

The Building History and Chronology of Fort Crêvecoeur and Ussher Fort, Accra

**Comments on the
Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey
at Fort Crêvecoeur Site, Accra**

First Interim Report

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Introduction

This report was put together in response to the discussions held during the “Seminar on the Proposal Regarding the Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey at Fort Crêvecoeur Site, Accra” at the offices of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, Ussher Fort, Accra, on Thursday, 23rd September 1999.

During the seminar, Professor J.R. Anquandah, who is executing the survey, presented a global chronological overview of the building history of Fort Crêvecoeur from the 17th to the 19th centuries. This overview was based on an elaborate study of published sources, cited and partly reproduced in Prof. Anquandah’s original research proposal. During the seminar the overview was presented on overhead sheets, which is attached as appendix IV to the Summary of the Debates.

This report aims to address two important questions, which have an immediate bearing upon the archaeological survey, the known architectural history, and the possibility of restoring the (remnants of the) original Fort Crêvecoeur:

- (1) To what extent does the presented building chronology fit our knowledge of building activities by the Dutch in relationship to the importance they adhered to Accra as an establishment.
- (2) Which events seriously affected the integrity of Fort Crêvecoeur between the 17th and the 20th century, to what extent, and what conclusions can be drawn from this for the interpretation of the current remnants of the Fort.

It must be stated most emphatically that this report is only an interim report. It is based on the study of materials readily available in literature and the author’s private database on the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast. For a full understanding of the 17th-19th century history of the building it is necessary to conduct additional research in the Dutch State Archives.

Research Activities

The author invited two of his colleagues in the Netherlands, Ms. Natalie Everts and Mr. R.A. Baesjou, to conduct a quick search for a number of key materials: (a) map(s) or plan(s) showing Fort Crêvecoeur at any time during the 17th-19th centuries, a copy of the treaty of exchange of territories between the Dutch and the British from 1868, by which Dutch Accra became a British possession, any notes about the destruction of Fort Crêvecoeur by the British in 1782 and its subsequent restoration, and the effects of the earthquake of 1862 on the state of the Fort.

On the production date of this report, Everts reported back with a very positive report, listing 3 plans and 1 drawing (elevation) of Fort Crêvecoeur, dated as follows: ca. 1782 (after destruction by the British), ca. 1790?, 1841 by H. Varlet (who probably restored the fort), 1841 elevation by the same. All drawings are in the Dutch State Archives in The Hague. Black and white slides of these drawings are being produced and will become available in four weeks time.

The author will undertake a further, more detailed search in the Dutch archives after his return to the Netherlands, in late October.

One document also available is a photograph of the Fort around 1888, with a short description, produced by the Dutch consular agent at Elmina, Mr. J.A. de Veer, acting on instructions from the Dutch Foreign Ministry, in relation to a plan to put forward funding for the restoration of some of the old Dutch monuments on the Gold Coast. The plan apparently came to nothing, and the British only became interested in the restoration of monuments in 1920.¹ A possible additional source of

¹ National Record Centre, ADM5/1/97, Departmental Reports 1920, Report Public Works Department, p. 16. See appendix 1 for full text.

photographic information is the photo-archive of the Basle Mission at Basle, Switzerland. The keeper of these collections, Mr. P. Jenkins, is approached via e-mail for more information.

In the meantime, the author conducted a quick search in the National Records Centre (PRAAD), at Accra, see if anything could be found on the refurbishment of Ussher Fort around 1924 (date indicated above the Main Gate on High Street). This search was extremely successful, as the Departmental Reports of the Prison Department and Public Works Department for the period between 1920 and 1929 give a lot of details about the restructuring of the building, including five photo's, which are attached to this report.

It could be expected that the historical archives of the Public Works Department itself may contain more detailed information, in the form of original building plans, and drawings. It is questionable, however, whether these documents – if extant, of course – will hold detailed information, or photo's, on the state of Fort Crêvecoeur before the start of the restructuring. Prof. Anquandah mentioned during the seminar that he was in contact with the P.W.D., and a more targeted search in both the P.W.D. and the Survey Department is definitely advisable.

