

**The Scottish Mission factor in the development
of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana:
1917-1957**

by

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself and that all verbatim extracts have been distinguished either by quotation marks or by single-spaced indentations and all the sources of information have been duly acknowledged.

REV. CHARLES GYANG-DUAH

A B S T R A C T

Though it was political reasons that caused the First World War its consequences were felt not only in the political realm but in the religious also. The political intrigues and the acrimony that culminated in the war generated intense enmity between Britain and her allies on the one hand and Germany on the other. In the process the Basel Mission was forced out of Ghana by the British on suspicion that the Mission, which had strong German connection, had sympathies for Germany. It was this action taken by the British that necessitated the recruitment of another missionary body to oversee the work that had been done by the Basel Mission and the choice fell on the United Free Church of Scotland which was represented in Ghana by what came to be known as the Scottish Mission. The appearance of the United Free Church of Scotland on the religious scene of Ghana therefore is a classic example of how international politics and war affected and shaped world missionary outreach programme in the early 20th century.

The United Free Church accepted the challenge in spite of extreme financial and logistical problems face by the church at this time because it felt that the opportunity to come to Ghana was created by Providence. From 1917 till 1950 when the church became fully autonomous therefore the United Free Church and its subsidiary body the Scottish Mission worked to preserve the gains of the Basel Mission and developed new structures and institutions to extend the influence of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and to make it an indigenous church. Though the Basel Mission was allowed to return to Ghana at the end of 1925, it was the Scottish Mission that continued to set the agenda for the church.

Unlike the work of the United Free Church of Scotland in Jamaica, Calabar or Malawi the work in Ghana was not originally planned within the scope of its world evangelistic

outreach. It was accidental and this had some influence on the Scottish Mission's approach to their work in Ghana.

This thesis examines the circumstances surrounding the coming of the United Free Church of Scotland to Ghana in the Scottish Mission and more importantly the role it played in the building and development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

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Praise to the Lord , who doth prosper thy work and defend thee,
Surely his goodness and mercy shall daily attend thee. Ponder
anew what the Almighty can do. Who with his love doth befriend
thee.

These words which are found in the third verse of Joachim Neander's hymn, numbered 9 in the Church Hymnary aptly describe the role that the Lord played in my life during the course of this research. I would therefore like to join the hymnist in praising the Almighty God for the wonderful way in which he has led me through this research. It was a struggle but his (the Lord's) goodness and mercy "daily attended" me.

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Note on List of illustrations:

The Maps were drawn by Mr. Aguze at the University of Ghana, Geography Department, Legon

The Colour Photographs were taken by me during my field work in Ghana.

The Photographs of missionaries were collected from the headquarters of the Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh and from either the missionaries themselves or their relatives.

Other illustrations were got from reports of the church, magazines and newspapers during the course of my research.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.L:	Basel Mission Library, Kumase.
B.M.S	Baptist Missionary Society
B.T.M.S	Basel Mission Trading Society
C.C	Continuation Committee
C.C.G.A	Christian Council of Ghana Archives
C.M.S	Church Missionary Society
C.P.P	Convention People's Party
C.S.C.N.W.W:	Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World.
C.U.P	Cambridge University Press
E.P.C	Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana
F.M.C	Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church/ Church of Scotland
G.N.A	Ghana National Archives, Accra
I.M.C	International Missionary Council
J.M.C	Joint Mission Council
N.L.M	National Liberation Movement
O.U.P	Oxford University Press
P.C.G:	Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
P.C.G..A	Presbyterian Church of Ghana Archives, Accra
P.R.O	Public Records Office, London
P.T.C	Presbyterian Training College, Akropong Akuapem
R.P.P	Regulations, Practice and Procedure
R.T.C.A	Ramseyer Training Centre Archives, Abetifi.
S.M.C	Scottish Mission Council

S.N.L	Scottish National Library, Edinburgh.
S.P.G	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
S.R.O	Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh
S.U	Scripture Union
U.F.C:	United Free Church of Scotland
U.G.C.C	United Gold Coast Convention
U.G.	University of Ghana, Legon-Accra.
W.A.R.C	World Alliance of Reformed Churches
W.C.C	World Council of Churches

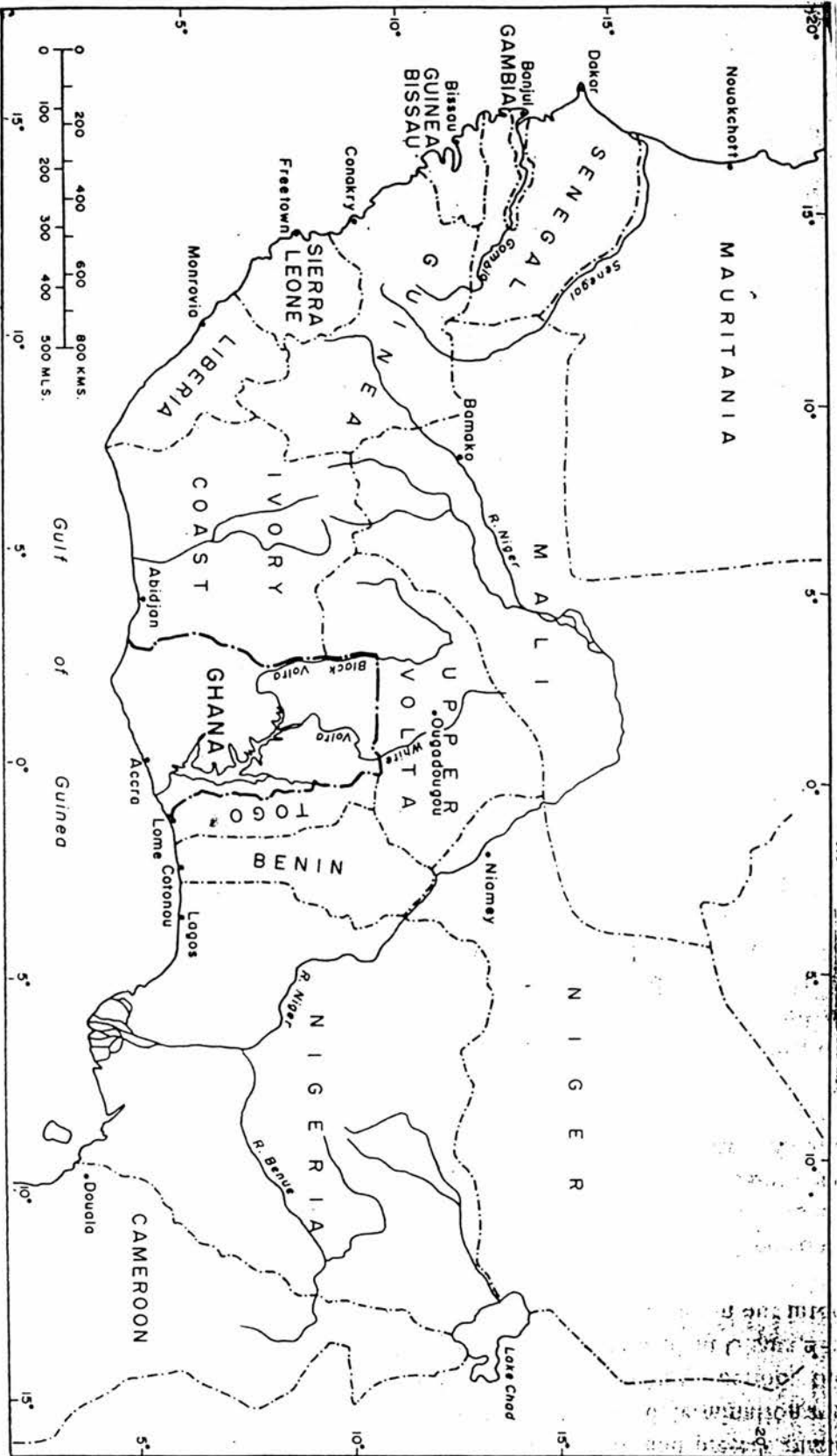
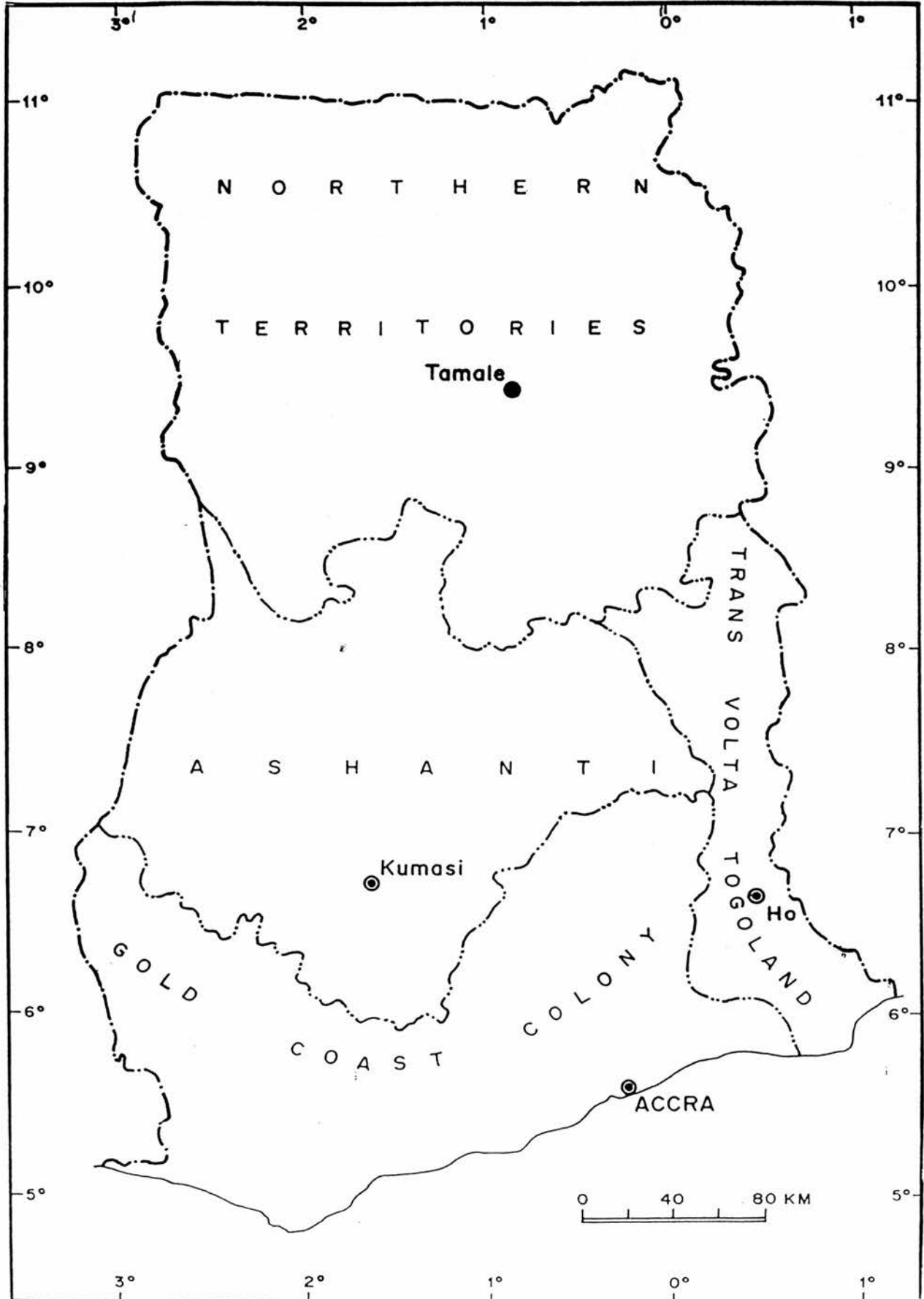


Fig. 1: Map of West Africa showing the position of Ghana

Note: Ivory Coast on the map is Côte d'Ivoire and Upper Volta is Burkina Faso.

Fig. 2: MAP OF GHANA SHOWING THE POLITICAL REGIONS BY 1957.



INTRODUCTION

Presbiterifo monfiri mo koma mu nyi Awurade aye enne ne daa nyinaa. Mfirinhyia oha aduonum mu nea waye ama yen no eho fa na yehye nne Danefo, Baselfo asofo, Atoe Indianfo ne Skotefo nso yeda won nyinaa ase. Mommo ose, mommo ose, mommo ose mma Nyankopong.

The above is Twi¹ and the English rendering is as follows:

Ye Presbyterians, praise the Lord from your heart for today we are celebrating what he has done for us for the past 150 years. We are grateful to the Danes, the Basel missionaries, the West Indians and the Scottish Mission also. Praise the Almighty God.

These are the words of a song which was used in 1978 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana² (P.C.G). In these words, the church recognizes the fact that it developed through the combined efforts of several different agencies over the years. The song, therefore, epitomizes the history of the P.C.G. In this study, I intend to look at the part played by the Scottish Mission in that history which is almost always forgotten and in some cases not even known at all

I was born at Seekwa, a rural town in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana in West Africa. My mother Rose Amma Gyanwaa³ was originally not a Christian. She was converted by my father after their marriage. My father Mr. C. A. Dua was among the first batch of students admitted to the St. Andrew's Teacher Training College which was opened in Akropong Akuapem in 1946.⁴ After the course, he became a teacher-catechist in the P. C .G, a role he played for about thirty years before retiring in 1978.

¹*Twi* is one of the major languages spoken in Ghana. It forms part of a family of languages generally known as *Akan*. About 70% of Ghanaians speak and understand it.

²The first batch of the Basel missionaries arrived in Ghana on 18th December 1828.

³My mother died on 8th May, 1990.

⁴The college was founded by the Scottish Mission. A detailed discussion on it will follow in Chapter Six of this research below.

Since my father was a teacher-catechist I was automatically born into the Presbyterian Church. I was brought up in the strictest form of what was believed to be the missionary discipline of humility, respect for adults, hard work and devotion to God and to the Church. From the very early stage, therefore, my loyalty to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana has been very strong. Though my father had his teacher training in an institution founded by the Scottish Mission, he rarely spoke about the Mission as a body though he was very grateful to individual Scottish missionaries such as Mr. D. Benzies, Mr. C. M. Morrison and Rev. J. S. Malloch for their kindness towards him.⁵

As a child in the local Presbyterian primary school, I attended the children's service organized every Sunday by the church as part of the routine of all Presbyterian schools at this time. In the process, I got to know that another name for the P.C.G was **Basel** and, therefore, the members of the church were called **Baselfo** in the *Twi* language. As I progressed along the educational ladder to the middle school at the age of twelve, I learnt that Basel was a city in Switzerland and it was from there that missionaries came to establish the church hence the name **Baselfo** given to the members of the church which literally means **people from Basel**. This was a significant improvement in my knowledge about the history of the P.C.G but it went no further than this. I was told nothing about the Scottish Mission and, therefore, I knew nothing about it.

In 1969 I was also, like my father, admitted to the St. Andrew's Teacher Training College. This became a major turning point in my knowledge about the history of the P.C.G. It was there that for the first time I heard of the Scottish Mission. I learnt that the college was founded by the Scottish Mission. In fact one of the houses had been named after Rev. A. W. Wilkie whom I learnt was the first Scottish missionary to arrive in Ghana. This new information aroused my curiosity because this was the first time I had heard that

⁵I was named **Charles** after Mr. Charles Morrison. This indicates my father's admiration for him.

apart from the Basel Mission another Mission had worked with the P.C.G and had established an educational institution to train teachers. I left the college in 1972 armed with this new knowledge and started my career as a teacher in a Presbyterian primary school at New Banko in the Bechem district in the Brong Ahafo region.

The celebration of the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana by the Basel Mission in 1978 heightened my curiosity and set me thinking seriously about following the story of the involvement of the Scottish Mission in the life of the P.C.G. Two features of the celebration brought this about. Firstly, the song composed purposely for the anniversary the words of which have been quoted at the beginning above, paid glowing tribute to the Danes, the Basel missionaries, the West Indians and the Scottish Mission and expressed sincere thanks to them for helping in various ways to establish the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Secondly, an anniversary cloth printed to commemorate the occasion carried the portrait of Rev. A. W Wilkie among others who were considered to have played crucial leadership roles during the formative years of the church. At this stage it dawned on me that there might have been more to the story of the involvement of the Scottish Mission in the life of the church than I had had the opportunity to know. I, therefore, set out to find out what really happened. I was, however, surprised at the degree of ignorance about the work of the Scottish Mission among church members in general. It was one minister of the church, Rev. A.L Kwansah⁶ who revealed to me that the coming of the Scottish Mission to Ghana was deliberately planned by the British colonial government in London during the First World War. They came to take over the work of the Basel Mission who had been expelled from Ghana by the colonial administration. I, therefore, set out to find more about the history of the P.C.G.

⁶Rev. A.L. Kwansa was the Synod Clerk of the P.C.G from 1955 to 1969.

I found out that the whole process of the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana started with the arrival of the Basel Mission in December 1828. The missionaries were invited by the Danish governor Major de Richelieu who wanted Christianity firmly established in the Danish sphere of the country.⁷ By 1835 seven of the eight missionaries sent by the Basel Mission had died leaving only one, Andreas Riis. By 1839 not a single convert had been made. The Home Committee⁸ of the Basel Mission in Switzerland, therefore, decided to recall Riis and abandon the mission work in Ghana. He was, therefore, ordered to return home in 1840. In 1843, however, Riis returned to Ghana with a party of West Indian Moravians to prove to Ghanaians that Christianity was not for white people alone. Fortunately, for Riis and the Basel Mission the experiment proved successful and turned out to be the key which opened the door for the Basel Mission to make converts. Akropong Akuapem became the centre of the work of the Mission.⁹ By 1900 the Basel Mission had been firmly established in Ghana with a membership of 17,651 and from all indications the future was bright.¹⁰

The First World War had an enormous negative effect on the Basel Mission and its work in the whole world in general. Though the Mission, technically, was a Swiss organization its missionaries were mostly German. In Ghana for instance, about 70% of the Basel missionaries were German citizens. For this reason, therefore, all the missionaries of the Mission were forced to withdraw from all colonies belonging to the British and the Allied countries because of their alleged complicity in the war in favour of Germany.¹¹ Ghana was a British colony and, therefore, the Basel missionaries in the country also suffered the same fate as a matter of course. In order to ensure the continuity of the work of the Basel

⁷At this period the Danish government was controlling Christiansborg and the Akuapem areas.

⁸The Home Committee was the Executive Committee in charge of the affairs of the Basel Mission in Basel, Switzerland.

⁹Details of the history of the P.C.G are found in Chapter One below.

¹⁰This was according to the census of 1st January 1900. See Report of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast 1900, P. 20.

¹¹There is a full discussion on it in Chapter Two below.

Mission in Ghana, the colonial government in London requested the United Free Church of Scotland (U.F.C) to send missionaries to take over the work of the Mission. The U.F.C., accepted the challenge in spite of grave financial problems and difficulty in recruiting missionary personnel as a result of the war. Rev. A. W. Wilkie and his wife were, accordingly, transferred from Calabar to Ghana in February 1918.¹² From 1918, therefore, the hitherto Basel Mission became the Scottish Mission and was managed by the Scottish Mission Council on behalf of the U.F.C.

Soon after the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana, Rev. Wilkie, the leader of the Mission, introduced a comprehensive package of administrative structures in the church. These included the establishment of the Synod and the Synod Committee which was the executive of the Synod and the creation of five presbyteries. Gradually, the administration of the church was transferred to the indigenous Ghanaian church leaders. However, the administrative structure established ran alongside missionary tutelage and control. The Scottish Mission also gave educational development in general a big boost. Female education was specially emphasized.

In December 1925 the Basel missionaries were permitted to return to Ghana by the British colonial government in London. The administrative structure put in place by the Scottish Mission was adjusted to accommodate the Basel missionaries on their arrival back to Ghana. However, the administration of the P.C.G as a whole was officially in the hands of the Scottish Mission which continued to set the agenda. In 1926 the church adopted the name **Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast**. It became the **Presbyterian Church of Ghana** in 1957 when the country became politically independent and changed its name from Gold Coast to Ghana. The church became fully autonomous in 1950.

¹²The U.F.C had established a Mission in Calabar in the modern Republic of Nigeria in 1846 and, therefore, had missionaries there.

