Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity



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Doran H. Ross

With Contributions by

Agbenyega Adedze

Abena P. A. Busia

Nii O. Quarcoopome

Betsy D. Quick

Raymond A. Silverman

Anne Spencer

UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History

Los Angeles

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Textile Series
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Cover: Detail of cat. no. 10.

- Page 2: Paramount chief Nana Akyanfuo Akowuah Dateh II, both an Asafohene and Akwamuhene, in Kumase, Ghana. Asante peoples, Ghana. Photograph by Eliot Elisofon, 1970. Eliot Elisofon Photographic Archives. National Museum of African Art.
- Page 6: Young woman dancing in front of Asantehene Opoku Ware II at the celebration of his silver jubilee. Photograph by Carol Beckwith and Angela Fisher, Kumase, 1995.
- Page 8: Two young women attend an Ewe *durbar* wearing extremely simple kente. Photograph by Michelle Gilbert, Anloga, 1977.

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Page 16: Detail of Ewe cloth with a map of Ghana. Kpetoe, date unknown. Photograph courtesy of Nii O. Quarcoopome.

Page 330: Woman lying in state wearing a fante wig and covered in multicolored silk cloth. Kente cloth covers the walls of the open room (Odampan) in which she is displayed. The deceased was called an Adwoa Amoah. She was an important woman in Alabiri boron, a ward of Abiriw-Akuapem. Kente is not used like this for Christian funerals. Documentation and photograph by Michelle Gilbert, Abiriw-Akuapem, 1991.

Back cover: Window with kente curtain. Photograph by Doran H. Ross, Pikine, a village outside of Dakar, Senegal, 1996.

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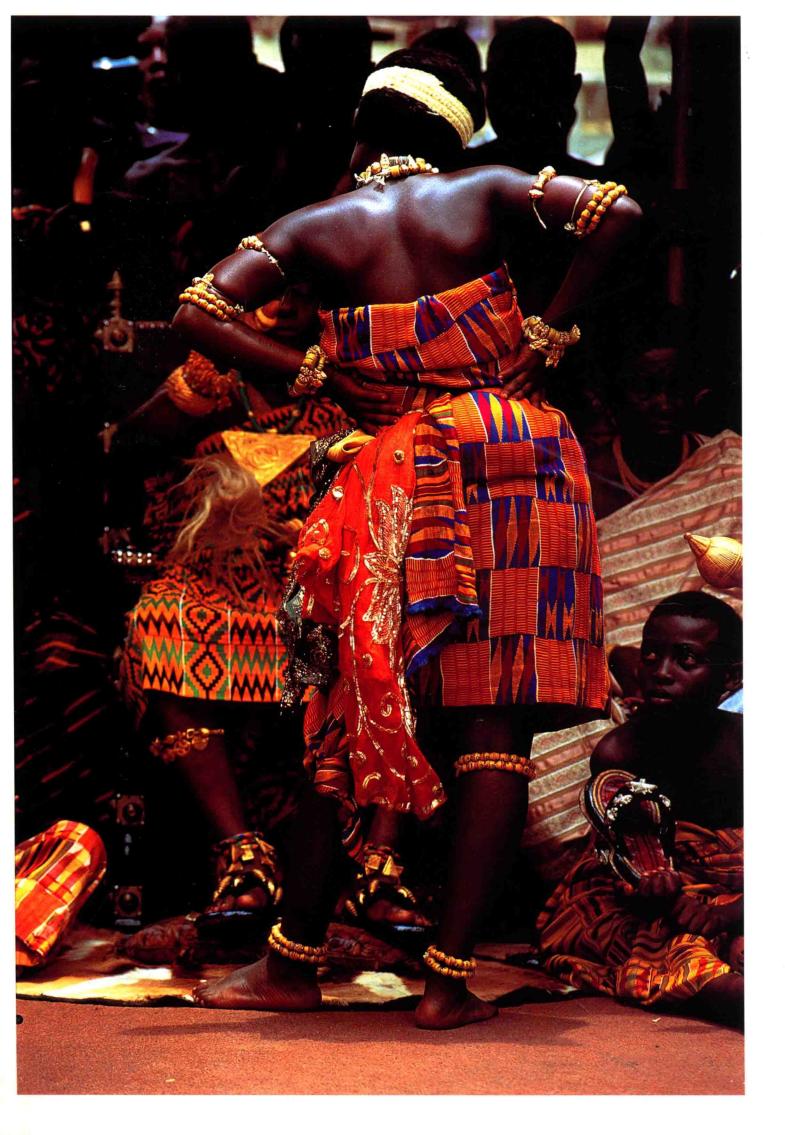
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Dorothy Taylor



