

Age of Elegance: An Italianate *Sobrado* on the Gold Coast

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Abstract: Upon first glance, two-story buildings constructed in brick and stone in coastal Ghana appear to be British colonial homes. However, though their façades were inspired by British styles, these early colonial period residences were actually built for Africans. Russell House, completed in 1898, manifests a deliberately constructed hybrid style of architecture combining local elements—asymmetry, a courtyard plan and two-story compact massing—with the British Italianate style and Afro-Portuguese *sobrado* plan. The motivations for such cultural appropriations are complex and require a deep understanding of the social, political and economic contexts in which the houses were built in Ghana, formerly the Gold Coast. An examination of this new style exemplified in the Russell House will demonstrate how coastal elite architecture reflects status, modernity, and resistance to British colonization.

Introduction

While Londoners were enjoying their fine Italianate homes of the Belle Epoque (1885-1914), elite members of the Gold Coast colony, known today as Ghana, were constructing their own elegant mansions utilizing an Italianate style that not only embraced the modernity and prosperity of the period but also rejected the British administration whose rules constrained them.¹ The ruins of the Russell House, once one of the most elegant of these homes, express this lively and tense period of change in Ghanaian history (Figure 1). Upon close examination, the structure manifests a deliberate hybrid style combining a British Italianate exterior, an Afro-Portuguese *sobrado* plan, and local ideas of space and organization. Russell House exemplifies how coastal elites appropriated and transformed styles and plans to communicate their status and connection to modernity. The lead patron, the Reverend John Oboboam Hammond, a well-respected Methodist minister who directed several building projects for the church, chose for his Anomabo family residence to reject the Methodist colonial vision of promoting loyalty to British rule. Although he embraced British and Methodist ideals of modern education and industry, he identified with the local elite and their right to be directly involved in coastal affairs without regard to British hegemony.

History

Russell House is located on the corner of Market Street and Aggrey Road in the center of Anomabo, a historically significant port city. The land was purchased on December 13, 1895.²

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Figure 1. Russell House, Reverend John Oboboam Hammond, Francis M’danyamasi Hammond, Mrs. Charlotte Oyemame Acquah, 1897-1898, stone nog and brick, Anomabo, Ghana. 2009 (author’s photo).

A sketch of the plot is included with the land indenture (Figure 2). The siblings purchased the property from “William Topp Nelson Yankah of Anamaboe and other the senior members of his family.” The land measures sixty-one feet wide and seventy-five and a half 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 Intsifl. On November 1, 1897, the siblings were granted a building permit or “Town’s 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, 1898.³ Except for the Russell House and part of the Ama Moo family residence, none of the other homes on the plans survive today.

Family history for the Russell House dictates that while the upstairs served as a residence for family members, the lower floor was rented to merchants. This was a common arrangement used on the coast by Europeans and Africans alike. Russell House is named for an early-twentieth-century tenant, the English company H. B. W. Russell & Co., Ltd., whose store occupied the ground floor sometime after early 1915, when a representative wrote to inquire about the space. According to the family, the company agent rented the lower level for the store and used part of the upper floor for his residence. It was during this time that the premises became known around town as the Russell House, for the store name not the property owner. The descendants and current owners however call their ancestral family home *abɔdan*, or stone house.

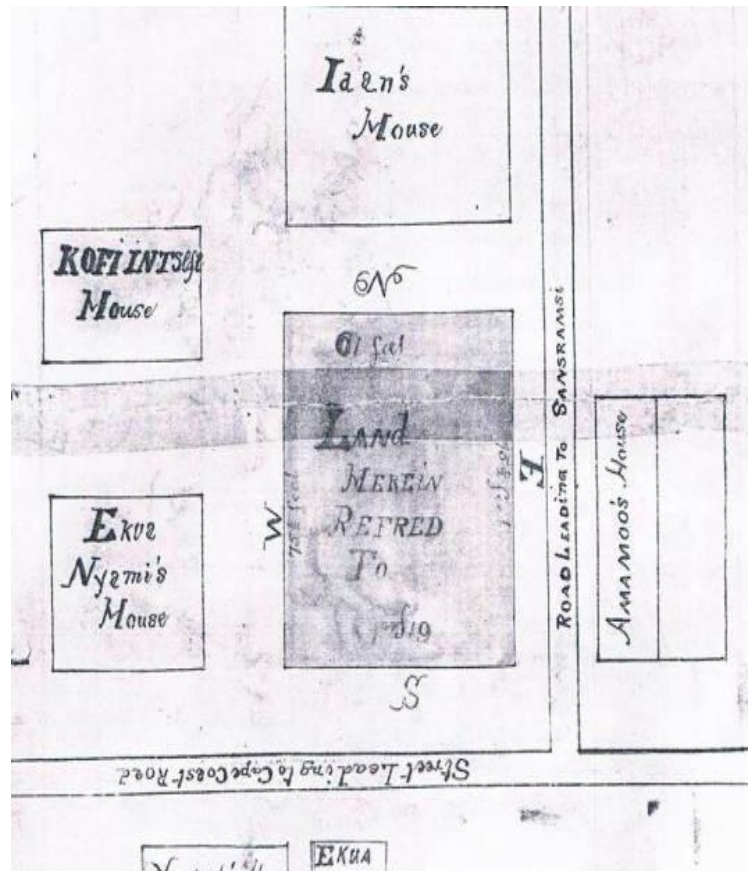


Figure 2. Plot sketch, Land Indenture, Russell House. 2009 (courtesy of Edukuma Hagan).

The land tenure and building permit proves this residence was built for three African siblings—the Rev. Hammond (February 2, 1860 - December 28, 1918); Francis M'danyamiasi Hammond (d. September 3, 1920); and Mrs. Charlotte Oyemame Acquah (1858 – July 31, 1908).⁴ This contradicts the attribution made by architect A. D. C. Hyland that this house was a “late 18th-century British colonial house.”⁵ This is an honest mistake, considering the strong likeness of the façade to homes in Britain.

