Daniel Anyim

“WE SOLD SLAVES TOO”: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ANOMABO AND FORT WILLIAM IN PUBLIC NARRATIVES SURROUNDING THE ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE.

MA Thesis in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Central European University

Budapest

June 2020

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by

Daniel Anyim

(Ghana)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Daniel Anyim**, candidate for the MA degree in Cultural Heritage Studies: Academic Research, Policy, Management declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 30 June 2020

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Signature

Abstract

The history of the Atlantic slave trade and slave heritage are critical subject areas of transnational concern and thematic research. In this study, the necessary details that contribute to local indifference and general disinterest among the public about salient issues concerning indigenous slavery systems—that existed before the arrival of the Europeans—and the transatlantic slave trade at large are untangled. That is, a structured dissemination of partial evidence that was perpetrated and to some extent centrally designed by key actors including: the state, local historians and educational institutions as part of concerted attempts to entrench overarching notions of national cohesion and unity in the face of (re)imagining the Ghana's colonial past.

I contend that what this topic lack is ample/fair representation in the Ghana Education Service's current teaching curriculum for history in senior high schools. Thus, a continuous minimization or outright silencing of the role played by local agency prevents students from developing nuanced insights into a lived past within Ghana's national consciousness, in the contemporary imagination and interrogation of the manifold of events that transpired in Atlantic slave trade. Historically relevant sites like Fort William, Anomabo—this thesis's case study—was explored and can serve as an entry point into this complex history. This study also discovered that, the well-rounded histories of this era filter down to the 'official' narratives shared by tour guides to tourists esp. from the African Diaspora who embark on regular heritage tours to the various forts and castles in Ghana.

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This body of work will not be achieved without the contribution of several outstanding people. Firstly, I will like to express profound gratitude to Professor Alice Choyke, my magnificent supervisor. Your guidance, warmth and endless encouragement were key pillars that guided me through from scratch to the completion of thesis project. I am very grateful.

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List of Abbreviations

E.I - Executive Instrument.

GES – Ghana Education Service.

GMMB – Ghana Museums and Monuments Board.

MOE – Ministry of Education, Ghana.

MOT – Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Ghana.

MRCGC - Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast.

NAAC – National Assessment and Accreditation Council.

NLCD - National Liberation Council Decree.

NRCHP - Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project.

SHS – Senior High School.

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

UNDP - United Nations Development Program.

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

WAEC – West African Examination Council.

WHC – World Heritage Committee.

Introduction

"A history is the methodical narration of events in the order in which they successively occurred, exhibiting-the origin and progress, the causes and effects, and the auxiliaries and tendencies of that which has occurred in connection with a nation. It is, as it were, the speculum and measure-tape of that nation, showing its true shape and stature. Hence a nation not possessing a history has no true representation of all the stages of its development, whether it is in a state of progress or in a state of retrogression"

— Carl Christian Reindorf.[1]

Background of the study

On 5th May 2017, I paid a physical visit, as part of my certificate course in tourism and hospitality management at the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA), to the Elmina castle for the first and only time. This trip sparked my curiosity and inspired me to read wider, beyond the generic narratives I was already familiar with about the castles and forts in Ghana.

Nestled within the bustling Elmina township was the different and imposing architectural edifice—the Elmina castle—that visually stands out from the aerial view and landscape of the vibrant fishing township. Lumped in with two other groups; three Dutch tourists and a Jamaican family, our tour began in front of a plaque with Dutch inscriptions. During the tour, one thing that stood out from the articulate guide's simplified narration about the history of the castle was the binary undertone on events that took place within the castle—i.e. the advent of ruthless European aggressors against powerless/subdued Africans, thus, subjecting the local captives to inhumane treatment before embarkation to the 'New World.' This narrative typically catered to the emotions of the visitors, especially the domestic tourists and visitors from the African

[1] Carl Christian Reindorf, *History of the Gold Coast and Asante, Based on Traditions and Historical Facts: Comprising a Period of More than Three Centuries from about 1500 to 1860* (Basel: The author, 1895), http://archive.org/details/historyofgoldcoa00rein.

diaspora. After walking through the various dungeons—both male and female holding areas—the palaver hall, condemned cells, the governors' quarters, the Portuguese church and finally the Elmina castle museum, I took a moment to self-reflect and process the information I had obtained. "How did the Europeans sell so many of our ancestors considering how near insignificant they were in number compared to Africans at the time?" - a colleague from my group posed to the tour guide during the question and answer session. According to the guide, "they (the Europeans) had guns, hence, they were more powerful and could scare the locals into submitting easily." Although a seemingly satisfactory answer, personally, it was not overly convincing enough.

After the approximately one-hour tour, several concerns and questions that I could not readily get answers to due to time constraint came to my mind. How connected are the natives of Elmina township to the castle and its transnational heritage? Who approves the general narrative expressed through the local tour guides? Why are the early functions of the castle (gold trade centers) not mentioned, at least in proportion to the slave trade? and why do the narratives make it seem like all Afro-European interactions took place only in Elmina and Cape Coast and why are the other forts not given as much mainstream attention like these two sites? Based on this anecdotal experience, my drive to investigate the set of contributing factors (including post-colonial nation-building rhetoric and heritage-inspired events and tours that usually cater to the visitors from the African diaspora) that fuels the lack of interest and awareness locally, this research will zero in on formal education as one of the major causes of this worrying dissonance.

Problem statement

Through a random informal interview with a heritage tour operator in Ghana and an unstructured survey that I conducted via Facebook amongst ten of my colleagues' split between Ghana and abroad about their knowledge of the built heritage of Ghana—particularly the fort and castles, their existence and histories they possess—I was motivated to delve into this area of scholarly investigation. The feedback I received was predictable albeit unsurprisingly, to say the least. Eight out of ten pointed out the popular ones, thus, Elmina, Cape Coast and Christiansborg (Osu) Castles' as the ones they are familiar with and specifically in their capacities as tourist sites. After a brief analysis of these responses and introspection into my knowledge about the same topic, though not definitive, I partially concluded that—the worrying challenge of unawareness and deficiency of proper insight suggested by my limited sample could stem from three factors. 1. The uncritical nature of the current Ghana Educational Services' history syllabus/curriculum concerning slave heritage pedagogy in Senior High Schools. 2. The overly focused attention in areas of preservation and tourism-led investment by the state and international bodies, in many cases, at the castles only, could be another contributing factor. 3. Absence of promotion, conservation issues and challenges such as access to the location of most of the lesser-publicized forts could be another cause. Putting my stated case study in perspective, the major factors elaborated above play an active role in fueling the passive knowledge about the existence of this fort and its accompanying history.[2]

This thesis aims at bridging the gap and filling the grey areas—both theoretically and practically—in the existing literature that focuses on the built heritage of Ghana. The central

[2] According to the Central Regional Director of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), Mr. Nicholas Ivor, "the Cape Coast and Elmina castles were able to generate an amount of GH¢210,795.83 in 2007 compared to GH¢146,641.68 in 2006. He said a total of 135,070 tourists visited the two castles last year as against 104,529 in 2006 and 76,019 in 2005. The Elmina castle received 65,018 visitors in 2007 and 47,838 visitors in 2006, while the Cape Coast castle received 70,052 and 56,691 in 2007 and 2006 respectively." Source: Accessed May 15, 2020. http://ghana-net.com/forts-and-castles.html. This statistic highlights a major reason why these two monuments receive the most attention from the government.

thrust of the research is to establish a premise that the history syllabus for Senior High Schools in Ghana fails to establish the foundation needed for students to become aware of this complex heritage and educate them accordingly. Hence, as a tentative contribution to filling this educational lacuna, a simple website—as a test project—will eventually be developed for Fort William, Anomabo. The website will be open-source and readily accessible for teachers and students to consult in fulfilment of the GES requirement that "a fort or castle has to be visited for class discussions."[3]

Research Aim

This research aims to unearth reasons for local disinterest towards the built, early colonial heritage of Ghana, especially lesser-known forts and their connections to slave heritage. The research will also draw attention to unbalanced presentation, publicity and visits at major castles and lesser-known forts.

Research Questions

This thesis aims at finding answers to the following questions:

1. What are the contributing factors fueling the passivity/disinterest Ghanaians express towards the slave heritage and the memory components of the forts and castles?

a. How is the current history curriculum/syllabus for Senior High Schools contributing to this conundrum?

b. What interventions can be made to improve access to information about the lesser-known forts using Fort William, Anomabo as a case study?

[3] "WASSCE / WAEC History Syllabus (Ghana)," *https://www.larnedu.com/Wp-Content/Uploads/2015/03/Ghana-WASSCE-WAEC-History-Syllabus.Pdf*, September 2010, 33.

Contextual Framework

As important places of memory and historical reference, the status of the forts and castles found along the coast of Ghana hold an indelible place in scholarly discourses, predominantly in areas such as tourism, memory studies, environmental science, architecture, conservation studies and archaeology. John Kwadwo Osei Tutu's introductory chapter in the anthology, *Forts, Castles and Society in West Africa*, touches broadly on the complexity of the histories of forts and castles dotted along the coasts of various West African countries and the various roles they played as a network of trading posts and seats of authority for the European imperial powers.[4] The publication provides a general background into the forts and castles in Ghana and their contributions to the broader network of fortresses within the West African sub-region. This chapter presents a contemporary perspective, touching substantively on local stimulation of the Atlantic slave trade and its vital contribution to the plethora of scholarly investigations that exists about these monuments. Putting the issue of local participation and my case study, Fort William in Anomabo, into perspective, *Where the Negroes Are Masters: An African Port in the Era of the* Slave Trade by Randy Sparks presented a thorough picture and breakdown on the strategic importance of Anomabo township, as an international port and Fort William's contribution to the Atlantic slave trade enterprise.[5] One of the major highlights of the book was in-depth documentation and examination of the influential Fante chiefs and merchants who controlled the terms of trade for the most of the eighteenth century when the trade was at its peak. As Fort William, just like the other trading posts, are contested sites of memory and spaces where ideological agendas are negotiated, the issues of interpretation and ownership stand out as one of the core concerns amongst stakeholders. Here, Britany Ghee in her master's

[4] John Kwadwo Osei-Tutu, "Introduction," *Forts, Castles and Society in West Africa*, September 24, 2018, 1–32, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004380172_002.
[5] Randy J. Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters: An African Port in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2014).

thesis, *Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana*, touched extensively on the foundation and politics of memory interpretation and thoroughly discussed how the different organizations/stakeholders—such as the Ghanaian government, USAID and UNESCO—involved in the conservation of the forts and castles in Ghana, all play a role in shaping narratives for tourists.[6] The thesis further raised questions and assessed the direct and indirect impact those constructed narratives have on the opinion of visiting tourists about the functions and histories of the forts and castles. Elaborating on the issue of interpretation and contestations of ownership between locals and visitors from the African diaspora, mostly African Americans, Kaitlin van Baarle's MA thesis "*They come with preconceived minds": The negotiation and contestation of diaspora tourism in Ghana* presented a critical ethnographic review of the complexity and perceived tensions that exists between the two parties—i.e. Ghanaians and Africa American visitors.[7] The thesis gave a detailed commentary on how the forts and castles in Ghana have somewhat failed to serve as a unifying common ground where past differences could be negotiated and newer identities forged. The absence of slavery heritage in public discourse is also a subject that fuels the aforementioned rift. Here, Bayo Holsey in, *Routes of Remembrance*, comprehensively analyzed the absence of the accounts of the slave trade in the public version of coastal Ghanaian family and community histories and critically assessed its contentious presentation in the country's education system, nationalist narratives, and its mainstream elaboration by the transnational tourism industry.[8] The book also sheds light on African involvement in the slave trade, and how it is often deployed by some modern

[6] Britney Danielle Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2015), https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd/3716.
[7] Kaitlin van Baarle, "They Come with Preconceived Minds": The Negotiation and Contestation of Diaspora Tourism in Ghana" (M.A. thesis, Leuven, University of Leuven, 2014), https://www.academia.edu/9742462/_They_come_with_preconceived_minds_The_negotiation_and_contestation_of_diaspora_tourism_in_Ghana.
[8] Bayo Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

Europeans to vilify residents. Thus, a revisionist attempt to blacken the name of Africans and reduce the guilt of Europeans and Americans in the inhumane trade. This aspect, he emphasized further, was a stigma that still plays a role in shaping the way Ghanaians, especially former slave-owning chiefdoms, generally imagine and confront their historical pasts. This passivity was assessed in greater detail in the book, *Lose Your Mother* by Saidiya Hartman.[9] This monograph raised some topical questions on the sensitivity of local Ghanaians towards the stories embedded in the slave forts and castles and gravitates towards explaining the passive attitude the host communities surrounding these forts and castles have to these places of memory. In search of her long lost lineage and kin in a bid to create a connection back "home," she noted that she rather came into contact with strangers who only considered her as a source of profit. An unfortunate phenomenon that still prevails today in contemporary imagination of the lived past and interest in slave heritage in Ghana.

In the area of practical solutions and the deployment of new technology for heritage consumption, the Zamani project, a South African firm, that deals with the digital documentation of heritage sites on the African continent, has one of the most impressive digital conservation, documentation, and preservation materials on some of the forts and castles of Ghana.[10] It presents a credible case of the way various forts, especially the less-visited ones, can be digitally conserved and presented for open access and sustainable public engagement in modern times.

Amongst the various literature and digital project touched on above, the scope of focus for this research area is vast and all-encompassing. However, as valuable sites of memory and historical reference, not much attention has been focused on a principal situational issue. Thus,

[9] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008).
[10] Zamani Project, "Site - Elmina Castle," accessed May 26, 2020, https://www.zamaniproject.org/site-ghana-elmina-elmina-castle.html.

the majority of forts, Fort William in this thesis's case, are faced with a dearth of awareness and passive resistance on the part of successive governments and the general public to confront the fact of local/African involvement as middlemen in the infamous Atlantic slave trade. Also, reluctance to visit the less well-recognized forts can partly be traced to the remoteness of their locations; the absence of comprehensive information, in some cases and the thought of dealing with painful accounts captured in on-site narratives shared by tour guides. This situation, in turn, presents a worrying dilemma that leaves the majority of the local population with fragmented, incomplete knowledge about the actual multilayered relevance of all the remaining forts and castles.

Research Objectives/ Significance

Considering the salient role heritage interpretation and presentation plays in the understanding and appreciation of history and its accompanying memories, it is imperative to adopt appropriate channels through which academically attested stories or historical accounts can be effectively disseminated and understood. A core aim of this research is to draw attention to one of the least discussed but important eighteenth-century coastal ports/townships, Anomabo, and part of its still-standing built heritage, Fort William. The central drive of my work will be to highlight the strategic role played by both the town and fort during the Atlantic slave trade, controlled by both Europeans (chiefly the British) and Fante chiefs. I seek to position them in a spot of proper academic understanding of the complex relationships of Europeans and Asante and Fante chiefdoms which are rarely if ever, explored in the public imagination. Accurate historical narratives are marginalized within mainstream narratives and the national consciousness/collective memory resulting in the side-tracking of contemporary castles such as Elmina, Osu and Cape Coast.

1.6 Research Method

This research employed a multi-disciplinary approach in examining the multifarious concerns raised. Review of secondary academic literature, an online survey (questionnaire) targeting tour guides and another targeting former and current senior high school students, and desktop research were the methods used. The findings will be described in greater detail in chapter 4.

Research Design

For this study, a qualitative methodology was used as the main research tool. Because of the large number of students in Senior High Schools (SHSs) throughout Ghana, a research design and reliable methods that are meticulous in approach and yield accurate results is important. Largely due to sampling concerns and individual representativeness. With the methodology defined and underpinned by positivist research philosophy, an online questionnaire organized through a survey was the best method for data collection.[11] The advantages and limitations of this method were carefully taken into account during the selection process. As argued by Saunders et al. the survey method is effective because it enables easy collection of quantitative data through a qualitative approach.[12] Moreover, as an explanatory study, the survey method allows "collection of data from a sizeable population by taking a sample as a microcosm in a highly economical way which is easy to explain and to understand."[13] Due to the current global pandemic, the survey method was an effective way to help me remotely access my respondents through the web and still maintain a decent sample size.

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[11] "Positivism - Research Methodology," *Research-Methodology* (blog), accessed May 26, 2020, https://research-methodology.net/research-philosophy/positivism/.
This philosophy adheres to the view that only "factual" knowledge gained through observation (the senses), including measurement, is trustworthy. In positivism studies the role of the researcher is limited to data collection and interpretation in an objective way.

[12] Mark N. K. Saunders, Adrian Thornhill, and Philip Lewis, *Research Methods for Business Students*, 5 edition (New York: Pearson, 2009), 138–40.

[13] Adasa Nkrumah Kofi Frimpong and Carlo Vaccari, "The Internet Trends and Experience: The Case of Ghana," in *Managing Intellectual Capital and Innovation for Sustainable and Inclusive Society: Managing Intellectual Capital and Innovation; Proceedings of the Make Learn and TIIM Joint International Conference 2015* (ToKnowPress, 2015), 400, https://ideas.repec.org/h/tkp/mklp15/397-405.html.

Sampling method and the target population

Ideally, all history-offering students in each SHS in Ghana would have been my preferred sample. However, due to time constraints and the unfeasibility of collecting such granular data, I opted for conducting the survey using a sizeable sample. This is ideal because it deals with a specific pool of data that, when properly collected and scrutinized, can be enough to make substantive projections for a bigger population. This made data organization more practicable, time effective and yielded prompt results.

Former and current senior high school students were purposefully chosen for this research because, with most targeted students still being adolescent, it was thought that they "tend to question the customs, traditions, habits, beliefs and attitudes which had been passed on to them during their childhood, while they seek their place in the world and their own identity."[14] Similarly, this is a "period when individual value preferences are shaped."[15] It is logical to focus on this demographic because ideally, pedagogy at this stage seeks to stimulate/encourage critical thinking, formulation of independent thought and objectivity among students. Hence, proposing an interpretative module that is readily available and simplifies access to relevant academic information while giving the students autonomy to decipher what they deem suitable about their history and heritage, is key since it underscores the main objective of this thesis and education in general. Out of the 71 students invited to participate in this survey, 50 completed the questionnaires that were sent out. Responses were gathered from students who have or currently school in 9 out of the 16 regions in Ghana. Out of the 50 respondents who participated

[14] Erminia Sciacchitano, "Cultural Heritage and Education: The European Year of Cultural Heritage, an Opportunity to Foster Heritage Education," *Learning from the Past, Designing Our Future: Europe's Cultural Heritage through eTwinning*, September 24, 2018, 11.
[15] Ibid., 11.

in the survey, 28 were male and 22 were female. Data from the survey was analysed and conclusions drawn.

Limits of Study

Since this research sought to understand local perspectives on European-local African collaborations in the slave trade and how that narrative informs their joint concerns with Fort William as a slaving hub, it was practically impossible—due to the Covid-19 pandemic—to visit and conduct in-person interviews with the natives of Anomabo including chiefs and locals. Similarly, a key-informant meeting with the renowned tour guide—Phillip Atta-Yawson—to collect primary data was also another major shortfall. Furthermore, I could not undertake a participant observation process to estimate the number of visits the fort attracts over a given time. Of course, the very fact that such numbers are not available show the level of official neglect toward the fort. I was unable to secure an interview with officials at the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) and Ministry of Tourism (MoT) to acquire primary details on how and why they think the unbalanced distribution of resources and visitors exists between the castles and the other chains of forts. Finally, the lack of official statistical data from the GMMB and MoT on the number of visitors that the fort receives over a given period impeded the possibility of conducting a comparative analysis between Fort William and its contemporaries, Elmina and Cape Coast Castles. To compensate for the lack of interviews and official commentary, I have delved more deeply into the academic views of African- European connections during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along the Gold Coast and contrasted these views with the narratives that are publicly available about the forts and castles.

Organization of Study

The first chapter presents a brief history of the Gold Coast, an overview of domestic slavery and the active role of local ethnic polities in the Atlantic slave trade. Chapter two focuses on the historic Anomabo township, touches on Anglo-Fante diplomacy and trade relations, and discusses Fort William and the politics of conservation. Chapter three examines causative factors that contribute to the lack of local appreciation of the heritage value of the lesser-known forts. The last chapter outlines a presentation and analysis of my findings, discusses an interpretative module and concludes the study with recommendations.

Chapter 1 - A short history of the Gold Coast, arrival and early interactions with European Trade Companies

"We have to do with the past only as we can make it useful to the present and to the future"

— Frederick Douglass.[1]

1.0 Chapter Overview

To understand and appreciate the current state of Ghana, there is an on-going need for the public in Ghana to interact in lively ways with its history. To appreciate the varied spectrum of events that shaped the country's past, an honest assessment of the interplay of the many factors that define the country's present is required to shape Ghana's future.

On that note, this chapter aims to present a broad but summarized introspective look into how the concept of Ghana as a nation came into existence as well as present a selected history of the Gold Coast before the arrival of the Europeans. The closer intent is to consider the nuances of a series of activities that culminated during and after interactions of local people with the European mercantile interlopers.

Based on this premise, the central thrust of this chapter will be; first, a brief historical presentation of the geographic and ethnic composition of the Gold Coast in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The arrival of European trading companies and their early interactions with various indigenous West African communities—with a primary focus on the Gold Coast—and the effects those interactions had on the existing local political systems will also be discussed. In the second subsection, I will consider the introduction of European

[1] David B. Chesebrough, *Frederick Douglass: Oratory from Slavery* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998), 114.

architecture, the developments in trade and resulting changes in power relations that ensued. I will take a critical look into the existence and functionality of local agency in the promotion of the slave trade. The active participation of some indigenous polities will be reviewed in the third subsection. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the evolution of the forts and castles from their primary functions—as central hubs for gold trade; deterrents to rival European traders, and as a defense against rivals, including the locals—to their present role as symbolic vestiges of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonialism generally.

The name 'Gold Coast' rather than the modern name 'Ghana' will be used predominantly in this chapter, as that is a more appropriate historical name.

Introduction

Ghana, a country with a total area of 238 540 km^2 and situated on the west coast of Africa, is about 670 km from north to south and approximately 560 km^2 from east to west. The country is bordered on the north by Burkina Faso, Togo to the east, Côte d'Ivoire to the west and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic Ocean. As an independent state, Ghana may boast of global goodwill given its stable democracy, high literacy rate, a fast-growing economy and presence of a myriad of indigenous cultures.

However, prominent amongst the factors Ghana is widely known for, is the country's historical and contemporary relevance to understanding/re-imagination of past events that have contributed to the present state of the African continent—and by extension, the African diaspora. Ghana—formerly known as the Gold Coast— holds a prominent place in this historical narrative with its particular multilayered history and heritage, in which intricately

[2] Irrigation in Africa in figures – AQUASTAT Survey 2005. Accessed December 3, 2019. http://www.fao.org/nr/water/aquastat/countries_regions/gha/GHA-CP_eng.pdf.

connected and important aspects of national and global interests intersect and need to be unraveled.

1.1 Brief History of the Gold Coast

Initially known as "the trade-in Gold" and later, "the mine of Gold" and consequently, "the mine or Mina", the toponymic history of the territory is one that deserves attention. As a maritime region, it was named by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century—in line with their tradition of identifying specific regions with the multiplicity of trade articles they came across as they explored and traded down the coast of Africa.[3]

According to data from different archival sources and scholarly investigations, it seems that the Gold Coast served as a metaphoric gateway for European trade companies to the untapped markets in the West African region. The territory is said to have obtained key status and relevance because of its strategic geographic position on the African continent, the abundance of gold in many parts of the territory, and the existence of structured political systems among various ethnic groups—largely administered based on ethnic group affiliation and family or clan structure.[4] A well-defined trade pattern coupled with long-distance indigenous networks was another outstanding characteristic that enhanced the territory's desirability in Portuguese eyes. These traits—although not unique to the Gold Coast only—were enough to attract foreign interests, specifically Portuguese sailors, fostering prospective interactions and trade.[5]

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[3] Kwabena Adu-Boahen, "The Impact of European Presence On Slavery In The Sixteenth To Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 14 (2012): 3; Christopher R. DeCorse, "Early Trade Posts And Forts Of West Africa," ed. Eric Klingelhofer, *First Forts*, January 1, 2010, 217.

[4] Dumett, Raymond E, "African Merchants of the Gold Coast, 1860-1905--Dynamics of Indigenous Entrepreneurship." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25, no. 4 (1983): 661. www.jstor.org/stable/178669.

[5] There are other examples such as the Oyo Kingdom, Dahomey, and the Kingdom of Benin, The Kingdom of the Kongo etc. that were equally rich and possessed structured political organizations.
See Dr Toby Green, "African Kingdoms: A Guide to the Kingdoms of Songhay, Kongo, Benin, Oyo and Dahomey c.1400 – c.1800," n.d., 49; Albert Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire* 62, no. 226 (1975): 255–63, https://doi.org/10.3406/outre.1975.1831.

1.1.1 Geographic and Ethnic Composition

The geographic makeup of the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century, according to Daaku, could be conceptualized as "that stretch of the coastline from Assini in the west to the River Volta in the east. It extends northwards to an indeterminate boundary in the region of Gonja and Bono-Manso. Most of the area is a thickly wooded rain-forest which gradually thins northwards and south-eastwards into scrubland savannah."[6] Daaku further stressed the climatic conditions of the region by pointing out that "most of the area is thickly wooded rain-forest which gradually thins northwards and south-eastwards into the scrubland savannah. The southwestern belt has over eighty-two inches of rainfall annually, but around Accra, to the east, the rainfall is only about twenty-five inches. From Accra westwards, the coastline is characterized by a series of tertiary rocks, which jut into the sea to form promontories."[7]

The detailed geographic conditions described above were arguably major influences that informed the settlement pattern of most ethnic groups and clans and were primary determinants in how prospective trade mechanisms—essentially, supply and demand for consumer goods—amongst the various groups were negotiated and thus, evolved over the period. To appreciate the history of indigenous trade within the Gold Coast territory and other neighboring states/polities outside of it before the arrival of the Europeans, the need to create historical contexts incorporating ethnic composition issues; the devolution of central authority within ethnic groups and the influence of migration on the creation of "newer" states/polities over the period must be investigated. Largely because it presents a conceptual picture of how the various states in present-day Ghana mobilized themselves in the past; which groups possessed more power than the other and how the effects of this condition shaped trade dynamics both

[6] Kwame Yeboah Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford University Press, 1970), 2.
[7] Daaku, 1.

internally and externally. Knowledge about these details also aids in shaping the general view on the history of Afro-European interactions and the symbolic roles played by the forts and castles, Fort William in my case, that was constructed over time.

The Guan, who are historically—as asserted by Ga and Fante traditions—known to be autochthonous to the area, intermingled with the Akan and the Ga-Adangbe ethnic groups respectively to collectively become principal inhabitants of the territory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[8] Situated around the forest zone, that is, the area between the Black Volta and the Guinea coast, lived members of the Akan clan—renowned as one of the most influential ethnic groups before and after the arrival of and interactions with the Europeans.[9] The Ga-Adangbe, on the other hand, inhabited a territory a few miles inland on the eastern coastline. Similarly, scattered along the Akuapim hills, the coasts of Winneba, the Kete Krache along the Volta gorge and Salaga in the north were the Guans. The various settlement patterns according to the various ethnic groups underscored the indigenous trade networks that were developed due to access to important trade element such as gold, kola nuts and later human beings.

Notably, all these settlements existed and had established internal/external trade relations well before the arrival of the first Europeans, the Portuguese. These established networks would serve as the same routes along which human beings were traded down to the coast at the turn of the seventeenth century. Over time, other ethnic groups, most subjects of fallen empires in western Sudan, migrated from the north and east into sparsely populated areas within the Gold

[8] Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States of Ghana* (London: Red Candle Press, 1974), 63–69.

[9] As accurately described by Sogoba, "whether Ashanti, Akuapem, or Denkyira; Abron, Fante, or Wassa; whether residing in Ghana or the Ivory Coast, the Twi/Fante speaking subgroups that make up the matrilineal Akan people consider themselves one nation. Akan means first, foremost, and is a reference to the enlightened, the civilized. A forest people in a gold-rich region, the Akan prospered, leading the way for the early rise of centralized states and the eventual emergence, in the central forest region of Ghana, of the grand Ashanti Kingdom."