However, even after the autonomy both the Basel and the Scottish Missions continued to exert some influence on the church. The difference though was that the influence was done in an advisory capacity which could either be accepted or rejected by the indigenous leadership of the church. By 1957 the missionary influence on the church had reduced considerably but had not completely ceased. The Scottish Mission had scaled down its missionary presence in Ghana. This was an indication that the Mission had realized that they had completed their work.¹³

A survey of the history of the P.C.G, therefore, shows that its heritage was bequeathed to it by, strictly speaking, three missionary traditions. These were the Basel Evangelical Mission, the West Indian Moravian and the Scottish Mission traditions.¹⁴

Another important element that comes to the fore when a critical look is taken of the history of the P.C.G is the importance of the work of the Scottish Mission in the development of the church. It was the Scottish Mission era that saw the firm institutionalization of the church.¹⁵ The Scottish Mission era also saw great strides in education, financial management and great increase in the participation by Ghanaian church leaders in the administration and the decision-making process of the church. It can be seen from the above resume that the Scottish Mission era is very important so far as the history of the development of the P.C.G is concerned.

Curiously, however, in spite of the role that the Scottish Mission played in the life of the church, very little is said about it. Therefore, very little is known in the church about the Mission, especially by the younger generation. Those who know something about the

¹³The last Scottish missionary to leave Ghana, Rev. C. F. Paton and his wife left Ghana in 1972.

¹⁴The West Indian Moravian tradition is always seen as part of the Basel Mission since it was the Mission that organized their coming to Ghana in 1843.

¹⁵This is seen in the Mission's contributions to the building of the church which are discussed in the main body of this thesis below.

work of the Mission are the aged, mostly agents of the church and people who studied under Scottish missionaries. On the other hand, the Basel Mission is very well known throughout the Presbyterian Church as founders of the P.C.G. This is historically correct but this knowledge mistakenly assumes that everything of historical value was put in place by the Basel Mission. In fact, the church continues to identify itself with the name of the Mission, though unofficially, and known casually as **Basel Asore**.¹⁶

Furthermore in examining documentary materials on the history of the P.C.G it could be seen that great emphasis is usually laid on the work of the Basel Mission and the Scottish Mission's work is taken for granted and added as an appendage. Of these materials the best and the standard one available now is *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960*¹⁷ by Rev. Dr. Noel Smith, himself a former Scottish missionary in Ghana. However, the best that the author could do was to provide a summary of the work of the Scottish Mission in a few places in the work. Maybe he did not want to be seen to be trumpeting the achievements of the Scottish Mission with which he had been associated in Ghana. Dr. Hans W. Debrunner, a Swiss also talks about the history of the P.C.G in his book *A History of Christianity in Ghana*.¹⁸ In it, Debrunner gives a general overview of the beginning and growth of Christianity in Ghana. He gives a very good account of the work of the Basel Mission in various places in his book but very little attention was given to the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Rev. E.T. Koramoa and Rev. Dr. Edward Reynolds also give a good account of the role the Basel Mission played in the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in their book *Ghana Presbiteri Asafo Mfe Oha ne Aduonum Adwuma, (1828- 1978)*.¹⁹ This was written in Twi to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the church. The authors only concentrated on the

¹⁶Asore is the Akan term for **church**, therefore, **Basel Asore** means **Basel Church**.

¹⁷Noel Smith: *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1966

¹⁸Hans W. Debrunner: *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Waterville, Accra, 1967.

¹⁹Rev. E.T Koramoa & Rev. Dr. Edward Reynolds: *Ghana Presbiteri Asafo Mfe Oha Ne Aduonum Adwuma (1828-1978)*, Waterville, Accra, 1978.

first four years of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana while the Basel Mission's work has been well covered. In his *We Presbyterians*, Fred Agyemang also has a few paragraphs on the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana but obviously not adequate enough to take care of the work of the Mission in Ghana.

The general pattern that one sees among the various records on the history of the P.C.G is that great emphasis is placed on the work of the Basel Mission with the Scottish Mission mentioned in dispatches. I, therefore, did not succeed in my attempt to read about the work of the Scottish Mission because there was very little written about it. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the Scottish Mission's contribution to the history of the P.C.G has always, though unconsciously, been taken for granted and has not been given the attention and emphasis it deserves.

My main concern, therefore, is that if the Scottish Mission made a significant contribution to the building of the P.C.G then why is the Mission almost always forgotten in the daily life of the church? Furthermore, why is the P.C.G so much attached to and identified with the Basel Mission? These questions have been of great interest to me for a long time and have served as my motivation for this research which is being done under the title **The Scottish Mission Factor in the Development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1917-1957**. The period has been selected because the Scottish Mission's involvement in the life of the P.C.G started first with a deputation to Ghana in 1917 before the take over in early 1918 and 1957 was the year of Ghana's political independence. After 1957 though there were a few Scottish missionaries still working in Ghana the influence of the Mission on the church had been reduced to the barest minimum.

In the research that follows, I have endeavoured to trace the historical background to how the U.F.C of Scotland came to be involved in the life and work of the P.C.G. I have also

tried to find out the extent of the contributions by the Scottish Mission, the representative of the U.F.C in Ghana to the growth and development of the church from 1917 to 1957. Furthermore, I have investigated why the P.C.G is so much attached to the Basel Mission and why the Scottish Mission is always forgotten in the daily life of the church. Finally, I have assessed the significance of the work of the Scottish Mission and its impact on the P.C.G and on the country as a whole.

This is mainly a historical study in which I examined the minutes of the United Free Church and the Church of Scotland, the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Records of the United Free Church of Scotland. Also examined were minutes of the Scottish Mission Council of Ghana, minutes of the Scottish Mission Church in Ghana, minutes of the P.C.G, reports of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana, Reports of the P.C.G, minutes of the Synod Committee of the Scottish Mission and the of the P.C.G. Furthermore, I looked at general missionary correspondence between missionaries in Ghana and in Calabar and the Foreign Mission Council (F.M.C) of the Church in Scotland. I also looked at colonial records both in Ghana and in London mainly about the events that led to the expulsion of the Basel Mission and the coming of the Scottish Mission to Ghana.

Further information about the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana was received from oral sources through personal interviews and also from responses to questionnaires by a cross-section of the members of the P.C.G. I also had contacts with some of the missionaries who worked in Ghana and received a lot of helpful information about their work in Ghana. The problem I encountered during the interviews was the fact that apart from a few areas all those who actually saw the beginning of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana are dead. In many areas, therefore, I have had to rely on minutes,

reports, letters and other records available. However, I was able to get the information I needed for the research.

Finally, I wish to confess that I cannot claim to have covered all that there is to be said or written about the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana given the enormity of the work they have done in the P.C.G and in the country as a whole. Nevertheless, I am confident that all the major aspects of the work of the Mission have been properly identified, defined and highlighted. By so doing, I believe, I have been able to place the work of the Scottish Mission in its proper perspective and reclaimed the ground that rightly belongs to the Mission in the history of the P.C.G.

In this respect, therefore, I have no doubt that the aim of this study has been achieved to the glory of God and of his Son Jesus Christ, the head of the church and who, by his grace and in his wisdom, invited the United Free Church of Scotland to Ghana through the mundane events of human life in due time.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GENERAL SITUATION IN GHANA BEFORE THE COMING OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN 1917.

1.0 INTRODUCTION.

The decision by the British colonial government in London to request the U.F.C of Scotland to take over the work of the **Basel German Evangelical Mission**¹ in Ghana in 1917 was hardly surprising. It was part of the plan of the British colonial government to ensure absolute loyalty in all sectors of Ghanaian life during the difficult period of the First World War.² Therefore, it appears there was a link between the British colonial aspirations and the developments that led to the coming of the U.F.C to Ghana in the Scottish Mission.

1.1 THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

A survey of the political history of Ghana between 15th and 19th centuries reveals a grim picture of an unhealthy rivalry among European merchants and their governments and their allies in Ghana. The earliest European connection with Ghana was that of the Portuguese in 1471.³ They were followed by the English in 1553⁴, the Dutch, 1595⁵, the Swedes, 1652 and the Danes, 1657.⁶ These Europeans struggled among themselves in

¹That was the full name of the Basel Mission. Ref. *Regulations for Catechists* published in 1890 by the Basel Mission. B.M.L, Kumase.

²The British colonial government was suspicious of the loyalty of the Basel Mission because of its close relation with Germany. See Chapter Two below for full discussion on it.

³W. E. F. Ward: *A History of the Gold Coast*, Longman & Green, London, 1948, P. 60.

⁴*Ibid*, P. 66.

⁵Ward, *Ibid*, P. 69.

⁶Ward, *Ibid*, P. 75.

order to upstage each other in their attempt to wield political power over the indigenous people so that they could establish monopoly over trade with them.

As the Europeans were struggling among themselves for political and economic advantage, the indigenous states were also engaged in interstate wars either to establish political supremacy or to maintain their independence. Some of the major states at this time were Fante, Ga, Akyem⁷, Denkyira, Akwamu, Asante⁸ and Anlo. These wars were very costly in terms of loss of lives and property. What was more, defeated states forfeited their independence and had to pay heavy tributes to the victors. The thought of such a fate made the states vulnerable and accepted to enter into alliances with any Europeans who promised them "protection" in case of attack by another state.⁹

Unfortunately, the Europeans capitalized on the vulnerability of the indigenous states and managed to entice them into signing various treaties placing themselves under the "protection" of these Europeans.¹⁰ By this process, the Europeans were able to carve out political enclaves for themselves from where they conducted their trade and political manoeuvres. The Portuguese were based in Elmina, the English in Cape Coast, the Dutch in Accra, the Danes were based in Osu-Christiansborg and the Swedes were in Sekondi.¹¹ In the ensuing struggle among the Europeans, the Portuguese were forced out of Ghana by the Dutch in 1642 and the Swedes were also chased out by the Danes in 1657.¹² By 1660, therefore, the Europeans remaining in Ghana were the Danes, the Dutch and the English.

⁷*Akyem* is sometimes rendered *Akim*. However *Akyem* is the right traditional rendering.

⁸*Asante* is sometimes rendered *Ashanti*. However, *Asante* is the right traditional rendering.

⁹*Asante* was greatly feared by many states at this time.

¹⁰The Treaty signed between Quahoo (Kwawu) and the British in 1888 was witnessed by Rev F. Ramseyer, a Basel missionary and his colleagues at Abetifi. (Abetifi Ramseyer Centre Library)

¹¹See the map of Ghana below for the locations of the areas in Ghana..

¹²Ward, *Ibid*, P. 73-76.

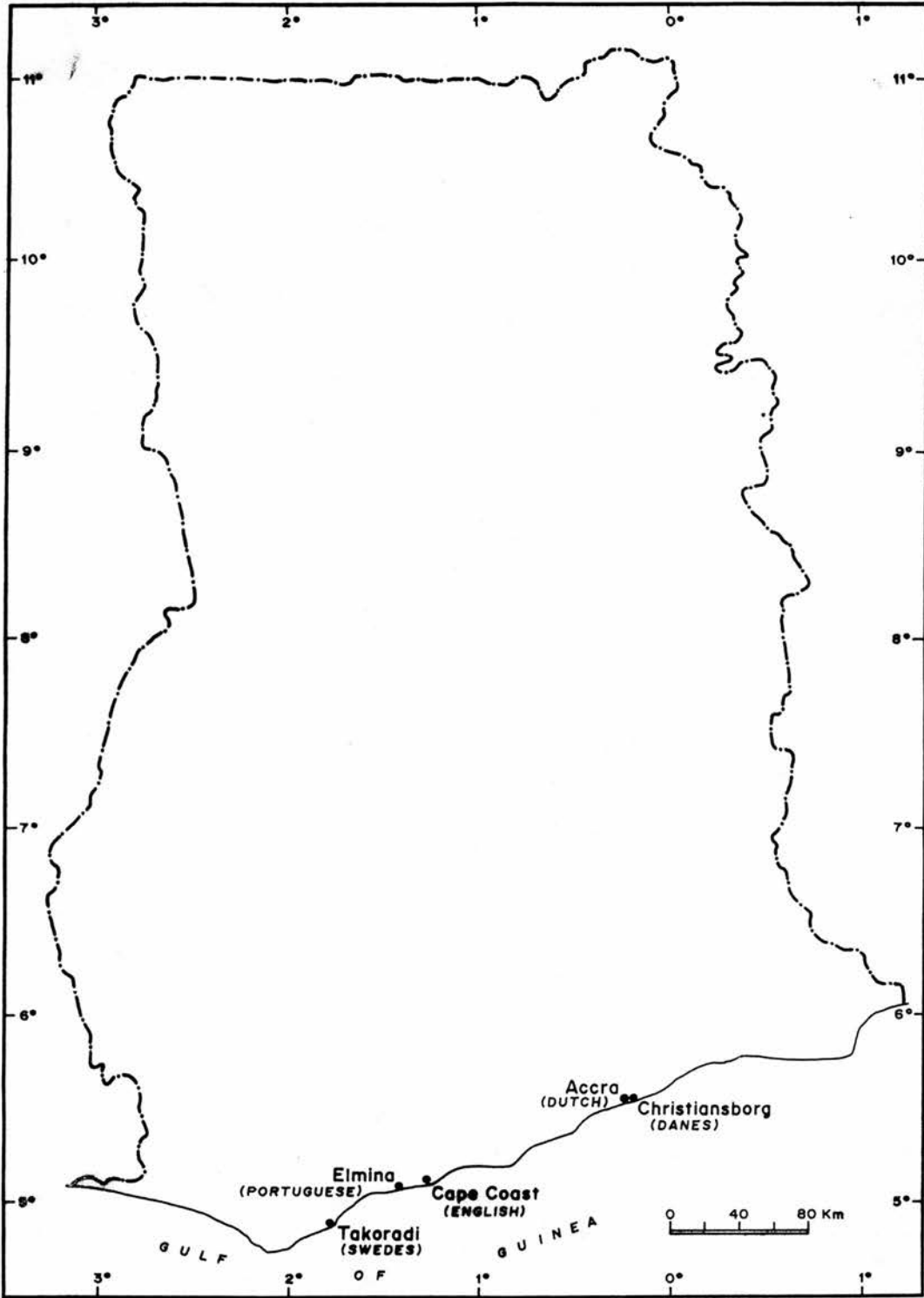


Fig 3 Map of Ghana showing the areas controlled by the Europeans.

1.2 THE ASANTE QUESTION.

The Asante, one of the major tribes in Ghana were a formidable force. They were the most powerful inland state and, therefore, could not be ignored by the Europeans who wanted to extend their political influence. Moreover, the economy of Asante was sustained by the sale of slaves captured in wars and by tributes from vassal states. These two sources of income were made possible by military might which in its turn was made possible by the availability of firearms. These firearms, however, could only be purchased from the European traders on the coast. The Fante coastal states on the other hand, were controlling all the trade routes to the south and, thereby, served as middlemen in the sale of firearms. The Asante resented this role played by the Fante and, therefore, attacked them with a view of conquering them in order to establish direct contact with the European traders on the coast to be able to acquire the arms from the source.¹³ Bowdich reports that the British had to pay "large sums of gold" to the Asante to bail the Fante out of trouble.¹⁴

Eventually, the Asante were able to forge friendly alliance with Elmina on the coast which had become the headquarters of the Dutch after they had thrown out the Portuguese. A strong bond of friendship, therefore, developed between the Asante and the Dutch which culminated in Asante agreeing to supply the Dutch with 1,000 slaves for the Dutch East Indian army.¹⁵ This Asante-Dutch alliance was politically damaging to British interests and so the British decided to enter into dialogue to woo Asante into political alliance to upstage the Dutch. Two peace missions were, therefore, sent by the British in 1817 and 1820 to Kumase¹⁶ but all the missions failed to achieve peace because both parties could

¹³Frederick Myatt: *The Golden Stool, An Account of the Ashanti war of 1900*: William Kimber & Co, London, 1966 P. 17.

¹⁴T. E. Bowdich: *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashanti*, Frank Cass, London, 1966 P. 4.

¹⁵Douglas Coombs: *The Gold Coast, Britain and Netherlands, 1850-1874*, Oxford, 1963, P. 3-6.

¹⁶The first Mission in 1817 was led by T.E. Bowdich and the second one in 1820 was led by J. Dupuis.

not agree on the interpretation of the stipulations of the treaties that were signed in both cases.¹⁷

1.3 THE GROWTH OF BRITISH INFLUENCE IN GHANA 1820-1900.

1.3.1 Sir Charles Macarthy and the "Mankata Sa."

The failure of the two attempts by the British in 1817 and 1820 to win the Asante was partly due to the refusal of the British government officials in Ghana to recognize and grant what Asante felt was their right¹⁸ and partly due to the insistence by the Asante on what they felt belonged to them by right of conquest.¹⁹ However, the British still felt that Asante could not be ignored because of its strategic importance as an indigenous power and, therefore, attempted once more to find a way out of the stalemate. In 1821, the British Crown put the settlements in Ghana under the supervision of the governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Charles Macarthy.²⁰ He arrived in Ghana on 28th March, 1822 and before long, he was at war with the Asante. He engaged the Asante in a military combat at Nsamankow.²¹ This, according to Claridge, was against an offer of negotiation for peaceful settlement of all differences through the Dutch governor from the King of Asante.²² This offer was contemptuously rejected by Macarthy and decided to use military force to subdue the Asante. In the end, the British forces were defeated and

¹⁷Ivor Wilks: *Asante in the 19th Century*, C.U.P 1989, P. 166.

¹⁸Ivor Wilks, *Ibid*, P. 168.

¹⁹Note: The British unilaterally assumed the position of the superior party in the negotiations with Asante and, therefore, dictated the terms as much as possible.

²⁰Harry H. Johnston: *Colonization of Africa*, Cambridge, 1913, P. 176.

²¹*Nsamankow* was the village where the battle was fought. It is therefore, sometimes called the battle of *Nsamankow* Ref, Ward, *Ibid* P. 170.

²²Claridge, Vol. 1 page 340.

utterly humiliated. Macarthy and eight of his officers were killed in the war which was called *Mankata Sa*²³.

1.3.2 The War at Dodowa- The Akatamanso War, 1826

In 1826 the British reversed the earlier defeat suffered at the hands of the Asante by inflicting a decisive defeat on them in another war which was fought in the Dodowa area at a village called *Akatamanso*. After this, the British Crown handed over the administration of the settlements in Ghana to a committee of London Merchants.

1.3.3 Captain George Maclean.

The committee of London Merchants appointed Capt. George Maclean, an officer in the Royal African Colonial Corps, as governor. He arrived in Ghana on 19th February 1830 to assume duty. He was a real schemer and a political genius. Maclean skillfully mediated and worked out a settlement between the Asante, and the British and got a peace treaty signed on 27th April, 1831. The following are the highlights of the treaty:

- a. Asante should deposit 600 ounces of gold at the castle at Cape Coast.
- b. Asante should hand over two royals to the governor as security that she will keep peace.
- c. Panyarring²⁴ to be rigorously punished
- d. The King of Asante renounces all title or right to any homage or tribute from the Kings of Denkyira, Assin and others who were subjects of Asante.²⁵

²³"*Mankata*" is the Akan corruption of Macarthy. "Sa" is the Akan word for war. "*Mankata Sa*" therefore, means "Macarthy's War."

²⁴"*Panyarring*" refers to the forcible seizure of a debtor by the creditor to do forced labour on account of the debt owed. It was very common in those days.

²⁵Ellis, *Ibid*, P. 196-197. Note: The British governor wanted to reduce the influence of Asante.

Asante were seen as the aggressor hence the harsh terms imposed on the King. In spite of the harsh terms imposed on Asante, however, the treaty restored peace till 1863 when war broke out again between the Asante and the British. The implication of the treaty was that it did not merely restore peace but it technically enabled Maclean and the British for that matter to assume a degree of political jurisdiction over both the coastal states and Asante because he was the one who enforced the demands of the treaty. Ellis puts it this way:

The conclusion of this treaty[1831 [treaty] marks another stage in the growth of British jurisdiction for by it the chiefs²⁶acknowledged the control of the British and bound themselves to conform to certain rules and regulations. In return, it was tacitly understood that they could claim British protection from Ashanti aggression.²⁷

Maclean soon established himself as a judge and chiefs voluntarily brought their cases to him for settlement and submitted to his judicial authority. This developed to a point that he could even use force to ensure compliance to his rulings.²⁸ On the whole, the British colonial aspirations in Ghana received a big boost during the period of Maclean's governorship. He managed to extend British influence to cover a distance of about 100 miles along the coast and from the seashore inland to about forty miles.²⁹

1.3.4 Commander H.W. Hill and the Bond of 1844.

In 1843, the British Crown, apparently satisfied with the peace existing in Ghana at that time as a result of the efforts made by Maclean, decided to take full control of the British

²⁶The chiefs here refers mainly to the chiefs of the coastal states. Maclean presented himself as one who was seeking their interests. The harsh terms imposed on Asante probably were meant to appease the coastal states.