Rev. Hammond was born in Anomabo and served in the ministry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for thirty-two years. He was educated at the Wesleyan Schools in Anomabo and became a teacher. He entered the ministry in 1886, and was described as a “Native Assistant Missionary” in a newspaper listing from 1890.⁶ He married Rachel Mary, eldest daughter of Rev. A. W. Parker, in 1888. They had 10 children, four sons and six daughters.⁷ Rev. Hammond was stationed in Anomabo since at least 1889, and then in 1897, he was made Superintendent of the Circuit in Winneba, another coastal port town, for nine years through 1906. He then appeared in Saltpond in 1909 and 1912, and served as the Superintendent of the Cape Coast District, working in Cape Coast from 1913 until his death in 1918.⁸ Upon his death, his obituary read like a who’s who of the coastal elite class, for he was clearly popular throughout the central coastal area.⁹ He also had the respect of the *omanhen*, or chief of Anomabo state, Amonoo V.¹⁰

Although many patrons of coastal elite homes were Fante, the dominant Akan-related group in this area of the coast, Africans from other regions merged with them to create a

specific identity as an elite subgroup (Figure 3). Some of the elites had mixed cultural backgrounds. Rev. Hammond and his siblings had a father who was of Ga ethnicity (from Accra), while the mother was Fante. In the colonial period, those members of the elite with the greatest income and political involvement seem to have made conscious choices of appropriation as a form of expressing their separate identity and status, while other patrons probably copied these hybrid homes to achieve the appearance of similar success. The appropriation, or borrowing, of other cultural symbols or ideals is common in local visual arts across the colonial empire and is indicative of both influence and a desire to press their status as equals with members of the hegemony. Often these symbols are transformed in a way that subverts the message of admiring mimicry, as is the case with coastal elite architecture. Since the patrons of the Russell House were deceased at the time this research was conducted, motivations for the architectural choices can only be surmised via the surviving structure, the land indenture and building permit, newspaper articles, and an understanding of the context in which this home was constructed.

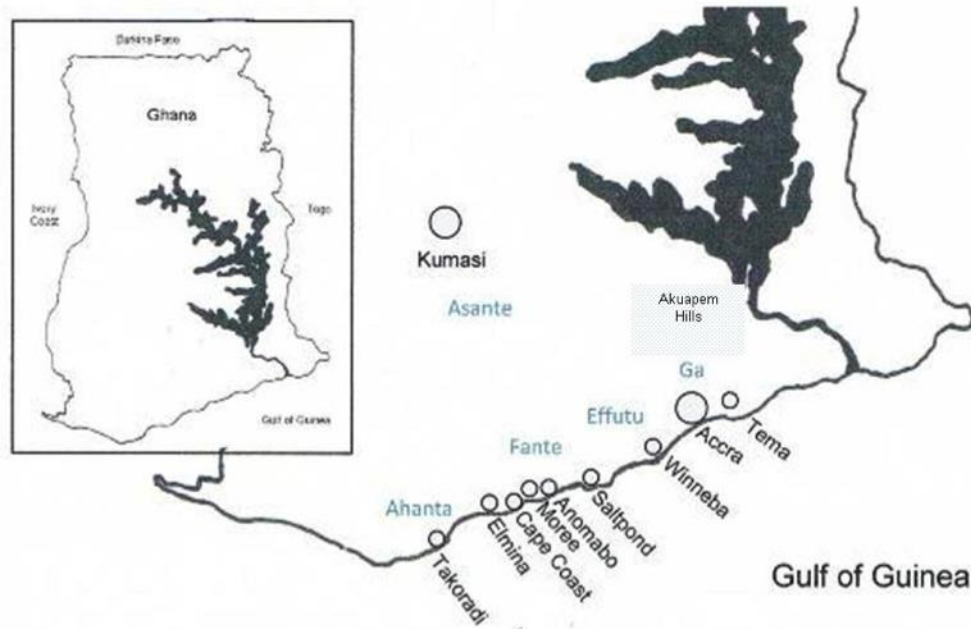


Figure 3. Map of Southern Ghana (author's drawing).

Rev. Hammond was most likely the lead client in selecting the plans and details for the Russell House. In 1902, as Superintendent of the Circuit in Winneba, he received credit in the local newspaper for the Bereku School House: "The building does great credit to Rev. Hammond's architectural ability; it is simple in construction but grand in appearance."¹¹ When he became ill in 1906, a newspaper reporter lamented that "the work in connection with the new Chapel building has not progressed."¹² He was also being considered for the position of District Superintendent of Buildings in Kumasi in 1913.¹³ In a two-column obituary in *The Gold Coast Nation*, Rev. Hammond, who died from "a protracted kidney disease," was celebrated as "a builder of churches...the Winnebah, Saltpond, Anamaboe and Elmina Wesleyan Chapels are lasting memorials of his genius as a born architect, although he was only an amateur."¹⁴ At the

opening and dedication of the Wesleyan Chapel in Saltpond (Figure 4) 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."¹⁵ What is not documented or remembered is the level of his involvement in each of these projects. It seems likely that he directed the construction based upon plans sanctioned by the church. The family residence in Anomabo would have allowed Rev. Hammond greater creative input.



Figure 4. Wesleyan Chapel, Rev. John Oboboam Hammond, 1925, brick, Saltpond, Ghana. 2011 (author's photo)

Francis Hammond died about two years after his brother. Although the building permit listed him as a Wesleyan Minister, this was likely a designation meant for John, since in the newspapers he is only mentioned twice and both times without the designation of reverend.¹⁶ Descendants remember that he was an agent for F. and A. Swanzy in Kumasi. He may have sent money to his brother for the construction of the family residence, but his input on the style and plan of the home are unknown. Their sister Charlotte married Reverend R. M. Acquah of Kuntu, near Saltpond, in 1882; they had five sons and four daughters. She was known locally as Teacher Oyemame from "her assiduous Bible instructions, as a Sunday School votary and class

Leader, she exemplified the real life in Christ Jesus.”¹⁷ Her son, Reverend Gaddiel R. Acquaaah, OBE (b. July 25, 1884-d. March 19, 1954), was the first African Chairman of the Methodist Church on the Gold Coast. He was an educationist, poet, hymnist, author, and statesman. Rev. Hammond, translator of numerous hymns, was one of the first to be tasked with translating the Bible into the Fante language. Later Rev. Acquaaah teamed with Jonah Abraham Annobil (1910-c. 1982), also from Anomabo, to complete the translation, first published in 1948. The Methodist Mission in Anomabo schooled both Annobil and Acquaaah.¹⁸ The last family member to reside in the Russell House was the ninth and last child of Charlotte and Rev. Acquaaah, Mrs. Mary Enyaawa Ogoe a.k.a. Aunt Adjoa (April 29, 1901-1981), who was a seamstress by trade and a leader and preacher for the Ebenezer Methodist Church in Anomabo.

