

Grossfriedrichsburg, the First German Colony in Africa? Brandenburg-Prussia, Atlantic Entanglements and National Memory

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THE FOUNDATION OF GROSSFRIEDRICHSBURG: A SMALL NICHE FOR A WEAK NEWCOMER (1681–1683)

On 30 December 1682, Major Otto Friedrich von der Gröben (1657–1728) went ashore at Pokesu (now Princes Town), a Nzema-speaking settlement of Little Inkassa country in the Cape Three Points region of contemporary south-western Ghana.¹ Prince-Elector Frederick

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William of Brandenburg (r. 1640–1688), the sovereign of one of the many territorial states of the Holy Roman Empire sent him there.² Inspired by the successes of the Dutch chartered companies and more generally by a mercantilist vision that recognised external commerce as the principal motor of economic development, Frederick William created the *Brandenburgische Africanische Compagnie* (BAC) in 1682 with the hope of launching the poor Baltic principality of Brandenburg as a new player in the Atlantic markets.³ The main actor of this project was Benjamin Raule (1634–1707), a merchant and ship owner from the Dutch province of Zeeland whom Frederick William had appointed as General Director of his Navy. In May 1681, a private venture organised by Raule and led by Zeeland seamen had established the first contacts between Brandenburg and the Gold Coast. The hill of Manfro, near the settlement of Pokesu, was identified as a suitable place for building a fortress, and a preliminary agreement had been signed with the local caboceers Pregatte, Sophonije and Apanij.⁴

When von der Gröben arrived in late 1682, however, Pokesu was destroyed by a recent attack by Adom, a state further inland. At first, the officer who came to plant the Brandenburg flag on this piece of land did not find anyone to confront with his claims. There was also no one to trade with and no one to help him to build the fort. Von der Gröben—who is often celebrated as the first German conqueror in Africa—was quite puzzled by what he saw for there was no one to deal with, let alone to “conquer”. Only a few hours later, he wrote in his travelogue, “about eighteen blacks armed with muskets came down the hill [Manfro] with their wives”, and established contact with the Brandenburg expedition.⁵ Thanks to new negotiations, five canons as well as a flag of the Prince-Elector were placed on top of the hill on 1 January 1683 and a new treaty was signed on 5 January with 14 caboceers who agreed to offer logistical support to the Brandenburgers and promised to trade exclusively with their company.⁶ The construction of the fortress of Grossfriedrichsburg—agreed in the treaty of 1681 and confirmed by the new agreement of 1683—could start. It was dedicated to the “Great Elector” Frederick William, planned and supervised by Carl Constantin von Schnitter (1657–1721) and achieved thanks to the manpower of the population of Pokesu.⁷

The fact that the BAC founded its main factory in Little Inkassa was not a coincidence. After the Dutch conquest of the Portuguese strongholds of Elmina, Shama and Axim (1637–1642), the Gold Coast had

rapidly become the stage of an intense rivalry competition between different European powers.⁸ By the second half of the seventeenth century—when the Dutch, Danes, English (and temporarily also the Swedes) had established their castles, forts and lodges between the mouths of the rivers Ankobra in the west and Volta in the east—the shores of the Gold Coast were a crowded and fiercely disputed area.⁹ As a newcomer with only a very modest naval power at its disposal, the BAC was not able to attack its much stronger competitors with a frontal offensive in order to impose its presence in the central area of the coast, where the European forts were often a very short distance from one another. By contrast, in the western part of the coast, the European bases were distributed less densely. As successors of the Portuguese, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) pretended to possess the political “jurisdiction” and the exclusive right to trade in the Cape Three Points region. However, between Fort Saint Anthony in Axim and Fort Batenstein in Butre, they did not have a permanent and fortified base and were having great difficulties in establishing an effective commercial monopoly on the Atlantic commerce. The Dutch claims were all the more difficult to implement considering that the populations of that coastal area were not organised into a centralised monarchic state, but rather into small polities connected by flexible alignments.

During the late Portuguese period, Little Inkassa was tied economically to the Atlantic trade based at Saint Anthony and it seemed to be politically “devoted” to Axim.¹⁰ In order to sustain their monopolistic claims in the 1650s, the WIC still depicted Little Inkassa as well as the neighbouring coastal territory of Ahanta as provinces of the “commonwealth” of Axim.¹¹ In reality, the substitution of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the failure of the WIC to satisfy the commercial interests of the local elites had loosened the bonds between Axim and the WIC on one side and Little Inkassa on the other.¹² Thus, when the first Brandenburg ships appeared on the coast looking to connect themselves to the increasingly dynamic markets of the Gold Coast trade, the elites of Little Inkassa and of some Ahanta communities¹³—who had already started a flourishing trade with Dutch interloper ships—perceived their coming as an opportunity for “diverting trade from Axim”.¹⁴ This would consolidate their territories as an exchange zone for the export of the Ankobra Valley gold and the import of European and Asian commodities. There was also an opportunity to gain a more effective military ally against the inland state of Adom, with whom both Little Inkassa

and Ahanta had been at war for a long time. In this sense, it was thanks to the active support of local political authorities that the remote Baltic principality of Brandenburg could find a circumscribed niche on the margins of the Akan world and on a coastal strip where the grip of competing European companies was weak.

POKESU: A HUB OF ATLANTIC ENTANGLEMENTS (SEVENTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

From the nineteenth century until today, Grossfriedrichsburg has been frequently defined as a “colony” or, even more emphatically, as the “first German colony”.¹⁵ This conceptualisation is so widespread that even the German Wikipedia page classifies the BAC/BAAC trading base as a German colony.¹⁶ Nonetheless, both of the terms that constitute this label—“German” and “colony”—are highly problematic.

At first glance, it seems to be legitimate to define the BAC/BAAC as a “German” enterprise. After all, Frederick William was Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and the language of his administration was German. Moreover, it was the Hohenzollern dynasty, to which Frederick William also belonged, that created the modern German nation state in 1871 and would provide its emperors. However, this retrospective perspective is misleading. Most modern German territories were outside Brandenburg-Prussia and many territories of ancient Brandenburg-Prussia lay outside of contemporary Germany. Brandenburg-Prussia not only cannot be equated with modern Germany but, more importantly, many of the driving forces of the BAC did not come from German-speaking areas. Its chief architect was the above-mentioned Dutchman Benjamin Raule. On a financial level, apart from Raule, the Prince-Elector himself and some noblemen from his entourage, the main investors were merchants from Rotterdam.¹⁷ Consequently, the African enterprise was not supported by the mercantile capital of a German bourgeoisie, but rather by an alliance between Dutch merchants, who aimed to bypass the official monopoly of the WIC that dominated Dutch trade with West Africa,¹⁸ and a sovereign of a hinterland country, who dreamed of being recognised as a maritime power. Not surprisingly, a good deal of the internal correspondence and administration of the company was written in Dutch.¹⁹ Overall, in the BAC/BAAC home port of Emden, in East Frisia, Dutch was as common

as German. In short: business connections were not shaped by linguistic spaces and the latter did not correspond to political territories.

The interregional entanglements, on which the BAC/BAAC was based, were reflected as well in the recruitment of the company's employees serving on the Gold Coast. In Grossfriedrichsburg, as well as at the minor bases of Akwida and Tacrama, many of the soldiers, officers, mercantile employees and artisans did not come from German-speaking areas. A muster roll from 20 September 1712 offers an interesting overview of the impressively heterogeneous makeup of the forts' inhabitants (Table 2.1).²⁰

This muster roll excluded both free African employees, who worked for the forts but lived outside of them, and the numerous "castle slaves".²¹ It reflects far-reaching migratory entanglements within the Atlantic world and even beyond it. Of the 26 employees mentioned for the BAAC forts on the Gold Coast, nine were born in the Dutch Republic and nine in different German states. One soldier was born in Bordeaux, a major French port city that was deeply involved in the trade with West Africa and the Americas. The Germans themselves came from quite different territories. Three were born in Brandenburg-Prussia, four came from East Frisia (the coastal region near the Netherlands, where the BAC home port of Emden was located), one came from the fluvial port city of Hamburg, which had tight connections with the Atlantic markets, and one from Hannover.²² Significantly, all the employees from Brandenburg-Prussia were soldiers or officers: they had not arrived on the Gold Coast because of maritime work but through military recruitment. The Dutch occupied very different positions in Grossfriedrichsburg (general director, upper factor, bookkeeper, carpenter, mason, midshipman and soldier), and they came from various provinces of the country.

