish chronological sequence of events or reconstruct cultural life-ways of the natives and Europeans.

Another early non archaeological investigation of Ghana’s forts and castles was undertaken by W. J. Varley in 1952. He was contracted by the Colonial Government through the Monuments and Relic Commission of the Gold Coast to undertake a general survey to generate information which would facilitate restoration work on the forts and castles (Varley 1952: 1 – 4). Varley was a geographer and his work did not involve any excavations. Some of the forts he surveyed included Fort St. Jago, Cape Coast Castle, Christainborg Castle and Elmina Castle. He concluded in his final report that even though several were structurally sound, there was dire need for repair works on portions of the buildings before they can be opened to the public (Varley 1952: 13 – 15).

The second architectural and structural research project worth discussing involved the architectural and engineering survey of Fort St Jago, Elmina, by A. D. C. Hyland in 1992. The project was financed by the Central Region Development Commission under its Central Region Integrated Development Project/Tourism Development Scheme. Terms of reference of the project included the following (Hyland 1992: 6):

- (a) To establish the structural stability and durability of the fort.
- (b) Identify all defective and decayed materials and components and determine the extent of repair work.
- (c) Establish the condition of all service installations.
- (d) Determine state of ventilation and day lighting.
- (e) Establish public safety on the premises.
- (f) Provide accurate measured drawings of the building.
- (g) Determine the present condition of the fort, and
- (h) Provide a comprehensive photographic record of the building.

Hyland asserted in his final report that even though the structural condition of Fort St Jago was sound with no evidence of subsidence or movement on the fort's superstructure, there was dire need for maintenance particularly on the external walls, broken rainwater pipes, parapet walls, the S.E. wall walk and timber and asbestos partitions. He recommended that the monumental aspects of Fort St Jago and its architectural character as a copybook Baroque fortress needed to be protected and presented to the public. He also recommended that the entrance ravelin, outer wall walk, entrance vestibule, courtyard, bastions and upper wall walkway be made accessible to the public to enable visitors experience a seventeenth century fort, and that as far as possible the outward appearance of the fort and spaces between the public domain should retain their

seventeenth century colonial character and should not be encroached upon by functional requirements in the future (Hyland 1992: 11).

The third major historical architectural study which merits mention is the Castles of Ghana Project financed by the European Commission (Nicolini and Savoldi 2000). The Project investigated three forts namely, Fort St. Anthony (Axim), Fort Battenstein (Butre) and Fort William (Anomabu). The three were selected for study because there was substantial archival information on them which would have enabled the historical reconstruction of events and occurrences there. The study which began in 2003 spanned three years and was coordinated by two Italian Non-Governmental Organizations (N.G.O.'s), Ricerca e Cooperazione and Giovanni Secco Suardo Association (Nicolini and Savoldi 2000).. It also involved researchers and institutions from different areas of competence and specialization from the University of Groningen (The Netherlands), The Bauhaus University (Germany), Society of Architecture and Town Planning, Cooparch (Belgium), Culture Lab and the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (G.M.M.B). The project was undertaken in two phases. The first, undertaken in Ghana and Europe involved the study of archival data. The purpose was to gather information on building materials used in constructing the above named forts, deepen our knowledge and understanding of the cultural history and events which characterized the early contact period between Europeans and Africans, and establish the historical implications of the three forts towards developing tourism in the regions where they are located. The second phase involved field surveys and the purpose was sevenfold namely to:

- (a) Identify original construction materials used in building the forts.
- (b) Identify existing structural cracks and weaknesses requiring renovation work.

- (c) Assess and document their structural characteristics such as dimensions.
- (d) Identify construction materials used in subsequent modification works.
- (e) Establish their architectural worth.
- (f) Establish current usage, and
- (g) Make suggestions on how to support their conservation financially.

The Project made significant renovation and conservation works on the three forts and suggested in the final report that they “should not be considered in the future as merely impressive ruins from a past which was marked by dreadful events but should be used as an opportunity for different cultures to come together and interact” (Nicolini and Savoldi 2000: 9).

Historical archaeological research in Ghana was pioneered by Paul Ozanne in the early 1960s. His main focus was the Ga-Dangme civilizations of the Eastern Accra Plains. Reconnaissance surveys and excavations constituted the main methods he used to derive data (Ozanne 1962: 53 - 54). He noted extensive changes in the quantum and artifact inventories during the post European contact period for the area. Imported tobacco pipes of English and Dutch origins, alcoholic beverage bottles, glass beads, perfume jars, European ceramics and metal products constituted some additional novelties to the traditional inventory (local pottery, metal objects, molluscs and faunal remains) which were absent during the pre European contact era (Ozanne 1962: 62 - 66). He attributed the change in the assemblage to European presence on the Gold Coast and the coastal trade (Ozanne 1962, 1964a, 1964b). He also noted that the Ga-Adangme adopted several European lifestyles like smoking tobacco through pipes, European cuisine and ceramics, dress codes and weaponry (Ozanne 1962: 68 – 70). One outstanding achievement of Ozanne’s study

was the development of a veritable typological and chronological scheme for smoking pipes recovered from the Eastern Coastal Belt where he conducted much of his research (Ozanne 1964a, 1964b). It has currently become a standard reference scheme for archaeologists attempting to establish a chronological sequence for smoking pipes and by association other cultural materials and the sites from where they were recovered. Archaeologists who have used the scheme and attested to its validity include Keteku (1981) who used it at Nyanaoase, Bredwa-Mensah (1992) at Ayawaso and Boachie-Ansah 1986: 192 - 201) at Ahwene Koko.

The period subsequent to the mid 1980s saw a significant increase in the number of historical archaeological investigations in Ghana. One notable development in the discipline during this period was expansion in geographical interests of historical archaeologists. Transit camps, slave quarters, refreshment sites, the African settlements around the forts and fortified dungeons located within the forts and castles became focal centres for investigation. Some of these studies combined archaeological investigations with restoration works and researchers employed more systematic, scientific and comprehensive approaches to derive data. Another feature of this period was that researchers focused their interests on diverse topical issues such as the impact of the coastal trade on the indigenous populace (Anquandah 1992, 1993a, 1997, 2002; Boachie-Ansah 2008; DeCorse 1997, 2001), material culture associated with female slaves awaiting shipment to the New World (Anquandah 1997) and condition of the slaves at the point of departure (Diog Simmonds (1973). Other interest areas included patterns of acculturation (DeCorse 1987, 1992, 1997 & 2001), water management around the slave markets (Okoro 2006), plantation life and slave life-ways (Bredwa-Mensah 2005; Boachie-Ansah 2007: 537 – 562, 2009: 149 – 172) and the African settlements around the forts and castles (Anquandah 1999; DeCorse 1999, 2001).

Some of the investigations were funded by external agencies like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O) and the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies; University of Ghana which played a central role in facilitating several of the projects. In spite of the above achievements, several sites outside the Greater Accra and Central Regions are yet to be archaeologically explored and investigated though their research potentials have been recognized. Bredwa-Mensah (2005: 10) and Posnansky (1984: 196) have also noted that important topical areas like the impact of the slave trade on indigenous societies are yet to be studied. Other important topical areas which have received little attention and need to be investigated include the impact of the coastal trade on local demography and settlement patterns; and the effect of indigenous knowledge systems, technology and cultural life-ways on the European settlers.

Merrick Posnansky and van Dantzig's work at Fort Ruychaver located in the Prestea-Huni Valley District of the Western Region can be described as the earliest and one of the most important historical archaeological investigations to have been conducted in Ghana (Posnansky and van Dantzig 1976). Built by the Dutch in 1654, Fort Ruychaver is the only European trade fortification to have been located in a heavily forested area in Ghana's hinterland. It is located on a hill north of Awudua Dada, an ancient Wassa settlement renowned for its rich gold resources. The research team comprised professionals from varied backgrounds from the University of Ghana, Legon, and included a geologist, historian, technicians and students from the Department of Archaeology (Posnansky and van Dantzig 1976: 12).

Reconnaissance survey carried out in the area revealed several late nineteenth and early twentieth century artifacts like spirit and ink bottles, shot gun cartridge ends, burnt daub, European porcelain, and fragments of 'S' shaped red roofing tiles (Posnansky and van Dantzig 1976: 12 –

13). Petrological analysis of the tiles undertaken at the Department of Geology by Dr. M. R. Talbot revealed veritable quantities of foraminiferid-bearing cherts dated to the Cretaceous period. Cherts are unknown in Ghana but are common in alluvial clays in Holland indicating they were imported from that country and transported inland to the fort from the coast. Posnansky and van Dantzig also noted the presence of several low lying mounds and two groups of stone piles along the break of the slope at the top of the hill housing Fort Ruychaver. The stones measured approximately 1.5 m. high with the largest extending 12 x 6.5 m. and the smallest 8 x 5 m. To discover what lay beneath the stone heaps, portions were removed and few odd tile fragments were found on the original ground surface indicating the stone heaps post-dated the fort. Five large pits surrounded by up-cast earth, the deepest of which was 2 x 1.5 m. in diameter were also discovered around the precincts of the fort. Posnansky and van Dantzig (1976: 12 – 13) held that these pits were probably ancient gold prospection pits.

The next stage of field work involved gridding the site using 3 square metres intervals after which they opened 20 pits at various locations. The total area excavated was estimated at 37.5 square metre. Cultural materials retrieved from the excavated units included locally manufactured pottery, fragment of a grinding stone, burnt daub and fragments of red roofing tiles. The only material of European origin was one blue-striped glass cane bead which was found embedded in daub. Using the distribution and density of daub fragments, they guesstimated the breadth and length of Fort Ruychaver to be about 6 x 13.5 m. It is worthy to note these dimensions closely matched Valkenburg accounts in his 1654 report to Jacob Ruychaver. Posnansky and van Dantzig on the basis of the scatter of daub fragments inferred the alignment of the fort in a N.E - S.W direction. Outside the external parameters of the fort, he recovered even greater quantities of red roofing tiles and burnt daub, in some cases over 300 to a square metre. This supports the historical

accounts which assert that the fort was blown-up with gunpowder. This would have scattered the bulk of the fort's roofing tiles and other cultural materials housed in the fort outside the immediate precincts of the fort.

Reconstruction of some sherds revealed the following vessel forms were the most common: globular-shaped vessels with everted rims, hemispherical bowls with slightly in-curving horizontal rims and small open bowls with flat horizontal rims. One distinctive feature of vessels from the study area was their slightly concave rims with faintly grooved and impressed combed designs. The only decorative pattern on the body of vessels consisted of shallow grooving and impressed designs in a transverse vertical pattern along the bottom and neck areas of vessels. There was no evidence of slipping as a surface finishing method though there were traces of smudging attested by the recovery of a few blotchy black vessels. The fabric of the majority of the vessels also contained large quartz grains.

Major conclusions by Posnansky and van Dantzig (1976: 15) included the following:

- (a) That the wide scatter of red tiles and burnt daub, some at a considerable distance from the fort was clear testimony that the structure was destroyed in an explosion, probably followed by a conflagration which completely burnt the timber superstructure of the fort.
- (b) That the fort was not re-occupied after its destruction in 1659.
- (c) That the structure should be termed more correctly a lodge rather than a fort on account of its size.
- (d) That the fort was constructed of wooden poles and daub overlain with red roofing tiles, and

(e) That the recovery of only few artifacts at the site suggests occupation was short or that it was completely ransacked after the explosion and that its location on the steep sided hill would have promoted massive erosion down slope of what little materials was left on the fort's precincts.

Doig Simmonds was the first to conduct archaeological investigation at Cape Coast Castle (Simmonds 1973). This was in June, 1972. The castle built on an extensive subterranean rocky base is located on 5° 6'N, 1° 14'W. Oguaa (the original name of Cape Coast) lies north, east and west of it. The castle, originally a small trade station called Carolusburg was built by the Swedes led by one Krusenstjerna in 1653 (van Dantzig 1980: 28; Anquandah 1999: 46). According to Anthony Hyland (1979: 15 - 16), the original structure consisted of a small rectangular fortress with an inner central courtyard, a tower, lower polygonal bastions and a large outer polygonal courtyard. The English can be credited for transforming this small trade station to the status of a castle. Carolusburg changed hands rapidly during the next thirteen years because several European nations contended for that stretch of the Guinea Coast. The Danes captured and conducted trade there for three years. The Chief of Fetu held it from 1660 – 63 and then the Dutch were in control from 1663 – 64. The English took permanent control of the fort after the Anglo-Dutch war in 1665 and made it their headquarters for their West Africa trade operation (Lawrence 1963: 183 – 184; St. Clair 2006: 1 – 2; Anquandah 1999: 46 – 50). It served as the seat of the President of The Committee of Merchants trading in Africa and later the British Governor. The facility also served as a major education and Christian evangelization centre under the British (Boahen 1980: 120 – 122; Lawrence 1963: 63). From the early seventeenth to eighteenth century, Cape Coast Castle became an important entrepot of the Atlantic trade network where gold, slaves and ivory were channeled to European markets. After the abolition of slavery in 1807, it became an important centre for trade in legitimate goods (St. Clair 2006).

Doig Simmond's study was site-oriented and focused on rooms inside the Castle. These rooms were initially used as storerooms and warehouses and later, as slave dungeons where slaves were kept awaiting shipment to Europe and America. He recovered veritable quantities of exotic European imports and fauna which provided insights into dietary patterns, hygienic conditions, leisure, body ornamentation and other cultural life-ways of the slaves who occupied these rooms (Simmonds 1973: 267 - 268).

The main shortcoming of Simmond's research was that he concentrated his study only on rooms within the fort and did not investigate open areas bordering the fort on the outside. These areas are equally important because the fort was not the only place with traces of human activity in the past.

Simmond's research was followed in 1991 by the Scottish Kirkdale Archaeological Expedition. Their research constituted part of the "Central Region Development Commission's Integrated Survey Programme" and involved reconnaissance surveys and test excavations at 15 locations inside and outside the precincts of the Cape Coast Castle. The majority of cultural assemblages recovered dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and comprised exotic European imports such as ceramics, porcelain, smoking pipes, glassware, alcoholic beverage bottles and glass beads. The team also made a sketch plan of the main putative courtyard features using the electrical resistivity method (Kirkdale and Johnston 1992: 6 - 9). The team asserted in their final report that:

"The present surface is a patchwork of repairs, in-fills and refinements reflecting various features such as thresholds, roads, graves, drains and inferred wall lines. The findings appear to show the presence of a

demolished building or range with access primarily from the south possibly arcaded. This in turn has been cut by individual intrusions and is laid over by two or three fragments of earlier history” (Kirkdale and Johnston 1992: 12).

The Scottish Kirkdale Archaeological Expedition’s work at Cape Coast Castle was unique because it was the first archaeological research project in Ghana to have used automated earth probing equipment (electrical resistivity) to survey and identify cultural features at subterranean level at an archaeological site. It made possible the production of a sketch plan of the main putative features of the forts courtyard.

In recent years, research projects on Ghana’s fort and castles have centered on cultural and heritage management with much of the funding coming from Central Government, UNESCO, the European Union and other international institutions pre-occupied with sustaining and maintaining important heritage monuments worldwide. These institutionally financed projects required the researchers to undertake extensive field surveys and excavations around the vicinity of these ancient structures to recover and document archaeological data with a view of reconstructing past life-ways and cultural histories of the European and African settlers as well as investigating some important events unique to the period. Other important aspects of such projects included renovation and restoration works on these structures.

By far, the four most important of such institutionally funded research projects on Ghana’s forts and castles include those undertaken by Anquandah (1992, 1993a, 1997 & 2006) and DeCorse (2001). The former’s research at Fort St. Jago (Elmina), Cape Coast Castle and Fort Crevecouer/Ussher (Accra) laid a solid foundation to the historical archaeology scholarship of

Ghana's forts and castles while the latter investigated Elmina Old Town located opposite Fort St. Jorge da Mina, Elmina. Anquandah's research at Fort St. Jago was funded by the Central Region Development Commission (CEDECOM) under its programme *The Tourism Scheme for the Central Region of Ghana* and spanned nine months (April - December, 1992).

Fort St Jago (05° 04', 01° 24'W) is located on an inselberg approximately 400 m. west of Castle St. Jorge. The main objective of the study was "to identify where selected archaeological investigations may be warranted to confirm historical conditions prior to commencement of restoration work; this would cover comprehensive on-site evaluation to identify, evaluate and prioritize sites for subsequent possible archaeological investigations" (Anquandah 1993: iii). Anquandah employed a multi-disciplinary approach to derive data for the study. This involved undertaking geodetic surveys inside and outside the fort to produce a site plan which captured important geographical and man-made features like trenches and artifacts. He also carried out a general reconnaissance survey of the gridded area during which he documented archaeological data within the demarcated area. In all, he excavated six test trenches at different locations around the fort's precincts (Anquandah 1993: 6).

Anquandah's work was outstanding because he also examined some historic Dutch inscriptions including the ones inscribed above the main gate and on the doorway connecting the south and east bastions of the fort. This aspect of the study enabled him to confirm chronology and authorship of these inscriptions. The main finds recovered from the excavation included imported glassware, traditional milling equipment, local pottery, glass beads, imported pottery, red clay tiles (English, Dutch and Portuguese), iron implements, slag and a textile button. Ecofacts recovered included mammalian remains, human skeletal remains and mollusc shells (Anquandah

1993: 7 - 12). Anquandah (1993: 19) made five major conclusions in his report to CEDECOM which were:

- (a) That archaeological data such as imported varieties of ceramics, smoking pipes and glass beads confirmed not only European presence at the site in past centuries but trade with the indigenes.
- (b) That the area around the fort designated H150/H160 (currently a playground) had multiple functions in the past and was used variously as a vegetable garden, accommodated reserve garrison forces and as an entertainment and relaxation area for the European officials resident in the fort.
- (c) The presence of artifacts and ecofacts from Germany, Venice, China and the Maldives including ceramics and cowries testifies to the fact that the Dutch settlers of the fort procured merchandise from these countries to trade on the Gold Coast.
- (d) That the finds from the excavation placed Fort St. Jago in a chronological range of A.D 1503 – 1900, and
- (e) That the site had been disturbed over a long period of time.

Anquandah's (1993: 22 - 23) final report to CEDECOM also included five invaluable recommendations which were:

- (a) That future researchers of the site examine larger samples of the archaeological data universe to generate a better understanding of the pre-fort construction and the Portuguese period.
- (b) That some of the European goods recovered from the excavations at the site be sent to museums in Europe for closer precise analyses.
- (c) That charcoal and bone samples retrieved from excavation there be submitted to laboratories in Europe to establish veritable absolute dates.

(d) That the scope of future research there should be widened to incorporate demographic investigations to establish ethnicity, racial identification, sex, structure/stature, age at death and cause of mortality, and

(e) That a museum be built at Fort St Jago to exhibit cultural materials recovered from his excavations and from future excavations there.

Anquandah's investigation of Fort St. Jago derives its significance from the fact that even though several scholars notably Lawrence (1963), Hyland (1979) and van Dantzig (1980) had undertaken architectural and historical investigations of the fort, no scientific archaeological investigation of the fort had been undertaken. His research was thus, an important contribution to the historical archaeology of Fort St Jago.

In March 1996, Anquandah undertook another historical archaeological investigation of Fort St Jago. This was upon a successful submission of a research proposal to the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA), Ghana. He was appointed Consultant/Principal Investigator for the purpose of undertaking reconnaissance surveys and test excavations at Fort St. Jago, Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. The research at Fort St. Jago had two overarching objectives. The first was to reveal evidence of the original Portuguese chapel and the second was to reveal evidence of the eighteenth century occupation of the hilltop plateau which lay north-east of the fort (Anquandah, 1997: 45). The study covered eleven months (August, 1996 – June, 2007).

To facilitate surface examination of the research area, Anquandah demarcated the site into two zones which he designated Area 1 and Area 2. Mollusc shells, glass beads, imported pottery and imported smoking pipes constituted the main cultural materials recovered during the surface reconnaissance survey. He used “judgemental and purposeful sampling” (Anquandah 1997: 47) to

select test trench locations that had potential for providing data to answer the research questions and other issues named in the project objectives. Six test trenches were opened. The main cultural materials recovered from the test excavations were local pottery, fauna, metal implements, roofing tiles, glassware, yellow and grey Dutch bricks and Portuguese type red bricks, writing slate, imported smoking pipes, mollusc shells and imported pottery. He also identified the site where the Portuguese had built a chapel. This was confirmed by the recovery of Portuguese type red bricks underlying the location housing the chapel.

To answer the second objective of the project, Anquandah conducted intensive collection of surface data and in-depth excavations. This yielded large quantities of historic artifacts and ecofacts. Analyses of the cultural materials recovered indicated that there existed several earthen *terre pise* buildings on the plateau site which probably served as residences of an auxiliary garrison. It was also utilized as a recreation site for officials of the fort as attested by the remains of large quantities of European imported goods (Anquandah 1997: 55). Anquandah's work at Fort St Jago was outstanding because he established a well-dated pottery, pipe and glassware type series linked to collections from elsewhere which can be used to elucidate future researchers of historical archaeological sites in Ghana and in sub-Saharan Africa.

Anquandah's research at Cape Coast Castle constituted phase two of "Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey at Cape Coast Castle and Fort St. Jago Project." The study undertaken in 1996 was financed by the Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities (MUCIA) and spanned nine months. The research had four main objectives which were to:

- (a) Investigate the early building history of the original Swedish fort and its refortification during the Dutch and English occupation periods.
- (b) Ascertain the existence, date and condition of graves in the courtyard.

- (c) Investigate historical and archaeological deposits on the lower S.E. bastion outside the sea gate and at the foot of the N.E. bastion, and
- (d) Investigate at least one of the female slave dungeons and prisons located west of the sea gate.

Anquandah adopted the following field strategies to realize the project's objective. He first conducted geodetic survey of the courtyard to produce a site plan of the Castle area. He then gridded the entire courtyard area to facilitate excavation work and then dug trenches to obtain adequate data sample for the study. In all seven trenches were excavated. The following constituted the main finds recovered from the excavation: locally manufactured pottery, mollusc shells, imported smoking pipes, milling equipment, imported pottery, glass beads, red bricks and querns. Other materials included three cannon balls, nails, gun parts and gun flints. He also found some striking architectural features like a 22 x 22 cm. deep underground water conduit, a cistern, a mausoleum and eleven tombs.

Anquandah's (1997: 43) report to MUCIA, Ghana, presented four major findings. These were that:

- (a) The structure predated the last quarter of the eighteenth century and probably represents the remains of the red brick fort structure as demonstrated by datable cultural materials associated with the red brick architectural remains uncovered from the central courtyard area.
- (b) The castle probably had a large number of African domestic servants attested by the recovery of over a thousand indigenous potsherds, milling equipments, mollusc shells and metal objects.

(c) There were strong similarities and parallels between the European imported artifacts from Cape Coast (smoking pipes, ceramics, liquor bottles, beads) and those recovered from colonial sites in North America, the Caribbean and South Africa, and

(e) Several previously unknown features such as the subterranean water conduit for directing rain water to an underground cistern were discovered.

The Fort Crevecoeur (Ussher) Archaeological Reconnaissance Project was sponsored by UNESCO (Ghana) and financed through a grant from The Royal Netherlands Government (Anquandah 2002: 6). The project, directed by Anquandah (2002) constituted part of a broader historical cultural heritage conservation and rehabilitation programme which also involved the restoration and preservation of some selected historic sites and structures at Old Accra to make them accessible to the wider Ghanaian populace and foreign visitors thereby facilitating socio-economic and cultural development of Old Accra. The fort was then archaeologically unexplored. Anquandah's research was thus a pioneering study to investigate and unearth the cultural past of the fort. Field work started in November, 1999 and the final report was submitted in April, 2002. Fort Crevecoeur, named after a famous fortress at Boi-Le- Duc was built in 1647 by the Dutch at the instigation of Okai Koi, King of Accra (van Dantzig 1980: 24). The original structure consisted of a small lodge built of stone and earthen materials. A 1688 report by Olfert Dapper described it as a rock-stone structure with a wooden ceiling measuring about 19.5 x 7.5 m. (62 x 24 ft.) and defended by ramparts perforated by loopholes to contain artillery. The English destroyed this structure during the Anglo-Dutch war of 1664 – 67, and the Dutch later rebuilt a new stone fortress equipped with a more elaborate defensive system (Lawrence 1963: 179).

Anquandah's (2002: 15 – 16) study had five main objectives. These were to:

(a) Unearth the remains of the old fort and document its contents.

- (b) Establish the origins of local and external artifact assemblages recovered and date them.
- (c) Ascertain as far as possible the parameters of the original fort and its successive structural additions.
- (d) Identify main observable architectural, structural and settlement phases represented at the fort and the nature of the technology and materials used in its construction at different periods, and
- (e) Initiate the process of cultural reconstruction of the site for the period 1650 – 1920

Anquandah's research approach can be categorized into three. He first undertook a general reconnaissance survey of the fort and its immediate environs to collect surface artifact scatter and other cultural data. The second involved undertaking a geodetic survey for the purpose of mapping the vertical and horizontal stratigraphy of the site by contouring and plotting significant landscape features and excavation trenches. The third involved carrying out excavations at selected loci. Altogether, he opened thirty nine units for archaeological investigation, observation and documentation. Over 30,000 artifacts and ecofacts were retrieved and these included glass fragments, local pottery, imported smoking pipes, wine and soft drink bottles, mollusc shells and imported ceramics. Other finds included faunal remains, roofing tiles, Dutch bricks, culinary materials, perfume containers and ointment bottles. He also unearthed historical architectural remains such as water troughs, conduits and the rubble wall foundations of the main inner building (Anquandah 2002: 15 – 16). He submitted samples of materials from the rubble wall foundation to the Accra Geological Survey Department for mineralogical, geochemical and petrological analysis. The results indicated that rocks used to build the seventeenth century foundation walls of the fort were hacked from the surrounding cliffs nearby. The geochemical

analysis also indicated that some wall foundations at the site did not exhibit the mollusca mortar binding that characterized the seventeenth century core areas (Anquandah 2002: 21).

The following constitute some significant conclusions drawn from Anquandah's research at Fort Crevecouer. First, the fort vied with Christainborg Castle and Cape Coast Castle as the three major European trade stations on the Gold Coast for primacy in the political economy and commercial history of the Gold Coast from the mid seventeenth to late nineteenth centuries, and second, several of the indigenous people lived inside the fort and probably worked as domestic servants or slaves. This assertion was based on the relatively large number of local pottery retrieved at the site,

The study unearthed a large quantity of European and African cultural materials such as glass beads, imported ceramics, smoking pipes, grinding stones, local pottery, querns and metal objects which helped shed light on past cultural life-ways of the two groups over the past 500 years at Kinka. It will also be of immense help to future historical archaeological enquiry not only for Fort Crevecouer but other Dutch fortifications in Ghana. As a follow up to his study, restoration and transformation work of the existing structure will soon commence and it is envisaged to convert part of the structure into a historical and heritage museum, documentation centre for the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board and a community development library for the community.

DeCorse's research at Elmina Old Town was funded by the Smithsonian Institution (2001: 1 - 2) and constitutes one of the biggest historical archaeological investigations to have been conducted in Ghana. It was undertaken in phases from 1985 – 2000 and the main objective was to locate and retrieve diagnostic artifacts to establish chronological control for a further understanding of late prehistoric and historic occupations along the Central Region coast over the past 1,000 years.

Archaeological data recovered from surface surveys and excavations constituted his main source of information. These included European imported domestic products, metal implements, imported alcoholic beverage bottles and imported bricks. Other finds included faunal remains of domesticated and undomesticated species, smoking pipes, locally manufactured pottery, stone artifacts and medicinal containers. He buttressed and complemented the archaeological data with early European records, maps, manuscripts, sketches and plans which he examined at the British Public Record Office (Kew), the Rijksarchief, (Amsterdam), the National Maritime Museum (London), Smithsonian Institution (Washington D.C), The National Museum of African Art and the Furley Collection at Balme Library, University of Ghana, Legon. He also obtained selected materials from a number of other archives at *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit*, Leiden; *Stichting Cultuurgeschiedenis van de Nederlanders Overzee*, Amsterdam; the *Illustrated London News* Picture Library; and the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* at The Hague. The majority of these records and documents emphasized European presence and economic interest on the Guinea Coast and did not provide details on property records, wills and deeds at Elmina. The few maps available also lacked scales and did not provide in-depth information on settlement patterns at ancient Elmina, social organization of the natives, demography and housing. To provide a holistic overview of the African community, he supplemented the above source materials with ethnographic data, oral information and ethno-historical traditions derived from the African community at Elmina.

DeCorse's research was outstanding. He used well dated European artifacts to establish a comprehensive archaeological sequence of the historic period at Elmina. Chronological control provided by European trade goods also helped date several goods of African manufacture (DeCorse 2001: 5 - 6). He demonstrated that life-ways at Elmina were multi-faceted; that the indigenous populace while adopting several European cultural traits like smoking tobacco through

pipes, European cuisine, dress codes and architecture held on to traditional cultural values evidenced in burials and traditional religious practices (DeCorse, 2001: 239 - 241). He also mapped all the early European structures at Elmina and used the materials from the excavations to provide detailed understanding of the cultural past of the European settlers at Elmina.

Another historical archaeological investigation worth discussing is Boachie-Ansah's research at Wenchi located in the Brong Ahafo Region. What makes this study unique is that it is one of the earliest historical archaeological investigations to have been conducted in the hinterland region of Ghana which involved the use of oral traditional sources and ethnographic data, in addition to historical and archaeological data. Boachie-Ansah's main objective was to use a multiplicity of data sources to shed light on the following:

- (a) Origins of the people of Wenchi.
- (b) Establish whether the people of Wenchi had cultural and trade affiliation with neighbouring polities, and
- (c) Establish chronology of the sites investigated in the study.

The study undertaken in 1975 began with the collection of oral traditional data from notable indigenes such as ex-chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders of lineages, potters, blacksmiths, hunters and some commoners. All the interviews were conducted in Twi after which it was transcribed and translated into English. Archaeological excavations were conducted at Ahwene Koko and Bonoso and some of the main finds recovered included local pottery, iron objects, iron slag, shellfish remains, stone objects and smoking pipes. Some major conclusions derived from the study included the following:

- (a) Oral traditions of the people intimated that the ancestors of “the people of Wenchi had been in the entrails of the earth until they were uncovered from a hole by a pig-like animal” (Boachie-Ansah 1986: 28 & 40).
- (b) That unlike other Akan groups in the country, the clans of Wenchi derived their names from trees planted in the quarters where their ancestors resided.
- (c) That Bonoso was the earliest settlement site to be settled by the ancestors of the Wenchi people. Two radio-carbon dates of A.D. 910± 90 and A.D. 980± 85 were obtained for the site.
- (d) That Ahwene Koko became their new capital after Bonoso was abandoned.
- (e) That Ahwene Koko itself was abandoned after the Ashanti invasion a little before 1715.
- (f) That major primary economic activities of the ancestors of the Wenchi people included hunting, agriculture, fishing and gold panning while major secondary activities included weaving, blacksmithing, brass and copper working.
- (g) That trade with neighbouring polities like Begho and Techimantia, and distant polities like Bontuku and Mali was central to the growth of the Wenchi state.
- (h) That gold and kola nuts constituted major exports to their trading partners while major imports included horses, salt, beads and gunpowder.
- (i) Analysis of smoking pipes retrieved from the excavations showed strong similarities with those from Northern Ghana suggesting that tobacco and smoking pipes may have been introduced from northern Ghana rather than from southern Ghana.

In May 2003, Scuola Edile di Perugia, an Italian nonprofit training institution submitted a proposal for the restoration and adaptive re-use of Fort Amsterdam located at Abandze, 20 km. east of Cape Coast, the regional capital of the Central Region. The project which also involved two local partners was intended to facilitate and implement a tourism related community based programme for Abandze and the surrounding community. The Project had four main objectives namely:

- (a) The restoration of Fort Amsterdam through on-the-job sharing and transfer of technical know-how to artisans in the local community.
- (b) Equipping and training personnel to undertake activities linked to tourism.
- (c) Creation of a permanent museum inside the fort to showcase the fort's history, and
- (d) Establishment of a vocational training centre to generate income for the town's youth (Boachie-Ansah 2008: 38). The Project however did not make any provision for an archaeological impact assessment programme before the commencement of restoration works at the fort.

It was partly for this reason and partly for the fact that erosion was negatively impacting on the archaeological record at the site that Boachie-Ansah of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon carried out archaeological investigations there to retrieve data which would shed light on life-ways at the fort as well as establish a chronological sequence for the fort.

In 2006, the researcher excavated four units. Three units measuring 2 x 2 m. (pit 1), 2 x 2 m. (pit 2) and 1 x 2 m. (pit 4) were opened inside the fort while the fourth measuring 2 x 8 m. (pit 3) was located on a slope adjacent the fort. An arbitrary level of 10 cm. to a context was used for Pits 1, 2 and 4 while Pit 3 had 20 cm. arbitrary level to a context. Boachie-Ansah also documented the soil profile (stratigraphy) of all four excavated pits on the slope. Finds retrieved included broken pieces of yellow and red bricks, iron objects (nails, gun flints, bolts and plates), blue polythene artifacts, European glazed pottery, Chinese pottery, marine molluscs and palm seeds (*Elaies guineensis*). Locally manufactured pottery, glass beads, fragments of roof tiles, imported ceramics and glass liquor bottles, smoking pipes, cuprous artifacts and fauna belonging to a variety of species constituted other cultural materials recovered.

Boachie-Ansah's research at Abandze was unique and impressive because he was the first researcher to conduct an extensive and comprehensive analysis of locally manufactured pottery at Abandze which culminated in the identification of six jar types, three bowl forms and three base forms. Mica, quartz and hornblende constituted the main mineral constituents which established the local area around Abandze as the source and production area of local pottery. He established that grooving constituted the predominant decorative pattern of the Abandze potters. He also concluded that the European settlers of Fort Amsterdam adapted to local conditions attested by the retrieval of veritable quantities of local pottery, animal domesticates and shellfish. He established that there existed in the past vibrant commercial relations and social interaction not only between the coastal population and the Dutch but between these two groups and hinterland populations evidenced by vessel forms characteristic of the hinterland on the coast and by European ceramics in the hinterland.

Another historical archaeological investigation worth discussing was the Faculty Enhancement Grant Archaeological Project directed by Agorsah. It involved students of archaeology from Portland State University (PSU) and University of Cape Coast (UCC) and spanned two four weeks hands-on archaeological field schools at Kormantin located in the Central Region of Ghana. The research is still on-going at the time of writing this thesis.

The main objectives of the project were four-fold. The first was to investigate cultural transformation of the historic Kormantin settlement in response to changes which occurred in the sixteenth to twentieth centuries. The second was to seek explanation for the processes and cultural manifestations by which enslaved populations including those who passed through Kormantin during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade negotiated their survival and developed their identities. The third was to search for and identify recognized material traces indicative of internal and external

trade contacts and exchanges, migration routes and patterns of market traffic, and last was to identify the different groups involved in the colonial encounter at Kormantin (www.Kormantse.org; Agorsah 2008: 2 – 22)

The study employed a multidisciplinary approach to derive data. Archaeological, historical, ethno-historical and ethnographic data constituted the principal methods used. The study also sought to use data from burials and other social practices as indices to establish transformations in the community as well as how the communities in the neighbourhoods of Kormantin adjusted to changing conditions brought about by the colonial encounter. Material cultures recovered from excavations were also used to establish their origins, the makers, and ancient travel routes used by the people. Other aspects of the archaeological research involved the collection of soil samples from the study area to establish their composition, colour and content. Areas with heavy density of artifacts were also plotted to establish their vertical and horizontal relationships. The students also collected historical traditions and clan histories of the local people under the supervision of Dr Douglas Frimpong-Nnuroh, a sociologist from the University of Cape Coast. Some main cultural materials recovered included local and imported ceramics, local and imported smoking pipes, glass beads, glass artifacts, alcoholic beverage bottles, shellfish remains, human skeletal remains, faunal remains and a variety of metal objects (Schaffer and Agorsah, 2010: 1 – 12).

One major finding of the field research was that the historic town of Kormantin had two suburbs. The area designated Area 1 contained predominantly imported European and local artifacts in tandem while the area designated Area 2 contained only locally manufactured artifacts indicating the existence of two cultural zones at Kormantin (www.kormantse.org).

The study chalked several successes. One, it won a National Science Foundation Award. Two, it located several new archaeological sites at Kormantin which were hitherto not known. Three, it created a data base at the Cape Coast Castle Historical Museum. Four, it strengthened PSU-UCC partnership which facilitated the sharing by students of the two institutions of their cultural, academic and educational experiences and exchanges and five, the project solidified opportunities for collaboration and expansion of the range of inter-disciplinary contributions from the two institutions (www.kormantse.com)

Since the year 2000, there have been a number of small scale historical archaeological investigations at different locations along coastal Ghana. Two of these investigations which warrant discussion include those by Gyam (2008) and Freeman (2008), former graduate students of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. They conducted their researches at Axim and Anomabo respectively. Both researches were financed by the Ghana Denmark Archaeological Research Project (GDarch Project) and were in partial fulfillment for the award of a Master of Philosophy degree in Archaeology at the University of Ghana.

The former's research was conducted at Fort St. Anthony, located in the Nzema East District, 55 km. west of Sekondi-Takoradi, the Western Regional Capital. Fort St. Anthony has a checkered history. Built by the Portuguese in 1515, the Dutch captured it in 1637 and occupied it till 1872 when an intergovernmental agreement between England and The Netherlands transferred all Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast to the English (Anquandah 1999: 90 – 94). Gyam's archaeological study spanned three months in 2007 and his main objectives were to:

- (a) Investigate the functions of the fort since its construction.

- (b) Investigate the water management system used by the fort's occupants, and
- (c) Examine how their interactions impacted on each other (Gyam 2008: 5).

Gyam undertook two reconnaissance surveys and excavations at three different loci located west, south and north of the fort. He also collected ethno-historical data from some indigenes at Axim to buttress the archaeological data. Cultural materials recovered included imported smoking pipes, ceramics, metal implements, glass beads and alcoholic beverage bottles. Other materials recovered were imported glassware, faunal remains of domesticated and undomesticated species, Portuguese and Dutch bricks and a burial. The bricks recovered above sterile level were sixteenth century Portuguese type red bricks followed by seventeenth century Dutch type yellow bricks. Other cultural materials retrieved from this level included European ceramics and smoking pipes.

Basing his conclusions on historical data, Gyam claimed that the fort was central to the facilitation and success of the coastal trade because gold, slaves, ivory and timber, the main items of trade during the period were channeled through the fort. He buttressed this assertion with historical data quoting Ward (1967: 81 – 83) and Bosman (1705: 65) that, “2,000,000 pound sterling of gold was exported from Axim between 1680 – 1700, while 1,919 slaves were exported in 1815”. Based on the large number of artifacts retrieved, he also posited that there existed vibrant trade links between the various European settlers of the fort and unsanctioned traders (from Sweden, Brandenburg and France) and the local Nzema people. His investigation of the fort's water management system however was inconclusive. He also failed to investigate the fort's architectural parameters which are directly consequent to its functions.

Freeman's research was undertaken at Fort William, Anomabu, in 2007. Like Gyam, he also conducted reconnaissance surveys and a number of excavations at eight locations within the precincts of the fort. Three units out of the eight were deep pit excavations while five constituted

shovel tests pits on account of the rocky nature of the terrain. He complemented the archaeological data with oral traditions, ethnographic and archival data and written sources. The main objectives of Freeman's research were:

- (a) To establish the level of acculturation and interaction which had occurred between the indigenes of Anomabu and Europeans in the eighteenth century, and
- (b) Gauge the level of transformation in the cultural landscape as a result of trade and cultural interactions (Freeman 2008: 1 – 2).

Finds retrieved from the surface survey and the excavated units included local pottery, imported ceramics, glassware, metal objects, slate pencils, mollusc shells and glass beads. Other finds comprised old alcoholic beverage bottles, bricks, metal objects, gun flints, cowry shells and smoking pipes (Freeman 2008: 41 – 92). Freeman noted in his conclusion that a large proportion of the natives of Anomabu were assimilated into European culture in the past. This assertion was based on the following observations:

- (a) The large number of Anomabu natives with European names.
- (b) The large number of houses with European styled architecture.
- (c) The town's large Christian population, and
- (d) The abundance of European cultural materials recovered from two incinerators used by the indigenes in ancient times at Anomabu. He intimated that this may have affected local dietary patterns, habits and mannerisms. He also noted that the relationship between the two groups was symbiotic and beneficial and that European-African intermarriages had a biological impact on the local demography of Anomabu.

Freeman's research had two major limitations. The veritable quantity and varied nature of the artifact assemblages retrieved should have enabled him to reconstruct several aspects of cultural life-ways of the indigenes. However, only past dietary patterns and features of acculturation as they related to the indigenous community was established. His study did not also establish how African cultural life-ways impacted on the English.

Van Dantzig's (1980) work constitutes the most important historical research on Ghana's forts and castles to date. Much of his study focused on Dutch archival data and involved translating from Dutch to English the early writings of several Dutch Director-Generals like Jean Barbot, independent interloper captains and some free-lance Dutch traders. His work has contributed significantly to our understanding of some events unique to the early contact period between the Dutch and the local people settled along the Gold Coast. Other important historical studies include those by Dahmen and Elteren (1992) and O'Neil (1951). The main limitations of these researches were that they did not employ a multi-disciplinary approach to derive data for their studies.

Cook and Spiers's work off the Elmina coast was the first systematic underwater historical archaeological investigation to have been undertaken in Ghana. Their research spanned three months, August – October, 2003, and was under the auspices of the Central Region Development Project. The research team comprised experts with varied expertise like divers, Geographic Information Systems (G.I.S) technicians, underwater archaeologists, conservationists and marine engineers among others. Some of the main personalities involved in the project included Gregory Cook, Michael Tuttle, Isaac Abban, Barnabus Akon and Joseph Annan. Raymond Agbo, Regional Director of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board served as liaison for the project (Cook and Spiers 2004: 20).

The main objective of the researchers was to use advanced remote sensing equipments like the EG & G 866 Proton Magnetometer and Marine Sonics 600 kHz side-scan sonar to locate sunken vessels on the ocean bed. The team also integrated a GPS into survey computers which allowed them to correctly track survey lines, generate images of the sea floor, record geographical locations of sunken ships and potential ship wrecked targets. At the end of the project, it successfully surveyed approximately 4 square kilometer of the ocean floor (Cook and Spiers 2004: 18 - 20). The discovery of an eighteenth century undisturbed shipwreck and the plotting of a number of underwater geographical features constituted some of the main achievements of the project. The team also found rolls of brass manillas, stacks of brass vessels, iron cannons, brass bowls, iron basins, imported European ceramics, metal objects, some alcoholic beverage bottles and several open-ended bracelets (Cook and Spiers 2004: 20). Their research is on-going and the team intends to return in the near future to map and plot more underwater geographical features as well as locate more shipwrecks which will illuminate our understanding of events and occurrences which characterized the early contact period at Elmina.

Any comprehensive review of past archaeological investigations on Ghana's forts and castles would be incomplete without mention of Crossland's work at Ga Mashie, Accra. Early European documentary sources described this ancient Ga settlement (previously called Great Acra) as convoluted, densely populated and with several cul-de-sacs (Barbot 1732; Meredith 1812; Bosman 1705). Early European sources intimated that for over four centuries, it was the nerve centre of European mercantile interest with Guinea gold, ivory and later slaves constituting some of the main items of exchange. Prior to the building of the European fortifications there, trade at Great Acra was conducted from shipboards and canoes anchored at sea. However the Danes, English and Dutch, principal players at Ga Mashie decided that it would be prudent and more

desirable to build trade lodges or fortresses to secure their trade with the natives. The result was the founding of Christiansborg Castle (1659) at Osu Accra, Ussher Fort/Creveceour (1649) and James Fort (1673) at English Accra. The archaeological potential of the area in terms of artifactual assemblages is thus immense.

Crossland's research was concentrated on the coastal stretch between the Korle Lagoon to the west and Osu to the east, a distance of about 3 km. The area is currently the commercial, administrative and financial hub of Ghana, heavily built-up and precluding any comprehensive archaeological exploration work there. His research involved extensive surface surveys and some tests excavations along the route where reconstruction of High Street was being undertaken by a Chinese civil engineering company. The nature of reconstruction work involved two phases: first, expansion of the single carriageway to dual carriageway status and two, asphaltting. During the former phase, he collected thousands of cultural materials of European and local manufacture which otherwise would have been destroyed and lost indefinitely. The artifact inventory included a broad spectrum of imported alcoholic beverage bottles, smoking pipes, glass beads, ceramics and metal implements of foreign origin, European glass containers and a wide variety of fauna and shellfish remains (Leonard Crossland. pers. com, 21 May, 2012).

The significance of Crossland's work cannot be over-emphasized. He cleaned, labeled, classified and analyzed the data which are currently under storage. Using diagnostic features on the European ceramics and glass bottles recovered, he was able to establish their origin as well as provide veritable dates for majority of them. His recovery of thousands of European imports can aid future scholars to undertake comparative inter-site studies. That Ga Mashie was the focal point of European mercantile activity for over four centuries provides a unique opportunity to archaeologically examine the material aspects of early Euro-African life-ways and interactions.

He is credited for making a substantial contribution to historical archaeological scholarship in Ghana.

Currently, funding to undertake historical archaeological research can be cited as the biggest problem facing historical archaeologists in Ghana. Many of the funding agencies are located outside Ghana and the current global dire economic and financial straits have constrained and limited funding from these institutions. The ability to establish veritable chronology using exotic European imports like glass beads, bottles and ceramics is still a difficult task for many historical archaeologists. These artifacts sometimes have to be sent to experts abroad to establish their country of origin and chronology. Lack of trained technical personnel and other supporting staff like conservationists and Geographic Information System experts (G.I.S.) to assist historical archaeologists in the field is yet another factor hindering its pursuit and development in Ghana.

The World Heritage Council has recognized the unique place in world history of these early European fortifications and has accordingly designated Cape Coast Castle, Castle Sao Jorge da Mina and Fort St Jago as World Heritage Monuments (Monumentum International Journal, 1984). These structures have seen massive renovation works over the last twenty years with funding coming from notable international institutions like UNESCO.

Chapter Five

The historical, geographical and contemporary socio-economic setting at Dixcove.

5.1. Introduction.

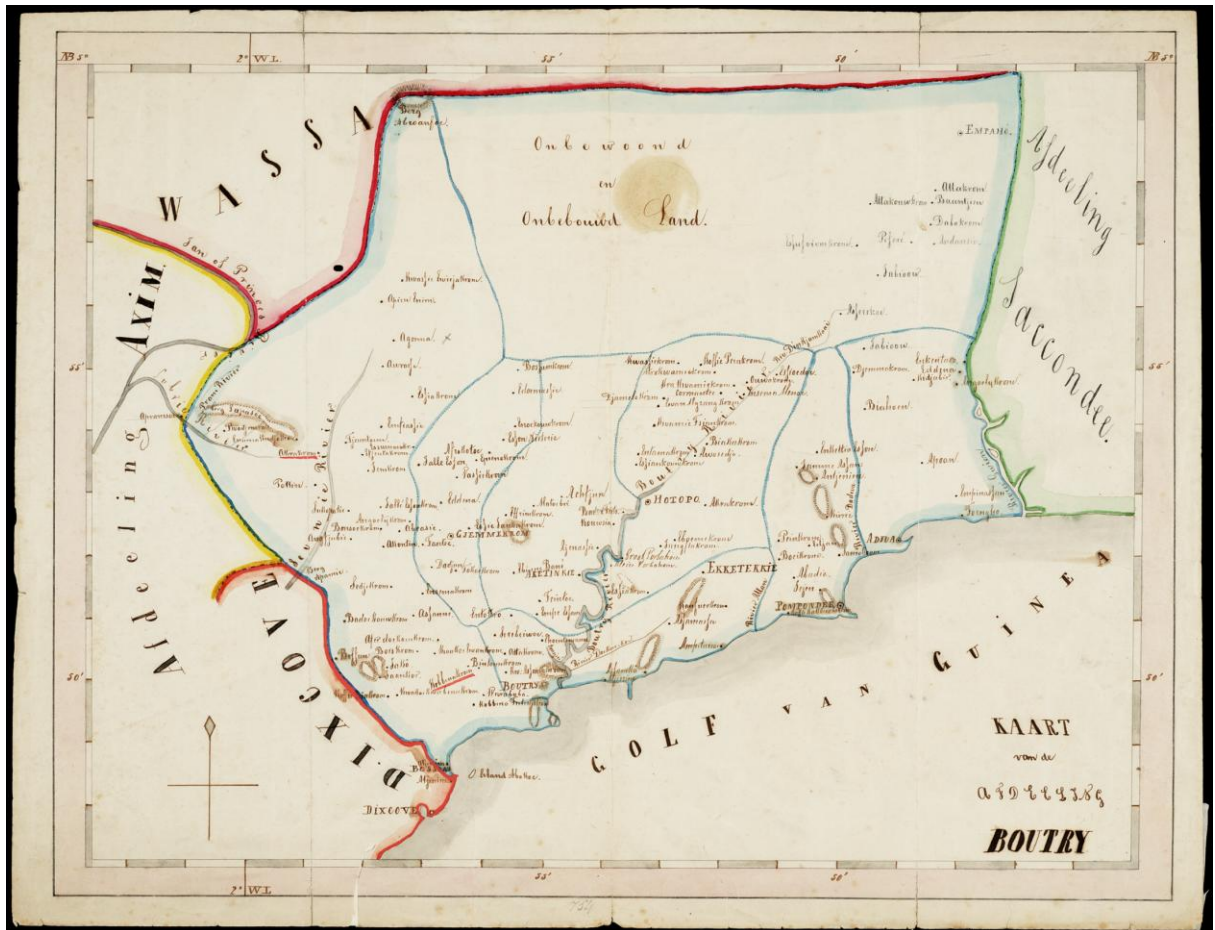
This chapter is divided into three sections. The first discusses important aspects of the cultural history of the Ahanta people of Dixcove. Their origins, migration and settlement histories, and ancient subsistence strategies are some topics briefly discussed. Much of the data outlined in this section was derived from oral traditions and oral information collected from the two Paramountcies, clan, and family elders at Dixcove. Writings by some early European traders who visited the area and sometimes participated in the events they described constituted another source of data. The second section discusses the geographical/physical background of the research area. The topography, drainage patterns, vegetation, climate, geology and soils are some topical areas covered under this section. Much of the data was derived from secondary sources. The third section discusses the contemporary socio-economic and cultural setting at Dixcove.

5.2. The historical setting.

Early European sources referred to the Ahanta ethnic group variously as “Anta”, “Hante”, “Antele” and “Ante”. They were also described as “potent, populous and very martial” (Bosman 1705: 12). According to Barbot (1732: 145 - 154),

“The Ahanta kingdom was made up of a commonwealth of small states and chiefdoms; one of fifteen kingdoms which made up the Gold Coast. It extended for about two leagues from east to west and lay between the village of Boesira [Butre] to the west and Sama [Shama] to the east. It was bordered on the north by the Kingdom of Adom, north- northwest by Mompa, northwest by the Iguira

Kingdom (Eguafo), west by Inkassan and the Kingdom of Nzema, and on the south and southeast by the Gulf of Guinea. Its main villages were Boetre, Poyera, Pando, Sacunde, Sama, Anta and Tacorary which was the largest".



Map 5.1. Ancient Dutch map of the Dixcove coastline. (From the State Archives, The Hague).

Barbot (1732: 151) and Bosman (1705: 12 - 13) described Dixcove as being covered with several hills, well watered, heavily forested with very fertile soils and very rich in gold which the natives dug out of the earth and from river beds. The former also noted that:

“Anta country produced rice, sweet red maize, potatoes, yams and sugar cane larger and in greater plenty than in any other place along the coast. It also afforded the very best sort of palm wine and oil in great quantity, also

coconuts, bananas, oranges, small lemons and all sorts of tamed as well as wild beasts elephants, tygers, wild cats, deer's, serpents some of them about twenty feet long and others smaller" (Barbot 1732: 151).

When Barbot (1732: 151 - 152) visited Boetre [Butre] located only about 3 kilometers east of Dixcove in 1682, he did not mention Dixcove in his writings and this was probably because prior to the construction of Fort Metal Cross, Dixcove was a small village which played an insignificant role in the political economy of the Ahanta Kingdom. Lawrence (1963: 293) appears to support this assertion because he noted that the total population of Dixcove including the surrounding neighbourhoods in 1737 was estimated at only 2,000 and 3,000 in 1810. Bosman (1705: 12) also noted that "trade at Dixcove was inconsiderable and slight and that the Negroes there were so intractable, fraudulent, villainous and obstinate that the English cannot deal with them". He asserted that total annual exports from Ahanta-land, excluding those of interlopers was only 2,700 *marks*. The West India Company exports amounted to 1,500 *marks* while that of the English Africa Company was 1,200 *marks* (Bosman 1705: 155 - 160). Another important reason for the trade dip may have been the untrustworthiness of Dixcove traders. Van Dantzig (1980: 45) noted that even though the area had large reserves of quality gold, the trade there was far from flourishing because much of the gold purchased there had been intentionally adulterated and was impure. Bosman (1705: 65) described Dixcove as the "fake mint of the Gold Coast".

However the above assertions contradict those by John Lok, one of the earliest Englishmen to have voyaged to Ahanta-land in 1555. He commandeered a fleet of three ships and 2 pinnaces to Samma (Shama) and Sammaterra, two Ahanta settlements located west of Dixcove, and for four days conducted trade with the indigenes there. Lok described the Ahanta as:

“Very wary people in their bargaining and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They use weights and measures and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall have to doe with them, must use them gently; for they will not trafique or bring in any wares, if they be evill used” (John Lok, quoted in Fage 1967: 289).

According to Bosman (1705: 164), the original name of Dixcove was Efeima, (also spelt Nfuma and Infuma). This assertion has been corroborated by the two Paramount Chiefs at Dixcove. According to Nana Acheampong (pers. Com. 26th July, 2009), *Akyempimhene* and acting Paramount Chief of Upper Dixcove, the original name of the settlement before the arrival of the English was Efeima. Unable to properly pronounce it, the English began calling the place “Derchie’s cove” after Nana Derchie I, (then Paramount Chief of Upper Dixcove). With time, it was corrupted to Dixcove which is currently the name of the town. However, Nana Amoako-Agyebu VI (pers. Com. 28th July, 2009), *Adontenhene* and acting Paramount Chief of Lower Dixcove has contested this assertion. According to him, Dixcove was named after an Englishman called Dick who negotiated with the Chief of Upper Dixcove for the release of the promontory on which Fort Metal Cross was built. He is also reputed to have facilitated and played a key role in the fort’s construction. The name was later corrupted to “Dick’s cove” and “Dickies cove” by English seafarers to refer to the cove and its environs.

Oral traditions of the people intimate that three subsistence strategies/activities constituted their main vocations before the advent of Europeans to Dixcove. The first and most important according to these traditions was salt production. A 1602 report by Peiter de Marees ([1602]1987: 75) claimed that the best salt ponds on the Guinea Coast were located in Ahanta-land. The second was gold mining. According to Dumett (1987: 209), a sizable number of Ahanta traditional miners migrated to Wassa country in the wet season when natural conditions made production of salt

impossible. He observed that mining provided supplementary income for entrepreneurial salt producers. The third was palm oil production. The quantum of palm oil was reputed to be in excess of 40,000 gallons annually (Dickson 1969: 122).