Russell House served different commercial purposes over the years. According to one family member, after H. B. W. Russell & Co., Ltd. moved out, the building was rented as a social center for both Africans and Westerners for club meetings, weddings and receptions. 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. A long room across the front of the building likely served as the main meeting or reception hall (Figure 5). Family rented the ground floor 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 was nine pounds, paid in monthly installments.¹⁹

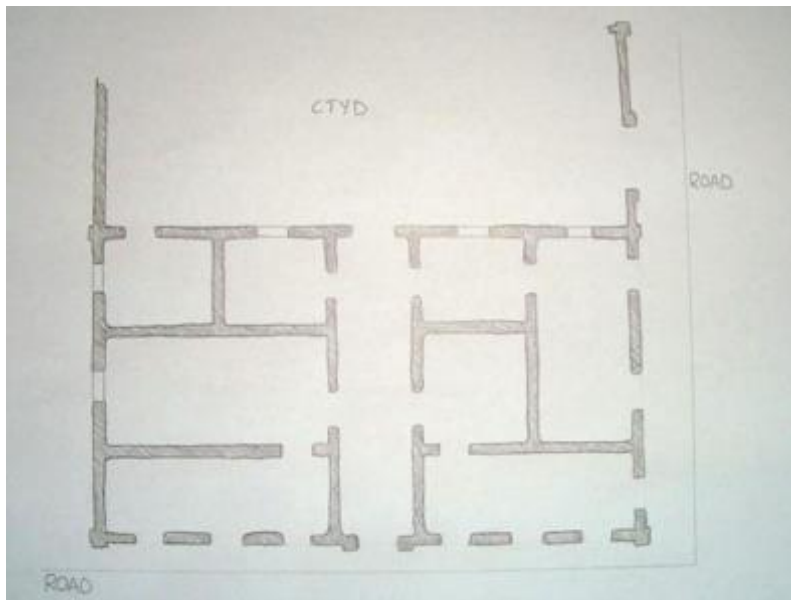


Figure 5. Russell House, ground floor plan. 2009 (author’s drawing).

The lower corner adjacent to both streets functioned as the Obonoma Bar from about 1955 to 1983. In the Fante language, *obonoma* means “rock of the birds” and refers to the deity for whom Anomabo was named.²⁰ While renting the space, the bar had a mural painted on the eastern side of the building (Figure 6). Today, an “Appellation of Anomabo” 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 (Figure 7). By 1983 the building had become uninhabitable, and the bar closed. In 2011, the soccer club Crossing Squard (a

combination of guard and squad or a misspelling) had painted the southern façade with a large sign located on the left side of the entrance and another smaller sign above the entrance. The sign over the entrance depicts Obonoma along with the text “Welcome Crossing Squad Camp,” while the larger sign, with its red background, features a large logo in black and white with flanking ceremonial swords, common symbols in Akan art for leadership. In the center of the group’s logo is the head of a threatening snake, apparently the group symbol. These power images are consciously or subconsciously attached to a building whose size, cost, and Italianate style in the late-nineteenth century would have conveyed a sense of modernity and power. Thus, while the building is no longer habitable, it continues to serve a function in the visually charged urban space.



Figure 6. Russell House, Obonoma mural. 2009 (author’s photo).

Pattern Books Distribute the Italianate Style

The Italianate style may have been known to Rev. Hammond via direct experience with buildings in Britain, or more likely, pattern books that were distributed across the British Empire during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Italianate, an extension of the Classical style, is identified by brick or stone masonry, a roof with a shallow pitch, classical architectural detail, bracketed eaves, bay and clustered windows, verandahs and a tall square tower. The Italianate style in Britain had its peak popularity when Queen Victoria’s Osborne House was completed in 1851. The style was “codified, developed and promoted in the rush of architectural pattern books from the beginning of the nineteenth century which served an eager market.”²¹ Architect Timothy Fletcher Hubbard, who investigated the spread of the Italianate

style in Australia, noted that these “books provided knowledge in the form of information and advice which empowered their middle class clients.”²²



Figure 7. Russell House, façade with club signage. 2011 (author’s photo).

This style, popular with the rising English middle class, would have been equally suitable for the local rising classes in port cities of the British Empire.²³ In addition to pattern books, Gold Coast elites had texts like Samuel Smiles’ 1859 book *Self-Help*, which “provided a motivational text and a guide for many Gold Coast school children well into the twentieth century, promoting ‘achievement through hard work and through the emulation of great men and women [which] meshed perfectly with conceptions of the self-made individual.’”²⁴ Rev. Hammond may have thought these British styles appropriate to convey his rising status in the community.

Construction Materials and Method

The walls utilize local materials of stone, brick, and shell mortar. Russell House was never plastered or painted on the exterior, except for the murals. Thus, it is possible to see the construction materials and method. Stone, available in most areas along the Ghanaian coast, was not utilized for housing in Anomabo until the late-nineteenth century.²⁵ An addition built onto Castle Brew in Anomabo by the successful merchant George Kuntu Blankson in the late 1860s to early 1870s is the earliest surviving example of a Fante patron commissioning a building of stone nog construction and European style in Anomabo or anywhere on the Ghanaian coast (Figure 8).²⁶ Stone nog construction involves packing small stones, shells, corncobs and other materials with a lime-based mortar into a wood framework to construct

walls in layers. Nog houses have stone or brick facing and very thick walls, usually sixteen to eighteen inches. This technology was transported from Europe to the coast for European



Figure 8. George Kuntu Blankson Addition, South Façade, Castle Brew, c. early 1870s, stone nog, brick, Anomabo, Ghana. 2009 (author's photo).

structures and is also commonly found in the Caribbean and Brazil.²⁷ Blankson's mimicry of European architecture is an obvious symbol of status, for the cost to quarry and build in stone was impressive. He and other Anomabo leaders were involved in the diplomatic missions of the Fante Confederacy (1868-73), formed to resist European incursions on Fante security and autonomy.²⁸ Inspiration for the addition may have included the original Castle Brew, to which Blankson's Addition is attached, and to Franklin House in Accra (Figure 9). Franklin House was a Danish merchant's residence and slave-trading fort built around 1800, overlooking the busy nineteenth-century harbor. Both structures share a similar Palladian design and construction method.²⁹ Danish contractors taught local craftsmen of the Ga ethnic group how to build this and several other Danish buildings in the area utilizing stone nog.³⁰ By 1850, Danish properties on the coast had been transferred to the British, and thus it was a British property at the time Blankson might have drawn inspiration. Both Castle Brew and the Franklin House were commercial/residential mansions that historically served as slave trading forts. Rather than appropriating the European architectural style as a mere homage to European power, Blankson's choice of Palladian architecture made a visual connection between his power and that of the Europeans, proving local right to rule through a show of power, wealth, and modernity. It is not surprising that Blankson, a man involved in the multifaceted social and political situation, deliberately selected European architectural materials, techniques, and a style

that simultaneously would be understood by Fante elites as resistance to growing European authority, yet communicate admiring mimicry to the Europeans.



Figure 9. Franklin House, Danish patron(s), c. 1800, stone nog, brick, Jamestown, Accra, Ghana. 2012 (author's photo).