Six employees of Grossfriedrichsburg came from outside Europe. Two were born in Pokesu itself and one came from Moree, a settlement near the Dutch fortress of Nassau in the Akan polity of Asebu. Their European names suggest that they were the sons of German or Dutch employees and local women. Notably, persons of Euro-African descent were a quite common presence on the coast. Already by 1634 in Moree—the first Dutch factory in the region (1611)—the children of European fathers had been so numerous that the WIC had planned to establish a school for them.²³ The three African-born employees in

Table 2.1 Muster roll, 20 September 1712

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Year of recruit- ment</i>	<i>Salary in guilders</i>
<i>Grossfriedrichsburg</i>				
Nicolaas Du Bois	Gorcum [Gornichem, Dutch Republic]	General Director	1711	135
Abrahaam ter Beek	Middelburg [Dutch Republic]	Upper Factor	1710	32
Cornelis de Goijer	Amsterdam [Dutch Republic]	Bookkeeper	1712	20
Michiel Dijchman ^a	Hannover [Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneburg]	Upper Master	1712	36
Jan Nunus Freden ^b	Brazil [Portuguese colony]	Under Master	1712	18
Jan Popelaar	Bergen op Zoom [Dutch Republic]	Carpenter	1709	18
Dirck Bisjan	Maastricht [Dutch Republic]	Mason	1709	18
Jan Vaake	Belgard [Brandenburg-Prussia; today: Białogarda, Poland]	Gunner	1709	15
Anthon Gunter van der Meede	Esens [County of East Frisia]	Sergeant	1709	21.12.–
Martijn Baak ^c	Berlin [Brandenburg-Prussia]	Corporal	1700	16
Pieter Jansen	Gorcum [Gornichem, Dutch Republic]	Midshipman	1710	13.10.–
Jan Muller ^d	Grossfriedrichsburg [Little Inkassa, Gold Coast]	Soldier	1710	12
Manuel Swoer	Brazil [Portuguese colony]	Trumpeter	1708	12
Anthonij Insan ^e	Bordeaux [France]	Soldier	1709	12
Joseph Rodrigo	Bengal [Mughal Empire]	Soldier	1709	12
Hendrik Craan ^f	Wesel [Brandenburg-Prussia]	Soldier	1712	12

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Function</i>	<i>Year of recruitment</i>	<i>Salary in guilders</i>
Jan Rijkborm	Middelburg [Dutch Republic]	Soldier	1712	12
Thomas Luijten	Moree [Asebu, Gold Coast]	Soldier	1712	For the food
Manuel Manuelze	Grossfriedrichsburg [Little Inkassa, Gold Coast]	Soldier	1712	For the same
Jan Bul	Emden [City-State, Holy Roman Empire]	Drummer	1709	12
Hendrik Brand ^g	Hulst [Dutch Republic]	Soldier	1709	12
<i>Accoda [Akwida]</i>				
Geert Tam	Emden [City-State, Holy Roman Empire]	Midshipman	1709	13.10.–
Jurgen Hanzen	Deventer [Dutch Republic] ^h	Midshipman	1709	12
<i>Taccrama</i>				
Jan Sijmons	Hamburg [City-State, Holy Roman Empire]	Assistant	1709	18
Egbert Staal	Emden [City-State, Holy Roman Empire]	Midshipman	1700	13
Monthly				496.2.–

Notes

^aThe original German spelling is probably “Michael Deichmann”. In the muster roll of December 1712, he is said to be the Upper Surgeon

^bThe name seems to be Portuguese (“João Nunes”). In the muster roll of December 1712, the surname is mentioned as “Frederik” and he is said to be a soldier

^cThe original German spelling of the Christian name is certainly “Martin”

^dThe name was probably of German origin (“Johann Müller”)

^eThe original French spelling of the Christian name was certainly “Antoine”

^fThe original German spelling of the Christian name was most probably “Heinrich”

^gIn the muster roll of December 1712, he is said to be in Taccrama

^hIn the muster roll of December 1712, his birthplace is said to be Hulst (Dutch Republic)

Source Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GStA PK), HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 101, fol. 207r

Grossfriedrichsburg were serving as soldiers, the most humble category listed in the muster rolls. Two of them, Thomas Luijten and Manuel Manuelze, were working just “for the food”. It is not clear if this was due to a racial discrimination. The fact that the third African-born soldier, Jan Muller, was paid the same amount as the other soldiers seems to contradict this hypothesis.²⁴ One might reasonably suppose that Luijten and Manuelze’s situation could have related to a need to pay back some outstanding debts. At the same time, their poverty (and hypothetical debts) could have been caused by a racially determined restriction on hiring for better-remunerated positions in the fort hierarchy. Beyond a few success stories of individuals such as Edward Barter in Cape Coast who attained significant wealth and political influence, most Euro-Africans remained confined to minor positions.²⁵ This was a general trend on the Gold Coast around 1700 and the situation at Grossfriedrichsburg seems to reflect this.

Two employees—a trumpeter and an under master/soldier—were born across the Atlantic in Brazil. Although the Dutch had expelled the Portuguese from their Gold Coast factories and tried to exclude them completely from the coastal trade, ships coming from Brazil continued to visit the region and, from the 1680s onwards, the WIC actually tolerated them importing Brazilian tobacco.²⁶ One can thus conjecture that the two Brazilian-born employees had arrived in the Cape Three Points area through these ongoing commercial relations.²⁷

Another employee, who bore the Portuguese name of Joseph Rodrigo, came from the Mughal Empire’s province of Bengal. Concerning the migratory paths, which lead him from India to West Africa, the available evidence does not permit a conclusion beyond hypotheses. Most probably, he was born in one of the Portuguese settlements in the Bay of Bengal, which was founded during the sixteenth century.²⁸ Quite possibly, he was of Luso-Indian descent.²⁹ Hence, he might have been one of the numerous Lusophone “mestiços” who, in the context of the seventeenth-century crisis of Portuguese trade in Bengal, was “all too happy to apply for jobs [...] as soldiers and clerks” with the English and Dutch trading companies.³⁰ A previous employment for Dutch or English companies—although highly hypothetical—would help to explain how the Indian-born Joseph Rodrigo ended up serving a remote Baltic state on the western Gold Coast, considering that at the time there were no direct relations between the BAAC and Asia.

Overall, the muster roll gives a glimpse of the interregional entanglements connecting Grossfriedrichsburg to the Atlantic world. In the single case of Joseph Rodrigo, the connection goes even further. Thanks to the fortress—and to traders from Wassa and Asante who linked the Cape Three Points area to the inland markets—Pokesu became a small but significant hub of transcontinental relations, both in terms of human mobility and exchanged commodities. Grossfriedrichsburg was certainly a Brandenburg-Prussian base, as it derived its legal status from the official protection granted by the sovereigns of this principality. However, the trading company that managed it and the people who worked in it neither were the bearers of a common German culture nor were they tied together by a common national sense of belonging. To label Grossfriedrichsburg as a “German” colony is therefore anachronistic.

Moreover, what about the term “colony”? Can Grossfriedrichsburg be defined—as it often is—as a “colonial” base? I argue that this expression is rather misleading. Even if we specify that it was neither a settlement nor a plantation colony with a large territorial hinterland, but a spatially circumscribed trading colony, the word insinuates that the relationships between the BAC/BAAC and the local Akan society should be described in terms of dominion and exploitation. To be sure, the Brandenburg-Prussian monarchy sometimes tried to represent their forts on the Gold Coast as sovereign possessions. For example, when “His Serene Highness” the Prince-Elector of Brandenburg promised the caboccers of Pokesu that he would “protect them all”, he used an expression which clearly indicated an asymmetric relationship and the submission of the local population under his sovereignty.³¹ Nevertheless, the daily interactions, which took place in Pokesu, were much more characterised by cooperation than by unilateral rule. In this context, the written treaties served more as legal instruments to sustain Brandenburg-Prussia’s claims against their Dutch rivals than to solidify political dominion over the population of Little Inkassa and Ahanta. During the existence of the BAC/BAAC, the term “colony” itself was rarely applied to Brandenburg-Prussia’s forts on the Gold Coast. Significantly, one of very few occurrences of this expression can be found in a diplomatic memorandum sent in 1712 from Reinhardt von Hymmen (1651–1722), the Prussian envoy in Den Haag, to the States General of the Dutch Republic following an Anglo-Dutch attack against the BAAC fort of Akwida.³² Imagining the trading bases in Africa as sovereign “possessions” and “colonies” was a tool for European diplomats to fight their

paper wars, but this proves wholly inadequate for understanding the patterns of interaction that developed on-site.

In asserting that relations between the BAC/BAAC and the Akan elites in Pokesu should be conceptualised in terms of cooperation and bilateral negotiations, rather than perceived through the lens of colonial dominion, our attention is shifted to transcultural exchanges and global entanglements.³³ This perspective allows us to “provincialise” European actions and to integrate African agency into the analytical framework. Of course, this should not obliterate the structural violence of the slave trade, which played a fundamental role in the BAC/BAAC’s African commerce, or the economic asymmetries on which it was based. Grossfriedrichsburg was built and functioned as a European infrastructure for the transatlantic slave trade.³⁴ Putting cooperation and negotiation at the centre of analysis enables one to examine the patterns of interaction on which this trade was based. These interactions included two moments: one of converging interests—as illustrated by the case of bypassing the factories of the Dutch WIC and the English Royal African Company (RAC) on the western Gold Coast—and another of conflict between specific European and African actors.