Review of Chronology

Prof. Anquandah presents a chronology for Fort Crêvecoeur may need some revision and detailing for a better understanding of the building history. Following is the original chronology, with some small alterations, and added comments and recommendations for further research:

- 1647 - *The Dutch first built a lodge at Little Accra.*
- 1649 - *The Dutch built a stone fort (Crêvecoeur) measuring 62' x 24'.²*
Comment: Are there any original sources available for a more coherent image of what was built exactly?
- 1679 - *After the establishment of the Second Dutch West India Company (WIC) in 1674, the for was rebuilt in 1679 on a new ground-plan. According to Prof. Anquandah's notes, probably according to the principle of parallel circumuallation, and with an added courtyard and service yard.*
Comment: This was obviously a well-planned operation. It may be possible to find more material on the building of the fort in the Dutch archives. The WIC-archives are available and accessible, the archives compiled locally (NBKG) are also available but accessibility is limited by their physical condition. Further investigations can be made by a comparison with forts built in the Netherlands during the same period. Possible sources of information: the Vereniging Menno van Coehoorn (Society for the study and conservation of Dutch Historical Defense Works), Dutch Army Museum in Delft.
- 1780-1784 - *The next event on the calendar is the destruction of the fort by the British in the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War of 1780-1784. After heavy bombardments, the Dutch deserted the fort, and the British captured it.*

² It is presumed that these are English feet of 0.3048 m, i.e. the fort measuring 18.9 m x 7.3 m. It would be interesting to know the origins of the source for these measurements. In the event that the original source is a Dutch one, it could well be that the measurements are in Dutch feet, most likely "Rijnland" feet, of 0.314 m. This would bring the size of the original fort to 19.5 m x 7.5 m. Also possible, but less likely, is that "Amsterdam" feet of 0.283 m were used, bringing the size to 17.5 m x 6.8 m.

Comment: It seems unlikely that Fort Crêvecoeur at Accra, one of the three main establishments of the Dutch on the Gold Coast,³ did not undergo major repairs, extension or alteration during the 18th century, when the nature of trading altered considerably on the coast (growth of slave trade) and with it the nature of the political relations between the European competitors. It is known that some of the other Dutch forts underwent major work in the middle of the 18th century. It would seem advisable to check from original sources if Fort Crêvecoeur was altered as well.

On the bombardment and subsequent capture by the British in 1782 at least two published accounts are available: De Marrée (1818)⁴ and Weijtingh (1855)⁵. Both are however inconclusive as to the extent of destruction of the Fort. In a later version of this report the relevant passages from these publications will be added in translation. In brief, Weijtingh's description runs as follows:

In 1782, during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, the British took the fort from nearby James Fort. The Dutch did not give in without a fight, though. The small garrison of twenty men received support from a local chief, by name of Otto, who bought gunpowder from the Danes, and came to the rescue. After 17 days, the British proved too strong, however, and the commander and his men departed the fort. After taking the fort, the British brought the guns to James Fort, and blew up Fort Crêvecoeur. It was returned to the Dutch in 1786, and eventually rebuilt.

The Dutch had a strong relationship with the townspeople around the fort. This becomes evident from the actions of Otto, who was offered to settle in Osu after the Dutch defeat, but refused because he then had to fly the Danish, instead of the Dutch flag from his headquarters.

From an architectural point of view, the key point is Weijtingh's statement that the British **blew up** the Fort. Did this mean total destruction? Possibly the ca. 1782 and ca. 1790? Plans will provide additional information.

1785 - *Fort restored to the Dutch.*

Comment: About the re-occupation of the fort by the Dutch in 1785 or 1786 (Weijtingh) and possible repairs made by them very little seems to be known. Here the original sources in the Netherlands could be helpful. What is known is that the Fort had commanders from 1786 onwards, which are so far documented for the periods 1786-(1790), 1794, 1796-1797, 1802-1804, and 1811-1816. (see appendix 2) Van Dantzig⁶ (p. 63) writes that "[f]or a long time afterwards [i.e. after 1782] Fort Crêvecoeur remained a ruin, but was rebuilt in the early nineteenth century". This statement is too vague for any positive interpretation of factual events.