In order to contextualize Rev. Hammond's possible appropriation of the ground-level arcade from these sources, it is important to understand the significance of Anomabo. For more than five hundred years the coast of Ghana has been the site of cultural contact, between coastal groups, inland traders and Westerners who came to trade for gold and slaves. Hybrid art forms born from such cultural contact are especially visible at urban centers on these routes. Anomabo, a Fante port town founded in the mid-seventeenth century, is strategically located on the terminus of a north-south trade route to Kumasi, the center of the Asante Empire and gold mining, and to important cities along the Niger River in the Western Sudan. Through this trade Anomabo quickly became the largest city on the coast with more than 15,000 inhabitants. Savvy middlemen traders amassed fortunes, and a new class of wealthy merchants prospered.³¹

However, by the time the siblings were constructing their house, Anomabo was struggling as a city to regain its former glory. On June 15, 1807, the Asante invaded and decimated the city of Anomabo. The defeat by the Asante brought an abrupt end to the loosely formed Fante Coalition designed to protect the trade routes. Powerful and wealthy members of coastal society were "ruined." After the defeat, Anomabo reverted to a small town and lost its commercial prominence. Anomabo gradually reclaimed some of its commercial distinction and sociopolitical influence.³² When the British formed the Gold Coast Colony in 1874, the colonial capital was Cape Coast, a port town only fifteen miles west of Anomabo. Three years later Britain moved its colonial capital to Accra, seventy-five miles east of Anomabo, and placed

political authority in the hands of traditional rulers whom they thought they could manipulate.³³ In doing so, they undermined the economic, social, and political status of members of the long-established African elite class, such as Blankson, and separated them from the ruling hierarchy.³⁴ In 1912, the Anomabo port was closed.³⁵ As Gold Coast elites continued to lose power into the twentieth century, they increasingly proclaimed their rights through visual culture. Though structures similar to the Blankson Addition were built after the 1870s, many of the stone nog structures that survive today date between 1900 and 1920 and are located primarily in Anomabo and Cape Coast.³⁶

Therefore, it is possible to surmise that Rev. Hammond was making a visual statement of not only his and his family's prominence in Anomabo, but also of the importance of the coastal elite class, many of whom were born in or had ancestry linking them to the once-celebrated city. His adoption of an arcade similar to the one gracing the Blankson Addition highlights this connection to a once-prosperous member of the Anomabo community. Blankson was also a founding member of the Methodist ministry in Anomabo and served as a preacher.³⁷ Other clues point to the Russell House serving as a visual link to Anomabo's illustrious past.

Prior to the use of stone nog construction, the most popular type of urban house for the African elite class in Anomabo was the two-story compact house formed from rammed earth. Rammed earth construction involves balls of *swish*—clay, straw, and other materials—thrown or rammed into place, a process that erects the building one layer at a time.³⁸ The two-story house is unusual along the Ghanaian coast, found mainly in Anomabo where the homes are reputed to be roughly three hundred years old.³⁹ The two-story house conveys the impact of trade routes and commercial success on Anomabo architecture. While the construction method was used in Anomabo and elsewhere on the coast for one-story courtyard houses, the compact house and two-story construction method were likely brought to Anomabo by masons from Islamic Mande areas in the Western Sudan.⁴⁰ Thus, prior to the colonial period Anomabo's vernacular architecture already demonstrated hybridity through the combination of local and appropriated elements. According to one of the earliest available descriptions from the 1840s, two-story houses served as a status symbol in urban ports, while smaller one-story houses were built on inland farms.⁴¹ Wealthy family members who achieved success were expected to extend the family residence or build anew, thereby visually reflecting the stature of the individual and his family in the community, especially in the urban ports. Rev. Hammond may have chosen the newer technique of stone nog construction, but his selection of a compact two-story house could be a link to previous rammed earth houses of this type.

A subtler link to the older urban houses may be espied in the exterior walls. A thin horizontal layer of small dark gray granite stones divides the wall into horizontal sections (Figure 10). These sections may be a visual reference linking the stone nog construction to that of rammed earth, for both involves the building of walls in layers. Or, the stones may simply be part of the exterior decoration. These stones are also carefully placed throughout the entire façade between the larger stones.



Figure 10. Russell House, wall surface. 2009 (author's photo).

Three bands of rectangular-shaped holes about five or six inches deep puncture all four sides of the surface of the house across the center of the lower level. They also appear above the belt course and at the level of the arches for the second-story windows (Figures 6 and 7).⁴² Masons likely used these holes to support scaffolding. In addition to the scaffolding holes, on the back of the residence, the belt course formed by four rows of bricks is interrupted by more of these types of holes, creating a decorative effect (Figure 11). It is possible that the holes above the belt course once held a structure to support a wooden veranda. The extra holes, which occur in greater number at regular intervals, in the rear belt course were probably used to support the wooden floor joists for the upper story. Similar numerous holes are found in the interior walls.

A mud plaster once covered the interior, and some of this plaster remains (Figure 12). At a later date, a layer of cement plaster was added. Since damaged roofing was never replaced, the rains have penetrated the interior and have destroyed much of the plastering as well as the wall mortar. The walls have huge cracks, and all the wood floors and frames have deteriorated. The structure is beyond repair and will likely collapse within another decade.

According to the Monuments and Relics Ordinance of 1945, these surviving African residences from the colonial period could be considered an ancient or historical "monument."⁴³ 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 the *omanhen* and other traditional leaders to draw attention to the pivotal role Anomabo has played in history. The current coastal elite class has attempted to counteract this stance through the Anomabo Union and Environmental Group.⁴⁴ The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board works to restore many forts and castles on the coast with only a few residences on its list, including

Castle Brew. All are European structures; none are African.⁴⁵ Restoration and aid comes mainly from sources outside Ghana.



Figure 11. Russell House, back belt course. 2009 (author's photo).

The Italianate Exterior

The exterior of the Russell House conveys an Italianate style common to London stores of the late-nineteenth century. Across the façade are seven *anse de panier*, or flat, arched openings (Figures 1 and 6). All of the curves of the arches are formed with brick voussoirs. Italianate structures were often built of a uniform size, in local stone, with arcades on the lower floors and symmetrical windows on the upper floors. On commercial buildings, 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.⁴⁶ No evidence of doors or windows are visible on the

Russell House arcade, thus it is difficult to determine how the merchandise was protected during store closure.



Figure 12. Russell House, plaster walls. 2009 (author's photo).

Blankson's Addition serves as the most obvious precedent of the use of an arcade on the ground floor of a Fante structure (Figure 8). Constructed approximately twenty-five years later, The Russell House represents a gentle modern transition in style from Palladian to Italianate, both based in European classical traditions. The structures were also built to function as commercial spaces downstairs and residential upstairs, though the upper story of Blankson's Addition was never completed. While the arcade on the Blankson Addition boasts four wide true arches, the Russell House exhibits seven refined *anse de panier* (basket-handle) arches. Both structures are situated on a raised base with steps leading to the ground floor. A belt course with four rows of bricks encircles the Blankson Addition and the Russell House. Thus the style as well as construction method have striking similarities.

Seven *anse de panier* arched windows on the upper floor façade are aligned with the openings below. Bricks were used to frame the arches, sides, and sills of the windows. These are flush with the wall; the brick against the stone makes a striking decorative effect. Fante bricks were locally made and are identifiable by their orange color and hints of mica glistening in the sun. Since these are baked in the sun and not in a kiln, they tend to be softer and more vulnerable to the elements. Some of the windows on the sides of the buildings have had their arched sections bricked in; they were likely fitted for shutters at a later date (Figure 10 above).