Coast territory. Prominent amongst them were new polities such as the states of Bona, Banda and Gonja.[10]

Retrospectively, existing ethnic groups, particularly, the Akans, separated into subgroups and polities—in essence, political states with defined structures of governance and also places where military installations proliferated. All these population movements and heterogeneity in chiefdoms and later formation of new states were underscored by primary factors such as family lineage, common ancestry and language. These polities, in turn, characterized the ethnic composition of the Gold Coast, influenced trade routes and accounted for what kind of goods were predominantly traded within and around the region. Although only limited information exists on the total number and intricacies of polities within the Gold Coast territory, early concepts, identification and documentation of the notable ones can be traced in the records of European traders and cartographers. The majority of the accessible areas were scattered along the seafronts and situated within the peripheries of the immediate coastal hinterland. These districts included Axim, Ahanta, Shama, Fetu (Efutu), Fante, Asebu, Komenda-Eguafo, Akron (Gomoa) Agona, Ningo, Akra, and Labadi.[11]

Further evidence that provides a background for the early diverse ethnic composition of the Gold Coast can be traced to the Dutch trader, Hans Propheet's list of 29 "native" states illustrated on a Dutch map of the Gold Coast that he drew in 1692 in Fort Nassau by the town of Moure.[12] Further proof of the continuous expansion and increase in "ethnic" states was recorded by M. d'Anville (later reproduced by Christraud M. Geary) on a map he made in 1729 which recorded the existence of forty different political entities during this period.[13] However,

[10] Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 4.
[11] Kwabena Adu-Boahen, "The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 14 (2012): 166.
[12] Adu-Boahen, 166.
[13] Ibid., 166.

despite efforts invested by different European companies to document the polities that existed during the period, especially those in coastal hinterlands, their knowledge about the indigenous inhabitants living in inland areas was very limited.[14]

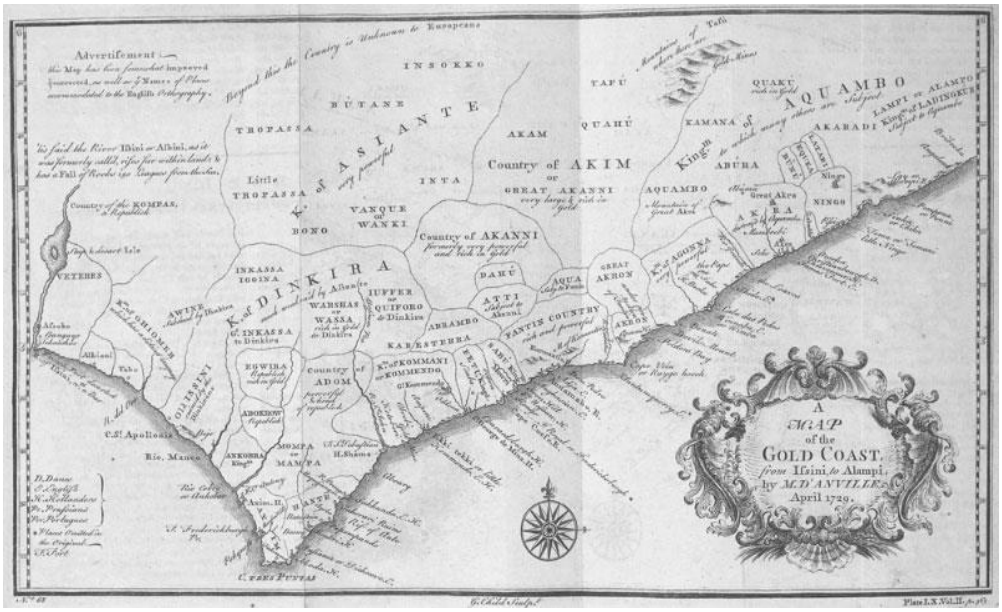

Figure 1: Map of the Gold Coast detailing the ethnic divisions and geographic locations by M. d'Anville, 1729. Last accessed on January 19, 2020.[15]

1.1.2 Historical overview of the Akan State

To understand the complexity of the majority of the polities that existed on the Gold Coast, an insight into the history; encompassing the migration routes and political structure of the major ones is paramount. In this case, the Akan state—with the later focus on the Asante Empire and, in the second chapter, on the Fantes—will be centered and discussed.[16] The following

[14] Christopher DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400-1900*,20; Adu Boahen, "Asante and Fante, AD 1000-1800."

[15] "Gold Coast | Slavery and Remembrance," accessed January 19, 2020, http://slaveryandremembrance.org/articles/article/?id=A0109.

[16] According to Sogoba, "the Twi-speaking Ashanti people are one of the major subgroups of Akan people. They ruled an empire in the eighteenth century that stretched to about 70% the size of present-day Ghana, where they still live. Most Ashantis are now subsistence farmers, but also produce cocoa as their major cash crop, as well as rubber, palm oil, citrus fruits, and kola nuts." Last accessed February 5, 2020. Source: https://www.culturesofwestafrica.com/glossary/ashanti/

parameters will be deliberated: (i) the territorial dominance of the Akans before the arrival of the Europeans and (ii) their historic significance in the local trade scene and later influences on the dynamics of trade with European settlers on the Gold Coast.

The Akan state is historically known to comprise several sub-groupings (see Table 1). These groups are commonly "distinguished by their occupation of well-defined territories and distinctive although mutually intelligible dialects of the Fanti-Twi language;"[17]

Table 1: Sub-groupings of the Akan State after it fell apart as a unified group in the 16th century to the present day.

Asante	Agona	Ahanta
Fante	Assin	Aowin
Denkyira	Twifo	Nzema
Akyem (Akim)	Bono	Sefwi
Wassa	Akwamu	

The Akan—notably the Asante, Denkyira and Fante—established themselves at a fast pace following the richness of the lands they inhabited and prosperity that originated from the economic backbone of trade—primarily, kola nut and gold. The growth of the various polities was captured by Mia Sogoba, "by the 16th century, with the affluent trade economy of the

Synonyms: *Achanti, Asante, Asanti, Ashantee, Ashante, Ashante Twi, Assanti."* Additionally, it is most logical to concentrate on the Asante Empire because they were the most powerful polity in the region and a leading influence among all the other ethnic groups in the Gold Coast.

[17] Nana Arhin Brempong, "4. Elite Succession Among The Matrilineal Akan of Ghana," in *Elites : Choice, Leadership and Succession*, ed. Antónia Pedroso de Lima and João de Pina Cabral, Antropologia (Lisboa: Etnográfica Press, 2019), 5, http://books.openedition.org/etnograficapress/1338.

region, several highly developed Akan states had emerged: The Bono in the north, the Denkyira, Akwamu, Fante and Ashanti to the south. Over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Denkyira quickly grew to dominate and exercise control over the smaller southern states."[18]

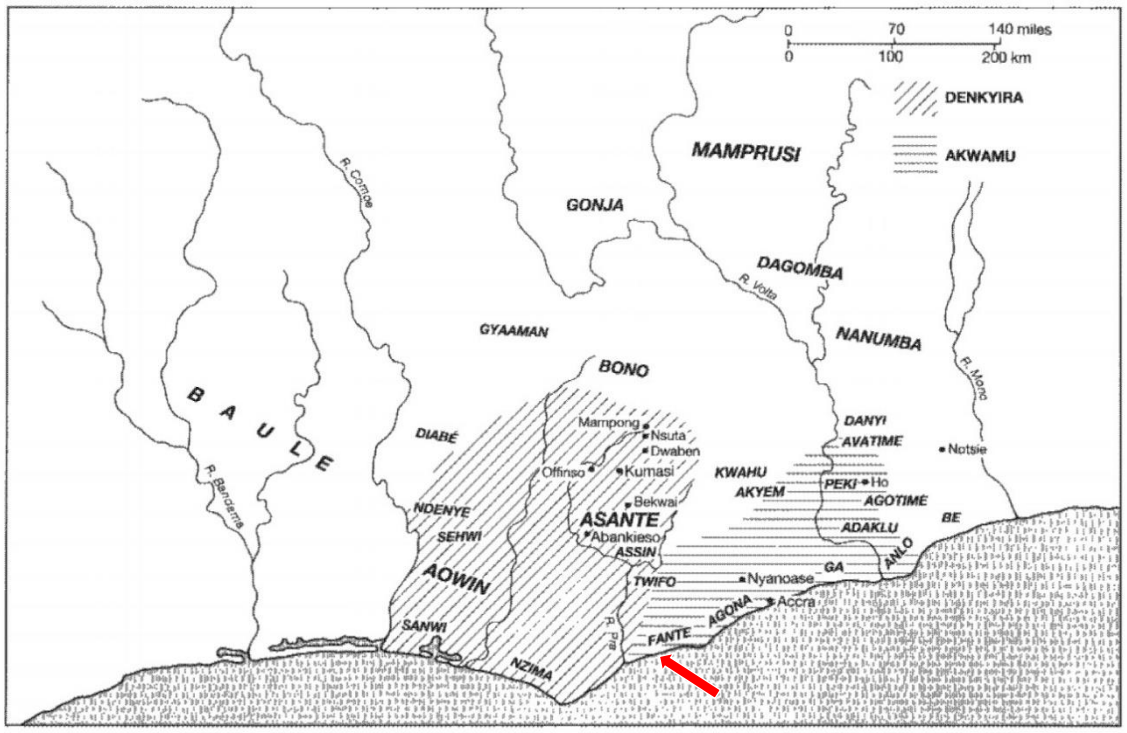

FIG 14.4 *States of the Lower Guinea coast, 1700 (after A. A. Boahen)*

Figure 2: Map indicating the spread of the Akan states and other states within the Gold Coast circa 1700 with an indication (red arrow) of where Fort William in Anomabo was established in 1753.
Source: General History of Africa, Vol V.

1.1.4 Overview of local trade between Akan states and neighboring societies

Trade, over the course of centuries, is a major component of every human society, propelling its existence, evolution and growth. Trade is a primary incentive for human interaction. The Akan state is in the focus of this chapter, especially as concerns control of these trade networks. As the dominant ethnic group in pre-colonial Gold Coast and present-day Ghana, the different

[18] Mia Sogoba, "History of the Ashanti: Empire and Colonization," Cultures of West Africa, June 15, 2018, https://www.culturesofwestafrica.com/history-ashanti-empire-colonization/.

polities within the Akan umbrella, are known to have conducted the most trade both internally and externally, especially during the advent of European trade companies. Similarly, as a prevailing ethnic group on the Gold Coast, the socio-economic prowess and influence of the Akan state could be attributed to their abundant possession of s*ika*—the Akan word for raw gold, or any legal tender, whether gold, silver or copper coins or paper money—due to their location within the Offin, Birim and Pra Basins (see figure 4) which have large concentrations of gold deposits. For these reasons and many others, I treated the Akan as the best example to discuss trade relations within and outside the Gold Coast region. And more importantly, the active contribution of some of its polities to the Atlantic slave trade that took place from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries—is a core component of this thesis.

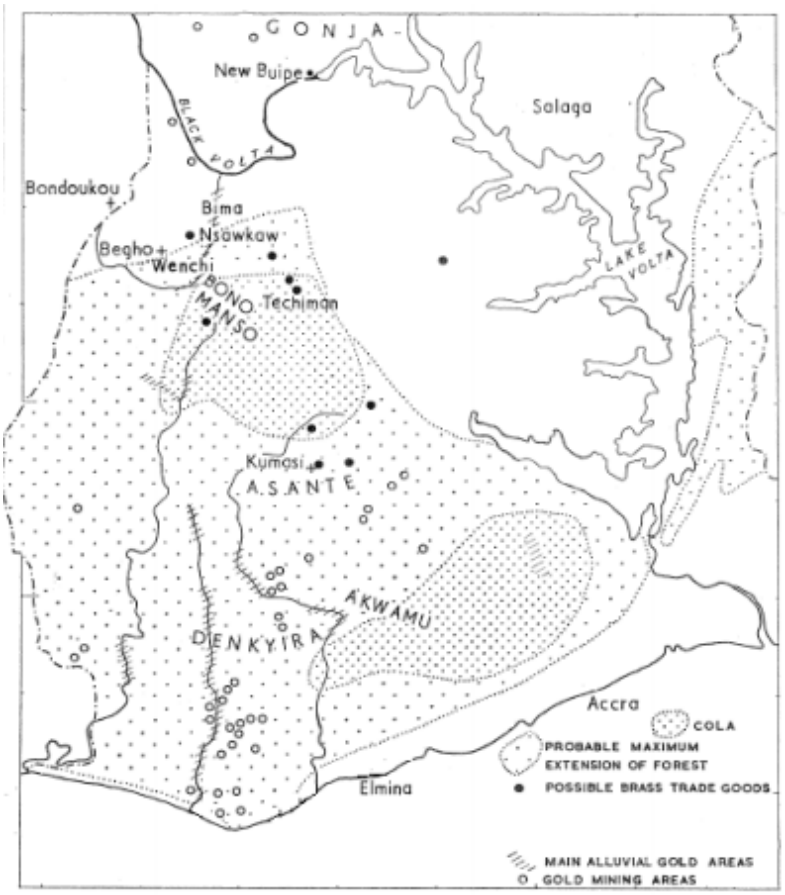

Figure 3: Map detailing a fourteenth-century settlement of various Akan states and their respective proximities to gold and kola nut which were major export materials for internal and external trade.[19]

The existence of gold underpinned the state's wealth and authority and served as an important article of trade around which influential commercial ties between the state and Sudanese empires where forged.[20] Meyerowitz asserted that Bono-Manso, popularly revered as one of the first powerful Akan kingdoms, developed largely due to gold trade with the Mande of the Niger Bend and Mossi of Wagadudgu.[21] These groups, in turn, were primary suppliers of the gold wealth of the medieval Sudanese Kingdoms.[22] The power and military might that the Denkyira attained in the seventeenth century is also attributed to their relations with the Portuguese, Dutch and English merchants in the gold-trade. As the nature and dynamics of

[19] Merrick Posnansky, "Aspects of Early West African Trade," *World Archaeology* 5, no. 2 (1973): 162.
[20] Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 3.
[21] Meyerowitz, *The Early History of the Akan States of Ghana*, 11.
[22] Nehemia Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980), 156.

external trade evolved from the northern territories to the coastal areas in the south, Daaku established that the Asante, Akim, Assin, Twifu and Wassa outsourced weaponry, primarily from the European establishments, other than the traditional bow and arrows to boost their authority in negotiations.[23] These are important historical details that are missing in the current history syllabus for Senior High Schools (SHS) and usually given little to no mention by tour guides or museum exhibitions in discussions about the Atlantic slave trade.

However, despite relatively easy access to alluvial gold by the majority of the Akan forest states, some territories were understandably better endowed than others. For further insight, Arhin averred that "Denkyira, Wassa and neighboring Sehwi were richer in the precious metal than Assin, Akim and Kwahu."[24] Furthermore, the reach of the Akan state and its trade partners (i.e. neighboring societies) were historically known to extend far and wide from the Gold Coast. Nonetheless, according to existing scholarly investigations, communities situated in the north were considered to be the state's most important trade areas.[25] Thus, the north-eastern and north-western trade areas comprised two market-towns that were on significant trade routes to the southern termini as suggested by Daaku.[26] The first was the Gonja market of Kafaba on the Volta River, South of Salaga. It was succeeded in the seventeenth century by Salaga. The other market center, situated on the fringes of the forest, was the Mande market at Bighu or Begho (See figure 4). Wilks' estimates that "the town remained the most important outlet for the northern trade of the Akan until it was abandoned in the early 18th century".[27]

[23] Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 21–47.
[24] Kwame Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading among the Ashanti of Ghana," *Journal Des Africanistes*48, no. 1 (1978): pp. 90, https://doi.org/10.3406/jafr.1978.1806)
[25] Ivor Wilks, "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History: Begho and the Mande," *The Journal of African History* 2, no. 1 (January 1961): 28, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700002127; Ivor Wilks, "A Medieval Trade-Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea," *The Journal of African History* 3, no. 2 (1962): 337–41; Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 3.
[26] Ibid., 3.
[27] Ivor Wilks, "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History: Begho and the Mande," *The Journal of African History* 2, no. 1 (1961): pp. 28, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021853700002127)

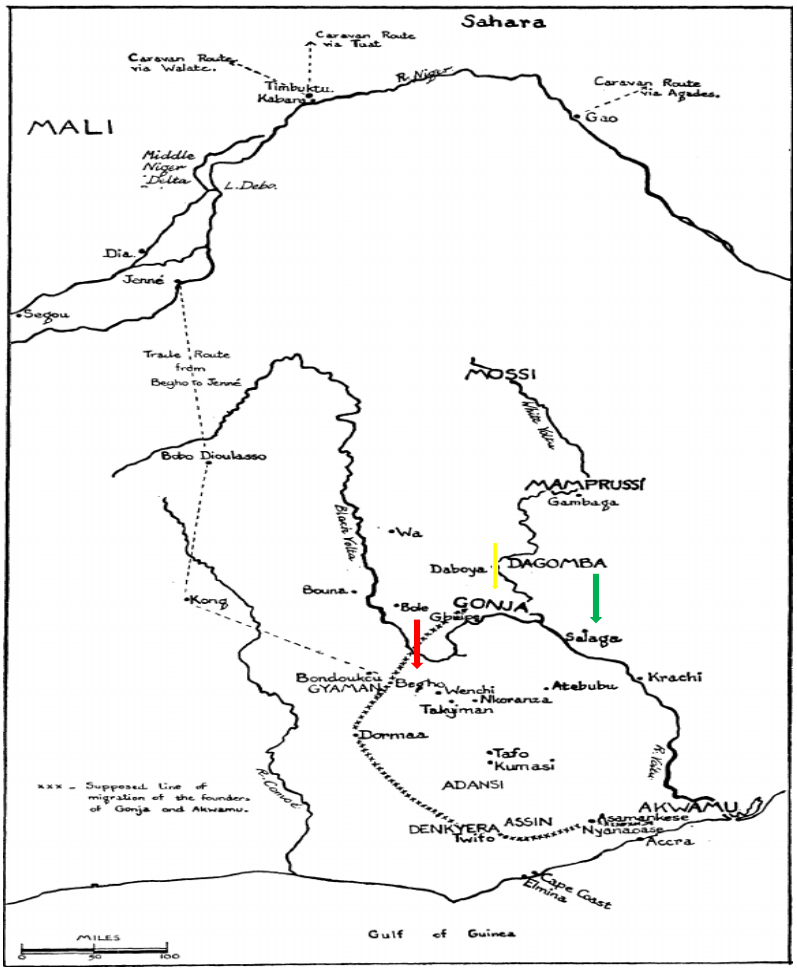

Figure 4: A topographic map of Gold Coast territory with an indication of where the Mande market, previous commercial centres and trade routes to the north of the Asante Empire existed. Accessed March 23, 2020. Source: https://dokumen.tips/documents/the-northern-factor-in-ashanti-history-begho-and-the-mande.html

1.1.5 Gold, Trade, and the Asante Empire

The Asante Empire emerged over time as the preeminent Akan political force and exerted its power through dominance over neighboring groups and into states situated in the northern savannah. It was one of Africa's most powerful empires/kingdoms in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Assessing the various well-detailed literature and records that exist on the establishment and trade exploits of Asante empire, Mara Quintana, in her publication, *Ashanti Empire/ Asante Kingdom (18th to late 19th century)*, provides a succinct summary. She notes that,

The Ashanti established their state around Kumasi in the late 1600s, shortly after their first encounter with Europeans. In some ways, the Empire grew out of the wars and dislocations caused by Europeans who sought the famous gold deposits which gave this region its name, the Gold Coast. During this era, the Portuguese were the most active Europeans in West Africa. They made Ashanti a significant trading partner, providing wealth and weapons which allowed the small state to grow stronger than its neighbors. Nonetheless, when the 18th Century began, Ashanti was simply one of the Akan-speaking Portuguese trading partners in the region. Until Osei Tutu, I, the *Asantehene* (paramount chief) of Ashanti from 1701 to 1717, and his priest Komfo Anokye unified the independent chiefdoms into the most powerful political and military state in the coastal region.[28]

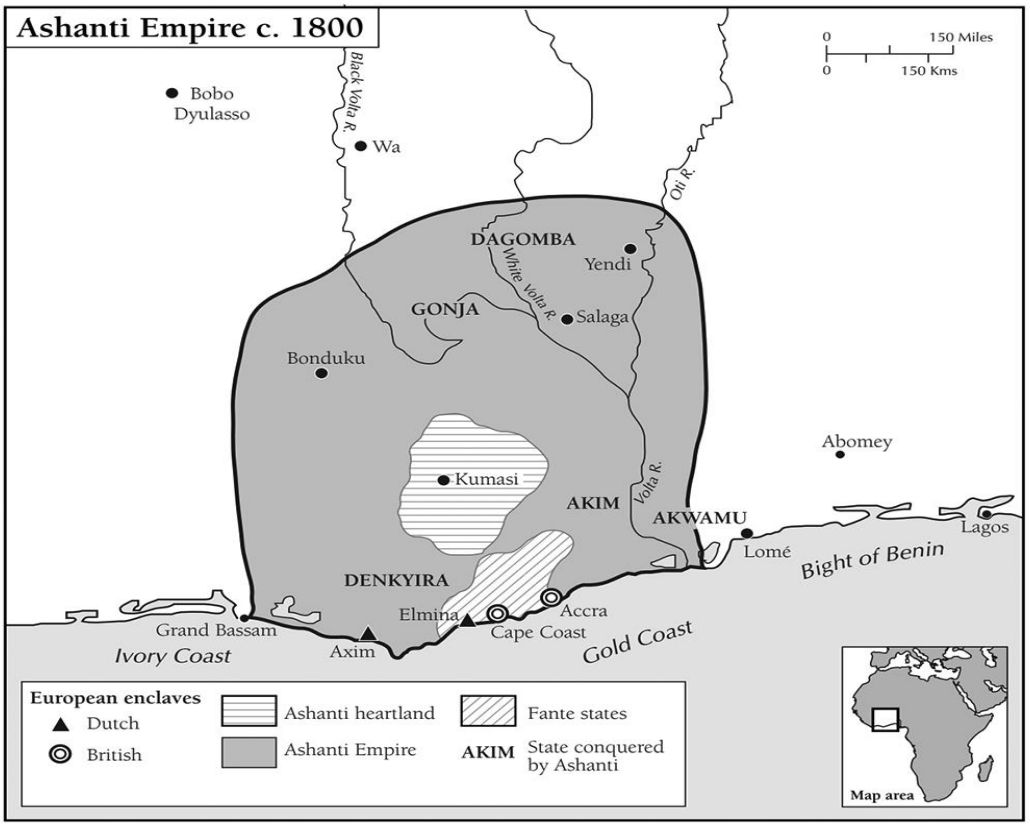

Figure 5: A graphical representation of how vast the Asante Empire was in the 1800s following its expansion through trade and conquest from the north to the coastal region of modern Ghana. Source: Encyclopedia of African History and Culture, Vol III, 2001.

[28] Maria Quintana Ph.D., "Ashanti Empire/ Asante Kingdom (18th to Late 19th Century)," January 11, 2010, https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/ashanti-empire-asante-kingdom-18th-late-19th-century/.

Furthermore, the opulence of the Asante empire as described earlier, depended mostly on its proximity to sources of gold. Gold, before the commencement of the slave trade in the latter part of the seventeenth century, served as the most important stabilizer of power among the developing Akan states during the formative periods of these states in the central and southern territories of present-day Ghana.[29] The deployment of gold as a token material of the empire coupled with the attached symbolism that is offered at the same time has been a defining feature of the Asante state since its inception until the present day. Thus, before gold became a prominent feature in the trade in European goods such as rum, silk and firearms, "it was also the greatest component of regalia, the complex of symbols of rank in the state, and hence the supreme basis of socio-political order."[30] Additionally, *Sika gua,* the Golden Stool, of the *Asantehene*—king of the Asantes—was widely regarded as the great stool that unified the Asante empire.[31] By extension, any potential duplication of this stool elsewhere within the territories where the *Asantehene*'s writ ran was strongly prohibited.[32] The importance of gold to the political setup of the empire was evident through the granting of permission by the *Asantehene* to promoted authority-holders and favored subordinate power-holders to wear more gold ornaments.[33] A further breakdown of the multifunctional importance of gold to the Asante state included its social use as an indicator of the unrivalled wealth and superiority of the *Asantehene,* Osei-Tutu I (1685-1717), who was known as the one "who sat on gold."[34] His

[29] Walter Rodney, "Gold And Slaves On The Gold Coast," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 10 (1969): 13–28.
[30] Kwame Arhin, "Status Differentiation in Ashanti in the Nineteenth Century: A Preliminary Study," 1968, 34–52, Accessed 9 January 2020. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/11476.
[31] Robert Sutherland. Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 277; A. Kyerematen, "The Royal Stools of Ashanti," *Africa* 39, no. 1 (1969): pp. 1-5, https://doi.org/10.2307/1157946)
[32] For further clarification, Arhin, captured in his paper, "Gold-mining and trading among the Ashanti of Ghana" that, wars with the Gyaman kingdom (in present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast) in 1745 and 1818-19 were waged, in part, due to attempts to make "golden stools" by the king of Gyaman.
[33] George Ekem Ferguson, *The Papers of George Ekem Ferguson: A Fanti Official of the Government of the Gold Coast, 1890-1897; Ed. with Introd. and Notes by Kwame Arhin* (Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum, 1974), 36; Thomas Edward Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 389.
[34] Known in local Ashanti/Asante-Akan parlance as *Ote kokoo so*.

status depended on the economic viability of mined gold, a basis for the Asante political economy. Gold was exploited as a strategic tool for maintaining a powerful leisure socio-political class.[35] That is, gold the chief's rule and entrenches the hierarchical social order of between the royal family and his subjects and legitimacy of influential local merchants. It was also mentioned in several publications that before the arrival of the Europeans and the changes in the economic system that followed, gold dust was Asante's internal currency for internal marketing and external trading.[36] Gold dust was used for the settlement of debts at courts and sufficed in trading purposes that carried "an interest of 33 1/3% for every forty days, accompanied after the first period by a dash of liquor" according to Bowdich.[37] To expand further on local trade, miners, who were primary sources of gold for the citizenry, dominated most commercial activities and that contributed to the prospective circulation of the local currency. They dealt directly with either retailers, *adwadifuo*, for cloths, salt and drinks among other consumer goods or *akonkofo/aberempon*, the evolving merchant/entrepreneurial class, who operated independently or as agents for long-distance traders and created new settlements. Additionally, merchants, positioned as important components of the local economy, provided connections between the local economy and districts, the coveted northern markets and later European trade establishments.[38]

[35] Edward Thomas Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of That Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa* (London, J. Murray, 1819), 325.
[36] Kwame Arhin, "Gold-Mining and Trading among the Ashanti of Ghana.," Parcourir Les Collections, 97, accessed April 27, 2020, https://www.persee.fr/doc/jafr_0399-0346_1978_num_48_1_1806; Quintana Ph.D., "Ashanti Empire/ Asante Kingdom (18th to Late 19th Century)"; Wilks, "The State of the Akan and the Akan States."
[37] Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of That Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa*, 257.
[38] Wilks, "The Northern Factor in Ashanti History."

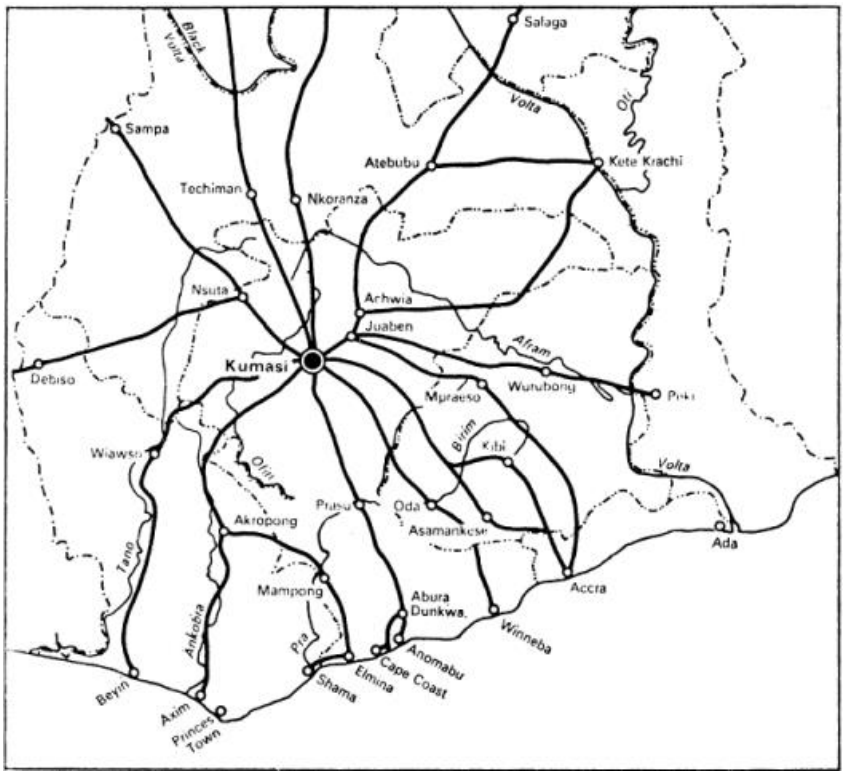

Figure 6: An illustration of the expansive trade routes of Asante empire from the capital, Kumasi, to the north, within the hinterlands and to the coastal areas in the South where most Fante merchants and European companies operated.[39]

A descriptive assertion on the Asante empire's economy and how it adapted to demands of trade was well articulated by Quintana when she pointed out that,

> If the early Ashanti Empire economy depended on the gold trade in the 1700s, by the early 1800s it had become a major exporter of enslaved people. The slave trade was originally focused north with captives going to Mande and Hausa traders who exchanged them for goods from North Africa and indirectly from Europe. By 1800, the trade had shifted to the south as the Ashanti sought to meet the growing demand of the British, Dutch, and French for captives. In exchange, the Ashanti received luxury items and some manufactured goods including most important firearms.[40]

[39] K. Y. Daaku, "Aspects of Precolonial Akan Economy," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 5, no. 2 (1972): 242, Accessed May 11, 2020. https://doi.org/10.2307/217516.
[40] Quintana PhD, "Ashanti Empire/ Asante Kingdom (18th to Late 19th Century)."

The gold-oriented economy of the empire, upon which trade relations with the Portuguese was fostered, eventually gave way to the full-fledged slave-based commerce that took center stage within the Gold Coast at the later part of the seventeenth century. It was also during this period that forts, outposts and castles began to spring up along the coastal regions of the Gold Coast.

