

**ARCHAEOLOGY OF PRINCE'S TOWN  
(GHANA)**

**BY**

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**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA LEGON IN  
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN ARCHAEOLOGY.**

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this thesis is the result of my own research work carried out in the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, under the supervision of Dr. Wazi Apoh. All relevant references cited in this work have been fully acknowledged. This work has not been presented in full or in part to any other institution for examination. I remain solely responsible for any shortcomings in this study.

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife; Abigail, children; Edward (Jnr), Miracle, Uction and Nhyira Adum Nyarko.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Almighty God for His abundant grace and mercies upon my life and His divine protection that has brought me this far.

I offer my special thanks and a deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Wazi Apoh, for the interest he showed in my work, the directions he gave me as well as the constructive criticisms (I call academic harassments). Though they were harsh at times they indeed helped, shape my work to this extent.

To Dr. Clement Abass Apaak who doubles as my advisor, I say a very big thank you for your interest in the supervision of this work.

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## ABSTRACT

This Archaeological research was undertaken at the town of Kpokeso now called Prince's Town on the coast of Ghana, West Africa. Prince's Town grew to fame in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a trading post and a port of great importance in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Traders of many European nations including the Brandenburg, Holland, Denmark, France, Portugal and England once maintained permanent trading establishments on the Gold coast and traded with the Africans at Kpokeso as well as traders from other parts of the Gold Coast. These historical circumstances place Prince's Town in a unique situation thus shedding light on the transformations and continuities experienced by an African society in the early period of extensive European trade contacts.

This thesis discusses a research that is focused on understanding the nature of contacts and interactions that existed between Africans and Europeans at Prince's Town during the Trans-Atlantic trading era. It also seeks to assess the contribution of the fort to the understanding of contacts and interactions between Africans and Europeans as well as gather data that inform on how the presence of the Brandenburg and other Europeans affected the people of Prince's Town and their culture. The research seeks to establish a chronology for the site of Prince's Town through the use of the artifacts from the excavation.

The Archaeological research has demonstrated that materials from excavations combined with documentary evidence and oral histories provide insights into interactions between Africans and Europeans through trade contact.

The research also indicates that there is no clear stratigraphic distribution between the Brandenburg period, the Dutch period and the English. This may be due to the choice of sites. The presence of European materials in African contexts provides insights into the African and European interaction. It has also revealed that the people of Prince's Town are Nzima and not Ahanta and that the encounters with the Europeans did not largely influence their indigenous religion as the people go to church and still practise indigenous religion.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

#### 1.0 Introduction

My research seeks to investigate African-European interactions at Prince's Town in the Ahanta West District of the Western Region of Ghana. It focuses on the ancient African settlement of Kpokeso located at Prince's Town  $4^{\circ} 47' 41.10''$  N and  $2^{\circ} 08' 02.90''$  W (See Map I).

Prince's Town is located in the Ahanta West District of the Western Region of Ghana about 5 kilometers east of Fort St. Antonio. Prince's Town lies between Axim which is to the west and Takoradi which is to the east of the town. Prince's Town (see Map 2), also known by its local name of Kpokeso (Pokeso, Pocqueso) or Bokaso, is best known as the site of the elegant Brandenburg-built Fort Gross Fredericksburg. This fort was constructed in 1683 (Welman, 1930:20). As one of the few surviving German forts in Ghana, the history surrounding the establishment of Fort Gross Fredericksburg is worth noting. Frederick William, Prince-Elector of Brandenburg is said to have registered a chartered company by name Brandenburg African Company in 1682 (Welman, 1930:16), for the purpose of carrying on trade at free ports on the Guinea Coast of Africa. The charter of the company gave it a monopoly of trade with the Ahanta people and also forbade any trade in slaves.

#### 1.2 Aims and Objectives

This research seeks to understand the nature of contacts and interactions that existed between Africans and Europeans at Kpokeso, which later came to be known as Prince's Town.

The objective is to gather data that would inform on how the presence of the Brandenburg and other Europeans affected the people of Prince's Town and their culture. The study was also undertaken to provide artifacts from excavations to establish a chronology for the site of Prince's Town as well as to assess the contribution of the fort to the understanding of contacts and interactions between Africans and Europeans.

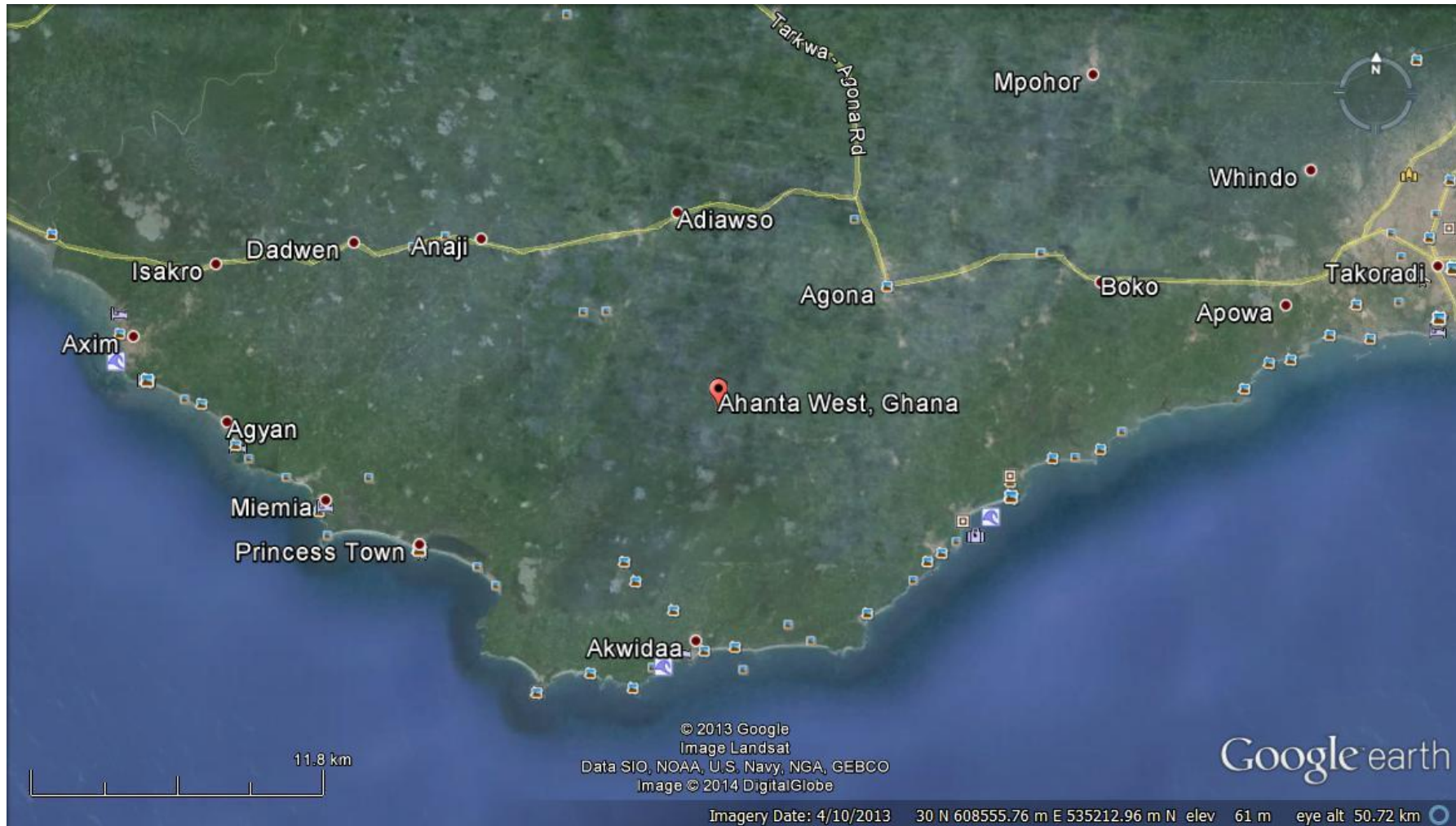
### **1.3 Background Information**

#### **1.3.1 Geology**

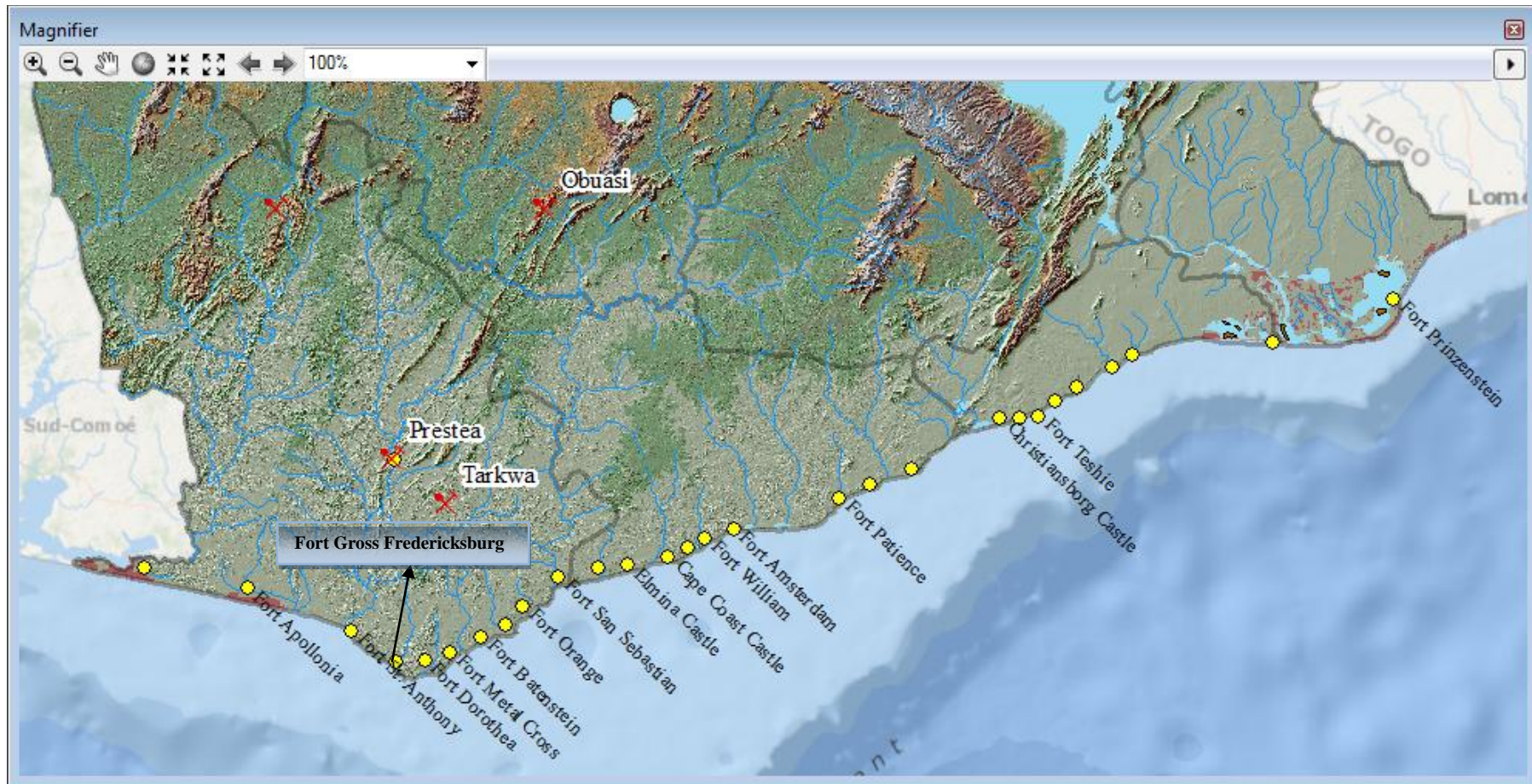
According to Dickson and Benneh (1970:7), the area stretching from Agogo in the Ashanti Region through to Akim (Eastern Region) to about the middle portion of the Ankobra (Western Region) belong to the Tarkwaian formation of the Precambrian era. Since Prince's Town is located within this belt, it would be appropriate to place it within the Tarkwaian formation. Kesse (1985:27) and Wills (1962:54) both describe the Tarkwaian system to be of shallow water continental origin derived from the Birimian and associated granitoids. The Tarkwaian formation consists of poorly sorted coarse, immature sediments of schist, sandstones, quartzite and phyllites (Dickson & Benneh 1970:8; Kesse 1985:27). A few patches of land within the area covered by the formation consist of plutonic or volcanic rocks.



Map 1 Map of Research Area, Prince's Town (Google earth image, 2013)



Map 2 Map of Ahanta West showing Prince's Town in relation to Axim, Akwida and Takoradi (Google earth image, 2014)



Map 3 Map of the coast of Ghana showing Fort Gross Fredericksburg and other Forts and Castles. (Source: S.K. Osei, 2014)

### 1.3.2 Geography and Ecology

The research site is located in Ghana's west coast which is noted as a nature lover's paradise. The area is full of hills, valleys, evergreen forests, bamboo forests, conservation areas, protected wetlands, forested islands, lakes, lagoons, ponds, swamps, beaches, coves, bays, rocky peninsulas, rock formations, monkey and bird sanctuaries. In the region with the highest rainfall in Ghana, lush greenery constantly meets the eye. The area is home to Cape Three Points Forest Reserve; the last remaining coastal rainforest in West Africa. Spectacular tropical plants abound. It includes more than 800 species of plants, such as various kinds of ferns, lilies and *Vosscia cuspidata*, the floating grass of the Amansuri wetlands. Many of the plant species can be used for medicinal purposes (<http://www.ghanawestcoast.com/gwc/ecology.php>).

Different species of animals also abound in the research area. There are more than 48 mammal species present. The animals include several species of monkeys like the spot-nosed monkey and campbell's monkey. There are also over 200 different bird species (including the spot breasted ibis and crowned eagle). There is also a wide variety of fish and shellfish, including swordfish, tuna, cassava fish, kingfish, barracuda and shrimps (<http://www.ghanawestcoast.com>).

During the months of August to March, Ghana's west coast hosts three species of marine turtles: olive ridley, leatherback, and green turtles. The peak turtle nesting season is from October to December. Dolphins and whales (including the humpback and sperm whales) are occasionally seen between October and February (<http://www.ghanawestcoast.com>).

### 1.3.3 Climate

The climate of an area refers to the long-term prevalent weather conditions of an area determined by latitude and altitude among other things (Dickson & Benneh, 1970). It is therefore necessary to examine the elements of the weather (rainfall patterns, temperature, humidity, etc.). Prince's Town is found within the South-Western Equatorial Climatic Zone of Ghana. Temperatures are very high, with little variation from year to year. The highest mean monthly temperature is 34°C which is recorded between March and April, while the lowest mean temperature of 20°C is experienced in August. The range of daily temperature is approximately double the annual range being 5°C or 6°C due to the modifying influence of the sea breeze (Dickson & Benneh 1970:26; Wills 1962:17). Relative humidity is very high averaging between 75% to 85% in the rainy season and 70% to 80% in the dry season.

Prince's Town is located within the wettest region in Ghana. It experiences a double maxima rainfall. This abundant rainfall supports agrarian activities in the District. However, due to the high number of third class roads in the district, accessibility to most parts of the district is thwarted during the rainy season (<http://www.ahantawest.ghanadistricts.gov.gh>). The annual rainfall is about 1900mm, and on the average no month is less than 25mm (Dickson & Benneh 1970:28). Rain falls at almost all times of the day and night in April, May and July. In June, there is a distinct preponderance of rain in the day-time and in September and October, rain is commonest around dawn and noon (Wills 1962:16).

### 1.3.4 Vegetation

The District falls largely within the High Rain Forest Vegetation Zone, capturing several hectares of rubber plantation. To a large extent, this contributes significantly to reducing the

problem of global warming, since a chunk of carbon dioxide emissions by the automobiles are absorbed. Due to human activities, all the forest except Cape Three Points Forest Reserve, which occupies an area of 51.02 square kilometers, has been reduced to secondary forest (<http://www.ahantawest.ghanadistricts.gov.gh>).

### **1.3.5 Population**

The growth of trade in gold, slaves and agriculture may have contributed to the high population density of Prince's Town. At present, the population of Prince's Town is about five thousand two hundred (2010 Census data, Ahanta West District Assembly). The primary factors that make groups interact is trade, availability of raw materials, endowment of natural resources, and militaristic prowess amongst others. There are about twelve villages under Prince's Town. These villages are, Nmudrokani, Ahinazo, Sao, Asubeya, Enebasuaso, Mpenyiasa, Sinamao, Adrazo, Nkwantanan, Aketekye, Apomedre, Kodwo Azua, Asomabo, Abie nsemanu, Domeabra, Asuboye, Silimawu, Adalazo, Alimasuazo. Some of these villages are along the River Nyala which serves as main source of food supply and transportation to the hinterland and the coast.

### **1.3.6 Ethnic Groups**

From the ethnographic survey conducted, one can say that the ethnic composition of Prince's Town is not made up of only Nzima speaking people. There are various ethnic groups from all over the country. They include the Ahanta, Fante, Evalue, Wassa, Aowin, Sefwi, Asante, and Guan. Other ethnic groups include the Ga Adangme, Ga and Ewe. There are some Malian traders who come there occasionally to trade goods they bring from Mali and return

home when they have made good money. They have built their stores and accommodation facility and a make shift mosque which they use anytime they visit the place.

The diverse ethnic groups encourage intermarriages among the various ethnic groups. Other public servants like teachers, nurses and medical assistants have also been posted there because of their vocations. Some are also living there because of trading activities although trading is not vibrant as it used to be during the era of the Brandenburgers

### **1.3.7 Culture**

Ghana's west coast has a very rich cultural heritage, stemming from its ethnic and European influences. The main ethnic influences emanate from the Ahanta, Nzima, Evalue and Fante ethnic groups, while the European influences are mainly from the Portuguese, Dutch, British and Brandenburg-Prussians. The culture of the area is manifested in the traditional rites and practices, music and dance, cuisine, religion, chieftaincy system, and livelihood activities.

In the later part of September or early part of October the people of Prince's Town celebrate their week-long Kundum festival. They are the last community that celebrates the Kundum Festival.

### 1.3.8 Economic Activities

The main economic activity in the area is farming, fishing and trading. Prince's Town is located within the wettest region in Ghana. The abundant rainfall in the area supports agrarian activities in the District. It also facilitates the cultivation of rubber on several hectares of plantation. To an extent, this contributes significantly to reducing the problem of global warming. There are other crops that are grown on commercial basis as well. These include oil palm, coconut, and cocoa. There are also numerous smallholder farms, nurturing crops such as corn, cassava, sugarcane, pineapple, tomatoes and pepper.



Figure 1 Photo of River Nyala (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2013).

According to the oral accounts collected, the confluence of the two rivers (Nyala and Kpane) and the estuary used to be narrow in times past. It measured about fifty feet wide. However, due to erosion and over flooding, it is now wider (Figure 1 and 2).

River Nyala is important to the people of Prince's town. This is because it is the main source of fishing for the people and the lands at the banks of the river is extensively used for farming. There are other villages beyond the banks of River Nyala and Prince's Town serves as a port where the inhabitants of those villages embark on the Oman ferry to their destinations and disembark at Prince's Town to do business. The port (Ahonle) at Prince's Town connects to these settlements, Dokwabo, Kodwo Azua Ahonle, Agyeneso Ahonle, Sawu Ahonle, Abie Nnsemanu, Domeabra Ahonle, Asuboye Ahonle, Silimowu Ahonle, Adalazo Ahonle, and Animasuazo Ahonle.



Figure 2 Photo of the estuary of Rivers Nyala and Kpane. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2013).

Canoes are the mode of transportation on the river for both fishing and transportation of farmers and traders (Figure 3). There is a special big canoe owned by the 'Oman' (state), which ferries the travelers to and fro their destinations along the coastline. This Oman canoe has been

in existence from ancient times until present. The operator of the canoe starts work at 6:00 am in the morning and closes at 6:00 pm or 7:00 pm in the evening depending on the weather condition.