A mixture of brick and stone comprise the two-story pilasters that form the coigns.⁴⁷ Pilasters were also placed on either side of the central opening. However these only extend up to the belt course, framing the entrance (Figure 13). Evidence exists that a door once graced the

center of the upper story; it would have led onto a wooden veranda overlooking one of Anomabo's main streets.

Bifurcated stairs on the back of Russell House grant access to the upper story. Although this stairway has now been replaced with concrete block, the original stairwell would have been made of timber. Many two-story rammed earth houses in Anomabo dating back three centuries situate the stairs on the back of their home. Thus a guest would enter through a courtyard entrance and ascend the staircase to enter a reception hall where they would be entertained. Italianate homes in England placed grand stairwells on the interior. In the Russell House, guests were entertained in the front hall where the south-facing windows and veranda captured the cool sea breezes.

Elite Gold Coast homes had low-pitched roofs and were originally covered with imported iron sheeting. The use of this sheeting made a statement about the patron's connection to modernity in comparison to using thatch. Though the Russell House no longer has its roof, the original roof is visible in Hyland's photograph from the late 1960s or early 1970s.⁴⁸ Roofs were placed on a timber frame supported by short brick pillars. Italianate corbels were not utilized.⁴⁹



Figure 13. Russell House, entrance. 2009 (author's photo).

Russell House can be compared with numerous Italianate buildings in London, however it is not an exact replica of any of these buildings. For example, 36 Deptford Road is one of the few Italianate buildings in London whose shop front has not been modernized (Figure 14). The ground floor store has multiple openings with a wide anse de panier window flanked by two doorways with true arches on each side. Symmetrically placed anse de panier arched windows with fan-shaped bricks are located above on the two brick-faced upper stories. Like Russell

House, classical details in the belt course, coigns and cornice complete the Italianate style of the buildings.



Figure 14. 36 Deptford Road, c. 1860-90, brick, London, England. 2014 (author's photo).

Plan

An enclosed courtyard is situated behind the Russell House (Figure 15). The one-story courtyard house plan is common throughout coastal West Africa.⁵⁰ The sidewalls remain in the Russell House courtyard, but the far wall has collapsed. The courtyard entrance is decorated with a double-columned pilaster with base and cornice. An anse de panier arch in flat relief 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 facing town (Figure 16). It is also similar to the entrances of the Anomabo Methodist Mission (c. 1839-40) and the courtyard of the residence (c. 1890-1900) of Methodist merchant and nationalist Joseph Edward Biney in Cape Coast.

The Russell House plan was borrowed from the Afro-Portuguese *sobrado*, essentially a house with a second-story timber veranda and multiple interior chambers accessible from a central corridor. These Portuguese-style houses were constructed by Europeans in hot climates all over the world, including, as early as the sixteenth century, port cities in Brazil and along the

West African coast.⁵¹ It was not until the late-nineteenth century that these elements were incorporated into local structures for wealthy coastal elite patrons on the Gold Coast. Houses with the *sobrado* plan were associated with the cosmopolitan culture of European colonists and local elites. Two mason groups on the Gold Coast employed this plan: the Tabom and those trained by European missionaries of the Basel Mission, located in the Akuapem Hills area northeast of Accra. Skilled masons among the Tabom, descendants of the Afro-Brazilians who settled in Accra in the 1830s, maintain they were “the first architects of this region.”⁵² The Tabom “dressed in top hats, finely tailored coats and [were] fluent in Portuguese...They were seen as modern men and women...”⁵³ The Tabom’s modernity may have become associated with the *sobrado* plan houses they built, making this type of house desirable to the coastal elites. Little evidence of their building activities exists; therefore this theory is speculative.⁵⁴



Figure 15. Russell House, courtyard entrance. 2009 (author’s photo).

Masons trained at the Basel Mission in the Akuapem Hills, north of Accra, are likely responsible for disseminating the *sobrado* plan along with a wide range of building techniques. Established initially at Christiansborg in 1828, the Basel Mission was furthered by the work of Danish missionary Andreas Riis (1804-1854), who transferred the Mission to the Akuapem Hills in 1835, and established a Training College in Akropong in 1848.⁵⁵ African craftsmen, perhaps including the Tabom, trained to become masons for three years and apprentices received small stipends.⁵⁶ After their apprenticeship the craftsmen migrated to the coastal areas in search of work; some set up their own workshops.⁵⁷ By the 1880s all the major coastal towns had *sobrado* buildings. Hyland observed that every Fante town contained at least one substantial Christian mission or church with walls of stone, brick or mud with a timber verandah, revealing the work of a mission-trained builder.⁵⁸

Russell House has a central corridor extending south to north (Figure 5). The upstairs plan is identical to that of the lower floor, except that the front room extends the full length of the façade, creating a long indoor veranda, or reception hall, about ten feet in width. Downstairs an

anse de panier arch extends across the corridor (Figure 17). All the interior doorways have anse de panier arches, though some have been modified through the years for rectangular doors.

An arcade of six anse de panier arches once supported the back veranda. Dividing these arches is the bifurcated staircase (Figure 15). Cement plaster has since been applied to the arches, yet the stones are still visible to the close observer. A timber veranda probably once surrounded the entire upper story. Centrally located doors on the front and back of the house once led onto the veranda. By the 1950s, the verandah had burned, deteriorated, or had been intentionally torn down, and the doorway on the façade of the upper story was partially enclosed. Today, the roof only consists of the raised brick supports and a few broken and rotted wooden timbers that once supported the low-pitched roof, commonly used in Basel Mission style structures.



Figure 16. Fort William, North Side, 1760 and 1840s, stone nog (paint added later), Anomabo, Ghana. 2008 (author's photo).

Rather than the typical symmetrical arrangement of rooms on each side of the corridor, the east rooms are oriented to take advantage of the roadside (Figure 5). Further asymmetry is found with the entrance to a northwestern chamber leading directly to the courtyard. Art historian Robert Farris Thompson has compared African combinations of symmetry and asymmetry to early American jazz and coined the phrase “offbeat phrasing” to describe this phenomenon which can be found in Akan drumming, festival parades, textile patterns (*kente*), and architecture.⁵⁹ Art historian Roy Sieber, discussing the placement of pattern of a men's strip-woven textile with asymmetrical elements, stated, “the careful matching of the ends of the cloth dispels the impression of an uncalculated overall design.”⁶⁰ Forms of offbeat phrasing in exterior and/or interior elements were observed in all of the rammed earth and stone nog houses I researched in Anomabo. Thus, Rev. Hammond has deliberately disrupted the calculated measure of Italianate symmetry with local Akan aesthetics. The local elements of a courtyard and asymmetrical plan, combined with the British Italianate style and sobrado plan, are cleverly synthesized to visually communicate a sense of modernity and cosmopolitanism.

Close observation proves that the Russell House, like other African coastal elites homes of this period, does not illustrate mimicry of British architecture.



Figure 17. Russell House, corridor. 2009 (author's photo).