As elsewhere on the Gold Coast, tensions in Pokesu had developed during the Brandenburg period. In 1686, for example, “the Negroes” took up “arms in rebellion” against the fortress of Grossfriedrichsburg and its hated director general, Johan Brouw.³⁵ The ostensible reason for this uprising was the killing of an African who had been accused of theft. Brouw had given the order to “shoot dead” the man “who, having served the cook in the cook house [of the fort], had [...] stolen from the [white] people a few old cloths (such as an old shirt, an old coat, a hat and similar rags) and had therefore been driven away by the people, and who had occasionally come back to see if there was any chance for him”. In order to fulfil Brouw’s order, the soldiers took an old coat, “tied it firmly to the palisades [outside the fortress]” and “went behind the palisades to lie down and keep watch until the Negro should come”. Finally, when “this Negro came and was engaged in pushing the coat off the palisades with a stick, he was shot dead by the smith, named Philip Steinder”. The BAC directors, who feared that this “incident” could disturb the trade relations with the locals and lower the company’s profits, blamed Brouw. In his defence, Brouw justified his methods by maintaining that the shooting “was done lawfully”: “martial law”, he argued, “does not permit any Negro to come” within reach

of “the canon at night”. In practice, the brutal killing of the cook seems to have been caused by the failure to impose an effective jurisdictional power over the inhabitants of Pokesu and the consequent willingness to punish a servant accused of theft extrajudicially. The invocation of an alleged Brandenburg martial law concerning the relations between the “Negroes” and the fortress was not much more than an apologetic strategy by a director general who had not arrived to manage the tensions between the garrison and the local population. Nevertheless, on a formal level, the argument is highly significant: the man had been killed for violating Brandenburg martial law, which—according to this argument—also applied in Pokesu. Brouw’s discourse effectively suggested that Pokesu was a kind of colony under Brandenburg sovereignty. However, the beginning of an uprising shows that the local society and its elites did not accept this perspective. For them, the shooting was an illegitimate act of violence and it had to be sanctioned according to the legal customs of the Akan culture. Pokesu was clearly not, in their opinion, a colony: in spite of the fortified factory and the military alliance with the BAC, it remained an independent polity. In order to cease the hostilities against the garrison, the caboceers demanded “blood money” (*atitɔdɛɛ*), a material compensation “which buys the dead”.³⁶ In the end, the fortress was not stormed. The conflict was solved through negotiation, and the demand of the caboceers was satisfied. In other words, Akan customs prevailed over Brandenburg martial law.

There were also clashes in the economic sphere. The above-mentioned director general Brouw provides a good example of this. In 1686, when the BAC directors interrogated the former director and factor of Grossfriedrichsburg after their return to Emden, their suspicion was confirmed that Brouw had traded extensively on his own account, selling his own commodities before the company’s and using his private profits in order to buy new trading goods from Dutch interlopers. This was, of course, a very common practice among the companies’ employees on the Gold Coast and, in principle, the Akan traders could profit from the augmented supply and the competition between official and unofficial European sellers. However, Brouw not only defrauded the BAC’s shareholders in Europe, but also tried to alter local custom by imposing a tribute of three benda of gold on the caboceers as well as manipulating the standardised coral threads in order to augment his gains.³⁷ This conduct provoked political tensions with the authorities of Pokesu and resulted in a loss of trust from the traders operating in the Cape Three Points region.

The Akan merchants let other BAC employees know that they were very “discontent”, “they would not accept the corals in this manner”, and in the end, “the trade on Grossfriedrichsburg would certainly be ruined”. In this case, the Akan actors who were negatively impacted by Brouw’s behaviour did not attack him directly. Instead, the authorities of Pokesu communicated their dissatisfaction to other BAC employees. This was most likely because they were hoping that the company would solve the problem internally. Since Brouw also acted in a manner that was contrary to the company’s interests, this goal was soon achieved through his dismissal and the appointment of a new director general, Johan Nieman. This case highlights that—far from being dictated unilaterally by the BAC/BAAC leadership in Emden or by its representatives in Grossfriedrichsburg—the conditions of economic interaction were defined by a multilateral negotiation in which different alliances were actually possible.

In the early eighteenth century, the dependence of Grossfriedrichsburg on the Akan elites became even stronger. On the one hand, the French naval attacks during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) made it impossible for the BAAC to furnish its African bases with trading goods. Consequently, the factories of Pokesu, Tacrama and Akwida had to rely largely on Dutch interlopers and English private vessels (the so-called 10% ships) in order to obtain the stocks demanded by their Akan partners.³⁸ On the other hand, mounting pressure due to the expanding Asante—victors over the once powerful Denkyera in 1701—resulted in a growing concentration of power in the western part of the Gold Coast. In this context, the famous Akan “merchant prince” Kōne Kpole (“Conny the Great”) alias Jan Conny arrived on the scene around 1710.³⁹ Having grown rich by trading, managing a canoe fleet and producing maize for the garrison and the transiting slave ships, Conny succeeded in developing a transversal system of alliances throughout the region. He affirmed himself as the major intermediary between the inland traders and the interloper ships, seriously undermining the business of the RAC in Dixcove and the WIC in Axim. Under Conny, the BAAC forts not only consolidated their connections to the gold traders from Wassa but also became the favoured commercial partners of the Asante merchants on the western Gold Coast for many years. They offered the Asante firearms for their ongoing wars of expansion under Osei Tutu I. and Opoku Ware I.⁴⁰ According to a report, gold dust, ivory and slaves were the principal commodities sold to Dutch interlopers and English “ten percent ships”.⁴¹ Although German sources and German

historiography have sometimes referred to Conny as a simple “broker of the Prussians”,⁴² he was obviously much more than that. In Pokesu, the balance of power had clearly tipped in favour of the new *ɔbirempɔn* (“big man”) Jan Conny. He entertained diplomatic relations with other states on the Gold Coast and waged wars against rival Akan powers and their European allies. When a BAAC director at Grossfriedrichsburg did not accommodate his requests, such as occurred with Frans de Lange in 1710, Conny imposed his removal and substitution.⁴³ The last vestige of the asserted Brandenburg-Prussian protection over the people of Little Inkassa and Ahanta had disappeared. If the BAAC still held its forts on the Gold Coast, it was due to Conny’s protection.

When the Prussian king, Frederick William I (r. 1688–1740), decided in 1717 to liquidate the overseas enterprise launched by his grandfather and sell the African forts to the Dutch, Conny did not recognise the validity of this transfer. As a French memorandum recalled, “Jean Connain” told the Dutch in April 1718 “that he did not know all these kinds of agreements which had been made between this and that party” and “that if the King of Prussia was not intentioned to come and live in his fort, he was not entitled anymore to dispose of it in favour of any person, considering that he did not possess the land” on which it was built.⁴⁴ Conny stated that he was the “master of the country” and that only he could choose which nation used the fort.⁴⁵ The Dutch met this refusal by trying to conquer Grossfriedrichsburg militarily, but their attack in 1718 ended in a humiliating bloody defeat. As a result, Grossfriedrichsburg became “well known by the Name of *Conny’s* castle”.⁴⁶ From his court, the “merchant prince” of Pokesu pursued for some years an open port policy, giving access to interloper and company ships of different countries.⁴⁷ Only in November 1724, when Wassa and other former allies declared war on Conny, he was forced to retreat inland and the Dutch were finally able to take over Grossfriedrichsburg, which was then renamed “Fort Hollandia”.

THE INVENTION OF A TRADITION: GROSSFRIEDRICHSBURG AS “THE FIRST GERMAN COLONY” (NINETEENTH TO TWENTIETH CENTURIES)

The final failure of the BAAC and the thwarting of Brandenburg-Prussia’s naval ambitions consigned their former African bases to a long oblivion. For about one-and-half centuries, their presence in German

historiography and literature remained quite sporadic. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, Grossfriedrichsburg was “rediscovered”, experiencing a sudden flourishing of interest among a broader audience.

On 27 January 1884, the German corvette-cruiser “Sophie”, commanded by Captain Wilhelm Stubenrauch, arrived at Pokesu. Its destination was Little Popo (Aného), where the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce had asked the government to protect the interests of some German firms complaining about growing hostilities perpetrated by the Lawson clan.⁴⁸ The expedition of the “Sophie” constituted the first military intervention in West Africa of the German Empire. It opened the way for the establishment of the political dominion, achieved in July 1884, over the territories that would later become the German colony of Togo. Though Germany had hitherto been very reluctant to intervene directly in the imperial “scramble” to govern Africa, Stubenrauch’s mission marked a crucial turning point in its overseas politics. Significantly, in the very moment in which the government of the Hohenzollern monarchy decided to claim its area of influence south of the Sahara, the old mercantile enterprises of the Prince-Elector Frederick William were thought of again. The orders given by the Chief of the Admiralty, Leo von Caprivi, did not actually mention a visit to Cape Three Points.⁴⁹ Indeed, it was an independent initiative of Stubenrauch. He had met the crown prince Frederick in the port of Genoa in December 1883, and the latter had inspired him to undertake the mission in order to “learn more” about “this very interesting aspect of Brandenburg’s history”.⁵⁰

Once they had landed in Pokesu, Stubenrauch and his officers were brought to the local “chief”, who received them along with about one hundred of his men.⁵¹ After exchanging their greetings, the “chief” brought the Germans to the old fortress. In his own account, which he published after returning to Germany, Stubenrauch fashioned himself as an explorer, discovering the relics of a remote past.