The Asante maintained their territorial dominance and superiority in trade for an extended period until constant Anglo-Asante wars from 1823-1900s weakened the empire and assimilated it to become a part of the British Gold Coast colony. Quintana captures this timeline of events impressively:

> From 1790 until 1896, the Ashanti Empire was in a perpetual state of war involving expansion or defense of its domain. Most of these wars allowed acquiring more slaves for trade. The constant warfare also weakened the Empire against the British who eventually became their main adversary. Between 1823 and 1873, the Ashanti Empire resisted British encroachment on their territory. By 1874, however, British forces successfully invaded the Empire and briefly captured Kumasi. The Ashanti rebelled against British rule and the Empire was again conquered in 1896. After yet another uprising in 1900, the British deposed and exiled the *Asantehene* and annexed the Empire into their Gold Coast colony in 1902.[41]

The detailed description of the state of the Asante empire given above and the Fante—which will be elaborated in the next chapter—is to highlight a sense of how integral these polities were to the nature of Afro-European trade that took place in the period from 1500-1800s. The Asante—and later the Fantes—were major trading partners of European traders because of the importance of gold to the political economy of the empire. The gold trade fostered successive relations with European merchants and incentivized the Asante empire's drive to maintain

[41] Quintana Ph.D.

hegemonic dominance, expand territories and control the terms and channels of the trade from the interior to the coast.

1.2 A brief discourse on slavery, development of trade connections and local indigenous agency in the slave trade.

(a) *Slavery on the Gold Coast*

Slavery is a phenomenon that can be found in almost all human societies and was an institution that adopted in form and size over time. Groundbreaking works by scholars such as Paul Lovejoy, David Brion Davis, Moses Finlay and N.J Nieboer are significant contributions invested towards the contextualization of slavery, on a global scale, as an act/institution that was fueled by human evolution, territorial conquest and exploitative dominance.[42] Similarly, societies within western Africa, the Gold Coast, in this case, have a documented history, though not as expansive as its contemporaries in other parts of the world, that reflects the form and function of the type of slavery practiced locally. For proper context and concise discussion, an overview of the system that existed locally will be laid out before the transformation that followed will be touched on.

Firstly, the most notable works on the nature and scope of slavery in the Gold Coast have been carried out by James Anquandah, B.G. Der, Per Hernæs and Akosua Perbi.[43] Their works,

[42] Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3 edition (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*, Subsequent edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Moses I. Finlay, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, ed. Brent D. Shaw, Revised, Expanded, Subsequent edition (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2017); H. J Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System; Ethnological Research*, (New York: B. Franklin, 1971).

[43] James Anquandah, *Rediscovering Ghana's Past* (Essex: Longman; Accra, Ghana: Sedco, 1982); B.G. Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana* (Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1998); Per O Hernæs, *Slaves, Danes, and the African Coast Society: The Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast* (Trondheim: Dept. of History, the University of Trondheim, 1995); Per O. Hernæs, *The Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the 18th-Century Gold Coast* (University of Trondheim, Department of History, 1995); Akosua Adoma Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana From the 15th to the 19th Century*, 1st Edition (Legon, Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2004).

among contributions of other scholars, have been crucial to understanding how indigenous slavery systems that antedated the arrival of Europeans in the Gold Coast can be imagined and interrogated. Despite pieces of evidence that attempt to differentiate the indigenous slavery system from those practices in other societies across the world, there were some commonalities. On the one hand, regardless of how gruesome or inhumane the local system might have been, as many arguments have it, the enslaved person was guaranteed room for social mobility to improve their status. However, in actual sense, only a "few enslaved people on the Gold Coast legally went from being a slave to a free person within their lifetimes. Consequently, even well established, prosperous, and influential slaves remained slaves."[44]

By drawing on oral sources from descendants of slaves, colonial court records and government reports and analysis of cultural and trade routes, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana*, by Akosua Perbi presented a detailed breakdown on how slavery was organized and functioned within the various ethnic groups in present-day Ghana. One of her central arguments was that, though "for three centuries, Asante became the largest slave-trading, slave-owning, and slave dealing state in Ghana" other ethnic groups were not absolved from being complicit in enslavement and slave trading either.[45] The work also attributed, through its holistic coverage, the economic and socio-political advancement of some societies in pre-colonial Ghana to the existing indigenous institution of slavery. In *The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast*, Adu-Boahen thoroughly summarized an important commentary on slavery from the global lens to the situation in West African societies, focusing on the Gold Coast where the interplay of the European presence and influence affected/transformed the nature and dynamics of slavery among polities within the territory. On a domestic level, less buoyant but renowned gold trading states within the Gold

[44] Amy M Johnson, "Slavery on the Gold Coast and African Resistance to Slavery in Jamaica during the Early Colonial Period" 18 (2012): 7.
[45] Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana From the 15th to the 19th Century*, 23.

Coast such as Twifu, Wassa, Aowin and Adom developed a different reputation for being chief exporters of slaves.[46] Similarly, powerful states such as the Asante, Akwamu and Anlo were historically known to own slaves/'servants'. Many of whom were either war captives, kidnapped as 'commodities' for barter trade, or victims of *pawnship.*

Pawnship was a traditional practice described by Adu-Boahen as "a social support system which involved a very simple contract between two families or lineages which were usually on friendly terms. Its operation approximated to adoption with the creditor family "temporarily adopting the daughter or son of the other" with no crime or malice intended by the transaction."[47] As described, this credit system was generally built on mutual understanding between 'well-meaning' individuals or families and a debt alleviation mechanism between a debtor and a creditor. However, this pre-existing system in the Gold Coast was later appropriated by European slave traders/merchants and adapted for the injection of foreign capital and weaponry. Thus, the local debt-paying system was transformed into a capitalistic business venture and progressively, one of the mainstays through which slaves were procured and sold during the Atlantic slave trade.[48] Nonetheless, before the arrival of the Portuguese, slave trading among various societies within the West African territory and beyond was not an alien activity. Externally, as long-distance trade ties expanded with neighboring societies, outside of the Gold Coast in the fifteenth century, the northern savannah area became a focal point in the trans-Saharan trade network. That is, "traders from western Sudan extended their activities to the area and even established a trading town, Begho, just to the north of the forest belt as early as about AD1100. These foreign traders exchanged various goods and slaves for gold produced in the forest and the savannah area south of the Black Volta River. Thus, in the

[46] Rodney, "Gold And Slaves On The Gold Coast," 16.
[47] Adu-Boahen, "The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast," 191.
[48] Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810," *Journal of African History* Vol. 42, no. No.1 (2001): 69.

fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, Mande and Dyula merchants, based in Begho and other commercial towns in the savannah region, imported considerable numbers of slaves into the country."[49] The migrant labor or servants were mostly acquired to work within different aspects of the indigenous economies such as mining, agriculture, military reinforcement and construction.

1.3 Arrival of the European merchants and commencement of the Atlantic slave trade

The Portuguese were the first European merchants to arrive in 1471. They settled with a primary purpose to trade in gold. Owing to their presence, the dynamics of trade on the Gold Coast and other West African societies witnessed successive changes over an extended period. That is, despite the level of local inter-communal trade that existed, an acceleration in its magnitude from the fifteenth century onwards changed the social fabric of many societies for good. It was from this point through to the eighteenth century that most West African societies along the coast experienced tremendous development due to the beginning of Afro-European commerce. DeCorse appropriately summarized this Afro-European relation and transformation of commercial goods by iterating that,

> commercial enterprise, rather than settlement and territorial expansion, was the *raison d'être* for European interest in West Africa, and this objective could be undertaken more efficiently and inexpensively without substantial European settlement or colonization. The initial African trade included ivory, wood, agricultural products, and gold, and these early trade items remained important. It was, however, enslaved Africans that emerged as the primary focus of European trade during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[50]

[49] Adu-Boahen, "The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast," 173.
[50] Christopher R. DeCorse and Zachary J. M. Beier, *British Forts and Their Communities: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2018), 207, https://muse.jhu.edu/chapter/2092370/pdf.

Against this historical backdrop, the Portuguese merchants, just like subsequent Europeans traders that settled along the West African coast, "generally paid ground rent to the surrounding African polities, and in some cases, forts were built at the urging of African states that saw the forts as an opportunity to trade."[51] The most notable and largest trade post established in Sub-Saharan Africa was the São Jorge da Mina (popularly known as Elmina castle) in Elmina, a coastal town in modern Ghana, constructed as the headquarters for Portuguese intra-West African commerce in 1482.

Through the establishment of forts and other outposts/lodges, the Portuguese cemented their status as principal traders and enjoyed a monopoly in the still novel Afro-European commerce—between the fifteen and sixteenth centuries—until competition emerged from other European powers in the early seventeenth century onwards. Following the strategic importance of the Gold Coast in the earlier years of the Atlantic slave trade, the majority of exports by the Portuguese "involved the shipment of enslaved Africans to Portugal and Atlantic islands such as Cape Verde and São Tomé, off the coasts of Senegambia and Angola respectively."[52] Similarly, due to the labor-intensive nature of gold extraction and the large quantities demanded by the Portuguese, the kingdom of Benin—a major slave trading society—and the Bight of Benin became crucial areas where the Portuguese bought slaves or outsourced migrant labor to sell to rich gold merchants from the coastal, sub-coastal and interior areas within the Gold Coast, especially Elmina.[53] Simultaneously, the high demand for imported slaves by gold merchants, in a bid to produce more gold and earn more profit, on the

[51] DeCorse, "Early Trade Posts And Forts Of West Africa," 213.
[52] Adu-Boahen, "The Impact of European Presence on Slavery in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast," 174.
[53] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 254; Ivor Wilks, "Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. II. The Struggle for Trade," *The Journal of African History* 23, no. 4 (1982): 464; Ivana Elbl, "The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450-1521," *The Journal of African History* 38, no. 1 (1997): 38.
Bight is a curve or recess in a coastline, river, or other geographical feature according to the Oxford dictionary.

Gold Coast contributed to the growth of the intra-West African trade. Ray Kea also noted that Axim, a town in the Western Region of present-day Ghana, was also reputed to be a budding hub where slaves from east Cote d'Ivoire were sold by Olandes slave traders.[54] This phenomenon demonstrates how expansive the trade networks were and highlights how local demand by various groups living on the Gold Coast was central to the inflow of exported slaves.

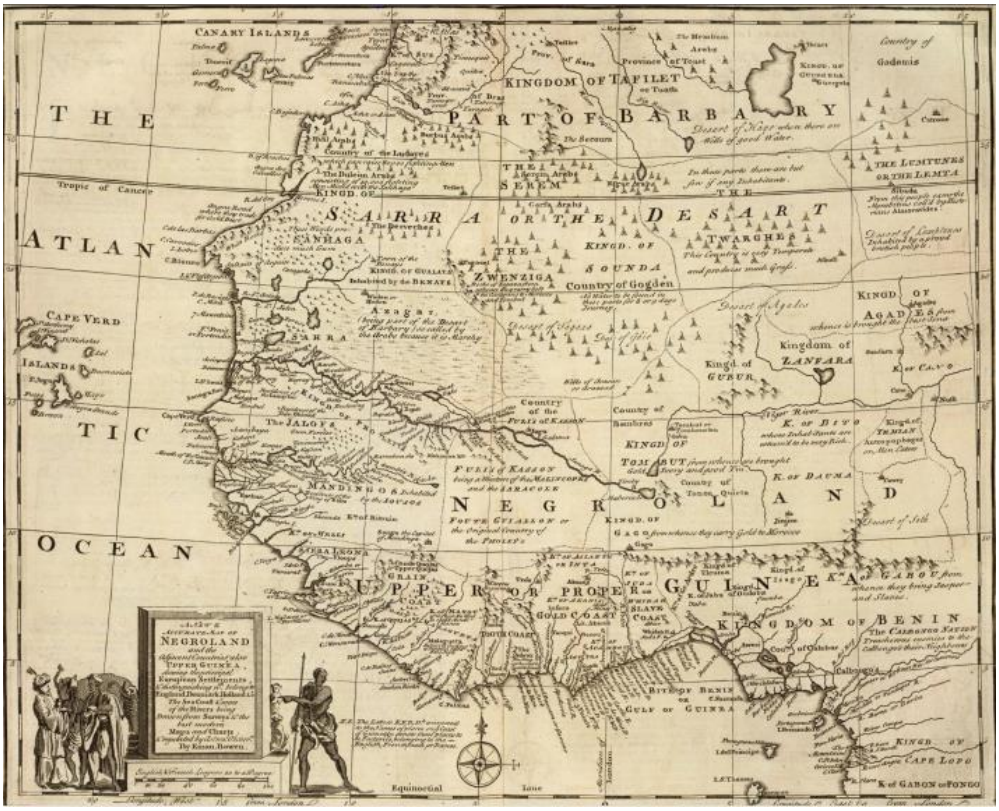

Figure 7: A sixteenth-century map by Emmanuel Bowen that details the position of the Gold Coast and neighboring African states. Accessed February 18, 2020. Source: https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~2595~280011:A-new-&-accurate-map-of-Negroland-a#

Statistically, Wilks estimated that barring the unrecorded numbers through smuggling and interlopers, the Portuguese was reported to have imported approximately 12,000 slaves to

[54] Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth Century Gold Coast*, 1st Edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 197–98.

Elmina from the mid-1470s to about 1540.[55] Kea, on the other hand, also projected that the number of slaves brought directly to the Gold Coast from all directions were about 500 in number for sale every year. And, from the late fifteenth to late seventeenth century, import of slaves stood at an overall aggregate of 100,000 souls.[56]

The depth of success accrued from the slave trade by the Portuguese was equally highlighted by Vogt when he quantified that imported slaves were used in paying for roughly ten per cent of the gold bought by the Portuguese Crown at Elmina in 1540.[57] Nevertheless, the early European forts were not specifically designed and built for the slave trade. It was not until the late sixteenth century as the dynamics of trade gradually evolved that augmentations and expansions to the forts to accommodate the growing trade were made. The Portuguese deployed slaves to meet the labor needs of maintaining their garrisons, forts and castles, in turn, giving rise to an institution that various sixteenth-seventeenth century sources referred to as "castle slavery."[58] The last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards witness a boom in the slave trade as slaves become a primary source of revenue, and by extension, influencing the modifications in size and design of forts that were built along the Gold Coast and in other West African societies to house enslaved captives awaiting deportation to the "New World".[59]

The encouragement and openness to the establishment of forts by the local rulers and merchants emphasizes the inter-European competition on the Gold Coast and beyond that developed over

[55] Wilks, "Wangara, Akan and Portuguese in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. II. The Struggle for Trade," 465.
[56] Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth Century Gold Coast*, 199–200.
[57] John Vogt, "Portuguese Gold Trade: An Account Ledger from Elmina, 1529-1531," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 14, no. 1 (1973): 14.
[58] See Richard Bean, "A Note on the Relative Importance of Slaves and Gold in West African Exports," *The Journal of African History* 15, no. 3 (1974): 351–56; John William Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560* (London: Hakluyt society, 1942), 133–34; John Vogt, "Private Trade and Slave Sales at Sao Jorge Da Mina: A Fifteenth-Century Document," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 15, no. 1 (1974): 103–10.
[59] See Ernst Van Den Boogaart, "The Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World, 1600-90: Estimates of Trends in Composition and Value," *The Journal of African History* 33, no. 3 (1992): 369–85; David Eltis, "The Relative Importance of Slaves and Commodities in the Atlantic Trade of Seventeenth-Century Africa," *The Journal of African History* 35, no. 2 (July 1994): 237–49, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700026414; Elbl, "The Volume of the Early Atlantic Slave Trade, 1450-1521."

the period. As John Osei-Tutu pointed out, "when they felt threatened or intimidated by aggressive European companies, some African rulers initiated alliances with other European companies, inviting them to erect forts and compete in their territories."[60]

Before they were permanently dislodged by the Dutch in 1642, the Portuguese established in addition to the Elmina castle, other forts, lodges and outposts that served varying functions. These buildings included São Antonio in Axim and São Sebastião in Sharma in the western region of modern Ghana as well as a chapel on St. Jago Hill at Elmina and fortified trade posts in Accra.[61] And despite the fact that European rivalry decreased the influence and share in profits of the Portuguese, they were still able to amass an estimated 3,000 pounds per annum of gold by the last quarter of the seventeenth century from the Gold Coast trade. This feat highlights how influential they were despite stiff competition.[62] After the Dutch succession and temporary dominance; the Danes, French, Swedes, Brandenburgers (Germans) and the British also joined the fray and rivalled with each other in a bid to trade and accrue profits from the gold and slave trade on the Gold Coast. This trade was aimed at meeting the needs of the developing money-centered industrializing economies in western Europe and feed the cotton and sugar plantations in the Americas and the Caribbean.

Unsurprisingly, in their bid to ensure an uninterrupted supply of gold and to avoid breaching agreements with influential local rulers, the European slave traders especially the Portuguese and Dutch in West Africa, up to the middle of the seventeenth century, avoided procuring slaves from the Gold Coast and its hinterlands, fully recognizing and respecting the autonomy of most local rulers and individual local merchants and relating to them as equal trade partners.

[60] Osei-Tutu, "Introduction," 18.
[61] Albert Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra: Sedco Publishing, 1999), 8.
[62] William Bosman, "A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea: Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts," Cambridge Core (Cambridge University Press, June 2011), 89, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139034555.

This relationship, however, changed in the second half nineteenth century when Europeans, specifically the British in the Gold Coast, controlled the terms of trade and became more directly involved in the local political affairs of many African states after the power dynamics changed. The new involvement eventually gave way to colonialism after the Atlantic slave trade was officially abolished in 1807.

1.4 Evolution of trade, European fortifications and commerce on the Gold Coast

In the seventeenth century, the Gold Coast lost its "protected" or immune status of being exempted as a primary source where slaves were procured within the West African region, principally because the slave trade along the Guinean coast experienced an extraordinary boom in the last quarter of the seventeenth and early years of eighteenth centuries. As such, joining already established markets including the Senegambia, the Kingdom of Benin, Dahomey, and Futa Djalon, the integration of the Gold Coast into the slave trade amplified indigenous agency, leading to an increase in the number of local merchants and expansion of existing powerful states in the Gold Coast to meet the demands of their multiple European counterparts.

There are almost three dozen forts dotted on a 500-kilometer-long stretch of the coast in the Gold Coast. These forts were built to facilitate the steady economic boom stemming from Afro-European trade. They were owned and run by various competing European nations at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[63] For a breakdown, "the first of these was built by the Swedes, including an outpost at Butri in 1650 (later Dutch Fort Batenstein) and Fort Carolusburg, on the Cape Coast in 1653. On the east coast, the Danes established their headquarters at Christiansborg Castle, Osu in 1661. In the closing decades of the seventeenth century, the Brandenburgers established outposts on the western Mina coast at Princesstown

[63] DeCorse, "Early Trade Posts And Forts Of West Africa," 230.

(1683), Takrama (1685), Akwida (1687), and Takoradi. The French also briefly maintained trade posts at Assini (Côte d'Ivoire), Takoradi, Secondi, and Komenda."[64] Additionally, the English, also established some forts, including Fort William in Anomabo and modification of Fort Fredriksborg, constructed in 1661 by the Danes.[65]

As stressed earlier, the initial motivation behind the establishment of earlier forts by the Portuguese was to solely facilitate the gold commerce with gold producing and vending states in the Gold Coast, an activity that ran smoothly from the fifteenth through to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. With competition from new forces, chiefly the Dutch, Danes, French, Brandenburgers (Germans) and Swedes, the nature of commerce underwent a gradual evolution from the early seventeenth century when the Gold Coast lost its resistance to the trafficking and sale of humans prevalent in neighboring societies. Rodney noted that "over the last four decades of the seventeenth century, European demand for and the African supply of human beings gradually became a prominent feature of life on the Gold Coast."[66]

[64] DeCorse, 231.
[65] Georg Nørregård, *Danish Settlements in West Africa, 1658-1850* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1966); Christopher R. DeCorse, "The Danes on the Gold Coast: Culture Change and the European Presence," *The African Archaeological Review* 11 (1993): 149–73.
[66] Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 14.

Figure 8: Map of modern Ghana with the various locations where the chain of forts and castles dotted along the coastal areas are. Accessed April 01, 2020. Source: https://www.easytrackghana.com/images/maps/forts.jpg

Since the slave trade seemed more profitable, it successfully overtook gold as the primary commodity of local commerce. According to an Elmina report from 1720, it was estimated that gold depreciated massively to about half what it was worth ten to twelve years previously raising concerns that should the stock of slaves continue to grow, the Gold Coast could easily morph into 'Slave Coast'.[67] In the same report, a Dutch servant confirmed how dire the situation had become in 1726, stating that, "at present, the gold trade is so scarce that we hardly get sufficient gold to pay the subsistence of the servants, so that this coast can more properly be called slave, than the gold coast. Your honors can easily see this from the quick dispatch of the slave ships: for we have sent them one after the other with their required cargoes to their

[67] Rodney, 16.

destinations within 5 weeks."[68] From multiple indications, there was a paradigm shift and the switch in primary commodities of trade had changed for good. It was later established that the terms for local merchants and traditional rulers, following the switch, evolved into a reverse of the former. The situation also gave rise, influenced by happenings on the slave coast, to a policy of hoarding and demanding gold—popularly championed by non-gold-bearing slave selling coastal communities such as Keta, Akwamu and Krepe by the middle of the eighteenth century.[69] That is, gold was now demanded in return for slaves. An extremely frustrating situation which caused the directors of the Royal African Company, a British conglomerate, to warn employees in 1729 that, "it was never intended that gold purchased there [in Whydah and São Thomé] should be brought to the Gold Coast and sunk here. If the native traders would not accept English manufactures they should keep their slaves."[70] Expanding on this new order—i.e. the Gold Coast realigned itself as a gold importing economy due to a decline in gold production—a supply of Brazilian gold in exchange for enslaved captives to satisfy the labor demands of the mines became common.[71] The Dutch, Portuguese, English and Brazilian merchant traders; mostly former slaves—took charge of this reversed situation.[72]

The slave trade was modelled purely on a credit system since a slave could not be divided into smaller units like most other articles of trade, hence, credit had to be advanced to middlemen as well as those who traded directly with on-loading ships.[73] With this condition in place, the Europeans merchants were generally known to deal exclusively with the wholesalers as they happened to be the richest among the African slave-dealers. These slave dealers, whether private merchants or traditional rulers, like those on the Slave Coast such as the Oba of the

[68] Rodney, 17.
[69] Rodney, 18.
[70] S. Tenkorang, "British Slave Trading Activities on the Gold and Slave Coasts in the Eighteenth Century and Their Effect on African Society." (M.A. thesis, University of London, 1964).
[71] Rodney, "Gold And Slaves On The Gold Coast," 18.
[72] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 264.
[73] Anthony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, 1 edition (London New York: Routledge, 1973), 109.

Benin Kingdom, developed expensive tastes for silk, velvets, gold-embroidered cloth and other European luxury products. Hence, the slave trade was fostered over a long period.[74] By the eighteenth century onwards, most West African societies had become wholly restructured to serve a foreign capitalist system.[75] Admittedly "the shift away from gold on the Gold Coast meant that, within the overall process of capitalistic accumulation, slaves had become Africa's most valuable contribution to Europe and the Americas, though unfortunately Africa's well-being was never considered. The destructive capacities of the Atlantic slave trade were graphically revealed in the years of stress within Gold Coast society when slaves came to rival and surpass gold as the principal export."[76] Indeed, although there were some success stories such as modernization of societies, introduction to novel technologies, agricultural products, buoyancy in wealth and prosperity, it must be recognized that only a few individuals—chiefly, private merchants and local rulers—reaped much of the profit. In fact, "in the coastal, slave selling societies, the trade led to a concentration of capital and power in the hands of a few chiefs and traders, and a certain extent to specialization in certain crafts."[77]

As such, the greater part of the populace within other 'weak' societies lived in constant, fear and uncertainty due to the unscrupulous activities undertaken by merchants and raiders that massively depopulated most of these societies. Akinjogbin captured the general picture cogently by summarizing that, "an economy based on the slave trade (whether it flourished or not) tended to weaken the exporting country, because it sapped the virile productive labor force and because slave-raiding rendered all other productive activities extremely hazardous and comparatively unprofitable."[78] However, despite the misfortunes and harsh conditions that

[74] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 264.
[75] Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Monthly Review Press, 1970).
[76] Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 19.
[77] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 267.
[78] I. A. Akinjogbin, *The Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars of the 19th Century* (Institute of African Studies, University of Ife, 1964).

most captives were subjected to, there are recorded accounts of occasional resistance and rebellion by captives housed in forts awaiting shipping, push backs on sea en route to the unknown territories and successful revolts, in some cases, across various settlements in the "New World."[79]

1.5 Identifying the role of local agency in the Atlantic slave trade

To accurately comprehend the dynamics of the trade that ensued, the pivotal role played by the local indigenous agency that existed and fostered trade, whether in gold or slaves, merits critical consideration and balanced assessment. This detail, considering its importance, should be incorporated into the mainstream or official narratives about the existing forts especially Fort William, Anomabo.

Firstly, local commerce in either gold or slaves was reserved exclusively as the "business of kings, rich men and prime merchants."[80] Following the considerable social changes brought by the boom in trade, whether in gold or slaves, major local societies involved in this trade experienced exponential growth politically, socially and economically. In the middle area was the Asantes while to the east of the Cape Coast lay a concentration of societies with a big stake in the slave trade including the Fante, Akwamu and Whydah.[81] As power-wielding states, Van Dantzig pointed out that the Fante and Akwamu possessed the aggressiveness to control the market due to their position as gold traders rather than gold producing states.[82] In their quest to control the terms of trade and amass wealth and social status, most of the local merchants within

[79] For a broader scope, see David Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 69–92, https://doi.org/10.2307/2674419; Frederick Knight, "Sankofa: Slaves from the Gold Coast and the Evolution of Black Culture in North America," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 10 (2006): 183–96; Johnson, "Slavery on the Gold Coast and African Resistance to Slavery in Jamaica during the Early Colonial Period."

[80] Jean Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea: And of Ethiopia Inferior, Vulgarly Angola : Being a New and Accurate Account of the Western Maritime Countries of Africa : In Six Books* (A. & J. Churchill, 1732), 270.

[81] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 255.

[82] Ibid., 255.

these societies resorted to kidnapping, slave raids and waging wars specifically for capturing slaves to meet the demands of the existing market. Rodney consequently explained that "this tendency developed into disastrous proportions within a few years, so that by 1714 the kidnapping of people had become so common that no one dared to go out without company; and even members of trading caravans did not necessarily enjoy security, for traders robbed each other in paths by night to receive the high price of merchandise reaching to the value of 6 *oz* gold for a captive."[83] To further highlight how such acts were solely inspired and executed by local merchants, Hopkins astutely pointed out that "there was no servile class simply waiting to be shipped."[84] However, the Whydah kingdom (also spelt Ouidah, Whidah, Hueda, Whidaw), in modern-day Benin, was renowned for producing on average over 1000 slaves per month to be sold at the end of the seventeenth century according to Bosman—a merchant that served with the Dutch West Indian Company.[85] Additionally, following the decline of interest in gold, thus, ultimately affecting production, Rodney explained that "some Akan groups neglected the search for gold, and instead made war upon each other to provide slaves. He further expands on this theme concerning historical records that "as one fortunate marauding makes a native rich in a day, they, therefore, exert themselves rather in war, robbery and plunder than in their old business of digging and collecting gold."[86] In Van Dantzig's attempt to document the areas that were mainly affected by the depredations that were carried out within the societies affected by the Atlantic slave trade, as such coverage is lacking in most existing literature, he pointed out three main groups:

[83] Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 19.
[84] Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, 104.
[85] Willem Bosman, *Nauwkeurige beschryving van de Guinese Goud-, Tand-, en Slave-Kust*, vol. Volume II (T' Utrecht: By Anthony Schouten, 1704), 115.
[86] Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 19.

A. — Societies which were mainly the object of slave-raids, or " slave producing " societies, which are generally found in the distant interior, but occasionally also near to the coast.
B. — Societies which were mainly engaged in the practice of capturing slaves to supply the markets, not only those on the coast but also those of the interior.
C. — Societies which were mainly engaged in the sale of slaves, either in the function of middle-men or of retailers who sold straight to the Europeans.[87]

From the table, it is evident that group A, which was, without doubt, the largest and most negatively affected, were regular subjects of raids or war-captives whereas groups B and C, mostly coastal merchants and local rulers, stood at the intersection between the captives and European merchants to make material gains as key middlemen.

