

AFRICAN COASTAL ELITE ARCHITECTURE:
CULTURAL AUTHENTICATION DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD
IN ANOMABO, GHANA

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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To the gracious people of Anomabo –
the leaders, families and individuals without whom
this work would not have been possible

History books begin and end, but the events they describe do not.

—R. G. Collingwood

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By

Courtney Micots

August 2010

Chair: Robin Poynor
Major: African Art History

This is a study of African coastal elite residential architecture during the colonial period, specifically between the 1860s and 1930s. Anomabo, a historically-significant port town, serves as a microcosm for a Coastal Elite Style that was popular along the West African coastline in every major port city during the colonial period. The Coastal Elite Style combines elements of the Akan courtyard house, European Palladian architecture and the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. These structures demonstrate how the Fante and other coastal Africans used the creative process of appropriation and transformation, or cultural authentication, to communicate their status and identity visually.

African family members who achieve success are expected to extend the family residence or build anew. A home visually reflects the stature of the individual and his family in the community. The family residence communicates their level of connections, wealth, dignity, education and mobility in the global world. More than seventeen stone nog houses survive in Anomabo; all date between the 1860s and 1930s. Although these residences were created during the colonial era, cultural authentication on the coast of modern Ghana is a pre-colonial cultural practice born out of urbanization and multiple cultural interactions.

Residential architecture is germane to this study because it provides a point of entry into larger questions dealing with African agency and the impact of globalization, commercialism and colonialization. Family houses built by African coastal elites visually bridge two cultures – African and European –and make powerful statements about the ability of this group to assimilate outside ideas and transform them into a new and dynamic art form. This is a story about people who, under social and political duress, find a way to express their identity.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

A casual stroll through the coastal town of Anomabo, Ghana (Lat. 5° 10' N., Long. 1° 07' W.) (Figures B-1 and B-2) reveals a myriad of building materials and construction techniques. These are often combined and even layered on top of one another in efforts to repair, maintain or extend the structure. Buildings of all types seem to be either in process of falling down or being constructed, producing a visual energy equal to the rhythms of daily activities conducted by the townspeople.

This study is concerned with residential architecture using the stone nogging construction technique in the historically-significant city of Anomabo, a community comprised of mostly Fante people, an Akan subgroup. Residential architecture are structures built as homes - places where people live, store goods and sleep. Some of these residences double as commercial venues, usually with the residence upstairs and the store or warehouse downstairs. This commercial character is common to Anomabo and other port cities.

Family members who achieve success are expected to extend the family residence or build anew. A home or a set of homes visually reflects the status of both the individual and his family in the community and regionally if such homes are also built in other towns. Thus, a family's stature is closely linked to architecture. The family residence communicates its level of connections, wealth, dignity, education and mobility in the world. The houses discussed in this study will demonstrate how the Fante and other coastal Africans used the creative process of appropriation and transformation, or cultural authentication, in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial contexts as a means to communicate identity and status visually. Seemingly European style homes were not imitations; rather elements of European architecture were incorporated into the coastal vernacular.

Construction Techniques and Materials

Five main building materials are used in Fante structures today: palm leaves woven into mat walls, earth, stone, brick and concrete. These are usually combined within a single structure, often because of repairs and additions. Thus, it is not uncommon to find houses consisting of a stone foundation and earthen walls with a concrete block addition. Or the walls may be stone nog with brick facing. Since buildings exist in a partial state, either half-built or in a state of ruin, it can be challenging at first to discern any building trends among the Fante, the dominant ethnic group along the coast in the Central Region (Figure B-1). Recent cement plastering on the exteriors of buildings, while protecting the surface from the damaging rains and intense sun, makes it difficult to determine the building material and mode of construction.

Stone nog or rubble masonry denotes a type of construction using a wood framework with masonry infill. Distinguishing features are rubble stone or brick, or both, in the facing and very thick walls, usually 16 to 18 inches. This technology was transported to the coast via European trade and is commonly found throughout the world wherever Europeans traded and later colonized, such as in the Caribbean and Brazil. Stone is widely available in most towns along the Ghanaian coast. A 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map indicates four stone quarries located just north of the coastal highway in Anomabo (Figure B-2).

The nogging on the Ghanaian coast resembles that used in Jamaica, another place where Europeans traded and the English later colonized. In Jamaica, the masonry infill consisted of whatever material was available: brick, stone and mortar.¹ Nog building on the Ghanaian coast also uses a variety of infill materials including small stones, sawdust and corncobs. Sometimes these buildings may exhibit rock or brick facing. Later technology employed concrete nog using

¹Edward E. Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 1994), 61-62.

Portland cement with the lime-mortar mix.² Stone nog parallels the more common coastal mud construction technique of rammed earth in terms of durability, yet houses with the same plans and design elements exist in both stone nog and rammed earth construction, which involves the compacting of wet earth into portable wood molds to construct the building one layer at a time. This technique has also been called monolithic mud construction, coursed clay, *aipa* (Portuguese), *tapia* (Spanish), *pisé de terre* or *pisé* (French).

European or African?

It should be noted that much architecture in Europe and Africa in the sixteenth century, during initial contact, was essentially the same. In Europe, stone or earthen walls were built in circular or rectangular one or two-room enclosures. They were often covered with thatch supported by a timber frame. Europeans brought technologies to the Ghanaian coast that made stone more usable as a building material. Stone was mainly used for constructing European forts, castles and homes; it was labor intensive and therefore expensive. As a result, Africans did not appropriate it until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Examples of the appropriation and transformation of European technologies, design elements and plans by African masons and clients serves to celebrate African agency in the light of continuing misconceptions stemming from the colonial era that European “influence” is a taint upon “traditional” African cultures. Historian Terence Ranger has explained that Europeans of the colonial era, including the British in the late nineteenth century in Ghana, believed “African society was profoundly conservative – living with age-old rules which did not change; living within an ideology based on the absence of change; living within a framework of clearly defined

²Henry S. Fraser, “Architectural Influences,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1700; and Patricia E. Green, “Jamaica-Georgian,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1716.

hierarchical status.”³ This study documents how changes experienced by Ghanaian coastal society during the colonial era are visually expressed through architecture. These forms make visible rapid social and political changes, an ideology that willingly accepts ideas and transforms them, and a framework that includes a new coastal elite group which arose outside royal hierarchies. Therefore, the coastal societies of central Ghana utilized a process of borrowing from outside cultures in order to serve their own purposes. This process was a reflection of urbanization and cultural interactions. It was continually changing and being re-invented, never conforming to a static “traditional” model.

The rising group of coastal elites had learned, since pre-colonial times, how to navigate between cultures. Savvy businessmen could work within each system - European and African - to get what they wanted. By the late nineteenth century, the coastal elites were bridging the colonial administration and local hierarchies. The borrowing of British architectural forms was a way to display status that conformed to Akan practices and a way to exhibit their alliance with the British.

The Site

The Anomabo Traditional Area encompasses an area of roughly fifty square miles and includes 64 villages and towns, counting the town of Anomabo. The chief, or *omanhen*⁴, of the state of Anomabo resides in this town. Seven *omanhen* lists compiled in the 1970s are provided

³Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), 247.

⁴*Omanhen* is a term applied by the British government in the nineteenth century. Chief, Braffo or Caboceer is the term used for earlier periods. Caboceer is a corruption of the Portuguese *caboceiro* or captian. Mary McCarthy, *Social Change and the Growth of British Power in the Gold Coast: The Fante States 1807-1874* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), 15, note 5. For clarity, the current term of *omanhen* will be used throughout this text.

by James R. Sanders.⁵ I have consolidated his lists and updated them with data provided by several colleagues in the field (Table A-1).

The coastal city of Anomabo is historically significant as the primary commercial hub along the Gold Coast for more than 130 years, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to 1807. Anomabo experienced urbanization because of its location on the coast and at the end of a direct trade route with the Asante gold mines to the north. During this period the first attempt at creating a Fante Coalition was maneuvered by the *omanhen* Besi Kurensir. Thus, Anomabo became the first unofficial Fante capital.

Even though Anomabo was once an important urban site on the coast, today its port is closed, much of its historic grandeur in ruins, seemingly a sleepy, rural town unaffected by global concerns. Yet, unusual combinations of technologies, ideas and motifs converge in this one site. Like numerous pre-colonial African cities, Anomabo experienced urbanization, attracting and combining cultures.

People express themselves through architecture. A coastal urban center like Anomabo can be read from this viewpoint. Unlike other Ghanaian port cities like Elmina and Cape Coast; or Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC); Dakar, Senegal; and Johannesburg, South Africa; Anomabo was not subjected to a European urban design. There was no “European Town.” As such, Anomabo ranks among other urban centers in Africa, like Djenne in Mali today.

Anomabo thwarted European developments via clever political and economic maneuvering engineered primarily by the *omanhens* of the eighteenth century, particularly by Kurensir. This ability to stimulate commercial trading with a variety of outside cultures, yet deny large-scale

⁵James R. Sanders, “The Political Development of the Fante in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Study of a West African Merchant Society,” (Ph.D. diss., NorthWestern University, 1980), 271-274 and Table 10 on p. 280.

Western settlement, is an indicator of the independent spirit and powerful character of Anomabo's people and their leadership. An examination of stone nog residential architecture will demonstrate Anomabo's long-term cultural contact, the resulting flow of visual forms and cultural ideas, and the choices that cultures, communities and artists have made and continue to make in appropriating, transforming and recontextualizing visual forms in art and architecture.

Residential stone nog architecture is germane to this study because it provides a point of entry into larger questions dealing with African agency and the impact of globalization, commercialism and colonialization. These structures demonstrate how the Fante and other coastal Africans used the creative process of appropriation and transformation, or cultural authentication, of European architecture to communicate their status and identity visually. In this way, the architectural trends in Anomabo serve as a microcosm for major port cities all along the West African coast. The analysis of this microcosm also unpacks contemporary architectural movements.

When considering any architectural structure, it is necessary to consider the physical environment. The rocky terrain in which Anomabo was built is the source for its name. Anomabo means "bird rock." Although rocks are abundant along the coastline, mud, bamboo and small trees, were readily and more easily available to use for building materials. An analysis of the evolution of vernacular architecture in Anomabo presents the array of solutions to both climatic and building problems. Even when the Asante invasion of 1807 necessitated the rebuilding of homes and places of business, Anomabos did not choose to build with stone.

During the colonial period, African coastal elites adopted European technology, materials, plans and design elements for their own residences. Many of these houses were constructed by

and for prosperous elites in Anomabo. Stone and brick residences once filled the area west and north of Fort William, from the beach to the coastal highway (Figure B-2).

Stone nog houses in Anomabo conform to what I have identified as the Coastal Elite Style, which combines elements of the Akan courtyard house, European Palladian architecture and the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. The sobrado was a plan applied by masons trained by European missionaries of the Basel Mission in the Akuapem Hills area north of Accra in the mid-nineteenth century (Figure B-1). After the training of masons by the Wesleyan/Methodist and Catholic missions in the Akuapem Hills, the masons came to the major ports along the coast to look for work. The sobrado was also transported by Afro-Brazilian masons. These masons may have traveled to the central Ghanaian coast from Accra, where Afro-Brazilians settled as early as the 1820s, or from those who lived in Nigeria, mainly in the Brazilian quarter of Lagos.

Anomabo is an important site for this study because numerous stone nog residences have survived. Similar residences, although they were once built in Winneba, Apam, Saltpond and Elmina, no longer exist in these towns. Many have collapsed or have been destroyed purposely to make way for concrete houses. Thus, among the coastal towns, Anomabo and Cape Coast are the only towns with extant stone nog houses. While a few European homes have been restored, especially in Elmina via the Elmina Heritage Project,⁶ African structures have been neglected by such projects. Anomabo has also had its casualties; for example, the fine houses of Jacob Wilson

⁶The Elmina Heritage project is funded by the European Union and the Netherlands Culture Fund. The goal of the 2015 strategy is to restore and manage the cultural heritage existing in Elmina while improving the tourist, social and economic conditions of the town. One segment of this project is the Cultural Heritage and Local Economic Development Project (CHELDEP). Begun in 2000, the coordinator Dr. Annan-Prah kindly gave me a tour in 2009 of the 15 residences completed out of the 18 slated for renovation.

Sey and Samuel Collins Brew are now gone. However, more than seventeen houses still exist, though in various states of condition.⁷

Identity

The majority of individuals in the Central Region today identify themselves as belonging to the Fante ethnic group, then by hometown, which is the place where the head of their lineage is situated, and then by clan, referring to their matrilineage, tracing their descent to a common female ancestor. According to cultural anthropologist Bayo Holsey, “If someone cannot identify these aspects of their identity, he or she cannot be incorporated into normal modes of relating.”⁸ Asserting one's individual or group identity is a recurrent theme in Anomabo art, whether the clients are European or African.

The African coastal elite class is a liminal group of Africans who knew how, since pre-colonial times, to bridge the two cultures – Western and African. Savvy businessmen who could work within each system attained great wealth and status in urban communities. Along the central Ghanaian coast, these elites were first mulattoes,⁹ offspring of white soldiers or traders and their African wives, who received some European education in the church schools within the castles and forts. In a few cases, such as William Ansah Sesarakoo, royal sons were sent to Europe for education and returned to work as linguists or clerks, a highly-respected role, in the castles and forts. Education became more available to Africans in the nineteenth century with the spread of church missions in the area. More Africans joined these privileged royals and

⁷This is not necessarily an exhaustive study of stone nog houses, since homes with renovations too great to discern the original residence were not included.

⁸Bayo Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 42.

⁹The term mulatto is used in this text only to differentiate African people who had a parent of Caucasian background from those Africans with local parentage. Later, when I discuss “Africans and mulattoes,” I am only making the distinction that initially the group of merchant elites was mulattoes and in the nineteenth century more non-mulatto Africans joined this elite group.

mulattoes as a way to rise from poverty into a class of well-respected, wealthy merchants, landowners, reverends and lawyers.

The definition of coastal elites however is not so evenly applied. While Kwamin Atta Amonoo became a lawyer through his London education, Jacob Wilson Sey was an illiterate wine tapper who parlayed a small fortune found in gold under a tree (he probably accidentally unearthed a burial) into vast wealth through merchant activities and rental property ownership. These men were at the top of the class tier in terms of wealth and influence. In the middle were agents who worked for large trading firms like F. and A. Swanzy (Rev. or Mr. Bilson and Francis Medanyamease Hammond) or Cadbury Bros. (Justice Akwa). Lower still, were men like Kodwo Baffoe and Charles Essuman McCarthy. Baffoe was a tailor working in Sekondi who sent money home to his brother in Anomabo for the construction of a family house. McCarthy was a fisherman and land owner who sold some or all of his land to pay for the building materials and then used family labor to construct his family residence. Therefore, the elite class was comprised of varied individuals of differing levels of education, wealth and status.

Consequently, it is understandable that historians Ray G. Jenkins and Roger S. Gocking utilize the term “Euro-Africans” to describe this group of people who were not exclusive as the term “class” implies.¹⁰ The definition of a social class however is usually determined by a group’s prestige acquired mainly through economic success and accumulation of wealth. As an economic group, “coastal elite” is the term I use in this study. I agree with Gocking that “by recognizing the importance of ethno-cultural interaction we can appreciate how blurred the boundaries remained between people in societies where large extended families were the norm,

¹⁰Roger S. Gocking, *Facing Two Ways: Ghana’s Coastal Communities Under Colonial Rule* (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1999), 7.

and which could incorporate outsiders with surprising ease.”¹¹ These blurred boundaries are evidenced through the choices made by some of the elites in Anomabo. He might build a family residence with British Palladian features and be a staunch Methodist, yet still belong to Fante *asafɔ* groups that practice local animistic religious customs. Such was the case for Kobena Mefful, who served as *tuafɔhen*, or general of the *asafɔ* troops. Thus, this study will divulge the personal and career backgrounds of Anomabo elites where such information is available in order to reveal the diversity of this social class and their ability to bridge cultures.

Similar coastal elite classes developed in other port towns along the Atlantic trade routes, including those in the Caribbean, Brazil and elsewhere in West Africa. A common identity arose among indigenous groups throughout as an urban elite class. During the colonial period this was reflected in elite architecture where generally Palladian elements were adopted for urban environments and Afro-Portuguese *sobrado* features were borrowed for rural environments.

While cultural interactions had taken place during pre-colonial times in these Atlantic port cities, it is not until the colonial era that new art forms appeared in profusion. Within Anomabo’s cosmopolitan environment, people from a variety of cultures came to live and work. Such cultural mixing naturally resulted in the rise of identity issues. As a result, people used their arts to visually establish commonality and difference. For example, to belong to an *asafɔ* company, the para-military troops of Fante communities, meant to express identity in relationship with others during times of warfare, ritual and performance. For example, folklorist Daniel B. Reed, regarding the Dan in Liberia, states: “This expression of religious and ethnic identity is taking place in contexts in which increasingly more people of other ethnic and religious identities are present.” Within Ge performance of the Dan, ritual performance becomes “a means for people to

¹¹Ibid.

empower themselves by asserting a measure of control over worlds often perceived to be rapidly changing.”¹²

On June 15, 1807, Anomabo lost half of its people and most of the buildings were destroyed. Afterward, the city lost its prominence as the leading cosmopolitan center on the central Ghanaian coast, and although it slowly gained some importance during the nineteenth century, it never fully regained its former glory. Constant attacks from the Asante on coastal towns and along important trade routes throughout the century weakened the Fante hold over the region and increased Fante reliance on the British. The coast unofficially became a British colony with the Bond of 1844; the entire territory known as Ghana today officially became a colony in 1874. As a result, the nineteenth century marked a period of great change with political and economic instability.

Late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Fante art and architecture exhibit an assertion of identity. *Asafo* companies, once the military arm of the *omanhen*, wielded physical power during the height of Anomabo's cosmopolitanism. However, their power was greatly curbed by the British administration, leading to alternative ways to express bravery and strength. This resulted in the increased use of appliqué flags in the mid-nineteenth century (Figure B-3),¹³ large *asafo* company shrines or *posuban* in the late nineteenth century (Figure B-4), and for the Kyirem No. 6 company of Anomabo, the adoption of the Native American warrior image in performance in the 1950s prior to independence in 1957 (Figure B-5).

This study proves that the African coastal elite's identity is closely tied to their aesthetic choices, which are consistently made apparent through their art forms. During the colonial era,

¹²Daniel B. Reed, *Dan Ge Performance: Masks and Music for New Realities in Contemporary Cote d'Ivoire* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2003), 13.

¹³See my forthcoming essay “Griffins, Crocodiles and the British Ensign: Kweku Kakanu's *Asafo* Flags and Followers,” in *Africa Interweave*, ed. Susan Cooksey. Gainesville, FL: Samuel P. Harn Museum of Art, 2011.

wearing a Western business suit, following Methodism and building a family residence resembling British Palladian architecture served to align the African elite with the prime source of power, the British. Although the stone nog residences in Anomabo and other coastal port cities were created during the colonial era, cultural authentication on the coast of modern Ghana is a pre-colonial cultural practice born out of urbanization and multiple cultural interactions.

Art historian Prita Meier recorded similar artistic responses on the Swahili Coast in the East African port cities of Lamu and Mombasa. Although outside the Atlantic world, these cities share a history as sites of pre-colonial and colonial social and commercial interactions as well as being British colonies. According to Meier, “Local symbolic and material worlds cultivated to articulate selfhood and cultural belonging were also reshaped and re-imagined in order to counter or co-opt the growing authority of the British Empire and Sultanate of Zanzibar.”¹⁴ Thus, like the Ghanaian coast, coastal elites were bridging the powers of the British and ruling hierarchies. By visually displaying their cosmopolitanism, both local groups were able to express their status through artistic displays of commodification (through the purchase and appointment of imported furnishings) as a means to demonstrate their wealth, knowledge, connections and ability to travel. This visual assertion of identity began in pre-colonial times, yet was exacerbated during the colonial period.

Architecture, such as the Blankson Addition and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, also provide evidence of the growing prosperity of the independent merchants and traders along the coast, and more specifically, in Anomabo. The choices to appropriate certain forms from outside cultures were consciously made for specific purposes, and not merely

¹⁴Prita Meier, “Hybrid Heritage: Objects on the Edge Swahili Coast Logics of Display,” *African Arts* 42 (4 Winter 2009), 9-10.

evidence of influence. To understand these choices it is necessary to view them as creative processes. The appropriations discussed in this study come from a variety of European, particularly British, cultures. These are not only borrowed, but also transformed into the local construct. Each example visually communicates identity and status to Anomabo residents and visitors.

Status

Akan leadership arts, with all its layering of gold adornments and lush textiles, visually proclaim the status of chiefs. In addition, each chief is accompanied by an entourage of attendants and court officials wearing or carrying his embellishments of office. In festival parades, or *durbars*, the chief is carried in a palanquin. He also appears during traditional council meetings and other official court activities and rituals. Whenever he is outside, his attendants shade him with a large umbrella, revealing the chief's location. All of these state art forms, first documented by Kyerematen and then further researched by Herbert C. Cole and Doran H. Ross,¹⁵ are restricted to the chief and those who serve him.

Consequently, members of the coastal elite class were restricted in the arts they could choose to demonstrate their nouveau-riche status. For example, unless they were enstooled as a member of the traditional council, they could not be carried in palanquins during the *durbar*. It would be an insult to be seen wearing more gold than the chief. Therefore, African coastal elites had to search for new forms of display to indicate their status. One way was through dress. Many owned extensive wardrobes of imported cloths and European clothing. As early as 1602, Pieter

¹⁵Kyerematen, A. A. Y. *Panoply of Ghana; Ornamental Art in Ghanaian Tradition and Culture*. NY: Praeger, 1964; and Herbert M. Cole and Doran H. Ross, *The Arts of Ghana* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1977), 134-169.

De Marees documented that distinguished Fante wore imported linens in European fashions.¹⁶ These Fante had to be in a position either to be able to afford the purchase of such imports or to be of high status to receive such gifts. Another way to indicate status was through the building of large family residences. In the colonial area, some of the African coastal elites chose to borrow European forms, continuing a history of such displays. Not only do these displays demonstrate their cosmopolitan ability to purchase items from other cultures, but also they serve as examples of the owner's knowledge of and connections to the world. Owning this privileged knowledge, of outside places and cultures, is a form of power.¹⁷

Identity as a cultured, educated and cosmopolitan member of an urban environment was an important shield of protection for the coastal elite. Describing the environment on the coast between 1834 and 1854, Brodie G. Cruickshank, the British Judicial Assessor and later Governor, wrote, "There are few houses now...in the neighborhood of Cape Coast, and other principal towns, in which many of the comforts and luxuries of civilized life are not to be found...[the tendency] at present is strong towards a higher standard of excellence in the objects of their pursuit, which are chiefly based upon an anxious desire to imitate European habits of life."¹⁸ African coastal elites selected English names in addition to their African names. They adopted Christianity with fervor and eagerly imported numerous European furnishings and other goods for their homes.

According to Halsey's study of Cape Coast, this "imitation" took place because there was an increasing desire on the part of coastal elites to separate themselves physically and

¹⁶Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea (1602)*, Translated by Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987), 35.

¹⁷Mary H. Nooter, *Secrecy: African Art that Conceals and Reveals* (Munich: Prestel, 1993), 24.

¹⁸Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1853; reprint, London: Frank Cass, 1966), vol. 2, 294 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

conceptually from the inland peoples, particularly those from the northern savannahs, who were often raided and brought to the coast to be sold as slaves. Europeans on the coast regarded these northern peoples, called *nnonkofo* or slaves, as uncivilized and worthy of being enslaved. In contrast and likely due to the centuries of commercial contact with the Fante and others, the Europeans viewed the coastal people as superior to the *nnonkofo*. The coastal elites sought to distinguish themselves and impress the resident British with their cultured difference from those who were enslaved. The danger of being recognized as an enslavable person caused coastal residents to highlight their identity as urban, cosmopolitan individuals.¹⁹

By the late nineteenth century, this image was projected via Westernized education, personal dress and habitation as a means to assert status in relation to the Akan ruling hierarchy and the British administration. The British embraced the Asante model of centralized statehood because it seemed convenient to have one system of local government. For the coastal Fante and other groups this unbalanced the customary system of shared rule between chiefs, *asafo* leaders and other respected elders. The British promoted the ascension of local chiefs and Akan forms of leadership arts. While the Fante, a related Akan group, had shared cultural practices with the Asante, their Akanization was advanced by the British during this period.²⁰

Soon after the British declared the Gold Coast a colony in 1877, the British moved their capital from Cape Coast to Accra. They felt Accra occupied a more central location. The move marked a rapid decline in the political status of the coastal elites of Cape Coast and the surrounding Fante region, for Accra was a Ga city. Initially, these elites expected to keep their status by acting as intermediaries between the colonial state and the local population. However,

¹⁹Holsey, 47-50.

²⁰Gocking, 4, 167-169.

under the system of indirect rule, political power was vested instead in traditional rulers whom the British believed better represented the local population. Thus, along with political reforms, the colonial government no longer recognized coastal elites as a distinct social group and no longer cultivated the assimilation of the coastal elites.²¹ According to Jenkins, this shift represented an embrace of a “settled view” of colonialism, which he describes as “a strong preference for the rural and the traditional; the masculine, the athletic and the pristine, rather than the urban and the modern; the weak, the clever, the tainted and the hybrid.”²²

Rather than inheriting wealth and status as did traditional rulers, savvy coastal elites could arise from poverty to achieve status through their own industry. These elites wanted and were expected to express their new-found wealth and status in a public way. Through the adoption of European cultural traits, the coastal elite were able to challenge the internal Fante hierarchies and European racist constructions of African inferiority. Grand family houses visually communicated ideas of wealth, status and identity for both the ruling and coastal elite classes.

Visual Transfers

Art historian Roy Sieber wrote that “power may be transferred from one object to another.”²³ In certain instances, the siting of a family residence seems to make visual references to other structures in Anomabo. Power, stemming from knowledge of outside cultures, can be communicated through the display of foreign elements on family residences as a status art form. Castle Brew, the George Kuntu Blankson Addition and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family

²¹Holsey, 51.

²²Ray G. Jenkins, “Gold Coast Historians and Their Pursuit of the Gold Coast Past, 1882-1917” (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, Alabama, 1985), 145.

²³Roy Sieber, *African Art: Permutations of Power* (Gainesville, FL: Samuel P. Harn Museum of Art, 1997), Introduction, np.

Residence demonstrate the ability of both Europeans and Fante to visually communicate and transfer ideas of power and status.

This is the case for Irishman Richard Brew who in the 1750s built his Castle Brew, a monumental Georgian mansion (Figure B-6), in Anomabo opposite to the British Company of Merchants' fort, later known as Fort William (Figure B-7). He was visually communicating his identity as a major player in the coastal trade, equal to the British Company of Merchants, and also as a powerful member of the community, having married into the local royal family. Thus, although he was aligned with both the British and the local community, Brew's intention was to rival both British and Fante power on the coast as an independent trader, for he wanted control of the lucrative slave trade. Brew consciously appropriated the image of the massive brick and stone structure of the fort to visually transfer and neutralize the power of the British. The two-story stone and brick Castle Brew also challenges the Omanhen's Palace (Figure B-8).

About a century later the Fante merchant and *tuafohen* George Kuntu Blankson built a south addition to Castle Brew. While Castle Brew and Fort William symbolize European power on the coast, the addition that separates them significantly asserts Fante power. This power is defined in terms of economic, political and military power for all concerned. Such visual references to indigenous power were especially crucial during the nineteenth century when Fante power was weakened both by Asante forces and British administration. While initially these references signified the Fante and British allegiance against the Asante in battle, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century this partnership dissolved with the British in power. Nevertheless, the Blankson Addition asserts coastal elite status, indirectly confronting both the British and the Fante hierarchy as evidenced by architecture.

About 160 years after Castle Brew and 50 years after the Blankson Addition were constructed, the Fante lawyer Kwamin Atta Amonoo, son of Omanhen Amonoo V, had an immense family residence built on a hill overlooking Anomabo (Figure B-9). His position as a wealthy, London-educated man attached to the royal family is translated into an architectural form that visually communicates his power not only as a member of the coastal elite but also as a member of the ruling family. Atta Amonoo was educated in Britain and worked as a lawyer in Calabar, Nigeria, in the early twentieth century. He regularly sent money home to his father in Anomabo with the intention that Amonoo V would supervise the construction of his family home. Status is also made visible by situating the structure on a hill overlooking the town and the equally imposing structures of the European buildings of Fort William and Castle Brew, making a powerful statement about coastal elite presence during British occupation. It also aligns this coastal elite member with the traditional hierarchy during the period when the British relied on local traditional governance.

Cultural Authentication

The process of cultural authentication, introduced by textile specialists Tonye Victor Erekosima and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, involves four stages: selection, characterization, incorporation and transformation. Selection refers to the appropriation of a motif, or object, without alteration. Characterization is the naming of the motif to make it better understood within the culture that is adopting it. Incorporation involves ownership of a motif by a specific group within the community. Lastly, transformation is the creation of something new from the original motif. It is at this stage that such a motif, or object, is most valued.²⁴

²⁴Tonye Victor Erekosima and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, "Kalabari Cut-Thread and Pulled-Thread Cloth," *African Arts* 14 (2 February 1981), 50-51.

Cultural authentication is a useful framework to examine architecture, even though the phrase was initially created to understand textiles and seems to have been isolated to discussions regarding new textiles or dress born out of the colonial period. It functions for my project because of its definition as a process. Through an understanding of how specific motifs, forms or technologies are selected and transformed, a culture's aesthetic preferences and motives can be uncovered. This study proves that the African coastal elite's aesthetic choices and aims consistently are made apparent through their art forms. During the colonial era, wearing a Western business suit, following Methodism and building a family residence resembling British Palladian architecture served to align the African elite with the prime source of power, the British. And, although these stone nog residences were created during the colonial era, cultural authentication on the coast of modern Ghana is a pre-colonial cultural practice.

As stated previously, Sarbah recognized Fante agency and this process of assimilation from outside cultures for wholly Fante purposes. Arjun Appadurai also hinted at this process as a “*localizing process*.”²⁵ Completed around 1920, Atta Amonoo's impressive 15-room family residence incorporates both European and Fante aspects in plan, design and construction method (Figure B-10). This sophisticated structure exemplifies cultural authentication's final stage of transformation. Utilizing a combination of the British Palladian style, Afro-Portuguese sobrado plan and the Akan courtyard plan, Atta Amonoo and his father created something entirely new. The examples chosen in this study will demonstrate how the process of cultural authentication in Anomabo is the result of urbanization and the mixing of cultures during the pre-colonial era as early as Anomabo's connections to the global world in the seventeenth century. The height of artistic production occurs during the colonial period as a form of status display. Stone nog

²⁵Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996), 17. His italics.

residences in Anomabo demonstrate Fante agency in self-presentation to promote ideas of being cultured, educated and, most importantly, urban.

The process continues today in the post-colonial era whereby artists appropriate and transform ideas and forms to create something new. Anomabo's historic cosmopolitanism continues to influence current art forms evidencing the openness of artists to new influences, motifs, experimentations, and cultural blending. By tracing this process over a period of time, I argue that Fante artists are creative and adaptive; their products continually change to meet the demands of their clients. Cultural authentication is used to demonstrate how Fante agency spans pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial time periods.

New cultural art forms have been considered expressions of “hybridity” by Karin Barber²⁶ or “creolization” by Ulf Hannerz,²⁷ both under the umbrella term “popular culture.” Although attempting to highlight the creative process, or “interplay between imported and indigenous cultures,”²⁸ the terms “hybridity” and “creolization” may imply, but do not discuss fully the process undergone to achieve the final result. Consequently, African agency is reduced to mere “influence.” Nor does the classification of popular culture apply to coastal African stone nog architecture of the colonial period. Johannes Fabian defines one aspect of popular culture as suggesting “contemporary cultural expressions carried by the masses in contrast to both modern elitist and traditional ‘tribal’ cultures.”²⁹ Coastal African stone nog architecture is an expression of select members of the elite class and may or may not concur with the masses. This dissertation

²⁶Karin Barber, *Readings in African Popular Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1997), 6.

²⁷Ulf Hannerz, “The World in Creolization,” in *Readings in African Popular Culture*, ed. Karin Barber. (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1997), 15.

²⁸Hannerz, 12.

²⁹Johannes Fabian, “Popular Culture in Africa,” in *Readings in African Popular Culture*, ed. Karin Barber (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1997), 18.

makes a conscious attempt to highlight African agency and complicate the elective process of creating new art forms that utilize outside cultural materials, technologies, forms and ideas.

Off-beat Phrasing

Art historian Robert Farris Thompson noted combinations of symmetry and asymmetry, which he referred to as “off-beat phrasing,” a common cultural component of Akan and West African arts.³⁰ Anomabo family residences exhibit off-beat phrasing in subtle ways. In fact, it is hardly discernable until an intensive study such as this one is conducted. Thus, it is so ingrained into the cultural aesthetic that is not commented upon by the local residents. However in the floor plans, there is a discernible combination of the Palladian and sobrado symmetrical plan with one or two elements that appear out of place, or asymmetrical. This phrasing will be illustrated in the chapters ahead with each example.

Mimicry and Resistance

The African coastal elites utilized West African practices of display through the appropriation of European religion, dress, residences and furnishings as a means to express their cosmopolitanism and distance their identity from northerners and rural people deemed worthy of being enslaved. Holsey states that the prevalent notion that the Fante “mimic as a cultural traitor must be reexamined in light of this analysis. Indeed, coastal elites' treatment by Europeans as equals in a context in which other peoples had been routinely reduced to chattel demonstrates the expediency of their self-fashioning.”³¹

The Fante nationalist John Mensah Sarbah stressed that the encounter between the Europeans and Fante “was not one of a violent imposition of European will; on the contrary, it

³⁰Robert Farris Thompson, *African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1974), 13.

³¹Holsey, 47-50.

was one of diplomacy.”³² Sarbah contrasts this pre-colonial relationship with that during his era of colonialism, which represented a major shift. In an effort to resist the transfer of power to the traditional hierarchy, Sarbah and his colleagues J. E. Casely Hayford and Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma critiqued local assimilation of European dress, speech, and the taking on of English names. However, instead of developing a cultural renaissance as they desired, these critiques only served to heighten the awareness of local assimilation.³³ Sarbah was not dissimilar from those he criticized, for he was a Methodist and promoted local customs as did the British. According to Holsey, “Notions of Fante identity within the popular imagination of coastal residents at this time and . . . in many ways since center around both their struggle for political autonomy from the British and their practices of assimilation.”³⁴

Resistance to their political disenfranchisement was conducted by these early Fante nationalists who in 1889 founded a political organization, *Mfanti Amanbuhu Fekuw*, or the Fante Political Society, which later became the Aborigines Rights Protection Society. It was initially founded by coastal elites in Cape Coast specifically to contest the highly unpopular Lands Rights Bill. Sarbah, who was born in Anomabo yet lived much of his life in Cape Coast, became one of the group's most prominent members. He wrote *Fanti Customary Laws* in 1897, followed in 1906 with *Fanti National Constitution*. Therein, he defined a traditional Fante political culture and made his claim for its legitimacy and implementation as the basis of colonial law. Sarbah felt the Fante needed to challenge “the idea that aboriginal administration is hopelessly saturated with cruelty and inextricably permeated with corruption, and therefore should be destroyed.”³⁵

³²Holsey, 241.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 53.

Although Sarbah and others opposed those coastal elites who assimilated European practices, I believe both sides resisted colonial pressures. Sarbah directly resisted through his writing of *Fanti National Constitution* and through his affiliation with the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, while other coastal elites indirectly resisted by asserting their identity as loyal subjects and working within the British system to effect change. An example of such indirect resistance can be found in a 1926 memorandum advanced by the Nigeria Democratic Party directed at legal and electoral reforms and the abolition of segregation laws in Lagos. According to historian Barbara Bush, the Secretary of State for Colonies reported that “rather [than] there being any suggestion of ‘sedition or non-cooperation’ in West Africa, there was a ‘dominating sense of loyalty . . . to the empire.’”³⁶ These important social and political shifts are reflected in the residential architecture of the coastal elite, such as the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9).

Theorist Homi K. Bhabha and anthropologists James Ferguson and Bayo Halsey, have debated the motivation behind so-called “mimicry” among Africans during the colonial era as resistance. Bhabha's phrase “not quite/not white” describes the challenges faced by the coastal elites to establish their identity during this rapidly changing period. “Mimicry is like a camouflage, not a harmonization or repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it.”³⁷ Sarbah argued that what the British deemed as a “failure” of the mass coastal population to completely assimilate to European norms, does not demonstrate their weakness. On the contrary, it portrays their agency to embrace freely an alternative culture as the first step in the development of a national consciousness. In hypocritical

³⁶Barbara Bush, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance: Africa and Britain, 1919-1945* (London and NY: Routledge, 1999), 120.

³⁷Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 85-92.

fashion, the British colonial policy required the assimilation of its subjects, but also these subjects' ultimate failure, in order to maintain the legitimacy of its power.³⁸

Art historian Ikemefuna Stanley Ifejika Okoye has been able to connect ideas of mimicry and resistance to such borrowings in southeastern Nigeria.³⁹ At this time, I have been unable to uncover sufficient evidence to document this trend among Ghanaian elites. Further research at the National Archives in Cape Coast and with the family heads of Anomabo residences may reveal that this too was an incentive for Ghanaian architecture. At this point in my research however, I believe that some of the top members of the Ghanaian elite class were aware of developments in other coastal areas, such as Nigeria, where resistance also took violent form.

Methods

I have been studying Fante arts since 2006 when I was drawn into the study of Fante *posuban*, encouraged by my dissertation committee advisor Robin Poyner and Doran H. Ross, former director of the Fowler Museum at UCLA and expert in Akan arts. For three years I prepared on campus for my fieldwork. I read numerous texts dealing with the coast, its art, history, politics and society. I discussed ideas with colleagues and mentors, developing my research questions and approach. I spent three weeks in May of 2007, on the Ghanaian coast in order to search for my specific topic and gain an understanding of the culture. I returned to Ghana for my pre-dissertation studies for four weeks in May and June of 2008, spending the majority of my time in Anomabo. I spent six months in 2009, from May to November, mostly living with a family in Anomabo. I gathered my data and, armed with my laptop, plugged the information into my working dissertation on a regular basis.

³⁸Holsey, 53, 241.

³⁹Ikemefuna Stanley Ifejika Okoye, "'Hideous Architecture: Mimicry, Feint and Resistance in Turn of the Century Southeastern Nigerian Building,'" Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1995.

In order to effectively explore all the information available on the residences of Anomabo, I tried to locate archival data, and I spoke to families who were the current owners and descendants of the original clients for whom the residences were built. Often it was the *abusuapanyin*, or family head, who held the most information and any paperwork pertaining to my inquiries. Descendants have little information regarding the construction dates, the reasons for the choices made in original design and plan, and the artisans who built them. Through a series of separate interviews I spoke with two of the most informed historians in town – Kwa Nyanfueku Akwa, or Nana Kwa (Figure B-11), and Ɔsebo. I photographed the buildings and took measurements with the families' permission and patience. My colleagues in the field and I interpreted and analyzed together the compiled information in a process that enabled me to understand the social context better.

My primary research assistant was Nana Kwa. This gentleman knew more about the history of Anomabo than any other person I spoke with. We developed a working relationship since my initial visit in 2007, whereby he gave me several tours of the town and assisted me with my interviews, particularly with translation of my Americanized Fante into Anomabo Fante. Nana Kwa, as a native of Anomabo, was connected intimately to several properties discussed in this study. Kow Otu, a. k. a. John Ogoe, was Nana Kwa's great grand uncle, and Nana Kwa's father, Nana Ababio, was born in Otu's second house made in stone nog. Akwa is a grandnephew of Justice Akwa. He is also a distant relation of Jacob Wilson Sey and Charlotte Acquaaah.

Nana Kwa completed primary school in Anomabo and secondary school in Takoradi, another coastal town located farther west. He then completed a two-year degree in accounting from Takoradi Workers College. His work and his interest led him through the years to self-study environmental management, coastal history and African culture in general. Born in 1954,

Nana Kwa grew up in the second Kow Otu Family Residence (Figure B-12) with his father Nyanfoeku Ababio (July 7, 1896-1985) who was Chief of Nyanfoeku Ekroful, a village in Anomabo state, for 45 years. Prior to his father becoming chief, they lived in the first Kow Otu Family Residence (Figure B-13). Today, Nana Kwa lives in the first Kow Otu house. His father's interest and vast knowledge of the history of Anomabo sparked Nana Kwa's lifelong passion for history.

As Reed states, "I prefer to think of fieldwork not as a particular spatially or temporally bound experience. Rather fieldwork is, as Michelle Kisliuk writes, 'a broad conceptual zone united by a chain of inquiry.'"⁴⁰ I would agree that my continual contact with Nana Kwa and other persons in Anomabo and along the coast, together with my research and writing in Florida, has oriented my thinking within a constant fieldwork mind set.

"I Came to Meet It"

I am basing much of this text on my ethnographic research in Ghana, and as such, I faced certain challenges. Oral history can offer much information, yet drawbacks exist. In answer to my queries regarding when a particular house was built or who built the structure, the most common reply I heard was "I came to meet it." In other words, the house was built before they were born, and they know little else about it.

Historian Raymond E. Dumett stated: "detailed case studies of eighteenth and nineteenth century African merchants are rare because of the paucity of statistical data and the loss or destruction of valuable business papers."⁴¹ This applies to property records as well. Acquiring details regarding Anomabo's coastal elite, the clients of the stone nog houses, is problematic.

⁴⁰Reed, 8.

⁴¹Raymond E. Dumett, "John Sarbah, the Elder, and African Mercantile Entrepreneurship in the Gold Coast in the Late Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of African History* 14 (4, 1973), 653.

Interviewees, if elderly, can supply some general information on these clients, but they seldom have specific knowledge regarding the builders and why certain choices were made. Details regarding the ruins in town were even more difficult to uncover.

History is a construct. This applies to Anomabo in the way nearly every person or family I spoke with claimed their house was built by one of their ancestors. The Omanhen's Palace, for example, was described as always being the Omanhen's Palace. According to Omanhen Kantomanto Amonoo XI, the building was constructed by the first *omanhen* of his family lineage Omanhen Amonoo I, which would date the structure to the late eighteenth century. Yet, he also stated the structure was built in 1621. Many people claimed the structure was built in *swish*, a mud mixture with vegetal materials used in rammed earth construction.⁴² The *omanhen's* personal secretary Daniel Kofi Gdlonyah showed me a niche and small storage area inside the palace that clearly demonstrate Dutch building techniques in stone nog and imported bricks. The location of the structure and its overall fortress-like quality indicates that this building was the Dutch Lodge built in Anomabo around 1640.

Thus, even though the evidence proves that the building is constructed of stone and brick and built for the Dutch, Anomabos still identify it as *swish*, built for the Fante. They also construct a history that the structure was built for royal purposes, when in reality it was built as a European commercial residence and fortification. In this way, the structure is incorporated into Anomabo history. Therefore, I had to be aware of such transformations, or historical constructs, while analyzing my data on this and other buildings in town. Anomabos who know about the Asante invasion of 1807, claim that the Fante won a clear victory over the Asante. This is another cautionary example that locals invent their own histories.

⁴² Although people in the area discuss the mode of construction as *swish*, I will refer to the actual mode of construction, rammed earth, rather than to the material used.

Oral history can be a useful source of information; however, other data needs to support the information communicated. For material and mode of construction, I found myself searching for cracks or wear in the cement plaster for clues. For family history, as stated previously, I tried to justify the data with archived property records at the National Archives in Cape Coast where records of 30 or more years are archived. Families were able to provide me with copies of the paperwork for two structures - The Russell House and the Kobena Mefful Family Residence. At the time of this publication, the National Archives has not been able to locate any Anomabo property records for the period 1860-1940.

The names given to these structures were either used by the descendants, locals or in some cases applied by me. In the latter case, I used the original client's name if known. Since the structures in this study were built for families and not just for an individual alone, I have labeled them “family residence” as opposed to “house.” However, in the discussions I may alternate between residence or house to describe them, since either term is accurate. The Russell House is named such by the descendants of the original clients. I tried in all cases to use or mention all the names used by the descendants and townspeople for these structures.

Most of the academic research for this study was conducted in English, while many of the on-site interviews were conducted in Fante. The reader will notice two letters belonging to the Fante alphabet, but not to English. They include “ɛ,” pronounced like a short e, i.e. get. The letter “ɔ” is pronounced like the “aw” in law. I have used the spellings given to me by the Fante for people’s names and for references to locations and houses in order to identify and represent people and places as they would be in their home contexts. Thus, while there have been many different spellings, both local and European, for the site of Anomabo, I have chosen the current

favoured spelling by its inhabitants. I have introduced some Fante terminology in the text as needed, but I made an effort not to encumber the reader.

Pre-Colonial Urbanity

Post-colonial theory is currently used as a means to understand African cities. Although many of the theories put forth by Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large* describe post-colonial African cities, they can also be applied to the urban historical Anomabo and to a lesser degree to Anomabo today. Appadurai's theories regarding "culturalism," defined as a construct that cultural differences tend to take in the era of mass mediation, migration and globalization, can be utilized to unpack historical urban Anomabo. This "engagement with modernity"⁴³ takes place prior to colonial rule and illustrates the impact of cultural contact upon this early commercial metropolis. It continues in Anomabo's on-going receptivity to cultural flows, as evidenced in the town's vibrant visual culture today.

Appadurai discusses how cultural interactions, until the past few centuries, have been "bridged at great cost and sustained over time only with great effort," deterring the formation of large-scale societies. This changed when Europeans made advances in navigational technology after 1500, and with the development of "large and aggressive social formations" such as those in Central America, Eurasia, Southeast Asia and African kingdoms, e.g. Dahomey.⁴⁴ "An overlapping set of ecumenes began to emerge, in which congeries of money, commerce, conquest, and migration began to create durable cross-societal bonds." Appadurai's theory applies to the growth of Anomabo in the late seventeenth century into a busy commercial port, and later in the mid-eighteenth century with the formation of the first Fante Coalition that unified

⁴³Appadurai, 10-16.

⁴⁴Ibid., 28.

the Anomabo state. Appadurai, however, applies C. A. Bayly's ideas that technological innovations in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries "created complex colonial orders centered on European capitals and spread throughout the non-European world."⁴⁵ While trade with Europeans on the coast was primarily responsible for the growth of Anomabo, this growth took place a century earlier than Bayly supposes. The Anomabos were very much in control of trading relations with the Europeans and Americans who docked at port. It was not until their crushing defeat in the 1807 war with the Asante, that the Fante lost their power to the British colonial order. Thus, the British gained their power in Anomabo, not because of any technological advances, but due to their being literally in the right place at the right time.

According to historian Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch in *The History of African Cities*, "the urban lifestyle transforms the habits and mentalities" of city dwellers and those who are subject to the power of urban institutions and culture.⁴⁶ Historian Richard W. Hull defines the city as a center, a place where both population and civilization are concentrated, attracting and blending cultures and memories. A city becomes a site for cultural sharing and dissemination.⁴⁷ Coquery-Vidrovitch adds that the city absorbs, integrates and blends these contributions from the outside to create new cultures, and in turn, conveys the result to the outside world.⁴⁸ Anomabo grew from a village to a town to a thriving city with the increasing importance of coastal trade in the seventeenth century. Then it reverted to a town again when it was defeated by the Asante in

⁴⁵Ibid.; and C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London and New York: Longman, 1989).

⁴⁶Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From the Origins to Colonization* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 9.

⁴⁷Richard W. Hull, "Urban Design and Architecture in Precolonial Africa," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (4 August 1976), 388.

⁴⁸Coquery-Vidrovitch, 17.

1807, lost its commercial prominence, and the port was eventually closed in 1912.⁴⁹ A more complex definition of the urban phenomenon can be applied to Anomabo because it retains much of its character as a new culture, continuing to appropriate and transform culturally, although it has reverted back into a town.

Anomabos were not only exposed to the Dutch, Swedes, Danes and British on-site, but also to all the goods and ideas they brought with them. Utilizing Appadurai's twentieth century concept of a global ethnoscape, in which human beings move quickly and easily from one part of the globe to another, this term may be used to span Anomabo's pre-colonial and colonial periods. During the pre-colonial period, Anomabos experienced the world within their imagination inspired by these outsiders as well as outside goods. In the colonial era many coastal elites were able to travel physically from one country to another, thereby gaining first-hand access to information about the world beyond their home communities. Although Appadurai refers to the ease of modern airline travel and the influence and availability of international media in the form of movies, television, internet and print, the pervasiveness of these so-called modernities was likely as strong in the past as today, and not just a twentieth century phenomenon as Appadurai argues.⁵⁰ The influence of outside cultures, whether it be from Westerners or Africans, would have been tremendous. This connection to the outside world was a desired trait, particularly among those with ambition wanting to join the class of coastal elites, for it brought education, wealth and ultimately, power.

My case study will add to the understanding of cultural authentication as a process that crosses pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa by providing an example drawn from the

⁴⁹Newell Flather, "Anomabu; The History of a Fante Town on the Ghana Coast" (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1966), 136.

⁵⁰Appadurai, 35-37.

seventeen surviving residences in Anomabo and by bringing to the fore the enduring influence of cultural and artistic practices that developed during the pre-colonial period. Anomabo's historic cosmopolitanism continues to influence current art forms evidencing the openness of artists to new influences, motifs, experimentations and cultural blending.

The globalization of Anomabo and its culture must be placed in a historical perspective. Anomabo's worldliness does not stem from its position as a satellite to Accra, Cape Coast or any Western urban center, nor its positioning at the periphery of global flows, but reflects its past position at the center of a vast cultural and commercial network. This historic cosmopolitanism isn't a post-colonial phenomenon, and the evidence is made visible in the architecture of Anomabo.

Historiography

In order to provide a comprehensive and holistic approach to the subject of Fante art and architecture in the site of Anomabo, I have consulted a variety of sources from different disciplines. Primary sources included documents from the historical periods, such as correspondence and travel journals. These histories, written prior to the twentieth century by Europeans and Americans, are fraught with personal agenda and opinions. Few of these sources record the history, thoughts and beliefs of African cultures from their point of view. Pieter De Marees is the first to describe the Fante coast in 1602. He includes detailed descriptions of the housing, dress and customs.⁵¹ Nicolas Villault also described Fante housing, dress and customs witnessed on the Guinea Coast during his 1666-1667 voyage.⁵² Willem Bosman wrote about his

⁵¹De Marees.

⁵²Nicolas Villault, sieur de Bellefond, *A Relation of the Coasts of Africk called Guinee with a description of the countreys, manners and customs of the inhabitants, of the productions of the earth, and the merchandise and commodities it affords : with some historical observations upon the coasts : being collected in a voyage made by the Sieur Villault . . . in the years 1666, and 1667.* (London: Printed for John Starkey, 1670).

travels in Africa from 1688 to 1702.⁵³ Jean Barbot was on the coast twice, in 1678-1679 and 1681-1682. He visited Fort Charles in Anomabo five times in 1679. Barbot's writings are problematic in that he borrows some of his information from earlier and contemporary texts. Also, there have been numerous editions of his first voyage and letters (his journal from the second voyage is lost). The best source to detangle this jumble is given by P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones and Robin Law.⁵⁴ Pierre Labarthe wrote about his travels to the Guinea Coast, including to Anomabo, in the 1780s.⁵⁵ Cruickshank served on the coast from 1834 to 1854, and he lived in Anomabo for much of that time.

The one exception to the Western recorded history is William Ansah Sesarakoo's *The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe* from 1750.⁵⁶ This is the one and only first-hand account from an Anomabo Fante prior to the colonial period. Not only does he relay the events leading to his deceptive sale into slavery in Barbados and his retrieval, but also he describes certain historic events, people and the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Anomabo during the period. His work evidences the intelligence and wisdom of one Fante man, son of the Omanhen Kurensir, and it describes his long-distance journey to Barbados and London.

Materials specifically geared towards Anomabo are rare. One of the most helpful books, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study*, was written by historian Margaret

⁵³Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea* (London: Printed for James Knapt...and Dan, 1705; reprint, NY: Barnes & Noble, 1967).

⁵⁴P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones and Robin Law, eds., *Barbot on Guinea: The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678-1712*, Vol. 2. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1992), xii, xxix, 415-419.

⁵⁵Pierre Labarthe, *Voyage a la côte de Guinée: ou, Description des côtes d'Afrique, depuis le Cap Tagrin jusqu'au Cap de Lopez-Gonzalves* (Paris : Chez Debray, 1803).

⁵⁶William Ansah Sesarakoo, *The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe*, 2d ed. (London: W. Reeve, 1750).

Priestley in 1969 about Richard Brew and his descendants.⁵⁷ The Irishman and his descendants were instrumental in the politics of Anomabo and the Fante region (from the 1750s to today) as well as notable for the residences they constructed. These massive residences of European design, materials and technology translated into images of identity and status. Such imagery was subsequently appropriated and transformed into African coastal elite constructs. Priestley goes further to describe the urban context, specifically European-Fante relations and the Western-educated mulatto classes.

Historian Arnold Walter Lawrence, conservator of the Monuments and Relics Committee (later the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board), conducted the first in-depth study of Fort William, including detailed information about construction materials and techniques.⁵⁸ Historian Albert Van Dantzig offers further information, but some of his information has been proven inaccurate.⁵⁹ Both of these authors however neglect to name their sources, complicating the verification of their data. Historians Michel R. Doortmont and Benedetta Savoldi's recent book *The Castles of Ghana: Axim Butre Anomabu*⁶⁰ offers the most in-depth study of Fort William's architecture and focuses on conservation.

Informative sources concerning Anomabo comprise academic theses and dissertations by several historians. They include a history of eighteenth-century Fante society by Rebecca Shumway in 2004,⁶¹ Fante politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by James R. Sanders in 1980, and a history of Anomabo by Newell Flather in 1966. Shumway's history of

⁵⁷Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study* (London: Oxford UP, 1969).

⁵⁸A. W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles & Forts of West Africa* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1963).

⁵⁹Albert van Dantzig, *Fortes and Castles of Ghana* (Accra, Ghana: Sedco, 1999).

⁶⁰Michel R. Doortmont and Benedetta Savoldi, *The Castles of Ghana: Axim Butre Anomabu* (Saonara and Lorano, Italy: Il Prato, 2006).

⁶¹Rebecca Shumway, "Between the Castle and the Golden Stool: Transformations in Fante Society in the Eighteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 2004).

eighteenth-century Fante society focuses upon the regional politics with European contact, yet it does not mention the visual culture. An earlier dissertation concerning Fante politics written by Sanders offers specific information regarding Anomabo chieftaincy and other community leadership roles. Although helpful in discussing leadership roles, their arts are not investigated.

Flather's dissertation offers many details regarding Anomabo's complex history. He focuses on a number of important personages useful in this study. An entire chapter is devoted to the accomplishments of Kurentsir, recorded historically as John Currantee. Flather also documents the trade relationships, the resulting urbanization and eventual downfall of Anomabo. He does this, however, by mainly utilizing American and European historical documents by merchants, missionaries and officers, without including local oral histories. My work incorporates all of these histories as a means to understand the unique and layered Anomabo context.

Archaeologist Mark Henry Freeman has recently conducted two archaeological digs in Anomabo as published in his master's thesis "Archaeology of Early European Contact in Anomabu, Ghana" from the University of Ghana.⁶² One site, in particular, yielded evidence of glass and pottery from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries confirming the city's global connections. This site was a refuse pit located on Okokodo Street near the Kobena Mefful Family Residence and Methodist Mission.

Although the focus is on Elmina rather than Anomabo, archaeologist Christopher DeCorse's work further informs impressions of urban Anomabo. His archaeological excavations of Elmina between 1985 and 1987 are recorded in his dissertation "An Archaeological Study of Elmina, Ghana: Trade and Culture Change on the Gold Coast between the Fifteenth and

⁶²Mark Henry Freeman, "Archaeology of Early European Contact in Anomabu, Ghana," (Master's thesis, University of Ghana, 2008).

Nineteenth Centuries”⁶³ and subsequent book *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast*.⁶⁴ His work is the first to emphasize the urban design of the coastal town, discussing both its architecture and multi-cultural artifacts. DeCorse conducted a thorough archaeological examination of Elmina’s built environment prior to 1873 when the British leveled the city. His findings are published in his dissertation, his subsequent book and in numerous articles.

Several art historical texts and articles written by art historian Doran H. Ross assisted my understanding of Fante arts. Ross, who has conducted fieldwork in the area since 1974, has documented and written about Fante arts extensively. In their seminal book *The Arts of Ghana*, Ross and fellow art historian Herbert M. Cole include a chapter on architecture, yet they only briefly mention coastal architecture.⁶⁵ This text and subsequent publications by Ross have illuminated the development of monumental shrines, known as *posuban*. Ross shared his research with me and served as a mentor. His numerous publications (and works by other scholars) tend to single out arts (flags, *posuban* and performance) of the *asafo*, and rarely include other Fante art forms. I am extending this work by utilizing a wider approach in observing how the Anomabo coastal elites, mostly Fante, have responded visually to their global history as a commercial hub.

General sources on West African building construction include several by architect and art historian Labelle Prussin. Practical building technologies as well as concepts regarding shelter and space are discussed in her works “An Introduction to Indigenous African Architecture,”

⁶³Christopher Raymond DeCorse, “An Archaeological Study of Elmina, Ghana: Trade and Culture Change on the Gold Coast Between the Fifteenth and Nineteenth Centuries” (Ph. D. diss., University of California, 1989).

⁶⁴Christopher Raymond DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution, 2001).

⁶⁵Cole and Ross, 96.

“Shelter for the Soul,” “Architecture & Pottery: Sacred Earth; the Earth as Symbol and Metaphor,” and her seminal study *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa*.⁶⁶ Prussin not only tackles the practical architectural study, but also delves into the beliefs of the builders and dwellers who create the structures. Her work inspires me to look beyond the visual and explore the ways people live and utilize their living spaces.

Anthropologist Vincent Kenneth Tarikhu Farrar’s work concerning pre-colonial Akan architecture was useful for this study when considering local building construction, forms and city planning. His most current text, *Building Technology and Settlement Planning in a West African Civilization: Precolonial Akan Cities and Towns*, summarizes his earlier articles and clearly outlines each of these aspects. He also discusses the finer points that distinguish him from scholars such as Michael Swithenbank, Andrew Rutter and Prussin.⁶⁷ He is particularly critical of Prussin’s “over-emphasis of foreign, especially Islamic influences, and less [considerate] of the essentially indigenous origins and character of Asante and other Akan architecture and building construction.”⁶⁸

The faculty of the University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in Kumasi, Ghana, including architect A. D. C. Hyland, have written about indigenous architectural styles within Ghana. Hyland also provides the plan for Castle Brew and its additions within Priestley's book.

The historian Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch's *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara:*

⁶⁶Labelle Prussin, “Architecture & Pottery: Sacred Earth; the Earth as Symbol and Metaphor,” in SA VI: Keramiikan ja arkkitehtuurin perinne Lansi-Afrikassa = Poterie et architecture en Afrique de l'Ouest, 11-24, 66-73 (1993); idem, *Hatumere: Islamic Design in West Africa* (Berkeley: University of California, 1986); idem, “Shelter for the Soul,” in *Shelter: Models of Native Ingenuity*, ed. James Marston Fitch, 34-42 (Katonah, NY: The Katonah Gallery, 1982); and idem, “An Introduction to Indigenous African Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 33 (3 October 1974): 183-205.

⁶⁷Vincent Kenneth Tarikhu Farrar, *Building Technology and Settlement Planning in a West African Civilization: Precolonial Akan Cities and Towns* (NY: Edwin Mellen, 1996).

⁶⁸Ibid., 52.

From the Origins to Colonization was useful for my understanding of pre-colonial urbanity within Africa as well as the world-wide distribution of the sobrado plan.⁶⁹

Scholarship by art historian John Fitchen and architect Edward E. Crain⁷⁰ informed some of my understanding of stone nog construction techniques, those incorporated within Ghana and in comparison to the Caribbean. Pivotal to comprehending the scope of stone nog construction adopted along the entire Guinee Coast is *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala* edited by Jacques Soullou. The essay by Odile Goerg stresses the impact of Portuguese expeditions along this coastal area between 1434 and 1475, including their exploration of the Ghanaian coast between 1470 and 1471. Much of the discussion then turns to economics and fort construction. A general history leading to colonial occupation and the post-colonial era reiterates points made by other authors. Of main interest to this study are the essays that follow with information and photographs of European administrative and residential structures. Many illustrate the Palladian elements and forms discussed herein. The emphasis however is placed on European, and not African, buildings. Few plans are provided, mostly for the forts.⁷¹

Hyland wrote the essay for Ghana. After the section devoted to forts, Hyland turns to housing and offers several plans from Elmina and Accra. Plans of nineteenth century Dutch houses on Liverpool Street in Elmina⁷² are provided and more thoroughly discussed in *Elmina: A Conservation Study* by Hyland and Niels Bech.⁷³ Other plans illustrated in *Rives Coloniales* on

⁶⁹Coquery-Vidrovitch, 178-183.

⁷⁰John Fitchen, *Building Construction Before Mechanization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1986); and Crain, 61-62.

⁷¹Jacques Soullou, *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala* (Marseille: Editions Parentheses, 1993).

⁷²Anthony Hyland, "Le Ghana," in *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala*, ed. Jacques Soullou (Marseille: Editions Parentheses, 1993), 135-170, plans 153.

⁷³Niels Bech and A. D. C. Hyland, *Elmina: A Conservation Study* (Kumasi, Ghana: University of Science and Technology, 1978), 53-55, 93-97.

page 155 are not identified, so it cannot be determined if they are African or European. For clarity, I will note that the photographs of houses on page 158 are inverted, for the Heritage House, previously the Government House, is shown at the bottom.⁷⁴ Therefore, while Hyland has completed the most extensive research thus far on coastal architecture in this region, much work still needs to be done to decipher whether the surviving stone nog structures are European or African and if there are differences between them. This dissertation will make these determinations for stone nog residences in Anomabo.

Certain details and obituaries about the clients of the residences in this study were provided by late nineteenth and early twentieth century weekly newspapers. *Gold Coast Times* and *Gold Coast Leader* were competing newspapers based in Cape Coast. The *Gold Coast Times*, founded by James Hutton Brew in 1874, ran until 1885, after which it was revived in 1923 and continued until 1940. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma, member of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, was the editor for the *Gold Coast Methodist Times* in the late 1880s and 1890s. He used it in the campaign against the Lands Bill and the paper became an outlet for criticism of the government. The *Gold Coast Leader* began in 1902, and continued until the early 1930s. It was co-founded and edited by Anomabo-born J.E. Casely Hayford. According to Gocking, these newspapers enjoyed a high readership and many well-educated residents had extensive libraries.⁷⁵

It was late in my dissertation writing when I was told about Ikemefuna Stanley Okoye's dissertation "Hideous Architecture: Mimicry, Feint and Resistance in Turn of the Century Southeastern Nigerian Building."⁷⁶ Interestingly, I had already come to many of the same

⁷⁴Hyland, "Le Ghana," 158.

⁷⁵Gocking, 10.

⁷⁶Okoye.

conclusions as Okoye regarding those buildings constructed between the mid-nineteenth century to 1939 by a similar class of wealthy African leaders and businessmen. He focuses on perceptions of these structures by both locals and visitors.

Some readers may in fact discover that they are familiar with many of the kinds of structures presented here, but would not have thought them particularly Nigerian. For this reason it is hardly recognized . . . that the previously unattended turn of the century and early 20th century architecture of south eastern Nigeria certainly offers much, as will become obvious, that should be of interest to architectural theory, to historiography, to ethnography, and to Africanist intellectual history, mainly by way of challenging some of its essential constructs. It certainly appears to demand an end to the exclusion of certain kinds of building (or at least their marginalization) from both historical scholarship about architecture, and from contemporary discourse around both architecture and its critique.⁷⁷

This study will address similar attention to such structures, yet broaden the scope to another coastal area in Ghana. Although Okoye does not utilize the term of cultural authentication, he hints at the process in both its appropriations of Western style and transformations, resulting in buildings “that are radically inventive in both form and style. . . . They may be ‘read’ as an appropriation to a customary architectural vocabulary of some architectonic elements, motifs, figures, spatial relationships, forms, and aesthetic qualities of surface and volume gleaned from atypical direct (or second-hand) readings of West-European and American architecture.”⁷⁸ The resulting structures, however, are quite different in southeastern Nigeria from those in southern Ghana, reflecting each location’s cultural specificity. Thus, a Coastal Elite Style can be applied broadly to coastal Guinea, but each region transforms the global into the local differently.

Our fieldwork also shares similarities for we both had problems locating written documents to support oral histories. We obtained a few records from families who managed to preserve their documents or obtained them through the National Archives, yet much of the

⁷⁷Ibid., 8, footnote 6.

⁷⁸Ibid., 9-10.

research was conducted on-site and from what oral history could be collected.⁷⁹ The slow and complex process of obtaining this oral history through a succession of visits and meetings is well-documented by Okoye, and I experienced a comparable process.⁸⁰ As a solution to analyzing these structures, Okoye proposes to “‘read’ buildings both as locally scripted self-reflexive text, and as ‘document’, especially where . . . for the localities themselves, architecture is created with the intention that it function as text.”⁸¹ Likewise, family residences in Anomabo can be ‘read’ in lieu of written documents to observe how status is communicated in the community.

Okoye identifies the clients of the Nigerian structures as “individuals and groups who had access to what at the time would have been still-consolidating non-traditional power centers. Many of these patrons were moreover often not in the direct service or employment of the colonial administration. . . . These new patrons were furthermore often involved in a power struggle with the older ‘traditional’ authorities, a struggle in which architecture may have been seized [seized] upon as a discernible index of the will to triumph: a struggle about and around which architecture became the visible form.”⁸² I reached the same conclusions in my research among the Anomabo elites, who appear to have communicated visually their identity architecturally in the face of British and local royal power struggles. Like Okoye however, I was unable to speak directly to any clients to ascertain their direct viewpoint in this regard. Their surviving structures are all that remain to communicate their original intentions.

⁷⁹Ibid., 11, 27-18.

⁸⁰Ibid., 28-33.

⁸¹Ibid., 25.

⁸²Ibid., 16.

Connections between the two British colonial countries, Ghana and Nigeria, are illuminated by Okoye who notes that a few hundred thousand Ghanaians were present in Nigeria in the 1930s and 1940s. Traffic flowed both ways, for Accra served as a capital city of “a somewhat hypothetical British east-Atlantic colony.”⁸³ The lawyer Atta Amonoo and a number of other clients’ descendants from Anomabo worked and visited Nigeria. Thus, someone like London-educated Atta Amonoo would have been well-aware of British architecture in London, Nigeria (Calabar especially) and along the Ghanaian coast as well as Nigerian and Ghanaian architecture by other African coastal elites. Although regional styles prevailed, the ideas for appropriation and transformation, and especially the reasons behind such cultural authentications, were shared. Thus, if Okoye was able to prove resistance as a motivation for Western appropriations in southeastern Nigerian architecture, it is possible that at least some of the most aware and connected Anomabo elites, like Atta Amonoo, had similar objectives.

In four ways my work contributes to the discipline of African arts. Firstly, while cultural authentication has been used as a methodology to explore textiles emerging from the colonial era, my work enlarges the scope by applying this process to architecture. Secondly, it broadens the context of this process to prove that it is not always based entirely on something forced upon Africans during the colonial era, thus highlighting African agency. Thirdly, this study expands the scope of Fante arts to include architecture, previously unstudied. In addition, it complicates the definition of an ethnic or cultural art form by incorporating other ethnicities than Fante into the corpus of Anomabo and coastal arts.

Lastly, my work builds the corpus of research on African architecture, often not the focus of current research or classroom studies. Rather than focusing on “traditional” architecture, this

⁸³Ibid., 92. Additionally, in footnote 133, Okoye notes that Lagos was part of the Gold Coast colony from 1874 to 1886.

study will encourage future research in trends during the colonial and post-colonial era, especially in West African port cities, and move away from ideas that Western styles are in some way a bad influence on “traditional” architecture. The belief that Fante coastal architecture is “tainted” by European influence is a colonial idea.

Chapter Organization

This introductory chapter has striven to situate my study in Anomabo and highlight its importance as a microcosm for the West African coast. The coastal elite group was defined as a stratified class who learned in pre-colonial times how to bridge two cultures – European and African. The second chapter on the history of Anomabo is included in order to set the stage for the stone nog period of Fante coastal elite building. It provides a historical framework upon which the coastal elite group and their architectural assimilations and transformations can be examined. The stone nog residences of Anomabo have been roughly divided according to similarities in their plans. In each of the following chapters one or two residential examples are provided to illustrate appropriations and the result of their harmonization. Further housing examples are included in Appendix C. My conclusion analyzes the Coastal Elite Style with broader comparisons, namely with architecture across the Atlantic and in Nigeria, and trends in the post-colonial era.

Chapter 2: Pre-Colonial History of an African Port City – Since general histories of Anomabo have already been written, this chapter is not an attempt to re-write them. Rather, it will focus on the architectural history, where documentation is available, and the personalities and cultural interactions relevant to this study that shaped Anomabo.

Chapter 3: The Akan Courtyard House – Local methods and materials of construction are important to this survey, for the African coastal elites will later appropriate European ones and mix them with indigenous architectural concepts to create something new. Wealthy owners

linked several rectangular rooms together, enclosing a central courtyard space to create the Akan courtyard house. This popular plan is utilized across southern Ghana and Nigeria, and its origins are debated. The two-story rammed earth house, common in Anomabo, is also explored as it further demonstrates pre-colonial cultural authentication. It may originate from European or Western Sudanic sources.

Chapter 4: The European Palladian Style – This chapter focuses on the earliest stone nog residences - European lodges, forts and houses. Characteristics of the Dutch Palladian and English Palladian styles are described and related to the Anomabo structures. Certain elements from the Medieval and Palladian styles as well as stone nog construction will be appropriated in the colonial period by the African coastal elites.

Chapter 5: Selection and Incorporation of the Palladian Style – Arches, arcades, pilasters and cornices are some of the elements borrowed from the Palladian style. Evidence suggests that a specific Hall and Chamber plan also develops from this incorporation. The earliest surviving African stone nog building in Anomabo depicting Palladian elements was constructed for George Kuntu Blankson in the late 1860s. His addition to Castle Brew will be the first of many coastal elite structures that select European materials and techniques.

Chapter 6: Selection and Incorporation of the Sobrado – The third source borrowed by the African coastal elites for their family residences was the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. The sobrado is essentially a house with multiple interior chambers accessible from a central corridor. A second-story timber veranda is essential to this plan, which was first spread throughout the world in tropical climates by Europeans. In Ghana, the sobrado plan was spread by masons trained by European missionaries of the Basel Mission in the Akuapem Hills area (north of Accra) in the mid-nineteenth century and by Afro-Brazilians who landed on the Ghanaian coast (Accra) as

early as the 1820s. Afro-Brazilian masons who lived in Nigeria may have also worked on the Ghanaian coast.

Chapter 7: Transformation: The Coastal Elite Style – This chapter focuses on the resulting mixture of elements and plans borrowed from the Palladian style and *sobrado*. Further examples of the Coastal Elite Style demonstrate the transformation phase, yet exhibit the individual character of each home at the same time. The transformation phase is further realized in the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, one of the most sophisticated African coastal elite structures in Anomabo, blending all three cultural styles into a harmonious new form. Atta Amonoo's continuous travels between Nigeria and Ghana, as well as his political involvement in both countries provide another link between these British colonial territories. Aspects of the Akan architectural vernacular, namely the courtyard plan and the insertion of asymmetrical elements, are incorporated.

Chapter 8: Communicating Status through the Visual – This is the conclusion where the examples will be analyzed in broader comparisons, especially with those in the Caribbean, Brazil and Nigeria, to demonstrate how Anomabo has localized the global. Contemporary houses in Anomabo will be discussed as a means to demonstrate how the process of cultural authentication continues to operate with new twentieth-century materials and ideas.