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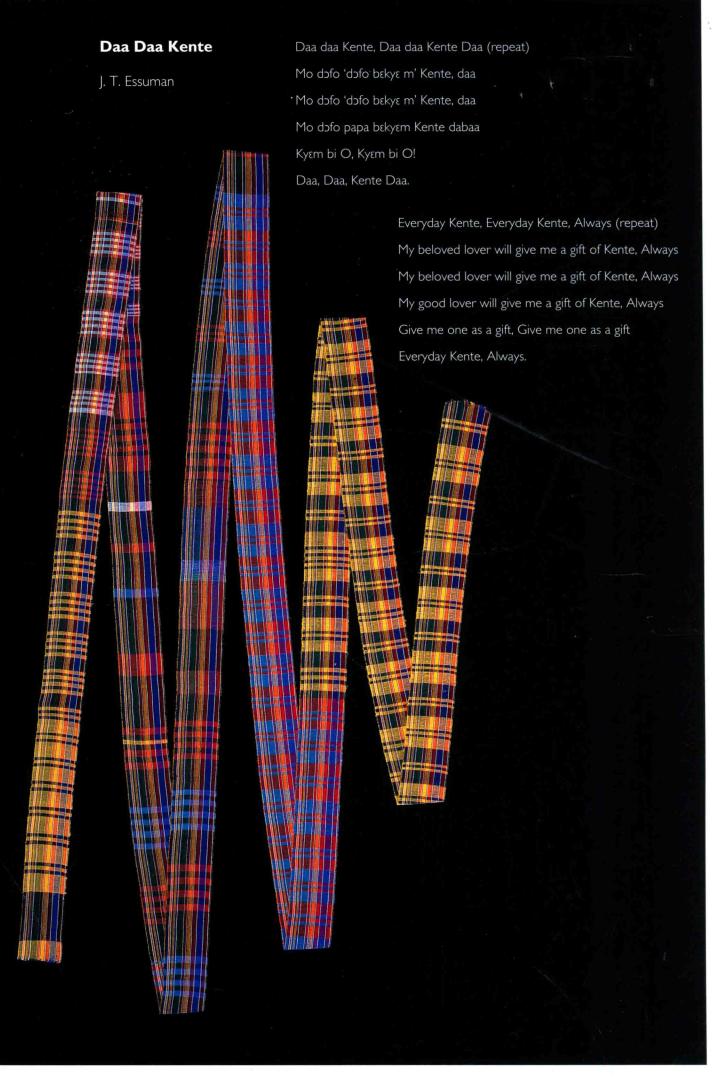
I first began thinking about kente in 1973 while attending the exhibition *African Textiles and Decorative Arts* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. There were only a few examples of the cloth, mounted on the walls as if they were paintings. Indeed with their electric colors, vibrant geometry, and impressive scale, the weavings worked well (in the early 1970s) as dynamic examples of modern, if not contemporary, art.

My next encounter with kente occurred at the opening of African Art in Motion (1974) at the newly expanded Frederick S. Wight Art Gallery on the UCLA campus. My own exaggerated memory of that evening finds all the African attendees wearing stylish dark suits and elegant Western dresses with the rest of us, White and Black, wearing some version of African adomment—ranging from comparatively inconspicuous items of jewelry to complete African ensembles.

This static image of kente changed dramatically with my first visit to Ghana in 1974. At a festival in Cape Coast several Fante chiefs wore and "danced" kente. Images of the cloth as a flat work of art disappeared in favor of something more akin to a kinetic sculpture, part kaleidoscope and part kite. Kente was made for movement, whether in a fast powerful dance or a slow majestic procession.

These first impressions of kente were shaped primarily by visual responses to the cloth. It was only after repeated visits to Ghana that I began to appreciate the variety of contexts that helped define the importance of kente. These events in turn were themselves defined in part by the presence of the cloth. With time I also began to understand some of the complexities of cloth names, which serve as catalysts for the contemporary construction and expansion of meaning, both surrounding and embedded within the cloth. For me, this is the most engaging and telling part of kente's history—how it has come to mean so many things to so many people at the end of the twentieth century. This volume attempts to bring the history and significance of kente up to date. It is my hope that it will eventually serve as a benchmark for subsequent studies that examine the further growth of the tradition.

Doran H. Ross Director, UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History



This project began with a telephone call from Anne Spencer, Curator of Africa, the Americas and the Pacific at the Newark Museum, inquiring about the possibility of organizing an exhibition on kente cloth that would bring the tradition up to date and consider its history on both sides of the Atlantic. I want to thank Anne for all her efforts on behalf of this project. There are few museum professionals as dedicated and hard working as she is. I would also like to thank Director Mary Sue Sweeney Price, Ward L. E. Mintz, Peggy Dougherty, David Mayhew, Isimeme Omogbai, Lucy Voorhees Brotman, Eathon G. Hall Jr., Gregory Blackburn, Rebecca A. Buck, Vivian James, Alejandro Ramirez, Jane Stein, Catherine Jellinek, and Lorelei Rowars of the Newark Museum for their many contributions to Wrapped in Pride and for facilitating the collaboration between our two institutions.