The people of Upper Dixcove assert in their oral traditions that they were originally Fantes who migrated from Eguafo in the early sixteenth century. Eguafo is located in the coastal hinterland of the Central Region. According to Spiers (2007: 5), the Eguafo people were Fantes and part of the larger coastal Akan whose language, also called Fanti constitutes part of the Volta-Comoe languages. Other dialects of the Akan group include Asante, Wassa, Bono, Akuapem, Agona, Akyem, Kwahu and Gomoa (Dolphyne and Kropp Dakubu 1988: 52). The Fanti of Eguafo also share several cultural practices like social organization, descent, and inheritance organized along exogamous matriclan lines (traditionally referred to as *mmusua*) with the other Akan groups (Daaku 1970: 50; DeCorse 2001: 18 – 20; Wilks 1975: 666). According to Nana Acheampong (pers. Com. 26th July, 2009) who recounted to me oral traditions of the people of Upper Dixcove, their south-westward migration to Dixcove was necessitated by overpopulation and unavailability of fertile farmlands. On reaching Busua, they sought permission from Nana Badu Bonsu, Paramount King and overlord of the Ahanta Kingdom to settle on his land. This request was acceded to and the area presently called Upper Dixcove was given to them.

Nana Acheampong further intimated that long after they had settled there, a small group of migrants from Nduaso led by one Nana Kwesi Agyeman arrived at Upper Dixcove. This group pleaded with Nana Derchie 1, chief of Upper Dixcove to live alongside his people. This request was granted and that parcel of land currently referred to as Lower Dixcove was given to them to settle. According to this tradition, the area given them was the economic epicenter of the town where much salt was produced and stored under raffia mats awaiting exchange with traders from

the hinterland. Nana Derchie 1 is said to have instructed them to watch over the salt piles as a precondition for their stay there and they agreed.

However, Nana Amoako-Agyebu VI (pers. Com. 28th July, 2009) has countered these claims by Nana Acheampong. He asserted that the ancestors of the people of Lower Dixcove were the first to settle at Dixcove under Nana Dofa Blay 1. He intimated that Takyiman located in the Brong Ahafo Region was their ancestral home and that the need to relocate elsewhere was attributed to incessant insecurity, hostilities and regular harassment from slave raiders from the neighbouring states.

Their first major stopover southwards was Nduaso where they camped for a while before relocating to the coast to settle at Lower Dixcove. During their stopover at Nduaso, they were attacked by the Ahanta led by Nana Baidoo Bonsu 1, then Paramount king of Busua whom they defeated. To commemorate this victory over the Ahanta, three pestles were laid at Busua beach to celebrate Nana Dofa Blay's greatness and invincibility. His name was also changed to Agyeman (literally translated, "One who has redeemed") by his followers.

According to these traditions, lack of potable water was the biggest problem of their ancestors during their sojourn at Nduaso. A hunter from the community on a hunting expedition one day saw a crocodile which alerted him to the presence of water nearby. He is reported to have stalked the crocodile to a stream which flowed into a lagoon on the coast. He named the Lagoon Nfuma which is an Akan word literally meaning "something unexpected". He reported his discovery of water to the people and a delegation was tasked to establish the veracity of his assertion which was found to be true. The discovery of the Nfuma Lagoon which provides potable water all year round encouraged the people to relocate and settle on its west bank. They named the new settlement Daazikessie which translates as "large expanse of land" in Akan. Daazikessie (Lower Dixcove) currently has thirty three villages and hamlets under its jurisdiction. They include Medinya,

Ajumako, Gyabenarom, Ellobaukata and Abura. The ruling house of Lower Dixcove (Dzaazikessie) asserts that it is a pointer and evidence attesting to their earlier occupation of Dixcove.

According to Barbot (1732: 156 - 161), the first Englishman to visit the Guinea Coast was Thomas Windham in 1551. He returned to England with considerable quantity of pure gold and ivory. He followed up in 1552 and 1554 and his mission was to establish trade links with the coastal populations settled along the coast. The success of his mission encouraged other Englishmen like John Lok and the Parliament of Great Britain to establish The Royal Africa Company to commence trade with the indigenes there. The company began construction of the Dixcove fort (later renamed Fort Metal Cross) in 1692. According to Lawrence (1963: 293), an Englishman named Charles Hinson is presumed to have negotiated with the chief and traditional authority of Upper Dixcove to lease land for its construction. He claims that the original structure built on a plateau approximately 40 - 50 feet (12.19 – 15.24 metres) above sea level consisted of “rubble thickly laid in mud and coated with lime plaster to keep out moisture with a water tight roof” which was the technique then used to build early English forts on the Gold Coast. Upon its completion six years after, Bosman (1705: 433) described it as “so inconsiderable and slight that it hardly deserved the name of fort”. Prior to the construction of Fort Metal Cross, European traders and interloper captains mainly from England, The Netherlands, France, and Brandenburg operated from rented huts onshore and from anchored shipboards offshore (Lawrence 1963: 293).

Several reasons have been assigned for the construction of Fort Metal Cross. The first and most important was that the English wanted to counter the activities of the national trading companies of the Dutch and Brandenburgers as well as interlopers who were briskly conducting trade at Efiema (Dixcove) and its environs. The second was to secure permanent accommodation for traders of the

Royal Africa Company (the national charter company of England). Third was to enable them develop and expand their trade there. Fourth, Dixcove was linked directly by pathway to rich goldfields in the interior which they wanted to control (Lawrence 1963: 292), and fifth, Ahanta-land during the early contact period was an important commercial entrepot where traditional African export commodities like gold, ivory and palm oil were channeled en-route to Europe.



Plate 5.1. One of the earliest drawings of Fort Metal Cross. Note its small size and the small village of Efiema located along the beachfront south of it. (Author unknown). Source: Public Records Office, London.

According to Lawrence (1963: 292), the fort and its environs was initially called “Dick’s Cove” or “Dickie’s cove” (later abbreviated to Dixcove in the eighteenth century). Barbot (1732: 47) described it in the late seventeenth century as “a large and square fort, it is built of stone and lime, has two round flankers and two square bastions with twelve guns mounted in very good order and a suitable basin to contain rain water.” During the early contact period, the fort and trade with the indigenes were administered by two officers, a writer, a sergeant, a gunner, four soldiers and a master sawyer. They were assisted by forty one slaves and three free canoe men (Lawrence 1963: 298). Fort Metal Cross underwent several major architectural transformations to its original design

due mainly to severe bombardments and sieges from the Dutch and occasionally the Brandenburgers arising mainly from trade disputes. Some of the severest bombardments included the 1712 New Year attack by John Couney, the 1750 Ahanta siege, and the 1780 bombardment by the Dutch (Lawrence 1963: 295). Political antagonism and differences between the Paramount Chiefs of Dixcove and the Nzema who were in the pay of English and Dutch companies respectively also helped fuel these conflicts. Occasional wars between Britain and The Netherlands such as that which broke out in 1780 were also desultorily prosecuted on the Gold Coast and Fort Metal Cross and other trade factories belonging to these two nations became enemy targets. The English were thus constantly hard pressed to modify the fort's structure to beef up security because the Dutch and Brandenburgers were constantly challenging their trade monopoly there. The bastions and curtain walls were also continually transformed into formidable defense structures to enable them withstand heavy onslaughts.

William Smith who was contracted by the Royal Africa Company in February, 1727 to survey the fort and its environs observed that there was a "slaves' village" made up of several huts spread north of the fort, along the water edge close to it. He further noted that also close to the immediate vicinity of the fort were two "handsome gardens belonging to the fort which supply their table with several sorts of fruits, roots and salads" (PRO. T. 70/1470).



Plate 5.2. Drawing of Fort Metal Cross (Author unknown). Note the “handsome vegetable garden” south of the fort described by William Smith in his report to the Royal Africa Company during his visit to the Fort, circa 1727. Source: Public Records Office, London.

According to Anquandah (1999: 82) and Lawrence (1963: 297), Fort Metal Cross was never commercially viable because gold from the Dixcove hinterland was of poor quality. A Parliamentary report of 1817 described its trade profitability as “a laughing stock”. This became more evident after 1807 with the abolition of the slave trade after which exports from Dixcove became limited to small quantities of gold, ivory, and palm oil in exchange for India and Manchester cloths and to a lesser value rum, gunpowder, iron and lead bars. This assertion directly contradicts Bosman’s (1705: 12 – 13), Barbot’s (1732: 151) and Daaku’s (1970: 45) claims which posit that quality gold was easily available at Dixcove and Wassaland.

In spite of its poor commercial viability, the fort was never abandoned but constituted an indispensable fort for the English on the Gold Coast. Lawrence (1963: 298) assigns four reasons for this namely:

- (a) Dixcove produced substantial quantities of palm oil.
- (b) The area was naturally endowed with abundance of shellfish from which lime was derived.
- (c) Akyuma and Bushwa villages which lay close to Dixcove also had abundant reserves of hardwood timber from which planks and beams, essential materials necessary for the upkeep and repair of English ships and forts on the Gold Coast, and
- (d) The calm cove was a preference point for the procurement of portable water and provisions not only for English ships but also ships of other nations. (According to Anquandah (1999: 78 & 82), the cove and its landing bay were nearly always calm which made berthing to disembark cargo safe while small ships could also be anchored at the bay to undergo repairs).

In 1867, an intergovernmental agreement between Britain and The Netherlands transferred Fort Metal Cross and other English protected areas located west of the Gold Coast to Dutch suzerainty, and the fort was renamed *Metalen Kruis* (Brass Cross) after a Dutch warship with that name (Lawrence 1963: 311). The people of Dixcove who had always been suspicious of the Dutch because of their alliance with the people of Butre who for decades had been their bitter enemies resisted the exchange. They rebelled, rioted and later attacked resident staff of the West India Company destroying property inside the fort. Gun boats were dispatched from Holland and other Dutch fortifications on the Gold Coast to quell the rebellion which was successful but the Dutch occupation was short-lived because trade between them and the Ahanta of Dixcove was inconsequential. In 1872, the fort reverted to Britain when the Dutch government sold all their holdings to the English and the name was Anglicized to Fort Metal Cross and has been called by that name to date.

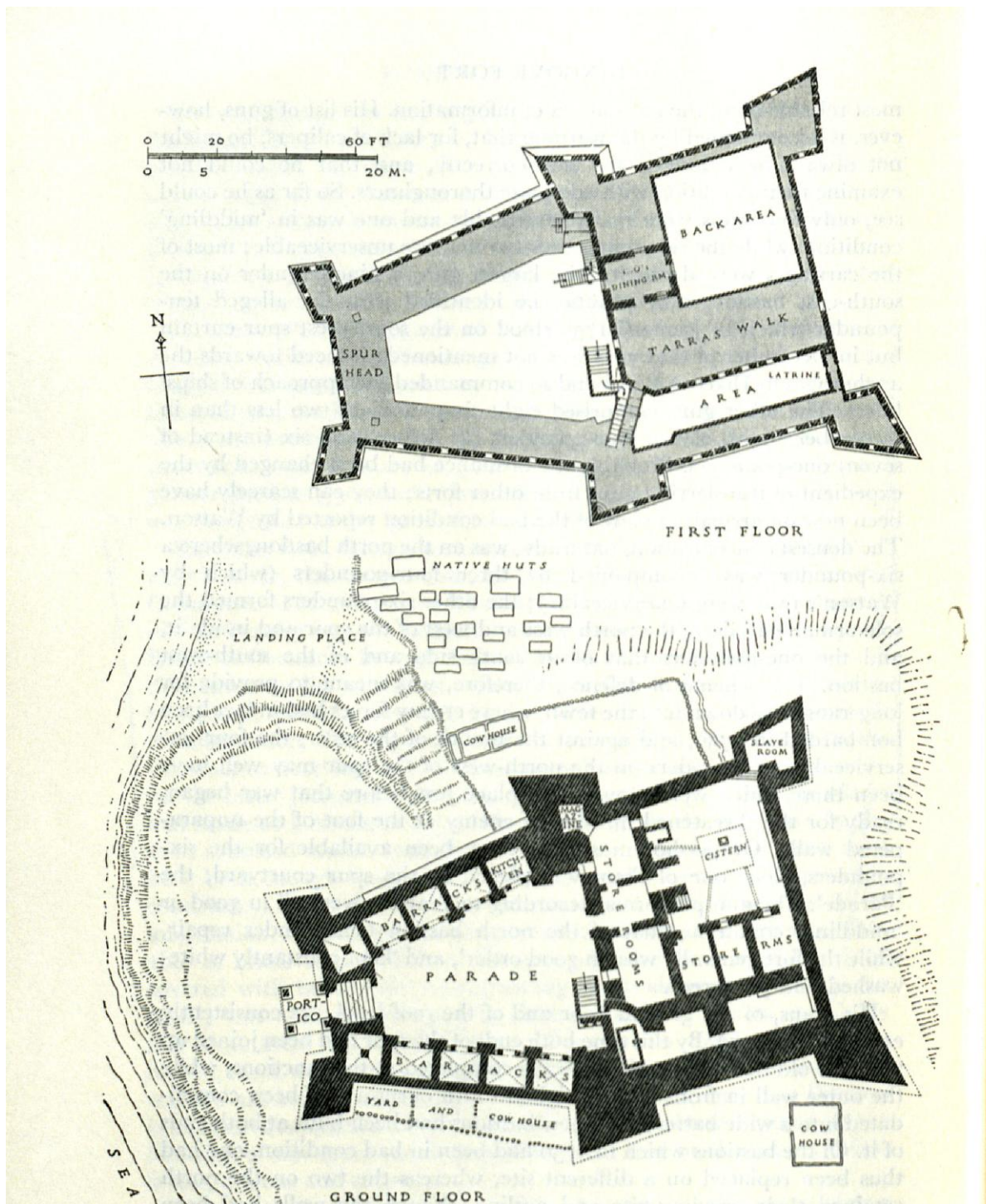
With the proclamation of the Gold Coast colony in 1874, the fort became the administrative centre of the British. In 1954, the Monuments and Relics Commission was authorized to restore it and this culminated in several alterations to its original structure to suit its new status as the administrative hub of the English. It housed the District Commissioner and his staff. Part of it was also utilized by the State Council premises and later, as a rest house for visiting dignitaries and also as police station and post office (Lawrence 1963: 311).

In 1958, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (G.M.M.B) renovated and refurbished the fort. No major alterations were undertaken on the fort's structure and the renovation work only involved minor maintenance and painting of the existing structure. The grounds lying immediately north and east of the fort were also paved. This was done primarily to curb erosion and beautify its frontage. Unfortunately, the paving exercise has impacted negatively on the archaeology of the fort because any attempt to recover cultural materials underlying that area will be extremely difficult, cumbersome and financially exorbitant on account of the thickness of the concrete pavement. Planting green grass would have served a better purpose, curbed erosion and beautified the fort's environs.

Fort Metal Cross currently has seventeen rooms arranged around a central courtyard (Fig. 5.1). The rooms consist of a kitchen, four soldier's quarters, one male and one female dungeon, the Commander's quarter, a slave prison (for recalcitrant slaves), an auction room to trade slaves, an open workshop, a storeroom, armory, three bathrooms, two toilets and two rooms for administrative staff and another two for commercial staff of the defunct Royal African Company. Other facilities include an underground water cistern, embrasures, spurs, thirty two light and heavy canons facing all directions, bastions, the Governor's tower and an overhanging metal bell to announce work and leisure schedules during the English occupation.

There are two ancient burials within the central courtyard of the fort. The first, located close to the west gate is the tomb of Nana Hima Derchie 1, Chief of Upper Dixcove in the late seventeenth century. The second is that of a virgin maiden from the royal house of Upper Dixcove. According to Albert Kwamina Aggrey (pers. com. 14th June: 1999), resident Tour Guide at the fort, the grounds housing the fort used to be the town's cemetery prior to the advent of Europeans in the area. The English insisted the fort be sited there because of security concerns which were initially resisted by the local people because it was their cemetery. According to traditions, the English persevered and to appease the gods of the land and souls of persons buried there, it was required of the people to bury a virgin maiden from the royal family inside the fort.

Currently, Fort Metal Cross has been leased to an English investor who is converting the facility into a hotel/leisure complex to promote historical tourism. There has been extensive damage to the on-site archaeological record. For instance, the original dark-grey clayey soils on the grounds lying south and east of the fort have been replaced with red and brown laterite to facilitate the construction of two large swimming pools and several chalets to accommodate tourists who will be visiting the facility. According to Lawrence (1963: 298), several vegetable gardens and homes of the company slaves were located in this area. Unfortunately, much of the archaeological data there has been destroyed by the construction work.



5.

Fig. 5.1. Early architectural design of Fort Metal Cross. circa 1750. (From Lawrence, 1963).

5.3. The geographical and physical background.

5.4. Geology and minerals.

The research area is underlain by the Precambrian Upper Birimian Rock Series. The term “Birimian Series” was first coined by Kitson in 1918 to describe underground rock types and their formations at Dixcove, its neighbourhoods and much of the Western Region. In 1940, Junner reclassified and sub-divided this rock system into two series based on lithology and superposition and renamed it the “Upper Birimian” (eugeosynclinal) and “Lower Birimian” (miogeosynclinal) respectively (Kesse 1985: 15 – 16). Estimated to be over 2,000 million years, it has undergone extensive folding and metamorphoses along its N.E – S.W axis where it has been assimilated in several places by granitoid bodies. To the north, west and south, much of it can be seen cropping out from its Archean (Liberian) basement. The major mineral types associated with the Birimian Rock Series are phyllites, limestone, schists, quartzites and hornstones. Others include andesites, hornblendite, actinolite, biotite, granite and peridotite (Kesse 1985: 12 – 16).

Much of the Dixcove coastline is characterized by large rocky boulders and outcrops composed of granite and gneiss which jut into the sea to create promontories. The easy availability of these quarryable rock types may have constituted one reason why the English chose to build Fort Metal Cross there. The top soils are thin but loamy and rich in humus in many places. The major soil type at Upper Dixcove generally consists of red laterite while dark-grey clayey soils constitute the main soil type at Lower Dixcove. Owing to the relatively impervious underlying rocks of the area, rainwater does not easily penetrate the ground and thus generally runs off as broad sheet flood during the wet season.

The Precambrian Upper Birimian Rock Series contain very important mineral deposits like gold, bauxite, diamond and manganese. The major gold bearing belts include the Prestea belt, Akropong belt, Obuasi belt and the Asankrangwa-Mansu Nkwanta belt while Nyinahin is a major

diamondiferous area. The Sefwi (Awaso) and Nsuta areas also contain major bauxite and manganese reserves (Kesse 1985: 15). Dixcove also has substantial deposits of quality clay. Its commercial viability however is yet to be ascertained (ISSER 2007: 14).

5.5. Relief and drainage.

The landscape of the Dixcove area consists of several gentle rolling hills rising averagely to 20-70 metres above sea level (Ghana Survey Department, 2005: Sheet 0402A1). Several portions of the shoreline are sandy which has attracted investors to establish small beach resorts in the area. In some places, the sandy beaches are interspersed with rock boulders some of which are prominent and overhang the shoreline. In recent times, sand winning has become an important economic pastime among the youth in the research area. In spite of persistent warnings and high financial penalties imposed by the Ahanta West District Assembly on culprits the practice persists and has caused severe erosion along the coastline and is beginning to negatively impact the coastal biota.

The drainage pattern in the Western Region is basically dendritic with several of the streams and rivers being seasonal flowing. The major streams include the Mawu, Busua and Nfuma which flow into the Nfuma Lagoon while Butre, Apesuro, Whin, Suoni, Nyila, Yani and Nyame constitute principal rivers in the study area. Many of the above take their source from the hills around Banso, Egyambra and Cape Three Points.

There are also several lagoons such as Ehnole, Mabowodindo and Nana Pete. They are highly revered by the indigenes, especially those settled around them because they believe aquatic deities are domiciled in them. Improper disposal of solid wastes have negatively impacted aquatic life in these water bodies. Several are choked with plastic wastes and fecal matter and have a dark green colouration. The Nfuma Lagoon at Dixcove is no exception and currently has no fishery resources. It has been completely cut off from the sea which was not the case only a decade ago. A strong

foul odour characteristic of putrefaction of decomposing vegetation and human feces emanates from it at night.

5.6. Climate

Dixcove is located in the wettest part of Ghana between latitude 4°.45'N and longitude 1°.58'W. It lies within the Southwestern Equatorial Climatic Zone which is marked by double maxima rainfall and mean annual rainfall is over 1,700 millimeters while the lowest occurs in February (Dickson and Benneh 1973: 28). The volume and pattern however is not consistent and fluctuates annually. The rainy season begins around April and ends in September, with the greatest volume occurring between April and July and farming activities peak during this period. The inflow of the Southwest Winds all year round is responsible for the relatively high amount of rainfall in the study area. The dry season occurs from December to mid-March and is characterized by strong dry Harmattan winds whose drying effect is often reduced by the influence of marine humidity (Oboli and Harrison Church 1981: 107 - 8).

Temperatures are high all year round averaging 34° centigrade in March which is the hottest month. August is the coldest month and temperatures can drop to as low as 20° centigrade. Relative humidity levels are also high, averaging between 75 - 80% in the dry season (Wills 1962: 56 – 67).

5.7. Vegetation.

The Western Region lies within the High Rain Forest Vegetation Zone and covers an area of approximately 51,113 square kilometers (Wills 1962: 160). It extends from the south-west coast of Ghana to about latitude 7° 45' (Dickson and Benneh 1973: 29). This vegetation zone is characterized by floristic variation as one moves northwards due to decreasing amounts of rainfall. Prior to independence, much of the Dixcove area comprised very thick forest. However, due to

increases in population, rapid urbanization, the introduction of cocoa and rubber plantations, tree felling for fuel wood and reliance on shifting cultivation as the principal method of farming, much of this original vegetation cover has been decimated or denuded.

Other human activities which have negatively impacted the natural vegetation are charcoal burning, illegal felling of trees, coastal sand winning and traditional gold mining popularly referred to as *galamsey*. It was estimated in 1957 that only 17,075 out of 51,115 square kilometers remained as high forest of which 9,414 square kilometers was demarcated as forest reserves. Much of this reserve is located in the Cape Three Points district. Currently, only 7,660 square kilometers remains as forest (Wills 1962: 162).

The forest has a storeyed structure consisting of a lower canopy of trees (up to 182 metres), an upper canopy (up to 39.6 metres) and the emergent cover (up to 60.9 metres and above). The main lower canopy trees include *Carapa procera* D.C, *Corynanthe pachyceras* K, *Myriatus spp* and *Trichilia spp*. The upper canopy trees include *Albizia feruginea*, *Bosqueia angloensis*, *Celtis spp*, *Hannoa klaineana* and *Bussa occidentalis* while the major emergent tree types are *Afrormosia elata*, *Chlorophora excels*, *Entandrophragma spp*, *Mimusops heckeli* and *Khaya spp*. Tree girths for all three storied types are generally large and range between 1.82 – 6.09 metres. Much of the ground surface is also barren of any vegetative cover on account of low penetration of sunlight. Occasionally however, a few patches of ferns, creepers and secondary shrubs such as *Leptaspis cochleata*, *Olyra latifolia*, *Cnestis ferrugina* D.C, *Ochna kibbiensis* and *Streptogyne crinite* occur though sporadically (Wills 1962: 160 – 163).

The pattern of land use is heavily skewed in favour of large scale cash crop plantation farming. About 40% of all land under cultivation in the region has been planted with oil palm and rubber by the National Oil Palm Plantation Limited (N.O.P.L) and the Ghana Rubber Estates Limited

(GREL) respectively. Small scale farming accounts for only about 30% of all cultivated lands while 20% are taken up by forests settlements, wastelands, roads and water bodies. Other principal cash crops cultivated include cocoa, coffee, coconut and citrus (ISSER 2007: 13 – 15). Historical sources indicate that the land stretch between Dixcove and Komenda was a major bread basket producing substantial quantities of maize, legumes, sugar cane, and rice which contributed significantly to the agricultural economy of Ahanta-land (Dickson 1969: 8 & 79).

5.8. Current demographic profile of Dixcove.

The population of the Ahanta West District under which Dixcove falls is estimated at 43,734, with an intercensal growth rate of 3.2 % per annum. This phenomenal growth rate is attributable to three factors namely, increase in birth rate (3.2% in 2000), decrease in mortality, and in-migration as a result of increased economic activity, particularly booms in the mining and cocoa industries and the recent discovery of oil. Population density for Dixcove and its environs is 141.4 per kilometer squared and there are approximately 23,090 households in the district with an average household size of 4.2 (Ghana Statistical Service 2000: 14 - 16).

According to the Ghana Population Census (2000: 29), sex distribution in the district revealed men outnumber women by approximately 50.8%: 49.2%. The high level of male migration into the Western Region in search of jobs in the mining and agriculture sectors explains this excess of males over females. The age structure of the population of the district is also fairly young with children under 15 years constituting 43.1% and only 5.1% constituting people over 64 years old. The fertility rate for the Ahanta West District is estimated at 4.4 (Ghana Statistical Service 2000: 8 - 10 & 19).

5.9. The contemporary political setting at Dixcove.

Dixcove is located in the Ahanta West District, Western Region and the district capital is Agona Nkwanta. It was carved out of the Shama Ahanta Metropolis (formerly Sekondi-Takoradi Metropolitan Authority) in 1988. It covers a land area of approximately 591 square kilometers which is 2.5% and 0.26% of the surface of the Western Region and Ghana respectively (ISSER 2007: 10). The Assembly currently has eleven area councils and approximately 123 settlements under its jurisdiction with many consisting small towns and villages with a rural outlook. Some of the big settlements in the district include Dixcove, Apowa, Abura and Ewusiejo. The Regional Coordinating Council (RCC) is the highest decision making body and is made up of the Regional Minister who is its Chairperson, all District Chief Executives, Presiding Members of all the District Assemblies and two Paramount Chiefs nominated by the Regional House of Chiefs.

5.10. The contemporary socio-economic setting at Dixcove.

Ahanta is the mother tongue of the people of Dixcove. It is also the principal medium of instruction in primary and basic schools in the town. Most of the indigenes of Dixcove are also fluent in Fanti and Nzema. Small groups of Ga, Fanti and Nzema fishermen, some third generation can also be found at Dixcove. These groups exhibit a high level of cultural homogeneity with the Ahanta in religion, lineage, inheritance and succession. The traditional household structure at Dixcove comprises a man, his wife, children and a few members of the extended family unit. The 2000 Ghana Population Census recorded 72% male headed households as against 28% female headed households and children constitute approximately 40% of the average family setup (ISSER 2007: 14 - 15).

There is religious pluralism at Dixcove. Christians account for 81% of the population, followed by Moslems (8.5%) and believers in traditional religion (1.5%). A small number representing about

8% of the people reported no religious affiliation. The level of literacy in the district is approximately 58.2% with females accounting for 47.9% and 68% for males (Ghana Statistical Service 2010: 5).

Social organization, descent and inheritance among the Ahanta are organized along exogamous patrilineal lines. The head of the patrilineage is called the *Abusua Panin* who also acts as the physical and spiritual head of the family. He is usually the oldest and most senior member in the family setup and is the custodian of family lands and other properties. He arbitrates all family disputes and acts as intermediary between the ancestors on one hand and living members of the family and sometimes the community on the other hand. He has power to delegate authority to other members of the family as and when he deems fit. In Ahanta-land, membership of the patrilineage is accorded at birth.

At the local level, Paramount Chiefs are the political overlords in their areas of jurisdiction. Each paramountcy may comprise several outlying villages under sub-chiefs who owe allegiance to the Paramount Chief. Even though the authority and power of the Paramount Chief is suzerain in the community, it is limited usually under the control of a Council of Elders whose permission he needs in order to undertake certain activities and make important declarations.

Most households in Dixcove are connected to the national power grid while those in the peri-urban and rural households nearby are also gradually gaining access to electricity through the Rural Electrification Programme (R.E.P) initiated by the Government of Ghana in 1998. Those without electricity use mainly kerosene and charcoal as lighting fuel. Several towns in the Ahanta West District including Dixcove have access to potable water. Prior to being connected to the national portable water system, the town was served by three bore-holes which supplied the community with underground water.

The 2010 Population and Housing Census puts the number of houses in the Ahanta West District at 13,367; occupied by 23, 090 households averaging 1.73 households per house. Of this number 54.3% live in detached houses, 27.7% in compound houses and 15.8% in semi-detached houses. The dominant house type at Dixcove is non storied houses built with sandcrete blocks on a concrete foundation and overlain with aluminum or zinc roofing sheets. A small proportion comprises wattle -daub structures overlain with dried thatch and slashed bamboo stems.

According to the 2000 Ghana Population Census (2010: 45), 70% of the population of the Ahanta West District is economically active and gainfully employed in some form of vocation of which fishing is the dominant activity. It is male dominated and employs about 8.5% of the town's residents (Ghana Statistical Service 2010: 49). The cove serves as the main berthing point for the town's fishermen. Most of those engaged in the industry are related to the canoe owner and do not receive direct wages or salary for their labour. A few receive a small share of the daily catch of fish. The majority work for family gain and obtain other benefits such as free meals, accommodation and occasionally clothing. A small number of children under 15 years are also engaged in fishing. The principal tool kits of fishermen comprise simple tools such as seine nets, wooden canoes, paddles and ice chests. The few who can afford the use of outboard motors are often constrained by the high cost of pre-mix fuel which constitutes the major problem hindering the facilitation of the industry. Other constraints mentioned are high interest's rates on bank loans and the high cost of fishing inputs. Discussions with the town's fisher-folk indicated that fish catch over the last two decades has declined significantly. They attributed this to uncontrolled pair trawling by large Chinese fishing vessels. Much of the local catch consists of big fishes like swordfish (*Xiphias gladius*), *Alecti alexandriaos*, *Caranx crysos* and tuna (*Opuntia sp*).

Another important subsistence strategy of the people is fish processing. It is the second most important vocation after fishing and is the principal preserve of women with several of them being wives or direct relations of the fishermen. The industry has not only created employment for several of the town's women-folk but has contributed significantly to the economic well-being of these women and their families. In spite of this advantage, it has contributed significantly to environmental degradation along the shoreline bordering the cove. This is due to the improper disposal of the inedible fish parts such as the scales and other hardy membranous tissues such as the fins, opercula and gills. They are either thrown into the sea or left uncollected on the shore. This unsanitary method of disposing the offal's attracts vultures, flies and stray dogs which feed on the carcass. During bumper harvests as is the case in July to August every year, much of these unwanted body members are left uneaten because of the quantum. They accumulate and rot leaving a stinking putrid smell which also makes that portion of the coastal ambience untidy and unpleasant at low tide.

Farming practices at Dixcove are based on the traditional system of shifting cultivation and occasionally rotational bush fallow. With no irrigation facility, agriculture is rain-fed and productivity in terms of farm yield (defined as output per hectare) is low and depends to a large extent on the volume of rainfall and timing of it. The high price of fertilizer constrains its usage by farmers in Dixcove. A small number of the indigenes are also into commercial farming. Coconut (*Cocos nucifera*) and oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) constitute the main crops cultivated by commercial farmers.

5.11. The contemporary cultural setting.

The *Kundum* and *Anlunwa* festivals are the most important socio-religious events of the people of Dixcove. The former is also called *Abisa*, and is celebrated every August after the main crop

harvest to thank and honour the gods of the land for a bountiful fish and crop harvest. It is also used to pay homage to the ancestors and departed relations who passed on during the year. According to Ansah (1999: 1 – 3), this objective is the central theme of the *Kundum* festival evidenced by the votive and sacrificial rites performed during the last week of the festival which lasts four weeks. The festival is celebrated in succession from one town to another, from east to west and lasts for four weeks in each town. There have been occasions when the festival has been postponed or cancelled altogether as was the case in 1982 upon the death of the Chief of Benyin. It can also be postponed due to poor harvest as occurred in the 1983 – 1984 farming season. When this occurs, a special postponement ritual is performed to appease the principal deities of the land. According to Ansah (1999: 16) in ancient times skirts made of broad leaves, raffia and sackcloth made out of the bark of the *Gyan* tree traditionally called *Atwenekwasi* adorned with toys or cat bells securely sewn on the skirt constituted the main attire of the festival. Special footwear called the *Asolor* made out of leguminous seeds and threaded into a bunch was also worn on both feet. The exposed areas of the body of the wearer were also embellished with red and white clay. According to Aggrey (per. Com. 21st May, 2010), indigenes are forbidden to work on their farms during this period. Loud music, firing of guns and all divination rites by fetish priests in the town are also forbidden.

The highlight of the festival involves the observation of several rituals and pacification rites to appease the Nfuma deity, the principal deity of the town and other deities of the land. This aspect of the festival is undertaken inside a thicket of mangrove swamps in the vicinity of the Nfuma Lagoon where the deity is believed to reside. The climax of the festival is the last day when a durbar of the chiefs and people of Dixcove is organized. This day is characterized by traditional



Plate 5.3. View of Lower Dixcove, taken from Fort Metal Cross. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 5.4. View of Upper Dixcove taken from Fort Metal Cross. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

music and dance performances along principal streets in the town and inside the fort where special rites are undertaken on the two graves located there.

All twenty five respondents interviewed by the writer were uncertain when the *Kundum* festival began or how it originated. However, all upheld that it predated the arrival of Europeans to the area. Ansah (1999: 5) contends that the festival has been celebrated at Dixcove since the seventeenth century. Bosman (1705: 146) mentioned the festival in his writings during his visit to Axim in the seventeenth century. Like the *Kundum* festival, the *Anlunwa* ritual is also observed once every year after the *Kundum* festival but lasts only a day. Its main purpose is to remember and pay tribute to indigenes who died that year.

Chapter Six

The Archaeological Research

6.1. Introduction

This chapter summarizes three seasons of archaeological investigations at Dixcove. Each season spanned ten days. Fieldwork during Season 1 (19th – 29th July, 2009) centered mainly at Upper Dixcove and can be categorized into three phases. Phase 1 involved undertaking surface surveys at Fort Metal Cross and its neighbourhoods. The surface survey enabled the writer to make personal assessment of damages to the site as a result of on-going construction work there. Phase 2 involved mapping and gridding the areas named above. This phase of work provided the author the opportunity to identify and earmark undisturbed areas at Upper Dixcove for archaeological investigations while Phase 3 involved the excavation of two units designated Units 1 and 2 around the vicinity of Fort Metal Cross (Map 6.1). During Season 2 (4th – 14th January, 2010) three additional units (designated Units 3, 4 and 5) were opened at selected locations at the ancient settlement quarter of Upper Dixcove (Map 6.1). The focus of the research during Season 3 (14th - 24th January, 2011) was Turum and Bakanano, the two oldest suburbs located in the ancient settlement quarter at Lower Dixcove. Five Units were opened here, two named Units 6 and 7 were sited at Turum while another three named Units 8, 9 and 10 were sited at Bakanano.

6.2. Season One - The Surface Survey.

Surface survey was undertaken on foot and involved a total of six visits. The first two covered the precincts of Fort Metal Cross which because of its relative expansiveness was demarcated into four geographical zones (designated Loci 1 – 4) to ensure each was conscientiously and thoroughly surveyed. The purpose of the surface survey was four-fold namely to:

- (a) Search for and identify recognized material traces indicative of culture contacts, internal and external exchange.
- (b) Establish the extent of the data universe.
- (c) Note spatial distribution and density patterns of cultural materials and features, and
- (d) Collect sub-stratum artifacts.

A topographical map of Dixcove (Ghana Survey sheet No. 0402A1) with a scale of 1:50,000 was used to derive additional data on drainage, relief, topography, latitudes and longitudes.

6.3. Results of the Surface Survey.

Oral traditions of the people of Upper Dixcove intimate that Locus 1, a sprawling but unplanned neighbourhood spread out on a hill overlooking the fort and sea was the first settlement point of their ancestors after their migration from Eguafo. The palace of the paramount Chief of Upper Dixcove and houses of several local people are found in this area. A count of 12 abandoned structural remains was noted north of the palace, 3 of which had undressed stone block foundations. Their close proximity to each other confirmed a dense crowded settlement in the past. The area is heavily convoluted with several semi-dilapidated rusty aluminum sheet roofed compound houses built very close to each other. The majority have wooden pens and chicken coops attached to them. The population here is very dense comprising mostly children less than fifteen years of age. Another characteristic feature unique to this area is the presence of several narrow alleyways which connect individual houses to each other. Sanitation is poor attested by scattered heaps of litter and several deep irregular gullies directing effluence from kitchens and bath houses into the Piah Stream. This area has only one well-laid out street. The survey revealed that much of the natural stratigraphy at Loci 2 and 3 (located south and east of the fort) had been extensively disturbed by construction work undertaken by the English investor. There was no evidence of made-up floors or house walls even though oral traditions claim that the area

was settled in the past. Much of the original dark-grey clayey soils of the area had also been removed and replaced with red laterite to facilitate construction of two swimming pools, a changing room, generator store room and four chalets which are currently at various stages of completion.

Locus 4 is located west of the fort adjacent to the sea on a steep gradient which sharply descends into the eastern end of the cove. Several large rock boulders lie here between the beach front and the fort. The original gated entrance to the fort is also located here but is currently closed to the general public. The decision to site the fort's main gate there may have been informed by two reasons. The first was its proximity to the cove which would have facilitated embarkation and disembarkation of trade commodities and slaves from ships berthed at the cove. The second was the steep gradient which would have made an attack on the fort from that direction extremely difficult. The bulk of finds collected during the surface survey were found at Loci 2 and 3 and included the following: mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species, unserviceable canons, grinding stones and fragments of imported ceramics. Other items included glass beads, pieces of unidentified metal objects, potsherds of local manufacture, bones, pieces of solidified tar and glass bottle fragments.

Table 6.1. Table showing types/quantum of finds found according to loci during the surface survey

	Types of Finds	Locus 1 (north)	Locus 2 (south)	Locus 3 (east)	Locus 4 (west)	Total	Percentage of total finds according to artifact type
1	European ceramics	-	3	10	-	13	9.09%
2	Glass beads	-	1	2	-	3	2.09%
3	Local pottery	-	11	15	-	26	18.18%
4	Bones	-	2	4	-	6	4.19%
5	Solidified tar	-	-	3	-	3	2.09%
6	Metal objects	-	-	12	5	17	11.88%
7	Molluscs shells	11	11	13	-	35	24.47%
8	Stone Grinders	-	-	4	1	5	3.49%
9	Canons	-	2	-	2	4	2.79%
10	Bottles	-	7	24	-	31	21.67%
	Percentage of total finds according to loci.	7.69%	23.77%	60.83%	5.59%	143	100.00%

6.4. Mapping and gridding.

The purpose of the mapping and gridding exercise was three-fold. The first was to enable me demarcate the ancient occupation area of Upper Dixcove into three metre square intervals to facilitate excavation work. The second was to guesstimate the geographical extent of ancient Dixcove. Transect surveys conducted at the two ancient settlement quarters of Upper and Lower Dixcove revealed a total coverage area of approximately 592,800 sq. m. (1,235 m. x 480 m.) for the two settlements. At Upper Dixcove, the northern-most, eastern-most and western-most boundary of the settlement were determined primarily by the extent of surface artifact scatter (potsherds, grinding stones and daub), middens and architectural design of houses there; while middens and architectural design of houses constituted the main criteria used to establish settlement boundary of Lower Dixcove. The shoreline constituted the southernmost borderline of the two settlements. The mapping facilitated the plotting of notable cultural features and areas with artifact concentrations to establish their horizontal relationships.

Three major problems were encountered during this stage of fieldwork. The first was that the numerous stone outcrops and steep gradients along portions of this ancient occupation area made gridding very difficult. The second was that the stony ground made insertion and placement of pegs into the ground cumbersome. The third problem was that the investor had laid very large rock boulders in the area to curb erosion and this made it inaccessible for gridding.

6.5. The archaeological excavation.

All the units excavated in the research area were located on a north-south axis, and continued into sterile sub soil for at least 10 cm. The different layers of the stratigraphy for the north and east walls of each unit was also drawn. Occasionally, the walls were sprayed with water to clearly bring out changes in the soil colour when it was not clear.

An arbitrary level of 20 cm. was used to control vertical provenience. Colours of soils were determined by use of the *Munsell Soil Colour Charts*. A quarter inch ($\frac{1}{4}$ inch) mesh was used to sieve and screen matrix from all 10 units excavated, while grain and sediment sizes were determined by use of the *Wentworth grain size classification Scheme* which is a standard reference scheme used by archaeologists to establish grain and sediment sizes. According to this scheme, grains and sediments within the following size ranges are classified as follows:

- (a) 0.0625 mm. – 0.125 mm. = very fine sand.
- (b) 0.125 mm. – 0.25 mm. = fine sand.
- (c) 0.5 mm. – 1 mm. = coarse sand.
- (d) 1 mm. – 2 mm. = very coarse sand.
- (e) 2 mm. – 4 mm. = granules.
- (f) 4 mm. – 6 mm. = pebble, and
- (g) Grains ≥ 256 mm. = boulders.

The majority of organic remains mainly bones and kernel shells retrieved from levels below 60 cm. at Lower Dixcove were damp. They were therefore placed in breathable plastic containers to enable them dry slowly, and to prevent the growth of molds and fungi. A wide array of European trade goods and locally manufactured materials in veritable quantity were also recovered. The former provided a critical means of establishing chronological control for many of the archaeological deposits and associated African artifacts which were retrieved. Each unit is comprehensively discussed below under the following sub-headings: “Location, description of the stratigraphy and the finds”.

6.6. Unit 1: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy, and the Finds.

Unit 1 was located approximately 2.5 m. east of the fort close to the concrete pavement described earlier in Chapter 4. It measured 1.5 x 4 m. and lay on sloping ground. Gully erosion had partly exposed several fragments of imported red bricks and locally manufactured pottery which could be

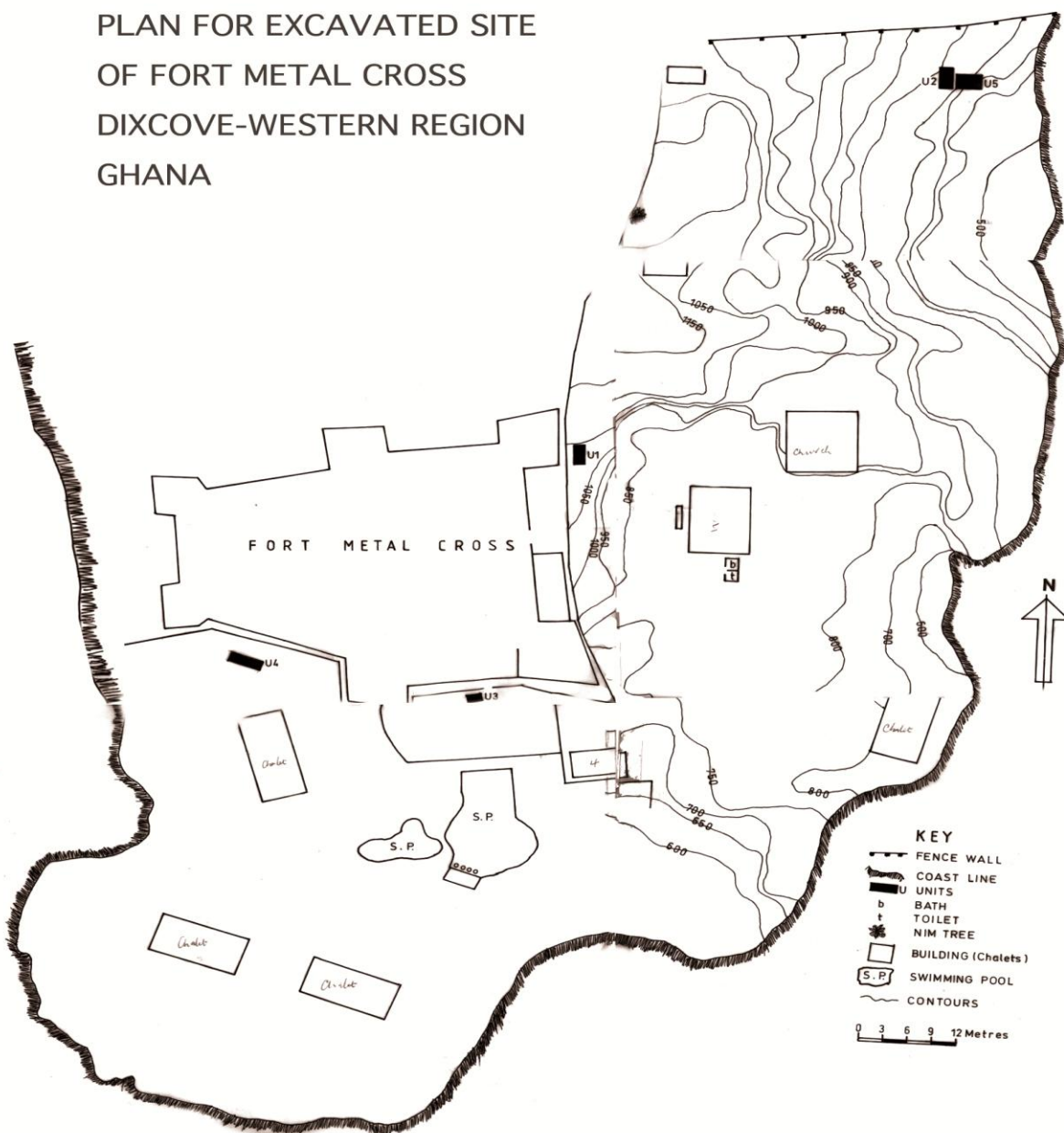
seen embedded in the stratigraphy. The unit lay directly below three large windows which according to Lawrence (1963: 296 – 297) used to house the administrative staff of the Royal Africa Company. A unit was opened there because cultural materials may have been dropped from the windows in the past. The sterile level for Unit 1 was 100 cm. below ground surface level and three stratigraphy levels were clearly identified (Fig. 6.1). The upper section of Level 1 which was approximately 12 cm. thick was characterized by loose dark humus (7.5R 3/1) while the lower section was light grey humus (7.5R 5/1). This layer which was mildly wet also contained several rootlets of grass and shrubs.

The stratigraphy at Level 2 (20 – 40 cm.) and 3 (40 – 60 cm.) comprised a mix of hard compacted brown laterite soil (10R 4/2). It also contained several broken bricks and angular stone aggregations composed of granite and gneiss. The stones measured averagely 2 x 2 cm. across their longest axes and had no regular identifiable shape. They were also evenly spread out in the soil.

The stratigraphy of Level 4 (60 – 80 cm.) and 5 (80 – 100 cm.) was composed of loose brown laterite soil (10R 4/2). It also contained veritable quantities of shellfish remains, granite and gneiss stones whose exterior coloration and texture were similar to those described above in Levels 2 and 3. They were however bigger measuring approximately 3 x 6 cm. across. A patch of charcoal measuring 6 x 1.5 cm. was found along the mid-section of the west wall of Unit 1 approximately 50 cm. from ground surface.

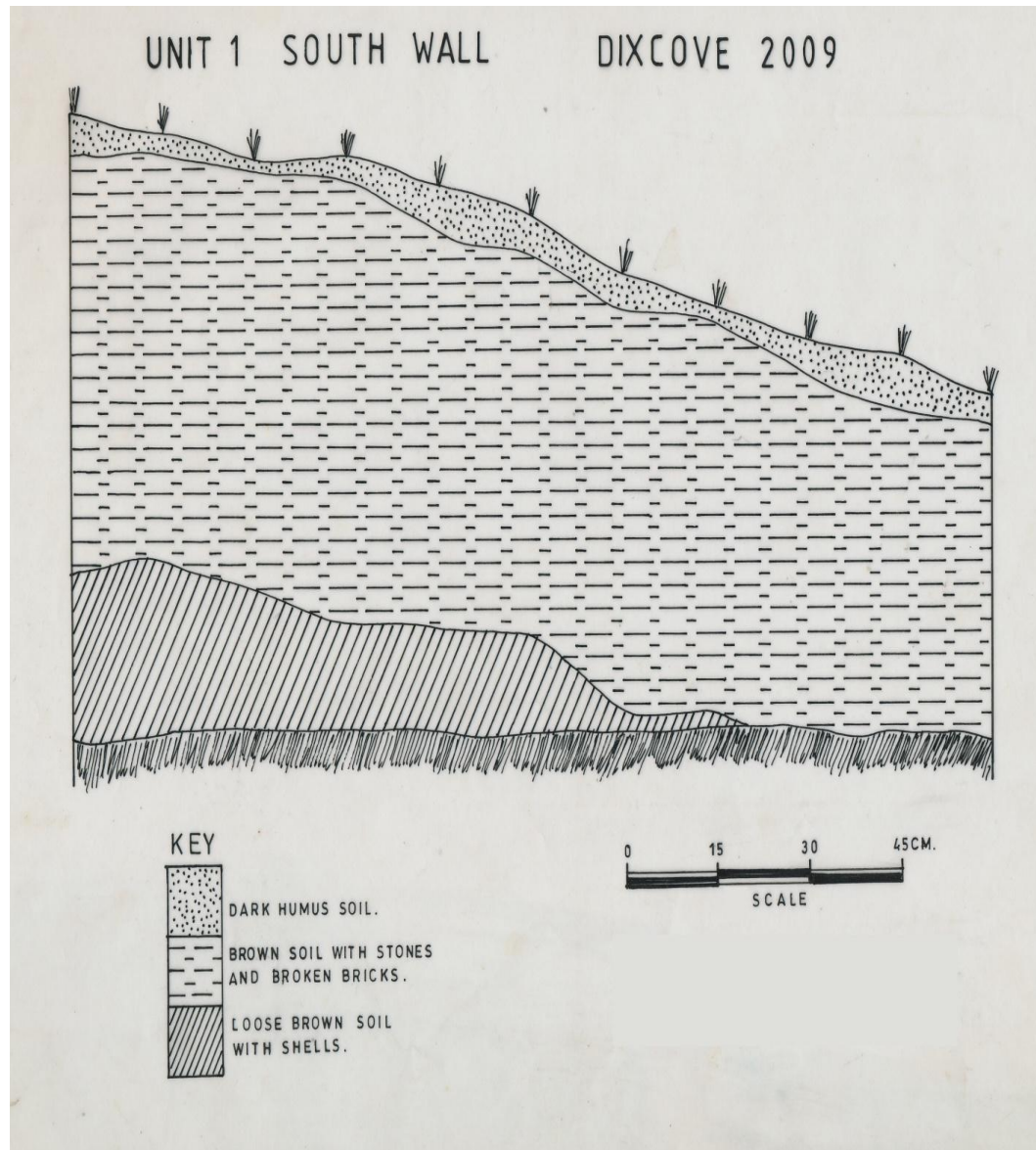
Finds from Level 1 included the following: imported red bricks, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species, bones, fragments of glass bottles, imported ceramics and stems of imported smoking pipes. Other finds from this level were metal objects, a glass bead, potsherds of local manufacture, roofing tiles and a lump of tar measuring 1 x 2.3 cm.

PLAN FOR EXCAVATED SITE
OF FORT METAL CROSS
DIXCOVE-WESTERN REGION
GHANA



Map 6.1 Map showing the area covered by the surface survey and the five excavated units at
Upper Dixcove.

Fig.6.1.



Cultural materials retrieved from Level 2 included stems of imported smoking pipes, fragments of broken glass bottles, glass beads, metal objects and imported red bricks. Other finds recovered comprised bones, local potsherds, pieces of iron slag, shells belonging to a variety of mollusc species and pieces of imported European ceramics.

Finds from Level 3 included shells belonging to different mollusc species, stems of imported smoking pipes, bones, red brick and potsherds of local manufacture. Other finds included pieces of metal objects, pieces of broken glass bottles, one piece each of glass bead and writing slate.

Cultural materials retrieved from Level 4 comprised pieces of broken glass bottles, pieces of iron slag, metal objects, broken piece of imported ceramics and potsherds of local origin. Also recovered were bones, mollusc shells and palm kernel shells. Finds retrieved from Level 5 comprised the following: bones, metal objects, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, local pottery and iron slag.

Table 6.2. Table showing the types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 1.

Types of Finds	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total	Percentage of total finds according strata level.
Smoking pipes	8	8	13	-	-	29	3.23%
Bottles	7	25	40	4	-	76	8.48%
Red bricks	2	4	1	-	-	7	0.78%
Bones	1	36	9	17	5	68	7.58%
Mollusc shells	16	92	119	124	13	364	40.62%
European ceramics	37	33	-	1	-	71	7.92%
Tiles	4	-	-	-	-	4	0.44%
Beads	1	4	1	-	-	6	0.66%
Metal objects	5	8	8	2	2	25	2.79%
Palm kernel shells	-	-	-	1	26	27	3.01%
Local pottery	9	37	42	85	24	197	21.98%
Slate boards/ slate pencils	-	-	1	-	-	1	0.11%
Iron Slag	-	3	-	7	10	20	1.34%
Tar	1	-	-	-	-	1	2.23%
Percentage of total finds according to artifact type	91 10.15%	250 27.90%	234 26.11%	241 26.89%	80 8.92%	896 100%	100%

It is worth noting from Table 6.2 above that level 5 (80 – 100 cm.) which measured 20 cm. thick contained only items of local origin. They included potsherds, bones of a variety of animals, mollusc shells belonging to different species, metal objects, palm kernel shells and iron slag. Levels 1 – 4 (0 – 80 cm.) however, contained cultural materials of foreign origins such as writing slate, glass beads, imported ceramics and red bricks in addition to the cultural materials of local origin named above. This presupposes the existence of two distinct cultural levels: Cultural Level 1 (a pre Atlantic contact

cultural level) which contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origins, and Cultural Level 2 (a post Atlantic contact cultural level) which contained cultural materials of both local and foreign origins. This is archaeological evidence indicating that that geographical area bordering Unit 1 at Dixcove was already settled by the local people before the arrival of Europeans.

Although several early European records intimate metal products constituted major imports to the Gold Coast, the two metal objects found at Cultural Level 1, 80 – 100 cm. (refer Table 6.2. above and Plate 6.1. below) were probably produced locally. This is because they were found in association with other cultural materials of local origin. Had they been imports, other foreign cultural materials would probably have been found in association with them at that level. Furthermore, the technological know-how of smelting iron and forging tools was known to the local people evidenced by the recovery of iron slag and tuyeres at that cultural level. This would have enabled them to produce metal tools.

6.7. Unit 2: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy, and the Finds.

Unit 2 was located 11.3 m. northeast of the fort and just 7.23 m. from the beachfront (Map 3). It measured 2 x 2m. The surface area was characterized by a dense mat of creepers which had formed a shrubby thicket over the entire area. Several cultural materials partly embedded within the creepers were discovered during the surface survey. According to Nana Acheampong and Kweku Fosu (pers. com. 26th June, 2009), the area was an ancient refuse disposal site for the people of Upper Dixcove and was abandoned sometime in the early 1950s.

The sterile level of Unit 2 was 250 cm. below ground surface and 13 levels were discerned (Fig. 6.2). Compared to Unit 1, the soil profile of Unit 2 was complex consisting of several interrelated parts interspersed with patches of charcoal and large stones. The area containing Unit 2 also appeared to be a

deep rounded hollow which had uneven jagged edges while the entire area bordering it consisted of large bedrock of granite overlain with a thin layer of light grey laterite (7.5R 4/2).