All the Figures in Appendix C are mostly grouped so that the photos and plans are together for each building. I apologize if this causes the reader any confusion reading comparisons. Lastly, I need to say a word about the plans. As an art historian and not an architect, I must explain that the plans within this study are an approximation. They are not precise architectural plans. Also, part of the charm of these structures is the imperfections. While the width of a room might be measured as 120 inches at one point, it may be 124 inches at another, and still 128

inches at another. I tried to take the median of these measurements and draw them as accurately as possible. These plans were then scanned into my computer and sized to fit the space within this document. They are not likely to scale accurately in comparison to each other. Doors and curtains acting as doors have been omitted from the plans. Rather, my goal in recording the plans here was to provide general evidence of layout for further discussions concerning coastal transformations. I attempted to document the original plan of each structure, removing newer walls and additions from the drawings. I also hope that my photographs and documentation will preserve these structures, even if only in recorded history.

CHAPTER 2 PRE-COLONIAL HISTORY OF AN AFRICAN PORT CITY

Understanding key players and political tensions from Anomabo's pre-colonial history informs my study of the choices African coastal elites make later in selecting their residential architecture, not only in terms of the materials and construction methods but also in the plans and design elements. The choice to build in stone and to incorporate European architectural elements happened in the 1860s to 1930s as a continued propensity to select outside cultural technology and forms that display cosmopolitan identity and status. This begins as early as the late seventeenth century when Anomabo became an urban center.

Migration to the Coast

Most scholars accept that the ancestors of Akan people migrated into Ghana in a series of disjointed groups beginning with the collapse of the Old Ghana Empire in the tenth century and extending into the fifteenth century when the Mali Empire crumbled.¹ The Akan succeeded in establishing themselves and their rule over the indigenous groups in the Brong-Ahafo region, probably due to their possession of superior iron weapons. Rattray suggests that the Brong, Fante and Asante had a common origin, for they all use the Brong system of social organization by streets. In Techiman, for example, divisions among the people took their names from streets or quarters in the towns. Some of the Akan then broke away from the Brong, migrated southward and possibly came into contact with another culture from which they borrowed their present organization whereby the community is organized by family clans.²

¹Both empires covered areas in the Western Sudan, northwest of the current country of Ghana.

²Rattray, R. Sutherland, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929), 64-65.; E. J. P. Brown O. B. E., *Gold Coast and Asianti Reader*, Book II. (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1929), 48-54; and Kwamina B. Dickson, *A Historical Geography of Ghana* (London, Cambridge UP, 1969), 15-19.

Oral traditions suggest the Fante migrated south from the city of Techiman in the forest belt to Mankessim, a few miles inland from the coast, sometime during the fourteenth century. Those who left were referred to as “*Fa a w’atsiw*,” or the part that has separated, hence the name “*Mfantsi-fu*,”³ or Fante people. Along the migration route, priests planted sacred trees to determine where they would settle. If the tree blossomed the following morning, it was the sign of fertility to make that site their final settlement. Each time, the tree did not bloom. The Fante traversed rivers and continued south till they arrived at Adowegyir, inhabited by the Etsi. Here, the sacred tree blossomed. The Fante conquered the Etsi and renamed the community *Oman-kesemu*, or big town, present-day Mankessim.⁴

Over the next several centuries, small groups of Fante moved southward. According to Dickson, there were five main family clans - the Abura, Kurentsi, Ekumfi, Nkusukum and Enyan groups.⁵ According to oral traditions in Anomabo, a hunter from the nearby coastal town of Egya travelled west and found a spring with fine drinking water, known today as Kekuwa. The hunter brought his family to settle here. He noticed the flocks of sea birds that frequently alighted on a grouping of rocks in the sea close to where they had settled and named the place Nnumabu, or bird (*nnuma*) rock (*bu*). Another translation given by Brown states that the “original national appellation of Nnumabu is '*nnumabu asafu datsi man*', i.e., the Nnumabu forces or army, wielders of iron.”⁶ After the hunter's clan moved to Nnumabu, six other clans joined them, forming the seven paramilitary groups known today as *asafu* companies. As a testament to their

³Brown, 52.

⁴J. F. Baiden, *The Legends of Mankessim* (Cape Coast: Ghana Tourist Board, n.d.).

⁵Dickson, 20-21. Brown recorded that the Borbor Mfantsi immigrants were the Aburafu, Kurentsi Amanmfu, Ekumfifu, Nkusukrumfu, Nnumabufu and Enyanmfu. Brown, 53-54.

⁶Brown, 74-75.

hunting and warring prowess, the Anomabos were called the “wielders of iron,”⁷ perhaps because of their production of iron tools and weapons.

Like many others on the coast, Anomabo was a salt-producing village with modest trade inland. Coastal towns were sustained by food production in the hinterland. Although oral traditions state that Anomabo was established in the early thirteenth century, this date is too early to be credible. According to Sanders, the establishment of Anomabo more likely took place in the late sixteenth century or early seventeenth century.⁸

Fante Leadership

The matrilineal family or *abusua*, matrilineal *omanhen* (*omanhen*, *omanhin* or *oman*), and patrilineal *asafo* are the Fante’s fundamental social groupings as recorded by anthropologist James Boyd Christensen who described this system of matrilineal and patrilineal descent as “double descent” in the 1950s. While the nephew inherits property from the mother’s side of the *abusua*, the son and daughter belong to their father’s *asafo*.⁹ The patrilineal aspect of Fante culture has been debated as a recent addition from nineteenth-century European pressures.¹⁰

The highest office is held by the paramount chief or *omanhen*. He rules in conjunction with a state council composed of subchiefs, the Queen Mother, village chiefs, and leaders of the *asafo* companies. Traditional Council meetings are held regularly where the *omanhen* and his chiefs meet to discuss state affairs and hear disputes. The core of the Anomabo state council is composed of subchiefs, including the *enohen*, *tufuhen*, *adontehen*, *tuafohen*, *kyidomhen* and

⁷Ibid., 71.

⁸Sanders, 165-168.

⁹James Boyd Christensen, *Double Descent Among the Fanti*. (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1954); and R. Sutherland Rattray, *Ashanti* (London: Oxford University Press: 1923; reprint, NY: Negro UP, 1969), 35-37 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

¹⁰B. I. Chukwukere, “Akan Theory of Conception: Are the Fante Really Aberrant?” *Africa* 48 (2, 1978), 137-148.

akuasahen. The *tuafohen* (*tufuhen*, *twafohen*) is second in rank after the *omanhen* and commands all state companies in times of war. The *adontehen* oversees the largest of the military divisions, and as such, reports directly to the *tuafohen*.¹¹

The *omanhen* rules his state through the authority of the sword of leadership, conferred upon him by the people. Although he must be a man of the royal family, he is chosen for the position after demonstrating his character. The current *Omanhen Kantamanto Amonoo XI* was previously a successful timber merchant in Takoradi. An *omanhen's* authority can be withdrawn for good reason.¹² Enstoolment and destoolment is the responsibility of the *asafo* in conjunction with the town councils, or *beguafo*, made up of wealthy male elders, often members of several state *asafo* companies.¹³ Thus, the *asafo* military organization serves to balance the power of the ruling class.¹⁴

Asafo Companies

A brief description of the *asafo* companies and their functions is provided in order to understand choices made by certain African coastal elites, who held positions within the *asafo* yet also adopted European cultural practices, during the colonial period. For example, as mentioned previously, George Kuntu Blankson and Kobena Mefful served as *tuafohen*. Sarbah was installed as *safuhen*, or captain, of his father's *asafo* in Anomabo in 1898.¹⁵

¹¹Sanders, 261, 288.

¹²Christensen, 117; and A. Ffoulkes, "The Company System in Cape Coast Castle," *Journal of the African Society* 7(1908), 267.

¹³George Nelson Preston, "Perseus and Medusa in Africa: Military Art in Fanteland 1834-1972," *African Arts* 8 (3 Spring 1975), 70.

¹⁴Doran H. Ross, "Cement Lions and Cloth Elephants: Popular Arts of the Fante *Asafo*," in *5000 Years of Popular Culture*, ed. Fred E. H. Schroeder (Bowling Green: Bowling Green UP, 1980), 291.

¹⁵Gocking, 152.

The Fante *asafo* military companies expanded their roles in response to the changing conditions of the trade, economy and growing urbanization during the pre-colonial period. The *omanhen* could use the *asafo* military to exert force on fort governors to impose demands, such as increased land rents. The *asafo* could cut off access to the fort so the occupants were denied food, water and trade. They also could refuse to allow foreign trading ships to land their parties on shore.

At Anomabo Bosman noted:

The *Engliff* here are fo horribly plagued by the *Fantynean Negroes*, that they are fometimes even confined to their Fort, not being permitted to ftir out. And if the *Negroes* diflike the Governour of the Fort they ufually fend him in a *Canoa* in contempt to *Cabocors* [Cape Coast]; nor are the *Engliff* able to oppofe or prevent it, but are obliged to make their Peace by a Prefent. The Town *Annamabo* may very well pafs for the ftrongeft on the whole coaft.¹⁶

Duties during peacetime included policing (especially maintaining peace and security in the markets) and construction (building and repairing European trading establishments).¹⁷ They also functioned as the fighting force of the Fante Coalition during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, Fante *asafo* companies developed these more varied roles and different functions than the *asafo* of the Asante.¹⁸

Today's *asafo* serve four critical roles in the Fante community: political in that they give the common man a voice in governmental issues; social in that they act as a cooperative group to provide labor for public works and as the local unit called upon in cases of emergency; religious in that they play an important role in member funerals and state ceremonies; and military which

¹⁶Bosman, 56. His italics.

¹⁷Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982), 131.

¹⁸The Asante kingdom arose in the late seventeenth century in response to the threatening neighboring kingdom of Denkyira. *Asafo* companies served as militia to unite against Denkyira. Cole and Ross, 6-7; and Doran H. Ross, *Fighting with Art: Appliquéd flags of the Fante Asafo* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1979), 3.

was required in the past more than today.¹⁹ Some of the municipal projects included road clearing, building of the town market, collecting taxes, killing of wild animals that bothered the town and searches for missing persons.²⁰ Both male and female company members live together in town wards, each considered an exclusive neighborhood.²¹ Today's neighborhoods in Anomabo are named after early residents (Akanpaado), geographic attributes (Okokodo) and for the *asafo* groups (Etsiwa) (See Table A-2 and Figure B-2).

In Anomabo, the hierarchy of *asafo* companies is determined by the order of their settlement and location. According to local history, Ebiram Wassa No. 5 was the first *asafo* group to be formed in Anomabo. It was formed from the Nsona clan, the family of the hunter who originally settled the area. The *asafo* group was charged with protecting the settlement from Asante and other aggressors. As this group enlarged over time, Iburon No. 4 was comprised from the Ebiram Wassa group. Then, Dontsin No. 3 was created. Although the royal family belongs to Dontsin, not all members are royalty. These three *asafo* groups work together, both in war and in performances. They are considered the main group, and many of the members live in the hinterland.

The next *asafo* groups formed were Akomfodze No. 7 and Tuafu No. 1. Both of these groups were composed of farmers who farmed inland. When the first group of immigrant fishermen from Dutch Kommenda moved to Anomabo in the late seventeenth century, Akomfodzi took them under their wing. They cleared the coastal area for these fishermen to

¹⁹Preston, 107.

²⁰Kwame Amoah Labi, "Fights, Riots and Disturbances with 'Objectionable and Provocative Art' Among the Fante Asafo Companies," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 2 (1998), 102-103; and Eva L. Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 116.

²¹ Kwame Amoah Labi, "Fante Asafo Flags of Abandze and Kormantse: A Discourse between Rivals." *African Arts* 35 (4 Winter 2002), 28-29.

settle. The fishermen formed the *asafo* group Kyirem No. 6. Akomfodzi and Kyirem work together. They follow the other groups in war and in performance. When immigrant fishermen from Ampenyi, a district of Elmina, moved to Anomabo in the late seventeenth century slightly later than the group from Dutch Kommenda, it was Tuafu that hosted this group. These fishermen became Etsiwa No. 2. Tuafu and Etsiwa are the first groups to go into battle or performance. Thus, in war and in performance, the order is Tuafu and Etsiwa first; Donsin, Iburon and Ebiram Wassa second; and Kyirem and Akomfodzi third.

Earliest Culture Contact

Evidence of early trade in the area known today as Ghana has existed since the introduction of the Saharan Neolithic culture in approximately 900 B.C. This was significant because it forged a line of communication along which people and commodities traveled between the Western Sudan and Ghana. Although it cannot be proved, the Ghana coast may have been among the places where Phoenicians in the seventh or sixth century B.C. docked in their three-year search for gold. Gold could have been one of the items of traffic between Western Mauritania and Morocco and between the Fezzan and the Niger Bend during the first millennium B.C. Dickson noted that “The extent of Carthaginian gold trade in West Africa may well have been kept a secret in conformity with the known Carthaginian policy of falsifying information or covering up their activities in order to discourage trade rivals.”²²

Bayly uses the term “archaic globalization” to describe these older networks that created a geographical expansion of ideas and social forces from the local and regional level to the inter-regional and inter-continental level.²³ Thus, globalized trade in Ghana was present prior to the

²²Dickson, 38; and Nnamdi Elleh, *African Architecture: Evolution and Transformation* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1997), 51.

²³C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 41-42.

arrival of Europeans on the coast. The Ghanaian coast was also in commercial contact with the Western Sudan, and the regions comprising Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria today. The Fante exchanged salt, gold, ivory and kola nuts for beads, cowrie shells and cloths. Anomabo was one of the earliest Fante communities to be established on the coast; it lay at the seaboard end of an accessible inland trading route. It was not until European contact that Anomabo entered the global arena in such a way that an urban port developed.

European Contact

In 1471, the region received its first European visitors, the Portuguese, at Elmina, a small village located a mere 17 miles west of Anomabo. Eager to dominate trade along the coast and to take advantage of inland trade routes, the Dutch, Danish, Swedes, Brandenburgs, French, English and Americans quickly sought to dominate the lucrative coastal trade. Lodges, forts and castles were built by the Europeans who imported masons and also trained locals to assist with their construction. These were built not so much for protection against the natives, but as commercial centers, residences and fortifications against their European rivals. The Fante soon became power brokers as the middlemen between the inland groups bringing gold, ivory, slaves and agricultural produce to the coast and the Europeans and Americans who docked there. New building techniques and materials were introduced to the coastal ports and gradually spread into the interior.

According to Hull, stable and enduring towns and cities of pre-colonial Africa developed as a result of either intense ritual or market activity, lying at the crossroads of commercial exchange.²⁴ Anomabo's development was due to the latter reason. Anomabo is part of a wider trading network that has existed for five centuries. This town absorbed incoming cultures, their

²⁴Hull, 392.

language, clothing, foods, and practices when it suited them, never foregoing those which maintained their specific identity as Fante, Anomabos or even *asafo* members. Thus, the site and its people were continually changing, assimilating and transforming objects, ideas and practices. Some of these things were discarded, while others maintained. In fact, some of the imported ideas became traditions, such as the wearing of Asante kente cloth and the technology of making burnt brick.

When the Portuguese reached Elmina, they found they could trade for gold that had been mined inland in the forest region. To secure this trade, the Portuguese built the first trading post on the Guinea Coast, Fort St. George in Elmina, in the late fifteenth century. Several European traders followed, eager to take advantage of the lucrative trade. Over the next two and half centuries, a fort or castle was built nearly every seven miles along what they termed, the “Gold Coast.”²⁵ Even though the medieval castle as an architectural form was outdated in Europe, it was chosen as a representation of power, to provide relatively luxurious accommodations, and for fortified defensive purposes. Although, in actuality, the forts did not provide the luxury the Europeans hoped for due to the weather conditions of the tropical zone, they did adequately fulfill the other two functions as power image and defensive structure.²⁶ This transplantation of European architectural forms was not without modifications. Local materials were used whenever possible. Eventually, some accommodations were made for the weather conditions and the type of trade conducted. For example, Fort William in Anomabo is the only fort constructed purely for the slave trade.

²⁵ Flather, 102; Hull, 389; and Shumway, 146.

²⁶Doortmont and Savoldi, 17, 23.

Art historian Susan Vogel describes some of the similarities between the European and African worlds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in her introduction to Ezio Bassani and William B. Fagg's exhibition catalog *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory*. Commonalities include thatched residences, societies based on the extended family, certain belief systems, the craftsmen guild system, and the anonymity of workshop artisans. Art historian Peter Mark outlines the long-standing trading relationship between Africa and Europe since antiquity in the same text. He maintains that during the fifteenth century, Africans and Europeans shared technologies, wide-spread illiteracy, and common religious concepts, including a belief in witchcraft and protective charms or amulets.²⁷ Thus Europeans and Africans meeting on the coast at this time were similar in many ways.

European activities begin in Anomabo with the Dutch as early as 1639. With the permission from Omanhen Kurentsir, the Dutch constructed the first European lodge in Anomabo. It was completed under the supervision of Dutch Commander, Arent Jacobsz van der Graeff (1557-1642).²⁸ A convention, originally instituted by the Dutch when they were trying to undermine Portuguese trade, was established whereby European merchants were obliged to give presents, called *dassy*, to brokers who agreed to sell their goods. European merchants found this irksome but still had to follow it for fear of losing their business.²⁹

Urban Growth in the Seventeenth Century

The growth of Ghana's maritime trade in the seventeenth century was part of the broader development of European maritime empires throughout the Atlantic World. Different European

²⁷Ezio Bassani and William B. Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory* (NY: Center for African Art and Prestel-Verlag, 1988), 18-26.

²⁸Hair, Jones and Law, 377; Flather, 23; and W. E. F. Ward, *A History of Ghana* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), 81.

²⁹Dickson, 107. *Dassy* is a corruption of the Akan word *medaase*, meaning thank you.

trading companies maintained mercantile establishments in various Ghanaian ports with gold as the primary export. The personnel of the lodges and forts included Europeans and locally-employed persons, both free and slave.³⁰

Three major trade routes dominated the seventeenth and eighteenth century: the south-north trade between Ghana and the Western Sudan; the coast-interior trade based on the exchange of gold, ivory and slaves from the interior of the country for goods, especially cloth and firearms, obtained from Europeans on the coast; and the sea trade between the coastal settlements of Ghana and Nigeria where the various European merchants acted as middlemen.³¹ Mande traders from the region of Upper Niger and Fon traders from the kingdom of Dahomey (in modern-day Togo and Republic of Benin) contributed to these networks.³² The sea trade was primarily based on the importation of cloths from Whydah, Ardra and Benin, purchased by the Europeans for trade along the Ghanaian coast.³³ Well-traveled north-south trade routes from centers in the Western Sudan reached Anomabo.³⁴ Therefore, Anomabo was located in the strategic position of benefiting from both of these trade routes.

By the mid-seventeenth century, important commercial hubs were located at the port cities of Elmina, Cape Coast and Anomabo. The commercial interest in Anomabo had to be strong for, as Barbot wrote, “The landing at Anomabo is pretty difficult, the shore being full of rocks, among which the sea sometimes breaks very dangerously. The ships boats anchor close by, and

³⁰Kea, 206-207.

³¹Dickson, 41; and Ivor Wilks, “A Medieval Trade-Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea,” *Journal of African History* 3 (2, 1962), 337-341.

³²Dickson, 41-42; Flather, 92; and Labarthe, 71.

³³John Kofi Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbors 1700-1807* (London: William Clowes, 1971), 11.

³⁴Venice Lamb, *West African Weaving* (London: Duckworth, 1975), 74-84.

the people are carry'd ashore in canoes, which come out from the town, to a narrow sandy beach.”³⁵

Anomabo's exponential growth in the last quarter of the seventeenth century was the result of its trading significance and the subsequent immigration of people from nearby coastal areas, especially Abura and Elmina. Over a thousand fishermen relocated from Elmina between 1642 and 1681. This increased population boosted Anomabo's economic and military power.³⁶ The earliest immigration of fishermen from Dutch Kommenda and Elmina formed the neighborhoods known today as Fare, or “fishing village,” and Etsiwa. It seems likely that the Elmina fisherman took over the original Etsii area. They originally used the area northwest of these called Bantuma, or “mausoleum,” as their cemetery. However, today Bantuma is integrated into Anomabo as a housing and commercial neighborhood (Figure B-1).

As trade increased and the town developed into a more urban environment, more groups immigrated to Anomabo. According to local historians, these people came from Elmina, Kommenda, and Winneba as well as from the Gomoa and Ekumfi districts. Two descriptions from the eighteenth century describe Anomabo's dimensions and appearance. John Apperley wrote that:

...this place is distinguished by the Cabboceer and Fishing Towns...The Length of both Towns, from East to West is one Mile and $\frac{1}{4}$ and built along the Beach, the Breadth from North to South half a mile. The Old Fort stands in the Middle between the Towns, on a Rock eight Feet above High Water Mark, and sixty Yards distant. There is a steep Beach opposite the Fort, but a tolerable Good Landing

³⁵Hair, Jones and Law, 420. This may be Barbot's recollection or from his brother James Barbot who anchored at Anomabo.

³⁶A. Adu Boahen, “Asante and Fante A.D. 1000-1800,” in *A Thousand Years of West African History: A Handbook for Teachers and Students*, ed. J. F. Ade Ajayi and Ian Espie (Ibadan, Nigeria: Ibadan UP, 1965), 183; Flather 36-38; and Dickson, 68.

Place for Canoes...on a flat sandy part of the Beach between the Rocks opposite the Gate of the Fort.³⁷

Reverend Thomas Thompson's account elaborated further: "Ananaboe, as being the principal of three towns, which are situated near together, gives Name to the other two, which are otherwise called the Fishing-Town, and Agar."³⁸

The Arts

Artisans were drawn to these growing mercantile centers. The urbanization of artistic production provided a basis for the establishment of exchange relations between coastal cities and the hinterland. Potters, smiths, leather workers, hatters, and other artisans sold their wares in exchange for produce or gold.³⁹ An estimated 5 to 25 percent of port population on the Gold Coast during the seventeenth century was comprised of artisans. Many of the coastal towns had inns and dancing houses as well as occupational corporations or guilds – artisan guilds, military guilds and merchant-broker guilds.⁴⁰

The names of the best artisans would have been known in their lifetimes, and sometimes extending past the life of the artist and the object. Therefore, portable works were unsigned. This idea extends to architecture, for documents do not record the names of architects, contractors and masons who constructed these works of art. Individuals would have built reputations based on their craftsmanship and the designs they introduced.

³⁷J. J. Crooks, *Records Relating to the Gold Coast Settlements From 1750 to 1874* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1923; reprint, London: Frank Cass, 1973), 24 (page citations are to the reprint edition). From a letter by John Apperley dated March 9, 1753, Annamaboe.

³⁸Flather, 61.

³⁹Kea, 174.

⁴⁰Ibid., 40-41.

The Fante are not weavers. The earliest accounts state that the Fante wore garments of animal-hide or barkcloth produced within the households by women.⁴¹ In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries cotton cloths imported from the Kwakwa coast in today's Ivory Coast as well as the locally-produced bark cloth comprised the common dress in towns and villages. With the growth of Dutch trade after 1595 linen and woolen textiles became available in greater quantities. These became the most important of the seventeenth century textiles imported by the European factors, often representing up to one-fourth or more of the value of a ship's cargo. Between the 1620s and 1660s, coarse and fine linen and woolen cloths had mostly replaced Kwakwa and bark cloths as the conventional dress in coastal towns, whereas Kwakwa and bark cloths were still mainly worn by town slaves and rural populations in the hinterland who could not afford such imported luxuries. During the latter half of the seventeenth century one of the distinctions between commoners of the towns and those of the villages were the cloths they wore.⁴²

Barbot stated that less expensive cloths made in Holland and Cape Verde were worn around the waist in the late seventeenth century. Wealthier nobles and merchants distinguished themselves with larger and richer materials, such as China satin, taffetas or colored Indian cloth worn as a mantle.⁴³ By the end of the seventeenth century bark cloth production declined significantly, particularly in the coastal towns, as the locals relied upon imported clothing.⁴⁴

⁴¹Ibid., 299.

⁴²Ibid., 209, 298-299.

⁴³ Flather, 36-44; Hair, Jones and Law, 493-494; and Margaret Priestley, "Richard Brew; An Eighteenth-Century Trader at Anomabu" *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4 (1 Legon 1959), 36.

⁴⁴Kea, 299.

Thus, the image of the urban coastal elite was expressed through the wearing of imported textiles and fashions at this early period.

The Eighteenth Century and the Height of Anomabo

Anomabo is considered the site where a disproportionate number of celebrated Ghanaian political, religious and other well-educated and influential persons and/or their families originated. It is the first Fante capital, and as such, it is considered the maternal birthplace of modern Ghana. An African coastal elite class developed in Anomabo out of this commercial growth of Anomabo and the availability of Western education.

During the 1650s the number of ships trading along the seaboard averaged more than 50 a year, and by the early 1700s more than 150 ships visited annually.⁴⁵ Itinerant traders of the Assin state dominated commercial inland trade in the seventeenth century. When the Assin were destroyed by Denkyira in 1698, trade was opened to ambitious middlemen within the Central Region. The Fante were quick to exploit the advantage of their position on northern trade routes that lead to the coast.⁴⁶

Anomabo first rose to prominence when the Fante began to expand their territory between 1707-1712 and 1716-1724. Much of their success is attributed to their acquisition of guns and ammunition from the British.⁴⁷ Like so many African states, the Fante used this imported weaponry to conquer and grow their territory during the eighteenth century. The people they conquered and absorbed into their culture or sold as slaves were little different from the Fante.

⁴⁵Ibid., 211-212.

⁴⁶James R. Sanders, "The Expansion of the Fante and the Emergence of Asante in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of African History* 20 (3, 1979), 356.

⁴⁷Ibid.

They shared cultural, religious and housing practices. It is during his period that Anomabo became an urban center, attracting cultures from within Africa and without.

By 1700 the Fante were powerful enough to close the trade routes to the Central Region ports and delay trade if they wanted.⁴⁸ They maintained this position for more than a century. Among the larger and more prominent of the coastal settlements were Axim, Shama, Komenda, Elmina, Cape Coast, Anomabo, Great Kormantin and Accra.⁴⁹ Yet, Anomabo emerged as the leader, both in economic prowess and military might.⁵⁰ Trade continued to intensify into the eighteenth century, with Anomabo becoming the largest city on the coast with a population of some 15,000 by 1807.⁵¹

In the eighteenth century, silk fabric and thread became increasingly important trade items although North African woolens, Indian cottons, and northern European linens had been the most in demand in earlier coastal trade.⁵² Historian Ray A. Kea reveals that among the wide range of goods offered for sale at European establishments, textiles and metalware were in greatest demand.⁵³ More than 200 Dutch ships trading on the coast between 1593 and 1607 included in their merchandise: textiles (including thin silk cloths or taffetas), nap or pile cloths, narrow cloths (*smallen*), linens, Leiden and Spanish blankets, several types of woolen cloths, and carpets. Trade goods other than textiles included metals and metalware (iron bars, axes and

⁴⁸Ibid., 286; and Dickson, 107-108.

⁴⁹Dickson, 66.

⁵⁰Labarthe, 71.

⁵¹Equal urban populations of 15,000 were recorded in Kumasi (Asante) and Abomey (Fon/Dahomey kingdom) later in the nineteenth-century. Anomabo's size was very large in comparison for its time period. Flather, 102; Hull, 389; and Shumway, 146.

⁵²Peggy Stoltz Gilfoy, *Patterns of Life: West African Strip-Weaving Traditions* (Washington, DC and London: National Museum of African Art and Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 35.

⁵³Kea, 207-208.

hatchets, spades, copper basins, copper pots and buckets, tin pots and pans) and various cutlery and weapons. Other items included beads and coral, earthenware, mirrors, hats, shirts and leather bags. Although Kea does not report that these European goods were directly traded at Anomabo, they were traded in nearby ports such as Moree.⁵⁴ These interactions, cloths and goods all provided exciting visual stimuli for the Anomabos.

According to Hull, “we must see a town or a city as a center, not only of population but of religion, the arts, governance, the military, industry, or commerce . . . Towns and cities also act as cultural transmitters . . . urban synthesizers of a wide array of diverse cultures . . . ”⁵⁵ Great cities like Anomabo were founded on the efforts of middlemen, “or focal points of commercial exchange.”⁵⁶ Emerging urban centers like Anomabo developed societies with effective leadership that could command resources and control the increasingly diverse population. The city also had to have a supply of skilled people to perform specialized tasks. Anomabo not only hosted European traders but also it catered to traders and laborers of various kinds from other African regions, creating ethnically diverse populations. This cultural mixing “played a key role in the emergence of an urban coastal identity and the development of a larger national identity.”⁵⁷

The Melting Pot

Contact with American traders, mainly interested in the slave trade, began in the early eighteenth century.⁵⁸ Captains from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York were frequent

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Hull, 388-391, 400.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Holsey, 28.

⁵⁸Flather, 102; Hull, 389; and Shumway, 146.

American visitors to Anomabo.⁵⁹ According to Flather, Anomabo became an established quality brand name in the marketing of slaves in America.⁶⁰

Additionally, traders from Europe and the Caribbean as well as the African interior brought goods and slaves to the coastal hub to exchange for gold, guns, brandy, New England rum, Nigerian and Indian textiles, European linens, Brazilian tobacco and a variety of other goods. Merchants of the Royal African Company in the eighteenth century came to the coast to make their fortunes. They came from all over Great Britain, including Ireland. Anomabos likewise came in contact on a daily basis with a wide variety of other peoples from the interior – namely the Asante and Islamic Mande traders from the north as well as Fon traders from the kingdom of Dahomey to the east.

Repatriated Brazilian slaves came to the Gold Coast at the end of the eighteenth century. Possibly by this time, sailing boats manned entirely by Africans were transporting large quantities of African produce directly to Brazil.⁶¹ Indian soldiers were brought by the British to serve at the fort. This cast of characters also included the occasional crew of pirates, particularly between 1713 and 1722, whose origins might have been anywhere in the world.⁶² Some of the more permanent migrants built homes, shops and storage facilities. Some, who married Anomabo women and had mulatto children, built homes for their wives and sent their children to the fort schools.

⁵⁹Flather, 91; and Elizabeth Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, vol. 3 (NY: Octagon, 1965), 209-210.

⁶⁰Flather, 91.

⁶¹Such activity was taking place prior to 1915 as reported by Sir Harry Johnson in Bush, 53. It is difficult to confirm whether this sea passage was traveled as early as the eighteenth century, but it is possible.

⁶²Shumway, 42.

Europeans formed an insignificant proportion of the coastal population. They were often confined to their forts. Yet, for those Europeans who lived longer, lived outside the fort, and interacted more with the local population, they adapted some of their behaviors to Akan social institutions and beliefs. Richard Brew, who lived in Anomabo for about 25 years, is one such example. Hence they acknowledged the importance of chiefs, elders, and the *asafo* through a system of allowances and gifts on special occasions. A considerable difference in European attitude existed between the eighteenth century and the late nineteenth century.⁶³

Mulattoes, the offspring of liaisons between European men and African women, lived mainly in the coastal settlements and were able to bridge the two cultures. Due to this liminality, the mulattoes soon held many of the military, linguistic and commercial posts in the coastal cities. Most spoke Dutch or English in addition to local languages. They received some degree of Western education, and they often had European names in addition to their African ones. These liminal peoples, like other Atlantic Creoles located in major ports throughout the Atlantic World, handled much of the expansion of trans-Atlantic commerce and the resulting cultural and demographic transformation of the Atlantic World. These mulattoes held lucrative middleman positions during the highly competitive years of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century, in the face of Asante invasions and European companies that would have preferred to trade directly with Asante, which by this time had become the most powerful of the inland Akan states.⁶⁴

It seemed surprising then that none of the families I spoke with admitted to mulattoes as residence builders or prominent members in their families. Important mulattoes in Anomabo

⁶³Priestley, *West African Trade*, 8-9, 19.

⁶⁴Shumway 35, 51; and Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap and Harvard UP, 1998), 17-28.

include descendants of Richard Brew, Governor of Fort William and builder of Castle Brew. Even though the Akrampa neighborhood in Elmina was recognized by the Dutch as a distinct ward associated with local mulattoes in the 1780s,⁶⁵ no such ward has been described in Anomabo. Berlin noted that African Creoles in North America gained social prominence, and “intermarriage with established peoples allowed creoles to fabricate lineages that gained them full membership in local elites.”⁶⁶ Mulattoes who intermarried into Anomabo society became incorporated into the lineage as fully African family members. My assistant Nana Kwa, a well-read local historian, accurately recounted that Samuel Collins Brew, great grandson of Richard Brew, had a European great grandfather and Fante great grandmother. The Brew family descendants currently living in Anomabo however did not remember the mixed heritage, nor were they aware of Richard Brew.

Besi Kurentsir

Perhaps the most important leader in Anomabo history is Besi Kurentsir, or John Currantee, or Coranti, in European and American documents. He was born in the 1680s or 1690s and became chief of Anomabo city in the 1730s.⁶⁷ Kurentsi is a Borbor Fante name (see page 68) and still refers to a quarter of Mankessim, suggesting that his ancestry belongs to the early Akan migrants to the coast in the fourteenth century.⁶⁸ Kurentsir was the last of Anomabo’s first dynasty of powerful chiefs. Kurentsir married Ekua, the daughter of King Ansa Sesarakoo, or Sasraku, of Akwamu after the defeat of the Akwamu state by a coalition in 1730. His marriage

⁶⁵DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 58-59.

⁶⁶Berlin, 20.

⁶⁷Flather, 59. Shumway gives the date of 1747 for his ascendancy to Chieftancy, but this is too late considering his sons were sent to Europe previous to 1747, and during his reign. Shumway, 118.

⁶⁸Shumway, 118.

led to the adoption of Ekua's son, William Ansah, a. k. a. Attoh Ahuma.⁶⁹ Kurensir was a dominant personality in local affairs. He developed the first Fante Coalition, and after much negotiation, he allowed the British to build Fort William in Anomabo. His leadership exemplifies the advantage Africans had over the Europeans of the coast during the pre-colonial period, and his skillful ability to bridge the two cultures to his and the city's great benefit.

Kurensir utilized the *asafo* companies in a military expansion that transformed Anomabo from a single city under one chief to a consolidated state with a hierarchy of chiefs subordinate to the *omanhen* of Anomabo. The new state of Anomabo attained a considerable level of power and prosperity. From about 1750 to 1807, Kurensir's Fante Coalition effectively exploited the trans-Atlantic slave trade based on the port in Anomabo. The wealth acquired through trade enabled the Fante Coalition to enforce restrictions and taxes on trade through military action. This ensured a profit for the coastal middlemen throughout the eighteenth century.⁷⁰

Kurensir was courted persistently by both the British and the French from the 1730s to 1750s. Each merchant company wanted to build a fort at Anomabo to take advantage of the site's commercial potential, and for this the permission of Kurensir was essential. Kurensir, who had some British schooling in Cape Coast, acquired some knowledge of the English language. When Reverend Thompson visited Anomabo in 1751, he was impressed by Kurensir's modest education and capable governing abilities. Although Thompson came to the coastal area with the intentions of establishing his residence and building a school, he was not given permission. Though Kurensir valued education as a means to facilitate commercial interests, he was wary of

⁶⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 13-14.

⁷⁰Flather 60; and Shumway, 11.

the school's acceptance within the Fante social and religious network. His caution proved true, as none of his educated sons were elected to succeed him.

With this same wisdom, Kurentsir played the British and French against each other for about 20 years, extracting as many benefits as he could. Priestley noted that "even after the British had secured the advantage and had begun building operations in 1753, he continued to behave in the same way."⁷¹ The most striking example of these relationships comes from the education of his two sons, Lewis Banishee (b.c. 1725) and William Ansah Sesarakoo (b.c. 1727).

The Education of Kurentsir's Sons

The details of their education and experience are provided herein to illustrate several points. Firstly, these princes are among the first from sub-Saharan West Africa to receive European educations. This education was completely financed by the European merchant companies as a diplomatic tool to establish their trading forts along the Ghanaian coastline, further demonstrating the dependence of the Europeans on coastal Africans.

Secondly, Sesarakoo's experience, in particular, is valuable for two reasons. His book details his mid-eighteenth century experience and is the earliest record available from an African from Anomabo. He also makes the choice upon his return to serve at Fort William as a linguist, or clerk, aiding in the lucrative coastal slave trade despite his four-year experience as a slave in Barbados. This choice contrasts with the one made by another eighteenth-century prince, Olaudah Equiano a. k. a. Gustavus Vassa, who decided to assist the abolitionists in England.⁷²

Thirdly, the story of Sesarakoo relates to the ability of those in positions of high status, though only very few during this period, to make different choices within the British system.

⁷¹Flather 61-64; and Priestley, *West African Trade*, 14.

⁷²Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself* (London, 1794).

This takes place during the pre-colonial era as a result of urbanization, and is not an effect of colonialism. Differing choices, made visible in architecture, also occur between the African coastal elites dealing with the British in the colonial period.

The eldest son, Banishee, was sent to France for his education in the early 1740s. Using the eloquent gentleman's English of the period, Sesarakoo wrote about his half-brother Banishee making:

a strong impression...He was not only cloathed, lodged, maintained, and attended, but educated in all Respects in a Manner suitable to one of that Dignity; and as such was received and treated at Court, where he appeared on all Occasions in a splendid Dress, and was allowed to wear a Knot upon his right shoulder...after he remained in France a proper Time...he was sent home in one of the Company's Ships, in a very handsome Manner, and with fine laced Cloaths to dazzle the Eyes of the Negroes, and to draw the Father over entirely to the French Interest.⁷³

Nothing is documented about Banishee's employment after his return.

Sesarakoo was sent to England for his education in 1744 a short time after Banishee's return. His journey however was to be marked by a tragic beginning. "A certain Captain" tricked Kurentsir into entrusting him to deliver his son to England. Instead, the Captain steered his ship toward Bridgetown, Barbados, where he proceeded to sell Sesarakoo as a slave like the other Africans aboard ship. The captain pretended he was taking Sesarakoo to England throughout the entire journey, for when Sesarakoo was put into the boat to go ashore he thought he was in England. In this smaller boat with two other slaves, Sesarakoo realized his plight.⁷⁴ He wrote elegantly about slavery in his introduction:

For whatever some Men may think, human Nature is the same in all Countries, and under all Complexions; and to fancy that superior Power or superior Knowledge gives one Race of People a Title to use another Race who are weaker or more

⁷³Sesarakoo, 28-31.

⁷⁴Ibid., 33-43; and William Dodd, *The African Prince, When in England, to Zara, at His Father's Court* (London: J. Payne and J. Bouquet, 1755). The date of 1744 was provided by Dodd in the "Advertisement" at the front of his text.

ignorant with Haughtiness or Contempt, is to abuse Power and Science, and in spite of both to shew ourselves worse Men than those who have neither.⁷⁵

Sesarakoo remained on Barbados for four years. During this time, the captain wrote to Kurensir explaining the matter. It can be supposed that the captain had a change of heart since he died soon after he sent the letter; perhaps nearing death, the captain regretted his actions.

In Anomabo, Kurensir continued to be courted by the French and British. Upon receiving the captain's letter, he no doubt wished to end communication with the British, but he could not. The French and British had undergone the Anglo-French War of 1744-1748, and the British had effectively run the French contingent out of Anomabo. Thus, with great tact, Kurensir forgave the British for their part in Sesarakoo's sale, but reminded them of how the French kindly treated Banishee and of the British insult Kurensir received. The "English Caboceiro," or manager of the English Company, promised the *omanhen* the recovery of his son, education in England and safe return. This captain volunteered to take his own son along the journey to secure Kurensir's confidence.⁷⁶

The captain found Sesarakoo in Barbados in 1748, and took him to England.⁷⁷ Sesarakoo was placed under the care of the Right Honorable Earl of Halifax, First Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.⁷⁸ Horace Walpole wrote in 1749 that "There are two black Princes of Anamaboe here, who are in fashion at all assemblies."⁷⁹ Walpole and other contemporary accounts state that

⁷⁵Ibid., ix-x.

⁷⁶The name of this caboceiro and his son are not given by Sesarakoo. Sesarakoo, 44-48.

⁷⁷Ibid., 48-52. The date of 1748 was provided by Dodd in the "Advertisement" at the front of his text.

⁷⁸Priestley, *West African Trade*, 20.

⁷⁹He goes on to tell the story of Sesarakoo and "another sprightly youth" who were sold into slavery and then recovered and brought to England. Peter Cunningham, ed. *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford*. Vol. 2, 1749-1759 (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1906), 30-31. Letter 2 to Horace Mann, March 23, 1749. The October 16, 1754, minutes for the British Company of Merchants state: "Two Black Boys at Rochester...Agna and Suckee" are to be carried to Cape Coast Castle by the *Gosport*. Donnan, vol. 2, 490, 508, 509. It's not likely that this refers to

Sesarakoo and his companion were “richly dressed in the European manner” and introduced to the King of England, His court, and attended the theaters (Figure B-14).⁸⁰

Captain Baird brought Sesarakoo to Anomabo from England on the *H.M.S. Surprise*, a 20-gun frigate.

We delivered to him [the king of Anomabo] his son with, alas, all the feelings of an Englishman, magnificently equipped in a full-dress scarlet suit, with gold lace a la Bourgogne, point d’Espagne hat, handsome white feather, diamond solitaire buttons, etc. The King bore no other mark of Royal dignity than a piece of broad-cloth thrown over his shoulders. He carried his son on shore in full dress, under a Royal Salute from our men-of-war, and the moment he landed stripped the poor Prince, giving him no other mark of distinction from the other savages than that borne by himself.⁸¹

Afterward great festivals were held. “...one is not surprised to learn that the distressed and humiliated prince did not appear again on board the ship in his undress uniform.” What happened was probably misread by Lieut.-General Sir J. Spencer Ewart, K.C.B.⁸² As Brown states, “...the stripping of the Prince of his foreign habiliments was not a degradation, but an honour to him, to be introduced to his father’s subjects in Native garb, as, according to custom, he could not be received otherwise. The fetes held, which gave the narrator ‘a perfect and painful idea of savage life,’ were really expressive of the great joy the people felt at the return of their Prince after a

Sesarakoo (though Agna could be a corruption of Ansah) and his companion because of the location and ship. Probably repeating this reference, Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma gave the name of this youth as “Sackitte” in his 1905 book *Memoirs of West African Celebrities Europe &c (1700-1850)*. Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma, *Memoirs of West African Celebrities, Europe, &c. (1700-1850) with Special Reference to the Gold Coast* (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1905), 36. William Dodd reprinted this youth’s 200-line poem, originally published in the *Gentlemen’s Magazine*. Dodd.

⁸⁰Brown, vol. 2, 105-108; and “William Ansah Sesaraku,” *The Gentlemen’s Magazine* 19 (February 1749), 89-90.

⁸¹Lieut.-General Sir J. Spencer Ewart, K.C.B., “Colonel Hamilton of the Honourable East India Company’s Service,” *Blackwood’s Magazine* 208 (1262 December 1920), 773-774.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 774.

long sojourn in a foreign land.”⁸³ No mention is given about his companion’s return, or if he returned at all.

When the British completed Fort William in 1760, Sesarakoo became the clerk, acting as linguist and writer. He belonged to one of the handful of literate African clerks, messengers, and linguists employed in the service of the British.⁸⁴ Sesarakoo, who knew the indecencies suffered by slaves in the West Indies, chose to work in a position of high status that also aided commerce in African slavery.

Kurensir’s Legacy

Kurensir also had a daughter, Effua Ansah, who became the wife of Richard Brew, contemporary of Kurensir. The *omanhen* died on June 28, 1764.⁸⁵ Kurensir was one of the first Ghanaian chiefs to send sons to Europe to receive Western education; this example was soon adopted by all those of high status who could afford it, merchants and chiefs. This has become a Ghanaian tradition observed to this day. Priestley stated the importance of Western education during the eighteenth century:

Allied in the eighteenth century with trade and to a limited degree with Christianity, education emphasized individual action and rights, and the validity of personal decision as against the collectivism of extended family and clan. It led to status based on opportunity and achievement instead of solely on birth and lineage . . . Western education [first] embraced a small and select group in the maritime towns. This included the relatives of influential Africans as a form of coastal insurance policy for the safeguarding of trade, and the mulatto offspring of merchants like Richard Brew.⁸⁶

⁸³Brown, 114.

⁸⁴Priestley, *West African Trade*, 21.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 13-15.

⁸⁶Priestley, *West African Trade*, 19-20.

The first school of Western education on the coast, later known as the Colonial School, was established by the British in 1751 at Cape Coast Castle for mulatto children. Thompson, as mentioned before, was not allowed to establish a school in Anomabo. Yet, Thompson returned several times between 1751 and 1755 to preach at Kurensir's house, probably the Omanhen's Palace. One of his early followers included a bricklayer named Coffi. This bricklayer was likely working on Fort William and Castle Brew at the time. Thompson endeavored to send six boys under the age of ten to London for education. While Cape Coast readied three boys for the journey, Anomabo could not decide on the children to send. Flather notes that this "indecision" was more likely resistance to Western education.⁸⁷

According to Flather, Kurensir "could be advanced as an ancestral hero for modern Ghana: a powerful warrior-Chief, a master trader, incomparably clever in an age of grand deception, flexible to the needs of his society in a time of change, but uncompromisingly against change which could undermine the traditional foundations of that society, Coranti stood firm as an early exponent of positive action and non-alignment."⁸⁸ Thus, it is surprising that Anomabos today do not remember Kurensir except as a chief from "ancient" times. For all he accomplished, he is not celebrated today in Anomabo, the Fante region or the country of Ghana.

Late Eighteenth Century

Trade in Anomabo during the latter half of the eighteenth century continually grew, making Anomabo the busiest port on the coast. Priestley noted that "between 1749 and 1752, British and French warships visited the coast carrying a variety of gifts, for example, brandy, a large silver cup, a sword, a gun, cloaks, and feathered hats."⁸⁹ DeCorse's finds in Elmina

⁸⁷Flather, 67-68.

⁸⁸Flather, 57.

⁸⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 39.

illuminate some of the diversity and changing fashions of the thriving coastal culture. The Europeans experimented in bringing new items, such as spectacles, mirrors and keys. Other artifacts uncovered by DeCorse include: imported ceramics, imported and local tobacco pipe fragments, guns and gun parts. He also found metal hardware, furniture parts, cutlery and tools.⁹⁰

Thus, during the eighteenth-century, common people could become wealthy merchants through their own trading efforts. A new class of African emerged who acquired his property chiefly by trading with Europeans and whose house was more splendidly furnished than his neighbor's house, having imported European furniture and other goods. This new "merchant prince" symbolized individual ownership of property, an inheritance tie between father and son, and social ascent through personal effort. These merchant princes possessed wealth in slaves, houses and money often surpassing that of most of the coastal chiefs. As a result, these merchants came to wield great influence in coastal trade and politics.⁹¹

Richard Miles, employed by the Company of Merchants, kept detailed records on the coast between 1772 and 1780. His lists provide indirect information about the African traders with whom he dealt. In Anomabo, Miles purchased slaves from more than 60 dealers. The main five traders were Yellow Joe, Little Adu, Amuru, Kwasi Kuah and Sham. Yellow Joe and Little Adu were chief elders in what the English called "Fishing Town" and "Fantee Town," Fare and Krokessin respectively. Sham lived in Fare, and according to Miles, was "not fond of selling his slaves in the Fort." Historian George E. Metcalf interpreted Miles's records and maintained that those in political power, such as Amonoo I, did not become too involved with dealings at the

⁹⁰DeCorse, "An Archaeological Study," fig. 3.8, 83, 105, 109-110.

⁹¹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 23-24; and Fynn, 25.

fort. Although they were friendly to Miles, they feared becoming overly dependent on the British Company of Merchants.⁹²

The American presence in Anomabo trade remained strong until the start of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), which had a significant economic impact on Anomabo. With the fleets busy at war, a general scarcity of trans-Atlantic traders came to the coast. The interruption in the British and American trade caused the price of slaves to drop and the price of European goods to skyrocket.⁹³ This means that those who had become dependent upon European goods paid more money to keep up appearances, while at the same time, they earned less due to the temporary lull in the slave trade. The recession ended when the war ended and commercial interests peaked again.

Labarthe wrote in 1803 that Anomabo was the center of commerce for the Gold Coast.⁹⁴ The prominence of Anomabo was not lost on the Asante who wanted direct access to the coast and trade with the Europeans and Americans. Commercial interests drove the more centrally-organized Asante to periodically invade key trade routes within the Fante region and into Anomabo state from the 1750s to 1807. Flather considered this period “a prelude to disaster.”⁹⁵

The Asante Invasion - June 15, 1807

The turning point for Anomabo was the Asante invasion on June 15, 1807. Governor Henry Meredith (1801-1847), who witnessed the battle first-hand, estimated that 8,000 persons

⁹²George E. Metcalf, “Gold, Assortments and the Trade Ounce: Fante Merchants and the Problem of Supply and Demand in the 1770s,” *The Journal of African History* 28 (1, 1987), 30-31, 40.

⁹³Shumway, 112.

⁹⁴Labarthe, 71.

⁹⁵Flather, 83.

were killed and another 2,000 enslaved.⁹⁶ Of the estimated 15,000 townspeople in Anomabo, nearly two-thirds were lost. The defeat by the Asante brought an abrupt end to the loosely-formed Fante Coalition. Powerful and wealthy members of coastal society were “ruined.”⁹⁷ After the defeat, Anomabo reverted to a small town and lost its commercial prominence for a time.⁹⁸

Fifteen years later Anomabo was gradually rising to a position of commercial prominence and political and social influence again, a position it would hold until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Imports in 1816 include Indian cloth, canvas, linseed, tar, lead, brass, paints and barrels.⁹⁹ Although having been defeated so severely by the Asante in 1807, by the early 1820s Anomabo ranked second in importance to Cape Coast and was well ahead of Accra.¹⁰⁰

Nineteenth Century Developments

The escalating British intervention between the Fante and Asante preceded colonialism. The Fante have never been a centralized polity even though strong rulers governed certain states, called “commonwealths” by the British.¹⁰¹ While several Fante states would band together against a common enemy, they always returned to their acephalous organization afterward. Kurensir was the only leader in Fante history to this point that attempted to centralize the area via his Fante Confederacy. This decentralized system allowed for the growth of powerful port cities. The new-found wealth of these urban centers gave their *asafo* companies the capacity to dominate interior trade routes, effectively separating the Asante from the European powers on

⁹⁶Henry Meredith, *An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1812; reprint, London: Frank Cass, 1967), 152 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

⁹⁷Shumway, 142.

⁹⁸Flather, 136.

⁹⁹Henry Swanzy, “A Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast,” *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society* 2 (2 Achimoto 1956), 89.

¹⁰⁰Flather 105.

¹⁰¹Sanders, “The Political Development,” 98-102.

the coast and establishing the Fante as middlemen in the trade.¹⁰² Although battles had intensified during the eighteenth century, the Asante led formal military attacks on Fante towns and cities between 1805 and 1807. The Fante *asafo* expanded their roles to become fighting forces of independent Fante states and the loosely re-formed Fante Coalition.¹⁰³ In time however, the Fante decentralized system with its varied alliances and in-fighting, proved to be a weak political and military force against centralized Asante forces.

British Government Takes Over Fort William and the Coast

A British report, written before April 14, 1847, detailed the history of Fort William and Anomabo during this period.

In 1821 the Fort at Anomabu passed to the crown when the British Government assumed the Government of the colony. It was transferred again to the merchants in 1828, when the British Government relinquished the colony only to come under the British Government again in 1843, when crown colony Government was resumed. . . . On the 6th August, 1844, Lieut. Governor Hill strongly recommended to Lord Stanley that the Fort should be reoccupied, and a person appointed to administer justice and decide the numerous appeals made by natives, and also to keep peace among the different petty states in that district. He goes on to say "There are two resident merchants at Anomabu, Mr. Cruickshank and Mr. Stanley. The latter is a very young man. The first is a magistrate, but declines giving up his time to decide the constant calls arising from petty disputes of the natives."¹⁰⁴

Such a report provides evidence that Anomabo had become so dependent upon British aid that the coastal territory was under British "Government of the colony" as early as 1821. Soon after George Maclean, President of the Council of Merchants, arrived on the coast in 1830, he and Richard and John Lander visited William Hutchison on March 3rd in Anomabo. Hutchison was the former British consul to Kumasi. He had made Fort William his own property shortly

¹⁰²Flather, 38-41, 57-60.

¹⁰³Shumway, 11.

¹⁰⁴"A Short History of Anomabu Castle," ADM. 23/1/337, Ancient Castles and Forts in the Central Province, previous to April 14, 1947, 5. Ghana National Archives, Cape Coast.

after the official British withdrawal of Kumasi in 1826. Although Maclean's intention was probably to convince Hutchison to give up his hold on the fort, Hutchison could not be forced to relinquish it. According to a description written by the Landers: "Mr. Hutchison lives in his castle like an English baron in the feudal times" with "his silken banners" flying over "his turreted castle."¹⁰⁵ Hutchison remained in the fort without pay until his death in 1832.

Amazingly, he was able to persuade other merchants to pay for the fort's upkeep. After he died, the merchant company once again owned the fort. The British government reestablished their ownership of the fort in 1844 when the Gold Coast colony was established.¹⁰⁶

For decades, the British operated as mediators between the two Akan groups, eventually usurping control. Their interest was commercial; they did not want the trade routes to be severed, denying access to the Asante gold mines. Yet, the British were sympathetic to the pitiable state of the Fante people, often starved due to the lack of men available to fish and farm. When the Asante attacked the Fante of Elmina in 1873, the British retaliated. Under Major General Garnet Wolseley, the British defeated the Asante who signed the Treaty of Fomena on March 14, 1874. By July of the same year, Britain formally established the British Crown Colony of the Gold Coast. This made legal a colonial policy that had been in force since the signing of the bond between coastal leaders and British in 1844.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵Flanders, 119.

¹⁰⁶Flather, 118, footnote 320.

¹⁰⁷Fynn, 33. Oddly, A monoo IV is honored with a bronze statue in Anomabo as one of their three heroes. The other statues honor Dr. James Emman Kodwo Mensa Otsiwadu Humamfunsam Kwegyir Aggrey (October 18, 1875-July 30, 1927) and George Ekem Ferguson (1864-1897). A monoo IV is credited by locals as one of the primary Fante signers of the Bond of 1844, which led the nation toward colonialism. However, the dates of reign for A monoo IV recorded by Sanders (July 3, 1869 – November 23, 1900) do not correlate. Sanders, "The Political Development," 280. When I asked local historians about this, they were not able to rectify this discrepancy. No statues honor Kurensir even though he was Anomabo state's first *omanhen* and perhaps the Fante's greatest leader.

Coastal Economy

After Britain passed the Parliamentary Act of 1807 making it illegal for Britain to participate in the trade in enslaved Africans, nothing was done for many years to implement the Act. British participation in the slave trade continued. The Act of 1833 abolished slavery in a few British colonies but not in the ever-growing British Empire. Cotton and other slave-grown products contributed to Britain's mid-nineteenth century wealth. The economy on the Ghanaian coast slowly changed as merchants incorporated the growing commodity of palm oil into their trade.¹⁰⁸

Port closures were indicative of late-nineteenth century economic and political instability. As the seats of the colonial administration, Cape Coast and Accra became the most important port cities during the colonial period. Second to them, ports survived if they had more pronounced bays and more calm water allowing ships to anchor closer to shore. These included those at Winneba, Apam, Shama, Elmina and Moree. Anomabo, with its rocks, was never an easy harbor. Cacao, the basis for chocolate, was first exported in 1885. By 1911, it was worth more than gold. As such, the success of the ports became linked to the spread of cacao. Railways and roads were constructed to aid in transporting cacao along with other exports grown in the hinterland, such as rubber and palm oil, to the coastal ports. Because of its proximity to Cape Coast, Anomabo lost much of its trade and its port closed in 1912. Both Cape Coast and Saltpond then thrived. Other surrounding smaller ports closed soon after.¹⁰⁹

Since Anomabo was less able to compete successfully with the established centers or with newly emerging ports, the British, sensing Anomabo's decline, were reluctant to expend funds

¹⁰⁸Shumway, 164.

¹⁰⁹Kwamina B. Dickson, "Evolution of Seaports in Ghana: 1800-1928," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (1 March 1965), 98-99, 107-111.

on public works such as port rehabilitation and warehouse construction that would have improved trading facilities at Anomabo.¹¹⁰ Several members of the elite class felt compelled to move from Anomabo to larger centers of trade. Most moved to Cape Coast. Their connections to Anomabo did not end there, for their *abusua* were in Anomabo. Therefore, not only did the elite class build new homes in Cape Coast and elsewhere, but also they built family homes in Anomabo.

Christianity and the British

Brought by Europeans as early as the late fifteenth century, Christianity is the dominant faith of Ghana today. Although Portuguese missionaries met initially with very little success,¹¹¹ Christianity developed a following among coastal Akans in the early nineteenth century. Several denominations established formal bases, including the Presbyterian Basel Mission at Christiansborg (an area within Accra) in 1828 and Akropong in 1835; the Methodist Church and the Evangelical Presbyterian Bremen Mission founded between 1829 and 1847; and Roman Catholic missions in Elmina in 1880.¹¹² Methodism developed a large following in Anomabo in the middle of the nineteenth century, encouraged mainly through the efforts of Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman. Most of Anomabo's coastal elite members were Methodists during the colonial period, and many of their residences were inspired by the architecture of the Methodist Mission in Anomabo that Freeman saw completed in 1840.

¹¹⁰Flather, 136.

¹¹¹Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, *Culture and Customs of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 46; and Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960: A Younger Church in a Changing Society* (Accra: Ghana UP, 1966), 86.

¹¹²Salm and Falola, 46; and Paul S. Breidenbach and Doran H. Ross, "The Holy Place: Twelve Apostles Healing Gardens," *African Arts* 11 (4 July 1978), 34.

Despite strong European religious, political and economic presence on the coast, Christianity did not replace indigenous religions. Rather, certain aspects of Christianity were consciously appropriated and incorporated into Akan belief systems. Akan religions and Christianity amazingly co-existed in the nineteenth century and continue to do so today even though Christianity is monotheistic and Fante religions are polytheistic. They co-exist due to relatively positive interaction between Christian churches, Chieftaincies, and *asafo* companies. Although Christianity requires that a convert disavow all ties to previous religious affiliations, Akan religions are more inclusive, allowing for multi-layered theologies. It is a struggle for some Fante members of Christian churches to rescind deeply-ingrained, time-honored Fante religious beliefs. Therefore, when Christian churches relaxed in the nineteenth century to integrate certain coastal African performative practices (i.e. singing, dancing and possession), the Akans found it easier to incorporate Christian beliefs into their faith. Also, the upheaval caused by political and economic instability in the nineteenth century served to heighten the need to apply to a higher power for guidance and support. The power of Christianity, like the power of European forts and military, appealed to the Akans who appropriated their visual forms and transformed them to create what anthropologists Fabian, Hannerz and Nelson Graburn describe as “new creole art forms,”¹¹³ and textile and clothing specialists Eicher and Erekosima call cultural authentication. Other scholars have used the term hybrid. Regardless of academic terminology, this is how Christianity was, and continues to be, accepted among many Akans.

Education

The spread of literacy promoted by the Christian missionaries had an impact on coastal life in both urban and rural areas. Literacy provided useful business skills, such as account keeping

¹¹³Fabian, 317; Hannerz, 14-15; and Nelson H. H. Graburn, “The Evolution of Tourist Arts,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984), 402.

and record copying, enabling many to become shop clerks, agents and supervisors. The few women who received education began to adopt European attitudes about marriage and women's domestic roles. The well-developed coastal elite class, Western-educated and having close ties to British commercial interests,¹¹⁴ grew exponentially in the nineteenth century.

Cultural Interactions and Choices

The history of Anomabo's pre-colonial urbanity demonstrates the complex cultural interactions between numerous cultures – African, European, North American, Caribbean and Brazilian. A successful African merchant class developed; their success was achieved through the ability to maneuver between the two coastal cultures, African and European. This continues into the nineteenth century and is pivotal to understanding the following architectural choices made by African coastal elites between the 1860s and 1930s. This multi-cultural history sets the stage for the Coastal Elite Style, which combines elements of the Akan courtyard house with European architecture.

¹¹⁴Shumway, 158.

CHAPTER 3 THE AKAN COURTYARD HOUSE

During Barbot's time in late seventeenth century the "kingdom" or state of Fantyn covered "about nine leagues of coast," a much smaller area than the present-day Fante region. Fantyn included the villages of Anomabo, Egyaa and Kormantine (Cormentin). "This kingdom was heavily populated, being one of the most considerable on Gold Coast."¹ In a 1629 Dutch map of "The States of the Gold Coast," printed in Bosman's journal, Funtin (Fanti) territory is depicted, with Anomabo as its only city. The Futu (Afutu) state comprised of Guan-related peoples encompassed Cape Coast (Cabo Corsso), while Elmina or Myna is shown at the edge of Comendo (Eguafo/Komenda) territory.² Thus, it can be determined at this early date that several people of small Akan and Guan-related states inhabited portions of the coastline. Early prints and descriptions describe similar housing trends among these groups. This makes sense since they shared cultural traits and were well-connected via the trade routes of the fishermen.

This chapter will explore the variety of housing construction methods and materials utilized by coastal people, and specifically by those in Anomabo where documentation is available. The two most dominant forms for wealthy people in urban environments are the courtyard house and two-story house, both made with rammed earth construction. These housing types may be combined. All three – the courtyard, the two-story, and the combination of the two - are found in African coastal elite housing during the colonial period and exist presently in Anomabo and other port cities in southern Ghana.

¹Hair, Jones and Law, 416.

²Bosman's map is inserted after the Contents page.

Urban Design

Descriptions of the settlement plan of coastal communities and their architecture is provided as early as 1602 by De Marees. He details wattle and daub construction and offers this record of early housing arrangements.³

Their dwellings are not situated in any order; but as each man fences off his own dwellings with a reed partition, the houses are separated from one another and the reed partitions form Streets which divide each quarter of Houses from the other. The streets are very narrow, so that only one Man can pass at a time.⁴

Coastal people, including those in Anomabo, lived in their own distinct quarters 400 years ago as they do today. These quarters were and still are subdivided into groups of compounds inhabited by related clans. This is especially evident today in the Aweano, Fare and Etsiwa neighborhoods of Anomabo where nearly every house is painted with the symbols of the resident family clan. Anomabo, like other coastal towns, seems to have grown organically, i.e. without a set plan (Figure B-2). Barbot recorded a similar description of Elmina:

The town is very long, containing about twelve hundred houses, all built with rock-stones, in which it differs from all other places, the houses being generally only composed of clay and wood. It is divided into several streets and lanes very irregular, crooked, and dirty in rainy weather, the ground being low and flat, and the streets and lanes close and very narrow⁵

Elmina exhibited the same dense housing as Anomabo. The difference between the pre-colonial coastal Akan towns was the stone houses in Elmina described by Barbot.

In the early eighteenth century Cape Coast was described by Meredith as having about eight thousand inhabitants, who constructed square-shaped houses of *swish* and thatch, arranged

³De Marees, 75-77.

⁴Ibid., 76.

⁵Barbot, *A description of the coasts of North and South Guinea : and of Ethiopia inferior, vulgarly Angola ... and a new relation of the province of Guiana, and of the great rivers of Amazons and Oronoque in South-America : with an appendix, being a general account of the first discoveries of America, in the fourteenth century and some observations thereon : and a geographical, political, and natural history of the Antilles-Islands in the North-Sea of America* (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1732), 156. This was written around 1683, though published much later.

in an irregular fashion.⁶ Like Cape Coast and Elmina, Anomabo had few streets, many narrow alleys, and numerous cul-de-sacs. This complex design likely explains why European illustrators failed to provide detailed city maps. According to DeCorse, this type of congested plan was characteristic of the coastal towns described by many European writers, who would contrast them with the more open settlements in the interior.⁷

Perhaps the most accurate map of Anomabo was created by the Gold Coast Survey in 1931.⁸ A more recent map was published by Michel R. Doortmont and Benedetta Savoldi.⁹ Both maps depict residences of one and two stories constructed close to each other, separated only by narrow alleys. Anomabo is intersected by a few larger avenues with alleyways either leading directly to these thoroughfares or having small open courtyards before the intersections. As Hull has suggested, “pre-colonial African towns minimized urbanity and maximized urban space [by way of] tight compound clustering. Such spatial intimacy lent a feeling of cohesiveness.”¹⁰

The reason for this clustering may also be a practical one based on the physical environment. During the Roman era, in the hot climates of North Africa and Spain, tightly-spaced buildings on narrow streets provided shade for the pedestrians below. The shuttered windows facing these streets ventilated the interiors.¹¹

African cities influenced by Islam have all the characteristics of the medieval [European] city, both in function and in structure, such as: compact labyrinth dwellings; high population density; wall or ditch that shows defense structure;

⁶Meredith, 95.

⁷DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 59-63.

⁸The Survey includes four sheets, and is owned by the Ghana National Archives in Cape Coast, which charges a fee to view it.

⁹Doortmont and Savoldi, 123.

¹⁰Hull, 405.

¹¹Fitchen, 201.

uniformity of building height; and large civic buildings, mosques, churches, or palaces that break the uniformity of the buildings. The city square, which is often near the market or king's residence, is the central nerve of the city's social activities, and major roads lead to and from this particular square.¹²

Anomabo and other coastal towns may have brought this urban plan from northern Akan towns which, in turn, may have adopted the plan from Islamic cities in the Western Sudan, such as Djenne and Timbuktu, on the north-south trade route. However, this urban design, a practical one for tropical climates, may simply be an indigenous solution.

Even though Anomabo appears to have grown exponentially and organically, it did have defined neighborhoods (Table B-2). Early Fante settlement of Anomabo took place to the east of Fort William in the neighborhood known today as Krokessin, or "Old Town." The term "krokessin" means "the biggest community settlement," and it remains today one of the largest neighborhoods in town. Krokessin is the site of the first Omanhen's Palace, a one-story residence built of *swish* using rammed earth construction pre-dating the 1640s. Today, the building has undergone much renovation, including an exterior coat of cement plaster. Akanpaado, or "the meeting place of the original settlers," is the neighborhood of Anomabo where the original Etsii settled (Map A-2).

Anomabo lacks evidence of the typical European quarter, found in many other coastal towns, including Cape Coast. In many coastal cities, the European Town was usually part of the African Town, built near the sea on an elevated site nearby. The elevated site was chosen for the command of view it afforded and the cooler breezes at higher altitudes. The European residents originally had rather limited social intercourse with the residents of the African community.¹³

¹²Elleh, 336.

¹³Dickson, *Historical Georgraphy*, 290.

Clusters of European houses forming a tight-knit community are found in all the major towns along the coast, whether they were referred to as a European Town or not. Moree, for example, had a few stone houses, of which only one still stands. Some foundations do remain of other houses. These homes were built by the Dutch alongside Fort Nassau. The fort and these homes stand in ruin today because of deliberate destruction by the local Fante after the area was abandoned by the Dutch around 1816.¹⁴ Sekondi, populated more by the Ahanta peoples than the Fante, is located on the west side of the Pra River. It also had a European Town, located on the hill near Fort Orange. According to DeCorse, Elmina did not have a European Town. Instead, Europeans lived in the area north of the Benya where plantations and prosperous merchants, both African and European, were located.¹⁵

Like Elmina, Anomabo does not appear to have had a separate European community. From early sources it is known that the Europeans living in Anomabo stayed in the fort, except for Brew who built his Castle Brew. After his time, Europeans living in or visiting Anomabo stayed in the fort or Castle Brew. Without further archaeological evidence, no proof of another European house in town exists. The lack of a specific European community may be based on Anomabo's early strategy not to side with one European contingent over another. The Dutch were allowed to build their lodge and the British were allowed to build Fort Charles and later Fort William, yet the Anomabos continued to trade openly with other cultural groups, including the French, Dutch and Americans. This is probably why Miles found certain leaders and members of the ruling class unwilling to become deeply involved with the British company. Thus, it seems likely that no one group could get a foothold strong enough in Anomabo to

¹⁴For the date: W. Walton Claridge, *A History of The Gold Coast and Ashanti from the Earliest Times to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century*, 2d ed., vol. 2 (London: Frank Cass, 1964), 600.

¹⁵DeCorse, Email to Courtney Micots, 15 April 2009.

develop a European Town. Europeans did live in Anomabo and in other towns along the coast in rented houses too. Many of these were free traders who were not in the service of the fort's company. Others were men temporarily onshore from the trading ships.¹⁶

Damage to the town was incurred when physical violence threatened the peace. For example, the people of Anomabo attacked the English fort on September 4, 1701. In retaliation, the English overreacted, burning almost the entire town over the next 22 days.¹⁷ A considerable effort at repairs and reconstruction took years. Such repairs were the consequence not only of the destructive recurrence of warfare but also of the forces of nature. In buildings made of organic materials, the materials themselves dry out, become brittle, and are no longer effective protection against rain or wind. Although mud plaster extends the life span of these materials, such coatings wash away, crack or fall off in time and need to be patched. Over the years, as social needs and institutions have changed, repairs to some buildings have also involved shifts in the functions of the buildings.

Pate, Wattle and Daub, and Unbaked Brick Construction

Woven palm fronds over a bamboo or wood frame are used for temporary structures called *pate*. Among fishing communities, mats are often used for the walls, made by weaving together the fronds of fresh coconut branches in herringbone fashion. These mats are placed in position by tying the ribbed section of the mats to the intermediary bamboo or wooden frames with twine.¹⁸

¹⁶R. Porter, "The Cape Coast Conflict of 1803: A Crisis in Relations Between the African and European Communities," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 11 (1970), 32.

¹⁷Jean Barbot, *A Supplement to the Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea* (London: H. Lintot and J. Osborn, 1746), 446; and Claridge, vol. 2, 200-201.

¹⁸Faculty of Architecture, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, "Traditional Forms of Architecture in Ghana," *International Social Science Journal* 30 (3, 1978), 452.

Few post-framed, wattle and daub constructions, with double-pitched, gable-ended thatched roofs survive in Anomabo, and these are rarely used as dwelling houses. Prior to the 1930s, *swish*, or mud mixed with plant materials, was the most common building material used with the main two construction techniques of wattle and daub and rammed earth.

According to Dickson, the buildings in Southern Ghana and Ashanti-Brong Ahafo by the fifteenth century were of the Guinea forest house type: rectangular, gable-roofed, and of wattle and daub. This house type was common to the whole of the Kwa linguistic area (Akan).¹⁹ This can be evidenced in the late sixteenth-century prints and descriptions of settlements on the coast as well as from DeCorse's archaeological excavations in Elmina.

Barbot provides some of the earliest illustrations of Anomabo (Figures B-15 and B-16). His 1679 drawing represents the Fort Charles in its crumbling state while his 1682 drawing depicts the rebuilt fort. Both include numerous one-story rectangular houses with high-pitched roofs surrounding the fort. Bosman's illustration (Figure B-17) completed about twenty years later appears much less accurate in terms of the overly hilly and rocky terrain pictured. Few houses are included, though they had not likely changed since Barbot's day.

DeMarees described in detail how a rectangular wattle and daub house was built.

First, they take four forked Posts or Trees, which they erect on the ground so as to make a square. They they lay other Trees on top of the Posts and fasten them well. Between the posts they place many thin sticks, thus forming the house; and they bind them together with Laths so tightly that one can hardly squeeze one's hand in between. Then they make Mud out of yellow earth, which they take from the open country, and pound it till it is fine and thin like Potter's earth. They slap handfuls of this mud against the framework of the house, all around, from top to bottom, front and back, wherever they want it to be filled. They press the mud in between this wattle with their hands, so that it will stick to the supports. Once they have filled the walls of their House with this mud, [making them] nearly half a foot thick, they let it dry and become hard as brick. After it has dried, they make a very thin Pap of red earth and plenty of water, and, taking a straw-brush in their hand, they besmear

¹⁹Dickson, *Historical Georgraphy*, 51-52.

all the inside of their house, using this mixture instead of Paint. They like to Paint their houses this way, some with red, others with white or black earth, as if it were for a contest. They were very proud of their houses; for when we come ashore, the first thing they will show you is their dwelling.