The oral traditions suggest that the river served as a means of transporting lumber downstream for milling in the past. This corroborates Justesen's (2005:202, 271) statement that Prince's Town had fine wood and an excellent sawn mill where small timbers and fine planks can be sawn and obtained. This assertion is further confirmed by Duncan (2001) who indicates that in 1912, The Payne and Hingle Timber Company established a timber shipping firm at Prince's Town behind the River Nyala.



Figure 3 Photo of a farmer being transported to his village on the River Nyala (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2013).

The company built quarters for the workers and the place was named Payne Suazo. He indicates that the lumbers were arranged from upstream and they floated downstream. However

during the First World War in 1914, the company had to be closed down because the expatriates who constituted most of the technical workers had to return home.

On the eastern side of Prince's Town is the Whin or Ehonle Lagoon (Figure 4). The lagoon is a deity to the people of Prince's Town just as River Densu, Ankobra, Birim, Pra among others are deities to the people who live on their banks. There is a mythology surrounding the coming into existence of the Ehonle lagoon. Most of the people believe the myth surrounding this lagoon and would not accept any scientific explanation of the formation of the lagoon.

The oral accounts indicate that one Osahene Eti who was the head of the Ntwea family of Aloakpoke was a mighty warrior who triumphed in battles as he moved from one village to the next. However when he got to Kekam a town in the eastern part of Nzima, he met strong resistance from the people. As a result he ran out of water. He sent his sister by name Asane Mushia to go and fetch him a bottle of water from the stream called Honle which is in the town of Aprembo, in Ahantaland. He asked her to use the beach route and not to stop anywhere on her return. On her way back home, she was so exhausted and could not continue the journey so she rested a little bit at a place. This place happened to be Prince's Town. She lay down to rest for a while but fell asleep with the bottle of water lying beside her. She woke up in the morning in a pool of water and found her bottle empty and floating on the water. She continued her journey home and reported the incident to her brother. The legend continues that the pool of water continued enlarging until it became a lagoon.

Shortly after that, a hunter from Prince's Town chanced upon this water body and quickly reported it to the then chief called Nana Ndama Kundumua I. The town folks accompanied the chief to the place to ascertain the truth. According to the legend, three days later, the god of

Ehonle possessed a boy who could not speak for three days. A traditional priest was consulted and the necessary rites were performed to enable the boy to speak. When he began speaking, (still possessed by the gods) he said

*“I am known as Nana Honle. I came from Aprembo and have come to dwell amongst you. If you chiefs and people accept me, I will be your guide, defender and protector in all times. I will be the earthly father and mother to all your sons and daughters of this town”.*

The deity left the boy after that and the people of Prince’s Town accepted to live with the deity. It is believed that the rains have contributed in the enlargement of the Whin or Ehonle lagoon to its present state.

Around the Ehonle lagoon are groves in which monkeys inhabit. It is forbidden to kill these monkeys. The town people claim the monkeys are the children of Nana Honle and that the deity has forbidden them from killing any of the monkeys. The tradition claims that these monkeys have helped the people of Prince’s Town in their battles with their enemies. During one of such battles, the monkeys are believed to have helped them to defeat the people of Abecroe in 1712. It is said that during that war, the god of the lagoon, ordered the monkeys to fetch and throw the oyster shells from the lagoon at their enemies.

It is for these reasons that the god of the lagoon has instructed that none of the monkeys should be killed nor harmed. Notably, these monkeys are not harmful. They are friendly and come to people’s homes at certain times of the day. The lagoon also provides (Akpose) oysters, lobsters, and many kinds of fishes for consumption. The lagoon forbids any one to sell any kind of fish from it. The fish are for consumption and the lobsters are prepared specifically for

visitors. This is often done to demonstrate love towards one another and to have a continuous supply of fish in the lagoon.

One thing that astounds me most about this lagoon is that, it is salty. However, its immediate banks produce good fresh drinking water for both cooking and washing. The oral accounts collected indicated that one can dig a hole about a foot deep at the banks, and get fresh water. The Whin or Ehonle lagoon is revered by all the indigenes and it has become their deity.



Figure 4 Photo of the Whin or Ehonle Lagoon (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2013).

The water bodies serve as a source of food supply for the people. According to information gleaned from the ethnographic studies, fishing is done on commercial basis from the

sea (Atlantic Ocean) and the River Nyala. The catches are sent to the market at Agona Nkwanta for sale.

Another economic activity that the people of the area engage in is farming. The soils found in this area are the forest oxysols type (Dickson & Benneh 1970:36-37). The colour of these soils range from brown to orange. They are made up of sandy soils which are porous and well-drained due to the heavy and abundant rainfall in the area. This leads to a high degree of leaching resulting in serious reduction in the quantities of calcium, magnesium, and other nutrients that the soils hold. The leaching makes the soils rather acidic. Because of their acidity, they can only support tree crops such as rubber, oil palm, and coconut (Dickson & Benneh 1970:36-37). This is why the Ghana Rubber Estate Limited and private rubber estates are located in this area. There is also an abundance of oil palm and coconut in and around the Nzima area as well as Prince's Town.

Most of the crops cultivated at Prince's Town include rubber, oil palm, coconut, rice, cassava, maize, plantain, and vegetables. Cultivation of these crops is done by shifting cultivation, which normally uses the slash and burn method. Though cocoa is grown in the area it is not done on plantation basis.

Other economic activities in the area include trading and processing of agricultural produce for sale. People also engage in trades like hairdressing, dressmaking, carpentry and block-making among others.

#### 1.4 Research Problem

The Guinea Coast became the ancient “shopping street” of many European countries. Notable amongst them were the Portuguese who first arrived around 1471 in the Gold Coast. Other Europeans include the French, Dutch, English, Danes, Swedes, and Brandenburgers. To fulfill their purposes of trading on the Guinea coast, many trade posts, fortified or not, were built. Within three centuries, more than sixty castles, forts and lodges were built along a stretch of coast that is less than 500km long (Van Dantzig 1980:vii).

Oliver Davies (1956) conducted a number of sporadic surface reconnaissance surveys in Nzimaland, but his interest was into Pleistocene and Holocene studies. Subsequent investigations of European trade posts along the coast of Ghana has been the focus of most historical archaeologists like Posnansky (1976), Anquandah (1993, 1997, 1999a & 1999b), DeCorse (2001), Boachie-Ansah (2008), Freeman (2008), Gyam (2008) and Kumah (2012). Information and knowledge gathered from these investigations provide insights into the life ways of Europeans in these castles, forts and lodges, but little is known about the African communities that existed before the inception or intensification of the interactions.

The trans-Atlantic Trade led to the building of these fortifications which subsequently brought about contact and interactions. Prince’s Town is mentioned by van Dantzig (1980:39) to have been an important smuggling station on the coast for a long time. He also mentions that the Brandenburg company officials who were stationed there, traded with ships from all nations. This suggests that there was exchange of different cultural and material values. It is probable that these material and cultural remains have left their imprints in the archaeological record. To be able to investigate the nature and character of African-European relations

(contact and interaction) at Prince's Town, the researcher decided to undertake an archaeological survey and excavations at Prince's Town to provide material evidence to complement archival records regarding African-European interactions.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

This research has been guided by a number of research questions. They include the following:

1. What is the settlement history of Prince's Town?
2. What are the past material cultural manifestations of Prince's Town?
3. What are the stories, tales, folklore's and memories about the presence of Europeans in Prince's Town?
4. What was the nature of the trade that existed between the Europeans and the indigenes?
5. Who were the main people involved in the trade?
6. What were the major attractions that led to the European rivalries at Prince's Town?
7. What are the extant tangible relics of the past?

### **1.6 Research Method**

This research employed a multi-disciplinary approach in examining and collecting data to address the research questions. The research methods included examination of documentary and oral records, ethnographic studies, archaeological field survey, excavation and post excavation analysis.

**Documentary records:** Documentary literature that proved useful to this research included materials on both methodological and theoretical expositions on African-European interactions. In relation to the methods, books by Fagan (1999) and Schiffer (1982) were used. Articles by Silliman (2005), DeCorse, (1998), Cusick (1998), Gamble (1993) and Shortman and Urban (1992) served as a guide towards the understanding of the conceptual framework informing this study. These sources were consulted at the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies Library and the Balme Library in the University of Ghana, Legon. The researcher obtained archival data from the Public Records Administration and Archives Department (PRAAD) in Accra concerning the Ahanta Traditional Area. These records informed me on aspects of the history that the oral accounts and histories did not capture. They included: the Ahanta Memorandum ADM 11/1703, Petition against Lands Bill 1895 ADM 5/3/10. The Gold Coast Protectorate Report of the Proceedings of the Deputation from the Kings and Chiefs of the Western Province of the Gold Coast and the Akan traditions of Origin 5/8.

**Oral tradition:** Oral tradition is very important in African archaeology, because it fills the gaps in documentary sources and archaeological data. Vansina (1985:27) defines oral traditions as verbal messages which are reported statements from the past beyond the present generation. His definition specifies that the message must be oral statements spoken, sung, or called out on musical instruments. He distinguishes such sources from written messages and all other sources except oral history. He explains further that there must be transmission by word of mouth over at least a generation. Oral tradition plays a vital role in reconstruction of the past of any group of people.

It must be indicated that, in collecting oral traditions of any people, one would have to be very critical. This is because just as in written sources, there are bound to be distortions as a result of personal sentiments. The use of oral tradition as a source helps to correct other perspectives just as much as other perspectives correct them (Vansina, 1985:199). Against this background, oral traditions were collected from a cross-section of the public, including the Chiefs, elders and youth of Prince's Town.

The results of the interviews revealed that the people of Prince's Town were aware of their involvement in the building of the fort and its usage and see the fort as their legacy. I was informed that it was the people of Kpokeso who provided the timber for the construction of the first fort as well as labour whilst the remaining materials were imported from Konigsberg, Germany. This information is confirmed in a book compiled by Welman, (1930:17:22). They indicated that during wars the men took their wives and children for safe keeping in the fort and the men went to the battle field. This information is also confirmed by Welman, (1930:21).

It is also known that local people served as brokers for the commandants of the fort. Mention is made of John Konny who was a broker for the Brandenburgers and a merchant who later became a ruler. A cabussier called Kwamina Appree alias Apkolley Kpanyinli of Axim (Daaku, 1970:132; Gyam, 2008:40; and Welman, 1930:35) through whom John Konny waged war against the people of Axim is also well remembered.

**Reconnaissance Survey and Ethnographic Studies:** Ethnographic research was conducted at Prince's Town from 25<sup>th</sup> November to 29<sup>th</sup> December 2012, and from 18<sup>th</sup> March to 21<sup>st</sup> March 2013 to complement documentary sources, oral accounts and archaeological data. Ethnography has to do with the study of the contemporary life ways of a people.

Ethnographic studies concerning the indigenous ideology and economic activities of Prince's Town were undertaken as well.

**Archaeological field survey:** Surface survey was carried out at the site of the ancient African settlement at Prince's Town by walking within the site. People still live at this site presently. The site covered was 90 x 120 m in area. Surface finds were collected. The survey was restricted to the old African settlement but did not include the African settlement at places such as the Manfro hill and at the foothills of Manfro hill, where the Fort Gross Fredericksburg is situated.

**Excavation:** Most part of the old African settlement is covered by the sea due to climatic changes and the construction of the Tema and Takoradi Harbours in the 1920's. The area left along the shoreline has become sandy as a result of wave actions by the sea. The sandy nature of the area coupled with fishing activities did not allow for total gridding of the area. Some selected areas with surface configuration of artifacts on the site were selected for excavation. A total of three (3) units were opened.

**Post Excavation Analysis:** Archaeological materials, such as pottery, glass bottles, stems of smoking pipes, ceramics, and metals were analyzed with the assistance of technical and teaching staff of the Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies at the University of Ghana.

## **1.7 Significance of Research**

The results of this work are multifaceted. It is expected that the findings will add to and complement the already existing knowledge on the archaeology of the Nzima area. It will also broaden the scope of understanding on the archaeology of African-European interactions and trade in Ghana, especially in the Western Region and help identify who the people of Prince's Town are. The findings could serve as data for comparative studies in other parts of the country in general.

## **1.8 Problems encountered**

Some problems were encountered during the research period. Notable among them was the fact that the archival documents on early interactions with the Europeans at Prince's Town from the 15<sup>th</sup> century are difficult to come by at the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD). Most of the early documents were in German language and are not available in Ghana.

Secondly, there has never been any archaeological research at Prince's Town. The youth who were ignorant of the discipline and were not well informed by the interim seven member committee mediating between the rival chiefs considered the excavations as a probe for gold rather than for cultural materials. Most people speculated that the researcher had come to prospect for gold. Just as the principal researcher started drawing the soil profile of the test pit, some of the youth from the community who had returned from a funeral came to the site and asked the team to stop work. The principal researcher who had then started drawing the soil

profile in the pit was nearly covered with sand when the angry mob backfilled the unit and marched the team to the palace. It took two days to resolve the issue and for work to resume.

Thirdly, best areas for excavations were not permitted by the individuals who claimed their ancestors were buried there. Those who were ready to allow the team excavate their piece of land were demanding a fee of one hundred and fifty (150.00) cedis and a bottle of schnapps for a 2m x 2m unit. As part of their demand they would supervise the dig and collect any jewelry or beads they deemed important to the family. Unit 2 and 3 were monitored by family representatives. Other probable places that could have been excavated had been disturbed and in other circumstances, the sea had disturbed or covered the area. The sea had swallowed an ancient refuse dump and some of the artifacts had been washed ashore whilst some were probably buried by the sea sand. Some other artifacts were trapped in the rocks where the refuse dump used to be in the sea.

The south-western part of Ghana is noted for cloudiness and heavy rainfall throughout the year. Many times it was cloudy and photography was difficult during the period of the research.

## **1.9 Organization of chapters**

Chapter One is introductory and provides the background information to the study area.

Chapter Two is divided into two parts; conceptual framework and settlement history. The conceptual framework discusses contact studies and how trade brought different cultures into contact which resulted in the exchange of cultures and cultural materials. The settlement history examines Prince's Town from diverse perspectives. It combines information collected from different sources which include documentary, archival, oral traditional and ethnographic sources.

Chapter Three examines the Cultural heritage and life ways of the people of Prince's Town through a reconnaissance survey and ethnographic studies conducted in the town. It also discusses the historical significance of these findings.

Chapter Four provides details on the archaeological reconnaissance survey conducted at Prince's Town and the finds that that was recovered from the survey. The artifacts recovered from the archaeological survey would help to provide a better understanding of African-European contact and interactions at Prince's Town and the Gold Coast.

Chapter Five focuses on the analysis of the excavated material remains from the sites.

Chapter Six ends the work with a discussion of the European Interactions at Prince's Town

## CHAPTER TWO

### Conceptual Framework and Settlement History of Kpokeso

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts: conceptual framework and settlement history. The conceptual framework discusses contact studies and how trade brought different cultures into contact which resulted in the exchange of cultures and cultural materials. The settlement history examines Prince's Town from diverse perspectives. It combines information collected from different sources which include documentary, archival, oral traditional and ethnographic sources.

#### 2.2 Conceptual Framework

This research is based on the premise that, no human society has ever existed for any significant period of time in isolation from others. As a result of this, cultures always interact with one another. The effect of this interaction is generally characterized under the rubric of acculturation, assimilation, and amalgamation amongst others. Contact, or culture contact studies stands as a general term used by archaeologists to refer to groups of people coming into or staying in contact for days, years, decades, centuries, or even millennia (Silliman, 2005:58). In its broadest usage, this contact can range from amicable to hostile, extensive to minor, long term to short duration, or ancient to recent, and it may include a variety of elements such as exchange, integration, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and creation of Diaspora communities (Silliman, 2005:58).

James Cusick (1998: 4) defined culture contact as “a predisposition for groups to interact with “outsiders”- a necessity created through human diversity, settlement pattern, and desire for people to exchange- and to control the interaction”. Contact has been pervasive through every aspect of human interactions, from the trans-Saharan trade era during the first millennium A.D. which brought both technological and cultural innovations to African societies. The trade brought metal goods, cloth, and beads to West Africa from the north while the forest and savanna provided gold, salt, and slaves (DeCorse, 1998).

DeCorse (1998) argues that in West African Studies, the stress is on the north-south connections (European – African interactions) and the trans-Saharan-trade but east-west links were also important. He maintains that at the coast, movement through the rivers and lagoons between the Volta River and the Niger Delta facilitated an indigenous exchange system that complemented later European maritime trade.

DeCorse maintains that ethno-historical studies also reveal a web of trade connections. This is especially seen throughout the interior hinterland where iron, salt, beads, and exotic imports circulated throughout the West African interior centuries before the advent of the Europeans on the coast. This attests to the fact that contact is endemic to human existence. Therefore he states that as we consider the transformations in West Africa during the period of European expansion, we must understand and recognize that linkages between the Islamic polities of the savanna and Sahel and the societies in the southern forest remain fundamental in culture contact (DeCorse 1998).

The European arrival on the West African coast in the late fifteen century began the sustained economic and cultural interactions that culminated with the partition of Africa into colonies in the late nineteenth century (DeCorse, 1998).

Among the primary factors that make groups interact is trade, availability of raw materials, endowment of natural resources, and militaristic prowess amongst others. Trade is usually a catalyst that facilitates these interactions. However, contact in such cases is not difficult to explain since it is the natural outcome of the inherently human proclivity to move about, which inevitably results in encountering the other (Cusick, 1998). What requires explanation and investigation is why, in any specific setting, contact was continued and allowed to develop into a relationship of sustained interaction (Schortman and Urban, 1992).

The pivot around which the trans-Saharan-Trade and the trans-Atlantic-Trade evolved was trade. Gold was the primary objective during the fifteen and sixteenth centuries, but other commodities, including ivory, pepper, redwood, and hides became increasingly important (DeCorse, 1998:360). Trade is therefore most likely to emerge at places that have abundant supply of resources like gold, ivory, salt, kola and slaves. This accounted for the conglomeration of people at such places resulting in population expansion, urbanism and state formation. Powerful militaristic kingdoms like Great Accra, Akwamu, Denkyira, Asante, and Akyem emerged in the peak of the gold and slave trade (Kea, 1982:86). DeCorse (1998) suggests that it was trade that brought the Europeans and their activities took place within this arena. Schortman and Urban (1992) also suggest that it is the competition for these resources that creates a platform that draws people into cross-cultural contact and interaction, which is then structured by a variety of historic, demographic, and socio-political factors.

Prince's Town in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served as a good place for interaction because it had a good bay that the interloper ships and vessels could anchor and trade without the other known companies seeing them. Goods traded at this place were about 20% cheaper than those at the other trading posts and therefore attracted many people to the place (Welman, 1930:48). The town was located within the Asante-Aowin trade route to the coast, which was within a good area for getting gold (Daaku, 1970:129). The Wassa and Asante always brought good gold to be sold there and slaves were available there as well.

There was good fresh water for all arriving ships, as well as firewood and excellent sawn mill where large and small timber and fine planks can be sawn and obtained. These endowments at Kpokeso attracted the Europeans to interact with the people.

Anytime social groups come into contact, there is some kind of interaction and there is bound to be exchange of ideas, materials and values. While some may be influenced to change aspects of their culture because of the presence of the other group, others decide to continue with their cultural values. However, contact with Europeans increased the indigenous taste for exotic wine and liquor such as gin, brandy and rum. Before the arrival of the Europeans on the Gold Coast, the African had alcoholic beverages like palm wine. Rum for instance, was used to pay rent for lands by the Portuguese in Cacheu in Upper Guinea (Buah; 1977:30). Drinks were demanded for several social occasions, such as child-naming ceremonies, marriages, annual festivals and funerals.