Immediately after leaving the village, the path led up the hill on the peninsula. We passed through banana bushes, corn stalks and palm trees and encountered some stone ruins, until after about ten minutes we arrived in front of an opening in the decayed walls of the fort. The remains of the wall on both sides, as well as a kind of gateway, suggested that this was the entrance.⁵²

The walk on the top of the hill was represented as a kind of time travel. Much more than this, it was also an act of imaginary re-appropriation in

which a group of German men salvaged the material traces of a German past, which had been obscured by timeless and ahistorical African nature, for the sake of the historical present. Now, the space of the fortress had to be wrested from the “dense creepers” which had wrapped it in a chaotic web of vegetation, causing it to fall into a deep slumber. In order to re-appropriate this past and to make sense of these weed-enmeshed stones, the remains of the fort were subjected to precise measurement.

The length of the front is 40 [meters], the two flanks measure 35 meters each, the bastion is 16 meters long and 7 meters deep. The outer wall is 0.9 meters thick, [and] built of rough granite blocks. It is 5.2 meters high, lying about 15 meters above sea level. [...] The rampart, on which the canons were positioned, is 3 meters wide, the parapet is 1 meters high; the gunports are located 3 meters apart.⁵³

Finally, before continuing his voyage to Little Popo, Stubenrauch bartered some goods for one of the old canons found inside the fort. A piece of the Hohenzollern’s African past was to be brought back to Germany. The court appreciated Stubenrauch’s initiative. As soon as the emperor knew of it, he ordered the canon—which at that time was still aboard the “Sophie” in the middle of the Atlantic—to be exhibited in the Hall of Fame in Berlin.⁵⁴ As the German Empire was becoming a colonial empire, Brandenburg-Prussia’s overseas enterprises were gloriously integrated into the national history.

Frederick William’s overseas deeds suddenly became a major historiographical issue and the German state itself started promoting publications (particularly the editions of historical sources) dealing with the BAC/BAAC.⁵⁵ Military officers and civil servants played a major role in this work. In 1885, the General Staff of the German Armed Forces published a first collection of archival records.⁵⁶ In 1889, Court Assessor Richard Schück prepared a larger and more accurate edition under the patronage of Paul Kayser, the future director of the Colonial Office.⁵⁷ This operation of historical memory was directly linked to ongoing colonial ambitions.

The lively interest, which the nation has recently shown for the pioneering enterprises initiated by a powerful and purposeful statecraft in overseas territories, has drawn the memory to those times, in which Brandenburg-Prussia’s flag was flying on the ramparts of imposing fortresses on the

west coast of Africa. The historical sense [...], connecting the past with the present, finds in those [past] enterprises [...] a promising exhortation [for the future].⁵⁸

Travelogues also became a means of propagating historical memory. In 1886, the Prussian officer Paul Oettinger published *Unter Kurbrandenburgischer Flagge. Deutsche Kolonialerfahrungen vor 200 Jahren* (Under the flag of the Electorate of Brandenburg. German colonial experiences 200 years ago), a kind of colonial novel based on the journal of his ancestor Johann Peter Oettinger, who had worked as a barber–surgeon on a Brandenburg slave vessel.⁵⁹ In addition, the travel account of Otto Friedrich von der Gröben—who a riverside road in Berlin was named after in 1895, following an explicit order of the emperor William II⁶⁰—was republished several times, between the early twentieth century and the Nazi period.

These texts were not only read by academic scholars. On the contrary, they were absorbed by a wide readership fascinated with a fast expanding colonial culture that permitted German society to imagine itself as a colonising nation.⁶¹ The “legitimation of political ambitions and actions in the present” was achieved by recalling “old beginnings and models”.⁶² The BAC/BAAC and the “colony” of Grossfriedrichsburg “were elevated to a myth” and integrated into an imagined “genealogy”, leading from early modern overseas trade to the plantation and settlement colonies of the late nineteenth century.⁶³ Grossfriedrichsburg, and (some of) the many stories linked to it, became the building blocks of an “invented tradition” of German colonialism. During the colonial period (1884–1918), the construction of this tradition—suggesting that Germany had been a colonising nation for centuries—functioned as a counterweight to the latecomer complex that informed the self-perception of German colonial actors. After the loss of the colonies during World War I, it was upheld by revisionist propaganda asking for a reconstitution of the colonial empire: the failure of the BAAC—determined by the “envy” of the English, French and Dutch—was then read as a precedent of the confiscation of the German colonies sanctioned by the Treaty of Versailles.⁶⁴

In these decades, Grossfriedrichsburg became a widespread “site of memory”.⁶⁵ For example, the meeting room of the Berlin section of the German Colonial Society—the major organisation of the colonial movement in Germany and as such an important political lobby—was named “Grossfriedrichsburg”.⁶⁶ The bourgeois gentlemen,

who met to drink coffee and discuss the latest political news concerning Germany's overseas territories, liked to fashion themselves as the descendants and torchbearers of the company employees who had traded and lived in the old fortress above Pokesu. In January 1902, the Berlin Philharmonic gave a concert to mark the 220th anniversary of the foundation of Grossfriedrichsburg. The event was entitled *Fetisie. Volksfest in Togo* (Fetish. Folk Festival in Togo).⁶⁷ Togo, the organisers suggested, was Germany's new Grossfriedrichsburg. Another striking connection between the early modern mercantile enterprises of Brandenburg-Prussia and Germany's modern colonial empire was established with the monument dedicated to Heinrich von Wissmann (1853–1905), a German explorer and colonial administrator.⁶⁸ The Wissmann monument by the Berlin sculptor Adolf Kürle was inaugurated in Dar es Salaam in 1909. The sculpture of the triumphant explorer, at whose feet an Askari soldier with a German flag and a dead lion were represented, was placed upon a pedestal with the form of Grossfriedrichsburg's ground plan. The new explorers and conquerors, this monument evoked, had literally carried out their deeds on the historical foundation of Frederick William's overseas policies.

The myth of Grossfriedrichsburg was further elaborated and disseminated through the literature.⁶⁹ In this way, Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, Jan Conny and other historical figures became the heroes of a German colonial epic. As far as we know, authors such as Wilhelm Jensen, Emil Steurich and Wilhelm Henzen never travelled to Africa. They drew their inspiration from historiographical works and from edited sources—and at the same time altered them considerably.

In Steurich's novel *Johann Kuny, der erste brandenburgisch-preussische Negerfürst* (Jan Conny, the first Brandenburg-Prussian Negro prince), Conny's refusal to come to terms with the Dutch was reinterpreted as an extreme sign of loyalty towards the Prussian King. "We, the people of Ahanta have just one heart", Conny told the Dutch Admiral asking him to hand over the fortress. "We cannot take it off like a dress and put on another one. Go, we cannot live in common with you Dutchmen, because you were always unfaithful to us poor Negroes".⁷⁰ Thus, Conny was conflated diachronically with those late nineteenth-century African elites who had chosen to ally themselves with the German Empire and with the "faithful Askari soldiers" who were idealised in colonial propaganda as devoted subordinates acknowledging the benevolent character of Germany's "protection".⁷¹ The manipulation of the historical person

of the “merchant prince” of Pokesu, who had himself been the powerful protector of Brandenburg-Prussia’s factories, could not have been greater.⁷²

Colonial novels and plays on Grossfriedrichsburg were informed by asymmetric hierarchies between the Brandenburgers and “their” Africans, by stereotypical discourses of racial superiority as well as by images of dominion and submission (Fig. 2.1). In Henzen’s play *Grossfriedrichsburg. Ein deutsches Kolonialfestspiel in vier Aufzügen* (Grossfriedrichsburg. A German colonial play in four acts), for example, the story of von der Gröben’s arrival in Pokesu was radically altered. In this plot, the major was not received by the 18 men armed with muskets mentioned in the original account, but by a small “mulatto” girl called Dia. Von der Gröben found her while she was mourning the death of her father, an East Frisian seaman, who had served the Dutch on the Gold Coast and who had been killed during the recent Adom attack. In this play, Africa was introduced in the form of a defenceless girl—weak, feminine, infantile and therefore incapable of caring for herself. Falling to von der Gröben’s feet, the girl cried:

Oh white Man, you’re German,

Like good Father was, you’re good like him.

Give protection to poor Dia! She afraid, she afraid!⁷³

As the spectators would see soon, Dia (Africa) was not only asking for the powerful male and adult protection of von der Gröben (Germany), but once he had accepted her demand, she in turn offered herself to him. Following a common colonial discourse, the play staged Africa as a “virgin” continent whose “untouched”, “wild”, “uncivilized” and therefore “free” nature presented its male conquerors with its voluptuous fruits.⁷⁴

The myth of Brandenburg-Prussia’s African adventures had one significant blemish. They had been undertaken—not exclusively, but certainly to a good extent—in order to participate in the growing business of the slave trade. Considering that one of the main moral arguments used by European powers to justify their colonial dominion in Africa was the fight against slavery, this fact potentially limited the usefulness of the BAC epic as a tool of historical legitimation for Germany’s imperial



Fig. 2.1 In popular culture, the encounter between O.F. von der Gröben and the inhabitants of Pokesu was represented in terms of dominion and submission. Drawing by Ludwig Burger, in *Schorers Familienblatt*, vol. VI, 1885, n. 9, p. 137

policies. Nevertheless, this evident contradiction was generally resolved in both fiction and non-fiction through the narrative marginalisation of the slave trade or through other exculpatory strategies.