³ Apart from St. George d'Elmina, the forts at Axim (St. Anthony) and Accra (Crêvecoeur), were the main terminals for the trade with Asante. Moreover Accra was the administrative base for all Dutch operations for the Dutch towards the east of Accra. The importance of Accra and Axim for the WIC was reflected in their commanders bearing the title of Governor.

⁴ J.A. de Marrée, *Reizen op en beschrijving van de Goudkust van Guinea* (2 vols. 's-Gravenhage 1817-1818). De Marrée was the Secretary to the Dutch Government on the Gold Coast from 1801 to 1816, and later became a Judge in the Mixed Court of Justice for the Repression of the Slave Trade at Freetown, Sierra Leone.

⁵ D.P.H.J. Weijtingh, *Achttien jaren aan de Goudkust, door Brodie Cruickshank; uit het Engels vertaald en met eene inleiding vermeerderd* (Amsterdam 1855). This book is a translation in Dutch of the book by the British official Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, first published in 1853. Weijtingh's new introduction to the book deals with the history and organisation of the Dutch possessions. Weijtingh was a merchant and Dutch official on the Gold Coast. From 1861 to 1865 and again from 1866 to the cession in 1868, Weijtingh was commandant of Fort Crêvecoeur at Accra.

⁶ Albert van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra 1980).

- 1816 - *Fort abandoned by the Dutch.*
Comment: This date and event pose a problem: the Dutch had come out of the Napoleonic Wars weakened, but also determined not to depart from the Gold Coast. The appointment of the well-known H.W. Daendels as Governor General, with a liberal budget meant – at least for a short time – a new start. From personnel notes it appears indeed that there is a gap in the occupation of Accra between 1816 and 1822, because no known *officials* were then present in Accra. However, it can be that during that period a military (non-commissioned) officer was in charge. Further research is necessary here.
- 1830 - *Dutch reoccupied the Fort and resumed trade.*
Comment: This date (1830) is not a logical date for several reasons. (1) Even if the fort was abandoned in 1816 (which seems questionable, see above), it was at least reoccupied with a civilian commandant in charge between 1822 and 1824. (2) In 1830 the state of the Dutch establishments on the Gold Coast was experiencing grave problems. Civilian and military occupation was at an all-time low, with numerous deaths amongst the officials and very few replacements coming out. Also, the financial situation of the Dutch government was not too good at this time, which prevented any plans for re-occupation of formerly abandoned forts being executed (if these plans actually existed, that is), let alone being restored.
 Above the Main Gate of Ussher Fort, rebuilt in 1924, the date of **1839** is engraved. This points towards building activity immediately before 1839, which is difficult to align with a re-occupation 9 years before. The Dutch developed a new interest in their Gold Coast possessions in 1837, after some unfortunate events in Ahanta the year before, which cost the lives of several Dutch officials, including the Acting Governor and military commander, led to an Expeditionary Force being sent from Holland, and eventually also led to a renewal of relations with the Asante, with whom a contract was concluded for the delivery of military recruits. These events heralded a new period of activity with a solid official and military presence.
 At about the same time, the Dutch government undertook action to have a proper Architect appointed to the position of Master of Works, in view of the dilapidated state of many of the Dutch buildings. In 1836 Hubertus Varlet arrived on the Gold Coast, a young, qualified architect and carpenter. It is known that in the 1840s and 1850s he built several beautiful merchants' houses in Elmina. It is to be expected that – if the date of 1839 is accurate – Fort Crêvecoeur was repaired, restored or rebuilt by Varlet between 1837 and 1839. Further research in the Dutch Colonial Office records seems advisable here. In view of the find of two drawings (plan and elevation of the fort by Varlet, dated 1841, it seems certain Varlet restored the fort in the late 1830s.
- 1862 - *July 10th, 1862 – Earthquake hit Accra and destroyed Fort Crêvecoeur.*
Comment: The building was damaged in the 1862 earthquake, but again the extent of the damage is not known. Original research in the Dutch archives is necessary. A quick check of British records in the National Record Centre, Accra did not yield any information.
- 1864 - *Fort Crêvecoeur rebuilt.*
Comment: Source of information and extent of rebuilding activities unknown (mentioned by Van Dantzig, but no reference given); original research in the Dutch archives is necessary.