The Methodist Vision

Along with Cape Coast and Accra, Anomabo was one of the earliest sites to receive Wesleyan Methodist missionaries. John and Charles Wesley founded Wesleyan Methodism in 1735 as an offshoot of the Church of England. The group promoted a disciplined routine of spiritual devotion through the reading of the Bible. 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 the year a Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge was founded by William deGraft in Cape Coast. Early members of the study group included important members of the coastal elite class—Blankson, Henry Brew, Kobina Mensah, John Sam, and John Smith with deGraft as their leader.⁶¹ Englishman Reverend Joseph Dunwell arrived in January 1, 1835, in Cape Coast. Dunwell traveled frequently to Anomabo, and under his supervision Methodist class meetings were quickly established.⁶² However, Dunwell died on June 24, 1835, only six months after his arrival.

The Reverend George Wrigley, who landed in Cape Coast with his wife Harriet on September 15, 1836 replaced Dunwell.⁶³ According to Frank Deaville Walker, 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.”⁶⁴ Wrigley, using local builders for the rammed earth construction, is likely responsible for the Palladian plan chosen for the Methodist Mission in Anomabo. Wrigley died in November of 1837, only a year after his arrival. The Reverend Thomas Birch Freeman (1809-1890), known locally as Osofo Kweku Annan, arrived from the West Indies in Cape Coast in 1838.⁶⁵ The Methodist Mission in Anomabo was one of the first structures to be visited by Freeman, and in 1839, he and Henry Barnes supervised its completion (Figure 18).⁶⁶ Sometime in early 1840, fire destroyed part of the mission, and it had to be restored. By April of 1840, this was completed.⁶⁷

Methodism spread quickly along the coast. Religious historian Hilary M. Carey explains that due to “its flexible circuit structure, Methodism proved to be ideally suited to the conditions on the frontier...[Methodists] were conservative politically and saw the empire as a legitimate field for their aspirations to become a world church for the English-speaking peoples.”⁶⁸ By 1842, two schools were built in Cape Coast, and one each in Accra, Anomabo, and Dixcove.⁶⁹ Anomabo provided adjacent villages and towns with evangelists. It also provided skilled craftsmen, such as bricklayers, carpenters and painters, to fellowships in Saltpond, Winneba, and Kommenda, to assist with the building of their places of worship.⁷⁰ Anomabo became the most important Methodist center on the coast.



Figure 18. Methodist Mission, Rev. George Wrigley, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, and Henry Barnes, c. 1839-40, rammed earth and timber, Anomabo, Ghana. 2009 (author's photo).



Figure 19. Ebenezer Methodist Church, Revs. James Picot, James Fletcher and John Oboboam Hammond, 1895, stone nog. Renovation 1966-1971, rebuilt main entrance façade, added pilasters and chapel, stone nog, cement and paint. Anomabo, Ghana. 2009 (author's photo).

By the 1860s, the Methodist following in Anomabo had grown to such a degree that in order to accommodate the attendance, Reverend James Picot began to plan for a new chapel in 1870.⁷¹ Reverend James Fletcher laid the foundation stone for Ebenezer Methodist Church in Anomabo on December 10, 1880. The church was built with stone nog construction and completed in 1895 (Figure 19 above). 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 his father, the Rev. Gaddiel Robert Acquah, son of Charlotte Acquah.

While the founding of Methodism in Anomabo can be attributed to preachers Blankson, Martin, Hagan, and Mills, evidence from the Blankson Addition proves that these men did not abandon their Fante patriotic ideals.⁷² Blankson's appropriation of European architectural style, materials, and construction method had served a wider purpose than adoring mimicry. Cultural anthropologists Christian Huck and Stefan Bauernschmidt argue that appropriation is "always about cultural relations in the context of an unequal distribution of power."⁷³ Indeed, Denise Cuthbert stated that, "the history of European colonization of the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Pacific is also a history of wholesale appropriation."⁷⁴ African homes on the Gold Coast evince this history of appropriation as a means to communicate their status, modernity and resistance to the British hegemony.

Russell House fits into this dynamic, for Rev. Hammond designed a building that was more than just a mimic of the British Italianate style. Hybridization is a valuable clue to understanding the potential motivation of a patron. Though he related it to linguistics, Gold Coast elite architecture closely aligns with theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas of hybridity where "two points of view are not mixed, but set against each other dialogically."⁷⁵ Postcolonial historian Robert Young explains that in "organic hybridity the mixture merges," while

“intentional hybridity sets different points of view against each other in a conflictual structure, which retains ‘a certain elemental, organic energy and openendedness.’”⁷⁶ Young continues, “Bahktin’s doubled form of hybridity therefore offers a particularly significant dialectical model for cultural interaction: an organic hybridity, which will tend towards fusion, in conflict with intentional hybridity, which enables a contestatory activity, a politicized setting of cultural differences against each other dialogically.”⁷⁷ Thus, if this definition of dialogic hybridity is applied to African colonial architecture on the Gold Coast, it may offer a greater understanding of patron motivations. By conceptualizing a grand family home through a combination of local and Western styles, a patron may portray status, modernity, and resistance to colonial power by expressing all the conflicting elements of the charged political environment. Like Blankson, Rev. Hammond embraced Methodism and the ideals of modern education and industry purported by the British Empire without giving up his place in the local elite class and believing in their right to be directly involved in coastal affairs, without the need for British interference.

Thus, if “Methodist missionary work was linked directly to the call of British patriotism,” as Carey states, then it misfired on the Ghanaian coast, at least with the elite class, who used Methodism as another piece of accumulated modernism.⁷⁸ Historians Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed note the difference between conversion and adhesion, stressing that adhesion, “understanding of the new as a useful supplement to traditional religion,” was more common than conversion in Africa.⁷⁹ Russell House exhibits adhesion rather than conversion because of the many details that mix British, Afro-Portuguese, and local architectural elements. Thus, in architecture, as in religion, a British exterior or plan might not denote conversion to British patriotism or mimicry. This also explains Rev. Hammond’s popularity with both local nationalist elites and the ruling hierarchy, as evident from his obituary. His beliefs, like his family residence, bridged Fante desires for independence common to both groups despite British divide and rule policy to separate them.

Conclusion

Stately homes constructed by some of the most powerful members of the Gold Coast elite class served as visual markers that conveyed multiple meanings in a dialogic context. The hybrid style of African colonial period residences combines local architectural—two-story compact houses, courtyard plans, and asymmetrical details—with the *sobrado* and imported Italianate and Queen Anne styles. Cultural appropriation is an on-going process in Fante architecture, from eighteenth century two-story compact rammed earth houses to colonial period Italianate and Queen Anne style stone *nog* residences to Post-independence International Style steel and concrete buildings to contemporary Postmodern homes.⁸⁰ The appropriations evident in these houses demonstrate a widespread desire on the part of Africans to express their status as wealthy cosmopolitan individuals who were educated and economically connected, capable of self-governance.