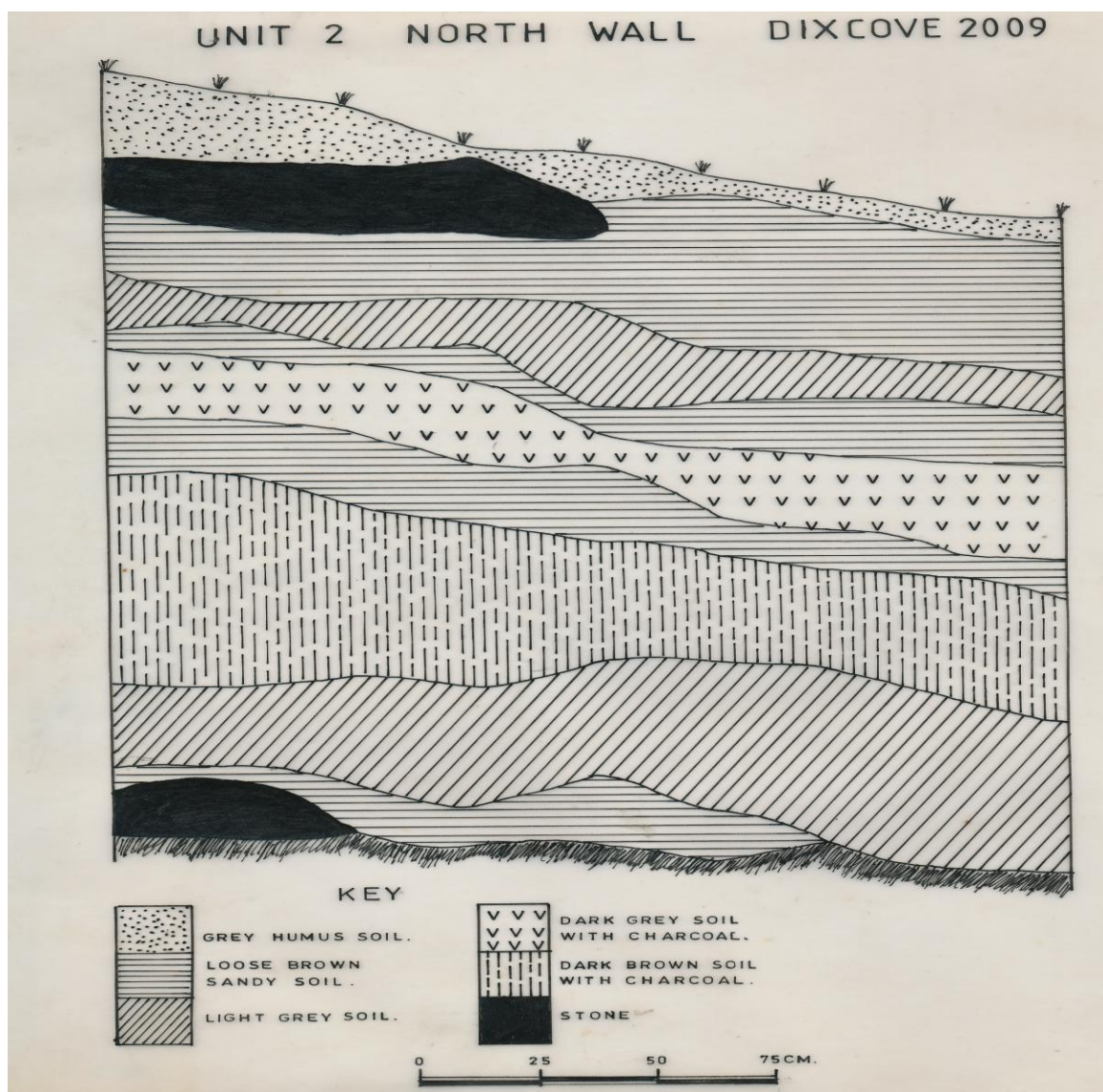
Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) comprised sticky wet humus (7.5R 4/1) which had several rootlets of grass growing in it. It also contained several dead twigs and roots. No finds were recovered from 0 cm. to approximately 8 cm. below ground surface. However, the remainder 12 cm. contained finds. Level 2 (20 – 40 cm.) consisted of dry brown sandy soil (7.5R 3/3). The sand grains were large similar to those along the shoreline and measured approximately 2mm. square. It was also more compacted than the one preceding it.

Level 3 (40 – 60 cm.) was composed of light grey compact (7.5R 5/1) clayey soils. It contained several small stone aggregations measuring approximately 4.5 x 5 mm. across. The stratigraphy of Level 4 (60 – 80 cm.) consisted of two parts. The upper section was composed of light-grey clayey soil (7.5R 5/1) underlain by dark-grey clayey soil (2.5YR 5/1). Both portions contained ample quantities of angular dark grey granite stone chippings measuring averagely 4.5 x 6 mm. across. They appeared to have been wastes from past construction works undertaken in the area.

Level 4 was also characterized by several small patches of charcoal embedded at different locations within the stratigraphy. The soil from this level to the sterile level was mildly humic and sticky, and the sediments adhered to the thumb and forefinger. This made sieving the soil to retrieve archaeological data difficult, time wasting and cumbersome.

The stratigraphy of Levels 5 (80 – 100 cm.) to 8 (140 – 160 cm.) comprised an inter-mix of three soil types: very dark-brown clayey soil (7.5R 4/2), light-brown sandy soil (7.5R 6/4) and dark-grey clayey soil (2.5Y 3/1). It also had substantial quantity of patches of charcoal embedded at different locations along the north and west walls of the unit.

Fig. 6.2.



Level 9 (160 – 180 cm.) was composed of light-brown sandy soil (10YR 6/5) similar to the type described above except with fewer patches of charcoal. A foul smell like the smell of rotting gunpowder emanated from this stratum which extended all the way to the sterile level. The scent initially permeated the entire excavation area which made concentration and excavation difficult. However, the smell subsided the next day and excavation resumed. A mix of large granite boulders measuring approximately 10 x 5 cm. and dark-brown humic soil (10YR 4/3) constituted the soil profile at Level 10 (180 – 200 cm.). A thin strip of charcoal approximately 5 – 8 mm. in diameter, lying at a

180 degree angle covered the entire north wall and appeared to be structural remains which had been burnt in-situ.

The strata of Level 11 (200 – 220 cm.) to 13 (240 – 260 cm.) consisted of a mix of dark brown clayey soil (10YR 4/5) overlying dark-yellowish soft sedimentary rock (2.5Y 7/6). Soil within this stratum was hard but disintegrated with the application of pressure. Other notable features unique to these levels were eight patches of charcoal of no identifiable shape located along the north wall and two on the upper levels of the west and east walls. The wide array and quantum of European and African cultural assemblages recovered from Unit 2 clearly demonstrated that it was indeed a refuse disposal site used by both European and African settlers living around the precincts of the fort. The presence of both European and African cultural materials at the lowest level (260 cm.) also clearly precludes its existence during the pre European contact period. It is also worth noting that several of the artifacts and ecofacts recovered from Unit 2 displayed burnt and charred marks.

Cultural items recovered from Level 1 included pieces of local pottery, fragments of broken glass bottles, fragments of imported ceramics, glass beads, metal objects, stems of imported smoking pipes, a piece of writing slate and roofing tiles. A large grinding stone was also discovered partly embedded within the west wall of the unit. Mollusc shells, palm kernel shells and bones belonging to a variety of animals constituted some ecofacts also retrieved from this level.

Finds from Level 2 comprised fragments of roofing slate, glass bottle fragments, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species, bones and fragments of European ceramics. Other finds included grinding stones, local potsherds, pieces of unidentified metal objects, glass beads, fragments of writing slate and funnels of imported smoking pipe. The north and east walls of Level 2 contained thin strips of charcoal measuring approximately 0.9 mm. in diameter and stretching horizontally across the entire north wall and halfway across the east wall. Finds recovered from Level 3 included broken glass

bottles, pieces of locally manufactured pottery, fragments of European ceramics, mollusc shells, unidentified metal objects and stems of imported smoking pipes. Other finds included pieces of imported glass beads, a fragment of roofing tile, bones and palm kernel shells.

Level 4 contained stem fragments of imported smoking pipes, pieces of writing slate, bones, fragments of European ceramics, burnt daub and local pottery. Also recovered were copious quantities of charcoal, pieces of tar, palm kernel shells, pieces of unidentified metal objects, glass beads, grinding stones, fragments of glass bottles and mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species.

Finds from Level 5 comprised the following: metal objects, bones, pieces of red bricks, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells, a piece of iron slag, daub, fragments of European ceramics and a coin. Other finds recovered were a fragment of writing slate, local potsherds, fragments of broken glass bottles, pieces of tar, pieces of the stem of imported smoking pipes and glass beads.

Finds from Level 6 included broken glass bottles, bones, pieces of iron slag, grinding stone, pieces of burnt daub, imported pottery and stems of imported smoking pipe. Other finds comprised mollusc shells, glass beads, metal objects, palm kernel nuts, potsherds of local origin and pieces of slate roofing tile. Finds from Level 7 consisted of the following: broken glass bottles, bones, a piece of iron slag, imported pottery, imported smoking pipes, mollusc shells, glass beads, metal objects, lumps of burnt daub, palm kernel shells and local potsherds.

Cultural materials retrieved from Level 8 consisted of fragments of glass bottles, fragments of imported pottery, fragments of imported smoking pipes, glass beads, writing slate, daub, pieces of broken red bricks and metal objects. Other finds included bones, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, grinding stones, local potsherds and roofing slate.

The finds from Level 9 included fragments of glass bottles, burnt daub, bones, imported pottery, iron slag, stems of imported smoking pipes, mollusc shells, glass beads, fragments of roofing slate, red

bricks, daub, metal objects and local potsherds. Finds from Level 10 included mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, broken pieces of European ceramics, daub, imported smoking pipes, a metal button and bones. Other finds included pieces of iron slag, roofing slate, glass beads, glass bottles, local pottery and metal objects. There was a significant decrease in the quantity of cultural materials recovered from Levels 11 and 12. Finds from Level 11 included bones, local pottery, iron slag, fragmented glass bottles, stems of smoking pipes, imported ceramics, glass beads, metal objects and mollusc shells all of which were recovered at the upper section of this level. Finds from Level 12 were iron slag, burnt daub, local potsherds, mollusc shells, imported ceramics and red brick.



Plate 1. Unit 2

Table 6.3. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 2.

The Finds	L. 1.	L.2	L.3.	L. 4.	L. 5.	L. 6.	L.7.	L.8.	L.9.	L. 10.	L. 11.	L. 12.	Total	% of finds according to strata level.
Bottles	69	67	263	166	184	199	237	148	56	60	28	-	1477	12.64%
Bones	25	42	19	33	78	213	164	138	124	45	15	-	896	7.67%
Imported ceramics	26	39	72	57	43	43	89	166	185	115	16	-	851	7.28%
Smoking pipes	2	3	14	13	10	2	23	28	23	49	4	-	171	1.46%
Mollusc shells	442	341	178	427	706	594	898	298	341	408	185	23	4841	41.44%
Glass beads	81	166	131	44	104	98	52	61	37	16	12	-	802	6.86%
Writing slate	1	2	-	9	1	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	18	0.15%
Red bricks	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	2	-	-	-	7	0.05%
Metal objects	44	71	146	161	168	193	215	142	102	29	29	-	1300	11.13%
Palm kernel shells	2	-	9	11	13	11	21	15	-	2	-	-	84	0.71%
Local pottery	11	32	66	52	85	125	147	113	140	220	126	12	1129	9.66%
Tiles	1	3	1	-	-	11	-	12	-	-	-	-	28	0.23%
Grinding stones	1	3	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	-	9	0.07%
Coin	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.008%
Iron slag	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	4	3	9	13	23	0.19%
Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	0.017%
Tar	-	-	-	2	5	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	7	0.05%
Burnt daub	-	-	-	2	2	5	3	2	1	4	2	12	33	0.28%
Tuyeres	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.008%
total	705	769	899	978	1322	1498	1851	1132	1017	952	426	61	11680	
% of finds according to artifact type.	6.03 %	6.58 %	7.69 %	8.37 %	11.3 1%	12.8 2%	15.8 4%	9.69 %	8.70 %	8.15 %	3.64 %	0.52 %		100%

Like Unit 1, Unit 2 was also characterized by two distinct cultural levels namely Cultural Level 1 (a pre Atlantic contact cultural level - 220 – 240 cm.), whose thickness measured 20 cm. This cultural level was directly stratified above the sterile level and contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origins. Cultural Level 2 (a post Atlantic contact period cultural level) measured 220 cm. thick (from ground surface to level 220 cm.) and contained both items of local and foreign origins.

The finds contained in the two cultural levels at Unit 2 were also more diversified compared to Unit 1.

At Cultural level 1, daub, tuyeres and grinding stones constituted new additions to the local inventory while a metal button and a coin constituted new artifacts in Cultural Level 2. Like Unit 1, the geographical area bordering Unit 2 was also probably settled by the local people before the arrival of Europeans to Dixcove because Cultural Level 1 did not contain items of foreign origin.

6.8. Season 2 - Unit 3: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy, and the Finds

Unit 3 was located at Locus 2, approximately 3.1 m. south of the fort and 18.9 m. from the beachfront.

The unit was very close to the adult swimming pool and like Unit 1 was located directly below several large windows on the first floor of the fort. According to oral information, the area served as a cemetery for the people of Upper Dixcove in ancient times. It was the most unproductive in terms of find recovery at Dixcove and this was probably because much of the on-going construction work was being undertaken in that area. The original light greyish clayey soil had also been replaced with red laterite to facilitate construction of the two swimming pools and four chalets which lay south of the unit. The entire area was also littered with small heaps of sand, gravels, pieces of wood, broken ceramic tiles, nails and pieces of cement building blocks left over from the construction work.

The sterile level of Unit 3 reached 100 cm. below ground surface (Fig. 6.3). It measured 2 x 1.5 m. Though 5 arbitrary levels were established, the stratigraphy consisted of only two soil types and did not contain any charcoal patches within the stratigraphy. The first soil type consisted of a thin strip of black humus (5Y 2/1) which measured approximately 4 cm. below ground surface. This black humus covered the entire area of Locus 2 and appeared to have been spread across the area to facilitate the growing of green grass whose rootlets had formed a thick patch of matting in the soil. The second soil type consisted of dark red laterite (2.5YR 3/2). This layer contained ample quantities of small stones of no definite shape and size and were evenly spread out in the layer. The grains appeared to be a mix of gneiss and quartz and measured approximately 3 x 5 mm. across their widest axis. The colour and texture of the stones were generally uncharacteristic of rocks of the area suggesting they were brought from elsewhere. Level 1 did not contain any finds. However mollusc shells, one piece each of metal object and bone was recovered from Level 2. Recovered from Level 3 were metal objects, mollusc shells, imported ceramic, fragments of glass bottles and bones. Only mollusc shells were retrieved from Level 4 and Level 5. The soil was very loose and the few finds retrieved appeared not to be in their

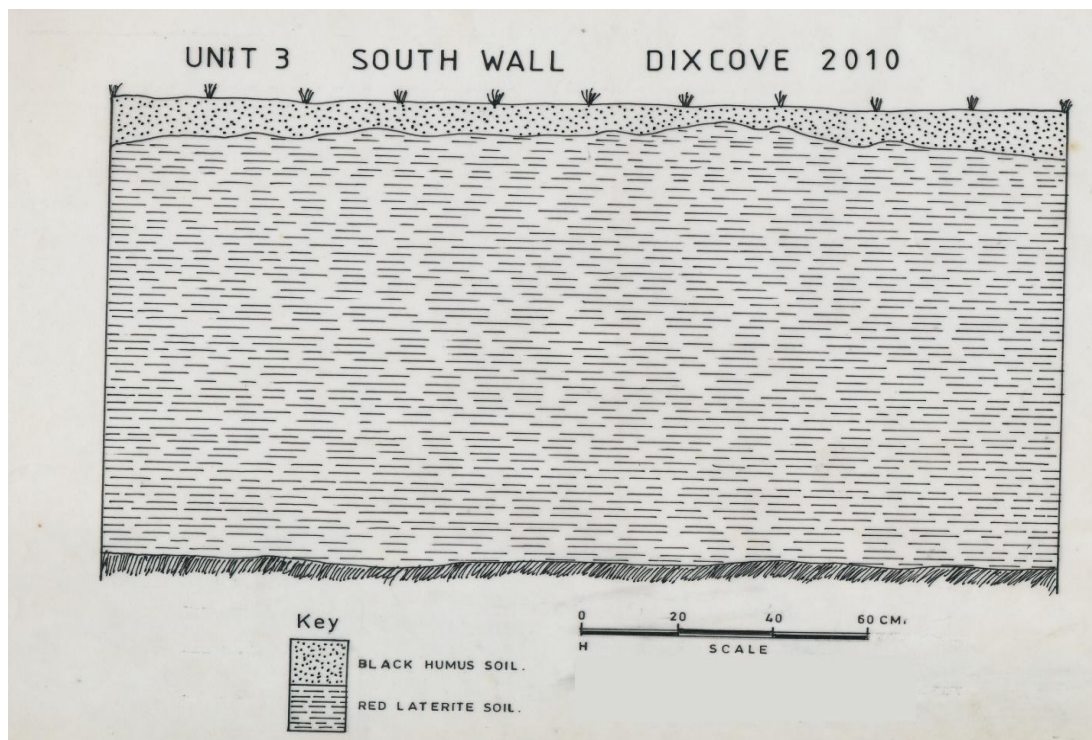
primary context but were embedded in the red laterite which had been brought from elsewhere to facilitate the construction work.

Table 6.4. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 3.

Types of Finds	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total	Percentage of total finds according to strata level
Metal objects	-	1	2	-	-	3	15.78%
Mollusc shells	-	2	3	1	2	8	42.10%
Imported ceramics	-	-	1	-	-	1	5.26%
Bottles	-	-	2	-	-	2	10.52%
Bones	-	1	4	-	-	5	26.31%
Total	-	4	12	1	2	19	100%
Percentage of total finds according to Artifact type..	0%	21.05%	63.15%	5.26%	10.52%		

It will be noted from Table 6.5. above that two cultural levels were identified at Unit 3. Unlike Units 1 and 2 however, the natural stratigraphy had undergone extensive disturbance due to construction of two swimming pools there. It would therefore be wrong to assign two cultural levels to Unit 3.

Fig.6.3



6.9. Unit 4: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy, and the Finds.

Unit 4 was also located at Locus 2. It was approximately 2.6 m. southwest of the fort and just 4.2 m. from the east-end of the cove. It was located on a very steep slope adjacent one of the newly built chalets and only 5.7 m. east from the beachfront. Unlike the surrounding area which was bereft of trees, several coconut trees (*Cocus nucifera*) and a thick mat of shrubbery about 2 m. high could be found here. According to oral information, the ancient cemetery of the people of Upper Dixcove extended all the way to this area.

The area was selected for excavation because of three reasons. The first was that there was a dense scatter of artifacts on the ground and within the shrubs indicating the area had experienced little disturbance from the on-going construction work. The second was that it lay directly below the kitchen and items may have been dropped there from the kitchen. The third was that it lay below three windows of rooms on the ground floor and a long balcony on the first floor which overlooked the sea. According to Lawrence (1963: 297), the three rooms were in the past occupied by staff of the Royal Africa Company. The peaceful serenity of the beachfront and scenic ambience of the cove from the balcony would have attracted soldiers and other staff of the company to relax and spend much of their leisure time there and several unusable cultural materials would have been dropped to the ground from there.

Unit 4 measured 4 x 1.5 m. The sterile level reached 160 cm. below ground surface and four stratigraphy levels were clearly identified (Fig. 6.4). The upper portion of Level 1 (0 – 12 cm.) consisted of loose friable black humus (5Y 3/2), easily crushed between the thumb and forefinger and similar to that of Unit 3. However, unlike Unit 3, it was mildly humic. This was probably because of its closeness to the sea. This layer also contained several rootlets of grass and creepers which had formed thick shrubbery at the site. The portion underlying this level consisted of dark-grey soil (5Y 4/1).

Levels 2 (20 – 40 cm.) and 3 (40 – 60 cm.) was composed of dark brown laterite (10YR 4/3). This layer also contained two unserviceable canons and several quartz chippings which measured approximately 2

x 2 cm. across their longest axis. The chippings were probably remnants from previous construction work undertaken around the precincts of the fort. Like the soil overlying it, it was mildly humic.

Level 4 (60 – 80 cm.) consisted of a mix of dark brown (10YR 4/3) and dark grey laterite (5YR 4/1) which was very compacted and hard. It also contained a large quantity of stone chippings like the level overlying it. However, the stones were larger approximately 4 x 6 mm. across and made up of a mix of granite and gneiss which was unlike those in the overlying layer in colour and texture. The stones were also evenly spread out in the soil.

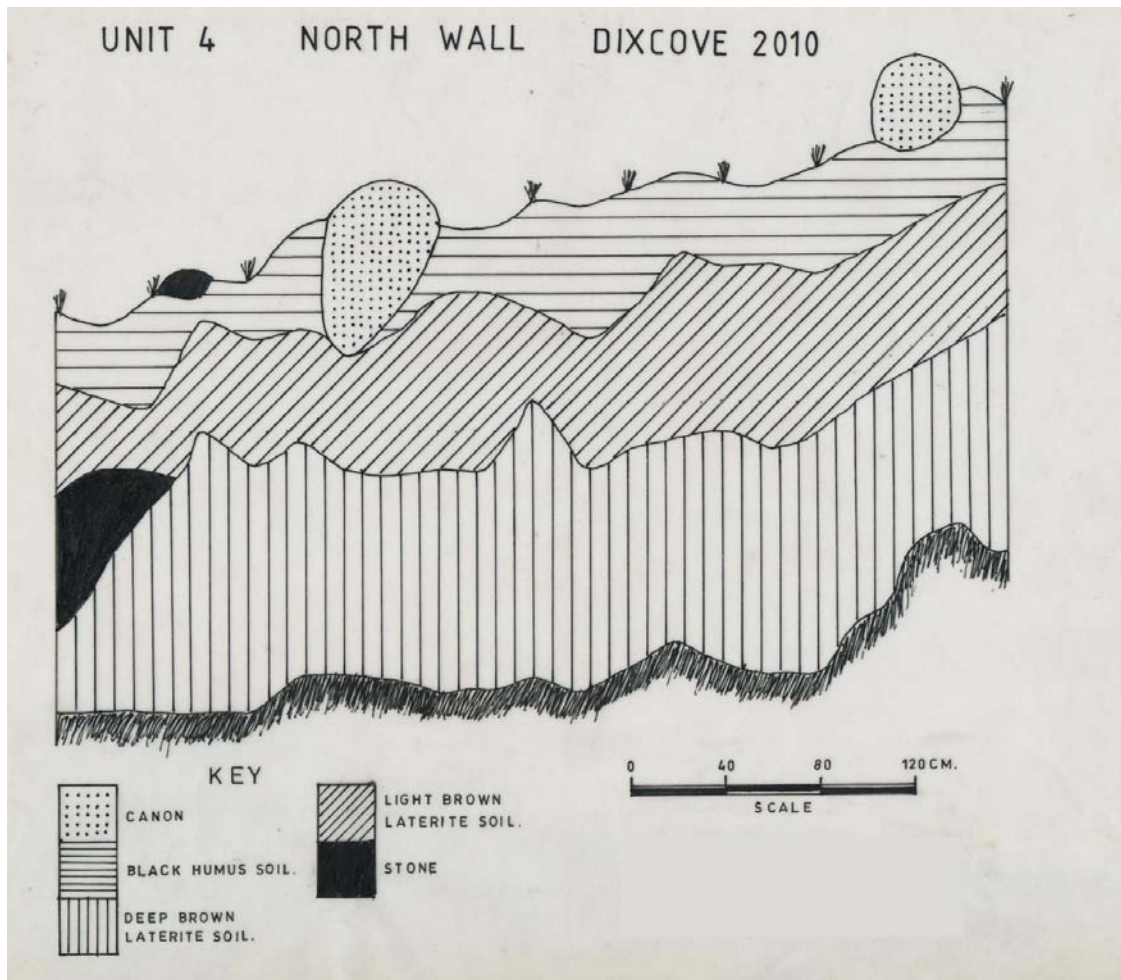
Table 6.5. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 4.

Types of Finds	L.1.	L. 2.	L.3.	L.4.	L.5.	L.6.	L.7.	L.8.	Total	Percentage of total finds according to strata level.
Smoking pipes	-	1	3	4	2	-	1	-	11	0.53%
Button	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.04%
Local pottery	11	27	29	45	32	21	9	2	176	8.60%
Imported ceramics	-	6	4	25	33	16	19	-	103	5.03%
Glass bottles	2	4	9	10	17	18	9	-	69	3.37%
Metal objects	14	21	23	24	23	43	20	-	168	8.21%
Mollusc shells	2	59	83	288	293	453	199	2	1379	67.43%
Bones	-	9	7	16	22	17	7	2	80	3.91%
Glass beads	-	-	10	19	13	9	4	-	55	2.68%
Canon	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.09%
Slate boards/ pencils	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.04%
Total	31	127	169	431	436	577	268	6	2045	100%
Percentage of finds according to artifact type	1.51 %	6.21 %	8.26 %	21.07 %	21.32%	28.2 1%	13.10 %	0.29 %	100%	

Levels 5 (80 – 100 cm.) to 7 (120 – 140 cm.) consisted of very compacted light-brown clayey soil (7.5YR 6/4) which contained several large stone pebbles measuring averagely 6 x 10 cm. across. Soil in this stratum was moderately resistant to pressure and did not easily break up like those above. This level overlay a large dark brown soft sedimentary rock (7.5YR 3/2) which covered the base of the entire unit.

Partly embedded in Level 1 were 2 unserviceable canons. Within the stratum were the following: broken glass bottles, metal objects, potsherds of local origin and mollusc shells. Level 2 contained the following finds: the stem of one imported smoking pipe, potsherds of local manufacture, imported ceramics, broken glass bottles, metal objects, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species and bones.

Fig.6.4.



Finds retrieved from Level 3 comprised stems of imported smoking pipes, potsherds of local origin, imported pottery and glass bottles. Other finds recovered were metal objects, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species, bones, glass beads and roofing slate. Level 4 contained the following finds:

stems of imported smoking pipes, potsherds of local manufacture, imported ceramics, broken glass bottles and metal objects. Other finds included mollusc shells, bones and glass beads. Finds retrieved from Level 5 included glass bottles, a metal button, mollusc shells, glass beads, fragments of European ceramics, potsherds of local manufacture, metal objects and bones.

Level 6 contained local potsherds, pieces of imported pottery, broken glass bottles, metal objects, mollusc shells, bones and glass beads. Finds retrieved from Level 7 included potsherds of local origin, imported ceramics, metal objects and mollusc shells. Other finds recovered here included bones, pieces of broken glass bottles, glass beads and the stem of imported smoking pipe. Finds from level 8 comprised potsherds of local origin, mollusc shells and bones.

Unit 4 was also characterized by two distinct cultural levels as in Units 1 and 2 namely: Cultural Level 1 (a pre-Atlantic contact period cultural level). It measured 20 cm. thick and was stratified above the sterile level at Level 8 (140 – 160 cm.). It contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origins such as local pottery, mollusc shells and bones. The second, Cultural Level 2 (an Atlantic contact period cultural level) measured 140 cm. in depth from the ground surface and contained both items of local and foreign origins.

6.10. Unit 5: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy, and the Finds.

Unit 5 measured 3 x 1.5 m. and was sited 13.9 m. northeast of the fort and 19.4 m. from the beachfront. It was located only 1.2 m. west from Unit 2. The decision to explore an area so close to Unit 2 was informed by the fact that Unit 2 had been the most productive in terms of artifact recovery yielding over 5,000 finds (Table 6.7) of both local and external origins. Until the beginning of construction work by the foreign investor, all of the area lying south of Unit 5 was heavily settled. To pave way for construction work, the investor acquired almost five acres of land located north of the fort on the

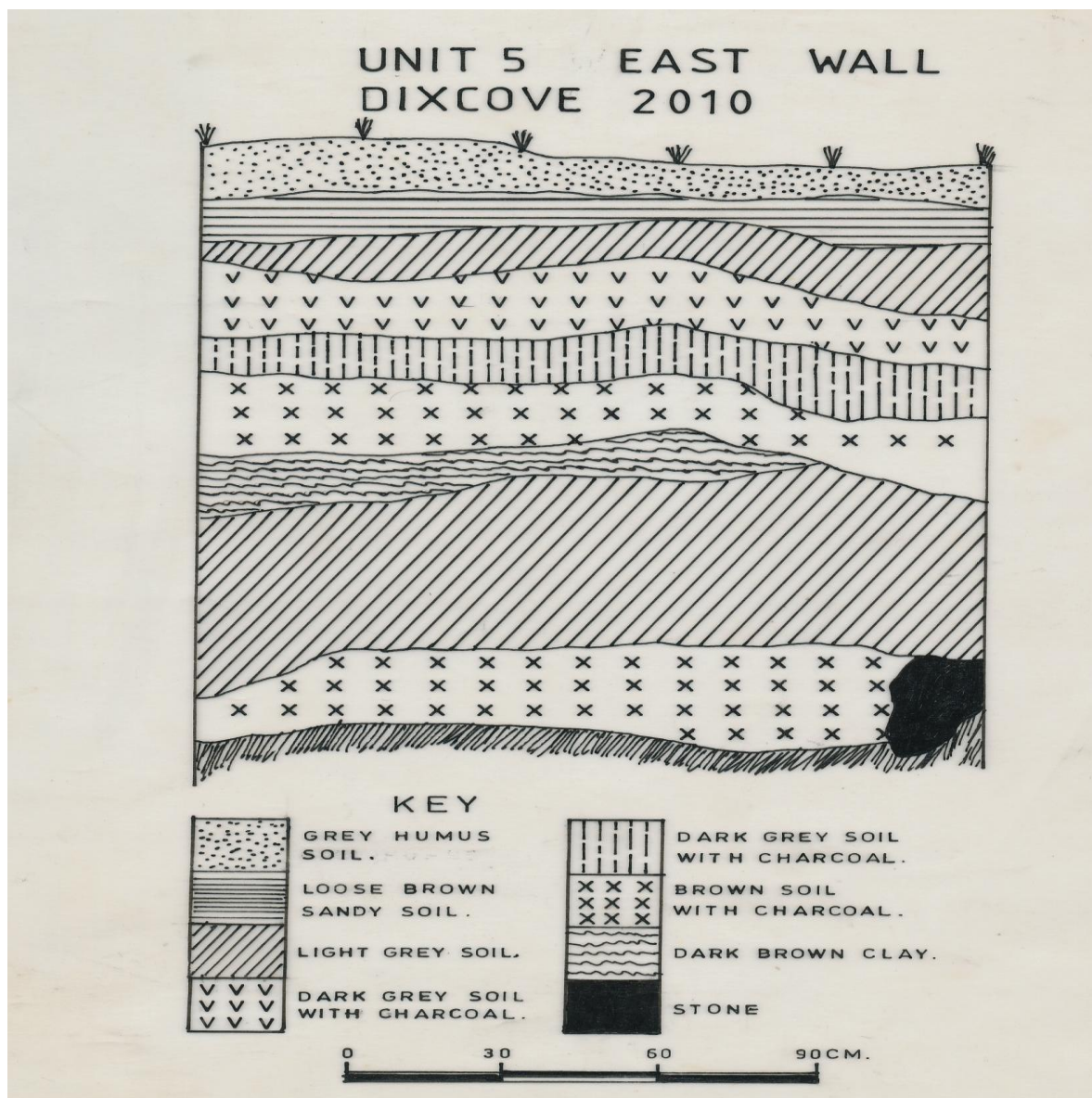
outskirts of Upper Dixcove from the traditional authority and built a number of residential quarters after which he moved the settlers there. Parts of the foundations of the old settlement can still be seen in the area.

The sterile level of Unit 5 reached 240 cm. below ground surface. Like Unit 2, the stratigraphy was complex made up of several interrelating parts and colours and interspersed with patches of charcoal and large stone boulders. It was also wet along certain portions and contained a wide array of both European trade goods and locally manufactured materials. The surface of Unit 5 was covered with a thick mat of creepers and grass similar to Unit 2 and several artifacts could be seen partly embedded in the soil. The upper section of Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) was made up of humic dark loose grey friable humus (2.5YR 4/2). It also contained several rootlets of grass. This section extended for about 7cm from ground surface while the lower section consisted of loose light brown sandy soil (7.5YR 6/4) similar in colour and texture to the sand occurring along the beach front.

Level 2 (20 – 40 cm.) to 4 (60 – 80 cm.) was complex and consisted of a mix of several inter-relating parts and colours interspersed with several patches of charcoal and pebbles. The principal soil types consisted of dark brown sandy soil (7.5YR 6/3) with a grain size of approximately 2 – 4 mm. across, dark grey sandy soil (5YR 4/1), light grey clayey soil (5YR 7/1) and dark grey clayey soil (5YR 3/1). A total of 37 charcoal patches were spread out along all four walls of the unit. The count according to wall was as follows: west wall – 8, east wall – 11, south wall -5 and north wall – 13. Levels 5 (80 – 100 cm.) and 6 (100 – 120 cm.) were characterized by the same soil which consisted of a mix of light grey (5YR 7/1) and dark grey clayey soils (5YR 3/2) with patches of charcoal located along the north and east walls of the pit. Also discovered within these levels were copious quantities of small granite and gneiss stone chippings of an irregular shape with no definite size. The stratigraphy of Level 7 (120 – 140 cm.) comprised a mix of dark brown sandy soil (10YR 4/3) and dark reddish-grey clayey soil (7.5R

3/1). A foul smell like the smell of rotten gunpowder emanated from this level and permeated all the way down to Level 9. The pebbles described above could also be seen evenly spread out within this level.

Fig.6.5.



Level 8 (140 – 160 cm.) was composed of a mix of very compacted dark grey clayey soil (5YR 3/1) and dark brown clayey soil (7.5YR 3/2) both of which contained patches of charcoal. A total of 17 patches of charcoal were identified spread out along all 4 walls of the unit. The breakdown was as

follows: 3 along the west wall, 9 along the south wall some of which had spread to the east wall, 2 along the east wall and 3 on the north wall. All the patches of charcoal in this stratum did not have a definite shape and measured between 2 – 9 mm. thick and 7 – 34 cm. long. The stratigraphy of Level 9 (160 – 180 cm.) was same as Level 8 but contained only 7 charcoal patches. Two were located midway between the west wall, 3 along the lower section of the north wall and another 2 along the upper sections of the south wall. All the charcoal patches measured between 4 – 7 mm. thick and extended 17 – 31 cm. long. The stratigraphy of Levels 10 (180 – 200 cm.) and 11 (200 – 220 cm.) was composed of a mix of dark brown clayey soil (7.5YR 3/2) and light grey (7.5YR 7/1) soft sedimentary rock which also contained several large granite pebbles of an irregular shape. These stones were evenly spread out within the stratigraphy. (Refer fig. 6.5. below for the stratigraphy profile).

Finds retrieved from Level 1 included the following: fragments of imported ceramics, potsherds of local manufacture, glass beads, mollusc shells and fragments of broken glass bottles. Other materials included stems of imported smoking pipes, metal objects, bones, dress buttons and palm nut kernel shells.

Finds from Level 2 included imported smoking pipes, a dress button, potsherds of local origin, imported pottery, glass bottles, metal objects and mollusc shells. Other finds retrieved were bones, glass beads, palm kernel shells, imported red brick and grinding stones.

The following constituted finds from Level 3: imported red bricks, coins, stems of imported smoking pipes, buttons, potsherds of local origin, imported pottery, glass bottle, metal objects, mollusc shells and bones. Other finds included glass beads, palm kernel shells, 1 piece each of broken roofing slate and quern. Level 4 contained the following finds: red brick, imported smoking pipes, local potsherds, imported pottery, and glass bottles. Other finds included metal objects, mollusc shells, bones, glass beads, palm kernel shells and 1 piece each of imported roofing slate and iron slag.

The types of finds recovered from Level 5 were the same as those of the preceding layer and comprised the following: imported smoking pipes, pieces of local pottery, imported pottery, fragments of broken glass bottles, metal objects and mollusc shells. Other finds included bones, glass beads, roofing slate, iron slag and palm kernel shells.

Level 6 contained several finds which included imported smoking pipes, local pottery imported red brick, a quern, imported smoking pipes, local potsherds and imported pottery. Also recovered were glass bottles, metal objects, mollusc shells, bones, glass beads, palm kernel shells and iron slag.

The following constituted cultural materials retrieved from level 7: imported smoking pipes, local pottery, bottles, metal objects and glass beads. Other finds recovered included mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, bones, writing slate, iron slag and querns.

Cultural materials retrieved from Level 8 included metal objects, glass beads, glass bottles, imported smoking pipes and local pottery. Also retrieved were palm kernel shells, bones, mollusc shells, imported ceramics and iron slag. Finds recovered from Level 9 included a quern, stems of imported smoking pipes, local pottery, imported pottery and glass bottles, metal objects, mollusc shells, bones, palm kernel shells, iron slag and tuyere.

Finds from Level 10 were as follows: imported smoking pipes, potsherds of local origin, imported ceramics, iron slag, broken glass bottles, metal objects, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells and tuyeres.

Level 11 contained only locally manufactured materials which comprised local pottery, mollusc shells, bones, iron slag and palm kernel shells.

Two distinct cultural levels were identified at Unit 5. They are Cultural Level 1 (a pre-Atlantic contact period cultural level) which measured 20 cm. thick and overlay the sterile level (220 cm.). It contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origin. The second was Cultural Level 2 (Atlantic contact period

cultural level). It measured 200 cm. in depth from ground surface and contained both items of local and foreign origins.

Table 6.6. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 5

Types of Finds	L.1.	L.2.	L.3.	L.4.	L.5.	L.6.	L.7.	L.8.	L.9	L.10	L.11	Total	Percentage of finds according to strata level
Smoking pipes	14	31	18	16	34	21	21	27	12	2	-	196	2.69%
Buttons	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	0.08%
Local pottery	51	61	84	5	111	135	257	229	167	43	19	1162	15.99%
Imported ceramics	13	42	52	122	143	94	42	26	2	1	-	537	7.39%
Bottles	11	33	41	92	117	163	27	19	2	4	-	509	7.00%
Metal objects	16	74	167	184	136	368	42	29	7	2	-	1025	14.11%
Mollusc shell	786	132	294	22	176	90	79	126	31	26	15	1777	24.46%
Tuyeres	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	4	0.05%
Bones	6	11	99	112	149	118	39	72	2	-	3	611	8.41%
Beads	275	90	96	125	97	41	23	10	-	-	-	757	10.42%
Slate pencils	-	-	-	-	8	1	2	-	-	-	-	11	0.15%
Palm kernel shells	3	6	11	91	131	171	111	73	4	3	2	606	8.34%
Roof tiles	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.02%
Querns	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	5	0.06%
Iron Slag	-	-	-	1	1	3	2	2	7	7	24	47	0.64%
Stone grinders	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.02%
Coins	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.02%
Red bricks	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.05%
Total	1178	484	870	772	1103	1207	646	618	238	97	50	7263	
Percentage of total finds according to Artifact type	17.52%	7.22%	12.97%	1.8%	14.36%	16.66%	7.54%	8.17%	3.61%	1.41%	0.71%		100%

6. 11. Season 3 - Unit 6: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy and the Finds.

Unit 6 was opened on a narrow alleyway between two houses at Turum, one of five small localities inside Lower Dixcove (Map 6.2). The others are Bakanano, Ahen Man Echin, Akutowase and Bazan Brow. Unit 6 lay east of the Nfuma Lagoon on a low ridge approximately 20 m. above sea level. According to Okyeame Kwabena Steven (pers. com. 12th January, 2010), Chief Linguist of the

Paramount Chief of Lower Dixcove, Turum and Bakanano are the oldest suburbs at Lower Dixcove and were the first areas to be settled by the ancestors of the people of Lower Dixcove. Turum in the Fanti dialect means farm. It is an unplanned settlement, heavily built-up with no laid out streets or gutters. Like Upper Dixcove, sanitation is poor with small heaps of garbage scattered around the entire community.

House types at Turum are similar to those at Upper Dixcove and can be categorized broadly into two architectural styles. The first type consists of broad stone-walled houses, roofed with “S” shaped slates, some of which are two storied. They are imposing, bigger, older and are clearly of European origin. They contain many rooms built around a large open central courtyard. Most have large metal framed glass windows on all sides. The majority of these early European styled structures are located close to the beachfront and is dilapidated, desolate, abandoned and currently not inhabited. Family members of the owners I talked to indicated that they belonged to indigenous wealthy merchants who traded with Europeans in the past.

The second architectural type consists of traditional wattle-daub structures overlain with thatch or split bamboo roofs. Unlike the first architectural type, most contain only two or three rooms also built around a central courtyard. The rooms are small each measuring averagely 4 x 3 m. The majority of this house type have open unroofed bathrooms and kitchens with a few also having grain storage structures, chicken coops and goat pens attached to them. These animal housing structures are constructed with split bamboo sticks and have a small opening on one side to allow for movement of the animals.

Unit 6 measured 1.5 x 2 m. and sterile level reached 100 cm. below ground surface (Fig 6.6). The stratum of Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) consisted of loose dark-grey humus (7.5YR 3/1) which also contained several dead twigs and partly rotten rootlets. Levels 2 (20 – 40 cm.) and 3 (40 – 60 cm.) consisted of a mix of mildly humic black-greyish (7.5YR 2/1) sandy soil and black clays (10YR 2/1). Two long

patches of charcoal could be seen along the north and west walls of the unit. The charcoal patches measured between 4 – 7 mm. thick. The one located along the north wall measured 29 cm. long while the one along the south wall measured 13 cm. The stratigraphy from 60 cm. downwards was wetter compared to those overlying them. As the excavation proceeded, water began seeping from the base and the four walls into the pit creating a pool at the base. This made sieving and retrieval of cultural materials cumbersome. Initially, the excavation team collected the water with small plastic buckets which were emptied into the Nfuma Lagoon nearby but the intensity of seepage increased as we dug deeper making our attempt of emptying the unit futile. The excavation was abandoned at 100cm below ground surface.

The stratigraphy of Level 4 consisted of a mix of compacted wet dark yellowish-brown (10YR 5/6) clayey soil and light greyish (5Y 7/1) clayey soil. A total of 11 patches of charcoal could be seen along all four walls of the unit. The countdown of charcoal patches and their location are as follows: 2 patches each on the east, north and south walls with another 5 on the west wall. The charcoal patches measured between 4 – 8 mm. in thickness and 11 – 23 cm. in length. Level 5 (80 – 100 cm.) consisted of wet dark yellowish-brown (2.5Y 6/4) sandy soils which also had several irregularly shaped dark charcoal patches spread across its wall. Water seeping from the walls was muddy and brackish and had a repulsive putrefactive smell of rotting organic matter which is yet to be fully oxidized.

Only a few cultural materials were recovered from Level 1 and comprised the following: potsherds of local origin, mollusc shells, broken glass bottles, slate, imported ceramics, bones and metal objects. Finds from Level 2 comprised local pottery, glass bead, fragments of writing slate, broken glass bottles and palm kernel shells. Other finds recovered from this level included mollusc shells, imported pottery, metal objects, bones and the bowl of imported smoking pipe. Finds retrieved from Level 3 included

potsherds of local origin, writing slate, glass bottles, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells, imported pottery, metal objects and bones.

Finds retrieved from Level 4 consisted of potsherds of local manufacture, glass bottles, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species and bones. The following constituted the finds retrieved from Level 5: potsherds of local origin, palm kernel shells and mollusc shells.

Fig. 6.6.

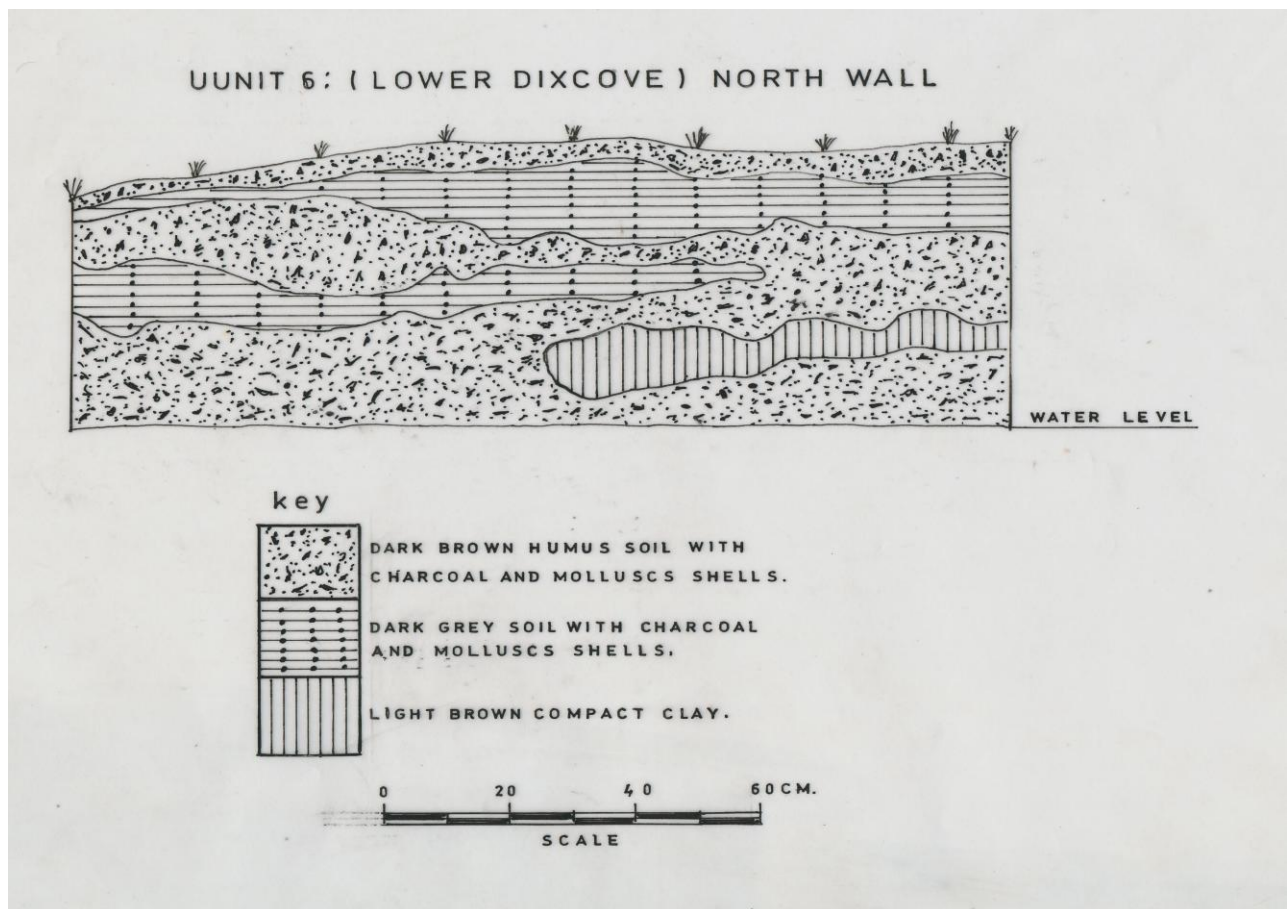


Table 6.7. Table showing the types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 6

Types of cultural materials	Stratigraphy levels						Percentage of total finds according to strata levels
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Total	
Local pottery	26	128	193	26	11	384	23.83%
Glass beads	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.06%
Slate boards/ pencils	5	10	2	-	-	17	1.05%
Glass bottles	12	48	75	12	-	147	9.12%
Palm kernel shells	-	6	19	13	3	41	2.54%

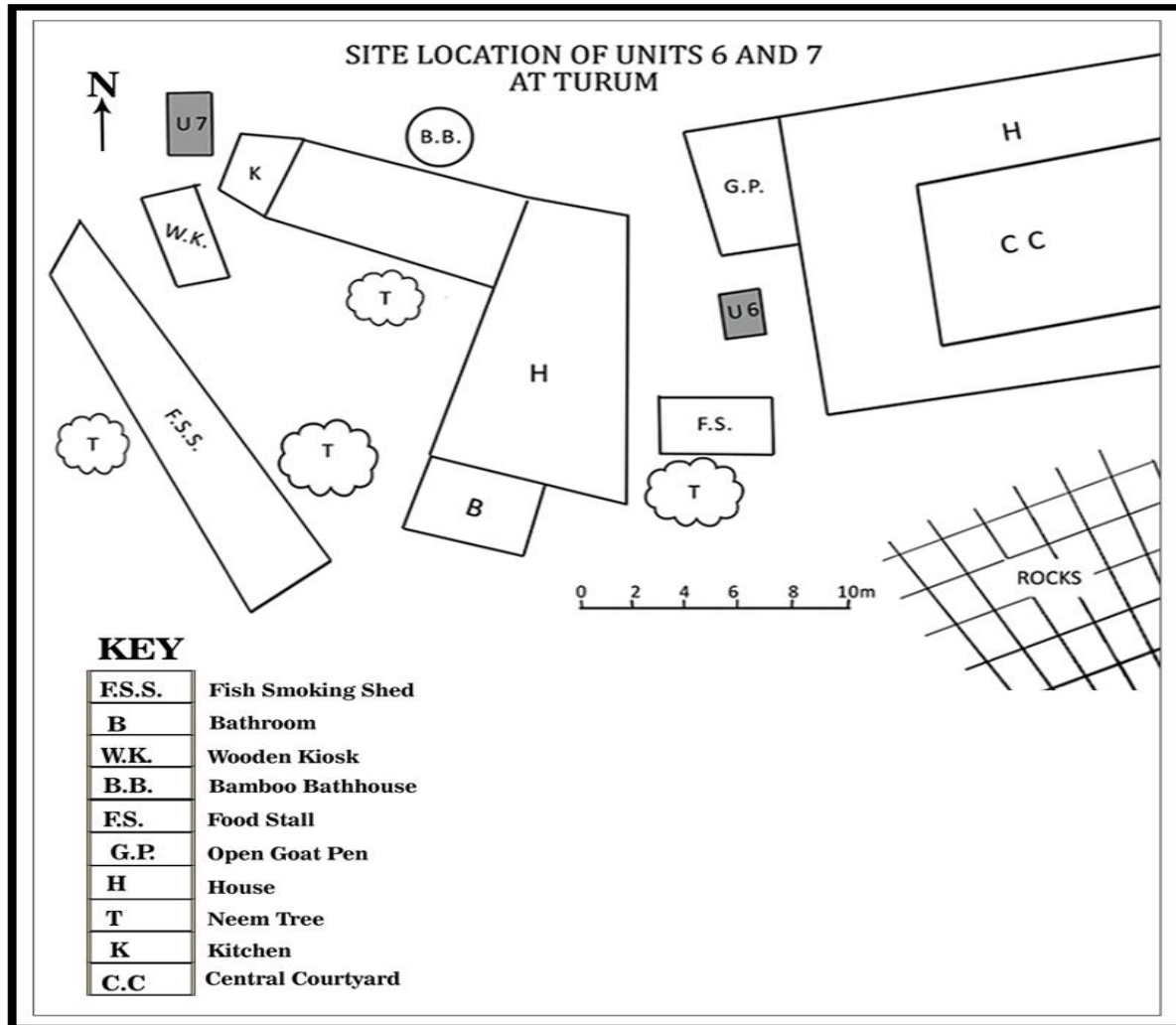
Mollusc shells	19	47	126	427	32	651	40.40%
Imported ceramics	9	13	3	-	-	25	1.55%
Metal objects	2	29	127	-	-	158	9.80%
Bones	120	35	28	3	-	186	11.54%
Smoking pipes	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.06
Total	193	318	573	481	46	1611	100%
Percentage of total finds according to artifact type	11.98%	19.73%	35.56%	29.85%	2.85%		

Two distinct cultural levels were identified at Unit 6. The first, named Cultural Level 1 (a pre-Atlantic contact period cultural level) measured 20 cm. thick and was stratified above the sterile level which was 100 cm. below ground surface. It contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origin. The second, named Cultural Level 2 (an Atlantic contact cultural level) measured 80 cm. in thickness (from ground surface to the top of Cultural Level 1) and contained both items of local and foreign origins.

6. 12. Unit 7: Location, Description of Stratigraphy and the Finds.

Unit 7 was also located at Turum on a small mound approximately 7.3 m. northeast of the Nfuma Lagoon and 15 m. north of Unit 6. The area is heavily built-up and the unit was sited at the back of two houses with house numbers Dx. No.217 and dx. No.745. The first house is one of several old European styled architectural structures located along the beachfront. All respondents interviewed intimated that as long as they could remember, it had always been there and probably predates all current inhabitants at Dixcove. The second house on the other hand is located along a very busy narrow alleyway which links the beach to that quarter of the suburb.

Map 6.2. Map showing Units 6 and 7 at Turum, Lower Dixcove.



Unit 7 measured 1.5 x 3 m. and sterile level reached 100 cm. below ground surface. The finds as well as the colour and texture of the stratigraphy of Unit 7 were similar to those from Unit 6 and like the former, water seeped into the pit from the four walls and base from 60 cm. downwards. The excavation was abandoned at 100 cm. because artifact retrieval was becoming increasingly difficult on account of the wet soil and muddy nature of the pit.

Two natural stratigraphic levels were discerned at Unit 7 (fig.6.7). The first which was located at Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) and midway to the upper portions of Level 2 (20 – 40 cm.) comprised dark grey (2.5Y 4/2) sandy soil. This level contained veritable quantities of rotten leaves and other biodegradable matter

like twigs, mollusc shells and bones. The upper part of Level 3 namely, 41 – 49 cm. consisted of very dark brown soil (10YR 4/5). The rest of the stratigraphy down to the sterile level (100 cm.) consisted of dark grey (10 YR 4/1) clayey soil. It also contained 6 patches of charcoal located along different parts on the east and north walls of the unit.

Finds retrieved from Level 1 included the following: potsherds of local origin, European pottery, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells, heavily corroded metal objects and fragmented pieces of imported red brick. Level 2 contained burnt daub, all of no identifiable shape or size, potsherds of local origin, mollusc shells, and pieces of broken glass bottles and the stem of imported smoking pipe. One burnt daub which measured 12 x 4 cm. had three mollusc shell impressions impressed on one side of it.

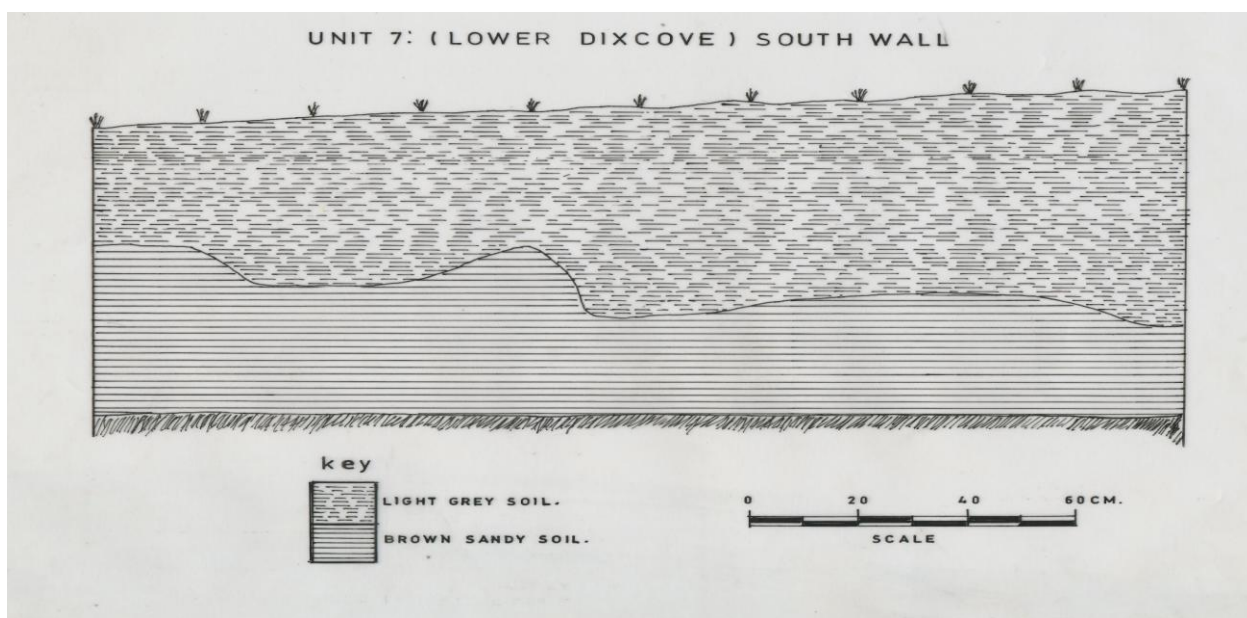
The finds retrieved from Level 3, all of which were wet down to the sterile level included local potsherds, daub, palm kernel shells, iron slag and mollusc shells. Level 4 contained local pottery, palm kernel shells all of which were broken, iron slag, mollusc shells and pieces of daub which easily disintegrated in my hand when an attempt was made to pick them. Cultural materials retrieved from Level 5 comprised 4 items namely, iron slag, pottery of local origin, palm kernel shells and burnt daub.