²⁷Ellis, *Ibid*, P. 196-197.

²⁸Claridge, Vol. 1 *Ibid*, P. 415.

²⁹Ward, *Ibid*, P. 185.

settlements in Ghana. Maclean, who had established himself as "a good judge," was appointed Judicial Assessor while Commander H. W. Hill was appointed the new governor. This was the beginning of the establishment of the British legal system in Ghana.

Commander Hill started his work by consolidating the British influence that had developed under Maclean.³⁰ In pursuance of this objective, he negotiated the Bond of 1844 which was signed on 6th March 1844.³¹ The indigenous states which initially signed the bond were the chiefs of Denkyira, Aborah, Assin,³² Donadie, Dominase, Anomabo and Cape Coast.³³ Later, the chiefs of Gomoa, Nsaba, Asikuma, Wasa Amenfi, Wasa Fiase, Mfuma and James Town also signed.³⁴ By signing the bond the chiefs accepted the jurisdiction of the British over them.³⁵ This can be inferred from the preamble which reads:

Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland within divers countries and places within forts and settlements on the Gold Coast, we the chiefs of the countries and places referred to adjacent to the forts and settlements, do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction.³⁶

Danquah asserts that the acceptance of the Jurisdiction of the British Monarch was voluntary.³⁷ However, the British took advantage of the bond to exert absolute political control on the people who signed it. In fact, it was used as the legal basis for the

³⁰F. K. Buah: *A History of Ghana*, MacMillan Publishers Ltd. London, 1989 P. 80.

³¹The date for Ghana's political independence 6th March, was deliberately chosen to coincide with this date to extricate the country from the effects of the bond.

³²Two chiefs represented Assin who had two factions, **Apemanim** and **Atandanso**.

³³G. E. Metcalfe: *Great Britain and Ghana, Documents of Ghana History, 1807-1957*, Accra, 1964 P. 196 No. 145.

³⁴Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor: *Ghana- A political History*, SEDCO Ltd. Accra, 1990, P. 83.

³⁵J. B. Danquah: *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana Vol. 111 P. 1*, Achimota 1957 P. 23.

³⁶Metcalfe: *op cit*.

³⁷J. B. Danquah: *op cit*.

establishment of colonial rule in Ghana by the British.³⁸ What is more, I wonder whether the chiefs who signed the bond actually understood the implications. It appears they agreed to accept the "protection" of the British because they probably saw them as the only power capable of halting the Asante in its military campaigns. It was not their intention to surrender their independence. But as it turned out to be, the British used it as the trump card to establish a legal foothold in the internal affairs of the people.³⁹ The upshot of it all was that by 1850 Britain was emerging as the dominant European power in the area. Realizing that they had been upstaged by the British the Danes sold all their forts to the British for £10,000 and left in 1850. In 1852 the British governor, Major S. J. Hill,⁴⁰ imposed poll tax on the people to raise funds to offset the mounting cost of administration.⁴¹ The people refused to pay the tax and it was abandoned in 1861.⁴² In 1853 the British passed the Supreme Court Ordinance and modeled the traditional jural system along the lines of that of the British.

1.3.5 The Deal with the Dutch.

After the Danes left the country the only foreign power competing with the British in Ghana were the Dutch. However, the Dutch were also forced by circumstances to leave the country in 1874. They agreed to exchange some of their forts with the British to facilitate easy administration and also to help divide the coastline into Dutch and British

³⁸J. B. Danquah: *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, Vol. III Part 1*, Achimota, 1957, P 23

³⁹As a result of the way things went with the bond, many Ghanaian scholars have not been happy. Kofi Awoonor, for instance, describes it bluntly as a "fraud"

⁴⁰He was the new governor and different from Commander Hill who retired in 1846.

⁴¹The British had separated the administration of Ghana from Sierra Leone in 1850 and there was the need to generate her own funds.

⁴²As a result of the refusal of the people to pay, the British sent in a warship to bombard Labadi and Osu, two areas of strong opposition to the tax in 1854. The Basel missionaries had to flee from Osu.

sectors.⁴³ The Deed of exchange was completed on 5th March 1867 and was to take effect on 1st January 1868. However, the deal could not be implemented because the indigenous people in the areas controlled by the British, but which, according to the deal, were to be transferred to the Dutch, did not co-operate. The Dutch became disappointed and, therefore, on 6th April 1874 they handed over all their possessions to the British and left Ghana. On 27th July 1874, the British proclaimed the whole of the southern part of modern Ghana the British colony of the Gold Coast with Cape Coast as the capital.⁴⁴

1.3.6 The Conquest of Asante by the British.

The Asante were a real thorn in the flesh of the British. They had defiantly resisted any attempts by the British to impose their rule on them or deprive them of what they believed to be theirs by right of conquest. The British, therefore, decided to take a decisive military action to crush the Asante once and for all. Under the command of Major General Garnet Wolseley, the British utterly defeated the Asante in January 1874 and another peace treaty was signed on 13th January 1874.⁴⁵ This was the treaty of Fomena.⁴⁶ Highlights of the treaty were as follows:

- a. Asante were to pay 50,000 ounces of gold to the British as indemnity.
- b. Asante were to renounce all allegiance from Denkyira, Assin, Akyem and Adanse
- c. Asante also were to renounce all claim to Elmina and its allied tribes and all payments from government in respect of any of the forts.⁴⁷

⁴³By the agreement the Dutch would hand over all their forts east of the Sweet River to the British and the British would also hand over all their forts west of the river to the Dutch. The **Sweet River** was the eastern frontier of Elmina.

⁴⁴Cape Coast remained capital till 1876 when it was transferred to Accra.

⁴⁵The war is known as the *Sagrenti*, an Asante corruption of **Sir Garnet**

⁴⁶**Fomena** was the town where the treaty was signed hence the name.

⁴⁷David Kimble: *A Political History of Ghana, 1850-1928*, Oxford, 1963, P. 272.

It could be seen from the various treaties signed between the British and Asante that the British wanted to reduce the extent of the Asante influence and ,thereby, reduce their military might. However, in spite of the defeat, the Asante refused to capitulate to the British. They refused to pay the war indemnity despite repeated demands from the British⁴⁸ and also continued their military campaigns. In 1895, the British governor sent an ultimatum to King Prempeh I to stop the military campaigns and pay up the war indemnity according to the treaty of Fomena.⁴⁹ When the Asantehene⁵⁰ failed to comply the British governor, Maxwell, marched on Kumase on 17th January 1896.⁵¹ For the first time the Asantehene capitulated to the British.⁵² The governor then arrested the King and all the leading members of the royal family and his advisers and exiled them to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean.⁵³ Valuable gold ornaments and royal property were also confiscated and carried to England.⁵⁴

The British governor took this action because he felt it would help to break the power of Asante and make it easier for the British to have a firm grip on the state. However, the action failed to achieve the intended result and instead of destroying the Asante state, the action only succeeded in galvanizing them and made them more united in their resentment against the British. Therefore, though the British felt they were in control of affairs with the deportation of the Asantehene, their relationship with Asante remained very fragile and it only needed an incident to trigger off another war between them.

⁴⁸Ward reports that the Asante hooted at and pelted a British Officer who was sent to Kumase to collect an installment of the indemnity. This undoubtedly was a demonstration of their defiance.

⁴⁹William Tordoff: *Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888-1935*, O.U.P, London, 1965, P. 60.

⁵⁰*Asantehene*, is the official traditional title for the King of Asante.

⁵¹The British had earlier on in 1891 asked Asante to accept British protection and had been rejected. Ref. Buah, *ibid*, P. 95.

⁵²King Prempeh I was said to have removed his head gear and sandals and grasped the governor's feet. In traditional setting there is nothing so humiliating than that. The chief's sandals and head gear are removed only when he is destooled in the traditional way. It was ,therefore, a symbol of his acceptance of the British rule. He had to do it because the odds were against him.

⁵³Tordoff, *Ibid*, Page, 68-69.

⁵⁴Kimble, *Ibid*, P. 296.

This occasion was provided when on 28th March 1900 the British governor Sir Frederick Hodgson appeared in Kumase to demand the surrender of the *Sika Dwa Kofi*⁵⁵ which is believed to contain the *Sunsum*⁵⁶ of the Asante state. This move was to strip Asante of all the traditional artifacts of sovereignty after the deportation of their king and, thereby, make the British rule of Asante unquestionably firm. But the governor showed by action that he was completely ignorant of the spiritual significance of the *Sika Dwa Kofi* to Asante. It was a symbol of spiritual power and its surrender would, according to popular Asante opinion, spell the spiritual demise of the state.⁵⁷ Under the inspiration of Yaa Asantewaa the Queen mother⁵⁸ of Ejiso⁵⁹ near Kumase, the Asante waged war against the British. The Asante lost this war popularly called **Yaa Asantewaa War**⁶⁰ and left them militarily and politically dehydrated but it proved that they could not be taken for a ride. On 26th September 1901, therefore, an order in council annexed Asante to the British Crown. Another order proclaimed on the same day annexed the northern part of modern Ghana as well. Both orders took effect on 1st January 1902. By the beginning of 1902 therefore, the whole of modern Ghana had been taken over by the British. There were however, pockets of resistance in the north but these were put under control in 1911.⁶¹ The country was divided into three political regions, the Colony, Asante and the Northern Territories, independent of each other and administered separately from their capitals, Accra for the Colony, Kumase for Asante and Gambaga for the Northern Territories⁶².

⁵⁵The traditional name for the Golden Stool. It was believed to have been conjured from the sky on **Friday** hence the name **Kofi** which is the traditional Asante first name of a male born on Friday. So the stool was assumed automatically to be a male. Asante is essentially a male controlled society.

⁵⁶*Sunsum* is the Asante term for **Soul**.

⁵⁷Capt. R. S. Rattray: *Asante*, Oxford, 1923, P. 240.

⁵⁸The term "Queen mother" is used in Ghana to refer to the Female counterpart of the King or Chief.

⁵⁹The Chief of Ejiso had been exiled in 1896 with Prempeh I.

⁶⁰Yaa Asantewaa is a heroine in Ghana particularly in Asante for the role she played in the fight against British imperialism. A Girls' Secondary School in Kumase has been named after her and a military tank of the Ghana army has also been named after her.

⁶¹Anafu Moses: "The impact of British rule on Tallensi Political Institution." *Transactions of Historical Society of Ghana*, Legon, June, 1973 P. 17-35.

⁶²By 1909 the British had changed the capital of the Northern Territories to Tamale which is centrally placed.

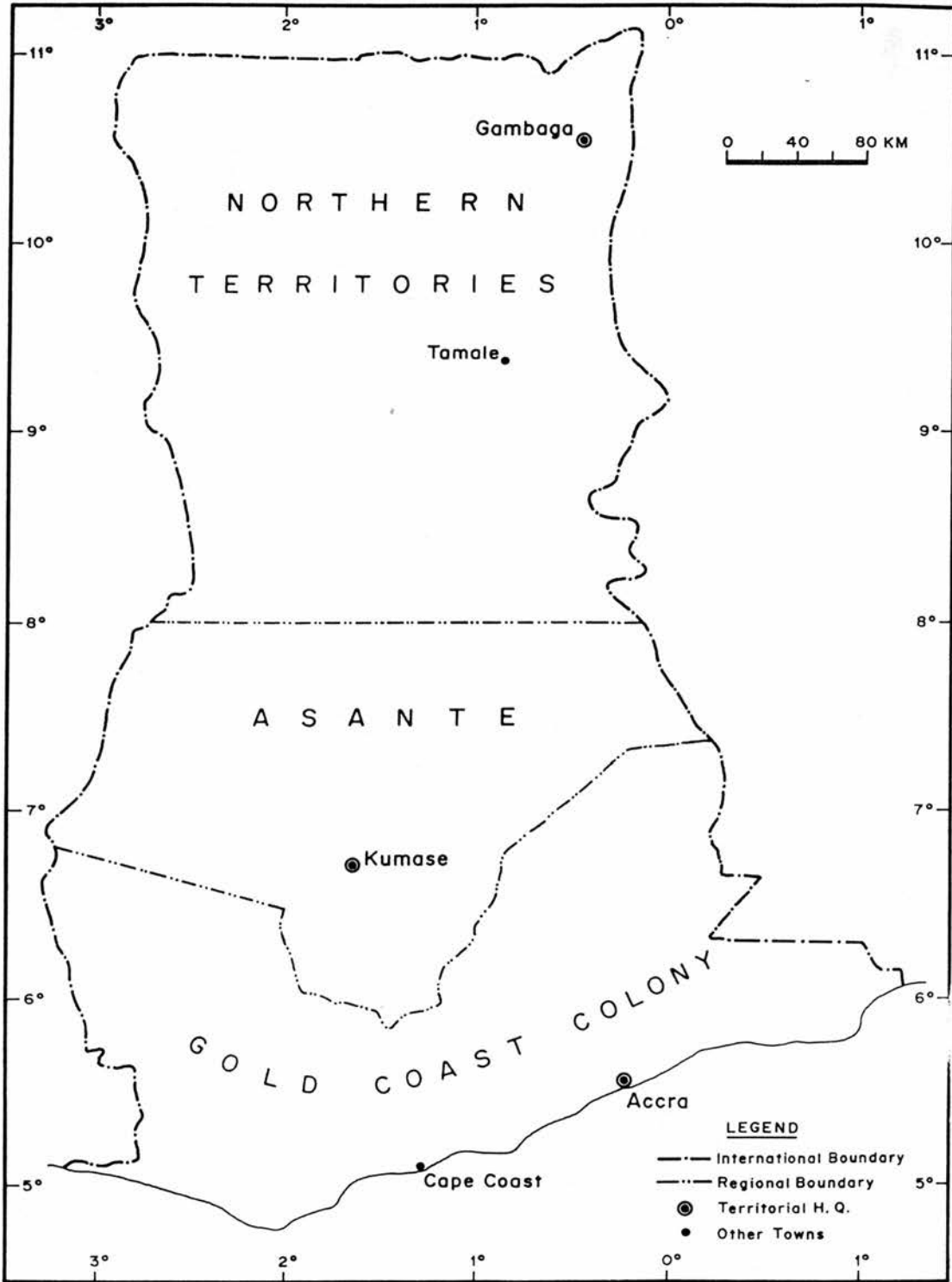


Fig. 4: Map of Ghana showing the political divisions as at 1902.

1.4 INDIRECT RULE IN GHANA.

After taking control of the country through a combination of subtle negotiations and force of arms the British adopted a system of local administration known as indirect rule. This was a system of rule through the agency of traditional institution, the chieftaincy.⁶³ The system recognized traditional Ghanaian political system headed by the chief as the basis of colonial rule and, therefore, established co-operation between the colonial staff and traditional rulers.⁶⁴ As a result of this system the British preserved and supported chieftaincy as the success of the indirect rule depended on it.⁶⁵

The system of indirect rule was a great economic advantage to the British Crown. The provision of British administrative staff in every part of the country would have involved massive financial outlay. Using chiefs, therefore, was the cheapest, safest and the most efficient means of political administration available to the British at the time. By and large, the chiefs became dependable allies of the British to the extent that they became pawns in the hands of the colonial authorities. The governor had veto power over all decisions and actions of the chiefs and they kept their positions only if their activities were in consonance with colonial interests.⁶⁶ Bourret mentions that between 1914 and 1924, 79 Ghanaian chiefs were deposed⁶⁷ by the government apparently because they could not fit into their scheme of colonial administration.

Indirect rule also created problems for Christian missionaries and the church in Ghana. Since it accepted traditional authority as basis for colonial rule, chiefs were given a

⁶³The system was developed by Lord Lugard, one time British governor of Uganda and Nigeria.

⁶⁴F. D. Lugard: *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, 1923, P. 199.

⁶⁵Edwin W. Smith: *The Golden Stool*, London, 1927, P. 173.

⁶⁶Tordoff, *Ibid*, P. 248.

⁶⁷F. M. Bourret: *The Gold Coast, 1919-1946*, O. U. P, 1949, P. 50

latitude of power to run their own affairs with the enactment of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance in 1878 and amended on 15th January 1883. This ordinance empowered paramount chiefs to make rules for the smooth running of their communities provided the rules so made were not at variance with those of the colonial administration. Some of the chiefs took advantage to make laws that were inimical to the growth of Christianity in Ghana. In a few cases, the colonial authorities had to step in to protect the missionaries and the Christians against the activities of such chiefs.⁶⁸ With chiefs on their side, the British managed to establish a firm grip on the country.

1.5 THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

One can talk of systematic economic planning for the whole country only when the British took control over all the country after 1900. Before then various Europeans in the country determined their economic policies and strategies in the particular areas they operated. The main economic activity was trade in slaves, gin, firearms and gold. Later on palm oil⁶⁹, palm kernel, cocoa, copra, manganese and diamonds became important items.

Cocoa, which took over from palm oil as the leading crop of Ghana, was first brought into the country by the Basel missionaries in 1858 from Surinam.⁷⁰ However, it was not cultivated on a commercial basis. Large commercial production began when in 1879, Tete Quashie, a Basel Mission trained shoemaker and blacksmith, brought some cocoa beans to

⁶⁸In 1912 the Chief Commissioner stepped in to protect missionaries and Christians over the swearing of the traditional oath. Also in 1942 the Asantehene wanted to force Christians in Asante to observe traditional taboos in connection with the veneration of the Earth.

⁶⁹By 1853 palm oil was the leading crop in Ghana. See K. B. Dickson: *A Historical Geography of Ghana*, Accra, 1967 P. 143.

⁷⁰Dickson, *Ibid*, P. 165.

Ghana from Fernando Po where he had been working.⁷¹ It was he who popularized the crop. The first export of cocoa beans was in 1891 when a consignment of 80lb valued at £4 was exported to Germany.⁷² By 1918 cocoa export had risen to 72,161 tons valued at £3,847, 720.⁷³ Other industries included the timber whose export had reached 14,680 000 superficial feet by 1918 and gold which by the beginning of the First World War had yielded 400 000 ounces.⁷⁴ The main gold mining centres were Tarkwa, Prestea, Obuase and Dunkwa. Manganese was discovered on a large scale at Nsuta in 1914 and in 1917 it fetched Ghana £83,875. Large scale mining of diamonds began at Abomosu during the latter part of 1918.

1.6 EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

This brief look at the economy of the country shows that the future was bright for the cocoa, mining and timber industries of the country. It appears, therefore, that the economy was developing very fast. This had some effects on the society as a whole. It gave rise to urbanization because people flocked to industrial centres to find jobs.

Successful economic development meant that people could work and make money for themselves. On the credit side it meant that people could build decent houses, eat good food and take good care of themselves. On the debit, side it created a group of bourgeoisie who were capitalist businessmen and businesswomen whose main aim was to make profits at any cost. These people were mainly foreigners who repatriated huge profits to their countries

⁷¹H. W. Debrunner: *History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, 1967, P. 138.

⁷²Report, United Free Church of Scotland; 1918, *Gold Coast*.

⁷³*Gold Coast Handbook*, 1928, P. 89.

⁷⁴Dickson, *Ibid*, P. 189.

The economic development no doubt had some positive effects on the church. Some of the Christians were among those who moved from their homes to the industrial centres to work. Some of these people carried their faith with them and established congregations for the church. Others got converted in the industrial centres and returned home to establish congregations in their towns and villages. Thus, this process helped to accelerate the spread of the work of the Missions. Furthermore, the economic development meant that converts could now contribute money to support the work of the church.