Through the process of adhesion, local patrons in Anomabo appropriated a cloak of British style that could be viewed by the colonizers as emblems of mimicry, yet they also cultivated a reverse gaze, effectively empowering locals by harnessing British power symbols, expressing dialogic points of view. This “relocation of power was first attempted on the Gold Coast in the Blankson Addition where the European Palladian style was appropriated to transfer power

from the Europeans back to the coastal African elites. This attempt to relocate power was mirrored in the efforts of the Fante Confederacy to which Blankson belonged. Twenty-five years later Rev. Hammond and his siblings commissioned a residence that communicated the same message by harnessing and changing the British Italianate style and an Afro-Portuguese sobrado plan into an intentional hybrid enabling a “contestatory activity” in the visual culture.⁸¹ Russell House serves as an example of this vibrant new style of Coastal Elite architecture.

Notes

- 1 Reynolds 2007, p. 1. Modern Ghana was essentially a British colony from 1874 to 1957, though the Asante kingdom was not fully defeated until 1896. Moreover, the coastal area had all the makings of a colony since the signing of the Bond of 1844 between Great Britain and the Fante Confederation.
- 2 A copy of the land indenture for the Russell House was provided by family member, Edukuma Hagan in 2009. Written in 1895, it lists the siblings as follows, “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.” The signature line read “John O. Hammond and others.” The document is reprinted in Micots 2010, pp. 426-29.
- 3 This date is confirmed by mention of the Russell House in an arbitration document for a nearby property, purchased by Kofi Aiko, where his grandson later built the Kobena Mefful family residence. Aiko’s Land Purchase Agreement is transcribed in Micots 2010, pp. 424-25. A copy of this original document was provided to me in 2009 by the *abusuapanyin*, or family head, Kobina George Kingsley Otoo, who received his copy of the original document from the National Archives at Cape Coast. The National Archives no longer has the original document.
- 4 A copy of the building permit for The Russell House was provided by family member, Edukuma Hagan in 2009. This document was created for “Mr. Co. O. Acquaaah.” The document is reprinted in Micots 2010, p. 430.
- 5 Hyland 1997, p. 2038.
- 6 The Gold Coast Nation, 23 November-18 January 1918-1919, “The Late Rev. John O. Hammond,” p. 5; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 11-18 January 1919, “Death and Funeral of the Rev. J. O. Hammond,” p. 2; and *The Weekly News* (Sierra Leone), 16 August 1890, “Stations of Wesleyan Ministers,” p. 8.
- 7 *The Gold Coast Leader*, 11-18 January 1919, “Death and Funeral of the Rev. J. O. Hammond,” p. 2.
- 8 *The Weekly News* (Sierra Leone), 7 September 1889, “Stations of Wesleyan Ministers,” p. 6; *The Weekly News* (Sierra Leone), 16 August 1890, “Stations of Wesleyan Ministers,” p. 8; *The Gold Coast Leader*, “Winnebah,” 25 October 1902, p. 2; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 30 June 1906, “Winneba,” p. 5; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 23 May 1908, “A Farewell Meeting with Rev. John O. Hammond,” p. 4; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 30 May 1908, “Editorial Notes,” p. 2; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 19 June 1909, “Saltpond,” pp. 3-4; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 11 May 1912,

- "Saltpond," p. 2; *The Gold Coast Nation*, 27 February 1913, "New Appointments," p. 8; *The Gold Coast Nation*, 20 March 1913, "Preachers for Next Sunday," p. 4; *The Gold Coast Nation*, 30 April 1914, "Unveiling of Rev. Father Parker's Memorial Tablet," p. 3; 15-22 October 1914, "The Gold Coast Aborigines War Fund," p. 2; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 24 July 1915, "General News," p. 2; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 31 July 1915, "Editorial Notes," p. 5; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 27 May 1916, "Letters to the Editor," p. 7; *The Gold Coast Leader*, 27 October 1917, "The Question of the Appointment of Chaplains to Accompany the East African Contingent," p. 5; and *The Gold Coast Leader*, 24 August 1918, "Editorial Notes," p. 3.
- 9 *The Gold Coast Leader*, 11-18 January 1919, "Death and Funeral of the Rev. J. O. Hammond," p. 2.: "...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... 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."
- 10 The Anomabo Traditional Area encompasses an area of roughly fifty square miles and includes sixty-four villages and towns, counting the city of Anomabo. The chief, or *omanhen*, of the state of Anomabo resides in Anomabo town.
- 11 *The Gold Coast Leader*, "Winnebah," 25 October 1902, p. 2.
- 12 *The Gold Coast Leader*, 30 June 1906, "Winneba," p. 5.
- 13 *The Gold Coast Nation*, 27 February 1913, "New Appointments," p. 8.
- 14 This obituary also lists the numerous members of the elite class and the Omanhen Amonoo V in attendance. Among those listed is Henry Van Hein, an important Cape Coast merchant and nationalist who served as president of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society and a founder of the British West African Conference. *The Gold Coast Nation*, 23 November-18 January 1918-1919, "The Late Rev. John O. Hammond," p. 5.
- 15 *Gold Coast Leader*, 5 December 1925, p. 4.
- 16 *The Gold Coast Leader*, 3 August 1918, "General News," p. 2; and *The Gold Coast Nation*, 23 November-18 January 1918-1919, "The Late Rev. John O. Hammond," p. 5.

- 17 *The Gold Coast Leader*, 15 August 1908, "The Funeral of Charlotte Oyeamam Acquaaah," p. 2.
- 18 Ephson 1969, pp. 121-122; and Bartels 1965, pp. 209-210. For a list of the hymns Rev. Hammond translated, see *The Gold Coast Nation*, 23 November-18 January 1918-1919, "The Late Rev. John O. Hammond," p. 5.
- 19 Edukuma Hagan. Personal interview, Anomabo, Ghana. June. (transcripts held by author).
- 20 Obonoma is a large rock formation located in the sea in front of Fort William. Oral history states that a hunter first came to the area and noticed the rock was covered with sea birds and named the area Anomabo.
- 21 Hubbard 2003, pp. 56-60.
- 22 Ibid., p. 153.
- 23 Sutcliffe 2006, p. 93.
- 24 Doortmont 2005, p. 489.
- 25 A 1931 Gold Coast Survey Map indicates four stone quarries located just north of the coastal highway in Anomabo. Gold Coast Survey. "Anomabu" Sheets 1 and 3. [Map.] February 13, 1931. Reviewed at the National Archives in Cape Coast, Ghana.
- 26 Samuel Collins Brew, contemporary of Blankson and the great grandson of Richard Brew (patron of the original Castle Brew), may have built a similar structure utilizing brick and stone *nog* around the same period. Collins Brew was a prominent merchant in Anomabo trading mainly in gold and ivory. 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. A set of buildings marked in poor condition is depicted on the Gold Coast Survey map of 1931. None of his descendants in Anomabo could remember the façade or the interior plan of this residence, yet the brick debris on site and remnants of an old brick kiln nearby attest to its construction, possibly utilizing the materials, construction method and design elements similar to the Blankson Addition.
- 27 Crain 1994, pp. 61-62.
- 28 "The Late Hon: G. K. Blankson," 1898, pp. 3-4.
- 29 The Palladian style was inspired by Andrea Palladio, who studied the remains of Greek and Roman buildings in northern Italy. 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. The style was utilized for European merchant forts and houses along the Gold Coast from the sixteenth to nineteenth century. Harbison, Potterton and Sheehy 1978, pp. 132. For an image of the Franklin House in the late nineteenth century, see Lokko c. 2010, Fig. 40, p. 78.
- 30 Wellington 2011, p. 251. The Danish area is primarily located in sections of old Osu and Jamestown in Accra. It is possible that elderly Ga builders or their descendents assisted with Blankson's Addition, or other contractors were inspired by the Franklin House.
- 31 Flather 1966 and Priestley 1969.
- 32 Flather 1966, pp. 59-60, 136; Meredith 1812 (reprint, 1967), p. 152; and Shumway 2004, p.