Table 6.8. Table showing types and quantum of Finds retrieved from Unit 7.

Types of cultural finds	Stratigraphy levels					Total	Percentage of total finds according to strata levels
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5		
Local pottery	164	324	249	130	130	886	65.14%
Imported ceramics	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.07%
Glass bottles	-	2	-	-	-	2	0.14%
Iron slag	-	-	5	10	10	43	3.16%
Smoking pipes	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.07%
Palm kernel shell	12	3	39	110	110	214	15.73%
Mollusc Shells	14	32	39	71	71	169	12.42%
Metal objects	3	-	1	-	-	4	0.29%
Daub	-	12	10	9	9	38	2.79%
Red Bricks	2	-	-	-	-	2	0.14%
Total	196	374	343	330	330	1360	100%
Percentage of total finds according to artifact type	14.41%	27.5%	25.22%	24.26%	24.26%		

Two distinct cultural levels were identified at Unit 7. The first, named Cultural Level 1 was a pre Atlantic contact period cultural level which measured 60 cm. thick and lay stratified above the sterile level which was 100 cm. from ground surface to the base of cultural level 1. It contained only items of local origin such as iron slag and mollusc shells among others (see Table 6.9. above). The second, named Cultural Level 2 was an Atlantic contact period cultural level. It measured 40 cm. in depth from ground surface to the top of Cultural Level 1. It contained both items of local and foreign origins. Unlike Units 2 and 5 which contained a wide variety of imported items, only 4 foreign artifacts with a total count of 6, namely: 2 fragments of red bricks, 1 fragment of imported ceramics, the stem of smoking pipe and two fragments of bottles were registered. The area bordering Unit 7 was probably one of the earliest places to have been settled by the indigenes of Dixcove. This is because compared to Units 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 whose cultural levels 1 (the pre-Atlantic contact cultural level) measured only 20 cm. in thickness, Cultural Level 1 at Unit 7 measured 60 cm. in thickness.

Fig. 6.7.



6. 13 - Unit 8: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy and the Finds.

Unit 8 was located at Bakanano and lay approximately 27 m. southeast of the cove (Map 6.3). This pit lay along a very narrow and busy pathway which connected several houses located farther afield to the cove and fishing harbour. The continuous passage of people to and fro along the fishing harbour slowed the archaeological investigation and the excavation team had to suspend work for minutes several times daily to allow for fishermen carrying fishing nets and outboard motors and fishmongers carrying fish to pass.

Currently, much of the land at Bakanano belongs to the Ebraadzie clan of Lower Dixcove. Majority of the residents comprise fishermen and fishmongers. The area can be described as perhaps the most densely populated place in Lower Dixcove with about two-thirds of the population being under ten years of age. All dwellings here are constructed of wattle-daub. Unlike Turum, the sea front at Bakanano is characterized by several flat rocky outcrops which rise a few meters above sea level and which are used as fish drying platforms. According to oral information gathered from indigenes, much of the area was a refuse disposal site in the past.

Unit 8 measured 1 x 2 m. and sterile level was 120 cm. below ground surface. The stratigraphy consisted of three soil types (Fig. 6.8). The first located at the upper part of Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) consisted of light grey humus (10YR 6/6). Below this stratum (Levels 20 – 83 cm.), the soil consisted of yellowish-brown sandy soil. The rest of the stratigraphy down to the sterile level consisted of light brown (2.5YR 4/4) sandy soil. Except for the colour, the soil texture at Unit 8 was the same as those on the shore even though it lay some 27 m. from the beachfront. The size of the sand grains was also the same as those on the shore and measured 2 x 2 mm. across. The soil was also mildly humic.

The stratum of Level 1 was hard and compacted. This was probably because it lay along a footpath having been trodden under for years. Cultural materials retrieved from Level 1 included the following:

part of a metal hinge, fragment of glass bottle, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells, daub and local potsherds. Level 2 contained potsherds of local origin, palm kernel shells, imported ceramics, mollusc shells and burnt daub. Level 3 contained local pottery, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells, iron slag and burnt daub. Level 4 contained local pottery, iron slag, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, imported ceramics and burnt daub. Finds from Level 5 included local pottery, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, iron slag and burnt daub.



Plate 2. Unit 8

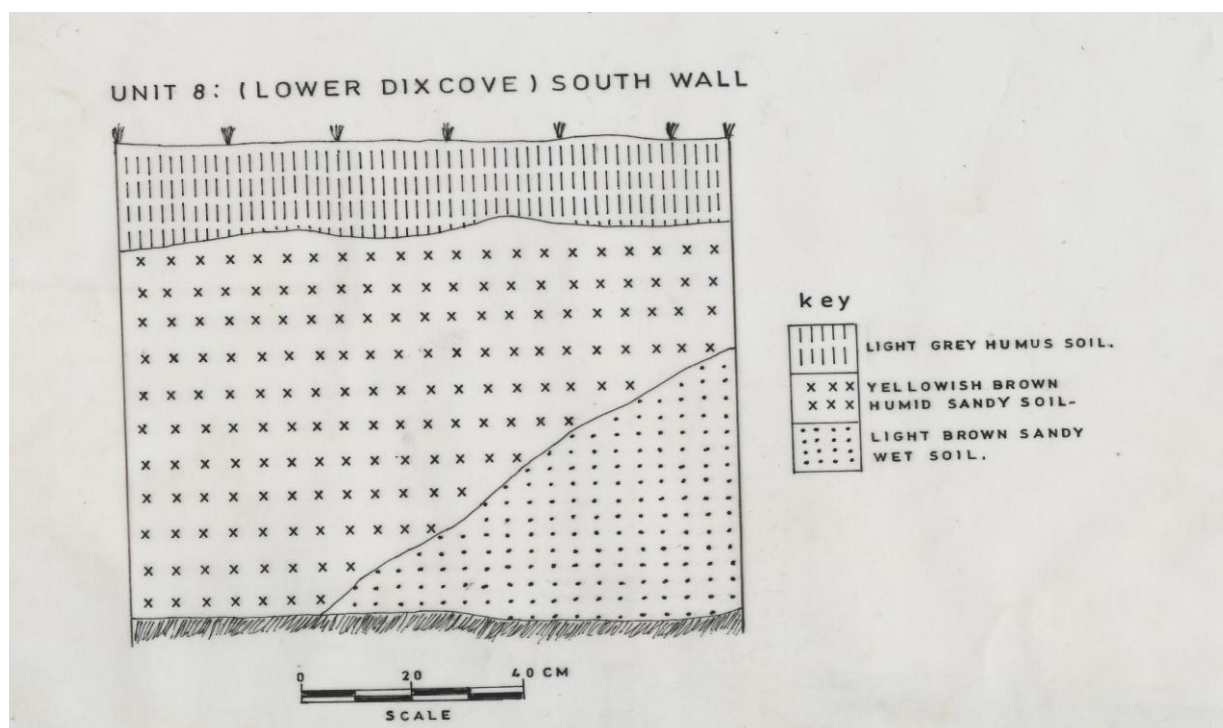
Two distinct cultural levels were identified at Unit 8. The first, named Cultural Level 1 (a pre-Atlantic contact period cultural level) measured 20 cm. thick above the sterile level which was 100 cm. from

ground surface. Cultural Level 1 contained only artifacts and ecofacts of local origin. The second, named Cultural Level 2 (Atlantic contact period cultural level) measured 80 cm. in thickness and contained both items of local and foreign origins. It must be noted however that the quantum of imported cultural materials at Unit 8 was very low. A total count of only 3 fragments namely 1 fragment of a bottle and 2 fragments of imported ceramics were registered.

Table 6.9. Table showing types and quantum of finds retrieved from Unit 8

Types of cultural materials and ecofacts	Stratigraphy levels					Total	Percentage of total finds according to strata levels
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5		
Local pottery	78	39	150	110	43	420	30.90%
Mollusc shell	12	66	112	133	91	414	30.46%
Palm kernel shells	21	110	115	127	89	462	33.99%
Glass bottles	1	-	-	-	-	1	0.07%
Iron Slag	-	-	2	10	17	29	2.13%
Imported ceramic	-	1	-	1	-	2	0.14%
Daub	1	3	5	13	9	31	2.28%
Total	113	219	384	394	249	1359	100%
Percentage of total finds according to artifact type	8.31%	16.11%	28.25%	28.99%	18.32%	100%	

Fig.6.8.



6. 14. Unit 9: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy and the Finds.

Unit 9 was located on a hill approximately 22 m. above sea level, and 43 m. east of the cove on a narrow pathway between the back of two houses (Map 6.3). Its location constrained the available space to work conveniently and required the research team to travel a long distance to empty excavated soil and collect the back-fill from the dump site during the refill stage. In spite of these handicaps, the area was selected for investigation because several potsherds and mollusc shells could be seen protruding from the hillside as a result of erosion indicating it had been occupied sometime in the past.

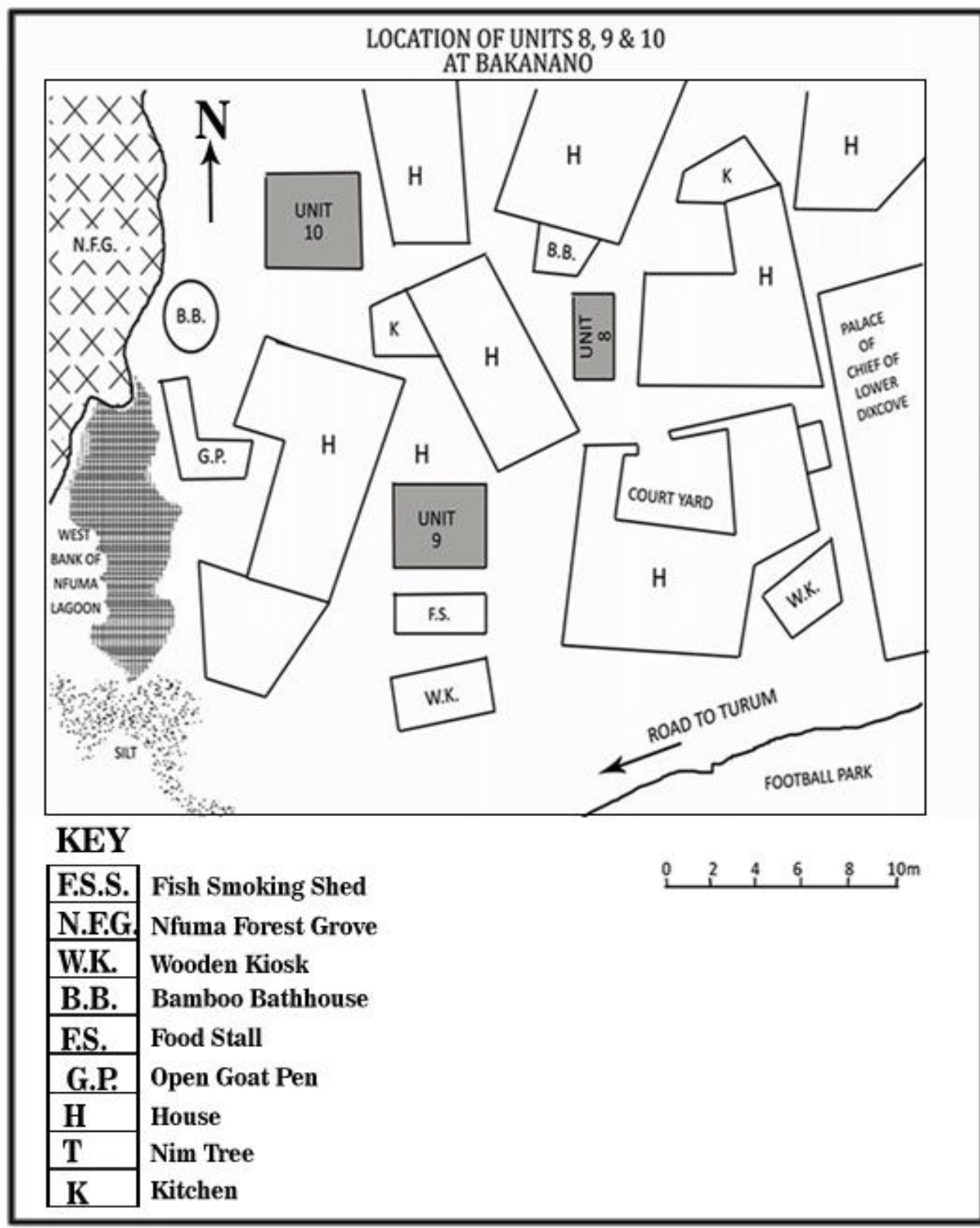
Unit 9 measured 2.5 x 2 m. and sterile level was 140 cm. below ground surface (Fig 6.9). The upper portion of Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) consisted of loose mildly wet black humus (2.5YR 2/1) which also contained several rootlets of grass. This portion of the stratum extended to 9.2 cm. from ground surface downwards. The lower portion of Level 1 extending to Level 2 however consisted of light grey (10YR 7/2) sandy soil. The upper part of Level 2 (20 – 40 cm.) consisted of light grey (10YR 7/1) clayey soil while the lower part consisted of dark grey (10YR 3/1) clayey soil. Levels 3 (40 – 60 cm.) and 4 (60 – 80 cm.) consisted of dark grey (10YR 3/1) clayey soil. It also contained small granite stone granules similar to the white and grey coloured gneiss rocks characteristic of the beachfront. Level 5 (80 – 100 cm.) consisted of very fine grained yellowish-brown (10YR 6/4) sandy soil. It was also slightly humic and contained large grains of sand of a yellowish-brown (10YR 5/6) colour which measured approximately 3 x 6 mm. across. The strata of Levels 6 (100 – 120 cm.) and 7 (120- 140 cm.) were similar to that preceding it. However, it was wetter and contained several pieces of dark grey soft stones which easily disintegrated with the application of a little pressure to it. They measured averagely 6 x 8 cm. across their longest axes. The stones were of an irregular shape and were not evenly spread out within the strata because the bulk was located at the northeastern corner of the pit. Midway of Level 7 to the sterile level, the stratum consisted of dark-grey soft sedimentary rocks.

The few cultural materials recovered from Level 1 included local potsherds, metal objects and stems of European smoking pipes. Other finds comprised fragments of imported ceramics, bones, mollusc shells and fragmented glass bottles which were heavily patinated on both their interior and exterior sides. Cultural items recovered from Level 2 included local potsherds, palm kernel shells, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species and heavily corroded metal objects. Other finds retrieved from here were the stem of imported smoking pipe, bones and a fragment of broken patinated glass bottle. Finds from Level 3 comprised the following: local potsherds, metal objects, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, iron slag, bones, and a fragment of broken patinated glass bottle. Levels 4 and 5 contained only materials of local origin. The finds from Level 4 consisted of local potsherds, mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species, locally manufactured metal objects, iron slag, palm kernel shells and bones. The finds from Level 5 comprised local pottery, mollusc shells, bones, iron slag and palm kernel shells. Like the preceding level, Level 6 contained only few local materials which included local pottery, bones, iron slag, palm kernel shells and mollusc shells. The main cultural materials recovered from Level 7 comprised local potsherds, iron slag, mollusc shells and palm kernel shells.

Table 6.10. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 9.

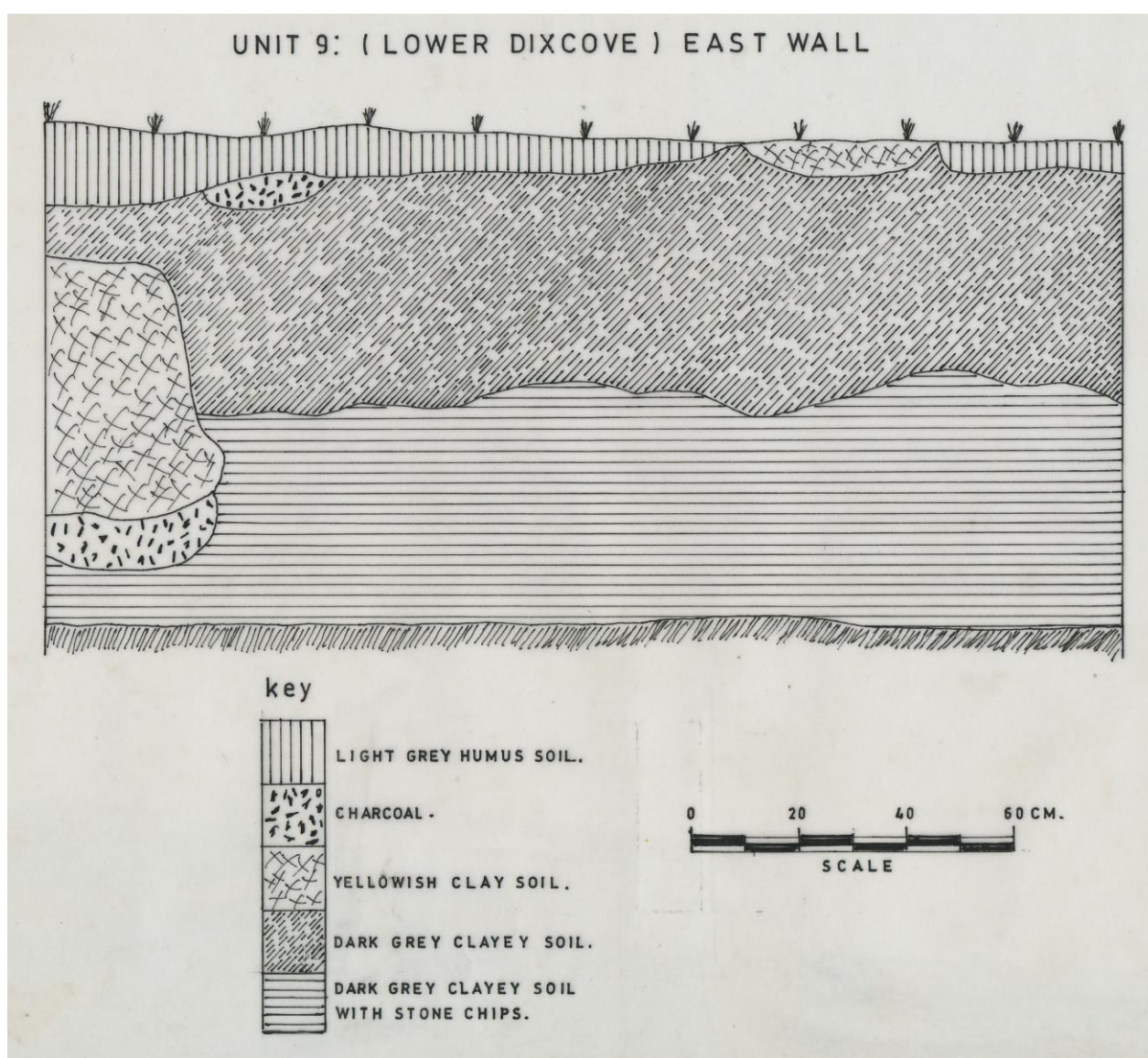
Types of finds	Stratigraphy levels								percentage of total finds according to strata levels
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Total	
Local pottery	8	4	11	127	199	123	13	485	42.58%
Mollusc shells	22	27	33	10	19	5	5	121	10.62%
Iron slag	-	-	1	1	11	10	24	47	4.12%
Metal objects	10	2	7	10	-	-	-	29	2.54%
Palm kernel shells	-	55	126	110	9	11	7	318	27.19%
Smoking pipes	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	0.35%
Bones	13	21	41	19	13	2	-	109	9.56%
Imported ceramics	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	9	0.79%
Glass bottles	13	1	3	-	-	-	-	17	1.49%
Total	77	112	222	277	251	151	49	1139	100%
percentage of total finds according to artifact type	6.76%	9.83%	19.4 %	24.3 %	22.0 %	13.2 %	4.30 %		

Map 6.3. Map showing Units 8, 9, and 10 at Bakanano, Lower Dixcove.



Two distinct cultural levels were again identified at Unit 9. The first designated Cultural Level 1 contained only items of local origin which comprised iron slag, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, bones and local pottery. Like Unit 7, it was probably one of the earliest places to have been settled by the indigenous people of Dixcove because the thickness of this cultural level measured 60 cm. It extended from the base of Cultural Level 2 (Atlantic contact period cultural level) to the sterile level which was 140 cm. downwards from ground surface.

Fig.6.9



6. 15. Unit 10: Location, Description of the Stratigraphy and the Finds.

Unit 10 was also located at Bakanano, approximately 12.8 m. southeast of the Nfuma Lagoon and 39.7 m. from the beachfront (Map 6.3). It measured 2.5 x 2 m. The unit was opened behind two houses and the excavation team had to move a chicken coop attached to one of the houses to create space to dump excavated soil. The population here is dense, comprising mostly fishermen and is heavily built-up with no vegetation cover except for a few immature neem trees growing along the east and west banks of the Nfuma Lagoon. The area was selected for investigation because the local people intimated it was an ancient refuse disposal site. They also asserted that in the past the site was located far from the settlement area. However, population growth and attendant expansion of residential facilities had created a new settlement there. There was a lot of interference from pedestrians walking to and fro during the excavation and work had to be suspended, sometimes for several minutes to allow people to pass.

The sterile level of Unit 10 was 160 cm. below ground surface and three cultural levels were clearly identified. The ground surface area of Unit 10 was wet and slippery and small pools of water could be seen along several portions of the hardened pathway. The upper portions of Level 1 (0 – 20 cm.) consisted of compacted black (10YR 2/1) clayey soil which contained several decomposing leaves, twigs and roots. Buried halfway within the north wall of this level was a large oval shaped rock boulder. The exposed part of the rock measured 13 x 8 cm. across into the excavated unit. The lower portion of Unit 1 also consisted of lighter grey soil compared to the layer overlying it. The strata of Levels 2 (20 – 40 cm.) to 4 (60 – 80 cm.) consisted of light-brown (2.5Y 6/4) clayey soil which was also mildly wet and this made sieving and recovery of cultural materials cumbersome. Also embedded across all four walls of the pit were small patches of charcoal of irregular shapes. These levels also contained small stone aggregations measuring about 5 x 5 mm. across their longest axes. Levels 5 (80 –

100 cm.) to 8 (140 – 160 cm.) consisted of a mix of light-brown (7.5YR 6/4) and dark-brown (7.5YR 3/2) clayey soils overlying dark grey bedrock. It did not appear to be disturbed though.

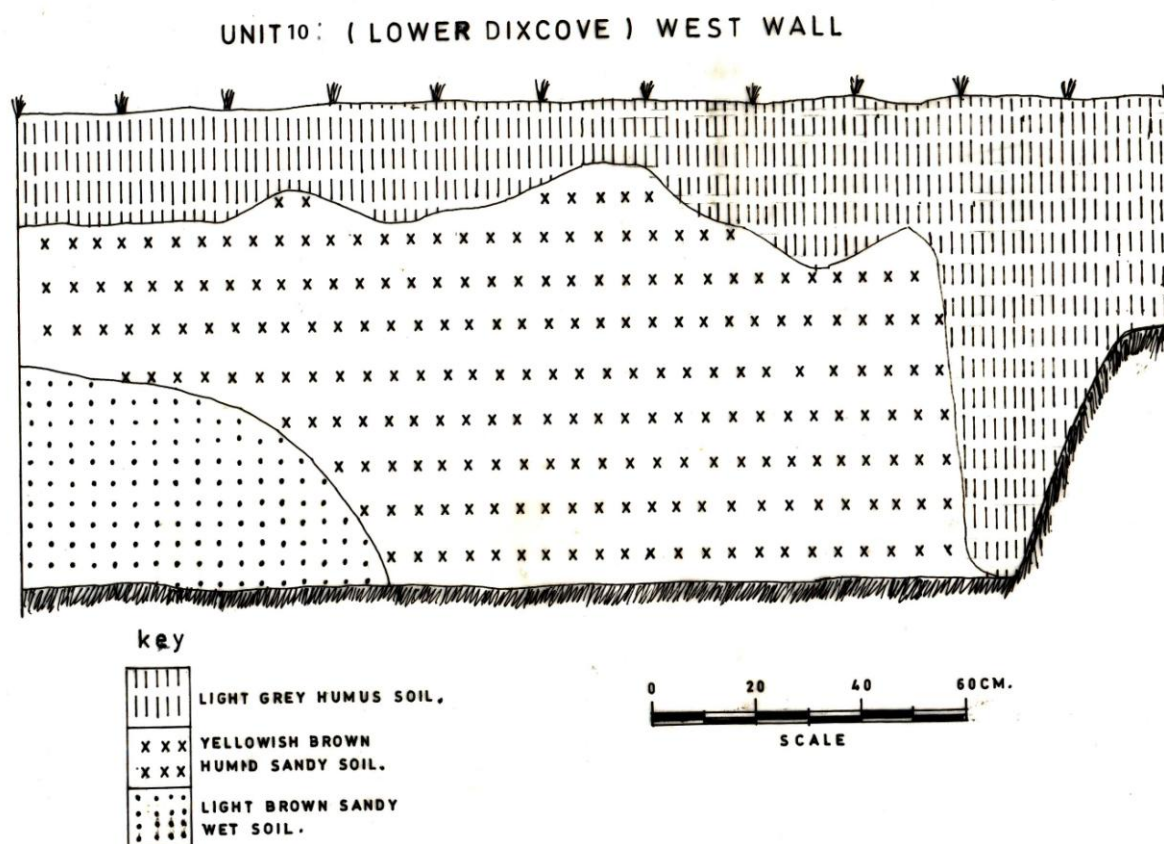
Table 6.11. Table showing types and quantum of finds recovered from Unit 10.

Types of finds	Stratigraphy levels								Total	Percentage of total finds according to strata levels
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8		
Local pottery	18	40	110	199	167	112	73	11	730	19.77%
Mollusc shells	132	381	468	472	121	93	34	3	1704	46.15%
Metal objects	63	29	115	23	19	8	-	-	257	6.96%
Iron slag	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	10	24	0.65%
Smoking pipes	-	-	2	--	-	-	-	-	2	0.05%
Slate pencils	1	62	30	4	3	-	-	-	100	2.70%
Bones	88	118	117	188	91	3	-	-	605	16.38%
Imported ceramics	5	2	19	10	3	5	-	-	44	1.19%
Bottles	8	45	82	80	7	4	-	-	226	6.12%
Total	315	677	943	976	411	225	121	24	3692	100%
Percentage of total finds according to artifact type.	19.77%	46.15 %	6.96 %	0.65 %	0.05 %	2.70 %	16.38 %	1.190 %	6.12 %	

Level 1 contained both cultural materials of local and European origins. The former included local potsherds, bones and mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species. The latter included corroded metal objects, a fragment of broken slate, ceramic fragments of external origins and fragments of patinated glass bottles. Finds recovered from Level 2 comprised the following: potsherds of local origin, mollusc shells, corroded metal objects and pieces of broken glass bottles some of which were heavily patinated on either side. Other materials recovered included broken slate, bones and fragments of imported ceramics. Level 3 contained potsherds of local origin, mollusc shells belonging to different species, metal objects, stems of imported smoking pipes, pieces of slate pencils, bones, imported ceramics and broken glass bottles patinated on both sides. Finds from Level 4 consisted of potsherds of local manufacture, mollusc shells, metal objects and fragments of writing slate. Other finds included bones, imported ceramics and patinated glass bottles.

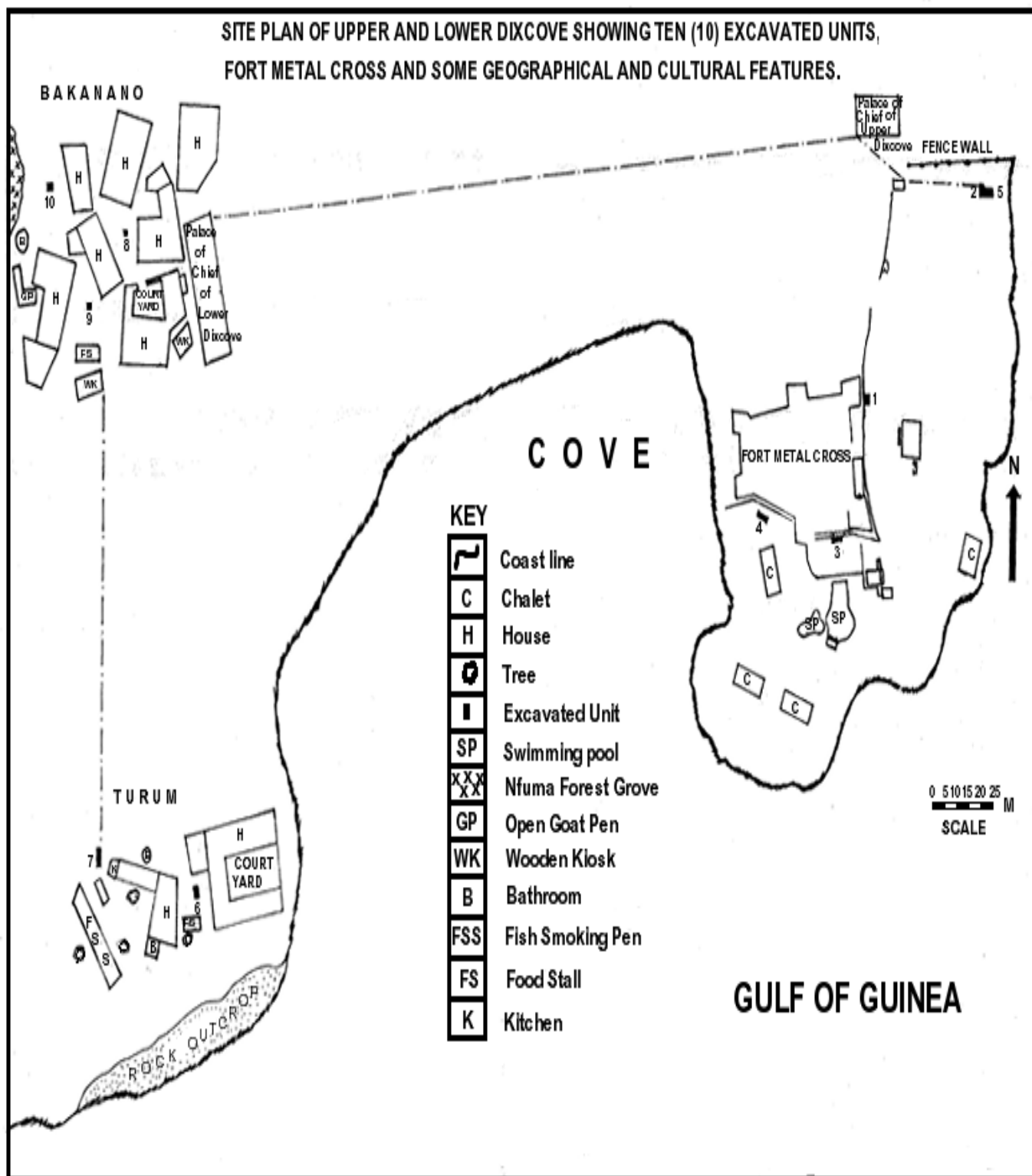
Level 5 contained local potsherds, mollusc shells, rusty and heavily corroded metal objects, bones, imported pottery and patinated glass bottles. Finds from Level 6 included pieces of local pottery, mollusc shells, rusty metal objects, bones, slate pencils, imported pottery and patinated glass bottles. Local potsherds, iron slag, mollusc shells and a piece of imported pottery constituted the only finds from Level 7. Finds retrieved from Level 8 comprised local pottery and iron slag. Also recovered were mollusc shells belong to a variety of species. Like the preceding levels, the soil here was also wet and muddy.

Fig.6.10 .



Map 6.4. below shows all the 10 excavated units at Upper and Lower Dixcove, Fort Metal Cross and some geographical and cultural features.

Map 6.4.



Two distinct cultural levels were identified at Unit 10. The first designated Cultural Level 1 contained only items of local origin which included iron slag, mollusc shells, palm kernel shells, bones and local pottery. Like Units 7 and 9, Unit 10 was probably one of the earliest places to have been settled by the local people. The pre-Atlantic contact period cultural level measured 40 cm. thick and extended from the base of Cultural Level 2 to the sterile level which measured 160 cm. from ground surface.

Chapter Seven

Analysis and description of the material inventory

7.1. Introduction.

This chapter attempts a comprehensive description and analysis of the finds retrieved over three seasons from the study area. It also discusses results of the analysis and their import and significance. The finds were first classified broadly into two categories namely: artifacts and ecofacts, and then described and analysed under the following topics:

- (a) Local and imported culinary and gustatory items.
- (b) Stone grinders.
- (c) Food remains.
- (d) Hardware and construction materials.
- (e) Clothing and dress accessories.
- (f) Literacy and educational materials.
- (g) Illuminators.
- (h) Healthcare and medical accoutrements.
- (i) European weaponry and firearms.
- (j) Indulgency, entertainment and leisure items, and
- (k) Household accessories.

The following also constituted attributes used to aid and facilitate their description: form, size, shape, function and medium of manufacture. The following terms: ‘type’, ‘category’, ‘decoration’, ‘decorative field’, ‘attribute’ and ‘fabric’ which were used during the description, classification and analyses of the finds have been defined below to extend to readers their meaning as they pertained to this write-up. ‘Type’ refers to all diagnostic attributes which can be described and illustrated and which differentiate one artifact type from another. ‘Category’ is defined as any set of diagnostic attributes which bring together distinct features, acts and experiences which are not identical in every respect but are sufficiently similar to enable them to be described as a label.

‘Decoration’ refers to any colour, design, motif or any physical manipulation of the exterior or interior surfaces of a medium like clay (pottery) for purposes of enhancing its aestheticity. ‘Decorative field’ refers to any area on a vessel where decorations have been depicted. ‘Attribute’ refers to all inherent characteristics that define a particular artifact, such that any entity exhibiting those characteristics will automatically be included in that type. ‘Fabric’ as used here refers to all internal constituents (such as the clay, temper and levigation) used in the production of pottery. The term burnished is used to define sherds with shiny smooth surfaces devoid of conspicuous pores. All the recovered artifacts were classified for four primal purposes namely to:

- (a) allow for enumeration.
- (b) statistically evaluate and establish quantitative relationships of the finds.
- (c) enable comparative studies. For example, whether artifact Type A is more abundant than artifact Type B, whether artifact Type C is present when Type D is absent, and whether the proportion of Type E increases or decreases when Type F is present etc, and
- (d) facilitate placement of the recovered data in a time-space perspective.

7.2. Local and imported culinary/gustatory items.

Local pottery constituted the most abundant and ubiquitous artifact in the archaeological record at Dixcove and constituted 67% of the total under culinary and gustatory items. Other cultural materials recovered in this category included imported ceramics and glassware. The most admirable feature of pottery is its durability. It does not wear easily and in the event of breakage, each sherd still retains much of its physical and chemical attributes, study of which can shed valuable insights into past foodways and trade patterns.

It is important to note that there is no direct historical ethnographic evidence at Dixcove by which the functions of the various vessels types described below could be established (such as whether

they were utilized for food storage, water storage, cooking or for grating and pulverization). The functions thus ascribed to them are based on broad generalized ethnography from Ghana's traditional culture. Reconstruction of the vessel component parts such as the rims, necks, body curvature and bases also helped establish vessel typologies such as bowls, jars, mugs; and their sub-typologies (varieties). This helped shed light on their possible uses in the past, such as whether they were cooking vessels, water holding pots, medicinal preparation bowls, drinking vessels and food storage vessels among others.

A total of 5,595 local potteries (representing 17.9% of total finds) was recovered. Of this number, 26 (representing 0.46% of local pottery) were retrieved from ground surface around the vicinity of Fort Metal Cross while conducting the surface survey. These were excluded from the pottery analysis because they appeared to have been recently manufactured going by their glossy look. No potsherds of local manufacture were retrieved from Lower Dixcove during this aspect of the investigation because it is heavily built-up precluding any such exercise there. Total count of potsherds from Upper Dixcove was 2,664 (representing 47.6% of local pottery). The count for Lower Dixcove was 2,905 (representing 51.9% of local pottery). The breakdown according to units is presented below in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Table showing total count of local pottery and their percentage values according to units

Name of Unit	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total count
Total count of pottery per unit	197	1129	0	176	1162	384	886	420	485	730	5595
Percentage of pottery count per unit	3.52 %	20.17 %	0%	3.1 %	20.76 %	6.86 %	15.83 %	7.5 %	8.66 %	13.0 %	100%

To facilitate description and analysis of the pottery, the entire assemblage was first divided into three groups according to area of recovery, namely: Upper Dixcove assemblage, Lower Dixcove assemblage, and sherds from surface context. In addition to the above, 18 sherds each from Upper and Lower Dixcove (all > 6sq.cm.) were also optically examined with the aid of a magnifying

glass and an electronic petrographic microscope at the Physical Anthropology Laboratory, North Carolina State University, Raleigh. Surface treatment type, decoration/motifs, colour, paste, form, and use-wear constituted some of the main attributes used by the writer to classify and analyze them during this phase of the study. This aspect of the investigation revealed that Plagioclase feldspars and quartz constituted the major mineral constituents of the Upper and Lower Dixcove assemblages. The writer extends his appreciation to personnel of the Physical Anthropology Laboratory for their assistance and use of the latter device.

7.2.1. The Upper Dixcove assemblage.

The majority measured 7 – 12 cm. across their longest axis. Their generally dull colouration, well-worn edges, and lusterless exterior and interior surfaces clearly indicated that they had undergone extensive abrasion and spallation over time. The quantum of pottery and the fact that it was recovered from all levels of the stratigraphy suggest it constituted an integral and essential household item in common use at Dixcove during the period covered by the study.

The body fabrics of sherds from this assemblage were the thickest of the three groups. Average measurement was 6 mm. between the rim to the neck area, and 11 mm. between the shoulder to the base area. Generally, their unpolished exterior surfaces were also rougher to touch compared to their interior surfaces. Examination of the ware fabric with a magnifying glass revealed tempering materials and several tiny voids (lattices) evenly spread within at approximately 2 per 10 mm. section area. The tempering material consisted of smooth well-rounded reddish-brown sediments which appeared to be ground potsherds measuring approximately 2 – 3 mm. in diameter. Also present were large coarse-grained dark-grey angularly-shaped granitic fragments of no definite shape and size which appeared to be natural inclusions from the parent rock from which the clay

was derived. The simultaneous use of that particular clay type and temper was probably done to improve malleability and handling during modeling and prevent shrinking and cracking during firing.

All three major traditional surface treatment types associated with locally manufactured vessels namely: slipping, smudging and surface smoothing were represented in the Upper Dixcove assemblage. The breakdown of the Upper Dixcove pottery assemblage according to surface treatment type is as follows:

- (a) red-slipping 345 (12.9% of Upper Dixcove assemblage).
- (b) smudging 617 (23.1% of Upper Dixcove assemblage), and
- (c) surface smoothing 1,702 (63.8% of Upper Dixcove assemblage).

Surface smoothing is the oldest method used by traditional potters to obtain a surface effect. It is achieved by pressing a smooth hard object on the surface of leather hard vessels in order to orient grains within the matrix. Smoothing also tends to align the clay particles perpendicular to the pressure, enhancing the proportion of clay at the surface of the paste (Joukowsky 1980: 380, Sharer and Ashmore 1996: 270 – 271). Clay orientation effected by smoothing gives a lustrous shining effect almost similar to that produced by slipping and coating. Colour spectrums of fired surface smoothed vessels variate and depend largely on natural clay colour and the firing temperature. The bulk of surface smoothed vessels from Dixcove displayed a combination of different shades of one colour on the same vessel. Most ranged from light-brown to dark-brown.

Slipping is achieved by hand painting or dipping unfired air dried vessels into a clay-water suspension. The dryness of the vessel surface extracts water from the slip concentrate leaving thin clay particles on the vessel and sometimes diffusing into the fabric when fired (Sharer and

Ashmore 1996: 272). The objective of slipping is fourfold. First, it improves on the texture and surface color of the vessel. Second, it renders the vessel less porous because when well polished, it fills the pores with finer material. Third, it hides defects in the paste by virtually covering the entire surface of the vessel with clay-slip, and fourth, it gives vessels a resplendent glossy sheen when held up to light. According to Velde and Druc (1999: 86), “slip layers are usually on the order of several tens of micro-metres thickness to a millimeter or perhaps more”. Slipped vessels have broad colour spectrums because clays, the basic raw material from which the colours are derived appear in a variety of colours. Colours of slipped vessels from Dixcove ranged from bright red to dull reddish-brown. A large majority of the former also had their exterior surfaces well-burnished.

Smudging is achieved by firing leather hard vessels completely overlain with moist organic-rich fuel materials (usually grass) in a reduced but closed atmosphere. The process prevents the smoke generated from escaping while the bed of grass material simultaneously blocks access to oxygen from outside. Reduction caused by absence of oxygen induces the formation of carbon which deposit on the surface of the vessel giving it the dark-grey to black colouration (Sharer and Ashmore 1997: 278). Dark grey and black were the principal colour variants of smudged vessels from Dixcove.

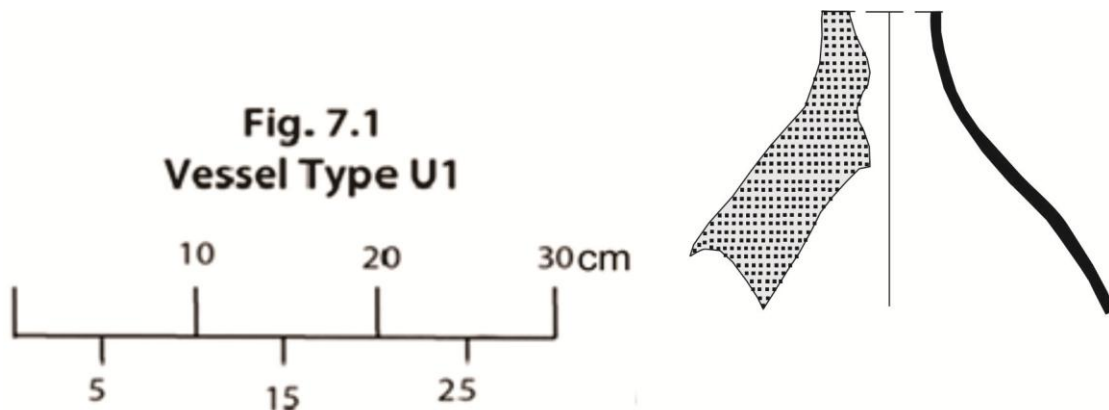
All the reconstructable rim sherds were broadly categorized into two vessel types using the rim-body curvature namely, jars and bowls. Jars are defined as vessels whose maximum height is greater than its maximum diameter taken at the rim or body depending on which is greater. Bowls on the other hand, Jars are defined as vessels whose maximum diameter is equal to, or greater than its maximum height. Under Jars, three types designated Vessel Types U1 – U3 (Fig. 7.1 – 7.3)

were identified. Under bowls, eight types designated Vessel Types U4 – U11 (Fig. 7.4 – 7.11) were also identified.

Vessel Type U1.

It was difficult to fully reconstruct Vessel Type U1 (Fig. 7.1) because only one small sherd belonging to this vessel type was recovered from Unit 2 Level 4. Overall vertical length could therefore not be scientifically established. The shape of the upper body curvature however suggest that the main body of this vessel was probably ovoid-shaped. Rim lip was squared and smooth. Rim diameter measured 6.2 cm. and merged onto a long straight neck which measured approximately 10 cm. in length.

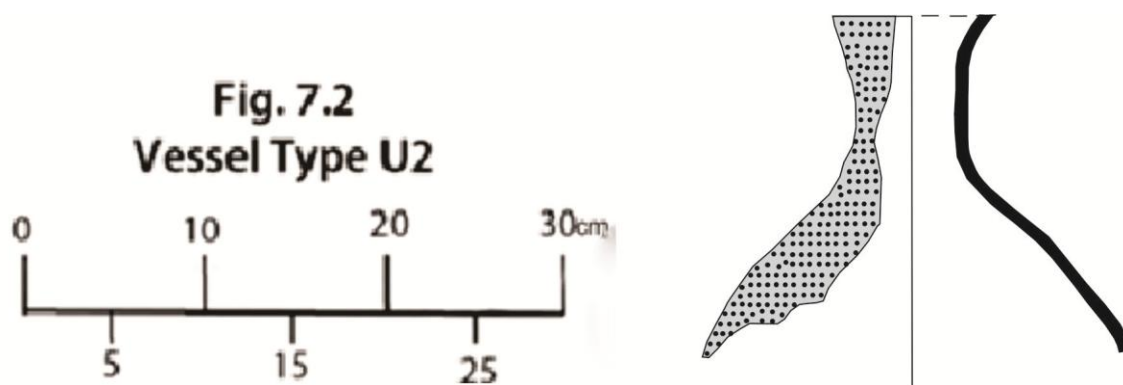
Its exterior surface lacked decoration and was well-burnished and smooth to touch. Its narrow but long neck suggests it probably functioned as a water storage pot. Most households at Dixcove have large water storage pots which are kept indoors purposely for storing drinking water. Water is poured from these pots by tilting the vessel sideways to direct the water into a cup. Vessel Type U1 in shape and size appeared to belong to this group.



Vessel Type U2.

Two sherds belonging to Vessel Type U2 (Fig. 7.2) were recovered at Unit 2 Level 4, and Unit 5 Level 6. The curvature of the upper body of Vessel Type U2 suggests that it was probably

ellipsoid-shaped. Like Vessel Type U1, it was not possible to scientifically establish its vertical dimension because the two sherds from which the vessel was reconstructed were too small. The neck of the vessel which was short but broad measured 6 cm. long by 8 cm. wide at the mouth, which was the widest point on the neck. It was wider at the rim which measured 12 cm. in diameter, but inclined inwards as it merged into the main body. The lips were squared and burnished. The exterior surface was without any decoration. It probably functioned as a water storage pot because its short neck would have allowed the easy insertion of small cups to draw water.



Vessel Type U3.

Only one sherd belonging to Vessel Type U3 (Fig. 7.3) was recovered at Unit 2 Level 3 at Upper Dixcove. It was similar in shape to Vessel type U2 described above except for the neck which was shorter. It was not possible to scientifically establish its vertical dimension because the sherd from which it was reconstructed was very small. It was probably spherically-shaped because the curvature of its short neck merged onto a spherical upper body. Rim diameter measured approximately 6 cm. and was slightly everted with angular-shaped lips. No decoration pattern was depicted on this vessel. However, its interior and exterior surfaces were well burnished. Its small size suggests it may have been utilized as a storage vessel for liquid condiments like vegetable

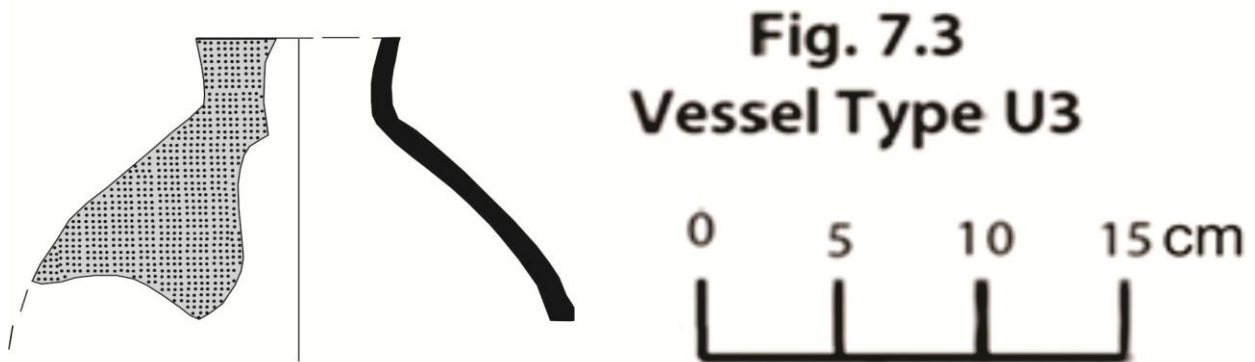
cooking

oils

or

body

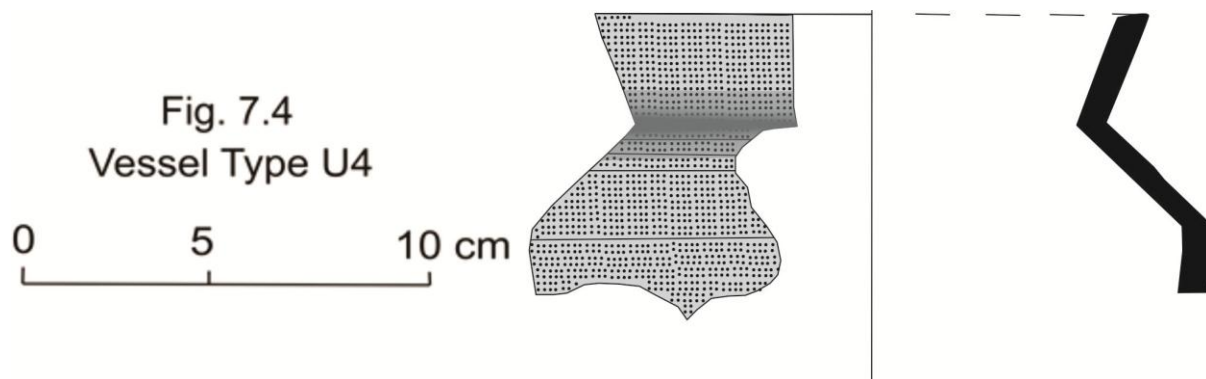
lotions.



Vessel Type U4.

Three sherds belonging to Vessel Type U4 (Fig. 7.4) were recovered at Upper Dixcove. The distribution was as follows: one from Unit 1 Level 3, and two sherds from Unit 2 Levels 3 and 4. The main body was spherical in shape. Rim diameter measured 12 – 14 cm. less than maximum body diameter which was estimated at 35 cm. The neck is everted and the rim lips are squared. The body fabric is thick measuring approximately 0.9 – 1.2 cm.

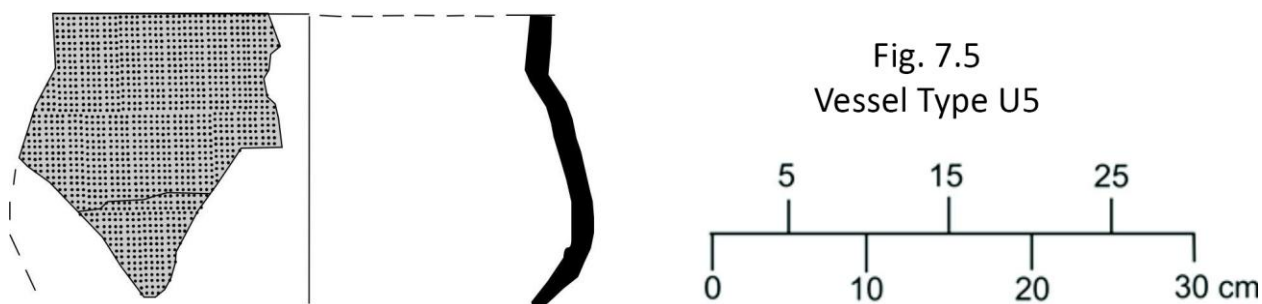
The upper shoulder areas of two sherds belonging to this vessel type were characterized by several curvilinear concentric rings which run around the entire burnished exterior surface. The third sherd belonging to this vessel type was decorated on the exterior with a single circumferential groove just below its carinated neck. Even though the sherds from which the vessel was reconstructed did not extend to the base, the base of this bowl was probably rounded because the lower section of the main body was sharply inclined inwards towards the centre. It probably functioned as a storage vessel.



Vessel Type U5.

Five sherds belonging to Vessel Type U5 (Fig. 7.8) were recovered. The breakdown according to units and stratigraphy levels are as follows: one each from Unit 1 Level 4, Unit 2 Level 5, Unit 4 Level 6, and two from Unit 5 Levels 7 and 8. It is almost spherical in shape with very thick body fabric of 0.9 – 1.2 cm. especially along the lower body and base areas. It measured approximately 25 – 27 cm. at its widest point which was along the central part of the main body. 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. The rim lip is rounded and its diameter ranged from 17 – 18 cm. The vessel has an almost straight rim.

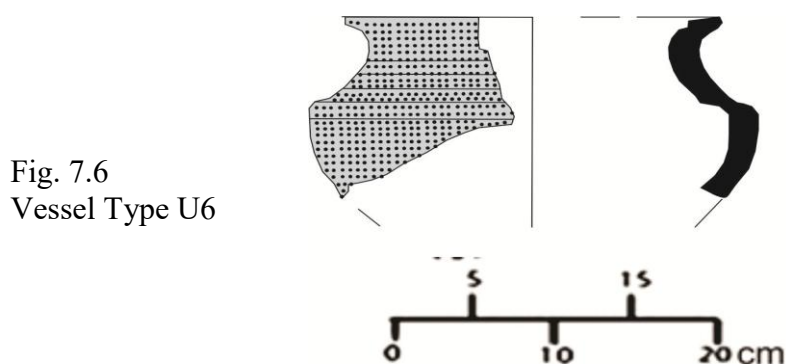
Vessel Type U8 was devoid of any decoration. It was however well-burnished. It was difficult to scientifically assign its function because the lower area did not have any soot. The inside of the vessel was also not discoloured but retained its natural light-brown colour. Its wide mouth measuring approximately 18 cm. and thick body fabric however suggest it may have functioned as a storage vessel probably for cereals.



Vessel Type U6.

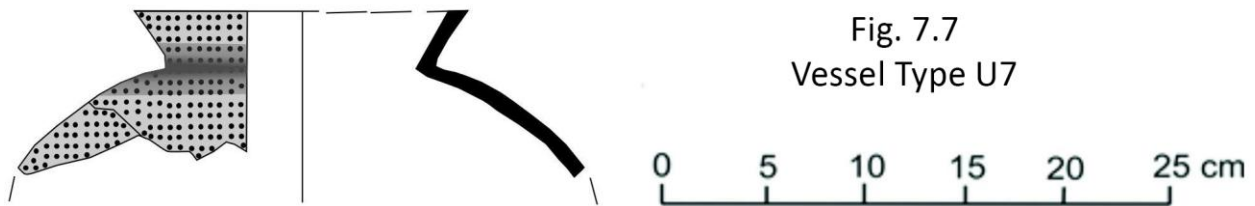
Five sherds belonging to Vessel Type U6 (Fig. 7.10) were recovered. One each was found in Unit 2 Level 3, and Unit 4 Level 5. The third, fourth and fifth sherds were recovered from Unit 5 Levels 3, 4 and 5. It is a spherically-shaped and was the smallest bowl to be recovered at Upper Dixcove. The thickness of the body fabric was also the thinnest among the Upper Dixcove assemblage measuring only 0.5 cm.

This vessel was carinated and the rim diameter measured 7 cm. It was not possible to establish its vertical dimension. The base was probably convex shaped because the lower base inclined sharply inwards. The upper shoulder and neck area was characterized by six horizontal multiple concentric grooves, each paralleled to the other. Its dark inner colouration suggests that it was probably utilized as a cooking vessel.



Vessel Type U7.

Vessel Type U7 (Fig. 7.5.) is a globular-shaped smudged bowl. Only one sherd belonging to this vessel category was recovered at Unit 2 Level 4. Body diameter measured 30 cm. Its short neck was slightly everted, and curved sharply to join the main body of the vessel. The base of this bowl type was probably rounded because the lower part of the main body was inclined inwards. Its exterior surface was well burnished but the interior surface was rough and darkened, suggesting it may have functioned as a cooking vessel.



Vessel Type U8.

Three sherds belonging to Vessel Type U8 (Fig. 7.6) were recovered at Unit 2 Level 4, Unit 4 Level 6 and Unit 5 Level 5. The vessel was hemispherical in shape with rounded lips. The height of this vessel is about 10 cm. and the rim diameter measures 25 cm. The body fabric of this vessel from the mouth all the way to the base was generally thick measuring approximately 0.8 – 1 cm. thick. The base was probably rounded because the lower part of the body was sharply inclined inwards towards the centre. Unlike its exterior surface which lacked any decoration and was smooth and well burnished, the entire interior surface was characterized by multiple parallel concentric rings. It was probably utilized as a pulverization or grater bowl to process vegetables and nuts.