Daaku suggests that European contact and interaction as a result of the trans-Atlantic triangular trade not only increased the volume of trade but diversified it. The pre-existing northern trade with the coast was mainly based on salt, which was carried to far places in the

interior, where it was short in supply. One of the most important items of trade between the Gold Coast and its neighbours which the Europeans capitalized on was cotton cloth. He suggests that Akan traders bought cotton cloths and other articles, which were likely to have been paid for in salt as well as gold and kolanuts and the long established trade in cotton between the Gold Coast and its neighbours created a ready market demand which the Portuguese attempted to satisfy. They brought well-known cloth from North Africa but acted as carriers in the local West African trade. Cloths, leopard skins, and beads were obtained from Benin and Whydah and carried to the Gold Coast. Beads were another important item of trade that the Europeans brought to the Gold Coast from other West African countries. The Portuguese brought in beads known as 'Coris' from Benin. These beads were described in 1601 as being made of blue, green, and black stones obtained from the River Forcades; and later places like the Cameroon and Whydah became associated with the manufacture of these beads (Daaku; 1970: 7). The people of the Gold Coast put finishing touches to the imported beads which gave them a local character.

This research sought to investigate aspects of the cultural values of the people of Prince's Town. The ensuing section reveals how Kpokeso or Prince's Town came about. It also reveals that migration, contact with various groups and trade led to its growth as an important town connected with the trans-Atlantic trade.

### **2.3 Settlement History of Kpokeso**

According to the oral history, the people of Prince's Town were part of the larger Akan (Aowins). They emigrated from the Kong region and within the region around the Nzi-Comoe

River in the northern part of Cote D'ivoire. They emigrated as a result of an alleged invasion of their belief systems and clashes by the Mande on horses. The persistent harassment and torments by these Mande people, made the people leave the area under the leadership of their king called Ano Asaman. They trekked through the forest into Ghana. This group comprised the Twifo, Aowin and Asekyere (Adanse) people. They used to be one group of people.

The forest was so thick and dense that it became inaccessible for the Mande horse riders and their horses. The Aowins under the leadership of Ano Asaman, directed their journey towards the southern part of the Boudouku forest whilst the Twifo and Asekyere (Adanse) took to the Eastern part of the Bondouku forest. The Aowin migrants arrived at Takyiman where they settled for some years. Because the people of Takyiman were a dominant group, there were clashes between these two groups. The chief of the Aowin migrant group, together with his people continued their journey down south until they arrived at a place in present day Sefwi called Ahwiahwia near present day Goaso.

Years later, clashes and confrontations with other social groups made it necessary for the group to continue their journey in search for a place where they would not have to clash with any group. Some members of the migrant group indicated that they were tired of wandering without a definite destination so they were comfortable at Ahwiahwia and so settled there. This remnant group of Aowin people named themselves Sefwi. By this time their leader Ano Asaman had died and had been succeeded by Kaku Aku.

The larger migrant group of the Aowin under the leadership of Kaku Aku continued with their migration further southwards. At last the migrant group arrived at the end of the forest and settled on one of the promontories. They claimed that the place was the source of the forest

through which they had travelled all the way from Takyiman. They named the place Kpokeso which in the Aowin or Nzima language means the source of the forest.

The oral tradition has it that, the group was large and after travelling for several years, the people were tired so a greater number of the people decided to stay at Kpokesu. Kaku Aku continued and settled the remaining Aowin people along the coast of Beyin and Grand Bassar in Cote D'ivoire. Kaku Aku was succeeded by Awuabeng. The exact date they arrived at Kpokeso is not known but some people guess it was around 1473.

Another school of thought by Duncan (2001) suggests that the people of Kpokeso or Prince's Town migrated from the old Ghana Empire after its demise in the 1600's. He suggests that the erstwhile Ghana Empire comprised many tribes of which the Akan was one. He claims the fall of the Ghana Empire brought about tribal differences; inter tribal wars, indiscipline, civil strife, low morals and non existence of loyalty. This necessitated the southern migration of some groups in search of newer dwelling places. Duncan (2001) indicates that out of these migrant tribes emerged the people of present day Prince's Town. They found their way to Takyiman after the demise of the old Ghana Empire and wandered for years until they finally reached Kpokeso.

Duncan (2001) suggests that, the second generation of the people of Kpokeso (Prince's Town), were among the aborigines who settled first at Takyiman. As a group of people with their custom, traditional authority as well as belief systems, they encountered some difficulties living among the bigger groups of the immigrants from old Ghana empire and had to move southwards under the leadership of their king Busumle Akotia. This group of people first settled at Jukwa around Cape Coast for three months. In trying to find a comfortable and peaceful place, they moved westward, passing through Elmina and stopped at Takoradi where the people settled for

about two years. Not too comfortable there, they moved further on until in the 1680's they reached Kpokeso. The people chose this place as their final home because of the beautiful scenery of the Nyala River, and the sea. Duncan suggests that upon arrival, Busumle the king found newly ruined and burnt houses which indicated a recent war. The war he asserts was in 1682 and this was between the kingdom of Adom (Welman 1930:19).

Meyerowitz (1950) also has a different migration story of the Nzima of which Kpokeso is a part. She suggests that the Nzima (N'Zi-mba) migrated from beyond Kankyeabo in the northern part of present day Cote D'ivoire and first settled at Takyiman. They later moved and settled west of the Evalue people located between Cape Three Points and the border of Cote D'ivoire. She suggests they founded Axim (Essim or Atsin) among other places which became the capital of their state (Meyerowitz, 1950:84, 85).

Meyerowitz (1950:84) suggests that information given her by an old Nzima man when she was collecting oral traditions indicates that the Akyerekere (Asekyere) people who immigrated into the Gold Coast about the same time, as the Nzima people, remember the Nzima people and their great chief Ano Asaman who were their neighbours at Cote D'ivoire. Meyerowitz notes that Nzima claim they are Anyi people and got their name from the coast. She suggests further that the Anyi-Nzima had their original home along the N'zi River to which they derived their name. She is of the view that this is often the case in this part of Africa. The N'zi runs parallel to the Comoe or Komo Kumbu River, from which the Kumbu (Akwamu), living along its banks, emigrated shortly afterwards into the Gold Coast.

According to the traditions collected by Delafosse (1908:61-63) among the Nzima (Nzima) in present day Cote D'Ivoire, it was Ano Asaman who brought the Nzima south and set

up a fairly large kingdom over all the Akan peoples in the Gold Coast. Delafosse indicates that there is no evidence for this, but there may be some truth in it in so far as Ano Asaman dominated some of the Akan when he conquered some parts of the northern Cote D'Ivoire. He suggests that the Nzima entered the country at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. However Delafosse indicates that Kaku Aku is the last successor of Ano Asaman and in whose reign the break-up of the Nzima kingdom took place.

To be able to ascertain where these people really emigrated from, there is the need for an extensive archaeological research to be done at Takyiman, the Kong region and wherever they alleged they emigrated from. A comparative analysis of the various material culture recovered from these homelands will help to ascertain where they indeed emigrated from. The reason being that, prototypes of material culture recovered from such settlements will bear affinities to those from their homelands. But for now, one may conjecture that the people of Kpokeso or Princes Town are not autochthonous people but migrants.

#### **2.4 The People of Kpokeso and their Encounters with Europeans**

At one time or another, nine European countries, or their International chartered companies, kept fortified stations in West Africa, the motive being to protect and expand the trade of each country and to exclude competitors (Lawrence, 1963:25). Within three centuries, the various Europeans had established over sixty castles, forts and lodges along the coasts of the Gold Coast (van Dantzig, 1980:vii). These structures, built by various European nations to protect their trade on the Guinea Coast are still today one of Ghana's most striking features. If some of them could be regarded as important individual monuments, the whole chain of

buildings, whether intact or ruined, or merely known as sites, could be seen as a collective historical monument unique in the world (van Dantzig, 1980:vii).

The European expansion into the Gold Coast, now Ghana, was mainly due to the quantity and quality of gold that was exported from this area which became known as the Gold Coast. Van Dantzig, suggests that gold from Africa and probably from the Gold Coast was already known to the Europeans before the fifteenth century. He argues that considerable quantities of this gold had crossed the Mediterranean from North Africa (van Dantzig, 1980:1).

From the fifteenth century onwards the Gold Coast was the scene of busy competition for trade between many European nations. The Portuguese built Fort St. Anthony at Axim in 1515 and in 1642 it was taken over by the Dutch (Welman, 1930:14). The Dutch established themselves at Sekondi about 1640 and at Butre in 1644. The English erected a fort at Dixcove in 1691-1697. The French, the Swedes, the Danes, and Dutch and the English had been at Takoradi before it was taken from the English by Dutch in 1664 (Welman, 1930:14).

From the 1681 onwards, Frederick William the Great Elector of Brandenburg established trade and colonization in West Africa in this region of the Gold Coast. The Great Elector of Brandenburg realized the importance of sea power, which brought wealth and influence to the kindred Dutch and English, and decided to pursue oversea trade (Welman, 1930:15). On 16<sup>th</sup> May 1681, Captain Blonck succeeded on arriving at Cape Three Points in the country of Axim. In 1682, the second expedition started for the Gold Coast under the command of Major Otto Friedrich von der Groeben. It consisted of two ships, Churprintz, with thirty-two guns and a crew of sixty, and the Morian, with twelve guns and a crew of forty (Welman, 1930:15, 16).

They were instructed to go to Cape three Points and anchor after they got to the Guinea Coast (Welman, 1930:17).

The connection of Brandenburg-Prussia with the Gold Coast only lasted for forty years. However, during that time, the Brandenburgers built two forts. One was named Gross Fredericksburg and was located on Manfro hill above the populous village of Kpokeso or Prince's Town. The second was named Fort Dorethea which was located at Akwida. A lodge which was named Fort Sophie Louise was located at the middle point of Cape Three Points, near a village called Takrama (Klama) which no longer exists (Welman, 1930:14).

Welman (1930:19) indicates that on 27<sup>th</sup> December 1682, the two frigates anchored off Cape Three Points, near Accoda (Akwida), where they found excellent anchorage. Von der Groeben was so attracted by the place that he was inclined to lay out a fort here but some Dutch men appeared there and the natives seemed to have entered into some agreement with them so von der Groeben decided to adhere strictly to his instructions and look for the three Caboceers; Pregate, Sophonie and Apany (Welman, 1930:19). The frigates moved to the next village presently called Prince's Town and anchored near a hill called Manfro on a promontory which was later selected as the best site for the building of the fort. On their arrival they saw burnt huts and other signs that were suggestive of recent fighting. It was later learnt that two of the said Caboceers had lost their lives in a war with the Kingdom of Adom (Welman, 1930:19). The survivor, Apany had fled inland but the news of the Brandenburg brought him back and Major von der Groeben made a fresh treaty with him again with the successors of the other two deceased (Welman, 1930:19).

On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1683, Captain de Voss brought the Great Electoral Brandenburg flag from the ship, and made the soldiers hoist it amidst the firing of five canons for the onset of the New Year. On 5<sup>th</sup> January a treaty was signed with the names of the three (3) cabussiers (caboceers) with whom the former treaty was made. This time, fourteen names including that of the survivor Apany, are appended to the treaty under the general head of the Cabussier (Welman, 1930:20). The names are Brombire, Erhi, Aussi, Among, Etong, Lessi, Casparo, Eguri, Sacing, Mana, Nache, Assassa, Ennu, and Apany. They undertook to serve and assist the Commandant and his garrison, not to do business with any but the Brandenburg ships and Fort and not to give permission to any other nations to establish themselves in the neighbourhood (Welman, 1930:20).

Construction of a small fort was done with the assistance of the Africans under the directives of the two engineers who came from Brandenburg. This is because almost all the building materials for the construction of the fort had been shipped to the Gold Coast from Konigsberg, and the plan for the Fort had also been designed from Brandenburg (Welman, 1930:21). By February 1684, the building of Fort Gross Fredericksburg was completed. It was very solidly constructed of stone and the principal buildings inside the fort were also built of stones. It was square in shape with four bastions at each corner.

By 1692, 1693, 1694, the Brandenburg African Company did well in trading. It had seventeen (17) ships with two hundred and thirty (230) guns. But from the year 1697, its prosperity began to decline, owing partly to quarrels among the partners and partly to the dishonesty of certain employees. In addition, four (4) of the merchant vessels fell into the hand of the French in 1697 (Welman, 1930:32).

Attempts were made to open up new sources of gain by sending out miners to mine for gold, but without much success. The Company fell more into decay and was finally no longer able to equip any ships of their own. This was the period when the European nations were fully occupied with war in Europe, where the English, Dutch and Prussians were fighting as allies. As a result of the war, their colony on the Gold Coast became weak and, the Company was therefore forced to depend on interlopers for its trade goods (Daaku, 1970:129).

There has been a lot of debate among scholars as to the exact amount of gold that was produced and exported from the Gold Coast from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the period 1490-1560, for example, nearly 1000kg of gold was exported from Elmina to enrich the Portuguese crown, and by the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Portuguese-Gold Coast trade provided about 10% of the world's known gold supplies (Anquandah, 1999:14). It is also estimated by Sergeant (1996: 90) that “in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Gold Coast produced about 35% of the world's gold”. This probably was the reason why over the three centuries of European contact, trade posts of such magnitude were established or constructed on Ghana's coast.

The Brandenburg African Company after a while wound up. By the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1700, the garrison of Gross Fredericksburg consisted of one lieutenant, two surgeons, three non-commissioned officers, four lance corporals, one drummer and thirty marines. No reinforcements or relief came from Europe all this time. At last when reinforcement arrived in 1708, there were only seven (7) soldiers left fit for duty. This was during the war of the Spanish Succession with the great sacrifices it entailed on Prussia for twelve (12) years, and the colony was for a long period left to itself (Welman, 1930:33). The commandant had to call up natives for guard duties, in order to just barely hold the forts. This made it possible to hold the fort until the conclusion of peace.

I suggest that it was as a result of this internal weakness of the Brandenburg administration that empowered John Konny a local merchant to take up the administration and running of Fort Gross Fredericksburg. From about 1711 to 1725, the Fort Gross Fredericksburg was under the leadership of John Konny, who was an Ahanta merchant and chief. He took oversight duties of the fort and withheld the Dutch who claimed they had purchased the property from the Brandenburg for about fourteen (14) years. Eventually, the Dutch brought in a superior army that forced him out of the town and he sought refuge in Kumasi where he is said to be the founder of the suburbs called Mmbrom, Kumasi Nzima, and Kwadaso all in the Ashanti Region.

## **2.5 Toponymy of Prince's Town**

Before the arrival of the Brandenburgers to the Gold Coast in 1681, the present day Prince's Town was known as Kpokeso. Kpokeso means the source of the forest. After the encounters with the Brandenburgers and the signing of various treaties, the Africans placed themselves under the suzerainty and protection of the Elector of Brandenburg. The Great Elector of Brandenburg Frederick William was also referred to as the Prince. From 1681-1683 upon completion of the fort at Kpokeso, it was named after the Great Elector. The name of the fort was Gross Fredericksburg. Kpokeso became a Brandenburg colony and was often referred to by the Brandenburgers in their correspondences and transactions as the Prinze Terre in deutsch or the Prince's Town. From then Kpokeso has been known as prince's Town. However, some people still refer to the town as Kpokeso.

## **2.6 Information on previous Historical and Archeological research done on European Contact sites in Coastal Areas of Ghana**

Van Dantzig's contribution to our understanding of the Ghanaian Dutch interactions in the Gold Coast cannot be ignored. He gives us a picture of how early Europeans (the Portuguese and Dutch) tried to explore the lower reaches of big rivers like the Volta, Pra, and Ankobra for gold. However, little success was made on each river except the Ankobra. The reason for this endeavor was to control the gold trade and avoid the troublesome African middlemen (van Dantzig, 1973). The venture into the hinterland to obtain or operate gold mines was as a result of growing competition from other Europeans which brought about decline in the supply of the gold. These Europeans were however resisted by the Africans. Bossman (1709:73) indicates that the Africans kept unauthorized persons away from their mines as if that were sacred places.

Although van Dantzig's work is of great importance to the understanding and interactions that exists between Africans and Europeans in the Ahanta region, it lacks oral traditions and archaeological data to re-enforce and buttress most of the claims he curled from archival records. His focus was on mainly materials written by Europeans which were eurocentric in nature whilst giving little attention to the Africans.

Samuel Gyam (2008) carried out archaeological investigation at the Dutch Fort of St. Anthony in Axim, where the Ankobra River enters the sea. His objective was to investigate the two-way interactions between African and Europeans (Gyam, 2008: 53). He noted that the fort played an important role in the interactions between Africans and Europeans. It served as a principal maritime outlet for the Ankobra goldfields. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries, the St. Anthony fort functioned as a level-2 port (Kea, 1982: 79). Kea defines level-2 port as a sub-regional trade center or major port. He refers to urban settlements where trading towns, marketing activities, and the collection and distribution of commodities, money, merchant capital and the like exist.

Gyam (2008) excavated three trenches: two at the fort, and the third in the local community. The materials collected, included glass bottles, European smoking pipes, local pottery, roof tiles, European ceramics, Portuguese and Dutch bricks, cowries, glass beads, cannon balls, local smoking pipes, slate pencil, kaolin, iron implements and molluscs. All of these suggest items of trade involved in the trans-atlantic trade.

The presence of molluscs in the archaeological data suggests subsistence among the Africans and Europeans. It was confirmed in the oral account collected that, the local people regarded this estuarine and marine food as their favourite and it was during such a hunting occasion that they encountered their “friends”, the Portuguese (Gyam, 2008:131).

Excavations have revealed the use of local pottery concurrently with imported ceramics in both the fort and the community. Gyam suggests that the local pottery was used to complement the imported ones due to the quantity recovered in the excavations. The evidence of a slate pencil, suggests western education (Gyam, 2008: 133). The Portuguese known to be Roman Catholics probably started some form of formal education in the fort. It is one of the legacies that Axim inherited from the Europeans. This legacy of education, Gyam suggests, was clear evidence that reflected African and European contacts (Gyam, 2008:131)

Daniel Kumah in his thesis entitled “Archaeological survey of African-Dutch Interactions at Awudua-Dada in Western Region, Ghana”, claims Awudua Dada is the only place in the

history of Ghana where the Europeans built an inland trade post. However, the Portuguese built a trade post at Awurozo around the confluence of River Duma and the Ankobra and named it Fort Duma in 1623. During the Aowin earthquake on 18<sup>th</sup> December 1636, Fort Duma collapsed. Kumah (2013) suggests that the reason for building the trade post was to control the gold trade because of the quality and quantity of gold produced in the area between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries on the coast of Axim.

Kumah indicates that the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exchanged gold with imports such as Schnapps, guns, and ceramics. This is evident in the availability and presence of glass bottles in the archaeological record. Kumah suggests that these bottles were used as receptacles for commodities such as alcohol, oil, syrups, toilet water, olives, medicine and tuna during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (c.f. DeCorse, 2001:159).

He indicates that judging from the large number of alcoholic beverage containers and fragments of drinking glasses and a tumbler, drinking was probably an important leisure pastime of both the natives and the Dutch. The recovery of large quantities of alcoholic beverage bottles suggests that European liquor was in high demand by the local people and that it constituted an important export item to the area. The abundance of liquor bottles and some case bottle seals in the archaeological assemblage is also suggestive of the fact that European liquor was an important exchange item at Awudua.

According to Kumah, Anquandah (1982) argues that the presence of smoking pipes is suggestive that, tobacco and the culture of smoking tobacco through pipes were introduced to the Guinea Coast by early European traders in the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Anquandah, 1982: 11). This assertion is based on the fact that trade and social interactions

between the coastal communities and various European traders began in earnest and were brisk and vibrant during this period.

The recovery of ceramics though not many is suggestive that the people of Awudua preferred the use of local pottery to European ceramics but both were used concurrently.

The recovery of faunal remains of both domesticated and undomesticated animal species at Awudua suggests animal husbandry and hunting constituted important vocations of the people in the past. The presence of grasscutter, bones and snail shells also suggests that the Awudua people subsisted on these animals.

Evidence of Kola nuts is suggestive of its subsequent exports to the Saharan, Sahelian and other northern states through the trans-saharan-trade. Kola nuts were one of the articles of trade sought for during the Trans-Saharan-Trade (Buah, 1974).