For me, this book and its companion exhibition are the culmination of nearly twenty-five years of involvement with the expressive culture of Ghana. My mentor Herbert M. Cole first led me to West Africa in 1974 to begin preliminary research for the UCLA exhibition and publication *The Arts of Ghana* (1977). As always I want to thank Skip for his faith in my work and for his consistent support through the years. Initial research on *Wrapped in Pride* in Ghana was facilitated by Professor J. H. K. Nketia. His good offices opened many doors and provided the catalyst for even more friendships. At the National Museum of Ghana Joe Nkrumah regularly offered enlightened humor and wise counsel, and Bruce Lohoff and Nick Robertson at the United States Information Service in Accra extended many courtesies. Cornelius Adedze provided considerable research assistance and documented the first Bonwire Kente Festival. Samuel Adams was a driver "pass all." Others who provided important assistance include Joseph Armah Niiattoh, Ablade Glover, Hayford Appiah-Kubi, Jemina Hayfron-Benjamin, Kwame Labi, Kwasi Boady, Isaac Azey, Garbah Ibrahim, Ephraim Agawu, and Osei Kwadwo.

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Samuel Cophie, an Ewe weaver who has lived in Bonwire since 1960, provided unique perspectives on many issues. His knowledge and friendship are warmly appreciated. Gratitude is also extended to the following weavers who work with Cophie: Joshua Cophie, Seth Cophie, Akwasi Kwakye, Kojo Awusi, Osei Kwame, Atuahene Kwabena, Kofi Boateng, Solomon Owusu Babeeto, Samuel Bempah, and Samuel Kwaku Appiah.

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As with so many of our projects, the National Endowment for the Humanities has been not only a source of funding but also an integral part of the exhibition development process. I would particularly like to thank Nancy Rogers and Suzi Jones for their efforts on our behalf. My sincerest thanks, as well, to Mr. Jerome L. Joss for his support of the *Wrapped in Pride* project and for his long-standing patronage of the Fowler Museum. The Getty Grant Program lent its generous support to the publication and made available special funds for three high school internships that continued the work of our Community Research Partnership with Crenshaw High School. I would also like to thank Ed Keller, Director of the James S. Coleman African Studies Center for his support.

The contributors to this volume have brought a wealth of research and ideas to the project. This book has been visually and intellectually enriched by Abena P. A. Busia, Raymond A. Silverman, Anne Spencer, Agbenyega Adedze, Nii O. Quarcoopome, and Betsy D. Quick. Their efforts are greatly appreciated.

Lynne Kostman brought reason, order, and eloquence to the editing process. Her considerable energy and impressive patience were instrumental in bringing the volume to completion. Rebecca Van Dyck-Laumann offered a critical eye and mind in assisting with the Twi orthography. Michelle Ghaffari provided assistance with a variety of editorial tasks including proofreading. This book was designed by Patrick Fitzgerald with imagination and wit. His good humor and creative fortitude sustained a complicated project with dramatic results. The substantial photographic requirements were handled beautifully by Don Cole and his assistant Jonathan Molvik. Danny Brauer masterfully coordinated the production of the book and handled myriad complicated details pertaining to its printing.

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The wizard of *Wrapped in Pride* was Betsy Quick, Director of Education at the Fowler Museum of Cultural History. Friend, colleague, and teacher extraordinaire, Betsy propelled a three-year adventure with her enthusiasm and insight. Her unique perspectives on the role of museums in contemporary society and her commitment to community and audience are a constant inspiration. This project would not have happened without her.

Doran H. Ross Director, UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History

Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity is the result of the collaborative efforts of many individuals, who, in a truly community-based undertaking, joined with us to promote the greater understanding of the transatlantic meaning of this beautiful and complicated cloth, as well as those who make it and those who wear it. I commend Anne Spencer, Curator of Africa, the Americas and the Pacific at the Newark Museum, and Doran H. Ross, Director of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History in Los Angeles, whose work together on this subject has broadened our horizons immeasurably. Their knowledge of and enthusiasm for this subject have truly enriched us all.

On behalf of the Newark community, I thank those who, over the span of more than four years, have responded to this Museum's request for assistance in identifying the meaning of kente in Ghana, in the African Diaspora in the United States, and particularly in Newark. This idea was first discussed with Clement Alexander Price, Professor of History at Rutgers University, who was pivotal in helping us think through the wider context of a potential museum exhibition on the subject, and with Museum Trustee Gloria Hopkins Buck, who helped frame the educational component of the kente project.

That component, in which Newark and Los Angeles high school students were invited to participate, became integral to the entire fabric of the exhibition. On both coasts, students learned techniques of oral history and documentary photography in order to interview their elders about the subject of kente in African American life. Their contributions will be precious components of the exhibition at both venues.

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