1868 - *Fort transferred to the British and renamed Ussher Fort. Ever since used as a prison.*

Comment: The British took over the fort and most likely turned it into a prison almost immediately. In view of their lack of interest in monuments, except for utilitarian purposes, it seems likely that they did not do much work on the building until the complete rebuilding of the place in the 1920s (see below).

Construction of Ussher Fort Prison

After the First World War, the British embarked on a large building program in their colonies, including the Gold Coast. Accra was transformed in the period between 1920 and 1930, with new residential areas (Adabraka, Riponsville, Korle Gonno), new hospitals (Korle Bu, Native Hospital), new streets, a new market (Selwyn Market, now Mokola Market), a new school (Achimota), and many other new public buildings, and also a brand new prison: Ussher Fort Prison. This building was established on the area of the old Ussher Fort, previously known as Fort Crêvecoeur.

Although research into the building history is not yet completed, the Departmental Reports for the period provide us with a fair overview of the transformation of the place into the complex we can still see today. The relevant texts from the Departmental Reports are added to this report as appendix 3.

Important points are that in 1920 the existing Ussher Fort, the old Fort Crêvecoeur, was in a dilapidated state, while at the same time the cliff below the fort was eroded. In 1921, retaining walls were constructed in the cliff side. In 1920, one started an elaborate building programme, which included new cell blocks, offices, kitchen, yard, execution block, and police station. The work, completely executed with prison labour, was concluded in 1929.

Unfortunately the Departmental Reports of the PWD and Prison Department give no information about the changes made to the original Fort Crêvecoeur, or even the state of the building before work commenced.

From the 1922-1923 Prison Department report it becomes clear that the pre-1920 Ussher Fort stood on premises about half the size of the current (post-1929) premises:

"The area of the prison premises was practically doubled by enclosing an open yard, previously leased by Government to a trading firm; and a new outer wall was built and within the extra space, thus enclosed, a beginning was made with a new shoemaker's shop, similar to the tailor's and carpenter's shops already made. New police quarters (a miniature barracks, with guard-room, cell, off-duty room, etc.) from Ussher Town police guardroom, and sentries were nearly completed."

It remains to be investigated what area of land was exactly doubled. Both the large scale maps of the 1923 Accra survey can be of help here, as well as the map of Accra in 1898 and the Dutch maps mentioned above.

Possibly the archives of the Public Works Department contain original drawings and more photographs of the construction of Ussher Fort Prison.

Conclusions

Based on the findings and arguments in this report, it is concluded that:

- 1) The building history of Fort Crêvecoeur is incomplete and insecure for the whole period of its existence and needs further research in Dutch and Ghanaian documents.
- 2) Preliminary research in the Dutch archives have revealed plans and an elevation, which, when reproduced, can help in the establishment of the layout of the late 18th and 19th-century fort.
- 3) The Reports of the Public Works Department for the period 1920-1929 give a good overview of the construction of the current building, but by themselves do not tell anything about the old building. Possibly the PWD archives contain more material (plans, drawings).
- 4) The archaeological survey should go ahead as planned, but use the original Dutch plans as a further guideline when they become available.

Appendix 1:

British Interest in Monuments on the Gold Coast

Departmental Reports 1920 **(NAG, ADM 5.1.97)**

Public Works Department

30. Item 24a. – Maintenance of Ancient Castles, £ 500 – This is a new but a more important item than its size denotes. Its importance lies in the inauguration of the policy preserving the many picturesque old Castles along the Coast from complete decay, which had not been done except in so far as they were being used for utilitarian purposes. The main work carried out during 1920 being to Cape Coast and Elmina Castle. At the former over 50 old cannon were brought up from the shore, placed near the Castle and scraped and tarred.