Slavery and the slave trade are not mentioned at all in Henzen's play. By contrast, in Wilhelm Jensen's novel *Brandenburg'scher Pavillon hoch! Eine Geschichte aus Kurbrandenburgs Kolonialzeit* (Hoist the Brandenburg flag! A story from the colonial era of the Electorate of Brandenburg), the moral question of slavery is raised. However, this was mainly done to give the novel's main characters, Didde and Cirk, the chance to prove their noble spirits by helping an enslaved woman to flee.⁷⁵ To be sure, the condemnation of the slave trade did not involve a critique of racism. In his depiction of the Africans, for instance, Jensen constantly uses demeaning language such as comparing their houses to termite mounds, labelling their language as "gibberish" and insulting them as "pigs".⁷⁶ This attitude is summarised by Cirk's exclamation after freeing the enslaved (and very beautiful) girl: "I have never seen such a Negress, in her case it's really a pity that she's not white".⁷⁷ As often in colonial discourse, the moral condemnation of slavery went hand-in-hand with the racial denigration of the Africans.

POSTCOLONIAL ECHOES

Nowadays, celebrative statements about Grossfriedrichsburg and the BAC/BAAC still survive in reactionary milieus such as the *Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Überseetruppen*, a small association devoted to colonial nostalgia.⁷⁸ In the popular literature, one may still find veiled expressions of admiration concerning the ancient deeds of von der Gröben and Frederick William.⁷⁹ However, today in general the tendency prevails to associate Grossfriedrichsburg with the slave business. Frequently, the interest concerning the BAC/BAAC is neatly connected with an explicit moral condemnation of its role in the triangular trade. Insofar, Grossfriedrichsburg has become a symbol for German participation in this "shame for humanity".⁸⁰ Significantly, after a controversial debate that divided both public opinion and academic scholars, in 2010 anti-racist associations backed by local left-wing politicians were able to rename the Berlin riverside road that had been dedicated to von der Gröben.⁸¹ As the founder of the fortress of Grossfriedrichsburg who had "created the material conditions for the Electorate of Brandenburg's slave trade" and who "during the German Empire and the Nazi period was honoured as colonial pioneer", von der Gröben was no longer considered "worthy to be honoured". Thus, the riverside road has been renamed in memory of May Ayim (1960–1996), a poet and anti-racist activist of German–Ghanaian descent. Through this act of symbolic

decolonisation, the public sphere is meant to reflect in a more appropriate manner the democratic values of modern Germany and the “transnational lives” of Berlin’s migrant population.⁸²

Interestingly, even today’s critical memories on Grossfriedrichsburg are (at least partially) linked to the conceptual frames of nineteenth-century colonial discourse. The old triumphant rhetoric has certainly been substituted by severe moral judgements, but the idea of Grossfriedrichsburg as “German” and a “colony” is frequently repeated.⁸³ Furthermore, the founding place of the fortress in the imaginary genealogy of German colonialism is often validated.⁸⁴

The opinion that the old fortress is to be considered foremost as a “monument of German-African relations” is deeply rooted in modern German cultural memory.⁸⁵ Furthermore, current memorial practices enacted at Grossfriedrichsburg are visibly influenced by it.⁸⁶ Since the end of the twentieth century, Princes Town has been repeatedly targeted by small German “development aid” initiatives.⁸⁷ For example, the city of Havelberg—where some of the (slave) vessels of the BAC/BAAC were built—launched a fundraising campaign in 2013 to finance a new football ground for the children of Princes Town.⁸⁸ On an academic level, exchange initiatives between German, Togolese and Ghanaian universities are set up to disseminate knowledge of “this dark chapter of German history”.⁸⁹ In addition, German cultural memory concerning Grossfriedrichsburg has influenced tourism in the Cape Three Points area. Unlike Elmina and Cape Coast—which starting in the 1990s became integrated into circuits of international tourism and are now important sites of memory for African American visitors—Grossfriedrichsburg is, generally speaking, a second-rank attraction in Ghana’s sightseeing agenda.⁹⁰ Despite the fortress being owned by the Dutch for much longer than by Brandenburg-Prussia, it does not seem to represent a site of specific interest for Dutch tourists nor does it seem to be a place of particular attraction for African Americans.⁹¹ Significantly, the major tourist group is represented by Germans aiming to discover the vestiges of “their” history.⁹²

NOTES

1. *Brandenburg Sources for West African History 1680–1700*, ed. by Adam Jones (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1985), doc. 6.
2. The principality of Brandenburg was ruled by the Hohenzollern dynasty, which assumed the crown of Prussia in 1701. This state is therefore commonly referred to as Brandenburg-Prussia. In 1871, the Hohenzollern

- became the sovereigns of the newly united German Empire. For an overview on the political history, see Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom. The Rise and Fall of Prussia, 1600–1947* (London: Penguin, 2006).
3. In 1692, the company was renamed Brandenburgische Africanisch-Americanische Compagnie (BAAC). On the BAC/BAAC, see Richard Schück, *Brandenburg-Preussens Kolonial-Politik unter dem Grossen Kurfürsten und seinen Nachfolgern (1647–1721)* (Leipzig: Grunow 1889); Hermann Kellenbenz, “Die Brandenburger auf St. Thomas”, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, vol. 2 (1965), 196–217; *Brandenburg Sources*, Adam Jones, “Brandenburg-Prussia and the Atlantic Slave Trade”, *De la traite à l’esclavage*, ed. by Serge Daget (Paris: Société française d’histoire d’outre-mer, 1988), vol. 1, 283–98; Nils Brübach, “Seefahrt und Handel sind die fürnembsten Säulen eines Estats. Brandenburg-Preussen und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert”, *Amerikaner wider Willen. Beiträge zu Sklaverei in Lateinamerika*, ed. by Rüdiger Zoller (Frankfurt a.M: Vervuert, 1994), 11–42, Jürgen G. Nagel, “Die Brandenburgisch-Africanische Compagnie. Ein Handelsunternehmen”, *Scripta Mercaturae*, vol. 30 (1996), 44–94; Till Philip Koltermann, “Zur brandenburgischen Kolonialgeschichte. Die Insel Arguin vor der Küste Mauretaniens”, *Brandenburgische Entwicklungspolitische Hefte*, vol. 28 (1999), 8–31; Ulrich van der Heyden, *Rote Adler an Afrikas Küste. Die brandenburgisch-preussische Kolonie Grossfriedrichsburg in Westafrika* (Berlin: Selignow, 2001); Andrea Weindl, “Die Kurbrandenburger im atlantischen System, 1650–1720”, *Arbeitspapiere zur Lateinamerikaforschung*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2001), <http://lateinamerika.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/sites/aspla/bilder/arbeitspapiere/weindl.pdf>; Sven Klosa, *Die Brandenburgische-Africanische Compagnie in Emden. Eine Handelscompagnie des ausgehenden 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Protektionismus und unternehmerischer Freiheit* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011); Malte Stamm, “Das koloniale Experiment. Der Sklavenhandel Brandenburg-Preussens im transatlantischen Raum 1680–1718” (PhD diss., University of Düsseldorf, 2011).
 4. *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 2. In early modern European sources, the Portuguese-based term “caboceer” is used to label, in a rather generic way, African political authorities. It is a rough equivalent to the later (and equally generic) term “chief”. The Brandenburg sources do not allow us to establish on what basis these caboceers actually acted as representatives of their community.
 5. *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 6, 47.
 6. *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 7. Whereas Pregatte and Sophonije had died during the war against Adom, the treaty of 1683 still mentioned Apani.

7. Von Schnitter was the future son-in-law of the famous jurist, philosopher and historian Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694); cf. Peter Bahl, *Der Hof des Grossen Kurfürsten. Studien zur höheren Amtsträgerschaft Brandenburg-Preussens* (Köln: Böhlau, 2001), 558.
8. Kwame Yeboa Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600 to 1720. A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970).
9. For an overview, see Arnold Walter Lawrence, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (London: Cape, 1963); Albert van Dantzig, *Fortes and Castles of Ghana* (Accra: Sedco, 1980); Jean-Michel Deveau, *L'or et les esclaves. Histoire des forts du Ghana du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, (Paris: UNESCO/Karthala, 2005). For an illustrated catalogue see Kwesi James Anquandah, *Castles & Forts of Ghana* (Paris: Atalante, 1999).
10. Cf. the map attributed to Hans Propheet (1629), in Daaku, 182.
11. Pierluigi Valsecchi, *Power and State Formation in West Africa. Appollonia from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 89.
12. Valsecchi, 132–136 and 173.
13. Apart from Pokesu, the BAC established fortified lodges in Tacrama (Little Inkassa), Akwida (Ahanta) and temporarily also in Takoradi (Ahanta); *Brandenburg Sources*, 3–4. Pokesu and the whole Cape Three Points area are sometimes described as a part of Ahanta; cf. for ex. Daaku, 127, and Kouamé René Allou, *Les royaumes akan du sud-ouest de la Côte de l'Or du XVI^e siècle à 1734* (Paris: Harmattan, 2013), 12. As far as the seventeenth century is concerned, this view does not seem to be sufficiently supported by empiric evidence, considering that in contemporary maps and commercial correspondences Little Inkassa/Cape Three Points is frequently distinguished from Ahanta. See the letter sent in 1686 from the RAC factory at Sekondi to Cape Coast (*The English in West Africa. The Local Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699*, ed. by Robin Law, vol. 2, 1685–1688, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), doc. 28); Jean Barbot, *Barbot on Guinea. The writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678–1712*, ed. by P.E.H. Hair, Adam Jones and Robin Law (London: Hakluyt Society, 1992), 333, 339 and 344; *Brandenburg Sources*, 4; René Baesjou, “Historiae oculus geographia. Essai sur un corpus de cartes anciennes du sud-ouest du pays akan”, *Journal des africanistes*, vol. 75, no. 2 (2005), <http://africanistes.revues.org/125>.
14. Cf. the treaty with the caboceers of Cape Three Points (1681), in *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 2. On interloper trade cf. Ruud Paesie, *Lorrendrayen op Africa. De illegale goederen- en slavenhandel op West-Afrika tijdens het achttiende-eeuwse handelsmonopolie van de West-Indische Compagnie 1700–1734* (Amsterdam: De Bataafse Leeuw, 2008).