- 142.
- 33 Flather 1966, 144.
- 34 Crowder 1968, pp. 199-200.
- 35 Flather 1966, pp. 59-60, 136.
- 36 I believe the demise of many early structures is due to three factors: the environment — after the salty air has eroded the corrugated steel roofing, strong sun and rains deteriorate the mortar; owners deliberately knock down buildings to make way for more modern construction; and generally more stone nog houses were built in the early-twentieth century because more need was felt by the elites (and those desiring to be viewed as elites) to pronounce their status.
- 37 Bartels 1965, pp. 35, 40.
- 38 The beginnings of rammed earth construction in Ghana have been extensively researched by anthropologist Vincent Kenneth Tarikhu Farrar and archaeologist Kwesi James Anquandah, principally in the Shai Hills and eastern Accra plains. Their findings revealed that this technology 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 (Western Sudan) or groups to the east such as those from the Dahomey-Yoruba-Benin cultural sphere (modern-day Republic of Benin and Nigeria). Farrar 1995, pp. 159-60, 164-65. Most of my colleagues in the field however label this construction method by its material — swish. For a more detailed description of swish and its construction in the nineteenth century, see Cruickshank 1853 (reprint, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 288-89.
- 39 My research is based on data collected in 2009 from Kwa Nyanfueku Akwa, town historian, and the families living in these houses.
- 40 Farrar 1995, pp. 160, 164-65.
- 41 Cruickshank 1853 (reprint, 1966), vol. 2, 287-88, 295-96.
- 42 A belt course is a projecting horizontal molding separating parts of a wall surface in a façade. On the Gold Coast it is used to visually separate the two floors.
- 43 “Monuments and Relics Ordinance,” ADM. 23/1/381, n.p. Ghana National Archives, Cape Coast.
- 44 Grace Kyeremeh led the Environmental Group in the early 2000s. The group was dissolved in 2006 after resistance from the Traditional Council which did not support the group’s efforts. However she was enstooled as Nana Mbroba-Dabo II, Queen Mother of Anomabo, on December 3, 2013, and has plans to encourage tourism and development in Anomabo.
- 45 In regards to Castle Brew, in the 1960s the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board restored the original residence built by Richard Brew c. 1761-1763 and the first addition by Brodie Cruickshank c. 1841-1844, but interestingly not the Blankson Addition.
- 46 Buisseret 1980, p. 26.
- 47 A pilaster is a protruding column attached to a wall. Coigns are rectangles or squares of stone, brick, wood or concrete, placed at the corners of buildings. Both are decorative features.
- 48 Hyland 1997, p. 2038.

- 49 Corbels are a decorative feature atop the windows, walls or chimney to create the shape of a bracket at the top of a building beneath the cornice.
- 50 LaBelle Prussin has linked Sub-Saharan African courtyard houses to North African Roman and Egyptian houses via influence across the trade routes. Farrar has emphasized a more local building tradition. Prussin 1986, pp. 105-08, 159; and idem, 2008; and Farrar 1996.
- 51 Mark 2002, pp. 43-45, 49.
- 52 "Brazil House" n.d.
- 53 Lokko 2010, p. 5.
- 54 Further research is needed to determine the impact the Tabom may have had on the coastal arts of Ghana.
- 55 In fact, Riis was nicknamed "Osiadan" (builder of buildings) for his skill in building houses. Hyland 1974, pp. 180-81; Akyeampong n.d.
- 56 Some of those trained were West Indian immigrants. The craftsmen under the guidance of the mission, built several variations of these homes in the Akuapem Hills area. Hyland 1993, pp. 161-62.
- 57 Smith 1966, p. 60.
- 58 Hyland 1974, pp. 68-69.
- 59 Thompson 1974, p. 13.
- 60 Sieber 1972, p. 190.
- 61 Flather 1966, p. 120; and Southen 1934, p. 20. Essamuah states, "The group was comprised de Graft, then a probationer; five local preachers, Joseph Smith, John Hagan, John Mills, John Martin, and George Blankson; and fifteen exhorters." Essamuah 2010, p. 15. This team is also listed in Bartels 1965, p. 40.
- 62 Flather 1966, p. 121.
- 63 Hutchison n.d., p. 96.
- 64 Walker 1929, pp. 45, 99, 102.
- 65 Freeman 1844, pp. 74-76.
- 66 Henry Barnes (1800-September 23, 1865) apparently directed part of the Anomabo Mission's construction. He was probably of mixed parentage, born to a "Captain Barnes of a trade schooner" in either Anomabo or Cape Coast. He began as a writer in government service and later became a prosperous timber merchant in Anomabo and Cape Coast. Ibid.; Crooks 1923 (reprint 1973), p. 152; Flather 1966, pp. 123-24; Claridge 1964, vol. 1, p. 451; Sampson 1969, p. 104; Kaplow 1971, p. 62; and Bartels 1965, p. 34.
- 67 Freeman 1844, pp. 45, 99, 102.
- 68 Carey 2011, pp. 59-60.
- 69 Swanzy 1956, p. 96.
- 70 Bartels 1965, pp. 42-43.
- 71 Flather 1966, p. 134; and Bartels 1965, pp. 83, 96, 98.
- 72 Bartels 1965, p. 35.
- 73 Huck and Bauernschmidt 2013, p. 19.
- 74 Cuthbert 1998, p. 257.

- 75 Young 1995, p. 21. Young quotes Bakhtin 1981, p. 360.
76 Young 1981, pp. 21-22. Young quotes Bakhtin 1981, p. 361.
77 Young 1981, p. 22.
78 Carey 2011, p. 182.
79 Sundkler and Steed 2000, p. 96.
80 For the appropriation of the International Style, see Hess 2006, p. 75; and Postmodernism, see Micots 2010, p. 282.
81 Young 1981, p. 22.

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