1.7 THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION.

The religious landscape of Ghana at the time the Scottish Mission arrived was stable but very complex. Traditional religion still held sway but Christianity was forcefully establishing itself as a viable alternative through the activities of missionary bodies and individual indigenous Ghanaian Christians. Islam was also making a significant impact on the people.

1.7.1 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS FRONT..

On the Traditional Religious front the dominant feature was the worship of *Abosom*.⁷⁵ Every town, area or state had an *Obosom* which protected them and took care of their material and spiritual needs. The grip that the traditional deities had on the people was so strong that sometimes even some Christians vacillated between allegiance to them and Christ. For instance Rev. N.T Clerk, the first Synod Clerk of P.C.G, long after the arrival

⁷⁵*Abosom* is the Akan term for traditional Deities. The singular term is *Obosom*.

of the Scottish Mission, referred to an incident in Akropong where " three members [of the church] were found guilty of having communication with fetish.⁷⁶ In a society like Ghana's where witchcraft⁷⁷ is greatly feared as a destructive force it was not surprising that people flocked to the *Abosom* for protection. Other people also contacted them for treatment in cases of illness while war deities also offered great attraction to states engaged in inter-state wars. Ancestor veneration also played an important role in the traditional religious thought and practice. Some of the major traditional deities included the following:

1.7.2 THE LA KPA

The *La Kpa* is the traditional deity for the people of Labadi in the Ga area. It was principally a war deity and was believed to have protected the people of Labadi from attacks and also led them to fight against their enemies. In this respect the *La Kpa* was held in very high esteem, by the people. It is on record that the Basel missionaries worked in Labadi for over forty years without any convert because of the stronghold that the deity had on the people there. They were afraid to be Christians because once a person became a Christian they lost all rights and privileges due every loyal citizen of the town. Early Christian converts were, therefore, baptized outside Labadi so that they would not be found out.⁷⁸

The Basel missionary, Rev. E. Shrenk who worked in Labadi described the place as the "chief stronghold of fetishism" and Rev. Robert F. Mante also described the town as

⁷⁶Synod Clerk's Report, *op cit.* Note: Sometimes some of these people went to these *Abosom* in search of healing but the church punished them all the same

⁷⁷A comprehensive study on Witchcraft has been done by Rev. Hans Debrunner in his book *Witchcraft in Ghana*, Accra, 1961.

⁷⁸*Labadi Presbyterian Church Centenary Brochure*, P. 7.

"fortress of the devil and second to none as a fearful fetish town."⁷⁹ *La Kpa* was said to have objected to the establishment of a school in Labadi probably as that would lead to many conversions to Christianity and it was only the persistence of the Christian community that eventually broke the resistance.⁸⁰

1.7.3 THE TIGARE SHRINE

Tigare was introduced to Ghana from Côte d' Ivoire in 1906 as *Aberewa*, which means **old lady**. It later assumed the name *Hwe me so*⁸¹ meaning **watch over me**. The name epitomizes the role of *Tigare* in the life of its adherents. It was by far the most popular deity because of the belief that it had power to track down witches and neutralize their power. Those who applied for protection from the deity were given what its agents described as "**sanctified kola**" as a seal of the bond that had come to exist between the devotee and *Tigare*. Since it was mainly a witch finding deity it was always consulted by people who felt haunted by witches and those who wanted to prove their innocence after being accused of practising witchcraft.⁸² However, other people such as those who wanted wealth, good health, children and for the protection of their cocoa farms also consulted *Tigare* for assistance.⁸³

Tigare had its own ten commandments formulated along the lines of the biblical version of the decalogue. These were read out to new adherents before they were formally received

⁷⁹Labadi Centenary Brochure, *op cit*. Note: These were their own subjective assessments of the *La-Kpa* and the town. Ordinary people of Labadi did not see it that way. They were being loyal to their traditions.

⁸⁰*Minutes of the F.M.C the Church of Scotland, 1930 P. 228.*

⁸¹R. S Rattray: *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, Oxford, 1927.

⁸²In those days those who were found guilty of practising witchcraft could be sentenced to death by the traditional tribunal. Usually the only way for an accused person to prove their innocence was to consult a traditional deity who would declare ones innocence or otherwise in the presence of witnesses.

⁸³Information given by Nana Yaw Mensa a Cocoa farmer at Seekwa and a former devotee.

into the *Tigare* fraternity.⁸⁴ Any adherent who broke the commandments was expected to return to *Tigare* and make restitution. *Tigare* grew into a formidable force and presented a great challenge to Christianity. The Basel Mission described it as "a syncretic creation; the thoroughly heathen idea that the drinking of costly medicine will give immunity from the influence of evil spirits was mixed up with Christian Commandments."⁸⁵ Adherents, however, saw it differently.

1.7.4 OTHER DEITIES

The *La-Kpa* and *Tigare* were by no means the only traditional deities in the country. There were several others scattered all over the country. These included the Dente, Tano, Kune(Brakune), Attia Yaw, Antoa Nyamaa, Kankamea, Botee, Katawere, Akonnedi and Apumasu.⁸⁶ All these deities in the various parts of the country had great influence on the people and played important roles as objects of social cohesion by strengthening the bonds of love and unity among a group of people because of their common allegiance to a particular deity. Adherents of the various deities also felt that they were given material and spiritual security by their respective deities. However, when the missionaries arrived, they condemned these deities as devilish and asked their converts to stay away from them. This was one of the initial problems that the missionaries had to face because it was not easy for the people to sever their links with the deities that, to them, had taken care of them all these years before the arrival of the missionaries.

⁸⁴See Appendix 1 for the ten commandments of *Tigare*.

⁸⁵*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915 P. 11. The Mission was concerned about *Tigare*.

⁸⁶Most of these now exist only as museum pieces. They have lost all their vitality and the reverence that people used to accord them.

1.7.5 THE ANCESTORS

The veneration of ancestors (*Nsamanfo*)⁸⁷ was also a strong feature of the traditional faith. It still is. The ancestors are believed to have survived death and are living in *Asamando*⁸⁸ and still taking interest in the life of the living. They are so important in the traditional thought and practice that literally nothing is done without invoking them and asking for their blessing and assistance. Sacrifices are also offered to them at regular intervals either to pacify them or crave their indulgence.

On the whole, the *Abosom* and the Ancestors featured prominently on the traditional religious scene at the time the Scottish Mission arrived in the country.

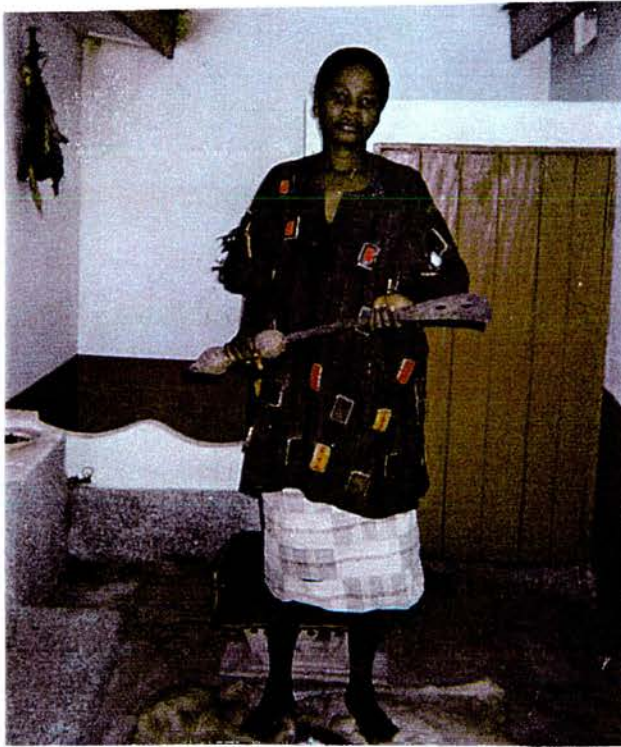


Fig 5: A Traditional Priestess, Nana Akosua Effa, from Abetifi in her full regalia

⁸⁷The Akan term for Ancestors.

⁸⁸The Akan term for the abode for the Ancestors.

1.8 THE CHRISTIAN FRONT.

Apart from the Basel Mission, there were other missionary bodies also operating in Ghana. These included first of all the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. This missionary society entered Ghana in 1835 with the arrival of the Rev. Joseph Dunwell in Cape Coast.⁸⁹ Other missionaries were sent from Britain but it was the Rev. T.B. Freeman who succeeded in placing the work on a sound footing. He arrived in Ghana on 3rd January 1838. The work of the mission was concentrated in the western, central and Asante regions of the country. By 1918, the Methodist church was served by 12 missionaries, 42 Ghanaian ministers, 665 catechists and teachers. There were 261 congregations, 240 schools with 14,792 pupils and a total Christian community of 78,252.⁹⁰

The second missionary body was the North German Missionary Society⁹¹. It arrived in Ghana in 1847 and settled in Peki after a short stay with the Basel missionaries at Christiansborg. It was this missionary body that laid the foundation of what is now the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana (E.P.C). The Mission's work stretched to Lome in modern Togo which was then under the control of Germany. By 1918 the whole Mission could boast of 31 pastors, 320 teachers and catechists, 324 congregations, 189 schools and a total Christian community of 33, 523.⁹² In 1922, however, there was a split in the work of the Mission which was caused by the political developments of the time.⁹³ The section of the church that fell under the British after the First World War was placed under the supervision of the Scottish Mission. It adopted the name Ewe Presbyterian

⁸⁹F.L. Bartels: *Roots of Ghana Methodism*, Cambridge, 1965, P. 11.

⁹⁰Robert T. Parsons: *The Churches and Ghana Society, 1918-1955*, Leiden, 1963, P. 4.

⁹¹The Mission is also known as the Bremen Mission.

⁹²Parsons, *Ibid*, P. 7.

⁹³After the First World War, Togoland, which was a German territory was divided between the British and French. There was, therefore, a corresponding division in the Church into British and French zones.

Church⁹⁴. It consisted of 115 congregations, 70 schools and a Christian community of 14,498.⁹⁵

Other missionary groups operating in Ghana were the Roman Catholic Mission which resumed work in Ghana in 1880⁹⁶, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) which also resumed work in Ghana in 1904⁹⁷, the Seventh Day Adventists, 1898, the Baptist Mission, 1898 and Salvation Army, 1911. It is important to note that the independent church movement had not yet developed very much.

1.10 ISLAM AND ITS INFLUENCE

Before the arrival of the Scottish Mission in the country, Islam had made inroads. It started from the northern part of the country through the influence of the Fulani and Hausa Moslem traders. Islam soon spread to many parts of the north with Wa and Salaga as the main centres. When the White Fathers, a Roman Catholic missionary group, applied in 1906 to Watherston, the chief commissioner of the Northern Territories for permission to establish a mission station in the north, the permission was not granted because the colonial administration felt that the north was "a predominantly Muslim area."⁹⁸ The Methodists were also refused permission to establish a station in Wa because " Wa had a considerable Muslim population which it would be unwise to

⁹⁴Ewe, refers to an ethnic group in the eastern part of Ghana and also in Togo. They speak the Ewe language.

⁹⁵*Report of the Scottish Mission Church, Gold Coast and Ashanti, 1922*

⁹⁶The earlier attempt by the Portuguese in the 15th century to plant Roman Catholicism in the country failed.

⁹⁷The S. P. G started work in Ghana in 1752. But that also failed after the death of Philip Quaake in 1816 who had been sent to train in England by the mission.

⁹⁸Benedict Der: " Church and State relations in the Northern Ghana 1906-1940", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, Vol. xv No. 1 June, 1974.*

disturb.⁹⁹" This gives a fair idea of the strength of Islam in the north. But it also shows that the British were interested in a particular religion so long as it helped colonial rule go on smoothly.

The influence of Islam was also felt in Asante and along the coast. In Asante, Muslim clerics were found in the courts of chiefs as spiritual guides. Wilks reports that the Kumase Muslim community attended the session at which the Bowdich treaty was negotiated and signed in 1817.¹⁰⁰

In their attempt to subdue Asante in 1874, the British colonial government brought in Hausa troops who were mainly Muslim from other areas in West Africa. The troops were stationed along the coast. Through the activities of these Muslim soldiers Islam permeated the coastal areas. In 1921 a group of the Muslim in Ekroful near Cape Coast invited the Ahmadiyya Mission to Ghana. Saltpond was made the headquarters of the Mission.

1.10 THE BASEL MISSION CHURCH: ORIGIN, EXTENT AND INFLUENCE

In 1822 the Danes appointed **Major Johan Christian de Richelieu** as Governor of the Danish settlements in Ghana. Richelieu was described as "a well minded man with regard to Christian truth."¹⁰¹ In addition to his work as governor, he played the role of a chaplain.¹⁰² It was through his instrumentality that the Basel Evangelical Missionary

⁹⁹ Der, *op cit.*

¹⁰⁰ Wilks, *Ibid*, P. 260.

¹⁰¹ *The Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Western Africa: A Retrospect on Fifty Years of Mission Work*, 1st January, 1879, P. 5. It was written by Otto Schott in English Language. See also Reindorf: *The History of the Gold Coast and Asante*, Accra, 1966 P. 217.

¹⁰² H. Debrunner: "Notable Danish Chaplains on the Gold Coast" in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Gold Coast and Togoland Vol. II Part 1*, Achimota, 1956 P. 25.

Society sent missionaries to Ghana to take care of the " spiritual welfare of the natives."¹⁰³ The first missionaries arrived in Ghana on 18th December 1828¹⁰⁴ and settled at Osu-Christiansborg.¹⁰⁵

In 1835 Andreas Riis, the only survivor of the missionaries who had been sent to Ghana since 1828, decided to move to Akropong in Akuapem which, according to him, had a healthier climate than the coast. Riis had learnt this about Akuapem from the diary of Dr. Isert, a Danish botanist who had lived in Akropong in the 1780s and had left notes about the area. Isert writes:

There are no white ants in Akuapem, the houses are nicely built and kept scrupulously clean, being painted every day with a fresh coating of clay, the people are hospitable, the climate is healthier than on the coast.....¹⁰⁶

After twelve years of work without making any converts, Andreas Riis, was asked by the Basel Mission Home Committee to abandon the field and return to Basel in 1840. Before he left, he bade farewell to the reigning King of Akuapem Nana Addo Dankwa I. He was said to have told Riis that;

When God created the world he made Book for the whiteman and Fetish or Juju for the Blackman; but if you could show us some blackmen who could read the whiteman's Book, then we would surely follow you.¹⁰⁷

Nana Addo Dankwa III, a great grand-nephew of Nana Addo Dankwa I and the reigning King of Akuapem has challenged this quotation as a misinterpretation of what his great

¹⁰³*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast Report, 1st January, 1879 P. 5*

¹⁰⁴*Op cit*

¹⁰⁵The area was under the control of the Danes where they had built a castle.

¹⁰⁶Nana Addo-Dankwa III: Akrofi- Christaller Memorial Centre: "The Akuapem Connection" *Mission in Context*, 1986 P. 16.

¹⁰⁷*Centenary Report: re West Indians, assistant founder of the erstwhile Basel Mission Church, 1843-1943 P. 8.*

grand-uncle actually said. He gives the following as, in his opinion, what Nana Addo Dankwa I actually said:

Since the creation, most Africans have been adherents of fetish and Juju and their involvement in these have not in anyway undermined their basic culture as Africans. If you want Africans to know how to read the Bible and to become adherents of your new religion, then you must make sure that they remain culturally African.¹⁰⁸

Nana Addo Dankwa III argues that "Riis took the message at its face valueand brought West Indian Christians to show to Nana Addo Dankwa I and his people that some Africans could read the Bible." I believe that Nana Addo Dankwa III's interpretation has been influenced by modern African theological thinking about evangelism in Africa. In fact the terms 'Juju' and 'Fetish' are essential aspects of the African Traditional Religion. The involvement of a person in them ,therefore, has always been in step with traditional religious practice. As it is, Nana Addo Dankwa III attempts to separate them from the mainstream traditional practice which to me is not consistent with the norms of the African Traditional religious practice. I am of the opinion that speaking in the 1840s it is very possible that Nana Addo Dankwa I might have said something close to what has been attributed to him though slightly misinterpreted. The Basel Mission had been in the country for 12 years without making any convert and Riis, had been asked to return to Basel with the possibility of the Mission being abandoned. Under the circumstance ,therefore, I am sure that the King might have sympathized with the dismal failure of the work of Riis and might have said something like this:

God gave us our religion which is different from yours. That is what we have known since the creation. We do not use a book like you white people do in your religion. More over we did not see any black people among you when you came. That is why my people have found it difficult to accept your religion and read your book.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸Nana Addo Dankwa I: Akrofi -Christaller Memorial Centre, "The Akuapem Connection," in *Mission in Context*" 1986 P. 17.

Something like this, in my opinion, was very possible in a farewell speech from a traditional ruler to a white friend in 1840s. There is no doubt that Ghanaians saw Christianity as a religion for white people.¹¹⁰ For instance Christmas is called *buronya* among the Akan generally. This is a contracted form of *Oburoni anya*¹¹¹ which literally means "**the white person has got.**" In other words Christmas was seen as a European celebration. The term is now unconsciously used by Ghanaians generally for Christmas and it seems to have lost its original meaning. It is, therefore, not impossible for Nana Addo Dankwa I to have referred to the bible as a book given to the white people by God and the Traditional Religion also given to the African by God.

It is possible, however, that Riis might have slightly embellished the original words of the King for his own missionary purpose because of the ideas about Africa at this time. It must be noted that this was the period when Europeans generally thought of Africa as the "dark continent" with the African having no religion. A.B Ellis writing much later in the 1880s was of the opinion that even the idea of God was borrowed from the European missionaries.¹¹² All that the African had, according to these Europeans was '**Juju**' or '**Fetish**'. Therefore, I believe that whatever Nana Addo Dankwa I said about the religion of his people was wrongly interpreted in those terms. Nevertheless, the King's message struck a chord and Riis capitalized on it for the benefit of the Basel Mission. On his return to Basel he managed to convince the Home Committee to accept his proposal to recruit a group of black Christians from the West Indies to come with him to Ghana. He personally supervised the recruitment from the West Indies in 1843.¹¹³ The arrival of the

¹⁰⁹ My own interpretation of what the king might have said.

¹¹⁰ Even in these modern times the idea still lingers on. There are still people in the Ghanaian society who feel strongly that Christianity is a white person's religion

¹¹¹ *Oburoni* refers to a white person in Akan.

¹¹² See his book *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, Chapman & Hall, London, 1887, P. 10

¹¹³ Noel Smith: *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960*, Accra, 1966, P. 38

West Indians, in Akropong, opened a new chapter in the work of the Mission. The fact that they were black proved among other things that Christianity was not for white people alone. This strategy worked well and the Mission started to make gains. From Akropong, Osu was re-established in 1845 and Aburi was opened in 1847. In 1854 Abokobi was established as a haven for the Basel missionaries who were fleeing in order to avoid British bombardment of Osu ¹¹⁴for refusing to pay the poll tax of 1852¹¹⁵. In 1882, Abokobi was described as "the blessed centre of missionary activity."¹¹⁶ Larte was established in 1853, Krobo Odumase 1858, Kyebi 1861, Ada 1867, Anum 1865, Begoro 1875, Abetifi 1876, Nsaba 1891.

An interesting parallel to the Basel Mission's experience though not quite similar was found in the Mission sent by the Scottish Mission from Jamaica to Calabar in 1846. The Mission deliberately made sure that black missionaries were included in the group that was being sent to Calabar. The difference between the Basel Mission's approach and that of the Scottish Mission, however, was that black people in the Scottish Mission were also missionaries on equal footing with the white missionaries. On the other hand, the black people recruited by the Basel Mission were not considered as missionaries. They were to be used merely as exhibits for Ghanaians to see that black people could be Christians and read the "white man's book". Eventually it served the purpose for which they were brought to Ghana. McFarlan, however, reports that the need to use Jamaican Christians to assist in evangelizing West Africa had been suggested earlier in 1840 by H.M. Waddell.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1st January, 1879 P. 5.*

¹¹⁵Abokobi has ever since become a model Christian village controlled by the Presbyterian Church there. The Senior Presbyter, the leader of the Presbyters, also serves as the chief of the village and members of the session as his elders.