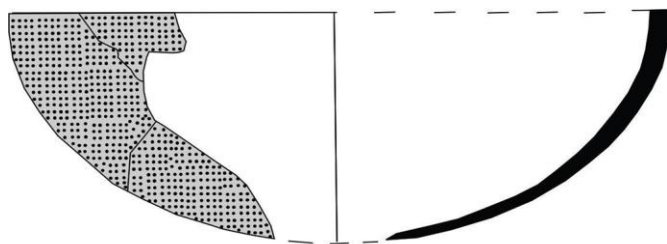


Fig. 7.8
Vessel Type U8

0 5 10 15 20 25 cm

Vessel Type U9.

Three sherds belonging to Vessel Type U9 (Fig. 7.7) were recovered: one each at Unit 2 Level 3, and Unit 5 Levels 4 and 6. It was hemispherical in shape with slightly everted rims which measured 1.5 cm. across. Rim diameter was 18 cm. wide, while vertical dimension was 10 cm. Its entire interior surface was characterized by multiple curvilinear concentric rings. Its exterior surface however was undecorated but well burnished and felt smooth to touch. The lower section of the sherd which inclined inwards was characterized by several pores and blotches of soot suggesting it may have been used on a hearth to prepare soups or warm food.

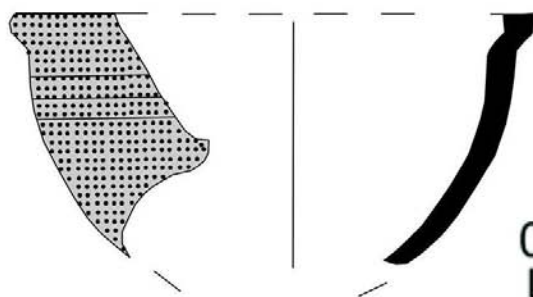


Fig. 7.9
Vessel Type U9

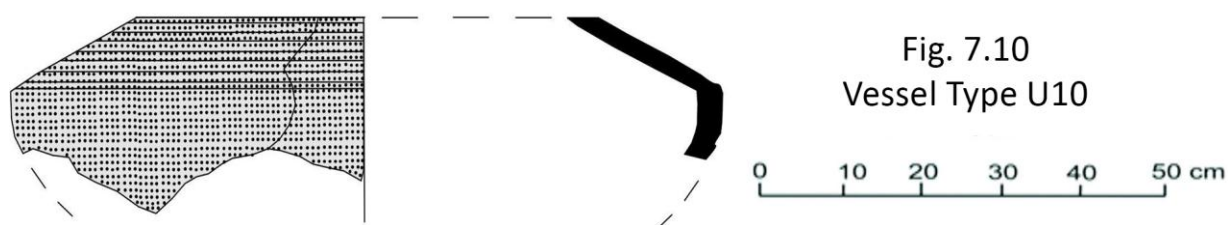
0 5 10 15 20 cm

Vessel Type U10.

Two sherds belonging to Vessel Type U10 (Fig. 7.9) were recovered at Unit 2 Levels 4 and 6. The vessel is a neckless hemispherical bowl with an inverted rim and a wide mouth which would have made the putting in and retrieval of items stored inside relatively easy. Horizontal dimension of the

main body of this vessel at its widest point measured approximately 55 – 56 cm. It is carinated below the rim lip and the body fabric measures 1 – 1.2 cm. thick.

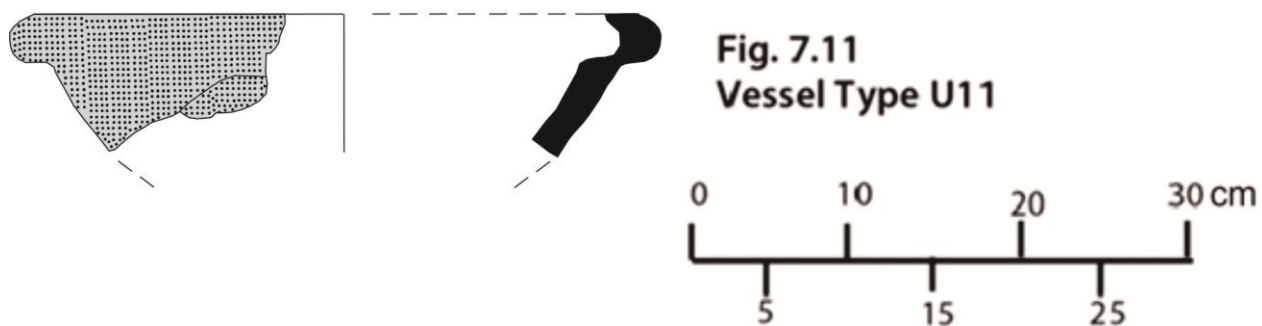
The base was probably rounded because of the sharp inward inclination along the lower part of the main body. Even though in form, it looked like a cooking vessel, the absence of soot along its lower base area suggests it probably functioned as a storage vessel for food items like corn and cassava dough.



Vessel Type U11.

Three red-slipped sherds belonging to Vessel Type U11 (Fig. 7.11) were recovered at Upper Dixcove. The breakdown according to units and stratigraphy levels are as follows: two sherds from Unit 5 Levels 5 and 9, and one from Unit 2 Level 4. It is hemispherically shaped with a rim diameter of 30 cm. It was not possible to establish its vertical dimension. The rounded rim measured 1.8 cm. thick and was attached to the mouth of the vessel at a 90° angle.

One of the sherds was characterized by several short oblique lines measuring approximately 0.04 cm. long which run around the entire perimeter of the vessel. Its very wide mouth suggests it probably functioned as a food serving device.



Also recovered from Unit 5 Level 3 was part of a pot stand (Plate 7.1). Its concaved-shaped upper body was broader than its base and measured 22 cm. and 18.4 cm. The concave shaped surface would have been an ideal seat to firmly hold a jar. Its entire interior and exterior surface was unburnished and undecorated, and was characterized by several conspicuous pores evenly spread out on its interior and exterior surface.



Plate 7.1. Side view of the only pot stand recovered at Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

The quantum of the various reconstructed vessel types described above according to units and stratigraphy levels are shown in Table 7.2 below. Note that none of the above vessel types was recovered at Unit 3.

Table 7.2

Unit 1	Strata level	Vessel Type U1	Vessel Type U2	Vessel Type U3	Vessel Type U4	Vessel Type U5	Vessel Type U6	Vessel Type U7	Vessel Type U8	Vessel Type U9	Vessel Type U10	Vessel Type U11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 2	Strata level	Vessel Type U1	Vessel Type U2	Vessel Type U3	Vessel Type U4	Vessel Type U5	Vessel Type U6	Vessel Type U7	Vessel Type U8	Vessel Type U9	Vessel Type U10	Vessel Type U11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
	4	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	--
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	12	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 4	Strata level	Vessel Type U1	Vessel Type U2	Vessel Type U3	Vessel Type U4	Vessel Type U5	Vessel Type U6	Vessel Type U7	Vessel Type U8	Vessel Type U9	Vessel Type U10	Vessel Type U11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	--	-	-
	7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 5	Strata level	Vessel Type U1	Vessel Type U2	Vessel Type U3	Vessel Type U4	Vessel Type U5	Vessel Type U6	Vessel Type U7	Vessel Type U8	Vessel Type U9	Vessel Type U10	Vessel Type U11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
	5	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1
	6	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

7.2.2. The Lower Dixcove pottery assemblage.

A total of 2,905 potsherds was retrieved from Lower Dixcove of which 2,723 (representing 93.7% of the Lower Dixcove assemblage) were hand smoothed while 182 sherds (representing 6.2%) were smudged. There was a glaring paucity of base sherds and red-slipped vessels. Unlike the Upper Dixcove assemblage, the majority displayed one uniform colour on the same vessels. Other conspicuous features of the Lower Dixcove assemblage was that they were relatively thinner compared to those from Upper Dixcove. The clays used to make them also appeared to be very fine-grained and well-rounded with no voids within the fabric. Five jar types designated Vessel Types L1 – L5, and six bowl types designated Vessel Types L6 – L11 were identified at Lower Dixcove.

Vessel Type L1.

Only two sherds belonging to Vessel Type L1 (Fig. 7. 12) were recovered, one each in Unit 6 Level 3, and Unit 8 Level 3. It was difficult to establish its vertical dimension because only a small sherd consisting of part of the mouth and upper shoulder area of the vessel were retrieved. The curvature of the upper shoulder area however appeared to show that it was globular-shaped. The body fabric was among the thickest and measured approximately 9 mm. across. Its everted flared lips were rounded and burnished. The everted rim of the vessel which measured 15 cm. in diameter curved gently to join the neck. The vessel was light-brown in colour. Its exterior surface was devoid of any decoration but was well-burnished.

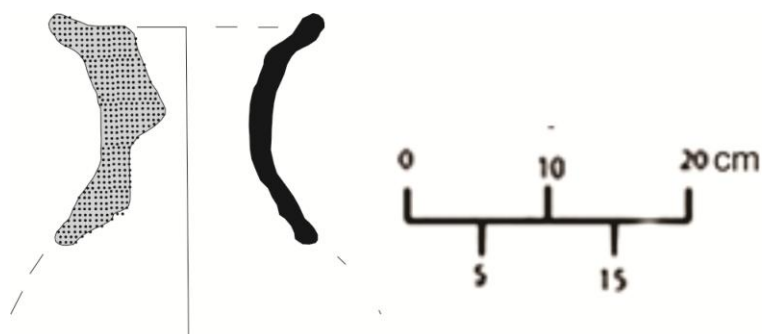


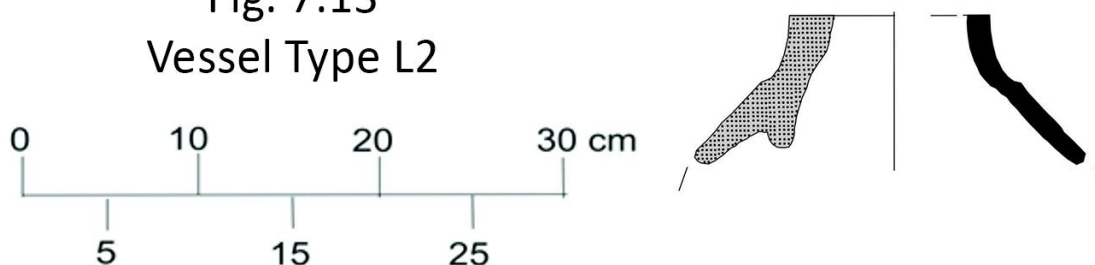
Fig. 7.12
Vessel Type L1

Vessel Type L2.

Three light brown coloured sherds belonging to Vessel Type L2 (Fig. 7.16) were recovered from Lower Dixcove. One was found at Unit 6 Level 3, while two were found at Unit 10 Levels 3 and 7. The main body of this jar is globular in shape with a short neck which extended 3 cm. upwards from the main body at an almost 90° angle.

The recovered sherds were too small to facilitate reconstruction of its vertical dimension. Rim diameter measured 11.6 cm. while the diameter of the body measured 26 cm. The wall of the body measured 0.8 mm. thick. Small dot stamps decorated the entire upper shoulder and rim of the vessel. The vessel is similar to vessels used for tapping palm wine in Akan speaking areas of Ghana (*aketetwoa*) and may have been used for that purpose.

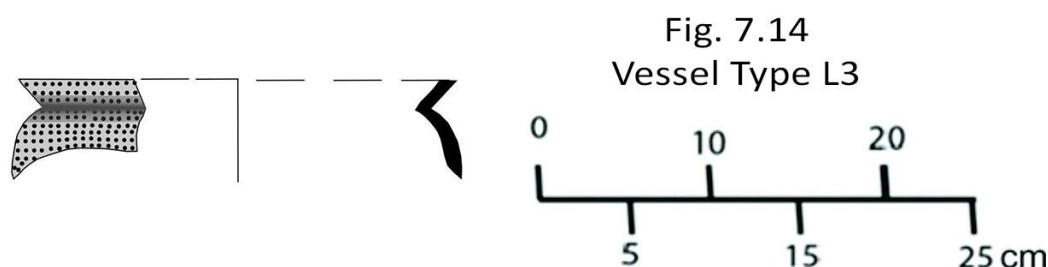
Fig. 7.13
Vessel Type L2



Vessel Type L3.

Three sherds belonging to Vessel Type L3 (Fig. 7.17) were recovered. Two were found at Unit 9 Levels 4 and 6. The third was recovered at Unit 6 Level 2. It is a globular bowl with rim diameter

of 22 – 223 cm. It was not possible to establish its vertical dimension because the sherds recovered were too small. It was smudged and the only decoration on the vessel is a circumferential groove at the exterior part of the neck. The sherds were burnished to a dull reflective shine. The vessel probably functioned as a cooking bowl.

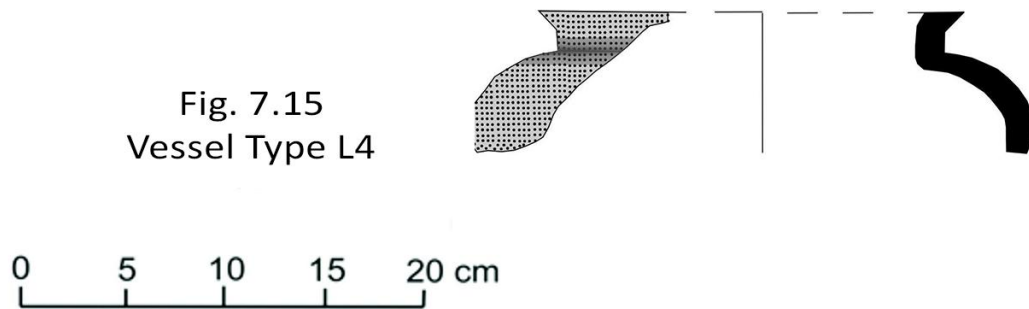


Vessel Type L4.

Six sherds belonging to Vessel Type L4 (Fig. 7.21) were recovered at Lower Dixcove. The distribution according to units and stratigraphy levels are as follows: two sherds from Unit 7 Level 3 and 4, another two sherds from Unit 9 Levels 4 and 5, and one each from Unit 6 Level 3, and Unit 8 Level 3. It is a globular-shaped and measured 22 cm. across at its widest horizontal point which was midway along the main body of the vessel. It was difficult to establish its vertical dimension because all the sherds recovered were small.

The neck of this vessel was everted at a 45° angle to the mouth which measured 18 cm. in diameter. Three large patches of soot, two at the base which was probably rounded, and the third along the lower area of the main body indicated it probably functioned as a cooking vessel. It was smoothly burnished and undecorated internally and externally.

Fig. 7.15
Vessel Type L4



Vessel Type L5.

Four sherds belonging to Vessel Type L5 (Fig. 7.13) were recovered. The distribution according to Units and stratigraphy level are as follows: one each from Unit 7 Level 4, and Unit 10 Level 6, and two from Unit 7 Levels 3 and 4. The sherd from which it was reconstructed was the biggest measuring 27 cm. across its widest axis. It is a spherical jar with rim diameter of 20 – 22 cm. The everted rim joined the neck at a 45 degree angle. The body wall measured approximately 1.8 – 1.9 cm. thick. It was not possible to scientifically establish its vertical dimension. Its light brown colour was devoid of any body decoration. The vessel was well burnished and showed a bright luster sheen when held up to sunlight. It probably functioned as a water holding vessel.

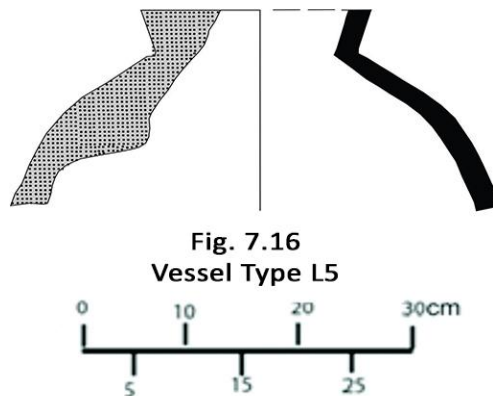
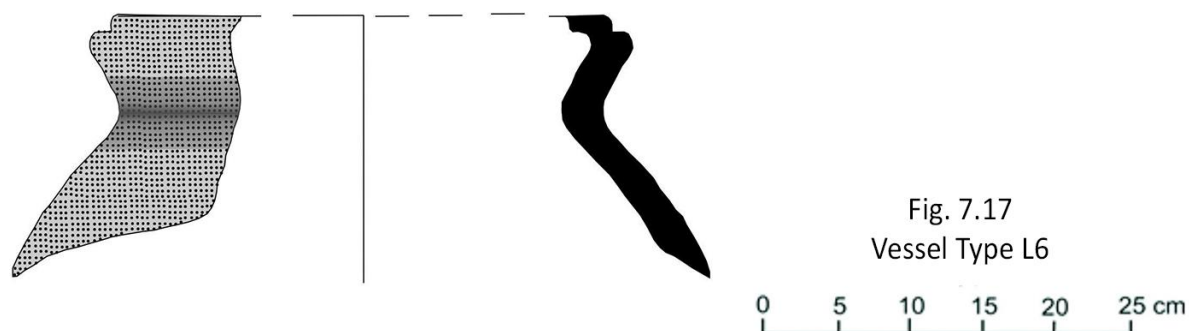


Fig. 7.16
Vessel Type L5

Vessel Type L6.

Vessel Type L6 (Fig. 7.14) was the second biggest vessel to be recovered at Lower Dixcove after Vessel Type L2. Two sherds belonging to this vessel type were recovered in Unit 7 Level 4, and Unit 10 Level 6. The main body of this vessel was spherically shaped. The mouth which was wide

measured 26 cm. in diameter. The rim is slightly inverted and horizontally aligned. Both the grooved rim and lip of this jar was rounded and felt smooth to touch. The vessel is burnished, coloured light-brown and lacked any decorations. It probably functioned as a storage device for food or water.



Vessel Type L7.

Three sherds belonging to Vessel Type L7 (Fig. 7.15) were recovered. The breakdown according to units and stratigraphy are as follows: one each from Unit 6 Level 3, Unit 8 Level 4, and Unit 10 Level 6. It was probably spherically shaped, and was the biggest jar to be recovered. The mouth measured almost 70 cm. in diameter. It was not possible however, to establish its vertical dimension because the recovered sherds did not extend further downwards to the base. The body fabric of the three sherds recovered were thick measuring approximately 2 cm. while the lips were almost tapered. Macroscopic examination of the sherds revealed several large angular-shaped stones measuring averagely 3 mm. evenly distributed within the fabric. It was devoid of any decoration and probably functioned as water holding vessel.

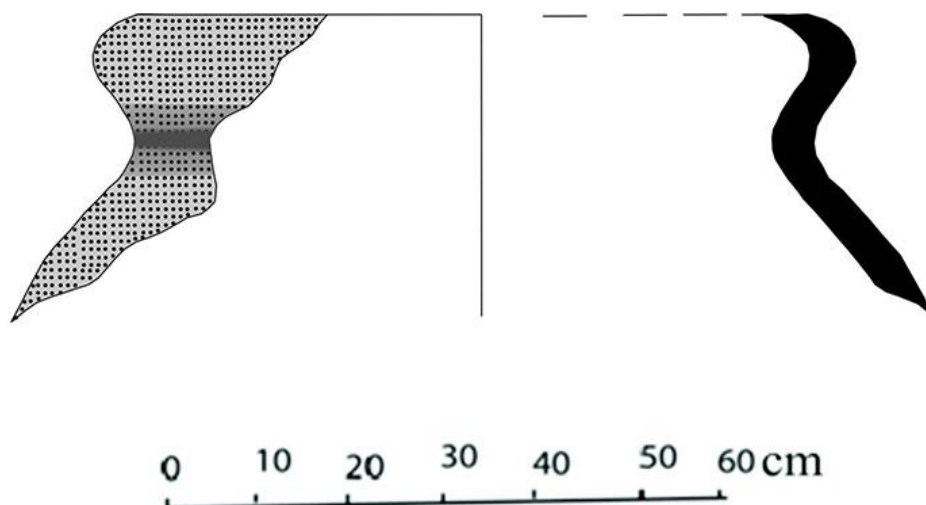


Fig. 7.18
Vessel Type L7

Vessel Type L8.

Vessel Type L8 (Fig. 7.18) is a carinated almost spherical bowl. It was among the few smudged vessels to have been recovered at Lower Dixcove. It was represented by five sherds: two sherds from Unit 7 Levels 3 and 5, one from Unit 9 Level 4, and three from Unit 10 Levels 3 and 4. This vessel is characterized by an everted rim which curves smoothly to join a protruded neck. The shoulder joins a carination from where the body gently curves to join the base. The body walls are thicker than the rim and measured 1.3 - 1.5 cm. The rim diameter measured 19 – 21 cm. All the seven sherds of this vessel form were burnished and decorated with multiple horizontal grooves around the upper shoulder area.

According to DeCorse (2001: 116 – 117), carinated vessels with shallow grooves such as those displayed on Vessel Types L7 (Fig. 7.18 shown below) and U9 and U10 (Fig. 7.9 and Fig. 7.10 shown above) first appeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth century on the coast, and are associated with the Asante who are located further inland where they have been recovered at lower stratigraphic levels. It is similar to vessels used for cooking soups in the Akan areas of Ghana and probably functioned as soup preparation bowls.

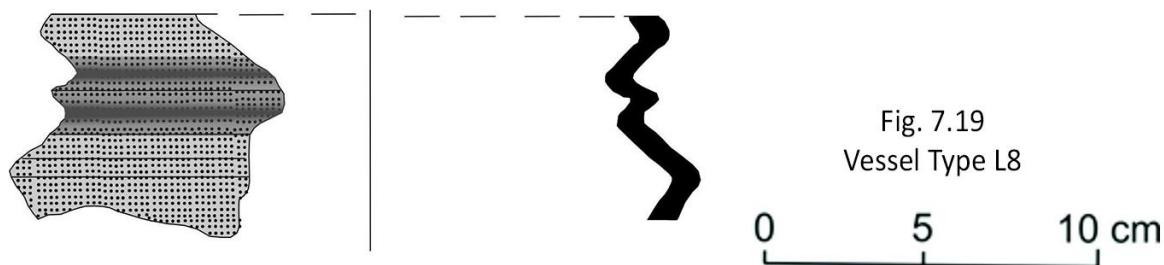


Fig. 7.19
Vessel Type L8

Vessel Type L9.

One sherd belonging to Vessel type L9 (Fig. 7.19) constituted the only sherd belonging to this vessel type. It was recovered at Unit 9 Level 4. It was also one of the largest vessels to be recovered at Lower Dixcove measuring 64 cm. in diameter at its most extensive horizontal point. The vessel which is a hemispherical bowl has an estimated height of 12 cm. Rim diameter measured 12 cm. and the body fabric is approximately 1.3 cm. thick.

Its light-brown coloured exterior surface was well polished and felt smooth to touch. It also had tiny dot motifs running across the entire upper area of the vessel. Its wide mouth suggests it probably functioned as an eating bowl. In traditional societies, several people ate from the same bowl and the wide mouth would have been ideal for this purpose.

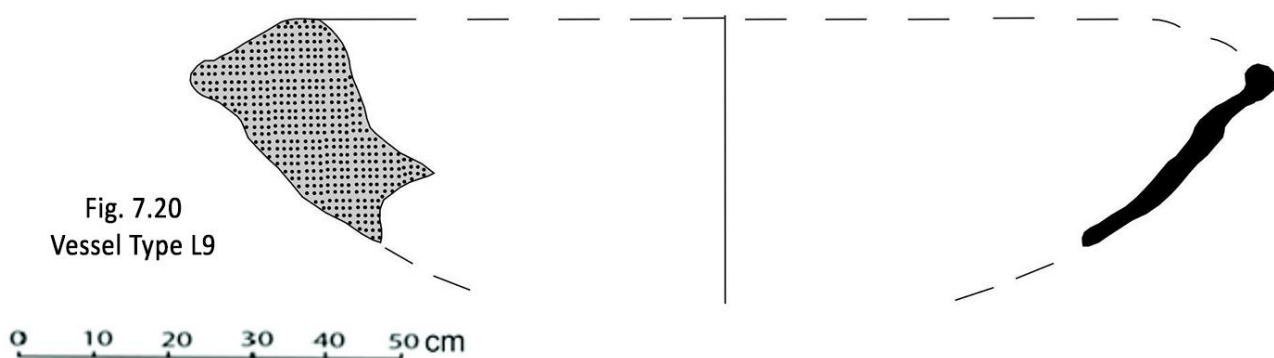


Fig. 7.20
Vessel Type L9

Vessel Type L10.

Vessel Type L10 (Fig. 7.20) was represented by two sherds, all of which were recovered at Unit 9 Level

2, and Unit 10 Level 3. It is an hemispherical carinated bowl characterized by a short neck measuring about 5 – 5.2 cm. long with a wide open mouth (29 – 30 .cm) which is smaller than maximum body diameter (37 cm). Lips of this vessel was squared and felt smooth to touch.

The two sherds were plain and burnished. The only decoration on the vessel comprised multiple shallow incised grooves on the upper shoulder area of the vessel. Part of the lower main body was blackened with soot. It probably functioned as a soup preparation bowl.

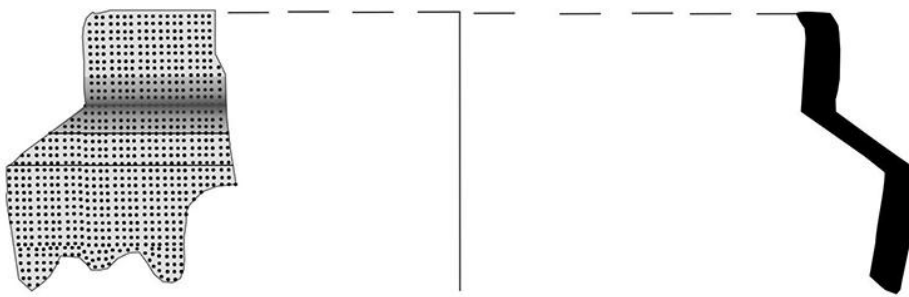
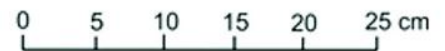


Fig. 7.21
Vessel Type L10



Vessel Type L11.

Only one sherd belonging to Vessel Type L11 (Fig. 7.22) was recovered at Unit 6 Level 3. It is a neckless hemispherical bowl with a wide open conspicuously flared mouth and flat base evidenced by the sharp inward curvature of the lower body. Its most extensive horizontal dimension was the mouth which measured 25 cm. in diameter and was well-rounded and felt smooth to touch. Vertical dimension was approximately 7 cm. while thickness of the body fabric was 0.5 cm.

It is dark-grey in colour and was one of the few smudged vessels recovered at Lower Dixcove. It is unburnished and undecorated with several tiny pores on its interior and exterior surface. The absence of paralleled curvilinear concentric lines on its interior surface suggests it was not a pulverization device. It probably functioned as a food serving bowl.

Fig. 7.22
Vessel Type L11



Table 7.3 Table showing the distribution of the reconstructed sherds from Lower Dixcove according to units and stratigraphy levels.

	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel type L10	Vessel type L11
Unit 6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	--	-	1	1
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
Unit 7	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	1	-	1	--	-	1	-	-	1	-
	4	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Unit 8	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 9	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-
	4	-	-	--	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-

Unit 10	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-

Table 7.3 Table showing the distribution of the reconstructed sherds from Lower Dixcove according to units and stratigraphy levels.

	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel type L10	Vessel type L11
Unit 6	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-
	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	--	-	1	1
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
Unit 7	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	1	-	1	--	-	1	-	-	1	-
	4	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Unit 8	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-
	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 9	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	-
	4	-	-	--	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-
	5	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	6	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unit 10	Strata level	Vessel Type L1	Vessel Type L2	Vessel Type L3	Vessel Type L4	Vessel Type L5	Vessel Type L6	Vessel Type L7	Vessel Type L8	Vessel Type L9	Vessel Type L10	Vessel Type L11
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	--	-	-

	7	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	---	-	-

7.2.4. Potsherds from surface context.

The physical attributes of all 26 potsherds retrieved from surface context differed from those recovered from the excavations at Upper and Lower Dixcove. The potsherds from surface context were classified broadly into two types. The first numbering 16 were clearly recent imports. A total of 10 were glazed externally and internally with what appeared to be a dark thin layer of grey metal oxides. The remaining 6 sherds were cream wares with smooth and bright luminous surfaces. Potsherds of local origin numbered 10. All were surface smoothed, worn and friable with gritty exterior surfaces, probably the result of open firing at low temperatures. Three sherds in this group were also characterized by several conspicuous pores on their external surfaces. The body walls were thick, measuring approximately 0.8 – 1 cm. Colours ranged from light brown to dark brown and were devoid of decorations.

7.2.3. Decorations on the Upper and Lower Dixcove pottery assemblage.

A total of 326 sherds (representing 12.2%) out of the 2,664 recovered at Upper Dixcove were decorated while 2,338 (representing 87.7%) were undecorated. The bulk of the Lower Dixcove pottery assemblage was devoid of decorations and only 121 sherds (representing 4.16%) out of the 2,905 recovered were decorated. A total of 2,784 (representing 95.83%) were undecorated.

Five principal decorative patterns were identified for the two assemblages with short linear incised motifs being the most dominant for the two suburbs. In all, 112 pieces (representing 34.3% of decorated sherds) were identified as belonging to this group. The decorative field of majority of this pattern was inclined vertically along the shoulder and upper neck regions of the vessels.

The second most dominant decorative pattern consisted of single circumferential grooves all of which were horizontally aligned. A total of 86 pieces (representing 26.3% of decorated sherds) were identified as belonging to this group. Multiple circumferential horizontal groove motifs constituted the third most dominant decorative motif.

Combing using a tool with multiple teeth marks appeared to have constituted the principal method used to achieve this decorative pattern because the grooved lines were paralleled and equally spaced horizontally. A total of 56 sherds (representing 17.17% of decorated sherds) were identified. The fourth most dominant decorative motif consisted of small dot stamp patterns. A total of 42 sherds (representing 12.8% of decorated sherds) were registered. The fifth decorative motif consisted of short linear oblique patterns / short linear vertical patterns. Each stab was separated diagonally/vertically from the other by about 5 mm. interval. They were probably achieved by incising the leather hard vessel with a broomstick-like object. A total of 30 sherds (representing 9.2% of decorated sherds) were identified.



Plate 7.2. Multiple curvilinear stamp patterns (left). Small dot patterns (right). Picture: Fritz Biveridge.



Plate 7.3. Short linear oblique/diagonal patterns (left). Short linear vertically inclined motifs (right). Picture: Fritz Biveridge.



Plate 7.4. Multiple circumferential grooves. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 7.5. Single circumferential grooves. (Fritz Biveridge)

7.3. Mineralogical analysis of local pottery.

To establish mineral constituents of the Dixcove pottery assemblages, 10 potsherds were randomly selected for mineralogical analysis at the Department of Earth Sciences laboratory, University of Ghana, Legon. Six of the 10 samples designated U2L2Dix09, U2L7Dix09, U1L10Dix09, SFDix09, U5L2Dix10 and U4L5Dix10 were retrieved from Upper Dixcove, while 4 designated U7L1Dix11, U10L1Dix11, U8L3Dix11 and U7L2Dix11 were retrieved from Lower Dixcove. Sample SFDix09 was recovered from ground surface at Upper Dixcove.

The “U” designation before each sample number refers to the unit while the figure after the “U” stands for the Unit number. The “L” designation in the sample number refers to stratigraphy level. The “Dix” stands for Dixcove while the last 2 figures of each sample number refer to the year when the sherds were excavated and collected. The designation “SF” stands for surface sherd.

The generally angular-shape of the quartz grains indicated the source point from where the raw material was derived was not too far from Dixcove. The serrated and sturdy edges of grains containing plagioclase feldspars indicated they had undergone extensive recrystallization and were probably sourced from a great depth. They also appeared strained and exhibited undulose extinction which is evidence that they had experienced some degree of metamorphism and deformation. Thin-sectioning also revealed some had angular and sub-rounded grains. This suggests the base raw materials used for their production was sourced from two different areas, one of which was farther than the other. The sub-rounded grains had experienced longer distance travel, while the angular ones had been sourced from a place not too far from Dixcove.

Like those from Upper Dixcove, quartz grains in the Lower Dixcove assemblage were angular-shaped with sharp edges. This suggests they had not travelled a considerable distance but were sourced from a place close by to Dixcove. They also showed two types of extinction: the first,

exhibited a wavy extinction which indicated it had experienced strain. The second, exhibited undulose extinction which indicated it had not experienced strain. The red colouration also indicated high degree of weathering had occurred over time. All the minerals except the clay which acted as the binding material exhibited angular-shapes which indicated the clay raw material used was sourced from a place close by to Dixcove. A summary of the results of the mineralogical analysis are presented below in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Table showing sample numbers, mineral constituents and physical descriptions of the ten sherds randomly selected for the mineralogical analysis.

	Name of sherd	Principal mineral constituents	Physical description of the grains/minerals
Sherd samples from Upper Dixcove	U2L2Dix09, U2L7Dix09, U1L10Dix09 U5L2Dix10 U4L5Dix10	Principal mineral constituents comprised Hornblende - 2%, quartz (SiO_2) – 40%, opaque minerals – 10%, plagioclase feldspars ($\text{CaAl}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_8$) – 20% and clay – 25%.	The bulk of the quartz grains were angular-shaped while the rest were lepidoblastic (elongated grains). Grains containing plagioclase feldspars had their edges serrated and sturdy. Two types of plagioclase minerals were identified. The first exhibited polysynthetic twinning while the second was highly altered with weak oscillatory zoning. The bulk were coloured red
Sherd samples from Lower Dixcove	U7L1Dix11, U10L1Dix11, U8L3Dix11 U7L2Dix11	Quartz – 40%, rock fragments – 20%, clay – 20%, plagioclase feldspar 10% and mica – 2%.	The quartz minerals were angular-shaped with sharp edges. Two types of extinction were also identified in the quartz grains: wavy extinction and undulose extinction.
Sherd from surface context	SFDDix09	Hornblende – 20%, quartz – 10%, clay 40%.	Clay base composed of large irregular shaped dark brown grain fragments measuring approximately 0.2mm – 0.4mm across their longest axis.

The mineralogical analysis revealed that quartz and plagioclase feldspars constituted the predominant mineral constituents in the two assemblages with micas and hornblende also being

represented, albeit in minor quantities. On the other hand, the principal mineral constituents of rocks and clays of the Dixcove area are phyllites, schists, quartzites, hornstones, biotites and andesites (Kesse 1985: 12 - 16). This is indicative that the people of Dixcove procured their pottery from elsewhere. It should also be noted that while the mineral constituents of both the Upper and Lower Dixcove assemblages were the same, their physical attributes were different. This is indicative that the people of Upper Dixcove procured their pottery from one group of potters while the people of Lower Dixcove also procured theirs from another group of potters.

7.4. Imported culinary and gustatory items

Imported ceramics constituted the principal cultural material analysed and described under imported culinary and gustatory items. No whole ceramic vessel was recovered and the entire Dixcove assemblage comprised fragmented pieces with an average size of less than 7²cm (refer page 193). The total number of imported ceramics retrieved from the study area was 1,657. Of this number, 13 sherds (representing 0.78% of the imported ceramic assemblage) were found during the surface survey, while 1,644 sherds (representing 99.22 % of the total imported ceramic assemblage) were retrieved from the ten excavated units. The breakdown according to units, stratigraphy level, and their percentage values are presented in Table 7. 5 below.

Table 7.5. Total count of imported ceramics and their percentage values according to units

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	37	26	-	-	13	9	1	-	8	5
2 (20-40)	33	39	-	6	42	13	-	1	1	2
3 (40-60)	-	72	1	4	52	3	-	-	-	19
4 (60-80)	1	57	-	25	122	-	-	1	-	10
5 (80-100)	-	43	-	33	143	-	-	-	-	3
6 (100-120)		43		16	94				-	4
7 (120-140)		89		19	42					1
8 (140-160)		166		-	26					-
9 (160-180)		185			2					

10 (180-200)		115			1					
11 (200-220)		16			-					
12 (220-240)		-								
Total	71	851	1	103	537	25	1	2	9	44
Percentage values	4.3%	51.7%	0.06%	6.26%	32.66%	1.52%	0.06%	0.12%	0.54%	2.67%

The bulk was dominated by cream wares, iron stone china (white wares) and pearl wares, with a small number comprising delftware, stoneware and porcelains. The assemblage also included a gamut of different vessel forms such as flat plates, mugs, bowls and tea cups. Refer to Table 7.6 below for total count of each vessel form and their percentage values.

Table 7.5. Total count of imported ceramics and their percentage values according to units

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	37	26	-	-	13	9	1	-	8	5
2 (20-40)	33	39	-	6	42	13	-	1	1	2
3 (40-60)	-	72	1	4	52	3	-	-	-	19
4 (60-80)	1	57	-	25	122	-	-	1	-	10
5 (80-100)	-	43	-	33	143	-	-	-	-	3
6 (100-120)		43		16	94				-	4
7 (120-140)		89		19	42					1
8 (140-160)		166		-	26					-
9 (160-180)		185			2					
10 (180-200)		115			1					
11 (200-220)		16			-					
12 (220-240)		-								
Total	71	851	1	103	537	25	1	2	9	44
Percentage values	4.3%	51.7%	0.06%	6.26%	32.66%	1.52%	0.06%	0.12%	0.54%	2.67%

Table 7.6. Table showing different vessel forms which were identified and their percentage values.

Type of ceramic vessel	Soup / eating bowls	Flat plates	Condiment holding vessels	Tea cups	Mugs / jugs	Total count
Total count	230	975	16	19	149	1389
Percentage values	16.5%	70.1%	1.15%	1.36%	10.72%	84.4%

Establishing country of origin and date of manufacture was extremely difficult because the majority, totaling 1,646 were heavily fragmented, unmarked and carried no trade patents or

company logos. Only 15 pieces (representing 0.72% of the imported ceramic assemblage) were positively identified. This was made with reference to publications by Godden (1968), Coysh and Henrywood (1989) and Morley-Fletcher and McLroy (1984). 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, and Professor Christopher DeCorse of Syracuse University for analysis and comment. Some of the descriptions and comments made in this section were based on their analysis and the writer is most grateful.

Of the 15 imported sherds identified, 11 originated from a county and some towns in England. The towns are Swadlincote (Burton-on-Trent), Burslem, Cobridge, Bristol, Chelsea, and Staffordshire county. The first, the base fragment of a flat plate was recovered at Unit 2 Level 4, and originated from England. It had the words “BOOTH’S”, and “ROYAL SEMI PORCELAIN, STAFFORDSHIRE, ENGLAND” printed inside an oval-shaped trade logo with a crown atop it. According to Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 32), this trade logo belonged to the company “Booth, Thomas and Company”, which initially operated from Knowles Works located at Burslem, and later relocated to Church Bank Works at Tunstall, Staffordshire, from 1868 – 1872.

The second fragment, also recovered from Unit 2 Level 4 originated from England. It consisted of ironstone with the inscription “CHINA” embossed inside an anchor logo. According to Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 128), the anchor mark was the trade logo of Enoch Wood and Sons which produced a variety of ironstone wares in the 1830’s with the imprint “CELTIC CHINA” embossed on their products. Godden (1968: 323) notes that the terms, “SEMI CHINA”, “SEMI PORCELAIN” and “OPAQUE CHINA” were misleading terms and analogous descriptions used contemporaneously by different earthenware manufacturers between 1810 – 1850 in an endeavour

to upgrade their products in the eye of buyers. These wares were neither ironstone nor granite wares but were low fired earthenwares, mostly blue and white flowery imprinted pottery.

The third identified fragment was recovered from Unit 5 Level 4, and also originated from England. It was part of a bowl and had printed on its base the trade mark “SOL” and below it the words “IRONSTONE CHINA”. Further below that was a “rising sun” motif trade logo. According to Golden (1968: 283), these imprints were the registered trade logo/trade mark of the company J & G MEAKIN (LTD), located at Hanley which began operation from 1851 and became a limited liability company in 1890. The word “LTD” however was not printed on this sherd, suggesting it probably predated 1890. Golden (1968: 283 – 284) has noted that the presence or absence of the word “LTD” on products of this company should not be used as chronological markers to date their earthenware.

The fourth consisted of part of a cream ware flat plate, recovered from Unit 2 level 7 . It appeared to have been made to celebrate the coronation of King George V because it was embossed in an oval flowery pattern with a crown in the middle and the inscription King George V, 11 June, 1911.

The fifth fragment was recovered from Unit 5 level 2. It consisted of a fragment (part of the base and lower body) of a cream-coloured bowl with the inscriptions “BOOTE” and “*England*” at the base. This piece lacked any decoration and was most likely to have been manufactured by T. & R. BOOTE, manufacturers of different types of earthenwares. According to Godden (1968: 43), this company, located at Burslem had been operating since 1842. He further noted that the inclusion of the word “*England*” on English ceramic wares denotes a post 1891 production date, while “*Made in England*” denotes a twentieth century production date (Godden 1968: 10). The sixth fragment had the inscription “SEFTON” embossed above a picture of a man on his knees working on a small table, and below it another inscription “1790” and “K & CO. LTD”. It was retrieved from

Unit 2 Level 7. Unlike the above pieces which were positively identified, it was not possible to establish the origin of this fragment because there was no record regarding the company K & CO. LTD. It was probably manufactured in 1790 in England.

The seventh fragment was a beautiful blue sponged flowered pattern displayed around the edges, superimposed on a white background. According to (Godden 1968: 40), this flowery pattern is unique to William Ault and Company (c. 1887 - 1923) which has the term “*AULT*” as its trade mark.

The eighth fragment had the inscription “*W.B.*” impressed at its base and was recovered from Unit 2 level 3. It was most probably manufactured by William Brownfield (& sons), manufacturers of different types of earthenwares and porcelain. According to Godden (1968: 48), this company operated from c. 1850 – 1891; and notes that after 1871, it added “& *S*” or “& *Sons*” to its original “*W. B.*” trade mark initials. This presupposes the fragment pre-dated 1871.

The ninth fragment, most likely the base of a plate had the trade mark of a globe with the inscription “*MINTONS*” printed in the middle and a crown located atop it. It was recovered from Unit 2 Level 3. It also had red, blue and green flowery patterns along its middle portions. According to Godden (1968: 94), this trade mark belongs to *MINTONS & SONS*, a Bristol porcelain manufacturer incorporated since 1851 to present.

The tenth fragment recovered from Unit 2 Level 1, was the base and part of the lower body of a mug. It had two inscriptions, the first a “*C.V.*” and the second “*Made in England*” inscribed below it. “*C.V.*” was the company logo of *CHARLSE VYSE*, a Chelsea based modeler of earthenwares and porcelain which operated from 1919 - 1963 (Godden 1968: 128).

The eleventh fragment had the inscription “*ORIENT*” printed above a Phoenix. It was not possible to establish its origin. Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 195) however suggest it was likely to have

been made in the nineteenth century by Middlesbrough potters who were noted to have imprinted Phoenixes on their products.

Four fragments, all cream wares were also identified. Two originated from companies in Rotterdam (The Netherlands). The first, recovered from Unit 4 Level 2, comprised part of the lower body of a white and blue tin glazed tulip bulb patterned plate with the inscription “*De Drie Klokken*” (translated “The Three Bells”) imprinted at its base. According to Morley-Fletcher and McLroy (1984: 200 - 201), products of this company spanned the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries.

The second, a fragment recovered from Unit 2 Level 3 appeared to be part of a pancake plate with *famille verte* designs in the middle. Morley-Fletcher and McLroy (1984: 209) suggest this design was unique to the Ary Rijsselberg in De 3 Vergulde Astonnekens factory, and was probably manufactured by them. This factory is also located in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

The third fragment was a small thin-lined circular patterned polychrome dish with the word “*De*” inscribed on it. It was recovered from Unit 2 Level 2 at Upper Dixcove. This sherd was likely to have been made by the *De Roos* factory located at Friesland, Holland. The fourth ceramic fragment was very small and only part of a print “*Bijl*” was readable. It was thus difficult to assign a date or manufacturer. The word “*Bijl*” however, is Dutch indicating the sherd probably originated from The Netherlands.

The fifth fragment, recovered from Unit 5 level 2 appeared to be the lower part of a jug and like the third fragment, had only part of its base inscription showing which “*VDuyn*” was. It was decorated with several small blue coloured leaf designs on a white background along its lower portion. Origin of the remaining 2 fragments comprised 1 fragment each of porcelain; the first a hand-decorated leafy patterned plate recovered from Unit 2 Level 2, and the other a brightly

coloured red, blue, green, grey and yellow botanical patterned sponge-design recovered from Unit 2 Level 3.

The remaining 1,646 imported sherds which could not be positively identified by country of origin or date of manufacture were designated undiagnostic and have been described and classified below according to ceramic type and count. Their estimated date ranges have also been provided by referencing them to renowned ceramic experts.

Classification Scheme – Imported ceramics from Dixcove.

<u>Ceramic type / sub-type / description</u>	<u>Date range / references</u>	<u>Count / unit / level</u>
(a) (i) Tin glazed Delftware, undecorated.	1640 – 1830 (DeCorse 2001: 152) - 1570 – 1802 (Hume 1970: 105 – 111) 1620 – 1850 (Van Dam 2004: 56) 1640 – 1630 (Schledorn 2003: 48 – 53)	2 / Unit 2 L-3.
(b) <u>Cream ware</u>		
(i) Undecorated “light” and “dark” --	1795 – 1820 (DeCorse 2001: 153) --- - 1795 – 1890 (South 1977: 212) -	726 / Unit 1 L – 2 & 4 Unit 4 L - 5 & 10. Unit 2 L-3, & 4. Unit 5 L- 6,7,8,9 &10.
(ii) Mocha with dentritic decorations --	1762 – 1920 (DeCorse 2001: 152) ----	6 / Unit 2 L – 4, Unit 5 L - 4 & 6.
(c) <u>Pearl ware</u>		
(i) Undecorated white ---	1780 – 1830 (Hume 1970: 128) --- 1780 – 1830 (DeCorse 2001: 153)	136 / Unit 2 L – 3, 4,5 & 10. Unit 5 L - 3,4,5 & 6.
(ii) Edged ware painted in blue ---	1780 – 1830 (DeCorse 2001: 153) -- --- 1780 – 1830 (South 1977: 212) --- 1780 – 1830 (Lange & Carlson 1985: 104)	42 / Unit 2 L 3, 4,5 & 6. Unit 5, L - 3, 4, 5 & 6.
(ii) Annular decorated ---	1790 – 1830 (DeCorse 2001: 153) --- 1790 – 1839 (Lange & Carlson 1985: 104)	63 / Unit 2 L- 3,4,,5 &10. Unit 4 L - 3,4,5,6, 7 & 8. Unit 5 L- 4.5 & 7.
(iv) Blue and white transfer printed --	1790 – 1840 (DeCorse 2001: 153) --- 1787 – 1830 (Lange & Carlson 1985: 104)	106 / Unit1 L- 4 & 5. Unit 2 L- 5,9 &10. Unit 5 L- 4,5,6

- & 7.
- (v) Transfer printed, other transfer prints 1795 – 1840 (South 1977:212) -- 309 / Unit 2 L - 4,5,9
(green, red, lavender, blue-grey & brown) & 10.
Unit 5 L - 2,3,4,5,6,7,8 & 9.
- (vi) Hand painted polychrome thick lines foliar - 1820 – 1840 (DeCorse 2001: 153) -- 118 / Unit
Motifs (red, brown, green & blue) 2 L – 4,5, 8 & 9.
Unit 5
L - 2,3,4,5,6,7 & 9.
- (vii) “Willow” transfer printed -- 1795 – 1840 (South 1977: 212) --- 49 / Unit 2 L 4,5,6 & 7.
Unit 5 L – 4,5,8 & 9.
- (viii) Mocha with dendritic -- 1730 – 1830 (South 1977: 212) --- 26 / Unit 2 L- 4, 5 & 10.
blue edged plates Unit 5 L- 2,3,4,5 & 6.
- (d) **Iron Stone China**
- (i) Undecorated ----- 1800 – 1900 (DeCorse 2001: 153) ---- 103 / Unit 2 L - 4,5,9 & 10.
1820 – 1900 (South 1977: 104) Unit 5 L - 2,3,4,6 & 10.
- (ii) Blue and white transfer print. -- 1820 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 153) – 26 / Unit 2 L – 5, 6 & 7.
1830 – 1865 (Lange & Carlson 1985: 104)
- (iii) Transfer printed, other prints (green, red, 1825 – 1975 (Lange & Carlson 1985: 105) -- 27
Blue-grey, lavender, brow & black). Unit 2 L- 3, 5, 7 & 8.
Unit 5 L – 4,5,6, 7 & 8.
- (iv) Cut-sponged / spatter in blue, green, purple, - 1830 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 153). -- 15 / Unit
Yellow & red. 2 L- 4 & 5
Unit 5 L - 5, 7 & 8.
- (v) Sponge-stencil decoration in green and red -- 1830 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 153) -- 12 /
with fine line hand painting Unit 2 L 3 & 4
Unit 5 L - 2,3 & 4.
Unit 4 L - 4 & 5.
- (vi) Flow blue transfer printed and hand painted -- 1840 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 153) -- 17 /
botanical decoration. Unit 2 L – 4,5 & 7.
Unit 5 L - 2,3,4 & 5.
- (vii) Neo classical style printed. -- Late 18th century (Majewski & Schiffer 2011: 197).-- 1 /
Unit 5 L - 1.

- (viii) Gothic style printed --- 1830 – 1860 (Majewski & Schiffer 2011:197)--2 / Unit 2 L - 1 & 2
- (ix) Annular decorated -- 1830 – 1875 (Lange & Carlson 1985:104) -- 61 / Unit 2 L – 2, 3, 4 & 5
- (x) George V coronation souvenir plate --- 22 June, 1911. ----- 1 / Unit 2 L – 1.
- (xi) Miscellaneous earthenware -- 1850 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 152) -31 / Unit 1 L – 3. Unit 2 L - 4, 5, 8, & 10.
Unit 5 L 4.5, 6 & 7.
Unit 10 L – 3 & 4.
- (e) **Stoneware**
- (i) Reddish-brown stoneware (cylindrical bottles 1800 – 1900 (DeCorse 2001: 153) – 7 /
with small lug handles). Unit 2, L – 3, 5 & 6.
Unit 5, L - 2 & 4.
- (ii) Brown stoneware (bottles for ink, beer & blacking). 1820 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 153)
white stoneware (bottles for ink, blacking, ginger & beer). 1830 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001:
43 / Unit 2 L – 4, 5 & 10.
- (f) **Porcelain**
- (i) Ointment jars. -- 1830 – 1910 (DeCorse 2001: 152) ---- 2 / Unit 2 L - 2.
- (ii) English bone China with hand painted copper luster 1820 – 1873 (DeCorse 2001: 152)
decoration. 3 / Unit 2 L -2 & 3
Unit 5 L - 2 & 4.
Unit 5 L – 3 & 5.
- (iii) English painted botanical jugs. --- 19th century (Gibson 2000: 62) -- 13 / Unit 2 L - 2, 3 & 4.
- (iv) Japanese export enameled polychrome Early 20th century ---- 5 / Unit 2 L - 2 & 3.

A total of 1,576 sherds (representing 95.11% of imported ceramics) were recovered from Units 2, 4 and 5 at Upper Dixcove, while only 81 sherds (representing 4.89%) were retrieved from Lower Dixcove. The above three units are located around the immediate precincts of the fort at Upper Dixcove and historical records assert that the area was settled by the local people in the past (Lawrence 1963: 296). The statistics are indicative of three things namely that:

- (a) the bulk of the imported ceramic assemblage originated from the English garrison (Fort Metal Cross) and the African settlement located around it.
- (b) The fort and its environs (the African settlement around it) was probably the commercial epicenter of Dixcove in the past, and
- (c) the population of Upper Dixcove was probably bigger compared to Lower Dixcove during the period covered by the study (A total of 1,388 out of the 1,644 imported ceramic assemblage, including the 5 sherds which were positively identified and described above were retrieved from Levels 1 – 3, at Units 2 and 5 (refer Table 7.4. above).

According to Godden (1968: 43), the five English earthenware manufacturing companies which manufactured the five identified ceramic sherds operated from 1842 – 1963. The earliest of these companies to be incorporated, T. & R. BOOTE, located at Burslem began manufacturing different types of earthenwares from 1842 (Godden 1968: 43), while the last to be incorporated was the Chelsea based earthenware modeler CHARLSE VYSE which operated from 1919 - 1963 (Godden 1968: 128). The various ceramic wares, and by association other artifacts recovered from stratigraphy Levels 1 – 3 at Units 2 and 5 should therefore be assigned to the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth.

Plate 7.6 below show pictorials of some of the imported ceramic wares recovered at Dixcove. They are: Plates B and D – blue and white transfer printed pearl ware. Plates A and C - cream wares. Plate E – stonewares. Plate H – annular decorated iron stone china, and Plate G – Japanese enameled polychrome porcelain.

Variety of imported ceramics from Dixcove



7.5. Food remains

7.5.1. Palm kernel shells

A total of 1,752 palm kernel shells belonging to the species *Elaeis guineensis* constituted the only botanical material recovered from the study area. Of this number, 727 were recovered from Upper Dixcove while 1,025 were recovered from Lower Dixcove. Table 7.7 below shows the distribution and their percentage values according to units.

Table 7.7. showing total count of palm kernel shells and their percentage values according to units

Name of Unit	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total count
Total count of palm kernel shells per unit	27	84	0	0	606	41	214	462	318	0	1752
Percentage of palm kernel shells according to unit	1.54 %	4.79 %	0%	0%	34.58 %	2.34 %	12.2 %	26.3 %	18.1 %	0%	100%



Plate 7.7. Some palm kernel shells from the study area (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

All palm kernel shells recovered from Level 4 down to the sterile level were characterized by dull blighted dark-grey pigmentation compared to those recovered from Level 1 – 3 which were light-grey in colour. The shells were also irregularly shaped. The bulk were easily friable and disintegrated with the application of pressure with the fingers. The majority however were unbroken and a few still contained the kernel nuts inside. One notable characteristic feature of kernel shells from Lower Dixcove was that their external surfaces were covered with minute

irregular-shaped pores and interstices some of which extended 2 – 3 mm. inwards into the shell. It was difficult to scientifically conjecture its causality because there was no presumptive evidence in the recovery area. Apparently, they were caused by boring insects trying to reach the nut within. That they were found at all levels is indicative that palm fruits constituted an important aspect of the diet of the people of Dixcove.

7.6.1. Bones

The total number of bones recovered from the study area was 2,566, all from Upper Dixcove. Of this number, 1,821 (representing 71.2%) were classified as undiagnostic because they could not be identified due mainly to their fragmented nature. A total of 744 were identified and comprised mainly the long tubular bones (*femur*, *tibia*, *humerus* and *fibula*) – 61%, short tubular bones (*metacarpals*, *metatarsals* and *phalanges*) – 32%, and teeth 7%.

A total of 6 (representing 0.23% of total bone count) were recovered from ground surface at Upper Dixcove while 2,560 (representing 99.76% of total count) were recovered from the excavations.

The breakdown according to Units and the percentage values are presented in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8. showing total count of bones and their percentage values according to units

Name of Unit	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total count
Total count of bones per unit	68	896	5	80	611	186	0	0	109	605	2560
Percentage of bones according to unit	2.6 %	35%	0.19 %	3.12 %	23.86 %	7.26 %	0%	0%	4.25 %	23.6 3%	100%

Analysis of all the bones was undertaken by Mr. Bosman Murrey, retired Chief Technician of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. Unlike the mollusc shells, the bulk of the bones particularly those belonging to *Pisces* were heavily fragmented and lacked established reference marks to facilitate identification. The majority, especially those from Units 2 and 5 were also severely charred. Identification of species was thus a difficult and cumbersome task. In spite of this handicap, 410 pieces (representing 15.97% of the total fauna)

were positively identified and classified broadly into four phyla groups namely: *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Reptilia* and *Pisces*.