He suggests that there is continuity in the life-ways of the people. There is no evidence of architectural, marital, educational and subsistence influence from the Dutch in the area.

DeCorse has been researching in coastal part of Ghana over the past fifteen years. He has concentrated on the transformations that occurred within the context of expanding European trade and the entrance of West Africa into the emerging Atlantic system (DeCorse, 1987 a, 1987b, 1988, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1998, 2001). The focus of much of his work has been at the site of Elmina and other African settlements that were directly associated with the European trade entrepots on the coast founded between the late fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The objective or focus of DeCorse's research was the African settlement of Elmina which was more about the everyday life of the Elmina people. He maintains that the majority of the

population left no written records, and documentary sources that outline the town's history and tell the story of the individuals who lived there were written by Europeans.

DeCorse indicates how the people viewed the world and notes that; "physical traces do, however, provide insights into both change and continuity in how the Elmina people ordered their lives and conceptualized the world" (DeCorse, 2001:10).

Trade lists and archaeological data of the fifteenth century through to the nineteenth century document a dramatic increase in the amount and variety of imported goods that attest to European Industrial Revolution and Elmina's inclusion in a world economy. DeCorse indicates that there was extensive change in subsistence strategies and in house construction, as well as in other classes of material culture that point to transformations in African patterns of consumption, behaviour, and beliefs.

The artifact inventories dating from the pre-European contact period through the early post-contact era are dramatically different from those of the later seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. DeCorse suggests that apart from the limited quantity of European trade materials, the earlier sites are characterized by stone beads, occasional fragments of slag and iron, lithics, and ceramics. The pottery is characteristically fragmentary and eroded, and is quite distinct in form and decoration from later ceramics (DeCorse, 2001:116-123). He indicates that Classic black smudged, carinated vessels common on interior Akan sites only appear in the nineteenth century.

DeCorse concludes by suggesting that, the archaeological evidence from Elmina indicates change in settlement patterns and craft production in the centuries following European contact. A pattern of small, dispersed settlements characterized the coast from AD 500 to 1700.

In the following centuries, coastal settlements associated with European trading enclaves increased in size and became production centers. These changes in settlement size and artifact inventory only hint at the sociopolitical transformations that occurred. Coastal towns, such as Elmina and Cape Coast, emerged as independent states (DeCorse, 2001:38-47). Based on these data it is possible to say that there were substantial changes in coastal Ghana as a consequence of the expanding Atlantic world.

It must be noted that unlike Prince's Town, Elmina had a long interaction and relationship with various European nations spanning over 500 years (1400's -1900's). In view of this, the documentary evidence, oral traditions, ethnographic enquiries and the archaeological record may vary. At Prince's Town, the presence of the Europeans was short. The Dutch stayed longer for about 147 years, the English who were the last of the Europeans lived there for 85 years whilst the Brandenburgers who constructed the fort lived there for about 42 years.

The Brandenburgers were the first to settle at Prince's Town from 1683 to 1725 and built Fort Gross Fredericksburg at Prince's Town, Fort Dorothea at Akwida, a redoubt at Takoradi and a lodge which was called Fort Sophie Louise on the middle point of Cape Three Points near a village called Takrama which does not exist now. However, from 1717 to 1725, the protection of the Colony was handed over to an African by name John Konny.

After the demise of Frederick William the Great Elector in 1713, Frederic William I who succeeded him indicated his willingness to transfer the forts on the coast of Guinea to someone else for a fair consideration and offered no assistance or support of any kind to the Brandenburg Colony in the Gold Coast. General Dubois was the governor at Fort Gross Fredericksburg then. In 1716 he decided to return to Europe and report personally the progressive decline of the

Colony entrusted to him and petition for help. He therefore handed over the command of the fort to an European sergeant and confided the protection of the Colony to John Konny who was an African merchant and had become ruler at Prince's Town. He ruled the Colony from 1717 to 1725 and fought the Dutch at several times resisting them from taking over the fort which they had paid 6000 ducats for until he was finally defeated by a superior force from the Dutch in 1725.

After the defeat of John Konny, the Dutch took over all the Brandenburg possessions and renamed Fort Gross Fredericksburg as Fort Hollandia. The Dutch occupied Prince's Town from 1725 to 1872. They occupied Prince's Town and controlled the trade in gold and slaves until finally they decided to leave the country and sold all their properties to the English in 1872.

The English occupied the area from 1872 to 1957 until Ghana attained independence and handed over the Fort Gross Fredericksburg to Ghanaians. They changed the name of the fort from Fort Hollandia as the Dutch named it to Fort Gross Fredericksburg again.

This may suggest why scanty literature is available on the interactions of the Brandenburgers. The little literature available is either referenced in Germany, or is in the archaic German language.

One other Archaeologist who has done research concerning African-European interactions is James Anquandah. In 1999, he conducted archaeological reconnaissance survey in Nzimaland with much emphasis on Dutch activities. Some of the sites which he worked on were River Ankobra Hill Sites, Fort Apollonia, Fort St. Antonia, Nkwanta (Ankasa) Forest Reserve and Eliza Carthago Hill Site.

The survey noted that local potters at Axim still produce and market their wares. He suggested that it will be necessary and instructive to carry an ethnographic study on the indigenous ceramics and other allied crafts to serve as an analogy for interpretation of indigenous artifacts that may be retrieved from the Fort excavations.

Find recovered from the research include human physical remains, mammalian fauna, mollusk shells, imported glassware, local pottery, glass bead, imported pottery, imported smoking pipe, red clay tile, European (Portuguese) brick, European (Dutch) brick, iron implements, iron slag, textile button, guns, and military equipment.

Anquandah suggests that the findings confirm that the authorship of the main stone fort monumental structures can be traced to the Dutch (Anquandah, 1992). Anquandah suggests that the function of Fort St. Jago was for militaristic purpose. He indicates that it indirectly supported a European commercial agenda because its original function was to afford military protection for the mainly commercial outpost of castle St. Jorge.

The archaeological works conducted by Oliver Davies, Merrick Posnansky, James Anquandah, Christopher DeCorse, Samuel Gyam, and Kumah Daniel at various places in the south western part of Ghana, yielded diverse material culture that confirmed the presence of the Europeans, culture contact, continuity and change. DeCorse (2001) suggests that studies of European-Indigene interaction at Elmina, tend to emphasize the impact of European contact, focusing on discontinuity within the indigenous culture rather than on its resilience. He indicates that such interactions are manifested in the dramatic change in the artifact inventory, in technological innovations, and in the modification of settlement patterns in coastal Ghana (DeCorse, 2001:191).

The archaeology at Prince's Town also yielded a mix of European and African artifacts which is suggestive of contact and interaction. This I suggest will be essential to the interpretation of the historical and archaeological reconstruction of the consequences or relationships of African-European interaction since these observations have immediate relevance to archaeological interpretation.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Reconnaissance Survey and Ethnographic Studies at Prince's Town

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines cultural heritage and lifeways of the people of Prince's Town through a reconnaissance survey and ethnographic studies conducted in the town. It also discusses the historical significance of these findings.

During the reconnaissance survey conducted at Prince's Town, my team and I recorded the extant historic buildings and settlement pattern in the community. The historic buildings included the Fort Gross Fredericksburg, John Konny's mansion, and the old chief's palace among others. Further information about these heritage sites were obtained as we moved round in the community and interviewed people.

Ethnographic study deals with the study of contemporary societies. Archaeologists use ethnographic studies of living groups to interpret the past. This is usually done by comparing similar contemporary artifacts with those recovered archaeologically. Archaeologists employ ethnographic techniques such as participant observation, judgmental sampling and interviews, focus group discussions and semi-structured questionnaires in collecting relevant data in order interpret the archaeological record. This approach is usually known as ethno archaeology.

Ethno archaeology is the study of living societies to aid in understanding and interpreting the archaeological record (Fagan and DeCorse, 2005: 365). Ethnographic studies bridge the gap between the past and the present, particularistic and generalizing (explanatory) approaches

to human ecology and at the same time illustrating the limitations as well as advantages that characterize attempts to generalize from ethnographic data (Schiffer, 1982:165).

Being informed about present-day cultures is necessary. This information guides archaeologists to ask questions related to the excavated artifacts and the likely social practices of the past. The researcher also carried out interviews to gain access to religion, political and economic structures of Prince's Town.

It is interesting to note that most of the people interviewed, know about the presence of the Brandenburgs, Dutch and English at Prince's Town. Secondly, it is probable that the ways in which these different Europeans may have related to the people of Prince's Town account for their remembrance. The Dutch are remembered for their wicked and stern manner in which they related with the people whilst the Brandenburgs and English are believed to have related to them in a friendlier manner.

The people interviewed at Prince's Town also acknowledged contacts with other local people from the hinterland states (Asante, Akyem, Wassa among others) as well as other coastal states (Ga, Fante) who came to trade at Prince's Town. In terms of data on intermarriages with Europeans, I could not acquire enough evidence on the ground since the people had no idea about mulattoes from Prince's Town. However, the information I gathered was that some of the people named their relations after their European friends and prominent names like Tileman. Presently, there is a man in Prince's Town who bears the name Robert Tileman.

### **3.2 Fort Gross Fredericksburg**

The history of Prince's Town will be incomplete and fragmentary if the Brandenburg Fort, Gross Fredericksburg (Figure 5) is not mentioned. Welman (1930) indicates that by 1680,

Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg (King of Prussia) had decided to establish trade and colonization in West Africa in this region of the Gold Coast. In July 1680, he issued sailing orders to Captains Joris Bartelsen and Philip Pietersen Blonck for an expedition to Guinea. They went with two frigates named Wappen von Brandenburg and Morian. The Dutch seized the Wappen von Brandenburg and forced the Morian to leave African waters. Blonck who was the captain of the Morian succeeded in landing at Cape Three Points near Axim on 16<sup>th</sup> May, 1681. A provisional treaty was signed with a number of Chiefs who placed themselves under the suzerainty and protection of the Elector of Brandenburg. A promise was made in his name that a fortress will be built, soldiers sent and a trading depot established. In 1682, the Elector chartered an African Company for the purpose of carrying on trade at free ports on the Guinea Coast of Africa (Welman, 1930:14, 15).

The expedition to Guinea Coast comprised Major Otto Von der Groeben, Captain Philip Blonck and Commander Matheus de Voss who was the captain of the frigate Churprintz whilst Blonck captained the frigate Morian. Specific instructions were given regarding where they were to anchor once they reached the Guinea Coast. Groeben was to deliver the ratification of the treaty made with those Africans and to present the Elector's gifts to them with the assistance of De Voss. The fort was eventually completed by 1685 (Welman, 1930:16).

The people of Prince's Town know of their involvement in the construction of the fort. They are informed that it was they the Africans who provided some of the timber and used their labour to help the Brandenburgers build the Fort. They are also informed that towards the end of Brandenburg era, it was the Africans from Kpokeso who kept guard at the Fort when most of the Brandenburg African Company soldiers had died and the remaining soldiers were unfit to perform guard duties. The people of Prince's Town Indicated that in time of war their wives and

children sought refuge at the Fort whilst the men went to battle. This is because it was safer at the Fort due to the availability of guns and canons to protect their families since their houses could easily be burnt by the enemies. They also know that the Fort was used for a number of activities, especially for storing the food that the Europeans lived on, commodities they brought for sale and commodities the Europeans bought or exchanged from the Africans. It was later used as a store house for slaves when the slave trade business emerged.



Figure 5 Photo of the front view of the Fort Gross Fredericksburg as it stands today. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2012)

Today, the Fort serves as a guest house under the management of the Ghana Museums and Management Board. There are five rooms that are used as guest rooms but only four of the rooms are currently operational (Figures 6-11). It can accommodate nine people at a time. The rate per night is GH5.00



Figure 6 Photo of the interior of one of the guest room (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 7 Photo of the south bastion of Fort Gross Fredericksburg. Beneath is one of the dungeons in which slaves were kept. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko,2012).



Figure 8 Photo of the entrance of one of the dungeons beneath the South Bastion of Fort Gross Fredericksburg

(Photo by E.A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 9 Interior photo of the dungeon beneath the South Bastion of fort Gross Fredericksburg

(Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 10 Photo of one of the three ventilations of the dungeon of fort Gross Fredericksburg (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 11 Photo of part of the store house beneath the governor's residence of fort Gross Fredericksburg (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

### 3.3 Indigenous Politics

During the interviews with the chiefs and elders of Prince's Town, it came to light that there was a chieftaincy crisis in the area. This was attributed to historical developments between the leadership of the Ahanta and the Dutch. Geographically, the name Ahanta has been applied at different times and by different persons to cover an extent of territory on the Coast of Ghana. A sketch map (Map 4) in connection with the Brandenburg-Prussian contact with the Gold Coast during the forty years (1681 to 1712) of their stay in the Gold Coast shows Ahanta as extending only from the Pra River to the easternmost point of Cape Three Points around Akwida (Welman, 1930:5).

After the last exiguous records of the dwindling Brandenburg association with the Ahanta in 1712 (Welman, 1930:49), there follows a long silence and obscurity. Nothing is known of the native affairs of the region, and there is no connected history for upwards of a hundred years (Welman, 1930:49). Welman suggests that we can conjecture from the known facts that after many years of exhausting tribal warfare, the region was reduced into misery and political disorganization. This was as a result of the interferences of the Dutch pursuits and interest in the gold trade. These interferences in the affairs of native states eventually brought about, a new dynasty which came into power at Busua with the stool name of Baidu Bonso. All Ahanta, with the exception of the Stool of English Sekondi and the two stools of Dixcove (Upper and Lower) which was also English were subjects of this stool (Welman, 1930:49).

In 1836, the Stool of Busua which was paramount over the whole of Dutch Ahanta, was occupied by one Asuankai under the title of Baidu Bonsu II. He did not conduct himself well which gave occasion for the Dutch administration to crush the political cohesion of Ahanta. For

several years, Ahanta was reduced to an unorganized low class of small stools. The abolition of chieftaincy by the Dutch for such a long time has resulted in distorting the oral traditions of the natives (Welman, 1930:50).



Map 4: Ahanta States and other States. (Source: Dumett, 1987).

Welman (1930) indicates that Baidu Bonsu II was cruel and arrogant. The people of Sekondi are said to have refused to pay tribute he demanded. He had a Sekondi man killed, and had two Dutch officials Cremer and Maason killed in 1836 when they were sent to arrest him for his misconducts. H.J. Tonneboeyer, the Governor of the Dutch Settlements and five other Dutch officials including the Commandant of the Butri Fort Batenstein were killed at Buyamrom, near Takoradi on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1837 during an attack on Busua. The conduct of Baidu Bonso II provoked the Dutch to organize a punitive expedition from Holland. They landed at Sekondi in July 1838 under the command of Generaal Verveer, and marched on Busua with no opposition. Villages found deserted between Sekondi and Busua were destroyed by fire and Busua itself was razed to the ground. Baidu Bonso II and several other chiefs were later betrayed by their own people into the hands of the Dutch and were executed at Butri in the same month of July, 1838. The Dutch expressly abolished the kingship of Ahanta and forbade the rebuilding of Busua. The stool was vacant for ten years (Welman, 1930:50).

Prince's Town officially has a gazetted chief in the person of Nana Kundumuah IV. However, a person from one of the three gates who is also a candidate to the stool has instituted a legal action, contending the enstoolment of Nana Kundumuah IV. He has even gone further to also enstool another chief called Nana Kundumuah V, thus not regarding the chieftainship of Nana Kundumuah IV, the gazetted chief. This has fuelled a lot of troubles and tension until the government intervened and set up a commission to investigate the case. In the interim, a seven member committee with representatives from the three gates (various heirs to the throne) have been set up and mandated to manage the affairs of Prince's Town although there is a gazetted chief. The committee is to liaise with the chief in the administration of the town.

### 3.4 Indigenous Religion

The people of Prince's Town have two main deities that they revere: Nana Honle and Bole nwua. Oral tradition has it that *Nana Ehonle* is the name of the spirit that inhabits the Ehonle lagoon. It is believed by the people of Prince's Town that the monkeys that live in the mangrove around the Ehonle or Whin lagoon are the children of the deity. It is alleged by the people in the community that these monkeys helped them in some of their wars against their enemies. These monkeys are alleged to have thrown some kinds of oyster shells called 'apose' from the Ehonle lagoon at the enemies and scared them off. During some wars, the enemies only saw colonies of monkeys all over the place and this scared them off. For this reason, the deity asked them not to kill any of the monkeys nor harm them. That is why the monkeys are seen in some homes around the lagoon. Nana Ehonle has asked the people to observe Thursday as a sacred day for him. In view of this, there is no activity on Thursday in the town. No tenth born is also to see the god and it is an abomination for a menstruating woman to approach the deity or cross his path. In times of difficulties or hardships, the deity is consulted for solutions and remedy. Bole nwua is also revered as it is considered as the "supreme court" where complex cases are adjudicated by swearing. Chiefs are made to swear oath of allegiance to this deity during installation. It is also the convening place for the Kundum festival.

#### 3.4.1 Bole Nwua – The Two Stones

Bole nwua refers to two stones found near the *Ahinfie* (palace). This is an ancient place of meeting (Figure 12). It is an Asafo Ankomfor Company's post. The post became a very important and significant place for the community. It became a very important place for the king makers as well because it is where the king makers congregate with the chief elect during the

installation of a chief. During the installation of chiefs, the head of the stool family, councilors and captains in turn swear an oath of allegiance to the chief. The chief in turn swears an oath of office. Welman (1930:84) quotes the oath as follows

*“Mika Abramua (gold weight) de innufo, ewio se efram na se ma’ngyidu a mu tu”*. The English translation is: *“I swear by Abramua that by day or night if you call me and I do not respond to your call, I violate the oath”*.

According to the oral tradition, after their settlement at Kpokesu, two pestles used for pounding grains were discovered crossed at where the Bole nwua is. This was something strange to them so they consulted their oracles and they were informed that it was a good omen and that a sacrifice should be made at the spot where the pestles were found. A male and a female virgin were buried alive in a standing position and two stones placed on their heads. Ever since then, the Bole nwua became a sacred place referred to by people as a bloody spot because of the frequency of animals sacrificed on the stones to pacify the gods. It is also referred to as the high court by the natives, as the place is used for settling controversial disputes.

Whenever disputes or litigations ensued, the factions involved were made to swear by Bole nwua. The people believe that whoever was guilty would be killed by the deity. Today, not much reverence is not accorded Bole nwua like it used to be in the past. It is probable that this has come about as a result of the growth of other religious belief systems. Natives whose faith is grounded in other religions do not owe any allegiance to Bole nwua. The Kundum festival begins and ends at the place where Bole nwua is located. The area where the deity is located has been walled (Figure 13). This is to prevent people from sitting on the stones. It is believed that any female who sits on the stones (the deity) would become barren.



Figure 12 Photo of Bole nwua (Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)



Figure 13 Photo of the walled Bole nwua (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2013).

### 3.5 Kundum Festival

Kundum is the only annual festival celebrated and observed by the people of Prince's Town. The first record of Kundum was made by Bossman, a Dutch traveler who witnessed the festival in the 17th century. However, most people believe the origins of Kundum to be in the 16th century (Grottanelli, 1988). The celebration starts among the Nzima and Ahanta from October through November of every year. Prince's Town is the last town to celebrate the festival.

At Prince's Town there is a special dance which follows the last day of the week-long Kundum festival. The name of the dance is known as Mgbane. This dance is performed only by the people of Prince's Town. It is believed this was introduced by Komfo Kwasi of Alongoba or the Kona clan from Nana Akyinaba Kwasi's household, also known as Ezeke-Ngyinlebo.

The people of Prince's Town assert that on one Kundum Saturday which is revered as a sacred day Komfo Kwasi went to hunt at Sawu village. Whilst in the forest hunting, he heard some drumming and dancing. He became inquisitive and followed the noise until he finally got to where the activity was going on. At a distance he saw twelve women, who were dressed gorgeously, dancing to the drum music. It was men who played the drums. From his hideout, he observed the dance steps and body movements and drum language thoroughly without being seen by the drum men.