15. This quite common label was used, for example, in the subtitle of the novel by Josef Günther Lettenmair, *Roter Adler auf weissem Feld. Roman der ersten deutschen Kolonie 1683–1717* (Berlin: Zeitgeschichte-Verlag Wilhelm Andermann, 1938).
16. See the voices “Gross Friedrichsburg (Kolonie)” and “Deutsche Kolonien und Schutzgebiete” on <http://de.wikipedia.org> (20 February 2014).
17. Nagel, 49–50; Klosa, 151–152.
18. On the WIC, see at least Johannes Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990), Henk J. den Heijer, *Goud, ivoor en slaven. Scheepvaart en handel van de Tweede Westindische Compagnie op Afrika, 1674–1740* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers); Pieter C. Emmer, *The Dutch Slave Trade 1500–1850* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2006).
19. See, for example, the letter books of the company direction (1692–1694), in Stadtarchiv Emden, Protokoll XIII, 1–5.
20. Another, slightly different muster roll, dated 31 December 1712, is to be found in GStAPK, HA I, Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 101, fol. 212r. The original documents are in Dutch. An earlier list of 1686 (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 57) mentions employees coming from different states of the Holy Roman Empire, Prussia, the Dutch Republic, Poland, Scotland, Lithuania and Courland (in modern Latvia). Other similar lists (e.g. *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 83) do not specify the birthplaces of the employees and thus do not allow us to reconstruct the geographic heterogeneity of the fort garrison.
21. The existence of African employees is attested to by *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 33 and 38. An inventory of the goods kept at Grossfriedrichsburg (1 March 1709) listed 168 slaves (72 women, 47 men, 22 boys, 20 girls and 7 babies) “belonging to the fortress, which have to work and may not be sold”; cf. GStAPK, HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 30, ff. 424–429, (original in Dutch). I would like to thank Adam Jones for sharing his transcription of this record with me. On the specific status of castle slaves cf. Per Oluf Hernaes, “‘Fort Slavery’ at Christiansborg on the Gold Coast. Wage Labour in the Making?”, *Slavery across Time and Space. Studies in Slavery in Medieval Europe and Africa*, ed. by Per Oluf Hernaes and Tore Iversen (Trondheim: Department of History NTNU, 2002), 197–229; Rebecca Shumway, “Castle Slaves of the Eighteenth-Century Gold Coast”, *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2014), 84–98. Quantitatively, the case of Grossfriedrichsburg is comparable to the one of the Danish fortress of Christiansborg in Accra (100–200 castle slaves), whereas the (more numerous) Dutch and English fortresses owned a larger number of such slaves (respectively 350 and 500). On the one hand, the significant

presence of castle slaves at Pokesu contradicts the assumption that castle slavery on the Gold Coast was nearly exclusively concentrated on the coastal strip between Elmina and Accra (Shumway, 85). On the other, the clear preponderance of female castle slaves at Grossfriedrichsburg confirms the crucial role of women in eighteenth-century castle slavery (Shumway, 90–94).

22. Klaus Weber, “Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt”, *Journal of Modern European History*, vol. 7 (2009), 37–67.
23. Daaku, 100 f.
24. Jan Muller may have been the son of Friedrich Müller, Gerhard Müller or Johann Adam Müller. Friedrich Müller is said to have served as a sergeant in Grossfriedrichsburg at least since February 1684 (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 16); in January 1686, he appears to have been demoted to the rank of private (GStAPK, HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 40, fol. 55v); and in March 1686, he was “declared incapable of ever serving His Highness the Elector again by His Honour the General and leading members of the Military Council [of Grossfriedrichsburg]” (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 57) and was ordered to leave for Europe. Gerhard Müller (from Aurich, East Frisia) and Johann Adam Müller (from Esens, East Frisia) were respectively attested to as surgeon and deputy surgeon in Grossfriedrichsburg in March 1686 (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 57).
25. Daaku, 99. On the gradual improvement of the Euro-Africans’ position during the second half of the eighteenth century—and on some cases of descendants of German WIC employees in Elmina—cf. Michel R. Doortmont, “An Overview of Dutch Relations with the Gold Coast in the Light of David van Nyendael’s Mission to Ashanti in 1701–02”, *Merchants, Missionaries & Migrants. 300 Years of Dutch-Ghanaian Relations*, ed. by Ineke van Kessel (Amsterdam: KIT, 2002), 19–31, 23. The presence of Dutch-Africans and German-Africans on the early modern Gold Coast is also addressed, on a literary level, in the novel written by the historian Mathias Ullmann, *Ottos Berg* (Mainz: VAT, 2010).
26. Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVII^e au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1968), 41 ff.
27. Portuguese ships from Brazil regularly traded in the Cape Three Points area during the whole Brandenburg period; cf. for example, the letter dispatched from the RAC factory at Anomabo to Cape Coast (1683), in *The English in West Africa. The Local Correspondence of the Royal African Company of England, 1681–1699*, ed. by Robin Law, vol. 1, 1681–1683 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), doc. 370, and the report from Elmina

- addressed to the WIC directors in Amsterdam (1708), in Balme Library (BL, University of Ghana, Accra), Furley Collection, N 38, 64–65 (ARA, WIC, 100).
28. For an overview cf. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire. Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500–1700* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1990).
 29. During the “Conny war” of 1711, the Anglo-Dutch and their Akan allies captured “two whites and an Indian” at Akwida (Daaku, 130). Likely, the latter was Joseph Rodrigo. The fact that he was clearly distinguished from the “whites” suggests that he was not of purely European descent.
 30. George Winius, “The ‘Shadow-Empire’ of Goa in the Bay of Bengal”, *Itinerario*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1983), 83–101, 96. More generally on Luso-Indian “mestiços” cf. João Teles e Cunha, “De puro-sangue e fraco rocim. A miscigenação na Índia portuguesa entre a realidade social e as suas representações (1500–1700)”, *Mestiçagem e identidades intercontinentais nos espaços lusófonos*, ed. by Manuel Lobato and Maria de Deus Manso (Braga: NICPRI, 2013), 63–90.
 31. Treaty with 21 caboceers from the neighbourhood of Grossfriedrichsburg (12 February 1684), in *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 13, 80–81.
 32. Von Hymmen to the States-General (26 August 1712), in GStAPK, HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 101, fol. 193rv, (original in French). In his memorandum, the Prussian envoy asked the States-General to condemn the “insult committed against the Colony of a good Ally”. (In Europe, the Dutch Republic and the King of Prussia were at that time allied against France.) The same day, van Hymmen informed the Prussian King that he had intervened on behalf of the “hostilities” perpetrated against “Your Royal Majesty’s Colony”; see GStAPK, HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 101, fol. 192r, (original in German).
 33. John Thornton, *Africa and the Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998); Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade. Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595–1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Chap. 6; Christina Brauner, *Kompanien, Könige und caboceers. Interkulturelle Diplomatie an Gold- und Sklavenküste im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2015).
 34. According to the most recent calculations, the BAC/BAAC embarked 23,583 slaves in West Africa and sold 19,240 in the Americas; Stamm, 401.
 35. *Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 61.
 36. *Brandenburg Sources*, 153 n.
 37. GStAPK, HA I., Rep. 65, Marine und Afrikanische Kompaniesachen, 42, fol. 8r-22v, examination of Joost van Colster und Daniel Reindermann