Species belonging to *Mammalia* were the most exploited by the community and totaled 254 (representing 61.9% of recovered bones). The main specie types identified under this phylum were Giant rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*), dwarf shorthorn cattle (*Bos sp.?*), cane rat ((*Cricetomys gambianus*), wild pig (*Potomocheoerus proms*), grasscutter (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), goat (*Capra sp.*), and sheep (*Ovis aries*).

The upper and lower limb bones of the larger species like cow, goat and sheep showed a pattern consistent with forceful disarticulation exemplified by their jagged fractured edges. There was also evidence of marrow extraction exemplified by fine ‘V’ shaped cut marks on bones. White and Folkens (2005: 60) assert that such cut marks display fine narrow ‘V’ shaped parallel and sub-parallel striae lines on the bone where the blade of the tool edge cut the bone. The preferred bones for marrow extraction in order of exploitation at Dixcove were the *femur*, *humerus*, *tibia*, *radius*, *metapodials* and *proximal phalanges* in that order. According to Outram (2000: 23), marrow cavities of these bones have the highest concentration of oleic fatty acids (the tasty part of marrow), and probably explains why they were the most preferred.

Pisces constituted the second most exploited species at Dixcove of which 91 remains (representing 22.19% of recovered bones) were identified. Unlike *mammalian* remains however, only a few specie types belonging to this phylum could be identified because of heavy fragmentation and absence of established reference marks. Most of the bones identified comprised the larger bone parts such as the vertebral columns and skull and their analysis established that they belonged to both on-shore and off-shore species. On-shore species included *Prionoce glauca*, *Alecti*

alexandrines, *Istiophorus albicans*, *Caranx crysos* and *Decapterus rhonchus*. Off-shore species included *Arius heudeloti*, *Clarias gariepinus*, and *Clarias gariepinus*.

Reptilia was the third most exploited of which 54 remains (representing 13.1% of recovered bones) were identified. They included remains of monitor lizard (*Varanus noloticus*), tortoise (*Kinixys spp*) and gaint ground pangolin (*Manis gigantean*). It will not be out of place to suggest that Dixcove and its neighbourhoods was in the past heavily forested because the natural ecological biome of the above named *Mammalia* and *Reptilia* species is a thick forested region.

Aves were the least exploited and only 11 remains (representing 2.6% of recovered bones) were recovered. They were identified as belonging to chicken (*Gallus gallus*) and guinea fowl (*Numida meleagris*). Tables 7.9 - 7.16. below show the quantum of both diagnostic and non-diagnostic remains recovered, names of the various skeletal parts identified according to units and stratigraphic levels and other descriptive attributes associated with them. Note that no bones were retrieved from Units 7 and 8 at Lower Dixcove.

Table 7.9. Unit 1

Level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body parts	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus/species
1	1		vertebrae	----	----	-----	----	1		Pisces
2	6	30	Neural spine (x1), skull (x5)	----	----	----	----	----	6	“
3		8						9		
4	3	20	Scapular (x1), dentasy (x3)	-----	----	-----	-----	1	16	“
5	0	0								

Total count of bones from Unit 1: 68

Table 7.10. Unit 2

Level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body parts identified	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus/species
1			Vertebra							Rodent

	25	6	(x2), femur (x1), ilium (x1) ulna (x1).	----	----	---	----	2	3	ia. Pisces.
2	42	21								
3	19	3								
4	33	9	Skull fragments(x3), vertebra (x4), ulna (x2)	----	----	----	----	2	7	Pisces. Rodent ia
5	118	9	Ulna (x1), clavicle (x2), rib (x2), skull frag. (x3), tibiotasus (x1)	----	----	----	----	3	6	Rodent ia. Aves. Reptili a.
6	23	11	Ribs (x5), lower jaw (x1), vertebrae (x2), boneshaft (x1) & humerus (x2)	----	----	----	----	3	8	Bovid. Bos.
7	64	7	Rib (x1), calcaneum (x3), boneshaft (x2) & tibiotarsus (x1).	----	----	----	----	1	6	Bovid. Aves. Rodent ia.
8	138	2	Fibula (x1) & ulna (x1).	----	----	----	1	1	1	Bovid
9	124	21	Rib (x4), unla (x5), lower jaw (x1), radius (x6), humerus (x2) & fibula (x3)	----	----	----	----	6	15	Bovid Rodent ia.
10	145	9	Boneshaft (x1), unla (x3), clavicle (x3) & humerus (x2).	---	----	----	----	1	8	Bovid Aves.
11	62	5	Cleithrium (x1), rib	----	----	----	2	0	5	Bovid. Pisces.

			(x1) & ulna (x3).							
12	0	0	-----	----	----	----	-----	----	----	----

Total count of bones from Unit 2: 896

Table 7.11. Unit 3

level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body part	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus / species
1	0	0	----	---	---	---	----	---	----	---
2	0	1	Opercula	----	---	---	----	---	----	Aves
3	1	3	Fibula (x1), ulna (x2) & radius (x1)	---	1	----	----	0	4	Bovid. Aves.
4	0	0	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0	0	----
5	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0	0	----

Total count of bones from Unit 3: 5.

Table 7.12. Unit 4

level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body part	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus / species
1	0	0	----	----	----	-----	----	----	-----	----
2	0	9	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	----	----	----
3	1	6	Skull fragment	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	Bovid (sheep)
4	1	15	Femur (proximal)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	1	Rodentia
5	9	13	Vertebra (x2), fibula (x1), lower jaw (x1), metatarsals (x2), tibiotarsus (x1), calcaneum (x1) & opercular (x1).	-----	1	-----	-----	-----	9	Bovid (sheep) Pisces.
6	2	14	Rib (x1), scapular (x1) & teeth (x1).	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	Bovid (goat)
7	4	6	clavicle	-----	-----	1	-----	-----	1	Aves
8	0	0	-----	-----	---	-----	-----	----	----	----

Total count of bones from Unit 4: 80

Table 7.13.. Unit 5

level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body part	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus / species
1	0	6	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----
2	2	9		----	(x1)	----	-----	----	11	Bovid
3	9	90	Ulna (x2), boneshaft (x1), premolar tooth (x1), metacarpal (x1), rib (x2), skull (x1) & humerus (x1).					8	91	Bovid. (Sheep) Rodentia (gaint rat)
4	5	70	Tibia (x1), teeth (x2), scapular (x1), phalange (x1).	----	-----	1	-----	----	9	Bovid (sheep) Rodentia
5	13	36	Teeth (x2), Vertebra (x1), ulna (x1), neural spine (x1), calcaneum (x1), tibia (x2), tarsometotarius (x1), fibula (x1), phalange (x2) & femur (x1).	----	-----	---	----	----	49	Bovid. Reptilia
6	21	97	Calcaneum (x1), radius (x1), teeth (x2), ulna (x1), neural spine (x1), phalange (x3), scapular (x1), lower jaw (x1), rib (x2), ceratohyal (x1), fin spine (x1), humerus (x1), fibular (x3) & vertebra (x2).	----	----	----	(2)	3	115	Bovid, Pisces. Rodentia.
7	7	132	Bone shaft (x1), ribs (x1), skull fragment (x1), coracoid (x1), radius (x1), vertebra (x1) & fibular (x1).	----	-----	-----	----	---	39	Bos. Bovid. (sheep) Pisces.
8	12	60	Vertebra (x2),							Pisces.

			ribs (x3), metacarpal (x1), fibular (x2), teeth (x2), tibia (x1) & cleithrum (x1).	----	---	1	----	2	70	Bovid . Rodentia.
9	0	39	-----	-----	----	----	-----	-----	2	----
10	0	0	-----	-----	----	----	-----	-----	-----	----
11	1	2	Astragulus (x1)	-----	----	----	-----	-----	3	Bovid

Total count of bones from Unit 5: 611.

Table.7.14. Unit 6.

level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body part	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus/ species
1	8	112	Fibula (x1), skull fragment (x1), incisor teeth (x2), coracoid (x1), ribs (x2) & ilium (x1).	----	1	---	----	----	120	Rodentia. Bovid (sheep) Reptilia (tortoise).
2	3	32	Clavicle (x1), scapular (x1) & tarsometatarsus (x1).	---	---	1	----	1	34	Aves. Bos.
3	4	24	Skull fragment (x1), femur (x1), humerus (x1) & metacarpal (x1).	----	----	----	----	----	28	Bovid (sheep)
4	0	3	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	----	3	-----
5	0	0	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----

Total count of bones from Unit 6: 186.

Table 7.15 Unit 9.

Level	Count of diagnostic parts	Count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body parts	Gnaw marks	Burnt	charred	Butchering marks	whole	fragments	Genus/ species
1	2	11	Lower jaw (x1) & ilium (x1).	----	----	-----	-----	-----	13	Rodentia
2	7	14	Bone shaft (x1), femur (x1), scapular (x1), vertebra (x2), clavicle (x1 & dentary (x1).	-----	----	1	----	-----	21	Bovid

3	11	30	Femur (proximal) (x1), ulna (x2), rib (x3), scapular (x1), radius (x2), humerus (x1) & phalange (x1).	----	----	----	-----	----	----	Pisces. Rodentia. Bovid.
4	5	14	Ulna (distal) (x1), opercular (x2), neural spine (x1) & rib (x1).	----	----	----	----	1	18	Pisces, Bovid (sheep)
5	3	10	Humerus (x1), premolar tooth (x1) & tibia (x1).	----	----	----	----	2	11	Bovid
6	0	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	----	----	2	-----
7	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----	-----	-----

Total count of bones from Unit 9: 109.

Table 7.16. Unit 10.

level	Total count of diagnostic parts	Total count of non diagnostic parts	Name of body part	Gnaw marks	burnt	charred	Butchering marks	Whole	fragments	Genus/ species.
1	8	180	Metacarpal (x1), rib (x1), skull fragment (x1), clavicle (x1), teeth (x2), tibia (x1) & vertebra (x1).	----	----	----	-----	1	87	Bos, bovid, rodentia.
2	3	238	Tibiotarsus (x1), rib (x1) & humerus (x1).	----	----	----	----	0	11	Bovid
3	2	115	Vertebra (x1) & operculum (x1)	----	----	-----	----	0	17	Bovid (sheep)
4	0	45	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	5	-----
5	1	8	Bone shaft (x1)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	9	-----
6	0	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	3	-----
7	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0	-----
8	0	0	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	0	-----

Total count of bones from Unit 10: 605.

7.7. Molluscs.

A total of 11,463 mollusc shells belonging to a variety of species were recovered from the research area. Of this number, 35 were recovered from ground surface at Upper Dixcove during the

reconnaissance survey. No mollusc shells were recovered from ground surface at Lower Dixcove. The breakdown according to units and their percentage values is presented below in Table 7.17.

Table 7.17. Total count of molluscs remains and their percentage values according to units

Name of Unit	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total
Count of mollusc per unit	364	4841	8	1379	1777	651	169	414	121	1704	11428
Percentage of mollusc remains according to units	3.18 %	42.36 %	0.07 %	12.0 %	15.5 %	5.69 %	1.47 %	3.62 %	1.05 %	14.9 %	100%

The majority were relatively well-preserved having retained their main distinguishing physiological attributes like natural colouration, shapes and lineaments which made it possible to positively establish their genera and species type. All the molluscs were categorized broadly into two genera (classes) namely *Bivalvia* and *Gastropoda*, and nine specie types. Identification of the various genera and species was made possible with reference to Janet Edmund's book *Sea Shells and other Molluscs found on the West African Shores and Estuaries*, while information regarding how they are utilized in the community was derived from respondents settled at Dixcove.

Table 7.18.

Biological name	Class/genera	Uses	Natural habitat	Total number	Percentage of total
<i>Aca senelis</i>	<i>Bivalvia</i>	Food	Lagoon	712	6.23%
<i>Arca afra</i>	<i>Bivalvia</i>	Food	Marine	379	3.31%
<i>Thais haemastoma</i>	<i>Gastropoda</i>	Food	Marine	32	0.28%
<i>Tagelus angulatus</i>	<i>Bivalvia</i>	Food	Marine	313	2.73%
<i>Semifusus morio</i>	<i>Gastropoda</i>	Food	Marine	49	0.42%
<i>Donax rugosa</i>	<i>Bivalvia</i>	Food	Marine	265	2.31%
<i>Pitaria tumens</i>	<i>Bivalvia</i>	Food	Marine	504	4.41%
<i>Patella safiana</i>	<i>Gastropoda</i>	Food	Marine	5,117	44.77%
<i>Terebra sp</i>	<i>Gastropoda</i>	Food	marine	3,970	34.73%
<i>Nassa semistriata</i>	<i>Gastropoda</i>	food	Terrestrial	79	0.69%
Grand total				11,428	100%

The following species were identified as belonging to the genera *Bivalvia*: *Arca senelis* and *Arca afra*. The following species belonged to the genera *Gastropoda*: *Thais haemastoma*, *Tagelus angulatus*, *Semifusus morio*, *Donax rugosa*, *Pitaria tumens*, *Patella safiana* and *Terebra s.p.*,

while the following were identified as belonging to Bivalvia: *Arca senelis* and *Arca afra*. Table 7.18. above shows the various mollusc species belonging to *Gastropoda* and *Bivalvia* classes, their natural habitat, utilitarian value to the community, count, and their percentage values.

7.8. Hardware and construction materials.

A total of 2,969 pieces of construction materials comprising mainly metal objects (nails, screws, iron rods, brackets and hinges), baked clay items (bricks and daub), roofing slates and tar were recovered from the research area. Of this number, 17 pieces (representing 0.57% of construction materials) were recovered from surface contexts at Upper Dixcove, while none was recovered at Lower Dixcove. The bulk of construction hardware, 2,325 out of a total of 2,969 (constituting over 78% of hardware and construction materials) were retrieved from Unit 2 Levels 2 – 9, and Unit 5 Levels 2 – 8. They are classified, analyzed and described below under the following sub headings: metals, daub, tar dado and slate.

7.8.1. Metal Items

The degree of corrosion on the metal products recovered, especially those from Units 9 and 10 which were close to the Nfuma Lagoon was very extensive making object identification difficult and cumbersome. Construction items which were positively identified numbered 168. They included 96 nails in a variety of sizes and shapes, 5 bolts in two lengths (4 cm. and 5.3 cm.) and 7 remains of metal rods. The rest comprised 1 hasp, 26 iron brackets and brad nails, parts of 4 door hinges, 19 screws in a variety of shapes and sizes and 10 remnants of what appeared to be hoes. All the nails had “T” heads and appeared to be hand-forged, evidenced by variations in shank thickness. The breakdown of the 168 hardware types positively identified according to count and their percentage values are shown in Table 7.19.

Table 7.19. Table showing count / percentage values of construction materials according to units

Name of hardware type	Nails	Bolts (4cm)	Bolts (5.3cm)	Metal rods	Hasp	Iron brackets	Brad nails	Door hinges	Screws	Hoes	Total count
Total of hardware type	96	2	3	7	1	19	7	4	19	10	168
Percentage of hardware type	57.1 %	1.19 %	1.78%	4.16 %	0.59 %	11.3%	4.16 %	2.38 %	11.3%	5.95 %	100 %

The breakdown according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values are also presented below in Table 7.20.

Table 7.20

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	5	44	-	14	16	2	3	-	10	63
2 (20-40)	8	71	1	21	74	29	-	-	2	29
3 (40-60)	8	146	2	23	167	127	1	-	7	115
4 (60-80)	2	161	-	24	184	-	-	-	10	23
5 (80-100)	2	168	-	23	136	-	-	-	-	19
6 (100-120)		193		43	368				-	8
7 (120-140)		215		20	42					-
8 (140-160)		142		-	29					-
9 (160-180)		102			7					
10 (180-200)		29			2					
11 (200-220)		29			-					
12 (220-240)										
Total	25 0.84%	1300 43.7%	3 0.10%	168 5.65%	1025 34.5%	158 5.32%	4 0.13%	-0 %	29 0.97%	257 8.65%

Grand total of construction hardware: 2969 (100%).

The bulk of the above named construction materials were found in association with imported ceramics and glass beads some of which have been dated. For example, five of the companies which manufactured the ceramics have been identified by their trademarks and are known to have operated from the mid-nineteenth to mid twentieth century. Construction materials found at Levels 1 - 3 can thus, be dated by association to that period while those recovered below Level 3 predate the mid-nineteenth century. A large quantity of iron slag was recovered at pre European contact cultural levels at both Upper and Lower Dixcove. This presupposes that the local people smelted

iron and forged metal tools. Macroscopic analysis of some of the iron slag randomly selected revealed the presence of two main types namely: slag with light shiny glass-like vitrified surfaces (Plate 7.8) and iron slag with light smooth surfaces some of which contained structures of what appeared to be large air bubbles. Further investigative work is required to establish their chronological implications and the smelting techniques employed by early Dixcove smelters. Table 7.21 below shows the quantum retrieved according to unit and stratigraphy level: No slag was found at Units 3, 4 and 6.

Table 7.21. Table showing the quantum of slag recovered according to units and stratigraphy level.

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 5	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2 (20-40)	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
3 (40-60)	-	-	-	5	2	1	-
4 (60-80)	7	-	1	10	10	1	-
5 (80-100)	10	1	1	28	17	11	-
6 (100-120)		2	3			10	-
7 (120-140)		1	2			24	14
8 (140-160)		-	2				10
9 (160-180)		4	7				
10 (180-200)		3	7				
11 (200-220)		9	24				
12 (220-240)		13					
Total	20	33	47	43	29	47	24

Establishing chronology for the various metal products recovered was done in association with datable ceramics, Venetian/Bohemian glass beads, the bulk of which were found at Units 2 and 5, between Levels 1 – 9, and imported plastic beads from Levels 1 – 2. Plastic is an early twentieth century invention. Strata levels 1 – 2 from where plastic beads were recovered should therefore be assigned to that period. However, the production and trade in Venetian and Bohemian glass beads extends into antiquity. According to Francis (1995: 64), “the earliest European beads to flood the newly discovered world were Venetian drawn beads”. Francis (1995: 64) further notes that “in the 1500’s and 1600’s, hardly any other sort of glass beads were found along the American Atlantic

coast or in West Africa”. In the light of Francis’s assertions, the construction and hardware materials recovered at Upper Dixcove, particularly those at Units 2 and 5, Levels 4 – 9, should be relatively dated to the post seventeenth century period while those below Level 9 should be assigned to the pre-seventeenth century period.



Plate 7.8. Remains of some metal products from Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 7.9. One of the few larger fragments of iron slag from the study area. Note the glass-like vitrified surface (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

Lawrence’s (1963: 292 – 298) assertion that Fort Metal Cross experienced several sieges and bombardments during the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries also appears to support the above dates because this situation would have necessitated regular refurbishment and additional structural alterations to repair and enhance the forts’s security. The large quantum of metal objects associated with building and construction bears testimony to the regularity of construction work

undertaken on the fort during the period. Establishing chronology for the Lower Dixcove metal assemblage was more difficult because very few datable European materials like ceramics, glass beads and smoking pipes were retrieved there. It would therefore be unscientific to assign dates to the metal assemblage recovered there.

7.8.2. Imported red bricks

Imported red bricks were another construction material recovered at Dixcove. A total of 20 pieces were recovered. Except for three, all comprised fragments. According to Lawrence (1963: 91 – 95), all the red bricks used for construction of Fort Metal Cross was imported from England by the Royal African Company. The entire jointing, vaulting and coigning of the doorways, staircases and parapets at the fort were also constructed with red bricks all of which had standardized sizes of 17.7 x 12.7 x 4 cm. Together with locally sourced granite blocks, lime (derived from burnt mollusc shells) and wooden planks, they constituted the principal building materials used for building the fort. The breakdown according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values is presented below in Table 7.22.

Table 7.22. Table showing breakdown of red bricks according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values.

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
2 (20-40)	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
3 (40-60)	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
4 (60-80)	-	-	--	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
5 (80-100)	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
6 (100-120)		-			-	-		-	-	-
7 (120-140)		3			--			-		-
8 (140-160)		2			-					
9 (160-180)		-			-					
10 (180-200)		--			-					
11 (200-220)					-					
12 (220-240)										
Total / Percentage value	7 35%	7 35%	0 0%	0 0%	4 20%	0 0%	2 10%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Grand total of imported red bricks: 20.

7.8.3. Tar dado

Another imported building material recovered at Dixcove was tar dado of which a total of 11 pieces were recovered. The breakdown is as follows: surface survey - 3, Unit 1 – 1, and Unit 2 - 7. According to Lawrence (1963: 91), it had two important uses in the building industry. First, it served as a strong insect deterrent, and second, it served as an anti-corrosive agent. It is probable that those recovered may have been used for these purposes.

7.8.4. Asbestos Roofing sheets

Also retrieved from Upper Dixcove were 30 fragments of imported dark-red coloured fired clay roofing tiles. All were “S” shaped in section and protuberance. A few also showed signs of vitrification attested by their uneven heavy dark green spotted bubbly surfaces.

7.8.5. Daub

A total of 102 pieces of daub was recovered. The breakdown according to Units is as follows: Unit 2 – 33, Unit 7 – 38, and Unit 8 – 31. The bulk measured less than 27 cm. along their longest axis and approximately 6 – 13 cm. across their widest axis. They were remarkably hard and mottled with dark-red to dark-grey blotches on their interior and exterior surfaces. A total of 7 out of the 100 were characterized by short furrowed striations measuring 7 – 13 cm. long, indicating they had been used as plaster materials around wooden poles or a similar material. A few had also been thinly plastered on both their exterior and interior surfaces. Petrographic analysis of the plaster at the Department of Earth Sciences Laboratory, University of Ghana, revealed several unevenly dispersed sub-rounded granulites (mainly feldspars and quartz). Some of the daub also contained within their fabric fragments of grey coloured angular-shaped grounded mollusc shells evenly dispersed in the fabric.

7. 9. Indulgence, entertainment and leisure.

A total count of 2,557 pieces of glassware comprising mostly bottles, and 415 smoking pipes constituted the main items associated with indulgence, entertainment and leisure recovered. The bulk of the glassware totaling 2,526 (representing 98.7% of glassware) was recovered from below ground context at Upper Dixcove. Thirty one fragments (representing 1.21% of glassware) were recovered from surface context at Upper Dixcove while none was retrieved from the surface at Lower Dixcove. The bulk of the glassware assemblage comprised mostly fragments, and only 41 out of the total were whole bottles. A total of 407 out of the smoking pipe assemblage was retrieved from Upper Dixcove, 8 from Lower Dixcove, while none was retrieved during the surface survey. A total of 401 were stems measuring 3 – 6.5 cm. long with the remaining 14 consisting bowls. To facilitate analysis and classification, the entire inventory under indulgence, entertainment and leisure was broadly categorized into three groups namely: alcoholic beverages, non alcoholic beverages and imported smoking pipes. Each group is comprehensively described and analysed below. The breakdown of glassware and smoking pipes recovered according to Units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values are shown in Tables 7.23 and 7.24 below.

Table 7.23. Table showing total count of bottles according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values.

Stratigraphy	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	7	69	-	2	11	12	-	1	13	8
2 (20-40)	25	67	-	4	33	48	2	-	1	45
3 (40-60)	40	263	2	9	41	75	-	-	3	82
4 (60-80)	4	166	-	10	92	12	-	-	-	80
5 (80-100)	-	184	-	17	117	-	-	-	-	7
6 (100-120)		199		18	163					4
7 (120-140)		237		9	27					-
8 (140-160)		148		-	19					-
9 (160-180)		56			2					
10 (180-200)		60			4					
11 (200-220)		28			-					
12 (220-240)		-			-					
Total /	76	1477	2	69	509	147	2	1	17	226
Percentage value	3.0%	58.4%	0.07%	2.73%	20.0%	5.8%	0.07%	0.03%	0.67%	8.94%

Grand total of imported bottles: 2,557.

Table 7.24. Table showing total count of imported smoking pipes according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values.

Stratigraphy	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 3	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 7	Unit 8	Unit 9	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	8	2	-	0	14	0	0	-	3	0
2 (20-40)	8	3	-	1	31	1	1	-	1	0
3 (40-60)	13	14	-	3	18	0	0	-	0	2
4 (60-80)	0	13	-	4	16	0	0	-	0	0
5 (80-100)	0	10	-	2	34	0	0	-	0	0
6 (100-120)		2		0	21					0
7 (120-140)		23		1	21					0
8 (140-160)		28		0	27					0
9 (160-180)		23			12					
10 (180-200)		49			2					
11 (200-220)		4			0					
12 (220-240)		0								
Total / Percentage values	29 0%	171 %	0 %	11 %	196 %	1 %	1 %	0 %	4 %	2 %

Grand total of imported smoking pipes: 415

7.9.1. Alcoholic beverages

Schnapps, gin, champagne, wine, whisky, and beer bottles accounted for approximately 75.7% of glassware assemblage (representing 1,936 pieces). The bulk of the alcoholic beverage bottles were retrieved from Units 2 and 5, between Levels 3 - 7. They comprised various parts such as rims, shoulders, bodies and bases. In Unit 2, alcoholic beverage bottles were recovered from all 11 stratigraphic levels (0 – 220 cm.) except at Level 12 (220 – 240 cm.) which contained only items of local manufacture. In Unit 2, the quantum was particularly significant between Levels 3 – 8, accounting for approximately 81.04% of total count for that unit. In Unit 5, alcoholic beverage bottles were similarly retrieved from all 10 stratigraphic levels (0 – 200 cm.) except Level 11 which again contained only items of local manufacture. At Unit 5, the quantum was significant from Levels 4 - 6 accounting for 73.08% of total count for that unit. Table 7.25 below shows the quantum of the various types of alcoholic beverages recovered according to units and their percentage values. Note that no alcoholic beverage bottle was recovered from Units 3, 7 and 8.

Table 7.25. Table showing the quantum of the various types of alcoholic beverages recovered according to units and their percentage values.

	Alcoholic beverage type	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total count of beverage type	Percentage value of beverage type
1	Gin / Schnapps	21	1226	19	103	69	5	92	1535	79.2%
2	Whisky	4	77	8	24	3	1	11	129	6.6%
3	Wine	2	18	6	81	19	3	19	148	7.64%
4	champagne	-	5	3	12	-	-	-	20	1.03%
5	Beer	4	87	3	3	2	-	5	104	5.37%
	Count by unit	31	1413	39	223	93	9	127	1936	100%

A total of 29 (representing 0.98%) out of the 1,936 alcoholic beverage bottles were identified as case bottles. All were retrieved at Units 2 and 5, from levels 4 -6. According to Beck (1977: 48 - 50), case bottles were associated with gin exports from the seventeenth century onwards. He described them as tall square-based, rectangularly hunched with squared-off shoulders and short stubby necks.

Dark green and light green bottles constituted the predominant alcoholic beverage container colours at Dixcove. Dark green bottles identified as gin / schnapps containers accounted for over 79% (total count – 1,535) of the alcoholic beverage assemblage and dominated in lower stratigraphy levels. Comparatively, light green bottles identified as beer bottles accounted for 5.37% (total count 104) of the alcoholic beverage assemblage and dominated in the upper stratigraphy levels. At middle strata levels, the quantum was balanced. There were also a few olive-coloured (yellowish-green), white and dark-brown fragments in the assemblage identified as champagne, whisky and wine bottles. It must be noted however that they were very few with a total count of 297 representing 15.34% (refer Plates 7.5 and 7.6).

Four bottle shapes dominated the alcoholic beverage assemblage. The first comprised short-necked torpedo-shaped bottles (to hold beer). The second comprised rectangular-shaped bodies, also with short necks and push-up bases (to hold schnapps and gin). The third group consisted of rectangular-shaped bottles with wider bodies around the shoulder areas (also to hold schnapps and

gin), while the fourth comprised elongated round-shaped bottles with long necks. Some within this group also had kick-up bases (to hold champagne, whisky and wine). The writer was able to determine which type of alcoholic beverages the various bottle types described above contained with reference to Doreen Beck's "*Book of Bottle Collecting*" (1977).

Establishing winery, distillery, chronology and country of origin was difficult because of the very fragmentary nature of majority of the bottles which had an average area of less than 10²cm. A sizable number had also developed patches of patina of no identifiable shape and size along several portions of their exterior and interior surfaces, which further exacerbated identification. Only 5 fragments were lettered with some form of identification, trademarks and seals. The majority originated from distilleries in England and The Netherlands. The quantum, location of the brewery or distillery, and identification mark which were embossed on the shoulder and bases are shown below. Due to their fragmented nature, some of the writings embossed/printed on the bottles were missing. The dash sign below represents the missing letters on those bottles.

<u>Trade mark / seal.</u>	<u>Distillery, location.</u>	<u>Count /Unit / level</u>
(a) 'Star and Stork with a Worm' . (Schnapps)	J. H. Henkes Company, Holland.	4 / 2 / 3, 4, 6 & 7
(b) <i>AVDE</i> monogram (Gin)	A. van den Elaarf distillery, Schiedam, Holland.	1 / 2 / 4
(c) Merkles		1 / 2 / 6.
(d) T & J. (Beer)	Hunt Brewers, Branbury, England.	1 / 5 / 6.
(e) ---	Bansley Bottling Company, England.	1 / 2 & 5 / 5, 7.
(f) F.C.C.	--	2 / 5 / 6
(g) Walkers Kilmarnock (Whisky)	Kilmarnock, Ayshire, Scotland. (began production in 1865 – present. www.wikipedia.org)	3 / 2 / 4, 5 and 7.

(h) ---- ?	Belfast	2 / 2 / 5, 7.
(i) Falcon Ba----- ? (Trademark: Reindeer horn) (Whisky)	England.	1 / 2 / 6
(j) F.AS. ----?	“	1 / 2 / 4.
(k) Blanxenhym & Nolet. (Trade mark: key) (Champagne)	Schiedam, Holland (established 1714 – present).	1 / 2 / 6.
(l) Eagle Whasekame & Co. (Trade mark: Eagle) (Whisky)	Holland	3 / 2 & 5 / 3, 4, 5.

Other items associated with European imported liquor included 13 alcoholic beverage stoppers, 3 glass pewter caps and 8 bottle spigots. All 13 beverage stoppers were recovered from Units 2 and 5, one each from Unit 2 Levels 2 and 3, and two each from Levels 4 and 6. At Unit 5, one each was retrieved from Levels 3 and 4, three from Level 5 and three from Level 7. Three of the pewter caps were recovered from Unit 2 Levels 3 and 5, and Unit 4 Level 4, while one spigot was retrieved from Level 3 of that same unit. The three other spigots were recovered from Unit 2 Level 4 and 5, another three from Unit 2 Level 3, 6 and 7, and two from Unit 5 Level 3 and 4.

Five of the liquor bottles had caked dark-brown talc-like substances embedded at their bottoms which easily disintegrated between my fingers after applying little pressure. While these impregnations could not be positively identified, it does suggest that liquor bottles were re-used by the local populace for other purposes aside storage of liquor after the original liquor contents had been consumed and the bottles discarded. The lengths of all 5 bottles measured 24 – 26 cm. long, had a body and mouth diameter of 9 – 12 cm. wide, and 2 – 2.5 cm. respectively. Since their shapes and sizes were very similar, it does suggest these attributes may have predisposed and determined the new functions to which they were put by the indigenes.

There are multiple references in historical records indicating liquor constituted a major European export to the Gold Coast (Feinberg 1989: 50, DeCorse 2001: 148 – 149, Bennet and Brooks 1965: 118). This probably accounts for the over 79% of alcoholic beverage bottles recovered. According to DeCorse (2001: 159), prior to the eighteenth century, the bulk of liquor exported to the Guinea Coast was shipped in casks, large jugs and barrels with only a small quantum being transported in glass bottles. Glass bottles however became popular in the eighteenth century. Chronologically, this puts the bulk of liquor bottles recovered at Dixcove to the post eighteenth century era. That the bulk were retrieved at middle stratigraphic levels at Units 2 and 5, between Levels 4 – 8 which are post eighteenth century stratigraphy levels supports this assertion. The bulk of the imported glassware items probably constituted trade items but the possibility of some being personal items originating from the fort cannot be overruled.



Plate 7.10 Some alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverage bottle stoppers from Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 7.11. Schanapp/gin bottle remains from Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.9.2. Non-alcoholic beverage bottles.

Other glass bottled items of indulgence recovered included pomade containers, toilet water bottles, ‘torpedo’ shaped soda water bottles, scented oil bottles, pickle jars and syrup bottles. Other notable items included “Perrier” mineral water bottles, fragments of panes of mirrors which had lost their reflective mercury coating, lavender and perfume bottles. Perfume bottles in particular constituted the single most veritable among the lot named above totaling 107 out of a grand total of 306 for non alcoholic beverage containers which constitute 12.3% was of total glassware. The breakdown of the various non-alcoholic beverage bottles according to units and their percentage values are shown in Table 7.26 below.

Table 7.26. The breakdown of the various non alcoholic beverage bottles according to units and their percentage values.

	Non alcoholic beverage type	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 9	Unit 10	Total count of Non alcoholic beverage type	Percentage value of non alcoholic beverage type
1	Pomades	-	5	3	7	-	-	1	16	5.22%
2	Scented oils	-	14	7	14	-	1	-	36	11.7%
3	Mirrors	1	7	-	9	-	-	-	17	5.55%
4	Syrups	2	16	2	12	-	-	-	32	10.4%
5	Perfumes / lavenders.	3	39	16	48	-	1	-	107	34.9%
6	Toilet water	4	16	3	23	-	-	-	46	15%
7	Pickle jars	1	9	1	9	-	-	-	20	6.5%
8	Mineral water	4	16	3	6	-	-	-	29	9.4%
9	Soda water	-	1	-	2	-	---	-	3	0.98%
	Count by unit	15	123	35	130	-	2	1	306	100%

The eighteenth century according to Beck (1977: 80) was “a great age for perfume bottles” and may have accounted for the relatively sizable number of 107 recovered in the study area. DeCorse (2001: 161) has noted that the nineteenth century witnessed more diverse bottle forms and shapes, due primarily to technological improvements in the bottle manufacturing industry. These new bottle forms became important receptacles for new exotic European export items like Vaseline, tobacco snuffs and perfumes.

Like ceramics, the bulk of the glass bottle assemblage totaling 2,133 (representing 83.41% of non-alcoholic beverage containers) were retrieved from Units 2 and 5 at Upper Dixcove, especially around the immediate vicinity of the fort at Upper Dixcove which several historical records intimate was heavily settled by the local people. Only 393 (representing 17.6% of non alcoholic beverage containers) were retrieved from Lower Dixcove. This is testimony that Upper Dixcove may have been the commercial epicenter in the past.



Plate 7.12. Fragments of some non alcoholic soda water beverage bottles (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

7.10. Imported Smoking pipes

A total of 415 imported clay smoking pipes were retrieved from the research area. All were well-fired and relatively well-preserved with smooth well-burnished surfaces. A total of 26 from Units 2 and 5 at Upper Dixcove also displayed charred marks and evidence of extensive use-wear attested by light-brown colouration and several striation marks.

Only 4 bowls out of the total were marked or decorated. The remaining 411 (representing 99.03%) were plain without marks and manufacturer attribution logos. Establishing the production company and country of origin was thus, difficult. DeCorse (2001: 165) has noted that the bulk of smoking pipes manufactured in England, continental Europe and America after 1800 were largely

unmarked, while shapes and sizes of the bowls were also very similar. He attributed this to the demise of the Gouda pipe industry, the leading manufacturer of smoking pipes during the period which opened up the market for competitors elsewhere to step up production of the commodity for export. Only four of the bowls were marked with some form of decoration or inscription. The first displayed flowery patterns at the point where the bowl attached the stem. The second had a bulging ridge around the rim. The third bowl had the “*TD*” trademark embossed at its base, while the fourth had the word “LONDON” inscribed at the base of the bowl.

Two bowl variations designated Bowl Types A and B, (distinguished by measuring bowl diameter and bowl height) were identified. Bowl Type A had bowl diameters of 25 – 26 mm. and measured 32 – 34 mm. high. Two each of Bowl Type A which numbered 8 in all were retrieved from Units 2 Levels 5 and 6. The remaining 4 bowls designated Bowl Type A were retrieved from Unit 5, one each from Levels 5 and 7, while two were retrieved from Level 8. Bowl Type B totaled 6, and had average bowl diameters of 30 mm. while bowl height was 40 – 42 mm.. Two were retrieved at Unit 4 Level 3, one from Unit 2 Level 4, and another one piece from Unit 5 Level 3.

Establishing the stem-bore diameters of the 401 stems using an electronic digital caliper proved more useful as chronological indicators than the bowls. The use of stem-bore diameter as a dating technique was pioneered by Harrington who applied it to British pipes in the early 1970’s (Harrington 1978). Experiments by Schirire (1990) has also shown that the scheme can be used successfully to date smoking pipes of Dutch origin if the assemblage is large enough. Table 7.27 below presents results of the stem-bore measurements of the 401 stem fragments analysed. Total count according to units and stratigraphy levels are also shown in the table. Note that no smoking pipes were recovered from Units 3 and 8 at Dixcove. The stem-bore diameter of 382 smoking pipe

stems (representing 95.2%) recovered ranged between 1.74 – 2.36 mm. 11 measured 0.062 mm. (2.7%), while 8 measured 2.48 mm. (1.9%).

Table 7.27. Table showing results of stem-bore measurements of the 401 stem fragments analysed, and count according to units and stratigraphy levels

Unit	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
Unit 1	1	2	-	3	3	-	-
	2	-	1		4	3	-
	3	-	4	3	4	2	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total: 29							

	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
Unit 2	1	-	-	--	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	-					
	4	1	1	1	-	-	-
	5	2	6	3	10	8	-
	6	1	4	1	1		
	7	-	4	6	7	17	6
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	-	7	7	11	5	-
	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
	12						
Total: 171.							
	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
Unit 4	1	-	-	-	-	---	-
	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3	-	-	1	1	1	-
	4	-	-	-	1	3	-
	5	-	-	-	-	2	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	
	7	-	-	-	-	1	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total: 11							
	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
	2	-	2	2	-	1	1
	3	--	4	-	3	-	-

Unit 5	4	2	1	-	2	2	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	1	1	-	1	3	1
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	1	7	3	5	-	-
	9	1	2		1	1	-
	10	-	-	-	-	-	--
	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total: 49							
Unit 6	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
	3	-	-	-			
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total: 1						

Unit 7	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3	-	-	-	---	-	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total: 1							

Unit 9	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
	1	-	1	-	2	-	-
	2	-	-	-	---	1	-
	3	-	-	-	-	--	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total: 4						
Unit 10	Strata level	Stem-bore diameter (mm) / Stem count.					
		0.062mm	1.74mm	1.97mm	1.99mm	2.36mm	2.48mm
	1	-	-	--	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	---
	3	-	-	-	1	1	-
	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total: 2.							

According to Harrington (1978: 27 – 31), the bulk of smoking pipes manufactured in the mid-seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries had stem-bore diameters of 1.74 – 1.99 mm. The alignment of the bowl-stem joint of the Dixcove smoking pipes also indicates that the broken stem was parallel to the horizontal plane of the rim. According to Harley (1963: 24), this shape conforms to English pipes of the last decade of the seventeenth century and after. The bulk of the Dixcove smoking pipe assemblage should therefore be attributed to English traders and the seventeenth century because they had these bore diameters and shape. This period corresponds with archaeological and documentary information which point to the introduction of tobacco smoking through pipes on the Gold Coast to the seventeenth century (Decorse 2001: 163, Harrington 1954: 1 - 5).



Plate 7.13. Fragments of bowls and stems of European white clay smoking pipes. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

The recovery of imported smoking pipes at all levels especially at Units 2 and 5 attests to their popularity as devices for smoking tobacco among the local people during the period covered by the study. It is also indicative that smoking pipes and probably tobacco, were very likely among the first European imports to have been offered for sale along the Dixcove coastline. That no smoking pipe of local manufacture was retrieved from the study area can probably be attributed to the fact

that imported smoking pipes were acquired with relative ease which made the manufacture of local ones unnecessary.

7.11. Clothing and dressing accessories.

7.11.1. Glass Beads.

A total of 1,640 artifacts associated with clothing and dress accessories were recovered at Dixcove. All were imports and comprised 596 Bohemian glass beads, 1,028 Venetian glass beads and 79 imported plastic beads (the majority of which were disc-shaped, refer Plate 7.9 below). Others comprised 9 dress buttons, 5 metal bangles and 2 metal rings. Except for 3 glass beads (representing 0.18%) which were retrieved from surface context, the remaining 1,637 (representing 99.8%) of artifacts associated with clothing and dress accessories were retrieved from excavations at Upper Dixcove with only one glass bead coming from Unit 6 at Lower Dixcove. No beads were recovered at Units 3, 7, 8, 9 and 10. Majority of the beads including those from lower levels were relatively well-preserved having retained their main characteristic attributes like colours and shapes. A total of 33 out of the lot had their ends partly fragmented or unevenly chipped. The breakdown of beads according to units, stratigraphy level and their percentage values are shown below in Table 7.28.

Table 7.28. Table showing total count of imported glass beads according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values.

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6
1 (0-20)	1	81	0	275	0
2 (20-40)	4	166	0	90	1
3 (40-60)	1	131	10	96	0
4 (60-80)	0	44	19	125	0
5 (80-100)	0	104	13	97	0
6 (100-120)		98	9	41	
7 (120-140)		52	4	23	
8 (140-160)		61	0	10	
9 (160-180)		37		0	
10 (180-200)		16		0	
11 (200-220)		12		0	
12 (220-240)					
Total	6	802	55	757	1

Two types of Venetian beads were identified. The first type is generally referred to as Cane Venetian beads, while the second type is called *Millefiori* (Italian for “a thousand flowers”). A few of the latter were characterized by transverse feather trails. Before 1849, *Millefiori* beads were called mosaic beads. Francis (1995: 64 – 65) has also noted that the vast majority of *Millefiori*, mosaic and chevron beads originated from Venice and Bohemia (also called Czech beads). Francis (1995: 64) notes:

“The earliest European beads to flood the newly discovered worlds were Venetian drawn beads. In the 1500’s and 1600’s, hardly any other sort of glass beads are found along the American Atlantic coast or in West Africa”

Venetian glass beads were made primarily by winding and drawing. According to Francis Jr. (1995: 54 – 56), wound beads are made by winding or wrapping hot glass in a circular motion around a shaft to build up the beads. The finished bead always reveals the twisting action of the bead maker and impactions in the glass such as streaks in color and bubbles will be seen having encircled the perforation.

A total of 729 of the glass beads from Dixcove comprised multi-coloured drawn beads. 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).

A small number of the imported glass bead assemblage from Dixcove also comprised moulded beads. This type of beads is 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 center while still molten to create a perforation to allow for stringing. The complex patterns were achieved “by

Plate 7.13. Plate showing some locally manufactured and imported beads from Dixcove.

Some locally manufactured and imported beads from Dixcove



Plate 7.13. Above are pictorial depictions of some beads from Dixcove: A - Bauxite beads

(probably from Akyem Abompe located north east of the research area), B – imported plastic beads, C – variety of imported glass beads, D – Bohemian beads and E – Venetian millefiori/mosaic drawn beads.

adding prepared fancy elements to the surface of the bead” during the manufacturing process. Other complex decorative patterns were achieved by coating, bunching together several unicoloured rods or by simply laying atop one another hot strips of glass (Francis Jr.1995: 59). Also recovered from Unit 2 Level 2, 3 and 4, and Unit 5 Levels 3, 4, 5 and 6 were 17 locally manufactured bauxite beads traditionally called *nsamso* at Dixcove. This category of beads, all of which were tubular and disc shaped, are reddish-brown in colour and are most likely to have been manufactured at Akyem Abompe, located in the Eastern Region of Ghana.

Akyem Abompe has over a century old tradition of manufacturing bauxite beads, much of which was exported to other localities in Ghana (Shaw: 1945). Other coastal sites far from Akyem Abompe where bauxite beads have been recovered from archaeological excavations in veritable numbers include Asebu (Nunoo 1957: 16) and Segra (Biveridge 2005: 89).

Five bead shapes were identified which were: spherical shaped beads – 191 (representing 11.76% of total glass bead recovered), barrel shaped beads – 64 (representing 3.94%), disc shaped beads – 824 (representing 50.73%), tubular shaped beads – 68 (representing 4.18%) and seed shaped beads – 477 (representing 29%). These are presented below according to units in Table 7.29.

Table 7.29. Table showing bead classification according to shapes and Units

Beads recovered according to area/ unit	Discs shaped beads	Seed shaped beads	Barrel shaped beads	Spherical shaped beads	Tubular shaped beads
Surface context	3	-	-	-	-
Unit 1	3	3	0	0	0
Unit 2	541	177	29	41	14
Unit 4	23	31	14	1	19
Unit 5	254	266	20	149	35
Unit 6	0	0	1	0	0
Total	824	477	64	191	68
Percentage of total	50.7%	29.3%	3.94%	11.76%	4.18%

The Dixcove bead assemblage also appeared in both monochromes – 1,069 (representing 66% of total bead assemblage), and polychromes 555 (representing 34% of total bead assemblage). Red, green, and yellow constituted the main colours associated with the former while red, blue, yellow, gold, green, white and wine constituted the dominant colours associated with the latter which also had colour ranges of 2 - 7 simultaneously displayed in a variety of patterns on a bead.

The bulk of the glass beads retrieved from Dixcove should be assigned to the early nineteenth to early twentieth century because they were found in association with datable European ceramics which have been dated to that period.

7.11.2. Metal Rings

Two iron rings and 5 iron bangles, all heavily corroded, perhaps as a result of the sea breeze were recovered. All but one of the bangles which was flat was decorated on its exterior side with three geometric punctured designs. The inner side however was undecorated. On top of one part of another was a large rounded bulge with a semi-circular design atop it. Corrosion had eroded much of the other half. It was thus not possible to certify the type of decoration. Another was affixed with an almost rounded ball. Two of the bangles with an approximate width of 3 mm. appeared to have been molded from an intertwine of two copper wire rods. Their ends were unsoldered which meant they could be opened or closed allowing for usage around different parts of the body like the ankle, wrist, arm and neck.



Plate 7.14. One of five iron bangles and one of two iron rings recovered from Upper Dixcove.
(Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.5.2. Dress Buttons.

All the dress buttons recovered from the Dixcove excavations were made from plastic and metal, three from plastic, two from copper and seven from brass (Plate 7.15). All lacked back-markers which would have established manufacturer and probable country of origin. However, all were well-worn, as evidenced by their dull vitreous interior and exterior surfaces. The two copper buttons were recovered from Unit 1 levels 2 and 4. Four of the brass buttons were recovered at Unit 5, two each from Levels 4 and 6, while the remaining two brass buttons were retrieved from Unit 4 Level 5. All the plastic buttons were retrieved from Unit 2 Levels 1 and 2.

Except for two which were of the same design and size, the remaining seven were different in shape and design. According to Kipfer (2007: 13), “button size is expressed in lines/linges, with 40 lines equal to 1 inch (25.4 mm.)”. This places sizes of all 9 buttons to 12 – 68 lines in diameter.

Shapes also varied and ranged from near rounded-discs (3 in number) to squares, with smooth rounded edges (2 in number). Two were broken in the middle along the buttonnieres (buttonholes). The other halves were not recovered. All nine buttons had two buttonnieres each which ranged in diameter from 1 – 3 mm. Also recovered was part of a brass hook, probably part of a belt to fasten clothing or other apparel to the body.



Plate 7.15 .European dress buttons from Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

7.6. Healthcare and medical accoutrements

7.6.1. Pharmaceuticals.

Also identifiable among the glassware were a number of fragmented pharmaceutical bottles, poison and chemical suppositories, and household cleaning containers such as those used to store ammonia. Another unique discovery was a microscope dish (Plate 7.16). A total number of 315 was registered for all of the above items representing about 12.3% of the total glassware assemblage. Like the other glassware assemblage, the bulk of this category of items were retrieved from Units 2 (47%), and 5 (53%) at all levels of the stratigraphy except at the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels of 10 for Unit 5 and 11 for Unit 2 respectively .

Herbal preparations have for centuries been used by man to alley skin irritations and promote healing. According to Blakeman (2010: 226), in the eighteenth century, medicines particularly ointments made for export were packaged in galipots and small barrel-shaped pudding bowls and pots. These were replaced in the nineteenth century by straight sided transfer printed pots which rarely exceeded 5 cm in length, with details of the manufacturer, retailer and the compounds embossed on their sides. In the latter half of the twentieth century, shallow dishes with transfer printed lids and glass jars with ceramic button lids became popular.

A total of 65 of the glass bottle assemblage comprised transparent bottles, 237 comprised semi-transparent blue, green and brown bottles. The majority displayed heavy patina on their exterior and interior surfaces. The largest pharmaceutical bottle measured 19 x 5.2 cm. while the smallest measured 8 x 3 cm. A few pharmaceutical containers which were positively identified by their inscriptions and trademarks embossed on them are shown below. The date quoted against each pharmaceutical product below was made with reference to Alan Blakeman's (2010).book *Blakeman's Bygones Review*.

<u>Pharmaceutical product</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Unit / stratigraphy level/ probable date</u>
(a) Fishers seaweed Extract.	England.	Unit 5, Level 6. circa, 1890 – 1920.
(b) Handysides Blood Food	“	Unit 2 Level 5. circa, 1900 – 1920.
(c) Kruschen salt	“	Unit 2, Level 6. circa, 1900 - 1920
(d) Bailay Castor Oil.	“	Unit 2, Level 5. circa, 1930 – 1950
(e) Sloans liniment	“	Unit 2, Level 3. circa, 1940 – 1950
(f) Vaseline	Chessabough, New York.	Unit 5, Level 3. circa, 1930.
(g) Liqufruta cough syrup.	England.	Unit 2 Level 1. circa 1950.

The relatively high count of pharmaceutical bottles suggests that Western medicines was heavily patronized by the indigenous population and was not limited to the English residents of the fort

only. It is worth noting however that most of the bottles were recovered at mid-twentieth century occupation levels.

Also recovered at all levels of the stratigraphy were large numbers of local pottery similar to current ethnographic models in use at Dixcove for preparing traditional medicinal concoctions (refer to Table 7.3. where Vessel Type U9, Fig. 7.9, has been recovered from almost all stratigraphy levels). This suggests that issues pertaining to health and sanitation were a priority and of serious concern not just for the English but also the local people. The use of traditional medicines probably persists to date.



Plate 7.16. Microscope dish (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)



Plate 7.17. Transparent pomade holding repositories from Unit 2. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)



Plate 7.18. Light-blue medicinal suppositories from Unit 5. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.6.0. Water Storage and Filtering Devices.

The majority of outbreaks of diseases like typhoid in England in the early twentieth century stemmed from ill equipped unhygienic drainage and poor water supply systems many of which were made out of inefficient wooden pipes (Blakeman 2010: 291). Health and sanitation issues thus featured prominently on the minds of English seafarers and residents of English forts on the

Gold Coast, and concerted efforts were made to produce clean drinking water for daily household chores. Recovered at Unit 5 Level 4, was the base and lower body of a ceramic water filter (Plate 7.19). Its flat circular base measured 18 cm. in diameter, while the body fabric was 1.2 cm. thick. Partly embossed on its side was the inscription “Doulton”. It was probably manufactured by the Doulton Water Filter Company, at Lambeth, near River Thames, which has been producing quality water filters from 1827 to present (www.google.com/doultonwater).



Plate 7.19. Lower body of Doulton water filter (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

Located 2.7 metres north from the fort’s former ammunition and artillery depot is an old large underground water cistern which was an integral part of the fort’s original structural design. It appears to have been dug out of a large granite bedrock because its circular sides are all composed of granite. Its location, central to the surrounding accommodation quarters is advantageous because it easily traps rainwater from the overhanging rooftops. It is still in use and constitutes the main source of water for the fort’s current residents.

7.7. European weaponry and firearms.

The earliest documentary record attesting to the use of European firearms in a conflict situation on the Gold Coast was between the Etsi and Asebu in 1692 (DeCorse 2001: 168). Some of the earliest European weapons to be introduced onto the Gold Coast included axes, half-pikes and crossbows (Hemmersam, quoted in Jones 1983: 132). The trade and use of European firearms during the sixteenth century was small, and limited to the smooth-bore muskets which became the principal European firearm on the Guinea Coast (Vogt 1979: 45, 155 – 57, 192). The European firearms trade however burgeoned in the second half of the seventeenth century, due primarily to activities of interloper captains, increased local demand, and competition among European traders to supply the commodity. The coastal trade in European firearms also expanded during this period to include more efficient firing mechanisms like the snaphance, flintlock and wheel lock (DeCorse 2001: 169, Kea 1982: 207 – 208). Gunpowder and bullet lead also became more plentiful and constituted an integral aspect of the firearm trade on the coast (Bosman 1967: 184 – 185; Muller, quoted in Jones 1983: 193; van Dantzig 1978: 82, 264 - 265). During the post-eighteenth century era, an estimated 20,000 firearms, mainly of European origin, were imported annually to the Guinea Coast (Alpern 1995: 19)

A total of 52 heavily fragmented objects of European weaponry were recovered. They included 2 heavily worn gray-black coloured gunflints retrieved from Unit 2 Level 6, and 2 fragments of shell from Unit 2 Level 4. According to Ivor Noël Hume (1976: 220), “English flints from the East Anglian mines were invariably either grey or black and are easily distinguishable from the French, which are variously described as honey-colored, blond or brown”.

The others comprised 42 canons, and part of a musket recovered from Unit 5 Level 5. Gunflints retrieved from archaeological contexts are usually associated with European firearms. DeCorse (2001: 171) however has cautioned that they were also used as strike-a-light. He postulates that

most of the gunflints recovered at Elmina Old Town were used for this activity. The majority had battered edges or distinctive “U” shaped wear patterns which suggests they were used and reused as strike-a-light.

All the canons with their decrepit carriages were unserviceable and were found within the immediate precincts of the fort. The largest consisted of 2 nine-pounders located on the southeast bastion and 2 very large canons of unknown poundage located southwest on the spur curtain facing the anchorage at the cove. Others included 12 six-pounders and 16 four-pounders on the spur facing south to the sea, and 10 one-pounder on the north bastion facing the town. All the cannons were of English origin with the insignia “GR” and “G.R.A.C” embossed on them (Plates 7.14 and 7.17). According to Kwamina Aggrey (per. com 21st June, 2011), Senior Tour Guide of Fort Metal Cross, the “GR” is the trade mark of George Rex Company Limited, after the company which manufactured them. The “G” in “G.R.A.C” stands for for King George, then king of England while the “R.A.C” represents the Royal African Company which imported and installed them at Fort Metal Cross.



Plate 7.20. Insignia of king George on one of the cannons (Picture: Fritz Biveridge) .



Plate 7.21. Cannon balls from Upper Dixcove, the one on the left was recovered from Unit 4. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 7.22. Cannons and their carriers located between spurs on the fort's south curtain wall. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)



Plate 7.23. One of 12 cannons directed north towards the town of Dixcove. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.8. Education related materials and literacy

A total of 154 artifacts associated with education and literacy were recovered. It comprised 148 fragments of slate boards and 6 fragmented slate pencils representing 0.78% of total recovered finds and 16.23% of imported artifacts respectively. It is worth noting that 123 pieces out of this total (representing over 80% of total educational materials recovered) were confined to upper stratigraphy levels namely, Levels 1, 2, 3 and 4 at Units 2 and 5 at Upper Dixcove, and Level 1 at Unit 10 at Lower Dixcove. Some items found in association with the education related materials at the levels named above include imported ceramics and plastic beads which have been dated to the late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century. Since these stratigraphy at Units 2, 5 and 10 are undisturbed, these dates can be assigned to the educational materials under study.

Examination of the writing slates under magnifying glass revealed a concentration of several irregular, and jagged scratch marks and fine wear patterns concentrated along their inner central portions which indicated extensive use and their antiquity. Their recovery is suggestive that writing and instructional education may have been undertaken inside the fort. Their breakdown according to units, stratigraphy, and their percentage values are shown in Table 7.30.