At Elmina general repairs were carried out. A new drawbridge, a fac-simile of the old one was erected over the moat. All old guns were scraped and tarred and old inscriptions, coats of arms, etc., picked out and touched up.

(p. 16)

Appendix 2:

Dutch commandants at Accra, 1786-1868 (Provisional List)

Name	Appointed/Arrival	Departed/Died
Doedo Liefstinck	5/4/1786	(1790?)
Johannes Slood	5/1794	19/6/1794
Adolph Coppeling	16/8/1796	20/2/1797
Pieter Linthorst	25/11/1802	(1803/1804)
Arie van Ameijden	(1803?)	26/5/1804
Caspar 't Hoen	(1811?)	1/6/1816
Laurens Kempe	3/9/1822	17/2/1824
A.J. Runckel	??	2/6/1851
Cornelis Johannes Marius Nagtglas	10/1/1852	(1854/1855)
Julius Vtringa Coulon	23/12/1855	5/9/1857
Carel Hendrik David van Hien	5/9/1857	12/2/1861
Dirk Petrus Henricus Jacobus Weijtingh	12/2/1861	13/6/1865
Julius Vtringa Coulon	5/10/1865	14/12/1865
Willem Pieter Anthonie le Jeune	14/12/1865	30/4/1866
Dirk Petrus Henricus Jacobus Weijtingh	30/4/1866	1/1868

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Appendix 3:

The construction of Ussher Fort Prison, 1920-1929

Departmental Reports 1918 (NAG, ADM 5.1.95)

Prison Department

[In the report of the Prison Department only James Fort is mentioned as a prison in Accra.]

Departmental Reports 1920 (NAG, ADM 5.1.97)

Prison Department

p. 12.

58. Accommodation is in a deplorable state [...]. At Ussher Fort, Accra, formerly used merely as an annex to James Fort, plans for accommodation for 80 long sentence prisoners, (up-to-date single cells) and for new workshops were approved, and construction was progressing well by the end of the year. A feature of this latter scheme was the utilisation of prison labour for building.

Departmental Reports 1921 (NAG, ADM 5.1.98)

Public Works Department

p. 28. Miscellaneous

104. Item 207: – Coast Erosion, Accra. – Temporary protective works have been carried out at Christiansborg Castle, at Falcon Cliff and at the rear of Ussher Fort.

Prison Department

p. 22.

60. Item 105: – Construction of New Cells, Ussher Fort. – Carpenters' Shops and Stores which were commenced at the end of last year have been completed and are in use. An ablution room, latrines and Warders' store has been completed.

One block of cells up to first floor level at the beginning of the year is now up to roof level.

Since the beginning of August this work has been carried on entirely by prison labour except for the aid of one African headman mason and progress has therefore been slow but inexpensive.

	£	s.	d.
Expenditure, January to March	964	4	10
Expenditure, April to December	1,722	7	1
Balance	1,667	12	11

Departmental Reports 1922-1923 (NAG, ADM 5.1.99)

Prisons Department

Labour

28. Building by prisoners at Ussher Fort Accra was continued during the year (see illustrations in Appendix III). The area of the prison premises was practically doubled by enclosing an open yard, previously leased by Government to a trading firm; and a new outer wall was built and within the extra

space, thus enclosed, a beginning was made with a new shoemaker's shop, similar to the tailor's and carpenter's shops already made. New police quarters (a miniature barracks, with guard-room, cell, off-duty room, etc.) from Ussher Town police guardroom, and sentries were nearly completed. These works (cement-block buildings) were done entirely by prison labour in all details (bricklaying, carpentry, smithy) under the direct supervision of the Provisional Engineer. The Prison Department also accepted a few building orders for private concerns, e.g. Municipal stables for the Town Councils, also stables for the Polo Club and a concrete platform for the Wesleyan's Girls School. These were useful in keeping the bricklayers busy, while plans for extension of Ussher Fort Prison were in course of preparation. (p. 13-14)