Geographically, Van Dantzig also argued that a "vertical" division can be deployed in describing the groups above, as those groups were situated in belts parallel to the coast in the early eighteenth century, He pointed out that;

(1) to the west of Elmina was an area where slaves were occasionally sold but were the mainstay of the trade was in other products, particularly gold.
(2) between Elmina and the mouth of the Volta River was an area with a " mixed economy " in which the slave trade had growing importance and sometimes even replaced the gold trade.
(3) The real " Slave Coast " arose east of the Volta River. Here, slaves constituted the mainstay of the trade with Europeans although other commodities like palm oil, cotton cloth and ivory were also exported.[88]

The intricacies of local participation are an interesting angle in any overall analysis as well as discourses surrounding the transatlantic slave trade and its active enablers. And as seen from the above evidence, the 'inhumane' act was not executed in isolation but through a merging of

[87] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 253.
[88] Van Dantzig, 254.

capitalistic interests at both ends. That is, a willing seller; i.e. an average African ruler and/or influential local merchant looking to expand/maintain territorial dominance as well amass wealth respectively, and the European merchant; a ready buyer looking for secure commodities meant to power the growing industrial economy in the West. Rodney captures this range succinctly, "the rulers of West African states were transformed into the comprador class of European capitalism, in the era where the system literally demanded flesh and blood from Africa. On the Gold Coast, the loss of flesh and blood represented a drain of manpower and skills which were needed in the gold-mining industry."[89]

1.6 Complicity of Akan states' and individual merchants

In specific cases, the Akwamu kingdom, which was known for being a ruthless slave selling society, practiced a system known as *panyarring* or man-stealing, a system that was instated due to the relatively high cost of raiding, mortality wise. *Otumfuo* Ansa Kwao, the king of Akwamus in 1726, was known for encouraging the capture, sale and exploitation of his subjects for material gains from the Atlantic slave trade. Through the deployment of close to 1,000 *siccadings* or clever men, *panyarring* was carried out in areas such as Adampi where the kingdom had expanded, a kingdom in the center of the Akuapim Hills and Accron residents who were originally under the king's protection.[90] Following how unsustainable this activity was, the social currency enjoyed by political elites based on communal and familial principles was destroyed as the kingdom weakened due to the internal witch-hunt for their citizens. They eventually succumbed to the Akyem/Akim, a gold-producing state.[91] On the other hand, the Asante, who happened to be a stronger state with military might sternly prevented its

[89] Rodney, "Gold And Slaves On The Gold Coast," 22.
[90] Ibid., 21.
[91] Rodney, 24–25.

merchants from selling fellow Asantes as slaves.[92] However, they partook actively in the slave trade by supplying slaves procured through raids in the north to acquire captives known collectively as *dunkos* and purchase of victims-of-war from inland territories at the infamous Salaga, Bonkutu and Begho slave markets, a trait common to the way other militarily astute societies such as Dahomey and the Kingdom of Benin organised themselves and functioned.[93]

On the individual level, among the many undocumented local merchants that operated at this time, the case of Aniaba or "Hannibal," a former slave from Assini resonates quite well. Mistaken as a royal and heir to the Assini stool following conferment of honors by Louis XIV, he was deported back to the Gold Coast from France. He eventually became one of the richest and most prosperous slave traders fifteen years later following an account by a Dutch merchant that engaged his services in Keta on his way to Accra from Whydah.[94] Van Dantzig also mentions other examples to highlight the individual agencies that enabled the system. Firstly, there was the former slave, Johannes Eliza Capiteyn. He was renowned for passionately writing a religious-philosophical epistle to justify the slave trade in the eighteenth century. He was a reverend minister in Holland although he never traded in slaves. Likewise, in the nineteenth century, one prominent figure who actively amplified and profited from the slave trade, even after it was declared unlawful in most towns between Accra and Lagos, was a whole community of former Brazilian slaves who were expatriated back to the West African region.[95] Other prominent individuals include the highly influential 'merchant princes'—John Kabes and John Konny. Kabes of Komenda, according to Daaku, was a ruler, trader, possessor of salt pans and a successful broker in slave auctions whose services were widely sought after by the

[92] Kwame Arhin, "The Structure of Greater Ashanti (1700-1824)," *The Journal of African History* 8, no. 1 (1967): 65–85.
[93] Rodney, "Gold And Slaves On The Gold Coast," 25.
[94] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 263.
[95] Van Dantzig, 264.

Dutch and English.[96] Konny (Counie or Kony) of Pokoso, in Ahanta, on the one hand, possessed a similar status as Kabes but was known for defying the Anglo-Dutch duopoly. He won acclaim by being 'the last Prussian Negro Prince' in Germany due to his favouring the Brandenburgers and zealous efforts to inject life into the Brandenburg Africa Company.[97] His stature, expansive connections with the Asantes and domineering rule of Ahanta—an area which hosted most Prussian and key English forts—made him an indispensable figure in the slave trade.[98] Another successful pair of individual merchants were the nurturers of the Swedish and Dutch companies in Fetu—the Akrosan brothers and Asomani of Akwamu who is famously known to have led the Akwamu capture of the Christiansborg castle from the Danes in 1693.[99] Similarly, there was also another niche, the "highly Europeanised" *mullato* class—i.e. mixed-race children borne out of Afro-European affairs. These individuals were usually deployed as intermediaries, usually by their European fathers, to gain access to local markets and foster the slave trade.[100] The majority of this mixed demographic, especially the men, were known to be active participants/slave-owning individuals as well.[101]

In hindsight, the subject of African involvement in the Atlantic slave trade is prominent in scholarly quarters and adequately documented. There is adequate literature that highlights the form and structure of Afro-European trade relations that existed over several centuries and more importantly, the willful participation of local merchants and traditional rulers in the

[96] For a detailed description, see Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 115–27.
[97] C. W. Welman, *The Native States of the Gold Coast. History and Constitution. II. Ahanta*, 1st edition (The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1930), 34.
[98] Konny's exploits are elaborated here. See Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720*, 127–43.
[99] Daaku, 143; Per Hernæs, "A Symbol of Power: Christiansborg Castle in Ghanaian History," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 9 (2005): 141–56; R. Ohene-Larbi, "The Christiansborg Keys In Akwamu State Regalia: A Material Culture Analysis" (Thesis, University of Ghana, 2017), http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/handle/123456789/23577.
[100] Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800*, 200–202; Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 264.
[101] J.T. Lever, "Mulatto Influence on the Gold Coast in the Early Nineteenth Century: Jan Nieser of Elmina," *African Historical Studies* 3, no. 2 (1970): 253–61, https://doi.org/10.2307/216216; Pernille Ipsen, "'The Christened Mulatresses': Euro-African Families in a Slave-Trading Town," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 371–98, https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.70.2.0371.

infamous transatlantic slave trade. Likewise, these sources that can be consulted for a more detailed insight into how the local polities voluntarily anchored the trading system for close to five centuries as they co-existed and traded with rival European merchants/companies.[102]

In summary, the two key markets in early Afro-European trade, the Slave Coast—the area stretching from the east bank of the lower Volta River to the Niger Delta, including modern Benin—and the Gold Coast, without a doubt significantly enriched a select crop of indigenous leaders and local merchants.[103] As such, reinforcing ahistorical narratives/omissions and perpetrating distorted notions on the collective memory of Ghanaians and the African diaspora affects how the value of tangible (physical spaces) and intangible heritage (memories) of the forts and castles are owned, appreciated and consumed. The deficiency in such recognitions and a reasonable, popular interrogation of this history and heritage is damaging to Ghana's national consciousness, especially high school students, and disingenuous to the intelligence of descendants of those former slaves who return annually to pay homage to this dark heritage via heritage tours.

1.7 Conclusion

Retaining an honest relationship with Ghana's collective past even if that past also implicates the African, as well as European actors in this dark heritage, is one objective of this thesis. This chapter was intended to present a historical insight into the Gold Coast and set the tone for my research. From the geographic and ethnic composition of the Gold Coast; an assessment of the

[102] For in-depth discussion on this topic, see John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2 edition (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade: 1440 - 1870*, 1st Edition (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 1999); Randy J. Sparks, "Gold Coast Merchant Families, Pawning, and the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 317–40, https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.70.2.0317; Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters*; Rebecca Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Boydell & Brewer, 2014); Rebecca Shumway, "Castle Slaves of the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast (Ghana)," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 84–98, https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2013.816520.

[103] Patrick Manning, "Slavery and Slave Trade in West Africa, 1430-1930," ed. Emmanuel Kweku Akyeampong, *Theme's in West Africa's History*, 2006, 101.

Akan state and trade relation, a focus on the Asante empire and its influence, the arrival of the Europeans and an appraisal of local agency in the Atlantic slave trade, the chapter provides a firm foundation to equip the reader to understand the complexities of Gold Coast history from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries.

In the next chapter, I will focus on my case study, the historic town of Anomabo, which like its popular counterparts Elmina and Cape Coast, was an epicenter and active international port of commerce during the peak era of the Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century. The history of Fort William, an English fortification, that played a key role in housing enslaved captives will also be engaged with. Similarly, the strategic/commanding roles played by crafty and skilled Fante rulers and merchants—who usually procured slaves from inland Manso mostly from their Asante counterparts—to foster the local slave trade will also be interrogated.

Chapter 2 - Anomabo, Anglo-Fante diplomacy and Fort William.

"The rapid growth . . . of the transatlantic trade in slaves . . . created . . . conditions within which the people of southern Ghana completely transformed their political structures and created the groundwork for a new cultural identity"

— Rebecca Shumway.[1]

2.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter extends the discussion on the multilayered history of the Gold Coast and interactions with European merchants described in the preceding chapter, as key components in multifarious Afro-European trade relations. The chapter will first present a contextualized overview of all the lodges, forts and castles still standing in present-day Ghana and the position they held in the seventeen to eighteen century trade interactions. Given the limited time and space available in this thesis, the historic background of Fort William in Anomabo will be used as a case study representing the problems inherent to popular information dissemination concerning the history of the Gold Coast as a whole.[2]

In this section, the purpose for which the fort was originally built and the role played by local merchants to sustain local trade relations will be discussed. What was the historic function of this fort within the network of forts that existed? What were the adaptive re-uses of the fort in the colonial and post-colonial periods, after Ghanaian independence? Equally, general insight into the current situation of the fort with regards to its conservation will also be presented.

[1] Sandra E. Greene, "The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade by Rebecca Shumway (Review)," *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 84, no. 3 (August 6, 2014): 491–92.
[2] **Synonyms:** Anomabu, Annamaboe

The chapter concludes with a summarized observation on the politics of conservation surrounding the forts and how this phenomenon could contribute to the overall public narrative about the gold and slave trade along the coast. The most notable stakeholders to be discussed will include the Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture (MoT), Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

2.1 Overview of the known castles, forts and lodges in Ghana

Ghana is generally known to have the largest concentration of pre-colonial and colonial trading forts and castles on the African continent. What remains today mark the country's historical legacy and are valuable sites of memory for both locals and the African Diaspora. Within a stretch of approximately 500km along the coast of Ghana between Keta in the east and Beyin in the west stand multiple castles, forts and lodges built between 1482 and 1863.[3] These monuments served a manifold of trade activities, as discussed in the previous chapter. They were occupied in different periods by traders from Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Germany, France and Britain who worked for their respective European imperial governments and operated under royal charters. For context on the differences between these built spaces, a categorization of the monuments can be observed based on size, appearance and function. By way of definition and scope;

[3] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed February 17, 2020, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/34/.

Table 2: Definition of Terminologies

Castles	covered a greater area than forts, were larger and comprised a complex network of buildings. Also, castles could hold much larger populations. Apart from its European staff and garrison, there could be up to 1000 slaves housed in a given castle at one time. Castles were mostly made from brick or stone that was usually imported because the local stone was too weak and bricks too difficult to manufacture locally.[4] Also, a castle could be equipped with up to 100 cannons. The complexes were often deployed as headquarters by the various European powers that operated on the Gold Coast.
Forts	were permanent, resilient edifices constructed in brick or stone. Forts contained several structures for use by the commandant, officers, garrison and servants and could hold up to 50 cannons. Most forts had dungeons where enslaved captives were kept.
Lodges	were a sort of mini fort and an undefended trading area. They were small and often built of earthen materials or wood although sometimes also from local stone. Lodges were usually designed as provisional edifices for small scale trade or military purposes before more permanent structures could be constructed.

From a numerical point of view, there are a couple of inconsistencies that raise concerns and are worthy of mention. Revelations from a 2004 Statistical Survey conducted by the Auditor-General for Management of Castles and Forts in Ghana revealed that the country possessed "three castles, thirty-nine forts and twenty-four lodges dotting the coast of the country in 1750. By 1950, only three castles, nineteen forts and no lodges were still standing. Currently, only three castles and fourteen forts still stand today. Twenty-five complexes lie in ruins but are still recognized as heritage sites."[5] Dr S. Ephram (1970), cited in the performance audit report—produced the most comprehensive list to date (see Table 3 in Appendix). He listed 50 known

[4] A. W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1963).
[5] Ghana and Office of the Auditor-General, *Performance Audit Report of the Auditor-General on Management of Ghana's Castles and Forts.* (Accra: the Republic of Ghana, Office of the Auditor-General, 2004).

forts, castles and lodges in Ghana and their current conservation status. Fage et al. in 1959 also documented a detailed list of forty-six forts and castles (Figure 1) in Ghana.[6]

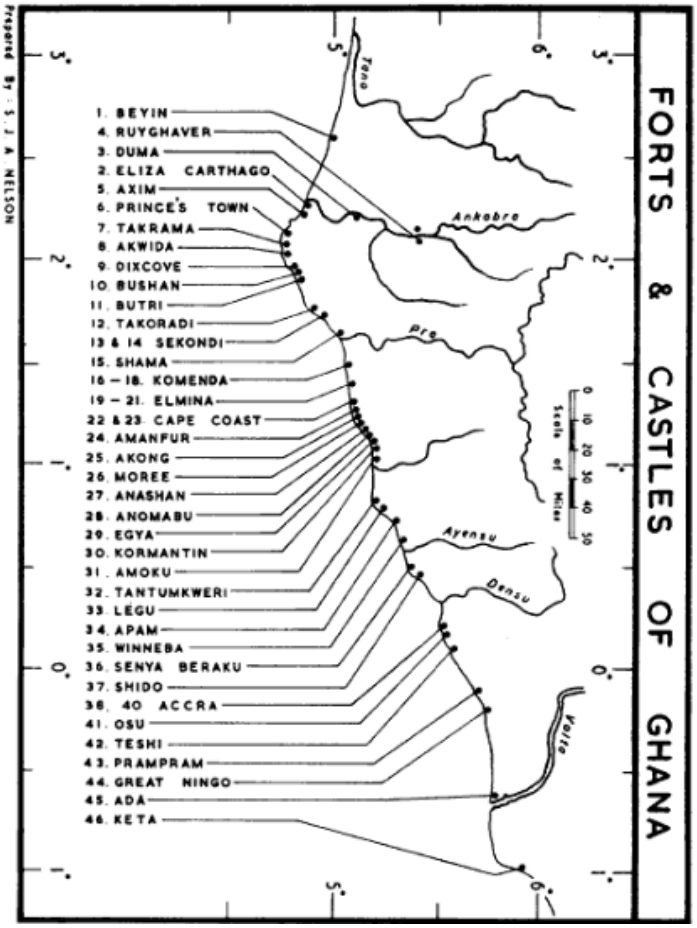

Figure 9: Map indicating the vantage points/towns along the coast of the present-day Ghana where most forts, castles and lodges were built by various European trade companies. Last accessed on May 20, 2020.[7]

The online catalogue of the GMMB website enumerates a total of 33 forts and castles (some accompanied by a picture and a brief textual description and others, lack both) which is similar to the count of available sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List considered national monuments.[8] Reflecting on these inconsistencies, I believe attention should be focused

[6] J. D. Fage et al., "A New Checklist of the Forts and Castles of Ghana," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4, no. 1 (1959): 57–68.
[7] Fage et al., 66.
[8] Centre, "Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions"; "Ghana Museums & Monuments Board," accessed May 17, 2020, http://www.ghanamuseums.org/forts/forts-castles.php.

on the way most present-day scholarly texts refer to the current number of sites inscribed on either the GMMB or UNESCO World Heritage List as the country's "official" number. Although these counts may be valid, I suggest other sites—as the aforementioned audit report and account by Fage et al. above have pointed out—have been omitted from the "bigger" picture. Thus, such publications contribute to the inadequate recognition of many the other sites— especially those in a critically ruined state or presently untraceable—buildings that once existed and yet are never or barely mentioned in academic and mainstream descriptions. Such 'unintended' omissions have had adverse effects on holistic discourse and representation of the periods associated with them. This loss of place memory contributes to a covert erasure of the individual histories of the least named forts and lodges and their place and function within the grand network of forts. By extension, this erasure appropriates their agency—except the few still prevalent castles and forts—limiting the potential for diversifying perspectives, research and ultimately, for educational tourist experience for locals and foreigners alike.

Similarly, very little exists by way of wide-ranging information, in text or multimedia, concerning most of the now critically ruined sites. Thus, it is left to the imagination of the primary consumers and stakeholders of this heritage—i.e. senior high school students and tourists/visitors from the African diaspora to fill in information gaps with popular tropes that may lead to further destruction of less well-known, historically important constructions within the former coastal network as well as historical misconceptions connected to African agency.

Given these information challenges and the gradual reduction in the "official" number of existing sites, it not far-fetched to predict a further decline in numbers of sites, in say a decade from now, if pragmatic steps are not employed to document or safeguard the history of lesser-known existing edifices that are already in deplorable condition. Parallel challenges such as erosion, climate change and rising sea level, illegal squatting and neglect are the major

preservation concerns. A case for digital documentation of these threatened structures is essential for safeguarding—at least virtually—the existing ones lest even memory of them be lost entirely to an unpredictable future.

Fort William was selected as a case study for this chapter for the above reasons. A justification of the case study follows in the next section, including a discussion of the historic town, Anomabo, together with a reflection on the history and function of the fort situated within the boundaries of the town.

2.1.1 Justification of the case study

Fort William, formerly Anomabo Fort, is presently considered one of the "abandoned" and least visited forts in Ghana. Even though it features prominently in the general list of historic fortifications in Ghana in many publications and literary sources that deal with the era it served in Ghana's past, specific discussions on the fort's history and the core role it played in the eighteenth century is usually sparing compared with other "prominent" historical building complexes such as the Elmina and Cape Coast castles'. Although a substantive amount of literature about the fort, its history and mostly its architectural design exists, not much research has focused on the current conservation issues faced by the fort. This issue will not be tackled comprehensively in this thesis but rather, I will assess its heritage value and recommend innovative ways/prospects to bridge the knowledge gap that exists in the way the fort's history and heritage can be presented to and consumed by key stakeholders.

Anomabo, one of the prominent Fante inhabited areas in the coastal south of present-day Ghana, was widely considered one of the epicenters of the Atlantic slave trade and largest slave-trading port in the eighteenth century on the Gold Coast.[9] General and academic

[9] According to Mia Sogoba, "The Fante constitute an Akan subgroup found mainly in Ghana's central coastal region, but also the Ivory Coast. A Fante state, a historical Fante alliance, is retained to this day. Notable among

references to the township and its forts (one built over the other in subsequent periods) given their actual historical importance and heritage value compared to the highly patronized Elmina and Cape Coast castles is quite minimal and rather disturbing. Most history scholars and state narratives, influenced predominantly by egregious oversight and recognition of Anomabo's dominant role in southern Ghana in the era of the Atlantic slave trade, contributes to the existing gap in the flawed historiography that propounds the misconception that only the Asante Empire controlled the entire Gold Coast territory.[10] Rebecca Shumway disproved this proposition in her book *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*—one of the few scholarly sources that deals intricately with the role of the Anomabo township in the slave trade. She argued that "the autonomy of the central Gold Coast, including Anomabo, throughout the eighteenth century, was a defining moment of southern Ghana's history in the era of the slave trade."[11] This argument is sound because Shumway touches generally on the central region but centers the township within its rightful historical context and gives it the due attention most scholarly materials have consistently overlooked. In extension, this chapter aims at amplifying the township and Fort William's position within a broader introspection on Africa agency during the slave trade and aims to contribute to filling in an existing grey area in educational information for Ghanaian youth and tourists.

I selected Fort William primarily due to its unique history and more importantly, its strategic relevance, heritage wise, as a site of collective memory for Ghanaians, particularly students, as well as tourists/visitors from the African Diaspora who regularly embark on heritage tours to Ghana.

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the Fante's influential people is Kofi Annan." Last Accessed May 10, 2020. https://www.culturesofwestafrica.com/glossary/fante-2/
Synonyms: *Agona, Fante Twi, Fanti, Fanti Twi, Fantyn, Mfantse, Mfantsefo*
[10] Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 27.
[11] Shumway, 30.

2.2 Anomabo and its historic significance

Anomabo—which lies in latitudes 5°10' N and 5°25' N and longitudes 0°50' W and 1°12' W—located in the Mfantsiman District in the Central Region of present-day Ghana, is an important coastal township which is inhabited predominantly by the Fante ethnic group. It served as a contested area in the eighteenth century in the ongoing Anglo-Dutch trade competition and control between these rival forces and, at some point, occasional French interferences, on the Gold Coast. With about sixty-four communities located within the Anomabo traditional area, this historic township has, according to the Ghana Statistical Service 2010 population census, an approximate population of about 14,389 inhabitants.[12]

As one of the Fante towns located on the coastal region of the Gold Coast, Anomabo emerged as a major beneficiary of the Fante conquest of the neighbouring states of Asebu, Fetu, Cabesterra, Acron (Gomoa), and pockets of Etsi, between 1700 and 1724. To maintain their strategic advantage, the Fante states, with the aid of the English who supplied them with firearms, formed a coalition similar to coalitions with other coastal states (e.g. Aowin, Wasa, Denkyira and Akyem), as a precaution against potential Asante invasion.[13] Nonetheless, the Fante states—chiefly Anomabo, Cape Coast and Elmina—maintained respectable relations with the Asantes and more importantly, consolidated their position as exclusive middlemen for enslaved captives procured from polities in the interior, especially the Asantes, to merchant ships on the coast.[14]

Renowned as one of the areas along the coast that blossomed through early interaction with European traders, Shumway indicated that Anomabo, "encompassed the main features of the

[12] Census2010,https://www.statsghana.gov.gh/gssmain/storage/img/marqueeupdater/Census2010_Summary_report_of_final_results.pdf
[13] James Sanders, "The Expansion of the Fante and the Emergence of Asante in the Eighteenth Century," *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 3 (1979): 348.
[14] Sanders, 350–51.

slave trade on the Gold Coast".[15] She further stressed that "from the initial development of slaving trading on the coast to its decline in the early 1800s, Anomabo was a central stage."[16]

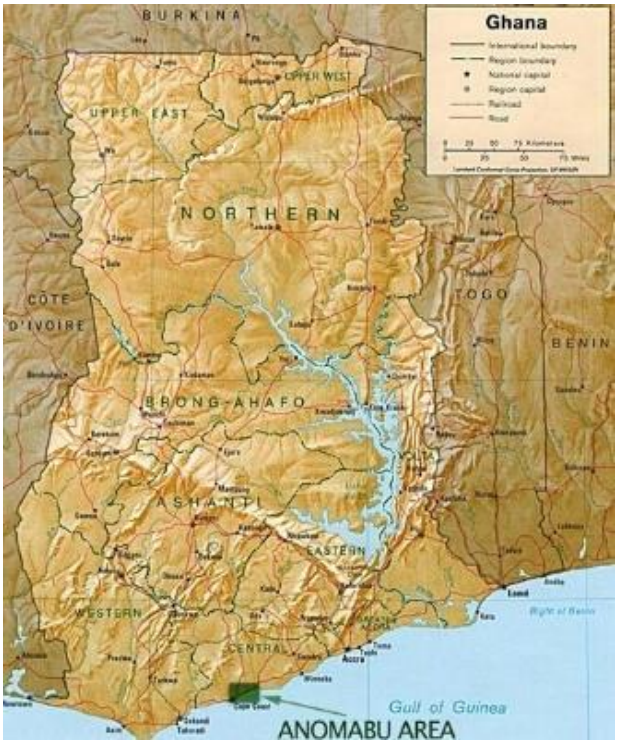


Figure 10: Location of Anomabo on the map of modern Ghana. Accessed on February 17, 2020.[17]

A Dutch lodge built in the seventeenth century, due to the trade activities it facilitated, was amongst the most popular of the European inspired architectural buildings within the town's landscape. Its construction was followed by later forts, namely, Fort Charles (1672) and Fort William (1753) all built by the English. One outstanding significance of the Anomabo township and the actively functioning lodge and forts it housed from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century is that it produced a more empowered Anomabo elite—a united mixture of local chiefs or *caboceers* and merchants—who controlled the dictates and nature of trade with their

[15] Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 71.
[16] Ibid., 71.
[17] Roger Vetter, "Context – Anomabu, Ghana: Musicking in a Fante Community," accessed February 17, 2020, https://vetter.sites.grinnell.edu/ghana/uncategorized/background/.

European counterparts, particularly the Dutch and English. They were particularly famous for their tactical ways of conducting fort-based trade, locally known as palavers. This technique involved threatening to do business with one competitor over the other to maximize as much benefit as possible from the European trade.

2.3 Anglo-Fante diplomacy

Prominent among the brokers in the seventeenth century in Anomabo was *caboceer*, Besi Kurensri or Eno Baisie Kurantsie, best remembered as John Currantee. Randy Sparks described him as "a military commander; a skillful political leader, and a successful trader and diplomat."[18] He was a prominent figure who acted as a pivotal link "between the Europeans on the coast and African traders from the interior."[19] And it was under his leadership and negotiation skills in the 1750s that Anomabo transitioned from being a "fishing village in the fifteenth century to a gold-exporting world port in the seventeenth and a slave-exporting port in the eighteenth and its relations with European trading companies, especially English companies."[20] Due to Currantee's influence, his sons studied in London and Paris and received a plethora of gifts from agents of French and British companies as they competed for a bid to build a fort in Anomabo.

[18] Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters*, 35.
[19] Sparks, 67.
[20] Ray A. Kea, "Where the Negroes Are Masters: An African Port in the Era of the Slave Trade, Written by Randy J. Sparks," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 89, no. 3–4 (January 1, 2015): 315, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134360-08903009.

Figure 11: *Portrait of William Ansah Sessarakoo, son of Eno Baisie Kurentsi (John Currantee) of Anomabu*, 1749 by Gabriel Mathias, English, 1719 – 1804. A portrait that highlights how aristocratic the family was and the access he had to bourgeoisie spaces. Last accessed on May 10, 2020. Source:https://www.menil.org/collection/objects/2402-portrait-of-william-ansah-sessarakoo-son-of-eno-baisie-kurentsi-john-currantee-of-anomabu

The English trading company won the bid and built Anomabo Fort later renamed Fort William. It was the only fort that was exclusively built to facilitate commerce in enslaved Africans at Anomabo. Also, the establishment of the fort cemented the Anglo-Fante relationship that flourished until the nineteenth century.

Richard Brew, an Irish Anglo-Fante trader employed by the Company of Merchants, became the fort's first governor and married the daughter of John Currantee.[21] This union allied him to the ruling family and gave rise to one of the most distinctive Atlantic Creole/mixed families. During Brew's tenure, he built a personal mini fort (figure 3) directly across Fort William, "Castle Brew" to serve as his residence and "the hub of his business enterprise, which stretched up and down the [African] coast, into the African interior, to England, to Holland, and the

[21] Trevor R. Getz, "Mechanisms of Slave Acquisition and Exchange in Late Eighteenth-Century Anomabu: Reconsidering a Cross-Section of the Atlantic Slave Trade," *African Economic History*, no. 31 (2003): 79, https://doi.org/10.2307/3601947.

British colonies in America from the sugar islands to South Carolina and Rhode Island"[22] Currantee, following his demise, was succeeded by *caboceer* Amonu Kuma, another indefatigable figure, in the eighteenth century who established the Amonu dynasty and championed Anomabo paramountcy.[23] The prominence of the eighteenth century Anomabo was so profound that its dialect of the Fante language is considered the most "prestigious" and formally adapted version of Fante taught in all schools in Fante-speaking areas of present-day Ghana.[24]

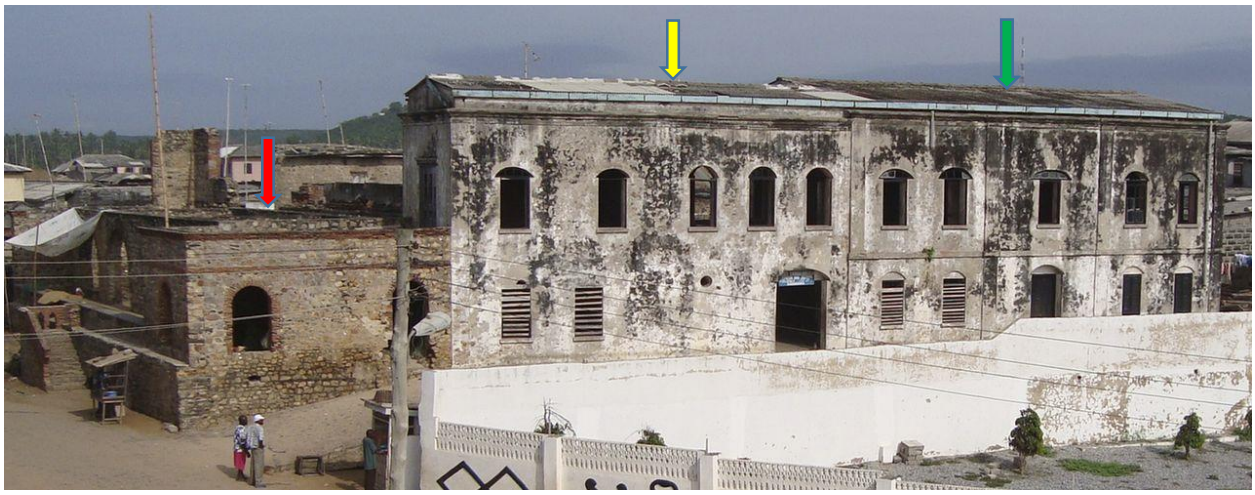


Figure 12: Shot of the original Castle Brew (indicated by the green arrow) built by Richard Brew (1761–63). It was later extent (indicated in yellow) by Brodie G. Cruickshank, 2nd governor of Fort William and Brew's successor. The extension indicated with red arrow, Blankson addition, was constructed by a prominent local called George Kuntu Blankson in late 1860s-early 70s. Castle Brew is opposite Fort William. Photo by Courtnay Micots, last accessed May 15, 2020, https://online.ucpress.edu/view-large/figure/467728/jsah_2015_74_1_41-f04.jpeg

Shumway succinctly captured the key role of the township and its elite's strategic influence when she estimated that:

> "The history of Anomabo in the era of the slave trade reveals a constant progression of African exploitation of the transatlantic slave trade. Anomabo became the busiest slave market on the Gold Coast and was

[22] Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters*, 120.
[23] James Sanders, "The Political Development of the Fante in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries a Study of a West African Merchant Society." (PhD diss., Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1980), 270–79.
[24] Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 6.