When he succeeded in leaving the grounds unnoticed by the drummers, he reported what he had witnessed to the chief of Sawu who also reported to Nana Kundumua, the chief of Prince's Town. Nana Kundumua, his council of elders as well as the entire community accepted and incorporated this dance style to conclude the weeklong celebration of the Kundum festival.

This dance begins on the Kundum Saturday morning with twelve women selected from each family. As part of the rituals, it is forbidden for the dancers and drum players to eat in the morning of that Kundum Saturday until after they close the dance at 12 noon.

During the Kundum festival, many groups of dancers dress in their different costumes to help make the occasion very colourful. The ethnographic studies indicated that Kundum was not originally celebrated by the people of Kpokeso. When their forefathers came to settle at Kpokeso from wherever they emigrated from, they never celebrated such a festival until during the time of King Kofi Ndama I (Kundumua I) that Kundum was introduced. Mr. P.K Yankey of Prince's Town confirmed that he could also say in the affirmative that Kundum is a borrowed festival and it is not indigenous to them. This assertion however corroborates the argument that the people of Prince's Town are not Ahanta but rather Nzima. If Prince's Town people were Ahanta, Kundum would have been their indigenous festival. It would have been celebrated in the same manner which the other Ahanta celebrate. This may explain why Prince's Town is the last to celebrate the Kundum festival and have the Mgbane dance which is not performed by the other Ahanta people. Mr. P.K.Yankey again indicated that the name of the stool is Kundumla and not Kundumua. He argued that it was wrong to refer to the stool name as Kundumua which is meaningless. He buttressed his point by attributing the introduction and celebration of Kundum to the reign of Kofi Ndama's regime. Kundumla means the owner of Kundum has arrived. For him there is no way that when he is pouring libation he would mention Kundumua. It is Kundumla. He indicated that whilst pouring libation he will invoke his ancestors by saying '*Ndama Kundumla nsa*' meaning "Ndama Kundum has arrived have some drink". Most stories about the celebration of Kundum trace the festival to Atuabo but the modern Kundum festival is centered around and ends in Axim. (Grottanelli, 1988).

Ansah (1999) support another version of the origins of Kundum. The story involves Akpoley, a hunter who chanced on some dancing dwarfs on his hunting expedition. Upon his return, he introduced the dance to the people of his village (Ansah, 1999:6). This dance eventually developed into a ritual that drives devils and evil spirits from towns and villages. Kundum is often labeled as a harvest and religious festival because of the manner in which the start of the celebration is determined. The festival is set to begin on the day the fruit of a certain palm tree ripens. Originally, the festival lasts for four weeks but due to modernity, it has in recent years been reduced to eight days. The festival occurs separately in each town that makes up the Ahanta paramountcy. Each town schedules the Sunday in which the festival will start. The celebration consists of three main components: dancing, drumming, and feasting.

### **3.6 John Konny and his Material Heritage remains**

During our ethnographic interviews, mention was made of John Konny. He was a broker for the Brandenburgs and a merchant who later became a ruler at Prince's Town, Governor at Gross Fredericksburg and an overlord of the Ahanta region. The people could not tell anything about his early life and career. They however indicated that John Konny's name came up during a period of crisis and it has lasted until today. Daaku (1970) has suggested that he may have been born sometime around the late 1660's or early 1670's and was probably in his teens, an impressionable age when the Brandenburgs made their first visit. Also, he was probably in his early twenties when Fort Gross Fredericksburg was started in 1683 (Daaku, 1970:128).

The people maintained that his association with the Brandenburgs as a servant may have helped shaped him. John Konny was economically, socially and politically powerful. He became a powerful ruler with his connections reaching as far as Asante. His attempt to revamp

the Brandenburg African Company in about 1716 after Governor du Bois went back to Europe won him a title in Germany where he was given an appellation as “the last Prussian Negro Prince” (Daaku, 1970:128; Welman, 1930:34).

John Konny became so powerful that he was able to resist the Dutch when they attempted to take over the Fort Gross Fredericksburg from him. The Dutch tendered in a deed that showed that the Brandenburgers had sold it to Dutch. He refused to let go of it and told the Dutch that the buildings and the materials like guns, could be sold to them but the land was his. He had leased it to the Brandenburgers and was collecting rent. He indicated that he was no longer interested in renting out the land to anyone else. This provoked the Dutch who attempted shelling the people. Little did they know that John Konny and his men had ambushed the Dutchmen. They took them by surprise and killed them. John Konny was able to hold the Dutch and English combined forces at bay. Through his powerful operations, he dictated the pace of the trans Atlantic trade and had a strong African following.

**The Wall of John Konny:** Through the interviews, I gathered that the Walls of John Konny which the Nzima call Konny Bane (the Walls of Konny). The strategic location of Prince’s Town as indicated earlier in Chapter One meant that, their enemies could ambush them in the forest which was located to the north of the town. After John Konny had gained full control of the Fort in around 1717 and had become an authority, he deemed it wise to build a wall in between the river Nyala and the Ehonle lagoon around 1723. This wall reduced the risk of attack by their enemies. He conferred with his elders who agreed to his plan. Unused stones from the Fort that were imported from Konigsberg were used in building this wall (Figure 14). The wall was built with communal labour from the community. The height of the wall was eight (8) feet and the width was three (3) feet (Daaku, 1970:141). It had one main gate at the centre, fifty gun holes

spread over the length of the wall. There was a sentinel post in front of the gate of the wall. Upon completion of the wall, Asafo captains were appointed as guards along the length of the wall and at the gate of the wall.

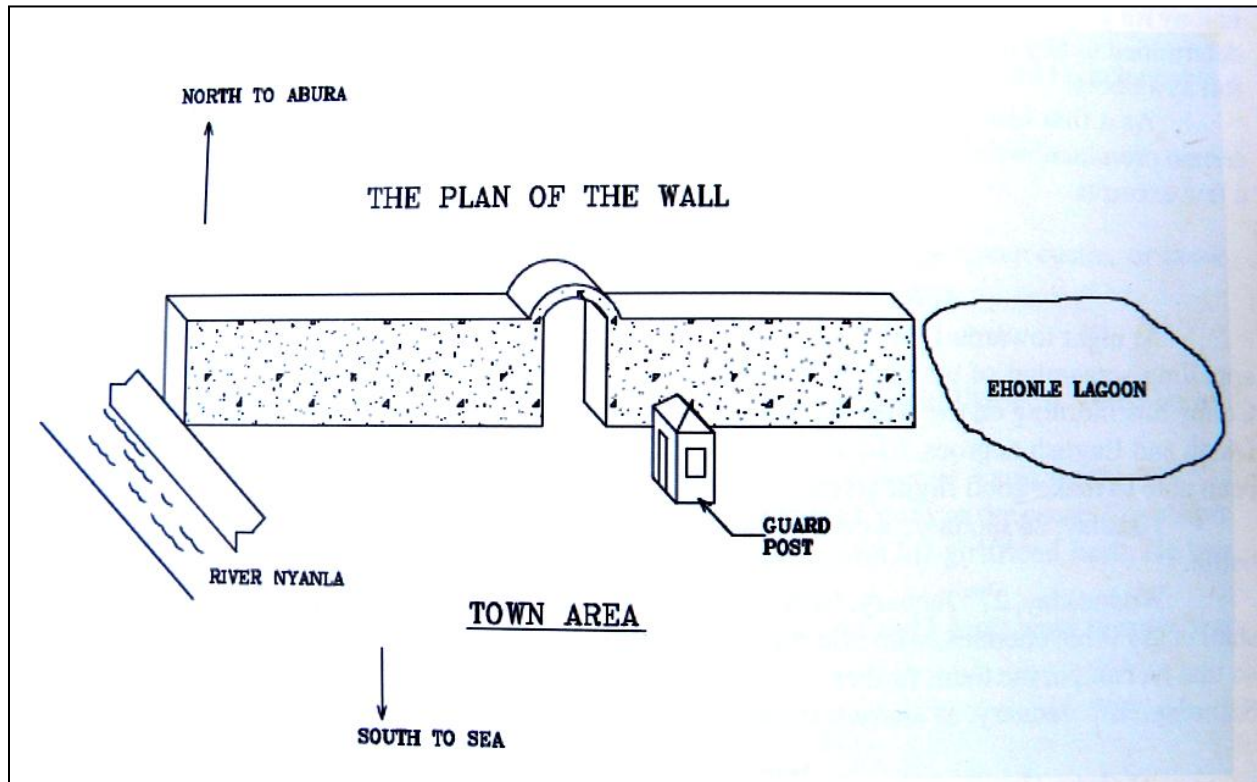


Figure 14 A sketch of John Konny's wall. (Source: Duncan 2001)

People were restricted from going out of the town. Only groups of about fifty people were allowed to move outside at a time. The guards ensured that not less than fifty people were allowed to go out of the wall. The reason is that fifty people are capable of fighting their enemies and less than that were likely to be captured by their enemies and either killed or sold into slavery. The guards also checked on unlawful entry and prevented people from spying on them. Unfortunately, during restoration work at the Fort Gross Fredericksburg in 1962, part of the wall was pulled down for the stones to be used to restore the Fort. Later, estate developers and builders also pulled down the Konigsberg stones destroying the foundations of the wall and used

the stones for their buildings. The photo in Figure 15 depicts the surviving stones of the extant wall of John Konny.



Figure 15 Photo of stones from John Konny's wall. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)

**John Konny's Mansion:** After the wall had been completed, John Konny used some of the remaining stones to build a mansion for himself. Because of his contact and association with the Brandenburg, he had been influenced by the European architectural building style. He built a two storey mansion as his private residence. The mansion comprised a bedroom, entertainment hall, officers and sergeant quarters, an armoury, two courtyards, a guard room, a spacious square and pizzas. Below is a floor plan of John Konny's mansion (Figure 16) and remains of the mansion (Figures 17-19).

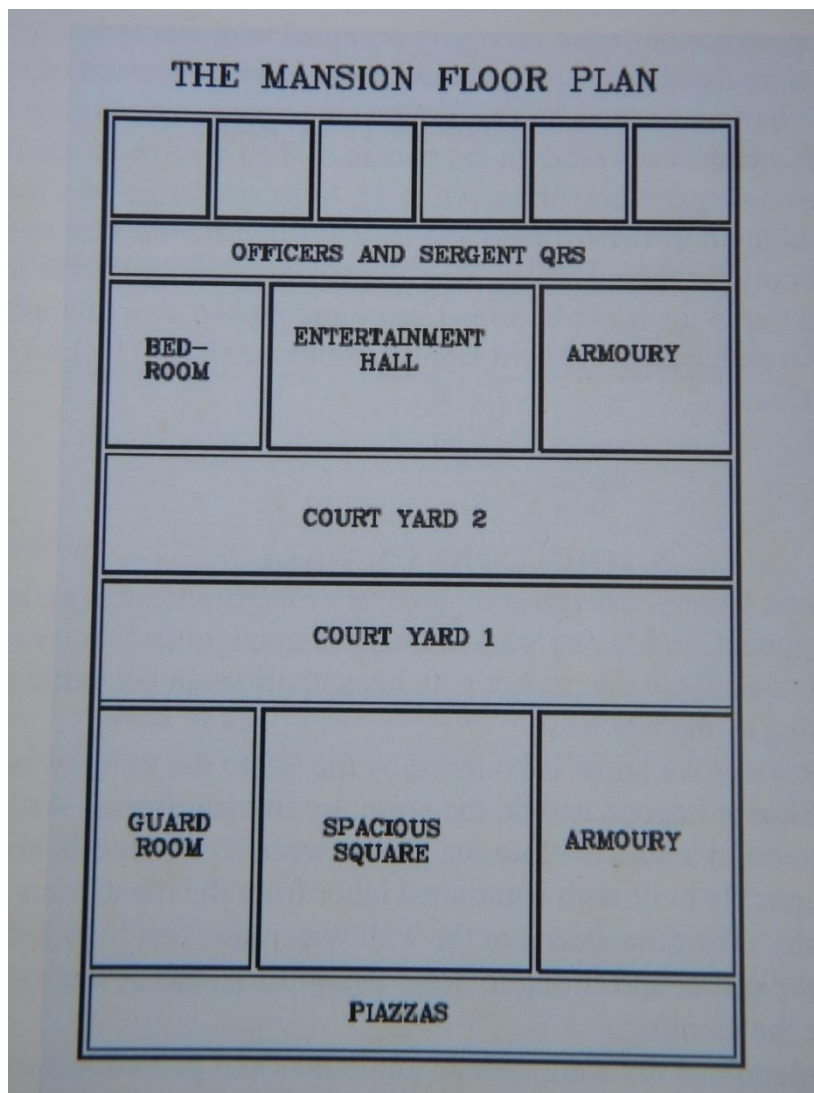


Figure 16 A sketch of the floor plan of the Mansion of John Konny (Source: Duncan 2001)



Figure 17 Photo of the internal part and flight of stairs of the remains of John Konny's mansion.  
(Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)



Figure 18 Photo of the exterior of the surviving part of John Konny's mansion.  
(Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)



Figure 19 Photo of the foundations of John Konny's mansion being quarried and sold to people for building houses. Note groups of cracked rocks on display for sale on the compound. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND EXCAVATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides details on the archaeological reconnaissance survey conducted at Prince's Town and the finds that were recovered during the survey. The artifacts recovered from the archaeological survey help to provide a better understanding of African- European contact and interactions at Prince's Town and the Gold Coast.

Reconnaissance survey also involves a preliminary examination of the area to identify sites, to assess the potential, and to establish tentative site distributions (Fagan, 1999: 160). Sharer and Ashmore (1987) also indicate that it is the systematic attempt to identify archaeological sites (Sharer and Ashmore 1987:108). Field survey involves background research such as examining maps and the collection of oral and general environmental information. It serves as an important prelude to excavation which is the principal means by which archaeologists obtain data about the past.

A reconnaissance survey was necessary because the sea had submerged a greater part of the old African settlement and people are settled on the remaining part of the old African settlement. This made it difficult to identify where to excavate. The survey helped the team identify areas where surface configurations of artifacts suggested to us that they were probable sites to excavate.

## 4.2 Archaeological Sites

In September 2012, the researcher travelled to Prince's Town to assess the state of Fort Gross Fredericksburg and to explore its archaeological potential. This exercise included consulting with the chief and elders, the Assemblyman and some opinion leaders of the town. In doing so, I informed them of my intentions to conduct and carry out an archaeological survey in the town. I acquainted myself with three young men (Isaiah Ackah, Ackom Yankey, Mensah Yankey and Eric Asante) who hailed from the community. It was with the assistance of these young men that I was able to identify the early African settlement sites. People live on these sites so the team had to walk in between houses and rows to identify some surface artifact configurations. This exercise confirms Sharer and Ashmore's assertion that, ground reconnaissance can be greatly aided by the co-operation and assistance of indigenous inhabitants, who may serve as guides and indicate the location of sites (Sharer and Ashmore, 1993: 197).

The reconnaissance survey included, Edward Adum Nyarko, Gideon Agyare (technician, Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies), Isaiah Ackah (Prince's Town), and Ackom Yankey (Prince's Town). From the reconnaissance survey, the researcher noted lots of historical materials like European bottles, ceramics, smoking pipes, and local pottery. These surface finds were indicative of the fact that the site was indeed worth being archaeologically investigated. Three units were excavated at various places in the town.

### 4.3 Surface collection

At Prince's Town, surface artifacts are distributed evenly in the early African settlement sites. These include places around the old palace (Figure 20) and John Konny's mansion, the foothills of Manfro hill facing the sea (south-western part of the fort), the eastern part of the foot hills of Manfro hill, and around the entrance of the Fort where a Vodafone Mast is now erected (western part).

Some of the artifacts on the surface were collected. Schiffer suggests that surface collection may not be the best way of artifactual data collection. This is because uncontrolled surface collections may lead to the loss of provenience information which would hinder future work at the site (Schiffer, 1982:629).



Figure 20 Photo of the ruined foundations of the old chief's palace. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko 2013)

However, Schiffer maintains that collections will have to be taken in the majority of cases for several reasons. He explains that many research designs require detailed analysis of materials that simply cannot be performed on the field therefore the absence of collection will limit the range of questions that can be answered on the basis of the surface artifactual data. He notes again that information from different areas of a site is necessary to isolate multiple occupations or functionally specific areas on the site. This information he indicates is crucial to many of the research problems that archaeologists use survey data to solve (Schiffer, 1982:630). In this field survey, most of the surface artifacts collected was from the old African settlements. The finds included European schnapps and wine bottles, imported ceramics, smoking pipes, and local pottery.

#### **4.3.1 Summary of Finds**

The various artifacts that were retrieved from surface collections include pottery, European ceramics, glass bottles, smoking pipes, and mollusc shells (see Table 1).

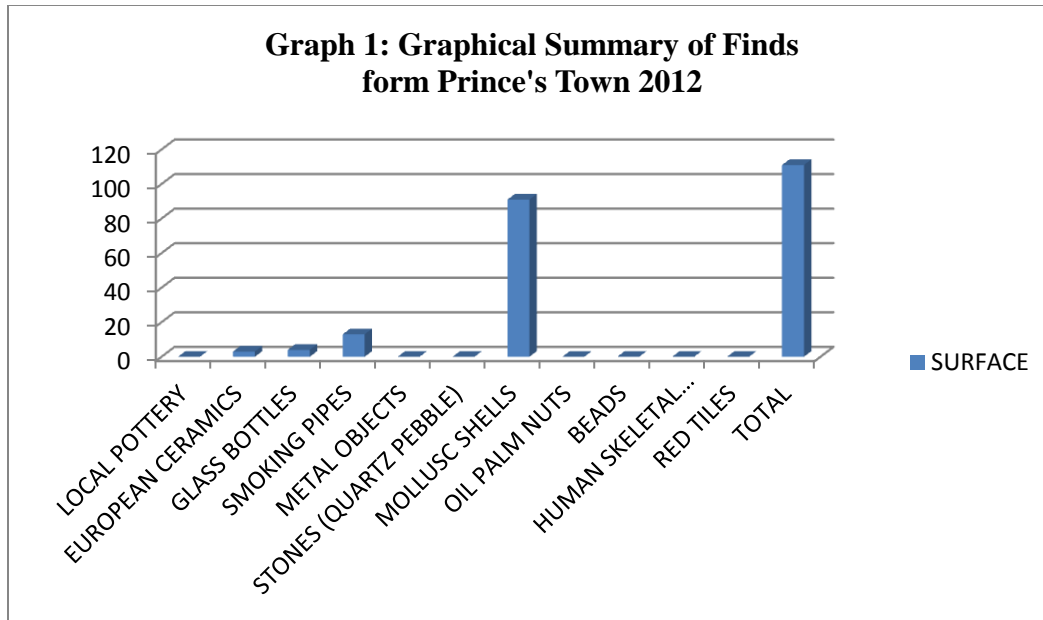
#### **4.3.2 Field Mapping**

A map is a scaled symbolic representation of a segment of the earth's surface as viewed from above; it is a two-dimensional rendering of a three-dimensional reality (Sharer and Ashmore, 1987:169). Archaeologists often use both topographic and planimetric maps. However, they prefer planimetric maps to topographic maps because it depicts archaeological features (buildings, walls, tombs or whatever) without indicating relief or other topographic data (Sharer

and Ashmore, 1987:169). In view of this, a Global Position System hand held receiver was used to record coordinates of the units excavated. The essence is to record the location of the units that were excavated. This would enable researchers know the places that have been investigated when they conduct further research. These places included the old chief palace, the ruins of John Konny's mansion and the foot hills of the north western bastion of the Fort where the tower is located.