Cost of the Department

16. The sudden rise in expenditure in 1920 was due to new appointments made necessary [by the separation of the Prison Department from the Police Department] (p.19)

Public Works Department

Construction of New Cells at Ussher Fort

54. Item 105. – This work has been continued by Prison labour, and, as the men have become more skilled, better work has been turned out, and at the present the progress made, and the class of work done, shew great improvement on the earlier efforts. (p. 10)

Coast Erosion, Accra

79. Item 207. – The defence work referred to in my Report for 1921 was completed during the Quarter. (p. 13)

Departmental Reports 1923-1924

(NAG, ADM 5.1.100)

Prisons Department

Introduction

3. The building schemes for Accra (Ussher Fort) and Coomassie were developed during the year so as to provide eventually, at the important centres, prisons each containing two wings, one for long-sentence and the other for short-sentence prisoners. [...] These considerations were during the year under review placed before Government which approved of the schemes for Accra and Coomassie described above. (p. 1)

Departmental Reports 1924-1925

(NAG, ADM 5.1.101)

Public Works Department

Public Buildings, Accra

Item 145. New cells Ussher Fort.

136. General Offices, Hospital, Stores, Cell and Execution Block facing High Street completed with the exception of roof over Inspector-General of Prison's Office, Hospital and Execution Block, Solitary Cells and Workshop adjoining Carpenter's Shop completed except roof. Completion of roofs has been delayed for lack of suitable steels, since received.

Work carried out by Prison Labour under the charge of Prison Technical Instructor supervised by Public Works Department Engineering Staff.

Amount authorised £ 1,450.0.0

Amount expended £ 1,443.1.9

(p. 31)

Departmental Reports 1925-1926 **(NAG, ADM 5.1.102)**

Prison Department

Introduction

The new offices built on top of the main entrance to Ussher Fort Prison Accra were completed and occupied on 1st January, 1926.

(p. 1)

Public Works Department

Public Buildings, Accra

145. Construction of New Cells, Ussher Fort. – Work has again been successfully carried out by Prison Labour under the charge of Prison Technical Instructors supervised by the Public Works Department Engineering staff. During the year Offices, Hospital, Condemned Cells, Latrines and Washhouses, Solitary Cells and Machine Shop, New Industry Rooms, etc., together with all the furniture necessary have been completed and the Causeway along High Street graded and levelled. In addition to the fact that this work is being cheaply carried out, it affords Prisoners an excellent opportunity of training a trade as Mason or Carpenter which will stand them in good stead on their discharge.

Amount authorised £ 3,500

Amount expended £ 2,081

(p. 22)

Departmental Reports 1926-1927 **(NAG, ADM 5.1.103)**

Public Works Department

Public Buildings, Accra.

108. Item 172. – Construction of New Cells, Ussher Fort. – The work undertaken during the year was all done by prisoners with any technical advice from this Department that was asked for. The work was carried out as follows: –

Additional West Wing Cells and Verandah	Completed
Second Block of Cells	Walls raised to first floor lintol level
Conversion of Old Offices into Quarters for Prison Superintendent	Completed
Conversion of James Fort into Quarters for Warders	Completed
New Industry Store	Completed

Amount authorised £ 1,250

Amount expended £ 1,249 16s. 7d.

(p. 37)

126. Item 306. – Coast Erosion. Coast Erosion is occurring mainly at three places, viz.: Keta, Accra and Sekondi.

[...]

At Accra further erosion took place underneath the Castle, and a new buttress an retaining wall were erected.

(p. 40)

Departmental Reports 1927-1928
(NAG, ADM 5.1.104)

Prison Department

[James Fort listed as a female prison]

Departmental Reports 1928-1929
(NAG, ADM 5.1.105)

Public Works Department

305. Item 128. – Construction of New Cells, Ussher Fort. – The scheme of reconstructing Ussher Fort and adapting it to present day requirements as a Prison has now drawn to a close, and the work carried out during the year under review completes the conversion work as originally intended.