> home to some of the most influential African political authorities in southern Ghana during the eighteenth century. In addition, the highly consequential relationship between the English trading companies and the Coastal Coalitions was largely played out in and around Anomabo in the form of lengthy negotiations and palavers over there."[25]

It bears mentioning that, although the township never served as headquarters for any of the European national trade companies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its rise to prominence as the main hub where enslaved Africans were traded and exported in the eighteenth century when the slave trade fully took shape, cannot be overemphasized and deserves attention. Anomabo, as Shumway argued, "transformed from a provisions market and political backwater into a powerful center of slave trafficking and diplomacy (both African and African European) beginning in the 1690s, just as the numbers of enslaved Africans being sold along the coast began to rise sharply."[26]

Anomabo's history, as a principal slave hub/market, and heritage, as a bastion of the slave trade, is too crucial to be ignored as is presently the case in contemporary senior high school and tourist-oriented narratives in modern Ghana. In our quest to understand the complexity and nuanced interactions between local African elites and European merchants during the slave trade era and, more importantly, in my opinion, the active participation of local elites by exercising their agency as middlemen in the slave trade, Anomabo and its forts should become a prominent feature in future discussions.

2.3.1 Trade and slaves at the heart of Anomabo

With the prominent characters/*caboceers*, John Currantee and Amonu Kuma, at the helm, the merchants of Anomabo were known for enjoying autonomy and state protection. They

[25] Shumway, 71.
[26] Ibid., 73.

negotiated with European counterparts from a position of strength for most of the eighteenth century. Colonel George Macdonald, an early nineteenth-century British colonial official, affirmed this rare phenomenon by confessing that, the late eighteenth century Anomabo was "the strongest [town] on the coast on account of the number of armed natives that it contained: the whole land round was well populated besides being rich in gold, slaves and corn…"[27] The Anomabo merchants, in Sparks' estimation, were "as integral to Atlantic world commercial circuits as those of Liverpool, London, Cádiz, Nantes, Charleston, New York and Kingston."[28] During the township's rise, the interior trading networks linking the hinterlands to the coast—a primary British commitment/ambition—was initially dominated by Asante merchants as well as other traders from neighboring states in the hinterland. However, after 1753, this route fell under the control of Anomabo merchants. This ambitious feat was facilitated and achieved through influential *caboceers* directly related to the Brews and other prominent Gold Coast Afro-European families.[29] It was the capture of this route that boosted the supply of enslaved captives by most Anomabo merchants and cemented the town's repute as an international port of immense value to European slave traders. One other feature that made Anomabo an irresistible hub, beyond its effectiveness as a slave-selling and gold trading society, was the year-round availability of maize.[30] These common features made the Fante region very desirable among slave voyages and external slave traders. Maize was an essential commodity because not only was it affordable all-year-round, bar the latter part of June, it was chiefly deployed by slaver merchants in large quantities to sustain the crew and enslaved captives that were taken on board during the middle passage to the New World.[31]

[27] George MacDonald, *The Gold Coast, Past and Present; A Short Description of the Country and Its People* (London: Longmans, Green, 1898).
[28] Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters*, 3.
[29] Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study.* (London: Oxford UP, 1969), 13.
[30] Stephen D. Behrendt, "Markets, Transaction Cycles, and Profits: Merchant Decision Making in the British Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 181–84, https://doi.org/10.2307/2674423.
[31] MacDonald, *The Gold Coast, Past and Present; A Short Description of the Country and Its People*, 170.

In highlighting how diverse the trade portfolio of merchants was, evidence left by Richard Miles—a renowned slave trader who resided in Anomabo in the 1790s—shows that, notwithstanding how opportunistic most merchants in Anomabo were in slave selling, some of them as well as a few other merchants from neighboring communities were also astute maize merchants.[32] Similarly, other in-demand seasonal 'African crops' in the Americas such as yams and rice were equally key trade articles. The favorable weather conditions and the availability of sailors were further factors considered by British sailors when planning their voyages.[33] The early to mid-eighteenth century marked a golden period for local traders in Anomabo and a transformation in the township's economy and socio-politico significance among the Fante-speaking communities situated along the coastal region. Bearing in mind the town's significance and desirability and the inflation of prices of trade materials that occurred as a result of the fierce competition/demand in the 1780s, European slave traders, and especially the British, were persistent. In 1782, even gold was reintroduced by traders from Anomabo and Cape Coast as the legal tender used for calculating the price of enslaved captives.[34] This dire situation was recounted by one British merchant in the same year he documented that, "the Prices of the Negroes in Annamaboa… were so high by the last accounts from thence that many ships are deterred from making another choice."[35] Commercial activities at Anomabo, among available sources, can be understood best from an appraisal of British merchants, William Collow's 1789-1792 account book and Richard Miles's set of documents in the early 1790s. Touching on the local agency that existed over the period, these two reports both mentioned, Yellow Joe and Sham, as prominent Anomabo slave traders. Joe and Sham were renowned for their consistent trading activities at the palaver hall in 'Castle Brew.'[36] Other notable local

[32] PRO T70/1265, Slave Barters at Annomaboe, Richard Miles.
[33] Behrendt, "Markets, Transaction Cycles, and Profits," 181–82.
[34] Getz, "Mechanisms of Slave Acquisition and Exchange in Late Eighteenth-Century Anomabu," 80.
[35] PRO T700/545, Parke and Heywood to Richard Miles, Liverpool, 9 September 1782.
[36] Getz, "Mechanisms of Slave Acquisition and Exchange in Late Eighteenth-Century Anomabu," 82.

figures were members of Richard Brew's family as well as other mixed Afro-European families, who, through the exploration of their connections in the hinterlands and proximity to the ruling class, functioned independently in supplying slaves to Atlantic merchants.[37] Additionally, as one of many proofs showing the way Anomabo merchants were in charge and could bend negotiations in their favor, Francis Harrots—skipper of William Collow's ship, *the Sparrow*—recounted some customary payments needed to win the favor and friendship of the locals because of the fierce competition. He documented significant payments in the form of rum, European and Indian clothes, tallow, a rare dinner puncheon, tobacco and powder.[38]

Outside the other commercial trade materials, the origins of the enslaved captives within the Gold Coast, a key trade 'commodity' sold en mass in Anomabo, is an area that has been subject to substantive scholarly investigations.[39] However, one of the most convincing viewpoints, by far, was captured by Getz. He argued that,

> For slaves sold from Anomabu, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, a set of experiences that are as marked by the diversity as by commonality. Although the majority of the captives appear not to have been northerners, such individuals probably still represented, alongside the Asante, southern Akan, and members of the Guan-speaking minority. Individually, their experiences were as likely to include debt bondage, failed legal cases, sale by relatives, and kidnapping as war.[40]

[37] Stephen D. Behrendt, "The Journal of an African Slaver, 1789-1792, and the Gold Coast Slave Trade of William Collow," *History in Africa* 22 (January 1995): 429–33, https://doi.org/10.2307/3171908.
[38] Stanley B. Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves: A Master List of European Trade Goods," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 15, https://doi.org/10.2307/3171906.
[39] See Sanders, "The Expansion of the Fante and the Emergence of Asante in the Eighteenth Century," 355; Michael A. Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*, New edition edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 91; Edward Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807-1874*, First Edition edition (Longman, 1974), 12; Monica Schuler, "Ethnic Slave Rebellions in the Caribbean and the Guianas," *Journal of Social History* 3, no. 4 (1970): 9; Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, 12–15.
[40] Getz, "Mechanisms of Slave Acquisition and Exchange in Late Eighteenth-Century Anomabu," 86.

I consider Getz argument to be more precise for one reason. Though not conclusive, it properly sieves through suggestions from previous studies which mostly dealt with single markets/routes across the Gold Coast. It incorporates the multiplicity of activities that were carried out by Anomabo traders in the various markets and presents a diverse background which properly characterizes the expansive nature of trade that existed at that time.

The successes of trade activities on the coast of the Gold Coast, specifically Anomabo, are profound and adequately documented in scholarship.[41] However, the town's importance and influence underwent a decline in the last quarter of the eighteenth century due to contributing external factors such as the American Revolution and the revolution in St. Domingue, Haiti in 1782-1792.[42] These events inflated the demand for slaves and directly influenced the township's decline. Besides, five subsequent years of undesirable price fluctuation in the sale of captives that occurred due to a war with France in 1793, the inability of British trading companies to keep up with the financial crisis the United Kingdom was faced with and growing French privateering equally left another indelible mark on Anomabo's decline.[43] Eventually, the threat—and later enforcement—of the abolishment of slavery by the British in the last two years of the eighteenth century, inspired an unsustainable increase in the demand for slaves, thus, contributing to a natural end of Anomabo's importance indefinitely.[44] In 1807, when slavery was officially abolished, the coveted coastal area was finally invaded through a decade of warfare and annexed by the Asantes. Thus, an end was brought to the Fante Coastal Coalition and their political and military dominance over the area. Statistically, pre and post abolishment,

[41] For a thorough understanding and background, see Alpern, "What Africans Got for Their Slaves"; Behrendt, "The Journal of an African Slaver, 1789-1792, and the Gold Coast Slave Trade of William Collow"; Sparks, *Where the Negroes Are Masters*, 186–210.
[42] Getz, "Mechanisms of Slave Acquisition and Exchange in Late Eighteenth Century Anomabu," 80.
[43] Getz, 81.
[44] Stephen D. Behrendt, "The Annual Volume and Regional Distribution of the British Slave Trade, 1780-1807," *The Journal of African History* 38, no. 2 (1997): 199–201.

the export of slaves from the Gold Coast was reduced sharply from 178,480 slaves exported between 1776-1800 to 4,624 slaves between1818-1830.[45]

2.4 Fort William

It must be mentioned that even with sizable dungeons that could hold up to thousand captives and above, the Elmina and Cape Coast castles were not regarded as slave markets rather than entrepôts. Thus, making Anomabo the only major port with Fort Charles, Castle Brew and Fort William serving over specific periods as the facilitation centres for Fante merchants and middlemen who dominated the inland markets of Manso in the eighteenth century.[46] As pointed out earlier, one of the first permanent structures erected in Anomabo in the seventeenth century was a Dutch lodge which served as a conduit for trade in foodstuffs, gold and a few slaves by its inhabitants, namely Dutch, English and Swedish traders.[47] This building was later followed by the erection of a trade port, Fort Charles, named after King Charles II, by the English in 1672. It was occupied primarily by the Royal African Company (RAC), an English trading company, from the 1680s to the early decades of the 1700s, was abandoned in 1730 and later demolished by the English in 1731 to prevent its capture and use by their archrivals, the French.[48] The exact location or ruins of this fort is presently unknown. The discovery of its location could be achieved through air photography or intensive field survey by institutions such as the GMMB or any interested researcher who recognizes the need for such documentation in the future.

[45] Ty M. Reese, "'Eating' Luxury: Fante Middlemen, British Goods, and Changing Dependencies on the Gold Coast, 1750-1821," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2009): 851–72; Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*, 427.
[46] Van Dantzig, "Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Some West African Societies," 263.
[47] Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 72.
[48]"Ghana Museums & Monuments Board," accessed February 15, 2020, http://www.ghanamuseums.org/forts/fort-william-anomabu.php.

In 1753, the English, through the Company of Merchants—established in 1750 to replace the Royal African Company—returned to Anomabo to reestablish their presence on the town's coast and rebuild a new fort.[49] The fort was built on the Obo Noma rocks within 1753-57.[50] Documents show that John Apperley, an engineer superintendent with the Company of Merchants and renowned for building the Plymouth dockyard in England, [51] was commissioned—after his design was accepted and approved in London— to construct the new fort. He "arrived in Anomabo with stores and materials of the value of £6,116 3s. 9d."[52] Courtnay Micots's PhD dissertation, *African Coastline Elite Architecture: Cultural Authentication During The Colonial Period in Anomabo, Ghana* provides detailed documentation and commentary on the materials used, the labor that was deployed and the architectural style that was employed in the construction of the new fort. The building process was not devoid of challenges and local opposition.

Anomabo Fort was the initial name of the new fort. Later in the 1830s when the second story was added it was renamed Fort William in honor of King William IV by commander Brodie Cruickshank who was the English commandant of fort at that time.[53]

[49] Courtnay Micots, "African Coastline Elite Architecture: Cultural Authentication During The Colonial Period in Anomabo, Ghana" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2010), 389, http://etd.fcla.edu/UF/UFE0041366/micots_c.pdf.
[50] Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 58–59.
[51] William St. Clair, *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade* (London: Profile, 2006), 186.
[52] Micots, "African Coastline Elite Architecture: Cultural Authentication During The Colonial Period in Anomabo, Ghana," 389.
[53] A. W Lawrence, *Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa.* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1963), 71.

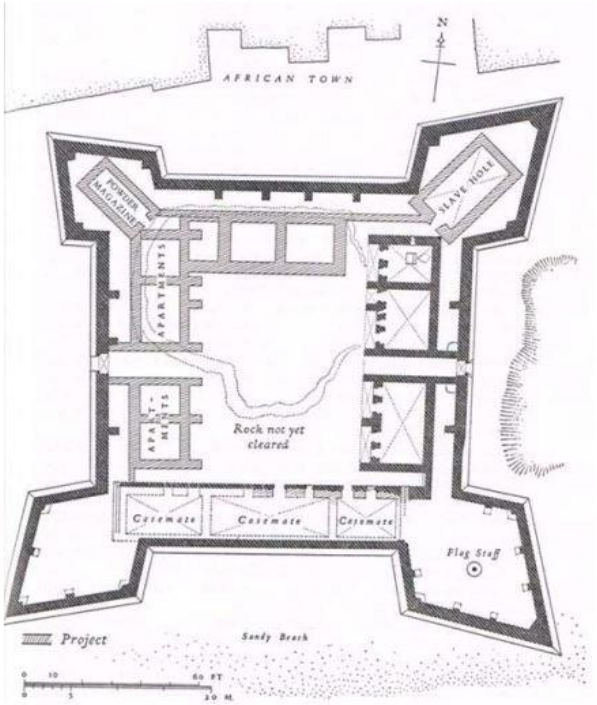


Figure 13: Architectural plan of Anomabo Fort emphasizing the layout plan of the second floor by Justly Watson, March 1756 Anomabo, Ghana[54]

Fort William's historical importance was highlighted by Chief Amonu V to a district commissioner who was charged with working with native rulers to make an inventory of existing forts and conservation challenges facing them during the colonial period. A portion of his letter read, "the fort is well repaired, for there are many historical objects which are known by few persons… the entrance gate was on the western side but where it is at present is the passage through which slaves were sent to Europe."[55] Similarly, it is valued largely because it was predominantly built with locally outsourced materials and as Anquandah remarked, it is "one of the most handsome and best-built structures on the Coast."[56] This description is quite paradoxical considering the gruesome function it was to play in the slave trade. Later, it maintained its importance because "nowhere else does the original structure of a fort include a

[54] Lawrence, *Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa.*, 1963, 351, Figure 43.
[55] Ann Reed, *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana*, 1 edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), 886.
[56] Kwesi J. Anquandah, *Castles and Forts of Ghana*, 1st edition (Atalante: Ghana Museums & Monuments Board, 1999), 45.

large prison specifically built to hold slaves awaiting transport overseas" either on the present-day coastal region of Ghana or across the West African sub-region.[57]

Figure 14: Tour guide, Philip Atta-Yawson, pointing at a hinge on the floor were captives were chained in one of the slave dungeons in Fort William. Accessed 18 May 2020. Source: 2Summers, https://2summers.net/2014/09/21/snapshot-from-ghana-inside-the-dungeons-of-anomabo/

Figure 15: Passageway to the "Door of No Return. Accessed 18 April 2020. Source:https://www.facebook.com/Fort-William-Anomabo-2157343057609572/

Figure 16: A typical dungeon within the fort which could hold 400-500 captives at a time. Accessed 18 April 2020. Source: https://www.facebook.com/Fort-William-Anomabo-2157343057609572/

[57] Anquandah, 42.

As primarily a defensive structure, Fort William withstood attacks by the French on December 4, 1794. However, it was "besieged by the Asantes on 15th June 1806 a day after which it capitulated."[58]

In the area of trade, records show that Jamaica stood out as the major destination for most enslaved Africans from the Gold Coast, accounting for approximately 352,000 people, thus, 36% of new arrivals.[59] The British Americas was also known to receive similar numbers. Something like 705,000 people, comprising two-thirds of the 1,209,000 people—the estimated number of captives between 1470 and 1880—were transported to the British Caribbean.[60] Disembarkation of captives to Spanish America also stood at 15%, making it the third most significant destination.[61] This summarizes the integral position Fort William held within the network of forts and castles that operated along the coast.

[58] Dr Isaac S. Ephson, *Ancient Forts and Castles of the Gold Coast (Ghana)* (Ilen Publications, Accra, 1970), 85.
[59] Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 74.
[60] Ibid., 75.
[61] Shumway, 75–76.

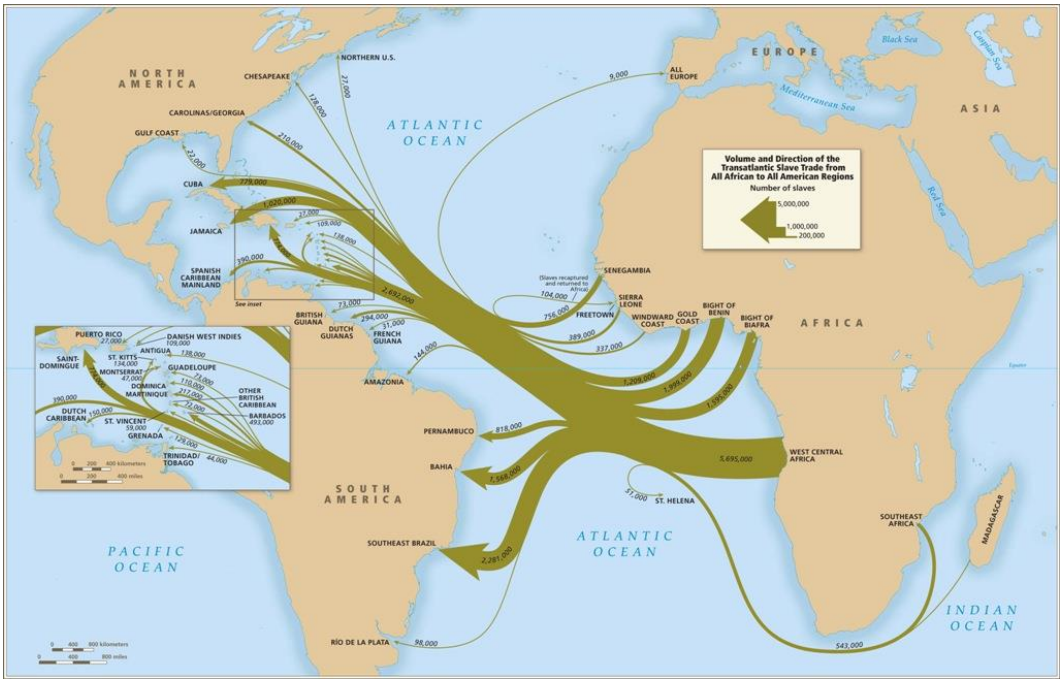


Figure 16: Map detailing the total sum and volume of recorded captives that were transported from various parts of the African continent to the Americas. To name a few, Gold Coast (1,209,000), Bight of Benin (1,999,000), West Central Africa (5,695,000). Accessed May 10, 2020. Source: https://slavevoyages.org/static/images/assessment/intro-maps/09.jpg

Breaking down the territories that comprised the largest concentration of captives shipped to the "New World," Shumway pointed out that "between 1662 and 1863, Cape Coast and Anomabo were the sites of 76 per cent of the departures. When Elmina is included in the calculation, an estimated 82 per cent of the captives departed from these three towns (36 per cent from Anomabo, 26 per cent from Cape Coast, and 21 per cent from Elmina)"[62]

These numbers reinforce the claim of Anomabo's integral role in the slave trade, with Fort Charles and then Fort William being central to these trade networks. Other accounts of slave exports conducted from Fort William, in particular, can be assessed by a remark made by an

[62] Shumway, 76.

English captain in 1717, "[From] January 1702 to August 1708 they took to Barbados, Jamaica a total of not less than 30,141 slaves."[63] Amy Johnson also noted that,

> During the first decade of the eighteenth century, the British carried relatively equal numbers of captives from the Gold Coast and Bight of Benin to the island. However, the proportion of Gold Coast captives increased steadily over the next two decades reaching 32,000 people exported by the British to Jamaica in the years between 1720 and 1730. Between 1700 and 1730, approximately two-thirds of the captives the British shipped from the Gold Coast arrived in Jamaica creating a viable ethnolinguistic community. Jamaica received two times more Gold Coast captives than any other region of the Caribbean and Brazil.[64]

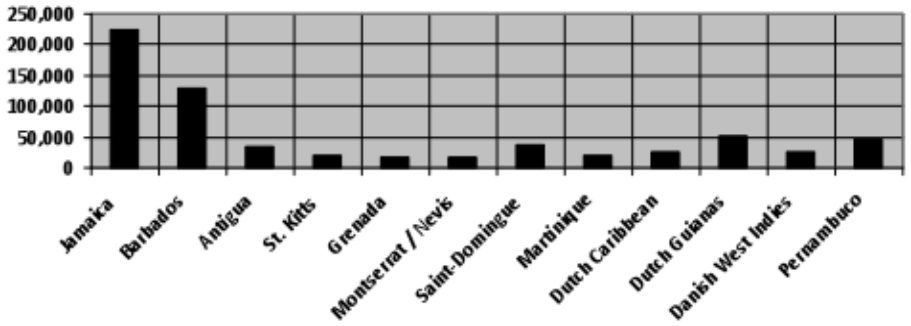


Figure 17: Graph of the distribution of enslaved captives that were transported from the Gold Coast to selected Caribbean Islands and Brazil from 1655-1780. Source: Amy Johnson, "Slavery on the Gold Coast and African Resistance to Slavery in Jamaica during the Early Colonial Period" p.5.

The fort was adapted to serve a variety of purposes during British colonial rule and after Ghana gained independence in 1957. It was used as a post office, a rest house and the District Commissioner's Court during the colonial period until the 1920s.[65] Served as the Department of Social Welfare's Youth center in 1959.[66] It later served as a statehouse and state prison after independence until 2001. The fort served as a community library for the people of Anomabo

[63] Anquandah, *Castles and Forts of Ghana,* 42.
[64] Johnson, "Slavery on the Gold Coast and African Resistance to Slavery in Jamaica during the Early Colonial Period," 4.
[65] Courtnay Micots, "African Coastal Elite Architecture: Cultural Authentification During The Colonial Period in Anomabo, Ghana" (PhD diss., University of Florida, 2010), 393, http://etd.fcla.edu/UF/UFE0041366/micots_c.pdf.
[66] Fage et al., "A New Checklist of the Forts and Castles of Ghana," 62.

until 2013.[67] The complexity of these historical details, mostly forgotten in the educational curriculum (history to be precise) in Ghana and standard information sources for tourists, are vital as they present a truer and near accurate picture of early Afro-European encounters. Largely because, just as some indigenous chiefs and locals resisted and fought against the evil trade and subjugation, so were other influential rulers and merchants who found nothing morally wrong with the system, hence, profited from the enterprise. As such, these accounts and heritage significance of the township need to be preserved and disseminated accordingly.

Figure 18: Aerial view of Fort William within the Anomabo township and 'Castle Brew' opposite the fort (indicated with red arrow). Source: Photographed by Steve Ababio, Last accessed May 18, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B0v6gtun57d/

[67] "Ghana Museums & Monuments Board," accessed February 17, 2020, http://ghanamuseums.org/forts/fort-william-anomabu.php.

2.4.1 Fort William in a State of Neglect and Limited of Interest

Though currently abandoned and occasionally inhabited by squatters; usually the family of the tour guide, Fort William has been repurposed as a tourist site by the GMMB since 1993. According to a 2015 situational analysis report by the Africa World Heritage Fund on Ghana's forts and castles; empty buildings lacking interpretation, unclear access requirements, illegal use of monuments as residences and no temporary exhibitions to attract visitors were cited as contributing directly and indirectly to the low demand in the patronage of the forts despite being World Heritage Sites.[68] This situation underlies the current state of Fort William.

The fort suffers the unfortunate fate of neglect and being in a poor state of repair, a worrying circumstance that other centrally positioned and well-visited sites such as Christiansborg, Elmina and Cape Coast castles have escaped. According to Britney Ghee, in *Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana*, "Fort William's current stage of preservation should qualify as general preservation as a result of its unpopularity with tourists, but its actual state of physical preservation would suggest that it has received more attention."[69] Contributing factors include lack of funds for conservation, inadequate local interest, and the superstitions and spiritual beliefs that locals ascribe to the history of these heritage sites. Philip Atta-Yawson, a tour guide who doubled as a squatter inhabitant of Fort William, mentioned that there had been intentions to convert the old officers' block into a library for the local children but most people objected because "people are too scared of the ghosts."[70] These accumulated challenges have led to a general lack of efforts towards preservation and (re)branding of the fort by the GMMB office

[68] "Forts and Castles of Ghana: Situational Analysis." (Africa World Heritage Fund, 2015), 12, https://awhf.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Tourism-Report-4-Fortes-and-Castles-of-Ghana.pdf.
[69] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 21.
[70] Emilie Filou, "A Pilgrimage to Ghana's Slave Forts," accessed April 12, 2020, http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20130610-a-pilgrimage-to-ghanas-slave-forts.

in the Central region for collective appreciation and consumption by domestic and international tourists.

2.4.2 Cultural Heritage Properties/Value of Fort William

The heritage value of Fort William will be classified under two parameters. The intrinsic (intangible) value and extrinsic (tangible) value.

Table 3: Heritage value of Fort William.

Classification	Value
Intrinsic (intangible)	▪ Superstition and myths ascribed to the fort's history by the local community as a "haunted space" [the fear of spiritual qualities and ghosts] ▪ The memory of the descendants of captives that were kept within its dungeons. ▪ Multifarious roles it has played due to adaptive re-use during the colonial and post-colonial eras. ▪ Transnational importance: a site of remembrance for Ghana, Britain, Jamaican and African Americans visitors. ▪ Its 18th-century function: the only fort purposefully built to facilitate the trade in slaves.
Extrinsic (tangible)	▪ Architectural style and properties. ▪ Locally outsourced building materials and labor deployed during its construction.

2.4.3 Politics of conservation

Before attaining independence on 6th March 1957, the Monuments and Relics Commission of the Gold Coast (MRCGC), was constituted by the British colonial government as the flagship institution in charge of "the preservation of antiquities and the restoration of architectural

monuments" on the Gold Coast.[71] At the heart of the MRCGC's functions and research was the preservation of these historic structures instituted in a bid to conserve/safeguard their 'medieval' and early modern European fortification architecture and history.[72] Subsequently, on the eve of Ghana's independence, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) was established to manage the cultural heritage of the new nation. This was through a merger of MRCGC and the interim Council of National Museum under Ordinance (Gold Coast No. 20 of 1957). After the repeal of the Ordinance in 1969, the National Liberation Council Decree (NLCD) 387, presently known as Act 387, of 1969—strengthened with an Executive Instrument's (E.I) 118, 42 and 29 in 1969, 1972 and 1973 respectively—established the duties of the Board and created regulations to govern the protection of cultural heritage in Ghana.[73] Based on their longevity and previous importance accorded them by the MRCGC, the forts and castle were the first built structures to be proclaimed national monuments. Principally, the GMMB is constituted of two sections; (a) the museums' division and (b) the monuments division. As protected monuments of national importance, the forts and castles fall under category (b), signifying that; the official preservation, restoration, and rehabilitation of these built heritage sites are carried out under the auspices of the GMMB. Additional protection was granted to the forts and castles in 1979 after "three castles, fifteen forts in a relatively good condition, four ruins with visible structures, and two sites with traces of former fortifications" were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.[74] In 1993, the Ministry of Tourism (MoT) was established to promote tourism in Ghana through a 5-year Tourism Development

[71] Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng and Christopher R. DeCorse, "Ghana's Vanishing Past: Development, Antiquities, and the Destruction of the Archaeological Record," *African Archaeological Review* 21, no. 2 (June 2004): 94, https://doi.org/10.1023/B:AARR.0000030786.24067.19.

[72] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 29.

[73] Frederick Kofi Amekudi, "Legal Frameworks for the Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Africa: Ghana," ed. Webber Ndoro and Gilbert Pwiti, *ICCROM Conservation Studies* 5 (2009): 62.

[74] Centre, "Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions." The nomination was granted under Criterion (vi): "The Castles and Forts of Ghana shaped not only Ghana's history but that of the world over four centuries as the focus of first the gold trade and then the slave trade. They are a significant and emotive symbol of European-African encounters and of the starting point of the African Diaspora."

Action Plan in 1996.[75] Prioritizing the forts and castles during its initial years, the ministry received funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for its Tourism Development Scheme for the Central Region initiative.[76] Through this transnational collaboration, a resultant Natural Resource Conservation and Historic Preservation Project (NRCHP) was instated to facilitate the restoration of the Elmina and Cape Coast castles and other tourist sites to expand sightseeing offerings.[77]

The existence of the aforementioned governing bodies has historical reasons for preserving the various forts and castles. Britney Ghee, through thematic periodization, classified these bodies under colonial, post-colonial and global perspectives. She argued that "each organization had a different mission, yet their interpretations are intertwined: the MRCGC sought to protect the archaeological heritage of the Gold Coast for the British, the GMMB was formed to protect the cultural heritage of Ghana for Ghanaians, and UNESCO was created to protect the cultural and natural heritage of humanity for all of humanity."[78] Extending Ghees's argument, the MoT and USAID partnership underscores the economic interest that these sites have been commercialized for. This is a polarizing situation that has drawn several critiques and acquisitions of 'whitewashing' the slave trade by promoting these heritage sites as tourist attractions for economic gain first, before the more 'important' memory and heritage value the sites possess for major stakeholders from the African Diaspora.[79]

[75] Emmanuel Akwasi Adu-Ampong, "Historical Trajectories of Tourism Development Policies and Planning in Ghana, 1957–2017," *Tourism Planning & Development* 16, no. 2 (March 4, 2019): 135, https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2018.1537002.
[76] Adu-Ampong, 135.
[77] Ibid., 135.
[78] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 8.
[79] Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*; Katharina Schramm, *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage* (Routledge, 2016).