- (Emden, 9 March 1686). Mediterranean coral was a highly valued commodity on the West African coast, especially in the Kingdom of Benin but also in the Akan region. Significantly, in 1686, the RAC factory at Sekondi (Ahanta) informed the director in Cape Coast that the merchants from the inland state of Adom were insistently asking for coral; cf. *The English in West Africa*, vol. 1, 1681–1699 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), doc. 3.
38. Daaku, 128–129.
 39. On Jan Conny, see Charles W. Welman, *The Native States of the Gold Coast. History and Constitution*, vol. 2, Ahanta (London: Dawson, 1930), 33–40; Daaku, 128–143; Valsecchi, Chap. 6.
 40. Valsecchi, 145.
 41. The captain of the English vessel “Scarborough” to the Admiralty (9 June 1710), in BL, Furley Collection, N 38, 113 (PRO, Adm. 1/1878).
 42. Schück, vol. 1, 343.
 43. Valsecchi, 253, n. 6.
 44. “Mémoire pour servir à faire l’établissement du Fort des Trois Pointes” (Lisbon, 21 March 1719), in Archives Nationales d’Outre-Mer (ANOM, Aix-en-Provence) Secrétariat d’État à la Marine, Correspondence à l’arrivée, C⁶, Sénégal et Côtes occidentales d’Afrique, 25, piece 39, (original in French).
 45. According to this record, Conny offered the fort to the French, with whom he had regular trading relations and whom he must have known to be both powerful at sea and permanently at war with both the Dutch and the English who were allied with Conny’s enemies in Axim and Dixcove. These negotiations between Conny and the French are also supported by a previous document written from Savi by Mr. Bouchel, the director of the French lodge in the kingdom of Hueda: “Cape Three Points, which once was inhabited by the Hamburgers [*sic!*], has now been abandoned by this Nation, and the Captain Jean Conil [Jan Conny], which is the chief of this country, would like to have the French there and he would be glad to give them the fort [...], rumour has it that the Dutch want to buy this fort. If this won’t have happened at the moment of the reception of this letter, it would be very important for the [French] trade on the [West African] Coast to have this Fort”; see Bouchel to the Conseil de Marine (Savi, Kingdom of Hueda, 16 September 1717), in ANOM, Secrétariat d’État à la Marine, Correspondence à l’arrivée, C⁶, Sénégal et Côtes occidentales d’Afrique, 25, piece 34, (original in French).
 46. William Smith, *A New Voyage to Guinea* (London: John Nourse, 1744), 117.
 47. Both the negotiations between France and the RAC and the agreement with the WIC (signed in 1722 but never actually respected by Conny)

- can be considered as mere tactical manoeuvres. In general, Conny's open port policy in Little Inkassa/Ahanta can be compared with the short-lived experience of Asomani in Accra (Akwapu) and the shifting alliances of John Kabes in Komenda (Eguafo); cf. Daaku, 112 and 115–127; David Heninge D, "John Kabes of Komenda. An Early African Entrepreneur and State Builder", *The Journal of African History*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1977), 1–19; Robin Law, "The Komenda Wars, 1694–1700. A Revised Narrative", *History in Africa*, vol. 34 (2007), 133–168. However, these attempts were never consolidated into an institutionalised free port as they were in Ouidah; Robin Law, *Ouidah. The Social History of a West African Slaving Port 1727–1892* (Athens: Ohio UP, 1992).
48. On Stubenrauch's mission, see Woulamatou Gbadamassi and Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon, *Stubenrauchs Berichte aus Westafrika (Januar bis Februar 1884). Dokumente zur Geschichte Togos/ Aneho en janvier-février 1884 selon les rapports du Capitaine W. Stubenrauch, Commandant de la S.M.S. "Sophie"* (Lomé: Presses de l'UL, 2012), 10–11. On the Lawson family of Little Popo see *An African Family Archive. The Lawsons of Little Popo/Aneho (Togo) 1841–1938*, ed. by Adam Jones and Peter Sebald (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).
 49. See Caprivi's order to the "Sophie" (Berlin, 1. October 1883), in Bundesarchiv Deutschland/Militärarchiv Freiburg (BAD/MAFr), RM 1, 2713, fol. 21r–23v.
 50. Stubenrauch to the Chief of the German Admiralty (Little Popo, 30 January 1884), in BAD/MAFr, RM 1, 2713, fol. 107r–113v.
 51. Wilhelm Stubenrauch, *Das Kurbrandenburgische Fort Gross-Friedrichsburg in Guinea. Bericht über den Besuch desselben durch die Offiziere S.M. Schiff "Sophie" erstattet an den Chef der Kaiserlichen Marine* (Berlin: Mittler, 1884), 3.
 52. Stubenrauch, 4.
 53. Stubenrauch, 5. Stubenrauch's observations were much less careful from a naturalistic point of view, considering that on page 4, he pretended to have seen an armadillo in Pokesu—an animal that notably lives in the Americas, not in West Africa.
 54. The Chief of the Admiralty to the Minister of War (Berlin, 19 March 1884), in BAD/MAFr, RM 1, 2713, fol. 68rv. Another visit to Grossfriedrichsburg was undertaken in 1910 by the crew of H.M.S. "Sperber"; cf. BAD/MAFr, RM 3, 3027, fol. 190r–192v. The role of Grossfriedrichsburg in the memories nurtured by the German navy is further attested to by some nautical maps of the Nazi period, in which Grossfriedrichsburg is highlighted; cf. the map of the North Atlantic Ocean (1939) in BAD/MAFr, Kart. 950–1, 990, and the equatorial area of the Atlantic Ocean (1941), in BAD/MAFr, Kart. 952–2, 1905.

55. For a critical historiographical overview cf. the seminal article by Klaus-Jürgen Matz, "Das Kolonialexperiment des Großen Kurfürsten in der Geschichtsschreibung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts", *Ein sonderbares Licht in Deutschland. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Grossen Kurfürsten von Brandenburg (1640–1688)*, ed. by Gerd Heinrich (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1990), 191–202, 194.
56. Grosser Generalstab, *Brandenburg-Preussen auf der Westküste von Afrika. 1681–1721* (Berlin: Mittler, 1885).
57. Schück.
58. Grosser Generalstab, 7.
59. Paul Oettinger, *Unter kurbrandenburgischer Flagge. Deutsche Kolonialerfahrungen vor zweihundert Jahren. Nach dem Tagebuch des Chirurgen Johann Peter Oettinger* (Berlin: Eischmidt, 1886). On this seventeenth-century travel journal and its nineteenth-century literary manipulation cf. Craig Koslofsky and Roberto Zaugg, "Ship's Surgeon Johann Peter Oettinger. A Hinterlander in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1682–1696", *Slavery Hinterland. Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, ed. by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2016), 27–44.
60. Clara Ervedosa, "Das May-Ayim-Ufer in Berlin", *Kein Platz an der Sonne. Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2013), 424–441, 434.
61. See at least *Kolonialismus als Kultur. Literatur, Medien, Wissenschaft in der deutschen Gründerzeit des Fremden*, ed. by Alexander Honold and Oliver Simons (Tübingen: Francke, 2002); *Phantasiereiche. Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*, ed. by Birthe Kundrus (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 2003); Joachim Zeller, *Weisse Blicke—Schwarze Körper. Afrikaner im Spiegel westlicher Alltagskultur* (Berlin: Sutton, 2010); Wolfgang Struck, *Die Eroberung der Phantasie. Kolonialismus, Literatur und Film zwischen deutschem Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010).
62. Matz, 195.
63. Adjai Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon, *Unter deutschen Palmen. Die "Musterkolonie" Togo im Spiegel deutscher Kolonialliteratur (1884–1944)* (Frankfurt a.M.: IKO, 1998), 69; Sebastian Conrad, *Deutsche Kolonialgeschichte* (München: Beck, 2012), 19.
64. In the afterword to a 1928 re-edition of von der Gröben's travelogue, Gertrud Siemens stated that the "early Brandenburg colonisation ended under similar circumstances as 200 years later the one of the German Empire: due to the envy of the great colonial powers"; *Grossfriedrichsburg, die Kolonie des Grossen Kurfürsten an der Küste Westafrikas, nach der "Guineischen Reisebeschreibung" des Otto*

- Friedrich v.d. Gröben*, ed. by Gertrud Siemens (Köln: Schaffstein, 1928), 77. Another striking example is provided by the book on the former German colony of Cameroon by the planter Wilhelm Kemner. Writing about the Dutch overtake in the 1720s, the author—who had visited the old Brandenburg fortress on the Gold Coast and celebrated Grossfriedrichsburg as prelude of nineteenth-century German colonialism in Africa—affirmed emphatically: “The first German [...] colony was lost. But the spirit, from which it had been born, was not dead. It strongly revived two centuries later and pervaded the German people”; Wilhelm Kemner, *Kamerun* (Berlin: Freiheitsverlag, 1941), 11. Likewise, “the great German colonial empire” was destined to rise again after the desired victory in World War II (Kemner, 6).
65. On this concept, see *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992); cf. also *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, ed. by Étienne François and Hagen Schulze (München: Beck, 2001) on Germany in general and *Kein Platz an der Sonne* on German colonialism.
 66. *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, no. 26 (30 June 1888), 206.
 67. Oloukpona-Yinnon, *Unter deutschen Palmen*, 70.
 68. Joachim Zeller, “Deutschlands grösster Afrikaner’. Zur Geschichte der Denkmäler für Hermann von Wissmann”, *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, vol. 44 (1996), 1089–1111.
 69. Struck, 72–86.
 70. Emil Steurich, *Johann Kuny, der erste brandenburgisch-preussische Negerfürst* (München: Lehmann, 1900), 416. The assertion that the people of Ahanta was united in its loyalty to Prussia is all the more risible if one considers that in Conny’s time the Ahanta territory hosted simultaneously Dutch, Brandenburg and English factories.
 71. On black colonial troops in the German Empire cf. Stefanie Michels, *Schwarze deutsche Kolonialsoldaten. Mehrdeutige Repräsentationsräume und früher Kosmopolitismus in Afrika* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2009).
 72. An alternative literary interpretation of the historical figure of Conny has been elaborated by the anthropologist Julius Lipps in *Heiden vor Afrika. Ein Negerpiel* (Heathens in front of Africa. A Negro play), published in 1930 under the pseudonym Palan Káraní. In this play, Conny is represented as “an apostle coming from an ancient time to mobilise and raise the consciousness of the Blacks”; Adjäi Paulin Oloukpona-Yinnon, “Vous les Blancs, vous nous avez apporté les vêtements et le mensonge. Les vêtements cachent le corps, le mensonge cache l’âme”. Réflexions sur un “discours par procuration”, *Le Blanc du Noir. Représentations de l’Europe et des Européens dans les littératures africaines*, ed. by Susanne Gehrmann and János Riesz (Münster: LIT, 2004), 59–77, 73. Actually, stories about Conny as a “black hero” had even spread across the Atlantic much earlier,