They make two flat square covers out of the leaves of Palm Wine trees, which they bind tightly together so that they provide shelter from the rain, and they place them on top of their house [so] as [to form] a Point[ed roof]. They tie the ends together firmly; and if the weather is good and the Sun is shining, they open this Roof, supporting it with sticks, like two wings, letting the Sun shine into their house... At the front of the house they make a square hole by way of a doorway, with a Door made of Reeds, which they push open and shut and which they lock by tying it up with a Rope made of wisps. They make their floors flat and polish them very smooth with red earth, as if they had been paved.²⁰

Thus, wattle and daub is the technique of constructing a frame of vertical and horizontal wooden or bamboo beams. *Swish* is then daubed into the frame to fill in the wall. Today, this technique is more often used in the forest region, among the Asante for example, but can still be seen in a few coastal one-room structures. Cruickshank described the wattle and daub houses of the hinterland in his book *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa* published in 1853.

These huts consist of one, two, or more apartments, and have square holes to serve the purpose of windows and door-ways. . . . Some of these huts, of higher pretensions, have window shutters and doors, with all the advantages of hinges and bolts. The smaller villages are entirely composed of huts of this description.²¹

Pate and rammed earth are the more common construction techniques in Anomabo. Large handmolded, sun-dried bricks set in a mud mortar are used to build one or two-room structures sporadically along the coast and in Anomabo. Mortar along the coast consists of sand, small stones, shells, lime (made locally from oyster shells or imported) and water. Mortar is used in between sun-dried bricks, burnt bricks and stones. It is also used as a plaster for interior walls and, in the nineteenth century, to form molded trim.

²⁰De Marees, 75.

²¹Cruickshank, 285.

Rammed Earth Construction

Local coastal history states that many centuries ago both the Etsii and the Fante possessed the technology of rammed earth construction, using it to build one-story, rectangular houses.²² Both one and two-story houses in rammed earth construction exist in Anomabo today, conveying the housing variety apparent in early documentation. The use of this construction method among the Akan however is believed by Farrar to have been introduced after the early nineteenth century.²³

The beginnings of rammed earth construction have been extensively researched by Farrar and archaeologist Kwesi James Anquandah, principally in the Shai Hills and eastern Accra plains. Their findings revealed that rammed earth construction in Ghana may date to the Neolithic period. It may have been independently invented, or it may have been adapted from either the Mande groups to the north or groups to the east such as those from the Dahomey-Yoruba-Benin cultural sphere. The east-west trading route and north-south route were equally well-traveled. Until more archaeological data on Neolithic sites in southern Ghana are recovered, little more can be determined about the early history of building construction in this area. Farrar promotes indigenous invention over Islamic or European influence.²⁴

To further complicate its possible origins, rammed earth construction is called *atakpame*, after the town and region in central Togo where builders of this technique is locally reported to have originated. According to Farrar, however, rammed earth construction was the dominant

²²Faculty, 452.

²³Vincent Kenneth Tarikh Farrar, "Some Comments on Indigenous African Building Technology," *Archaeology in Ghana* (3, 1993), 46.

²⁴Vincent Kenneth Tarikh Farrar, "Indigenous Building Construction in Southern Ghana: Some Aspects of Technology and History," *West African Journal of Archaeology* 25 (1, 1995), 160, 164-165.

building technology in the Accra Plains and Shai Hills area “from a remote period.”²⁵ Among the northern and central forest Akan people the construction method has been the most dominant technology since the late-nineteenth century. Historical records, such as Barbot’s journals, describe wattle and daub as the previous dominant construction method on the coast. Among the Asante and Fante this technology is also called *afapim*, possibly referring to the foundation, *fapem*, or more likely, the thick, *pim*, walls of the place or rooms, *fa*. Rammed earth construction was not common among these southern Akan groups until the nineteenth century.²⁶ Taking under consideration the connections Anomabo had with the north and with groups to the east, such as those in present-day Togo, it is equally possible that rammed earth construction was borrowed from Mande or Akan neighbors in the north or directly from the Togolese.

Layers of successive courses of wet earth or clay are packed into portable wooden molds to the desired height of the wall. Portable molds are made from lightweight wood. Manageable by one or two people, the mold allows a builder to construct small sections of the wall at a time, moving the form along the length of the wall and lifting it as the wall grows taller. Each course is slightly battered, or tapered so as to be thinner at the top. The Akan method differs from that of other groups who build with rammed earth, such as those in the Accra Plains and Shai Hills. In those places, builders reduce the height of the course, but the width remains the same. Each course must dry about a week before laying the next, and each course weighs less than the one underneath so as not to crumble the course(s) below it. Windows and doors are formed during the process of building by leaving an opening.²⁷ This construction technique is designed to resist the outward forces created by the compaction of the soil. Thick earthen walls also keep the space

²⁵Farrar, “Some Comments,” 46.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., 46-47; and Ronald Rael, *Earth Architecture* (NY: Princeton Architectural, 2009), 18.

inside well-insulated and at least ten degrees cooler during the day.²⁸ Rammed earth is preferred over wattle and daub construction. Although it takes about the same amount of time and expense to build either type of house, the rammed earth house lasts longer and requires less care.²⁹

Rounded bases along the exterior walls serve two primary functions: they prevent people from sitting too close to the house and conversing, thus insuring greater privacy for the residents; and they protect the building from erosion caused by the rains and flooding by forming a thick base. Like the builders from the Shai Hills and the Kintampo culture in Boyase Hill and Bonoase, some of the rammed earth houses in Elmina and Anomabo were laid on stone foundations. Other Akan rammed earth houses were laid directly on a cleared, smoothed ground surface.³⁰ It would make sense that coastal cities like Elmina and Anomabo would make the most use of the natural materials, both mud and stone, in their region. As Prussin states, “In Africa the built form and the natural habitat are inseparable from each other.”³¹

Roofing, Windows and Doors

The first type of roofing on coastal houses was thatch as evidenced in the description given by De Marees. Although wattle and daub is a method still practiced on the coast, the “winged” roofing no longer exists. Historians Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones state that in Cape Coast there stands “many flat-roofed houses with long drainage spouts surprisingly similar to those found in the Sahel...Some people say that this type of house was introduced to the coast by people from the North, others that it was inspired by the (originally) flat roofs of the forts.”³² Flat

²⁸For a more thorough discussion on the materials and construction process of rammed earth, called coursed clay by Farrar, see Farrar, *Building Technology*, 95-111, 129-131.

²⁹Ibid., 131.

³⁰Farrar, “Some Comments,” 46; and idem, “Indigenous Building,” 166.

³¹Prussin, “Architecture & Pottery,” 66.

³²De Marees, 76, footnote.

roofs of wattle and daub construction were used in Elmina³³ as well as on a variety of European buildings along the coast, yet this type of roof is more commonly used in dryer climates of the north.³⁴ It is equally possible that the flat-roofed technology came to the coast via the north-south trading route by the Akans, Mande or another African group or by sea with the Europeans. In the nineteenth century some houses were given corrugated asbestos/slate sheeting. Corrugated iron or aluminum sheeting was introduced in the twentieth century. Very few coastal houses, and none in Anomabo, have thatched roofs today.

Windows and doors have altered considerably over time. Prior to the arrival of Europeans on the coast, the entrances to Fante homes were very small openings without doors. Window openings were narrow holes for air and light. Ventilation is extremely important in this zone so near the equator. Although the thick mud walls insulated the space within, during the day the temperatures would rise and the interior would be unbearable without the cooler ocean breezes. European-style windows and doors were adopted by the Fante in the early nineteenth century.³⁵ Today these are considered part of the local traditional architectural vernacular. Thus, styles were not static and incorporated techniques, materials, plans and design elements from outside cultures, such as the Mande, Togolese and Europeans. Architecture is a continually changing art form. It can be surmised then that when locals call a certain architectural form “traditional,” they mean that it has been popular for a while, generally more than their lifetime, i.e. “I came to meet it.”

³³DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 177.

³⁴DeCorse, “An Archaeological Study,” 84-93, 98-100.

³⁵Farrar, “Indigenous Building,” 156.

Materials

Ntwuma, a special red soil, is the preferred material for wattle and daub as well as rammed earth construction. If the soil does not have the proper sand-to-clay ratio, the walls will crack and fall apart when drying. *Ntwuma* is found by digging about a meter below the ground surface. For the plaster used to smooth floors and walls, a *ntwuma* with a deeper red color (possibly from a higher red ochre or iron content) is used.³⁶

Mud as a building material has two serious disadvantages. It is easily eroded by rain and it is not termite resistant. Mud walls can be protected from rain by bases, verandas or by overhanging roofs, by giving them a very smooth finish, by painting them with gums, or by a regular recoating with mud plaster. These techniques however can be costly and time-consuming.³⁷

Bricks

Locally-made bricks were being produced in Anomabo as early as the 1670s when the second version of Fort Charles was being constructed. Although imported bricks were mainly used in the construction of Fort William, locally-made bricks were also being produced in the 1750s. Many materials, including bricks used as ships' ballast (a heavy substance placed in such a way as to improve stability and control), were imported, yet it was also necessary for Apperley to have his masons train locals in the production of local brick. During the nineteenth century, locally-produced brick seemed to be preferred over the imported variety. It was undoubtedly less expensive. Evidence of their wide use is observed in the surviving structures and the rubble found throughout Anomabo. European brick was more commonly used in European structures

³⁶Farrar, *Building Technology*, 102-103, 129.

³⁷Kevin Carroll, *Architectures of Nigeria* (London: Ethnographica, 1992), 7.

on the coast. Some structures combined the two. Coastal brick, a micaeous orange-red brick, is softer than European bricks, usually darker red or yellow.

Bricks are also made in the Sahel. The Islamic technology may have made its way southward to the coast from the north along with two-story rammed earth construction. According to Carroll, building in burnt brick was introduced into southern Nigeria about the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, brick-making techniques may have traveled to Anomabo via the north-south or east-west routes. It may have been introduced in the mid-nineteenth century either via European or African cultures. Although much is left unknown, it may be determined that many groups in West Africa knew the technology and it spread in many directions before, during and after European presence on the Ghanaian coast.

Stone

DeCorse noted around 1000 stone houses in Elmina were built in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The town was known for its masons who were sent to other parts of the coast to assist with construction.³⁸ The Elmina houses were multi-storied, flat-roofed, stone structures with rooms of linear-arrangement and central courtyards. DeCorse states that stone “construction methods illustrate a unique aspect of Elmina, probably originating in the latter half of the seventeenth century with African artisans trained by the Dutch.”³⁹ It is difficult to determine whether the housing Barbot witnessed in Elmina was constructed for the Dutch or for Africans. A courtyard plan may have been invoked by either culture. By the time Barbot reached Elmina, these houses, perhaps some of them intended for Europeans, were extended and inhabited by many of the local Afutu people.

³⁸DeCorse, “An Archaeological Study,” 68.

³⁹DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 177.

As stated in Chapter 2, many immigrants from Elimina moved to Anomabo into the Fare and Etsiwa neighborhoods in the late seventeenth century. If they were building in stone, then they may have brought this technology to Anomabo. However, none of these buildings have survived. Future archaeological work may determine whether stone houses were built in Anomabo during this period. In all the coastal towns researched, African stone housing was reported to me as a construction method adopted in the nineteenth century.

Anomabo residents needed to rebuild their homes and places of business after the destruction caused during the one-day Asante War in Anomabo on June 15, 1807. Even though the Asante failed at their attempt to seize the fort, they succeeded in wreaking full vengeance on the town. Meredith wrote: "On the following day, a scene replete with the horrors of war exhibited itself...houses unroofed and others on fire...the majority was slaughtered and the town destroyed."⁴⁰ Joseph Dawson reported in 1815: "During a residence at Annamaboe these nine months, there appears no improvement in agriculture, but some construction of their houses."⁴¹

Thatch, bamboo and timber roofs were burned. Reed and mud structures were easily damaged and destroyed. Stone, at least in Anomabo, was plentiful. Builders had training from the Europeans in how to construct with stone and brick. Thus, when people were constructing new homes to replace those that were damaged, they could have easily chosen stone construction. Yet, no evidence exists that between 1807 and 1860 Anomabos built stone houses. They still chose to build with earth.

One of the reasons Fante builders had not chosen stone for their own residences initially was due to the difficulties in dressing or cutting stone into blocks with the tools they had. Even

⁴⁰Meredith, 143-144.

⁴¹George E. Metcalf, *Great Britain and Ghana, Documents of Ghana History 1807* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), 29. Document 22.

with the introduction of European technologies, the coastal stone, mainly oxidized laterites and granites, can only be laid as a rubble masonry.⁴² Interior walls were finished with a smooth lime render, while the outside was finished with a rough textured pebble dash finish.⁴³

Trained masons were present on the coast in the early nineteenth century. For example, among the Asante a stone building called the Aban was completed under Asantehene Osei Bonsu in 1822 by masons from the coast. The Aban was intended as a museum or palace of culture, and the treasures of the *Asantehene*, or king, were stored in the new stone stronghold. During the invasion of Kumasi in 1874, the British removed most of the Aban's valued contents and took them to England, at the same time, destroying the structure. Although it's not possible to know what the Aban looked like, it likely incorporated Palladian design elements (see Chapter 4) since it was partly inspired by accounts of the British Museum.⁴⁴

The surviving African coastal elite stone nog buildings in Anomabo were built between the 1860s and 1930s. Some are faced with brick and many use brick to frame the windows and doors. Stone and brick have advantages over mud. Its seeming permanence appealed to the Anomabos, just as today cement blocks are the building material of choice.

Anomabo's stone architecture can also reveal clues about how the stone quarries were used. The George Kuntu Blankson Addition (Figure B-18) is comprised of both sedimentary rock, i.e. sandstone, and igneous rock, such as granite. Sedimentary rock is located in the upper layers of the quarry and is formed from mineral and organic particles fusing together. It is a

⁴²Prussin, "An Introduction," 189.

⁴³Fraser, "Architectural Influences," 1700.

⁴⁴Doran H. Ross, *Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum, 1998), 36; and Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), 200-201. Examples of stone nog residences built for mulattoes can be seen at Cape Coast (Gothic House, a. k. a. Oguaa Palace, c. 1815) and Elmina (Bridge House, c. 1830s).

softer rock and easier to cut and shape. Igneous rock is located deeper in the quarry, though no deeper than ten meters. It is harder and more difficult to cut and shape. Although it was more difficult to determine because of the cement plaster, Castle Brew and the Cruickshank Addition (Figure B-6) appear to have been constructed from a mix of sedimentary and igneous rock.

The Russell House (Figure B-19), built about 30 years after the Blankson Addition, was built with mostly igneous rock with only some sedimentary rock. The Lawyer Atta Amonoo Residence (Figure B-9), built another 20 years later, was constructed entirely from igneous rock. It seems reasonable that as the Fante dug deeper into the quarries, they had less and less sedimentary rock to utilize. Also, as time progressed, local technologies developed that allowed stone cutters to manage the igneous rock more easily.

Concrete

During the 1930s, cement blocks replaced bricks as a favored building material. However, as early as the 1910s, the coastal elite were experimenting with concrete. For example, the palatial residence known as the Adaaso House in Cape Coast was built entirely of concrete block in 1937. Concrete blocks are less costly and labor-intensive than stonework. Thus, due to the resourcefulness and inventiveness of builders and masons to adapt materials and techniques used by other cultures (European or Western Sudanic) to the coast, architecture has continuously been appropriated and adapted to suit a client's needs.

Mason Guilds

In both Europe and Africa, artisans were trained in building construction via apprenticeship. No distinction was made between designer, builder, owner and user of the built environment. Therefore, building is a collective process, directed by the client.⁴⁵ The

⁴⁵Prussin, "Shelter for the Soul," 41.

apprenticeship training system was required to achieve the highest standard of craftsmanship. In addition to beauty, the finished product was judged for its functionality, workmanship and durability. Builders were expected to subordinate their personal styles and ideas in favor of the master's style and techniques that were passed down through the generations. This collectivity encouraged anonymity. Although these masters may have been known to the people of their time, their names were not recorded and have been lost.⁴⁶

Larger houses required the coordinated services of many different artisans. Unlike other crafts, the erection of buildings took place at the site of the project. Construction skills were learned by example and by demonstration at the site. Generally, construction was a complicated, overall operation that often took years to complete.⁴⁷

The Two-Story Urban House

Anomabo has a large number of two-story houses built with rammed earth construction. Local contractors believed that two-story houses were introduced by the Europeans on the coast. Early European settlers built their homes on hills and/or with a second story having many windows or a verandah to capture the best breezes. The Fante would have been quick to appropriate this innovation. The Twidan Clan Family Residence (Structure C-1) is an example of a two-story house built in the late 1920s to 1931, yet likely resembles those built much earlier.

Less than 70 years after De Marees, Villault recorded the different houses he viewed on the coast, yet did not document which earthen construction technique was used.

Europeans having learned them the art of building, the Officers and great Merchants of this Countrey have follow'd their directions, and built themselves houses, with high and lofty roofes, several apartments, with one chamber opening into another, and usually at the door of their chamber two Slaves constantly

⁴⁶Bassani and Fagg, 18.

⁴⁷Fitchen, 14-17.

attending with darts in their hands in the nature of guards, which are relieved at certain hours.

All their houses are made of earth, but the common people have their walls so low, they seldom exceed the height of a man. Their beame and rafters, and the whole frame of the house resting only upon them; the houses of the Grandees as well as the commons are all thatch'd, and have all of them but one little square hole, which serves for a door, to which they fasten a piece of board, without either lock or hinges, like the poor Peasants in the Countrey to their Garden doors, and are contended to fasten them only with a rope, either without or within. Their windows are small. And the earth they make their floors with, very close and compact, they have at least two chambers to a house, and this character must be given them, that they are very curious in keeping them neat, and paint them very frequently both without and within.

Amongst the common sort, there is nothing of household-stuff, or what is us'd commonly about the house, to be seen, all is lock'd up in their Coffers, which they buy of the Whites; except they be Merchants or great men, and then their Tables and Chairs appear sometimes, but never no Beds, for they lye always upon Skins spread upon the ground, of else upon Mattresses made of Rushes, covering themselves with the Skins of Oxen, or some other Beast, without any Boulster, except they be of the Nobles, and then they have Pillows under their heads, and a good fire in the middle of their Room, but not the least hole for a Chimney.⁴⁸

This text provides information regarding the interiors of these homes and makes a useful comparison between classes. Merchants and great men, or African coastal elites, furnished their homes with imported objects during the pre-colonial period. W. J. Mueller also provides a description of the interiors of seventeenth-century houses owned by wealthy leaders.

in their homes one could see 'silver drinking vessels, silver knives, tin dishes and cups, costly table knives, tables and benches, - and hand - cloths, (and) *servietten* [napkins].' The walls of the bedrooms were decorated with expensive, finely woven multicolored mats imported from Sierra Leone. The beds were covered with costly skins, particularly leopard skins...and all kinds of expensive blankets and pillows . . . The bedroom also contained several large chests full of clothing and a number of small boxes or containers full of gold dust, gold nuggets, and silver jewelry and ornaments. . . . An *ofahene*'s house contained a great deal of other property: seashells overlaid with silver . . . brass and/or bronze oil lamps, gold-weight paraphernalia, tobacco pipes, utilitarian and luxury pottery (both local and imported), gold objects (rings, chains, armlets, bracelets, necklaces, anklets, and so forth), brassware (such as jewelry and *forowa* and *kuduo* containers), umbrellas,

⁴⁸Villault, 162-165.

ivory objects (pendants, bracelets, combs, and so on), as well as a variety of wood, stone, and bone, aggrey and other expensive beads, and tools and other iron objects.⁴⁹

Villault assumed the Africans learned how to build houses with several chambers from the Europeans, but this is a debatable origin. He also does not make it clear whether these larger houses had one or two-stories. However, information is provided that great men had larger homes, the chambers opened into each other and slaves were owned.

Smaller seventeenth century houses in urban environments along the Ghanaian coast were described by Kea.

The sizes of urban commoners' houses depended on the number of people residing in them. Incomplete data suggest a range of two to eight people per house. The houses included sleeping quarters and rooms for cooking, storage, and the like. Most lacked courtyards. The majority of town-dwelling [residents] probably built their own residences, not being able to afford to hire carpenters and swish (clay) makers. It is likely that commoners resident in the same ward assisted each other in house building. The houses were generally rectangular in shape, although in certain coastal towns and villages circular huts were common. They were low, the outer walls standing only as high as a man, and they were constructed of swish and wood, and had thatched roofs. Thatch for roofing was sold in the town markets by thatchers, and the wood used in house or hut construction was obtained from the woods and forests, a fee being paid to the *ohene* [or chief] whose land supplied it.⁵⁰

In contrast, wealthy residents in urban environments of the same period owned

large, spacious houses one or two stories high. Most upper-class dwellings were constructed of clay and wood and had either thatched roofs, which were constructed so that they could be opened or closed, or flat roofs. Some...were constructed of stone . . . upper-class houses had large courtyards, an architectural feature associated with urban domestic housing and high social status.⁵¹

According to Kea, many of these two-story houses also incorporated elements of the courtyard house.

⁴⁹Kea 318-319; and W. J. Muller *Die africanische auf der Guineische Gold-Cust gelegene Landschaft Fetu*. Hamburg, 1670.

⁵⁰Kea, 300.

⁵¹Ibid., 318.

The Courtyard House

The most basic Fante house consists of one rectangular room with a small entrance door. Windows may or may not be included. For those with means, additional rooms are added and perhaps include a courtyard behind. Many African people practice an outdoor communal lifestyle that revolves around a defined space within the yard, or compound, adjacent to the house. Since the house is used mainly for sleeping at night, providing shelter from rain, and for storage of valuables, these outdoor spaces are an integral part of the living zone. Another outdoor extension of the house is the veranda.⁵²

Numerous courtyard houses were built in Anomabo and generally all across the Fante region. The coastal Akan courtyard house uses some variant of louvered or natural openings into the house. Sometimes openwork screens in bamboo are utilized to encourage air circulation.⁵³ Fante courtyard plans may have a front row of rooms, one or two rooms deep. External staircases to upper stories are of monolithic earth construction, built against the outside wall of the building. Hyland stated that this type of construction appears to be indigenous to Cape Coast and Anomabo.⁵⁴

In local building, floors are composed of either plain loose soil or compacted earth. Loose soil is generally used in houses in fishing villages along the coast, while in other parts of the coastal areas and in the hinterland the floors are made of stone. A compacted earth floor can be smoothly finished in a variety of available materials, such as clay applied to the floor with the

⁵²Patricia Green, "Architecture," in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1702.

⁵³Prussin, "An Introduction," 185.

⁵⁴Hyland, "Fante," 2042-2043.

hands. In other areas, oil palm kernels, small pebbles or sea shells are also used as floor finishes.⁵⁵

De Marees was the first to observe courtyard houses on the coast in 1602:

They link together three or four such Huts, standing next to each other so as to form a square, so that the women have a place in the middle where they cook... They surround their dwelling with a fence of Maize Stalks, about the height of a Man, or as tall as the walls of their dwellings.⁵⁶

De Marees describes the typical Akan courtyard house in which four rectangular rooms with thatched roofs, either separately or together, face a central courtyard. The courtyard was the center of religious and fellowship functions and served as gathering places for socialization. The courtyard plan has a long history.

The origin of the Akan courtyard house may stem from either the Egyptian or Roman courtyard houses, the direct result of Roman conquest and imperialistic territorial expansionism in North Africa in the first century. The earliest evidence of the courtyard plan stems from Egypt for an enclosed courtyard was a very important aspect of ancient Egyptian architecture. Prussin has established important architectural links along the Saharan east-west trade route. As a highway of cultural, political and commercial exchange, the Saharan route connected most major cities.⁵⁷

The Roman houses are considered the first major introduction of Western architecture on the continent. This house type later spread southward along the trans-Saharan trade routes either as early as Roman times or later in the seventh to tenth century through Islamic traders or via invasions. It likely reached the coast of Ghana via the Mande trade routes linking Islamic cities

⁵⁵Faculty, 451.

⁵⁶De Marees, 76.

⁵⁷Labelle Prussin, "Convivencia at Timbuktu: Archetypes, Architects, and Artisans," University of Florida, Gainesville, FL: Harn Eminent Scholar Chair in Art History Program Presentation, October 23, 2008. Photocopied.

like Djenne to Kumasi.⁵⁸ Thus, many houses located in the savanna, sahel and desert regions of the Western Sudan, adopted the courtyard plan, also known as the Sudanese style.

This plan, found in the forest regions of West Africa, was adopted by such groups as the Asante in Ghana and the Bini, Igbo and Yoruba in Nigeria. Thomas Bowdich, a writer with the British Company of Merchants, accompanied Hutchison and Henry Tedlie to Kumasi in 1817. In his published journal *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, &c.*, Bowdich described Asante *swish* houses and their configuration of four buildings with a courtyard in the center.⁵⁹ Their exterior elaboration however is quite different from what developed on the coast.

Cruickshank's description of courtyard houses present on the coast in the second quarter of the nineteenth century is similar to those documented on the Gold Coast Survey map of 1931 and existent today.

Their ordinary plan of construction is in the form of a square, the rooms forming its sides, and enclosing a quadrangular space, of dimensions proportionate to the size of the side rooms. The entrance is through a door or gateway, leading into one of these rooms, which is generally kept as an open lodge, through which to pass into the inner square, and in which the chief or head man is in the habit of keeping his drums. On the side of the square, fronting this lodge, the floor of the apartments is raised about a couple of feet from the ground, and is altogether open towards the square, or yard. Sometimes there is only a part of it open; a small space at each end being set apart for rooms. The other two sides of the square consist of rooms with doors and windows, their floors being on a level with the ground; or, as in the meaner class, of raised and open sheds...

These houses have rarely any windows opening to the outside, so that the entrance through the gateway is the only means of external communication. The greatest privacy is enjoyed by every family, even in the centre of a town,...Of course there is some variety in the arrangements of the different houses, according to the taste of individuals; but the prevailing, and what may be termed the purely native style, is such as we have here described...

⁵⁸Elleh, 48, 54; and Prussin, *Hatumere*, 105-108, 159.

⁵⁹T. Edward 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: John Murray, 1819), 304-309.

In houses of recent erection, the open apartments are now giving place to rooms with doors and windows, there being seldom more than one open apartment in the square. They frequently consist of a succession of these quadrilateral buildings and yards, the number being in proportion to the consequence and riches of the individual, and size of his family. A small door of communication at one of the corners leads out of one square into another.⁶⁰

Danish architects Jorgen Andreasen, Jorgen Eskemose and Anette Lodberg Schmidt illustrate an Asante courtyard house in *Mpasatia a Town in Ghana: Tales of Architecture and Planning* on page 17.⁶¹ In a typical Akan house, called a *pato*, all rooms are small since they serve only as shelter at night and for storage of valuable possessions. These rooms open onto an internal courtyard, the living area of the house used for dining, receiving guests, holding arbitrations and for laying bodies in state at funerals.⁶²

Hull commented that “One’s standing in the community was reflected in house style, building materials. . . . African compounds usually looked inward upon an open courtyard. . . . every ward or quarter had its own community wells, market places, and centers of worship.”⁶³ Residential architecture of the Fante and other Akan subgroups utilized this courtyard plan. Men and women spent most of the waking hours outside the home; men worked in the fields, hunted or fished while women cooked in the courtyards or worked in the markets. Rooms were used for greeting visitors, sleeping or storage.

As coastal towns grew into busy, commercial urban ports, these city homes were elaborated according to the owner's wealth and status. Women continued to live in the city, while men often had a one or two-room house in the hinterland where they could maintain the farm.

⁶⁰Ibid., 288-290.

⁶¹Jorgen Andreasen, Jorgen Eskemose and Anette Lodberg Schmidt. *Mpasatia a Town in Ghana: Tales of Architecture and Planning* (Esbjerg, Denmark: Grafisk Trykcenter, 2003), 17.

⁶²Faculty, 457-458.

⁶³Ibid.

These houses were usually built in wattle and daub construction. Thus, the Fante were familiar with and using more than one type of construction method at the same time. These methods were selected according to the purpose and location of the structure.

Missionary priest and cultural enthusiast Kevin Carroll drew a similar house plan typical of the Yoruba or Bini in Nigeria. He described these houses as having “walls . . . about nine to twelve inches thick; the floors are raised above ground level. The rooms are linked together round an open courtyard. Wooden posts or mud pillars carry the inner slope of the roof. A veranda runs between the wall of the building and the courtyard.”⁶⁴ Thus, the courtyard house plan may have spread to the Fante by either the north-south trading route or the east-west route.

The Danish plan of the Asante courtyard house and Carroll’s plan of a Nigeria courtyard house both have an entrance corridor leading into a central receiving area, much like those found in Roman houses. The Fante courtyard house plan, as illustrated by Hyland in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*,⁶⁵ differs from these in that the entrance leads directly into a large hall. Another door on the direct opposite side of the hall leads into the courtyard. Two bedchambers are accessed from either side of the central hall. Hyland did not state when this courtyard house was built, yet I would venture that it was constructed after the mid-nineteenth century, for the Tuafohen’s Palace exhibits this same Hall and Chamber configuration.

Tuafohen’s Palace

According to the current *tuafohen*, the original Tuafohen’s Palace in Anomabo was a two-story rammed earth residence with a thatched roof. A large courtyard stood in front of this house, and a small one behind. A residence was built behind this courtyard for the palace slaves. The

⁶⁴Carroll, 12-13.

⁶⁵A. D. C. Hyland, “Fante,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 2043.

descendants of these slaves, now fully incorporated members of the *tuafohen's* family, continue to live in the second residence behind the *tuafohen's* residence as part of the same building (Figure B-20). Since the *tuafohen* is the commander of the *asafo* armies, his palace was a target for enemies. It was attacked and destroyed by an *asafo* company from Asafo about 150 years ago.⁶⁶ A one-story, rammed earth double courtyard house was built in its stead.

Current residents do not remember when the two-story rammed earth residence was first built or who built it. They also do not remember who built the current residence, except that it is on the same location in Akanpaado (Figure B-21). A unique feature may help to date the structure. An old iron ship's part is substituted for a window. Iron was gradually adopted in ship construction, initially in small areas needing greater strength. British engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel's *Great Britain* of 1843 was the first propeller-driven iron ship.⁶⁷ The circular part forming the window in the palace is claimed to be from a propeller. Originally all the windows in the house used this 16" part. Later all but one in the current stool room was replaced with rectangular jalousie windows. If the iron part was incorporated into the house when it was built, then the house might be dated to the last half of the nineteenth century. The part however may have been old when the house was originally constructed, dating the house later. A similar window can be seen on Cape Coast Castle facing the main road.

The plan of the Tuafohen's Palace (Figure B-20) has three rooms across the front, two rooms deep. The central rooms are used as halls and the rooms on each side are used as chambers usually for sleeping or storage. In the late seventeenth century Barbot witnessed that "several of these little cabins (loges) slight partitions of canes, reeds or other material" divided

⁶⁶The date of 150 years ago was given to me by Tuafohen Nana Obuesiwua VII, a. k. a. J. Ebow Quashie, in 2007. In 2009, he claimed it was 300 years ago.

⁶⁷Arthur Wilson, *The Living Rock: The Story of Metals since Earliest Times and Their Impact on Civilization* (Cambridge: Woodhead, 1996), 202-203.

the house interiors.⁶⁸ It is possible that these divisions led to the indigenous development of the Hall and Chamber plan. The Hall and Chamber plan is not included in the Asante plan given by Andreasen, Eskemose and Schmidt, or in Carroll's plan of a Nigerian courtyard house. This plan seems particular to this area of the Ghanaian coast.

In the Tuafohen's Palace the two central halls are connected by a central door. This door is perfectly in-line with the entrance door, and a third door leads from the second hall into a rectangular-shaped courtyard. Large rooms to the left and right of the courtyard act as halls, while the four rooms to the back are bedchambers. The corner chambers are accessed only through doors to the large halls, and the two central chambers have doors to the courtyard. The hall located to the south has a large door leading to the outside. This entrance is used during important ritual ceremonies. Windows are provided either to the exterior or to the courtyard.

The second residence also has a courtyard plan. It is set back-to-back with the *tuafohen's* residence with a wall separating the two. A few important differences exist between these plans. Only one row of rooms stretches across the front. The entrance is a narrow hall leading directly into the central L-shaped courtyard. The side rooms are comprised of a hall with a door to the courtyard and a bedchamber with a door to the hall. Other chambers have a single door to the courtyard. Windows are provided either to the exterior or to the courtyard. Thus, all rooms in the entire plan have at least one window. The entire structure originally had dirt floors.

The current Tuafohen Nana Obuesiwua VII, a. k. a. J. Ebow Quashie, a prominent attorney based in Takoradi, made several updates to the structure when he was elected to the stool in 1994. He added another two rooms across the front of his palace. Carved double doors at the entrance lead into the largest room used as a visitor's hall. Two ceiling fans help circulate air.

⁶⁸Hair, Jones and Law, 511.

The second room is smaller and is used as both a private visiting room and bedchamber. A door was cut into the adjoining bedchamber. The tuafohen also added terrazzo flooring throughout the first residence and courtyard as well as a fresh cement plaster to the exterior walls, including those inside the courtyards. The cement plaster not only protects the earth from the rains and intense sun, but also allows the home owner to have the house painted. Murals were painted across the front by Joseph Benjamin Arcct Bunyan, a. k. a. Kofi Benya, a.k.a Dollar. A figural cement sculpture of a linguist pouring libations from a real glass gin bottle was brought from Takoradi.

Combining the Two-Story and Courtyard Plans

One of the more interesting developments that Cruickshank observed is the addition of the second story on the front row of rooms over the standard one-story courtyard house. “There is frequently a second story on one side of the square, and sometimes upon all. This is considered necessary to meet the idea of a white man's house, which they think it so desirable to imitate.”⁶⁹

It is debatable whether the second story was an imitation of the European house. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is equally possible the inspiration derived from northern housing. The courtyard house is a vernacular form firmly rooted in Akan culture. Yet, not unlike other cultural forms, it was inspired by ideas borrowed from outside cultures. Two-story houses, or *abrɔsan*, are locally reported as a form adopted from Europeans on the coast. However, housing in the Western Sudan consists of mostly two-story buildings with flat roofs combined with a courtyard within the main house. Some are made from earth, while others are made with molded or cast,

⁶⁹Ibid., 291.

baked rectangular bricks.⁷⁰ As previously stated, the origin of the courtyard plan may come from Roman housing. The two-story structure may have a European or Roman origin.

According to Prussin, Rome built a system of major fortresses, or *limitanei*. These fortified farms were built as far south as the third parallel. The *limitanei* was a cubic structure built of ashlar limestone masonry, two or three stories high, with a single entrance. Rooms faced an internal open courtyard or lightwell.⁷¹ This combination of storied courtyard structure is similar to those Europeans would build on the coast as their lodges and forts in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.

⁷⁰Elleh, 24-25; and Prussin, *Hatumere*, 163.

⁷¹Prussin, *Hatumere*, 106.

CHAPTER 4 THE EUROPEAN PALLADIAN STYLE

The Europeans utilized stone nog construction on the Ghanaian coast from the late fifteenth century through the nineteenth century. Coastal forts were built in the European Medieval style by all the European merchant companies. The Dutch introduced classical restraint in Palladian-style lodges and housing. The British later brought a slightly revised Georgian Palladian style. The British Palladian differs from the earlier Dutch style in the development of a Hall and Chamber plan. These styles are evident in Anomabo in buildings that survive today. This survival confirms the skills of the masons and construction techniques as well as to the periodic maintenance they've received over the centuries.

Dutch Palladianism

The Dutch East India Company, the first-ever multinational corporation, was founded in 1602. It was financed by shares that established the first modern stock exchange. The company became the world's largest commercial enterprise of the seventeenth century. The Dutch monopoly on Asian trade persisted for two centuries. Spices imported in bulk brought huge profits. The Dutch also dominated trade among European countries. In 1619 the Dutch initiated the slave trade between Africa and the Americas; by 1650 they became the paramount slave trading country in Europe, a position eventually taken by Britain around 1700. The flourishing Dutch trade produced a large, wealthy merchant class in Holland as well as on the Ghanaian coast where merchants and their money dominated the port cities.¹

Dutch merchants used their new fortunes to commission houses to be constructed along canals recently dug in and around many cities (for both defense and transportation). Houses with

¹Jakob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600 to 1800* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1966), 3-10, 229-247.

ornamented façades befitted their new status. The Classical architectural style of the Greeks and Romans was interpreted by many architects in the most liberal fashion in the seventeenth century. Andrea Palladio, who lived and worked in northern Italy, studied the remains of Greek and Roman buildings, especially temples. He published his findings in the book *I Quattro Libri Dell-architettura, or The Four Books of Architecture*, in 1570. The immensely popular book stimulated several Classical movements in architecture since its introduction in the sixteenth century.²

Dutch Palladianism is marked by sobriety and restraint. The architecture of the first republic in Northern Europe was intended to reflect democratic values by quoting extensively from classical antiquity. This style was promoted mainly by Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621), who was instrumental in introducing a Venetian-influenced style into early seventeenth-century architecture through buildings like the Noorderkerk ("Northern church," 1620-1623) and Westerkerk ("Western church," 1620-1631) in Amsterdam. Even though late Gothic elements prevailed in the early-seventeenth century, as the century progressed less ornamentation was used and natural stone was preferred to bricks. In the last decades of the century this trend towards restraint intensified.³

The major architects of the Dutch Palladian style include Jacob van Campen (1596-1657) and Pieter Post (1608-1669), who adopted de Keyser's ideas for such elements as enlarged pilasters, gable roofs, central pediments, and dynamic steeples. Brought together in a coherent combination, these stylistic developments anticipated British architect Christopher Wren's (1632-1723) classicism. From around 1670 the most prominent features of a Dutch housefront were its

²Peter Harbison, Homan Potterton and Jeanne Sheehy, *Irish Art and Architecture from prehistory to the Present* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 132.

³Rosenberg, Slive and ter Kuile, 3-10, 229-247.

entrance, with pillars on each side and possibly a balcony above it. There was no further decoration.⁴ An example of Dutch Palladianism is located in Anomabo with today's Omanhen's Palace.

The Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace

According to colleagues in the field, the Omanhen's Palace (Figure B-8) was constructed in 1621 by Fante builders. However, the heavily fortified walls of stone, brick and local shell mortar suggest European sources for these materials and building technology. Flather states that the Dutch began construction on Anomabo's first lodge in 1639 or 1640. Work was temporarily halted when the English told the Dutch that the Fante territory had been ceded to the English. Yet, after the arrival of the Dutch Commander, Arent Jacobsz van der Graeff (1557-1642), the lodge was soon completed under his supervision.⁵ The structure dates to the earliest period of cultural contact in Anomabo and reflects the restrained style of Dutch Palladianism. The lodge is located in the northern part of Krokessin.

Ten or twelve years later the Swedes captured it. Danish forces took the lodge in 1657 under Caerlof, and the Dutch recaptured it in 1660.⁶ When the second Dutch-Anglo war ended in 1667 (Treaty of Breda), the British gained a foothold in Anomabo and had begun building Fort Charles by 1672 or 1673. An early chief, perhaps Eno or Eno Besi, inhabited the Dutch lodge at this time and declared it his palace.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Flather, 23. Flather located this information in the Dutch Records available at the University of Ghana in Legon. Anquandah stated that the Dutch lodge in Anomabo was built under the direction of Polish mercenary Heindrick Caerlof, a. k. a. Sir Henry Carlof. Kwesi J. Anquandah, *Castles & Forts of Ghana* (Paris: Atalante, 1999), 10. His source is not given.

⁶Claridge, vol. 2, 594.

This appropriation serves as the first surviving architectural example of cultural authentication in Anomabo. The first stage, selection, refers to the appropriation of a motif, or object, without alteration. Characterization, the next stage, is the naming of the motif to make it better understood within the culture. The Dutch Lodge was selected by the Fante chief and it was renamed the Omanhen's Palace. A sign naming the "Omanhene's Palace"⁷ exists over the main entrance today. Incorporation involves ownership of a motif by a specific community group, and lastly, transformation is the creation of something new from this original motif.⁸ The palace was incorporated via its royal ownership, and transformed for Fante purposes into a site of royal habitation and practices. Thus, the cultural authentication of architecture of European design, plan and materials was first undertaken by the Anomabos in the late-seventeenth century.

Construction and Materials

The two-story lodge is constructed in stone nog with imported brick. Although the Dutch are responsible for overseeing the construction of the lodge, they likely did not complete it without some local assistance. Even though the Dutch masons trained locals, it seems unlikely that the local people adopted stone or brick as a building material during this period. There was no motivation at this time, and stone was expensive due to the time needed to cut the rough stone into usable construction materials. The local material of choice continued to be *swish*. At some point, perhaps immediately after taking possession of the lodge, the exterior of the Omanhen's Palace (Figure B-8) received a mud plaster coat that completely covers all traces of its original building materials. A cement plaster and paint cover the exterior today. When residents are

⁷The spelling of *omanhene* reflects a Twi spelling. In Fante the final "e" would not exist. This is the combined result of local languages having an oral tradition and the British promotion of Asante culture (Twi-speaking Akans) beginning in late-nineteenth century.

⁸Erekosima and Eicher, 50-51.

asked, they proclaim that the Omanhen's Palace was always the palace and is constructed of *swish*.

The only visual evidence of the original Dutch Lodge is the fortress-like quality of the structure, the symmetrical placement of the windows, and two unplastered interior spaces. The first space, located in the first courtyard, has a three feet tall, brick-lined arched entrance leading into a brick barrel-vaulted room, probably used for artillery storage. The other space is located next to this storage room behind the courtyard wall. The brick barrel-vaulted niche, likely used by the sentry guard, sits about 19 inches deep in the wall (Figure B-25). Barrel vaults created from imported bricks are a hallmark construction method found on the coast in many Dutch forts including Fort Nassau (1621) in Moree, Fort Patience (1697) in Apam and Fort Amsterdam (English 1638, Dutch 1665) in Abandze. Locally-manufactured bricks can be easily distinguished from the imported European bricks. The local bricks contain coarse-grain materials with specks of mica, a material that abounds in the clay of the area.⁹ Thus, these bricks have a sparkling quality.

Archaeologist Mark Freeman conducted a preliminary study of Anomabo in 2008 and found, in a site located in Krokessim southeast of the lodge, a small number of locally-manufactured burnt bricks on a level dating prior to the 1750s when Fort William was constructed.¹⁰ This suggests that the technology of burnt bricks was introduced to Anomabo prior to this period. It does not however, confirm that the technology was practiced by either Europeans or Fante or both, nor does it confirm that Fante masons constructed homes for themselves using these bricks during this early period. Although this may have been the site of

⁹Freeman, 82.

¹⁰Ibid., 94.

Dutch brick production during the construction of the lodge in the 1640s, further archaeological investigation will be necessary to provide more concrete data.

Plan

While the Dutch Lodge was built according to European tastes and utilizes the Palladian style in its restraint, it reflects both European and Fante tastes in form and function. During the seventeenth century Europeans and Akan lived in similar housing, including living outdoors during much of the daylight hours. While seventeenth century houses in Amsterdam do not utilize the courtyard plan, it would have been necessary in lodges on the coast. Because the lodge provided defense, outdoor space needed to be enclosed. The Dutch imported a medieval fortress plan similar to the Akan courtyard plan. Therefore, on the coast the Europeans and Akans were living in houses with similar plans. It would not have been unusual for chiefs to have had a house, or compound, with several interconnecting courtyard plans. Europeans and Africans also used similar thatched roofing. The roof of the Dutch lodge would have originally been thatched.¹¹ All the courtyard spaces open to the sky, letting in light and air. The main difference between these plans however, is that the Dutch utilized a two-story courtyard plan.

The rectilinear, two-story lodge is organized around three courtyards (Figure B-26). A wide stone ramp, now covered with a layer of cement, leads up to the double doored entrance. This leads into a small room or foyer that houses the important *fontomfrom* drums. The foyer opens to the first and largest courtyard. Several rooms surround this courtyard. Three large piers support the veranda upstairs and provide a sheltered walkway underneath. The long room behind

¹¹A watercolor entitled "The European man admonished the African caboceer not to kill any of his slaves...Anamaboe" by Daniel Biney painted in December of 1851 depicts a high-ranking Fante man wrapped in gold-colored cloth, seated on a typical Akan stool, and shaded by a large, decorative umbrella. Behind him in the distance is a two-story building with a central door at ground level. On each side of the door are three windows on each story for a total of twelve windows. This building, which may be the Omanhen's Palace, is covered with a high-pitched thatched roof. Michael Graham-Stewart, *Far Away and Long Ago* (London: Michael Graham-Stewart, 2000), n.p.

the sentry niche and small barrel-vaulted storage area is now used as a sacred storage area. I was told that in the distant past, this room and the room to the east of the stairs were used as dungeons for criminals. To the west of this courtyard is a wide opening to another long room. In one corner, several stools are stored on their sides for visiting chiefs. A window opens to the entrance foyer. At the opposite end of the window is a doorway leading to a small transitional room. This room houses the *kyensin* drum, a short drum used for emergency meetings.

The Western door leads into the *omanhen*'s sacred rooms, including a second courtyard. Piers support a three-sided veranda above. Several rooms surround this courtyard. A large brick barrel-vaulted niche is built into the northern side of this courtyard, underneath the stairs. This niche may have originally been used as an oven for cooking or forging.¹²

The southern door off the transitional room leads into the third courtyard towards the back of the building. Originally only three rooms extended from this space. The courtyard was once open to the southern side, but now rammed earth additions have somewhat enclosed this space.

Lastly, two ground floor rooms are accessed from the exterior of the building. These are located on the western side of the building, behind the *omanhen*'s sacred courtyard. They are small rooms and serve no purpose today. The room to the north was once used as a post office during the colonial era. This room has a curiously small, sliver-shaped window facing north.

The original flooring on the second level would have been made of wood planks. They have since been replaced with *swish* floors supported by tree limbs laid in parallel fashion about a foot apart, which is visible from underneath. The floors have received a recent cement plaster. Stairs from the first courtyard leads to the large Visitor's Hall (Figure B-27). Four windows

¹²No one except the *omanhen* and his closest attendants and priests are allowed access to this area of the lodge today. My plan was estimated via my view from the veranda above.

capture cool breezes. A room located to the southwest of the Visitor's Hall retains its original wood flooring, though it probably belongs to a later date than the 1640s.

A number of rooms open from the veranda. Another large room on the opposite side of the Visitor's Hall is the Omanhen's Great Hall. A window opening to the veranda retains wood shutters and hand-forged iron hinges from a century or more ago. This is the room where first-time visitors are received by the *omanhen*. The private bedrooms of close members of the royal family open into this hall. The current *omanhen's* wife, or *obaahemaa*, Omankrado Nana Gyanwa, the queen mother of Ajumako Besease, uses the southern room for her bedchamber.

The central door to the west leads from the Omanhen's Great Hall to the veranda over the second courtyard. Important private rooms are located off this veranda. A large room to the south of the veranda acts as a storage room and houses several important stools. The central westernmost room is often used by the current *omanhen* for receiving close family and friends.

Two bedchambers emanate from this room forming a plan similar to the Hall and Chamber plan. Since this plan occurs only in the innermost reaches of the building where few locals would have been allowed access, it seems unlikely that it served as the inspiration for the Hall and Chamber Plan that became so popular in the nineteenth century. However, the possibility exists. If it was the inspiration, I contend that it was based on the *omanhen's* use of the configuration, and not on European usage. The *omanhen's* use of these rooms, in turn, was likely based on indigenous ways of living. Original uses of rooms and the intentions behind their configurations are difficult to determine. It is especially challenging to differentiate between European and African origins because both cultures had similar lifestyles during the seventeenth century.

Modern Adaptations

The Obaahemaa's chamber retains wood molding around the top of all four sides of the room. The Omanhen's Great Hall also once had the same molding, though it has since been

replaced. All three of the rooms forming the Hall and Chamber plan off the second courtyard have mortared moldings around the tops of the rooms. The central room and the bedchamber in the southwest corner have since had dropped ceilings that now cover these moldings. The moldings were likely added in the nineteenth century when similar molding was added in Cruickshank's additions to Fort William and Castle Brew.

The stairway and landing on the second courtyard veranda have ceramic tile in multiple shades of earthtone colors, probably added in the late-nineteenth century. Similar tile can also be seen in the first Kow Otu house in Anomabo and the Allen Quansah House in Tantri, Cape Coast. Both the molding and ceramic tiling exhibit embellishments that display current interior design trends. Persons of high status convey their modernity through display.

The entire exterior of the Omanhen's Palace has received a cement plaster. Today, it is painted yellow with a horizontal band of black paint along the bottom. Across the front, this black band covers the wider area tapering outward from the wall. On the interior, the foyer and first courtyard are similarly painted yellow, but they have a tall band of dark red paint. Tapered points of this red band are formed at the corners. Other rooms in the palace are painted in the same yellow or other colors. Electricity is another recent introduction to the structure, though no plumbing has been installed. A shrine has been walled off by a short concrete wall to the exterior to the right of the entrance. The small tree in the enclosure is considered to be a local deity. In the late-nineteenth century asbestos/slate roofing probably replaced the thatch. Today, iron or aluminum sheeting is used.

British Palladianism

Some English and Irish architects felt the Palladianism of the late seventeenth century bore little resemblance to the Classical prototypes studied by Palladio who asserted that architecture should be governed by reason. Its clarity, order, and symmetry, demonstrated in the use of

classical forms and decorative motifs, appealed to the rising merchant elites in Britain who demanded a new sensibility in their commercial buildings. British cities, like London, were comprised of buildings with retail shops on street level with spaces for residential living above. The seventeenth century shop was no more than a front room with a large window facing the street. The space above was used by the wealthy shopkeeper or rented as flats. In the early eighteenth century with expanded mercantilism, some of the shop facades became more ornate with larger windows, signs and embellishments.¹³ This mercantile shop with living space above was transported to the Ghanaian coast by both the British and African coastal elites.

One of the hallmark innovations of British Palladianism was the floor plan. It was symmetrical and balanced with a central hall and a chamber extending from each side. Often two sets of this plan were brought together, creating two central halls and four equally-sized chambers. Although the Palladian style was based on Roman prototypes, the Roman house had a narrow vestibulum, or entrance corridor, that led directly into a courtyard area. This courtyard was often used as a formal entrance hall. Palladio incorporates this type of plan in his Villa Rotunda. An entrance on each side of the building leads visitors down a narrow corridor to the vast central receiving area under the dome. British Palladian architects simply did away with this corridor to create a greater sense of balance.

While forts along the Ghanaian coast were constructed in the Palladian style with Medieval fortress plans, housing tended to use both Palladian plans and style. Surviving evidence in Anomabo shows a prevalence of the British Palladian style. The Palladian and Neo Gothic styles belong to the overarching category of Georgian architecture, a set of architectural styles

¹³Harbison, Potterton and Sheehy, 132; and H. Kalman, "The Architecture of Mercantilism: Commercial Buildings by George Dance the Younger," in *The Triumph of Culture: 18th Century Perspectives*, ed. Paul Fritz and David Williams (Toronto, Canada: A. M. Hakkert, 1972), 69-71.

prominent between 1720 and 1840. While Palladian promoted Classical forms, Neo Gothic offered its whimsical alternative. Ghanaian coastal style is based upon the former and is characterized by its proportion and balance. The one exception to this is Gothic House (Figure C-76), built around 1815 by mulatto trader James Dawson, in Cape Coast and known today as the Oguaa Palace.¹⁴

Common building materials for Georgian styles are brick or stone. Proponents of the Palladian style used mathematical ratios to determine room proportions and window placement. Strict adherence to classical rules was mandated by proponents of the movement, so additions made to earlier structures, creating asymmetry, were considered a flaw. A major architect who promoted Georgian styles was Colen Campbell, Scottish architect and author of the influential book *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published in 1715 and 1725. These volumes catalogued architectural designs including those by Campbell as well as Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. The plans promoted a clean, Classical approach to decoration. Campbell disapproved of over-embellishments, popular during the Baroque period. Richard Brew, who kept an extensive library, may have been familiar with these volumes. Even though his residence was a much-simplified form of the Palladian plans, Brew skillfully translated the aesthetic using imported and local materials. In Britain, the Palladian style was applied more to country residences than to those in town. The late eighteenth century was a great age of building grand country homes, displaying the wealth of the upper class, many of whom acquired their additional or newfound wealth through mercantilism.¹⁵

¹⁴Supi Kobina Minnah, "Oguaa Can Now Boast of a Modern Palace Befitting the Status of the First Capital of the Gold Coast-Ghana," in *Oguaa Fete afahyE 2009*, ed. Supi Kobina Minnah, Anthony Fynn-Cudjoe, J. K. Koranchie and Lauren Adrover (Cape Coast, Ghana, 2009), 30.

¹⁵Harbison, Potterton and Sheehy, 132.

One of the earliest Palladian houses in Ireland is Bellamont Forest in County Cavan. Sir Edward Lovett Pearce (c. 1699-1733) designed the country mansion in 1730 for Thomas Coote, a colonel in the British army. The two-story brick house rests on a basement. The center of the red brick façade is distinguished by a Greek temple style Doric portico. Pediments adorn the first floor windows, while the windows on the second floor are plain. Details, such the belt course and cornice, emphasize horizontality. Bellamont Forest exhibits many of the features synonymous with the British Palladian style. Everything is symmetrical and well-balanced. The decorative entablature above the door and pilasters at either side emphasize symmetry. The entrance opens into a large central hall, from which two rooms open on either side. Behind, another hall opens into again into rooms on each side. This Hall and Chamber plan of three or six well-proportioned rooms becomes the vernacular for Ghanaian coastal architecture.¹⁶

During the eighteenth century, Georgian architecture, especially of the Palladian style, was widely disseminated in English settlements and colonies. The Palladian style was adaptable to using locally-available materials. This spread of the Georgian Palladian style is attributed to the new medium of inexpensive suites of engravings, such as Campbell's volumes.¹⁷

After about 1840, a number of revival styles gradually replaced the Georgian style. The Neo-Georgian was a revived Georgian Palladian style that emerged in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁸ Along the Ghanaian coast certain Palladian elements such as arches, arcades, columns and pediments have rather consistently persisted to the present day.

¹⁶Ibid., 132-133; and Dan Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain & Ireland*. (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 58.

¹⁷Paul Oliver, ed., *Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1699-1717; and Dana Arnold and Tim Clayton, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).

¹⁸Ibid.

The British Forts

Forts on the Ghanaian coast were constructed to serve three main purposes. They were commercial trading centers, fortifications against rival European traders, and residences for the small number of company merchants. As stated before, when the Dutch-Anglo war ended in 1667, the British gained the foothold in Anomabo and began building Fort Charles by 1672 or 1673 (Structure C-2). After some difficult financial years, Fort Charles lay in ruins by 1730. The French tried to negotiate terms with Kurentsir to construct their own fort, but they never reached an agreement. The new British Royal African Company was able to make an agreement with Kurentsir by 1753, and they began construction of the new Anomabo fort, later named Fort William (Structure C-3). Local masons were utilized in burnt brick production and in the construction of these forts, yet there is no evidence that locals adopted this material or stone nog construction for their own structures.

Castle Brew

Built during the same period as Fort William is Castle Brew, known locally as *aban kakraba*, or Little Fort (Figure B-6). The residence was named Castle Brew by its original inhabitant Richard Brew, an Irishman living in Anomabo for more than 25 years. Brew landed on the Gold Coast in 1751, shortly after the Parliamentary decision to create the Company of Merchants as a replacement for the defunct Royal African Company. He held a post at Tantumquerry for a couple of years and then seems to have vanished. He re-emerged in Anomabo as a private trader in 1754, and soon after, Brew wisely made friends with Kurentsir.¹⁹

Brew held the Governorship for two periods: 1756-1760 and 1761-1764. Like Apperley, Brew began his Anomabo command by living in the Omanhen Kurentsir's Palace. Early in 1757,

¹⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 46.

Brew moved into the fort and became the first Governor to occupy it. Building was still in progress however, and it was not until 1759 that it was described as “near being finished.” Fort William and Castle Brew were constructed at the same time by the same European and Fante craftsmen, both overseen by Governor Brew.²⁰

Status Symbol

Castle Brew, an impressive British Palladian-style residence, was built directly across from Fort William's northwestern corner. Castle Brew has its own warehouses, guns and large courtyard (behind the main house). It often functioned as the hold for slaves to be traded from the coast when Fort William, small in comparison to the forts of Elmina and Cape Coast, was full. Brew's intention was to rival British power on the coast as an independent trader, for he wanted control of the lucrative slave trade. Priestley notes that the name Castle Brew was “a title suggestive of his intention that it should rival the fort in the eyes of the Fanti population.”²¹ Often at odds with the British Company of Merchants who hired and fired Brew as Governor of the fort several times, Brew consciously appropriated the power image of the massive brick and stone structure to visually transfer and neutralize the power of the British.

Like Sesarakoo, the mulatto Edward Barter was educated in England at the expense of the Royal African Company between 1690 and 1693. Upon his return to the coast he was employed by the Royal African Company, yet also worked on the side as an independent trader²² as Brew

²⁰Ibid., 44-45.

²¹Ibid., 42-44, 57.

²²J. D. Fage and Roland Oliver, eds., *The Cambridge History of Africa Volume 4 c. 1600 – c. 1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), 308.

did years later. An early member of the rising coastal elite merchant class in Cape Coast, Barter built a house, described by Bosman, as “not unlike a small fort” near Cape Coast Castle.²³

Thus, there is a coastal precedent of building houses like fortresses, perhaps if only in material and construction method, next to the European trading forts as symbols of both status and power. A fort or castle acted as a visual symbol of the Medieval period in Europe, for the structure was a fortified building or set of buildings used to provide active and passive defence. It also served as a residence for the castle's lord and household. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, a romantic revival of Gothic architecture renewed interest in castles as a residential symbol of wealth and power, no longer serving a military purpose.²⁴ Coastal Africans and mulattoes appropriated this symbol for their own display of status.

British Palladian Style and Plan

Brew imported the design of a Palladian-style Irish country house, a familiar form in his native County Clare. He built what he was familiar with and probably aspired to, not just as a reminder of home. Castle Brew exhibits all the elements of the Georgian British Palladian style – rigid symmetry, an adherence to Greco-Roman elements such as arches and arcades, and the use of brick and stone. Visual evidence remains of the original Castle Brew, a wholly symmetrical conception. This building was built on the far north section of today's complex. Four pilasters are evenly spaced across the facade with a belt course dividing the two stories. The entrance door is centrally located and all the windows are symmetrically placed.

A double staircase leads to the veranda at the rear of the residence (Figure B-30). Five anse de panier, or flat, arches span the veranda. Black and white marble tiles set in a diamond pattern

²³Gocking, 27; and Bosman 104.

²⁴William Anderson, *Castles of Europe from Charlemagne to the Renaissance* (NY: Random House, 1970); and Jacqueline O'Brien and Desmond Guinness, *Great Irish Houses and Castles* (NY: Random House, 1970), 17-19.

line the walkway from the steps to the doors. This elegant facade would have made an impression upon the many visitors who would have entered the residence via the courtyard. As in the Twidan Clan family residence, visitors entered the courtyard to ascend stairs into the visitor's hall of the house. While English homes of the period had stairs indoors and not outdoors, outside staircases were the norm on the Guinea coast. Whether Brew selected this feature from local Fante housing or from other European housing on the coast is not documented. However, at Fort William and many of the coastal forts, stairs from the courtyard lead to the upper story.

In Castle Brew, the two floors have the same plan (Figure B-31), with the entrance for the downstairs on the front of the building and the courtyard entrance on the back side. A large room emanates from each side of a central hall. Upstairs, the hall was used to receive and entertain guests. On the ground floor two wide arches allowed access from the corridor to the rooms. This floor is dark and was likely used for storage. Upstairs, doorways replace the arches, yet they were topped with similar anse de panier arched openings. The original entrance double doors, on both floors, were constructed from sturdy wood. The rooms on this upper floor are roomy and light, thanks to their high flat ceilings and many windows.

Thus, the first building was conceived as a simple two-story box, using a strict symmetrical plan. On Palladian residences, the entrance doors were often double doors with a rectangular transom above. They were further capped with a decorate entablature supported by pilasters. In Castle Brew, the anse de panier arch was carried throughout the plan for windows and doorways. The pilasters were restricted to the facade, and no entablatures were used. Castle Brew is topped by the usual Palladian cornice embellished with decorative moldings, though not dentils. The roof, since replaced, may have looked something like the flat roof at Stourhead House in Wiltshire, England, completed in 1720. Or, it may have been a hip roof like the one on

Bellamont Forest or Furness in County Kildare (c. 1731).²⁵ Rather than a portico at the entrance like Bellamont Forest, Furness has simplified this to double columns flanking the entrance with a flat entablature above. Thus, architects drew from the Palladian corpus and applied them as ornately as their clients desired, or could afford.

Hugh Weir offers numerous examples of Irish Palladian country homes in his book *Houses of Clare*.²⁶ Brew would have been familiar with many of these houses. These houses were often two-story, five bay houses with little embellishment except around the entrance. Materials were usually locally-quarried limestone or bricks crafted in brickworks nearby. Larger residences had slate roofs, but smaller ones were thatched. They were whitewashed, had stone floors on the ground level and some even had roof gutters.²⁷ While it is not known if Castle Brew had a slate roof or if the exterior was whitewashed, it does have stone floors on the ground level and evidence exists of the original gutters.

What sets Castle Brew apart from the Irish country homes is the lack of embellishment around the front entrance, the arched windows and the courtyard porch. The arched windows are in keeping with the idea of Palladian windows however. Some of the original glass panes and wood framing survives in the upper arched portion of the windows. A double entrance staircase, derived from Palladio, leads to the entrance porch. This arcaded porch is more reminiscent of Palladian city architecture for commercial buildings. Five arches span the front, while an arch on each side catches the north-south breezes. The mushroom arches²⁸ appear to be a coastal

²⁵Harbison, Potterton and Sheehy, 137.

²⁶Hugh Weir, *Houses of Clare* (Whitegate, County Clare: Ballinakella, 1986). See Appleville, Corofin on p. 6; Aran View, Miltown Malbay on p. 6; Atlantic House on p. 11; Ballycorruck Castle on p. 21; Ballyvoe House, Kilmaley on p. 33; and Clonmacken House, Limerick n.p.

²⁷Ibid., "Introduction," n.p.

²⁸"Mushroom arch" is my own term. This is an arch that seems to spring from half piers, creating an inner niche.

invention, used in English forts along the coast, including Cape Coast Castle. The mushroom arch may be a simplified version of the arch, which springs from half-piers, or impost blocks. An excellent example of the latter surmounts Fort William.

Exquisite black and white marble tiles, laid on the diagonal, line the entryway, which has large wooden double doors. Important local leaders and foreign ship's captains would have entered the house via this impressive courtyard entrance. Castle Brew stands as a fine example of eighteenth century Ghanaian coastal Palladian architecture. Perhaps because of its simplified decorative components, it exemplifies well Campbell's rebuke of Baroque embellishments.

Connections to Anomabo Leadership

Brew's account books reveal that he paid regular allowances to Kurentsir. He also gave frequent gifts of rum, tobacco, fine chintz, and other commodities to the ruler, to his wives and household, as well as to Kurentsir's son Sesarakoo and to Anomabo elders and headmen. After Brew was fired as Governor in 1760, he went to England for about a year and a half. When he returned to Anomabo in 1761, he brought a gift of a blue velvet umbrella with a gold fringe for the Omanhen.²⁹

Brew's marriage to Effua Ansah, daughter of Kurentsir, secured local recognition. Their courtship and marriage may have begun before his tenure in Anomabo, yet it seems most likely that it began during his residence at the Omanhen's Palace in the late 1750s. They had at least two daughters, Eleanor and Amba, who were baptized in 1767 by the Fante Reverend Philip Quaake. Priestley was not able to confirm that Brew's sons, Richard and Henry (known as Harry)

²⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 46, 50.

shared Effua as their mother. They were older than Eleanor and Amba and may have been born during Brew's first years on the coast.³⁰

Status Furnishings

Visitors to Castle Brew included ships' captains from Liverpool and Rhode Island. They combined business with 'the pleasures of Brew's table, bringing new arrivals to West Africa, information from the outside world, and perhaps a particular item – shoes, slippers, or trinkets – which Brew had ordered in England or had had repaired there.'³¹ According to the inventory records, the interior of Castle Brew visually reflected the tastes of an eighteenth-century gentleman. Priestley describes:

His bedroom and the hall were furnished in mahogany. The former contained a bedstead, a settee, two arm chairs, a table, and a bureau and a bookcase used for the storage of valuables such as gold. In the hall, which was clearly of spacious dimensions and the scene of his social and business dealings, there were two settees, twenty-three Windsor chairs, four mahogany tables, two bureaux and bookcases, and a sideboard. Four bedsteads provided extra sleeping accommodation. Lighting was in the form of candles, and the hall was adorned by a glass chandelier. There were also four looking-glasses and '66 pictures of different sizes', a miniature art gallery about which the inventory, alas, is uninformative. An organ, listed in the effects, must have been played in the hall when religious services were conducted there by the Reverend Philip Quaake, the African chaplain at Coast Cape Castle and an occasional visitor to Anomabu.³²

Brew also possessed a quantity of "silverware (candlesticks, a large salver, cream jug, and teaspoons) as well as china, glassware and linen. The china included over five dozen plates, two dozen cups and saucers, Queen's Ware [Wedgwood china], decanters for wine, punch, and water, wineglasses and twenty-six tablecloths. Leisure activities include cards and backgammon.

³⁰Ibid., 107-109, 117, 132.

³¹Ibid., 108-109.

³²Ibid., 100.

Brew library collection was detailed more in the inventory than his pictures, consisting of periodicals, novels, poems and essays popular in eighteenth-century Britain.”³³

Ten years after Kurentsir’s death in 1764, Brew wrote in a letter to Captain Thomas Eagles that small pox had taken many lives “amongst them your old friend & my old Servant John Currantee; he has died worth a great deal of money, and is a great loss to this Town.”³⁴ Brew’s power after Kurentsir’s death is expressed by the fact that during a peace negotiation with the Asantehene, the Asantehene deposited a close relative as hostage in Anomabo at Castle Brew, “in preference” Brew boasted, “to Cape Coast or Elmina: As for Anomabu fort it was never thought of.”³⁵ In 1776, when Effua Ansah’s mother had died, Brew accepted the responsibilities within the Fante social framework by contributing to the deceased’s funeral expenses, a custom incumbent on family and friends. He also obtained Indian “Blue Bafts” for the funeral attendants.³⁶

While in certain ways Brew assimilated to the coast by honoring certain Fante customs, in other ways he behaved as the British Georgian gentleman. From Brew’s inventory at the time of death, it is known that he possessed a substantial eighteenth-century British wardrobe of clothes. It included 15 waistcoats, nine coats laced and plain, 16 shirts, nine velvet collars, cravats, patterned black silk breeches, and several pairs of stockings, some of them silk. Also, old gold lace was kept in a bureau in the bedroom.³⁷

³³Ibid., 101.

³⁴Sanders, “The Political Development,” 277-278.

³⁵Donnan, vol. 2, 528.

³⁶Priestley, *West African Trade*, 108.

³⁷Ibid., 108.

Brew's Legacy

Within eighteenth century Irish culture, an aspiration to better oneself, particularly among the poorer classes, existed.³⁸ Brew, who seemed to spring up from nowhere, exemplified the ideal of the self-made man from this period. He acquired his fame and fortune through his own cunning and fortitude. Yet, at the same time, his marriage to a member of state royalty also propelled his stature within the Fante social hierarchy. He skillfully played off his relationship both with the Fante hierarchy and with the British Company of Merchants in order to achieve the greatest status and power.³⁹

Castle Brew provides evidence of the growing prosperity of the independent merchants and traders along the coast, and more specifically, in Anomabo. Castle Brew is perhaps the finest surviving example of eighteenth century European merchants' buildings. In early nineteenth century Elmina, Palladian-style residences were built by Dutch and mulatto merchants, such as Bridge House, which was built across the river from the castle.⁴⁰ These houses were designed for commercial purposes on the first floor, many with arcades along the street level and with warehouse spaces. Residents lived upstairs. In the case of Castle Brew, the ground floor was used for storage while the owner dwelled upstairs. Thus, the upper floors were more decorated.

Brew's sons, Richard and Harry were sent to England for their education, and returned to Anomabo in 1768. Richard was a clerk in the business, and Harry served as a linguist at Cape Coast Castle. Harry married a female relative of Philip Quaake. From this marriage sprang the

³⁸Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1989), 112.

³⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 57, 103.

⁴⁰Bridge House may have been constructed in the 1830s by John Fountaine Coorengel, a merchant of European (Dutch?) and Ghanaian descent. Larry W. Yarak, "Early Photography in Elmina," *Ghana Studies Council Newsletter* 8 (1995), footnote 4. The original structure collapsed in 1981 and a new hotel built in resemblance to the first Bridge House stands on the property. A photograph of the original building (far right) along with other Dutch Palladian residences is provided by Hyland, "Le Ghana," 152.

Brew family descendants, many of whom were educated coastal elites during the colonial period. The Brews are notable for the part they played in trade, law, religious, political and public affairs.⁴¹

After Richard Brew's death on August 5, 1776, his debts were discovered. Forster & Smith, his main creditor in England, held an auction to sell all of Castle Brew's effects as well as those of the subsidiary factories. The auction of furniture, apparel, and goods was held in Fort William and brought in £3,327.⁴² Castle Brew was later "assigned" to Robert Stanley as the owner, who later sold the building to Charles Croston. When he died, the residence fell to his executor Cruickshank who later sold or gave it to George Kuntu Blankson.⁴³

The Brodie G. Cruickshank Addition

At some point in time, an addition was made to the south side of Castle Brew. I propose that this addition was made by Cruickshank during his tenure in Anomabo. While it is possible that Brew nearly doubled his castle in length a short time after its original completion to accommodate his growing business and importance on the coast, he never documented its construction, which would be unlike his character. More likely, Cruickshank built it to suit his needs in the early nineteenth century using the same masons employed in constructing the third story Palaver Hall and Governor's Quarters, now the library, at Fort William (Figure B-32). In style, they are greatly similar, and it would explain the information gathered by Lawrence who wrote that the addition (both of them) was built by Cruickshank around 1841.⁴⁴

⁴¹Ibid., 107-109, 117, 132.

⁴²Ibid., 86-87.

⁴³Freeman, 92. From the National Archives in Cape Coast, ACC No. 16/1964. The records assistant was unable to locate this record for my perusal.

⁴⁴Lawrence, 355.

Cruickshank lived on the coast for twenty years, from 1834 to 1854, but not necessarily all that time in Anomabo. A report dated 1841 stated that Cruickshank was the only white man in Fort William,⁴⁵ and that he was a resident merchant of Anomabo in August of 1844. Thus, Cruickshank seems to have lived in Anomabo at least during the span of 1841 to 1844. The first addition to Castle Brew was likely overseen by Cruickshank during this period. He is also responsible for renaming the Anomabo fort, Fort William. Since King William IV reigned from 1830 to 1837, it is equally possible that Cruickshank built the additions during the latter half of the 1830s.⁴⁶

British Palladian Style and Plan

The designer of the addition did not seem concerned with perfect symmetry (Figures B-6 and B-31), which was a major aspect of the original Palladian structure. Lack of symmetry certainly would have been considered a major flaw by British architects. However, I doubt this was a consideration here on the Ghanaian coast. The pilasters and belt course of the original structure are not repeated on the addition. The doors and windows are not symmetrical, either with each other or with those of the original building. A wide tunnel on the ground floor allows direct access from the front of the castle to the courtyard. Near this tunnel on the facade a small round window resembles a porthole, rather than a full window. Perhaps the room inside was used to store goods to which Cruickshank wanted to limit the possibility of theft. This ground floor has two rooms connected by a large central archway.

Two rooms were also added upstairs. These were connected to the large south room of the original structure via a single doorway. On the south end of the far room double doors likely

⁴⁵Shumway 87, footnote 41; and Doortmont and Savoldi, 133.