Table 7.30. Table showing total count of slate boards / slate pencils according to units, stratigraphy levels and their percentage values.

Stratigraphy levels	Unit 1	Unit 2	Unit 4	Unit 5	Unit 6	Unit 10
1 (0-20)	-	1	-	--	5	1
2 (20-40)	-	2	-	-	10	62
3 (40-60)	1	-	1	-	2	30
4 (60-80)	-	9	-	-	-	4
5 (80-100)	-	1	-	8	-	3
6 (100-120)		-	-	1		-
7 (120-140)		-	-	2		-
8 (140-160)		2	-	-		-
9 (160-180)		2		1		
10 (180-200)		1		-		
11 (200-220)		-				
12 (220-240)		-			17	
Total /% value	1 (0.67%)	18 (12.16%)	1 (0.67%)	11 (7.43%)	17 (11.48%)	100 (67.56%)

Grand total of writing slate: 148.



Plate 7.24. Writing slate pencils and slates from Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.10. Stone grinders.

A total of 16 stone grinders were recovered during the Dixcove excavations. Of this number, 5 were discovered at Upper Dixcove during the surface survey and comprised stationary grinders firmly jointed to the underlying bedrock. Another 9 were recovered from Unit 2, and 2 from Unit 5. All except 3 of the grinders were complete

They were all worn and appeared to have experienced extensive usage evidenced by their very smooth middle grinding areas which were generally 2 – 3 cm. lower than the outer less smooth surrounding ends which were irregularly shaped. Examination with a hand-held magnifying glass revealed their crystalline structures were generally homogenous, finely grained with very few internal fractures. The stationary grinders were bigger compared to those recovered from the excavations. All the 16 recovered grinders did not conform to any particular shape and appeared to have been hacked from the surrounding granite and gneiss bedrocks which constitute the principal rock types along the Dixcove coastline because they had the same dark-grey colourations and joint

formations. The grinders indicate that pulverization constituted one of the methods used by the people to process foods at Dixcove.

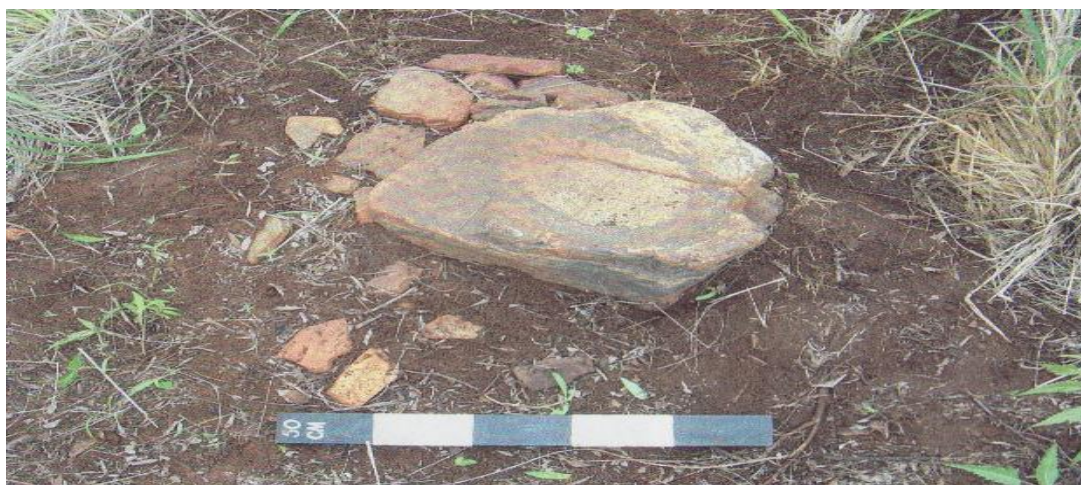


Plate 7.25. One of several grinding stones found at Dixcove. (Fritz Biveridge).

7.8. Household accessories.

Two well corroded silver spoons, 1 fork and 5 metal blades probably knives (representing 0.23% of total metal objects) and 98 fragments of tea cups, drinking glasses and serving bowls (representing 3.8% of total glass products) constituted the only household items recovered at Upper Dixcove. The metal items named above were de-salted by boiling in water and sun dried to remove caked debris. This was done to expose any manufacturer attrition marks which may have been embossed on them to facilitate identification.

The bulk of the glassware which comprised parts of tumblers, carafes and soup bowls were retrieved from Levels 1 – 3, at Units 2 and 5. These levels have been dated relatively to the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century by association with datable European ceramics from the same levels (refer to section 7.9. on imported culinary and gustatory items). The mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century can therefore be assigned to the various household accessories identified above.

The total count of household glassware items at Dixcove compared to liquor bottles is relatively low. Similar low count recoveries have been recorded at nearby coastal sites like Elmina (DeCorse 2001: 163). Their paucity can probably be attributed to two factors namely the popularity of locally manufactured bowls, mugs and other accoutrements for eating and drinking like calabashes over imported glass bowls and jugs and their high cost. The remaining 2,137 glass fragments (representing 83.57% of total) could not be positively identified. They probably functioned as multi-purpose storage containers for other products after their original contents had been used.



Plate 7.26. Fragment of deep serving bowl.



Plate 7.27. Fragment of soup serving bowl



Plate 7. 28. Fragment of tea cup. (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

7.9. Illuminants.

Three pieces of broken glass belt-jars believed to be a lantern shade and a disc-shaped baked clay dish with a broken base constituted the only artifacts associated with lighting which were recovered at Dixcove. The former, believed to be part of imported lantern was recovered from level 4 at Unit 5. It consisted of a thin piece of clear transparent glass, with two small irregular-shaped light green films of patina measuring 1mm thick and 4.7 cm. across its widest axis.

The latter which was a locally made lighting device measured 7 cm. in diameter across the widest axis and was hallowed in the middle, probably to hold oil. It was not possible to guesstimate its height because part of the neck and upper concave body was not recovered. Parts of the outer rounded edges of the dish was blackened with soot. The sharp concave curvature of the neck suggests the base of the device was ogee (trumpet) shaped.

Chapter Eight

Discussion and conclusion.

8.1. Introduction.

Chapter Eight is divided into two sections. The first attempts a comprehensive reconstruction of past socio-economic, cultural, and political life-ways of both the English settlers and indigenes at Dixcove based on the cumulative evidence derived from the study. Topics covered under the above are: ethnicity, settlement and migration histories of the people of Upper and Lower Dixcove; early vocations, subsistence and adaptive strategies; the relevance of Fort Metal Cross in the socio-economic and political history of Dixcove; early demographic structure of Dixcove; trade, exchange and its impact on Europeans and the indigenous populace; social and cultural lifeways of the local people and the English residents of Fort Metal Cross; patterns of acculturation and continuity at Dixcove; literacy and European education and relations between the English and the local people. The second section details some salient conclusions derived from the three year study.

8.2. Discussion.

8.2.1. Ethnicity, settlement, and migration histories of the people of Dixcove.

The people of Upper and Lower Dixcove currently consider themselves as belonging to the Ahanta ethnic group. Ahanta is also the principal medium of communication and they have adopted several cultural traits of the Ahanta such as the *Kundum* festival which they celebrate every August. This however was not the case in the past because oral traditions of the people intimated that their ancestors were originally Akan who migrated from Eguafu and Takyiman to settle at Dixcove because of security concerns. Though both groups were unable to assign specific dates as to when the migrations occurred, they averred it predated the arrival of Europeans.

Some scholars have supported their assertion of migrating from distant areas. Lawrence (1963: 292) and Owusu-Ansah (1995: 91) for example, have asserted that ancient Dixcove consisted of two states whose ancestors had migrated in two separate streams, each governed by its own tribal council/paramount chief, and who were independent of the Ahanta tribe, the country immediately inland, and states bordering the coastline for many miles to the east and west.

The writings of several early European traders also appear to support their assertion that they were originally not Ahanta. Jean Barbot (1732: 151 - 154), Agent-General of the French West India Company for example, did not name Dixcove as one of the villages making up the Ahanta Kingdom which he described as “extending two leagues, between Boesire (Butre) and Sama (Shama); and which comprised the villages of Boetre, Poyera, Pando, Sacunde, Sama, Anta and Tacorary”. He also did not mention Dixcove (Infuma) even though it was located only three kilometers west of Butre (Boesire) which he visited and mentioned several times in his writings.

It appears from historical evidence that the change in ethnicity (from Akan to Ahanta) occurred around the early seventeenth century because European records predating this period did not refer to the indigenes of Dixcove as Ahanta, while those postdating this period referred to them variously as “*Anta*”, “*Antele*”, and “*Hanta*” (Barbot 1732:145 - 146; Bosman 1705:12). Two hypothetical explanations which should be considered tentative for now appear to have accounted for the ethnic change at Dixcove. These were namely:

(a) Ancient Dixcove except for the south which was bordered by the sea was completely encompassed by Ahanta settlements (see Map 5.1), a situation which would have made the Ahanta the more predominant and preponderant of the two ethnic groups (Ahanta and Akan), enabling the former exert stronger cultural influence and assimilate the smaller migrant Akan, and

(b) The economic and political ascendancy of Dixcove (arising from vibrant trade links with European traders especially after the construction of Fort Metal Cross) would have attracted neighbouring Ahanta and Nzema populations to settle there. The quantum rise in pottery, faunal and botanical remains evidenced in the archaeological record at levels representing the post Atlantic contact period (refer Figures 8.1 – 8.10) attests to population expansion at Dixcove and buttresses the argument that people living in the surrounding communities may have migrated to Dixcove). The widespread prevalence of typical Ahanta and Nzema names like Blay, Gyam, Meizah, Akablay, Abrema and Ackah among the current local populace appears to support the above assertion. An ethnically mixed demographic structure would have promoted inter-ethnic marriages, expanded cultural and commercial contacts and facilitated ethnic change in the long run.

The terms “Upper” and “Lower” used in the thesis to refer to the two Dixcove states is a recent development and post dated the arrival of Europeans to the Dixcove coastline. They were coined by the colonial government during the tenure of Governor Major Hill to differentiate the two communities for administrative purposes and collection of the poll tax (PRO. T 70/1483: 1779). The study also revealed that even though the two states were politically independent of each other and remain so to date, early European records called both states Infuma (also Efiema).

An issue which the research could not verify was which of the ancestors of the two states first occupied Dixcove. The issue which is currently in dispute and contentious constitutes one of the central problems facing the people because both groups claim they were the first to do so. To support their claim of earlier occupation, the ruling house of Lower Dixcove named over thirty outlying towns, villages and hamlets under its jurisdiction as evidence to support and justify its claim as against Upper Dixcove which currently has none. Some of the towns are quite expansive

and include Medinya, Ellobuakata and Ajumako among others. It must be noted however that political jurisdiction over outlying villages cannot be relied upon or regarded as attestation of earlier occupation. It is arguable because it is not incontrovertible evidence that one's ancestors were the first to settle a place. Primary contextual archaeological data which could have facilitated the establishment of veritable chronological sequence for the two settlements has been disturbed by on-going constructional work around the vicinity of Fort Metal Cross by the foreign investor named earlier. The situation has also been exacerbated by the convoluted settlement pattern at Upper and Lower Dixcove which made the recovery of primary archaeological data difficult because houses have been built on the original settlement. Further investigations involving the demolition of some houses in the ancient settlement quarter at Upper and Lower Dixcove, and removal of part of the concrete pavements around Fort Metal Cross would be required in the near future to ascertain the veracity or otherwise of these claims.

Evidence of two distinct cultural levels at Upper and Lower Dixcove clearly supports the oral traditions and historical sources that the two settlements predated the arrival of Europeans. The first designated Cultural Level 1 (a pre-Atlantic contact cultural period) lay between the sterile and the base of Cultural Level 2 at Units 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. It measured approximately 20 cm. thick from the base of Cultural Level 2 to the sterile level in Units 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8. At Units 7 and 9, it measured 60 cm. thick from the base of Cultural Level 2 to the sterile level; while it measured 40 cm. thick at Unit 10 from the base of Cultural Level 2 to the sterile level (refer Tables 6.2 – 6.12). Cultural Level 1 contained only cultural materials of local origin like pottery, fragments of tuyere, daub, iron slag, palm kernel shells, bones and molluscs. The clear absence of European imports at Cultural Level 1 is testament that the occupation period there predated the arrival of Europeans.

The second, designated Cultural Level 2 (Atlantic contact period) overlay Cultural Level 1, and contained a mix of veritable quantities of cultural materials of external origins and some of the local materials named above. The former included imported white clay smoking pipes, glass beads, imported ceramics, slate pencils and boards, metal implements and glass bottle fragments. Cultural Level 2 clearly belongs to the Atlantic contact era because both groups of cultural materials were recovered in tandem.

8.3.1. Early vocations, subsistence and adaptive strategies.

The material inventory provided valuable insights into past vocations, subsistence, and adaptive strategies of the ancestors of the people of Dixcove. The archaeological evidence indicated that exploitation of off-shore and on-shore food resources, iron smelting, exchange/trade, horticulture, 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 and gold mining, historical and oral traditions claim that they were also important and constituted an integral aspect of the local economy in the past.

8.3. 2. Off-shore fishing.

Fishing was undoubtedly the most important coastal adaptation and mainstay of the people in the past. That a significant proportion of the ecofacts retrieved comprised *Pisces* remains bears testimony to this assertion. According to DeCorse (2001: 103), fishing has an extensive history on the Gold Coast which long predated the advent of Europeans. Attesting to its importance in the late seventeenth century, Barbot (1992: 519) also asserted:

After that of merchant, the trade of fisherman is the most esteemed and commonest. Fathers bring their children up to it from the age of nine or ten. Every morning a very large number of fishermen come out from the land for

up to two leagues. There are many of them from Axim, Anta, Commendo, Mina, Corso, Mouree and Cormentin, but more at Commendo and Mina than elsewhere”.

He also noted that fishermen occupying the eastern coastal belt (Axim, Anta, Mina, Corso, Mouree and Cormentin) were exceptionally skilled fishermen (Barbot 1992: 519). Cruickshank (1966: 3 - 4) observed that the main tool kits of indigenous fisher-folks during the nineteenth century comprised small wooden skiffs, metal and wooden traps, and grass matting sails. Some off-shore species identified from the recovered remains included *Prionoche glauca*, *Alecti alexandrines*, *Istiophorus albicans*, *Caranx crysos*, and *Decapterus rhonchus*.

8.3.3. On-shore fishing.

Several early European records also documented the importance of on-shore fishing in the community. Barbot (1732: 186) noted that:

“They have a peculiar way of catching fish in the night time; along the strand, by means of round wicker baskets, fastened to long poles, holding the pole in one hand, and in the other, a lighted torch, made of a sort of fierce burning wood. The fish generally make towards the light, and so are taken in the baskets”.

Arius heudeloti, *Clarias gariepinus*, and *Clarias gariepinus* constituted some on-shore species identified among *Pisces* remains at Dixcove. Oral traditional narratives of the indigenes support early European assertions of the existence of a vibrant fishing industry. According to these narratives, fishing practiced in antiquity, engaged a large number of the local populace especially during the bumper fish season and generated wealth for people directly and indirectly engaged in it. Those indirectly involved in the industry included women engaged in fish processing and preservation, salt production and cane workers who produced traps used on-shore in lagoons and

streams to catch crustaceans and fish. Respondents intimated that fishing in the lagoons and streams in the region was more widespread during the main off-fishing season.

8.3.4. Molluscs exploitation.

The exploitation of marine and freshwater molluscs was another important vocation of the people supported archaeologically with the recovery of 11,428 shellfish remains (middens) belonging to a variety of species. Those recovered in veritable quantities included *Arca senelis*, *Arca afra*, *Thais haemastoma*, *Tagelus angulatus*, *Semifusus morio* and *Donax rugosa*. *Pitaria timens*, *Patella safiana* and *Terebra sp.* constituted species which were not recovered in large numbers. According to respondents, all of the above named species were exploited for food. This is indicative that the molluscs remains recovered are food related waste. European writers including Barbot (1732: 76) and Bosman (1705: 115) intimated that shells such as *Arca senelis*, *Arca afra* and *Terebra sp.* were burnt to derive lime while the inedible parts were utilized as bait to catch fish off-shore. Their recovery from the earliest occupation levels to surface level suggests their continuous exploitation extending into antiquity. Nineteen very large shell middens measuring approximately 1.524 x 3.048 m. (5 x 10 ft) were noted during the reconnaissance survey along the town's extensive beachfront. Further inland at different locations were also several less prominent ones composed mainly of *Arca afra* and *Arca senelis*.

As noted earlier, the greater proportion of the above named bivalves measured 120 – 155 mm. across their longest axis, and had their natural creamy to pale yellow exteriors discoloured to light-grey colour which attest to their antiquity and over-exposure to vagaries of the tropical weather. According to Edmunds (1978: 23), *Arca afra* and *Arca senelis* when fully-grown measure 150 mm. averagely. This suggests that the bulk of what was exploited in the past consisted of the larger fully matured ones. This presupposes their plentiful supply in the remote past because had they

been scarce, midden sizes would have been smaller and contained greater proportions of the smaller immature ones. The large quantum recovered, especially at the post European contact period attest to the following:

- (a) That population levels during the Atlantic contact period was significantly larger, compared to the pre Atlantic contact period (refer Table 7.1.-7.10. on increasing quantum of molluscs exploited). The significant increase in shellfish remains could also have been due to change in taste which would have necessitated their greater exploitation.
- (b) That consumption of shellfish was widespread and constituted an integral part of traditional diet, and
- (c) That molluscs exploitation constituted an important aspect of the subsistence economy of the people in the past.

8.3.5. Iron smelting and forging.

Data on indigenous iron production and trade in locally produced iron products among pre-historic societies along the Guinea Coast has generally been sporadic and unbalanced in terms of geographical distribution and smelting methodology. This has culminated in a dearth of information about its antiquity and its different developmental phases. This handicap notwithstanding, the Dixcove excavations and recent archaeological investigations elsewhere have shown that iron working was widespread and well established along the Gold Coast long before the arrival of Europeans, unlike brass casting which became important after European contact. In the Birim Valley for example, slag has been found at the lowest occupation level which corresponded in the late first millennium A.D. context, while the Coconut Grove site near Elmina also yielded slag and tuyeres which have been dated to circa, A.D. 1000 - 1400 (DeCorse 2001: 124). According to Pole and Posnansky (1973), early furnaces used by coastal smelters were small with natural draft shafts which had openings at

their bases to promote aeration and facilitate slag removal. During the seventeenth century however, much of the iron smelted was heated on open hearths using hide bellows made out of goat or sheep skin. Anvils consisted of large flat-faced iron ore and stone blocks upon which the tool being produced was continually beaten to the required shape with a hand held hammer (Muller, quoted in Jones 1983: 254). Studies by Kense and Okoro (1985: 451) have also shown that traditional smelters could generate temperature ranges of 1,150 – 2,000° centigrade to yield wrought iron (bloom) and non liquefied low run-off ferrous mass carbon content slag of about $\leq 1\%$ Centigrade.

The Dixcove excavations provided insightful information on the iron smelting industry and its economic and environmental repercussions on the people. A total of 243 pieces of slag with a total weight of 52.741 kilograms was recovered during the excavations. Of this number, 133 were recovered at pre-Atlantic contact levels as against 110 at the European contact period. Also recovered at the pre-Atlantic contact level were 4 pieces of tuyeres. That more slag was recovered at pre Atlantic contact levels than during the post Atlantic contact levels appears to support the notion that the technological know-how of iron smelting and smithing was well-developed and thriving at Dixcove before Europeans arrived there. That it would have required the use of hardy tools fashioned from iron to successfully undertake manually dexterous vocations like gold mining and horticulture which several historical records posit were common pastimes of the people supports the assertion that the industry was thriving, probably even booming before European contact.

However, it is worth noting that the period consequent to the arrival of Europeans saw a gradual decrease in the quantum of slag recovered suggesting there was gradual decline in production till about Levels 2 and 3 when its recovery ceased altogether in the archaeological record. The industry probably declined considerably after that period. (Refer Table 8.1 – 8.6. below).

Table 8.1. Table showing decreasing quantum of iron slag recovered at Unit 1.

Unit 1			
Atlantic contact cultural levels	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	Tuyeres
	1	-	-
	2	3	-
	3	-	-
	4	7	-
Pre- Atlantic contact Cultural level	5	10	-
Total		20	0
Percentage of total		9.43%	0%

Table 8.2. Table showing decreasing quantum of slag recovered at Unit 2

Unit 2			
Atlantic contact cultural levels	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	tuyeres
	1	-	-
	2	-	-
	3	-	-
	4	-	-
	5	1	-
	6	2	-
	7	1	-
	8	-	-
	9	4	-
	10	3	-
	11	9	-
Pre -Atlantic contact cultural levels	12	13	-
	13	16	-
Total		49	0
Percentage of total		23.11%	0%

Table 8.3. Table showing decreasing quantum of slag recovered at Unit 5

Unit 5			
Atlantic contact cultural levels	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	tuyeres
	1	-	-
	2	-	-
	3	-	-
	4	1	-
	5	1	-
	6	3	-
	7	2	-
	8	7	-
	9	9	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels	10	13	-
	11	11	-
Total		47	0
Percentage of total		22.16%	0%

Table 8.4. Table showing decreasing quantum of slag recovered at Unit 7.

Unit 7			
	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	tuyeres
Atlantic contact cultural levels	1	-	--
	2	-	-
	3	5	-
	4	10	-
Pre- Atlantic contact Cultural level	5	28	-
Total		43	0
Percentage of total		20.28%	0%

Table 8.5. Table showing decreasing quantum of slag recovered at Unit 8.

Unit 8			tuyeres
	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	
Atlantic contact cultural levels	1	-	
	2	-	
	3	2	
	4	10	
Pre- Atlantic contact Cultural level	5	17	
Total		29	0
Percentage of total		13.67%	0%

Table 8.6. Table showing decreasing quantum of slag recovered at Unit 10.

Unit 10			
	Strata levels	Quantum of slag recovered	tuyeres
Atlantic contact cultural levels	1	-	-
	2	-	-
	3	-	-
	4	-	-
	5	-	-
	6	-	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels	7	10	-
	8	14	-
Total		24	0
Percentage of total		11.32%	0%

The following represents the quantum of iron slag recovered in pre-Atlantic and Atlantic contact period cultural levels: Unit 1: 10 pieces each at pre-Atlantic and Atlantic contact period cultural levels. Unit 2: 29 in the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels and 20 in the Atlantic contact period cultural levels. Unit 5: 24 in the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels, and 23 in the Atlantic contact

period cultural levels. Unit 7: 28 in the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels, and 15 in the Atlantic period contact cultural levels. Unit 8: 17 in the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels and 12 in the Atlantic contact period cultural levels, and Unit 10: 24 in the pre-Atlantic contact cultural levels, and 0 in the Atlantic contact period cultural levels. There was no slag in Units 3, 4, 6 and 9.

While the archaeological data provided ample evidence of declining levels of slag during the Atlantic contact period, it did not provide any veritable evidence to explain why this occurred. The problem is further exacerbated by the unavailability of historical and archival sources regarding the issue at Dixcove. It was thus, difficult to scientifically provide an explanation. However, it is worth noting that several historical sources (Daaku 1970: 38; DeCorse 2001: 6, 134, 174; Kense & Okoro 1985: 457; van Dantzig 1980: 26) assert that a wide variety of metal products like knives, pewter basins, metal cauldrons, brass pots, hoes and mattocks constituted important imports to the Gold Coast. Aside the above manufactured products, Europeans also brought in large quantities of iron ingots, brass and copper bars, rods, wires and bracelets (manillas) in variable lengths which were melted down and recast by local smiths into a variety of household products like hatchets and knives. According to Aitken (1886: 319):

A considerable quantity of the brass wire made in Birmingham finds its way to the Gold Coast, to Old Calabar, in the form of what are called “guinea rods”, one hundred of which, each three feet in length, of Nos. 4 and 5 gauge in thickness, packed up in deal cases, and being at their destinations, sold in exchange for palm oil. Large numbers of rings made of solid brass wire, about seven-sixteenths thick and three and a quarter inches diameter, made of wire, are also sent to the Gold Coast. A smaller size of brass wire (a little thicker than ordinary pin wire) is converted by being wound around spits into spirals like an ordinary check bell spring,

and is also exported to the locality for purposes of ornament and personal decoration.

Herbert (1984: 133) has guesstimated that the various European nations trading on the Guinea Coast collectively exported some 1-1.4 million pounds of copperware there annually. Goucher (1981) also noted that European nations exporting iron bars, wires and ingots to local markets they controlled flooded them with iron produced with sulfur. This drastically reduced production cost and made them cheaper. It is thus, not improbable that imported iron wares were cheaper, easily available and were procured with relative ease, a situation which would have reduced demand for locally produced blooms and iron products which were of better quality but commanded higher equitable prices. Pole (1982) has noted that indigenous iron production required a high level of skill and time. Thus, where the market value was not sufficient to compensate such commitment, there would have been little incentive or encouragement to continue production, a situation which may have contributed to declining production levels, collapse and gradual demise of the local iron working industry at Dixcove.

8.3.6. Horticulture.

The recovery of 1,752 palm kernel shells (*Elaeis guineensis*) constituted the only direct archaeological evidence attesting to horticulture as a vocation at Dixcove. Their quantum and recovery at all levels (pre Atlantic contact period and Atlantic contact period) amply demonstrated its extensive and continuous cultivation in the research area. According to Barbot (1732: 576), oil palm was widely cultivated by several ethno-linguistic groups on the Gold Coast before the arrival of Europeans. Other equally important widely cultivated crops documented in historical records included African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*), sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*), millet (*Pennisetum*

miliaceum), cowpeas (*Vigna unguiculata*), fonio (*Digitaria exilis*) and a variety of tubers (*Dioscorea spp.*) (Clark and Brandt 1984, Lewicki 1974, Mauny 1954).

Several early European writers also alluded to the importance of horticulture in the past. Bosman (1705: 305) for example noted: “Besides trade, the inhabitants employ themselves in agriculture and fishing, the first of which proves reasonably profitable”. Barbot (1732: 185 and 186) also intimated that “the land affords plenty of provisions and abundance of fine large oranges”. Dickson (1969: 78 - 79) has also noted that Dixcove and its neighbourhoods yielded the largest corn harvest on the Gold Coast. He named rice, cocoyam and sweet potato as other cultivated staples which contributed significantly to the agricultural economy of Ahanta-land. It appears from early European records that slash and burn farming was the principal method of preparing the land because according to Barbot (1732: 196):

“when the seed time is at hand, every Black marks out a spot he likes, which is usually on rising grounds near their towns and villages and having promised to pay the usual rent to the officers appointed to that purpose, the kings being lords of all the lands, the head of the family, assisted by his wives, children, slaves, if they have any, sets fire to the shrubs and bushes, which for the most part overspread the earth, or else cut them close to the ground, for they will seldom bestow the pains of grabbing up the roots, for which reason, they soon sprout up again, yet they think it sufficient for sowing their seed to turn up the ashes of the shrubs and bushes with the earth slightly, which they do with a sort of tool or spade call'd *loddon* and are so dexterous at managing it, that two men will dig as much land in a day, as one plow can turn over in England”.

Horticulture at Dixcove was likely to have been undertaken using labour intensive methods with much of the labour force probably comprising members of the extended family and friends. Wages

were likely paid in kind because according to de Marees (1987: 111) and Muller (quoted in Jones 1983: 220 – 221), it was customary on the Gold Coast to feed and provide palm wine to family members and labourers who assisted in this enterprise.

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. This was attested by the retrieval of 14 heavily corroded metal implements, probably parts of billhooks, cutlass blades and the tang of a hoe (refer Plate 7.7). According to Barbot (1732: 392), de Marees (1987: 28 & 52) and Jones (1983: 220-221), these constituted some of the principal cultivation tools during the historic period.

The proliferation of European tools and the introduction of several varieties of South American cultigens like maize, tomatoes (*Lycopersicon lycopersicum*), pineapple (*Ananas comosus*), guava (*Psidium guajava*), avocado (*Persea americana*), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) most likely transformed local cultivation strategies and the food types exploited. According to DeCorse (2001: 111 - 112), these introductions did not only impact local consumption patterns and the crop varieties available but also led to the development of new technological innovations and production of new vessel forms required to process them. He cites for example, bread and *kenkey* (made from corn) which was common along the coast during the seventeenth century. Urbanization and expanding coastal markets, consequence of the coastal trade would have stimulated production of these new cultigens. The above developments notwithstanding, Ghana's native populations continued to exploit diverse traditional botanical resources because ethnographic studies by Posnansky (1984) identified some 200 of such local plant varieties commonly utilized by ethnic populations in Ghana.

The recovery of 16 grinding stones should also be considered as indirect evidence attesting to crop cultivation because among their several uses include the pulverization of cereals and vegetables. This presupposes such crops were grown in the research area. Their well-worn surfaces and discovery at both pre-Atlantic cultural levels and Atlantic contact period cultural levels clearly attest to their widespread and extended use.

8.3.7. Animal husbandry, hunting and trapping.

Analyses of the faunal remains indicated a wide diversity of fauna was exploited at Dixcove. The recovery of domesticated animal species attests to the practice of animal husbandry. All the faunal remains were identified as belonging to the phyla *Mammalia*, *Reptilia*, *Pisces* and *Aves*. They included dwarf short horn goat, sheep, chicken, guinea fowl and different species of molluscs. That all four phyla types were found in tandem at all levels of the stratigraphy clearly indicated their exploitation extended into antiquity. The recovery of remains of undomesticated species also attests to the importance of hunting and trapping as a major subsistence strategy at Dixcove. Species exploited included wild game from the phyla *Mammalian* and *Reptilia*. The following constituted species identified under the former: giant rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*), baboon (*Papio anubis*), cane rat (*Cricetomys gambianus*), wild pig (*Potamocheerus proms*) and grasscutter (*Thryonomys swinderianus*); while monitor lizard (*Varanus noloricus*), tortoise (*Kinixys spp.*) and giant ground pangolin (*Manis gigantean*) were identified as belonging to the latter. Of the two undomesticated species, *Mammalia* was the more exploited evidenced by the larger number recovered. The study of fracture and striation marks on *femora* and *ulnae taxa* of both domesticates and undomesticates at Dixcove provided valuable insights into past hunting and consumption patterns. That some of the bones recovered displayed jagged fracture lines as opposed to straight linear lines indicated the use of traps, sometimes accompanied by butchering

with large blunted objects may have constituted the principal means of trapping game rather than the use of traditional iron-tipped arrows or spears. Similar lines on domesticated animal bones indicate cracking bones using heavy flattened surfaces to reach the marrow was an important butchering technique. Roasting game over open fires may have constituted one method utilized by the local population to process meat, evidenced by several charred marks on bones. However, it is also possible they were the result of lighting fires (a common hunting technique) or refuse burning, since some of these bones were recovered from Units 2 and 5 which were clearly large ancient refuse disposal bins.

8.3.8. Salt production.

There was no evidence in the archaeological record attesting to salt production and gold mining. It was thus, difficult to archaeologically evaluate the contribution of the two industries to the local economy. Several historical sources however assert that salt production was an important vocation of Ghana's coastal populations (Alexander 1985: 655 - 656; DeCorse 2001: 2, 53, 11, 120, 140 - 1426). A 1602 report by de Marees ([1602]1987: 201) claimed that the best salt ponds on the Gold Coast were located in Ahanta-land. Daaku (1970: 25) has also noted that salt produced on the coast was highly prized and keenly patronized by both local and European traders. While the former trooped to production centres along the coast to buy and resell salt in the hinterland, the latter exchanged various European trade items for it and resold it elsewhere on the coast for profit. In 1716 for example, Dutch traders exchanged £120.00 worth of firearms for salt (R.R N.B.K.G. 82: 1716). There was a rich corpus of ethno-historical narratives regarding salt production at Dixcove. Nana Acheampong (pers. com. 23 August, 2010 *et al*) intimated that salt production and gold mining were very important vocations in the past with the former vying with fishing as the mainstay of the local economy. According to him, two traditional methods were employed to

produce salt. The first was heavily dependent on natural weather conditions and involved the construction of salt troughs linked by canals to the shoreline to allow the flow of seawater during high tide. The mouths of the canals were then blocked when the troughs were full to prevent flow-back during low tide. After weeks of solar evaporation, salt crystals formed on the floors of the troughs. Alternatively, salt was obtained by boiling seawater in large earthenware pots over a large fire. The resultant evaporation left residues of brine at the base which congealed to salt to be harvested after a few days (see also Barbot 1732: 288; Bosman 1705: 205). According to Jones (1983: 244), salt produced using this method was comparable “to the best European salt in taste and colour”.

Salt was widely used in cooking and for the preservation of meats and aquatic resources, in religious offerings, social observances and as a store of wealth (Hopkins 1973: 47 & 164; Fynn 1971: 6 - 7; de Marees [1602]1987: 188; Abir 1970: 119; DeCorse 2001: 140 - 141). Historically, it also constituted an important item of trade in the intra regional trade system. According to Daaku (1970: 23), salt production and its trade on the Gold Coast flourished in the sixteenth century extending about 500 miles inland. There was however a dramatic turn-around in the nineteenth century when Europeans flooded the region with cheaply produced mechanized salt from Europe. According to Alexander (1985: 650), its price on the West Coast fell from about £56 a ton in 1817 to £33 in 1850 and to £1 in the early twentieth century. This was probably the major contributing factor to the collapse and cessation of the local salt industry at Dixcove.

8.3.9. Gold mining.

Like salt production, there was no archaeological attestation to support gold mining at Dixcove. Historical sources however indicate that as early as the 1st millennium, gold was mined in several regions of the Gold Coast and extensively traded across the Sahara to Arabia by the eighth century

A.D. (Leyten 1979: 11, Boahen 1980: 60 – 61, Beckles and Shepherd 2007: 18). Oral traditional accounts also indicated that small quantities of alluvial gold were harvested around the Dixcove neighbourhoods especially along the beachfront after heavy downpours (Nana Agyebu IV, pers. com 20 December, 2010). These sources further intimated that several indigenous miners from Dixcove migrated every year to Wassa, Sefwi and Aowin located north-west of the research area during the wet season to mine gold. According to Dumett (1987: 226 – 227) and Garrard (1980b: 51), these regions had abundant reserves of gold. Mining for this group of miners was seasonal and was undertaken on part-time basis in the wet season when there was abundant supply of water to wash gold bearing rocks.

Respondents identified three methods of mining gold in the remote past. These were alluvial panning (undertaken along river banks, estuaries and along ocean shores), shallow pit mining (undertaken alongside hills) and deep shaft mining for reef gold (Nana Acheampong pers. com. 13 August, 2010, Okyeame Steven pers. com. 21 August, 2010, Joseph Aggrey pers. com 24 August, 2010, & Kweku Ansa-Tibo pers. com. 25 August, 2010).

8.4. Trade, exchange and its impact on Europeans and the indigenous population.

Cumulative evidence indicated that three trade systems operated simultaneously in the research area namely: (a) an intra regional trade network with coastal and inland populations on the Gold Coast like Wassa, Ncassa, Fanti, and Nzema. (b) Exchange with neighbouring polities on the Atlantic seaboard like Ivory Coast, Benin, and Whydah, and (c) The inter-continental Atlantic trade with different Europeans company's and European interloper traders.

All three trade systems contributed significantly to the growth and development of the local economy. Barter and the use of gold weights constituted the main methods used to facilitate exchange during this period along the Dixcove coastline. Pieter de Marees ([1602]1987: 65)

writing in 1602 asserted: “they do not use any money or coins to pay each other and when they buy anything they pay each other with gold using weights”. According to Garrard (1980a: 301), this changed in the late nineteenth century when the use of coins became widespread and integral to 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, *quaqua* cloth, *cori* beads, leopard skins, pottery, staples and shellfish (Daaku 1970: 5 – 7, Barbot 1732: 433, Fage 1967: 42). Pottery undoubtedly was one product imported by the people of Dixcove because mineralogical analysis undertaken on potsherds recovered there indicated they did not contain minerals found in Dixcove. The clay from which the pots were made was probably sourced from neighbouring settlements located north of Dixcove where quartz and plagioclase feldspars contained in the pottery are also found. According to Daaku (1970: 6), Blake (1997: 93) and DeCorse (2001: 142), early European traders exploited to their advantage the big and ready market for *quaqua* cloth (also called *adra* or Benin cloth) and *acori* beads on the Gold Coast by procuring large quantities of it from the Ivory Coast and Benin where they were produced en-masse and reselling them on the Gold Coast for profit. Dutch traders from 1633 – 1634 for example, brought in 12,641 pieces of *quaqua* cloth to the Gold Coast (R.R. O.W.I.C. No. 11/: 1633) and (R.R. O.W.I.C. No. 11/4: 1634). Their active involvement in the intra regional trade network according to Daaku (1970: 6) caused frequent tensions between them and native traders which occasionally erupted into clashes.

A substantial proportion of *quaqua* cloth and *acori* beads were also re-exported to big inland markets like Waankyi, Incassa and Nsoko by local coastal traders who played important roles as middlemen. Contact with European traders did not only increase the volume of goods traded through this trade network but also diversified it creating new vistas of trade in Europe and the

New World. For instance, in 1686 staff of the Royal Africa Company at Barbados bitterly complained that some *ardra* cloth taken from their vessels, the *Prosperous* and the *Orange Tree* were “short by several pieces [yards]” (PRO. T. 70/1433/7: 1686). The intra regional trade system made possible the transfer of items readily available in one area to less endowed areas with demand for them. Except for shellfish remains which were recovered in veritable quantities (total count 11,428), the paucity of the other commodities in the archaeological record can be attributed to their highly perishable nature and vagaries of tropical weather conditions which generally hinder the preservation of organic materials.

It is uncertain when trade between the indigenes of Dixcove and the English began. According to Lawrence (1963: 292 and 297), its genesis preceded the construction of Fort Metal Cross by about some two hundred years and that Europeans began settling Dixcove only towards the end of 1684. They initially operated from shipboards anchored off-shore transferring merchandise onto small canoes to be ferried on-shore to Dixcove. The volume of trade during this period was small, inconsistent and unorganized. However, this changed in 1631 during the reign of James 1 of England with the granting of charters to the Company of Adventurers of London and The Company of Royal Adventurers which were specifically tasked to search for, and exploit the gold resources of Guinea. The latter during its thirteen years of existence exported to England £200,000 pounds of gold (C.O. 1/20 1668), and transported about £100,000 worth of slaves to the colonies (C.O.1.20: 1668). In spite of these seemingly large volumes of gold and slaves exported, its profits did not meet its shareholders expectations because compared to the Dutch trade, it was unimpressive. Its uncoordinated relations with the natives and activities of interlopers hindered it from maximizing profits during its operative years. In 1672, the Stuart Family liquidated The Company of Royal Adventurers and by another royal charter established the Royal Africa

Company which had an elephant superimposed on a castle as its logo. James, the Duke of York was its first operational executive and its monopoly extended over 5,000 miles, stretching from Cape Sallee in Morocco to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. Headquartered at Cape Coast Castle, it also maintained several other forts on the Gold Coast, Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Slave Coast. Apart from its core duty of trading in gold, ivory, timber and later slaves, it was also licensed to build forts, trade factories, recruit troops and exercise martial law in its operational areas (www.blackpast.org).

Brisk and organized trade along the Dixcove coastline began with the incorporation of the Royal Africa Company and its construction of Fort Metal Cross in 1692. From 1674 - 1714, it minted 548,327 gold guinea coins all of which were derived from the Gold Coast (Daaku 1970: 23). It also sponsored 249 voyages to Africa from 1680 – 1688 (www.pbs.org). According to Dow (1927: 4), the quantity of gold coming to England from the Gold Coast was so much that “forty to fifty thousand guinea could be minted at a time”. Leyten (1979: 11) has also noted that gold exported to Britain was estimated at 24,000 English ounces at a value of £100,000.

Apart from playing a central role in the facilitation and transportation of millions of slaves to Europe and the New World, the Royal Africa Company and its successor company the Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa (established 1768) should also be credited for making Britain one of the most successful slave trading nations. From 1640 – 1800, the two companies safely transported 2.7 million African “slaves” out of 3.1 million purchased from the Guinea Coast to different destinations worldwide (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk). In 1750, the Crown opened the Guinea Coast trade to all “free traders” willing to pay 40 *shillings* a year to a new regulated company called Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. It was administered by a committee of nine members elected annually by merchants in London, Bristol and Liverpool. Of exports to the

Gold Coast during this period, Thomas Phillips (quoted in Dow 1927: 51), captain of the *Hannibal* writing in 1693 observed:

“The commodities that are most in demand upon the Gold Coast are blue and red perpetuanoes, pewter basins of several sizes, from one to four pound weight, old sheets, large Flemish knives, iron bars, cases of spirits, blue says, if well dyed, and coral, if large and of good colour. These goods will seldom or never fail of a good market. I also carried there on account of the African company, muskets, niconees, tapseals, baysadoes, brass kettles, English carpets, Welsh plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder etc”

Five factors informed the decision of the Royal Africa Company to site Fort Metal Cross at Dixcove to permanently secure trade with the indigenes. These were: (a) Dixcove’s strategic geographical location (proximity to rich goldfields in Wassa which afforded them a regular supply of pure gold, Lawrence 1963: 292). An August 1811 missive by Samuel Swan, captain of the *Eliza* to his brothers among other things stated: “the gold dust collected from Cape Lahou down to ‘Dix Cove’ is thought to be the purest on the whole coast” (Samuel Swan, quoted in Bennett & Brooks 1965: 50). (b) The relatively calm waters of the cove which provided a safe berthing place for ships to embark and disembark cargo (Lawrence 1963: 292; Dickson 1969: 136 - 137). (c) Dixcove’s proximity to Akyuma and Busua villages which had substantial reserves of timber from which planks and beams for the repair of ships and English fortifications on the Gold Coast was readily obtained (Bosman 1705: 12 - 13; Justesen 2005: 439; Lawrence 1963: 292). (d) Dixcove was endowed with abundant reserves of limestone, granite and gneiss, important raw materials required for the construction and upkeep of English forts (Lawrence 1963: 298), and (e) Palm oil, an important constituent of the coastal trade was readily available at Dixcove (Justesen 2005: 478, Barbot 1732: 151, Dickson 1969: 122).

The extensive and vibrant nature of the coastal trade is proven archaeologically with the recovery of a wide array of exotic European trade goods. Their quantum and variety are phenomenal and bear testimony to their importance and Dixcove's inclusion in the broader global economic system. Table 8.7 below shows the types, total count and percentage values of European trade items recovered from Dixcove .

Table 8.7. Table showing types of cultural materials of European origins, total count and their

	<u>percentage values</u>		
	Cultural materials of European origin	Total count	Percentage values
1	Dress and body adornments (glass beads, metal bracelets, bangles and rings)	1640	10.8%
2	Household items (forks, metal basins, cauldrons, pewters and knives)	11	0.07%
3	Building and construction materials (nails, roofing slates, mattocks, window panes and door hinges).	2696	17.8%
4	Entertainment, leisure and lifestyle items (alcoholic and non alcoholic beverages and smoking pipes)	2972	19.7%
5	European ceramics (plates, bowls, jugs and mugs)	1657	10.9%

According to several early European records perishable consumables like cloth, cotton sails, leather gloves, old and new dresses, hats, flour, tea, molasses, sugar, tobacco, soap and military supplies like gun powder constituted other novelties imported from Europe in the past (Barbot 1732: 41; Bosman 1705: 265; de Marees [1602]1987: 36; Justesen 2005: 54; Meredith 1812: 28). Unlike non-perishables which were visibly represented in the archaeological record, there was paucity of these cultural materials in the archaeological record at Dixcove. It was thus difficult to scientifically analyze and assess quantitatively and qualitatively their impact on the indigenous populace and the local economy. However, analysis of archival records spanning circa 1650 - 1880 suggests that textiles (mainly cloth), a variety of finished metal implements (hoes, mattocks,

hammers etc), raw metal products (brass, iron and copper bars, wires and ingots), firearms, alcoholic and non alcoholic beverages accounted for about 70% of total European export to the Dixcove area; while body ornamentation items (glass beads, bangles, anklets etc), old and new clothing (dresses, hats, leather materials, wigs etc) and consumables (flour, sugar, tobacco etc) accounted for the remaining 30% (R.R. O.W.I.C. No. 11/6: 1684). Notable exports from the research area included gold, palm oil, salt, ivory, indigo dyes, animal skins and wood products of which gold, palm oil and salt were considered the most important (Justesen 2005: 478, Lawrence 1963: 292 – 295, Daaku 1970: 47). Reporting on the English trade at Dixcove, James Mollan (1st April, 1815) amplified the above assertion when he asserted: “the trade consists of gold, ivory and palm oil for which you give in exchange, India and Manchester goods, also rum, gunpowder, iron and lead bars. There has been no material change since the last state and condition was rendered in” (Mollan, quoted in Metcalfe 1964: 30).

Access to gold and ivory was tied to conditions prevailing in the hinterland where much of the above commodities were derived and issues like wars and the insecurities it generated negatively constrained production. This notwithstanding, the gold trade boomed and during the early sixteenth century for instance, annual gold exports from the Guinea Coast was estimated at about 24,000 ounces (worth about £10,000) with much of this supply coming from the Gold Coast (Daaku 1970: 21). According to Blake (1997: 92-93), Leyten (1979: 11) and Fage (1969: 41 - 43), this was equivalent to about a tenth of total world supply during the period. Trade entries of both the West India Company and the Royal African Company support this assertion. For instance, total cargo of the *Opmer*, a Dutch registered vessel when it docked at *Acra* (Accra) from Benin in 1705 contained only 72 *ackies* (4 marks, 6 ounces) of gold as against 15, 015 pound of rice, 17,925 pounds of ivory and 4,000 pounds of wax. Another Dutch vessel, the *Valk* which arrived from

Congo that same year also had only 10 *ackies* (7 ounces). This was against 651 ounces of gold exported from the Gold Coast to the United Provinces by the same companies that year (R.R. N.B.K.G. 58/123: 1705). Other examples which clearly support this assertion are instructions given to the Masters of the *Neptune* and the *Anna and Jacoba*, two trading vessels of the West India Company prior to being dispatched to the Gold Coast, the Grain Coast and Ivory Coast'. The former was instructed specifically to exchange its cargo of firearms for gold and ivory (R.R. W.I.C. 917: 1705), while the latter was instructed to buy only grain and ivory (R.R. N.B.K.G. 233: 1699).

It is probable that ivory shipped from Dixcove was sourced from the hinterland because according to Daaku (1970: 27 - 28), much of the ivory from the Gold Coast came from thick woodland areas like Gyaman, Ahafo, and Gonjaland located north of the forest belt. Other notable players apart from England and Holland who actively operated in the research area were the Danes, French and Brandenburgers. It has been estimated that a total of 7,000 marks (equivalent to about £224,000) in gold receipts alone was exported from the Gold Coast annually during the early seventeenth century (Bosman 1705: 85, 298).

Although several historical records posit that the trade in slaves was highly profitable and dominated European interest on the Guinea Coast (Bosman 1705: 304; DeCorse, 2001: 10 - 11), the evidence from Dixcove is counter supportive of this view. Two reasons account for this. The first was that all architectural drawings of Fort Metal Cross executed before 1750 did not incorporate a slave dungeon (refer Fig. 8.1 below). According to Lawrence (1963: 32), the fort's two slave dungeons only became an integral part of its designs in the mid-eighteenth century. St Clair (2006: 37) also notes that until 1700, the primary interest of the Atlantic trading nations was to obtain gold and to a lesser extent ivory and not slaves.



Plate 8.1. One of the earliest architectural plans of Fort Metal Cross, circa 1727, by William Smith. (Note the absence of slave dungeons). Source: Public Records Office, London.

The second is that the fort's two slave dungeons are very small, measuring only 4 x 6 m. An experiment to determine its maximum holding capacity revealed each could hold only 15 persons tightly cramped together in a squatting position at a time. This suggests that the trade in slaves was small and probably inconsequential to the local economy when compared to other slave holding entities like Fort St Jago (Elmina), Fort St. Anthony (Axim) and Cape Coast Castle. Another explanation could have been that slaves were kept elsewhere (apart from the fort) and brought to the fort to be traded when ships called there to trade.

Studies by Manning (1990: 22 - 23) has revealed that the slave trade created substantial distortions in local demographic structure because it drew most heavily on young adult males, imbalances which negatively impacted institutions like marriage and sexual division of labour which have direct bearing on socio-economic development. Beckles and Shepherd (2007: xxii-xxiii) have

guesstimated that altogether, some 50 million African lives, mostly males were lost in the process, either through kidnap, slave raids or capture in wars. A substantial number also perished during shipment across the “middle passage” from trauma, hunger or simply thrown overboard due to sickness.

Analysis of the artifactual assemblages retrieved at Dixcove indicated two things. First, that the English did not enjoy a trade monopoly there despite documentary evidence positing that they tried tenuously to prevent traders of other nationalities from directly conducting trade there (DeCorse 2001: 146, DeCorse 1992: 45, Lawrence 1963: 293 & 295, van Dantzig 1980: 33 - 45). Second, that they frequently relied on supplies from other nations to resell at Dixcove. That several of the European finds were identified as originating from outside England bears testimony to this. For example, the bulk of glass beads and smoking pipes were identified as originating from Venice and Bohemia with a small number coming from The Netherlands (Francis 1995: 27 – 39). DeCorse (2001: 147) notes that it was not uncommon during the period of the Trans-Atlantic trade for goods from different distribution points to circulate freely and that occasionally, entire ship cargoes were even smuggled ashore. Portugal for example, sourced much of its textile supplies from Flanders and The Netherland (Vogt 1979: 73 - 74, 146, Milo 1961: 46), while the Dutch bought Rhenish stonewares and Venetian glass beads to sell on the Gold Coast (DeCorse 2001: 147). It is also probable that “free traders” and unsanctioned interloper captains of other nationalities occasionally traded freely at Dixcove. The ease with which gold, palm oil and timber were obtained at Dixcove coupled with the relative calmness of the cove may have attracted these groups of trader there. Also, the close proximity of two Dutch possessions (Fort St. Anthony at Axim, and Fort Batensteyn at Butre), both of which lie close to Dixcove probably facilitated the availability and circulation of goods from The Netherlands to Dixcove. There is overwhelming

documentary evidence to indicate that trade along the Dixcove coastline was not limited to Europeans (particularly the English and Dutch) only but that ships from the New World (New England, New York, New Orleans, Charleston, Newburyport, and Boston) all bustling ports in North America regularly docked there and traded with the natives. American trade on the Gold Coast blossomed from 1776 (after independence of the United States) to about 1812 when much of Europe was embroiled in war, a situation which many New World merchants exploited to their advantage. A report by Samuel Swan, an American trader aboard the *R.I love & Unity* to Jacob Tidd at Elmina dated August 20th, 1809 asserted:

“I have been offered at 17 Gall. pr. oz. to take all my rum, but as I know there is no American on the coast & that all my rum is in demand, I have determined not to sell at less than 15 & I expect by the time I return from ‘Dix Cove’ (which place I am now under weight for) to get an oz for 14 or 13 Gall. The rum is so good that Davison could not sell at 18 pr Oz while I would give 16G. my rum is now my principal object having 74 hhd. still on hand, 60 Bar flour, 50 cases of Gin & most of the cloth & some of the small articles. The Amt sales are at present 16,139 Doll. & the Amt Invoice on hand is 12,725 dollars. I shall go no further up than ‘Dix Cove’ and shall touch at every place from that to Accra, by which time I expect I will have no more on board than I shall want to carry over to Prince Island with me” (Samuel Swan, quoted in Bennett and Brooks 1965: 28)

Another report intimating American presence at Dixcove is contained in Alfred Beckett’s December 14 1835 comments on goods purchased at Dixcove. Beckett served as “Supercargo attendant” and kept the log on the *Gleaner* which was captained by Thomas D. Hunt. Part of the log read:

“December 14, 1835. At 8 A.M. weighed anchor and sailed, and at 4 o’clock P.M. came too at Dix Cove. December 15, 1835. Went on shore-landed

samples. Dined at Mr Brace (coloured). Gov Swansey absent on a visit to Cape Coast. The British have a strong fortification here; and brought on board 19 sacks of peppers. December 16, 1835. Dix Cove. Went on shore in the morning saw a lot of peppers weighed. Dined at Mr Brace in afternoon. My time was occupied the same as in morning came on board at 5 o'clock. December 17, 1835. Dix Cove. In the morning went on shore. Took acct. of wgt. of peppers. Dined at Mr Brace. Sent pepper on board & also took what articles remaining unsold with us and got the Brig underweigh at 5 o'clock and sailed. At 7 o'clock P.M. came to anchor off Boutry" (Beckett in Bennett and Brooks 1965: 168).

While both European and American trade ships called at Dixcove, records show items demanded by American traders from indigenous traders were more varied and to a large extent different from those demanded by European traders. Apart from the traditional gold and ivory, they included items like gum copal, gum myrrh, aloes, tallow, barwood, colombo root, ivory, tortoise shell, rhinoceros horns, hides, bee wax, coconut oil, rice, millet, ghee, camwood and a great variety of drugs (Bennett and Brooks 1965: 157, 222, 247, 281). Exports to Dixcove however were similar to those supplied by Europeans and included textiles, firearms, gunpowder, tobacco, rum, gin and flour.

The coastal trade was essentially a very profitable enterprise for both the English and indigenous populace. A 1772 document titled: *A Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa* published in London which evaluated English trade on the Gold Coast described it, "as the first principle and foundation of all the rest; the main spring of the machine which sets every wheel in motion" (PRO. T. 70/1455. F.1: 1778). Priestley (1969: 3) commenting on Britain's overseas commerce on the Guinea Coast asserted that trade "was the bedrock of her national power". R. Hallett (1963: 196) writing in the *Journal of Africa History* also described English trade there as,

“essentially necessary to the well being” of Britain’s New World Colonies. According to Coombs (1963: 4), English trade on the Guinea Coast was very profitable estimating its total value in the 1850’s to be about five times that of the Dutch. The trade in gold and slaves particularly buoyed the economies of England and The Netherlands. Their competitive zeal to build trade factories on the Gold Coast to deeper exploit her natural and human resources itself is testimony of its profitability.

Admittedly, the quantum of gold, ivory, slaves and other less predominant commodities exported from the Dixcove area will never be known because of gaps and time lapses in the records. The combined data however suggest it was an important commercial entrepot for the Royal Africa Company and its successor companies. That two indigenes of Dixcove in 1710 were able to sell a very large amount of gold reputed to have been worth £1,700 to two English traders attests to Dixcove’s importance as an economic enclave in the past (NBKG 82/1715; Daaku 1970: 40).

The Company of Royal Adventures also claimed it shipped £200,000 and £100,000 worth of gold and slaves (C.O. 1/20: 1668) during its short existence, while its successor company reported that between 1674 -1714, it minted 548,327 *Guinea* coins from gold sourced mainly from the Gold Coast (PRO. T. 70/378: 1703) and shipped 5,000 slaves annually to English colonies in the New World (PRO. T.70/5/31: 1707), and (PRO. T.70/5:1707). Conversely, Africa provided a ready market for English manufactured goods which was reported to be about £130,000 in value in 1720, and £866,000 in 1775 (Hallett 1963: 196).

It appears from historical sources that from the early to about the mid eighteenth century, trade along the eastern Guinea coast including the Dixcove coastline became fortuitous and erratic. According to James Barbot (quoted in Dow 1927: 74), this was largely because inter-ethnic wars

disrupted and created deep seated insecurities inland from where the bulk of gold and ivory was sourced. It plunged the intra regional trade network in a perpetual state of flux and abetted it to the detriment of all the parties. Owusu-Ansah (2005: xxxiv) has documented some of the major wars as follows: Ashante's wars with Denkyira / Akyem Kotoku (1701-1702), Akwamu's conquest of the Ewe of Krepi (1702), Akwamu's failed military campaign against Kwahu (1707), Akwamu's defeat of Kwahu (1708-1710), the Gonja-Dagomba war (1713), Akyems' defeat of Ashante on the Pra River (1717), Akwamu / Fanti campaign against Agona (1724), the Akyem-Akwamu war (1730), Ashante -Akyem war (1742), the Ashante-Gonja war (1744), Ashante-Dagomba war (1745), the 1750 – 51 yearlong Ahanta siege of Dixcove and the Ashantee-Oyo/Dahomey war across the Volta (1764).