**Table 1: Summary of finds from test excavations of Prince's Town, 2012**

<b>ARTIFACT/ ECOFACTS</b>	<b>SURFACE</b>
LOCAL POTTERY	-
EUROPEAN CERAMICS	3
GLASS BOTTLES	4
SMOKING PIPES	13
METAL OBJECTS	-
STONES (QUARTZ PEBBLE)	-
MOLLUSC SHELLS	91
OIL PALM NUTS	-
BEADS	-
HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS	-
RED TILES	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>111</b>



### 4.3.3 Excavation

The results of the survey enabled the researcher to excavate around the old palace, John Konny's mansion and at the foothills of the hill Fort Gross Fredericksburg is located on. Three (3) units were excavated to enable me obtain varied materials to help explain and interpret African-European interactions on the site. Two (2) 2m x 2m, and one (1) 1m x 1m units were excavated. The flat and plain nature of the land devoid of vegetative cover and tree trunks and roots did not disturb gridding of the site. The presence of people on the site combined with other domestic activities that take place, limited the team to establish grids on the exact spot we wanted to sink the unit. The absence of obstacles made it easy to record the coordinates of the units with a hand held Global Positioning System.

I used my discretion to select the first place to excavate behind the ruined chief's palace. The unit was situated between the old palace and John Konny's mansion. We did some clearing around the site and established a 1m x 1m test pit unit to ascertain the array of finds we

will be expecting to obtain from the site. Using arbitrary levels of 20cm to control the data from the dig due to the sandy nature of the soil, we obtained seven levels and reached sterile level at 140cm. Water started coming from the ground and we ended the dig. A one-quarter inch mesh sieve was used to sieve the sand to ensure optimum recovery of artifacts. This unit yielded materials like bottles, mollusk shells, pottery, metal objects, European ceramics, beads and human skeletal remains.

#### **4.4 Stratigraphic Profile**

The test pit consisted of four natural levels of stratigraphy (Figure 21). We could not draw the soil stratigraphy due to some misunderstanding between some of the youth which resulted into covering the unit.

The top soil was dark black loamy sandy soil which was underlain by light black loamy sandy soil, and then compact dark brown soil mixed with reddish brown sandy soil, and finally yellowish brown compact sandy soil.



Figure 21 Photo of Test pit at sterile level (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 22 Photo of libation ritual and re-interment of exhumed remains (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

#### 4.4.1 Unit One

Unit 1 Level 1 (0-20 cm) yielded many mollusk shells, different types and parts of bottles, metals, local pottery, European ceramics, and stems of European smoking pipes (Figure 23). At level 2 (20-40 cm) of unit 1, we recovered metal objects, stems of European smoking pipes, and local pottery. Other significant finds included a complete carinated clay bowl that was turned upside down, which shattered when it was removed.



Figure 23 Photo of Unit One. Note carinated clay bowl turned upside down (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012).

Level 3 (40-60 cm) of Unit 1, the artifacts obtained included, local pottery, metal objects and European ceramics. A cluster of smooth rounded pebble like stones and a cluster of smooth bigger stones arrangements were identified and exposed (Figure 24). These stones

numbered 32 in all. We removed them after documentation and continued with the dig. From this level we did not recover any artifact until we reached the sterile level at 115 cm.



Figure 24 Photo of a cluster of smooth pebble like stones in Unit 1 (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

Unit 1 had six (6) arbitrary levels of twenty (20) centimeters per level and four (4) natural levels with cultural materials (Figure 25).

The first natural level (A) was made of black loamy soil. Its thickness was about 10 cm and was mixed with mollusc shells. Underneath this layer was another layer (B) which was about 47 cm thick. The colour of the soil was light black loamy soil mixed with local pottery, European smoking pipes, glass bottles, European ceramics, metal objects and quartz pebble

stones. This level (C) was composed of compact dark brown sandy soil with thickness of about 23cm. Materials recovered at this level consisted of local pottery and metal objects.

The layer (D) consisted of a yellowish brown sandy soil with thickness measuring 35 cm. This layer did not yield any material. It was the sterile level of the pit (Figure 27).

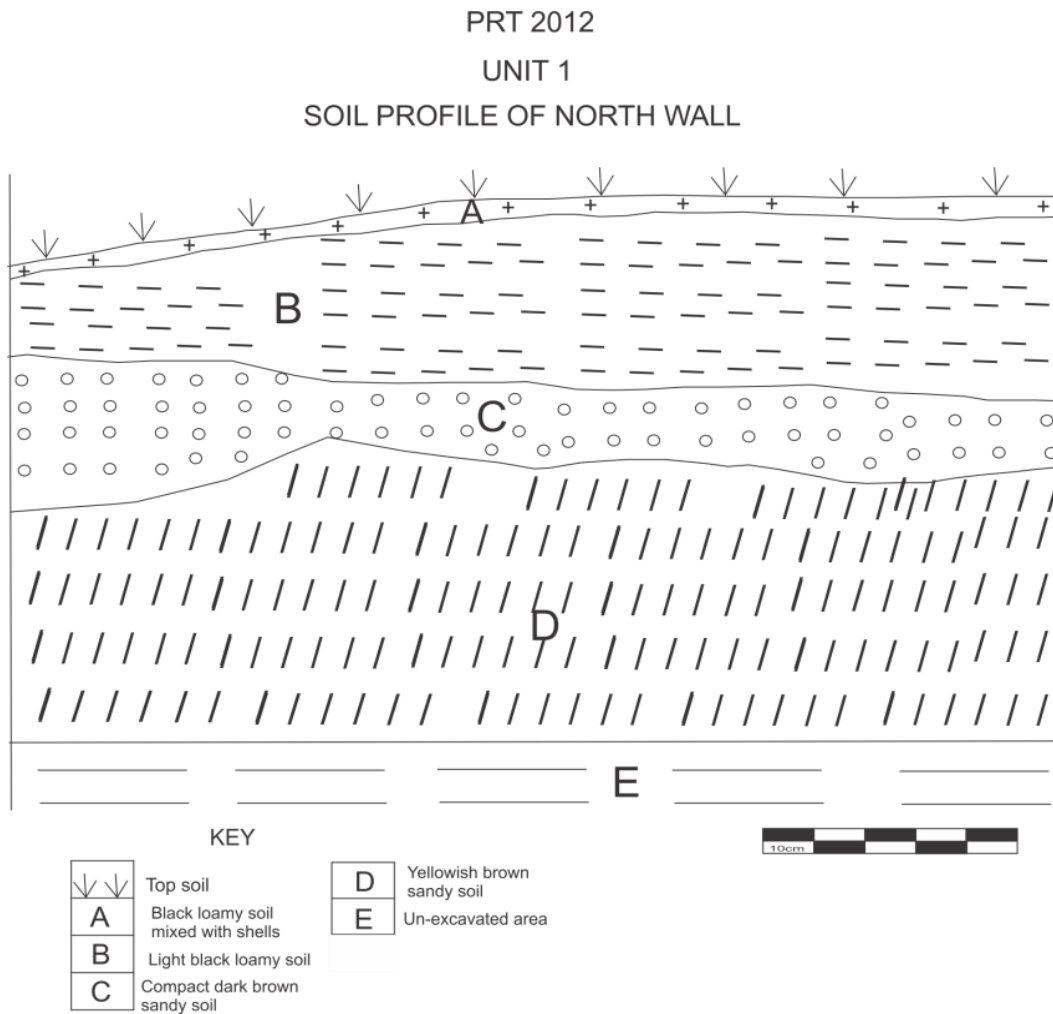
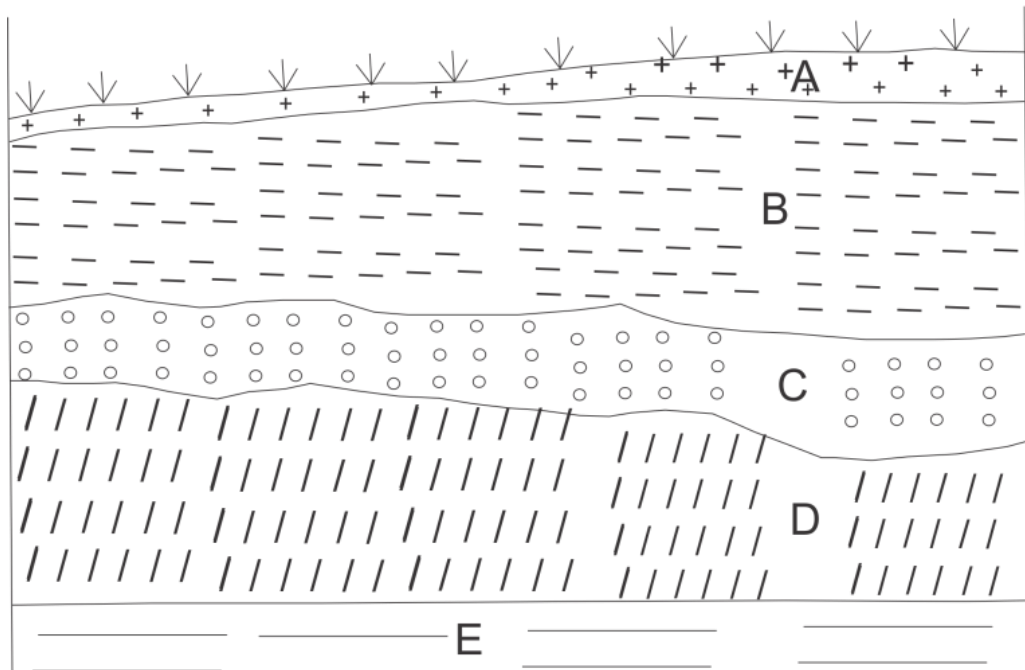


Figure 25 Profile of the North Wall of Unit 1

PRT 2012  
 UNIT 1  
 SOIL PROFILE OF EAST WALL



KEY

	Top soil		D Yellowish brown sandy soil
	Black loamy soil mixed with shells		E Un-excavated area
	Light black loamy soil		
	Compact dark brown sandy soil		

Figure 26 Profile of the East Wall of Unit 1



Figure 27 Photo of the sterile level of Unit 1 (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012).

#### 4.4.2 Unit Two

Unit 2 was a 2m x 2m Unit and was opened at coordinates of  $4^{\circ} 47.52.50''$  N and  $2^{\circ} 08'.12.30''$  W. This place was selected for excavation because it is located in front of John Konny's mansion. This unit was an interesting one because of the various artifacts recovered from it. It comprised seven (7) arbitrary levels at the end of the excavation. Level 1 (L1), produced some local pottery, and corroded metal objects. Level 2 (L2), produced local pottery, stems of European smoking pipes, and metal objects. Two stones probably granite was found

about 2.5 cm from the north well and to the north-west corner pit. A second group of stones was found about 3 cm away from the south wall.



Figure 28 Photo of exposed stones. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

After documenting the information on these configurations, they were removed for the excavation to continue. At Level 3 (L3), we recovered some mollusk shells, and stems of European pipes. Other fascinating finds included human skeletal remains (Figure 29). It was almost a complete skeletal remains. The skull and mandibles were in good condition. The other parts like the scapula, sternum, sacrum, and pelvis had decomposed. The remains were fragile and as we tried exposing them, parts broke off. The burial is suggestive of a primary interment. This could be seen in the stratigraphic profile of the unit. The corpse was laid on its back with its hands on the pelvis, and the head turned left with the skull lying on its left ear. Heizer and Graham (1967) indicates that in the event of primary interment, the bones lie in the

same anatomical relationship that they occupied with the presumption that the corpse was placed in the grave so that the skeletal elements remain in essentially the same position after the disappearance of the soft tissue (Heizer and Graham, 1967:111). Around the pelvic area where the hands were, we recovered about sixteen (16) carnelian beads, and some fragments of metal objects around the same region. It measured 128 cm from the skull to the ankle part of the leg (Figure 30). The orientation of this skeleton was towards the north-west.



Figure 29 Photo of skeletal remains in Unit 2. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

Due to the terms of negotiations that ensued between the people of Prince's Town and the research team at the chief's palace, we could not remove the remains so we continued the excavation by reducing the Unit to a 2m x 1m.



Figure 30 Close up photo of the exposed skeletal remains (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

Level 4 (L4) of the same unit yielded materials like local pottery, and some European ceramics. Level 5 (L5) of Unit 2 did not yield any material. At level 6 (L6), another burial was encountered (Figure 31). Part of the skeletal remains was stuck in the southern part of the wall of the unit. The exposed portion was about 30 cm long. The exposed remains included the tibia and fibula bones of the leg towards the ankle and feet. A small bone which is part of the metatarsals was lying beside one of the ankle bones. Two pieces of metal objects were found 20 cm centimeters away from the remains towards the north wall. We also recovered a decorated Venetian bead, and a carnelian bead. An intriguing aspect is that, this human skeleton was lying on a platform made of stones. Adjoined to the two ankles was an oxidized metal mixed with sand that makes it look like a stone. The orientation of this skeleton was towards the south.

Between the depth 120cm and 140 cm, we recovered a lot of mollusc shells and some pottery. At 140 cm the sterile level was reached as water started seeping in to the pit from underground.



Figure 31 Photo of second skeletal remains (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 32 Photo showing the stratified walls and sterile level of the excavated Unit 2 (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

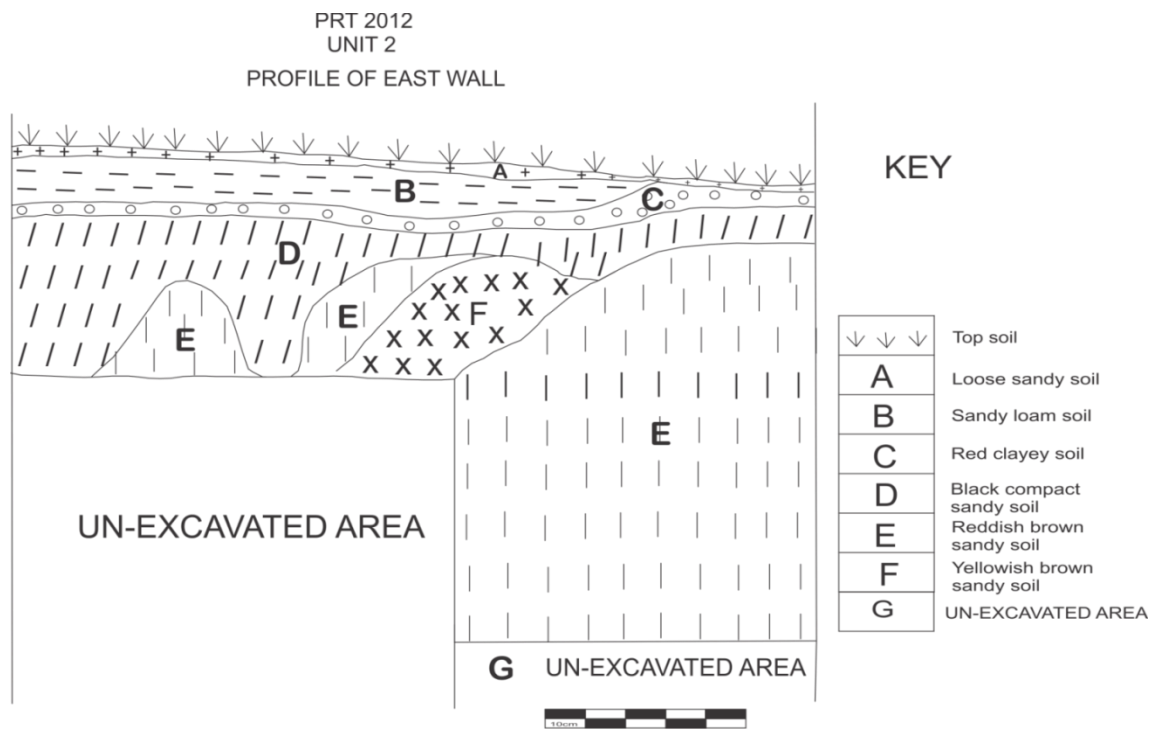


Figure 33 Profile of East Wall of Unit 2

Unit 2 had seven arbitrary levels translated into six (6) natural levels (see figure 33). The first natural level (A) consisted of sandy soil from the sea and had a thickness of about 3 cm. It was underlain with another layer (B) which was loamy sandy soil measuring about 15 cm thick. This layer yielded materials like local pottery and some corroded metals similar to nails. The next layer (C) was made up of red clayey soil with thickness of about 6 cm. Layer (D) was made up of black compact sandy soil. It had an irregular measurement but at its deepest level it attained a depth of 44 cm. Layer (E) is made up of reddish brown sandy soil appearing at different places in the archaeological record. Layer (F) is made up of yellowish brown sandy soil. Layer (G) represents the unexcavated area.

Another area that yielded diverse array of artifacts was an old refuse dump (Figure 34) which had been partially submerged by the sea as a result of changes in the climate and other geographic influences. According to the oral tradition, that place used to be the refuse dump of the village until the sea finally covered there. This is a rocky place with several outcrops of stones. Though the sea has covered the site, some of the refuse cannot be washed away because of the rock and stone outcrops. The stones prevent the sea from washing these artifacts away. Artifacts recovered from this place included local pottery, European ceramics, glass bottles, European smoking pipes, a spoon, and some corroded metal objects. These materials were not analyzed because the scope of my research was not focused on underwater archaeology. However, they have been stored to complement future studies on the site.



Figure 34 Photo of old refuse dump site. (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **ANALYSIS OF EXCAVATED MATERIALS FROM PRINCE'S TOWN**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Every fort on the Gold Coast symbolizes the presence of Europeans in that particular area as it once served as a centre of trade. In the light of this, trade items of both European and local origins litter around such forts. These items include European smoking pipes and ceramics, glass bottles and many more. The ensuing section assesses the nature of the excavated remains from the sites excavated. Though these are important landmarks or artifactual manifestations worth considering, archaeology is not the mutual exclusive source in an archaeological research. Other sources as oral traditions, ethnography and documentary sources provide very useful data to complement archaeological data.

#### **5.2 Local Pottery**

##### **5.2.1 Sherd Types**

A total of two hundred and sixty three (263) potsherds were recovered from the three units that were excavated. The vessel parts (rims, necks, shoulder and body) were taken from the three units and put in a group. The vessel parts with the highest population across the units are body sherds (56.3%), followed by rim sherds (32.7%), neck sherds (8%), and shoulder sherds (3%) (Table 2).

**Table 2: The distribution of Sherd type across units.**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Rim</b>	<b>Neck</b>	<b>Shoulder</b>	<b>Body</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Test Pit</b>	0	0	0	15	15
<b>One</b>	64	18	2	38	122
<b>Two</b>	22	3	6	95	126
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>32.7%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>56.3%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 5.2.2 Rim Forms

Two rim forms were observed and identified. This was classified into: straight and everted rims.

The rim forms with the highest number are everted rims (83.7%), followed by straight rims (16.3%) (Table 3).

**Table 3: The distribution of Rim Forms across Units**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Straight</b>	<b>Everted</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Test Pit</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>One</b>	8	58	<b>66</b>
<b>Two</b>	6	14	<b>20</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>83.7%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 5.2.3 Surface Colour

The surface colour distribution of the pottery was identified and classified into five main colours namely: black, yellowish-brown, brownish black, gray and red. Most of the potsherds were identified as red and constituted (34.2%), followed by yellowish-brown potsherds (30%), brownish black (19%), gray (11.8%), and black (5%) (Table 4)

**Table 4: The distribution of Surface colour across Units**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Black</b>	<b>Yellowish- brown</b>	<b>Brownish black</b>	<b>Gray</b>	<b>Red</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Test Pit</b>	4	3	2	3	3	<b>15</b>
<b>One</b>	3	32	34	15	38	<b>122</b>
<b>Two</b>	6	44	14	13	49	<b>126</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>34.2%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 5.2.4 Inclusions

The distribution of temper among the pottery of Prince's Town was mainly uniform. They were made up of micaceous, quartz, quartz and mica and laterite inclusions. The inclusions in a total of 47% of the potsherds were fine-grained, 31.3% were made up quartz, 15.6% were micaceous, 4.6% were of quartz and mica, and 1.5% was lateritic (Table 5).