⁴⁶Doortmont and Savoldi, 133.

opened onto a verandah to offer spectacular views of the beach and, more importantly, of Fort William's west entrance (Figure B-33). Another door once located on the back of the first added room, also led to a verandah. The verandah possibly extended around the south side and across the back of the addition. The rooms of the south wing do not extend as far back into the courtyard area, so the sense of the doubled size of the castle is felt more from the east-facing facade.

The southernmost room also boasts surviving, large double doors on the south wall that would have given access to a veranda that allowed access to the wall surrounding the courtyard. The wall is inset with four wood panels having windows in the upper portion. The two central panels operate as doors.

Cruikshank also likely added the wall that partially enclosing the courtyard behind the residence (Figure B-34). Two brick stairways lead to the second floor which may have acted as a lookout for trading ships, or simply as an extended porch. Fante bricks were used in the stairways as well as for voissoirs in the anse de panier arches. A brick balustrade survives along these stairwells and the inner edge of the second floor. Bricks are used to form the rectangular-shaped cut-outs and above them a row of dentils. Several rows of bricks are coursed along the top to create a wide railing. Extensive loss to the balustrade, especially to the southwestern corner, is visible. The western stairway exhibits many patches making it difficult to determine if the cut-outs were originally present. A row of lancet-shaped openings punctuate the inner west wall. In comparison to the eastern balustrade, many of the Fante bricks appear new. Due to the incongruity of design and newness of many bricks, I conclude that this section was reconstructed in error by the GMMB. This is confirmed by the photograph on page 148 in Hyland's section of *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala*. The picture shows the residence

before the twentieth century renovations. A section of Cruickshank's wall facing the courtyard still stands and displays evidence of at least five piers.⁴⁷

A curious row of flat stone, maybe marble, tiles protrude with points outward from the other side of this wall near the top. It is difficult to ascertain their purpose, and no one I asked could explain it. My best estimation is that they are part of the original flooring for an upper walkway that no longer exists. Today, the stairways lead nowhere, and the balustrades are often used for hanging laundry. Perhaps, these tiles, set at an angle, could not be removed without damaging the wall's integrity.

Moldings

I believe the moldings were added to the upstairs rooms by Cruickshank at this time. Such embellishments further the image of high status for the occupants. The two rooms added to the new upstairs rooms have molding. The northern room has molding only on the north and south sides, possibly made from wood trim. The southern room has very simple, rounded molding on all sides, possibly hand-made from the mortar (Figure B-33).⁴⁸

Molding was added to the middle room, part of Brew's original residence. This molding may have been constructed from either wood, brick or mortar or any combination. It would make sense that Cruickshank had the molding added to this room since it was one of the large rooms emanating from the entrance hall. He may have chosen to entertain his guests in this room as Brew would have done as well as in the adjoining room. These two rooms have the most elaborate moldings. The hall and far northern room from Brew's original structure, possibly used as a bedchamber, do not have molding.

⁴⁷Hyland, "Le Ghana," 135-170.

⁴⁸I was not able to investigate the moldings up close and had to make determinations about material and process via inquiry and viewing from the floor below.

Decorative moldings in the rooms of the new addition to Castle Brew, as well as those added to the original south room confirm my belief that these were the entertaining rooms. The moldings are different in each room. They surround all sides of the original south room and new south room, yet the room in between has molding on two walls only.

The styles of all three sets of molding are different from each other, yet the molding in the northern room of the addition looks most similar to molding in Fort William's Palaver Hall. It was not possible to determine the material of this molding, yet it appeared to be made from wood trim. The molding in the Palaver Hall is made from bricks and mortar.

Moldings inform our understanding of colonial period cultural authentication because this status embellishment was incorporated into some of the African coastal elite structures, such as Swanzy, later in the nineteenth century. It was also added to the Omanhen's Palace sometime during this period. Ceramic tiles would also be incorporated into African coastal elite structures, such as the first Kow Otu Family Residence (Figure B-13). Similar tiles are found at the Omanhen's Palace, which suggests that perhaps the coastal elites were borrowing forms as much from the ruling hierarchy as from the Europeans.

J. H. E. Conduah Family Residence – A Dutch Palladian Comparison in Elmina

The J. H. E. Conduah Family Residence (Figure B-35) in Elmina is a stone nog house with brick facing, built between 1807 and 1839 by the Dutch. Joseph Henry Emmanuel Conduah, or Condua (d. May 8, 1921) (Figure B-36), was a trading agent and landlord with many properties in Elmina who purchased this grand home in Nana Kobina Gyan Square in 1903. Conduah originally worked for the Dutch merchants. When they left Elmina in 1903, they practically gave the house to Conduah for only seven Ghana cedis (less than \$5 today). He later added a two-story concrete structure off the courtyard with a kitchen and bathrooms. He also modernized the residence with electricity and plumbing.

While this residence is Dutch and not African, it is useful to compare certain features of the house with those in Anomabo. The Dutch house observes both Palladian and sobrado design (see Chapter 6). The floor plan for the J. H. E. Conduah House is complex with two courtyards. Anse de panier arches are located over many of the doors and windows. The main hall has three Palladian windows surmounting glass paneled French doors that lead onto the verandah (Figure B-37). The verandah extends across the front and northern side of the house, basically the sides that abut the square and side street. The ground floor incorporated at least three stores at the front and a grand marble staircase entrance accessed via the front courtyard door located to the right of the house.

The steps lead to a corridor with chambers and two halls emanating. The plan is not symmetrical and does not incorporate the Hall and Chamber plan. It is essentially a later version of the Dutch Palladian style that was utilized in the Dutch Lodge in Anomabo. The upstairs floors are timber and wood plank. Colored glass decorative window panels were installed by Conduah in the main hall and in the door of the smaller hall leading to the wood plank verandah. Imported Alpine woodwork covers this exterior verandah.

Conduah was not the original client for the house; it was essentially given to him. Yet, he would have enjoyed the benefits of having such a status symbol denoting his success as a trader with European connections. The ownership of such a fine family house also demonstrated his membership in the coastal elite class. In keeping with the expectations, he decorated the interior with imported Victorian furniture. A large mirror in the small hall is reported to have been used to dress the brides of Elmina. Thus, the coastal elites would have been familiar with this house and its interior, as they were with Castle Brew.

The private courtyard toward the back of the house has decorative woodwork with cut-outs along the top of the verandah, yet this was locally crafted – a transformation, or cultural authentication, of the Alpine woodwork. This African woodwork, though similar in idea to that on the exterior verandah, is entirely different. Motifs are spaced more widely apart and repeated less. Christian crosses worked into the design were added after Conduah's ownership. Chambers surround much of the courtyard that features an old iron lamp post, no doubt added during Conduah's time, and a natural spring. A large cistern was built over this spring.

From Inhabiting European Palladian Houses to Building Them

All the African coastal elite stone nog houses in Elmina have since collapsed or have been replaced, yet from the examples surviving in Anomabo and Cape Coast I can determine that the Palladian style was popular for European structures built prior and during the colonial period and for African coastal elites buildings built during the colonial period. Clearly the Africans appropriated certain Palladian elements from the Europeans for their architecture, yet these were added to, and did not replace, their Akan architectural vernacular.

CHAPTER 5 SELECTION AND INCORPORATION OF THE PALLADIAN STYLE

Though it is possible that both the Akans and the Europeans had the Hall and Chamber plan, it seems more likely that this plan along with other elements of the British Palladian style was appropriated by African coastal elites in the nineteenth century. This style was not only adopted by African coastal elites in Anomabo and the Ghanaian coast, but also it was utilized by African coastal elites in port cities all along the Guinea coast and in the Caribbean and Brazil. While many Anomabos would have been directly familiar with Castle Brew and its interior, inspiration could have been found in structures all along the Guinea coast as well as in Europe and in books. It was promoted by Methodist missionaries who provided spiritual guidance, literacy and craftsman workshops. Therefore, African coastal elites of Anomabo were well-aware of architectural trends in other parts of the Atlantic world before, during and after the colonial period.

The selection and incorporation of the Palladian style in urban environments across the Atlantic is demonstrated by the fact that the Hall and Chamber plan can also be found in mulatto and African housing in the Caribbean. Architect Patricia E. Green noted that vernacular architecture in the Caribbean consisted of three rooms, each approximately 10 feet square, with a door on the front and back of the central hall. A piazza, or porch, fronted this type of structure. She determined that such architecture was located in rural areas first and later transported into the cities. Green concludes by claiming that the mulatto vernacular “is an expression generated from the cultural matrix using material within the locale.” Thus, while people in the Caribbean modified European architecture in the eighteenth century, essentially selecting and incorporating

it, they transformed it into an entirely new local form by the nineteenth century.¹ This is a parallel example to cultural authentication on the central Ghanaian coast.

Cruickshank's descriptions of coastal Ghanaian towns in the second quarter of the nineteenth century for the most part probably came from his knowledge of Anomabo and Cape Coast since he spent much of his time at these sites. As Cruickshank notes, "The changes that begin to take place in the style of houses and the building materials, in furniture and decoration, in clothing, and occupations all afford an insight into the social effects of the encounter between Europe and Africa."² Such family houses were built in the towns, while much of the living took place in the hinterland where the crops were grown and harvested. Thus, the African coastal elites lived in small wattle and daub houses in the hinterland and built *swish* (rammed earth?) residences in the towns and cities. Cruickshank laments the state of these residences, often neglected for long periods of time.

they gradually come to limit their visits to stated occasions of public festivity or annual custom-making. At last the disjunction is completed by the fallen roof and broken-down walls of the old family house, always to be, but never repaired. . . . The principal towns are deformed by heaps of roofless walls in all stages of decay, while substantial houses of higher pretensions are being built upon new sites in uninhabited parts of the country. These houses are built in mud, or 'swish' . . .³

Therefore, prior to the 1860s, Cruickshank described the coastal housing as *swish* courtyard residences, some having two stories. In keeping with urban coastal practices to select and incorporate many European cultural items, these items enhance their lives and display their cosmopolitan status. The cultural authentication of such items was ongoing since the sixteenth century when goods, especially textiles, from outside cultures, were traded on the coast. In

¹Green, "Architecture," 1702-1703.

²Brodie Cruickshank, 22.

³Ibid., 288-290.

contrast, architectural choices seem to have changed as early as the second quarter of the nineteenth century. These changes may be a reflection of the power shifts from African coastal elites to Asante to British in the nineteenth century.

A rammed earth house on Annobil Street near the Omanhen's Palace was constructed in the middle of the nineteenth century by Kweku Banful of the Nsona Clan and exhibits the early incorporation of the Hall and Chamber plan. Until 2007, the two-story house was in fine condition. Today, however, only the first story remains. The lower story plan reveals the six-room Hall and Chamber plan, similar to the Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence (Figure B-38). Timber stairs on the back of the structure would have allowed access to the upper story, which was said to have had the same plan as the ground floor. Since no concrete plaster protects the structure, it is rapidly decaying. The building construction is now visible, and it is evident that bricks and pieces of brick were used in the framing of windows and doorways. Brick also reinforced the exterior corners of the house.

In this case and evidenced in other buildings along the coast, it seems that the Fante were making their own burnt brick and incorporating the material into their earthen structures for stability. The brick work would have been covered with a layer of *swish* plaster, so it would not have been visible in the finished residence. It can be surmised that coastal masons chose to incorporate this new material into indigenous construction.

Brick continues to be used in rammed earth construction today. Therefore, the selection of the European technology of making burnt bricks and their incorporation into indigenous construction methods demonstrates the process of cultural authentication. Adopting stone and stone nog construction parallels this development. Adding Palladian design elements such as pilasters, arches and arcades further enriches the process of cultural authentication to create a

new coastal style. George Kuntu Blankson, a wealthy Fante merchant of the coastal elite class, built his addition to Castle Brew in stone and brick.

Castle Brew - The George Kuntu Blankson Addition

Lawrence maintains that Castle Brew and both of the additions made to it were built by Cruickshank, the British Judicial Assessor and later Governor, some twenty years after Fort William was constructed and afterwards to have belonged to the Aggrey family.⁴ Yet, the houses never belonged to the Aggrey family. Dr. James Emman Kodwo Mensa Otsiwadu Humamfunsam Kwegyir Aggrey (October 18, 1875-July 30, 1927) was born in Anomabo, but he grew up in a house in Akanpaado or in Bantuma. As already established above, the first addition was built by Cruickshank sometime in the early 1840s.

Margaret Priestley, a few years after Lawrence, documented that the main house was actually constructed by Richard Brew from 1765-1769, during the latter period of Fort William's construction. Sometime after Brew died, the house came to be owned by Cruickshank, who later gave it to one of his agents, Blankson (1809-August 23, 1898), a Fante who became an agent, then a registrar, and finally a prosperous merchant in Anomabo. Priestley notes that Castle Brew was occupied in the nineteenth century by Blankson, a contemporary of Samuel Collins Brew, one of Richard Brew's great grandsons in Anomabo.⁵ It is my contention that Blankson added the second addition, which is presently incomplete and lacking a roof (Figures B-18 and B-31).

Early Years

Blankson was born in 1809 in the Fante town of Sodufu while his mother was on the way to Elmina. His father was Chief Kuntu of Egyaa, a town just east of Anomabo. As a son of a chief young Blankson and others were rewarded by Brigadier-General Sir Charles McCarthy

⁴Lawrence, 355.

⁵Priestley, *West African Trade*, 57, footnote 2.

with attendance at the Colonial School in Anomabo. Blankson had to walk the two miles between Egyaa and Anomabo twice each day. When the headmaster Mr. Anderson died, Blankson was transferred to the Cape Coast Government School at the Castle. Despite these trials, Blankson graduated in 1824 as a qualified scholar. He found his first employment with Mr. Thompson and joined his expedition to the Ashanti.⁶

At the same time Blankson, his friend William de Graft, John Sam and others, started the “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge” that later became the Wesleyan Methodist Church under Reverend Joseph Dunwell. In 1834, Blankson was employed by Governor McLean on a mission to the Ashanti. Asantehene Osei Yaw Akoto detained Blankson for 18 months using Blankson's services as a clerk with political correspondence. By 1843, Blankson had returned to Anomabo and was managing the Anomabo Wesleyan Mission with six sub-agents under him.⁷

Successful Merchant

Ten years later, he became a trading agent, and he met the prosperous English trader Cruickshank. When Cruickshank took an appointment to become the Judicial Assessor in Her Majesty's Settlements in Cape Coast Castle, he transferred the management of his business to Blankson. Blankson managed Cruickshank's interests so well, that Cruickshank left the business and his property of Castle Brew to Blankson when he left the coast in 1854. At that time Cruickshank took Blankson with him to England and introduced Blankson to his former partners, the mercantile house of Foster & Smith. Blankson's wife managed the business in Anomabo in his absence. Utilizing a successful business relationship with Foster & Smith, Blankson

⁶Isaac S. Ephson, *Gallery of Gold Coast Celebrities 1632-1958*, vol. 1 (Accra, Ghana: Ilen, 1969), 38; Magnus J. Sampson, *Makers of Modern Ghana* (Accra, Ghana: Anowuo Educational Publications, 1969), 46; and “George Kuntu Blankson,” *The Gold Coast Aborigines* (September 5, 1898), n.p.

⁷Ephson, 38; Sampson, 47; and “Blankson,” n.p.

expanded his business across the Central Region with factories in Kormantine, Asafa, Arkrah, Apam, Mankwadzi, Winneba, Otuaam, Anomabo and Cape Coast.

The height of Blankson's career came in 1861 when he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council; he served until 1873. He was the second Gold Coast African to be so honored, following the Accra mulatto, James Bannerman.⁸ This also marks an important shift in the emergence of more Africans in the coastal elite class, previously mostly comprised of mulattoes.

The Second Addition

Lawrence surmised that this addition to Castle Brew was built by Cruickshank around 1841.⁹ I argue that it is more likely this second addition to Castle Brew was built by Blankson sometime after his trip to England in 1854, perhaps even handling the transaction while in England. Blankson lived for an extended period in Anomabo (from the 1840s until his death in 1898) and constructed a factory there. By 1854, he had achieved considerable wealth as a merchant. According to historian Isaac S. Ephson, Blankson built "a magnificent lodge, which is still in existence (exactly opposite Fort William, Anomabu)." He employed over a thousand people, some as store keepers, clerks, factory hands, boat boys, plantation workers and laborers. He reportedly owned as many as one hundred slaves at one time.¹⁰ He most likely lived in Castle Brew and planned to use the addition as a store, for it faces both Fort William and the coastline. This property may have been the factory in Anomabo referred to by Ephson.¹¹ Yet, many possibilities, however, exist for the local location of Blankson's factory. In addition to

⁸Ibid.

⁹Lawrence, 355.

¹⁰Ephson, 38-39.

¹¹Ibid., 38.

Blankson's having enough capital to build the structure, masons trained in stone masonry construction were available as well (discussed in Chapter 6). Thus, Blankson had motive, means and available masons. A fourth clue offers further evidence of Blankson's commission.

The seven *asafo* companies of Anomabo elected Blankson to be their Commander in Chief, or *tuafohen*, in 1863 upon hearing the news that the Ashanti had invaded the Assin district. Blankson led the companies to war in Assin Mansu after financing much of the artillery. They were successful in driving the Ashanti forces north, yet this also closed the trade routes. Thus, in 1866 Blankson volunteered to negotiate with the Asante king, or *asantehene*. He was successful and returned to Anomabo a great hero.¹² He would have been motivated to build his great structure as a status symbol after this victory.

His luck soon changed. During this time Blankson lost three of his children. In 1868, his wife also passed. In 1873, the Ashanti armies again moved against the Fante, and Blankson was asked to lead the Anomabo companies into war. Blankson, unlike his previous triumph, was accused of taking a bribe from an Asante chief and of selling weapons to the Asante. Although he was acquitted in 1874, the damage had been done. Blankson was mobbed by his community who once respected him. His crops, trees, furniture and buildings were looted and destroyed. The Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman convinced Blankson to rejoin the Methodist church where he became a lay preacher and church officer in 1876. Blankson chose to confine himself to his house for the last twelve years of his life, focusing solely on his involvement with the Methodist church. On August 23, 1898, he died in his home, Castle Brew, at age 89.¹³

¹²Sampson, 48-49; and "Blankson," n.p.

¹³Ephson, 39; Sampson, 49-50; and "Blankson," n.p.

The fourth clue is apparent in the fact that the building appears to be missing its second story, started in one corner but not completed. Thus, the construction was probably halted in 1873 when Blankson fell into difficulties. Therefore, this structure was likely built between the late 1860s and 1873. Blankson's addition to Castle Brew remains as a legacy of one of the most prominent nineteenth century Fante merchants of Anomabo.

Samuel Collins Brew Family Residence – A Comparison

Blankson's contemporary Samuel Collins Brew (c. 1810- February 2, 1881) followed in his great grandfather Brew's footsteps by becoming a prominent merchant in Anomabo.¹⁴ Collins Brew was a "legitimate" (i.e. not trading in slaves) trading merchant and public official. Although he was born in Cape Coast, he moved to Anomabo in his twenties or thirties to establish and grow his business. His records state that he mainly traded in gold and ivory. Like Blankson and others, Collins Brew and his brother Harry imported goods on credit from British firms. These items included cloth, rum and tobacco pipes. They were sold in stores Collins Brew maintained in Anomabo and other places along the coast.¹⁵

His family residence was located on Sam Brew's *kukwadu*, or hill, in the Krokessin, or old town, neighborhood. Today, his house is in such a ruinous state that it is difficult to even find traces of the foundations. It is reputed to have been a magnificent and large house that collapsed sometime before 1929.¹⁶ His brick factory is reputed to have been located nearby. It is likely that this factory produced the burnt bricks used in his stone nog residence as bits of brick are strewn

¹⁴For his obituary, see Document D-1 in the Appendix.

¹⁵Priestley, *West African Trade*, 143-147.

¹⁶A set of buildings marked in poor condition in depicted on the Gold Coast Survey map of 1931, so perhaps it collapsed shortly thereafter.

all over the hillside. Unfortunately, none of his descendants in Anomabo could remember the façade or the interior plan of this residence.

Although he also built a house in Cape Coast on Bentsil Street,¹⁷ I was unable to locate it. It is likely in ruins today. It is possible that the house was destroyed after heavy rains caused damage in 1929.¹⁸ Priestley notes that the “Brew House” in Cape Coast became the family residence of descendants, including his son, James Hutton Brew. Unfortunately, also like his great grandfather, Collins Brew lost his wealth after a decade of disruptions in trade due to Asante invasions. In 1867, he had to relinquish his properties, including his houses in Anomabo and Cape Coast, to pay his creditor Forster and Smith.¹⁹

After the death of Collins Brew in February of 1881, a public auction was held on December 15, 1881, to sell “house-hold furniture, wearing apparel, silver wares, country cloths, bedsteads, mattresses...”²⁰ Brew, Blankson and Collins Brew suffered the same fate in their latter years – loss of wealth because of Asante political entanglements and wars. And, the English trading firm of Foster and Smith benefited.

When Collins Brew died, “his funeral was celebrated in a manner appropriate to one who had been at the forefront of the Anomabu trading community. . . . Liberal calabashes of rum, for instance, are said to have been placed at various points of the town for all and sundry, including Brew’s customers from up-country, to enjoy. Nor was Christian symbolism neglected, and the Methodist Cemetery at Anomabu today contains a large stone monument, still cared for by the

¹⁷*Gold Coast Leader* (January 11-18, 1919), 1.

¹⁸This would seem to suggest that the Cape Coast residence was constructed in earthen materials, possibly a rammed earth structure. *Gold Coast Leader* (July 6, 1929), 8.

¹⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 148-150.

²⁰*The Gold Coast Times* (December 10, 1881), back page.

descendants of his domestics, and marking the place where he is buried.”²¹ The Methodist cemetery was moved in the late 1990s, and the family moved the marble stone for Brew’s wife to the courtyard house where he and his wife are said to have lived before the stone residence was built. The whereabouts of his “large stone monument” is unknown.²²

British Palladian Style and Plan

This question of who built the Castle Brew Addition is crucial when considering the architectural choices made. Only the first floor remains, but the style and materials selected are in obvious appropriation of the British Palladian style found throughout the coast. A symmetrical and broad arcade with four, brick-formed, true arches welcomed potential clients to Blankson’s store. These large brick arches form a Palladian arcade facing the beach to the south.

The Hall and Chamber plan was utilized (Figure B-31). The arch on each end opens into a chamber that has another large archway opening to the main hall. Another larger room extends eastward beyond this Hall and Chamber plan. This room links the Blankson Addition to Cruickshank’s Addition. On the common wall a window or door is currently blocked. The mushroom arch over this entry matches those of Castle Brew and the Cruickshank Addition. The mushroom arch is not used in the Blankson Addition. It would make sense that the original entry may have been a window and then it was made into a door during Blankson’s construction of the second addition. The doorway was blocked to probably keep out intruders sometime after 1873.

Observing the overall plan of the ground floor, it seems well-suited for a merchant’s shop. The arcade allowed easy access to the space and into the courtyard. The room to the east may have been used as a storeroom. Three arched windows that extend almost to the floor are located

²¹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 156-157.

²²Collins Brew’s obituary from *The Gold Coast Times* is reprinted in Appendix D, see Document D-1.

in this storeroom as well, so it may have also been used as an office. Access to the room is reached via a small accessway between the back wall of the shop and the courtyard wall of the Cruickshank Addition.

The large anse de panier arches located on Cruickshank's courtyard wall also differentiate it from the Blankson Addition. While anse de panier arches characterize Castle Brew and the Cruickshank Addition, the Blankson Addition favored the true arch. The façade arcade and the two interior arches use dark gray granite stone as voussoirs. The remaining arches however use local brick, matching the arches in the Cruickshank wall. The use of the granite creates an attractive arch unusual for the coast. The walls incorporate a mix of granite and sandstone.

A belt course consisting of three courses of local brick as well as a well-designed red brick cornice surround the facade of the east room. The belt course and cornice are also visible on just the end of the southwest wall. They do not extend across the west wall that would have abutted another building.

The stairway leading to the entrance arcade includes a handrail of local brick with lancet-shaped cut-outs identical to those used on the stairwells and balustrades inside Fort William. The flooring for these stairs is marble, black on the steps and checked in black and white on the landing. A newer floor has been placed within the structure, done during the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board renovation in the 1960s. The entire floor was probably either originally granite like the Castle Brew courtyard or intended to be laid with granite flooring. In these details, it seems apparent that Blankson is making a visual connection with the original Castle Brew and Fort William, two of the most visible European structures in Anomabo.

Even in its unfinished state the Blankson Addition is an impressive African coastal elite interpretation of Palladian architecture. The European style was selected and it was characterized

as Blankson's place of business. He incorporated this structure to visually impress not only his European clients but also his African clients and the Anomabo community. Such a structure would have communicated his status, both in economic and social terms. As *tuafohen*, he would have also been communicating his military power. The structure, situated between Castle Brew and Fort William visually separates the buildings, the two symbolic of European power and the other one symbolizing African power. To be specific, African coastal elite power, and the freedom of choice that comes with this power, was in flux during the nineteenth century when they were weakened by both Asante forces and British administration.

Off-beat Phrasing

Although Blankson continued the tradition of the Palladian style of Castle Brew, he apparently did not intend to copy it. Firstly, the east room sets the plan off balance, inhibiting its symmetry. Secondly, the arches do not symmetrically balance. At the back of the shop are a series of five arched entrances. Hyland's plan depicts a regular plan of one in each chamber and three in the main hall placed at equal and proportionate distances. However, today this plan is slightly different. The central opening is larger than the other four. It spans a space of approximately 70 inches, while the other entrances span an average of 38 inches. So, either Hyland made an error in his plan, or the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board made this alteration due to damage to the structure. In the photograph used by Priestley,²³ the aerial view shows Castle Brew at the earliest stages of its renovations. The larger arch is visible. So, I would conclude that Hyland simply made an error in his plan.

If this asymmetry was deliberate, the aesthetic of off-beat phrasing may be expressed in two ways. While the northern wall of this hall is symmetrically balanced with a large arched

²³Priestley, *West African Trade*, figure 2 opposite page 33.

opening centered between two smaller ones, the openings do not align with the two large arched openings on the southern wall directly opposite. British Palladian architects would have shunned this arrangement. Also, the arches of the northern wall of the hall do not align with the arched openings in Cruickshank's wall only a few feet behind. Cruickshank's wall includes two large openings approximately 113 inches wide, with the central arch only aligned with Blankson's larger hall arch. A smaller arched opening of 32 inches, omitted from Hyland's drawing, is located to the west of these large arches. These arch formations are faintly detectable in the aerial photograph provided by Priestley.²⁴

Blankson's Legacy

Blankson was able to send his children to England for their education. George Blankson Jr. (b. 1841) was a contemporary of John Mensah Sarbah and wrote articles for the *Fanti Constitution*.²⁵ In British patrilineal fashion, Blankson bequeathed the property of Castle Brew to one of his children, his daughter Mercy Ridley. His son Albert, and probably George Blankson Jr. also, had died before his father. When Ridley passed, the property was left to Blankson's niece Adelina Julia Simons, later named Mrs. Adelina Bessa-Simons. She died in 1972, leaving Castle Brew to her son W. Bessa-Simons. After his death, his sister Marian Brew Simons of Accra received the property. It seems provident that the Brew and Blankson families have converged at this point and have ownership of Castle Brew.²⁶

In 1972, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) proclaimed Castle Brew a National Monument, as defined in The Museums and Relics Ordinance of 1945. The discussions to complete a full-scale renovation of the structure, however, began as early as 1957. Renovation

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Sampson, 50.

²⁶Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, "The Little Fort" file, vol. 2.

plans were approved by Adelina Bessa-Simons in 1967. The GMMB paid the Blankson descendants 5,000 cedis on October 8, 1974, to relocate during the renovations that began in 1976.²⁷ The work was completed by the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development's Technical Field Unit and the Boys Vocational Training Centre Cape Coast. The cost of these renovations came to approx. 3,500 pounds and took four years to complete. The understanding at the time was that Castle Brew would be leased free to the government to use as an annex for the Youth Centre. It was made clear, however, that the Blankson family descendants would not surrender the title to the property.²⁸

Unfortunately, the property is under litigation today as the descendants have never been allowed to return to their property. Rather, after the renovations were completed, the GMMB allowed the Kwegyir Aggrey Secondary/Technical School and Home Science Center to begin their school on site September 1, 1981. On January 26, 1982, the GMMB gave “temporary” permission to the Anomabo Traditional Council to use the building, which they, in turn, allowed the Anglican School to use as a primary school. The Anglican School continues to use the site to this day.²⁹

No royalties or entitlements have been offered or given to the Blankson descendants. The GMMB has attempted on several occasions to purchase the building, offering 10,000 cedis in 1974. The family continually refuses the offer. It was “rejected on the grounds that the spirit of [Blankson's] will and testament did not allow the fort to be disposed.” In fact, his will dated

²⁷Ibid., vol. 1. The photograph in Priestley’s book published in 1969 (figure 2, opposite page 33), however, shows scaffolding on the east exterior side of Castle Brew. Thus, renovations seem to have begun much earlier.

²⁸Ibid., vol. 1.

²⁹Tourists and scholars wishing to view the interior of Castle Brew must wait until school is over at 2:30pm to enter the building. It is then that the caretaker of Fort William can conduct tours.

September 28, 1890, expressly states that “neither of.. [his] properties shall be sold for individual interest.”³⁰

During the restorations, the GMMB entirely rebuilt a long 1-story stone nog building at the back of the courtyard that once housed the “bath, toilet and kitchen block.” The masons hired for this project are recorded, and may have been involved in the direct renovations on Castle Brew. They are: Mr. Hamilton, supervisor; Albert Aidoo, junior foreman from Dixcove-Princess Town; Isaac Brown, also from Dixcove-Princess Town; J. K. Biney from Axim; and Kwa Mensah. For the Kwegyir Aggrey school, the GMMB additionally restored or installed electricity. A fence around the property was also approved, but it does not appear to have been constructed.

The function of a museum of local history for the property was proposed but not approved. Financial limitations doubtlessly restricted these projects. Today, some of Blankson's descendants live near the property in a newer home built on the north side of the Castle Brew courtyard.³¹ The current *abusuapanyin* and technically the owner of Castle Brew in its entirety is Edward Kofi Abaidoo who lives in Cape Coast.

The Hall and Chamber Plan is incorporated into almost every African coastal elite residence in Anomabo. Some incorporate it into their one-story courtyard house (e.g. Tuafohen’s Palace), two-story rammed earth residence, or one and two-story stone nog residences. A relative of Blankson, the Fante carpenter Kodwo Kuntu built a one-story stone nog house on Annobil Street nearby the Omanhene's Palace sometime in the early twentieth century (Figure B-39).

³⁰Ibid., vol. 2.

³¹Ibid., vol. 1.

Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence

Kodwo Kuntu worked as a carpenter on other houses in Anomabo, but the family doesn't remember which ones. It is possible that he helped to construct Blankson's Addition to Castle Brew. Kuntu had one wife, Adwoa Gyan, and they had five children: Ama Mansa, Ekua Amissa, Kweku Ninsin, Kweku Tawia and Kweku Aban (in that order). When Kuntu died, the property passed in patrilineal fashion to his son Kweku Ninsin. When he died, a niece Aba Ehyam (d. 1971) inherited. Her nephew Kofi Teitu, a. k. a. Paul Amo, has since inherited the house and is the current *abusuapanyin*.

The only renovation the house has received is a cement plaster on the exterior. The plan (Figure B-38) consists of six rooms – a hall with a chamber on each side, then this is doubled. No arches or decorative features are present. The plan does exhibit off-beat phrasing in its positioning of interior walls and by placing the back door out of alignment with the front door and passageway between the halls. While most of the elements, such as the windows, are symmetrically aligned, one wall and one door are placed out of this alignment. By selecting and incorporating the Hall and Chamber plan and the technology and material of stone nog construction, these clients merged the British Palladian style with Akan aesthetics of off-beat phrasing. The residence is transformed into something new that displays cosmopolitan status.

Other stone nog houses in Anomabo demonstrating the Hall and Chamber Plan include the Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence (Structure C-4), the Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence (Structure C-5), the Kodwo Baffoe Family Residence (Structure C-6) and the Ama Moo Family Residence (Structure C-7). A close examination of these residences will demonstrate the same process of cultural authentication, where elements of the British Palladian are selected and incorporated into the Akan aesthetic and in some cases, the Akan courtyard plan as well.

British Palladian Elements Spread by the Methodist Mission

One building in Anomabo, the Methodist Mission, provided a particular source for appropriation of architectural elements. The mission building demonstrates the use of the British Palladian elements of the Hall and Chamber plan, interior arcades and a decorative entrance with half columns and an entablature. Wooden verandas on the front and back of the building foreshadow the sobrado plan promoted by the Christian missions discussed further in Chapter 6. The importance of the Methodist movement among African coastal elites in Anomabo can not be underestimated.

Methodist Mission

Anomabo, for nearly two centuries, has been a Methodist town. The religion was first adopted by the coastal elite, and then spread to the masses. This is another appropriation that the coastal elites understood as symbolic of European power. This also converged with ideas of education and power, as Christian missions brought schooling. Many of the elite members of Anomabo society are discussed in this section even though they may never have constructed a stone nog residence, or if so, such a residence no longer stands. Their inclusion is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, scholars familiar with Anomabo and southern Ghanaian history will want to know where such local celebrities lived and whether or not they were part of this movement building stone nog houses. Secondly, it is important to show that not all coastal elites followed this movement. In fact, Sarbah directly opposed the adoption of such European power symbols even though he was a Methodist.

Along with Cape Coast and Accra, Anomabo was one of the earliest sites to receive Methodist missionaries. Apparently, a group of African Christians in Cape Coast took the initiative in 1831 to petition the Bishop of London to send a missionary and a teacher. By the end of 1831 a Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded by William de Graft in

Cape Coast. The early members of the study group included Blankson, Henry Brew, Kobina Mensah, John Sam and John Smith with deGraft as their leader. At first, this group convened, amongst other places, at the home of Henry Barnes in Anomabo.³²

The first Wesleyan, or Methodist, reverend on the Ghanaian coast was the Englishman Reverend Joseph Dunwell, who arrived in January 1, 1835, in Cape Coast. His African students became the true pioneers of the religion, spreading it far beyond Cape Coast.³³ When Dunwell arrived he started work earnestly and the group initially formed by de Graft grew steadily into the nucleus of the Methodist Church in Ghana. Dunwell traveled frequently to Anomabo. Under his supervision Methodist class meetings were quickly established.³⁴ Dunwell died on June 24, 1835, only six months after his arrival.

After his death, Dunwell was replaced by Reverend George Wrigley who visited Anomabo regularly.³⁵ Wrigley and his wife Harriet landed in Cape Coast on September 15, 1836. According to Frank Deaville Walker (1878-1945), editor of the Methodist Missionary Society journals from 1914 to 1945, “under Wrigley's guidance they had begun to build themselves a 'swish' church. But the rains had utterly destroyed the unfinished walls.”³⁶ Wrigley, using local builders skilled in rammed earth construction, is likely responsible for the plan and architectural details chosen for the Methodist Mission in Anomabo (Figure B-49).

³²Flather 120; and A. E. Southen, *Gold Coast Methodism, 1835-1935* (London: Cargate, 1934), 20.

³³Charles Francis Hutchinson, *The Pen-Pictures of Modern Africans and African Celebrities*, vol. 1 (London: African Library, n.d.), 96.

³⁴Flather, 121.

³⁵Hutchinson, 96.

³⁶F. D. Walker, *Thomas Birch Freeman: The Son of an African* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929), 45, 99, 102.

The Wrigleys were followed by the Reverend and Mrs. Harrop. Harrop died a few weeks after arrival, and his wife died soon after. Wrigley's death followed later in November of 1837, only a year after his arrival. Thus, when mulatto Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman (1809-1890), known locally as Osofo Kweku Annan, arrived in Cape Coast in 1838, it was hoped that his African blood would allow him to weather the coastal illnesses better than those before him. However, soon after his arrival Freeman was attacked by malaria, and Mrs. Freeman who was nursing him died. Freeman miraculously recovered and served the Church for over 50 years. The Methodist Mission in Anomabo was one of the first structures to be visited by Freeman, and, in 1839, he supervised its completion. According to Freeman, "The foundation was laid August 14th, 1838 on Sunday, May 26th, 1839, I opened it for divine worship many of our people at Anomabu . . . were often seen busily engaged in carrying swish, etc., as early as two or three o'clock in the morning. Since the Chapel has been opened . . . Mr. Barnes has, at his own expense, painted the pulpit and communion rails."³⁷ Sometime in early 1840, fire destroyed part of the mission, and it had to be restored. By April of 1840, this was completed.³⁸

Henry Barnes (1800-September 23, 1865), was probably a mulatto, born to a "Captain Barnes of a trade schooner"³⁹ in either Anomabo or Cape Coast. He began as a writer in government service, making commercial contacts with Forster and Smith. He personally entered

³⁷T. B. Freeman, *Journals of Various Visits to the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi in Western Africa* (London: J. Mason, 1844), 74-76.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 45, 99, 102.

³⁹"Sketches of the Lives and Labours of Our Great Men," *The Gold Coast Aborigines* (March 19, 1898), 3.

the trade in 1822. Barnes became a prosperous timber merchant in Anomabo and Cape Coast, and he apparently directed part of the Anomabo Mission's construction.⁴⁰

He is credited with being a major contributor to the building fund for the Christ Church in Cape Coast (began April 11, 1859). He is also responsible for the construction "of an elegant and durable stone bridge of two arches, thrown over the brook which separates the District of Cape Coast from that of Anamaboe."⁴¹ Although he is designated as "the late Henry Barnes of Prospect Hill Cape Coast Castle,"⁴² Barnes may have built two residences, one in Cape Coast and the other in Anomabo. In fact, Freeman expressed gratitude to Barnes: "in whose house I always find a hearty welcome, and a comfortable home whenever I visit Anomabu."⁴³ By 1842, two schools were built in Cape Coast, and one each in Accra, Anomabo, and Dixcove.⁴⁴ Anomabo provided adjacent villages and towns with evangelists. It also provided skilled craftsmen, such as brick-layers, carpenters and painters, to fellowships in Saltpond, Winneba and Kommenda, to assist with the building of their places of worship. It was Freeman and Barnes who dispatched these workmen to other communities.⁴⁵

The Mission and its school were self-supporting thanks to the assistance of wealthy donors, such as the merchants (Samuel) Henry Brew, George Kuntu Blankson, Charles Bentum Annan, John Sarbah (father of John Mensah Sarbah), Jacob Wilson Sey and Calvert Claude

⁴⁰Ibid.; Crooks, 152; Flather 123-124; Claridge, vol. 1, 451; Sampson 104; Susan Beth Kaplow, "African Merchants of the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 62; and F. L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP and Methodist Book Depot, 1965), 34.

⁴¹"Sketches," 3.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Flather 124; and Freeman, 74-76. No one in Anomabo knew which house belonged to Barnes. I suspect Abrasan (see Chapter 7) may have been Barnes' house since the family does not know the history of its construction and it is considered the first two-story house in town. Yet no evidence supports my intuition.

⁴⁴Swanzy, 96.

⁴⁵Bartels, 42-43.

Hagan. Anomabo became the most important Methodist center on the coast even though, or perhaps as the result of, the town was in decline during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

British Palladian Style and Plan

The two-story structure is built in rammed earth with an entrance flanked by two large columnar pilasters supporting an entablature. The unadorned entablatures over the door and windows were constructed in brick.

Inside, the building has a Hall and Chamber plan. The large central hall is bisected twice by arcades constructed with brick voussoirs. Three chambers on each side open into the hall. The same plan for the Methodist Mission, constructed in rammed earth, was translated directly into stone for the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-50).

Growth and the Ebenezer Methodist Church

The Methodist following had grown to such a degree that in order to accommodate the attendance, Reverend James Picot began to lay plans for enlarging the chapel in 1870. Records for 1874 indicate that of the 3,500 members of the Methodist Church on the coast, 1,400 lived in Anomabo.⁴⁶ The foundation stone for Ebenezer Methodist Church in Anomabo was laid by Reverend James Fletcher on December 10, 1880 (Figure B-51).

The church was built in stone nog construction and completed in 1895. William Daniel Acquah, a member of the African coastal elite class who worked in London, was a major patron of the church. At the front entrance is a memorial to Reverend Gaddiel Robert Acquah (July 25, 1894-March 19, 1954), father of William Daniel Acquah. The former Acquah was the first African (Ghanaian) Chairman of the Methodist Church on the coast. He was also educationist, poet, hymnist (translated a hymn book for the Methodist Church in Fante), author and statesman.

⁴⁶Flather 134; and Bartels 83, 96, 98.

He grew up in The Russell House and later owned the Claude Calvert Hagan house (see Chapter 6).

Georgian Gothic Style and Plan

The stone nog church originally resembled the Samuel Otu Memorial Presbyterian Church in Larteh (c. 1853) with Gothic-shaped windows and pilasters (Figure B-52). The chapel tower was added later on both of these churches. Inside Anomabo's Ebenezer Methodist Church are terrazzo floors, wood pews and ceiling, stairways to the choir above, and painted columns and elaborate capitals. Anse de panier arches spring from these capitals dividing the entrance foyer and aisles from the central nave. A large anse de panier arch springs from columns in the chapel to create a slight niche for the altar. Doors on either side lead to a preparatory area.

Thus, a simple Gothic plan was used, and Medieval architecture found its way again to Anomabo after Fort William was constructed nearly 120 years before. Again, it was the British Picot who chose the plan. The Georgian Gothic style and plan was incorporated in the many Christian mission churches built along the Guinea coast. A similar example of an English church in Conakry, Guinea, was built using local, unfired mud bricks as a cost-effective measure against the damage of termites.⁴⁷

When the front of the Ebenezer Methodist Church collapsed in the 1960s, this portion of the building was reconstructed between 1966 and 1971 in stone nog. The exterior also received a Baroque face lift. Mosaic stones and the pilasters were re-fashioned with lavish embellishments. The Roman shade and scallop design elements are also found in the Kobena Mefful and Lawyer Atta Amonoo (see Chapter 8) houses respectively.

⁴⁷Odile Goerg, "Le Guinee Conakry," in *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala*, ed. Jacques Soullillou (Marseille: Editions Parentheses, 1993), 85-86.

Other churches built in stone nog survive in Anomabo. The Catholic Mission (Structure C-8) was constructed for the European trading company United Africa Company and later given to the Anomabo members who followed the Roman Catholic religion who renovated the warehouse into a church. The Nanglican Church however was originally built to serve as a church supporting the local Afro-Christian following (Structure C-9). Both are essentially rectangular structures with modest embellishment.

Stone Nog Reflections of Methodism

The fervor of Methodism was taken up by Kow Otu, a. k. a. John Ogoe Sr., a wealthy merchant who was actively involved in the church in Anomabo. He built three residences in Anomabo (Structure C-10), including perhaps the building known as Swanzy (Structure C-11). Further evidence of the Methodist movement in Anomabo is provided by an examination of the Kobena Mefful Family Residence.

Kobena Mefful Family Residence

The Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-50) is located on property purchased by Kofi Aiko a. k. a. Coffee Aikoo from Henry Brew (d. 1890) of Cape Coast on July 22, 1862. Henry Brew was the great grandson of Richard Brew and brother to Samuel Collins Brew. Eight acres of land situated between “the East and North side of John Hammond's House, and in the Road of the Wesleyan Burial Ground, in the front of two stones commonly called *Intah na Intah* [located near today's taxi rank]” were purchased for 3 oz. of gold. This description seems strange at first because other property records show that Reverend John Oboboam Hammond and his siblings purchased the land for The Russell House in 1895 (see Chapter 6). The house was built between November 1897 and April 1898. The land purchase of the Aiko property, although originally bought in 1862, was not documented until it went before arbitrator Amonoo IV on April 23, 1898 (Document D-2). By this time, Hammond and his siblings had constructed their

house. This also acknowledges that the Kobena Mefful Family Residence was built sometime after April of 1898.

Aiko was a merchant in Anomabo who lived in his house, probably of rammed earth construction, with his brothers and sisters. When he died, his grandson Kobena Mefful (b.c. 1853-March 1943) inherited (Figure B-59). Mefful was a subchief in Anomabo, more specifically, the *tuafohen*. Sanders lists J. B. Mefful as the *tuafohen* from 1923-1925.⁴⁸ It is not stated by Sanders or known by the family what the initials J. B. mean. It is possible that Mefful took an English name when he was baptized by the Methodist Church.

He stirred some trouble in Anomabo in March of 1924 when an *asafo* section headed by Tuafohen Mefful attempted to destool the Omanhen Amonoo VI. The reason for the incident was not either known or provided by the newspaper reporter, but it was settled by the Commissioner of the Central Province on October 27th. The report further states:

It is a pity that this ancient town with her great reputation, which no other town in the Colony could beat, is thus becoming disintegrated at this most critical period in the country's history.⁴⁹

Mefful was also a farmer and owned quite a lot of land. It is remembered that he owned a kiln, located somewhere across the coastal highway, that was used to make burnt bricks. When Mefful died, his daughter Adwoa Okyema (1910-March 21, 2004) inherited the house. She was known for baking bread and producing high-quality kenkey.⁵⁰ Okyema was a member of the Ebenzer Methodist Church and took part in the Christ Little Band. Her nephew Kobina George Kingsley Otoo of Fosu, the current *abusuapanyin*, inherited after her death in 2004.

⁴⁸Captain Mefful is mentioned in the "Anomabu" section of the *Gold Coast Leader* (May 21, 1921), 7.

⁴⁹*Gold Coast Leader* (March 29, 1924), 2; and *Gold Coast Leader* (September 6, 1924), 2.

⁵⁰Kenkey, or *dokonu*, is a fermented mixture of corn, flour and water.

British Palladian Style

This spectacular two-story stone nog house with brick facing (Figure B-50) is located in Okokodo, or hilltop, and faces this hill surmounted by the old Methodist Mission, now a school. Because the house is the only stone house on Okor Road, it is called abɔdan okor, Okor stone building, by locals. The building is illustrated on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey. This large and impressive building has a decorative entrance with column pilasters and an arched entablature with relief motifs appearing to me to be three stars flanked by two crescents on each side. The current family does not name or attach any significance to these motifs. The arch springs from short pilasters situated on top of tall half-columns. This arrangement is similar to the decorative arch on the wall of Fort William, visible to town residents, that uses piers but two-thirds up the pier a break is created with a molding. The Mefful arch creatively matches a half-column with a pilaster, with the cornice at the top of the half-column forming the break. The star and moon shapes however are not incorporated in the fort's arch.

The Kobena Mefful Family Residence is anchored at all four pilastered coigns. Two additional pilasters are located on each side of the house at the junction of interior walls. The pilasters and windows are regularly spaced creating a symmetrical and harmonious Palladian design. Two windows have been enclosed on the ground floor of the front facade and all four windows were enclosed on the back of the building. The front windows on the ground floor would not have aligned with the windows above. This is a practical solution, or else the ground floor would have been a veranda as well to incorporate the numerous windows. However, the window design of the façade is asymmetrical and could be another example of off-beat phrasing.

All the exterior windows were at one time arched including those across the front enclosed veranda. The arched Palladian windows would have resembled those on Castle Brew. All of

these windows were altered in 1975 to fit shutters. The back of the building faces the coastal highway while the front is located across a dirt road from the Charles Bentum Annan House.

Plan

The ground plan (Figure B-60) mirrors that of the Methodist Mission. Although the family did not remember, it seems very likely that Mefful was a devout Methodist who ordered the transformation of the rammed earth construction into his stone nog family residence. It is also probable that Kofi Aiko and his son, father to Mefful, were all Methodists since the property is located so close to the Methodist Mission. The house incorporates a large central room bridged by two arcades that support the second floor. The first arcade incorporates three anse de panier arches, while the second incorporates two larger mushroom arches (Figure B-61). This central room is known as the main hall. Today, a small family-run business of baking polo biscuits, made with coconut, is conducted there.

Three chambers emanate from each side of the hall, making a symmetrical plan. It is possible that the entrances to these rooms from the hall are decorated in symmetrical fashion. The front set of rooms has a plain rectangular entrance with no decoration. The middle set may at one time have been a set of mushroom arches. Today, the arches are filled in and doors have been cut into each. The same may apply to the next set. Here, however, rather than mushroom arches, the door has been cut into an unusual shape that recesses into the wall (Figure B-62). This shape doesn't appear anywhere else on the coast, and as such, appears to be an entirely original invention for the house. The ground floor would be well-designed for a store or for storage, yet the family does not remember how it was first used by Mefful. The distance between each row of arcades varies. While the middle and rear spaces measure equally, the front width is only five feet. Even though a symmetrical Palladian plan was followed, great variety was interwoven.

Outside the back door centered in the hall, a double staircase leads up to the second floor. Although this stairway is now made in concrete, the original stairwell was made of timber. The entrance upstairs leads into two long parallel central halls, each with a chamber located on either side. Three openings connect the halls. The first set of rooms open into the first hall. The middle set of rooms however is only accessible through a doorway to the front enclosed veranda.

The second hall also has three openings leading to the long enclosed verandah extending from one end of the building to a small room at the other end. This probably once extended across the entire front since the columns between the front and first side windows are similarly formed. Here the openings for windows are numerous and would have allowed cool breezes to refresh the occupants (Figure B-63). Between each window are beautifully-shaped half-columns displaying Baroque inspiration. From the exterior, these columns are reminiscent of Roman shades and appear to have been duplicated for the renovated exterior of the Ebenezer Methodist Church pilasters (Figure B-51).

The upstairs flooring is all swish today, yet once it had wood plank flooring. Now the swish floors are giving way, and much of the upstairs is unlivable. About twenty years ago the family put a new roof on the house. No doubt the upstairs floors are damaged now from the years it suffered under a bad roof.

Like Abrϑsan (see Chapter 7), the ground floor exterior walls are quite thick, much more so than the interior walls. The exterior wall thickness is about 26 inches and the interior walls are about 16 inches. Abrϑsan's exterior walls measure 31 inches with 12-inch interior walls. It's not sure why these thicknesses were created. Most of the homes created at the turn of the century had wall thicknesses the same or only slightly larger for the exterior than the interior walls, and many measured no more than 20 inches for the exterior wall. Perhaps the masons were experimenting,

or more likely, it was thought that thicker walls were sturdier and more long-lasting (as it would be for rammed earth walls). So, if the client had the money and the desire, they could instruct the masons to create thicker walls. Tuafohen Mefful was wisely situated in a well-fortified house, one that would have been difficult for opposing *asafo* companies to damage.

Joseph Edward Biney Family Residence – A Comparison in Cape Coast

Arched doorways were commonly appropriated by the coastal elite. Chief Joseph Edward Biney (b. 1850) was a Christian Philanthropist⁵¹ who built a magnificent stone nog house (Figure B-64) in Cape Coast, next to Gothic House, utilizing arches. This house is in poor condition today, and the main street entrance is blocked with materials and debris. The courtyard entrance is the most elaborately decorated, and like Castle Brew, this is the entrance most family members and visitors used. British Palladian arches frame the ground floor entrance. Originally, there were probably three anse de panier arches extending across the façade, yet the west arch has been enclosed to fit a rectangular window. The central arch is largest and has a decorative entablature. Local bricks and molded plaster were used to create the elegant design on this arch, which breaks into the belt course. Three tall rectangular windows on the second story are symmetrically placed. A Palladian cornice completes the façade.

Palladian design typically had a rectangular entrance doorway with a portico or small porch above, level with the line of the belt course. Often a Palladian, or arched, window was situated above this entrance door. In this façade, the central arch disrupts the belt course line, creating a symmetrical, though interrupted, aspect to the design. This singular element creates the sensation of off-beat phrasing. This would be more pronounced if the west arch had not been enclosed later.

⁵¹Hutchinson, 48-49; This may be the same person as J. K. Biney who served as President of the Cape Coast section of the Aborigines Society. *Gold Coast Leader* (May 7-14, 1921), 2.

The central arch springs from two pilasters flanking the entry into a shaded area with another arcade. Inside, another set of anse de panier arches support the second story and open the space to create a large indoor/outdoor area. The pattern of a central arch flanked by smaller arches on each side is repeated, though the west arch on the interior has also been enclosed. The arrangement of a ground level arcade leading into an interior with another arcade was utilized by nineteenth-century Palladian architects for some of the large stores, such as Winkel van Sinkel in Holland. These types of stores were based on Roman stoa and follow Palladio's classical revival ideals. This is repeated to a certain extent in the Methodist Mission in Anomabo to create a large interior meeting space, and repeated by Mefful for his Family Residence to create a large space for the family's food production.

African Coastal Elite Methodists in Anomabo

Coastal elites in Anomabo were intimately tied to the Methodist church and school. By 1852 Anomabo had both a boys' and a girls' school. The boys' school may have provided instruction to George Blankson, Jr.; Kofi Asaam, a. k. a. Thomas Penny (b. 1859); and George Ekem Ferguson, a. k. a. Ekow Atta (July 14, 1864-April 7, 1897); Rev. Mark Hayford (c.1863-1935) and Dr. Ernest Hayford, both brothers to Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, a. k. a. Ekra-Agiman (September 29, 1866-August 11, 1930).⁵² Some of these members of the African coastal elite class formed the basis for Ghana's nationalism.

George Ekem Ferguson

Ferguson is famous as one of the surveyors who assisted the English with mapping northern Ghana in the late-nineteenth century. His father was Robert Archibald Ferguson, a mulatto who worked as an agent for F. and A. Swanzy in Apam and later Winneba. After he

⁵²Flather, 127.

retired, he became a Methodist preacher. He was born to Englishman Dr. Samuel Ferguson, a colonial surgeon, and a local woman.⁵³ While the doctor probably lived inside Fort William, the Ferguson family lived in a rammed earth house to the east side of the Omanhen's Palace. Today, the house no longer stands and a cemetery is in its place.

Robert Hutchison

Robert Hutchison (1828-1863), the mulatto son of William Hutchison (d. 1832), was born in Cape Coast and attended school in England. When he returned to the coast he became an exclusive agent for F. and A. Swanzy. He became a successful merchant in Cape Coast. He was presumably worth £60,000.⁵⁴ Hutchison established Freemasonry on the Gold Coast with his cousin Charles Bartels and others in 1859. He was elected to the Legislative Council from 1861-1863 shortly after Blankson.⁵⁵ Hutchison was a contemporary of George Smith, commandant of Anomabo.⁵⁶

Robert Johnson Gharthey

As a youth Robert Johnson Gharthey (b. 1820), son of Gyateh Kumah III, Ohene of Winneba, Gharthey worked for various European firms, eventually working his way up to the position of agent, as well as acquiring the name Robert Johnson Gharthey. In the early 1850s Gharthey established his own business at Anomabo called Gharthey Brothers. Working from his Anomabo base, he controlled thirteen factories along the coast.⁵⁷ Unfortunately no one could remember where Gharthey Brothers was located or where Gharthey resided in Anomabo.

⁵³Magnus J. Sampson, *Gold Coast Men of Affairs (Past and Present)* (London: Dawsons, 1969), 130.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 128; and Kaplow 79.

⁵⁵Hutchinson, 110.

⁵⁶Ephson, 50-52.

⁵⁷Flather, 131.

Ghartey, who was involved in the Methodist Church in Anomabo, went to England in 1861, where he was introduced to the Temperance Movement. When he returned to Anomabo he founded a branch of the movement, which quickly gained the support of the educated elite class, such as J. A. Solomon; J. Fynn; J. E. Sampson and Kow Otu, a. k. a. John Ogoe Sr.⁵⁸ Ghartey is reputed to have donated L150 for the building of a water tank as a way of “winning his people from the habit of drinking palm-wine and imported liquor.”⁵⁹ The cistern today is located on the northern side of the coastal highway at the bottom of Ohenkokwado, or lawyer’s hill, in a neighborhood known as Tompremesim, or temperance lodge.

Ghartey was politically active in Anomabo, serving variously as Treasurer, and, on appointment by King Kofie Afedsi and the chiefs of the place, as Magistrate for the Town Court. He was elected in 1867, to be the first president of the reformed Fante Confederation. Ghartey left Anomabo for Winneba after he was elected its chief in 1872.⁶⁰

The Move to Cape Coast

Although some of these elites operated in both Anomabo and Cape Coast, others moved permanently to the thriving port city of Cape Coast, then capital of the British administration. Hutchison moved his operations in 1858, and John Sarbah transferred his firm along with his four-year-old son John Mensah Sarbah to Cape Coast.⁶¹ The coastal elite were a tight group. Anomabo natives were quickly embraced by the elites in Cape Coast. The marriage of Hutchison’s son (William Hutchison’s grandson) William F. Hutchison, a prosperous Cape Coast merchant, to Maria Francis Grant, second daughter of another Cape Coast merchant

⁵⁸Flather, 132; and Sampson, *Makers*, 120.

⁵⁹Bartels 82.

⁶⁰Flather, 132; and Sampson, *Makers*, 118-128. A more comprehensive biography of John Sarbah and his business dealings is provided by Kaplow, 92-103, 105-106.

⁶¹Flather, 138.

Francis Chapman Grant (1823-1889), was announced in the March 21, 1881 issue of *The Gold Coast Times*. Grant was also Methodist, and like many of the coastal elites, his children were educated in England.⁶²

John Sarbah

John Sarbah (January 1834-1892) was another prosperous merchant born in Anomabo. Sarbah was a contemporary of Blankson, Jacob Wilson Sey and James Hutton Brew. These men shared their religious affiliation and business interests, including being among the merchants who began the The Gold Coast Native Concession Purchasing Company (Limited) in 1882.⁶³ A steady increase in the sale of palm oil exported and the emergence of a new export, palm kernels, ushered in a period of greater prosperity in the late 1860s and 1870s. An increasing number of young African traders emerged to meet the demand; they were encouraged by the more liberal extension of credit offered by British consignment houses to small independent trading firms throughout the colonies, such as The Gold Coast Native Concession Purchasing Company. In the 1880s and 1890s traders were quick to exploit the profits from a new export product, rubber. Sarbah's business interests by this period rivaled that of the two major British firms on the coast, including F. and A. Swanzy.⁶⁴

One source states that Sarbah was a member of the royal family of Anomabo state.⁶⁵ Another source claimed Sarbah was a member of the Nsona clan.⁶⁶ He may have lived in the rammed earth house, now a ruin, located on Annobil Street near the Omanhen's Palace, but no

⁶²*The Gold Coast Times* (March 21, 1881), 3.

⁶³*The Gold Coast Times* (June 24, 1882), front page.

⁶⁴Dumett, 655, 670, 672.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 658.

⁶⁶Ephson, 58-62.

one can confirm this. His father may have engaged in a small trading operation, and this may have been where Sarbah initially learned his business skills. As a young man he may have been influenced by Freeman for he spent his early adulthood as a schoolmaster and mission agent for the Wesleyan Missionary Society. He served as headmaster of the Wesleyan elementary school at Cape Coast until 1870.⁶⁷

Sarbah also organized the The Gold Coast Rifle Corps.⁶⁸ He served with distinction as a captain of the British militia in the sixth Asante War of 1873-1874. However, he was critical of many aspects of colonial rule. In 1878 he joined with Grant and other local merchants to petition for African representation on the Gold Coast Legislative Council. He was appointed to one of three specially created positions for Africans on the Council in 1886. Later, Sarbah won an appointment by Governor Griffith to the post of regular nominated unofficial member, along with W. F. Hutchison and Grant.⁶⁹ Although Sarbah is probably best remembered as the father of African nationalist, lawyer and author John Mensah Sarbah (June 3, 1864-November 6, 1910),⁷⁰ his political activism no doubt had a great influence on his son.

Sarbah's obituary notice encapsulated his political contribution:

The system of government which prevails in this country does not give a representative of the people much room to do anything, but all that it was in the power of the deceased to do for his people, he did willingly and without hesitation.⁷¹

⁶⁷Du mettt, 658. Wesleyan was the earlier name for Methodist.

⁶⁸*The Gold Coast Leader* (July 10/17, 1909), 3.

⁶⁹Du mettt, 658.

⁷⁰Hutchinson, 171-172.

⁷¹*Gold Coast Chronicle* (July 11, 1892), 3.

Dr. James Emman Kodwo Mensa Otsiwadu Humamfunsam Kwegyir Aggrey

Dr. James Emman Kodwo Mensa Otsiwadu Humamfunsam Kwegyir Aggrey (October 18, 1875-July 30, 1927), the famous Methodist missionary, intellectual and teacher, was born in Anomabo. His father Kodwo Kwegyir (c.b. 1816) was an influential leader in the Anomabo Traditional Council as the Omanhen's *okyeame*, or linguist.⁷² My colleague Nana Kwa was unsure if Kwegyir grew up in a house in Akanpaado or in Bantuma. Yet, he is certain that it was a rammed earth house that has since been replaced with a concrete one.

Aggrey and his brothers were baptized in the Methodist Church on June 24, 1883. It was then that he was given the name of James. He began his education at the Methodist School in Cape Coast. From a young age, Aggrey was devout and took his religious studies seriously. At age fifteen he became a temporary teacher, and by 1898 he managed to become the headmaster of Wesleyan Centenary Memorial School in Cape Coast. Historian Sylvia M. Jacobs surmised that "Aggrey absorbed the late nineteenth century view that it was the 'white man's burden' to 'civilize and Christianize' Africa."⁷³

After the civil war, many young Africans started to go to the United States to attend African-American colleges. On July 10, 1898, Aggrey went to the United States to attend Livingstone College in North Carolina, for his missionary education. He later studied at Columbia University. Aggrey apparently had a great impact on his fellow African students, including Kwame Nkrumah (later to become the first president of independent Ghana) and Nnamdi Azikiwe (later to become the first president of independent Nigeria). Nkrumah later stated in his autobiography: "It was through him [Aggrey] that my nationalism was first

⁷²Sylvia M. Jacobs, "James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey: An African Intellectual in the United States," *The Journal of Negro History* 81 (1/4 Winter-Autumn 1996), 48.

⁷³Ibid., 48-49.

aroused.” Through the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission, Aggrey left the United States in 1920-1921 and in 1924 to tour ten different countries in Africa, including Ghana. From 1924 to 1927 he served as the director of the Achimote College in Accra. He then moved to New York where he died in 1927.⁷⁴ Aggrey is honored in Anomabo with a bust at the secondary school named after him and a life-sized bronze statue as one of the Three Heroes of Anomabo.

Therefore, although Aggrey spent most of his early life in Cape Coast and his adult life in North America, he is well-remembered and connected with Anomabo, his birthplace, as the “Father of African Education.”⁷⁵

The Brews

While the Fante culture was appropriated in certain ways by Richard Brew, the Fante were also appropriating certain aspects of Brew’s culture. This type of cross-influence became a family trait. Among his descendants, the Western traits that dominated included an “emphasis on the male line of descent, an individualistic strain in property attitudes, and Christian marriage with literate wives. Status passed from father to son, associated with education and achievement, while trade, law, and government service opened up the way to self-acquired property.” The Brews were part of the growing professional elite, trained outside the country. A Brew family tree is provided by Priestley.⁷⁶

Sam Kanto Brew

Sam Kanto Brew (d. 1823) followed most closely in his grandfather’s shoes. He was born in Cape Coast, operated a large-scale business in the slave trade, and at Moree he “maintained a

⁷⁴Ibid., 49-56.

⁷⁵Ibid., 48.

⁷⁶Priestley, *West African Trade*, 127, 187, 191. The family tree is located in the back of the book as Figures a and b in the Appendix.

nineteenth-century counterpart to Castle Brew, the abandoned Fort Nassau, once a Dutch fort. The British referred “to him as a ‘powerful mulatto slave trader’ and a ‘great slave trade merchant’ . . . perhaps the greatest . . . engaged at Cape Coast.” Although Britain had ended their slave trade, the Spanish (sometimes on behalf of American merchants), Portuguese, and Brazilians provided Kanto Brew with a stable business. In 1823, Sir Charles McCarthy wrote to Lord Bathurst "He combined European dress with the grossest superstition, idolatry and fetish."⁷⁷ By appropriating the European fort and wearing European dress, this Brew follows the tradition of coastal elites to incorporate European symbols of wealth and power to further their own status.

James Hutton Brew

James Hutton Brew (1844-1915), great great grandson of Richard Brew, was born in Anomabo and educated in England. When he returned in 1864, he practiced as one the first licensed Gold Coast attorneys. He was closely associated with the Fante Confederation movement of 1867-72, and founded a succession of newspapers, including the *Gold Coast Times*. He is often described as ‘the pioneer of West African journalism.’ After his father Samuel Collins Brew died in 1881, he became the administrator of the estate. He moved to England in 1888, where he lived until his death. However Hutton Brew continued to exert considerable influence on West Africa from abroad, especially with the members of the Gold Coast elite class that went to England for their education.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Ibid., 132-133. The fort in Moree must not have been completely destroyed after the Dutch left in 1816.

⁷⁸Ibid., 127, 161-162, 167, 171; and *The Gold Coast Times*, April 19, 1882, front page.

J. E. Casely Hayford and William Ward Brew

Hutton Brew's nephews J. E. Casely Hayford (1866-1930) and William Ward Brew (1878-1943) were educated in England and became barristers.⁷⁹ The Hayfords lived in the Krokessin area of town in stone nog houses. These were demolished and replaced with concrete houses in the 1930s. Casely Hayford was an active journalist, writer and politician. He helped to form the National Congress of British West Africa, established in Accra in 1920. He served as President from 1923 until his death in 1930. Ward Brew was one of the founding members.⁸⁰

Samuel Henry Brew

The second Samuel Henry Brew (1867-June 6, 1922), a great great great grandson of Richard Brew, was a government official for more than 30 years and was described as “a man of great literary ability.”⁸¹ He was Secretary to the Native Jurisdiction Bill Committee, and his interest in education eventually led him to his last position as Chief Clerk to the Medical Department. Circumstances were more difficult during the colonial era, and Henry Brew was kept back from higher greater rank.⁸²

Ebenezer Annan Brew

Samuel Henry Brew's younger brother Ebenezer Annan Brew (1878-1932) was born in Cape Coast. He spent two years at Hope gardens in Jamaica for agricultural training and later worked as an assistant at the Botanical Station in Aburi, near Accra. At first, promotions came slowly to Ebenezer. Yet by 1922, he was promoted into senior levels of the Agricultural Department. “By the nineteen-twenties...the government machine had made some

⁷⁹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 127.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 173.

⁸¹*Gold Coast Leader* (July 17, 1920), 2.

⁸²*Ibid.*; and Priestley, *West African Trade.*, 173.

accommodation to the fact that a small group of able and educated Africans existed on the Gold Coast; Annan Brew's career reflects a trend, slow but inevitable, towards greater Africanization.”⁸³ The plight of these brothers is significant because it exemplifies the changes in the colonial British administration, creating economic and political instability for the African coastal elites.

Anomabo at the Turn of the Century

It is reasonable to ask why Africans chose to appropriate elements of British architecture in the last half of the nineteenth century. Blankson was perhaps a forerunner in this appropriation, building his addition in the late 1860s to 1873. Okoye notes that “perhaps about the late 1870s . . . a dramatic change occurred around the issue of appropriateness in architecture, most especially so in the towns of the coastline itself.”⁸⁴ Although he was speaking about Nigeria, the same may be applied to Ghana. Shortly after, the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 divided Africa into colonial regions. Political, trade and juridical practices on the coast transformed as the result of the transfer of power from local rule to British administration. Not surprisingly, the latter years of the century had architectural consequences. For both coastlines, “a local architectural culture emerges which is well mannered in European. . . . Or, in other words, architecture becomes subject to a non-local definition of appropriateness. In effect it becomes ‘civilized’, and seems to indicate that a realignment in the interpretation of objects has occurred.”⁸⁵ Okoye notes:

Consistently in fact, a reaction against the repressive pressure to conform to European appropriateness appears to have broken through, allowing (for the local masons) a release of the cultural imagination, which often resulted in strikingly original new architecture. This originality is sometimes recognized at the level of new kinds of architectural space organization, and at other times at the level of an

⁸³Ibid., 176-180. Priestley's family tree for the Brews is very helpful, Appendix, Figures a and b.

⁸⁴Okoye, 578.

⁸⁵Ibid., 581-582, 588.

architectonic, formal or ornamental approach to architectural composition and to the use of material.⁸⁶

The turn of the century seems to have ushered in a building boom of structures reflecting this new architecture; however, funds for such buildings were tight. The appearance of wealth may not have reflected actual wealth.

At the end of the nineteenth century, trade on the coast took a downward turn. Some of the causes included: over-competition, ineffective accounting, trade depressions, over-extension of credit, natural disasters, deaths of company owners and lack of suitable successors, fragmentation of business and property under inheritance traditions, and price-fixing practices by the major European trading firms on the coast. Another issue was the new colonial attitude toward doing business with Africans. European consignment houses now preferred to do business on the coast with their own paid agents. They began to refuse further credit to African agents.⁸⁷ Most of the nineteenth-century merchants started and maintained their businesses on credit with companies like F. and A. Swanzy and Forster and Smith. Barnes was one of only five major African merchants who did not have to claim bankruptcy. Therefore, although these merchants handled large sums of money and product, they had little to invest or pass on to their children.⁸⁸ Ever optimistic, these merchants built large family residences, placing themselves in further debt. The reality was however that when they died, their families were left with the financial fallout.

⁸⁶Ibid., 589-590.

⁸⁷Kaplow 65; and Dumett, 678.

⁸⁸Kaplow 62, 84.

Merchants across West Africa “hindered the colonization process by refusing to give up economic rights in order that British firms could open up lucrative palm oil markets.”⁸⁹ In addition, Asantehene Prempeh I’s resistance to entering into trade agreements resulted in his exile to the Seychelles in 1896. This deportation would have been keenly felt by all the African groups in southern Ghana, deterring many from direct action. Yet, they turned to violence towards each other (especially among the *asafo* groups), and other methods of resistance. Tensions made trade negotiations difficult, and market boycotts occurred frequently.⁹⁰

In 1897, Scottish novelist and Christian minister George MacDonald (1824-1905) described Anomabo at the turn of the century.

The present town of Anamaboe was once the flourishing centre of a very important trade, which has of late years been considerably diminishing owing to the rise of the neighboring town of Saltpond. The town was once the headquarters of the Wesleyan Mission on the coast, and still possesses a very handsome chapel, but the large houses of the town, once inhabited by prosperous merchants, are now mostly in ruins, and give one a most depressing idea of its present state. It contains about 2000 inhabitants.⁹¹

As the experience of the Brew descendants indicate, the first twenty years of the century were difficult years for educated and capable coastal elites to be recognized and elevated within the British administration, yet the tide turns in the 1920s as some of the members of the coastal elites gain and wield considerable power within the British system through political organizations such as the National Congress of British West Africa (e.g. William Ward Brew and Atta Amonoo, discussed in Chapter 8). Yet, many of these prominent Africans no longer resided in Anomabo. Law was one of the most popular professions that Africans pursued. Some 60

⁸⁹Bush, 101.

⁹⁰Ibid., 102, 104.

⁹¹George MacDonald, *The Gold Coast, Past and Present: A Short Description of the Country and its People*. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1898), 170-171.

African lawyers that were practicing on the Ghanaian coast (and the same number were practicing in Nigeria) received their education in London.⁹² By the mid-1930s, colonial education was “a bitter chalice that provided Africans with the intellectual tools to challenge their position as colonial subjects, but failed to gain them full equality with whites.” Thus, the educated were provided with the ideas of democracy, but they were excluded from participation in the system.⁹³

Many southern Ghanaians and Nigerians served in the British army during World War I. After the allies won the war, Africans in these British colonies were understandably impressed by British power and the extent of their empire. Although many had served bravely, they were poorly paid if they remained in state service, receiving between nine-pence and one shilling and six-pence per day (less than those paid in South Africa). It is perhaps astonishing that so many of these stone nog residences in Anomabo were constructed during this period between the end of World War I (1919) and the early 1930s when the worldwide depression was felt.⁹⁴ I argue that it is precisely during this time that clients felt the most urgent need to profess their inclusion in the empire as loyal British subjects. They wished to be seen as a part of the global empire, and reap the benefits they were denied. In this way, the Coastal Elite Style of architecture may be viewed as visible symbols of resistance against their repression.⁹⁵ After 1935, the African elites

⁹²Andrew Roberts, *The Colonial Moment in Africa: Essays on the Movement of Minds and Materials 1900-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), 229.