2.5 Conclusion

From a general history captured in the previous chapter, this chapter fulfilled its aim of focusing on a unique case study that holds contextual relevance but is inadequately presented in contemporary discussions about the Atlantic slave trade. The next chapter will examine factors such as education, memorialization, national identity creation and their respective contributions to the passivity prevalent among locals towards the heritage value of forts and castles in Ghana, specifically Fort William. I will assess the primary contributors to local passivity and limited interest in Fort William despite its evident importance in the historical gold and slave trade networks. In the next chapter will also be an analysis of Ghana Education Services' latest history syllabus/curriculum for senior high schools as a primary contributor to the present challenge. Similarly, I will attempt to navigate the political lenses of nation-building and how the legacies of the heritage sites were appropriated in the nation-building process to build national cohesion, in Ghana's case. Finally, there will be a justification of why the important merchant township that Anomabo previously was should be a dominant feature in the history curriculum in senior high schools and official narratives by tour guides to enhance heritage appreciation.

Chapter 3 – National Identity Construction, Education and Heritage-led Tourism

"The acknowledgement of heritage forms part of the ethics of remembering, and it is important to remember both the good and the bad, atrocities as well as achievements."

— Constantine Sandis[1]

3.0 Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will assess some contributing factors that influence the rather low level of appreciation, at the state and citizen levels, of the heritage value of the various lesser-known forts in Ghana with specific emphasis on Fort William. This is connected to the nonexistence of appreciation of all sides in the dark heritage story of the coastal forts. Chronologically, the analysis will be constructed around three core themes: (i) the post-independence national identity construction process (ii) the contributions of formal education through affiliate agencies including the Ghana Education Service (GES) and (iii) a brief history of state-sponsored heritage initiatives organized primarily to attract economic investments from the African diaspora at the expense of knowledge reproduction and awareness creation locally. Through an assessment of these themes, I will answer pertinent questions such as; who is a Ghanaian and how is this identity negotiated from historical perspectives to contemporary considerations? How successfully, or otherwise, have heritage-led initiatives by the Ghanaian government and other bodies created a common ground for the way collective memory concerning heritage sites are negotiated between locals and visitors from the African diaspora? In the following subsection, I also investigate how the slave heritage and local participation in the Atlantic slave trade are represented in the latest history syllabus taught in Senior High

[1] Constantine Sandis, ed., *Cultural Heritage Ethics: Between Theory and Practice* (Open Book Publishers, 2014), 13, https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0047.

Schools. The chapter concludes with the question of who is allowed to remember what? How do heritage–initiatives by the State further deepen rather than strengthen the cognitive knowledge gap that exists between the local Ghanaian population and visitors from the African diaspora on how to mutually appreciate their shared heritage.

The focus on Senior High School (SHS) is motivated by the importance of this level of education as a crucial stage for the transition of most adolescents from basic education to institutions of higher learning. Thus, a stage where issues are treated with a critical lens and logical reasoning.

3.1 National Identity Construction

To properly contextualize the Atlantic slave trade and understand the causal factors that have contributed to local passivity and general disinterest in salient issues concerning the internal slavery trade that was present before the arrival of the Europeans and then continued, the concept of collective memory must be explored first. As Maurice Halbwachs theorizes, collective memories are "reminiscences of the past that link a set of people, for whom the shared identity remains significant at a later time when memory is invoked."[2] Through the evocation of collective memories, communities and social groups are incentivized to conceptualize their worldview through a generally agreed contemplation about the past. This opens up a conundrum between history and memory, a situation that Ghana, like every other modern nation, is grappling with. Widely recognized as *lieux de mémoire* or "sites of memory," the interpretation of the multilayered heritage of these historic forts and castles of Ghana can be polarizing.[3] However, as Halbwachs asserted, "history is the remembered past which… is

[2] Jonathan Boyarin and Charles Tilly, "Space, Time, and the Politics of Memory," in *Remapping Memory*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin, NED-New edition, The Politics of TimeSpace (University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 23, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctttt82h.4.
[3] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520.

no longer an important part of our lives – while collective memory is the active past that forms our identities."[4] Based on this premise, the way Ghana has coped with slave heritage has generally been exemplary.

Ghana—affectionately known as the "Gateway to Africa"—is highly revered as a frontrunner in the mid-twentieth century liberation struggle within contemporary African political and historical imagination. Similarly, the country holds a significant position in the annals of history as the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from British colonial rule on 6th March 1957.

As a newly independent nation comprised of different people from diverse backgrounds, varying histories and cultures, the onus lay on Nkrumah to rally and unite all factions into a single body driven by a shared common purpose and identity. A set of conditions had to be carefully navigated to maintain harmony and cohesiveness. Similarly, cognizant of how susceptible the new state was to cross-cultural and ethnic clashes, with its amalgamation of over eighty ethnic groups, the need to establish commonalities transcending ethnic boundaries and evoking a national spirit were paramount. The process was reminiscent of Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities;" the need for cultural constructions to convince diverse people of their common heritage and feeling collective responsibility towards building a nation.[5] Nkrumah and his government adopted national symbols like every other modern state including a national flag, coat of arms, constitution, and currency as material expressions of the newly formed state. Equally, to promote unity and co-existence in diversity, traditional elements from various ethnic groups including adinkra symbols and iconography, the composition of the national anthems in local languages, Kente cloth, *Ananse* mythology and

[4] Jeffrey K. Olick, "Collective Memory: The Two Cultures," *Sociological Theory* 17, no. 3 (1999): 335.
[5] Benedict Richard O'Gorman Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 1991).

others as cultural signifiers were adopted in the social construction of the new state. Beyond these symbols, another outstanding element used to create the national identity were the forts and castles along the coast. Symbolically, the monuments readily represented memorials of collective pushback and eventual defeat of colonial suppression and coercive servitude in the minds of the freshly 'liberated' people of Ghana rather than the actual multilayered functions they served before nineteenth-century colonialism. Thus, affirming Sandra L. Richards's assertion on memory that, it mostly serves a "presentist agenda even though its subject is the past."[6] The Christiansborg Castle, adopted as the seat of power by the British colonial government, was retained and used as a post-independence seat of government until 2003. It presently functions as a presidential museum and tourist site.

Beyond the heritage sites/monuments, another overarching aim of the Nkrumah government was to "construct monuments that broke away from the colonial past and emphasized Ghana's newfound freedom and nationhood."[7] Notably examples of such monuments and industrial zones were the independence arch, the national museum, Tema harbor and Akosombo dam. As a political project that sought to give the nation a distinct identity, the notion of being 'Ghanaian and putting Ghana first' was arguably a success. However, what was deliberately avoided during the nation's determinative years, and a policy somewhat glaringly maintained till present-day, is the incomplete confrontation with the intricacies of integral 'Ghanaian' involvement during the Atlantic slave trade in mainstream conversations about Ghana's past. Construed on a premise of not distorting national unity and cohesion, the Nkrumah government in the early years sought to avoid any narrative "that pitted Ghanaian against Ghanaian, that

[6] Sandra L. Richards, "What Is to Be Remembered?: Tourism to Ghana's Slave Castle-Dungeons," *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 4 (2005): 617.
[7] Harcourt Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State: Kwame Nkrumah's Symbolic Nationalism*, African Histories and Modernities (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2014), 120.

depended upon non-nation based alliances."[8] Memory is a construct like a theatre.[9] It is conceived through "processes of selecting, repeating, forgetting—willfully as well as unconsciously—and re-assembling narratives."[10] Successive Ghanaian governments to date have followed this blueprint and avoided, at the national level, any critical self-examination into the involvement of interior and coastal polities in the Atlantic slave trade. Simply put, "national histories must make the slave trade a minor addendum to the larger story of the emergence of the modern nation-state" and so has it been in Ghana's case.[11]

3.1.1 Negotiating the Ghanaian identity on a global scale

Internationally, the nation-building and identity rhetoric were supported through the GMMB's World Heritage List nomination document of the forts and castles in 1979. In this documentation, it could be observed that, approximately thirty years after attaining independence, the emphasis was put on trade relations, particularly the gold trade while the slave markets, that operated within the now listed heritage monuments, was marginalized. Also, the nomination document minimized the relevance of subsequent functions (e.g. colonial administrative centers and prisons) that these heritage monuments were repurposed for during the colonial era. The outright erasure of parts of history was evident in the historical justification captured on the WHC nomination form. It stated that trade was on the "basis of equality rather than… that of the colonial basis of inequality."[12] An expansion of this self-dignifying projection by the GMMB on the nomination form claimed that "the forts and castles were built to serve the trade of European chartered companies, mainly that in gold but later they also played an important role in the slave trade and, in the nineteenth century, in the

[8] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 39.
[9] Richards, "What Is to Be Remembered?," 617.
[10] Richards, 617.
[11] Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*, 110.
[12] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 41.

suppression of that trade."[13] While it is true that the gold trade was a primary reason for the erection of the early castles and forts, the lack of recognition for the number of monuments that were built from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries purposefully to facilitate the slave trade boom emphasized Ghana's bid to position itself as an equal partner among gold traders but less so with the slave trade. Such selective history ties into the nation-building process, presenting Ghanaian identity as one of resilience borne from a painful past.

In the same vein, the nuances and outright imbalance in trade relations were neglected with the proposition that, Afro-European trade ties were conducted on an equal basis. Inspired by a post-colonial reconstruction of history, the GMMB's proposed premise of equitability ignored the core fact that, access to local channels of trade were central and exclusive to traditional rulers and a small pool of local merchants only as stressed in previous chapters. Moreover, the historical reconstruction also failed to highlight the fact that the value of properties that were traded between both parties was, especially at first, disproportionately favorable to European merchants. Lawrence noted that beads and wine, second-hand cloth, brass pots and basins were common materials traded by Europeans in exchange for gold.[14] Thus, "in 1557, the Europeans sold at the rate of eight [heavy brass bracelets] to an ounce of gold."[15] A 1951 *report on forts and castles of Ghana* by O'Neil also affirmed this mismatch by stating that the Portuguese consistently rigged and overexploited the barter trade system by presenting old cloth in exchange for gold.[16] An indication that although European traders considered African traders to be equal trade partners, there was a wide difference in profit from the gold trade, contradicting, in my opinion, the GMMB's inferred argument of equality. Another crucial situation that the nomination document concealed was the issue of local Fante and Asante

[13] Ghee, 42.
[14] Lawrence, *Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa.*, 1963, 16.
[15] Ibid., 16.
[16] Bryan Hugh St John O'Neil, *Report on Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 1st edition (Ghana Museum and Monuments Board, 1951), 9.

participation in the trade. Such mercantile collaborations were willfully omitted, I believe, in an attempt to hide the prominent role played by various Ghanaian ethnic groups in the slave trade and demand respect from the international community as a fairly new nation.

The GMMB, as an institution responsible for the management of the forts and castles and education of the public about their history also failed to address the issue of internal slavery and the strategic role of indigenous agency in the Atlantic slave trade. This 'deliberate omission' is also visible from thematic exhibitions at the national and Cape Coast museums to the summarized histories about the forts and castles captured on the institution's website (a credible reference source for students, tourists and researchers).[17]

Combined efforts by the state, the GMMB and academics who were at the forefront of the nation-building process from inception, is still relevant today and explains today's general lack of interest/knowledge about the network of forts exhibited by the majority of the populace towards this shared memory. In fact, "this kind of territorial-national discourse perceived the slave trade as pre-modern if not anti-modern and excluded the enslaved from the historical narrative and local imagined community."[18] This, in turn, informs the 'incomplete/watered-down' narratives that are shared by official tour guides who operate at the various forts and castles and deployed, textually, in history curriculum/syllabus and reading materials used in Senior High Schools.

[17] "Ghana Museums & Monuments Board," accessed April 12, 2020, http://www.ghanamuseums.org/forts/forts-castles.php.
[18] Ella Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography: History, Memory, and Power," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 4 (2009): 976.

3.2 Formal education and its contribution to awareness creation on Ghana's slave heritage

Historically, education is acknowledged as the bedrock of the development of society. Adu-Gyamfi et al. defined education simply as "the act of transferring knowledge in the form of experiences, ideas, skills, customs, and values, from one person to another or from one generation to generations."[19]

Before the advent of European contact, traditional systems of education existed all across the African continent including the Gold Coast in what is now Ghana. According to Moses K. Antwi, the existence of traditional education in Ghana was and continues to play an integral role in how societies and worldviews are shaped.[20] Formal education—a primary focus of this research—on the other hand, was officially instated as an institution during the colonial period. This development came on the back of initial attempts by different European settlers, specifically the Portuguese, Danes, Dutch and English. Formal/western education was established after "the European merchants and Christian missionaries established schools in the mid-eighteenth century to not only eradicate the high level of illiteracy but also to propagate the gospel to the indigenous people."[21]

3.2.1 History pedagogy, Senior High Schools and the (mis)recognition of collective memory and the heritage of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Ghana.

After independence and the process of post-colonial nation-building, local academics became a pivotal part of this nationalistic exercise. Successive governments sponsored local historians to contribute to the history of the newly formed nation through scholarly expressions of

[19] Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, Wilhemina Joselyn Donkoh, and Anim Adinkrah Addo, "Educational Reforms in Ghana: Past and Present.," *Journal of Education and Human Development* Vol. 5, no. No. 3 (September 2016): 158, https://doi.org/10.15640/jehd.v5n3a17.
[20] Moses K. Antwi, *Education, Society, and Development in Ghana* (Unimax, 1992), 23.
[21] Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, and Addo, "Educational Reforms in Ghana: Past and Present.," 158.

national identity. It was during this period that the academic foundations of the newly independent nation's past were established and familiarized in various educational centers. Consequently, during the early periods of decolonization, one subject that most historians tended to either overlook or marginalize was the Atlantic slave trade and the involvement of local indigenous communities in this enterprise, largely because admitting to this involvement could have jeopardized the nation-building process and made historians look nationally irresponsible. Moreover, most Ghanaian historians of the time were inspired by the urge to reinstate the 'Africa image,' accord it the dignity it deserved and be the masters of writing one's history and narrative in defiance of colonial misrepresentation and the bias from external perspectives. Ella Keren's important commentary in *The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography: History, Memory, and Power*, provided an in-depth look into the negotiations and compromises that took place within Ghanaian historiography and how that informs current academic interrogations of the country's past. As Fredrick Cooper noted, "the word 'slavery' carries with it a bundle of connotations - all of them nasty," Keren added that "it is rare to find people who will admit being descendants of slaves because many African societies still attach a stigma to slavery and slave ancestry."[22] Most early Ghanaian historians, just like their fellow African counterparts, were "committed to national metanarratives that avoid dealing with the slave trade and slavery."[23] Despite the mixed nature of the historical narratives in Ghana, in terms of approach and interest, the judgements of local historians towards domestic slavery and local indigenous involvement in the Atlantic slave trade were similar and predictably light-handed. Keren explained that the "historians' multiple internal contexts, including institutional affiliations and communities and regions of origins" were crucial to understanding this situation. She asserted that "many historians, like those who make

[22] Frederick Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 1 (1979): 105; Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography," 976.
[23] Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography," 976.

up the political establishment, are Akan and Ewe, whose societies played a significant role in the transatlantic slave trade and are mostly regarded as its beneficiaries rather than its victims."[24] Hence, "their marginalization of the slave trade should also be seen in the context of the existing power relations between south and north in modern Ghana."[25] This critique is valid because early investments into education, by missionaries and post-independent governments, was more concentrated in the south than other parts of the country especially the north.[26] A dichotomy in Ghanaian historiography and historians can be observed due to this imbalanced distribution. There was the first generation after the liberation struggle, similar to their predecessors from the colonial era, who were more fixated on academic agendas shaped by the founding fathers and rhetoric centered chiefly on unification and national identity formation. Thus, in the 1960s, Ghanaian historians just like their other African counterparts, "enthusiastically identified with the project of postcolonial nation-building. They sought to refute colonial stereotypes of Africa and to contribute to the building of national identity through scholarly expressions of newly won independence."[27] This faction thought of slavery as yet another of the negative things brought to Africa by Europeans so that there was little questioning in most publications of either what domestic slavery looked like or the active indigenous participation in the lucrative Atlantic slave market.[28] Furthermore, statistically, "out of about three hundred master's theses and doctoral dissertations written at the University of Ghana from 1965 to 1990 in the social sciences, mostly in history, only one focused on slavery. Another thesis by a Ghanaian that dealt with the slave trade was written for a British

[24] Keren, 977.
[25] Keren, 977.
[26] Antwi, *Education, Society, and Development in Ghana*.
[27] Ibid., "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography," 976.
[28] See Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, *Gold Coast Native Institutions: With Thoughts upon a Healthy Imperial Policy for the Gold Coast and Ashanti* (Thoemmes Press, 1903), 82–84; J. B Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God: A Fragment of Gold Coast Ethics and Religion* (London: Cass, 1968), 188–206; J. W. De Graft Johnson, *Towards Nationhood in West Africa: Thoughts of Young Africa Addressed to Young Britain* (Cass, 1971), 13; John Coleman De Graft-Johnson, *African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations* (Black Classic Press, 1986), 152–66.

university and focused specifically on British involvement in the trade."[29] This highlights the inherent neglect that the subject matter of slave heritage faced during the first generation. The situation, however, as observed by Keren, changed sharply from the 1990s onwards. The second generation of Ghanaian historians began to study this dark past and faced the modern social tensions and negativity that came with it. Notable local scholars worthy of mention include Akosua Adoma Perbi, Benedict G. Der, Yaw Bredwa-Mensah, and David Nii Anum Kpobi.[30] These academics "did not divorce the discussion of slavery and the slave trade from European contexts, but they began to pay more attention to internal, African contexts."[31] For the first time, the enslaved were recognized and even placed at the center of historical narratives."[32] In extension, their context-specific works ignited new thoughts about the mechanisms of internal slavery and local participation in slave trade markets servicing the Atlantic slave trade and "paved the way for their inclusion in African history more generally, which until then had been solely the preserve of states and elite."[33]

Despite progressive efforts made by the second generation and contributions from contemporary works that deal critically with local involvement in the Atlantic slave trade and the dark heritage of slavery, the latest history syllabus for Senior High Schools (SHS) in Ghana has yet to bridge this gap in knowledge dissemination—a grey area that this research intends to amplify and provide a solution to.[34] This contribution, a website for Fort William, is imperative because since "memory that is marginalized in one setting can become part of a

[29] Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography," 981.
[30] Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana From the 15th to the 19th Century*, 17–23; Der, *The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana*, 15,19,32; David Nii Anum Kpobi, *Saga of a Slave: Jacobus Capitein of Holland and Elmina*, 1st Edition edition (Legon, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2002), 16,41; Yaw Bredwa-Mensah, "Archaeology of Slavery in West Africa," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, no. 3 (1999): 27–45.
[31] Keren, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade in Ghanaian Academic Historiography," 994.
[32] Keren, 994.
[33] Ibid., 994.
[34] A contemporary piece where the history of domestic slavery is appreciably touched upon, Wazi Apoh, James Anquandah, and Seyram Amenyo-Xa, "Shit, Blood, Artifacts, and Tears: Interrogating Visitor Perceptions and Archaeological Residues at Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Slave Dungeon," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 7, no. 2 (May 4, 2018): 7–9, https://doi.org/10.1080/21619441.2018.1578480.

dominant rhetorical strategy in another and vice versa," the need for unbiased narrative construction and dissemination is crucial for 'proper' reconciliation between Ghanaians and the African diaspora.[35]

3.2.2 Justification for centering Senior High School as a Case Study

Senior High School education was an ideal place to study educational gaps between national narratives and academic accuracy because this educational period, standing at the intersection between attained basic education and further higher education, represents a crucial time within the formative years of Ghanaian students. That is, at this stage, local students usually ranging in age between 15 to 19 years, are trained to transit into institutions of higher learning in Ghana such as a university, polytechnics and vocational institutions. More importantly, this is the final educational stage where discussions focused on the forts and castles of Ghana are taught in compulsory subjects such as Social Studies and History as an elective. Thus, the curriculum of senior high schools is a worthy way to assess how formal education in Ghana contributes to a lack of heritage appreciation for indigenous and European interactions in the Atlantic slave trade. Essentially, "secondary education in Ghana bears the responsibility of providing a systematic introduction to knowledge including technical know-how; to train high-level workers to provide highly skilled future university graduates."[36]

3.2.3 GES History Syllabus and general discussion of the Atlantic Slave Trade

Established in 1974, the Ghana Education Service (GES) has been given the official right to facilitate the delivery of quality education at all educational levels to all Ghanaians.[37] Senior High School education lies at the heart of the GES service. The current structure of Ghana's

[35] Katharina Schramm, "Slave Route Projects: Tracing the Heritage of Slavery in Ghana," Reclaiming Heritage (Routledge, June 3, 2016), 72, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315421131-3.
[36] Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, and Addo, "Educational Reforms in Ghana: Past and Present.," 160.
[37] "About Us – Ghana Education Service – GES," accessed May 25, 2020, https://ges.gov.gh/about-us/.

education system is "comprise of six (6) years of primary education made up of three (3) years lower and three (3) years upper primary, three (3) years Junior High School, three (3) years Senior High School and four (4) years University Education (6-3-3-4)."[38]

The history syllabus/curriculum will be in the focus of this analysis because it has the in-depth instruction covering the arrival of the Europeans to this part of West Africa and, ostensibly, discussion of the Atlantic slave trade. The syllabus is drafted by both the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) and Ghana Education Service (GES). The Ministry of Education (MOE) commissions the curriculum and it receives external approval from the West African Examination Council (WAEC). It is used in all senior high schools across the 16 official regions of Ghana. It is also used as the principal manual of instruction for students for whom history is a compulsory elective. The latest syllabus was released in September 2010.

The scope of the syllabus focuses on three areas over three years in Senior High School. They are: "1. Landmarks of African History up to AD1800 2. Cultures and civilizations of Ghana from the earliest times to AD 1900. 3. History of Ghana and her relations with the wider world from AD 1900 - 1991."[39] The section in focus for this analysis will be Section 2 (i.e. the second year of SHS). Each section has five descriptive columns: Units, Specific Objectives, Content, Teaching and Learning Activities and Evaluation. Below is a description of some keywords in the section:

Table 4: Breakdown of sections for Fort William's website

Units	The 'units' in Column 1 represent divisions of the major topics of the section. Instructors are expected to follow the unit topics in consecutive order as they are presented.
	Column 2 shows the 'Specific Objectives' for each unit. The specific objectives begin with numbers such as 1.3.5 or 2.2.1. These numbers are

[38] Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh, and Addo, "Educational Reforms in Ghana: Past and Present.," 165.
[39] "WASSCE / WAEC History Syllabus (Ghana)," Accessed May 20,2020, *https://www.Larnedu.Com/Wp-Content/Uploads/2015/03/Ghana-WASSCE-WAEC-History-Syllabus.Pdf*, September 2010, iv.

Specific Objectives	referred to as "Syllabus Reference Numbers". Example: a discussion on how the slave trade led to the creation of the African diaspora.
Content	The 'Content' in the third column of the syllabus presents a selected body of information need to teaching the particular unit. Example: a discussion on the positive and negative effects of the coming of the Europeans.
Teaching and Learning Activities	'T/LA' that will ensure maximum student participation in the lessons is presented in Column 4. Example: Inspire the class to discuss Europeans expressed in direct trade with West Africa.
Evaluation	Suggestions and exercises for 'evaluating' the lessons of each unit are indicated in Column 5. Evaluation exercises structured questions, project work etc. Example: A test on who benefitted the most from the Atlantic slave trade: Ghanaians or Europeans?

***The Unit under Review*: Unit 8—the Coming of the Europeans.**

UNIT	SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES	CONTENT	TEACHING AND LEARNING ACTIVITIES	EVALUATION
UNIT 8 **THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS**	The student will be able to:			
	2.8.1 state the reasons for the coming of Europeans to Ghana.	Arrival of Europeans between 15th and 17th centuries. International reasons for going beyond Europe: i. Search for a sea route to the Far East for commodities ii. To facilitate direct trade in the gold resources of West Africa.	Teacher leads students to discuss reasons why Europeans came to the Gold Coast. - Use a map to discuss the sea route to the East around Africa. - Assist students to discuss the reasons for the European interest in direct trade with West Africa	
	2.8.2 describe the nature of the trade with Europeans.	Trade in Gold and Ivory at first and later in slaves. Europeans brought clothes, pots etc.	Class to discuss the nature of the trade with Europeans; the items traded in and the mode of trading.	Discuss the nature and conduct of the slave trade on the coast of Ghana.
	2.8.3 identify the immediate effects of the coming of the Europeans.	Effects included building of forts and castles, rise of coastal towns, growth of western type education and Christianity.	Students discuss the immediate effects of the coming of Europeans to Ghana. Students to visit the forts and castles and report their findings for class discussion. Study maps and pictures of the forts and castles where visits are not possible.	State four immediate effects of the coming of the Europeans.
	2.8.4 discuss how the slave trade led to the creation of the African Diaspora.	The nature and volume of the slave trade and its effects on the New World i.e. present of large number of Africans.	Assist students to discuss how the slave trade led to the creation of the African diaspora.	
	2.8.5 outline the effects of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on Ghana.	Positive effects: Introduction of new crops, European cloths, home and work equipment, literacy, religion and employment opportunities in offices and commerce work Negative effects: Intensification of the inter-ethnic wars, depopulation and the displacement of Africans to the Diaspora	Students to discuss the effects of the slave trade focusing on the number of slaves transported and their destinations in the New World. Class discussion of the positive and negative effects of the slave trade.	Who benefited more from the Trans- Atlantic slave Trade: Ghanaians or Europeans?
	2.8.6 explain some of the significant effects of the arbitrary partitioning of Africa.	The Berlin Conference, major recommendations and consequences/effects.	Guide students to: i. compare the political map of Africa before and after the partitioning. ii. discuss the recommendations of the Berlin Conference iii. discuss the effects/consequences of the Berlin conference on Africa.	

Figure 19: Unit 8-Extract from the latest teaching syllabus (2010) for teaching history in senior high schools. It obtusely fails to capture the domestic slavery that existed, how that assimilated into the Atlantic Slave Trade and the role of local merchants in the infamous enterprise. Source: https://www.larnedu.Com/Wp-Content/Uploads/2015/03/Ghana-WASSCE-WAEC-History-Syllabus.Pdf

In this unit, a thorough account of the complex history surrounding the arrival of the Europeans in the region in the sixteenth century and all events that took place during their approximately 400-year stay within the Gold Coast territory (later the nation of Ghana) should be discussed by the students. It can be seen from the specific objectives and the content of the syllabus that students are expected to understand the motivations behind the coming of the Europeans and how prospective relations evolved from the gold trade to the slave trade and how the region was later impacted by decisions at the Berlin conference in 1884-5.[40] What the unit overwhelmingly presents is an overly Eurocentric focus and agency in slave trading, and visibly omits any mention of indigenous slavery of the period and the active and profitable participation of local kingdoms, ethnic groups and communities as middlemen in the Atlantic slave trade. This defeats the rationale for teaching history as captured in the preamble of the syllabus, thus, "study of the past to help us understand our present situation so that we can build a better future."[41]

My intended website project would fill this void in the T/LA 2.8.3 —which requires all "students to visit the forts and castles and report their findings for class discussion" and "study maps or pictures of forts and castles where visits are not possible" (a dominant challenge that was raised consistently by the respondents from the survey I conducted). As will be observed from the analysis of the survey results in the fourth chapter, this requirement is not being properly fulfilled due to reasons such as lack of funds and distance to the sites, fear of road accidents among others.

The syllabus's inability to instigate objective thought and critical analysis of past events surrounding the Atlantic slave trade in this part of West Africa, in my opinion, entrenches a

[40] The Berlin conference of 1884-1885 in Germany was a convergence between imperial European powers to discuss African colonization and lay claim to African lands and convert them to colonies through international guidelines in order to avoid conflicts.
[41] "WASSCE / WAEC History Syllabus (Ghana)," ii.

counterproductive “us vs them” complex. With “us” being the everyday Ghanaian who seems to be far removed from the past historical realities—i.e. the holistic history and heritage that the forts and castle possess, against “them”—African American and Afro-Caribbean tourists who revere these sites as sacred places of remembrance and by extension, a reclamation of the ‘home’ their ancestors were forcefully deprived off. Also, the Government of Ghana continuously works toward uniting its citizens in a common future narrative despite complex ethnic identifications within the country. However, this common perspective on the future should not prevent its citizens to examine the regions past critically and introspectively.