The items completed during the year included a second block of cells, erection of shelter in the main yard, and the tarmetting of the Prison Yard of Ussher Fort, and alterations to the Warders' Quarters and erection of an Execution Pitt with sheltered sheds at James Fort. [...]

(p. 45)

Appendix 4: Crèvecoeur and Ussher Fort in pictures

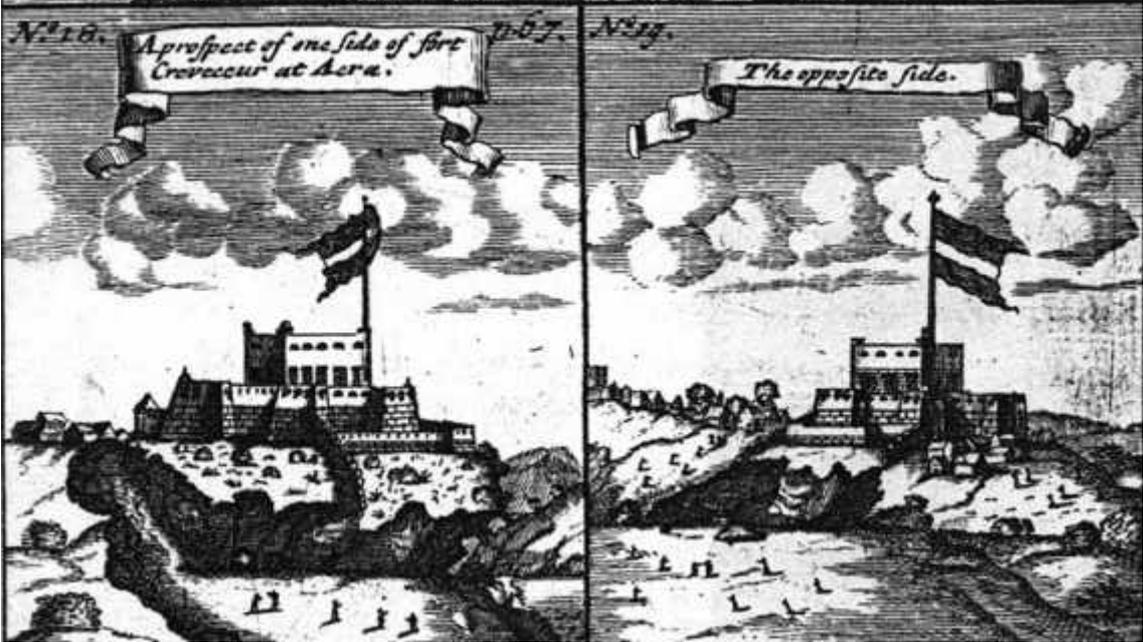


Figure 1: Fort Crèvecoeur from Bosman (1704)