⁹³Bush, 120-121.

⁹⁴Ibid., 104-105.

⁹⁵Unfortunately, none the clients were surviving in my travels between 2007 to 2009, to corroborate this hypothesis. Yet, if we read these structures as documents, resistance can be inferred. The same ideas of resistance were read by Okoye in southeastern Nigerian structures built during the colonial period in his dissertation even though these clients were also not alive to tell their story.

channelled the widespread tension against colonial rule and formed the beginnings of the nationalist movement.⁹⁶

This chapter, perhaps more so than any other, has delineated some of the complicated connections between coastal elites and the borrowing of Palladian architecture. While adopting the Hall and Chamber Plan, they also appropriated and transformed many architectural details, utilizing them on both residences and churches. The spread of Methodism encouraged a building boom in churches and mission houses. The Methodist Mission in Anomabo demonstrates this spread among the African coastal elites who embraced this European religion and its schooling first. They also selected and incorporated parts or all of the mission's architecture into their housing. The interior arch is used in several coastal elite residences.

The economic booms of the 1860s into the 1890s, and later in the 1920s and early 1930s, fueled the construction of large family residences. The selection and incorporation of the Palladian style reflects mid-century economic and political instability in which the coastal elite class felt pitted against both the local African hierarchy, now Akanized, and the British administration. Many of these stone nog residences no longer survive along the Ghanaian coast. Anomabo and Cape Coast are fortunate to have an example (the Blankson Addition in Anomabo discussed earlier in this chapter and the Allen Quansah Family Residence in Cape Coast discussed in Chapter 8). There are many more surviving two-story rammed earth houses that display Palladian design elements and the Hall and Chamber plan. The selection and incorporation of European architecture is further complicated by the introduction of the Afro-Portuguese sobrado.

⁹⁶Bush, 113.

CHAPTER 6 SELECTION AND INCORPORATION OF THE SOBRADO

The third architectural source from which the African coastal elites selected and incorporated elements for their family residences was the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. The sobrado is essentially a house with multiple interior chambers accessible from a central corridor and has a second-story timber veranda. This plan was first spread throughout the world in tropical climates by the Europeans. The sobrado was a plan applied by masons trained by European missionaries of the Basel Mission in the Akuapem Hills area (north of Accra) in the mid-nineteenth century and by Afro-Brazilians who landed on the Ghanaian coast (Accra) as early as the 1820s. Afro-Brazilian masons who lived in Nigeria may have also come to the Ghanaian coast for work. The availability of these masons trained in stone nog construction and carpentry, made these architectural choices possible.

Origin of the Afro-Portuguese Sobrado

The sobrado has its roots in Portuguese trading posts in Africa. The Sobrado style originated in the Algarve region of Portugal and took on its recognized form in the Cape Verde island colony in the mid-sixteenth century. From there it was introduced into Brazil and expanded all over the world wherever the Portuguese established trading posts. The earliest visitor to the West African coast to mention seeing this style of house is Frenchman Michel Jajolet de la Courbe in 1686. The house with “whitewashed earthen walls” belonged to a wealthy trader in Albreda, The Gambia.¹

Barbot’s illustration of seventeenth-century Rufisque, near present-day Dakar, Senegal, depicts two large rectangular structures, possible sobrado, located side-by-side surrounded by

¹Peter Mark, *“Portuguese” Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2002), 43-44.

many small round buildings with conical roofs. Another of Barbot's illustrations depicts a house in Accra, a port city that was an early Portuguese trading post, with a double-pitched roof, "suggesting the presence of an exterior porch."² Art historian Peter Mark notes that the "Portuguese'-style house was the product of reciprocal influence between Portuguese and local African architecture." These early *sobrado* were constructed in sun-dried clay, or *banco*, and rectangular in form.³ The exterior was often whitewashed, and they had either a continuous veranda around the building or a small vestibule in front of the entrance. The material and construction method may indicate an early appropriation of Mande architecture.⁴ Thus, the *sobrado* was a product of the cultural authentication process that took place in the seventeenth century in another part of West Africa.

These Portuguese-style houses were built for European and African traders along the coast. Mark noted that, "Throughout the Gambia-Casamance-Bissau region during the late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth centuries, whenever the presence of Luso-African traders provided a model, houses 'in the Portuguese style' were adopted by local rulers and merchants as symbols of social status and wealth."⁵ This early incorporation of the *sobrado* for wealthy clients for status purposes may have taken place in Anomabo and along the central Ghanaian coast as well. The first Tuafohen's Palace may have been such an example. Some of the rammed earth houses, reputed by locals to be "ancient," may belong to this period for their construction.⁶

²Ibid., 61-62.

³*Banco* is a term applied to the mud bricks made and used in the Sahelian region of Africa.

⁴Mark, 49.

⁵Ibid., 44. Luso-African refers to Africans who came in contact with the Portuguese and learned to speak their language.

⁶A two-story rammed earth house located to the south of the Tuafohen's Palace, across from Swanzy, was believed by many locals to be of "ancient" construction.

Traders found the vestibule or hall important for welcoming and conducting business. Goods may have been stored in the chambers that opened into this hall. Slaves, surmised Mark, were probably kept in the inner courtyard for pending sale.⁷ If so, then this would explain the high earthen and stone nog walls some of the surviving houses maintain. Thus, these houses may have served functions as residence, business center and slave hold in addition to showing off the wealth of the owner.

Sobrado Across the Atlantic

Sobrado houses can be found throughout the colonial world including the Caribbean and Brazil. Essentially very little difference exists between sobrado designated as Creole, Spanish, Brazilian or Afro-Brazilian. They all have Portuguese and Spanish roots, since Brazil was a former colony of Portugal. In French and Spanish colonies, balconies overlook the street, and people used them to converse with their neighbors. Balconies and verandahs on English-speaking islands in the Caribbean tend to be more intimate; often enclosed and sometimes hidden at the side or rear of the house.⁸

Afro-Caribbeans incorporated elements from Portuguese, Brazilian and Bahian architecture, lifestyles and customs, into first, their rural houses, and then second into their urban residences. In the early nineteenth century, former slaves who were freed or purchased their freedom wanted to return to Africa. Skilled artisans, masons and carpenters brought their skills to the African coastal cities. Francoise Doutreuwe defined two-story buildings with verandas in Cote d'Ivoire as plantation models, serving as a reminder of Caribbean sobrado origins.⁹

⁷Mark, 45.

⁸Suzanne Slesin, Stafford Cliff, Jack Berthelot, Martine Gaume, and Daniel Rozensztrach, *Caribbean Style* (NY: Clarkson Potter, 1985), 20.

⁹Francoise Doutreuwe, "La Cote d'Ivoire," in *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala*, ed. Jacques Soullillou (Marseille: Editions Parentheses, 1993), 110.

However it was the Brazilians, mostly from Bahia, who seem to have made the greatest impact on the African coastal elite class.¹⁰

Coquery-Vidrovitch described the motives and make up of the Afro-Brazilian community of wealthy eighteenth and nineteenth century traders.

. . . they had implicitly made a choice. They were all raised in an urban culture and hoped to speed up the evolution toward a Western civilization with more advanced technology than that of their own cultural heritage, going along with a Christian, Muslim, or, later humanist spirit that would allow them to build a Western civilization that might also respect their views and lifestyles.¹¹

This group, comprised of former slaves who gained their freedom and managed to return to coastal Africa in the late-seventeenth, eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, was scattered all across the coastal areas of West Africa. Foremost merchants in coastal cities employed artisans, masons and carpenters from Bahia to support their aristocratic lifestyle and construct their lavish homes.¹²

Coquery-Vidrovitch defines the sobrado as “a single, massive residence, usually with more than one floor and many windows, and more or less isolated on its land...” with a veranda.¹³

Folklorist John Michael Vlach offers more detail.

The houses that the Afro-Brazilians constructed were mainly two-storey dwellings trimmed with elaborate stucco mouldings, buildings known in Brazil as sobrados...In plan, the Brazilian houses consisted of a block of contiguous room units. The rooms were usually symmetrically arranged on either side of a broad central corridor extending from the front door to the rear of the house.¹⁴

¹⁰Coquery-Vidrovitch, 178-179, 357-358, endnote 98.

¹¹Coquery-Vidrovitch, 180. G. Brooks estimates that nearly two million Luso-Africans were living in the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa. G. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa. Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio UP, 2003).

¹²Ibid., 178-179.

¹³Coquery-Vidrovitch, 181.

¹⁴John Michael Vlach, “Afro-Brazilian,” In *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 2033.

Sobrado construction in Minas, Brazil has been categorized into two phases. Houses built during the second phase, which took place in the first half of the eighteenth century, were slightly larger, with a square plan, front veranda, guest's room and a chapel. Large houses were differentiated by the presence of urban architecture characteristics, such as use of corridors and numerous large windows in sequence.¹⁵ The enclosed front veranda on the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-50) employs this feature from urban sobrado.

Afro-Brazilian Sobrado in West Africa

The sobrado made its way to the coast of Ghana, the Republic of Benin (Dahomey kingdom), and Nigeria in the nineteenth century. The repatriates settled in all of the major West African coastal cities, including Accra, Lagos, Ibadan, Abidjan, Banjul, and Dakar.¹⁶ Many of the former slaves in Brazil were of Yoruba origin and returned to Nigeria. When they arrived, they asserted their Brazilian heritage. These Afro-Brazilians imported their Brazilian preferences for cassava flour, guava, and the sobrado.¹⁷ They spoke Portuguese, often were practicing Catholics, and were trained in European trades, including carpentry and masonry. The houses that the Afro-Brazilians constructed in Africa reflected their new creolized identity.¹⁸ The Afro-Brazilians also favored Western furnishings, such as rocking chairs, sofas and tables.¹⁹

¹⁵Ana Lucia Vieira dos Santos, Eurico Antonio Calvente, M. de Lourdes Luz, Sandra Lemos Coelho and William Seba Mallman Bittar, *Contact Architecture: Women, Slaves and House in Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Papel Virtual Editora, 2000), 31-32.

¹⁶Elleh, 69.

¹⁷Coquery-Vidrovitch, 178-179, 357-358, endnote 98.

¹⁸Vlach, 2033.

¹⁹Marianno Carneiro da Cunha, *Da Senzala ao Sobrado: Arquitetura Brasileira na Nigéria e na República Popular do Benim = From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin* (Sao Paulo, Brazil: Livraria Nobel S.A., 1985), 76.

The Afro-Brazilian Francisco Felix da Souza (d. 1849) was a wealthy slave trader at the turn of the nineteenth century and a favorite minister for the Dahomey king Ghezo. He enjoyed a lavish lifestyle, typical within the African coastal elite community, by living in a large home surrounded by his many children and other dependents, slaves and gold and silver dishware.²⁰ The Brazilian Quarter in Lagos, Nigeria, is also well-known for its wealthy nineteenth-century African and mulatto inhabitants. Prominent traders, such as Joao Angelo Campos and Joaquim Devode Branco, had beautiful houses built.²¹

These were mainly two-story residences trimmed with elaborate stucco moldings. The Palladian and Baroque motifs with which the Afro-Brazilians decorated their residences linked them more closely with European, rather than African, housing trends.²² Baroque motifs were not selected by many of the elites in Anomabo, though they can be seen in the decorative half-columns at the Kobena Mefful Family Residence and on several houses in Cape Coast.²³

The Brazil House in the Jamestown neighborhood of Accra was once the residence for Afro-Brazilians. Three waves of freed Afro-Brazilian slaves, who call themselves Tabon (or Tabom) today, came to Ghana. The first wave comprised seven families from Bahia who landed on the Ghanaian coast in 1829. Two more groups arrived in 1836. One group came directly from Bahia, while the other went to Nigeria first. According to a brochure on the Tabon people, “They mastered handicraft techniques, mainly jewelry work. They were the first tailors and architects of

²⁰Coquery-Vidrovitch, 179. Da Souza may have been a mulatto.

²¹Da Cunha, 76.

²²Vlach, 2033.

²³The houses in Cape Coast may have been built by Europeans or Africans.

this region.”²⁴ The original building burned down in January of 2008.²⁵ Today, the new Brazil House is a Palladian style concrete structure that operates as a museum.

The Basel Mission

The Basel Mission enterprise in Ghana, established initially at Christiansborg in 1828, was furthered by the work of Danish Missionary Andreas Riis (1804-1854). He brought the Mission to the Akuapem Hills in 1835 and built his stone house in Akropong in c. 1836. In fact, Riis was nicknamed “Osiadan” (builder of buildings) for his skill in building houses. Riis established the Training College in Akropong in 1848. During this period Basel Mission work extended from Accra to the inland state of Akuapem on the Akuapem mountain range, believed to be a much healthier environment for Europeans than the Accra plains. Mission activity extended later to the Akyem and Kwahu states, and eventually to the Asante region after the exile of Asantehene Prempeh I, in 1896.²⁶

Bricklayers, masons, carpenters and blacksmiths were trained by the Basel Mission to build mission houses, churches and schools.²⁷ Early missionary recruits for the Basel Mission were men of modest backgrounds from rural settings or small towns in Switzerland and southwestern Germany. These were practical people rooted in agrarian and artisan traditions. They brought technologies such as brick making, the manufacture of shingles, and new architectural styles to Ghana. Training at the Basel Mission College also included botany, agriculture, language analysis, the basics of medicine and surgery, cultural history, and other

²⁴“Brazil House,” Accra, Ghana: The Brazilian Embassy, n.d.

²⁵I was not able to procure a photograph or description of the building to determine its original style and plan.

²⁶Emmanuel Akyeampong, “Introduction to Visual Interpretation of the Basel Mission Archive Photo Project,” http://bmpix.org/bmpix/visip_emmanuel/introduction.htm.

²⁷A. D. C. Hyland, “An Introduction to the Traditional and Historical Architecture of Ghana,” in *History of Ghana*, ed. Maggie Dodds (Accra: American Women's Association of Ghana, 1974), 180-181.

relevant subjects.²⁸ Training lasted three years and apprentices received small stipends. Those trained were in high demand throughout the coast. Going home to their villages, some set up their own workshops.²⁹ Some of those trained were West Indian immigrants, who under the guidance of the mission, built several of these homes, with variations, in the Akuapem Hills area.³⁰

The Akuapem-trained masons migrated southwest to the coastal areas in search of work. This led to the dissemination of a wide range of building techniques. Hyland observed that eventually every Fante town contained at least one substantial Christian mission or church with walls of stone, brick or *swish* with a timber verandah, revealing the work of a mission-trained builder.³¹ Not long afterward, the major coastal towns also had similar residences with walls of stone, brick or *swish* with a timber verandah.

Larteh

The small hilltop town of Larteh retains a fine church, several stone walls and partial homes as evidence of its once grand Basel Mission architecture. A Methodist Mission similar to the one in Anomabo was probably built in the same decade (1840s). The Samuel Otu Memorial Presbyterian Church was constructed in 1853. The church was likely the first stone nog construction in Larteh, a town inhabited by Guan people (not Akan-related, but similar to the Afutu people of Elmina). After the construction of the church, stone structures soon dominated. Masons used the plentiful local stone and a mortar consisting of mud, small stones, water and

²⁸Peter A. Schweizer, *Survivors of the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries in Colonial Ghana* (Accra, Ghana: Smartline Ltd., 2000), 29.

²⁹Smith, 60.

³⁰Hyland, "Le Ghana," 161-162.

³¹Hyland, "An Introduction," 68-69.

imported lime. The mortar lacks the shells additionally used in coastal mortar. Construction techniques are the same.

Plan and Construction

According to Hyland, characteristics of the Basel Mission type of building include:

a long central block with rooms opening onto a verandah which runs round the building on all sides with projecting wings at each end. The walls are solidly built in stone, the rooms are lofty, the doors and windows solidly made in pitch pine imported from Germany; local timber was used for the verandahs which run round the building, and the steeply pitched roof was covered with shingles which still survive under the aluminum sheets which are on the roof now . . . hardly a village in Southern Ghana does not contain at least one substantial house, with walls maybe of stone or brick or swish, with a timber verandah running around, that reveals the work of a builder or carpenter trained by the Mission.³²

Prior to the establishment of the Basel Mission, Palladian-style buildings on the coast were compact buildings with all the accommodation contained within solid external walls. The early Basel missionaries adopted the veranda, newly introduced from the Asian colonies of the Dutch and the Danes. Yet, this type of structure may have originated in Brazil, and therefore are named *sobrado* after the Portuguese term used there. The distinctive house form was ideally suited for life in the tropics. A solid core of building, in stone or brick or rammed earth construction, containing a single row of rooms, three, four or more in number, would be surrounded on all four sides by a wide veranda. Wherever possible the building would be oriented north and south, so that the verandas would keep the sun off the walls of the rooms.³³

Verandas were constructed entirely of timber, supported on stone or brick piers, timber posts or (later) cast-iron columns. The staircase rising to the second floor was placed within the width of the veranda. Timber was readily available in a variety of the cocoa tree that provides a very hard wood, resistant to termites. It was used for verandahs, roof beams and stairways. To

³²Ibid., 175-180

³³Faculty, 474; and Coquery-Vidrovitch, 181.

further treat the wood against termites, it was coated with a treatment of solighium which makes the timber black.

Most rammed earth and stone nog two-story houses built between the 1860s and 1930s retain their Basel Mission-style timber roof supports. Though initially covered with asbestos/slate corrugated sheeting, many have been covered or replaced by iron or aluminum corrugated sheeting. Several buildings have lost their original verandas due to rot and termites, or they were removed at the time of electrical installation for fear of fire from the wiring.³⁴ This form of house was soon widely adopted by other missions, by the colonial government and by the more prosperous townspeople, traders and farmers. By the end of the century, it had reached the peak of its development.³⁵

Masons for the Anomabo Coastal Elite Residences

Several possibilities exist for identifying the masons who constructed the stone nog houses in Anomabo. They could have been the mission-trained masons from Accra and Akuapem Hills consisting of Guans, West Indians, and others. The masons could have been Afro-Brazilians from Accra or Nigeria looking for work along the coast during this same period. Likely, all these kinds of masons worked the coastal region from the 1860s to the 1930s.

The Sobrado in Anomabo

The Ghanaian coastal elite chose from a wide variety of features associated with the sobrado style. Massive, two story houses may or may not have a corridor down the center of the plan. Verandas generally surrounded all four sides, but may just be across one façade. The Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence (Structure C-12) is an example of a rammed earth

³⁴Evidence of timber verandas are seen in the rectangular-shaped openings in the façade, regularly placed across the building floors, usually just above the belt course. Also, remnants of the pier supports generally lie about five feet from the house.

³⁵Faculty, 474.

sobrado in Anomabo with some exterior Palladian design elements. The Russell House and the Justice Akwa Family Residence are examples of the stone nog sobrado in Anomabo with more extensive use of exterior Palladian features. While the sobrado was considered to be well-suited to the urban environments of the African coast, the corridor, judging from today's uses, appears to be a space that does not function well for coastal Ghanaians.

The Russell House

The Russell House (Figure B-19) is what family descendants and owners call the building known locally as *abɔdan*, or stone house. It is located on the corner of Market Street and Aggrey Road. According to Hyland, this stone and brick rectangular structure was built by the English in the late-eighteenth century.³⁶ However, documentation provided by the family proves that masons built this family residence for three African clients - Reverend John Oboboam Hammond (February 2, 1860 - December 28, 1918), a Fante Methodist; Francis Medanyamease Hammond (d. September 3, 1920), his brother who was employed by the Swanzys in Kumasi; and their sister Mrs. Charlotte Oyemame Acquaaah (1858 – July 31, 1908). According to paperwork the family was able to provide, the land was purchased on December 13, 1895, and the building permit was acquired on November 1, 1897 (Documents D-3 and D-4 respectively). Therefore, the building was constructed in the late-nineteenth century.

A sketch of the plot is included with the land indenture (Figure B-68). The siblings purchased the property from “William Topp Nelson Yankah of Anamaboe and other the senior members of his family.” It shows the land measuring 61 feet wide and 75 ½ feet deep. No home on the property is indicated. Surrounding it are houses owned by Iaan, Ama Moo, Ekua Kotwiawa, Yankah, Ekua Nyami, and Kofi Intslfl. On November 1, 1897, the siblings were

³⁶A. D. C. Hyland, “British Colonial,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 2038.

granted a building permit or “Towns Ordinance” to “build a house at Anamaboe...on condition that the proposed work is completed within six months.” The current structure was built between the indicated date and April 1, 1898. This date is confirmed by the arbitration document for the property, purchased by Aiko, where his grandson later built the Kobena Mefful Family Residence.

A simpler plan was attached to the ordinance indicating the location of the proposed building. The only difference between the indenture’s plan and the ordinance is that Iaan is replaced by Idun, and Yankah’s house is placed directly across from The Russell House. Except for The Russell House and part of the Ama Moo Family Residence, none of the other homes on the plans survive today.

Functions

At The Russell House, family history dictates that while the siblings and their families lived upstairs, they always rented out the lower floor to merchants. This was a common arrangement used on the coast by Europeans and Africans alike. In early 1915, a representative for H. B. W. Russell & Co., Ltd. of Cape Coast wrote to inquire about the space. Shortly afterward it appears that an agent for the English company rented the lower level to use as a store and part of the second floor became his own residence. It was during this time that the premises became known, or characterized, around town as The Russell House, for the store name not the property owner. A surviving one-story stone building on the beach in the Fare neighborhood was used as a warehouse for the company.³⁷

The family rented The Russell House to the government for use as a post office on December 11, 1941, until it was relocated to Fort William about ten years later. The annual rent

³⁷The structure may have been built for company purposes, or it may have been constructed prior for another client.

was nine pounds, paid in monthly installments. The building was used as a social center for both Africans and Westerners for club meetings, weddings, receptions, etc. Visitors entered through the courtyard entrance, climbed the stairs to the second floor and walked down the hallway. Rooms on their right would have provided seating areas and possibly food and drinks. The long room across the entire front of the building likely served as the main meeting or reception hall. No paperwork was provided to establish its dates as a social center. Therefore, the building's function as a social center could have taken place either before or after its function as a post office.

According to the family history, from about 1955 to 1983, the lower corner adjacent to both streets was rented to function as a bar. The name of the bar was Obonoma Bar. During this time the current "Appellation of Anomabo" mural was painted on the side of the building. An early version of the painting can be seen in Hyland's photograph in Paul Oliver's book *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, from the late 1960s or early 1970s when the building still had its roof.³⁸ Today, the mural is maintained, not by the family who owns the building, but by a local group of teenage boys called the Machine Stars Football Club, a soccer club. By 1983 the building had become uninhabitable, and the bar closed.

The Sibling Clients

Rev. Hammond was born in Anomabo. His obituary offers some further biographical information and details his elaborate and well-attended funeral service (Document D-5). While he was clearly a member of the African coastal elite class with members such as Attoh Ahuma and C. H. Bartels (Elmina) present, Omanhen Amonoo V also was in attendance to pay his

³⁸Hyland, "British Colonial," 2038.

respects. These connections to both the coastal elite class and the ruling class demonstrate how these people could bridge different worlds.

Among his siblings, Rev. Hammond was most likely the lead client in selecting the plans and details for The Russell House. At the opening and dedication of the Methodist Chapel in Saltpond about seven years after Rev. Hammond's death, it was reported that a song written by Professor Graves-Abayie entitled "The Heavens are Telling" but known as "Hammond" was sung. The news report also credits the late Rev. Hammond with the design of the building, for he "while alive, expressed his genius in brick and mortar."³⁹

Rev. Hammond's brother died about two years later. Little is known about Francis Hammond, but as an agent for F. and A. Swanzy, he likely sent money to his brother for the construction of the residence. Their sister Charlotte was married to Reverend R. M. Acquaaah of Kuntu near Saltpond (birthplace also for George Kuntu Blankson). They had five sons and four daughters. One of their sons, Reverend Gaddiel R. Acquaaah, OBE, was the first African Chairman of the Ghana Methodist District. The ninth and last child, Mrs. Mary Enyaawa Ogoe a. k. a. Aunt Adwoa, was a seamstress by trade (April 29, 1901-1981). She was a leader and local preacher of the Ebenezer Methodist Church, and she was the last to reside in The Russell House. The obituary for Charlotte Acquaaah also lists the prominent members attending her service (Document D-6).

Construction Method

The walls utilize local materials of stone, brick and shell mortar. The Russell House was never plastered or painted on the exterior. Thus, it is possible to see the construction materials and method. The walls appear to have been constructed in layered sections, much like rammed

³⁹*Gold Coast Leader* (December 5, 1925), 4.

earth walls (Figure B-69). Inbetween these layers is a thin horizontal layer of small dark gray granite stones. These stones are also carefully placed throughout the entire façade between the larger stones. Although smaller stones are mixed judiciously with larger stones on the Moses Adu Family Residence (Figure B-70), they are not arranged to create any decorative horizontal bands, though the construction of the walls may have been conducted in layered sections.

Whether or not the technique was to layer the stones in sections, it seems that part of the exterior decoration of The Russell House was to create the appearance of regular horizontal lines (Figure B-69).

In addition, rectangular-shaped holes about five or six inches deep are seen in the center of the ground-level exterior walls on The Russell House. These holes were likely used by the masons to hold scaffolding. On the back of the residence, four layers of bricks alternate between these holes, creating a decorative effect. An almost similar treatment can be seen inside the Blankson Addition on the Western wall of the large eastern room. Rectangular shapes, in about the same size as those found on The Russell House, in the wall are created with four bricks, then above this, runs a horizontal band three bricks in width. The areas with four bricks were probably the scaffolding holes, later filled in with decorative bricks. Thus, the technique used to complete the Blankson Addition in the later 1860s-1873 matches that of the Russell House dating to 1897-1898.

A mud plaster once covered the interior walls, and some of this plaster remains. Since damaged roofing was never replaced, the rains have penetrated the interior and have destroyed much of the plastering. The walls have huge cracks, and all the wood floors and frames have deteriorated. The building is not inhabited. The structure is beyond repair and will likely collapse before another decade goes by.

British Palladian Style

The remaining exterior features hint at its once elegant and refined presence in downtown Anomabo. Across the facade are seven anse de panier arched openings. All of the curves of the arches are formed with brick voussoirs. English-style homes, on the Ghanaian coast as well as other commercial and later colonial habitations such as those in the Caribbean, were often built of a uniform size, in local stone, with Palladian arcades on the lower floors and windows on the upper floors. This provided a convenient way to display merchandise, for the prospective customers could stroll along the shaded arcades, out of the heat of the sun.⁴⁰ These entranceways may have been left open or fitted for doors or long display windows.

A belt course of four bricks wide runs around the entire exterior of the building visually dividing the two floors. Seven windows on the front side of the second floor are aligned with the openings below. The windows have anse de panier arches and may have once been Palladian windows. Both the arches and the sills are formed with bricks. Some of the windows on the sides of the buildings have had their arched sections bricked in; the window was likely fitted for a newer window and shutters, as was the case at the Kobena Mefful Family Residence. Bricks were also used to frame the sides of the windows. These are flush with the wall and the brick against the stone makes a striking decorative effect.

Pilasters running the entire height of the building form the coigns. Pilasters were also placed on either side of the central opening. However these only extend up to the belt course, framing the entrance. Large holes are visible just above the belt course. My contention is that a timber verandah once existed on either two or three sides of the building. It may have extended only across the front and back, or it may also have extended along the eastern side overlooking

⁴⁰David Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean* (London: Heinemann, 1980), 26.

the road. It probably would not have hung on the Western side, because Ekua Nyami's house was located nearby. Evidence that the veranda once existed across the front is seen in the obvious addition of stone material to the lower section of the central upper story window, thus enclosing a doorway that would have given access to the veranda. A current descendant of Charlotte Acquah's family told me that during the period he grew up in the home, a verandah was not present. It seems that by the 1950s, the verandah had burned, deteriorated, or had been torn down and the doorway was partially enclosed. Two large holes can also be found at mid-ground floor height between the arched openings. These may have been used for scaffolding or for veranda supports. The existing roof only consists of a few broken and rotted wooden timbers that once supported the pitched roof, commonly used in Basel Mission style structures, with corrugated asbestos/slate sheeting.

Sobrado Plan

The interior plan of The Russell House (Figure B-71) includes a central corridor running north to south. To enter the second floor, a Palladian double staircase was provided on the back of the exterior of the building. The placement and use of a Palladian double staircase is seen on Castle Brew (Figure B-6). The stairway on The Russell House leads onto the back veranda. The upstairs plan is identical to that of the lower floor, except that the front room extends the full length of the façade. Downstairs an anse de panier arch extends across the hallway, perhaps acting as a support for the weight of the doorway above. All the interior doorways have anse de panier arches, though some have been modified through the years.

An enclosed courtyard is situated behind the Russell House (Figure B-72). The side walls remain, but the far wall has collapsed. The courtyard entrance is decorated with a double-columned pilaster with base on each side. An anse de panier arch springs from their capitals, connecting them. This decorative element is quite similar to the anse de panier arch springing

from the impost blocks on Fort William's northern wall. It is also similar to the one found on the entrance to Kobena Mefful Family Residence, though not as elaborate.

An arcade of six anse de panier arches once supported the back veranda. Dividing these arches is the double staircase entry. The staircase and veranda balustrade are now concrete block, yet they would have been constructed originally from timber. Cement plaster has since been applied to the arches, yet the bricks are still visible to the close observer.

Off-beat Phrasing

The Russell House plan is not entirely symmetrical. This seems mostly due to its original downstairs function as a corner store. Three separate large spaces front the streets. Thus, while the plan is organized around the central corridor, the rooms on either side differ in their arrangement somewhat, allowing for the store on the west side. As such it is an altered sobrado plan. I consider this asymmetrical plan to be more the result of practicality than an aesthetic choice. It is surprising though that the plan upstairs copies the plan below in terms of the asymmetrical configuration. This plan was likely followed upstairs because of the need to place walls where support was provided below.

Justice Akwa Family Residence

Justice Akwa, a. k. a. Kofi Amoaku (b.c. 1870 – d.c. 1950), was an agent for Cadbury & Fry,⁴¹ an English trading company based in Saltpond. He was a Methodist who married only once to Aba Amonuaa. They had one daughter Rebecca Akwa, a. k. a. Ekuia Ntsefua, later Mrs. Markin. Akwa was the uncle to the Anomabo artist Kwamina Amoaku, who built two *posuban* in town and several others along the coast. Akwa probably built the house around 1900, for his

⁴¹I was not able to locate a company named Cadbury & Fry on the coast during this period. Probably Akwa worked for Cadbury Bros., the chocolatiers.

family while he mainly worked and lived in Saltpond. Akwa's grandniece Dora Ferguson, a. k. a. Adwowa Bentuma (b. 1930), is the current owner and resident.

Palladian Style with Sobrado Plan

The Justice Akwa Family Residence (Figure B-73) is a well-built sobrado of stone nog construction with brick facing. The façade of the second story has been plastered. Hand-drawn lines in the wet plaster imitate cement block, the preferred material of the elite class after 1930. Pilasters once flanked the main entrance facing Annobil Street. Entablatures were constructed over the doors, perhaps with the most decorative over the door facing Annobil Street. These Palladian embellishments would have deflected some of the rain. Each window had a decorative sill and entablature made from local bricks. Three rows of brick fashioned a stepped entablature that deflects rain. Sills comprised one row of brick with a layer of mortar hand-fashioned to create a rounded edge. Many of these details have been removed; the losses have visibly altered the original elegance of the residence.

A centrally-located door on all four sides of the house would have led onto a timber verandah, allowing cool breezes to circulate upstairs. The small holes evidenced above the belt course, a single row of side-lain brick, once held iron rods that supported the verandah floor. The use of iron rods to support the weight was an advance in technology. Small holes between the windows may have been for beautification, or for fasteners to hold shutters open. Probably the iron was sold long ago when the veranda was removed. The veranda was supported below by large piers; evidence of this appears on the ground.⁴²

The Justice Akwa house utilizes the sobrado plan with a central corridor running east to west (Figure B-74). The interior plan consists of this corridor with only two interior doors, one to

⁴²Confirmed by Mark Henry Freeman August 6, 2009.

each side hall. Each side then, follows the Hall and Chamber plan. Both floors are identical. Thus, each floor had a corridor and six rooms; the arrangement was symmetrical. Upstairs retains its original flooring of wood planks on timber supports.

The Dutch doors are later additions; originally the house had full-length doors. The doors on the interior and exterior are original, with only a hinge or two replaced. The hinges were probably imported but may have been made locally. Some of these doors are Dutch doors with separate top and bottom sections. The double entrance doors were made from odom, a very hard local wood.⁴³

Modern Alterations

Today, it is possible to see that the exterior doors leading from the upstairs corridor have been closed in, with the one to the west only partially blocked in to create a window. The verandah was removed before 1930. The downstairs floors, originally dirt, have been cemented.

Off-beat Phrasing

The plan of the Justice Akwa Family Residence is similar to the plan of the Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence (Figure B-38), with only a corridor dividing the plan. Like the Kuntu house, the Akwa house has a mostly symmetrical plan with one of the four interior walls placed asymmetrically. Unlike the Kuntu house, all of the windows and doors in the Akwa house align symmetrically. Therefore, off-beat phrasing occurs only in the placement of the interior walls. This is a common arrangement found in Anomabo residences.

Comparison with an Afro-Brazilian Sobrado in Brazil

The sobrado with a corridor is a common plan found throughout West Africa. A plan drawn by Vlach of a nineteenth-century Afro-Brazilian house in Brazil shows similarities to the

⁴³All of the doors from this period (e.g. those of the Claude Calvert Hagan Family Residence) may be made from odom, yet this wasn't confirmed.

Justice Akwa Family Residence.⁴⁴ While the Brazilian plan depicts all the chamber doors opening into the central corridor, the Akwa house plan has side chambers opening into a central hall on either side of the corridor. Only the halls open into the corridor. However, it cannot be determined whether or not this difference is specific to Anomabo, the central Ghanaian coast or to West Africa.⁴⁵

Moses Adu Family Residence – A Comparison in Larteh

The two-story Moses Adu Family Residence (Figure B-70) across the road from Larteh's Methodist Mission was built during the colonial period sometime after 1885. Adu was a wealthy Guan cocoa farmer. He didn't complete the building before his death, and it now exists as a mere shell. The construction and sobrado plan are still visible and shares similarities with the Anomabo houses, establishing a possible connection between trained masons in the Akuapem Hills and the coastal region. A fine detail in the construction is the pattern of larger, horizontally-placed stones at the coigns.

The Moses Adu Family Residence in comparison with the Anomabo houses discussed, does not have a corridor and more closely resembles the Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence (Structure C-12). The residence in Larteh does not have a Hall and Chamber plan; rather it is a single block of rooms with a veranda that extended at least on the front and back of the house, if not on all sides. More in keeping with a strict British Palladian plan, a stairway was placed on the interior of the Larteh house.

⁴⁴Vlach, 2034.

⁴⁵More architectural research on plans for African coastal elite residences needs to be conducted across the Guinea coast and Brazil to make broad comparisons.

Worldwide Adoption of the Sobrado

The sobrado, originally a Portuguese architectural form, was introduced as early as the sixteenth century to many of the cultures with whom the Portuguese interacted around the world. It was embraced by other Europeans who also navigated the globe during the age of discovery. Its adoption was due to its functionality. In Africa, the sobrado was implemented in nearly every port town and city from today's Cape Verde Islands and Senegal to Cameroon. Though Europeans first had these structures built for themselves, local cultures soon adapted certain features like the veranda to their buildings. Europeans, Afro-Brazilians and locals, such as the fishermen especially those well-skilled from the coast of Ghana, traveled the trade routes between these ports. Thus, the impact of the sobrado upon Anomabo and the coast of Ghana may have originated from knowledge of sobrado in other African towns, from freed slaves from Brazil who came to the coast, and/or from local training provided by Christian missionaries, particularly the Basel Mission.

Buildings like The Russell House and the Justice Akwa Family Residence with their materials, construction techniques and symmetrical facade proportions are present throughout the coastal area. Scholars must be careful however in the attribution of clients for whom these homes were constructed. While some were made for Europeans, not all Palladian and sobrado style buildings denote European clients. The Russell House exemplifies sobrado structures built all over the world.

These architectural symbols of wealth and status were readily adopted by the African coastal elites. Sons of wealthy elites were sent to Europe for education. When they returned to Africa, they wanted to live as the Europeans did. Akans generally expect that when someone travels outside Africa, they should return with an improved lifestyle. This new lifestyle symbolizes that they learned something. It is symbolic of knowledge, wealth, connections and

dignity. Having the ability to construct a family house of such size and prominence and of a style reflecting their worldly knowledge and travel is symbolic of such and indicates their high status.

CHAPTER 7 TRANSFORMATION: THE COASTAL ELITE STYLE

The fourth stage of cultural authentication, transformation, is the phase where a new form is created out of the selection and incorporation of elements from an outside culture or cultures. Stone nog residences in Anomabo conform to what I have identified as the Coastal Elite Style, which combines elements of the Akan courtyard house, European Palladian architecture and the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. The Coastal Elite Style belongs to a wealthy class of Africans who mostly were heavily involved in the social and political currents of the colonial period. By selecting and incorporating architectural elements from the Europeans, the African coastal elites were part of a larger movement along the West African coastline in major port cities. This movement extends across the Atlantic into the Caribbean and Brazil.

Anomabo serves as a microcosm to demonstrate the Coastal Elite Style. The residences discussed thus far have shown that the process of cultural authentication is not linear in the sense that Africans first selected architectural elements and copied them directly and then later transformed them by incorporating the global into the local form. Rather, transformation seems to have been taking place all along. For example, the plan for the George Kuntu Blankson Addition (Figure B-18), constructed in the late 1860s to 1873, depicts the transformation phase by combining the British Palladian Hall and Chamber plan with the asymmetrical addition of a room to the east exhibiting off-beat phrasing, typical in Akan arts. Exciting combinations like this one bring together certain architectural elements, altering and configuring them for each client according to individual tastes, and resulting in highly creative displays of status.

The Ghanaian coastal elite class appears to have been well aware of their practices of cultural emulation. However, this process was not characterized, or named. Nationalist leaders such as John Mensah Sarbah were aware (and skeptical) of this trend of adopting European

ways. So, while the process wasn't named, there was certainly awareness that it was taking place.¹

Anthropologists in recent years have debated the motivation behind “mimicry” among Africans during the colonial era.² Since the Anomabo coastal elites discussed in this study were not alive to interview and they did not leave papers behind expressing their views on this matter, it is difficult to determine their exact reasons for appropriating British architectural elements. However, two theories behind their reasoning can be proven. First, it can be shown that cultural authentication was a process used that combined British and Afro-Brazilian elements into the local architectural vernacular, thus widening the scope of their “mimicry” by the inclusion of Afro-Brazilian elements. Second, such borrowings, which occurred all along the West African coast, demonstrate a widespread desire of the part of Africans to visually express their status as wealthy, cosmopolitan, global individuals who were educated and economically connected. This was well-expressed by British anthropologist Godfrey Wilson in 1941.

They wanted, that is, to be full and equal citizens of a modern urban society. If they enthusiastically adopted elaborate forms of European dress and manners, it was to press their claim ‘to be respected by the Europeans and by one another as civilized, if humble, men, members of the new world society.’³

The family residences in Anomabo were constructed by some of the most powerful members of the coastal elite class as a visual form pressing their rights in a global sociocultural order. In other words, their membership in lucrative commercial enterprises on the coast and in

¹Among the exponents against this trend were John Mensah Sarbah, James Hutton Brew, Samuel Richard Brew Attoh Ahuma, Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford and Kobina Sekyi, a. k. a. William Esuman-Gwira Sekyi (1892-1956). Sekyi wrote the comedic satire *The Blinkards*, which thoughtfully and mercilessly teases other African coastal elite members who adopted European ways. Kobina Sekyi, *The Blinkards* (London: Heinemann, 1974).

²James Ferguson, “Of Mimicry and Membership: African and the ‘New World Society’,” *Cultural Anthropology* 17 (4, 2002): 553-555.

³*Ibid.*; and Godfrey Wilson, “An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia,” *The Rhodes-Livingstone papers*, no. 5 (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1941), 19-20.

the hinterland stimulated their desire to be recognized as major players in the global economy. And indeed, they were. Britain however, by moving its colonial capital from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 and by placing political authority in the hands of traditional rulers,⁴ denied recognition of the economic, social and political status of the long-established African elite class. Thus, the elites appropriated the symbols of power belonging to the Europeans, including clothing, furnishings and architecture, as a means to exhibit their affiliation with the group that held the true power on the coast.

This chapter will first highlight those Anomabo residences that utilize the Palladian Hall and Chamber Plan with the sobrado verandah. The last home discussed, the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, combines elements from the Palladian style, sobrado veranda and the Akan courtyard house. The refinement of the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence marks the high point of the Coastal Elite Style in Anomabo.

The Hall and Chamber Plan with a Sobrado Verandah

A prominent street in the Okokodo neighborhood of Anomabo is Okokodo Road, or shortened to Okor Road (Figure B-75). On this street is the Methodist Mission on the hillside, Armah Hall (now gone), the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-50), Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence (Figure B-43), Kobena Samson Family Residence (rammed earth),⁵ and the Kwa Akwa Family Residence (rammed earth). All these houses were built around the same time, thus proving that both techniques of rammed earth and stone nog were available to these clients. The two rammed earth houses display plans similar those of to the stone nog

⁴Flather, 144.

⁵The Kobena Samson Family Residence was built for a wealthy Asante cocoa farmer from Obuase. While he would have had a much simpler house, probably built with wattle and daub, in the hinterland, this two-story rammed earth house in Anomabo was constructed for the family. The same Hall and Chamber plan is repeated on both floors. The flooring upstairs, accessed via a timber stairway on the front veranda, is constructed from timber supports covered with wood planks.

houses previously discussed with the Hall and Chamber plan and verandas that surround the exterior.

Etsiwa Abodo

While the client who had Etsiwa Abodo constructed is in dispute (Figure B-55),⁶ the structure itself offers a representation of a simple version of this combination of architectural elements. Etsiwa Abodo stands next to the Etsiwa *posuban* on top of a large rock outcropping. Three unusual holes created naturally by water are found at the front of the house under the veranda. This house is known as “Etsiwa Abodo” or Etsiwa on the rocks.

Etsiwa Abodo was constructed in stone nog with brick facing. It retains its façade veranda, which has been enclosed. The Hall and Chamber plan on the ground floor consists of only three rooms and is mirrored upstairs (Figure B-76). Timber stairs in the veranda lead to rooms upstairs. A second set of timber steps are located in the back of the building in the courtyard. The original wide wood planks comprise the upstairs flooring. The east chamber on the ground floor is occupied by a shrine to the family deities, or *abodaba*.

Hyland’s plan of the Danish house called Frederiksgave in Accra⁷ is nearly identical to Etsiwa Abodo. The plan clearly shows a Hall and Chamber plan, however, no date is given for the building’s construction. An important difference between the two plans is the occurrence of off-beat phrasing in Etsiwa Abodo’s arrangement of doors and windows. The west window is not complemented with a window on the east. The door leading to the courtyard is not in alignment

⁶Anomabo locals maintained that this was the third house built by Otu. However, the *abusuapanyin* Robert Entsua-Mensah of Accra contradicted them all by stating that the third house was Swanzy. He states that Etsiwa Abodo was constructed by Egya Edzii. Since property information is generally bestowed upon the *abusuapanyin*, this study presents his oral history.

⁷Hyland, “Le Ghana,” 160.

with the entrance door. These seemingly minor distinctions mark the difference between European and African coastal buildings of this type.

Other stone nog residences that utilized the same combination of British Palladian elements and the *sobrado verandah* are now ruins, yet they likely exhibited the same Akan off-beat aesthetic. These homes include the Adontehen Amonoo I Palaces and the Enchia Family Residence (Structure C-13), Yard House (Structure C-14), and the Ed Monson Family Residence (Structure C-15).

Elaborate houses with double Hall and Chamber plans and the *sobrado verandah* tend to incorporate interior arches as a featured design element. Unlike Swanzy, these arches act as dividers between the two halls on the ground floor, reminiscent of the Methodist Mission. These homes also functioned solely as residences. Arches and arcades are more difficult and expensive to construct than straight piers, thus the clients who chose arches were displaying their wealth and status each time they had visitors. The Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence (Structure C-16) was probably the finest of these homes, but it has since collapsed.

Abrɔsan

Abrɔsan, or the Abaidoo Paadu clan house (Figure B-82), is considered by locals to be the first two-story building in Anomabo. It is the seat of the Baffoe stool. The Baffoe dynasty comes from this house, second in command after the *omanhen*. When the last of the Baffoe chiefs died, the house was inherited by the current resident Samuel Bonso-Abban's uncles but they were not in Ghana. As a result, another family was given the title Baffoe and the title was renamed *krontihen* (see Chapter 8). The title was reconferred to the Abaidoo Paadu family in 2009, and soon a new chief will be enstooled. Today, the property belongs to the *abusua*.

The eldest lady in the family, Harriet Dadzie (b. 1929) is the mother of K.T. Dadzie, the *abusuapanyin* who lives in Accra. The oldest person she remembers living in the house was

Kobina Abaidoo.⁸ Bonso-Abban remembers the wealth of the client who constructed Abrɔsan and his descendants. A large old bank safe was located on the top floor of the back building. His grandmother had pure gold hair ornaments that have now all been sold. Much of the family's wealth was used to educate their young men in the early twentieth century in both Europe and America. "Uncle America" apparently went to school with Kwame Nkrumah. Since Nkrumah went to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (Bachelor of Arts degree 1939) and to the University of Pennsylvania (Master's degree 1942), "Uncle America" may have been a student at either school. He was a contemporary also with Aggrey and belonged to the generation that brought Ghana its independence.⁹ K.A.O. Morson, a relative of Bonso-Abban, may have been the first Ghanaian managing director of Black Star shipping line from 1956-66.¹⁰ Charles Ocannsey went to Oxford University in England. Kwame Kwekweenu was trained as a barrister in London in the 1930s and married a "white lady" in London. When he returned to Anomabo, she accompanied him. Unfortunately, he became ill and died. His wife went back to London and was never heard from again.

Style and Plan

According to the Gold Coast Survey, the entire front building of Abrɔsan was standing in 1931. The building beyond the current courtyard was added at a later time. Abrɔsan is a stone nog residence with brick facing. Abrɔsan has a rather plain façade, more typical of two-story

⁸None of the family members remembers the original client who had the building constructed. As stated previously, I suspect Abrɔsan may have been Henry Barnes' house since the family does not know the history of its construction and it is considered the first two-story house in town. Yet no evidence supports my intuition.

⁹Whether or not he knew Nkrumah or Aggrey is not confirmed.

¹⁰He is not related to Ed Morson (Structure C-15). Black Star shipping line was begun by African-American Marcus Garvey in 1919. Poorly conditioned ships and corruption closed the line in 1922. The black star on Ghana's flag was taken from the name of this shipping line and the enormous Ghanaian support of Garveyism, or Pan-Africanism during the period of independence (March 6, 1957). Perhaps Bonso-Abban is remembering Morson's politics more than his profession here since the dates do not correlate.

rammed earth homes. Bricks were used to form the window sills and entablatures on the façade only for the four upper story windows. These embellishments are similar to those on the Justice Akwa Family Residence (Figure B-73).

The first floor of the original house utilizes the Hall and Chamber plan with two central halls and four chambers (Figure B-83). The first hall is visually divided by three piers – one on the south wall, one on the north wall, and another located one-third of the distance across the hall. Two mushroom arches support the upstairs and divide the two halls, showing some similarity with the plan of the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60). One of these arches has been obscured by the enclosure of a room within the second hall shortly after 1944.

A door in the second hall leading into a north chamber once had an anse de panier-shaped transom. Today the door is gone and the space walled in, leaving only the arch above, used as a little storage shelf. The ceilings are an average height, about eight feet, which is to be expected in the ground floor of coastal African houses. This is dissimilar to European homes which tended to have much higher ceilings, up to 12 feet, on both floors. The ground floor of Abrɔsan has been cemented.

The sobrado veranda was oriented to overlook the courtyard instead of being placed to the front of the house, as it was in Etsiwa Abodo. Originally timber, the concrete stairway in the courtyard leads to the veranda upstairs, now replaced with a swish floor. These renovations were made in 1985. Heavy piers support the veranda above. The second floor has the same plan as below, but without the arches. All second story floors are now *swish* covered with a cement plaster, but may have originally been wood planked. Behind the courtyard a new building was constructed after the original apparently collapsed before 1931. No indication of a ruin is present on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey.

Like the Kobena Mefful Family Residence, *Abrɔsan* has thick exterior walls. The ground floor exterior wall measures 31 inches in depth, but the interior wall is only 12 inches, thinner than most interior walls that generally measure between 16 and 19 inches. Since the construction of the Mefful house dates around 1900, it is difficult to explain what was happening with the variance in wall thickness. It is not possible to discuss any linear progression in developing construction techniques, especially since dates are so evasive. Most likely the combination of a display of wealth and a desire for stability and longevity was behind the choices made. The exterior has since received a cement plaster and is painted yellow. Iron or aluminum corrugated sheeting over a timber frame roofs the structure.

Off-beat phrasing is present in the pier, which unevenly divides the space in the first hall on the ground floor. The exclusion of certain windows, as in the northeast room in the upper story, detracts from the symmetry of the otherwise Palladian plan. These off-beat elements lend vitality to the massive structure. The inclusion of this Akan element also signifies an African client had the house built.

Characterization

The meaning of the term *abrɔsan* may provide a clue to the origin of the residence. Locals consider this house to be the first two-story stone nog residence in the town, yet no evidence was given to provide a date for this residence. According to Bonso-Abban, the house was built before papers, i.e. land indentures and building ordinances, were required.¹¹ However, its Hall and Chamber plan and overall design fit the Coastal Elite Style of the colonial period. Due to several

¹¹While it is true that the Fante did not produce paperwork for land purchases until the British colonial government enforced it, this is an explanation often used when the family no longer had their copies of this paperwork. At least by the 1880s, the British required paperwork for land purchases, but it may not have been until the reign of Amonoo V (1901-1921), who was Western-educated, that this was locally enforced.

similarities with the Justice Akwa and Kobena Mefful houses, Abrɔsan was likely built around 1900.

Freeman uses Johannes Gottlieb Christaller's (1827-1895) dictionary of the Akan Twi language to conclude that "Abrɔsan, a corrupted version of 'Abrofo no san' which literally translates to 'the white man's barn' gives the clue to the originality of these brick and stone buildings. 'Abrofo no san' simply means a story building and does not necessarily translate to a brick or stone building." Freeman implies that since two-story buildings were introduced by Europeans on the coast, these brick and stone buildings were constructed by Europeans.¹² This is incorrect since many of the stone and brick houses seen on the coast today were constructed for African clients. Also, two-story houses on the coast may have originated from Mande rammed earth techniques incorporated from the north.

The direct translation of the Twi word as "white man's barn" is correct, yet Anomabo is mainly a city of Fante speakers. In addition, even though the term Abrɔsan is being used today, this terminology may not have been applied to the house originally when it was constructed. Therefore, since the language is different and the origin of its use is unknown, the meaning may have shifted to concur with the current general belief that these houses were all constructed by Europeans. When asked, Bonso-Abban remarked that Abrɔsan meant simply a two-story building. The characterization of Abrɔsan further reflects the complete incorporation of outside cultural technologies into the coastal architectural vocabulary.

The Quayson House – A Dutch Comparison in Elmina

The residence known today as the Quayson House was built by the Dutch Viala family in 1855, and later sold to the Quayson family for £1,000 in 1860. The house burned down in

¹²Freeman, 90.

2001,¹³ but the stone nog walls remain. The house is best observed in Hyland's photograph, taken prior to 2001, in *Rives Coloniales* on page 152.¹⁴

Windows and two-story pilasters symmetrically divide the façade. On the second level a door with a Palladian transom, flanked by two Palladian windows on either side, offered access to the timber veranda that would have once graced the front side of the structure. Large doorways below open to bays that perhaps functioned initially as stores.

Bech and Hyland provide a plan of this house.¹⁵ The house is partitioned in three segments, or three Hall and Chamber plans placed one after the other, much like the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60) with the first set having a smaller width than the other sets. Thus the main configuration is the double Hall and Chamber plan. Arches spanned the divisions between the halls (still visible in the ruin today).

Doors and windows are in symmetrical alignment; there are no signs of off-beat phrasing. Also, stairs are provided in the interior space. These traits define this European house, and differentiate it from African coastal elite houses in this region.

Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence

The combination of the Palladian style, sobrado veranda and the Akan courtyard house is most clearly developed in the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9). This refined gem of Anomabo was constructed by the direction of two men, the father, an *omanhen*, and the

¹³Information provided by the historical plaque placed on the house. Elmina Castle's museum provides an exhibit about the heritage of several buildings in Elmina, including the Quayson House. It misnames the building Bridge House, and states that it is also referred to as Plange House. The label reads that it was built by a Dutch merchant in the 1840s, but this probably applies to the actual Bridge House. The label mentions that the architect Varlet designed the Viala Houses nearby, so perhaps the Quayson House was designed by Hubertus Varlet, architect and commandant of the fort in Butre, Ghana (in 1841). Michel R. Doortmont and Jinna Smit, *Sources for the Mutual History of Ghana and the Netherlands* (Leiden, The Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 2007), 327.

¹⁴Hyland, "Le Ghana," 152. The Quayson House is the second from the right, next to the Bridge House. Hyland called this the Plange House.

¹⁵Bech and Hyland, plate 54, p. 93.

son, a Western-educated attorney. Both were members of the royal family; the son was also a member of the coastal elite class. The Omanhen Amonoo V was born Kwamin Tufuantsi¹⁶ and reigned from April 9, 1901, to the day he died March 20, 1921. According to one description:

He was an able and wise ruler. . . . His administration was all that should be desired. He was a man of great intellectual force. He was bold and ever ready for criticisms. He was a deep thinker. His suggestions were wholesome.¹⁷

Amonoo V's accomplishments include the partial construction of the road connecting Anomabo to Cape Coast now used as the coastal highway. He also served as an official member of the Legislative Council as of September 1916.¹⁸

Amonoo V sent his son Kwamin Atta Amonoo, a. k. a. K. Ata Amonu, to England to become a lawyer. While studying in London, Atta Amonoo was exposed to numerous buildings in the British Palladian style. After his education, Atta practiced law in Calabar, Nigeria, and he sent money to Anomabo for the construction of a family residence. It was his father, Amonoo V, who supervised the project. The romantic version told by local residents is that Atta died in a car accident on his way to Anomabo to move into his completed family residence. He never lived in the residence constructed for the family.¹⁹

In actuality, Atta Amonoo is mentioned frequently in *The Gold Leader*, a major coastal newspaper, working in southern Ghana in the early 1920s. On August 31, 1920, he held a "house-warming" with a large party in attendance.²⁰ Thus, it can be surmised that the residence

¹⁶Or Kwamin Tafuantsi or Kwamin Tapiantsi per Sanders, 271-274 and Table 10 on p. 280.

¹⁷"History of Anomabu: The Formation of the Town of Anomabu," n.d., 11. Ghana National Archives, Cape Coast. *The Gold Coast Leader* (March 26, 1921), 2, reported that Amonoo V died on March 21, 1921.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹I was told the accident took place west of Accra, somewhere between Adaiso and Bawjiase, between 1922 and 1924.

²⁰*Gold Coast Leader* (September 4, 1920), 2.

was completed by this date and that Atta Amonoo was living in it, at least when he visited Ghana. Another newspaper issue reported that he and William Ward Brew returned from Calabar January 29, 1921. After their return, Atta Amonoo, Secretary, and Brew, Vice President, were working together on the Central Province (Gold Coast) Committee of the Congress of Africans of British West Africa.²¹ It was recorded that Atta Amonoo arrived in Anomabo shortly after his father's death,²² and was present during the Native Tribunal which tried the case of witchcraft as the cause of Amonoo V's death.²³ Atta Amonoo seems to have traveled several times to Ghana from his permanent residence in Calabar on behalf of his political and familial commitments.²⁴ He was elected, by a thin margin, to the Legislative Council of Nigeria in 1923.²⁵ Locals were correct that Atta Amonoo died in a motor accident, but it took place after the construction of the residence in December 1929. His funeral was held in Anomabo on January 28, 1930.²⁶

After his death the large structure was inherited by his *abusua*, or mother's family, which continues to own it today. Atta's grandson, Inspector Acquah Harrison (b.c. 1945) is the current *abusuapanyin*. He remembers living in the residence after his father's death in 1940 when he and his mother came to Anomabo from Sekondi. Harrison lived there until 1944, when he joined the army to serve in WWII. Family members continued to live in the residence until 1963. Such residents included Nana Kuntu, a cousin of Amonoo V, who moved from the United States to

²¹*Gold Coast Leader* (February 5, 1921), 2.

²²*Gold Coast Leader* (May 21, 1921), 7.

²³*Gold Coast Leader* (June 25, 1921), 7.

²⁴*Gold Coast Leader* (February 5, 1921), 2; *Gold Coast Leader* (August 25, 1923), 2, and *Gold Coast Leader* (December 27, 1924), 4.

²⁵*Gold Coast Leader* (July 28, 1923), 2; *Gold Coast Leader* (September 29, 1923), 2; and *Gold Coast Leader* (November 3, 1923), 2.

²⁶*Gold Coast Times* (January 4-11, 1930), 6.

live there. By 1963, the roofing had deteriorated to such a point that the family was forced to abandon the structure.²⁷

Functions

The once grand house stood vacant and soon became overgrown, so much so, that many of today's elderly residents remember as children they believed that dwarfs lived there. They would leave food and find it gone the next day. They never dared to enter the structure.²⁸

When Atta Amonoo's wife died and another family member became the *abusuapanyin*, they allowed the Anglican Church to use it free of charge as the site of their middle school from 1968 until 1986 when the school was moved into Castle Brew where it exists today. The family reroofed the building in 1980.

Another church used the residence from 1986 to 1989.²⁹ Then, sometime between 1989 and 2003, the family allowed the Kwegyir Aggrey Secondary School to use the residence as a Boys Hostel in exchange for repairs. Unfortunately, over the years the structure has suffered from damages and repairs, some of which compromised the original elegance. Yet, a functional building is less likely to deteriorate completely. Unfortunately its original imposing presence has diminished. The Ebenezer Rest Stop and Hotel was built in front of the building, essentially blocking the entire façade. Thus, the house can barely be seen from the town below today. When it was first constructed however, it would have been very impressive (Figure C-83).

Materials and Construction

The materials and size of the structure (Figure B-84) directly compare to two European buildings in town, Fort William and Castle Brew, constructed about 150 years earlier. According

²⁷Harrison lives in Accra today.

²⁸Harrison affirms that dwarfs never lived in the house.

²⁹No one could remember the name of this church.

to Atta Amonoo's descendants, stone from Fort William was used to construct the residence. Since Fort William is mostly constructed in brick, it is doubtful that they acquired much stone from Fort William, though they may have used other rubble from collapsed buildings in town, perhaps even from the Samuel Collins Brew Family Residence. Another possible source of stone came from the road construction authorized by Amonoo V. Since the early 1880s roads were being cleared to facilitate trade, bringing cocoa, palm kernels and rubber from the hinterland to the coast. Cape Coast was the more important port city in the early twentieth century, and the much-frequented path between Cape Coast and Anomabo needed to be converted into a good road.³⁰

The exterior of the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence was not plastered and was painted white only recently. In 2009 much of the paint had already washed off so the section layered approach to the stone nog construction on the back side of the building was visible. Since this technique seems common in the buildings constructed around 1900 – as in The Russell House (Figure B-69) and the Ed Monson Family Residence (Figure B-79) – and not in the earlier structures of the Cruickshank and Blankson Additions, it seems possible that the stone noggling technique underwent a transformation phase of its own. By the turn of the century, the technique may have merged with that from rammed earth construction which had been practiced on the coast for centuries.

British Palladian Style

The Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence was only constructed about 20 years after The Russell House. It exhibits many of the same Palladian features – stone noggling and Palladian design elements such as pilasters, a ground floor arcade, arches and symmetrical

³⁰Dickson, *Historical Geography*, 203, 220.

proportions. However, several important differences exhibit an advanced transformation phase of the cultural authentication process.

The front façade (Figure B-9) of the building includes an open arcade on the ground level. The arcade is composed of true arches framed in brick and divided by two-story pilasters. They are evenly and symmetrically placed as typical in Palladian design. Five arches span the façade with one at each side. Only the southwest corner is open today; the rest of the arcade has been enclosed. Each arch springs from a heavy impost block about two feet high. Some of these blocks and lower sections of the arches were constructed with early concrete blocks. These are used sporadically intermixed with the local brick. This appears to be an early experimentation with concrete block construction. Like the arches seen at The Russell House, bricks on the front of the arch were placed lengthwise to create an attractive band of contrasting color and texture to the stone wall. This is in contrast to the Blankson Addition arcade where dark gray granite stones were laid lengthwise, yet exhibits the same aesthetic inclination.

A cornice wraps around the exterior of the building and inside the courtyard on the kitchen wall. No cornice exists on the back of the building. The cornice was made using three layers, two with brick and one with a succession of cement forms with a scalloped edge. Bricks laid flat with their short side protruding outward create the top layer. This layer extends furthest from the building. On the bottom layer bricks were laid sideways with their long side protruding. This is the shallowest layer. The middle layer however is the most decorative. Created in European molds and shipped to the coast, these scalloped cement forms were popular decorative elements throughout the coast serving a variety of architectural purposes. The combination of flat edging with these scallops creates a lively surface. Such scalloped elements were used in Anomabo on the Tuafo *posuban* (c. 1921) and the Ebenezer Methodist Church (reconstruction phase, 1966-

1971). A different version of the scalloped form was used to decorate one façade on the Nanglican Church (Figure B-54).

The belt course wraps around the front and both sides of Atta Amonoo's house. The course consists of two layers of side-lain local bricks. Two-story pilasters adorn the coigns and the walls between. Although they are constructed mainly of brick, the pilasters at the coigns seem also to include cement blocks. Pilastered coigns serve not only as decoration but also to stabilize the two-story structures visually. This feature was a common component in Palladian buildings and is seen in Anomabo on The Russell House and the Mefful house as well. These three are certainly the most elaborate of the African coastal elite homes in Anomabo.

The ground floor windows are not decorated (Figure B-85), yet the second story windows are ornamented with brick true arches above and bricks sills below. The sills are created with two layers of stepped bricks. These arches above have a spoke-like design, also created with bricks, similar to those found on the Allen Quansah Family Residence (1) in Cape Coast (Figure B-86).

No evidence exists of a veranda or even iron balconies extending from the second story. Bricks appear to have been used to fill in an area on the east side of the building, upper story, in the section over the arch. This is evidence of a repair, since none of the other walls were constructed with brick facing. Thus, the story over the arcade was always enclosed.

The partial steps in the entrance way today are another later addition (Figure B-84). The room upstairs, completely unfloored today, was originally floored with wood planks. This floor would not have originally allowed access to the upstairs. Even though many sobrado-style homes in town had timber stairways leading up to the front veranda, they never blocked the entrance. A stairway here at Atta's house would have certainly blocked the main entrance. This was changed

when the Anglican School used the property. The new partial steps were constructed entirely of cement blocks. Partial steps to the courtyard verandah were originally constructed with stone nog and brick facing. These have since crumbled and been replaced partially with concrete steps. Wood steps once completed the incline to the verandah. In 2009, the secondary school was in the process of rebuilding the timber courtyard veranda and steps.

Although the roof has been replaced today at the residence, it seems likely that it originally had a pitched Basel-mission roof. Timber supports may have first been covered with thatch and later changed to asbestos/slate, iron or aluminum corrugated sheets imported from England. On the back of the mansion lie the ruins of an original bathhouse or perhaps just a rock retainment wall. An original reservoir or cistern is located to the far side of the mansion (Figure B-85). A visible clay pipe leads into the main building indicating some type of early plumbing.

Pobee Abaka Family Residence – A Comparison in Saltpond

The Pobee Abaka Family Residence in Saltpond (Figure B-87) also incorporated the scalloped cement forms into its cornice. Pobee Abaka, a Fante merchant who once served as the chief regent, built a fine stone house on the main road entering Saltpond. Although rumored to have been built in 1845, it is more likely to have been built several decades later. Today, only the front corners of the original stone house survive. When portions of the house collapsed, these were replaced with rammed earth construction, incorporating the remaining stone corners. The cornice may have been original to the house, thus dating the house closer to the turn of the century. Or, the cornice may have been added later.

Like the cornice on Atta Amonoo's house, it is constructed with three layers. A brick layer on top protrudes the furthest. Then, a layer of scalloped cement forms. Below this are bricks laid in a dentil pattern. Amonoo V may have been aware of the Pobee Abaka Family Residence in Saltpond, for the two were contemporaries and the distance between the two port cities is short.

Off-beat Phrasing

The courtyard entrance of The Russell House (Figure B-19) is decorated with a double-columned pilaster with base at each side of the entrance. An anse de panier arch springs from their capital, connecting them. The house and courtyard entrance are entirely symmetrical and balanced, following the Palladian dictum. In contrast, even though true arches, anse de panier arches, and pilasters are utilized on the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, they are not always symmetrically arranged. For example, the true arches framing the sides of the arcade are not centered evenly between the two-story pilaster on the side and the corner quoin and impost block (Figure B-82). The true arches across the front arcade, in contrast, are centered between the pilasters. In fact, the arch appears to be cut off by the left pilaster. Since the front façade demonstrates that the builders were quite capable of producing symmetry, this asymmetry is a deliberate choice. Another example of asymmetry occurs at the current entrance. The entablature arch over the entrance door appears abruptly cut off on the left by the side arcade arch. Inside, this same entrance arch is not cut off or asymmetrical. It matches its counterpart on the opposite wall. Such combinations of symmetry and asymmetry are an essential component to identifying African coastal elite housing.

Plan

The plan (Figure B-10) for the residence consists of large halls toward the facade and a row of chambers following behind on one side with an enclosed courtyard on the other side. All the chambers open to the courtyard. A separate set of rooms were built in the back far corner. The ground floor room was used as a kitchen. This plan reflects a Fante courtyard plan.

Downstairs one long hall spans the majority of the front of the building, while upstairs two long halls repeat the plan and also span the arcade below. The remainder of the upstairs plan is identical to that below. The forward section of the house is similar to The Russell House (Figure

B-71) and Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60) with their long halls upstairs, across the front. In Atta Amonoo's house however, no corridor or Hall and Chamber plan exists.

Two steps lead up to the main entrance (Figure B-88). A relief anse de panier arch serves as an entablature. It springs from a tall pilaster flanking the right side of the doorway. Once inside, evidence of a previous door frame can be seen. It not only follows the contours of the sides, but also the arch above. Thus, a much larger entrance door, or double doors, would have stood in place of the single door there now. Parts of the original iron hinges are still attached to the frame. A Palladian window may have been set in the transom above. This entrance room or foyer had a door to the right, now blocked, that led directly into the large hall.

Across the front of this hall once were two windows. Originally there may have been several windows across the front, but it was not possible to see them with all of the interior cement plastering and the beds and goods belonging to the boys who currently reside here. Between this hall and the chamber behind spans a wide 128-inch anse de panier archway. Another anse de panier arch is located in the foyer at the courtyard entrance. This was also probably a larger open area, matching the front entryway.

Directly upstairs is the last interior arch. Again, an anse de panier arch spans the entrance, now blocked, into the small room above. Thus, anse de panier arches were used on the interior, while true arches were used on the exterior. The original interior had wood plank floors upstairs. The ground floor is now cemented, but originally may have been cobbled or swept ground.

Status Symbol

The house is sited on a hill, known locally as *ohen kokwaado*, or lawyer's hill. European forts and large residences were symbols of power on the Ghanaian coastline. Many were sited on hills to capture the breezes, but not in Anomabo. It is reasonable that during the colonial period, the African coastal elites would want to make a strong visual statement about *their* power and

status as well. The *omanhen*, as part of the traditional hierarchy, would want to assert his power, now granted by the British colonial government but only at a subservient level. The son would want to assert his power as a member of the coastal elite whose power had been extricated. Atta was also a member of the royal family and a potential participant in the ruling hierarchy. Perhaps his display was an attempt to stage his future ascension to the *omanhen* stool, which never materialized.³¹ As exemplified in The Russell House, the new coastal elite lifestyle was meant to symbolize that they had gained wisdom through their education and global connections. Having the ability to construct a stone house of such size and prominence and of a style reflecting his worldly knowledge and travel symbolizes both Amonoo V's and Atta Amonoo's power.

“Power says, with God all things are possible.” This adage is crudely painted on the current entrance door to the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-88). This saying is an altered form of the popular Biblical phrase, “With God all things are possible.” (Mark 10:27) The adage on the door however is appropriate to ascribe to this monumental structure, for its imposing size, placement, and European architectural style served as a visual statement of power and wealth. Not only would the immense structure be visible to everyone in the town, but also to every passerby on the coastal road. It is a tantalizing idea that these men may have been subtly displacing British colonial forces by embracing their power symbols, for the architecture makes a powerful visual statement by transforming British technology and Palladian style into something entirely belonging to African coastal elites.

The Family Residences of Allen Quansah – A Fante Comparison in Cape Coast

Allen Quansah was a wealthy Fante merchant with farms and lands throughout the area. According to the current *abusuapanyin*, Crement Thomason, Quansah had two wives and

³¹Kwa Alex Appiah was appointed Regent at the time of Amonoo V's death until a new *omanhen* could be enstooled. *Gold Coast Leader* (May 21, 1921), 7.

consequently built a house for each in c. 1883. The first is located on King Aggrey Street in Cape Coast (Figure B-86). Quansah had all the trappings of a fine nineteenth-century gentleman of the coastal elite class. He is said to have imported all of his furnishings and made several trips to Europe. Today, Quansah's descendants continue to live in the building.

British Palladian Style

His residence on Aggrey is similar to Atta Amonoo's house in that the front has a series of five symmetrical arched entrances across the first story facade, belt courses, symmetrical windows across the second story facade and pilasters at the quoins, arched entablatures with a spoke-like design, and a cornice. Although the Allen Quansah Family Residence is equally elaborate, some details in the façade differ. The arches are decorated in a similar treatment to the one at the Chief Joseph Edward Biney Family Residence (Figure B-64). Three belt courses appear across the façade of Quansah's house with one following the line of the arches. A set of short pilasters divide the entablatures for the nine second-story windows. Another difference is the lack of arches on the sides, and as such, the front did not have an arcade.

Plan

This house has a Hall and Chamber plan with two large central halls and side chambers. Two front entrances are utilized today, and the two other archways have been boarded so the original number of entrances is difficult to determine. There appears, however, to have been a single central entrance. Doors align, leading from this entrance, through the halls, to the courtyard. Sections of the interior have since been partitioned to create additional bedrooms.

On the back veranda overlooking the courtyard, stairs lead to the second story. The same floor plan is followed upstairs with an enclosed front veranda, similar to that of the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60) and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-10). Numerous windows extend across the front façade. One story buildings encircle the

courtyard behind. Although descendants state that these back structures were built as the original part of the home, architecturally from the exterior, this section appears to be a later addition.

The Second Allen Quansah Family Residence in Tantri

The second house on Ashanti Road in Tantri (Figure B-89) was constructed in stone nog and has brick facing. The structure has four commercial shops on the first floor, while Quansah's second wife lived upstairs. The plan upstairs is similar to the one in the first Quansah house.

Both of the Quansah houses, though different in their details, exhibit similar plans to houses in Anomabo. A cement plaster covers the exterior today.

A courtyard behind the house has a two-story wing on the right side. One story buildings once surrounded the remainder of the courtyard. In the center of this courtyard is a large cistern, once used by the entire neighborhood. The upstairs wing provides evidence that imported tiles once covered the entire upstairs floor. Today only a small section of tiles on the verandah and on its stairway remain. These tiles are similar to those Otu used in his first house in Anomabo and to the ones added to the Omanhen's Palace. The second Quansah House also incorporated imported doors, of which several remain, and imported stained glass windows. These windows either have a portrait of Quansah or landscape scenery on a large panel. Smaller colored panels surround it. The display of the owner's portrait served as a visible reminder of the status of this owner and the associated related occupants.