¹¹⁶H. Debrunner: *Abokobi and the Basel Mission, Ghana National Archives (G.N.A), Accra, EC6/1, P. 11*

¹¹⁷McFarlan, D.M., *Calabar*, Nelson, 1946 P. 7

1.10.1 THE BASEL MISSION IN ASANTE.

For all the period that the Basel Mission had worked in Ghana they had not been able to establish a station in Kumase, the Asante capital because of Asante wars. The opportunity, however, offered itself in 1896 when the British governor, Maxwell, after conquering Kumase invited Ramseyer, then in Abetifi to open a mission station there. In his letter of invitation to Ramseyer, dated 22nd January 1896, the governor said :

Kumase would henceforth be open to missionaries and should you yourself arrive at Kumase before I leave it will give me pleasure to see you.¹¹⁸

Ramseyer responded to the invitation and went to Kumase arriving there on 22nd February 1896 and eventually opened the Station in July 1896 at Adum, a suburb of Kumase. By opening the station, Ramseyer seemed to have achieved a long standing aim. However, the political implications of the circumstances were very damaging in the long run to the Mission. The people of Asante came to identify the Basel Mission with the British colonial interests. By accepting the invitation, therefore, Ramseyer tied the fortunes of the Mission's work to those of the British colonial aspirations in Asante. It was, therefore, not surprising that during the Yaa Asantewaa War of 1900, the Mission station was attacked and destroyed because it was seen as a symbol of British imperialism. In fact, some of the agents of the Mission in Asante lost their lives and others had to flee their stations.¹¹⁹ The station was rebuilt only after the British had annexed Asante.¹²⁰ By 1918 there were 16 stations with 822 communicants in Asante.¹²¹

¹¹⁸C. P. Groves: *The Planting of Christianity in Africa, Vol. III, 1878-1914*, Lutterworth, London 1955 P. 121. Quoting from Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815-1915*.

¹¹⁹Samuel Otu, A teacher- catechist of the Mission was killed at Takyimantia at this time. He was killed on 10th April, 1900

¹²⁰Noel Smith, *Ibid*, P. 130.

¹²¹Groves, *op cit*.

By 1902, therefore, the Basel Mission had courageously staggered its way out of a gloomy beginning into a reasonably strong Basel Mission Church¹²² and from all indications the future was bright. Unfortunately, the Basel Mission became a hostage of international political subterfuge and had to be closed down by the British government in 1917. At the time the Mission was closed down, it had established 225 congregations organized around eleven central stations of Osu-Christiansborg¹²³, Akropong, Abokobi, Odumase Krobo, Aburi, Anum, Kyebi, Begoro, Nsaba, Abetifi and Kumase.¹²⁴ It had a total Christian population of around 30,001.¹²⁵ The church was handled by 55 Basel missionaries, including 22 wives and 29 Ghanaian pastors who only served as assistants to the missionaries.¹²⁶ In addition, there were teachers, catechists and evangelists spread all over the mission field and playing their roles as prescribed by the missionaries.

1.10.2 THE BASEL MISSION TRADING SOCIETY.

An important aspect of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana was its trading department. It was started "to prepare the way for the Lord by trade based on Christian principles."¹²⁷ The department raised funds to support evangelism and also supplied essential commodities to the European missionaries and the indigenous church agents and members. It also exported palm oil and palm kernel oil. The department grew into a productive trading concern and served as a reliable financial buffer for the Basel Mission in its evangelical work.

¹²²What is usually described as Basel Mission Church was strictly speaking, Basel Mission Field.

¹²³Osu-Christiansborg, Refers to the same place. However, sometimes Osu and Christiansborg are used separately to refer to the same place.

¹²⁴*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of Synod, 1918, P. 6.*

¹²⁵*Ibid, P. 30.*

¹²⁶*International Review of Missions, 1920, P. 81.*

¹²⁷*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1879, P. 10, P.C.G.A, Accra.*

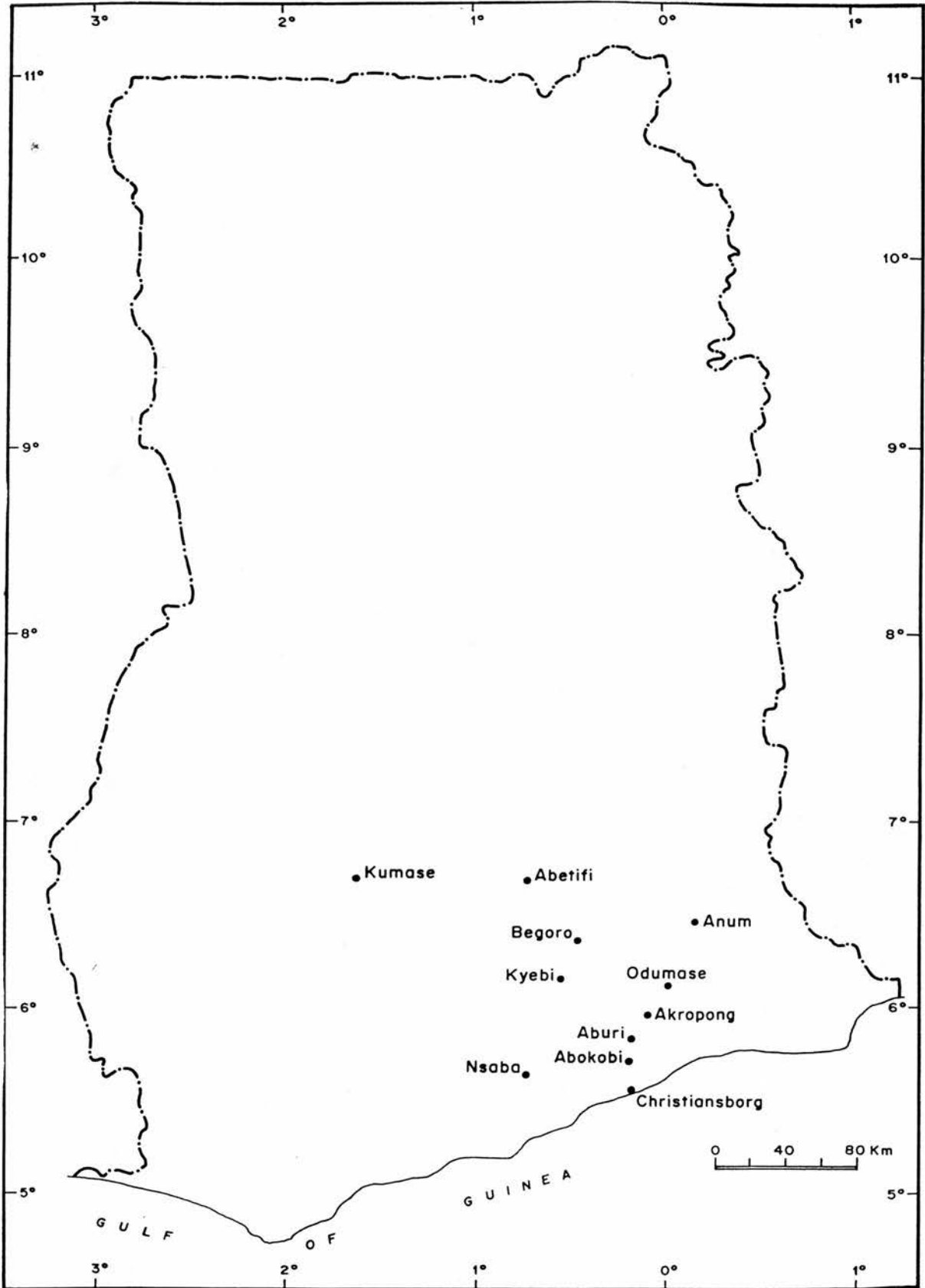


Fig. 6: The 11 Principal Stations of the Basel Mission in Ghana

1.10.3 SCHOOLS AND SEMINARIES.

As part of their evangelism, the Basel Mission established schools and seminaries in Ghana. The aim of establishing the schools was to use them as grounds for recruitment of church members and also to raise a corps of "well educated native assistants" to take over from the missionaries in future.¹²⁸ The only area that the Mission encountered some difficulty was in the Krobo district where its attempt to open a girls' school failed as a result of what the Missions describes as "a filthy heathenish custom."¹²⁹ By the time the Scottish Mission arrived in Ghana, the Basel Mission had established 179 schools with 10,295 pupils on roll. There were 316 teachers many of whom also served as catechists in the church.¹³⁰

The teachers were trained in two seminaries at Akropong and Abetifi.¹³¹ The course of study covered four years. Two years were devoted for the method of teaching in school and two years were used for theological training.¹³² The course was, therefore, designed to equip all teachers for evangelical mission work. The teachers, therefore, came out of the seminaries as trained catechists. This gave the school work a missionary and religious character. Pastors of the church were selected from the more experienced teachers.

1.10.4 FINANCE.

The Basel Mission as an inter-denominational body was mainly financed from voluntary contributions from members and well-wishers all over the world. For instance, in their

¹²⁸*Ibid*, P. 12.

¹²⁹*Ibid*, P. 11 Note: This is the traditional puberty rite known as the *Dipo*. A comprehensive study of the rite has been done by Rev. B. D. Teyegaga in his book *the Dipo Custom and the Christian Faith*. (nd)

¹³⁰*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes 1918*. See Statistics

¹³¹The Akropong Seminary was started in 1848 and Abetifi in 1896.

¹³²*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1900 P. 11. P.C.G.A, Accra.*

attempt to establish a mission station in Kumase, the Mission received donations from Christians from Britain and America.¹³³ As the work grew in Ghana there was a corresponding growth in expenditure. The Mission Board in Basel, therefore, decided to introduce a church tax, *kirchensteuer* of one shilling on each adult Christian. It was started on experimental basis at Abokobi in 1876 and extended to the whole church in 1878.¹³⁴ The tax was increased to two shillings in 1880. In addition to the church tax, chapel building, school and poor funds were also introduced. By 1900 the sources of income for the Basel Mission had been revised to include a tax of four shillings from all communicants, tax on all monies raised during anniversary celebrations, school fees and collections at Sunday morning church service.¹³⁵ In 1899 the accounts of the church showed that the total income of the congregations amounted to £ 2,275 3s 8d. Grants from the government totaled £1,781 18s 3d and payments from the Board in Basel amounted to £3,712 9s 7d.¹³⁶ By 1918 a voluntary contribution from each district had also been introduced. This fetched £3,000 in 1900.¹³⁷ It could be seen that the indigenous members of the church also contributed significantly to the funding of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana.

1.10.5 WORK AMONG CHILDREN, YOUTH, WOMEN AND MEN IN THE BASEL MISSION CHURCH

Work among children, youth, women, and men as separate departments of the church was not well developed during the Basel Mission era. A girls' school was established at Aburi. Also wives of missionaries had been involved in the teaching of indigenous women

¹³³From Britain the Mission received £3,175 and from America, £3,415. See Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1879, P. 15. P.C.G.A, Accra.

¹³⁴*Allegemeine Missionszeitschrift, September, 1915 P. 3*

¹³⁵*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1900 P. 12. P.C.G.A, Accra.*

¹³⁶*Ibid, P. 98.*

¹³⁷*International Review of Missions, 1920 P. 93.*

sewing, knitting, cookery, and basic tenets of child care.¹³⁸ There was, however, no co-ordinated programme for women in the church as a whole. All that the wives of missionaries were doing were individual efforts dictated by individual interests.

In the same way, there were no co-ordinated programmes for the youth and men in the church. There were, however, services for children which were handled concurrently with the adults services on Sundays. During these periods, children were taught simple bible stories and were made to learn simple biblical verses and hymns.

1.10.6 LITERARY WORK

The Basel Mission is credited with pioneering literary work in the vernaculars in Ghana particularly Twi and Ga.¹³⁹ The study of the vernaculars was emphasized in all Basel Mission schools. Rev. J Zimmermann translated the Bible into Ga, wrote a Ga bible dictionary and also wrote a Ga grammar and a Ga dictionary.¹⁴⁰

The most outstanding work, however, was done by the Rev. J. G. Christaller. He translated the bible into Akuapem Twi, collected three thousand Twi proverbs and also compiled a Twi dictionary which is still regarded as standard work in Ghana. His collection of the proverbs was an attempt to help the Basel missionaries to learn and understand the intricacies of the Twi language. The Twi dictionary was also meant to assist the missionaries to be able to learn the language. For this outstanding work, the

¹³⁸All these were done in the European way.

¹³⁹ *Ga* is the language spoken by the people of Accra and surrounding areas. The people are also known as the *Gas*.

¹⁴⁰Ralph M. Wiltgen: *Gold Coast Mission, 1471-1880*, Illinois, 1956 P. 110.

University of Paris honoured him with medals.¹⁴¹ The Mission also published a series of graded vernacular school readers, catechisms and bible stories.

The translation of the bible into the vernaculars was an important step towards the indigenization of the Christian faith in Ghana. Through the process the biblical story of God's love in Christ was brought into the orbit of the traditional mental vision and conceptualization.

1.10.7 TECHNICAL TRAINING

Alongside infant and junior schools the Basel Mission established trade schools to train joiners, wheel-rights, lock-smiths, shoe-makers and book-binders.¹⁴² The Mission put the trading and the technical departments together to form what was known as the Basel Mission factory which had Christiansborg as its base.

1.10.8 THE SALEM.

Another unique feature of the Basel Missions work in Ghana was the establishment of *Salems*. These were separate settlements for the missionaries and their converts. They were often some distance away from the main town. That was where the school and the church building were built. The indigenous people, therefore, came to identify these *Salems* as *Sukuu mu* meaning **in the school** and *Oburoni krom* meaning **the white man's town**. *Salems* are still identifiable in all the places where the Basel Mission worked

¹⁴¹*Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report 1900 P 16.*

¹⁴²*Ibid*, 1879 P. 13.

though most of them are now surrounded by the main towns. It is important to note, however, that some of the missionaries lived among the indigenous people before they moved to the *Salems*. For instance the Rev. F. Ramseyer stayed in the house of a traditional priest Nana Preko in Abetifi¹⁴³ and Rev. Andreas Riis also stayed in a house near the king's palace at Akropong before moving to build his own house.¹⁴⁴

1.10.9 THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE BASEL MISSION CHURCH

The church was organized around eleven circuits.¹⁴⁵ The circuits were in turn grouped into three districts as follows: The Ga-Adangme district which comprised Osu-Christiansborg, Abokobi, Ada, and Krobo-Odumase. The Twi Eastern district made up of Aburi, Akropong and Anum and the Twi Western district which was made up of Nsaba, Begoro, Abetifi and Kumase.¹⁴⁶ At the congregational level elders were appointed "to assist the missionaries in their work and to settle minor cases."¹⁴⁷ All the circuits and the districts were, however, headed by the missionaries and the whole mission field was supervised by a Mission Council on behalf of the Mission Board in Basel. The general secretary of the Mission Council was Rev. G. Zurcher at the time the Scottish Mission arrived in Ghana.

¹⁴³The traditional priestess Nana Akosua Effa of Abetifi whose photo appears above P.31 is a direct successor to Nana Preko.

¹⁴⁴The house is still known as **Riis House**.

¹⁴⁵See map on page 41 above for the 11 Principal stations

¹⁴⁶*The Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Report, 1900, P 5-8*

¹⁴⁷*Ibid*, 1879 P. 10.

1.10.10 THE AGITATION IN THE BASEL MISSION CHURCH.

The whole administration and the decision-making process was in the hands of the missionaries and the Board in Basel. The Ghanaian agents were only assistants with very little influence on the day to day running of the affairs of the church.¹⁴⁸ As time went on, however, it became increasingly apparent that the indigenous people could not accept this paternalistic system of administration because it slighted them and inhibited indigenous initiative. They, therefore, started to call for full participation in the administration and the decision making process of the church. For instance in 1881¹⁴⁹ the congregation at Ada under the leadership of Emmanuel Osabute attempted to break away from the control of the Mission after failing to persuade the missionaries to allow the indigenous people full participation in the running of the church.

A similar incident happened at Abokobi in 1905 when a group of church members demonstrated against missionary control. The catch phrase of the demonstration was "away from the tyranny of the laws and regulations of the Basel Mission."¹⁵⁰ Church life was severely disrupted until 1909 when normalcy was restored in the congregation. These examples were eloquent testimony of the people's dissatisfaction of the totalitarian rule of the Basel Mission¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸They were described as Native helpers. See *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915 P. 5.

¹⁴⁹*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915 . P. 7

¹⁵⁰H. Debrunner: *Abokobi and the Basel Mission*, G.N.A, Accra EC6/1 P. 12.

¹⁵¹In 1913 J. J Adaye wrote a book in Twi at Akropong entitled *Bere Adu* which literally means **It is time** in which he called on the Basel missionaries to involve the indigenous people in the administration of the church.

1.10.11 ATTEMPTS AT DEMOCRATIZATION BY THE BASEL MISSION

The Basel Mission made some attempts somehow to involve the indigenous people in the decision making process of the church. For instance in 1903 the whole Mission field was organized under two Synods, the Twi Synod¹⁵² and the Ga-Adangme Synod. These two Synods, however, met separately for the first time in 1909 at Aburi and Krobo Odumase respectively.¹⁵³ The Ga-Adangme Synod adopted a resolution calling on the missionaries to allow full participation of the indigenous people in the administration of the church. After the Synods a conference of Native agents¹⁵⁴ of the Twi district was held at Kyebi. Probably influenced by the resolution of the Ga-Adangme district, the conference also passed a resolution calling on the Basel Mission to involve them in the administration of the church. The resolution written by Rev. J. Boateng, the Secretary said in part:

A point which engaged our attention is how in spite of the hopeful progress, work is sometimes checked in its advance by the serious loss and drawbacks, how all ranks are frequently by constant resignations and dismissals and other causes, how lack of proper knowledge of the work has been another cause for frequent deviation and how for the present there is no general meeting amongst us for our edification, how the agents and the congregation need especially their own Native Committee who knows and understands them to see to their own internal affairs and to help the local committees in checking and remedying the many ship-wrecked existencies, which have not infrequently broken your hearts. This has for many years been the cry of many of us that a motion asking the recognition of such a committee received unanimous consent.¹⁵⁵

The two resolutions were accordingly passed on to the Home Board for consideration and decision. In reply, the Board wrote:

¹⁵²The Twi eastern district and the Twi western district were organised as one Twi district.

¹⁵³The Basel Mission had earlier in 1880 organized a general conference at Akropong. The most important policy decision at this conference was the increase of the church tax to two shillings from a shilling.

¹⁵⁴That was how the Ghanaian church leaders described themselves.

¹⁵⁵Report of the Conference of Native Agents in Twi District belonging to the Basel Mission held at Kyebi in 1909, G.N.A, EC1/10.

We should be only too glad to allow more independence to our African collaborators so that gradually the Mission church could stand on its own feet. But first....some conditions should be fulfilled..... among them questions of spiritual maturity.... We see ourselves forced to proceed slowly. But there is no doubt that we must advance a step in order to counteract dissatisfaction and to lead the will for independence into right channels. But for an independent administration of their church the Africans of the Gold Coast will not be ready for decades yet.¹⁵⁶

Consequently, the Synod meetings ceased after 1909 and the Basel missionaries continued with the paternalistic rule. By the time the Mission was expelled from Ghana they still believed that "their [the indigenous people] deficiencies in the way of dependability in administration, in stability of religious and moral character and in ripeness of spiritual judgment they are hardly ready to guide the congregation through the dangers of the present day."¹⁵⁷

1.11 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

From the foregoing brief historical sketch it could be seen that the Scottish Mission came to Ghana at a time when the British colonial rule had been firmly established in the country. On the religious scene many missionary bodies had established in Ghana and there was a complex but a steady and exciting interplay of the traditional religious practices, Christianity and Islam. Each of these was trying to win the allegiance of the people. For many Christians in the country, however, the struggle was how to meaningfully live as Ghanaian Christians without either endangering or compromising the

¹⁵⁶Heidenbote, 1909, quoted in Debrunner, *History of Christianity in Ghana*, Accra, 1967, P. 264.

¹⁵⁷*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, October, 1915, P. 16.

basic tenets of the Christian faith. This was what almost all the missionary groups were grappling with when the Scottish Mission appeared on the scene.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COMING OF THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND TO GHANA IN THE SCOTTISH MISSION.