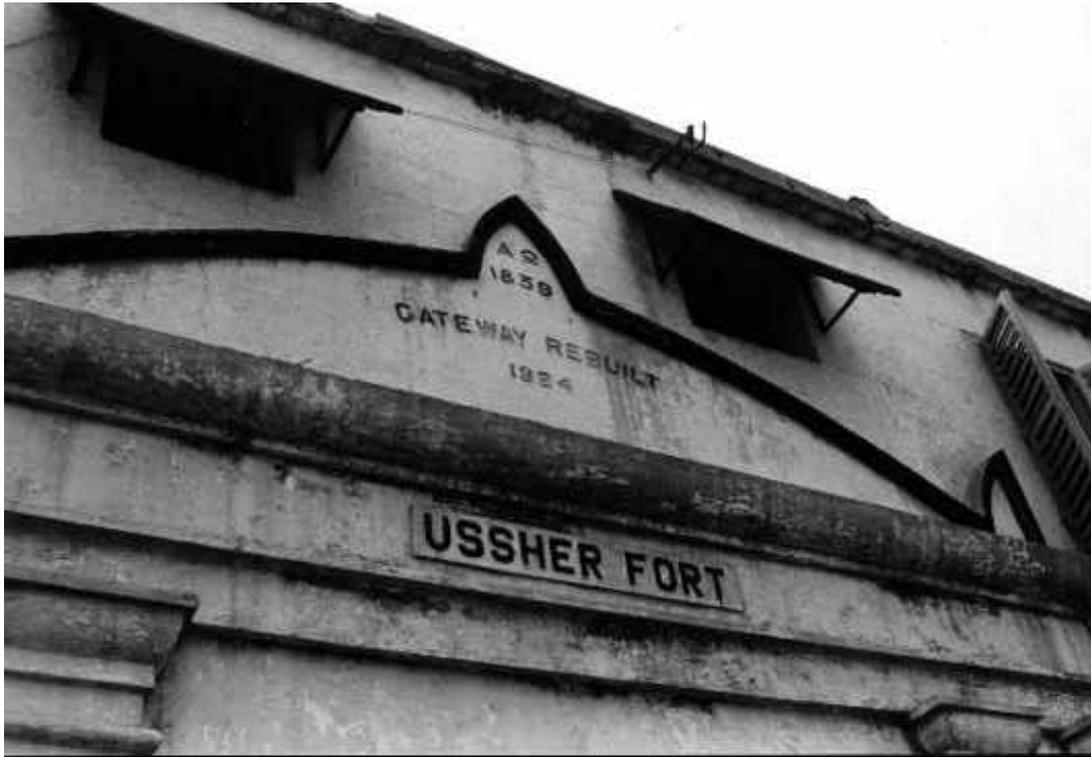


Figure 2: Ussher Fort Main Gate (July 1998)



Figure 3: Ussher Fort Cellblock (left), Execution block (right) (July 1998)



1. BLOCK OF CELLS BUILT BY PRISONERS AT ACCRA.

Figure 4: Ussher Fort Prison under construction 1922-1923



Figure 5: Ussher Fort Prison under construction (interior of cellblock, completed) 1922-1923



III. TAILORS' SHOP AT ACCRA (also built by prisoners).

Figure 6: Ussher Fort Prison tailor's shop 1922-1923

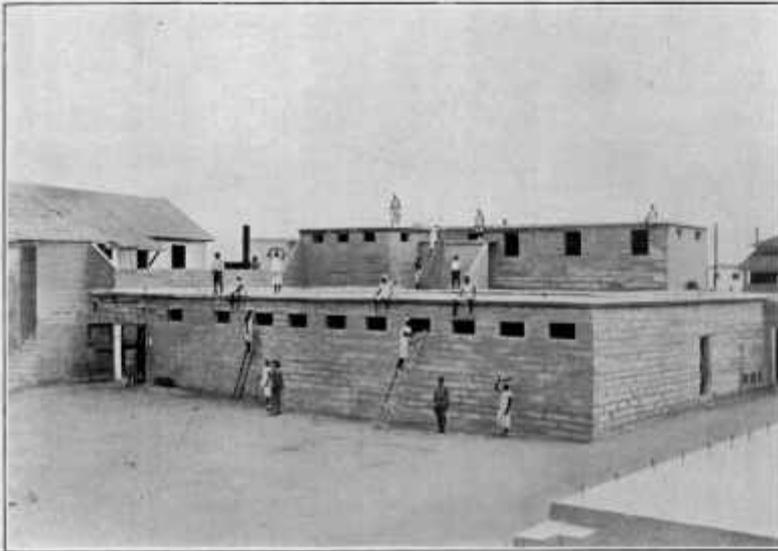


IV. CARPENTERS' SHOP AT ACCRA (also built by prisoners).

Figure 7: Ussher Fort Prison carpenter's shop 1922-1923

(14)

BUILDING BY PRISONERS AT ACCRA.



S.W. Corner of the New Prison at Accra.
(being built by prisoners on the site of last Ussher Fort
which became dilapidated last century).

Figure 8: Ussher Fort Prison, towards northeast corner (s.w. is a mistake) 1923-1924