Onismous Brandford Parker Family Residence – A Sierra Leonian Comparison in Cape Coast

Not all of the coastal elites were Fante. Onismous Brandford Parker came from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast to make his fortune as a merchant during the late-nineteenth century economic boom. He built his family residence (Figure B-90) on Ntsin Street between 1875 and 1900 in rammed earth with local brick facing incorporating Palladian elements on the interior

and exterior. This mixture of materials expresses the versatility of the coastal masons and another construction option available to the coastal elites. The incorporation of the Coastal Elite Style aligns this Sierra Leonian with the coastal elite class of the southern Ghanaian coast. Therefore, although most of the coastal elite class was Fante, they were not all Fante. This coastal style is a hallmark of urbanity rather than ethnicity.

British Palladian Style

The façade exhibits the Palladian elements of a pedimental entrance, two-story pilasters, arched windows, belt courses and cornices. Each feature is elaborated. The two inner pilasters are doubled on the ground level. The centers of these pilasters and the central belt course are adorned with indented lancet motifs, reminiscent of the Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence (Figure B-43) and the Krontihen's Palace (Structure C-17) in Anomabo.

Palladian windows across the top floor provide circulation to the enclosed veranda above, much the same way as the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60) and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9) in Anomabo, and the Allen Quansah Family Residence (1) in Cape Coast (Figure B-86).

The cornice dentals exhibit the same aesthetic delight in ornamenting this area of the building, utilizing dentals in this example or scallops in the Pobee Abaka Family Residence in Saltpond (Figure B-87) and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9) in Anomabo. Pilasters with several decorative ridges at the quoins and at the center of each side are reminiscent of Swanzy (Figure B-56) in Anomabo.

The central façade window appears originally to have been a door, now enclosed, suggests either a veranda or portico with a balcony area above. Two larger holes in the façade just above the entranceway suggest the latter possibility. The pedimental entrance and balcony above are British Palladian features unseen in the surviving Anomabo residences and may have been an

imported feature popular in coastal African elite housing in Sierra Leone. Small holes in the façade, especially above the second story windows and across the belt course section with the lancet motifs, are practical. They allow water to escape from the rammed earth structure during heavy rains.

Plan

The interior with its Hall and Chamber plan is like the majority of houses built during this period for the African coastal elites. Two arched entrance ways separate the two halls upstairs. This is similar to the first Kow Otu Family Residence (Figure B-13) in Anomabo.

Transformations

All of the residences discussed in this chapter represent the Coastal Elite Style, while expressing great variety in individual client preferences. This new architectural style is characterized by the combination of European Palladian elements and the Hall and Chamber plan, the Afro-Brazilian sobrado plan and second-story veranda, and the Akan courtyard plan and off-beat phrasing. The Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence is perhaps the most sophisticated example and evolutionary model of the height of the Coastal Elite Style in Anomabo.

The style is the result of the process of cultural authentication. According to Hyland, “Over a period of one hundred years and more, plan forms, building materials and constructional systems, of European origin, have passed into the working vocabulary of West African builders and craftsmen, who have made them their own, adopted and adapted them and transformed them, creating a great variety of buildings for West African colonial society.”³² While the Coastal Elite Style appears during the colonial period, the process which created it has been the result of pre-

³²Hyland, “British Colonial,” 2039.

colonial urbanization and cultural mixing. This process is a cultural “tradition” that began in pre-colonial times with urbanity and multiple cultural interactions. This process continues today in the post-colonial era with the invention of new forms and styles.

CHAPTER 8 COMMUNICATING STATUS THROUGH THE VISUAL

Anomabo's built environment produces a visual energy equal to the rhythms of daily activities conducted by the townspeople. Just as buildings rise and fall, so too they incorporate a variety of materials and styles. The town literally teems with the cultural mixing of African and global imagery, whether it is visible in posters, technology (computers, televisions, radios, vehicles), media, Milo canisters (Nestle chocolate powder), lions on *posuban* (Dontsin No. 3), and architecture. Anomabo, a historically-significant port town, serves as a microcosm for understanding the Coastal Elite Style of architecture that was popular along the West African coastline in every major port city during the colonial period. Surviving African coastal elite residential architecture in Anomabo dates to the colonial period, specifically between the 1860s and 1930s. The Coastal Elite Style combines elements of the Akan courtyard house, European Palladian architecture and the Afro-Portuguese *sobrado*.

The Site

Anomabo brought together cultures from a variety of African as well as Western and Afro-Brazilian cultures. The convergence of ideas, products and technologies resulted in an “experiential engagement with modernity.”¹ The Etsii, the original inhabitants of the Anomabo coastal area, and the Fante who immigrated to the area in the late-sixteenth century encountered the first Europeans on the coast during that time. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Anomabo grew into a bustling city with cultures from all over the region moving into town to take advantage of the trading opportunities. Thus, while Anomabo is essentially Fante, a number of other ethnic groups lived in town. The people of Anomabo, rich and poor, had access to the global modernity of their times during its height in the late-seventeenth century and through the

¹Appadurai, 10.

eighteenth century. To better understand the global modernity of today, it is useful to study the results of cultural mixing in the past. This record of Anomabo's architectural history is an answer to Appadurai's call "for the deep study of specific geographies, histories, and languages" of globalization that he described as "a deeply historical, uneven, and even *localizing* process."²

Anomabo as a bustling city in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was marked by Dutch and English stone nog architecture, e.g. the Dutch Lodge, Fort Charles, Fort William and Castle Brew. Africans and mulattoes who acted as intermediaries or middlemen were beneficiaries of the trade brought by these foreigners. This new merchant class became the political and social force on the coast. This is evidenced in structures like the George Kuntu Blankson Addition to Castle Brew (Figure B-18) and the once-standing Samuel Collins Brew Family Residence which date to the 1860s and 1870s.

The Decline of Anomabo

Anomabo's last hold on prominence coincided with the move of the British colonial administration from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877,³ and with the British transferring limited local political power to the local ruling hierarchies. The African coastal elites were losing their long-standing position in the social, economic and political activities of the coast. African coastal elite building in stone nog flourished during this period from the 1860s to the 1930s in reaction to this shift as an emphatic statement of their status as Western-educated, globally-aware and wealthy businessmen. The finest examples of their homes in Anomabo include The Russell House (Figure B-19), the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-50) and the Lawyer Atta

²Ibid., 17. His italics.

³Flather, 144. Cape Coast had been the headquarters of the British since 1664.

Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9) as well as the now ruined Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence (Figure B-80).

According to one report, the population of Anomabo in 1921 was only 2,457. The town “is connected with the telegraph system and has a trade of some importance. . . . The town comprises several white houses and a conspicuous church with a square tower.”⁴ According to a 1939 report, Anomabo was “not a port and enjoys little trade. There are a few white-washed houses in the town which mostly consists of mud huts; a church with a square tower is situated behind the fort. A hamlet consisting of a few mud huts stands on the point.”⁵

Although Ghana achieved independence from Britain in 1957, Anomabo has yet to regain political and economic importance in the region. However, according to the Population Census of the Gold Coast Colony and of Ghana, Anomabo's population nearly tripled from 3,301 in 1931 to 9,437 in 2000.⁶ The town's seven *asafu* companies still exist, though their roles have changed. This continuation of the *asafu* reflects long-held belief systems. Therefore, although the town is replete with global influences, the townspeople continue their own cultural practices, absorbing new ideas, technologies and forms through choice, often transforming the global into something new and local.

Identity: Africans and Europeans

The classification of every Palladian-style, stone nog and brick building on the Ghanaian coast needs to be rethought as potential African coastal elite architecture and not necessarily European ones. Hyland makes the case that coastal towns such as Anomabo were populated by

⁴Colonial Secretary, Accra, “‘African Pilot’ – Part I,” ADM. 23/1/337, Ancient Castles and Forts in the Central Province, December 27, 1939, n.p. Ghana National Archives, Cape Coast. The church was Ebenzer Methodist Church.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Doortmont and Savoldi, 123.

eighteenth and nineteenth century European merchant traders' houses, and understandably makes the error of including The Russell House as a late-eighteenth century British example.⁷ While certainly Dutch and British Palladian homes dot the coast, many more of these elegant homes were built for African clients, who were not only wealthy traders, but also Western-educated reverends and professionals. In the later period of the 1920s into the 1930s, even fishermen, tailors and landowners were constructing simple versions, such as the Yard House, of the grander African coastal elite residences.

Although many of these African coastal elites were Fante, a specific identity as coastal elites, incorporating various African cultures, was formed. This close-knit group of hard-driving business men was actively involved in the economic, social and political situation. Bhabba stated that

...the question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self*-fulfilling prophecy – it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. The demand of identification – that is, to be *for* an Other – entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness.⁸

Prior to Ghana's independence, for the Other (the European or American on the coast of Ghana) all the locals were African, described sometimes in travel journals with condescension. Yet, before the economic and political changes in the nineteenth century, these Western traders and administrators dealt with urban Africans in the port cities basically on even terms. The people of Anomabo especially had a reputation for business savvy. "The Europeans seem to have been annoyed at Anomabu for learning the rules and playing the game so well."⁹ As early as the mid-eighteenth century, Kurentsir knew these rules and manipulated them for his own benefit as

⁷Hyland, "British Colonial," 2038.

⁸Bhabba, 45. His italics.

⁹Flather, 36; and Donnan, vol. 1, 432.

well as for his sons and his people, establishing the first Fante Confederation and the Anomabo state. The fact that Kurensir is not celebrated as “an ancestral hero for modern Ghana”¹⁰ is a matter of historical construct and identity politics.

The coastal elite class, mulattoes and Africans, also knew the rules of engagement, so to speak. They cleverly crafted a persona that allowed them to trade with Western (European and American) traders on the coast and with Africans (some from as far away as today’s Senegal and Nigeria) on the coast. Four hundred years of cultural mixing made this coastal elite class as much a part of the global as any businessman today.

A distinction between urban and rural Africans was made by this group of African coastal elites as a form of protection. Europeans who regarded northern rural peoples as worthy of being enslaved also considered them as uneducated and uncivilized. Coastal elites, in an effort to differentiate themselves from those being sold into slavery, crafted an identity as educated and civilized individuals capable of conducting the same businesses, including slave trading, as the Europeans in the coastal port cities.

Identity: Coastal Elites and Ruling Heirarchies

Kurensir received some Western education and dealt skillfully with European traders, British and French among others. He sent two of his sons to be educated in Europe. Yet, neither of them were enstooled as the next *omanhen*. Instead, a man was chosen who had no Western-education and much less experience dealing with Europeans. The son of Amonoo V, who reigned from 1901 to 1921, was also not enstooled as *omanhen*. Rather, Atta Amonoo used his London education as a barrister to work as a lawyer in Calabar, Nigeria, and to further his

¹⁰Flather, 57.

political career with the British administration in the Nigerian Legislative Council and the Central Province (Gold Coast) Committee of the Congress of Africans of British West Africa.

In fact, today the current *omanhen* has had no more than a primary-school-level education. Interestingly, Anomabo leaders who select candidates for these powerful positions seem bent on maintaining “traditional” cultural values and excluding those of the royal family with the Western “taint.” This appears to be in direct opposition to the Western-educated African coastal elite class that continues to exist. Bayly stresses that the “rapidly developing connections between different human societies during the nineteenth century created many hybrid polities, mixed ideologies, and complex forms of global economic activity. Yet, at the same time, these connections could also heighten the sense of difference, and even antagonism, between people in different societies, and especially between their elites.”¹¹ This emphasis on tradition is countered somewhat by appointments of African coastal elites to some sub-chief positions. Politically, a great deal of friction is created when important decisions are being debated. The example of Kobena Mefful exemplifies this tension, for he once tried to destool Amonoo VI.¹²

Status and Visual Transfers

Architecture can represent status, and the visual relationship between structures can neutralize power and equalize status. Such has been the examples of the George Kuntu Blankson Addition (Figure B-18) and the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9). A transition of power and status is made visible through connections made with structures built near each other. In these cases, power transfers are being made with the British Fort William (Figure B-7) and Castle Brew (Figure B-6). Most residents don’t recognize these visual transfers

¹¹Bayly, 1.

¹²*Gold Coast Leader* (March 29, 1924), 2; and *Gold Coast Leader* (September 6, 1924), 2.

today, yet it would have been understood at the time of their construction. Thus, visual transfers are liminal and time sensitive. Even on less-imposing residences, such as the Krontihen's Palace (Figure B-92) and the Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence (B-43), lancet forms visually transfer ideas of status by forming links between buildings.

Okoye called this the "dramaturgy of feint," or a falso show to put off an opponent. This theatricality is demonstrated in buildings on the Ghanaian coast, both residences and monumental shrines (*posuban*), which adopt features of the European forts and castles. Lancet forms are perhaps the most identifiable appropriation. Lancets are found in Fort William, Castle Brew, George Kuntu Blankson's Addition, the Krontihen's Palace and the Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence in Anomabo.

Built by coastal builders, the Asante Aban, constructed in 1822 and destroyed in 1874, is replicated in a drawing provided by Okoye.¹³ Lancet cut-outs are visible across the rooflines. Stone construction and lancet motifs reference the fortress quality of the structure, linking it to forts on the coast. Thus, these visible elements were read by the community as symbols of strength, impenetrability and wealth. The effect of the Aban or related buildings on political interchanges amongst Africans or between Africans and Europeans can only be surmised. Okoye notes:

The local politics of power and of client loyalty are known to be extremely dense in Asante, and to have been played out in the milieu of everyday life. Located in the palace grounds, the Aban was certainly a part of this, and would, it seems, have been used by the Asantehene in the mediation of his relationship with both his own sub chiefs, with his Akan and Arab subjects, and with the emissaries of his rival states such as were Dahomey and Mossi for example.¹⁴

¹³Okoye, 636, Figure 14.

¹⁴Ibid., 99-100.

Reasonably, similar imposing structures in Anomabo would have had the same effect upon political interchanges.

Cultural Authentication

Family houses built by African coastal elites visually bridge two cultures – African and European –and make powerful statements about the ability of this group to assimilate outside ideas and transform them into a new and dynamic art form. These structures demonstrate how the Fante and other coastal Africans used the creative process of appropriation and transformation, or cultural authentication, to communicate their status and identity visually. The process of cultural authentication involves four stages: selection, characterization, incorporation and transformation.

The process, however, is more complicated than a linear progression of selection to transformation. This study of stone nog architecture has shown that certain forms and plans were appropriated and immediately transformed during the same early period (prior to 1900). For example, the Blankson Addition shows transformation of the Hall and Chamber plan with an additional chamber in the late 1860s. In 1898-1899 The Russell House borrows the sobrado plan but alters it slightly for shops facing two streets. The Russell House may show evidence of a transformation in the construction technique as well. The layering of stone nog in sections, or the appearance of it, may stem from rammed earth construction methods.

Therefore, the progression from selection to transformation is a complicated one, with transformation taking place at the outset with these examples. Confirmation of an advanced transformation phase in Anomabo occurs later in the building period, for the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, was built in c. 1920. Using the framework provided by Erekosima and Eicher is still useful because cultural authentication is a process, and this process allows an understanding of how these new forms that look European are entirely coastal African. Through

this understanding of how specific motifs, forms or technologies are selected and transformed, the aesthetic preferences and motives of the African coastal elite class have been uncovered. This study proves that the African coastal elite's aesthetic choices and aims consistently are made apparent through their residential architecture.

This process, evidenced as early as the late-sixteenth century with textiles, is essentially a cultural practice and thus can be labeled "traditional." It was not born out of the colonial era, though the stone nog residences discussed in this study were created during this timeframe. Cultural authentication was the process certain mulattoes and Africans used to create an image of high status within their community. The process does not belong only to those on the coast of Ghana, for it applies to numerous urban coastal elites around the world. In fact, Anomabo and its housing examples share many similarities with those in other parts of the world encountered by Europeans during the age of discovery.

Therefore African coastal elite identity along the Ghanaian coast has been and continues to be the production of an image and the transformation of the subject. Not only has this been proven in the architectural examples in which builders selected European stone nogging construction and Palladian plans and design elements, but also this image can be more directly visualized in the photographs taken of some of the clients. During the colonial era, the coastal elite appropriated the architectural forms of the British along with European furnishings, customs and habits of dressing.

Such furnishings were typically owned by African coastal elites all along the West African coast. For Krios, "The greater the individual's success in achieving a style of living which, at least in its external aspects, approximated that of the white residents of Sierra Leone, the higher

his status within the Creole community.”¹⁵ The same could be applied to Ghanaian coastal elites who acquired higher status among their group via Western appearance and lifestyle. They manufactured an image of the educated, civilized urban elite class by expressing their cosmopolitanism, by dressing in Western clothes, and by surrounding themselves with imported luxury objects (Figure B-66).

Nevertheless, according to Bhabba, “colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite.*”¹⁶ He describes this predicament as “not quite/not white,” and describes it as a cultural trait of an ambivalent world on the margins of metropolitan desire.¹⁷ Even though the coastal elites wore European clothing styles, they never *became* Europeans. They maintained their identity as Africans while appropriating certain British cultural forms to make their status more visible. They emphatically proclaimed themselves to be British subjects,¹⁸ yet they were not denying their identity as Africans.

Although Bhabba stated that “mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge,” the wearing of European fashions first appears in Anomabo in the late-sixteenth century, long before the colonial era. Cultural borrowing may not necessarily be the product of colonialism, but it is certainly the product of cultural interactions and urbanization. The ability to prove this, of course, depends on surviving materials, whether written or materially present. Yet, I suggest to a certain extent that African coastal elites of

¹⁵Nonindigenous, repatriated blacks have become collectively known as Krios. Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1974), 14 in Wass and Broderick, 64.

¹⁶Bhabba, 86. His italics.

¹⁷Ibid., 92.

¹⁸Bush, 120.

cosmopolitan Anomabo were indeed living in an “ambivalent world on the margins of metropolitan desire.”¹⁹ They expressed their aspirations to belong to the global by appropriating imports that allowed them to express their local cosmopolitan image and status. I agree with Wilson who wrote that within an urban society such appropriation was meant to earn respect and membership in the global world.²⁰ This image expresses the coastal elite member’s ability to cross between two worlds, or liminality.

The role of leaders who resisted colonial dominance “were neither less far sighted nor less progressive than those who collaborated. ‘In fact they were often the same men.’”²¹ Some of the Ghanaian coastal elites chose to assimilate into the British Empire in order to maintain their prestige and privileges. In no way does this mean they agreed with British rule or with the restrictions placed on them by the British administration. For example, Sey, whose stone nog family residence in Anomabo reflected British Palladian elements, was a prominent member of the African protonationalist group that included Ghartey, John Sarbah, Grant and W. F.

Hutchison.²² Kaplow notes:

There was thus created on the coast an African community capable and desirous of working with the colonial power or of asserting itself against that power when necessary. The African merchants and their educated sons knew how to confront the Governor or to petition the Colonial Office when they felt their rights infringed. They had contact with overseas organizations like the Aborigines Protection Society and used the pages of its journal and the good will of its editor as leverage against unsympathetic or overtly hostile administrators. Furthermore, the merchants

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ferguson, 554-555.

²¹Robert O. Collins, James McDonald Burns and Erik Kristopher Ching, *Historical Problems of Imperial Africa* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1994), 59.

²²Raymond E. Dumett, “African Merchants of the Gold Coast, 1860-1905 – Dynamics of Indigenous Entrepreneurship,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 25 (4 October 1983), 677-678.

and their sons were able to found and publish newspapers of their own which they used vigorously to champion their own interests.²³

The display of art forms associated with social and political status has a verbal component in Akan arts often depicted through or related to proverbs. Cole and Ross have discussed this verbal-visual nexus as a key feature of Akan arts.²⁴ Many of the houses discussed in this study are known in town by a specific name, such as The Russell House or Abrɔsan. This is part of the naming phase, or characterization, of cultural authentication and the verbal-visual nexus, as adinkra symbols are identified by a word or phrase. As the cornerstone of Akan aesthetics, it is not surprising that coastal elite architecture would be used in sociopolitical ways to communicate status during the colonial era.

Liminality is visually communicated through architecture. This study has provided examples of architecture that borrow ideas from a variety of sources, including European, Sudanic and Afro-Brazilian, utilizing “an aesthetic of assemblage.”²⁵ Therefore, the globalization of Anomabo and its culture must be placed in a historical perspective. Anomabo’s worldliness does not stem from its position as a satellite to Accra, Cape Coast or any Western urban center, nor its positioning at the periphery of global flows, but reflects its past position at the center of a vast cultural and commercial network. This historic cosmopolitanism isn’t a post-colonial phenomenon, and the evidence is made visible in the art and architecture of contemporary Anomabo.

²³Kaplow, 235-236.

²⁴Okoye., 8-9.

²⁵Ibid., 12.

The Global Focus

The cultural traffic within historical Anomabo exemplifies how “boundaries” are liquid, i.e. not stationary. Artists and art forms move “from place to place, crosscutting and penetrating an array of so-called ethnic ‘boundaries.’ ‘Interaction, not isolation,’ summarizes Monica [Blackmun] Visona, seems to characterize much of the production and distribution of traditional art forms.”²⁶ Anomabo serves as a microcosm in this study for architectural production in major port cities in the Atlantic world. The surviving stone nog residences in Anomabo date to the colonial period, yet they exemplify a Coastal Elite Style that had its roots in the pre-colonial era.

Caribbean

On the edge of the Caribbean in South America, the urban architecture of Cartagena, Colombia, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been described as having:

...a ‘Spanish’ air...The houses are high, of two or three storeys, while the outbuildings are arranged round an arched courtyard, often closed in by wooden railings. On the ground floor, the rooms which give onto the street are often used as store houses and have high ceilings and wooden entresols, (sic) Outside, the ground and first floors have a flat façade, difficult to climb. By contrast the next floor has very prominent wooden balconies which are supported by protruding beams. The balconies are so wide that it is possible to sleep on them on the hottest of nights.²⁷

Vernacular architecture of Barbados, settled by the English in 1627, depicts the adoption of Georgian elements during the height of sugar prosperity in the early nineteenth century. Building design and materials “came to acquire a social class value.” Stone houses were built by the English planters; wood houses were built by the poor; and a mixture of house materials were utilized by the middle classes. The homes of the English planters incorporated “standard detailing with window hoods, jalousies or Georgian sash windows, and wooden balconies with turned or chamfered posts; and above all perfect symmetry, with a predilection for porches,

²⁶Christopher B. Steiner, *African Art in Transit* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), 11-12.

²⁷Bayon, 30.

pediments and Palladian-style staircases.” After 1850, “a unique villa design developed, Palladian inspired, with a double staircase leading to an upper-floor entrance, a *piano nobile* effect. . . . They were built of wood or stone, or sometimes both. . . . They evolved elegant window arrangements for the essential front balcony or gallery.”²⁸ Thus, in Barbados elements of the Palladian intermixed with local traditions to assert the status of the client.

Similar to those in Barbados, vernacular houses of Jamaica, settled by the British in 1655, adopted Georgian and Palladian designs in the eighteenth century after the sugar boom. “Georgian style . . . was introduced, first in pure form, perhaps from commercially sold architect’s drawings, and later with much variation and adaptation. . . . Georgian and Palladian designs reflected the taste of the colonizers and in turn impressed the Creole population. But in each island unique preferences developed, so that plantation houses, for example, evolved quite differently in Jamaica and Barbados, each adopting distinct solutions to similar problems, yet retaining enough of the original harmony, symmetry and details...”²⁹ Green uses the term “Jamaica-Georgian” to refer to the Georgian type structures of the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries that evolved with local modifications within Jamaica’s sociocultural and climatic environment. It is widely used on all types of building such as domestic, commercial and public buildings in both the urban and rural context.³⁰

Residences in the Jamaica-Georgian style were

constructed as masonry and sometimes timber core buildings to which piazzas were added, and Doric was the most popular classical detail decorated with dentils and modillions of that architectural order. The buildings are characterized by a steeply

²⁸Henry S. Fraser, “Barbadian,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1704.

²⁹Henry S. Fraser, “British Colonial,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1706-1707.

³⁰Green, “Jamaica-Georgian,” 1716.

pitched hipped roof, colonnaded piazza [or porch], with an integrated fenestration of wooden jalousies. . . . A flight of steps, usually bifurcated, led directly on to a portico which was attached to the piazza on the primary façade.³¹

Green states that masonry structures were of both locally quarried stone and manufactured bricks. “Piazzas” refer to the shaded area in front of shops and stores.³² Many coastal elite residences in Anomabo share commonalities with the Jamaican houses in terms of their materials, use of outdoor spaces such as porches or verandas for maximum ventilation, and use of steps leading to the main entrance. Bifurcated stairs were used at The Russell House (Figure B-71) in Anomabo. Clients in Jamaica and Anomabo both utilized ground floors for commercial purposes. Anomabo residences also differed in their transformation of the elements from each other and from those in other port towns on the coast.

Newton House, possibly a Danish house built in the late-eighteenth or early-nineteenth century, was constructed in the town of Christiansted in St. Croix, Virgin Islands. Buildings like this one that had shops on the ground level and a residence above were common on St. Croix, Jamaica, Curacao, St. John’s and Antigua. The most elegant examples had masonry arcades on the ground levels and open or enclosed galleries, or verandas, across the upper stories.³³ This may have been what George Kuntu Blankson had in mind for his addition to Castle Brew (Figure B-18) and is similar to the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9). The upper story enclosed veranda was utilized on the Allen Quansah Family Residence (Figure B-86) in Cape Coast and The Russell House (Figure B-19) and the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-59) in Anomabo. This feature was popular for seventeenth century urban buildings in

³¹Ibid., 1716-1717.

³²Ibid, 1717.

³³Pamela Gosner, *Caribbean Georgian: The Great and Small Houses of the West Indies* (Washington, DC: Three Continents, 1982), 53-55; figure 23, p. 55.

Europe.³⁴ It experienced a renaissance in the Caribbean about 100 years later, and on the Ghanaian coast by African coastal elites another 100 years after that.

Warehouses were also built in these Caribbean port towns and cities. Typically they were long rectangular buildings constructed in stone nog, perhaps also with brick. They had several wide double doors, often arched, down the length of the front of the building.³⁵ A similar warehouse was constructed in Anomabo by the United Africa Company, now known as the Old Catholic Mission (Figure B-53). A large wide, double door is used today as the main entrance on the front of the building, facing the current courtyard area. A stone nog warehouse built for the H. W. Russell & Co. survives in Saltpond, a competing port near Anomabo. It was likely built in the late-nineteenth or early twentieth century, after the warehouse in Anomabo. The wide double doors have a transom over them instead of an arch. Transoms seem more popular in Saltpond, as seen in the District Commissioner's Office dating to c. 1870. Thus, varied styles prevailed in different towns and cities on the coast.

The Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9) shares the French vernacular plan of seventeenth and eighteenth century housing in the West Indies. Such houses utilize a “transverse plan, with the narrow end of the house facing the street, and entrance through an impressive gateway into the flanking courtyard or the loggia which served as a transitional space between the courtyard and the house.”³⁶ Many houses located within areas of French contact or colonies, such as in the French Quarter of Charleston, SC, follow a transverse plan as well. Commercial residential buildings are found in both the English and French colonial areas. On the

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., 52.

³⁶Ronald Lewcock, “French Colonial,” in *Vernacular Architecture of the World*, ed. Paul Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 1712-1713.

streets of Cayenne in French Guiana...”commercial and even residential buildings face directly onto the public way. Balconies with wood or iron balustrading project from the façade above pedestrian level...Facades are often classical, with large, well-proportioned windows in generous wall surfaces.”³⁷

Not only did locals and Africans in West Africa, the Caribbean and South America adopt European styles and plans for their architecture, but also the Europeans living in these tropical climates appropriated African housing elements and blended those with their own to create something new. Fraser noted: “The resilience of the African structures to withstand the heat and natural disasters of the tropics resulted in the eventual adoption of some of the aspects of the African construction practices by the Europeans which gave birth to an early vernacular expression, or creole architecture, by the close of the 18th century.”³⁸ As such the Europeans also used the process of cultural authentication to marry their Georgian Palladian heritage with local and African (slaves) housing.

Afro-Brazilian Communities

Afro-Brazilian architecture incorporates elements from Portuguese and Brazilian housing. African or mulatto slaves in Brazil, some of whom were fortunate enough to gain their freedom as early as the seventeenth century, became merchants in the urban port cities, such as Salvador in the Bahia state. Those who amassed small fortunes built family residences that reflected their new-found status. Groups of Afro-Brazilians made their way in the nineteenth century to West Africa, settling in small communities within the larger port cities, such as the Brazilian quarter in Lagos, Nigeria, or Jamestown in Accra, Ghana. Here too, those who succeeded built impressive

³⁷Ibid., 1712.

³⁸Fraser, “Architectural,” 1702.

family houses that displayed their status. These structures incorporated all the traditions they knew, developing the Afro-Brazilian *sobrado* through the process of cultural authentication.

Designs are based on aesthetics and functionality with a special focus on circulation and ventilation. Corridors provided thermal insulation between the external walls and inner structures. Large, wide doors and windows captured the cross breezes. These elements suited the tropical climates and, as a result, it was a popular form in many regions. Characteristics of the Afro-Brazilian house are seen in those built in the towns of the Gulf of Benin, such as Porto-Novo, Ouidah, Agoue and Badagry.³⁹

The Brazilian quarter in Lagos encompassed Campos Square, Bamgboşe Street and Tokunboh Street. Some of the wealthy traders had impressive houses built in this area. The merchant Josiah Henry Doherty had a “magnificent villa residence” built on the corner of Bamgboşe Street and Campos Square. His architect was the engineer Herbert Samuel Heelas Macaulay (1864-1946), the prominent Nigerian nationalist leader.⁴⁰

The successful merchant Joao Angelo Campos was the descendant of Romao Campos, for whom the Square was named. Romao constructed two family houses illustrated in Marianno Carneiro da Cunha’s book, *Da Senzala ao Sobrado: Arquitetura Brasileira na Nigeria e na Republica Popular do Benim / From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People’s Republic of Benin*.⁴¹ The two-story home clearly Palladian inspired was built in 1897. Like family houses built in Anomabo during this time, the Campos house has pilasters framing the main central entrance. Instead of an arch, a pointed entablature, resembling a pediment, is placed over the entrance. The double hung windows have an anse de panier arch.

³⁹Gerard Tognimassou, “Afro-Brazilian Architecture, A Mixed Heritage,” *Africa 2009 Newsletter* 4 (July 2009), 13.

⁴⁰Da Cunha, 76.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 55.

They are symmetrical arranged to create a balanced façade. Attached columns with capitals surround the upper-story windows for added embellishment. Two-story pilasters meet at the coigns.⁴² While these choice and placement of these features are unique to this structure, the resemblance in aesthetics to coastal elite residences in Anomabo (The Russell House, Figure B-19) and Cape Coast (Allen Quansah Family Residence, Figure B-86) are strikingly similar. The same may be said for the second house.

The second house owned by Romao Campos⁴³ resembles the Afro-Portuguese sobrado with its veranda. The veranda railing is wrought iron, and the piers are thin, appearing to be iron as well. Four wide entrances on the ground level suggest a merchant function. Four windows above are placed directly above these entrances. Though this arrangement is aligned, the spaces between these doors and windows are uneven, disturbing the symmetry of the façade. This may exhibit the sense of off-beat phrasing common in the West African aesthetic.

Southeastern Nigeria

A comparison between the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9) and a three-storied house in Okrika, Nigeria built in the early 1920s,⁴⁴ demonstrates the Coastal Elite Style and its regional variations. Unfortunately Okoye does not provide a plan for the house in Okrika, yet in his pictures and text it is possible to observe certain similarities and differences.⁴⁵ The two monumental structures are similar for they are multi-storied and have an arcade on the ground level, though it does not appear that the arcade is placed on the front of the Okrikan

⁴²Ibid., 54-55. Though this structure appears to have been constructed with stone, da Cunha does not mention it, nor does she provide a plan for the interior spaces.

⁴³Ibid. Da Cunha does not state that Romao Campos had this house built, nor when the house was built. No plan was provided.

⁴⁴Okoye, 637-639, Figures 17-21.

⁴⁵Ibid., 122-133.

building. Both display a symmetrical window placement, and several bays are created across the façade using two-story pilasters. The Okrikan building has a veranda over its arcade. The structures are dissimilar in that Amonoo's residence was built in stone nog with brick and limited use of cement blocks, whereas the Okrikan building was constructed from molded concrete blocks having an ornate surface pattern. Thus, this building has a floral, decorative surface. In addition, the windows are not Palladian, as seen on Amonoo's residence, rather they are rectangular with corbels or brackets above, presumably to hold a wooden shade. Most striking about the Okrikan building is its roofline, comprised of crenallations with adjoining cross bars, literally creating a crown. The original roof of Amonoo's residence was a timber and metal shingle roof, like many of the typical mission-style roofs. Therefore, the Okrikan structure is far more ornate in style than Amonoo's residence, yet both present an imposing persona derived from a transformation of various European and local architectural appropriations.

Other similarities are found between the structures in Anomabo and southeastern Nigeria. Okoye finds asymmetrical elements in the Ojiakor House, but attributes it to practical solutions and lack of skill instead of an aesthetic choice. He questions the irregular bay spacings on the ground level when the upper level is "clearly and precisely thought out."⁴⁶ Even if the original issue of a needed doorway at a certain location was a practical building solution, the entire building could have been conceived symmetrically if that was the intention. It was more likely an off-beat aesthetic choice, similar to those seen in nearly every building in Anomabo. In no way does this choice reflect a lack of skill. Instead, I argue that it takes greater skill for the builder, like a musician, to improvise upon the symmetrical base and add elements of syncopation for a greater sense of Akan and West African rhythm.

⁴⁶Ibid., 274-275.

The Hall and Chamber plan found in so many of Ghana's coastal residences is missing from the Nigerian plans provided by Okoye. While he does not provide a plan for every building he discusses, a representative sample of house plans demonstrate a different organizational preference in this region. These plans vary with the ground floor of the Onwudinjo House exhibiting the only Hall and Chamber configuration.⁴⁷ The ground floor plan for the Adinembo House resembles the Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence (Figure C-12) in its cluster of four central rooms surrounded on all four sides by a veranda.⁴⁸ The second and third story of the Adinembo House however differs in its enclosure of several rooms over the veranda below. Rooms to receive visitors (Conversation Room, Dining Room, Sitting Room) are among these rooms that are placed along the exterior walls with the cluster of private rooms toward the interior. It can be determined that, at least in this comparison of Ghanaian and southeastern Nigerian coastal elite residences, that the Hall and Chamber plan is a component of the Ghanaian regional style.

The Builders

Taking a more global approach to identify the builders of these Anomabo residences, it is possible to identify several possibilities. Unlike Okoye,⁴⁹ I was unable to obtain specific names for the builders of the homes in Anomabo or anywhere in the researched Ghanaian coastal port towns. Yet, it is possible to conclude that a variety of builders knowledgeable in stone nog construction were available. Okoye notes that builders trained in the Akuapem Hills area of Ghana "were routinely transported from the Gold Coast to southeastern Nigeria, to work as contractors on building projects." These trained carpenters were successful enough to obtain

⁴⁷Ibid., 674, Figure 82.

⁴⁸Ibid., 686, Figure 101.

⁴⁹Ibid., 450-481, 495-505.

apprentices for their own workshops in Nigeria, resulting in their completing all the important work in Calabar.⁵⁰

Although Okoye does not entertain the possibility of Afro-Brazilian builders from either Accra or southwestern Nigeria (Lagos), it is a viable option for the Ghanaian coastline. He does mention similarities to Bahian structures in reference to St. Simon's Church in Nnobi, Nigeria. Okoye notes that the Brazilian influence however may have been more noticeable in houses or mosques rather than in Christian churches.⁵¹

Thus, both the clients and the builders contributed to the development of the Coastal Elite Style. New ideas were transmitted along the coastline by builders from a variety of origins who traveled between countries and by clients who specified certain regional and local tastes. In southeastern Nigeria and southern Ghana, and likely all along the Guinea coast, these buildings were constructed during the colonial period "because of an actual functional need, and more as exhibitions of the image the owner wished to project to both his own African community, and on occasion to the community of Europeans and European visitors in their midst . . ."⁵²

Off-beat Phrasing

Thompson documented off-beat phrasing, the staggering of an asymmetrical element within symmetrical ones, in Akan textiles and African music. "It may be that the chiefly person who wears a cloth with staggered pattern in effect promises to rediscover wholeness in perfecting uneven human relationships, even as he unties the knot of trouble and obstruction. Suspending the beat hints that to dwell at one level is to lose the precious powers of balance inherent in

⁵⁰Ibid., 93-94, footnote 138.

⁵¹Ibid., 220-225.

⁵²Ibid., 592-593.

human capability.”⁵³ The social meaning inherent in music and textiles can be equally applied to residential architecture. Although the coastal elites borrowed elements from the Europeans and Afro-Brazilians, they transformed them into something recognizably African. A comparison of the house plans from Anomabo demonstrates this point.

Asymmetrical elements juxtaposed to symmetrical Palladian-inspired features have already been discussed regarding the exterior of the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence. This same juxtaposition is subtly expressed in the interiors as well. In Palladian plans, the interior rooms, doors and stairways are symmetrical, believed to create a harmonious and balanced interior environment. On the coast, occasional doors and windows are placed out of alignment and by more than a few inches, exemplifying the different aesthetic tastes of a harmonious environment for the coastal Africans.

Hyland’s plan of Castle Brew (Figure B-31) illustrates the absolute symmetry observed in Brew’s country manor. Notice how the doorways and windows align perfectly. Each has a matching partner across from it. This differs from the Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence plan (Figure B-38). Although the rooms are symmetrical, one dividing wall between the southwest chamber and the hall is shifted so the door to this chamber falls opposite its partner on the other side of the hall. Most of the windows are in alignment. The back door however is shifted to the north, placing it out of symmetry with the front and hall doorways. Therefore, nearly all the elements are symmetrical with a couple of asymmetrical beats added to create a syncopated tempo. The shifting of an interior wall to create an asymmetrical door placement can be seen also in the Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence (Figure B-45) and the Justice Akwa Family Residence (Figure B-74).

⁵³Thompson, 11.

In the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60) an arch connecting the southeast rooms adds an asymmetrical feature to the plan. An archway contrasts with a wide doorway in the Swanzy ground floor plan (Figure B-57). Piers and arches are out of alignment in Abrɔsan (Figure C-74). In the case of windows, usually a window is missing from the place where a partner should be. No doubt this added privacy and is likely an African architectural characteristic from the days when De Marees described coastal houses without windows and only a small square doorway. A “missing” window is seen in the plans for the Twidan Clan Family Residence, second floor (Figure B-24), Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence (Figure B-42), Swanzy (Figure B-56), Claude Calvert Hagan Family Residence (Figure B-67), Etsiwa Abodo (Figure B-76), and Abrɔsan (Figure B-83).

This is not to say that coastal elite homes *all* have this asymmetrical component; only that *most* do. And, it is probable that this off-beat phrasing was not done with conscious awareness. This type of aesthetic would have been an innate preference and is exhibited in nearly all Akan, and many West African, art forms. It is not the result of poor craftsmanship or technical incompetence. Roy Sieber, discussing the placement of pattern of a men’s strip-woven textile, stated that “the careful matching of the ends of the cloth dispels the impression of an uncalculated overall design.”⁵⁴ Thompson also points out that this kind of juxtaposition is not random, but one based on aesthetic choices.⁵⁵

These choices are apparent in the buildings constructed in southeastern Nigeria during the colonial period. Okoye describes the exterior decoration of some of these homes as “an assemblage of different textures and patterns, each within clearly bounded spaces, . . . juxtaposed

⁵⁴Roy Sieber, *African Textiles and Decorative Arts* (NY: Museum of Modern Art, 1972), 190.

⁵⁵Thompson, 13.

next to each other; the effect is both dazzling and engaging . . .”⁵⁶ He compares the juxtaposition of these varied patterns to embroidered Kuba raffia cloths from the Democratic Republic of Congo,⁵⁷ yet for the comparison of homes in Anomabo it is only necessary to look at Akan textiles, both in Ghana, to find this same aesthetic.

While an ethnic style cannot be ascribed to these stone nog residences with their off-beat phrasing mixed with outside cultural styles and plans, it can be attributed to the group designated as African coastal elites. Many of the stone nog houses built for wealthy Africans on the coast between Winneba and Elmina are lost. While many of those that survive were built for Fante, others were built for immigrants, as exemplified by the Onismous Brandford Parker Family Residence in Cape Coast (Parker was from Sierra Leone). The father of the siblings who had The Russell House in Anomabo constructed was Ga (from Accra), while the mother was Fante. Thus, the children had Ga and Fante cultural backgrounds. The African coastal elites were their own community, and they used West African methods of display to assert their identity, imagined as equally educated and successful as their Western counterparts who, during the colonial period, held the true political and economic power.

Maintenance and Survival of Stone Nog Residences

Many stone nog and brick buildings did not survive over the past 150 years or so. The only evidence of surviving stone nog houses built for Africans exist in Anomabo and Cape Coast even though such residences were also built in Winneba, Apam, Saltpond and Elmina. Smaller residences built for clients with limited income may have had lesser craftsmen build their homes. This appears to be the case with The Yard House where family members, likely not trained

⁵⁶Okoye, 485.

⁵⁷Ibid., and see his figures 116-118, pp. 699-700.

masons, were employed. It may also explain the rather poor condition of the Twidan Clan house with its bowing walls and odd angles. Yet, several larger buildings for wealthier clients are also in rubble. This includes the stately residences built for Samuel Collins Brew, Adontehen Amonoo I, and Jacob Wilson Sey. Lack of regular maintenance is the most likely explanation for the decay.

Although rock is a durable material, shell mortar is vulnerable to the harsh downpours of the rainy season. Constant reapplication is needed to keep the mortar in good condition. Softer local bricks also erode faster from the rains and intense sun than their European counterparts. Their erosion is commonly seen in the surviving structures, whereas buildings using European bricks in other towns appear in better condition. Regular maintenance may not have been accomplished because of the local inheritance system, whereby property is given to the collective *abusua*. When this took place, such a building would belong to all and to no one in particular. So while everyone would enjoy the residence, no one would want to front the funds to maintain it.⁵⁸

Architectural recycling, or the reuse of materials, occurs quite often. Old bricks and stones are gathered and used to construct the outdoor brick baking ovens for bread and smoking ovens for fish seen in every coastal town. The only place where descendants admitted to such recycling for house construction was the Lawyer Atta Amoono Family Residence (Figure B-9). The function of this residence has changed over time and along with it, several renovations have been made. Major changes also took place at the Ama Moo Family Residence (Figure B-47). Nearly every functioning residence has had a cement plastering to the exterior. This is believed to extend the life of the building, providing a protective shell against the elements. Timber verandas have rotted, have been purposely removed, or have been enclosed with iron or aluminum

⁵⁸Personal communication with Dr. Annan-Prah (July 27, 2009).

corrugated sheeting. Cement-covered *swish* floors in the second story of the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-63) are caving in. Today, many nineteenth-century stone nog residences are in some stage of ruin. With the development of preferred concrete block construction, many families have either abandoned the stone houses for new concrete ones or have pulled down the stone buildings so that they could build anew. Such has been the case for the Hayford residences.

According to the Monuments and Relics Ordinance of 1945, each of the surviving residences could be considered an ancient or historical “monument.”⁵⁹ The leadership of Anomabo however does not pursue either heritage restoration, like Elmina, or designation as a tourist destination, like Cape Coast. Little effort is made by traditional leaders to draw attention to the pivotal role Anomabo has played in history. The current coastal elites attached to Anomabo have attempted to counteract this resistance by establishing the Anomabo Union and Environmental Group. They have cleaned the town drains and beach, assisted with school supply donations, and worked to assist youth with career training and goals.⁶⁰ The GMMB works to restore many forts and castles on the coast, but it has a few residences on its list, including Castle Brew. Restoration and aid comes mainly from sources outside Ghana.

Continuation of the Coastal Elite Style

Wealthy merchants and professionals continue to appropriate Palladian elements into their family houses on the coast. Within Anomabo, many concrete block houses incorporate symmetry, arches, arcades, pilasters and double staircases. These are individually customized

⁵⁹“Monuments and Relics Ordinance,” ADM. 23/1/381, n.p. Ghana National Archives, Cape Coast.

⁶⁰Grace Kyeremeh led the Environmental Group in the early 2000s. She finally gave up in 2006 after resistance from the Traditional Council who did not support the group’s efforts.

and continue the transformation process of cultural authentication by incorporating new materials and styles.

Egyir Aggrey Family Residence

The Egyir Aggrey Family Residence (Figure B-94) was built by the Mpontuhen, or Development Chief, Egyir Aggrey. Aggrey works in Accra as a modern-day merchant, importing and distributing new and used jeans across Ghana. His concrete residence, built in 2005, continues to incorporate elements of the Palladian style. It is an elaborate example of the type of home to which many Ghanaians today aspire.

The grand entrance is decorated with a Greek pediment and Ionic-columned portico, reminiscent of Palladio's Villa Rotunda. The first and second floor utilize arcades for a front entrance porch and veranda respectively. Iron balustrades painted gold complete the look with a Baroque touch. The large residence is situated on a hilltop that overlooks the entire town, including the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Figure B-9). Some of the current coastal elite residents admitted to finding this "ostentatious" building symbolic of the Mpontuhen's display of wealth and newly-acquired local status, as he has a close relationship with Omanhen Amonoo XI.

W. E. D. A. Lodge

The William Emmanuel Daniel Acquaaah Lodge (Figure B-95) was built in 1963 using concrete and bricks. It is included here in this study to acknowledge the changing desires of Fante clientele and fads of building construction. By this time, stone nog was no longer being used on the coast or in Anomabo. Concrete had definitely taken the lead.

In keeping with the preference to build on the hilltop, this structure surmounts what seems the highest point in Anomabo, making an indelible impression. Mr. Acquaaah was a very wealthy businessman during his time. W. E. D. Acquaaah (b. September 16, 1917-d. October 18,

1971) was a major timber merchant and later also a salt contractor. He owned the salt pond located today between W.E.D.A. Lodge and Wankum Beach Farm. His bust is placed at the Kwegyir Aggrey Secondary/Technical School. His family descends from the royal line of Besi Kurentsir. His father was the Reverend Gaddiel Robert Acquah, O.B.E. (b. July 25, 1894 (or 1884?) - d. March 19, 1954), the son of Charlotte, co-client of The Russell House (Figure B-19), and associated with the Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence (Figure B-65). He was the first African (Ghanaian) Chairman of the Methodist Church on the Gold Coast. The Reverend was an educationist, poet, hymnist, author and statesman.⁶¹

W. E. D. A. Lodge was not built to house Acquah or his descendants. It was built as a lodge for his European friends and business associates who visited the coast. Today, W. E. D. A. Lodge continues to be an oceanview resort. Multiple terraces cascade down the boxy structure. Instead of borrowing Palladian elements of design, this building appropriates elements of the International Style. This style was promoted by the Nkrumah regime as part of the promotion of architectural modernity, and by extension, creating the image of a modern nation.⁶² As part of the Western-educated elite class, Nkrumah and his administration were following in the footsteps of prior African coastal elites.

In addition to the lodge, Acquah built two identical concrete houses for himself and his family – one in Anomabo (across from the Ebenezer Methodist Church) and the other in Takoradi (Figure B-96). Both incorporate a Doric colonnade for the porch entry and verandas inspired by Palladian architecture. Acquah performed the act of cross-cultural building when he chose the International Style for his lodge to house European visitors and the Coastal Elite Style

⁶¹Ephson, 121-122.

⁶²Janet Berry Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2006), 75.

invoking British Palladian features for himself and his family. While both styles are local interpretations of European global architectural movements, the Coastal Elite Style by this time has long since been incorporated into the African coastal elite architectural vernacular. Thus, he chose an African style for his houses and a European style to impress his European guests.

Kweku Abakah Family Residence

Kweku Abaka (d. 1990s) built his postmodern house (Figure B-97) entirely in concrete. Abaka was a mason and contractor who unfortunately died during the construction of this extraordinary house. Today the descendants rent the house out. The juxtaposition of angular and organic elements enervates the surface creating a playful, lively environment. It undoubtedly displays the best Abaka could imagine and may have been intended to act as a showcase for his work. Although the style of this house is unique to Anomabo and the coast, it shows the African coastal elite ability to continually appropriate and transform new ideas and forms from outside cultures. Although stone houses are no longer being constructed, the “tradition” of cultural authentication continues into the postmodern era.

Thus, a reading of African colonial and post colonial architecture on the coast of Ghana as reflecting a culture of mimesis completely misses the potential for a deeper study of the political and social climate on the coast and the resulting intentions of the clients and builders. As Okoye states, “the understanding of these buildings demands that one goes beyond the representation which the surface of these buildings might offer.”⁶³ An extensive study of exterior elements, plans and the families who live in these dwellings in Anomabo has further complicated the issue of colonial mimicry.

⁶³Okoye, 168.

“I Came to Meet It”

This study presents several African coastal elite residences constructed in Anomabo, Ghana, during the colonial period, specifically between the 1860s and 1930s. I have attempted to reconstruct the period and the players through a study of these homes. “I Came to Meet It” is a phrase used not only by descendants in answer to my questions about the history of these structures, but also by myself to apply to this research.

Anomabo, a historically-significant port town, serves as a microcosm for investigating the colonial period Coastal Elite Style of architecture present along the West African coastline in every major port city. The Coastal Elite Style is an assemblage of elements from the Akan courtyard house, European Palladian architecture and the Afro-Portuguese sobrado. These structures demonstrate how the Fante and other coastal Africans used the creative process of appropriation and transformation, or cultural authentication, to communicate their status and identity visually. This has been a story about people who, under social and political duress, find a way to express their identity. And, the story continues.

APPENDIX A:
TABLES

Table A-1. List of Anomabo State *Omanhen*

-	Eno / Endo (1600s) (remembered as the first <i>omanhen</i> , but actually the chief of Anomabo town)
-	Eno Besi / Endo-Basi / Endo-Besi / Eno Basi / Eno-Baisie (1600s-c.1700s) (remembered as the second <i>omanhen</i> , but actually the chief of Anomabo town)
1.	Besi Kurentsi / Basi-Kurantsir / Besi Kurensri / Baisie-Kurentsir / (1747-1764 or 1774) / John Currantee or Coranti [English] “The fourth <i>omanhen</i> was from a different household than the first three. The change came about because the first three were unable to raise the tribute money demanded by the Asantes. Mborabah Kantamanto, (meaning, ‘one who does not break her oath’), a woman, got the money so the state sword was given to her, but she couldn’t be the <i>omanhen</i> because she was a woman so she passed it to Amonu I.” (Sanders, comments from his colleague in the field)
2.	Kofi Amonu, Kofi Amonoo Panyin, Ammoney Coomah, Amonu Kuma, nephew of Enstir, Amonoo I (1765 or 1774-November 9, 1801)
3.	Entsi, Entsir, Antee, son of Mborabah (1801-1804)
4.	Kwow Amonoo, Kwa Amonoo, Amonoo II (1717-1867) or (1857-1865) or (-1837) OR Kofi Aferi, Kofi Afere, Amonoo II (October 31, 1857-1865) (in Sanders Table 10)
5.	Kwow Amonu, Kwow Saman, Kwa Saman, Amonoo III (December 5, 1865 - May 28, 1869), destooled
6.	Kofi Amonu, Kofi Atta, Amonoo IV (July 3, 1869-November 23, 1900)
7.	Kwamin Tufuantsi, Kwamin Tafuantsi, Kwamin Tapiantsi, Amonoo V (April 9, 1901-March 20 or 21, 1921)
8.	Osborne Mends, Kodwo Amonoo, Kodjo Amonoo, Kojo Amonoo, Amonoo VI (January 24, 1922-November 19, 1924), died by lorry accident
9.*	Kwabena Kwakwa, Kobina Kwakwa, Amonu Ababio, Ababio, Amonoo VII (1926-1929) or (1926-1932), destooled
10.	Kweku Kwakwa, J.B. Essel, Amonoo VIII (1933-1935), destooled
11.	Kwa Wayland Amoah, Yaw Amoah, Amonoo IX (April 7, 1936-1939), died
12.*	Kwabena Kwakwa, Kobina Kwakwa, Amonu Ababio, Ababio, Amonoo VII, reinstated (194?-1948), died
13.	Kweku Acquah, Amonu Aferi II (1955-1966), destooled
14.	James Fletcher, Kofi Panyin, Amonoo X (1975-1987), died
15.	Kofi Essel, Amonoo Aferi III (1992-1993), died
16.	Kwesi Essuman, Kantomanto Amonoo XI, (1994-present)

*same man

Table A-2. List of Anomabo Neighborhoods

1. Krokessin, “the biggest community settlement”
 2. Apatem, “shade”
 3. Etsiwa
 4. Fare, “fishing village”
 5. Aweano, “extreme end of town”
 6. Etsifi, “upper part of a community”
 7. Akanpaado, “meeting place of the original settlers”
 8. Okokodo, “hill top”
 9. Bantuma, “a mausoleum”
 10. Sansramanase, the name of a deity in the area, a tree near the coastal highway
 11. Tuntumnim, the name of a deity in the area, a tree
 12. Twa Asu Kada, “cross the stream and go to sleep”
 13. Ngyakom, the name of a deity in the area, a cluster of large rocks near the taxi rank and coastal highway
 14. Tompremesim, “Temperance,” the Temperance Lodge was built nearby, now gone
 15. Ohenkokwado, “lawyer’s hill”
-

APPENDIX B:
FIGURES

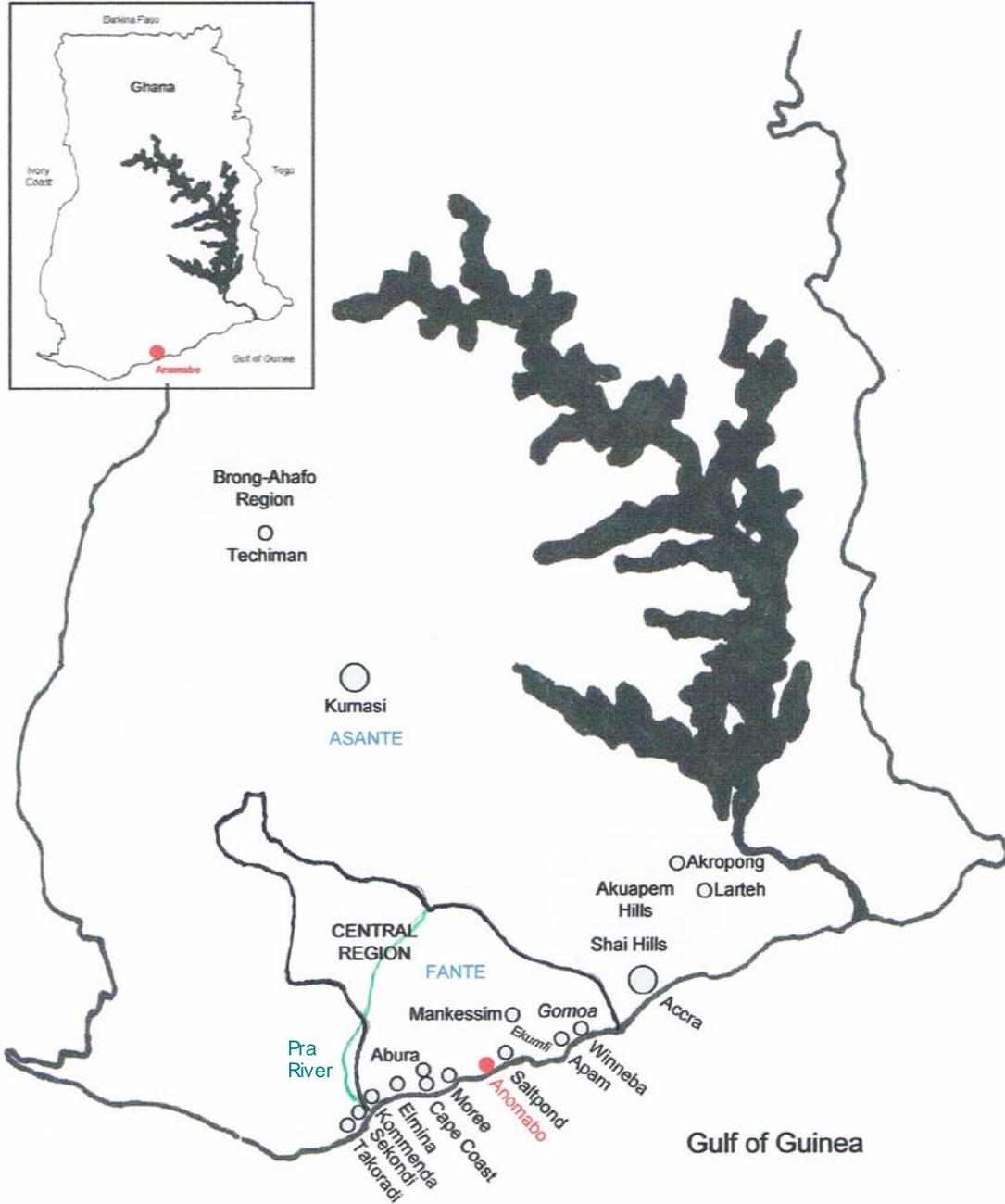


Figure B-1. Ghana
(Drawing by Courtney Micots, 2009)

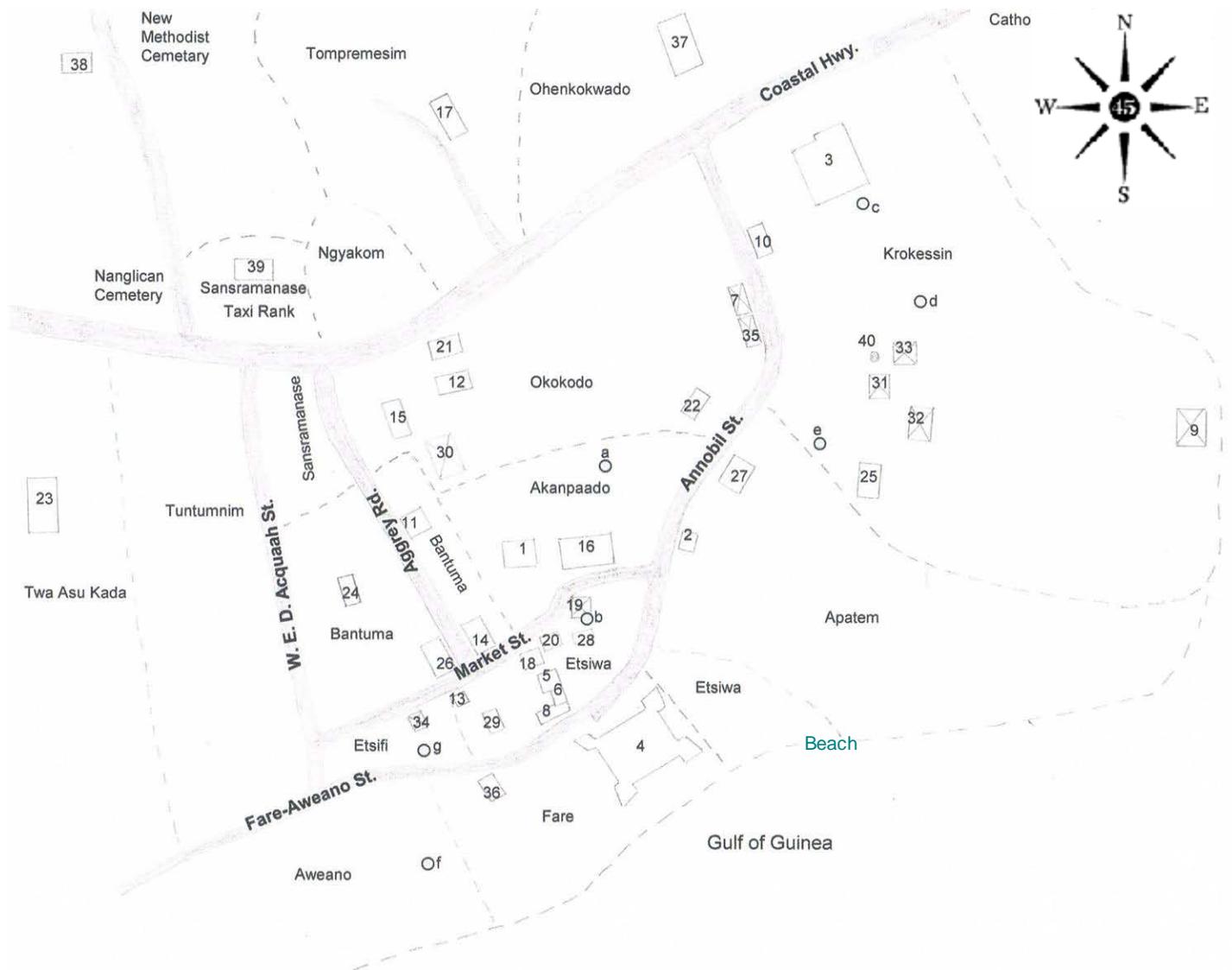


Figure B-2. Map of Anomabo
(Drawing by Courtney Micots, 2009)

LEGEND

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tuafohen's Palace 2. Twidan Clan Family Residence 3. Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace 4. Fort William 5. Castle Brew 6. Brodie G. Cruickshank Addition 7. Kweku Banful Family Residence, ruin 8. George Kuntu Blankson Addition 9. Samuel Collins Brew Family Residence 10. Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence 11. Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence 12. Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence 13. Kodwo Baffoe Family Residence 14. Ama Moo Family Residence 15. Methodist Mission 16. Ebenezer Methodist Church 17. Gharthey's Cistern | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Kow Otu Family Residence (1) 19. Kow Otu Family Residence (2), ruin 20. Swanzy 21. Kobena Mefful Family Residence 22. United Africa Company (UAC) storage facility / Catholic Church 23. St. Mary's Immaculate Conception Catholic Church 24. Nanglican Church 25. Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence 26. The Russell House 27. Justice Akwa Family Residence 28. Etsiwa Abodo 29. Abruosan 30. Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence, ruin 31. Adontehen Amonoo I Family Residence (1), ruin | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 32. Adontehen Amonoo I Family Residence (2), ruin 33. Enchia Family Residence, ruin 34. Yard House, ruin 35. Ed Monson Family Residence, ruin 36. Krontihen's Palace 37. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence 38. Kweku Abakah Family Residence 39. Mosque 40. Echinaba a. Tuafö No. 1 <i>Posuban</i> b. Etsiwa No. 2 <i>Posuban</i> c. Dontsin No. 3 <i>Posuban</i> d. Iburon No. 4 <i>Posuban</i> e. Ebiram Wassä No. 5 Shrine f. Kyirem No. 6 <i>Posuban</i> g. Akomfödzi No. 7 <i>Posuban</i> |
|--|---|---|



Figure B-3. Kyirem No. 6 *Asafo* Company Flag
Kwamina Amoaku (1898-1987)
1974
Imported cotton
Anomabo, Ghana
Commissioned by Doran H. Ross
(Photo by Doran H. Ross, 1974)



Figure B-4. Dontsin No. 3 *Asafo* Company *Posuban*
Kwamina Amoaku (1898-1987)
1948, Renovated 1966
Brick, Cement
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-5. Kyirem No. 6 *Asafo* “Indian Regiment” Leading the Company
Akwambo Performance
1975
Various Materials
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Doran H. Ross, 1975)



Cruikshank Addition

Castle Brew

Figure B-6. Castle Brew and the Cruickshank Addition
Richard Brew, Brodie G. Cruickshank
c. 1756-1759, c. 1834-1844
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-7. Fort William
John Apperley
1753-1759
Stone nog with brick facing, cement plaster (on the interior)
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-8. Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace
Arent Jacobsz van der Graeff (1557-1642)
c. 1639-1642
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster, iron or aluminum roof
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2007)



Figure B-9. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, Front
Atta Amonoo and his father, Amonoo V
c. 1910s-1922
Stone nog, concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

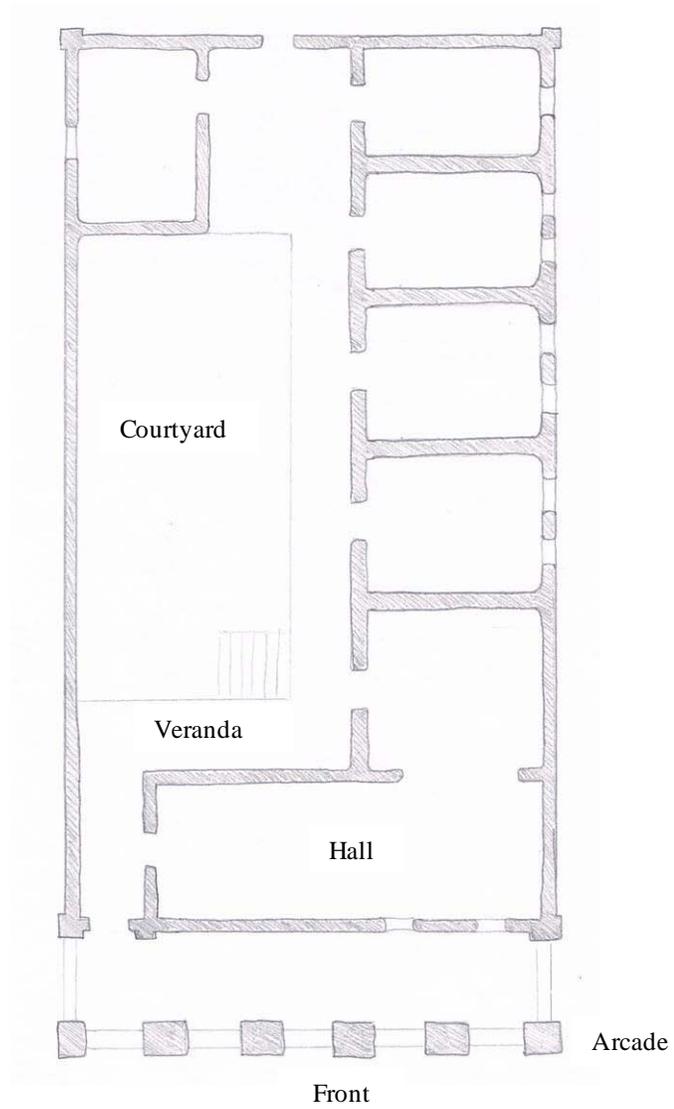
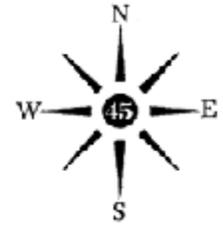


Figure B-10. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, Plan
Ground floor
(Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-11. Nana Kwa Nyanfoeku Akwa, local historian and my primary research assistant, standing at the entrance to the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

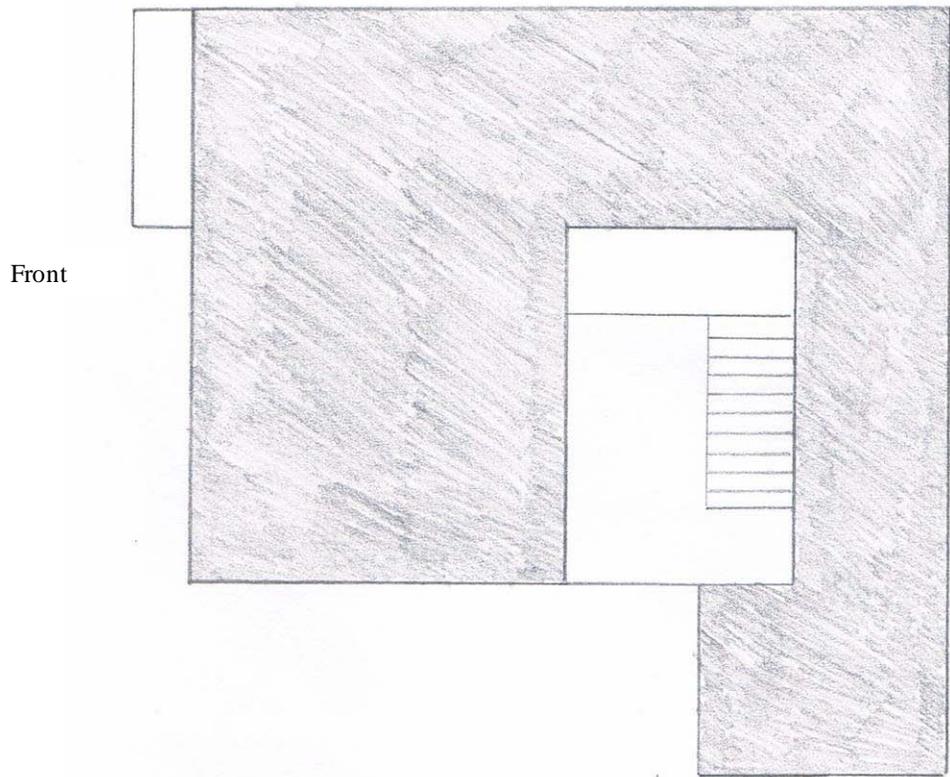
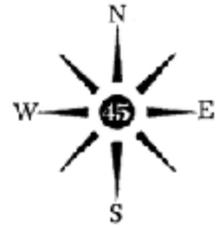


Figure B-12. Kow Otu Family Residence (2), Aerial Plan from 1931 Gold Coast Survey
Courtesy of the National Archives, Cape Coast, Ghana
(Copied by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-13. Kow Otu Family Residence (1), with Descendant Ama Kow Otu, a. k. a. John Ogoe Sr.
c. 1860s
Rammed earth, timber, concrete block, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-14. William Anseh Sesarakoo (b.c. 1727)
Portrait from *Gentleman's Magazine* vol. 20, 1750
Unknown printmaker
(Priestley, *West African Trade*, opposite p. 48, Figure 3)



Figure B-15. Fort Charles, 1679
Jean Barbot
c. 1672-1673
Rammed earth
Anomabo, Ghana
(Hair, Jones and Law, p. 414, Figure 37)

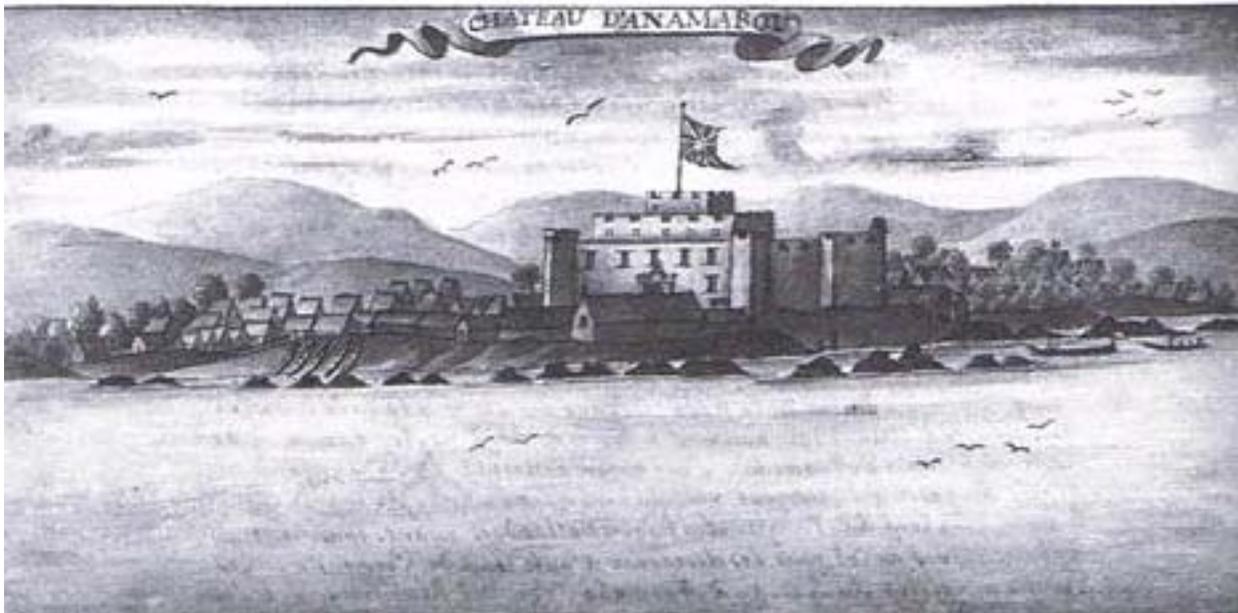


Figure B-16. Fort Charles, 1682
Jean Barbot
c. 1679-1682
Stone, brick
Anomabo, Ghana
(Hair, Jones and Law, p. 414, Figure 38)