**Table 5: The distribution of Temper of Potsherds**

<b>Unit</b>	<b>Fine-grained</b>	<b>Micaceous</b>	<b>Quartz</b>	<b>Quartz &amp; Mica</b>	<b>Laterite</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Test Pit</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>One</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>Two</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>126</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>31.3%</b>	<b>4.6%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 5.2.5 Surface Treatment

There are some characteristics that are visible on pottery vessels recovered in the excavations regarding surface treatment. The sherds are well baked or fired considering their hardness. There are five (5) surface treatment characteristics that were identified. These include, slipped and burnished, burnished, smudged, mica-coated and red-slipping.

The surface treatment practice with the highest frequency among the assemblage of pottery from Prince's Town is mica coated (26.6%), burnished (11%), and red-slipping (7.2%). Smudged sherds follow next (5.7%), and slipped and burnished form 0.8% of the assemblage. Potsherds with no surface treatment constituted 29.3%, while the potsherds which had been were eroded constituted 19.4% (Table 6).

**Table 6: The distribution of Surface Treatment across units**

Unit	Unburnished	Eroded	Slipped & burnished	Burnished	Smudged	Mica-coated	Red slipped	Total
Test Pit	1	5	0	0	5	4	0	15
One	34	12	0	15	10	42	9	122
Two	42	34	2	14	0	24	10	126
Percentage	29.3%	19.4%	0.8%	11%	5.7%	26.6%	7.2%	100%

### I. Burnishing

Burnishing is the smoothing or polishing of the surface of a leather-hard vessel with a smooth instrument before it is fired or baked (Crossland, 1989: 58, Joukowsky, 1980: 380,). Once the ware is burnished, the pores are sealed and it gives the vessel a smooth surface finish. The polished surfaces appear shiny after firing and vessel surface are rendered virtually impervious. A total of eleven (11%) percent of the potsherds were identified as burnished in the pottery collections.

### II. Red Slipping

Red slip is a liquefied suspension of clay particles or laterite gravel in water. The solution is applied on the dry unburnished surface by painting or by dipping the vessel into the liquid. Red slipping is probably an old tradition of pottery production. Its application on vessels seldom increases their market value (Crossland, 1989: 59). The production of red slipped vessels depends on the will of the potter who may want to effect variation in her products. Slipping to the potters represents a decorative aspect, unlike burnishing which has a

functional aspect (Crossland, 1989: 59). Red slipping was applied on 7.2% of the potsherds across the various units.

### **III. Smudging**

Smudging is the darkening of the outer surface of the vessel by consciously adding fresh leaves or grass into fire during the process. This generates thick smoke, which stains the vessels and gives it a dark, shining background. It can also be obtained through the use of pots on fire during cooking or can be caused by bush fires. A total of fifteen (15) sherds constituting 5.7% of the potsherds were identified from the total assemblage.

### **IV. Mica-Coating**

This is the application of mica on the surface of the pottery when it is leather hard before firing. After firing, the surface of the pottery has mica all over. In some instance the fabric for molding the pot itself contains mica. Therefore after the pottery is fired, mica is seen on both the internal and exterior of the pot and the temper as well. This constituted 26.6% of the total pottery.

### **V. Slipped and Burnished**

This involves the combination of slipping and burnishing. The end result is that the pottery is both slipped and burnished.

### 5.2.6 Decorations on Potsherds

A number of decorations were identified on the surface of the potsherds of Prince's Town. These included grooves, stamped rings, curvilinear grooves, incisions, raised bands, punctations, and. These decorations were mainly restricted to the rim and the body sherds. Majority of the potsherds were undecorated (78.3%), while grooves (6.5%) were the decoration with the highest percentage. The other decorations constituted 4.2%, 3.4%, 3.0%, 2.3% and 0.4% respectively of the total decorations on the sherds.

**Table 7: The distribution of decorations of Potsherds**

<b>Unit Decoration</b>	<b>Test pit</b>	<b>Unit 1</b>	<b>Unit 2</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Percentage (%)</b>
<b>Undecorated</b>	15	82	109	206	78.3%
<b>Grooves</b>	0	15	7	22	8.3%
<b>Incision</b>	0	6	2	8	3%
<b>Punctation</b>	0	1	0	1	0.4%
<b>Stamped rings</b>	0	9	2	11	4.2%
<b>Raised bands</b>	0	0	6	6	2.3%
<b>Curvilinear</b>	0	9	0	9	3.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>100%</b>

#### i) Grooves

Grooving is achieved by dragging a blunt round edge object on the surface of newly made vessels to produce single or multiple lines on the rims, necks, shoulder and body before

firing. These lines could vary and be described in several ways depending on the object used. The cross-section of groove impressions on sherds is normally U-shaped. Grooves constitute 7.14% of the total decorations on the pottery from Prince's Town.

## **ii) Incision**

The technique used in making incision is similar to that of grooving. In the case of incision, blunt objects are not used. To obtain incisions, sharper or pointed edged tools are used. The cross-section of incised impressions on pots is usually "V-shaped" narrow lines. They are normally represented in single or multiples and in various orientations like vertical, horizontal and curvilinear. Incised decorations were eight (8) in number and constitute 3% of the total decorations on sherds.

## **iii) Punctates:**

These are depressions that are impressed on the body of the vessel. One sherd (0.4%) had punctuates on it.

## **iv) Stamped rings**

This is achieved by making four concentric circles with the smallest circle in the centre. This was stamped on the surface of the pottery when it was leather hard before firing. This constituted 4.2% of the total decorations.

## **5.2.7 Vessel Forms**

### **5.2.7.1 Jar Forms**

For descriptive purposes the pottery has been grouped into form or classes, designated as Jar forms and Bowl forms. The jar forms describe the vessel forms with generally everted or straight

rim curvatures whose body diameter is greater than the rim diameter. The bowl forms are somewhat the opposite of the jar forms. They have incurving rims and their rim diameters are greater than the body diameters. They are thus called hemispherical vessels (Joukowsky, 1980:339-340).

These forms are further broken down into smaller units based on certain features that make them distinct. The forms and variations as noted are established through the analysis of diagnostic rims belonging to the various ware types.

- i) **Jar Form 1a** (Figure 35): This is made of rims recovered from Unit two Level 3. This type of jar has a slightly everted rim with wide grooves on the outer part of the rims. The average radius of these rims is 10 cm. It is likely that this pot was a small globular pot or jar vessel (15-25cm diameter) even though only the rim is shown. The clay used for this type of pots is grey in colour. The temper is uniform and fine grained. This was probably used for storing liquid because of the fine grain uniform temper which makes it difficult for liquid to seep through (see Figure below).

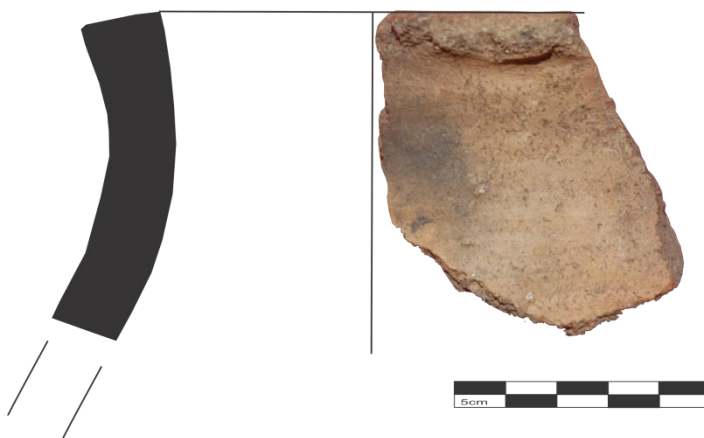


Figure 35 Jar form 1a

- ii) **Jar Form 1b** (Figure 36): This type of jar has an everted rim. The rim has an average radius of 10 cm. It is under the category of small globular pots or jar vessels (15-25cm rim diameter). The temper is uniform and fine grained. This type of pot is possibly used to store liquid because of the uniform fine grain which makes it difficult for liquid to seep through. It has wide grooves on the rim, neck and body. The area around the rim and neck is thicker than the body. The clay used for this type of pot is red clay.



Figure 36 Jar Form 1b

- iii) **Jar Form 2a** (Figure. 37): This type of vessel was recovered from Unit one Level 2. It has a long neck with an almost straight rim. The rim has an average radius of 10 cm. It is under the category of small globular pots (15-25cm rim diameter). The temper is uniform and fine grained. This type of pot is possibly used to store liquid because of the uniform fine grained temper which makes it difficult for liquid to seep through. It has wide grooves on the neck. The clay used for this type of pots is red.



Figure 37 Jar Form 2a

### 5.2.7.2 Bowl Forms

The rim diameter of bowls is usually wider than that of the rim diameter of jars. There were five varieties of bowl forms which have been classified as follows:

- i) **Bowl Form 1a** (Figure 38). This particular bowl form has everted rim which has an average radius of 14 cm. The rim falls under the category of small bowls (10-15cm rim diameter). These bowl forms are carinated and have no decorations.



Figure 38 Bowl Form 1a

- ii) **Bowl Form 1b** (Figure 39): This is a carinated open bowl with everted rim and multiple grooves on the exterior neck. This bowl form has a rim with an average radius of 18 cm. It is in the category of medium bowl forms (15-25cm rim diameter). This bowl form is short in height compared to the bowl form 1a. The curvature of the vessel wall indicates that it is possible that the vessel has a flat base. It has two (2) grooved lines above the carination which can clearly be seen from the profile.



Figure 39 Bowl Form 1b

- iii) **Bowl Form 1c** (Figure 40): This is a carinated bowl with everted rim. It also has an curvilinear grooves on the carination. The average radius of the rim of such a bowl form is 18 cm. It is in the category of medium bowl forms (15-25cm diameter). This bowl form is short in height compared to the bowl form 1a. The colour of the clay used for making this pot is red.



Figure 40: Bowl Form 1c

- iv) **Bowl Form 2a** (Figure 41): The average radius of this rim is 10cm. It is in the category of small bowl forms (15-25cm diameter). It has a hemispherical shape with thickened rim lip. The profile of the rim shows a slightly everted rim.



Figure 41 Bowl Form 2a

- v) **Bowl Form 2b** (Figure 42): This particular rim is direct and has an average radius of 12cm. The rim falls under the category of medium bowls (15-25cm diameter). These types of bowl are hemispherical in shape.



Figure 42 Bowl Form 2b

### 5.3 Makers Mark on Pottery

A distinctive decoration or makers mark were identified on some rims. During the interviews conducted, some of the interviewees informed me that they were decorations whilst others also indicated that they were the trade marks of the makers. Unfortunately, pottery is not made at Princes's Town. The pottery they use is obtained from Axim where they make pottery and from markets at Agona Nkwanta. This made it impossible to ascertain whether indeed they were makers mark or decorations meant for aesthetics.



Figure 43a



Figure 43b



Figure 43c Curvilinear grooves

Figure 43a, b, c Photos of special decorations or makers mark on the rim of some pottery.

(Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

#### 5.4 European Glass Bottles

Some of the documents on trading along the Guinea Coast make numerous references to wine and spirits as key imports. These alcoholic beverages were also exchanged for local gold, ivory and slaves. The gold-trade and exchange that took place at Prince's Town resulted in the availability of glass bottles like gin, wine, and medicine bottles, and tumblers amongst others. Glass bottles were not only used as receptacles for liquor or spirits in the pre-colonial era, but were also used for carrying and storing other liquids like oil, syrups, toilet water, olives, capers, anchovies, and tuna which were all shipped in bottles during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (DeCorse, 2001: 159).

Wine and gin were the predominant beverages imported to the Gold Coast by the Europeans in the sixteenth century (DeCorse, 2001:159). The Africans had the local palm wine and local gin which they learnt the distillation from the Europeans, but preferred the European alcoholic beverages (Blake, 1942:105, cf. DeCorse, 2001, Pereira, 1967:121, Vogt, 1971:71). For instance Dutch gin (schnapps) was usually for consumption and used for the pouring of libation

during rituals such as installation of chiefs and during festivals like Kundum among the Ahanta. Today, Dutch gin (J.H. Henkes) is used widely in the performance of rites of passage and pouring of libation during ceremonies in Ghanaian societies. A total of 58 glass bottles and fragments were excavated constituting 14.2 % of the total finds.

To be able to ascertain the age of these bottles or to determine when they were manufactured, features like seals, on the bottles and the base of the bottles are good determinants (Figure 44). A total of 6 seals were recovered from the excavations. A stork with J.H. Henkes inscription below it, a star symbol, a key symbol with Nolet & Blankenheym embossed around it. Inscriptions like VR, M, J J MELCHERS were found on some of the bottles as well. These seals often times can easily be traced to their manufacturers and the year in which they were made. However, others cannot be traced. For example in Holland, it was estimated that over 400 distillers existed there in the 1840's. The seal of J.H. Henkes comes from Holland. The Henkes Company was established in the 1820s and its exports to West Africa commenced between 1851 and 1878 (DeCorse, 2001:160)



Figure 44 Seals or trademarks (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

## 5.5 European ceramics

A total number of ten (10) fragments of European imported ceramics were recovered from the excavation (Figure 45-52). With the help of Mr. L. Crossland and the University of Ghana Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies museum, these ceramics were classified under Delftware, Pearlware, Creamware, Whiteware, Porcelain and Stone ware. The dates of manufacture of these wares are contained in Table 8



Figure 45 Delftware with hand painted floral motifs (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 46 Hand painted floral decorated White ware (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 47 Blue transfer Printed Pearlware (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 48 Pearlware plates (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 49 Undecorated light Creamware plates (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 50 Photo of English transfer printed Pearlware (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012).



Figure 51 Floral painted Chinese Porcelain

(Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 52 Stoneware

(Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

**Table 8: Trade Ceramics from Prince's town**

<b>Type Varieties</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Date Ranges</b>	<b>Source</b>
Stone ware (cylindrical shape)	Brown stoneware storage bottles (Gin or mineral water)	1820-1900	-
Undecorated Cream ware (light)	Deep bowl with rounded rim (mixing bowl?)	1762-1820	-
Pearl ware	Flat plate with- Blue Transfer printed; floral painted design; and hand painted design.	1790-1840	Netherlands
Delft ware	Flat plate with hand painted floral motifs	1625-1800	Netherlands
Porcelain	Saucer plate with Floral painted design	19 <sup>th</sup> /20 <sup>th</sup> century	China
White ware	Hand painted floral decoration	1840-1873	-

## 5.6 Smoking pipes

European clay tobacco pipes were believed to be cheap. They broke frequently and were carelessly discarded. This accounts for their common presence on archaeology sites (Hall 1996:117). Their presence at the sites of Prince's Town, reflects a degree of the acceptance of European cultural life-ways. Thirty (30) pieces of European clay smoking pipe stems were recovered from Prince's Town (Figure 53). Seventeen (17) came from the three units and thirteen (13) stems came from the surface finds. Some scholars have established that clay tobacco pipes recovered from British colonial archaeological sites can be used for dating purposes. Schrire et. al. 1990, demonstrated that the internal bores of Dutch-made pipe stems diminished in diameter with the passage of time, and thus they can be used for the purposes of relative dating. This principle was used during the research at Oudepost 1 a Dutch, East India company outpost on the southwest Cape Coast (Hall 1996: 117). This method was applied in assessing the Prince's Town pipe finds to give relative dates. It involved measuring the thirty (30) smoking pipe stems. Ten (10) of the stems had a bore diameter of 6/64 giving a date range of (1680-1720), ten (10) had a bore diameter of 5/64 (1720-1750) and eight (8) had a bore diameter of 4/64 thus, giving a date range of 1750-1800.

Two of the smoking pipe stems had a makers mark on them. One read "IN GOUDA" whilst the other pipe had part of the mark broken off. The remaining part had the writing "...SCLIFFZ" on it. However, the dates for the site with the exact times the various Europeans came to occupy the Town is already known through historical, archival documents and personal diaries of the military officers and other personnel who were at Gross Fredericksburg and other travelers. Some of the pipes were found associated with imported ceramics. The inscription "IN

GOUDA” bears the makers’ mark of the Gouda firm. It is a company that produced and exported Dutch smoking pipes to West Africa from 1740 onwards (Walker, 1975:186)



Figure 53 Stems of European smoking pipes (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

## 5.7 Molluscs shell

The molluscs shell is basically made up of sea shells. They constituted the largest of the archaeological materials recovered, representing 936 (67%) of the assemblage of finds. From the excavation, it is evident that mollusks played important roles in the subsistence economy of the Africans (Figures 54 and 55). The molluscs comprised marine gastropoda species such as *Turritella unguina*, *Turritella meta*, *Cypraea stercoraria*, *Cypraea zonata*, and *Achatina*.



Figure 54 Gastropoda (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

It also included lagoonal or estuarine molluscs such as bivalvia species like, *Arca Senilis*, *Fissurella coarctata*, *Fissurella nubecula*, *Ostrea denticulata* (Edmunds 1978: 78-105).



Figure 55 Bivalvia (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

## 5.8 Iron artifacts

Iron implements totalling eighteen (18) were recovered from the excavations (Figure 56). The majority were found in the top 20cm – 40cm of Unit 2 where the skeletal remains were located. Most of the metal were recovered near the skeletal remains. They were around the wrist of the remains found at 40cm – 60cm and around the metatarsals of the remains at 120cm – 140cm. In examining the crystalized metal mixed with sand it is probable that the remains are that of slaves and the fragment of iron are corroded chains which are probably cuffs and shackles. This is because the metals has joined the two legs of the second skeletal remains, and small pieces of metals were also found around the wrists and on the pelvis and around the metatarsals of the second skeletal remain.



Figure 56 Metal objects (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

The remaining metals comprise of nails, the hilt of a cutlass or knife, a corroded latch, a hoe and other unidentified metal objects.

## 5.9 Beads

Beads recovered were not many as compared to the Elmina excavation by DeCorse. However, they are very interesting, because they were all recovered around the skeletal remains. This suggests they were used as adornment for the dead or were added as grave goods. These beads were Carnelian beads and Venetian Millefiori cane glass beads (Figure 57 and 58). Nine (9) of the carnelian beads and a Venetian bead were recovered from the test pit between 50cm – 60cm and nineteen (19) of the Carnelian beads and a blue glass bead were recovered from Unit 2 between 40cm – 60cm. The Venetian Millefiori bead and a carnelian bead were recovered between 120cm – 140cm of Unit 2. The Carnelian beads originate from India and date to about 18th/19th century whilst the Venetian millifiori dates to about 19th/20th century.



Figure 57 Photo of Carnelian beads (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)



Figure 58 Photo of Venetian millifiori beads (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

### 5.10 Oil Palm Nut

Oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*) is an indigenous tree crop that has been found and associated with the earliest food production period in Ghana, dating over 2,000 BC. One nut was recovered in Level 7 (120 – 140 cm deep) of Unit 2.

### 5.11 Grave Markers (Stones)

There were two different kinds of stones that were recovered from Prince's Town. These are quartz pebble stones and granite stones which were probably used as grave marks. These granite stones were recovered in Unit PRT Test pit and Unit PRT 2. About 20cm beneath the granite stones we encountered the burials. These grave marks of stones are not different from similar stones that have been used to mark the graves of some Europeans who were buried in the Fort (Figure 59).



Figure 59 Grave Markers of European burials` (Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

The cluster of arrangements of the quartz pebble stones in Unit 1 numbered thirty two (32) (Figure 60). Beneath these stones we did not encounter any burial.



Figure 60 Pebble Stones arrangements in Unit 1(Photo by E. A. Nyarko, 2012)

## CHAPTER SIX

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 6.1 Discussions: European Interactions at Prince's Town

Fort Gross Fredericksburg was the first Brandenburg fortification to be built in the Ahanta area. The Brandenburg African Company concentrated mainly on the Ahanta area, which was believed to be most favourably situated for the gold trade (van Dantzig, 1980:37). The Brandenburg African Company was founded with the purpose and aim of breaking the West Indian Company's monopoly over trade with the Guinea Coast in West Africa. The primary objective of the merchants of Brandenburg for building Fort Gross Fredericksburg was to control the termini of the western gold trade route through Asante and Aowin (Daaku, 1970).