Positive impact of the coastal trade on the local economy included the following:

- (a) It facilitated the introduction of motley of European novelties like Western clothing, ceramics, tobacco, glass beads and metal products onto the local market.
- (b) It promoted cross-cultural interactions between the indigenous population and the English at Dixcove.
- (c) It facilitated socio-economic growth and urbanization at Dixcove, evidenced by the large quantum of European trade goods recovered from the Atlantic contact period cultural level. Daaku (1970: 96) for example, notes that flourishing trade around the forts and castles helped propel many coastal villages with forts to cosmopolitan status.
- (d) It promoted migration of neighbouring ethno-linguistic groups to the new commercial hub of Dixcove to exploit new openings for commercial, political and social advancement created by the trade.
- (e) Economically it created employment and wealth for indigenous folk engaged in it at Dixcove, and

(f) It enhanced power of the local political elite some of whom like Thomas Brew were appointed to an administrative position in The Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa branch at Dixcove.

The swamping of the local market with cheap imported products some of which submerged and eventually caused the demise of local industries engaged in producing similar products can be cited as the most outstanding negative consequence of the coastal trade at Dixcove. The salt and iron smelting industries are two examples which can be cited as suffering collapse from influx of European imports.

Another notable characterization of the coastal trade at Dixcove was that the bulk of English trade was undertaken solely by chartered companies registered by the Crown. According to Priestley (1969: 6), this changed after the liquidation of the Royal Africa Company and trade was now undertaken by “free” English traders. Many of this group of traders who arrived on the Gold Coast did so through family connections or patronage of a merchant which was a regular practice in England during the period. Examples included the nephew of the Governor-in-Chief, Charles Bell who was appointed administrator of the company in 1761; while Horatio Smith, who worked with the Brew Establishment was a cousin of Brew’s London partner, and Samuel Smith who was a member of the African Committee (PRO. T. 70/1455. F.1.: 1778), and (PRO. T/ 70/1483: 1779). On the native side, the coastal trade was opened to keenly interested local entrepreneurs with the wherewithal, and it enabled them amass enormous fortunes. Some like renowned businessman Richard Brew operated independent successful trading concerns with several branches along the coast and employees who were paid regular salaries. Others attained eminent socio-political influence as a result of their commercial endeavours becoming vital links not only for the chartered companies but with inland traders (Daaku 1970: 104).

Native “gold takers” and brokers tasked to market European goods and induce inland merchants to trade with their employers were ranked higher and better paid because they combined their commercial duties with political roles as ambassadors and peace negotiators of the company (Daaku 1970: 102 – 105, PRO. T. 70/368: 1683). Their relatively high wages, some as high as £1.00 a month (about 4 *ackies*), sometimes with bonuses and presents, guaranteed the recipients economic and social positions in the community. Yet others engaged as masons, carpenters, porters, canoe men, bricklayers and interpreters were permanently accommodated in the forts on account of their trustworthiness, local influence and fluency in English (Daaku 1970: 104 – 105, PRO. T. 70/1433: 1686).

8.5. Fort Metal Cross and the political economy of Dixcove

The relevance of Fort Metal Cross in the socio-economic and political economy of Dixcove cannot be over-emphasized. Historical sources posit that in spite of its commercial unprofitability after the mid-eighteenth century, the fort was still indispensable to the English and was never abandoned. That the Royal Africa Company and its successor company The Company of Merchants Trading to Africa continued to receive annual grants and subsidies (sometimes as high as £10,000 and £15,000 respectively) from the British government bears testimony to this assertion (Lawrence 1963: 26). This was primarily because the fort functioned as a service and supply fort for the English from where they procured vital raw materials like timber and lime necessary for the repair and refurbishment of English ships and their other fortifications on the coast. On the 29 December, 1792 for example, orders were issued from Cape Coast “to burn and send down lime from Dixcove” for the repair of the English fort in Accra (PRO. T. 70/153.23/92: 1792). According to Rømer (2000: 56 - 57), “nearly all the English forts kept vegetable gardens which were managed by Company slaves”. The companies also owned “most of the watering places” which supplied not

only the residents of the fort with fresh water but also ships which called there. He observed that “being in English hands, the English can obtain fresh water without paying for it, the other nations on the other hand must pay dearly, and at times can obtain none, not even for payment”. Fort Metal Cross was probably one such major supply point for freshwater on the Gold Coast because it has a very large deep underground cistern. Van Dantzig (1976: 55) and Lawrence (1963: 293) have noted that the calm waters of the cove would have made the fort an attractive point for ships to take in fresh water and greens prior to their outbound journey across the Atlantic.

Two reasons appeared to have accounted for the poor commercial viability of Fort Metal Cross in the mid-eighteenth century. First was its high maintenance cost averaging approximately £1,000 annually, which rose to a whopping £1,600 after 1812. The second was incessant inland wars. Ashanti wars with Denkyira, and later Wassa, and Sefwi for example, created serious insecurities which crippled the trade in gold and ivory along the western Guinea corridor. It appears from the combined evidence (archaeological and historical data) that the building of Fort Metal Cross added some measure of political, economic and social impetus to the Dixcove state. It transformed the balance of power and its settlement relations with neighbouring polities like Butre (Lawrence 1963: 293-297). This was primarily because the fort was well fortified with at least 34 canons of various sizes at every particular point in time which guaranteed English support during crisis periods. History is replete with several accounts of English assistance. Examples of two of the earliest include the war of 1704, and John Conny’s (also spelt Konny and Couny) 1712 New Year invasion of Dixcove. On the latter occasion, the English allowed over 300 non-combatant Dixcove natives to seek refuge inside the fort after which they bombarded Conny’s forces forcing them to retreat. The yearlong 1750 - 1751 Ahanta siege of Dixcove can be cited as perhaps the most important to illustrate this point. This war arose primarily out of trade disputes between the

paramount chiefs of Dixcove on one hand and the Ahantas on the other. Initial attempts by the English Governor, John Roberts to settle the dispute at Butre failed and in March, war broke out between the two feuding parties. In spite of the fort's dilapidated condition at the time, its lack of ammunition and having only about 100 fighting men (made up of 13 English soldiers, 30 African soldiers of the company and 50 - 60 free men and fort slaves) as against 3,000 - 4,000 Ahantas, the English persevered reinforcing the fort's parapets, bastions and spurs and holding back the Ahantas for over a year till late November when the Ahantas finally retreated out of frustration. At one point when the situation became dire, the Commander Nassau Senior embarked the wounded and 58 non-combatants comprising mostly women and children to Cape Coast (Lawrence 1963: 301, 302 - 306 and 310).

It appears the fort was central to the security of the two Dixcove states because the archaeological evidence indicated that majority of the town's folks settled around the immediate precincts of the fort. This is supported by remains of several house floors and foundations closely aggregated to each other. The bulk of cultural materials were retrieved at Units 1, 2, 4 and 5, all located in Upper Dixcove. It is worth noting however that this dense and convoluted settlement pattern was not the situation in 1694 when the fort was only two years old because in March of that year, the captain of an English slaving ship which called at Dixcove reported that he saw the Commander of the fort "building a small fort on a great flat rock about half a mile east of the town" (PRO. T.70/1130: 1750). It appears the townsfolk settled around the fort's precincts later during the latter phase of the Atlantic contact period. Trade and security concerns were probably the main reasons which motivated the people to settle around the fort (Daaku 1970: 53 - 55; Lawrence 1963: 293; van Dantzig 1976:53).

Archival and historical records from 1692 when Fort Metal Cross was built through to the pre-colonial period indicate that the average number of residents inside the fort at any time ranged from 9 – 32 persons of whom a meager 4 – 13 constituted European employees of the Royal Africa Company (Lawrence 1963: 293). Of this number, the Commander, second officer, writer, soldiers, and occasionally a doctor were always Englishmen with the remainder comprising Europeans of other nationalities in the employment of the Company. These sources indicated that the majority of the forts residents comprised natives engaged as domestic servants, cooks, interpreters, porters, canoe men and fort slaves. Others included trained artisans like smiths, sawyers, bricklayers, masons and carpenters (Lawrence 1963: 294, 298 & 300). The constant change in number of fort residents was the result of the English policy of lending personnel from one fort to another whenever the need for artisans and unskilled workers arose or during difficult times like war.

It is reasonable to infer that access to European weapons contributed significantly in redefining and re-shaping the political balance of power in the region, especially regarding Dixcove's relations with Butre which historical sources posit was her sworn enemy ((Lawrence 1963: 301, 302 - 306 & 310). European records opine that imported firearms were not only common but were also in high demand among the populations occupying the Gold Coast. De Marees ([1602]1987: 92 & 220) for example, reported that: "they (Africans) also buy many firelock guns, gunpowder, flint and bullet lead and are beginning to learn to handle them very well". That some 90 indigenous soldiers from Dixcove armed with European firearms bravely resisted an Ahanta force of over 3,000 for well over a year during the 1750 - 1751 Ahanta siege of Dixcove attests to their intimate familiarity, knowledge and use of European firearms.

8.6. Early demographic structure of Dixcove.

Archaeological data provided the single most important index for gauging population levels at Dixcove during the pre-European and European contact periods. The low count of artifacts and ecofacts evidenced in the archaeological record during the former period (227 local potsherds, 231 mollusc shells, 177 botanical, and 10 bones), compared to the latter period (5,342 local potsherds, 11,197 mollusc shells, 1,575 botanical and 2,550 bones) clearly demonstrated there was a quantum leap in population levels from the former period to the latter period. It is important to point out that all of the above diagnostic cultural materials from which this inference was derived directly related to dietetics and foodways namely pottery, molluscs, palm kernel shells and bones (refer to Table 8.8 – 8.17 below for a unit by unit elucidation, the various strata levels and the quantum of locally derived cultural materials recovered from them).

Table 8.8. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 1.

Period	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 1	9	16	-	1
	Level 2	37	92	-	9
	Level 3	42	119	-	36
	Level 4	85	124	1	17
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 5	24	13	26	5
	Total	197	364	27	68
	Percentage of artifacts/ecofacts	30.03%	55.48%	4.11%	10.36%

Table 8.9. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 2.

Period	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 1	11	442	2	25
	Level2	32	341	-	42
	Level 3	66	178	9	19
	Level 4	125	427	11	33
	Level 5	85	706	13	78
	Level 6	52	594	11	213
	Level 7	147	898	21	164
	Level 8	113	298	15	138
	Level 9	140	341	-	124
	Level 10	220	408	2	45
	Level 11	126	185	-	15
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 12	12	23	-	-
	Total	1129	4,841	84	896
	Percentage of ecofacts / artifact type	16.24%	69.65%	1.20%	12.89%

Table 8.10. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 3.

Period	Strata level	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 1	-	-	-	-
	Level2	-	2	-	1
	Level 3	-	3	-	4
	Level 4	-	1	-	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 5	-	2	-	-
	Total	-	8	-	5
	Percentage of artifact/ecofacts type	-	61.53%	-	38.46 %

Table 8.11. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 4.

Period	Strata level	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 1	11	2	-	-
	Level 2	27	59	-	9
	Level 3	29	83	-	7
	Level 4	45	288	-	16
	Level 5	32	293	-	22
	Level 6	21	453	-	17
	Level 7	9	199	-	7
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period	Level 8	2	2	-	2
	Total	176	1,379	-	80
	Percentage of artifact / ecofacts type	10.76%	84.34 %	-	4.89%

Table 8.12. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 5.

Period	Strata level	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	51	786	3	6
	Level 2	61	132	6	11
	Level 3	84	294	11	99
	Level 4	5	22	91	112
	Level 5	111	176	131	149
	Level 6	135	90	171	118
	Level 7	257	79	111	39
	Level 8	229	126	73	72
	Level 9	167	31	4	2
	Level 10	43	26	3	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 11	19	15	2	3
	Total	1162	1,777	606	611
	Percentage of artifact / ecofacts type	27.95%	42.75%	14.58%	14.70%

Table 8.13. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 6.

Period	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	26	19	-	120
	Level2	128	47	6	35
	Level 3	193	126	19	28
	Level 4	26	427	13	3
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 5	11	32	3	-
	Total	384	651	41	186
	Percentage of artifact /ecofacts type	30.42%	51.58%	3.24%	14.73%

Table 8.14. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 7.

Period	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	164	14	12	-
	Level2	324	32	3	-
	Level 3	249	39	39	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 4	130	71	110	-
	Level 5	19	-	50	-
	Total	886	169	214	-
	Percentage of artifact /ecofacts type	70.54%	12.42%	17.03%	-

Table 8.15. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 8.

Period.	Strata level	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	78	212	21	-
	Level2	39	6	110	-
	Level 3	150	12	115	-
	Level 4	110	133	127	-
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 5	43	91	89	-
	Total	420	414	462	-
	Percentage of artifact ecofacts type	31.43%	33.98%	34.58%	-

Table 8.16. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and bones at the pre-European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 9.

Period	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	8	22	-	13
	Level 2	4	27	55	21
	Level 3	11	33	126	41
	Level 4	127	40	110	19
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 5	199	19	9	13
	Level 6	123	5	11	2
	Level 7	13	5	7	-
	Total	485	121	318	109
	Percentage of artifact ecofacts type	45.62%	14.2%	29.91%	0.25%

Table 8.17. Table showing low count of local pottery, molluscs remains, palm kernel shells and ones at the pre- European contact levels compared to the European contact levels at Unit 10.

Period.	Strata levels	Local pottery	Mollusc remains	Palm kernel shells	Bones
Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 1	18	132	-	88
	Level 2	40	381	-	118
	Level 3	110	468	-	117
	Level 4	199	472	-	188
	Level 5	167	121	-	91
	Level 6	112	93	-	3
Pre-Atlantic contact cultural period.	Level 7	73	34	-	-
	Level 8	11	3	-	-
	Total	730	1,704	-	605
	Percentage of artifact/ecofacts type	24.02%	56.07%	-	19.90%

The growth was likely stimulated by migration of neighboring ethno-linguistic groups' intent on harnessing and exploiting to their advantage opportunities generated by the coastal trade. The total population of the two Dixcove states including all the outlying villages was estimated at 3,000 in 1810. The prevalence of several fourth to fifth generation resident indigenes with typical Ahanta and Nzema surnames lends credence to this assertion (refer to page 244). According to Lawrence (1963: 69) migrations to the coast was not uncommon during the era of the coastal trade boom because "the presence of forts induced Africans from other ethnic groups to take up residence,

whether for trade or to escape trouble they had incurred at home”. Transect surveys undertaken at Dixcove revealed the settlement was quite expansive with a total coverage area of approximately 592,800 sq. m. (1,235 x 480 m).

It appears from the cumulative data that Upper Dixcove was bigger in terms of coverage area and population density than Lower Dixcove in the past. Early historical sources also referred to Upper Dixcove as “Greater Dixcove” (Lawrence 1963: 292). The word “greater” hints at its prominence and, or greater geographical extent. It also appears to have been the town’s commercial epicenter, evidenced by the large quantum of European trade goods recovered there. That more than half of the total cultural materials recovered (22,058 out of 31,219) was retrieved there is a testament of this. The safe haven provided by the fort must have attracted many indigenes to settle there.

Archaeological evidence indicated that prior to European contact, Upper and Lower Dixcove lay apart of each other with the area between the two settlements being unoccupied. This is based on the fact that while sterile levels of the earliest occupation levels at Upper Dixcove and Lower Dixcove reached 140 – 240 cm. below ground level; sterile level of the area lying between them extended to a maximum depth of only 100 cm, suggesting the area was occupied later. Oral traditions claim that before the advent of Europeans, this hitherto unoccupied area was heavily forested with overgrown thickets and groves and interspersed with massive rock boulders. It was barred to indigenes of both communities because the Nfuma deity, the principal deity of the two Dixcove states was believed to be domiciled there. It appears the merger of the two communities occurred later, sometime in the late eighteenth century because the bulk of datable European imports like ceramics found there date to that period. Population expansion, migration, intra-regional trade and coastal trade probably constituted some of the principal factors which contributed to the merger of the two settlements.

8.7. Socio-cultural lifeways of the indigenes and English residents of Fort Metal Cross.

Archaeological data required to reconstruct past dietary practices of both the English and the local people was indirect, meager and deficient in quality. It was thus difficult to scientifically establish this aspect of their life. This handicap notwithstanding, certain artifact types and documentary sources helped provide some glimpse of past foodways. The earliest evidence of paleo-botanical remains on the Gold Coast consisted of palm oil nuts (*Elaeis guineensis*) and cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata*), preserved in Kintampo deposits dating to circa 2000 B.C. (Flight 1976; Davies 1973; Posnansky 1984; Stahl 1985). These deposits also contained mollusc remains, pottery, daub, terracotta cigars, polished axe blades, quartz microliths, milling devices and remains of small domestic dwarf cow and goats (Phillipson 1985: 137; Dombrowski 1980: 261 - 262; Anquandah 1993: 255 - 257). Data relating to foodways during the historic era indicate that a wide variety of plant foods, domesticated and undomesticated fauna (*Mammalian*, *Pisces*, *Aves* and *Reptilian*) were the principal food types exploited by coastal populations on the Gold Coast. At Dixcove, all of the above food types were recovered in veritable quantities at all levels of the stratigraphy suggesting their exploitation extended into antiquity. The predominance of deep bowls such as vessel types U5, U7, U8, U10, L6, L8, L9, L10 and L11 is strong indication that stews and soups cooked with meat and fish consumed with processed staples like *fufu* (pounded cassava and plantain), *banku* (boiled fermented maize with cassava dough) or *kenkey* (balls of fermented maize) probably constituted the major foods eaten at Dixcove because these bowl forms would have been best suited for 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 suggest pulverization was a major method of processing some food types. Millet and maize constitute two such foods documented in early European records (Jones 1983: 207 – 208, de Marees [1602]1987: 40). Butchering marks exemplified by long split lines were

more prevalent on *caprids* (goats and sheep) and suggest chopping and hacking to extract marrow was a commonly used technique.

Reconstruction of English foodways at Dixcove was more difficult because of their relatively small resident numbers. Records from the historic era however indicate heavy European dependence on local staples like cassava, yams, and maize. The European residents of the fort relied on trusted fort workers for regular supplies of these food items in exchange for imported provisions like liquor (Feinberg 1989: 86, Bosman 1967: 106 - 107). According to Lawrence (1963: 298), the English residents of the fort also derived some of their provisions from the fort's garden which was cropped with miscellaneous "fruits, roots and salads." Documentary evidence from other European fortifications on the Gold Coast suggest the diet of senior personnel like the Commander and Physician were generally better compared to the junior staff (van Dantzig 1976: 108; Bosman 1967: 106 - 107). It is likely this may have been replicated at Dixcove though there was no archaeological evidence attesting to it.

The recovery of small mouthed vessels (refer Vessel Type U5) similar to current ethnographic models utilized for pharmaceutical preparations at Dixcove constituted the only indirect archaeological evidence attesting to past ethno-medical practice. The bulk were plain, smoothly burnished on the exterior, and bereft of decorations. Recovered at all levels of the stratigraphy, most had their lower interior surfaces discoloured to a dark-grey to black colour compared to their upper interior surfaces suggesting they were probably used to cook or store dark coloured concoctive substances. Oral traditions of the people indicated traditional medical practice has an extensive history which long predated the coming of Europeans (Nana Sarfo Otiku, pers.com 16th May, 2012 & Abusua Panin Kweku Afrako, pers.com. 18th May, 2012). According to the former, he was apprenticed to an established traditional medical practitioner at age 12. He recounted that at

that time, there were some 35 established traditional medical practitioners at Dixcove and its neighbourhoods. Now aged 81 he lamented that there are now only 5, all over 65 years old with no apprentices to continue the tradition. According to Abusua Panin Kweku Afrako, medicinal substances in plants are natural metabolic substances unique to specific parts of those plants like the bark, roots, seeds, leaves and stem; as such only those parts should be used in prescriptions. He cautioned that even here, taking leaves as an example, for certain ailments only the very young fresh ones can be utilized while in others, only the very matured ones are used because of their different levels of toxicity and lethal effects. He intimated except in few instances, it was rare to find all parts of a plant having medicinal properties. Some potent herbs identified by the two as having medicinal properties are listed below. The bracketed names are their local vernacular names. The purported ailments they treat and pharmacological effect are also given. They are:

- (a) *Naudea latifolia* (*sukisia*) – treatment of weakness in pregnant women caused by anemia; also used to treat people with low red blood cell count.
- (b) *Antidesma venosum* (*mpepea*) and *Microdesmis puberula* (*fema*) – kills and expels worms.
- (c) *Cordia millenii* and *Deinbollia pinnata* (*woteegbogbo*) – used in asthma, emphysema and bronchitis control.
- (d) *Erythrophleum suaveolens* (*potrodum*) – treatment of various skin diseases.
- (e) *Aspilia africana* – used for the treatment of cataract.
- (f) *Cassia accidentalis* – used to treat headaches.
- (g) *Tamarindus indica* – used for the treatment of hiccups.
- (h) *Anogeissus leiocarpus* (*sahanee*) – used to relieve upper abdominal pains.
- (i) *Byrsocarpus coccineus* (*awennade*) – used to control hypertension.
- (j) *Alstonia boonei* – malaria remedy.
- (k) *Moringa oleifera* and *Mundulea serica* – antibiotic.
- (l) *Xylopia aethiopica* (*hwenetia*) and *Catharanthus roseus* – used to control diabetes.

The above named herbalists intimated medicines were prepared and administered in several forms such as tinctures, infusions, concoctions and decoctions. Other forms include extracts, enemas and poultices. Traditional medical concoctions usually incorporate other ingredients which impact the efficacy of the prescriptions. He named the major ones as ginger, pepper, lime, honey, garlic and kola. Other constituents named included palm oil (*zoomie*), water from the stem of baobab (*Adansonia digitata*), belly fat of shark, seaweed and deep seawater.

Bosman (1705: 224 – 225) documented some of the principal medicaments of the Gold Coast coastal populations as “limon, lime juice, malaget, cardamom and the roots, branches and gums of trees, and about thirty several sorts of green herbs which are impregnated with an extraordinary sanative virtue”. On the efficacy of traditional medicine, he asserted:

“The green herbs, the principal remedy in use among the Negroes are of such wonderful efficacy, that ‘tis much to be deplored that no European physicians has yet applied himself to the discovery of the nature and virtue, for I don’t only imagine, but firmly believe, that they would prove more successful in the practice of physick than the European preparations, especially in this country, because before they reach us, they have lost all their virtue, and are mostly corrupted: besides which, our constitution is in some measure changed here by the climate; and therefore this country remedies, in all probability, are better for our bodies than the European. That I have several times observed the Negroes cure such great and dangerous wounds with them, that I have stood amazed thereat”.

8.8. Literacy and Western education at Dixcove.

The recovery of 154 pieces of European related educational materials (148 slate boards and slate pencils) undoubtedly provides strong indication of the importance of European style education and instructional training at Dixcove. It was probably another European cultural trait embraced by the

natives but this must have been in the nineteenth century because all were found at levels which corresponded to mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century occupation levels. According to Williem Bosman ([1705]1967: 121 - 122), except for a few places like Elmina, formalized education was notably 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. Western education facilitated communication and trade. Mullatoes with Western education entered the services of The Committee of Merchants trading in Africa, and other established European trading companies on the coast, while the educated children of wealthy indigenous merchants were absorbed into family businesses. Examples of Dixcove notables who received collegiate education include Quamina, the son of Acca, a Dixcove *Caboceer* who became an educated protégé of the British firm, the Royal Africa Company and educated under Mr. Thomas Allan of Dublin (Priestley 1969: 37 - 37), the son of the chief of Dixcove who was placed under the educational charge of a gentleman in Dublin with sponsorship from the Company of Merchants in the 1750's (PRO. T. 70/1530: 1759), and Harry and Richard Brew, sons of Richard Brew who were educated in England and returned to Dixcove in 1768 (PRO. T. 70/1536: 1768). The late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries also saw many Africans on the lower social ladder begin to learn to read and write because it afforded a valuable means to an end, guaranteeing access to upscale jobs like brokers and interpreters which were considered prestigious and affluent during the period (Graham 1976). It would not be gainsaying to assert that Western style education enhanced socio-cultural interactions between the local people and the English at Dixcove. There is documented evidence to suggest that at some point in time, the English attempted to propagate the gospel and convert the local people to

Christianity at Dixcove. Evidence by Rev. J. Beecham to a question by the Chairman of the *Proceedings of the Select Committee on West African Forts of 1842* regarding where the English had stationed missionaries on the Gold Coast asserted that they “had missionaries stationed at Dixcove, Commenda, Cape Coast Castle, Annamaboe, Cormantine, Salt Pond, Tantum, Lago, Mumford, Winnebah, and British Accra” (Beecham, quoted in Metcalfe 1964: 176). During the late nineteenth century for example, Wesleyan and Basel mission schools fashioned along the European educational system became widespread on the Gold Coast including the Dixcove coastline. Some were headed by Africans who had been educated in Europe.



Plate 8.2. This storied structure is the oldest church to be established at Dixcove. An epitaph on the extreme lower left corner dates the structure to April, 1856 (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).

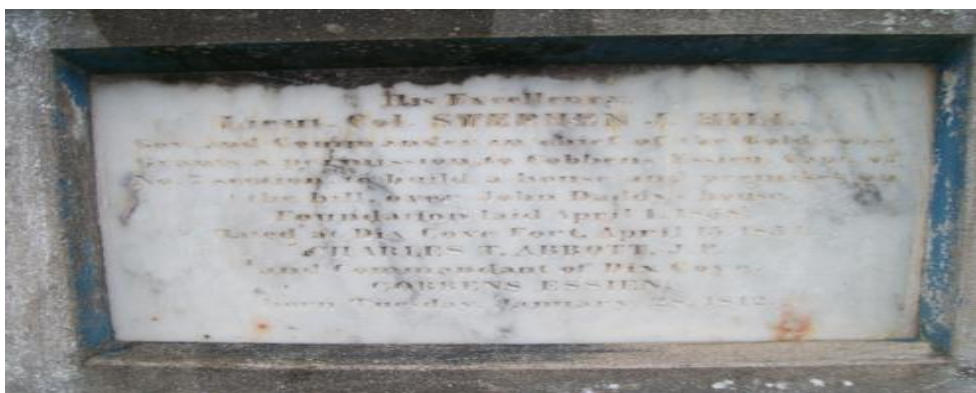


Plate 8.3. A full view of the epitaph on the building above (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

Archival records indicated European education was undertaken alongside propagation of the gospel with regular church services inside the fort (C.O. 96/25 H.C.412). Located at Upper Dixcove on a large stone promontory can be found Dixcove's first church, after it was relocated from the fort (Plate 8.1). An epitaph on the ground floor indicate it was opened by the Commander of Dixcove Fort, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen J. Hill in 1859 (Plate 8.2.).

It was difficult to assess from the available data the success of European education at Dixcove primarily because of limited documentation, the unusually low count of education related materials retrieved and their fragmented nature. Whatever the case, the archaeological evidence reveals that Western education was not common in the community during the period covered by the study and its impact was of little consequence because there was no record of expatriate teachers. It was also probably limited to mulattoes and children of the wealthy elite, particularly before the nineteenth century. That the bulk of education related artifacts was recovered at upper nineteenth century levels of the stratigraphy at Upper Dixcove suggest two things: one, that Upper Dixcove was the center of education and instructional training during the period, and two, that European education only gained eminence in the nineteenth century.

8.9. Relations between the indigenous population and the English.

Deductions from the study indicate that prior to the late nineteenth century, Dixcove was not controlled by the English because archival records show that the English made regular ground rent payments and a variety of other payments like 'tributes', funeral fees, "Friday drinks" etc to the two Dixcove traditional ruling authorities (PRO. T. 70/1433). It is also worth noting that while the English dominated trade there, they had not monopolized it because the Dutch and interloper traders from other nations also participated in trade along the Dixcove coastline. Relations for most periods were symbiotic, convivial and beneficial to the two parties. That a large number of the

indigenous populace settled around the immediate precincts of the fort is testimony to harmonious relations between the English and the local people. Dow (1927: 2) for example, noted during his visit to Dixcove “that most of the huts belonged to Negroes in the service of the factory and were under the protection of its guns”. Correspondences between the various Commanders of Fort Metal Cross to the Governor at Cape Coast, and the Royal Africa Company in England from 1660 – 1778 also indicated indigenous assistance was tremendous, providing a wide range of services which included tree felling for building, fuel-wood and transporting rocks, planks and beams for the refurbishment of ships and the fort (PRO. T. 70/1466: 1737). Other forms of assistance included the supply of freshwater, fish, staples and paddling of canoes (Lawrence 1963: 293). It appears the English began exercising absolute political control in Dixcove’s municipal affairs only after the mid-nineteenth century.

Occasionally however, relations topsy-turvyed or soured, fueled mainly by trade disputes. On such occasions the local people withheld trade. European competition, mainly Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch also helped strengthen the bargaining position of the local people. Another issue which caused rifts was royalty payments. In 1787 for example, *The Committee* (name of the central administrative authority which supervised activities of the Royal Africa Company at Fort Metal Cross) quickly resolved to buy presents to appease the two paramount chiefs and three other sub-chiefs of Dixcove to forestall violent disturbances after complaints that their personal emoluments did not match services they had rendered *The Committee* (Lawrence 1963: 309). Priestley (1969: 5) has also noted that:

“Periodically, Governors were also suspended for overstepping the mark, and difficulties at the settlements, caused in part by personal antagonism were legion. In the absence of any restraining power, a clash of

personalities and interests, both public and private, arose in and around the eighteenth century settlements”.

8.10. Patterns of acculturation and continuity at Dixcove.

The strength of the Dixcove archaeological assemblages can be gleaned from two perspectives. It has shed light on how European trade goods were used and provided glimpses of how it impacted on local cultural life-ways. Adoption and popularity of European dress code and attires was one area where the latter was glaringly evident, attested by the recovery of wide array of elaborately decorated Bohemian and Venetian mosaic (*milliflore* glass beads), metal bangles, dress buttons and part of a metal hook believed to be a belt hook. Dow (1927: 9) noted that “Venice bugles, glass beads and contacarbe served all ages and sex, to adorn their heads, necks, arms and legs”, complemented with textiles from diverse places like India, Manchester and North Africa (de Marees [1602]1987: 39, 66, 88, 98, 179, Meredith 1812: 110, Alpern 1995, Blake 1997: 94, 97, 103, 107). The large count of glass beads recovered (1,624) is germane because it attests to their popularity in Dixcove society. Early documentary sources (Barbot 1992: 494, 527; de Marees [1602]1987: 34, 96, 167, 169, 175, Jones 1983: 253 - 254) assert that the wearing of beads was a popular mode of attire among the coastal populations on the Gold Coast before the arrival of Europeans. According to Hair (1994: 21), King Caramansa of Elmina was “covered on his legs and arms with bracelets and circlets of gold, on his neck was a collar from which hung some small bells, and twined in his beard some pieces of gold which so weighed down its hairs that the curly ones had become straight” when the Portuguese first encountered him at Elmina. Cloth was probably utilized as wraps to cover the chest and lower abdomen as is currently the fashion among several ethno-linguistic groups. Other apparels not manifested archaeologically at Dixcove but commonly documented in early European records included new and used hats, stockings, shoes,

coats, breeches, gowns and old wigs. (van Danzig 2000: 93; Feinberg: 1989: 50; Bennett and Brooks 1965: 39, 282; DeCorse 2001: 150 - 151).

Another area where change was glaringly evident was in local foodways. The archaeological evidence indicates that the period subsequent to European contact witnessed a gradual increase in the adoption and usage of imported ceramic plates, drinking glasses and alcoholic beverage consumption. Table 8.18 below shows the quantum rise of European trade items according to stratigraphy levels at Units 2 and 5 (which contained the bulk of imported ceramics, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages) during the latter phase of the Atlantic contact period.

Table 8.18 Table showing gradual increases in use of European trade goods (Units 2 and 5).

Stratigraphy levels	Imported ceramics		Beverage bottles	
	Unit 2	Unit 5	Unit 2	Unit 5
Level 1	26	13	69	11
Level 2	39	42	67	33
Level 3	72	52	263	41
Level 4	57	122	166	92
Level 5	43	143	184	117
Level 6	43	94	199	163
Level 7	89	42	237	27
Level 8	166	26	148	19
Level 9	185	2	56	2
Level 10	115	1	60	4
Level 11	16	-	28	-
Level 12	-	-	-	-
Total	851	537	1477	509

The recovery of 1,458 fragments of imported ceramics during the later phase of the European contact period as against only 199 for the early European contact period is symptomatic of its growing popularity and usage in Dixcove society. Two factors may have facilitated the increased use of imported ceramics. These are: increase in population levels (a consequence of migrations from outlying polities), and expansion of the local upper social strata at Dixcove.

There was also a quantum rise in local pottery up to levels which corresponded to the mid-eighteenth century after which it declined significantly in the archaeological record. It is germane

to note however that the decline was limited to large vessel forms only (such as those which were probably utilized in food preparation, salt production and water storage); while use of small vessel forms (such as those used in traditional medical preparations and jewellery storage) persisted in levels which corresponded to the early twentieth century (refer tables 7.2. – 7.12). It is difficult to archaeologically rationalize and assign reasons for the diminutive interest and demand for large local vessel forms. Whatever the reason, the statistics indicate the indigenous populace continued to use smaller local vessel forms well into the late twentieth century.

Smoking pipes like pottery when scientifically analyzed and classified can play an important role in illuminating past human lifeways. In Ghana, not only have they served as important tools for interpreting and reconstructing the cultural past but have served as veritable aids in establishing a chronological sequence for many societies where they have been found. Tobacco and the culture of smoking tobacco through pipes were introduced on the Gold Coast by early Portuguese traders in the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Ozanne 1969: 29 – 35; Anquandah: 1982:11). This assertion is based on the fact that trade and social interactions between the coastal communities and European traders began in earnest and was brisk during that period. Tobacco smoking is also known to have occurred in the northern savanna regions, at places like Begho where smoking pipes have been recovered from archaeological context at levels which correspond to the seventeenth century (Anquandah 1982: 128). Unlike the south however, the tradition in the north is believed to have been introduced and popularized by Mande traders from the *Bilad el Sudan* who are known to have visited Ghana's northern regions to purchase gold, slaves and kola nuts long before the advent of Europeans to the Gold Coast (Ozanne 1969: 29 – 40; Anquandah 1982: 128). Smoking tobacco through pipes became a popular pastime on the Gold Coast during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. According to Ozanne (1962: 51-70), this cultural trait

spread into the forest hinterland in the late seventeenth century. The significance of the 415 white baked clay smoking pipes (mostly stems) recovered cannot be over-emphasized because they reflect European influence and some degree of change in social life-ways in ancient Dixcove society. Their abundance is clear testament of the popularity of smoking tobacco, while their recovery from the lowest European contact levels through to the upper levels in the archaeological record suggests tobacco and smoking pipes probably constituted one of the earliest European imports to have been exchanged at Dixcove.

The archaeological inventory attested not only to dramatic material transformations but also continuity in daily lifeways of the citizenry of ancient Dixcove. One area where this was glaringly manifested, particularly from the late eighteenth century onwards was in the houses of wealthy indigenous merchants and local people in the service of the English. These groups of persons appear to have been the first to embrace European style architectural designs incorporating the use of imported building materials like red bricks, metal locks, nails, slate roofs and glass windows affixed to gilt lettered and flower patterned metal frames. Several of these European styled houses, sited close to the beachfront still stand at Dixcove and their nearness to the fort was probably to ensure easy and regular interactions with the English residents of the fort as well as facilitate easy transportation of goods from ships berthed at the cove. The foundations of these structures consisted of a mix of granite and gneiss blocks held together with mortar derived from lime (burnt mollusc shells) and sand. The blocks in texture and colour were similar to rocks which naturally occur along the beachfront and appear to have been hacked from there. Walls were of two types namely: imported red bricks laid course by course and held together with mortar, and rectangular-shaped stone blocks also held together with mortar. Petrological examination of the mortar undertaken at the Department of Earth Sciences, University of Ghana, indicated it contained large

quantities of angularly shaped burnt mollusc granules which measured approximately 4 – 8 millimeters across their longest axis and sand grains which in colour, size and shape were similar to those occurring along the beach. While using imported materials and styles, these structures also incorporated the traditional African use of space. The majority comprised one storied rectangular shaped structures linearly built around a large open central courtyard on the ground floor. Rooms were located on three sides all of which opened into the central courtyard while the gate by which entry to the house was accessed lay on the fourth side. Open centrally placed courtyards are a typical African architectural design and they are still found at Dixcove. Central courtyards served a multiplicity of functions including cooking, washing and cleaning. Large water collecting pots are also placed in such courtyards under roofs to harvest rainwater.



Plate 8.4. This dilapidated one storied structure is reputed to be the oldest European styled house at Dixcove (Picture: Fritz Biveridge).



Plate 8.5. One of several European architectural styled houses which were owned by wealthy Indigenous merchants sited close to the beachfront (Picture: Fritz Biveridge)

The adoption of foreign products and cuisine was not only limited to the native population because the English also appeared to have adopted and used local resources to enable them adapt to local conditions. The retrieval of veritable quantities of pottery of local origin, shellfish, palm kernel nuts and faunal remains (*Pisces*, *Mammalian Aves* and *Reptilia*) around the fort's precincts attest to their adoption and use. Although it was not possible to identify the bulk of *Pisces* remains because of their heavily fragmented nature, several species under *Mammalia*, *Aves* and *Reptilia* were identified. They included sheep, goat, cow, giant rat, and grasscutter under *Mammalia*, water fowl, domestic and wild fowl for *Aves*, while marine turtle and monitor lizard constituted two species identified under *Reptilia*.

8.10.1. Conclusion.

The ancestors of the people of Upper and Lower Dixcove were originally Akan immigrants from Eguafu and Takyiman respectively, who relocated and settled at Dixcove. This probably occurred sometime in the early sixteenth century because the pre-Atlantic contact cultural level at Dixcove mentioned earlier in chapter six dates to that period. They however currently consider themselves

as Ahanta indicating there has been a change of ethnicity. They have also adopted several cultural traits of the Ahanta including the annual *Kundum* festival which they celebrate annually.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans to the research area, Dixcove comprised two small fishing settlements called Infuma which were politically and economically independent of each other. The English however did not differentiate between the two and referred to the area and the adjoining neighbourhoods as “Dickies cove”, after an English trader who operated in that vicinity. It was later corrupted to Dixcove. The two settlements are currently called Ntwsakro (Upper Dixcove) and Daazikessie (Lower Dixcove). The terms “Upper” and “Lower” were coined by the Colonial government to differentiate the two communities for tax purposes. The terms have geographical underpinnings: Upper Dixcove because it lies on a hilly rock promontory while Lower Dixcove lies on low flat bedrock overlain with clay.

The exploitation of marine fisheries and salt production constituted the primary subsistence strategies of the people of Dixcove and lynch-pin of the local economy before the arrival of Europeans. While production of the latter has ceased altogether, the former is still very important with at least three members of every household being directly engaged in it. Other important past economic vocations of the people included horticulture, exploitation of freshwater molluscs, gold mining, iron smelting, animal husbandry and hunting. They also conducted brisk intra-regional trade in *quaqua* cloth, salt, leopard skins, staples and dried fish with hinterland populations, nearby coastal states, and distant coastal polities like Benin and Whydah. The period before European contact witnessed significant growth in this intra-regional trade network and appeared to have boosted indigenous exchange. This trade later complemented the European maritime trade along the Dixcove coastline.

The coastal trade had a two way impact on local subsistence. On one hand, it led to diminutive interest in hitherto important local vocations like salt production and iron smelting, due primarily to increased earnings from the coastal trade which attracted local entrepreneurs to move away from these sectors of the economy to the more profitable coastal trade sector. Even though European maritime trade facilitated the mass importation of finished metal products like hoes and mattocks, as well as brass, copper, iron rods and manillas, it also undercut local industries producing similar products at Dixcove facilitating their disintegration and collapse of those industries.

On the other hand, it impacted positively on other aspects of the local economy because it provided a wide variety of inputs necessary for their facilitation. For instance, the large quantum of *Pisces* remains found at the Atlantic contact levels compared to the pre-Atlantic contact levels prove that novel introductions like imported cotton sails, ropes, and seine nets may have boosted growth and output in the fishing industry. The coastal trade also facilitated the introduction of new products like European liquor, molasses, tobacco and metal bars into Dixcove society. Another development was the modification and diversification of the intra-regional trade network. The intra regional trade led not only to increased volumes and array of goods exchanged but also its diversification with European imports now dominating.

Yet another significant development emanating from Anglo-Ahanta interaction was that African diplomacy expanded from local inter-tribal affairs to include negotiation with several competing European commercial entities as well as 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. These internally orchestrated factors promoted and facilitated social stratification, multi-culturalism, and induced

changes in the socio-economic and political structure of the body polity of Dixcove. They were probably the lead factors which contributed to ethnic change at Dixcove.

There was no archaeological evidence to assess the impact of slave export on the Dixcove economy. Even though studies undertaken elsewhere in the sub-region 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, the small sizes of the two dungeons at Fort Metal Cross suggest the trade in slaves was probably insignificant and did not negatively impact population levels at Dixcove.

Cumulative evidence indicates that the coastal trade facilitated the evolution and growth of a new social stratum of wealthy property owning indigenous merchants at Dixcove. The building of several large storied European styled houses using imported building materials is overwhelming attestation of an expanded African elitist class. That all were sited on the beachfront close to the fort suggests the owners had established good and sound rapport with the English residents of the fort.

The *raison d'être* for building Fort Metal Cross was Dixcove's strategic geographical location and abundant natural resources (timber, palm oil, granite, gold and gneiss). However, from the mid-eighteenth century, it developed additionally to become the fountain-head of English mercantile interests especially along the western half of the Gold Coast seaboard. It became the commercial hub and nerve center, central to the facilitation and success of Anglo-Ahanta trade. It probably vied with other trade fortifications like Fort St. Anthony and Fort *Sao Jorge da Mina* for primacy in the political economy of the region. The quantum and wide variety of trade goods retrieved, and the town's specialized workforce of primary and secondary workers (fishermen, farmers, traders,

salt producers, miners, traditional medical practitioners, iron smelters), and the emergence of a new wage earning class comprising brokers, interpreters, canoe men and porters bears testimony to this. Even after the abolition of slavery when trade declined significantly along the Guinea Coast, the English never abandoned Fort Metal Cross but instead transformed it into an important service emporium which supplied European vessels with local merchandise for the outbound journey across the Atlantic to Europe and America.

Trade constituted the single most important factor which facilitated cross-cultural contacts in the research area. Increase in population levels and the recovery of veritable quantities of imported cultural materials at the later phase of the Atlantic contact period (circa, 1740 – 1850) compared to the pre-Atlantic contact period (circa, pre 1650), attested not only to bustling economic activities in the study area but enhanced socio-economic and cultural contact between the English and different ethno-linguistic groups who occupied the area. 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 novelties. Externally, the coastal trade propelled economic growth in England and The Netherlands, the two nations actively involved in the Atlantic trade at Dixcove. Their purchase of gold and ivory, and production of cash crops in the Americas using slave labour from the Gold Coast for example, made significant contributions to the construction and expansion to their economies and colonies in the New World.

The study generated ample data to infer and advance reasonable suppositions that the two cultures radiated outwards to impact each other, evidenced in the archaeological record by extensive transformations in their socio-cultural lifeways. The development and transformation of the two small insignificant fishing settlements of Infuma to a moderately urbanized one with complex socio-economic and political systems was a direct consequence of triggering interest, exchange,

and cultural interactions between the two groups, which later culminated in the building of Fort Metal Cross. Cultural diffusion was particularly apparent from the mid-eighteenth century onwards and appeared to have occurred in a commercial setting. For the Ahanta, the changes were externally induced and were facilitated primarily by European trade goods, culture and novel opportunities created by the coastal trade, exemplified by adoption of European dress codes, architecture, gustatory practices and leisure pastimes like smoking tobacco through pipes. Other notable adopted cultural traits included Western education which brought into European service some natives and mulatto children of mixed unions, and European construction technology such as masonry and carpentry to interested local people keen on learning these crafts.

Changes in English cultural lifeways were primarily the consequence of internally orchestrated mechanisms. Extended physical isolation from England and the need to adapt to new environmental conditions and resources was perhaps the single most compelling factor. During the pre-colonial era, settler daily livelihood and existence depended largely on native patronage. Their exceptionally small numbers, coupled with the fact that the local environment was largely controlled by the indigenous Ahanta community ensured they were continuously under local cultural influences, a situation which compelled them to adapt to the traditional social systems of their hosts. Their use of local pottery and foods (staples, shellfish and animal products) clearly attests to this.

On the part of the indigenous Ahanta community, their adoption of foreign cultural lifeways was not *in toto*. In some aspects, the people maintained aspects of their worldview. In others, they fused foreign cultural traits with local lifeways, while in others they seem to have totally embraced European traits. One area where the second example appeared to have manifested was in traditional medical practices and adoption of European medicines. The recovery of vessels similar

to current ethnographic models used in traditional medicinal preparations at all levels in the archaeological record attest to this. Continuity in traditional foodways and dietetics during the Atlantic contact era is yet another example, exemplified by the continued exploitation of molluscs, oil palm products, domesticated and undomesticated faunal resources.

Fusion was demonstrated in the traditional use of space. While utilizing foreign building materials and European architectural styles, wealthy indigenous merchants building European styled houses incorporated the traditional African use of space which featured large open central courtyards into their houses thus blending the architectural designs of the two cultures.

Consumption of European alcoholic beverages and tobacco use constituted two examples of adoption of European lifeways. The absence of locally manufactured tobacco pipes and the large numbers of imported alcoholic beverage bottles attests to this. The timing of these changes also suggests they were largely the consequence of the Anglo-Ahanta encounter because they coincide with the Euro-Ahanta contact period.

Fort Metal Cross played a significant role in the ascendancy of the political economy of Dixcove. 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 the two Dixcove states from small insignificant fishing village status to cosmopolitan status with links to bustling European ports like Bristol and Liverpool, and Boston and Charleston in the Americas, thereby directly connecting the Dixcove coastline to the global economy.

All the conceptual tools of the *External Cultural Model* namely: diffusion, exchange/trade, and population movements used to verify occurrences of acculturations between cultures in contact

were validated by the research. At Dixcove, population movement was via voluntary migrations (and not invasion or conquest), and occurred on two fronts - externally (involving migration of European traders to Dixcove), and internally (involving migration of neighbouring ethno-linguistic groups such as Nzemas and Ahantas to Dixcove).

Diffusion at Dixcove was channeled via “direct” and “indirect” means. According to Kottack (2005: 44), the former (direct) occurs when two cultures undertake at least one of the following - trade, intermarry, or wage war on one another. The latter (indirect) occurs when products manufactured in culture A, (in the case of Dixcove, Bohemian and Venetian glass beads, Japanese and Chinese export enameled polychrome ceramics) move to culture C (Ahanta-land) via culture B (England), without any firsthand contact between culture A (Bohemia, Venice, China and Japan) and culture C (Ahanta-land). At Dixcove, trade constituted the main channel by which some unique cultural traits of the two cultures in contact diffused directly to each other. Some indigenous manifestations of diffusion included the adoption of European dress codes (evidenced by metal buttons, 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, adoption of African traditional medicines and cuisine (evidenced by local pottery, medicinal pots, shellfish remains) constituted some indigenous cultural traits adopted by the migrant English at Dixcove.

Exchange (trade) and population movement (migration of English traders) were evidenced archaeologically with the recovery of several imported European novelties (ceramics, glass beads and pharmaceutical repositories among others), which were traded for traditional African resources like timber, gold and ivory. All four attestations supporting exchange and population movement (migration) mentioned by Haury (1970: 1 - 6) were also manifested archaeologically at Dixcove.

They are: (a) discovery of new products in the archaeological record, (b) absence of earlier local prototypes in the archaeological record, (c) identification of the homeland of the immigrant population (England), and (d) that the imported artifacts used as indices to support exchange and migration must exist in the same form in both the homeland country (England) and the newly adopted home (Dixcove).

8.10. 2. Recommendations for future researchers.

It is worthy to note that while the quantum of archaeological data retrieved was quite sizable and significant, enough to answer the research questions, further work is required in the research area to yield additional information on issues pertaining to the migration and settlement histories of the ancestors of the people of Dixcove, and Dixcove's relations with outlying settlements which the current data was unable to adequately address. Other equally important issues like Ahanta past ideology and cultural continuities in the Americas which were not readily evident in the current study need to be covered in future studies to provide a more holistic and comprehensive viewpoint of events which occurred in the research area in the past. The paved area around Fort Metal Cross and several houses at Lower Dixcove will have to be demolished to facilitate archaeological excavations there in the future. The above named places were among the earliest to have been occupied by the immigrant Akan when they first arrived at Infuma and their investigation can inform us about their pre-Atlantic contact period.

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9. Leonard b. Crossland (pers com. 21 May, 2012)

Appendix A.

Origins and settlement

Which ethnic group did your ancestors belong?

From where did your ancestors originate?

Did all of your ancestors migrate or were some left behind?

Do you know any place/s where they settled temporarily prior to their sojourn at Dixcove?

What necessitated their move from their original ancestral home to Dixcove?

How many were they?

Can you name the leaders of this group?

Why did they choose to settle at Dixcove?

Did they encounter any people on their arrival at Dixcove?

If yes, who were those people and how were they received?

What was the relationship between your ancestors and these earlier settlers?

What language did these earlier settlers speak?

Are there any songs/ sayings/ stories relating to the migration of your ancestors that you can recount?

Did your ancestors encounter any notable event or occurrences during their migration from their ancestral home?

Are there any festivals and rituals practiced today to commemorate this event?

If yes please name them.

Political organization and justice system

How was Dixcove state governed in the past?

Is this system different from that presently practiced at Dixcove?

If yes, what are these changes and what necessitated them?

How many paramount chiefs have the people of Dixcove had since they moved from their ancestral home?

Can you name these chiefs chronologically?

Can you recall any memorable or notable event that characterizes the reign of any of these chiefs?

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

During whose reign did Europeans first arrive at Dixcove?

What were the requirements or qualifications for one to be made a chief?

Did the Sega state have subsidiary or lesser chiefs as pertains in Dixcove today?

How was justice dispensed in ancient times?

Did the Dixcove state have a standing army?

How was the army organized in ancient times?

Who led the people to war in ancient times?

Did the people of Dixcove ever go to war?

If yes, which ethnic group did they fight in this war?

What was the cause of this war?

What were some of the repercussions of this war on the people of Dixcove?

Traditional religion and social organization

What was the state religion of Dixcove in ancient times?

Who was the name of the principal state god?

Were there subsidiary gods?

What was the mode of worship of these gods?

What was the role of traditional priest in the affairs of the state in the past?

How were traditional priests chosen in the past?

Has there been any change in this system?

Can you remember any notable event that occurred during the reign of any particular traditional priest?

How many traditional priests does Dixcove currently have?

Did the state have any special religious ritual or festival that it celebrated?

How old is this festival or ritual?

How often are these rituals or festivals celebrated annually?

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

If yes, from which ethnic group did your ancestors adopt this ritual or festival?

Why was the ritual or festival adopted?

Has the celebration of this ritual or festival changed through time?

If yes, what are these changes?

Why did it change?

Were other rituals or festivals celebrated additional to the one mentioned earlier?

If yes, what is the name of this ritual or festival?

Did this ritual or festival evolve internally or was it adopted from external sources?

Were domestic animals used to perform rituals during the observation of festivals?

If yes, what type of animal was used?

What other items were used during the observation of this ritual or festival?

Can you describe these rituals?

Subsistence: farming

Was agriculture an important mode of subsistence in the past?

What were some of the main crops grown?

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 agricultural practices in the past?

Was animal husbandry an important economic activity in the past?

What animal types were involved?

Can you mention any taboo or rituals associated with crop farming or 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 any food crops preserved in the past?

How were these foods preserved?

Were any tools used in the preservation process?

Was farming seasonal or was it undertaken all year round?

Was food gathering an important economic activity in the past?

If yes, what food items were collected or gathered in the wild?

During what time of the year were these food items collected or gathered?

Were some of these food items stored?

How were they stored?

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

Did farmers and pastoralists occupy any special position / status in ancient Dixcove society?

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

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 practiced?

What were the main tools used by fishermen in the past?

Are these tools still used presently?

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 practiced 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 Nfuma Lagoon and Piah in the past?

Are these fish types still exploited today?

Did fishermen hold any special position in ancient Dixcove society?

Do fishermen hold any special position or status in contemporary Dixcove society?

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

What are some of the dangers associated with fishing?

How was inedible fish disposed of in the past?

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 sex?

Subsistence: trade

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

If yes, who were these neighbours?

Can you describe how this trade was undertaken?

What trade items or commodities were involved in this trade network?

Was this trade undertaken within a market?

If yes, where was this market located?

How were goods transported by your ancestors to these markets?

Did your ancestors trade with Europeans?

If yes, which European nations were involved in this trade system?

Which trade items did your ancestors sell to the Europeans?

Which items or commodities did your ancestors buy from the Europeans?

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

Was barter as an exchange system ever used in this trade?

Can you describe how barter trade was undertaken?

Did the Sega 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 settlement now?

What was the relationship between your ancestors and European traders in the past?

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

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

Other modes of subsistence

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

Were any of these vocations limited to a specific clans 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 external sources, from which ethnic group did your ancestors learn this technology?

Did your ancestors produce all their metal needs, beads, gold ornaments and pottery or were some imported from elsewhere?

If yes, from where were they produced?

What commodities were exchanged for these items?

Did European traders supply some of these products?

Are there any special rituals associated with the production of any of these commodities?

If yes, can you describe them?

Are these rituals still practiced today?

What are some of the main tools used in the production of these commodities?

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

Were any deities associated with the practice of any of the above vocations in the past?

Appendix B.

List of respondents interviewed at Dixcove

	Name of respondent	Occupation	Age
1	Nana Acheampong (Akyempimene – Upper Dixcove)	Akyempimhene Upper Dixcove /Fisherman	72
2	Nana Amoako Agyebu	Adontinhene – Lower Dixcove)	58
3	Albert Kwamena Aggrey	Tour Guide - Fort Metal Cross	51
4	Okyeame Steven	Chief linguist- Lower Dixcove	54
5	Nana Sarfo Otiku	Traditional medical practitioner	81
6	Abusua Panin Kweku Afraku	Traditional medical practitioner	79
7	Joseph Kofi Aggrey	Elder	72
8	Isaac Cromwell	Assistant Tour Guide – Fort Metal Cross	28
9	Lydia Adjoah Gyimah	Housewife / fishmonger	45
10	Mame Abena Agyewah Adowah	Fishmonger	51
11	Opanyin Kwesi Quarm	Boat owner / Fisherman	63
12	James Atu Ofori-Gyampoh	Fisherman	39
13	Nana Atobra Agyenim	Fisherman / storekeeper	42
14	John “King” Kweku Amanor	Fisherman	31
15	Mamee Yaa Donkor	Fishmonger / farmer	45
16	Emmanuel Kwame Atropa Sintim	Fisherman	40
17	Mercy Nana Ama Otopa	Storekeeper	37
18	Lucy Anaman A.K.A. “Queen”	Housewife / farmer	44
19	Vida Oforiwa Anim	Fishmonger / housewife	47
20	Mame Kisiwa Appronto	Fishmonger / provision seller	41
21	Princess Oforiwa Nkrumah	Food seller	26
22	Nana Obrempong Tutu	Elder	67
23	Opanyin Kweku Atobre Ansa	Elder	72
24	Emmanuel Siribour Gyampoh	Elder	77
25	Joseph Opoku	Fisherman	28