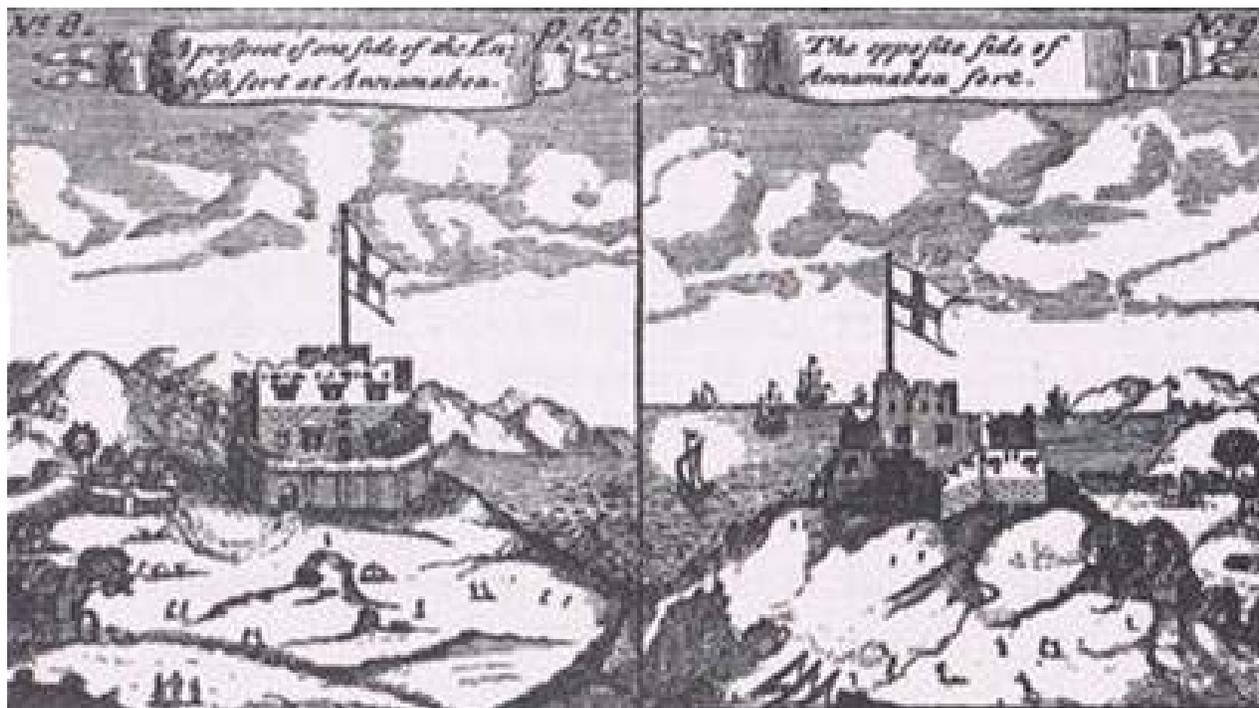


Figure B-17. Fort Charles, c. 1700
Willem Bosman
c. 1679-1682
Stone, brick
Anomabo, Ghana
(Bosman, opposite page 41, Figures 8 and 9)



Figure B-18. Castle Brew, George Kuntu Blankson Addition
George Kuntu Blankson
c. 1860s-1873
Stone nog
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-19. The Russell House, Front and East Side

Reverend John Oboboam Hammond, Francis Medanyamease Hammond, Mrs.
Charlotte Oyemame Acquah (1858 – July 31, 1908)

1897-1898

Stone nog

Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

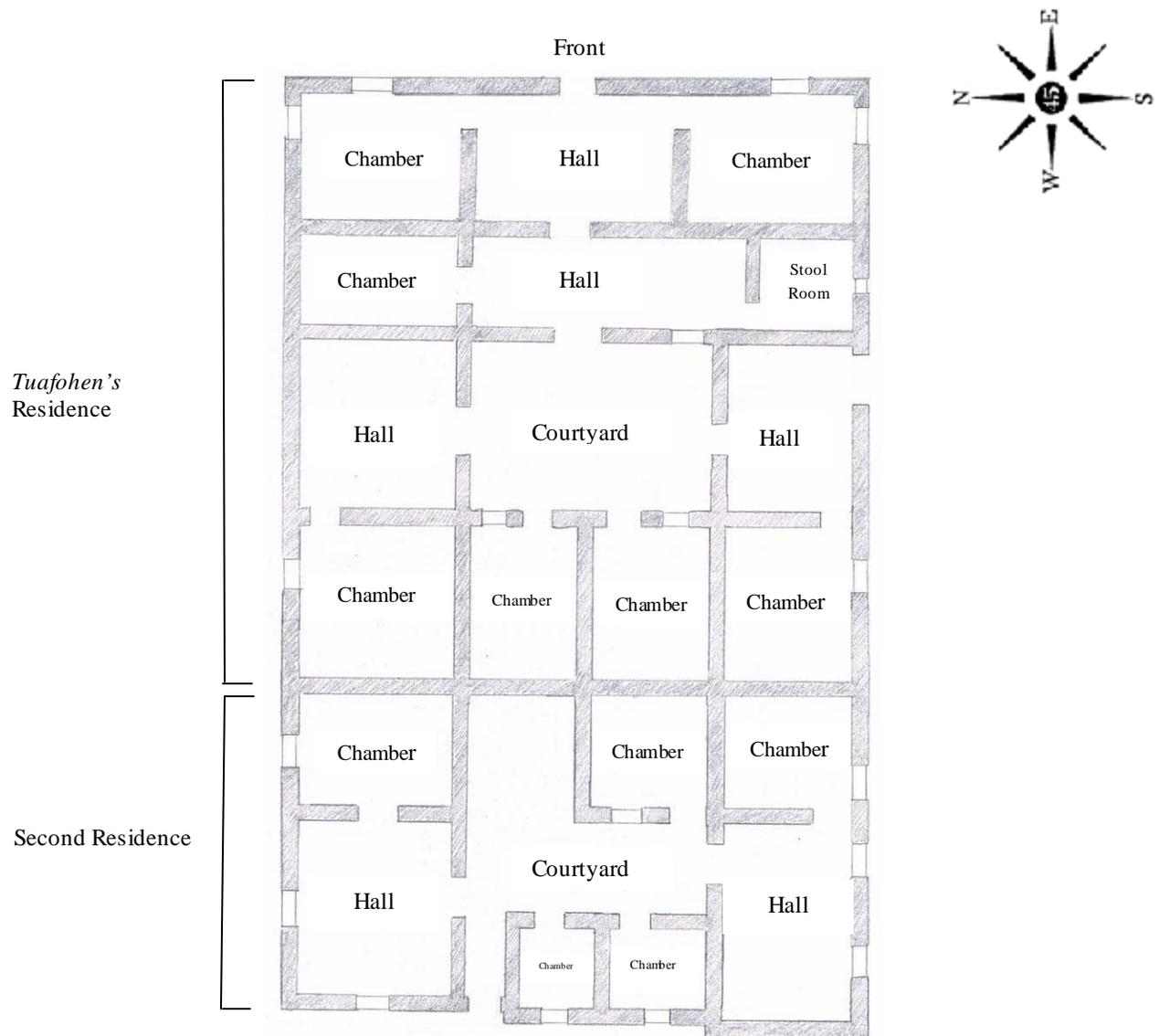


Figure B-20. Tuafohen's Palace, Plan
 (Drawn by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-21. Tuafohen's Palace

Unknown client

c. 1850-1875

Rammed earth and concrete block addition on front, iron or aluminum sheet roof

Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2007)



Figure B-22. Twidan Clan Family Residence
Kwesi Dwoma and Kwesi Mensah
c. late 1920s - 1931
Stone nog, brick facing, asbestos/slate roof
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-23. Twidan Clan Family Residence, Back
Kwesi Dwoma and Kwesi Mensah
c. late 1920s - 1931
Stone nog, brick facing, asbestos/slate roof
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

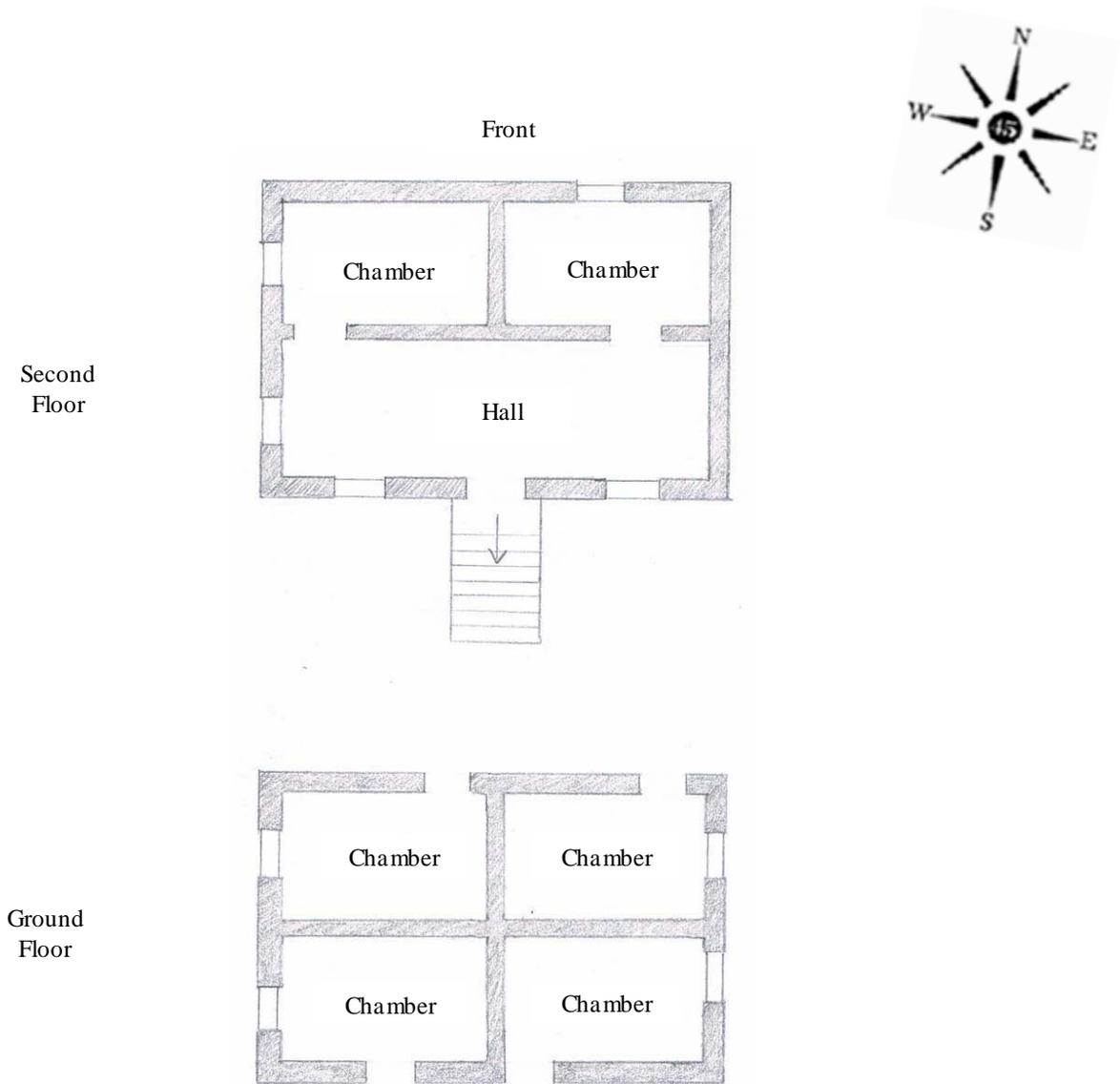


Figure B-24. Twidan Clan Family Residence, Plan
 (Drawn by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-25. Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace, Niche with Barrel Vault
Arent Jacobsz van der Graeff (1557-1642)
c. 1639-1642
Stone nog, brick
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

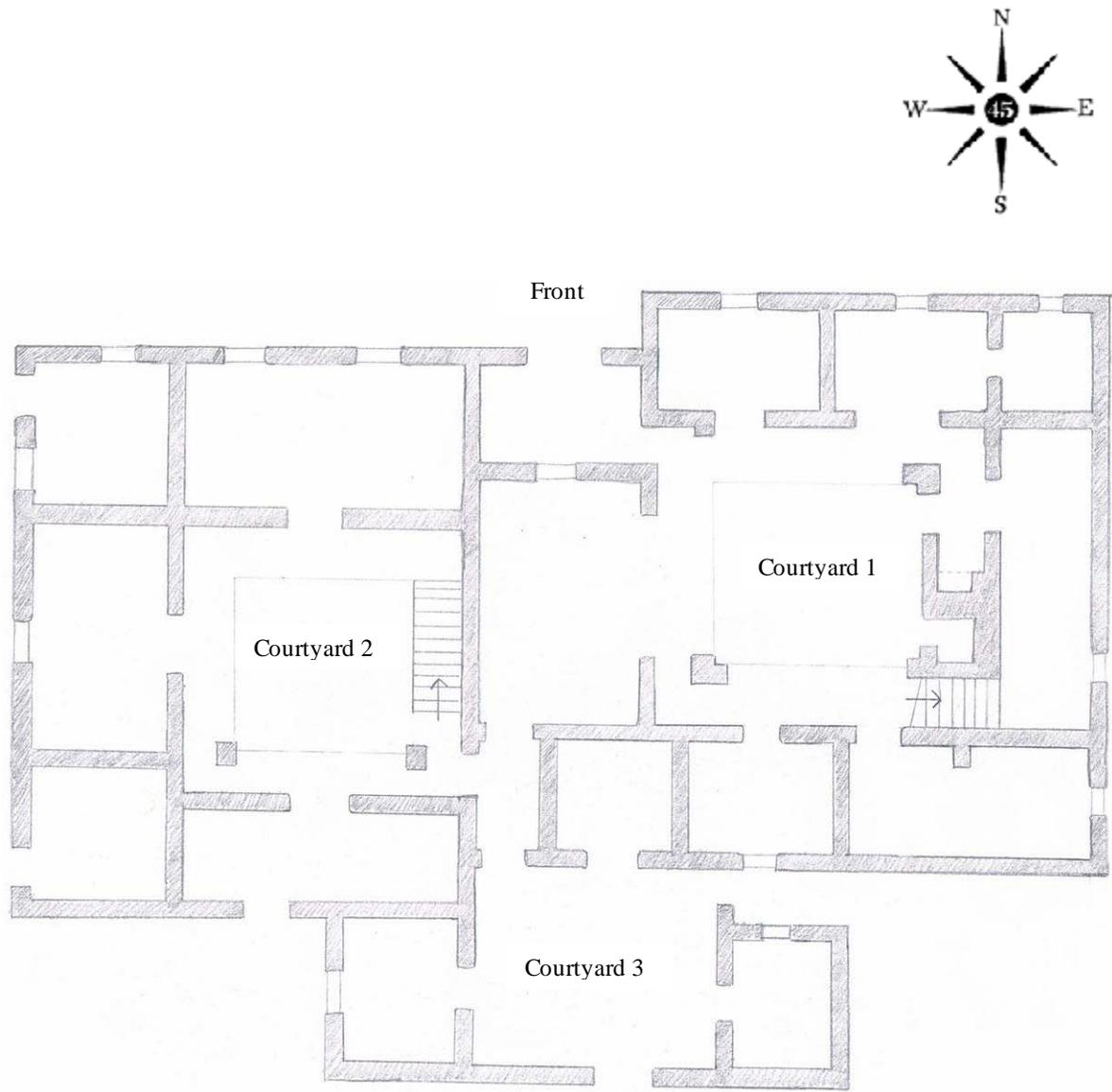


Figure B-26. Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace, Plan
Ground floor
(Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)

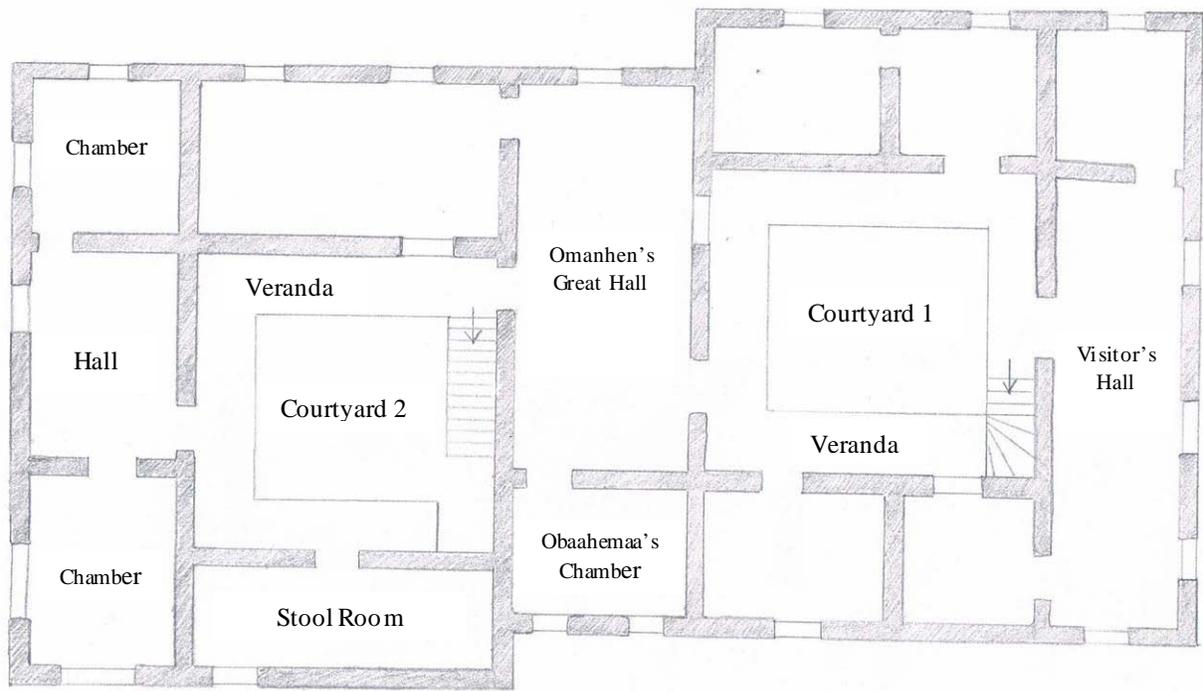
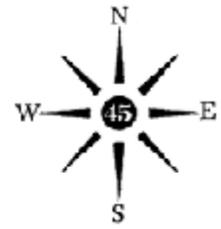


Figure B-27. Dutch Lodge / Omanhen's Palace, Plan
Second floor
(Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)

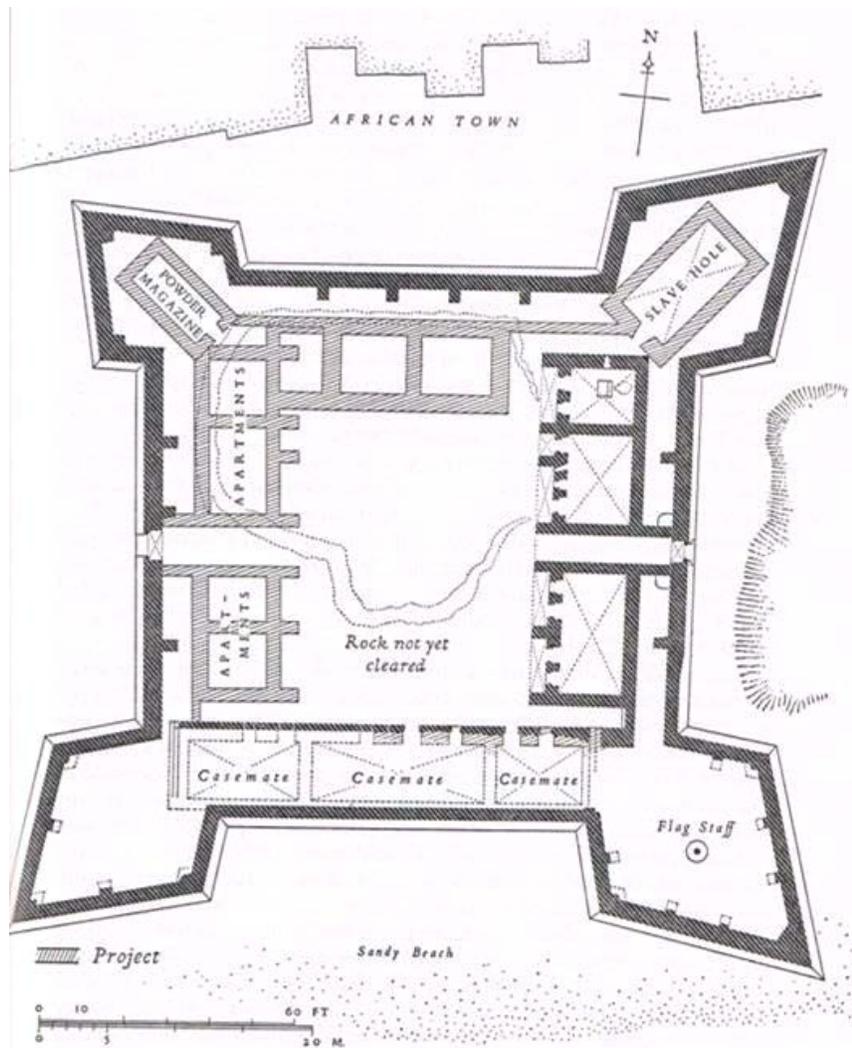


Figure B-28. Anomabo Fort, Plan
Second floor
Justly Watson
March 1756
Anomabo, Ghana
(Lawrence, Trade Castles, p. 351, Figure 43)



Figure B-29. Fort William, Interior East Wall
John Apperley
1753-1759
Brick, stone, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-30. Castle Brew, Courtyard Entrance
Richard Brew
c. 1756-1759
Restored by GMMB in the 1960s
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2008)

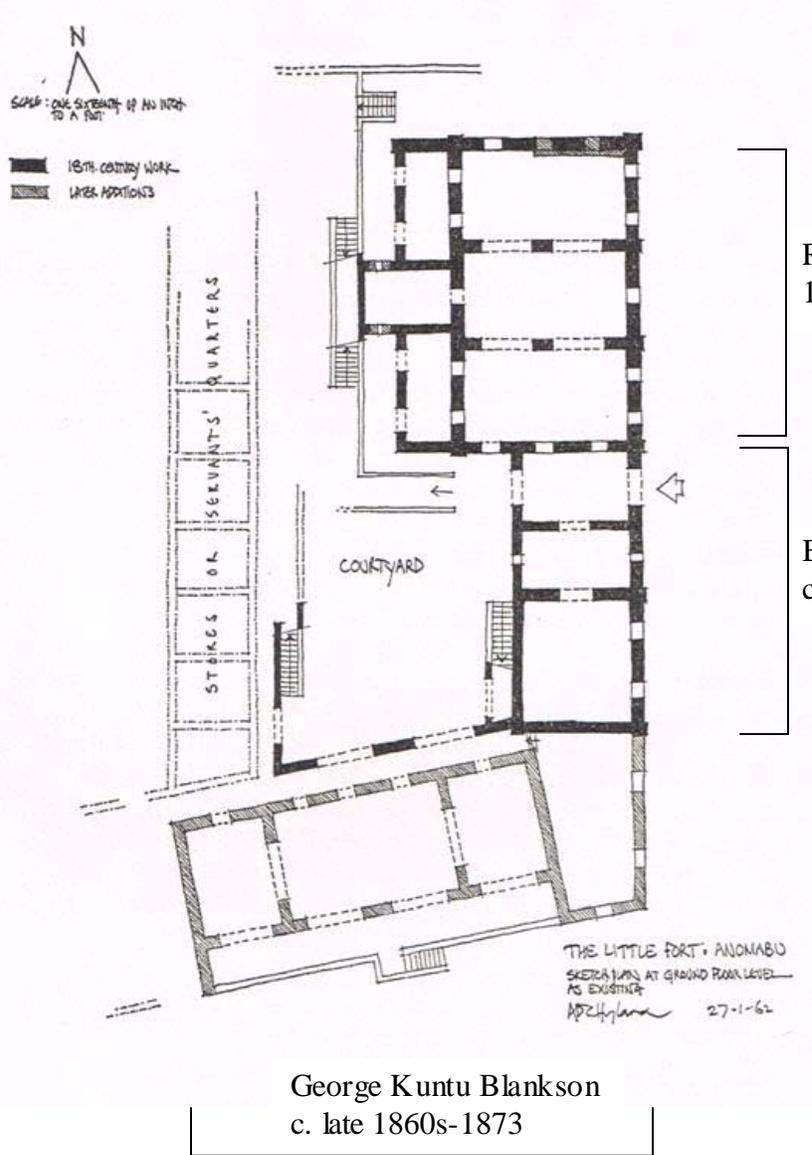


Figure B-31. Castle Brew, Plan
 A. D. C. Hyland (with added notations by Courtnay Micots)
 January 27, 1962
 Anomabo, Ghana
 (Priestley, *West African Trade*, p. 56)



Figure B-32. Fort William Addition, Palaver Hall and Governor's Quarters
Brodie G. Cruickshank
c. 1834-1844
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-33. Cruickshank Addition, South Room, Second Floor
Brodie G. Cruickshank
c. 1834-1844
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-34. Cruickshank Addition, Courtyard Wall
Brodie G. Cruickshank
c. 1834-1844
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-35. J. E. H. Conduah Family Residence
Dutch
c. 1807-1839
Stone nog
Elmina, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-36. J. E. H. Conduah
Unknown photographer
c. 1900s
Elmina, Ghana



Figure B-37. J. E. H. Conduah Family Residence, Second Floor
Dutch
C. 1807-1839
Stone Nog
Elmina, Ghana
(Photo By Courtnay Micots, 2009)

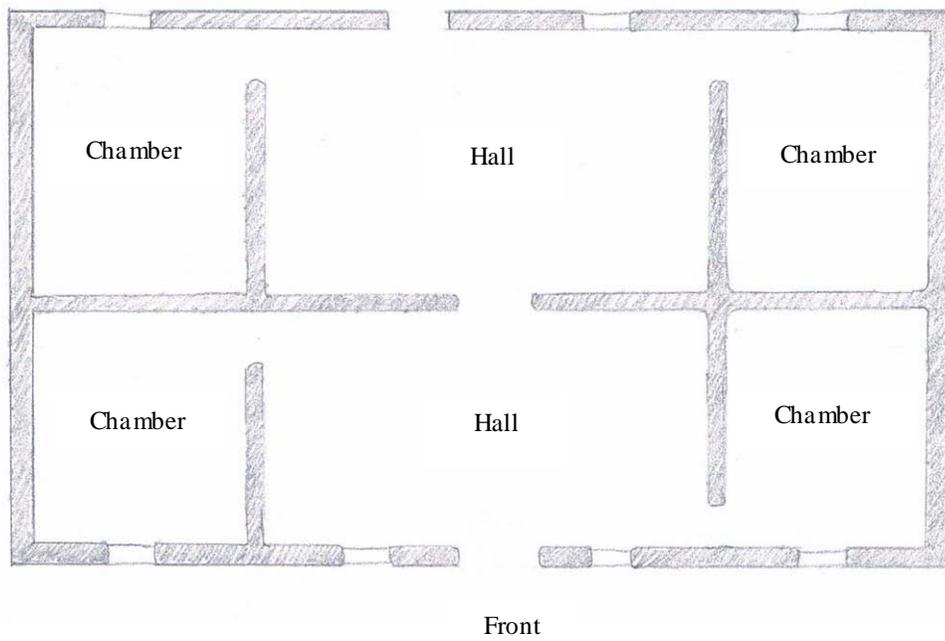
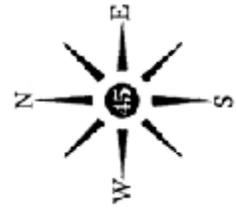


Figure B-38. Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence, Plan
(Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-39. Kodwo Kuntu Family Residence
Kodwo Kuntu
c. 1875-1931
Stone nog, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-40. Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence, Front and North Side
Moses Kwesi Amo
c. 1890-1910
Rammed Earth, Stone nog, Cement Plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-41. Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence, Rear
Moses Kwesi Amo
c. 1890-1910
Rammed Earth, Stone nog, Cement Plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

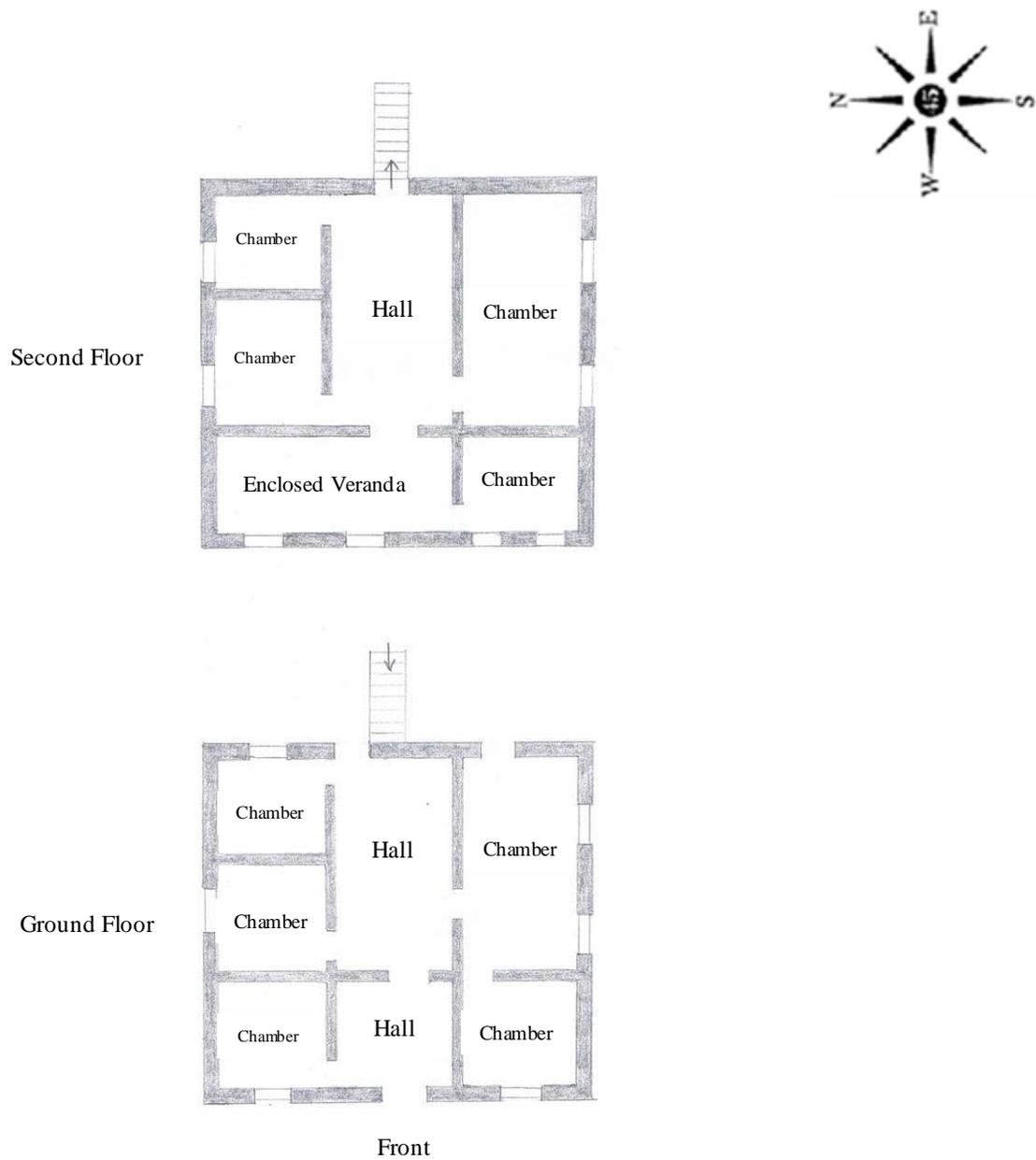


Figure B-42. Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence, Plan
 (Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-43. Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence
Charles Bentum Annan (c. 1890-1964)
c. 1920s-1931
Stone nog, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-44. Charles Bentum Annan (c. 1890-1964)
Unknown photographer
c. 1920s
Anomabo, Ghana

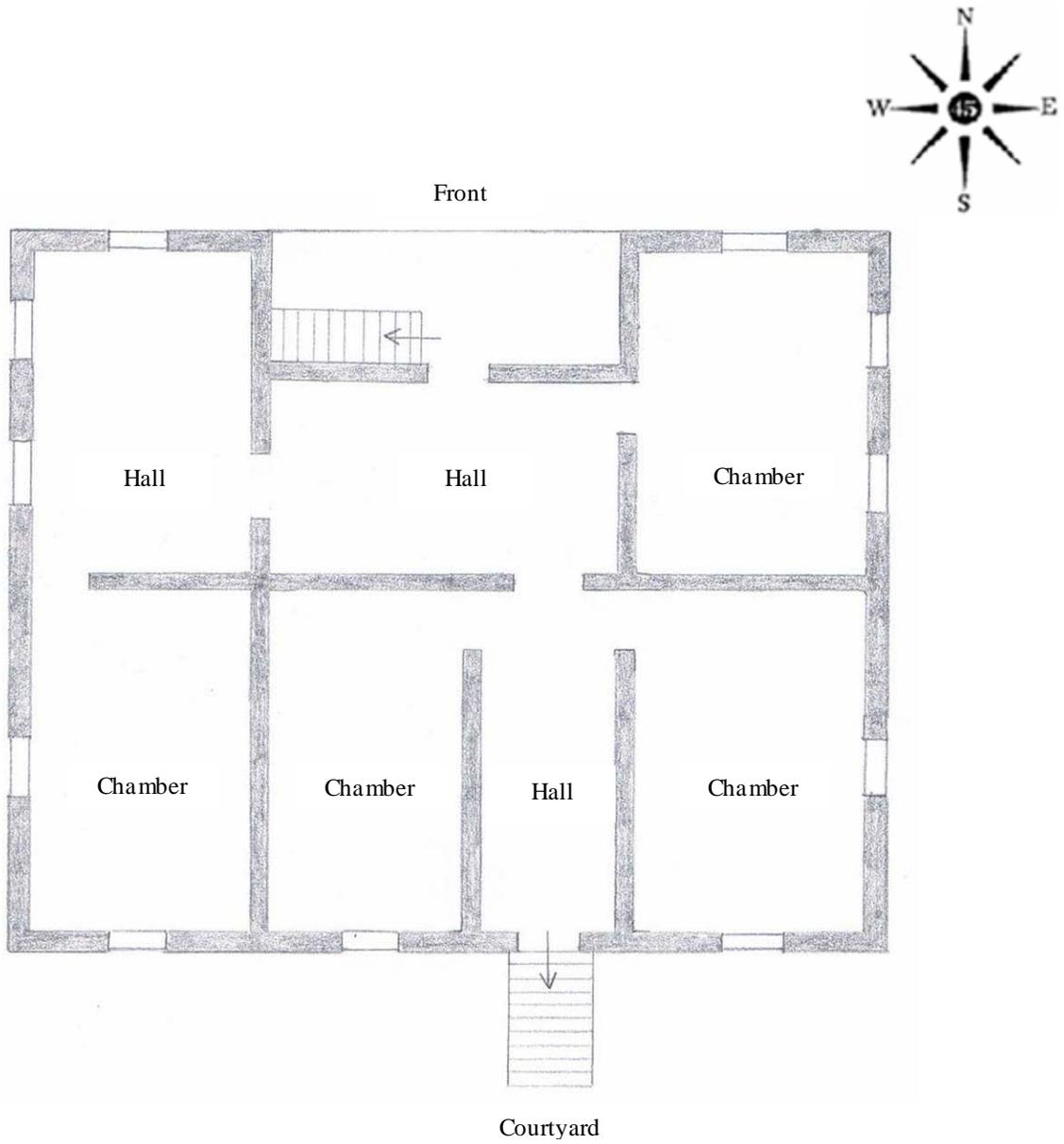


Figure B-45. Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence, Plan
 (Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-46. Kodwo Baffoe Family Residence (Ground Floor Only)
Kodwo Baffoe and Thomas Kweku Mensah Wonkyi
c. 1920s-1931
Stone nog
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-47. Ama Moo Family Residence, Front, with Friend Mensah
Ama Moo
c. 1870-1895
Stone nog, brick, concrete block, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2007)



Figure B-48. Ama Moo Family Residence, Back

Ama Moo

c. 1870-1895

Stone nog, brick, concrete block, cement plaster

Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2007)



Figure B-49. Methodist Mission

Begun by Rev. George Wrigley, partially rebuilt by Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman
c. 1836-1840

Rammed earth, timber, concrete block, cement plaster

Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-50. Kobena Mefful Family Residence
Kobena Mefful (1853-March 1943)
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)

Main
Entrance



Figure B-51. Ebenezer Methodist Church
Reverends James Picot and James Fletcher
c. 1895
Renovation 1966-1971, Rebuilt main entrance façade, added pilasters and chapel
Stone nog, partial cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-52. Samuel Otu Memorial Presbyterian Church
Unknown builders
c. 1853, Chapel Tower added later
Stone nog
Larteh, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-53. Warehouse, a. k. a. Old Catholic Mission, Back
United Africa Company
c. 1850
Stone nog, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-54. Nanglican Church, South Side and Back
Unknown builder
c.1910
Stone nog, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-55. Etsiwa Abodo with Supi Kofi Dickson
Kow Otu or Egya Edzii
c. 1900s
Stone nog, brick, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-56. Swanzy
Kow Otu or Mr. Bilson
c. 1890s
Stone nog, brick facing, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

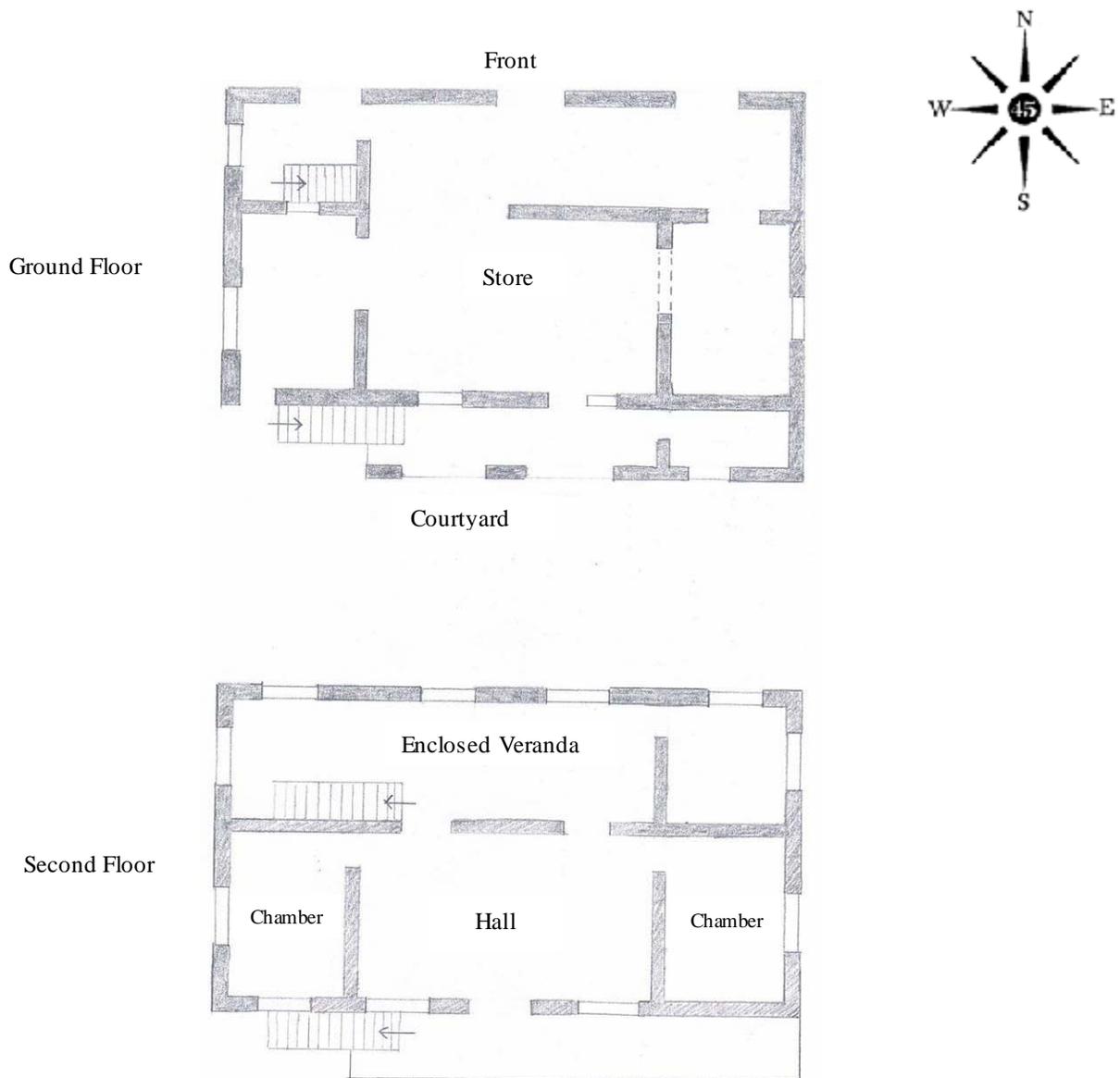


Figure B-57. Swazy, Plan
 (Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-58. Swanzy, Interior Mushroom Arch, with Descendant Beatrice Harrison Mends
Kow Otu or Mr. Bilson
c. 1890s
Stone nog, brick facing, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-59. Kobena Mefful (1853-March 1943)
Unknown photographer
c. 1870s
Anomabo, Ghana

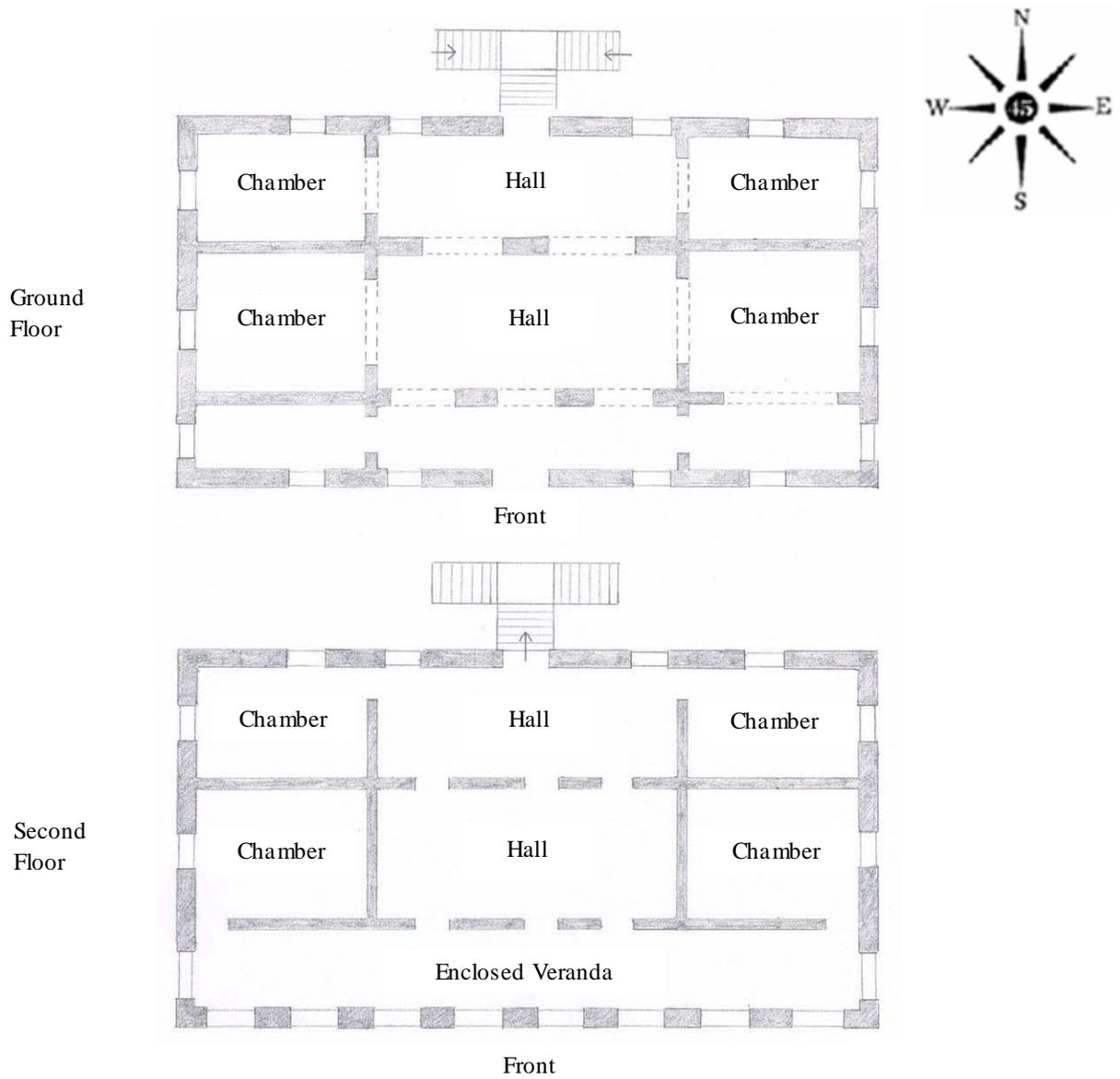


Figure B-60. Kobena Mefful Family Residence, Plan
 (Drawing by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-61. Kobena Mefful Family Residence, Interior, Ground Floor
Kobena Mefful (1853-March 1943)
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-62. Kobena Mefful Family Residence, Chamber Doorways, Ground Floor
Kobena Mefful (1853-March 1943)
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-63. Kobena Mefful Family Residence, Enclosed Veranda, Second Floor
Kobena Mefful (1853-March 1943)
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-64. Chief Joseph Edward Biney Family Residence, Courtyard Entrance
Chief Joseph Edward Biney (b. 1850)
c. 1880-1900
Stone nog, brick facing, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-65. Claude Calvert Hagan Family Residence, South Side and Partial Front
Claude Calvert Hagan
c. 1900s
Rammed Earth, iron or aluminum sheeting over verandah, asbestos/slate roof
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-66. Claude Calvert Hagan and Wife, Possibly Araba Otuah
Unknown photographer
c. 1900s
Anomabo, Ghana

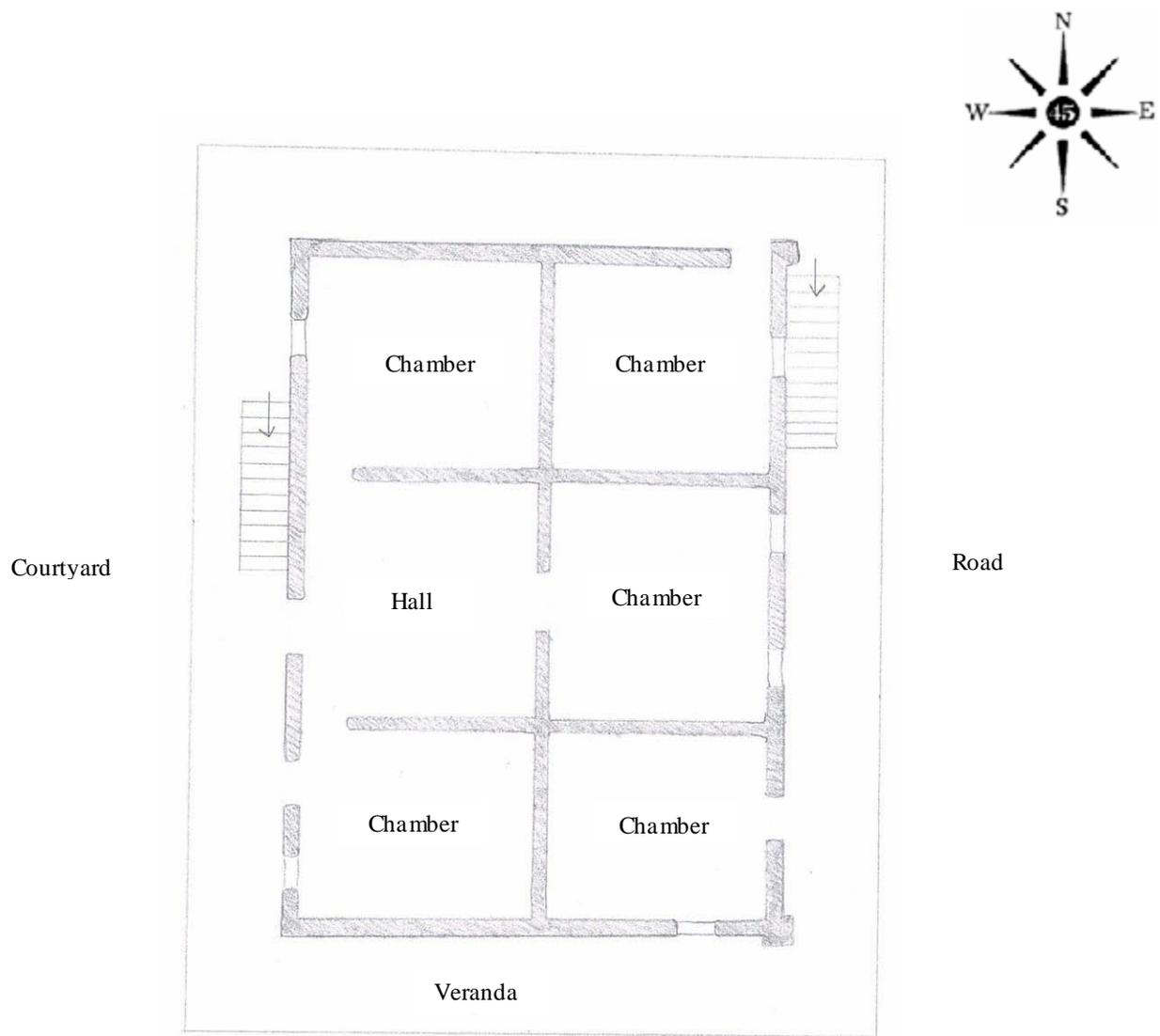


Figure B-67. Claude Clavert Hagan Family Residence, Plan
 (Drawn by Courtney Micots, 2009)

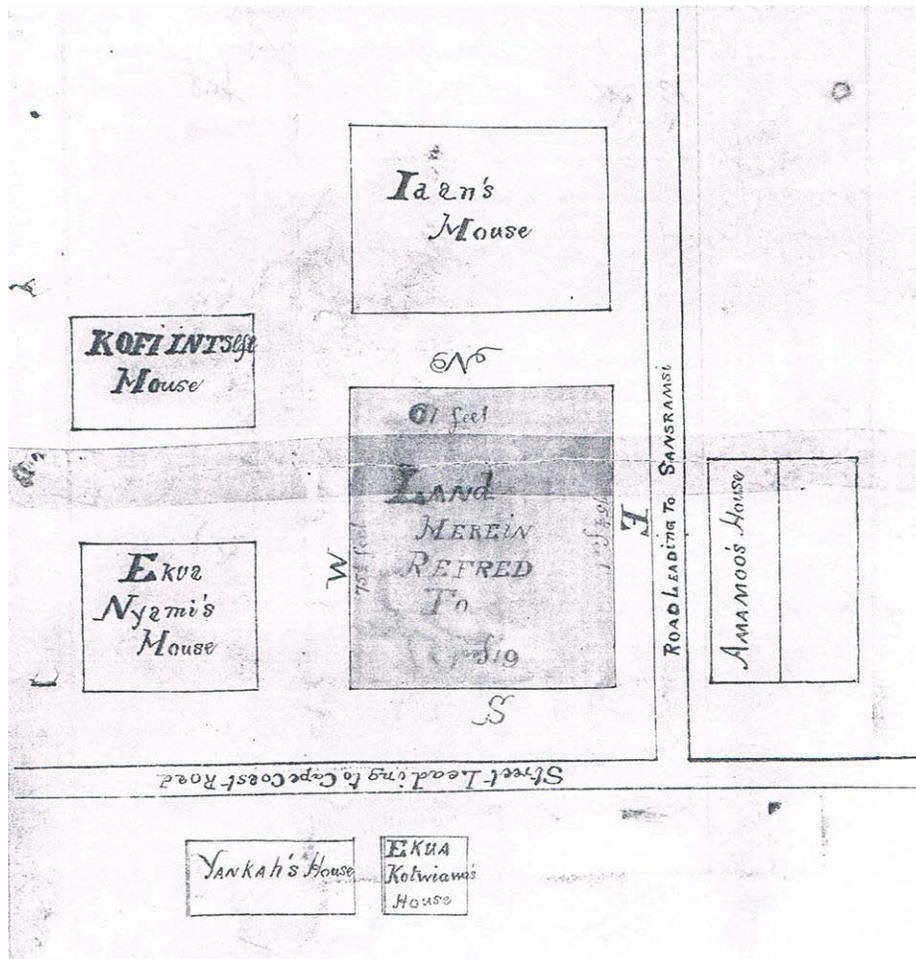


Figure B-68. Survey from Indenture Document
 1895
 Anomabo, Ghana
 (Copy provided by Kwesi Edukuma Hagan, 2009)



Figure B-69. The Russell House, West Side
Reverend John Oboboam Hammond, Francis Medanyamease Hammond, Mrs.
Charlotte Oyemame Acquah (1858 – July 31, 1908)
1897-1898
Stone nog
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-70. Moses Adu Family Residence
Moses Adu
After 1885
Stone nog, cement plaster
Larteh, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

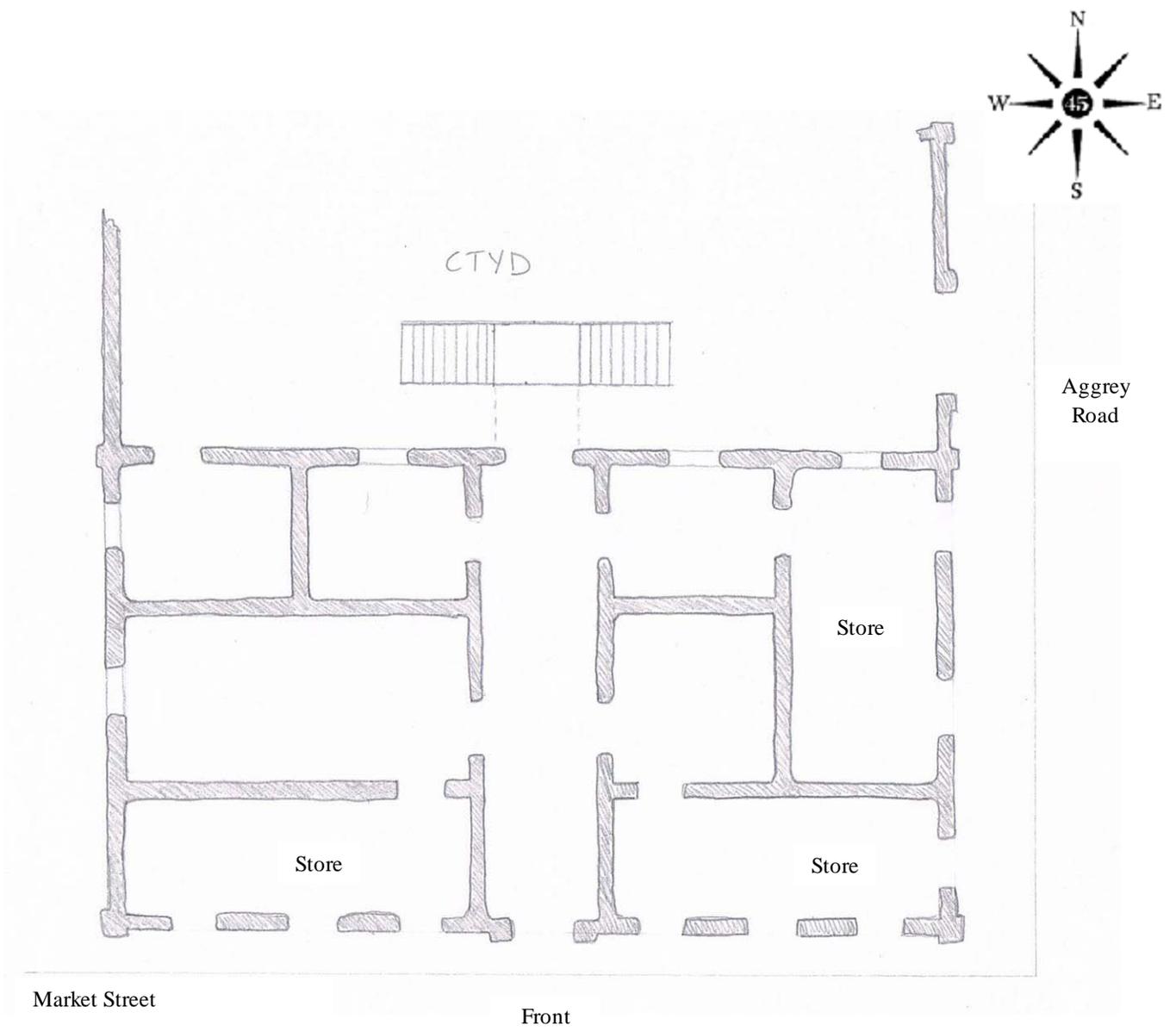


Figure B-71. The Russell House, Plan
 Ground floor
 (Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-72. The Russell House, Courtyard Entrance

Reverend John Oboboam Hammond, Francis Medanyamease Hammond, Mrs.

Charlotte Oyemame Acquah (1858 – July 31, 1908)

1897-1898

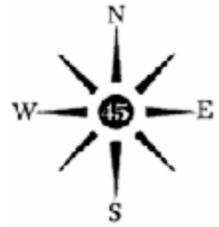
Stone nog

Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-73. Justice Akwa Family Residence, Front
Justice Akwa
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Front

Annobil Street

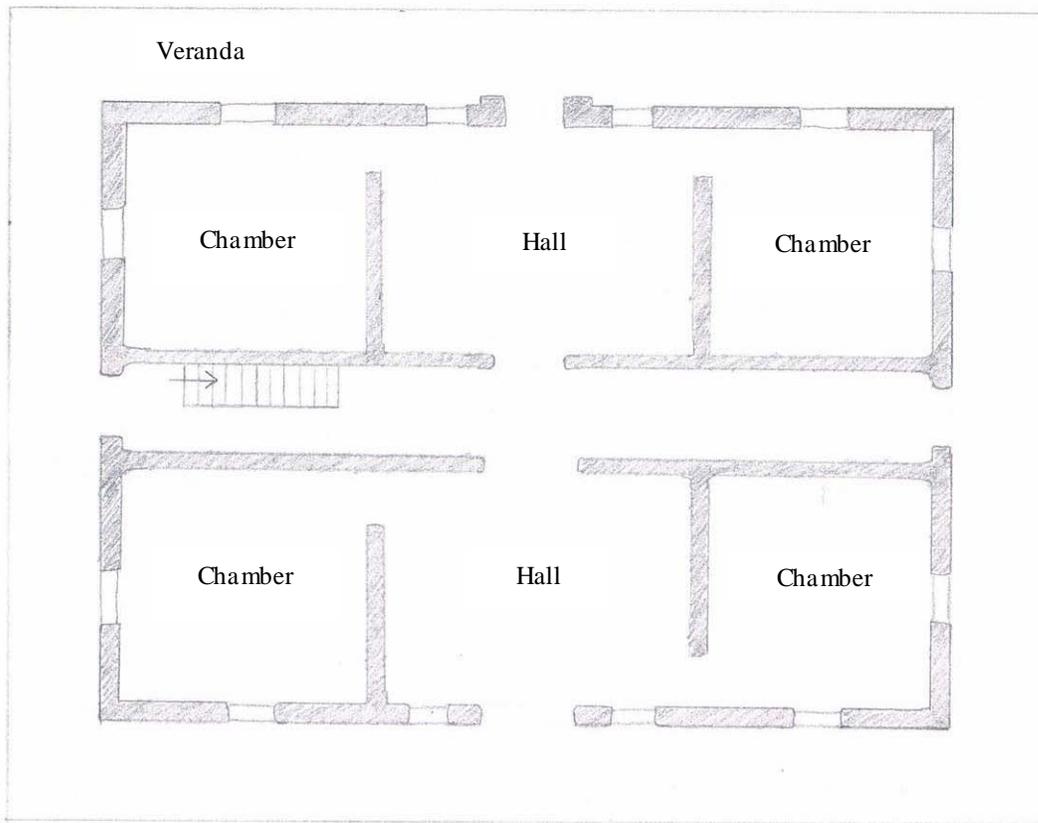


Figure B-74. Justice Akwa Family Residence, Plan
Ground floor
(Drawing by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-75. Okokodo Road
Kobena Mefful Family Residence on left, Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence
on right, Kobena Samson Family Residence on right in the distance
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)

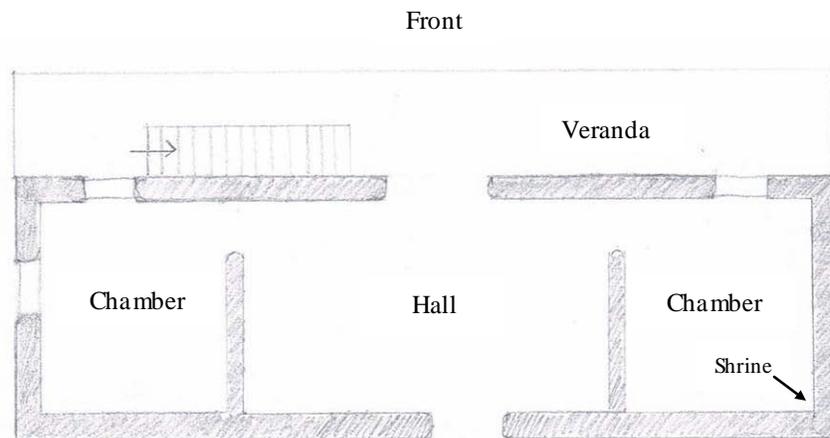
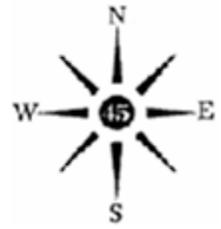


Figure B-76. Etsiwa Abodo, Plan
Ground floor
(Drawing by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-77. Adontehen Amonoo I Family Residence (2), Pier Bases
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-78. Yard House

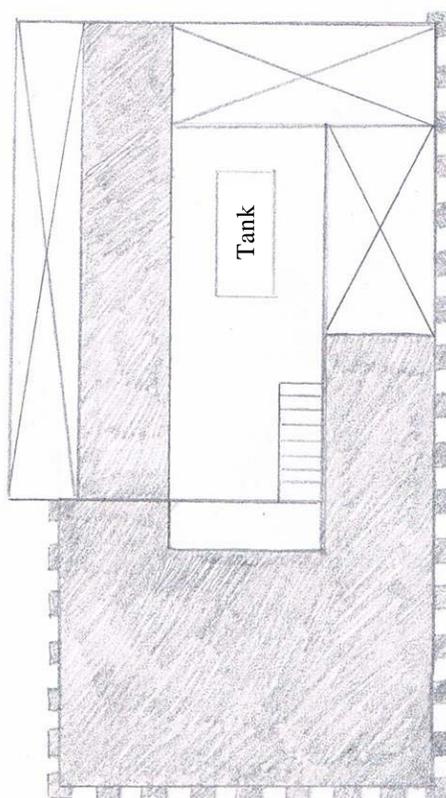
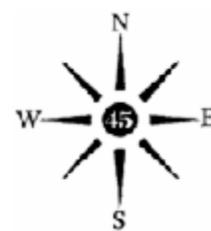
Charles Essuman McCarthy, a.k.a. Kwa Atsen, a. k. a. Mankata
Before 1931

Stone nog
Anomabo, Ghana

(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-79. Ed Monson Family Residence, Interior View of Standing Wall
Ed Monson
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Front

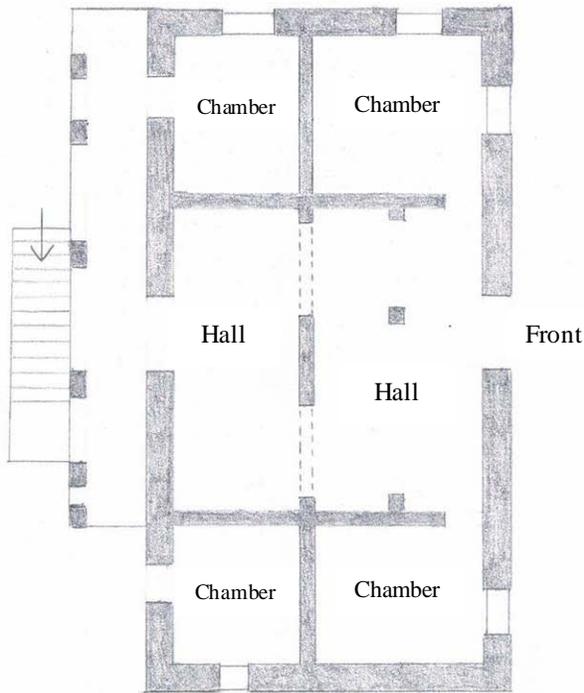
Figure B-80. Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence, Aerial Plan from 1931 Gold Coast Survey
Courtesy of the National Archives, Cape Coast, Ghana
(Copied by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



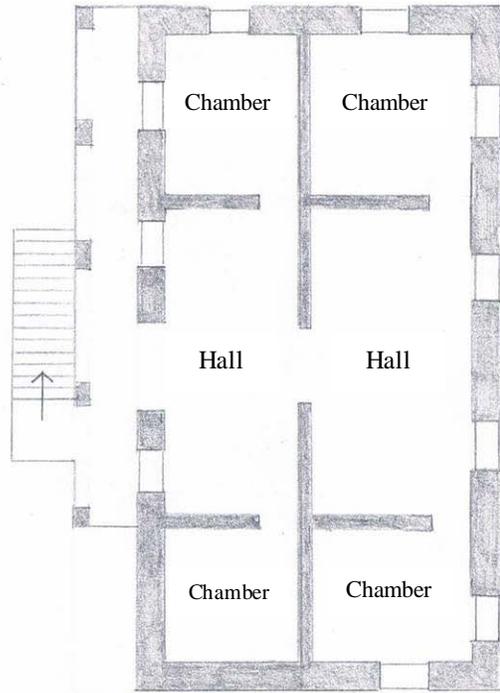
Figure B-81. Gothic House, a. k. a. Oguaa Palace, a. k. a. Emintsimadze Palace
James Dawson
c. 1815
Stone nog, cement plaster
Cape Coast, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2009)



Figure B-82. Abrɔsan
Unknown builder
c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing, cement plaster
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Ground Floor



Second Floor

Figure B-83. Abrōsan, Plan
(Drawing by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-84. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, West Side
Atta Amonoo and his father, Amonoo V
c. 1910s-1922
Stone nog, brick, concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2008)



Figure B-85. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, East Side
Atta Amonoo and his father, Amonoo V
c. 1910s-1922
Stone nog, brick, concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2008)



Figure B-86. Allen Quansah Family Residence (1)
Allen Quansah
c. 1883
Stone nog, brick facing, cement plaster
Cape Coast, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-87. Pobee Abaka Family Residence
Pobee Abaka
c. 1845-1900
Stone nog, brick, rammed earth, cement forms, cement plaster
Saltpond, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-88. Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence, Entrance
Atta Amonoo and his father, Amonoo V
c. 1910s-1922
Stone nog, brick, concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-89. Allen Quansah Family Residence (2)
Allen Quansah
c. 1883
Stone nog, brick facing, stained glass, cement plaster
Cape Coast, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-90. Onismous Brandford Parker Family Residence
Onismous Brandford Parker
c. 1875-1900
Rammed earth, brick facing
Cape Coast, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-91. Krontihen's Palace
Kɔw Appiah
c. 1640s or c. 1900
Stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtnay Micots, 2008)



Figure B-92. Krontihen's Palace, Entrance
Kɔw Appiah
c. 1900
Rammed earth, stone nog, brick facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photo by Courtney Micots, 2009)

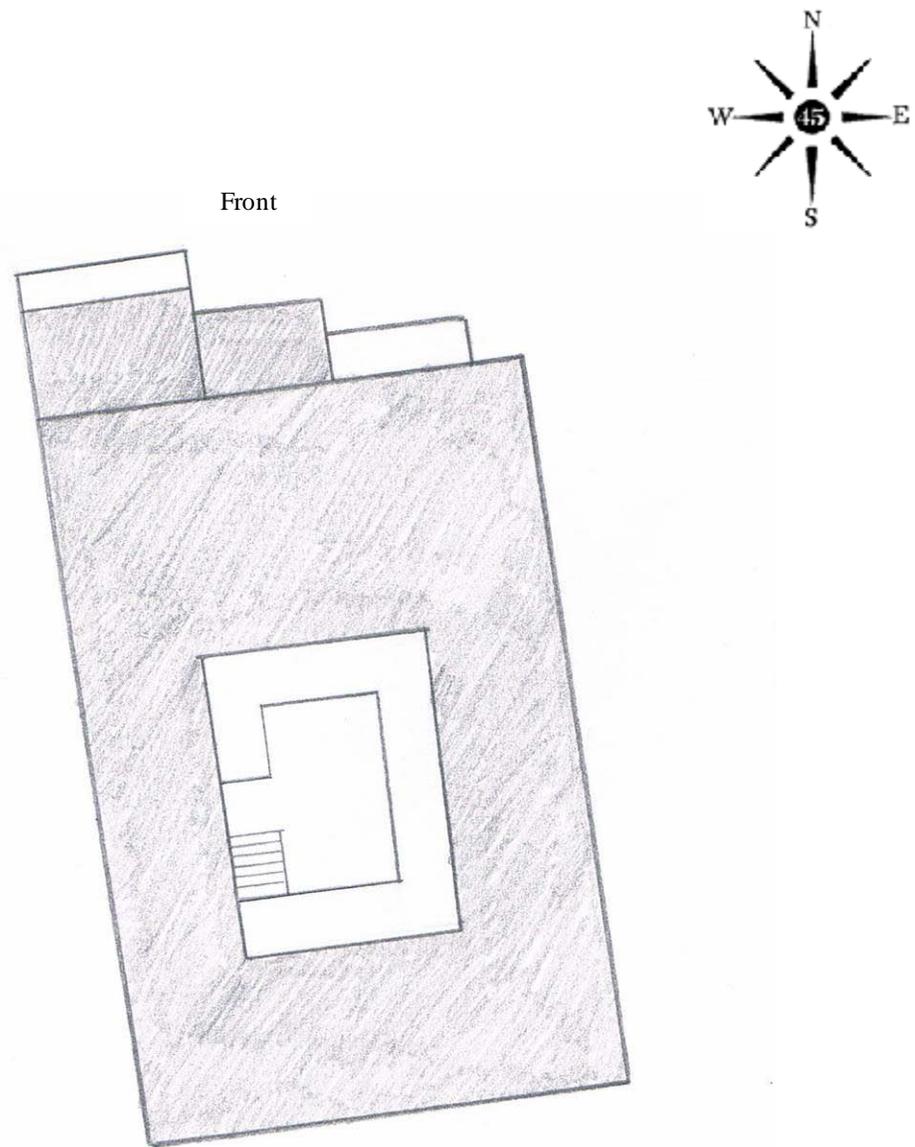


Figure B-93. Krontihen's Palace, Aerial Plan from 1931 Gold Coast Survey
Courtesy of the National Archives, Cape Coast, Ghana
(Copied by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-94. Egyir Aggrey Family Residence
Egyir Aggrey
2004
Concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtney Micots, 2009)



Figure B-95. W. E. D. A. Lodge, Back
William Emmanuel Daniel Acquah
1963
Brick, concrete, stone facing, tile facing
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2008)



Figure B-96. W. E. D. A. Family Residence
William Emmanuel Daniel Acquah
1960s
Concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2008)



Figure B-97. Kweku Abakah Family Residence
Kweku Abakah (d. 1990s)
1990s
Concrete
Anomabo, Ghana
(Photograph by Courtnay Micots, 2009)

APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL ANOMABO STRUCTURES

The descriptions for the following structures – residences, stores, forts and churches – have been placed in this separate appendix in order to clarify the main body of text in the dissertation. These are additional examples to supplement the overall argument, yet they are not germane to the hypotheses. I wanted to include them in this study however because they complete the catalog of surviving Anomabo stone nog buildings and provide a more comprehensive and complex overview of the subject.