2.0 THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, (I.M.C) EDINBURGH, JUNE, 1910.

The year 1910 stands out in mission history as a significant turning point in world missionary co-operation. It was in that year that Protestant churches and missionary societies in Europe and America gave a concrete expression to the desire to co-operate in the interest of world evangelism. This became evident at the International Missionary Conference (I.M.C) held from 14th to 23rd June 1910 in Edinburgh, Scotland. In the words of W.R. Hogg the I.M.C was:

part of the metamorphosis from ecclesiastical colonialism to global fellowship.....it helped the new Christian world community with its growing recognition of inner unity and outer hostility.¹

Before the Edinburgh conference, other conferences of similar international nature had been held in 1854, 1860, 1878, 1888 and 1900.²

Though all these conferences talked about co-operation among missionary bodies, it was in Edinburgh that the need for missionary co-operation became overwhelmingly stressed. It was an interesting coincidence that both J.H. Oldham, who was then the secretary of the

¹W. R. Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and its Nineteenth-Century Background*, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1952 P. 101

²*World Missionary Conference, 1910; The History and Records of the Conference*; Oliphant Anderson and Ferner, Edinburgh, n.d. P. 4.

study council of the U.F.C and Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser, Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee (F.M.C) of the U.F.C were members of the Executive Committee of the conference.³ Oldham served as joint secretary with Mr. Kenneth MacLennan, of the conference. Sir Andrew Fraser was one of the three vice presidents and chairman of the commission on co-operation and the promotion of unity of the conference.

The main focus of the conference was the total evangelization of the world through co-operation, understanding, mutual support and respect for other views. In this respect therefore, issues and questions relating to doctrine or church polity on which the churches and missionary bodies differ were not discussed at the conference.

On the whole the conference achieved a major breakthrough in that for once there was a strong "desire for and inclusive togetherness unknown before."⁴ The only snag, however, was that there was no representative from the mission churches apart from the missionaries.⁵

2.1 THE CONTINUATION COMMITTEE OF THE I.M.C

Delegates to the I.M.C were so impressed with the success that they decided to form a committee to co-ordinate and perpetuate the vision of the conference after it had ended. The committee so formed was known as the Continuation Committee(C.C)⁶. It was to be purely advisory body and would "serve through publications visits, conferences and

³Both were to play a very crucial role in the events relating to the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana.

⁴Hogg, *Ibid* P. 130.

⁵ Hogg reports that 17 of the participants were from the younger churches but they came as representatives of the missionary bodies. See Hogg, *Ibid*, P. 135.

⁶The Chairman was Dr. John R. Mott.

correspondences as a clearing house for the missionary societies."⁷ It was hoped that through the work of the committee links between the missionary societies would be kept and strengthened. The C.C was made up of thirty-five members, ten each from America, the continent of Europe and Britain and one each from Australasia, China, Japan, India, and Africa. J. H. Oldham was appointed the full-time secretary. The C.C was very important because it provided the platform for J. H. Oldham to influence many issues relating to the coming of the U.F.C. to Ghana. In this respect, therefore, this brief note on the 1910 I.M.C and the its C. C. is relevant to the subject under discussion.

2.2 THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914-18.

Four years after the Edinburgh conference, the First World War broke out and much of what had been achieved in respect of co-operation among missionary societies was thrown out of gear. This happened because some of the missionaries had to take up arms to fight for their countries against other countries.⁸ Furthermore, it created strained relations between states especially Britain and Germany. This served as the impulse underlining the expulsion of the Basel missionaries, most of whom were Germans, from all British colonies of which Ghana was one, during the war.

It was political expediency that moved the British to expel the Basel missionaries from Ghana. However, it was the wish of the British government to preserve the work of the Mission because the schools and the social structures it had established greatly supplemented the colonial government's own programme. It was for this reason that the

⁷John Mott; "Continuation Committee" *International Review of Missions* Vol. 1 January, 1912. P. 63

⁸Paul Jenkins: *A Short History of the Basel Mission*, No 10, May, 1989, P. 14.

British government requested the U.F.C to come to Ghana to take over the work left behind by the Basel Mission.

2.3 THE POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ON THE BASEL MISSION AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN 1914.

At the outbreak of the war,⁹ all the enemy subjects¹⁰ at that time resident in Ghana were interned. This was, however, for a brief period and they were released on parole. Those who were engaged in trade were, however, not permitted to go about their trading activities. An exception was, however, given to the Basel Mission to go about their duties through the intervention of the Acting governor, Mr. Robertson.¹¹ The Acting governor went on to issue a proclamation urging all Ghanaians not to maltreat the missionaries.¹² According to Rev. Oettli the Governor Sir Hugh Clifford intervened again to allow the missionaries the freedom to continue their work when an order came from London in November, 1914 that all the German citizens should be interned and sent to England.¹³ The governor justified his action by the fact that the arrest of the missionaries would jeopardize the purchase of cocoa for the year since the Basel Mission Trading Society (B.T.M.S) was a major buyer of cocoa in the country. In a letter to the Secretary of state for the colonies to explain his action, therefore, Clifford said:

my attitude up to this time was one of great reluctance to adopt a course of action which was calculated, in my opinion, to deal a severe blow to the trade of the colony to re-act very unfavourably upon our already falling revenue returns and to engender a great deal of discontent with which it might not be easy to cope. So far moreover

⁹Germany declared war on France on 3rd August, 1914 and Britain declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914. As a result of the war, Britain and Germany became enemies.

¹⁰This referred to German citizens.

¹¹*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, October, 1915, P. 24.*

¹²*The Gold Coast Leader, 28th Nov. 1914*

¹³*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, October, 1915, P. 24.*

the enemy subjects resident in the Gold Coast had behaved with great discretion and though their sympathies were inevitably with the enemy no suspicious acts or attempts to hamper or injure the government had come to light.¹⁴

Clifford further gave a broad description of the evangelistic work done by the Mission as follows:

the work of the Mission has been conducted on a very extensive scale for many years. Large mission settlements, seminaries and boarding schools, schools, all admirably conducted are scattered broadcast throughout the eastern province.¹⁵

From the above, therefore, it is clear that for economic reasons and as a result of the work done by the Basel Mission in respect of education in Ghana the governor was not prepared to take any drastic measures against the Mission. Furthermore, in an interview with Rev. Wilkie and the deputies who visited Ghana in 1917, Governor Slater also expressed great admiration for the work of Basel Mission saying:

all who had intimate knowledge of the history of Gold Coast recognized the deep debt the colony owed to the Basel Mission. It was not an exaggeration to say that the Basel Mission had made the Gold Coast. The difference between the eastern province which had been the centre of their operations and the provinces where their work had not been developed was marked. The difference was not accidental but mainly due to the solid work of the Mission¹⁶

The general view that was held about the Basel Mission by almost all the government officials in Ghana at the outbreak of the war was that they had done a good job. Therefore, the colonial government in Ghana was unwilling to take any action that would jeopardize the work of the Mission as that would be detrimental to the whole country.

For this reason, the British colonial government adopted a policy of toleration towards the Basel Mission in Ghana at the outbreak of the war to safeguard the smooth continuation

¹⁴Letter dated 10th January, 1915. CO/96/555/4955. P.R.O London

¹⁵*Ibid*

¹⁶Report of the Deputies to the God Coast, 1917, P. 5.

of their work for the benefit of the colony and the government itself. However, the policy of toleration did not mean absolute trust in the Mission. The government suspected that the allegiance of the Mission was with the enemy¹⁷ and, therefore, a directive was given from London to the governor in Ghana to watch the operations of the missionaries closely to avoid any possible sabotage.¹⁸

As time went on Clifford found it necessary to shift his policy and to introduce tighter control on the activities of the Basel missionaries for the following reasons: Firstly, in early November, 1914, a Prussian ex-officer who was a prisoner of war captured in Togoland but who had been released on parole in Accra was alleged to have entered the premises of the Christiansborg castle¹⁹ by a back entrance and made "a careful examination of the water tanks." This was seen by the colonial government as an act of trespass. He was immediately arrested with his wife and "despatched to Sekondi and detained there in close confinement." Secondly, the district commissioner at Ada, Mr. Ransford informed the colonial secretary in Accra that an employee of the Basel Mission had been caught firing a signal rocket from the seashore. The employee, Mr. Kaundinya was arrested. However, he was later found to be a British subject and so was released but was ordered to move from Ada on the coast to the inland town of Kyebi.²⁰

These two incidents following each other were enough to tell the governor that "the German community in the Gold Coast was not to be trusted."²¹ The governor was concerned because there were reports that a German U-boat had been sighted near Cape

¹⁷See letter Sir Hugh Clifford's letter to London above Footnote 14

¹⁸Telegram from Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor 11th September, 1914. CO/96/555 P.R.O, London.

¹⁹The Christiansborg castle was the residence of the governor.

²⁰Kaundinya's father was a Hindu and his mother was a German but he was a naturalized British.

²¹CO/96/555 P. R. O London.

Blanco and he probably felt that there was the possibility that the Germans in Ghana were in secret contact with it. He therefore concluded that:

The German community was disposed to abuse the leniency which we had extended to them and were inclined to hold us in something like contempt therefore.....I could not allow considerations of economic expediency to override the necessity to safeguard the colony against possible treachery.²²

The governor, therefore, ordered the arrest of all enemy subjects. They were, however, released after three days after Rev. G. Zürcher, the General Superintendent of the Basel Mission had pleaded on their behalf.²³ Mr. Clifford, however, imposed restrictions on their movements. They were to

remain in their isolated stations to carry on their ministrations as usual on the condition that no member of any one Mission should quit his place of residence or travel beyond a radius of 5 miles from it without the express permission of the of the District Commissioner.²⁴

In the course of the year, the Acting Colonial Secretary tightened the restrictions further. He informed Mr. Zürcher that:

under instructions from the Secretary of state for colonies I am directed by the Acting Governor to inform you, that no meeting of your Mission can be allowed to take place during the continuation of the war. I am further to request you to inform all your missionaries that any proved case of an attempt by a missionary to use his influence disloyally to the British administration will be dealt with very severely and that any individual misdemeanor may be punished by the immediate internment of all German missionaries.²⁵

²²Report from the Governor to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10th January 1915.par.14: CO/96/555 P.R.O, London.

²³Rev. Zurcher was Swiss.

²⁴Report from the governor to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 10th , January 1915, par. 17, CO/96/555. P.R.O, London

²⁵Acting Colonial Secretary to Rev. George Zurcher, Accra, 19th August, 1915. CO/96/ 559 P.R.O. London.

So far there appears to be some ambivalence in the attitude of the British with regard to the treatment of the Basel Mission. This was due to the fear that any drastic action against the Mission might disrupt the good work they were doing in Ghana. That was why, the colonial administration tried as much as possible to exercise a degree of toleration towards the Mission. However, by 1916, the British government considered it necessary to "purge the Basel Missionary Society of its German element."²⁶ This was a change in the government's policy with regard to the Mission.

2.4 REASONS FOR THE CHANGE IN THE POLICY REGARDING THE BASEL MISSION IN GHANA.

It could be deduced from the discussion so far that though the Basel Mission enjoyed a measure of freedom they were under surveillance.²⁷ It was through this that the government claimed to have detected some acts involving the Mission which it felt posed serious security risks and which, in its opinion, were sufficient enough to justify the expulsion of the Mission from Ghana. Firstly, a German missionary in Ghana was alleged to have prayed in the house of an African pastor for the victory of the Germans.²⁸ Debrunner, however, mentions that the missionaries were able to prove that the missionary had not been to that pastor's house at the time the act was reported to have been committed.²⁹ This meant that the charge was untrue according to Debrunner's submission. The reason why the particular missionary was picked on, therefore, remains a

²⁶*Foreign Mission Committee Minutes: Minute 3949, 1916.*

²⁷Parcels and letters addressed to the Mission and individual members were opened and searched by officials of the government to ensure that they did not contain any subversive material. A letter addressed to the Secretary of State for Colonies Mr. Bonar Law dated 13th October, 1915 reports on a search that had been conducted on a consignment of religious books for the Basel Mission. CO/96/560/ 52660. P.R.O, London.

²⁸*Jahresbericht der Basler Mission, 1915*, quoted in H. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Waterville, 1967, P. 278.

²⁹Hans W. Debrunner: *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, Waterville, Accra, 1967.

mystery. All the same it was counted against the German Basel missionaries. Secondly, employees of the Mission Factory in Kumase were alleged to have had a secret contact with the German colonial government in Togoland at the initial stages of the war. Mr. H.S Newlands, who acted as censor in Keta on the border with Togoland between 28th July and 5th August, 1914 in a memorandum to the British governor, reported that he intercepted " a telegram passing through Quittah³⁰ telegraph Office on 3rd August 1914 addressed to the Togoland government by the Basel Mission Factory in Coomasie³¹" inquiring about what orders the Togoland government had for German Reservists who were reporting themselves at the Basel Mission Factory in Coomasie."³² Newlands further alleged that a similar telegram had emanated from the Basel Mission Factory in Accra also. This obviously was a source of worry to the British colonial officials and added to the suspicion of the Mission because the alleged telegram appeared to suggest that the Factory premises were being used as a recruiting depot for German volunteer force. Thirdly, at the outbreak of the war a high-ranking officer of the Basel Mission in Basel, Rev. T. Oehler³³ was said to have called for national repentance in Germany. He was of the opinion that the Germans had forgotten their God and were worshipping "mammon." His call for national repentance at this time, by implication, was an attempt to call the attention of the Germans to a vital clue to victory in the war. Oehler was further said to have written about what he described as England's "unworthy brutality" in a Swiss paper *Basler Nachrichten* of 13th January 1915 and questioned England's claim to being a Christian country.³⁴ This to the British meant that the Basel Mission had identified itself with the war on the side of the Germans and, therefore, could not seriously claim to be neutral. Fourthly, a seemingly harmless German history book entitled *Kappa History of the World* which had been translated into Twi and which was being used in

³⁰*Quittah* was the colonial official's rendering of *Keta* a coastal town in the eastern part of Ghana.

³¹*Coomasie* was the rendering of *Kumase*.

³²H. S. Newlands, Memorandum to the Governor, Accra n.d CO/96/588/14 P.R.O, London.

³³Rev. T. Oehler was German. He was the Director of the Basel Mission from 1885 to 1915.

³⁴Memorandum on the Basel Mission; CO/96/ 585/ 5001. P.R.O, London.

Basel Mission schools in Ghana was criticized by the Education Department in Ghana for having eulogized German history against that of other European nations. For instance it was said to have emphasized the German victory in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. The book was, therefore, banned and all copies burnt.³⁵ As a further reaction against German influence on the educational system in Ghana Mr. J. D. Oman the Director of Education ordered the burning of the whole central field archives of the Basel Mission and their library at Akropong.³⁶

The cumulative effect of all these alleged charges against the Basel Mission was that it built up strong anti-German sentiments and aggravated the already fragile relationship between the Basel Mission and the colonial government in Ghana. As time went on it became increasingly clear that drastic action against the Mission was imminent.

Meanwhile, a section of the Gold Coast press had launched a ferocious attack German citizens resident in Ghana. This attack was led by the *Gold Coast Leader*³⁷ which was described by the Basel Mission as

enlightened.....the most widely circulated and at the same time the worst of the lot ...which does its utmost in the way of reckless criticism of everything European.³⁸

This description shows that the Basel Mission was at odds with the paper. During the early stages of the war the paper carried an editorial questioning the policy of toleration adopted by the British government on the German subjects in Ghana. It called on the government to adopt " a firm and strict policy" on the Germans because it felt that

³⁵Fred Agyeman, *We Presbyterians*, Presbyterian Press, Accra P. 17.

³⁶Prof. M. A. Kwamena-Poh, *Vision and Achievement: A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1828-1978*, P 278. (Unpublished)

³⁷This paper was produced in Cape Coast, the stronghold of the British .

³⁸*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915 P. 10.

The Germans have perpetrated many atrocities in Europe during the war. They have been charged with deeds of great cruelties and the whole world rings with stories of German atrocities to peaceful civilians and captured soldiers and the Huns under Attila are said on all sides to have been more humane compared with the Germans under Kaiser Wilhelm II³⁹

In May 1917, the paper openly called for the deportation of all German citizens. These campaigns went a long way to incite public opinion against the Germans.

Developments in Côte d' Ivoire⁴⁰ and the German Togoland both Ghana's neighbours at this time did not help the Basel Mission in Ghana. In Togoland, the German rule was very unpopular because the people felt it was overbearing and severe. As a result some of the chiefs appealed to the British to take over their areas. In one such appeal the head chief of Kete Krakye complained that the Germans

interfered with our customs and destroyed them even killing and hanging some of our elders without understanding why. If we worked for them, what they paid you was little or more often nothing at all. On top of all this we were flogged. Their soldiers and their police took our wives from our hands by force and even the German white men themselves used to do the same thing...They caught our sheep and fowls and did not pay for them. Every six moons they collected a tax of 6/- each.....⁴¹

Ghanaians had heard so much about these "German barbarities"⁴² in a neighbouring country and also in the war in general that they associated these to "the strict discipline in the Basel Mission schools" in Ghana.⁴³ This added to the negative sentiments against the Basel Mission.

³⁹*The Gold Coast Leader*, 28th November 1914.

⁴⁰Cote d' Ivoire is the French translation of Ivory Coast. This version is now used.

⁴¹Petition from the Head Chief of Kete Krakye to the British Governor, 26th November 1918. CO/96/597. P. R. O, London.

⁴²That is the way the Basel Mission Newsletter describes the activities of the Germans in the war.

⁴³*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, October, 1915, P. 26.

In Cote d' Ivoire the French colonial administration had deported Prophet William Wade Harris, a Grebo⁴⁴ evangelist from Liberia to avoid a possible mass movement which might have negative political implications.⁴⁵ Prophet Harris also worked in the western part of Ghana in 1914.⁴⁶ It is quite possible that the British, like the French, felt that the Germans could use their influence in Ghana to shift the loyalty of the people from Britain to Germany if they were allowed to continue to stay in the country.

The straw that broke the camel's back and moved the British government to order the internment of the Basel missionaries involved the sinking of the British boat S.S Apapa off the coast of Ghana on 28th November 1917 by a German submarine. In an earlier incident in which another British boat was sunk on 24th April 1917, some high ranking government officials including Mr. E. B Recce, the Treasurer, Mr. E. V. Collins, Inspector of Police and Prisons and Mr. K.R. Chatfield of the Public Works Department lost their lives.⁴⁷ The sinking of the S. S Apapa also cost the lives of more government officials such as Hon. W. R. Townsend, the Attorney General, Mr. G. A Harragin Deputy controller of Customs and Mr. Farrar Assistant Colonial Secretary.⁴⁸ This deepened further the grief of the government. As the government was grieving over this great tragedy, four employees of the Basel Mission Factory, namely, Schaub, Winteler, Biel and Reich met in a room upstairs in the factory on the High Street in Accra on 29th November, 1917 and with singing and feasting claimed that they were celebrating the birthday of one of them.⁴⁹ The British government suspected them of rejoicing over the tragedy and ordered an investigation into the affair. The report that came out of the investigation confirmed the suspicion of the government that the four employees "did

⁴⁴Grebo is an indigenous ethnic group in Liberia.

⁴⁵Haliburton, Gordon Mackay: *The Prophet Harris*, Longmans, London 1971, P. 122.

⁴⁶*Ibid*, P. 72.

⁴⁷*Gold Coast Government Gazette No. 32. 28th April, 1917.*

⁴⁸*Gold Coast Report for 1917, P. 6*

⁴⁹The incident took place on 28th November, but the news reached Accra on morning of 29th November, the same day that these people claimed they were celebrating a birthday.

celebrate the sinking of the *Apapa*.⁵⁰ As a result of the behaviour of the employees the missionaries were accused of masterminding the tragedy. It was rumoured that they operated a secret radio station from where they relayed information about the country to the Germans⁵¹

On the receipt of the report of the investigation, the governor decided that:

Having regard to the gravity of the news which had that day been received....it is incredible that this incident was, as we are invited to believe, a purely fortuitous occurrence. If however this was indeed the case men who were capable of such conduct in the circumstances then prevailing, in my opinion and that of my advisers, constituted, by their presence, a danger to public peace and their action was of a character which the government could not with safety or propriety ignore.⁵²

On 10th December, 1917, therefore, a letter was addressed to the General Superintendent of the Basel Mission in Ghana, Rev. G. Zürcher informing him of the decision of the government to deport all the Basel missionaries of German nationality.⁵³ On 16th December, 1917, they were deported to the Isle of Man enroute to Germany.