- thanks to those slaves deported from the Gold Coast to the Caribbean during the early eighteenth century who gave birth to the so-called John Kanoe festivals; Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans. A History* (New York: Norton, 1997), 138 f.
73. Wilhelm Henzen, *Grossfriedrichsburg. Ein deutsches Kolonialfestspiel in vier Aufzügen* (Essen-Ruhr: Baedeker, 1908), 45.
 74. Henzen, 80. This scene is clearly inspired by the original account of von der Gröben, who was offered by the caboceers of Pokesu a 9-year-old “bride” (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 6, 52). But while the original von der Gröben neither confirmed nor denied any sexual intercourse with this girl (*Brandenburg Sources*, doc. 6, 86), leaving it to the readers’ imagination, Henzen’s von der Gröben did not trespass the border of interracial sex, which in the context of early twentieth-century racism had become ideologically stigmatized: so, after a moment of carnal weakness, the Prussian officer remembered his beloved girl in Germany and rejected the “niggerish” Dia.
 75. Wilhelm Jensen, *Brandenburg’scher Pavillon hoch! Eine Geschichte aus Kurbrandenburgs Kolonialzeit* (Berlin: Felber, 1902), Chap. 2.
 76. Jensen, 19, 38 and 60.
 77. Jensen, 87.
 78. Cf. their homepage <http://traditionsverband.de>, as well as the articles by Markus Felten, “Geschichte der Marine-Tradition”, *Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Überseetruppen. Mitteilungsblatt*, no. 83 (1998), 21–38; Wolfgang Reith, “‘Seiner Churfürstlichen Durchlaucht Mohren’. Aus den Anfängen brandenburgischer Kolonialpolitik an der Küste Westafrikas”, *Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Überseetruppen. Mitteilungsblatt*, no. 96 (2001), 63–75. In 2011 the *Traditionsverband* had even an official “consultant” on “Brandenburg/Prussia in West Africa”; cf. the member list of this association (*Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Überseetruppen. Mitgliederverzeichnis 2011—Stand 21.12.2010*), consulted at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien.
 79. Cf., for example, Alexander Emmerich, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen in Afrika*, (Köln: Edition Fackelträger, 2013), Chap. 1. In this recent book, drawings from the late nineteenth century about the foundation of Grossfriedrichsburg—staging von der Gröben as a triumphant hero taking possession of Pokesu in front of submissive Africans—are presented by the author as objective illustrations of historical facts. These heavily manipulated images, elaborated in the context of nineteenth-century colonial culture, thus still influence contemporary German memories about the Brandenburg mercantile enterprise.
 80. Van der Heyden, “Sklavenfestungen”, 103. Cf. also the documentary *Deutsche Kolonien* (first episode: *Vom Entdecker zum Eroberer*) by Gisela

- Graichen and Peter Prestel, produced in 2005 by the German public-service television broadcaster ZDF.
81. Ervedosa.
 82. These quotations are taken from a speech given by the green politician Elvira Pichler at the inauguration ceremony of the renamed May-Ayim-Ufer; Elvira Pichler, "Rede zur Umbenennung des Gröbenufers", 27 February 2010, <http://gruene-xhain.de/de/themen/rede-von-elvira-pichler-zur-umbenennung-grobenufer/> (28 February 2014). On such campaigns cf. Christian Kopp and Marius Krohn, "Blues in Schwarzweiss. Die Black Community im Widerstand gegen kolonial-rassistische Strassennamen in Berlin-Mitte", *Black Berlin. Die deutsche Metropole und ihre afrikanische Diaspora in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Oumar Diallo and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Metropol, 2013), 219–231. Generally speaking, in the last 15 years, there has been a growing effort, by both local activist groups and scholars, to submit colonial legacies in the public space to a critical debate; cf. *Branntwein, Bibeln und Bananen. Der deutsche Kolonialismus in Afrika. Eine Spurensuche in Hamburg*, ed. by Heiko Möhle (Hamburg: Libertäre Assoziation, 1999); *Kolonialmetropole Berlin. Eine Spurensuche*, ed. by Ulrich van der Heyden and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002); *Köln und der deutsche Kolonialismus. Eine Spurensuche*, ed. by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Anne-Kathrin Horstmann (Köln: Böhlau, 2013); as well as the websites of networks such as <http://berlin-postkolonial.de>, <http://kopfwelten.org>, <http://freiburg-postkolonial.de>, <http://leipzig-postkolonial.de>, <http://schwarzweiss-hd.de> and <http://hamburg-postkolonial.de> (28 February 2014).
 83. This approach is expressed in a particularly explicit manner by Ulrich van der Heyden, who stresses the colonial and exploitative nature of Grossfriedrichsburg. On the one hand, he suggests that the Federal Republic of Germany should be considered as the moral successor of Brandenburg-Prussia and should assume its guilt connected to the Atlantic slave trade (Van der Heyden, "Sklavenfestungen", 106). On the other hand, he expresses some surprise about those local memories in Princes Town (Pokesu)—anchored in oral "narratives [...], myths, dances and legends" (Van der Heyden, "Sklavenfestungen", 108)—recalling the Brandenburgers as "simple merchants", as "partners and allies" (van der Heyden 2005, 114) and thus diverging from his own point of view. This position is, however, not shared by all historians working on the BAC/BAAC. After the pioneering editorial work by Jones, allowing to appreciate the strong African agency *vis-à-vis* the BAC/BAAC, also Nagel and Klosa have explicitly distanced themselves from this colonial framing.

84. Significantly, the 2005 documentary on German colonialism—shot with the scholarly advices of the historian Horst Gründer—begins with the recurrent topos of the hoisting of the Brandenburg flag at Pokesu, presented as an “early prelude to Germany’s short colonial history”; Graichen and Prestel, 1’ 24”.
85. Ulrich van der Heyden, “Sklavenfestungen an der Küste Ghanas. Das Beispiel Grossfriedrichsburg. Ein Denkmal deutsch-afrikanischer Beziehungen”, *Kommunikationsräume—Erinnerungsräume. Beiträge zur transkulturellen Begegnung in Afrika*, ed. by Winfried Speitkamp (München: Meidenbauer, 2005), 101–118.
86. On this concept cf. Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck) and Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999).
87. <http://grossfriedrichsburg.de/princess-town/> (28 February 2014).
88. Klosa, 86; Dieter Haase, “Spendenaktion. Ein Sportplatz für Princess Town”, *Die Volksstimme*, 1.06.2013, http://www.volksstimme.de/nachrichten/lokal/havelberg/1085002_Spendenaktion-Ein-Sportplatz-fuer-Princess-Town.html (28 February 2014).
89. Bea Lundt, “Introduction”, *Germany and its West African Colonies. “Excavations” of German Colonialism in Post-Colonial Times*, ed. by Bea Lundt and Wazi Apoh (Münster: LIT, 2013), 9–25, 16.
90. On this topic see at least Edward M. Bruner, “Tourism in Ghana. The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora”, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 98, no. 2 (1996), 290–304; Theresa A. Singleton, “The Slave Trade Remembered on the Former Gold and Slave Coasts”, *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 20, no. 1 (1999), 150–169; Brempong Osei-Tutu, “Contested Monuments. African-Americans and the Commoditisation of Ghana’s ‘Slave Castles’”, *African Re-Genesis. Confronting Social Issues in the African Diaspora*, ed. by Jay B. Havisser and Kevin C. MacDonald (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2006), 9–19; Bayo Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance. Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Katharina Schramm, *African Homecoming. Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010).
91. Information provided by the guide working at Grossfriedrichsburg in January 2012.
92. This impression is clearly underpinned by the guest books kept in Grossfriedrichsburg and at the lighthouse of Cape Three Points (consulted in January 2012). In nowadays, Grossfriedrichsburg functions as a guesthouse, as it had already been used during the British colonial time; cf. Kemner, 11. Another guest house in Princes Town is run by two Germans: <http://yellow-rose.bplaced.net> (28 February 2014).

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