Structure C-1. Twidan Clan Family Residence

In the late-nineteenth century, when Adontehen Amonoo I, a. k. a. Kweigyakwa II, a. k. a. Nana Kweku Amonoo,¹ was wooing his future wife Ketuwa, she requested that he build her a kitchen, a structure often constructed separate of the family house. He gave her a large stretch of land and built a *pate* for her in the Apatem neighborhood of Anomabo. The property was put in Ketuwa's name and passed down into her family, the Twidan clan.

According to descendants, the brothers Kwesi Dwoma and Kwesi Mensah built the Twidan Clan family residence in the late 1920s to 1931 (Figures B-22 and B-23) for all four siblings, the two brothers and their sisters Eku Hannah and Aba Sasah. The entire building was standing in 1931 according to the Gold Coast Survey. When the last of the siblings died, the house was willed to a daughter Efua Bankye. The current owners are her children Kobena Kum, Kobena Essilfie and Atta Morrison.

Locally-made bricks were used to face the stone nog building; however the southeast corner includes a partial rock wall about three feet high. It seems that this building was constructed on the site of a previous stone nog residence. Maintenance on the house has included painting, sealing cracks in the shell mortar with cement, and repairing the deteriorated roofing with both new timbers and iron corrugated sheeting. The walls are not plumb, due to either poor workmanship or lack of interest in such symmetry.

This house is not based on the typical Akan courtyard house (Figure B-24), rather it seems to resemble early descriptions of coastal two-story rammed earth residences. Each ground floor room opens to the exterior and not into each other. The entire outside is the living space, the

¹Sanders spells the name Kwa Agya Acquah, 288-291. His dates of reign were probably before Kweku Amonu II whose reign was reported to Sanders to be 1901-1921.

courtyard. The Hall and Chamber configuration is not present. The ground floor consists of four equally-sized small rooms measuring only about 8' x 9'.

The back of the house (Figure B-23) would originally have had timber stairs leading to the visitor's hall, but it was replaced in 1971 with steep concrete steps. Upstairs, the visitor's hall is a long room extending from one side of the house to the other. This room faces south towards the ocean and takes full advantage of the cool ocean breezes. The inner wall evenly divides the second floor in two. On the front side of the house are two bedchambers, each with a single door to the hall.

A verandah was not built. However a curious ledge is present on the west side of the building. Its intended purpose is perplexing. Local masons today thought such a ledge may have been used to deflect water and protect the foundation. Another possibility was that the builder wanted to make the first story thicker at the bottom to support the weight above better. While either of these explanations is plausible, it seems odd that the ledge occurs only on the one side of the building.

The ledge may be part of the off-beat phrasing, or asymmetry, present in this house. While the room sizes are generally the same, doors and windows may not align. On the ground floor, the windows in the south chambers do not align while those in the north chamber do. Upstairs, no windows are present on the east side of the building or on the north wall of the northwest chamber. In fact, this house shows a greater sense of the asymmetrical aesthetic than any other house in this study. This may lead some to conclude that the craftsmanship may be poor. Perhaps family members constructed the house, like the Yard House (Structure C-14), rather than professional masons. Or, perhaps that's just the way the clients preferred the placement of doors and windows.

The entire house rests directly on the ground. A low concrete bolster has been added around part of the northern side, all of the west side, and part of the south side. No doubt this was added to protect the lower part of the structure from the rains. The house has been painted white.

Structure C-2. Fort Charles

In 1750, Sesarakoo described the British Royal African Company's efforts on the coast.

They had:

at first no more than a House with the English Company's Flag flying, to shew to whom it belonged; but afterwards, with the Consent of the Natives, who received an annual Rent for the Ground upon which it stood, they built, in 1679, a very neat, beautiful, and strong Fort, with Stone, Brick, and Lime. This Fort was seated upon a Rock about 30 Paces from the Strand, having 12 Brass Guns and 2 Patereroes mounted; and the Establishment in those Times was a chief Factor, 12 Whites, and 18 *Grometto Negroes*. The Beach, under the immediate Command of the Guns, was partly enclosed with a Mud Wall of eight Foot high, within which were Houses for the Company's Blacks; as in the Fort itself, the Lodgings were very neat and convenient, and the Warehouses large and commodius; in short, it was looked upon as the best and strongest Place upon that Coast.²

In Barbot's 1732 publication *A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea*, he also describes the first version of Fort Charles.

The castle which the English possess there is situated at the place most favourable for landing, in order to defend it better. It is actually no more than one compact main building, flanked by four small brick bulwarks, which are armed with 16 small cannon, almost all being of cast iron.

The external walls of this castle are of little importance, consisting merely of a turf circle, 7-8 feet high. Inside it are various lodgings built of the same material, for the paid blacks and the slaves. The English garrison and commandant occupy the large dwelling-house, and it is here that all the merchandise and provisions are kept. This little castle has been built since 1679, for on my first visit it was merely a confused jumble of huts and stores made of turf, within the same outer wall which is still standing and which it is proposed to demolish and replace by one made of brick, which would be more appropriate. The soil is very suitable for baking bricks, and the oyster shells afford excellent lime. There is also no lack of building timber.³

²Sesarakoo, 16. His italics.

³Hair, Jones and Law, 416-417.

Thus, the first Fort Charles (Figure B-15) was an earthen building, more like a house, possibly using local builders. Barbot's illustration depicts a two-story building, a long wall extending across the length of the beach with a tall two or three-story turret at the center. The houses, shown behind the wall, may have been constructed in wattle and daub or rammed earth, as Barbot's "turf" may have described either method.

A few years later, Barbot illustrated the second Fort Charles (Figure B-16) that was rebuilt in stone, brick and lime around 1679, shortly after his drawing of the ruined first Fort Charles.

He described it as follows:

The village lies under the cannon of the *English* castle, lately built there, instead of an old house, which stood there in 1679, the mud walls whereof are still to be seen before the castle. This is a small, neat, compact fort, as here represented in the cut; being rather a large strong house, defended by two turrets on the one side, and two flankers on the other next to the sea, all built with stone, brick and lime, and seated on a rock, about thirty paces from the strand; having twelve good guns and two pattareroes mounted on it, and commonly garrison'd by twelve white men, and eighteen *Grometto Blacks*, under a chief factor. The lodgings within are convenient, and there are proper warehouses.⁴

Given the close wording, it seems that Sesarakoo used Barbot's account above to inform his text. Bosman only writes that in "Annamabo, the English have a small, but very neat compact Fort."⁵ Again, Bosman appears to be quoting Barbot's description. The illustration from his book (Figure B-17) gives the impression that he described the fort to an artist in England who then created the print. Barbot was known for making his own meticulous drawings. Therefore, Barbot provides the most detailed description of the first and second versions of Fort Charles.

The second fort was likely constructed in stone nog with brick facing. Probably the few British masons and carpenters trained and oversaw local African builders. Some of these builders

⁴Barbot, *A description*, 176.

⁵Bosman, 56.

may have been the Elmina fishermen who migrated to Anomabo during this period. They may have received their initial masonry training in Elmina.

Fort Charles suffered an attack by the people of Anomabo on September 4, 1701, yet the reasons are not documented. “Great numbers of them came down to the fort and succeeded in breaking open the outer-gate, and having set fire to the outbuildings and corn-room, directed a heavy fusillage against the fort itself.”⁶ Fighting continued for the next 22 days, with the English burning almost the entire town. After summoning the Chief of Saboe, a nearby state, to mediate a truce, the Anomabos agreed to pay an indemnity for damages done to the fort. Relations between the British and Anomabos remained strained for sometime afterward.⁷ Trade was growing increasingly competitive in Anomabo, and the British factor found it difficult to compete. Yet, on March 12, 1715, Captain Peter Holt wrote that trade in Anomabo was so good that he was trading 12,000 perpets a year, in addition to guns, tallow, sheets, powder, pewter, brass and 20,000 gallons of rum. Holt operated as both an agent for the Royal African Company and as an independent trader, preceding Richard Brew by almost fifty years.⁸

By 1730, Fort Charles was abandoned by the British Royal African Company which was disintegrating due to internal conflicts and lack of funding. The physical structure of Fort Charles quickly deteriorated. Sesarakoo described the state of the fort in 1750, which he likely witnessed.

...by slow Degrees, like the rest of the Fortresses in the Hands of that unfortunate Company, it fell to Decay, lost first its Beauty, then its Conveniency, and lastly, its Strength: so that, at this Time, it being of no farther Use, or rather its Owners

⁶Claridge, vol. 1, 200.

⁷Ibid., 200-201.

⁸Flather, 50-53; and Donnan, vol. 2, 192. Perpets refer to perpetuanas, durable woollen textiles widely made and used in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

having lost the Capacity of supporting it, this Castle has been slighted. The Walls and Ruins of it, however, still remain.⁹

For the next two decades, the French negotiated for the rights to build a fort on the site of Fort Charles. Although the French appealed to Kurensir with gifts of a broad sword, French brandy, hats and other dashes, to build a lodge or fort in Anomabo, their appeals were of no avail.¹⁰

Structure C-3. Fort William

The Company of Merchants was established in 1750 to succeed the Royal African Company. This newly-formed company returned to Anomabo in 1753 to reestablish their station and rebuild their fort. The French, who were proposing to build a fort at Anomabo at the same time, were frustrated by the arrival of John Apperley, an engineer whose design had been accepted in London, and who was sent out to execute it.¹¹ Apperley was known in England for building the Plymouth dockyard.¹²

On January 4, 1753, Apperley, the Engineer Superintendent of the Company of Merchants, arrived in Anomabo with stores and materials of the value of £6,116 3s. 9d. to construct the fort (Figure B-7). Imported brick, lime and timber were used in conjunction with local sand, shells and stone.¹³ Although he was instructed by his superiors in London to complete the fort within two years, he found only seven bricklayers, “white and black,” on the coast to add to the five he brought. His letters complain of the inability to find enough trained masons and of those he

⁹Sesarakoo, 16-17.

¹⁰J. N. Matson, “The French at Amoku,” *Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society* 1 (2, 1953), 47-48. Dantzig is the only source that states the French actually built a small fort, which they purposefully demolished before leaving Anomabo to the English. No source is given for his information, 58-59.

¹¹Lawrence, 349; and Doortmont and Savoldi, 132.

¹²William St. Clair, *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade* (London: Profile, 2006), 186.

¹³Ibid.

brought succumbing to the fevers.¹⁴ Therefore, the fort was built by a European engineer, a small number of British masons, and several more foreign and local masons and carpenters trained in European methods of construction.

Brick and lime were imported in bulk from Europe with vast quantities of brick used as ships' ballast. Use of brick for coigning and vaulting was introduced to the coast by the Portuguese, but further developed by the Dutch, for a brick barrel vault kept out the weather as well as being ant proof. Small yellow or greenish-buff bricks were used in Dutch forts and other buildings, together with a small number of the harder red variety. The Brandenburgers (Germans), Danes and English followed the Dutch example, vaulting and coigning with bricks imported from their home countries. Around 1750 the British began to use brick for entire structures, as is the case for Fort William. The inner buildings and the pavements were constructed of local stone; bricks were used for vaulting and coigning. Fir-timber and boards, and even 'smith's work,' were imported from England.¹⁵

The new fort (Figure B-28), called Anomabo Fort until Cruickshank renamed it Fort William in the nineteenth century, required roughly five times the ground covered by Fort Charles, and many Anomabo leaders protested. In his letter dated March 9, 1753, Apperley documented some of the trials he experienced.

The 25th of January I attempted to lay down the Plan of the New Fort, on the Ground where the Old one stood; but as the Old Fort did not take up above One Fifth of the Ground the New one will require, the Cabboceers (or Chief Magistrates of the Town) object to it, for reason they were used very ill by the Chiefs of the Old Fort, tho' small, and they were afraid of the Consequence of letting the English build a large Fort, as it stands in the Middle between the two Towns (for this place is distinguished by the Cabboceer and Fishing Towns), but by the Mediation of John Currantee . . . and a few others. . . . I have hopes of prevailing on the rest of

¹⁴Justice R. Strother Stewart, "Anomabo, Its Castle and Its People," *Transactions of the Cape Coast Historical Society* 1 (1 October 1936), 18-19.

¹⁵Lawrence, 91, 93, 350.

the Town, to give me what Ground I shall want, by shortening the Faces of the Bastion from 55 to 50 Feet in length, being bound by the Beach (where the Inhabitants must have a Road to carry their Dead past the Fort to their Burying Ground) on one side, and the Houses on the othe three Sides.

As is the Custom of the Country to bury the Chiefs of their Families in their Houses, no Reward will prevail on them to take down the least Part for our convenience.

The Length of both Towns from East to west is one Mile and $\frac{1}{4}$ and built along the Beach, the Breadth from North to South half a Mile. The Old Fort stands in the Middle between both Towns, on a Rock eight Feet above High Water Mark, and sixty Yards distant...I shall be obliged to blow up about six Feet perpendicular of Rock under the greatest part of the New Fort for the conveniency of getting Stone for the building; the Quantity of Bricks, sent out, will only raise the Parapet and Houses the Inside of the Fort, and leveling the Ground the Inside.¹⁶

Apperley complained regularly in his letters to England of being forced to stop work due to disagreements between chiefs in Anomabo and other unexplained interruptions by the inhabitants of Anomabo. However, in the end, Apperley skillfully won the support of Kurentsir in whose palace (the former Dutch Lodge) he stayed during the construction. He was obliged to reduce the original size of the fort in a compromise: one fort wall stopped short of the beach so that locals had a road to carry their dead past the fort to their burying ground. The northwest bastion was limited by some ancestral houses, due to the practice of burials taking place in family homes.¹⁷ Apperley also chose not to carry out the provisional scheme of restoring and extending Fort Charles, but built entirely anew. Only the inland extremity of the fort overlapped the previous site. The courtyard plan of the fort depicts these compromises.

Like the Dutch Lodge, Anomabo Fort utilized a two-story courtyard plan. According to Lawrence, the Medieval fortress plan of the fort was, like many others, based on the fort at Elmina. Forts built after Elmina consisted of a single fortified enclosure, lined with rooms

¹⁶Crooks, 23-24.

¹⁷Ibid., 20-28.

around a courtyard. The Dutch and British brought this plan to Anomabo, with the dominant function being defense. All of these coastal European forts were designed to withstand attacks from the locals, rival slave hunters, and merchants and pirates from other countries.¹⁸ Thus, by bringing the medieval stone fort to the coast, the Portuguese began an irreversible cultural architectural exchange between Africa and Europe, which continues today.

The Palladian design however seems to be more influenced by Cape Coast Castle which was begun in 1653 by the Swedes and rehabilitated by the British Royal African Company in 1665. Similar features at Fort William include arched doors and windows, a continuous balcony, and a parapet (added after Watson's time) with lancet openings (Figure B-29).¹⁹

By the spring of 1756, Apperley, then Governor, was described as far advanced in consumption and unlikely to live for more than a few months. Irishman Richard Brew was appointed Governor in July of 1756. Apperley died on August 18th.²⁰ Thomas Trinder, an Englishman and resident of Anomabo, held the post of Overseer of Works until an engineer arrived to replace Apperley. The new engineer, Captain John Baugh, sent out by the Board of Ordinance, reached Anomabo in 1758. The first stage of the fort was completed under Baugh.²¹

The Anomabo Fort was mostly built between 1753 and 1759, though the second story was added in the 1830s, when it was renamed Fort William after King William IV by Cruickshank, who was Commandant at the time.²² Fort William was bombarded by the French on December 4, 1794, and attacked by the Asante on June 15, 1807. The main entrance was walled up, at some

¹⁸Lawrence, 71, 74.

¹⁹Doormont and Savoldi, 113-122, 131-133. They provide a more detailed description of Fort William's architectural features along with several architectural drawings.

²⁰Flather, 20-32, 45-46, 70-76; and Priestley, *West African Trade*, 42-44.

²¹Priestley, *West African Trade*, 45.

²²Lawrence, 71.

unknown date before 1820, probably during the Asante invasion. It was not reopened till 1954 after the restoration by the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB).²³ When Fort William was wired for electricity in the early 1960s, the iron gas lamp posts once located in front of the fort were removed. It has since served as the District Commissioner's Court and a post office during the colonial period up until the 1920s, a rest house, and after independence in 1957 as a prison. It was opened as a tourist destination by the GMMB only recently. According to Anquandah: "As an architectural model, Fort William has been acclaimed as one of the most elegant and best built forts of the coast."²⁴

Doortmont and Savoldi argue that Fort William, though tied to Anomabo's history, is not an "element of identity" due to the current lack of local interaction with the fort.²⁵ On the contrary, I believe the opposite is true. Masons trained in British techniques of stone construction, arch-building and other technologies also constructed Castle Brew and Cruickshank's Addition in Anomabo. These masons may have passed down skills of stone and brick construction to their descendants and apprentices who may have constructed African coastal elite housing in the colonial period. Several of these structures built in Anomabo took the architectural form, materials and certain design elements directly from Fort William. According to the head of KNUST's Department of Architecture, Dr. G.W.K. Intsiful, the Fante look to the forts as *aban*, or government.²⁶ These forts become a visual symbol of power, and by relation, so do similarly-constructed large stone and brick buildings. Such structures become status markers,

²³Claridge, 594; Lawrence, 354-355; and J. D. Fage, ed., "A New Check List of the Forts and Castles of Ghana," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4 (1, Legon 1959), 58.

²⁴Anquandah, 45.

²⁵Doortmont and Savoldi, 126.

²⁶Personal communication with Dr. G. W. K. Intsiful, Head, Department of Architecture, KNUST, July 15, 2009.

communicating the wealth and power of the individual who owns it. Fort William's historical connections and visual presence as a symbol of power and status make it integral to the identity of Anomabo.

Structure C-4. Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence

The Moses Kwesi Amo House on Aggrey Road (Figure B-40) was built by Moses Kwesi Amo (b.c. 1860s) after he returned from working in England for a number of years. The house was probably built between 1890 and 1910. Although the descendants could not remember what kind of work Amo did in England, he fared well enough to construct this house. When Amo died, Kobina Kurensir (d.c. 1967) inherited the property. Kobina Kurensir married Efuah Datsewa and was a farmer with considerable land in Enyan Maim. When he inherited the house, this became the family house in town while he continued to live in Enyan Maim where he farmed. When Kurensir died, his wife inherited the house. When she died, their first son Kodwo Atta inherited the property. When he died, the second son of Kurensir and Datsewa, Kofi Tawia, a. k. a Joseph Timothy Sackey (d. 2008), inherited. His nephew Eric Amonoo inherited the house after Sackey's death and is the current *abusuapanyin*.

The house is constructed in rammed earth. The walls on the sides and back were later stabilized with partial walls of stone nog added to the exterior (Figure B-41). This unusual combination is difficult to discern at first glance, requiring a mason's eye to detect it. It seems possible that the stone walls were added by Kurensir who was originally given credit for the home's construction by the current occupants and descendants. The top of the stone wall elegantly follows the lines of the windows and creates an entablature over the back door.

Today, the house has been given a cement plaster coating and is painted white. It has a rounded base, like those on the early rammed earth houses. Windows have brick entablatures and

sills. The building was standing in 1931 according to the Gold Coast Survey. No defined courtyard or outbuildings were visible at that time.

The ground floor has two central halls with chambers on either side (Figure B-42). Instead of the strict Hall and Chamber plan however, the north chamber opens into the front hall while the chamber to the south opens into a larger chamber behind it. The south chamber has another door to the front of the building. The larger south chamber has two doors, one to the second hall and another to the outside at the back of the building. Two chambers on the north open into the second hall. Thus, three chambers are located to the north while two chambers are located to the south. This is an asymmetrical configuration, reminiscent of off-beat phrasing.

A timber staircase at the back of the house leads to the second floor hall. Three bedrooms extend from this hall, with two on the north and one large room on the south like the ground floor plan. A long enclosed verandah extends across the front of the building, with a chamber on the south side. Windows and doors on the ground level as well as the windows upstairs are not equal-distant and reflect a more organic arrangement than that dictated by Palladianism.

Originally, the house had all wood plank floors upstairs, yet most of the floors have since been replaced with *swish* floors. *Swish* flooring was the type of flooring masons knew how to create at the time period they were replaced. I was told that those who knew how to make wood plank floors had all died. This likely explains why *swish* floors replaced second story wood plank floors in other Anomabo structures, such as the Omanhen's Palace, Kobena Mefful Family Residence and Abrɔsan. The Dutch doors at the front entrance and at the back entrance upstairs are said to be original. These doors seem to have been popular imports in the early twentieth century.

As an aside, two cemented barrels are located outside on the ground to the north of the residence. In the late-nineteenth century cement was imported in barrels. If they got wet, then they hardened. Hardened barrels like these are found, here and there, within Anomabo as evidence of its historical prominence as a port city. Cement was initially used sparingly in sculptures, as seen on *posuban* shrines for the *asafo*, or as mortar or decoration (see Lawyer Atta Amonoo's Family Residence in Chapter 7).

Structure C-5. Charles Bentum Annan Family Residence

Charles Bentum Annan, a. k. a. Kobena Abonkyi (c. 1890-1964), was a cocoa dealer and farmer. He went as far as Jasikan, a town near Accra, to sell cocoa. He built a fine, two-story stone nog house in Anomabo town proper (Figure B-43) and had a one-story rammed earth courtyard house on his plantation in Assin Manso, north of Anomabo state. Annan had five wives: Ama Seguwa, Ekuwa Amoasiwa, Aba Bedu, Ekuwa Mansa and Ekuwa Otuwa (in that order). He had 18 children. Annan, photographed sometime in the 1920s in a Western-style business suit (Figure B-44), was a Methodist who purchased the church's first organ. He also paid the Methodist school teachers when funds ran short. Most of the current residents are tenants. The landlord who lives on site is Annan's granddaughter Elizabeth Anderson, the Headmistress for the Methodist School. One of Annan's great-granddaughters, Joana Otoo, is a teacher at the Methodist School.

The stone house was probably built between the 1920s and 1931. It appears on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map in first class or good condition. A shortened veranda, or better described as a balcony, is located in the center of the façade. This is decorated with motifs indented in the two piers and across the balcony railing. The motifs consist of extended lozenges, or a double lancet, vertically on the piers and horizontally across the lower section of the railing. Inset arch and lancet shapes alternate across the main section of the railing. These were apparently chosen

by Annan to beautify the house and were described as “Fante motifs” by family members, however, the shapes can be found in Fort William, Castle Brew and other European structures in Anomabo and other towns along the coast. By the 1920s, these motifs were so incorporated into the coastal Akan architectural vernacular, that they are considered “traditional” by residents. These motifs were chosen from a long-standing corpus of designs familiar to any mason or client along the Ghanaian coast. They are also found on the Krontihen’s Palace in Anomabo (Structure C-17). Over time these European motifs have been selected, incorporated, characterized (as Fante) and transformed. Using the process of cultural authentication, the European motifs have been transformed into coastal African elite residential decoration to signify status.

The Hall and Chamber double plan (Figure B-45) is duplicated on both floors with certain variations. Chambers extend from the front hall, but the second hall area is divided to create a third chamber. The northwest chamber serves as a sitting room with an entry into the southwest chamber. Upstairs this chamber was used by Annan. The second hall becomes more of a hallway than a room. Upstairs retains its original wood plank flooring, yet it has a coat of cement plaster over it.

Behind the house is a courtyard. Surrounding the courtyard were once all one-story, rammed earth buildings. To the east were three rooms used as a kitchen. Two of the four rooms at the south were used as bedchambers, while the other two were used in Annan’s soap production. The family still has his large metal cauldron in the courtyard. Three west rooms complete the courtyard. The room to the south of this grouping was a bedchamber, the middle room was used as a bathroom, and the third and closest room to the house contained the cistern.

The elegant façade of the residence has been diminished by additions that enclose portions of the balcony. Originally the open spaces on the ground and second floors were symmetrically balanced. Its current asymmetrical presence does not seem to bother the occupants.

Intention evidence of off-beat phrasing is visible in the floor plan with the varied Hall and Chamber plan. The doors leading into the first hall from the side chambers do not align symmetrically. Otherwise, the windows all have symmetrical pairs, the balcony is centered, and other proportions are symmetrical and harmonic according to the British Palladian dictum.

Structure C-6. Kodwo Baffoe Family Residence

Sometime before 1931, brothers Kodwo Baffoe and Thomas Kweku Mensah Wonkyi built a two-story stone house (Figure B-46) in Anomabo across from The Russell House. Previously the property may have had a house owned by Ekua Kotwiawa or William Topp Nelson Yankah (see The Russell House, Chapter 6). Baffoe was a tailor working in Sekondi. He sent money home to his brother who oversaw the construction.

Today, the house is in ruin, but it appeared on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map in first class or good condition. Concrete blocks are positioned at the front corners of the structure. I was told that these blocks were added later to stabilize the structure, but it is possible that they were incorporated into the original residence, like those in the Lawyer Atta Amonoo Family Residence (see Chapter 7). These blocks are only about four inches in depth. Their placement at the coigns appears to imitate large masonry blocks used on many European structures as decorative embellishments.

The west side of the residence shows evidence of the laying of stone nog in horizontal sections. This construction technique was used across the street to build The Russell House (Figure B-19) as well. The technique is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

The grandson Stephen Kwame Ackon remembers the house as having a central hall downstairs with a chamber on either side. The upstairs also had a central hall, but with two chambers on each side. He does not remember a veranda. The current rectangular holes in the concrete block construction on the second story do not offer evidence of an original timber veranda, yet it is shown on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map. The original wide door entrance has been partially enclosed to fit a more recent Dutch door. Timber stairs would have been placed at the back of the house for access to the second story. Ackon's uncle was Ed Morson (see Structure C-15).

Structure C-7. Ama Moo Family Residence

The Ama Moo Family Residence (Figure B-47) was built sometime between the boom of the 1860s and 1895 when it appears on an indenture survey for The Russell House in December of 1895. Ama Moo was listed as the owner on this map. Today it is known as Nana Amamu's Palace belonging to a subchief in town. Unfortunately, the house has had many renovations from different periods and the second floor is uninhabitable. Concrete verandas have been added to both the front and back of the structure. (Figure B-48) Also, the west wall shows signs of extensive repair. The original stone facing is evident in the center of the west side, while brick has replaced remainder and the entire east side. Today, the ground floor is used for stores, while residents used to live upstairs, which had a double Hall and Chamber plan. This is one of the houses so altered over time that it is difficult to reconstruct the original façade and plan.

Structure C-8. Catholic Mission

The Old Catholic Mission on Annobil Street was constructed for the United Africa Company (UAC) as a storage facility sometime in the late-nineteenth century (Figure B-53). The structure is shown on the 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map in poor condition. It is located in the southeast corner of the Okokodo neighborhood in an area locally known as both Kakawum and

Kubekor. The UAC was comprised of English merchants who traded in palm oil, textiles, building materials, gunpowder and other goods. The UAC paid rent to the Adwenadze family for the use of the land.

The UAC was stationed in Saltpond as well as in Anomabo. After problems arose with unfair trading practices and looting by some locals in Saltpond, several companies including UAC dissolved in c. 1938. UAC left the building in Anomabo to the Adwenadze family.

Adontehen Amonoo I, *abusuapanyin* for the Twidan clan at the time, gave the building outright to the Roman Catholic Church probably sometime in the 1880s. He was not Catholic himself, but several of the family members had converted. The Catholics had a much smaller following than the Methodists in Anomabo in the late-nineteenth century. It was not until about 1990 that a new church was built, St. Mary's Immaculate Conception Catholic Church, located in the neighborhood far east of the center of town called Twa Asu Kada, i.e. "cross the stream and go to sleep."

The English merchants had the one-room, long rectangular building constructed using stone nog. The evenly-spaced doors and windows have anse de panier arches. Although a simple design, appropriate for a warehouse, it followed the Palladian dictum. The church later added the chapel divider inside and the decorative colored glass panels in the thirteen windows. Today the space is used as a kindergarten and nursery, though I also spotted it being used as a space for the church ladies to stencil cloth to be cut into their matching kaba and slit outfits. The church added a two-story mission house on the side of the courtyard in rammed earth. The English priests stayed in this mission house when they visited Anomabo. Today, some of the Catholic school teachers live in this structure.

Structure C-9. Nanglican Church

The Afro-Christian Nanglican Church (Figure B-54) was built later in 1909, but is similar to the Old Catholic Mission.²⁷ It is a simple one-story rectangular structure built with stone masonry construction. Located in the Bantuma neighborhood, the Nanglican Church, has decorative additions to its south façade. Just above the windows is a row of cement forms with alternating flat and scallop shapes acting as a belt course and entablature across the entire façade. These concrete forms were imported from Europe and were available in Saltpond, Anomabo and Cape Coast.

Structure C-10. The Residences of Kow Otu

Three large houses were built by Kow Otu, a. k. a. John Ogoe Sr., near the Etsiwa *posuban*. Otu was a merchant who sold gun powder, cloth, imported building materials, and many other goods. He used palm wine and later cocoa to barter for these imported goods. He had only one wife, Tanoah Hilda Ogoe. Otu was a Methodist who donated part of his land for the construction of the Ebenezer Methodist Church. He, along with George Kuntu Blankson and others, contributed greatly to the construction costs of this church, completed in 1895. Otu also served as Head Master of the Methodist School.²⁸

Otu and his wife had five children: Aba Tsetsewa, a. k. a. Mary Gordon; Araba Essumanaba; John Ogoe Jr., a. k. a. Kobena Otu (c.d. 1909); Kwesi Kobia; and Kofi Etsiwa. Ogoe Jr. was schooled in England and worked as a registrar at Fort William and in the northern region of Ghana. When he returned to Anomabo, he became the Headmaster of the Methodist School. Kobia trained as a surveyor in England and, along with Ferguson, is responsible for

²⁷The Nanglican Church is an African branch of the English Anglican Church, also known as The Church of England.

²⁸*The Gold Coast Leader* (December 18-25, 1909), 7.

mapping northern Ghana. Etsiwa trained on the coast and worked in Anomabo as a silver and goldsmith. When Otu died, his properties were inherited by the *abusua*. Nana Nyanfueku Ababio, Chief of Ekroful, mentioned in the Introduction, married Araba Baaba (1873 – 1963), granddaughter of Kow Otu, and lived in the first Kow Otu Family Residence (Figure B-13).

First Residence

This first residence is a two-story rammed earth house built sometime in the 1860s. A timber verandah supported by piers once extended from the west side, now enclosed. The house has been much altered since its initial construction. In the original portion of the downstairs, a brick-constructed mushroom arch leads from a long hall into a south chamber. The interior arch may have been inspired by the Methodist Mission.

Earthen stairs in the side courtyard were once covered with ceramic tiles imported from Europe. The tiles were purchased from the Swanzy store (Structure C-11). The earthen stairs were replaced with timber stairs at some point in time. When these deteriorated, concrete stairs replaced the timber, and tiles were reset into these. The same tiles are found on the upstairs entry hall floor and steps leading between the upstairs halls under the two archways. The upstairs halls and chambers retain their original wood plank flooring.

Ceramic Tiles

Imported ceramic tiles were added by Cruickshank to Fort William. Large one-foot square tiles were imbedded in the floor where the stairs lead to the upper level and on the main steps leading into the Palaver Hall. Smaller versions of these tiles were placed on the steps leading into the Governor's Quarters located just behind the Hall. The tiles are thick and brownish-red in color. In the nineteenth century smaller tiles became fashionable for interiors. The tiles at the Otu house are mixed shades of brownish-red, brown and yellow. The latter is most similar to those found in the Omanhen's Palace and the Allen Quansah Family Residence

(2) in Cape Coast (1883) (see Chapter 8). These once covered the entire house. Perhaps the tiles at the Omanhen's Palace were also purchased at a Swanzy store in Anomabo.

Second Residence

About twenty years later, Otu built the second house using stone nog with brick facing (Figure B-12) for his first daughter Aba Tsetsewa. Although in ruins today, family members remember it as a two-story house without a front veranda. This is confirmed by the 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map. A slate stone floor is visible on the northwest corner. A central courtyard incorporated a stairway that led to a short veranda on the second floor. The building collapsed in 1988, not long after the roof had blown off during a storm.

Anomabo locals maintain that the third house built by Otu was Etsiwa Abodo (Figure B-55). However, the *abusuapanyin* Robert Entsua-Mensah of Accra contradicted them all by stating that the third house was the building now known as Swanzy. Locals avow that a Mr. or Rev. Bilson constructed Swanzy for his wife, Araba Essumanba, the second daughter of Kow Otu. Since property information is generally bestowed upon the *abusuapanyin*, this study will present his oral history.

Structure C-11. Swanzy

Otu built this stone nog house with brick facing (Figure B-56) as a wedding present for his daughter and Mr. Bilson, an agent for F. and A. Swanzy.²⁹ The structure was built in the 1890s. This building has since received a cement plaster and paint. The name "Swanzy" is boldly painted on the façade. This name refers to the structure's history as a Swanzy store. Bilson and his family lived upstairs and rented out the ground floor to F. and A. Swanzy for use as a store. The building today is still known as "Swanzy."

²⁹No one could remember Bilson's first name or whether he was Fante. No further information was available on this gentleman.

The Swanzys

The Swanzys have a long history on the coast and in Anomabo. James Swanzy (b. 1767) came to Africa from Ireland with the British Company of Merchants. While working as a surgeon in Winneba and at Apollonia (Beyin) and as Governor at Dixcove and Sekondi, he had the opportunity to visit all the coastal forts and initiate a thriving trade business. He retired in 1799 and married an English lady, not returning to the coast until c. 1817. Two of his brothers also worked on the coast. John Swanzy became Lieutenant Governor in Accra, while Francis Lucas Swanzy served with Henry Meredith at Fort William during the Asante invasion of 1807. James Swanzy had four sons. John (d. July 11, 1824) was a Lieutenant in the African Colonial Corps. James (the second) was the principal magistrate under Governor George Maclean in the 1830s and 1840s. Francis, known as Frank (b. 1816), and Andrew were children from James's (the first) second marriage after he returned to the coast. Frank and Andrew who may have been mulattoes founded the firm F. and A. Swanzy. Their center of operation was Cape Coast where they built a large office³⁰ known as The Heritage House today. The Heritage House is a Palladian-style building not unlike Castle Brew.

Andrew was appointed to Fort William sometime in 1847. Although he never received his promised salary, he met with an unexpected windfall in August 1848 when he received rewards from the seizure of thieves with stolen gold from the ship *Lemuel*. He lived in Anomabo for two years, probably within Fort William. He went to work in London from late 1849 or early 1850 until 1853 when he returned briefly. Even though he wasn't on the coast for much of his adult life, he was the main architect of the firm of F. and A. Swanzy. The firm had factories along the whole coast with agents like Bilson, Robert Hutchison and Ferguson's father, handling the daily

³⁰Swanzy, 87-103.

coastal business.³¹ The Swanzy firm had established one of the most successful trading operations on the coast. Swanzy observed that Anomabo, with an estimated population of 3,000, was exporting about 137,000 ounces of gold, eight tons of ivory and 1,300 puncheons of palm oil, equivalent to about 500 tons, annually.³² The Swanzys are said to have introduced the first motor-car to the Coast around 1910.³³ Even though neither Andrew nor Frank apparently built a house in Anomabo, the goodwill attached to the name of F. and A. Swanzy was so great that it was attached to the structure even after the Swanzy store was closed in Anomabo.

Style and Plan

The exterior of Swanzy is plain with two-story pilasters as its only ornamentation. These pilasters are at the coigns and in the center of the sides of the building. These have decorative ridges at the bottom as if to indicate a pedestal; in the center at two points, about one-third up and two-third up the pilaster; and at the top. Three plain doorways are located symmetrically across the front and four symmetrically-placed windows are on the second floor. Locals consider the exterior to be typically Fante, with the added decoration of European pilasters to beautify the residence. A small courtyard enclosed at the rear of the building has a separate entrance. A veranda overlooking the courtyard extends across the back of the building.

The interior plan of the structure today (Figure B-57) retains some of its original character although the ground floor has had some additional walls installed to create more rooms in 1986. The ground floor once had a more open floor plan, ideal for a store, with two indoor bathrooms at the back of either corner. These may have been storage rooms initially.

³¹Ibid., 110-113.

³²Flather, 106.

³³Swanzy, 116-117. Allen Quansah of Cape Coast and William Emmanuel Daniel Acquaaah of Anomabo are also remembered as having been the first to own and drive a motor-car on the coast.

The restorations of 1986 make it difficult to ascertain some aspects of the ground floor plan. The wall that juts into the center of the space was designated as an old wall. Current walls to the back of the building and across are new walls (not shown in the plan). It seems likely that they replaced older walls, yet the descendant currently living in the house remembered only that the plan was open. A mushroom arch leads from a large central room into a smaller east room (Figure B-58).

Interior stairs lead to the second floor. Today, the stairs are concrete, though they were once timber. A room behind these stairs was original and may have served as an office or storeroom for Bilson. The interior staircase is unusual within the corpus of African coastal architecture. Also, a window is situated over the stairs. Perhaps it was a way for the agent to keep an eye on this part of the store. Probably, the original timber staircase was added at a later time when the original owner Bilson died.

Thus, the downstairs was an open space with a room at the back on each side. These rooms were accessible via a mushroom arched opening to the east room mirrored by a regular wide opening to the west room. It was once an elegant and large shop. Though turned 90 degrees, Otu seems to have built this structure along the same plan as his first house plan.

Upstairs, the original plank floors and timber ceiling remain. The plank floors are supported by *swish*, seen in the downstairs ceiling. The upstairs plan has two central halls from which three bedrooms extend (Figure B-57). The back hall is the main entertaining room, designated by its decorative molding. The molding appears to be crafted via hand-molded mortar. Molding was also found at the Omanhen's Palace as a later addition, and in Cruickshank's additions to Castle Brew and Fort William. This hall leads into the second front hall through two wide openings. The second hall, considered the dining room today, extends to

the west side of the building and included the interior stairs. This room was probably once also functioned as an enclosed veranda.

Swanzy – A Comparison in Saltpond

Another Swanzy store stands in Saltpond. It is constructed from stone nog and is only one-story. Arches comprise the doorways and windows on the exterior. A large archway connects the larger front room of the store with another room behind about half the size. The structure exhibits the same feature of an interior arch as a room divider to enliven the store interior, yet the building utilizes true arches rather than mushroom arches.

I was told by locals that this store was built for and run by a European agent. Considering the similarities between the two stores, it is possible that F. and A. Swanzy had the building in Anomabo constructed and allowed or rented the upstairs to their agent Bilson who ran the store below. The placement of a staircase on the interior may be evidence of a European client. However, the plan is similar to Otu's first residence, and off-beat phrasing can be seen in the asymmetrical placement of interior walls and absence of two windows (downstairs in the northeast room and upstairs in the southwest room). The evidence is stronger for an African client, but without documentation this attribution cannot be certain.

Structure C-12. Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence

The house (Figure B-65) known for its most famous resident Jonah Abraham Annobil (1910-c. 1982) was actually built by his uncle Calvert Claude Hagan (c. 1880-1937) (Figure C-60). Annobil is known for his teaming with Reverend Gaddiel R. Acquaaah (1884-1950, son of Charlotte from the Russell House) to translate the Christian Bible into Fante, first published in 1948. Both Annobil and Acquaaah were schooled by the Methodist mission in Anomabo. In addition, Annobil attended the Methodist Wesley College in Kumasi.

Hagan (Figure B-66) was a merchant who traded cocoa, palm oil and gold as an agent for F. and A. Swanzy and others. He spent a lot of time in Nigeria as a store clerk and agent before returning to build his family home in Anomabo. The house probably dates to the first decade of the twentieth century. It is located in Krokessin. Hagan had four wives, including Araba Otuah, and he had several children. He was a member of the Methodist Church and also The Grand United Order of Oddfellows Friendly Society. Upon his death, Hagan left the house to his nephew Annobil. When Annobil died, the house was left to the collective *abusua*. Samuel Kodwo Annobil, the current *abusuapanyin*, lives just north of Cape Coast.

Plan

The plan of the two-story rammed earth residence is based on the sobrado without a corridor (Figure B-67). A timber veranda surrounds all four sides of the house. All the rooms, save one, open to the outside, and the courtyard is located behind the house. The plan is comprised of six nearly equally-sized rooms, three across and two deep. Upstairs, one room acts as the hall, while the other five are chambers. The room opposite the hall is a chamber accessible via a door only to the hall. This arrangement is not technically a hall and chamber plan because the second set of rooms does not include a central hall. Also, three of the side chambers open to the veranda, rather than to the hall. One opens to both the veranda and the hall, while the opposite chamber opens solely to the hall. Every room has at least one window except the hall. The upper flooring was constructed from *swish*.

The ground floor has the exact same plan except two rooms, located on the front side facing the east, served as Hagan's store. They have the original wood double doors with hand-forged iron hinges and locks. A timber staircase within the veranda leads upstairs. A similar set of stairs can be found on the opposite side of the building. Asbestos/slate sheeting covers the timber-framed roof. The entire structure is raised on a foundation, but due to the thick cement

plaster it was not possible to determine the material – earth, rock or early concrete – used to construct it. Off beat phrasing can be found in the irregular placement of doors to the exterior and windows in comparison with the otherwise symmetrical plan.

English military resthouses in Nigeria built between 1906 and 1911 utilize plans having some similarity to the Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence. The resthouses do not have Hall and Chamber plans, nor do they have corridors.³⁴ Thus, variants existed in coastal plans, which appropriated from a variety of sources, for both European and African clients.

Style

Although this residence utilizes a sobrado plan, numerous decorative features make this structure exceptional. Gracefully-curved walls frame the interior sides of each window. Piers with decorative bases and capitals support the timber veranda. On the main structure attached Palladian-style columns are located at the front coigns. These sit on tall impost blocks with cornices, and are surmounted with Doric capitals. These are earthen translations of stone piers and columns selected from European architecture for a Fante home. Cultural authentication is evident in the selection and transformation of not only the two-story sobrado plan, but also the decorative piers and palladian columns. Cultural authentication is also evidenced in the photograph of Hagan and his wife (Figure B-66) appropriating Western-style Victorian clothing and furnishings in order to make the equally-visual statement of their membership in the coastal elite class.

Modern Alterations

This building has maintained much of its original character, yet some modifications have been made. The iron or aluminum sheeting enclosing the south side and sections of the east side

³⁴Alan Vaughan-Richards, “Le Nigeria,” in *Rives Coloniales: Architectures, de Saint-Louis A Douala*, ed. Jacques Soullillou (Marseille: Editions Parentheses, 1993), 277-278.

of the veranda is not visually appealing, but it serves the practical function of shielding the house and its occupants against the occasional torrential rains and winds. This same technique has been used on the Methodist Mission in Larteh (located across from the Moses Adu Family Residence) to cover its entire veranda, and this is not uncommon. Concrete block additions have been added to the west and north side of the house.

A cement plaster has been applied to the exterior, and the house is currently painted yellow with a lower band of black. This dark band hides the dirt washed up onto the surface by the rains, but also seems to be a common decorative touch across the region. This painting technique was also applied to the *tuafohen*'s courtyard, with white walls trimmed with an earthy red strip about four feet high. The painter also extended the red upwards toward the doorway leading to the southernmost hall. This type of triangular highlighting of entrances is another common painting practice in the coastal region.

Structure C-13. Ruins of the Adontehen Amonoo I Palaces and the Enchia Family Residence

The ruins of two palaces built by the Adontehen Amonoo I, and the family residence of Enchia (c.b. 1900)³⁵ are situated around Anomabo's *echinaba*, a sacred tree, in Krokessin. Remains of stone foundations and piers are all that are visible today of these once grand two-story houses likely both constructed in the early twentieth century. Enchia, a merchant, was a member of The Grand United Order of Oddfellows Friendly Society. He likely knew fellow member Hagan and was contemporaries with Hagan's nephew Annobil. Enchia's house is said to have been built between 1925 and 1931. All of three houses were standing according to the 1931 Gold Coast Survey map. The *adontehen*'s buildings collapsed around 1940. Enchia's house collapsed around 1950.

³⁵No one could remember Enchia's first name.

The two houses located by the echinaba were two-story, while the *adontehen's* second house was one-story. It appears that the Adontehen's Palace and the Enchia Family Residence facing the echinaba had piers only on the front, while the second Adontehen's Palace, located just behind the first, had piers surrounding the building suggesting a *sobrado* plan with a veranda on all four sides (Figure B-77). The design of the base of the piers on the Enchia Family Residence and second Adontehen's Palace are identical to each other and to those at the Calvert Claude Hagan Family Residence (Figure B-65). This may signify a preferred style at a similar point in time, similar masons, or the availability of a cast concrete form (like the scallop form). It is difficult to determine whether or not these piers supported arches and an arcade.

The *adontehen* was the leader of the advance group (*asafo* companies No. 3, 4 and 5) in times of war as well as the linguist in Anomabo Traditional Council meetings. In contrast, Enchia was a prominent merchant who achieved his power outside "traditional" avenues. For those serving more traditional local roles in the early twentieth century, the construction of stone nog houses was also appropriated as an indication of status. Thus, cultural authentication had resulted in a form utilized by both the hereditary ruling class and the merchant class as symbolic of membership in the wider African coastal elite class.

Structure C-14. Yard House

The house known as Yard House is now a pile of ruins located west on Market Street from The Russell House. Yard House was once a two-story, stone nog house. Today, only the stone foundations and a highly-raised floor are evident (Figure B-78). It was built by Charles Essuman McCarthy, a.k.a Kwa Atsen, a. k. a. Mankata, a Fante who adopted the British name of a famous former Governor. McCarthy was a fisherman and land owner. He sold some or all of his land to pay for the building materials and then used family labor to construct the house. Descendants

claim that it was built before the Catholic Church came here, probably in the early twentieth century. It is called Yard House because it once had a large courtyard within the house.

The entire building was standing in 1931 according to the Gold Coast Survey. The box-shaped house lost its roof and exposed the roof timbers and interior to the elements. Since the family lacked money to make repairs, it collapsed in 1954. This example however exhibits how small farmers and fishermen strived to build stone nog houses resembling those of the African coastal elite class to which they aspired.

Structure C-15. Ed Monson Family Residence

The Ed Monson Family Residence (Figure B-79) on Annobil Street is now a ruin with one standing brick wall, stone foundations and entry steps visible. Ed Monson worked for the railway and was not a merchant. His house was once a large two-story structure of stone nog construction with brick facing. Three sets of steps lead to the front entrances. This may indicate that shops were located on the ground floor. This residence has the typical arrangement of a larger house in front and a courtyard with rooms surrounding. Two stairways, probably in timber, led from the courtyard up to the second story of the house. That the residence had some Palladian features is evident in the standing wall that contains one arched doorway, probably the courtyard entrance. This wall displays evidence that a section layered approach to stone nog construction, discussed in connection with The Russell House, was utilized. The entire building was standing in 1931 according to the Gold Coast Survey, so it collapsed sometime after due to a flood. Again, local people of varying occupations and financial means aspired to the coastal elite class and built stone nog family houses as status markers.

Structure C-16. Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence

One of the most prominent African merchants during the colonial period was Jacob Wilson Sey, a. k. a. Kwaa Bonyin (March 10, 1832-1902). He was a Fante born in Anomabo.³⁶ He was from poor and illiterate parents and received no formal education. He was a palm wine and palm oil seller as well as a carpenter who mysteriously became rich when he found pots of gold under his trees (probably he underearthed a burial). Kwaa Bonyin then changed his name to Jacob Wilson Sey. He continued to prosper as a merchant and landlord who owned several properties in Cape Coast.

Sey was a co-founder and the first president of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, established to protect Fante rights to their own land.³⁷ He built two similar stone residences, one in Cape Coast and another in Anomabo on the highest point of the Okokodo, or hill top, neighborhood. The house in Anomabo was the family house, while Sey mainly worked and lived in Cape Coast. The site for a family house is chosen according to the place of residence for the *abusua*. This lends credence to the claim that Sey was born in Anomabo, yet it does not confirm it.

Style and Plan

The entire building was standing in 1931 according to the Gold Coast Survey. The front of the Anomabo building faced southward toward the ocean. Today, ground-level remains of piers, the foundation and part of the brick underground cistern are all that remain of Sey's grand two-story residence.

³⁶Anomabo descendants are adamant about this attribution even though several publications argue for a Cape Coast birth. Ephson, 53-55; and Hutchinson, 176-177. The National Commission on Culture states that he was born in Biriwa, a fishing village just west of Anomabo. "Remembering Jacob Wilson Sey," National Commission on Culture (March 3, 2007), <http://www.ghanaculture.gov.gh/index1.php?linkid=337&archiveid=495&page=1&adate=03/03/2007>.

³⁷Ephson, 53-55; and Hutchinson, 176-177.

The aerial plan from the 1931 Gold Gold Survey (Figure B-80) depicts verandas along three sides of the front of the house and another verandah facing the courtyard. A large cistern or “tank” existed in the center of the courtyard and can be seen on the ground today. Local bricks were used to fashion a barrel vault over the hold. Its stately presence on Okokodo hill would have been quite visually striking and communicated the stature of this newly wealthy merchant. Today, ruins of buildings surround the right and back side of the courtyard, with only a structure remaining to the left. On the site of the once-grand Jacob Wilson Sey Family Residence, a concrete house has been built over the area at the back and east side of the original courtyard.

According to his descendant Grace Ntsiful, who once lived in the house, it was built with stone nog and brick-faced. The straight piers stretched across the front, along the eastern side of the house, and partially along the western side of the house to support a wooden veranda. The veranda was well-situated to catch the ocean breezes. All the doorways and windows on the exterior were arched.

The main entrance had pilastered columns flanking the doors. An entablature likely surmounted these, though the descendant couldn’t remember it. The use of pilastered columns at the entrance is reminiscent of the Methodist Mission (Figure B-49) and the Kobena Mefful Family Residence (Figure B-60). The plan, the same upstairs as down, consisted of two large central halls, each leading to side chambers, for a total of four chambers on each floor. A large arch covered the entranceway from one hall into the other. The floors upstairs were built in swish, rather than wood planks.

Sey was a Methodist who used to hold prayer sessions in the first hall. The descendant also remembered that Sey spoke a type of “Fanglish,”³⁸ to borrow Ebow Daniel’s term, combining

³⁸Daniel Ebow, *A Tale of Cape Coast* (Accra, Ghana: Woeli, 2004), xv.

Fante and English together that was difficult for both the Fante and English to understand him. Sey was not well-educated. He apparently dried his money in the sun in the courtyard. He was certainly exhibiting his wealth. At other times, he kept his money in a box in his chamber. The house collapsed in stages and was finally demolished around 1970.

Status Symbol

Sey lived in a residence he purchased in Cape Coast, known as Gothic House, the Oguua Palace or Emintsimadze Palace (Figure B-81). Located across from Victoria Park, Gothic House was named for its Neo Gothic architecture, another aspect of Georgian architecture. This house was built in c. 1815 by the mulatto trader James Dawson who used it as both his residence and trading establishment. It was taken over by Thomas Hutton in 1853 and since occupied by the Public Works Department and various other governmental organizations. Sey purchased the property in the 1890s. Sey probably built his family residence in Anomabo in the 1890s at the same time as the purchase of Gothic House. He transferred Gothic House to the Gold Coast government before he died in 1905.³⁹

Like Strawberry Hill in England, Sey's stone nog house in Cape Coast transforms Gothic features like crenellations and Gothic arches into a more modern fantasy. Such a fantasy structure was a status marker, communicating an identity of someone well-traveled, intelligent and wealthy. The same may be deduced for his Georgian Palladian style family residence in Anomabo.

It is important to note that such identity markers were largely possible on the coast because of its history as a commercial site. Individuals could rise to wealth and achieve power through their own industry and cunning, rather than having inherited it. Probably Sey dug under a tree he

³⁹Minnah, 30.

was wine-tapping and found a previous burial with the pot of gold. Though an auspicious start, he quickly parlayed the gold into a vast fortune through his acumen as a trader and landlord. Blankson and Sey were individuals who rose from obscurity to being some of the most prosperous merchants on the coast. Therefore, like those with more advantageous birthrights such as Atta Amonoo, they wanted and were expected socially to express their status in a public way.

Structure C-17. Krontihen's Palace

The Krontihen's Palace (Figure B-91) is located on the beach in the Fare neighborhood. It is believed to have been constructed by the first Fante krontihen, Kɔw Appiah in the early twentieth century.⁴⁰ It was certainly built before 1931 since it shows on the Gold Coast Survey map in good condition.

Materials and Construction

The palace has received a mud plaster and, more recently, a cement plaster. A concrete addition has replaced the original timber veranda at the front of the building. On the west side the plaster is decorated to resemble the lines of concrete blocks. Thus, it is quite difficult to determine the original material and splendor of the architecture. Clues remaining include decorative pilasters at the coigns, a zigzag line delineating the thicker lower wall on the eastern wall, and a few areas of exposed brick, namely on the pilasters and front stairway.

The current regent insisted that the inner walls of the palace are rammed earth. As the walls were freshly well-plastered with cement, this could not be confirmed. Yet, the thicker lower wall located on the exterior of the east wall may provide some evidence. Similar treatment is found on the Moses K wesi Amo Family Residence located on Aggrey Road. It was confirmed

⁴⁰This may be the same person as Kwa Appiah, Regent of Anomabo between Amonoo VI and VII. If so, then it seems possible that the palace may have been constructed during this period, c. 1924-1926.

there that the house was rammed earth and the stone nog walls were added at a later date to bolster the walls. On that structure, the stone nog walls end flatly at the top on the sides of the house, but on the back a more decorative treatment is used. Thus, returning to the Krontihen's Palace, it is probable that the palace was constructed in rammed earth and then, at least the forward portion of the eastern wall, was bolstered with a partial stone nog wall. This wall was either brick-faced, or bricks were used solely for the pilasters and stairway. A low ledge extending about a foot and a half from the structure is constructed in stone nog and may indicate either an original stone foundation or just as protection from erosion.

This east wall exhibits several rectangular holes in the surface across the midportion of the wall, presumably at the division of the two floors. This feature also exists on the Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence (Figure B-40). One mason suggested that this may indicate supports for the upper floor. Yet, these holes are only located toward the center of the wall on both buildings. It is also visible only on one side of the building. Perhaps some of the holes were later filled in. A photograph of El Hato hacienda in the Cauca Valley of New Granada (Caribbean)⁴¹ depicts this two-story structure with similar wood beams emerging from its second floor across the façade. Chipped plaster reveals the building at least had a brick facing, and probably was constructed in stone nog. While no further information is provided about the house, it can be more easily seen that the wood beams offer support for the second story. This is likely the same construction method followed by the mason(s) who constructed the Krontihen's Palace and the Moses Kwesi Amo Family Residence (Figure B-40).

⁴¹German Tellez, *Casa Colonial: Domestic Architecture of New Granada* (Bogota, Columbia: Villegas Editores, 1995), 170 center.

Style

The original front entrance, now indoors, (Figure B-92) features an original pier (for the veranda support) to the left. The entrance is flanked by thick pilasters decorated with an elongated, inset lancet motif. A large entablature, slightly raised in the center, is decorated with a mortared molding. Some of the decorative features however have been lost under all the plastering and paint. The left pilaster has molding about one foot from the ground to create the effect of a base. It is likely the right pilaster matched it, yet at some point, this molding has been lost.

The remaining pilaster at the front coign is decorated with ridges indicating a base and another at the center point. The pilaster at the back corner, eastern side, is undecorated. One original window just above the front stairway has a molded sill and entablature made from bricks. One row of bricks laid with the short ends outward and flat side up create the sills; similarly three layers of bricks make up the entablature with the tiers of brick successively protrude, the top layer the most, the second layer less, and the bottom layer just above opening, the least. A similar window treatment is present on the Justice Akwa Family Residence and Abrɔsan. This type of embellishment was conventionally used throughout the coastal region in both rammed earth and stone nog construction in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

Lancet cut-outs decorate the balustrades on the courtyard veranda and the front stairway. These lancet forms may be inspired by those found at Fort William (Figure B-29) or those on the George Kuntu Blankson Addition (Figure B-18).

Plan

The aerial view of the structure provided in the 1931 Gold Coast Survey map (Figure B-93) suggests the two-story courtyard plan with a central courtyard. Across the front that faces Fare-Aweano Street the entrance entablature and two concrete block additions are illustrated.

The current concrete block enclosure around the entrance, and the veranda upstairs was completed sometime after 1931. Concrete steps with a brick railing lead to the enclosed addition above. Originally, this was likely a timber stairway leading up to a timber veranda. Perhaps the veranda extended only as far as the enclosed space today, but more probably, it stretched across the entire front entrance.

The wide entrance, fitted with double doors, is today usually open with a small gate added in front to keep goats and other animals out. This entrance leads to a room that has another wide opening at the other side into the courtyard. Several rooms open into the courtyard. Stone and brick stairs lead to an upper veranda that wraps around the courtyard, supported by large piers and two iron columns.

The imported iron columns situated on the western side seem to have been awkwardly placed during the initial construction. Too short for the height of the veranda, they were topped with timber-constructed capitals in spite of the fact that they each already had a small capital. No bases for the columns to rest on lead me to believe that had the masons been properly trained in classical modes of architectural construction, they would have placed the timber box capitals below to create bases instead. It thus seems that local masons familiar with local methods of construction, and not European, were employed to construct the palace.

Several rooms open from the veranda. A large hall on the northern side opens directly onto the front veranda, allowing for pleasant cross-ventilation. Two chambers connect to the central hall, creating the Hall and Chamber plan. All the upstairs floors are *swish*. The exterior cement plaster has been painted a yellow similar to that on the Omanhen's Palace and Abrōsan. A three foot band in dark red spans the front and follows the front stairs up to the door to the newly enclosed space.

Status Symbol

The many similarities to the Omanhen's Palace suggest that the Krontihen's Palace was intentionally designed to reflect that of the Omanhen's Palace. The stool had been passed from the Abaidoo Paado clan to Kɔw Appiah, creating the new position of *krontihen*. It seems obvious that Appiah selected for his own palace forms from the three Anomabo architectural structures most associated with power – the Omanhen's Palace, Castle Brew and Fort William. The two-story courtyard plan is suggestive of that of the Omanhen's Palace; the pilasters at the coigns resemble those on Castle Brew; and the lancet motif was taken from Fort William or Castle Brew. The palace is situated just down the road from Fort William and Castle Brew, so the common decorative elements visually link these structures and would have thus elevated the status of its owner in the eyes of local inhabitants.

APPENDIX D DOCUMENTS

The following text is copied from documents used to support my study. These may include obituaries, building permits and other paperwork related to the properties. Often these are too lengthy for inclusion in the main text, yet may provide the reader is a greater sense of the people who inhabited Anomabo, their status in the community, and their connections to other leading elites along the Ghanaian coast.

Document D-1. Obituary for Samuel Collins Brew

On Friday, the 4th inst, the remains of this much respected and esteemed Gentleman were consigned to their last resting place. The deceased filled the responsible position of District Commissioner at Anamaboe and Winnebah and held a commission of the peace for about 25 years. He leaves a large family and numerous friends to mourn his loss.¹

¹*The Gold Coast Times* (February 11, 1881), 3.

Document D-2. Kofi Aiko Land Purchase Agreement

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, THAT I HENRY BREW of Cape Coast, in consideration of the sum of (3) Three ounces to me paid by COFFEE AIKOO OF ANAMABOE, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby give, grant, bargain, sell and convey to the said COFFEE AIKOO OF ANAMABOE, plot of land situated on the East and North side of JOHN HAMMOND'S HOUSE, and in the ROAD of the WESLEYAN BURIAL GROUND, in the front of two stones commonly called Intah na Intah said plot of land containing about (8) Eight Acres, more of less. –

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I do hereby put my hand and seal, on this Twenty second day of July, in the year of Our Lord, Eighteen Hundred and Sixty two.

WITNESSES TO)
) (SIGNED) H. BREW

THE SIGNATURES)
(Sgd) Geo. Blankson, J. P.
(Sgd) J. S. Mills
(Sgd).George Blankson Junr.

“A”

BEFORE ARBITRATORS.

(Sgd) KING AMONOO IV.

PRESIDENT

23RD.APRIL, 1898.

(Sgd) J. W.Hayford.

C.C.²

²I have typed the text as it appears in the “TYPEWRITTEN COPY ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.” The copy of the original document was barely legible. These copies were provided to me by the *abusuapanyin* George Otoo, who received his copy of the original document from the National Archives at Cape Coast in 2005.

Document D-3. Land Indenture for The Russell House

This Indenture

Made the 29th day of June in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety five Between William Topp Nelson Yankah of Anamaboe and other the senior members of his family for themselves and as representing their family hereinafter called the vendors of the one part and John Obobuam Hammond of Anamaboe Wesleyan Minister Francis M'danyamiasi Hammond of Anamaboe and Cape Coast Castle Clerk and Cashier and Charlotte Oyeman Acquaaah of Anamaboe hereinafter called the Purchasers of the other part Whereas the Vendors are seised (sic) for an estate in fee simple or an estate equivalent thereto free from incumbrances of the lands messnage and hereditaments hereinafter described and intended to be hereby conveyed and Whereas the Vendors have agreed to sell the said land messnage and hereditaments to the said Purchasers at the price of Eighty four pounds and to bind such contract the earnest money Tremma amounting to Thirty shillings has been paid by the said Purchasers to and received by the said Vendors in accordance with the native Law and Custom Now this Indenture Witnesseth that in pursuance of the said agreement and in consideration of the Tremma amounting to thirty shillings as well as in consideration of the sum of Eighty four pounds of lawful money of Great Britain on or before the execution of these presents paid by the said Purchasers to the Vendors the receipt whereof the Vendors hereby acknowledge the said Vendors do hereby grant and convey unto the said Purchasers their heirs and successors according to the native law and custom of inheritance in the Fanti portion of the Gold Coast and to their assigns all that piece or parcel of land situate in Anamaboe on that part of the town called Hchefee [or Itchefee?] which piece or parcel of land was by the judgment of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast in re McCarthy against Yansah and Yankah delivered on the 11th day of November 1887 declared to be the property of the said Vendors and which land measuring

seventy five and a half feet by sixty one feet is in the occupation of the Vendors and is more particularly delineated and described in the plan drawn here on Together with all buildings commons fences hedges ditches ways waters watercourses liberties privileges easements and appurtenances whatsoever to the said piece or parcel of land belonging or in anywise appertaining or usually held or occupied therewith or reputed to belong or be appurtenant thereto And All the Estate right title interest claim and demand whatsoever of the said Vendors and each of them in to out of and upon the said premises and every part thereof To Have and To Hold the said premises hereinbefore expressed to be hereby granted Unto the said Purchasers their heirs according to the Fanti Law and Custom of inheritance and their Assigns for ever And the said Vendors jointly and each of them separately hereby covenant with the said Purchasers their heirs as aforesaid and assigns that notwithstanding anything by them the Vendors or either of them or any other person from whom they derive title or otherwise than by purchase for valuable consideration [d?] one omitted or knowingly suffered they the said Vendors now have good right and the power and the members of their family owning such property have empowered authorized and given their consent to them to grant and dispose of the said premises hereinbefore expressed to be hereby granted to the Use of the said Purchasers their heirs as aforesaid and assigns And that the said premises shall at all times remain and be to the Use of the said Purchasers their heirs as aforesaid and Assigns and be quietly entered into and held and enjoyed and the rents thereof received by them accordingly without any interruption or disturbance by the Vendors or either of them or any such other person or persons as aforesaid And that free and discharged from or otherwise by them the said Vendors the members of their family or their respective heirs successors or administrators sufficiently indemnified against all estates incumbrances claims and demands created occasioned or made by the Vendors their family or

either of them or any such other person or persons as aforesaid or any person claiming through or in trust for them or any of them And further that the Vendors respectively and every person or persons having or claiming any estate or interest in the said premises through or in trust for them or either of them or any such other person or persons as aforesaid will at all times at the coast of the said Vendors their heirs successors and Assigns execute and do or cause to be executed and done every such act deed assurance or thing for the further or more effectually assuring all or any part of the said premises to the use of the said Purchasers their heirs as aforesaid or assigns as by them shall be reasonably required In Witness whereof the said parties to these Presents have hereinto set their hands and seals at Anamaboe the day and year first above Written

Signed sealed	[signed] W. T. N. Yankah
and delivered in the	[signed] J. Simason (sic)
presence of	[signed] Animbal Akayire X her mark
[signed] Essi Affwooh (sic) X her mark	[signed] J. O. Hammond
[signed] Ambah Kobinba X her mark	[signed] F. M. Hammond
[signed] Robert Nitequack (sic)	[signed] C. O. Acquaaah
[signed] Mclure (sic)	

Witness marks

[signed] J. Yankah

On the 13th day of Dec 1895 at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon this instrument was proved before me by the oath of the within named C. O. [these initials have been crossed out and R M written

in above] Acquaaah to have been duly executed by the within named William Topp Nelson
Yankah

[signed] Wm. Hermast (sic)

Registrar of Deeds

This instrument is registered as 16"121 and is engrossed on pages 342 to 345 in Register of
Leases and Conveyances vol. 5.

Depositing 2/6

Recording 20/6

[signed] Wm. Hermast (sic)

Proof 2/6

Registrar of Deeds

Taking out 2/6

27/6

[written on the back of the Indenture:]

Dated 29th June 1895

W. T. N. Yankah

and family

to

John O. Hammond

and others

Conveyance³

³This was copied from a copy of the original form provided by family descendant Kwesi Edukuma Hagan.

Document D-4. Building Permit for The Russell House

No. _____

TOWNS ORDINANCE, 1892.

Mr. C. O. Acquah

Of Anamaboe

Having applied for permission to build a house at Anamaboe

An approved ground plan of which premises is on the back hereof; I hereby, in accordance with the provisions of the above ordinance, give the required permission; on condition that the proposed work is completed with six months and to the entire satisfaction of the Colonial Surveyor, [this title has been crossed out and Director of Public Works was hand-written above] and in accordance with such directions as he may give concerning the same, and also on condition that this permit is produced when required for inspection.

This permission does not confer any right or title to the above premises, lands, or buildings.

Victoriaborg

Given at Christiansborg Castle this

1st day of November 1897.

BY COMMAND,

[stamped signature] T. M. Hodgson

Colonial Secretary⁴

⁴This was copied from a typed form provided by family descendant Kwesi Eduku ma Hagan. The answers above and within were hand-written into the blanks. The date below was typed into the blanks.

Document D-5. Obituary for Reverend John Oboboam Hammond

At his death he was 58 years of age, and 32 years in the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. In 1833 he was married to Rachel Mary, eldest daughter of the late Rev. A. W. Parker, and had issue four sons and six daughters, of whom all but two daughters survive him.

The remains of the deceased minister were consigned to the grave on Monday the 30th ultimo. It had been announced that the funeral service would be held at 4 p.m. at the Ebenezer Church, Anamaboe. Long before that time a multitude of people had assembled from Salt Pond, Kuntu, Winnebah, Cape Coast, Elmina, Secondee and other places for the interment, as the suddenness of Mr. Hammond's death had naturally excited much public interest in his burial. At 3:30 p.m. the procession moved and arrived at the Chapel at 4 p.m. As the corpse entered the Eastern gate of the Ebenezer Church, it was received by the Rev. E. A. Sackey who read the opening sentences. The sacred edifice was crowded to excess. The pulpit was draped in black. Rev. F. E. Ekubau read Psalm 90, and Rev. James Reynolds read the inspiring Funeral Lesson from 1 Corinthians xv. 20-58. The speakers were the Revs. R. M. Acquah and C. W. Armstrong both of whom paid high tribute to Mr. Hammond's work and worth. The service in the Church was then closed by the Rev. F. O. Pinanko, M. A., leading in Prayer. After which Prof. Chas. E. Graves, Principal of the West African College of Music and Commerce played the Dead March in "Saul," and to its solemn strains, the good soldier of Jesus Christ was carried forth to his grave at the Wesleyan cemetery, Anamaboe.

The Singing Bands of Cape Coast, Anamaboe and Salt Pond with the Cape Coast Wesleyan Church Surpliced Choir at the base headed the procession. Next to the front of the hearse were the Abura royal members with the State Sword, Gold Canes and Breast Plate. The blood relatives of the deceased followed immediately after the bearer, then the main procession with the Omanhin the Honourable Amonu V of Anamaboe and his retinue at the rear. The service at the graveside was conducted by the Revs. R. M. Acquah, C. E. Barnes, A. A. Sceath, M. A., and C. W. Armstrong. Sisters Francis Hunt and Evelyn Bellamy, and the Rev. S. R. B. Attoh-Ahuma, M. A., the Revs. J. W. Taylor, J. Evans Appiah, C. H. Bartels were also present at both services.⁵

⁵*Gold Coast Leader* (January 11-18, 1919), 2.

Document D-6. Obituary for Charlotte Oyemame Acquaaah

Voluminous was the outburst of sorrow and affection that attended the announcement of the death of Revd. Mrs. Acquaaah, commonly known as Teacher Oyeamam. Punctually at 4 p.m. On the first inst. everything that was mortal of the deceased was conveyed from the native Mission House to the Wesleyan Church, for interment. The order of service was conducted by Revds. J. D. Russell and I. Hayford, an address by Revd. A. W. Parker and Prayer by Revd. E. E. Brew. Prayer and Benediction being offered by Revd. Ibnijy Hayford...

In his address Father Parker stated: Ere she entered her teens, Mrs. Acquaaah became a resident of this place and endeared herself by the early religious convictions and intense piety which at once, eliminated from the minds of those who had the privilege of her acquaintance, the slightest elements of doubt as to her life work. In 1875, it was found her supreme joy to visit, with her bible in hand on every afternoon she was off her School and domestic duties, the troops garrisoned here for the Ashanti expedition. The expectations of those who watched her burning earnestness of evangelistic labours ripened into fruition when, in 1882 at the age of 24, she was married to Revd. R. M. Acquaaah. By her gentle courtesy to all, by her assiduous Bible instructions, as a Sunday School votary and class Leader, she exemplified the real life in Christ Jesus. About two years back her native robust health began battling with very exhaustive disease which terminated her mortal existence on last Friday, the 31st July at the age of 50. The devoted mother is survived by four sons and four daughters.

The strains of "Dead March in Saul" had scarcely died away when the coffin, reverently borne from before the pulpit, was placed into a hearse drawn in the Wesleyan Cemetery by the nearest kin to the deceased, and followed in a long procession of mourners from Elmina, Anamaboe, Saltpond, and other places to pay their last tribute to the beloved Christian labourer now called to her eternal rest.⁶

⁶*The Gold Coast Leader* (August 15, 1908), 2.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Courtney Micots received her bachelor's degree in art history from Georgia State University in Atlanta in 1990. In 1992, she received her master's degree in history with a specialization in art history from Cleveland State University in Ohio. After graduating she worked in the museum field as an intern, research assistant and curator. Micots was given her first opportunity to teach at Florida Southern College in Lakeland, Florida in 2004. She returned to the rigors of academic study in 2006, by pursuing a Ph.D. in African art history from the University of Florida in Gainesville. She quickly developed an interest in Ghanaian and Fante arts. Her interest in these areas was further encouraged by first-hand experiences, making three trips to Ghana between 2007 and 2009.