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, Daaku (1970) indicates that the inland traders were beginning to use this route more than eastern routes. This is because John Konny had established good diplomatic relations with chiefs of this area so they allowed the inland traders from Asante and other areas to pass through their lands without exacting duties on them. It was also not far from a watering place where most of the trading ships anchored to get fresh water for their ships and vessels. A duty in the form of levy of an ounce of gold was exacted on every ship that stopped over to get fresh water (Welman, 1930:45).

Prince's Town was noted for its factories like the sawn mill (Justensen, 2005:272) where large and small timber as well as planks could be obtained. It also had a service-yard for servicing and repairing ships of other companies (van Dantzig, 1980:39). Van Dantzig, (1980) indicates that as ships of the Brandenburg African Company rarely arrived due to their

involvement in the war of Spanish succession in Europe, the Company's officials traded with ships from all nations in order to survive and raise finances to renovate the fort. For this reason, Gross Fredericksburg is known to have remained the most important smuggling station on the Coast (van Dantzig, 1980:39). The smuggling could be attributed to the riches and wealth of John Konny a merchant who had so much power and controlled the trade of the place. By so doing he reduced the European traders' profits by twenty percent (20%). This made commodities sold at Prince's Town cheaper than other European trade posts. Prince's Town also attracted a lot of interloper companies who were being pursued by the Dutch, British and other Registered companies (Welman, 1930).

Wherever humans have settled before and wherever activities have once taken place, there are bound to be imprints in the archaeological record. Activities such as discard behavior are inevitable in the lives of humans. These cultural materials that have been left behind are worth investigating, for archaeologists need to understand the past life ways of these erstwhile societies and their behavioural practices.

The reconnaissance survey at prince's Town was a testament of the African – European contact. It reveals the presence of diverse items that belong to both African and European heritages. These items included local pottery, European smoking pipes, European ceramics, glass bottles, assorted imported beads, metals among others. In reconstructing the past life ways of a society through archaeological investigation, the interpretation does not depend on the excavations only. It must integrate oral accounts, ethnographic studies, documentary and archival information to elucidate the holistic past life ways of the society under study.

The oral traditions collected indicated that the people of Prince's Town emigrated from the northern part of present day Cote d'Ivoire around the Kong region and Nzi Commoe region due to harassment by the Mandé. It therefore confirms that they are Nzima and not Ahanta.

The trade in gold and other commodities (Trans-Saharan-Trade) took place at Prince's Town before the arrival of the Europeans in the area. Nevertheless, it is known that the direct contact with these Europeans brought about the dawn of a new era in trading activities of the Africans along the Guinea Coast.

The people of Prince's Town are knowledgeable about their interactions with the Brandenburg, the Dutch and English who occupied the fort at different periods. It was also obvious during the interviews that the people preferred their encounters with the Brandenburg and English than the Dutch.

The interviews conducted at Prince's Town suggest that farming and fishing are the primary source of occupation of the people. Other sources of livelihood like trading, amongst others are connected to the farming and fishing. Beside this, the ethnic background of the people in this area cut across all groups and cultures. There are people from across the country who are directly involved in the farming, fishing and trading activities.

The archival investigations conducted showed that the various chieftaincy problems that occur in the Ahanta area were facilitated by the Dutch. They gained full control of the area from Axim to Dixcove and used the rivers to make regional demarcations to assist them in running the political administration of the Gold Coast area. This system incorporated some areas into the present Ahanta region which hitherto were not a part. A case in point is the creation of new political territories in the Ahanta area. The Dutch placed states from the

Dixcove area to the mouth of the Ankobra and about ten (10km) kilometers inland under the Ahanta region. As a result of this, places like Cape Three points area, Prince's Town, Ajembra, Miamia who were Nzima are now identified as Ahanta (Map 5).

This makes it difficult for some chiefs to pledge their allegiance to paramount chiefs who are not their rightful overlords. The destoolment and abolishing of chieftaincy in the Ahanta region by the Dutch due to clashes with some Ahanta chiefs is also a contributing factor to the instability of chieftaincy in the region.

The presence of European materials in African context at Prince's Town, provides insight into African and European interaction. It attests to the interactions of the Europeans with the local people. However, there is no clear stratigraphic distribution between the Brandenburg period, the Dutch period and the English. This may be due to the choice of sites.

The Glass bottles for example were used for storing liquor and used for shipping other commodities like oils, syrups, toilet water, olives and tuna during the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (DeCorse, 2001: 159). The amount of glass bottles that were retrieved from the excavations with the seals of the makers on the shoulder of the bottle and the side, suggests that the people really adopted European consumerism. Most of these bottles are of Dutch origin and are dated to about the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

The presence of smoking pipes in the archaeological record at Prince's Town is also worth noting. Their presence suggests that the locals had one way or the other adopted western habits of smoking tobacco since the pipes especially Dutch pipes, were inferior and cheap to come by in those days. (Walker, 1975:166).

The recovery of European ceramics, glass bottles, kaolin smoking pipes, Venetian and Carnelian beads, red tiles and some metal objects, from the Princes Town excavations is an attestation that these materials got to Prince's Town through trade and exchange. As a result of the contact and interactions with the Europeans, the African's taste for exotic wines, ceramics, beads and smoking pipes increased which Cusick (1998:4) indicates as a predisposition for groups to interact with "outsiders", exchange and control the interaction. The effect of the contact, interaction and trade is the result of acculturation, assimilation and amalgamation amongst others. Schortman and Urban (1992) suggests that it is the competition for these resources that creates a platform that draws people into cross-cultural contact and interaction.

The number of imported ceramics recovered from the archaeological research was very few compared to the local pottery. Seventeen European ceramic sherds were recovered across all the units. This indicates that though the people preferred local pottery they used it concurrently with the European ceramics. Usually, these ceramics were brought by the Europeans or by local merchants.

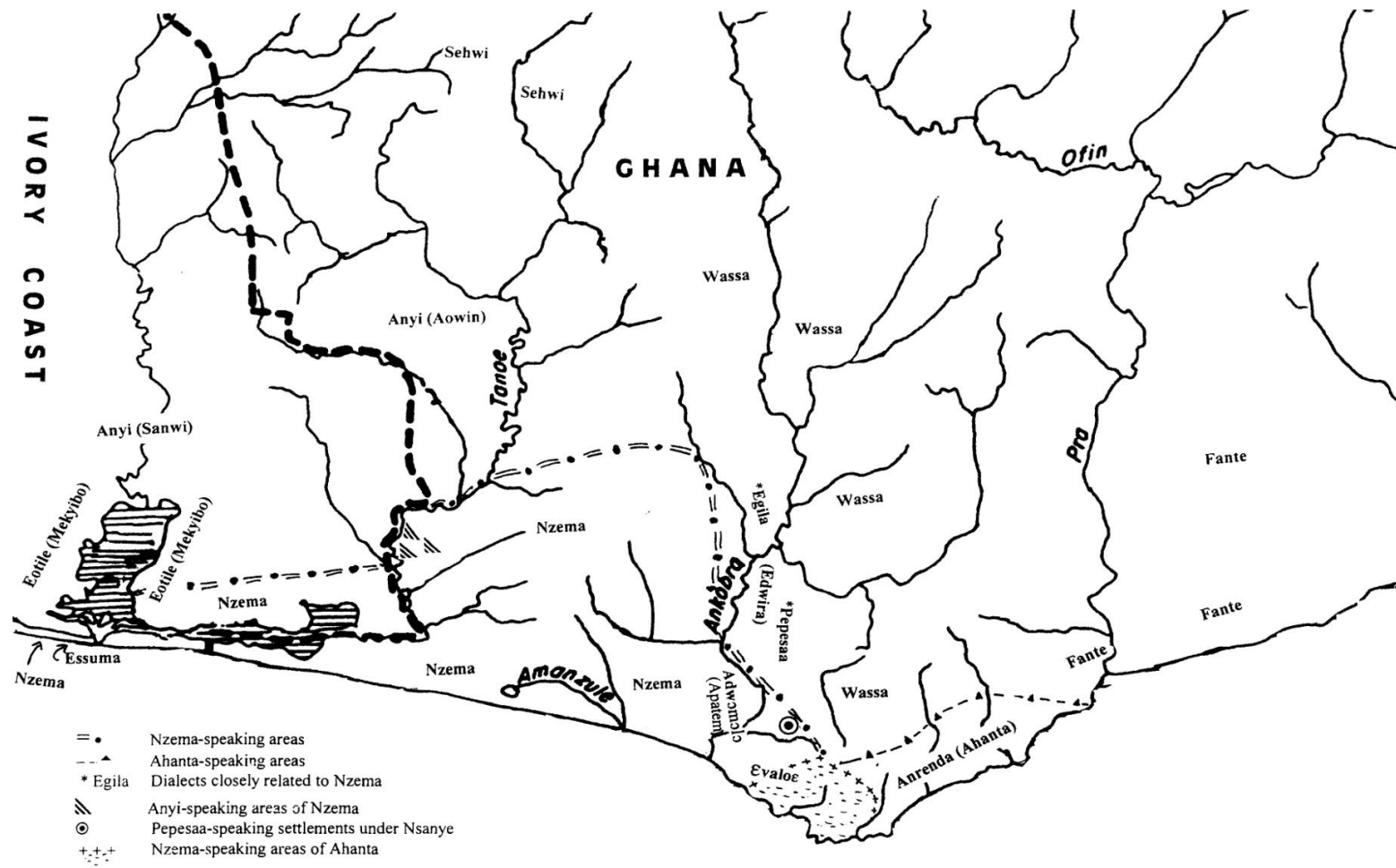
The recovery of a large number of molluscs suggests its use in the dietary patterns of the people. This is important because, the coastal towns of Elmina (DeCorse, 2001) and Axim (Gyam, 2008) also provide evidence of reliance on both domesticated and undomesticated resources as important sources of food.

The presence of stones as grave markers in the African settlement and in the courtyard of Fort Gross Fredericksburg is an indication of how social groups come into contact and the kind of interaction that takes place which leads to exchange of ideas, materials and values. Silliman (2005) indicates that in spite of the duration of the contact, it may include a variety of elements

such as exchange, integration, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and creation of Diaspora communities. The use of stones as grave markers could be a two way tier relationship. It is probable that the Europeans may have learnt the use of stones as grave markers from the Africans because they could not get the necessary materials to build their tombs. On the contrary, the Africans may have learnt the use of stones as grave markers from the Europeans. However, that is not the focus of this discussion. For a sound conclusion to be arrived and justify which people originally used the grave markers, a focused research into that direction must be undertaken. Nevertheless, it was learnt through culture contact and interactions.

One palm nut was recovered. Even though not much can be interpreted from it, Oil palm is one of the indigenous crops that has played an important role in the subsistence and economies of most West African states in the past. It is not only used in preparing soup but it has various uses such as making palm wine which was the drink of most West African societies before the arrival of European schnapps, gin, rum and wine.

The oral accounts collected, the interviews conducted and participant observation informed us that, the encounters with the Europeans at Prince's Town did not largely influence their indigenous religion. This is because the people go to church alright but still practice indigenous religious practices and this can be seen through their beliefs in the deities and their allegiance to them.



Map 5 Map showing Nzima speaking areas of Ahanta (Source: Valsecchi, 2001)

From the above discussion, one can visualize the kind of trade, interactions and activities that took place between the Africans and Europeans at Prince's Town. Cultural materials like local pottery indicates intra trading activities, internal interactions between Axim traders who were potters and the people of Prince's Town, while European glass bottles, ceramics and smoking pipes also show international trade and interactions and the sort of materials that paraded the Gold Coast during the gold and slave trades.

The European contact increased the volume of trade as diverse trading commodities were introduced into the Guinea coast by the different European powers. The European contact however did not only increase the volume of trade, but it diversified it as well (Daaku, 1970). The proliferation of armaments or fire arms made it more possible to forcibly incorporate weaker states into more powerful ones (Boahen, 1966). This really shook the foundations of society and greatly affected social and political organizations on the Gold Coast. The latter half of the seventeenth century therefore witnessed the formation of sizeable empires in the hinterland of the coast. Territorial expansion by force of arms became the means to gain economic power in the new order as was first shown by Denkyira, Akwamu and Asante (Boahen, 1966). Before the arrival of these Europeans, the processes of state formation, the evolution of political and cultural institutions and of social change was already in progress. However, their arrival and the introduction of guns and powder and the provision of greater economic incentive, account for the expansion of the inland states and a continuation and acceleration of the processes that had already began (Boahen, 1966). This empowered some rulers like John Konny who waged wars and defeated neighbouring weaker states thereby taking prisoners of war into slavery. John Konny could mobilize about 900 men for battle against the Dutch, and at another time about

3000 men (Welman 1930). This is suggestive of the fact that the fire armaments empowered him so much.

These weapons introduced by the Europeans were used to pursue policies of territorial aggrandizement (Daaku, 1970). These wars in turn, fed the slave markets with victims from raids and prisoners of war.

The Trans-Atlantic Trade between Africans and Europeans had both positive and negative effects which could be categorized as economic, social and political. West Africans came into contact with an array of goods through the exchange of the trade which economically improved their standard of living. For instance, most rulers in West Africa benefited and obtained great wealth. They received tolls from middlemen who passed through their territories and presents from Europeans. Many ordinary citizens gained from the trade as well, but it was the middlemen who had the lion's share of the gains from the trade. Some of these middlemen became very wealthy and wielded much social and political influence. The people of West Africa were beneficiaries of imports such as crops like pineapple, sugar cane, cassava, mango, guava, avocado pear, tobacco and maize which diversified their diet (Buah, 1977, DeCorse, 2001).

One of the negative economic impacts of the Trans-Atlantic Trade was the irreparable drain of human resources, which caused a devastating effect on the population of Africans during the slave trade. Majority of the people that were taken were in their prime that is from fifteen to thirty-five years of age. These affected African societies, because this group was, biologically and economically the most active and most productive.

The trade also had political impact on both Africans and Europeans. Buah (1977: 36) observed that, to achieve peaceful and prosperous trade, the Europeans often became involved in local politics. They often sided with one local ruler against a rival party. There were several instances where the Europeans secretly supported two rival parties at the same time to ensure that, no matter what the outcome of the conflict, they would not be losers.

The Europeans meddled in the politics of the Africans. Some of the African rulers gave the European governors the right to preside over judicial matters. This practice stemmed from the assumption that the Europeans were uninterested parties and would be impartial arbiters. However, the Europeans later interpreted it differently. Treaties became much more complicated after 1650, when European competition became weaker. European companies started pushing their claims to as far back in time as possible to show a better claim as rival claimants. According to Daaku (1970), it soon became evident that treaties alone could not form the bases for claims to any particular place. The Africans at best interpreted them as agreements which only gave the Europeans a share in their trade and not granting them monopoly rights. The Europeans eventually resorted to backing their claims with force.

The effects of their activities on the coast led to the relative stagnation and progressive weakening of the states on the coast. These gave rise to the steady growth and expansion of those states in the interior and hinterlands such as the Assin, Twifo, Denkyira, Akwamu and Akyem.

The Trans-Atlantic Trade resulted in the creation of many traders, skilled labour, and middlemen migrating from their ancestral homes to settle in coastal towns and inland market towns. This movement caused an increase in population of villages close to the European trading

stations on the coast which consequently aided in state formations. This did not only lead to population growth but also resulted in changes in the political allegiance of people.

The socio-cultural interaction established between the Africans and Europeans through trade, contributed to the emergence of two new classes. The middle class which was made up of African merchants and the wage earning class (made up of artisans, canoe men, bricklayers, labourers amongst others), who served either the middlemen or the Europeans.

To secure as much trade as possible, the Europeans depended on African servants and middlemen (Daaku, 1970). This gave rise to the emergence, of the new African merchant princes like John Konny of Ahanta, the brothers John Classen and John Hennequa of Fetu and John Cebes of Kommenda, all of whom maintained a strong hold on the trade between the Europeans in the castle and the Ghanaian traders from the inland states (Boahen, 1966). Daaku mentions John Konny of Prince's Town and describes him as a man of strong personality and character, who ignored the Dutch threats and openly defied them. He encountered the Dutch during the Anglo Dutch alliance in 1711. He is said to have baffled the Dutch and thwarted their orchestrations for almost fifteen years. John Konny was a merchant whose connections reached as far inland as Asante. John Konny's attempt to revamp the Brandenburg African Company won him a title and appellation as "the last Prussian Negro Prince".

## **6.2 Conclusion**

Ghana is among the few places in West Africa that is densely concentrated with over 60 European-built castles, forts and lodges spread along the 500km coastline. This was mainly because of the amount of gold that was found, mined and exported from the area which became

known as the Gold Coast. The only place in the Gold Coast where the Brandenburg built a fort was at Prince's Town.

The interest for this research emanated from the fact that no scientific archaeological research has been conducted on interactions between Africans and Europeans on an Nzima African settlement. This research would therefore contribute to the existing knowledge on interactions between Africans and Europeans in Nzimaland.

From the ethnographic studies conducted, there is continuity in the life ways of the people. The Brandenburg era was about forty (40) years and could not have influenced the people of Prince's Town so tremendously. This was followed by the reign of an African; John Konny for about eight years. The Dutch reigned for one hundred and forty seven (147) years at Prince's Town. The oral traditions revealed that the people of Prince's Town did not like the Dutch presence and therefore did not find anything worthy of emulation. There is no evidence of architectural, educational and subsistence influence from the Dutch in the area. The only good legacy the people of Prince's Town inherited from the Dutch was the yellow pineapple.

This research however, is quite limited regarding the size of the area excavated and the choice of site. This is partly due to financial constraint and the time frame available. This therefore hampered the availability of sufficient and other important artifacts to elaborate and elucidate the detailed interactions between Europeans and the Africans at Prince's Town. I therefore suggest that further archaeological investigations be conducted and materials critically analyzed in order to draw better conclusions. This research, in the interim, however, provides data to compare and contrast with findings from the archaeology of Elmina, Axim, and Awudua Dada.

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## Appendix

### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### **ORAL ACCOUNTS AND ETHNOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS**

Section A: Origins and Early history of Prince's Town

Section B: Clan and Family

Section C: Government and Institution

Section D: Indigenous Religious Practices

Section E: Economic activities

#### **Section A: Origin and Early history**

1. Is this place your original place of abode?
2. So how long have you and your people been here?
3. How was the settlement founded?
4. Where did you and your people come from?
5. What were the reasons you left your first place of abode?
  - a. War
  - b. Famine
  - c. Land disputes

- d. Chieftaincy disputes
6. Which chief led you to this place?
7. Do you remember the various places that you stopped on your way to this place?
8. Are there any legends, stories, myths or folk tales related to your migration?
9. What does Kpokeso means?
10. Do you know of any rites that were performed at the ancient site of Kpokeso?

### **Section B: Clan and Family**

11. What clan do you belong to?
12. What other clans do you have?

### **Section C: Government and Institution**

13. Can you list the names of your previous Kings?
14. How is your state governed?
15. Is the Chief recognized by the Omanhene?
16. Does the chief have other subjects (other villages under him)?
17. What is the position of your state under the Omanhene?
18. How do you govern your state?

### **Section D: Indigenous Religious Practices**

19. What are the various deities in your state?
20. What is the relationship between the Lagoon and River Nyala and the people of Prince's Town?
21. Do you have any rites or taboos that are related to the River Nyala and Ehonle lagoon?
22. Does your state celebrate any annual festivals??
23. If you do, when do you celebrate it?
24. What rights are associated with it?
25. Why do you celebrate it?

### **Section E: Economic Activities**

26. What is the main source of revenue for your state?
27. What are the various occupations of the People of Prince's Town?
28. What crops do they cultivate?

### **Pottery**

29. Do you have Potters in this area?
30. Which groups of people are involved in the making of pots?
31. Apart from Axim, are there other towns that make pots?
32. What are their names?

33. Where is the source of the clay for the pots?
34. Is it true that most of the pottery came from the Axim area?

### **The Europeans**

35. Do you have any stories, folklore and myths about the presence of the Europeans who were here?
52. Do you know of any reason why the Brandenburg came to build their Fort at Prince's Town?