2.5 THE NON-GERMAN MISSIONARIES OF THE BASEL MISSION.

The original plan of the British government was to "purge the Basel Mission of its German element."⁵⁴ It was, therefore, the aim of the government to get the Mission re-organized into a purely Swiss society which would co-operate with the Scottish Mission

⁵⁰Basle Mission Factory Deportation of Swiss Employees CO/96/589/21305. P.R.O, London

⁵¹See: H. W. Debrunner: *Rev. Nicholas Timothy Clerk (Owura Nico) 1862-1961* Pioneer Series, Waterville, Accra, P. 58.

⁵²Basle Mission Factory Deportation of Swiss employees. CO/96/589/21305 P.R.O, London.

⁵³Colonial Secretary to General Superintendent Basel Mission, Accra, 10th December, 1917.CO/96/588/11387 P.R.O, London.

⁵⁴Secretary of State for the Colonies to Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser, Edinburgh, 13th September, 1916 quoted in *Proceedings of General Assembly, United Free Church of Scotland, May 1917.*

in Ghana. This arrangement was meant to ensure firstly, that the knowledge and the expertise of the non-Germans already in Ghana would continue to be available for use. Secondly that the property of the Basel Mission could still be used without cost. Thirdly that financial support would continue to come from Basel. Fourthly, that the U.F.C would not need to recruit many missionary personnel at this time when there was shortage of missionaries, and fifthly that the church in Ghana would continue to be attached to its missionary umbilical cord, the Basel Mission.

2.6 THE SWISS ORGANIZATION.

According to the British Government, the Swiss society should be organized on the following terms:

1. That funds of the new Swiss society should exclusively be of Swiss origin.
2. That the members of the directorate should be of Swiss nationality and origin
3. That the missionaries should likewise be of Swiss nationality and origin⁵⁵

Initially, the Basel Mission appeared to have accepted the terms. In reply to the terms the Mission resolved:

to make the painful sacrifice being conscious of their responsibility for the Mission Churches which have been entrusted to their care and in order to preserve what has been built up during the time of three generations.⁵⁶

⁵⁵"Basel Mission and the Swiss Missionary Association" Despatch from His Majesty's Minister at Berne, No. 526 : CO/96/585. P.R.O., London

⁵⁶Enclosure No. 2: Letter from the Basel Missionary Society to His Majesty's Minister in Berne, 20th December, 1916: CO/96/585. P.R.O, London.

The Mission further pledged to transfer all its property to the new society which was to be known as "**Swiss Missionary Association for the continuation of the Basel Mission in India and the Gold Coast.**" Professor Henri Edouard Naville took up the challenge to do the re-organization of the Basel Mission into a purely Swiss body. Sir Andrew Fraser contacted him and proposed a conference to work out a common programme for the work in Ghana.⁵⁷

In his reply to Fraser, Professor Naville reported that he was facing difficulties in his attempt to form the new body. He said among other things that:

the difficulty is now how to carry on this plan. The obstacles are numerous in these troubled times.....Have you any idea how the joint work might be organized? If you have any plan we should be very thankful to you to let us know what it is.⁵⁸

The main difficulty as it later came out was the fact that the Basel Mission wanted to continue to exert strong influence on the new society and dictate its policies. The Mission therefore, planned to have people of the directorate of the old Basel Mission Committee who had pro-German sentiments to be directors of the new organization.⁵⁹ Dr. Urech got wind of this plan and quickly informed the British authorities in Berne about it. In a letter he said among other things that:

the new association will be directed by the leaders of the old, who remain in Basle laughing at England and continuing in the old German method and system.⁶⁰

Dr. Urech, therefore, felt that the new association, if the plan of the Basel Mission succeeds would only be a ploy because it would only enable the Mission to stay " on Swiss

⁵⁷Sir Andrew Fraser to Professor Henri Naville, 13th June, 1917.

⁵⁸Prof. Naville to Sir Andrew Fraser, 29th July, 1917.

⁵⁹Memorandum dated 13th January, 1917. CO/96/585, P.R.O, London

⁶⁰Enclosure No. 6: Letter from Dr. Charles Urech to His Britannic Majesty's Legation, Berne 21st December, 1916. CO/ 96/ 585 P.R.O. London.

ground in order to spread German feeling in the British colonies under the guise of neutrality."⁶¹ He seems to have an implicit fear about the possibility that the German Basel missionaries might not be able to take a neutral position and that might smear the new organization.

Meanwhile the non-German Basel missionaries left behind in Ghana after the deportation of the Germans⁶² had re-organized themselves and taken up key positions in the mission field as follows:

Rev. G. Zürcher.....	Swiss.....	Christiansborg
Rev. H. Dewald.....	American.....	Christiansborg
Rev. H. Stricker.....	Swiss.....	Akropong Seminary
Rev. P. Dieterle.....	Swiss.....	Abokobi
Rev. E. Scherrer.....	Swiss.....	Aburi
Rev. N. Rohde.....	Australian.....	Abetifi
Rev. H. Henking.....	Swiss.....	Abetifi
Rev. F. Jost.....	Swiss.....	Kumase ⁶³

This arrangement, however, was not to stay for long. When the British government realized that the proposed new Swiss body was likely to be manipulated by the Basel Mission and that it would be difficult to eliminate the German influence on it, it decided to drop the idea altogether and deport the rest of the members of the Mission still in Ghana.⁶⁴ On 2nd February 1918, therefore, an order was issued to deport the remaining Basel missionaries. Petitions from Rev. Zurcher pleading the neutrality of the missionaries and from Rev. Dewald on his own behalf as an American were rejected by the British colonial Secretary Mr. Slater.⁶⁵ This ended 90 years of the work of the Basel Mission

⁶¹*Ibid.*

⁶²There remained only eight members, six Swiss, one American and one Australian.

⁶³Enclosure 3 No. 14 Basel Mission: CO/96/588/11387 P.R.O London

⁶⁴Ashcroft to Wilkie, Calabar, MS 7683/536/ 24th December, 1917, S.N.L Edinburgh.

⁶⁵Enclosures 8 and 9; Basel Mission, Deportation of members, CO/96/588/11387. P.R.O, London.

in Ghana. To the Basel Mission Church in Ghana it was simply a tragedy " a dark hour, for it meant for us parting with friends who had been with us for almost a century."⁶⁶

2.7 THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S CONTACT WITH THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND THE ROLE OF J.H. OLDHAM.

When the British government decided to "purge the Basel Mission of its German element" the Secretary of State for the Colonies Mr. Bonar Law informed Sir Andrew Fraser, Convener of the F.M.C of the U.F.C and inquired whether the church would be prepared to assist in preserving the fruits of "the long devoted labours of the Basel Mission" in Ghana after it had been purged of its German element.⁶⁷ Fraser delegated J. H. Oldham to meet the Secretary in London to discuss the details of the assistance that would be required.⁶⁸ One of the reasons Fraser gave for selecting Oldham was the fact that he was the Secretary of the C.C of the I.M.C of 1910. He believed, therefore, that Oldham was better equipped to answer any questions and offer any relevant advice on the issue at stake.⁶⁹

On 26th September 1916, Oldham met the Under-Secretary of State Mr. Steel-Maitland, in London. After this meeting the F.M.C wrote to the Secretary informing him of their "desire to render any help in their power to the former Basel Mission on the Gold Coast and to meet the wishes of the government to the extent of their ability."⁷⁰

⁶⁶Rev. N.T Clerk, FOREWORD, to the *Minutes of Synod, The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony 1918. Larteh, 25th August, 1919.*

⁶⁷Letter dated 13th September, 1916, quoted in *Proceedings of General Assembly, United Free Church of Scotland, May 1917.*

⁶⁸Fraser could not go himself because of ill-health.

⁶⁹The other reason Fraser gave was the fact that Oldham was staying with him and was available. In fact Oldham was the son-in-law of Fraser.

⁷⁰*Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, of the United Free Church of Scotland, 17th October, 1916.*

However, in order to make definite plans and concrete proposals to the General Assembly for consideration, the Committee decided to send a deputation to Ghana to survey the work of the Basel Mission. Rev. A. W. Wilkie, Secretary of the Scottish Mission Council in Calabar, his wife and Rev. J. Rankin, also of Calabar were chosen to undertake the deputation.⁷¹ They were to survey the extent of the mission field, operations of the Basel Mission, resources available, reinforcements required and any other matter that was likely to assist the work in Ghana.⁷²



Fig. 7: Dr. J. H. Oldham.

⁷¹Calabar now forms part of modern Republic of Nigeria in West Africa. Proximity might have influenced the choice of the delegation.

⁷²Rev. Frank Ashcroft to Rev. A. W. Wilkie, 3rd November, 1916. MS 7682/817. S.N.L. Edinburgh.

2.8 THE DEPUTIES IN GHANA.

The deputies arrived in Ghana on 20th January, 1917 to the bewilderment of the Basel missionaries.⁷³ They claimed they were not aware of any change in British governments policy in connection with their work in Ghana neither did they know of the arrival of the deputies at that period. They had not received a letter purported to have been written by Wilkie from Calabar to inform them of their arrival. They, therefore, felt completely undermined. However, Mr. T. Brugger, the head of the Basel Mission Factory and Rev. Zürcher the General Superintendent of the Basel Mission received them warmly and co-operated with them in their work.

The deputies also met the acting governor, Mr. Slater and had discussions with him. The governor intimated that the Basel missionaries had to leave the colony for security reasons and, therefore, appealed to the U.F.C to ensure that the work of the Mission would be preserved.

2.8.1 THE REPORT OF THE DEPUTIES.

The deputies took four weeks to complete their work. A report on their findings was presented to the F.M.C. at its sitting on 17th April 1917. Highlights of the report are as follows:

1. That there were 11 principal stations and 186 outstations and two seminaries with a total staff of 50 foreign missionaries, 36 of whom were German. Of the 50, 33 were in the field, three on each of the 11 principal stations.
2. That economically, since 1915, the Basel Mission had not spent money beyond the salaries and expenses of the European staff. The local income

⁷³It must be noted that this was not the official take over of the work of the Basel Mission.

had been sufficient to meet the local expenditure.

3. That in the view of the local government, the crippling of the work of the Basel Mission would be a grave misfortune.⁷⁴

The deputies concluded their report by urging the U.F.C to accept the invitation for according to them, " if the present opportunity is lost the outlook of the country is dark."⁷⁵

2.9 THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, MAY 1917.

Sir Andrew Fraser presented the report of the F.M.C to the General Assembly at its sitting in May 1917. He invited Oldham to explain to the Assembly what transpired at the meeting he had with the Secretary of State for Colonies. Fraser was, however, convinced that the invitation was the work of providence saying:

I therefore pass from this subject with the expression of the fervent hope that what appeared to us in the Committee to be a clear call of Providence, a clear indication of the will of the head of the church as to our action in this matter may commend itself also to the General Assembly and receive the approval indicated in the deliverance.⁷⁶

Oldham had been made Convener of the "Committee on war and Mission" in 1917 by the British government. This position further enhanced his image and, according to Hogg, enabled him to "influence Britain's policy towards Missions."⁷⁷ Though he conceded that the internment and repatriation of the German missionaries "was under the circumstances of the war a political necessity" he denied that the Basel missionaries had political motives. He called on the General Assembly to see that "this particular task has providentially come

⁷⁴*Foreign Mission Committee Minutes April, 1917, Minute 4088, "Report of the Deputies to the Gold Coast."*

⁷⁵*Ibid*

⁷⁶*Proceedings of General Assembly, 1917, P. 115.*

⁷⁷See Hogg; *Ecumenical Foundations, P. 178.*

to us as our share in the effort to make good the unhappy consequences of the war."⁷⁸

He concluded that:

If strong and immediate help cannot be given, the situation created will be a great missionary tragedy. Materialized (sic) on one part permeated with Mohammedanism influence on the other the two great menaces militating against the christianizing of Africa are on the Gold Coast not only imminent but already at work. The call to our own church which did not seek this work is indubitable.⁷⁹

Contributing to the debate Mr. Steel-Maitland, the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies also urged the Assembly to give serious consideration to the call to assist the church in Ghana. He asserted that the decision to send the Basel missionaries away was painful but very necessary under the circumstances. He warned that:

if the missionary and educational effort was allowed to go back, the natives would relapse into, without any question whatever mere animism (sic) and fetish worship.⁸⁰

Dr. Henderson added his voice and stated bluntly "this is a call from God and the church should get the money and the men."⁸¹

These various contributions succeeded in highlighting the crisis situation in Ghana with regard to the Basel Mission Church and excited much sympathy from the General Assembly for the work of the church in Ghana.

⁷⁸*Ibid*

⁷⁹*Ibid*

⁸⁰*Ibid*

⁸¹*The Record of the United Free Church, July, 1917 P. 150.*

2.9.1 DECISION AND ACTION.

The General Assembly unanimously accepted the invitation to work in Ghana. It however decided that it could not do the work alone and, therefore, would like to co-operate with the Swiss members of the Basel Mission.⁸² However, as a result of the complications that led to the failure of the attempts to form a Swiss body and the subsequent deportation of the non-German members of the Basel Mission, already noted⁸³ the U.F.C was forced to go it alone in spite of lack of resources.

2.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE ARRANGEMENTS TO BRING THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND TO GHANA.

We have already noted that the British Government was committed to preserving the work of the Basel Mission.⁸⁴ However in the process of arranging for the work to be supervised certain limitations could be identified as follows:

In the first place, facts available seem to indicate that the Basel missionaries in Ghana were not properly put in the picture about their imminent replacement. In fact according to the Mission's news letter they did not have any reason to believe that they would have to leave the colony⁸⁵ though they were conscious of the fact that they would have to put up with a few restrictions. The government's action, therefore, appeared to have destabilized them and negatively affected their morale since they knew they would have to leave sooner or

⁸²*Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, Minute 4097, 1917 P. 154.*

⁸³See discussion on it on P. 64 above

⁸⁴It should be clarified at this point that the British government's interest in the work of the Basel Mission was because of its relevance to the colonial government's political interests and not because it was keen on the spread of Christianity necessarily.

⁸⁵*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift, October, 1915 P. 26*

later anyway. Though they put up a brave face and co-operated with the deputies, I suspect that they went through incalculable emotional trauma. Secondly, there is no evidence that the indigenous members of the church in Ghana were consulted neither were they officially involved in the discussions nor informed by the government of the plans to expel the Basel missionaries and replace them with the Scottish missionaries. It seems, therefore, that they were treated like pawns without their consent. This had negative repercussions on the authority of the Scottish Mission later. After they had been given a rousing welcome on their arrival in Ghana, an open rebellion erupted a few years later among some indigenous members against the Scottish for instance at Christiansborg,⁸⁶ Kumase and Abetifi all strongholds of the Basel Mission.

The general picture one gets is that since the indigenous people were not involved in the various processes, some of them did not understand the problems the Scottish Mission was facing and so could not sympathize with them especially when there was a genuine problem with regard to recruitment of missionary personnel as a result of the war.

Thirdly, with regard to missionary personnel there was marked difference between the two Missions. The Phelps Stokes Commission⁸⁷ reported that at the time the Basel Mission was closed down it had 60 missionaries in Ghana. The Scottish Mission on the other hand had only ten missionaries in Ghana by 1922.⁸⁸ In fact for most part of 1918 it was Wilkie and his wife alone who held the fort as the U.F.C struggled to recruit more missionaries. It was extremely difficult for the U.F.C. to recruit adequate number of missionaries to replace all the missionaries of the Basel Mission at this period because of the war. The result was that the church had very little close missionary supervision. On the positive

⁸⁶Minutes of the Synod Committee of Scottish Mission, November 1922. A full discussion on the rebellion will be done in due course.

⁸⁷It was a Commission sponsored by a woman known as Phelps Stokes from the United States of America. Its aim was to study the ways by which education for the black people could be improved.

⁸⁸Dr. Jesse Jones, *Education in Ghana: Report of the Phelps Stokes Commission*, 1922 P. 135.

side, however, this unconsciously helped to sharpen the initiative and administrative competence of the indigenous church leaders. In so doing, it helped to develop a corps of church leaders.

The financial resources of the Scottish Mission were woefully inadequate to support the work fully as compared with the Basel Mission. The colonial government in Ghana had to step in to pay the salaries of the teachers of the schools controlled by the church. Hitherto, the government only gave grants to Missions engaged in education in Ghana and the various Missions had to find the difference from their own resources.⁸⁹

Furthermore, the two bodies had divergent interests in Ghana. A distinguishing mark of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana was its interest in technical training and commercial activity.⁹⁰ The Scottish Mission on the other hand did not take any interest in the Basel Mission Factory because Wilkie felt that "the need for mission help in that direction has long since passed away."⁹¹ Since the Scottish Mission did not take interest, the colonial government handed it over to the Commonwealth Trust Ltd. but the technical aspect died out.⁹² Fourthly, the whole process of sending the Scottish Mission to Ghana was worked out with a political motive. In the end, though one can justifiably assume from facts available, that there was a genuine desire on the part of the U.F.C. to assist in preserving the work of the Lord, there was an implicit feeling in accepting the invitation

⁸⁹The grant paid by the government to the Basel Mission in 1917 was £4,200. The Director of Education in Ghana Mr. Oman estimated the total expenditure on the schools managed by the former Basel Mission to be £20,250 in 1918. This gives a fair view of how much the Basel Mission was spending on its schools. Ref. CO/96/589/24773, 18th April, 1918. P.R.O, London.

⁹⁰See discussion on the commercial activities and technical training of the Basel Mission in Chapter One P. 40 and 45 respectively.

⁹¹*Report of the United Free Church of Scotland, 1918: Gold Coast.*

⁹²The Scottish Mission was involved in Technical Training at Hope Waddell College in Calabar. The information was provided by Rev. Norman Macrae who was a missionary in Calabar from 1943 to 1960 and taught in the college for 13 years. He is now retired and lives in Edinburgh.

that, it was also a call to national duty.⁹³ The British government was determined to enlist the services of a British missionary society to take over from the Basel Mission to guarantee the church's loyalty to the British Crown.⁹⁴ It is significant, therefore, that at the first sitting of the Synod of the Scottish Mission Church in 1918, a loyal address was sent to the British governor. It was the first of its kind in the history of the church. The text of the message was as follows:

May it please Your Excellency,

We the undersigned native ministers of the Scottish Mission and members of the Synod Committee on behalf of the Synod which met at Akuropong between the 14th and 17th August, 1918 beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following expression of our gratitude and loyalty Sir. 1. That we beg to express our warmest thanks for the very great help rendered to our church in undertaking to extend to her educational branch the financial and moral support which has relieved us of much anxiety at this critical moment of the church. 2. That this expression of Your Excellency's love and care for us will ever confirm the sense of loyalty which all members of this Mission humbly owe to His Majesty's Government.⁹⁵

We have here an interesting scenario of close collaboration between church and state to achieve a political end but at the same time fulfilling an important religious role.⁹⁶

⁹³The members of the General Assembly unanimously agreed with the British government that the Basel missionaries must leave the British Colony.

⁹⁴Of course, the colonial government did not overlook theological compatibility. Ref. *Sketches of the Fields: THE GOLD COAST: Church of Scotland F.M.C* Edinburgh, 1949, P. 11.

⁹⁵From the Synod Clerk to the Governor: Message of Loyalty, Scottish Mission Church, Akropong, 26th August, 1918. Ref. Synod Clerk's Office File No. 42 : Official Letters, P.C.G. A., Accra.

⁹⁶This practice of sending a message of loyalty to the government during Synod meetings has become an important feature of the procedure of the Synod of P.C.G ever since. It has always praised the government of the day.