3.3 Shared Past: Locals, the African Diaspora and Heritage Tourism

Tourism ranks as one of the top five major contributors to foreign exchange to the Ghanaian economy and Gross Domestic Product (GDP).[42] Since 1993, when the Ministry of Tourism was created, consistent efforts have been invested in promoting the country as an ideal travel destination. The African diaspora, primarily African Americans and Afro-Caribbean tourists, have been groups targeted by the ministry since its earliest days. This effort has yielded significant results in terms of numbers of tourists over the years despite competition from other West African countries including Benin, Senegal and Gambia. Looking back in time, from the Pan-Africanist era of Dr Kwame Nkrumah when famous people such as Martin Luther King, Maya Angelou, Malcom X, Muhammad Ali and W.E.B Du Bois—who lived and died as a resident in Ghana, to President Bill Clinton who was hosted by Jerry John Rawlings in 1998, J.A Kuffour receiving President George W. Bush in 2008 and President Barack Obama and family’s visit in 2009 hosted by John E. Atta Mills, the Elmina and Cape Coast castles of Ghana

[42] “Ghana’s Government Positive about Tourism,” Oxford Business Group, December 7, 2015, Accessed May 23, 2020, 2020 https://oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/emerging-star-bold-targets-show-government%E2%80%99s-positive-intent-sector.

have been the at the focus of such visits. Unsurprisingly, these two castles are ranked amongst the important sites that are frequently visited by tourists in Ghana.[43]

Figure 20: A plaque at the Cape Coast castle unveiled to commemorate the visit of President Obama and Michelle Obama during their visit to Ghana. Accessed May 23 2020. Source: https://theculturetrip.com/africa/ghana/articles/11-fascinating-things-to-know-about-ghanas-cape-coast/

Also, thematic "homecoming" events such as the annual Pan African Historical Theatre Project (commonly known as PANAFEST) first held in 1992, the UNESCO Slave Route Project in 1994, the Joseph Project by the Ministry of Tourism in 2007 and recently the Year of Return 2019 demonstrate attempts by successive Ghanaian governments to encourage African Americans and Afro-Caribbean people to visit Ghana, find their "roots" and reclaim this dark past.[44] Likewise, the Ghana state's continuous effort to reinforce ties and identify with the African diaspora is evident in the annual commemoration of the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies that have been held on August 1 since 1998.[45]

[43] Elizabeth Macgonagle, "From Dungeons to Dance Parties: Contested Histories of Ghana's Slave Forts," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24, no. 2 (May 1, 2006): 249–60, https://doi.org/10.1080/02589000600770007.

[44] For further understanding on these projects, see "Panafest in the Year of Return 2019," accessed May 23, 2020, https://www.yearofreturn.com/panafest-in-the-year-of-return/; "The Slave Route," UNESCO, April 3, 2020, https://en.unesco.org/themes/fostering-rights-inclusion/slave-route; "The Ghana Joseph Project...," accessed May 23, 2020, https://www.africa-ata.org/gh9.htm; "About Year of Return, Ghana 2019 – Year of Return," accessed May 23, 2020, https://www.yearofreturn.com/about/.

[45] Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*, 151; "Visit Ghana | Emancipation," *Visit Ghana* (blog), accessed May 23, 2020, https://visitghana.com/events/emancipation/.

Figure 21: Map indicating the major Slavery Heritage Tourism Sites across modern Ghana. This map was designed by Osman Adams, University of Cape Coast Cartography. Last accessed on May 20, 2020.[46]

3.3.1 Defining the African Diaspora

The African diaspora is often generally conceived or defined as the captives or people forced from Sub-Saharan regions of the African continent through the Atlantic slave trade to bondage in North and South America, parts of Europe as well as the Caribbean Islands. William Safram defined diaspora as members of a community who exhibit the following traits:

> 1) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral," or foreign regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history and achievements; 3) they believe that they are

[46] Reed, *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana*, 889.

> not—and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and its safety and prosperity; 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.[47]

The people from the African Diaspora who usually take part in heritage tours to Ghana believe they are united by a common identity as understood in Anderson's theory of "imagined communities;" The diaspora community, in this case, believe they share a special purpose and destiny, linked by their inherited shared, painful history in of their enslaved ancestors as well as a shared biological and cultural heritage.[48]

3.3.2 Diaspora repatriation and local dissonance

The forts and castles of Ghana face heavy competition for other prominent heritage repositories and former slave embarkation points such as Gorée Island and its Slave House in Senegal and the Kunta Kinte tours to the Gambia inspired by Alex Harley's classic, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family.* In general, the slave heritage tourism industry in West Africa is significant and competes for the attention of the African diaspora. The industry also raises special concerns and paradoxes.[49] On the one hand, it is a profit-driven enterprise that boots local economies in all these West African countries. For example, Ghana reported a $3.3bn injection into the economy from the 2019 Year of Return project according to the tourism minister, Barbara Oteng-Gyasi.[50] On the other hand, these monuments are often revered as relevant sites of

[47] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (1991): 83–84, https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.1991.0004.
[48] Reed, *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana*, 900.
[49] Alex Haley, *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, Media tie-in edition (Boston, MA: Da Capo Press, 2016).
[50] Ernest Arhinful, "Ghana Realized $3.3B from Year of Return - Tourism Minister," May 28, 2020, https://citinewsroom.com/2020/05/ghana-realised-3-3b-from-year-of-return-tourism-minister/.

repatriation, spiritual connection and remembrance for the African diaspora seeking to trace their 'roots' and return 'home.' These conflicting motives of profit and memory lead to the questions of why local people are so far removed and unconcerned about slave heritage sites? Are these contrasting motivations similar to the profit-motivated practice of slavery that contributed to the creation of the African diaspora in the first place, that is, African merchants selling enslaved captives purchase in the region's interior and captured elsewhere in West Africa?

In Ghana, a dominating theme in the "official" tourist narrative about the Atlantic slave trade disseminated by almost every tour guide emphasizes "the suffering of Africans at the hands of Europeans" and often minimises or accords no reference to local participation in the slave-trading initiative.[51] In a sense, this narratives also denies the active and willing agency of locals like the Asante and Fante elites as middlemen in the Atlantic slave trade. This attitude is similar to other slavery heritage sites in West Africa because such accounts are developed to satisfy and maintain the victimization narrative and identity of this international audience.[52] The primary objective of streamlining such a complex and multifaceted history into one simplified 'consumable' narrative is twofold. According to Ana Araujo, "on the one hand, they prevent the emergence of conflicts among the local communities that still today include descendants of enslaved individuals who were brought from the North and remain in the region. On the other hand, they fulfil the specific demands of the tourism industry offering quick visits to the castles."[53]

Nonetheless, through heritage tours, mostly organized by private companies within Ghana and abroad, African American and Afro-Caribbean visitors embark on trips to Ghana all year round.

[51] Macgonagle, "From Dungeons to Dance Parties," 252.
[52] Ana Araujo, "Welcome the Diaspora: Slave Trade Heritage Tourism and the Public Memory of Slavery," *Ethnologies* 32, no. 2 (2010): 149, https://doi.org/10.7202/1006308ar.
[53] Araujo, 149.

The Central Region, which is considered the most touristic area in Ghana due to the location of Elmina and Cape Coast castles' there, represents the principal point where interactions from different interest groups such as tourists from the African diaspora, tourist agencies and governmental heritage agencies intersect. Ghee succinctly captured the motivation for this circumstance;

> Elmina Castle's level of preservation and representation is indicative of the tourism-driven rehabilitation preservation that surrounds the site and can be seen by tourists at three other sites: thirteen kilometers east at Cape Coast Castle the other jewel of Ghanaian tourism, 100 kilometers west at Fort St. Jago where tourism is an emerging market, and 140 kilometers west at Fort Apollonia where an Italian collaboration has converted the fort into a museum about local history and culture. Tourism has driven the large-scale, high-cost preservation methods used at this small selection of the forts and castles like buying the proper, and more expensive, paint to preserve the cannons and cannonballs.[54]

That is, Ghanaian tourists (representing the majority of tourists and within this category, comprising mostly education-driven visits), other African visitors (to reflect on a common but significant history), the African diaspora (mostly African Americans and Afro-Caribbean visitors, the second largest group of 'roots'-motivated visits) and European visitors (reflecting on past events) form the core of the visitor pool. Also, as the central point where funds from the Ghanaian government, multinational corporations and international agencies are heavily invested in the physical conservation of these sites, the castles become what Mary Pratt termed significant "contact zones." She defines this as:

> A space of colonial encounters, the space in which people geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict.[55]

[54] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 16.
[55] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 1992), 6.

In the area of group classification, it bears mentioning that, often caught at the crossroads, are ongoing debates on the need for a distinction to be established between 'returnees' from the African diaspora and other sets of international tourists. The reason for this distinction is that members of the diaspora should be recognized as stakeholders in these heritage sites and legitimate part-owners of their embodied memories. Hence, it has been suggested that these visitors be duly classified and referred to as 'pilgrims' and the process of returning as a pilgrimage rather than lumping them in with "other" groups of international tourists and subjected to the commodification that tourism as an industry generally projects on visitors.[56] Similar concerns have been consistently raised about profit-driven motives in the way the castles and forts are presented to visitors. Another contentious subject is the passive attitude of local people towards complex memories surrounding the history of these heritage sites—a situation that my website project intends to address.[57] This situation is fueled by contributing factors such as the national identity formation process and the education system, as discussed above, and also the constant "Disneyfication," a process "in which pasts are condensed into easily consumed, bite-sized pieces lacking any authenticity" by the GMMB of the most visited castles.[58] The unbalanced, profit-driven initiatives organized by the government are intended to maximize economic gains out of the most visited heritage sites by boosting their 'aesthetic appeal' and making them look 'presentable.' Spaces are also rented out within the castles to local entrepreneurs to operate gift and artisan shops targeted at visitors. Such commercialization of heritage zones has had a ripple on effect at the other forts within the network of monuments that still stand and can be visited. Thus, "the physical state of these

[56] See discussion in Richards, "What Is to Be Remembered?," 619; Reed, *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana*; Rachel Ama Asaa Engmann, "Ghana's Year of Return 2019: Traveler, Tourist or Pilgrim?," The Conversation, accessed May 24, 2020, http://theconversation.com/ghanas-year-of-return-2019-traveler-tourist-or-pilgrim-121891.
[57] Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*; Hartman, *Lose Your Mother*.
[58] G. J. Ashworth, "Do Tourists Destroy the Heritage They Have Come to Experience?," *Tourism Recreation Research* 34, no. 1 (January 1, 2009): 81, https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2009.11081577.

forts, the ones that lack tourists, illustrate the problematic way that funds are distributed across all the forts and castles; forts without a tourism base, which include the majority of the forts, lack funding resulting in the neglected preservation stage, while tourist hubs like Elmina Castle and Cape Coast constitute the majority of the GMMB's current spending."[59] This discrepancy exemplifies why historically relevant sites like Fort William with its historic significance and heritage value, experiences consistent neglect and erasure within prominent mainstream heritage discourse (in both Senior high schools and official tour guide narratives) and the grand scheme of local knowledge and heritage appreciation both in Ghana and internationally.

In summary, the government's over fixation on profit rather than proper sensitization of the locals about the shared dark heritage of the Atlantic slave trade fuels the dissonance and indifference the average Ghanaian exhibits towards the significance of all the sites in the fort and castle coastal network. Visits to the forts and castles by senior high school students as well as African American and Afro-Caribbean visitors, mostly direct descendants of enslaved Africans, would mark a significant step in the reclamation of their memories of the Atlantic slave trade, an opportunity to reconnect with their real or imagined roots and the chance to mourn/honor their ancestors in academically more justified ways. In contrast, today, it is common for local people and families to find it embarrassing and of negative social advantage to admit that they descend from slave-owning and selling societies. Though some chiefs (such as Kwafo Akoto of the Akwamus) have openly offered symbolic apologises for the roles played by their ancestors in the past, a lot still needs to be done.[60] Also, at the national level, such open discussions of indigenous agency in the Atlantic slave trade are kept to a minimum because of

[59] Ghee, "Foundations of Memory: Effects of Organizations on the Preservation and Interpretation of the Slave Forts and Castles of Ghana," 20.
[60] Rupa Shenoy, "Ghana's 'Year of Return' Is Emotional for Descendents on Both Sides of the Slave Trade," The World from PRX, May 23, 2020, https://www.pri.org/stories/2019-08-23/ghana-s-year-return-emotional-descendents-both-sides-slave-trade; *2018 African Leader Apologize for Selling Us into Slavery....We Want Land in Africa*, accessed June 10, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jw2f7IRcTrM&feature=youtu.be.

the worry that such dialogue threatens the collective national cohesion that the state works to uphold to avoid potential emergence of ethnic tensions or conflicts.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides an insight into some of the key causal element contributing to the lack of proper appreciation of slavery heritage and the monuments that represented the era in Ghana. Formal education in senior high school was looked at in a more detailed way to demonstrate that the history curriculum's focus on European agency in the Atlantic slave trade is one of the core contributors to this existing heritage dissemination challenge. This education problematic sets the tone for the analysis of the research methodology and discussion of results from a survey that was conducted among students from Senior High Schools across Ghana in the next chapter. After a breakdown of the results, the interpretation module for the website project will be discussed and finally, recommendations made for future research will be shared.

Chapter 4 – Findings, Interpretation module and Recommendations

Interpretation should raise open questions that provoke interaction, debate and food for self-reflection rather than providing simple answers.

— Erminia Sciacchitano.

4.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents a detailed breakdown of the findings from the online survey for this study. Here, the answers provided by the population that partook in the survey are noted for analysis. The findings from the data gathered will be analyzed and discussed. An overview of the website (prototype) I have created for Fort William coupled with a summarized interpretation module for relevant stakeholders including teachers, students and tourists will be presented in the next subsection. A SWOT analysis will be applied to the proposed website. The chapter concludes with recommendations for governmental bodies in charge of formal education in Ghana and suitable areas for researchers to explore in future.

4.1 Findings

With current and former senior high school students from different regions in Ghana being primary respondents of this survey (see figure 22), their points of view are presented in this section. Remote distribution of the questionnaire to respondents was facilitated through some social networking sites including WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter. It has to be acknowledged that this survey targeted students who could afford the means to own a smartphone or computer and have access to mobile data or Wi-Fi to answer the questions. Thus, representative of implicit bias in the data collected. Data collection for the survey was activated online from May 19th to May 21st 2020, with 50 Ghanaian respondents covering schools in eight out of sixteen regions in Ghana. The questions posed were based on five parameters: 1) Background details of respondents 2) General knowledge of the history of forts and castles in Ghana 3) Formal education and its contribution to awareness creation about Ghana's heritage. 4) Thoughts on a government-led initiative (focus: the "Year of Return 2019"). 5) Recommendations from respondents. For this study, they will be labelled as P1, P2, P3, P4 and P5.

4.2.1 Age distribution of Respondents (P1)

This information was requested to assist in understanding the average age bracket that most of the current students and/or former students fall into from the beginning to the end of their senior high school studies. The age brackets suggested were chosen because those are the average age ranges within which most students enrol and complete SHS in Ghana. N = 50. The age distribution among the 50 respondents was as follows:

Table 5: Age distribution of respondents.

Age Bracket (in years)	The number and (% per total of the 50 respondents)
14 – 18	18 (36%)
15 – 19	12 (24%)

16-20	11 (22%)
17-21	3 (6%)
21-24	2 (4%)
15-17, 20-25, 28, 25-30	1 each respectively (2% per individual)

(i) Regional Distribution of Schools of Respondents

The collection of this data was important because it aided in my understanding of which region each student currently schools or was schooled in Ghana. Similarly, it gives insight into how the content of the unitary history syllabus might have been carried out based on the region a particular school was located in. The regional distribution of schools among the 50 respondents was as follows:

Table 6: Regional distribution of schools of respondents.

Regions	**No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)**
Greater-Accra	16 (32%)
Central	10 (20%)
Eastern	8 (16%)
Ashanti	6 (12%)
Volta	4 (8%)
Brong Ahafo	4 (8%)
Northern	1 (2%)
Bono-East	1 (2%)

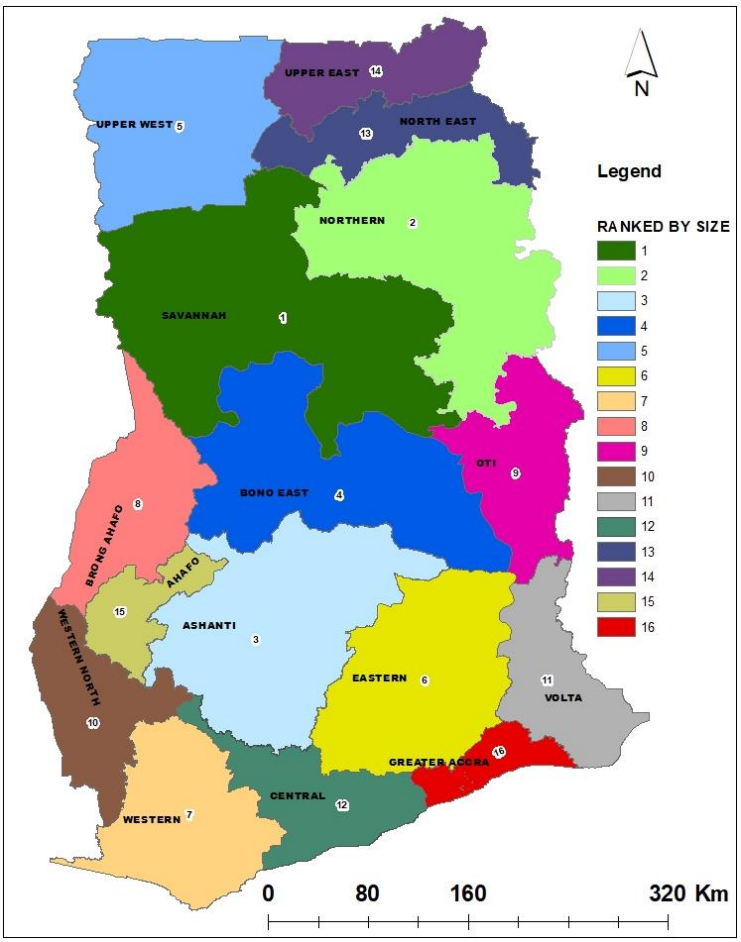


Figure 22:The distribution of the eight regions represented by the respondents can be observed on the map as follows: Greater-Accra (red),Central (magenta), Eastern (yellow), Ashanti (sea blue), Volta (Grey), Brong Ahafo (pink), Bono East (royal blue) and Northern (light green). Map by Ibrahim Sako. Accessed June 2, 2020.[1]

(ii) Year of Completion of SHS

Since the latest history syllabus was updated in September 2010, being informed about the current status of my respondents (either still in school or knowing which year they completed) is vital for understanding how pedagogical procedures for history were executed before and/or after the latest update. This intersectional approach will aid in predicting the past (before 2010) and assessing the present (post-2010 after the new syllabus was issued) based on what has changed or not changed. Below are the results:

[1] Ibrahim Sako, "Regions of Ghana," in *New Regions of Ghana After Referendum*, May 22, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Regions_of_Ghana&oldid=958166626.

Table 7: Year of completion of SHS.

Status of respondent	No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)
Currently in SHS	6 (12%)
Completed in 2008	4 (8%)
Comp. in 2011	6 (12%)
Comp. in 2012	9 (18%)
Comp. in 2013	4 (8%)
Comp. in 2015	6 (12%)
Comp. in 2016	2 (4%)
Comp. 2018	7 (14%)
Comp. in 2019	2 (4%)
1992, 2003, 2004, 2006 respectively	1 each respectively (2% by individual)

(iii) Gender distribution

The gender component for this study was fairly distributed. Out of the 50 respondents, 28 (56%) were male and 22 (44%) were female of the total sample.

4.2.2 Pictorial Identification of Fort William (P2)

This test was posed as the first in **P2** (parameter two, general knowledge of the history of forts and castles along the coast) to understand whether the respondents could easily identify by name, Fort William (see figure 1) and other forts with the aid of a photograph. It was one of the two non-mandatory questions. Below were the responses gathered:

Table 8: Pictorial Identification of Fort William.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of the 44 respondents)
James Fort (Accra)	15 (34.1%)
Fort Amsterdam (Abandze)	13 (29.5%)

Ussher Fort (Accra)	4 (9.1%)
Fort Apollonia (Beyin)	4 (9.1%)
Fort William (Anomabo)	3 (6.8%)
Other (no idea)	5 (9.1%)

Figure 23: Fort William, Anomabo

(a) ***Previous visits to a historic castle or fort in Ghana.***

Here, I wanted to learn whether members within the sample had ever visited any of the forts and castles in Ghana before. The options given were "yes, I have" and "no, I have not." Out of 50 responses received, the results are as follows:

Table 9: Previous visits to a historic castle or fort in Ghana.

Options provided	**No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)**
Yes, I have	41 (82%)
No, I have not	9 (18%)

(b) ***The capacity in which the visit was organized.***

With this question, I wanted to delve further into how the visits were organised. More importantly, the query was aimed at discovering how many were able to visit a site through the

mandatory trip requirement stipulated in the history syllabus. Out of the 50 responses, 17 respondents representing 34% of the total sample size confirmed they had taken part in educational tours with a social club or institution, 11 respondents representing 22% visited through the mandatory school trip in SHS, 8 respondents representing 16% visited through a personal trip (as a local tourist), 5 respondents representing 10% visited through a family vacation, 6 different respondents representing 2% each had not visited any of these sites before, 2 respondents representing 4% each visited through an organised trip in junior high school, and 1 respondent representing 2% of the total respondents visited a site through a tour organised by a church. This information points out that, impressively, majority of the respondents have visited either a fort or castle before.

(c) ***Insight into which forts and castles in Ghana respondents visited.***

The query aimed to learn about which of the various forts and castles they had been to and more importantly, confirm or reassess whether the Cape Coast-Elmina-Osu (Christiansborg) castles' bias also prevails amongst these respondents. The available options to choose (multiple choice) were as follows: Fort William, Elmina castle, Fort St. Anthony, Fort Sebastian, James Fort, Cape Coast castle, Fort Jago and, Christiansborg castle. There was also an option to name an unlisted site. Since it was a multiple-choice question, a respondent could choose more than one, hence, that influenced the shared percentages. Out of 50 responses, the results are as follows:

Table 10: Insight into which forts and castles in Ghana respondents visited.

Option provided	No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)
Cape Coast castle	31 (62%)
Elmina castle	29 (58%)
Christiansborg (Osu) castle	13 (26%)
James Fort	11 (22%)
Fort St. Jago	2 (4%)

Fort Sebastian	2 (4%)
Fort St. Anthony	1 (2%)
Ussher Fort	1 (2%)
Fort Patience	1 (2%)
Fort William	0 (0%)
Other (never visited a fort or castle)	5 (10%)

(d) ***Knowledge on which coastal towns were most integral to the Atlantic slave trade on the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the 18th century.***

This query was posed to test their knowledge about how well they know the slave history of Ghana and ascertain whether this was covered in the history syllabus in SHS. The options provided were: Takoradi, Cape Coast, Axim, Elmina and Anomabo (Fort William). Out of the 50 responses, the results are as follows:

Table 11: Knowledge on which coastal towns where most integral to the Atlantic slave trade.

Options provided	**No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)**
Takoradi	0 (0%)
Cape Coast	29 (58%)
Axim	4 (8%)
Elmina	17 (34%)
Anomabo	0 (0%)

(e) ***Personal classification of the forts and castles of Ghana.***

Here, I set out to explore how the various respondents think about the forts and castles outside of formal/official narratives. This was to help me understand their main perceptions of these particular heritage places as valuable sites of memory and local heritage. The available options were: spaces of memory, tourist sites, research centres, and places of local history and heritage. Out of the 50 entries, the responses gathered were as follows:

Table 12: Personal classification of the forts and castles of Ghana.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)
Places of local history and heritage	23 (46%)
Tourist sites	17 (34%)
Spaces of memory	8 (16%)
Research centres	2 (4%)

(f) ***Naming other forts outside of the familiar ones: Osu (Christiansborg), Elmina and Cape Coast castles'***

This question was aimed at assessing the range of knowledge about forts other than 'popular' or well-recognised ones that my sample of respondents was privy to. Unsurprisingly and sadly, no one mentioned Fort William, Anomabo. However, out of the 50 respondents, these are the results:

Table 13: Naming other forts outside of the familiar ones: Osu (Christiansborg), Elmina and Cape Coast castles.'

Sites named	No. of times it was named amongst the respondents
James fort (Accra)	16
Ussher fort (Accra)	11
Fort St. Anthony (Axim)	2
Fort St. Jago (Elmina)	2
Fort Sebastian (Shama)	2
Fort Amsterdam (Abandze)	2
Fort Good Hope (Senya Breku)	1
Fort Patience (Apam)	1
Fort Apollonia (Beyin)	1

Fort Prinzenstein (Keta)	1
Other (no idea)	4

(g) ***The inspiration behind the above-chosen answers***

The motive behind this question was to understand the source of knowledge that informed the answers given by the respondents. Out of the 50 responses, the results are as follows:

Table 14: The inspiration behind the above-chosen answers.

Sources named	**No. and (% per total of the 50 respondents)**
General knowledge	28 (56%)
Knowledge accrued from history lessons in SHS	5 (10%)
Personal research and interest	6 (12%)
Tourist brochures	4 (8%)
A personal visit with a friend	2 (4%)
Born in Greater-Accra region	1 (2%)
Other (no idea about forts)	4 (8%)

(h) ***Personal accounts of their clearest memories during a visit.***

This question was meant to stimulate respondents to share their clearest memories from a visit to any of the forts and castles. Out of the 50 responses received, ten insightful ones will be highlighted. Respondents will be labelled and numbered as R1 – R10. Below are the selected memories shared:

Table 15: Personal accounts of their clearest memories during a visit.

Respondents	Memories shared
R1	"My visit to Cape Coast Castle saddened my heart. After showing us the slave pathway from their cells through "the door of no return to their boats. I became intrigued as to the sufferings and pains my forefathers had gone through and this dawned on me."
R2	"On our visit to Elmina Castle, the tour guard took us to a door. There was a line written in bold letters on it, THE DOOR OF NO RETURN. I cried because their steps through that door were the last steps of leaving their home. The beautiful home they will not see again."
R3	"How our female ancestors were raped and if they refused, were tied to heavy metal in the sun for days without food and water. The fact that above the castle was a church and beneath it was a dungeon of enslaved ancestors packed in a cell without ventilation."
R4	"I imagined the pain, agony and nightmare the forefathers who were kept in the dungeons went through. Not being able to see daylight and the exit the "door of no return". As well as the women were sexually harassed or exploited, and those who lost their lives because they would not bow."
R5	"My fondest memory will be at Cape Coast castle and Christianborg castle. At Cape Coast castle I remember when we to one of the dungeons and had to go through a tunnel but before there was a "shrine" where we had to offer "sacrifice" before the tour guide could continue. It emphasized our traditional form of worship, in the sense that we (Ghanaians) have not lost our culture. My memory at Christiansborg was during the Homowo festival where the Osu Chief sprinkled "*kpokpoi*" and paid reverence to the ancestors, it was a delight to behold."[2]
R6	"I visited the Cape Coast Castle in 2010. It was emotional and it gave me a better perspective from what I learnt in the classroom of how slaves were kept and transported from Ghana to Europe."
R8	"The sight of the gate of no return at Cape Coast castle made me emotional. I could never imagine the torture and suffering they went through"

[2] Kpekple or Kpokpoi is a meal prepared with fermented corn, palm nut soup and smoked fish. It is a symbolic meal eaten by people of the Ga ethnic group during the celebration of Homowo (which essentially means; hooting at hunger)

R9	"To see the famous "door of no return", enclosed dungeons and the cannonballs in Elmina Castle was my clearest memories"
R10	"It was a sad memory because we were told how our grandparents travelled through some tiny holes and how they died and were beaten. The only fun part of the visit was the serenity of the environment."

The memories shared here clearly highlights a common but problematic pattern in the narratives most visitors to these sites are fed with. Thus, the binary assessment that overlooks a nuanced interpretation of historical events and positions the locals (Ghanaians, grandparents, ancestors) as victims and European merchants as sole perpetrators of such an evil enterprise.

(i) ***Thoughts on the impact the narrative shared by the tour guide had on them.***

This question aimed at clarifying how the respondents received and assimilated the narrative that was shared by the tour guide. Did the narrative make them identify with the history and heritage of the site? Was it one that they could not relate to in any sense? Did they sense that the shared narrative catered more to the international rather than the domestic audiences' etc.? Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are captured below:

Table 16: Thoughts on the impact the narrative shared by the tour guide had on them.

Options provided	**The number and (% per total of the 50 respondents)**
Reminded me of our history	35 (70%)
Narrative catered more to the international audience	4 (8%)
Couldn't relate to the narrative	3 (6%)
Never visited any of the sites	4 (8%)
The narrative created an imaginary picture of the past and experiences of the forefathers	1 (2%)

No tour guide	1 (2%)

(j) ***Individual assessment/rating of a visit to a fort or castle.***

This poll question was designed to understand how the respondents generally felt about their visits to any of these sites of memory. This answer was on a scale of 1 to 10. 1 represented unimpressive/poor to 10 representing highly educative. An answer of 5 and 6 represents a neutral stance. This question was the second non-mandatory question to answer because I forgot to make it mandatory. However, 47 responses out of 50 were gathered. The results were as follows:

Table 17: Individual assessment/rating of a visit to a fort or castle.

Scale	**No. and (% per total of 47 respondents)**
1	2 (4.3%)
2	0 (0%)
3	0 (0%)
4	4 (8.5%)
5	7 (14.9%)
6	6 (12.8%)
7	6 (12.8%)
8	11 (23.4%)
9	4 (8.5%)
10	7 (14.9%)

4.2.3 Enquiry on whether any of the respondents have ever heard of or knows about Fort William in Anomabo (P3)

Here, I zeroed in on the contributions of formal education to awareness creation about Ghana's Atlantic slave trade heritage. This question aimed at the scope of knowledge of the respondents to see if they knew about the case study for this thesis. The options given were (yes, I do; no, I do not and this is my first time – hearing about it). Out if the 50 responses gathered, the results were as follows:

Table 18: Respondents knowledge about Fort William.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
Yes, I do	13 (26%)
No, I do not	15 (30%)
This is my first time	22 (44%)

(a) Testing respondents' knowledge on which year Fort William was built and by which European country?

This quiz was meant to spark the curiosity of the respondents and ask them to hazard a possible guess on which year Fort William was constructed and the European country that mandated its construction. The aim was to make them reflect on their history lessons and make an informed choice. Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are as follows:

Table 19: Knowledge on which year Fort William was built and by which European country.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
1632 (Netherlands)	7 (14%)
1753 (Britain)	19 (38%)

1756 (France)	3 (6%)
1801 (Denmark)	8 (16%)
1807 (Sweden)	0 (0%)
Other (no idea)	13 (26%)

(b) Enquiry about respondents' knowledge on Anomabo being the site where the highest number enslaved captives were shipped from the Gold Coast to the New World?

This question was deliberately posed with a double intention. Firstly, it was meant to intrigue and educate the respondents about an important historical fact that is barely mentioned in the SHS history syllabus and to make them reflect on the regular narratives shared by tour guides. Secondly, to optimistically assess whether the respondents knew about this fact regardless of the inadequacies in the main channels of knowledge acquisition. Out of the 50 responses collected, the results are as follow:

Table 20: Knowledge on Anomabo being the site where the highest number enslaved captives were shipped from the Gold Coast to the New World.

Options given	**No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)**
Yes, I do	3 (6%)
I knew but was uncertain	2 (4%)
No, this is my first time hearing this	45 (90%)

(c) Assessment of the number of forts and castles in Ghana that are enlisted as UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

The intention behind this question was to measure how well informed the respondents are about Ghana's relevance globally in the area of heritage and whether this status is captured

in their history lessons. The options given were randomly made-up except for 18, which is the right answer.[3] Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are as follow:

Table 21: Knowledge about the number of forts and castles in Ghana on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
43	8 (16%)
28	13 (26%)
18	11 (22%)
50	2 (4%)
32	2 (4%)
Other (no idea)	14 (28%)

(d) Personal identification with different features of Ghana's forts and castles

With this inquiry, I wanted to understand how the respondents perceive the forts and castles and which aspects of these monuments they can personally relate to. The aim was to understand if the respondents felt any connection whatsoever with these sites and what aspects they were readily drawn to. Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are as follow:

Table 22: Personal identification with different features of Ghana's forts and castles.

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
Intangible features (memories and history)	27 (54%)
Tangible properties (physical buildings)	12 (24%)
Touristic value/attraction	6 (12%)

[3] Centre, "Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions."

Aesthetic features (architectural design)	2 (4%)
Both tangible and intangible	1 (2%)
Other (None of the above)	2 (4%)

(e) At what stage in your senior high school experience did respondents discover that it would be mandatory to visit a fort or castle as part of high school teaching requirements?

This question was posed to get the respondents' remarks on the educational stage within their SHS experience that the requirement of a mandatory visit was made known to them. Thus, the question was to help me confirm whether the conditions stipulated in the syllabus were being followed through or not across these various schools. Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are as follow:

Table 23: When respondents knew that it was mandatory to visit a fort and/or castle in Ghana.

Options provided	**No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)**
First year	4 (8%)
Second year	4 (8%)
Third year	0 (0%)
Fourth year	0 (0%)
Not required (never knew)	40 (80%)
When I completed	1 (2%)

(f) Individual assessment/rating on efforts made by SHSs to educate students about the complex, and sometimes uncomfortable history of Ghana's forts or castles

The poll intended to give respondents the chance to rate the efforts invested in by their respective schools into enhancing the pedagogical experience for students, practical knowledge about these historic sites and the theory of heritage value. On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 represented unimpressive/poor, 5 & 6 were neutral and 10 represented highly commendable. The poll generated 50 responses and below are the results:

Table 24: Individual assessment/rating on efforts made by SHSs to educate students on forts and castles in Ghana

Scale	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
1	9 (18%)
2	2 (4%)
3	7 (14%)
4	9 (18%)
5	4 (8%)
6	7 (14%)
7	4 (8%)
8	0 (0%)
9	2 (4%)
10	6 (12%)

(g) ***Individual assessment/rating on efforts made by the government and affiliate agencies (GES, GMMB, MoT) to increase awareness about the existence and function of lesser-known forts in Ghana.***

Here, the inquiry shifted from the individual schools to the state. This question sought to clarify how the respondents rated the state's effort through its affiliate agencies in educating the masses (SHS students in this case) about the existence and function of the lesser-known forts in Ghana. The scale ranged from 1 – unimpressive/poor, 5&6 were neutral to 10 – highly commendable. The results out of the 50 responses are as follow:

Table 25: Respondents ratings on the government's role in increasing awareness about the existence and function of lesser-known forts in Ghana.

Scale	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
1	13 (26%)
2	11 (25%)
3	8 (16%)
4	6 (12%)
5	6 (12%)
6	1 (2%)
7	2 (4%)
8	1 (2%)
9	0 (0%)
10	2 (4%)

4.2.4 Personal assessment about whether the '2019 Year of Return' project achieved its purpose to create local awareness of the Atlantic slave trade (P4).

This question was motivated by a need to understand whether the highly publicized '2019 Year of Return' project achieved one of its aims to create local awareness about the Atlantic slave trade and how the respondents rated this effort. Out of the 50 responses gathered, the results are as follow:

Table 26: Respondent's assessments on the '2019 Year of Return.'

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
Success	31 (62%)
Failure	2 (4%)
Indifferent	6 (12%)
Did not understand its purpose	10 (20%)
Other (a stepping stone to success)	1 (2%)

(a) Probe into whether the project's aim of "celebrating the cumulative resilience of all the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade who were scattered and displaced through the world in North America, South America, the Caribbean, Europe and Asia" was achieved?

This was to seek further clarification on whether the specific aim named in the question above by the promoters of the "Year of Return" project was achieved and of what benefit it might have been to SHS students in Ghana. Thus, respondents were required to share their perspectives about it. The results are documented below:

Table 27: Respondents rating of the mission of the 'Year of Return.'

Options provided	No. and (% per total of 50 respondents)
Yes, it was	26 (52%
Not certain	18 (36%)
No, it was not	5 (10%)
No idea	1 (2%)

4.2.5 Recommendations from respondents concerning ways to enhance visibility, appreciation of the heritage value and boost the significance of the lesser-known forts in the minds of Ghanaians? (P5)

This question was intended to outsource ideas from the respondents on how the visibility of lesser-patronized forts and their histories could be made available for all in Ghana and internationally to consume and appreciate, especially at the SHS level. Out of the 50 responses received, twelve insightful ones will be highlighted. Respondents will be labelled and numbered as R1 – R12.

Table 28: Recommendation form respondents.

Respondents	Recommendations
R1	"Heritage education should be encouraged in all schools in Ghana. Also, there should be educational advertisements in all local dialects in Ghana to enhance the awareness of the heritage sector."
R2	"Education at the various academic levels in Ghana. That is, from Primary through to University. Using the media is another way through advertisement and interviews with experts or individuals with in-depth knowledge about the history of Ghana and these forts. Finally, using Art related performances to create awareness."

R3	"Create central digital platforms where most of these sites can be accessed remotely and also the national museum should create dedicated social media channels to educate the public."
R4	"I suggest that the education should start in the Junior high school and then also filmmakers and the music industry can also help a great deal in telling and educating people on their heritage. I believe one of the major ways to promote tourism is through music and film. Therefore, artiste/artist and filmmakers should be encouraged to use these castles and forts in their videos and movies and I believe the education will sink deep and wide."
R5	"I think they should be taught in schools, especially in high school. I mean I feel like since history is chosen as an elective in high school, hardly will you find all students to choose history and study it. So the best way is to probably include it as a mandatory course in the first year of school just like they made French mandatory language course in high school so that Ghanaians can know their history and study it."
R6	"Organizing field trips to tourist sites, enhancing the teaching on these historical sites and if necessary, selecting tourist advocates who are willing to take up the responsibility to further enhance the education on tourist sites and its historical backgrounds."
R7	Social media is the best medium to attract people in these times. Documentaries can also be made.
R8	"Museums studies should be introduced in primary to tertiary where a student is given the chance to visit the forts/museums once a week to learn more on heritage looking at both the tangible and intangible aspects as done in European countries."
R9	I think Ghanaians should be educated on the existence of the various forts and their historical attachments through the media outlets. This awareness should be created especially on national holidays and celebrations.
R10	"Lesser-known forts should be studied in school, the buildings should be painted and surroundings kept neat like the well-known forts. The same recognition given to known forts should be done to lesser -known forts."

R11	The history and heritage should be included in our curriculum and every student should once make a trip to one tourist site to learn more about them.
R12	Education is key. The ministry of tourism must establish local tourist clubs in schools and communities to help disseminate information about the lesser-known forts.

4.3 Discussion of findings

As an aim of this research, formal education at the SHS level was central in my analysis to understand what the leading contributing factors to local passivity towards the forts and castles as built heritage site are in Ghana. Through the assessment of existing literature and practical projects, it was evident that this area of focus (education) is one that has been given little to no attention at all. As such, the central purpose of this survey, through purposive sampling, was to probe current and former SHS students in Ghana to either assess and confirm the gravity of problem or aid in debunking any misconceptions. The assessment of the primary data gathered from the respondents will be carried out in four sections:

(i) Confirmation of perception

Based on responses gathered from respondents in the first two sections; general knowledge on the history of forts and castles in Ghana (P2) and formal education and its contribution to awareness creation about Ghana's heritage (P3) it can be observed that majority of the sample size admitted to having substantive awareness about the properly conserved and well-visited sites (i.e. Cape Coast, Elmina and Osu castles') On the other hand, the same majority was not cognizant of the existence of other forts outside the well-recognized 'big three'. This dichotomy in knowledge or "awareness bias" towards the lesser–known forts—principally, Fort William—confirms the various causative conditions

that were discussed in the third chapter; the overarching perception of an unbalanced distribution of attention and visits, and more importantly, the SHS education system of Ghana's failure to properly fill the information gap that permeates within Ghana's collective consciousness about the Atlantic slave trade; local participation of various ethnic groups and the role of forts within the complex trade network that supported the trade.

(ii) Exposure of the gap in knowledge about Fort William and other lesser-known forts in Ghana

As mentioned above and observed in the contribution of formal education and its contribution to awareness creation in Ghana's heritage section (P3) the responses gathered from the respondents highlighted the information gap that exists about concerning the functionality and role played by various indigenous actors in and around Fort William and other less recognised forts within the network of monuments established over the centuries of Afro-European interactions.

(iii) Lack of implementation of the requirement stipulated by the GES history syllabus for students

From the responses given by respondents in P3 subsection (enquiry on whether any of the respondents has ever heard of or knows about Fort William, Anomabo), the individual appraisal of efforts invested by their various SHSs and state agencies to improve awareness and knowledge about the lesser-known forts, the low ratings attest to the dissatisfaction that students feel about the current status quo. Similarly, because most of their visits to the forts and castles were conducted outside of the GES stipulation in the history syllabus, it can be argued that there are obvious inadequacies in the implementation of objective 2.8.3—the requirement in the syllabus that students visit the

forts and castles and report their findings for class discussion or study maps and pictures of the monuments where visiting is impossible.[4]

(iv) Evidence of a desire on respondents' part to learn more about heritage sites.

On the brighter side, it can be observed from the recommendations (P5) shared by the respondents' highlights a strong urge that exists within the survey group for the development of more innovative approaches towards the amplification of the lesser-known forts. Furthermore, most of the opinions shared suggested the need for more deliberate incorporation of the heritage value of these forts into Ghana's academic and social praxis. Hence, the onus lies on interested private parties and/or state-sponsored institutions to take up the challenge of diversifying the knowledge-scope to increase awareness and appreciation of lesser-known forts.

4.4 Interpretation module for the Fort William website

With an estimated 7 million-plus active internet users out of a total population of approximately 28 million in 2016, Ghana possesses a credible foundation upon which advocacy for digital-based solutions in the presentation of built heritage in Ghana can be advanced and implemented.[5]

A tentative solution provided in this thesis is the establishment of a website that presents Fort William in its historical entirety to enhance history pedagogy in SHS for teachers, students and visitors from the African diaspora.

The website named—fortwilliamanomabo.com—is still under construction and will be launched on 15th August 2020. The website is a prototype that has a user-friendly interface

[4] "WASSCE / WAEC History Syllabus (Ghana)," *https://www.Larnedu.Com/Wp-Content/Uploads/2015/03/Ghana-WASSCE-WAEC-History-Syllabus.Pdf*, September 2010, 16.
[5] "Ghana Internet Users," accessed June 8, 2020, https://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/ghana/.

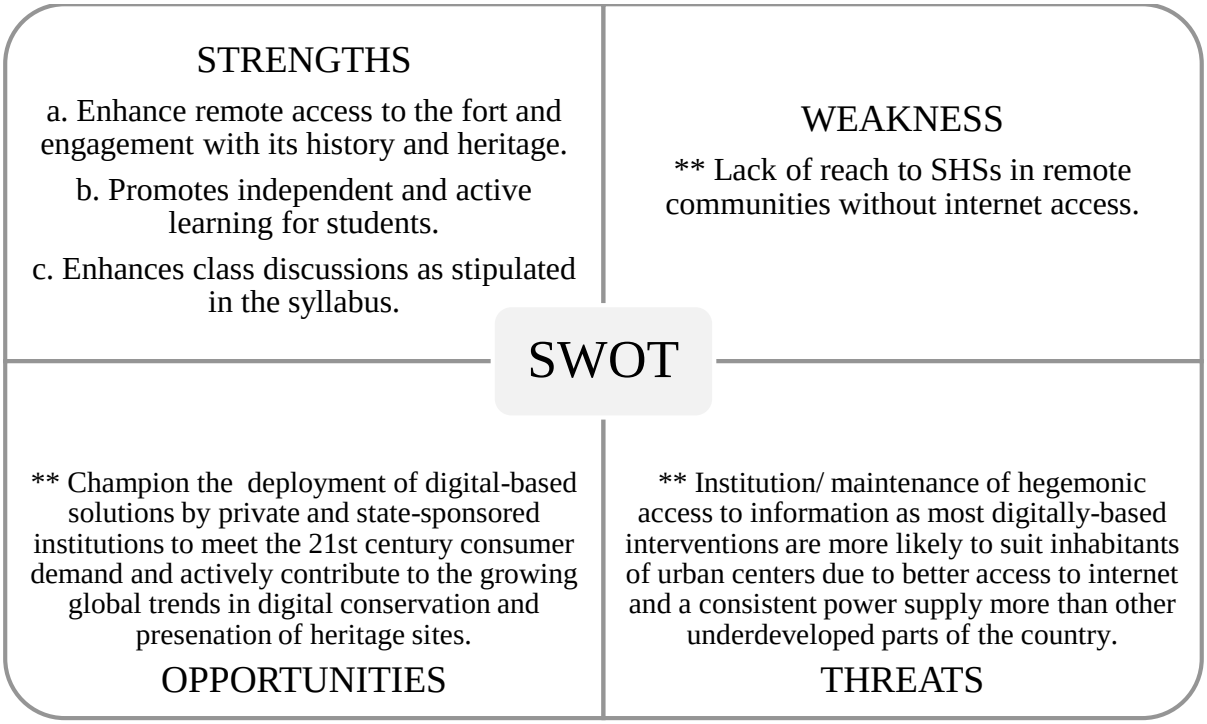
with five sections on the header's tabs bar. They are the Overview, About, Publications, Gallery and Contact sections.

Table 29: Explanation of the webpages for Fort William's website.

Web pages	Function
Overview	Covers a summarised historical account in English of the fort and the Anomabo township for the reader. Other international languages like French may be added later.
About section	This rubric contains a discussion of the historic town of Anomabo, shedding light on the historic Fante Confederacy of the 18th century. It also defines the purpose of the website and what it hopes to achieve.
Publication section	Provides links to scholarly works and titles on existing literature that deals with the Anomabo and the Atlantic Slave trade.
Gallery	Provides stock pictures and a linked video on Fort William to give visitors to the site to interact with and have a glimpse of the built structure.
Contact	A section dedicated to collaborators such as historians, heritage practitioners, tour guides, teachers etc. to keep in touch with me.

4.4.1 SWOT analysis of the website for Fort William

As a web-based project, it is important to mention that there are advantages, disadvantages and other relevant concerns that stakeholders are likely to be confronted with and have to be appraised.



Conclusion

History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purpose

— David Lowenthal.[1]

Despite the recognition of the gruesome nature of slavery as a human institution and the rightful qualification of the system as a reprehensible act, it would be ahistorical to exonerate indigenous systems from the forced servitude they actively participated in. So will it be morally inappropriate to label the Atlantic slave trade a one-sided phenomenon that solely victimized and impoverished African communities. The nuances of the era deserve thorough contemplation as the slave trade enterprise created opportunities for the economic development of most states along the West African coast, including modern Ghana. These developments must be included in any serious introspection into the lived past of various ethnicities in modern Ghana and any holistic conversation/understanding of the Atlantic slave trade. Importantly, although the indigenous system of slavery that existed does not match up in any way, shape or form with the brutal chattel slavery that was practiced in the Americas and Caribbean islands, the indigenous mercantile system that existed deserves similar attention and remembrance in the collective consciousness of Ghana.

Against this backdrop, this thesis focused on highlighting the lack of self-reflective coverage of African participation in the Atlantic slave trade in Ghana's national consciousness. This investigation also identified salient conditions informing the general disinterest among the local Ghanaians towards slavery heritage in Ghana. Using Fort William as a case study, it unearthed the chronic lack of information available to the public about other lesser-known forts outside

[1] Orm Øverland, *Immigrant Minds, American Identities: Making the United States Home, 1870-1930* (University of Illinois Press, 2000), 18.

of the well patronized Cape Coast, Osu and Elmina castles'. This situation was also problematized through the navigation of the tone-deaf silence observed in the educational curriculum (history syllabus for SHS in particular), and particularly the partial information in "official" narratives shared by tour guides as well as lack of coverage on the GMMB website.

Through this study, the findings made include; the exploration of the post-colonial nation-building process in Ghana, formal education and heritage-led tourism initiatives as primary contributing factors fueling the current lack of appreciation of the lesser-known forts, their role in the Atlantic slave trade and their overall heritage value. With a streamlined focus on the history syllabus for senior high schools, my investigation—comprised mainly of an analysis of the secondary literature and an online survey—responses were gathered from past and current SHS students in Ghana. The results revealed a current knowledge gap that exists among students towards the functionality and roles of the well-recognized castles compared to the other forts still standing along the coast of Ghana.

The outcome of this study is an input towards identifying contributory factors, formal education, in this case, that informs the lack of awareness and appreciation shown towards lesser-known forts despite their status as heritage sites both nationally and globally in academic circles. In this thesis, some recommendations are proposed intended to improve the visibility and awareness of these forts. A web-based solution to consult for academic and informational purposes was developed for my case study, Fort William in Anomabo. The envisioned audiences are concerned stakeholders (teachers, students, researchers, local and international tourists).

It must be highlighted that digital solutions aimed at the preservation and presentation of the forts and castles are areas that have gained global attention in recent years. Through academic research and practical benchmark 3D modelling projects initiated by institutions like the

Zamani project, the forts and castles of Ghana have not missed out on the technological evolution that heritage sites are globally adjusting to.[2] Hence, as an increasingly relevant contemporary mode of heritage interpretation, I believe more attention from state and private individuals should be invested in this area of heritage documentation, conservation and presentation in the future. Also, research into other sustainable innovative approaches through which slave heritage can be taught in schools and consumed by the general populace is another area of research that can be pursued in future. I hope that copies of this thesis and website project for Fort William will be widely consulted by local teachers and students alike and made available to all history and heritage faculties in Ghanaian tertiary institutions.

[2] Saviour Mantey and Naa D. Tagoe, "Digital Preservation of Cultural Heritage Sites Using Unmanned Aerial Vehicle - A Case Study," *Ghana Journal of Technology* 4, no. 1 (September 27, 2019): 23–30; Project, "Site - Elmina Castle."

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Glossary

Adwadifuo – Traders

Akomkofo/Abrempon – Merchants

Asantehene – Ruler of the Asantes

Caboceers – Chief

Dunkos – Slaves

Mullato – Mixed race person born out an Afro-European affair.

Otumfuo – Royal Highness

Panyarring – Kidnapping/man-stealing

Pawnship – A local debt alleviation mechanism between a debtor and a creditor in pre-colonial Gold Coast.

Siccading – Clever men

Sika – Money or legal tender for trade

Sika gua – Golden stool

Appendices

List of Forts and Castles by Dr S. Ephram. The list was compiled according to how the regions are lined up from the east through the central and to the west of Ghana.

No	Name of Edifice	Date Built	Location	Remarks
1	Fort Prinzenstein	1780	Keta	In ruins
2	Fort Konigstein	1784	Ada	In ruins
3	Fort Friedensborg	1734	Ningo	Visible ruins
4	Fort Vernon	1780	Prampram	In ruins
5	Fort Augustaborg	1787	Teshie	In ruins
6	Christiansborg Castle	1662	Accra	In good condition (former seat of government)
7	Fort Creve Coner (Ussher Fort)	1652	Accra	Visible ruins
8	James Fort	1673	Accra	Prison
9	Fort Good Hope	1667	Senya Breku	Guesthouse
10	Fort Leydsaamheid (Patience)	1702	Apam	Visible ruins
11	English Fort About	1800	Winneba	Visible ruins
12	English Fort	1724	Tantumquerry	Untraceable

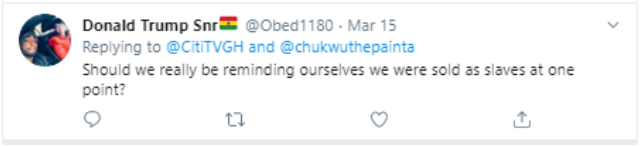
13	French Fort	1786	Amoku	Untraceable
14	English Lodge	1663	Egya	Untraceable
15	English Lodge	1663	Anashan	Untraceable
16	Redonbt	1679	Anashan	Untraceable
17	Fort Amsterdam	1631	Kormantse Abandze)	Visible ruins
18	Fort William	1753	Anomabu	Visible ruins
19	Fort Nassau	1598	Moree	Untraceable
20	Dutch Lodge	1682	Queen Anne's Point	Untraceable
21	English Fort	1720	Queen Anne's Point	Untraceable
22	Fort Fredericksburg	1658	Amanful	Untraceable
23	Fort M'Carthy	1822	Cape Coast	Untraceable
24	Conor's Hill	1863	Cape Coast	Untraceable
25	Fort William (Smith's Tower)	1820	Cape Coast	Lighthouse
26	Fort Victoria (Phipp's Tower)	1821	Cape Coast	Lighthouse
27	Cape Coast Castle	1665	Cape Coast	Good shape
28	Elmina Castle	1482	Elmina	Good shape

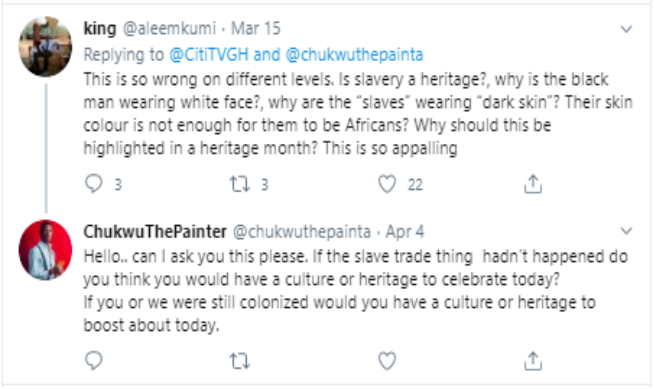
29	Fort Conraadsburg (Fort St, Jago)	1664	Elmina	Good shape
30	Fort de Veer	1810	Elmina	In ruins
31	Fort Nagtglas	1863	Elmina	In ruins
32	Fort Java	1840	Elmina	In ruins
33	Fort Schomarus	1850	Elmina	In ruins
34	Fort Batenstein	1828	Elmina	In ruins
35	English Fort	1663	Komenda	Visible ruins
36	Fort Vredenburg	1668	Komenda	In ruins
37	French Post	1400	Komenda	In ruins
38	Fort San Sabastian	1526	Shama	Visible ruins
39	English Fort	1645	Essikadu	In ruins
40	Fort Orange	1640	Sekondi	In ruins
41	Fort Witzen	1665	Takoradi	In ruins
42	Fort Batenstien	1656	Butre	In ruins
43	Fort Metal Cross	1683	Dixcove	In ruins
44	Fort Dorethea	1683	Akwidaa	In ruins

45	Brandenburgers Fort About	1700	Takrama	In ruins
46	Fort Fredericksburg	1682	Prices Town	Visible ruins
47	Fort San Antonio	1503	Axim	Visible ruins
48	Fort Elise Carthago	1650	Ankobra Mouth	Visible ruins
49	Fort Duma	1623	Egwira	Visible ruins
50	Fort Apollonia	1750	Benyin	Partly in good shape

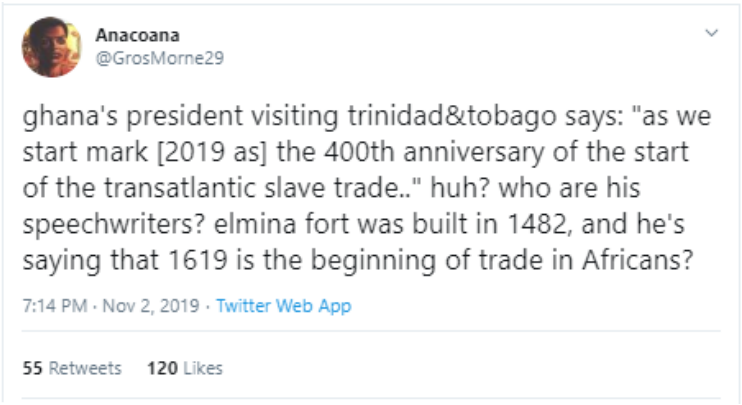
Public conversations on the recognition of slavery and the 2019 Year of Return in Ghana.

An installation by @chukwuthepainta enacting slavery held on 13th March 2020 (**Ghana's dedicated month towards heritage celebration**) spark an uproar and varying conversations on social media site,





A quoted comment from a Ghanaian (@BarbaraNtumy) expressing disdain about the exhibition and commenting on the cognitive dissonance that exists within public consciousness and approaches to the Atlantic slave trade.

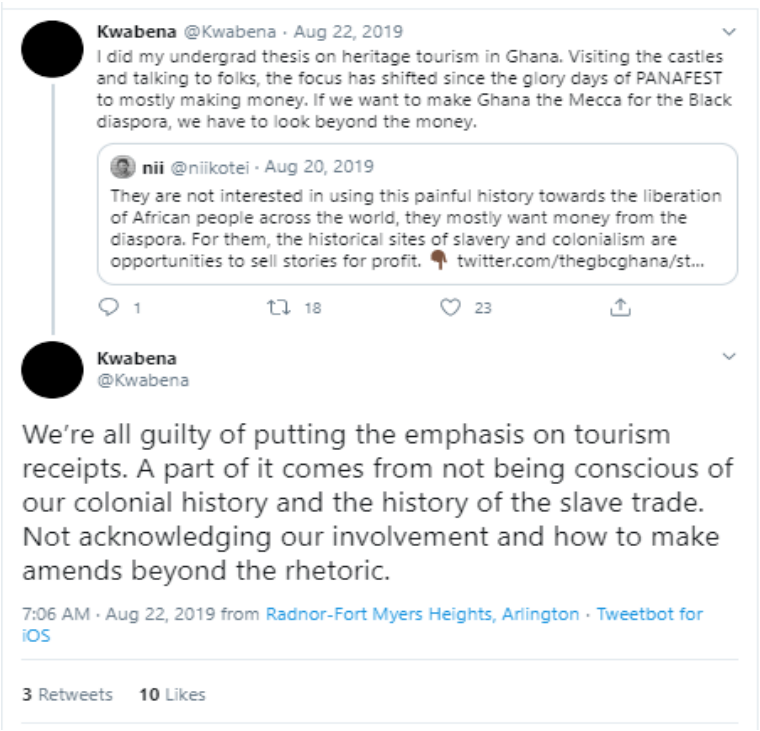


Another account (@GrosMorne29) that questions the legitimacy of the posturing of the current president of Ghana, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo, on the reunion between Ghana and the African Diaspora about the 'Year of Return 2019' that was being preached during his tour of the Caribbean Islands and the United States of America.

Another example of a caption by the official handle of the Ghana Broadcasting Cooperation that out right centers the touristic and by extension the economic gains of slave heritage tourism during the Year of Return 2019.

A reaction from 'concerned' Ghanaian (@niikotei) who questioned the motives behind the headline and slave heritage tourism in general.

Beneath the comment by (@niikotei) was a thread of conversations speaking against the headline and slave heritage tourism in Ghana. However, out of the lot, I opted to highlight these specific comments (esp. @AbenaGyekye) as they highlight most of the concerns shared in this thesis.



On the same topic, another Ghanaian, Kwabena (@kwabena) shared his opinion on the endemic lack of knowledge about Ghana's past as part of the reason for seeming disinterest and indifference amongst locals.

Another public assessment of the motives behind the "Year of Return" initiative by Zoe (@HerWildness).

A more optimistic take on future collaborations using the Year of Return 2019 as an example worth emulating by other African countries and potentially a springboard for economic partnership between African Americans and Africans.