2.11 ASSESSMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S ACTION AGAINST THE BASEL MISSION.

In order to be able to make any meaningful assessment of the British action against the Basel Mission we need to recall the context of the action. The world was at war, with Britain and Germany as leading actors on the opposing sides. There was tension, fear, suspicion, mistrust and insecurity all over the world. In such a volatile situation what was at stake was national security and pride. These were issues that neither Britain nor Germany was prepared to compromise on. What was more, a defeat for either of them would spell doom for their cherished colonial aspirations and would mean that they would be reduced to a tutelage nation with no influence in the world affairs.⁹⁷ In such a desperate situation the only option left for Britain and indeed for all other powers engaged in the war was to plug all loopholes in the national security system which could be exploited by the enemy to its advantage.⁹⁸

Given the context, therefore, it appears that Britain had a genuine cause to suspect all German citizens and their possible sympathizers irrespective of what duty they were performing in any of the British colonies. This is so because the Germans also like the British had their national security and pride at stake and it is plausible to suspect that they would naturally be interested in the cause of their country. In the words of Paul Jenkins of the Basel Mission archives, when the war broke out,

German Christians linked to the Basel Mission were just as convinced that God was on their side in the war as most English Christians were sure he was on their side⁹⁹

⁹⁷When Germany lost the war all her colonies were seized from her and she ceased to be a world power. See *Treaty of Peace, Versailles, June 28, 1919, Articles 119 & 122.*

⁹⁸This includes the colonies of the respective powers.

⁹⁹Paul Jenkins: *Texts and Documents No. 10*, May, 1989, P. 17.

Jenkins was here rightly emphasizing a real natural impulse in all human beings which evokes a sense of kinship and solidarity. It is a feeling of "consciousness of being bound together by common experiences, community of interest and devotion to common ideals."¹⁰⁰ It is, therefore, natural that the Germans would have sympathy for their country. In this respect, the Basel Mission's official position of neutrality in the war did not appeal to the British. The situation was worsened by the nature of the Mission itself. It was essentially German in character and it was difficult to believe that such an organization could extricate itself from issues affecting Germany such as the war

2.12 THE GERMAN CHARACTER OF THE BASEL MISSION.

The Basel Mission was a Swiss organization, but its character was, basically, German. This is portrayed by the following characteristics of the Mission. Firstly, according to the report of the deputies, of the 50 Basel missionaries in Ghana by 1917, 36 of them were German.¹⁰¹ This represented 72% of the total missionary staff. Secondly about two-thirds of all the financial contributions to the Mission were from Germany. The war, therefore, severely affected the finances of the Mission because the Germans could not contribute as before. A circular issued at the beginning of the war by the Board of Mission in Basel to their Missions abroad alluded to this fact and warned of massive budgetary cuts. The circular said among other things that:

Owing to the terribly severe requisitions on the German people for sacrifices in blood and treasure we cannot expect large contribution from this part of our collecting sphere. The financial stringency compels us to observe rigorous economy¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰J. H. Oldham: "Nationalism and Missions": in *International Review of Missions*, 1920, P. 373.

¹⁰¹Report of the Deputies to the Gold Coast. See *Minutes of the F.M.C.*, April 1917, Min. 4088.

¹⁰²Circular to "the Brothers and Sisters of the Basel Mission in India, China, Gold Coast, Togo and Cameroon." 10th August 1914. CO/96/589. P.R.O, London.

Thirdly, it was reported that about 157 members of the Mission were serving in the German army by July 1916.¹⁰³ Jenkins also mentions that no less than one-third of the young Germans in the missionary college in Basel when the war broke out lost their lives while on military service. Fourthly since the inception of the Mission in 1815 the Directors had been Germans. These were G. G. Blumhart, 1816-1838, Wilhelm Hoffman, 1839-1850, Joseph Josenhans, 1850-1879, Otto Schott, 1879-1884 and Theodore Oehler, 1885-1915. The German character of the Mission was put beyond doubt when the Director of the Mission appointed in June 1915, Herr Dipper was credibly reported to have declared that:

We are not a Swiss Society and we are not an international society but a German society which happens to be located on Swiss soil.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, in a letter to Bismarck in 1885 the Mission "stressed the point that they are a German Mission."¹⁰⁵ It is also known that the full official name of the Mission was "**Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society.**" All these facts reflected the German character of the Mission which were too obvious to be ignored by the British. A further credence was lent to the suspicion of the Basel Mission by the British because of the rumour that the Basel missionaries in the Cameroons were secretly in league with the German soldiers and were using the Mission compound as an armoury and a hide-out for the German soldiers.¹⁰⁶ In view of all this the British government's representatives in Berne, Zurich and Basel saw the Basel Mission as "an active propagandist agency of the German Government."¹⁰⁷ This was their verdict on the work of the Basel Mission in the world. However, it appears there is not enough evidence to support that assertion. In

¹⁰³ "Memorandum on the Basel Mission", 25th January 1917. CO/96/585/5001 P.R.O, London.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Ref. *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*. Edited by Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison, Aros, P. 98 The letter was dated 4/4/1885

¹⁰⁶ Noel Smith: *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960*, Presbyterian Press, Accra, P. 527.

¹⁰⁷ "Memorandum on the Basel Mission: 25th January 1917 CO/96/585/5001 P.R.O, London.

fact, at least it is known that the Basel Mission vehemently opposed the German colonial cultural policy in Cameroons. However, the verdict clearly illustrates that at least, some British officials had a negative perception of the Basel Mission and this seemed to have stuck in such a way that the British government was not prepared to take any risks with regard to its security by entertaining a group that had been suspected of being "a propagandist agency" of the enemy however incredible the description might appear to some people.

Furthermore, the British government's own experience over the years about the operations and influence of missionaries from Britain must have also played a significant part in the action taken against the Basel missionaries. Obviously the British were not unaware of how in the 19th century British missionaries, through their reports, speeches and sometimes direct appeals for assistance helped in shaping British colonial policy in East Africa and encouraged her to annex areas in that part of Africa.¹⁰⁸ Dr. J.W.C. Dougall, in his Duff lectures in 1962 asserted that:

Missions were a factor of immense importance in the expansion of European interests in Africa in the latter part of the nineteenth century.... In Nyasaland,¹⁰⁹ the Scottish Mission directly and indirectly exercised a decisive influence on the declaration of a British Protectorate¹¹⁰

This happened in 1891. Furthermore, it was the C.M.S which put pressure on the British government to declare Uganda a protectorate.¹¹¹ The point being made here is that the British missionaries exerted strong influence on the declaration of protectorates by the

¹⁰⁸Roland Oliver treats this subject in his book " *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, Longman Green, 1952.

¹⁰⁹Nyasaland is now the **Republic of Malawi**

¹¹⁰J. W. C. Dougall: *Christians in African Revolution: The Duff Missionary Lectures, 1962*, St. Andrew Press, Edinburgh, 1963.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

British government.¹¹² With this experience, therefore, it was not surprising that the British government appeared to be nervous about the presence of the Basel missionaries in their colonies. It is possible that the British government might have entertained some fear that the Basel missionaries would use their influence to incite Ghanaians against Britain if they were allowed to continue to work in Ghana.

It is on record that the German government had earlier on thrown out British missionaries from German colonies for political reasons. For instance, in 1886 the Basel Mission was drafted into the Cameroon to take over the work of the B.M.S, for the simple reason that Cameroon had become a German colony.¹¹³ Furthermore, in 1892 the Germans asked the C.M.S. a British society, to withdraw from Mochi in East Africa because it was under the German sphere of influence. As such it was felt that the " influence of the English missionaries was felt to be injurious to German prestige."¹¹⁴ The German government stated its position clearly in a letter sent to Bishop Tucker of the C.M.S part of which reads:

The German government, both here and in Europe have made further strong representations on the subject of support given to the Natives at Mochi by mere presence of Mission. No further specific accusations are made but German government announce that they have decided, for the sake of their prestige, that the English Mission cannot be permitted to remain at Mochi.....¹¹⁵

It could be observed ,therefore, that before the First World War, Germany had followed a strict policy of exclusion of non-German missionary societies from their colonies on the grounds that such societies would damage their "prestige." So the general picture one

¹¹²The missionaries did it probably because of the feeling that their government was more likely to provide the necessary protection to enable them go about their work.

¹¹³Paul Jenkins: *Texts and Documents*, No. 10, 1989, P. 8. The B.M.S was British.

¹¹⁴C. P. Groves: *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, Vol. III, Lutterworth Press, London, 1955, P.80.

¹¹⁵*Ibid* (footnote, 5)

gets from this scenario is that it appears both Germany and Britain realized the power of missionary groups to influence and alter the thinking and attitude of the people among whom they worked. There were, therefore, attempts on both sides to get missionaries from their countries to operate in their colonies to guarantee a degree of loyalty to the respective governments. The action taken by the British against the Basel Mission was, therefore, not an isolated case and could be seen in this context. This strong link between governments and missionary groups, though the Missions felt was advantageous because of the freedom it offered them to go about their evangelistic duties unhindered, nevertheless, proved disadvantageous to the church in the long run because it came to be identified with colonial aspirations.¹¹⁶

2.13 THE BASEL MISSION ORDINANCE, 1918.

After the expulsion of the Basel Mission from Ghana, the colonial government in Accra found it necessary to enact an ordinance to "control the property and continue the work of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory." This was called the **Basel Mission Ordinance**, otherwise known as **Ordinance No 40 of 1918**. It was enacted on 31st December 1918.¹¹⁷ The ordinance provided for the appointment of a committee of trustees to manage the property of the Basel Mission. It also empowered the trustees "to transfer or lease all or any of the property..... of the said Basel Mission Society to any British Missionary society or Body to be administered by such society or Body for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti."¹¹⁸ This stipulation was meant to prepare the ground for the transfer of the Basel Mission property to the Scottish Mission

¹¹⁶In Africa today many educated elite are leaving the church because they are of the opinion that the missionaries were colonial agents. This position is fast gaining currency especially in Ghana.

¹¹⁷See Appendix II for full text of the Ordinance.

¹¹⁸Basel Mission Ordinance (Ordinance No. 40) 31st December, 1918. MS 7816/56-8 S.N.L. Edinburgh.

which needed the property to be able to work effectively. The ordinance, however, forbade the use of any of the profits accruing from the use of the property so transferred on any enterprise elsewhere other than the Gold Coast or Ashanti.

2.14 THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE BASEL MISSION AND THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND IN GHANA.

The Basel missionaries felt that they had been unjustifiably deprived of their work in Ghana which they, "by the blessing of God had carried on for nearly 90 years."¹¹⁹ However, it is difficult to pass a moral judgment on the British government with regard to the action taken against the Mission. It felt that there was enough evidence to prove that the continued stay of the Basel missionaries in Ghana was not conducive to the good of the government during the period. However, that was the feeling of the Basel missionaries and they did not hide it. They were particularly hard on the U.F.C which it accused of complicity because they felt that it could have, at least, prevented the expulsion of the non-German Basel missionaries.¹²⁰ Debrunner mentions that the missionaries expressed their disappointment and anger in Stuttgart in the following words:

Dieu le veult (it is God's will) with this battle-cry Scottish Missionaries and their pastors are now installed in our work we do not know how these leaders and congregation are going to receive the Scottish missionaries. But it is expected that they will meet strong resistance.....¹²¹

Debrunner thinks that these words came from what he calls **war psychosis** and should not be taken seriously.¹²² It is very possible this could have been the case. However, it

¹¹⁹Letter from Henking, Nyfele and Scherer to Rev. F. Aschroft, 25th February, 1919. MS 7816/12 S.N.L Edinburgh.

¹²⁰Report of the Deputation to Basel : *Foreign Mission Committee Minutes*, 20th January, 1920 Minute 4876.

¹²¹Hans W. Debrunner: *A Christianity in Ghana*, Presbyterian Press, 1967 P. 288.

is difficult to reconcile this position with what actually happened on the ground when the Scottish missionaries arrived in Ghana. There is evidence that the Scottish Mission actually met opposition as predicted by the Basel missionaries in certain key centres of the church after the initial euphoria in connection with the arrival of the missionaries from Scotland. The opposition later crystallized into a **Movement for the Return of the Basel Mission** which was reasonably strong in Christiansborg, Aburi, Odumase, Abetifi and Anum. These were strong Basel Mission centres. Some of the members of this movement had secret contacts with the Basel Mission in Basel in the form of letters. One such letter written by L. Sowah of Christiansborg informed the Mission of the performance of the Scottish Mission and said in part:

Really the Scottish Mission cannot handle the work efficiently I predict that if the work be left in the hands of this new Mission everything will collapse before long.¹²³

The movement also waged a vigorous campaign for the return of the Basel missionaries. Members were described by the Synod Committee as "agitators from Christiansborg."¹²⁴ The statement attributed to the Basel missionaries, therefore, cannot be simply be dismissed as mere "war psychosis." I believe that it expressed their disappointment at the loss of mission field they loved so dearly and had invested so much in. To make matters worse the missionaries in Basel heard that their property had been handed over to the Scottish Mission without their consent, with the enactment of the Basel Mission Ordinance. They felt cheated by the transfer of their *bona fide* property to the U.F.C.

The Basel Mission raised this concern with J. H. Oldham when he visited Switzerland in November, 1919. According to Oldham, he tried to explain the role of the U.F.C in the

¹²²*Ibid*

¹²³Letter dated 22nd July 1921. Ref. Prempeh Samuel: Ph.D. Thesis; "The Basel and Bremen Missions and their successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland, 1914-1926" Aberdeen, 1976. P. 371.

¹²⁴Synod Committee Minutes, 4th December 1922, Minute 32.

whole drama and assured the Basel Mission that the U.F.C did not have any ulterior motives in accepting the invitation to take over the work in Ghana. However, he realized that the Basel Mission still felt strongly about the fact that:

the United Free Church has taken over their work in the Gold Coast without making a sufficient attempt to come to an understanding with them such as christian courtesy would require.¹²⁵

Oldham, therefore, suggested that a deputation be sent to Basel as a matter of urgency to meet the Board of the Basel Mission and try to thrash out any misunderstanding between them.¹²⁶ The U.F.C. accepted Oldham's suggestion and sent a deputation made up of Rev. A.W. Wilkie, Mrs. Wilkie and Miss Mackenzie to Basel. In reply to a letter written by Ashcroft to inform the Basel Mission of the arrival of the deputation, Rev. Oettli unequivocally affirmed that:

The Committee of the Basel Mission was indeed convinced that the Scottish Free Church (sic) for which we always cherished a special affection has undertaken our work on the Gold Coast in order to prevent a great misfortune befalling it, it has however, speaking frankly, seemed strange to us that the Committee of the Scottish Mission has never put itself in communication with the Basel Mission in so weighty a matter. It is now our wish however, that misunderstandings should be cleared away...¹²⁷

The visit took place from 12th to 16th December, 1919. While in Basel, Wilkie carefully explained the role that the U.F.C played in the take-over of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana. He emphasized that the action of the U.F.C was a sincere attempt to save the work of the Basel Mission. Wilkie also explained that the U.F.C did not have any hand in the enactment of the Basel Mission Ordinance. According to the report of the deputies, the Basel Mission became convinced that there had not been any impropriety on the part

¹²⁵From Oldham to Ashcroft, Edinburgh, 17th November, 1919: MS 7816/7 S.N.L. Edinburgh.

¹²⁶Indeed it appears thus far that the Basel Mission had not understood how the U.F.C came to be involved in the work in Ghana. That is why they seem to accuse it of foul deal. This can be deduced from the pronouncements of the Basel Mission some of which have been quoted above.

¹²⁷From Oettli to Ashcroft n.d. 1919.

of the U.F.C in the way they acted. The Basel Mission, therefore, adopted a resolution endorsing the role of the U.F.C in the matter and gave their blessing to the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. The resolution stated among other things that:

The Basel Mission being prevented from continuing its work in the Gold Coast does approve of our work being taken up by the Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland. It has given us great satisfaction that the Scotch Mission(sic) wishes to enter upon the work on the Gold Coast with the intention to carry it on in the same spirit in which it was done before, and as far as possible to keep up the organization introduced by the Basel Mission.... We shall not cease to take interest in your labours and to remember prayerfully a work which has been built up with such an amount of love and sacrifice.¹²⁸

This resolution appeared to have sealed the new cordial relationship that had come to exist after a period of misunderstanding and suspicion of the intentions of the U.F.C by the Basel Mission.

2.15 THE INITIAL PROBLEMS FACED BY THE UNITED FREE CHURCH.

The U.F.C had been forced by circumstances to accept full responsibility of taking care of the Basel Mission Church in Ghana.¹²⁹ Already the resources of the church had been fully stretched to breaking point by the demands of their own mission fields. The F.M.C of the U.F.C describes the situation thus:

The Foreign Mission Committee, when the invitation reached them, felt that the call was not one to be set aside. They had no wish to undertake new obligations in a fresh field. The call for advance in our existing missions are sufficiently urgent and imperative. But there are some things that must be done whether one desires to do them or not. It is impossible to stand by and see a

¹²⁸Resolution of the Committee of the Evangelical Basel Missionary Society in Basel, 26th December, 1919. (The quotation was in English.) S.N.L MS / 7816 Edinburgh.

¹²⁹We have already noted that it was the breakdown of the arrangements to form a purely Swiss organization to co-operate with the U.F.C. that caused the problem.

work that has been built up by the patient and devoted labour of seventy years go to ruin; a Christian community of 25000¹³⁰ people cannot be left unshepherded and without provision for their spiritual and educational needs¹³¹.

The reasons why the F.M.C was not prepared to "undertake new obligations in a fresh field" are found in the problems that the church faced initially in their attempt to answer the call to come to Ghana. The first of these problems was how to assemble the required number of missionary personnel to work in Ghana immediately, since the Basel missionaries had left the country. Sir Andrew Fraser outlined this problem in a letter to the Secretary of State for the colonies Mr. Walter Long. He said:

We had hoped that it might have been possible to start a new Basle Mission which would be entirely Swiss..... This would have had the advantage that fewer men would have been required¹³²

This was an implicit lamentation on the break down of the arrangements to form the Swiss organization to co-operate with the U.F.C. It was really difficult for the church to get personnel because the war had mopped up all prospective missionaries. On the other hand the church saw the situation in Ghana as grave and action had to be taken to save the situation.

The original plan of the U.F.C was to put two agents in each of the eleven principal stations "one for the men's work and one for women's work in addition, the three institutions for the training of pastors and teachers must be provided for."¹³³ Based on this plan a staff of 25 would have been ideal. Under the difficult conditions however, the U.F.C. was :

¹³⁰This figure is not correct. When the Scottish Mission took over, the number was 30,001. This is confirmed by almost all the records consulted.

¹³¹*Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the U.F.C of Scotland Vol. XVII, October 1917* P. 198.

¹³²Sir Andrew Fraser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 2nd January, 1918. (Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, Assorted uncatalogued Letters found in B.M.L. Kumase.)

¹³³*Reports of the General Assembly, United Free Church of Scotland, 1919, P. 12*

prepared immediately to give out of our somewhat depleted staff one or two men to be superintendents of the Mission work as now carried on....They could do nothing except go round the Missions and keep the native agents at their duty and so prevent the whole work collapsing during the war.¹³⁴

It was in pursuance of this emergency plan, that Rev. A. W. Wilkie and his wife were transferred from Calabar to Ghana.¹³⁵

Later in 1918, the U.F.C again transferred Miss Gladys Wallace and Mrs. J.D. Moffat, both from Calabar and Miss I. P Ross from Scotland to Ghana.¹³⁶ These women were posted to the Aburi Girls' boarding schools. This was in step with the Scottish Mission's policy to boost female education in Ghana. The next batch of Scottish missionaries to come to Ghana were Mr. and Mrs. Walter Smith who were posted to Kumase, Rev. William Samson who was posted to Akropong Seminary, Rev. Neil Mackey, who was sent to Nsaba and Rev. G. Douglas Reith who was sent to Abetifi Seminary. Others were Mr. W. A. Martin who was sent to take charge of the book depot and Miss A.H. Voumard and Mrs. Murray who were sent to Aburi and Abokobi respectively.¹³⁷ By the end of 1919 these were the missionaries sent by the U.F.C. to Ghana under the banner of the Scottish Mission to hold the fort

Another initial problem was how to acquire the necessary property for the work. Legally, though the Basel Mission had left the colony all the property they had acquired remained theirs.¹³⁸ The Scottish Mission could, therefore, acquire them through legal means. This would mean that either the Scottish Mission would purchase them or erect

¹³⁴Sir Andrew Fraser to The Secretary of State for Colonies, 2nd January, 1918. (Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, Assorted uncatalogued Letters found in B.M.L. Kumase.)

¹³⁵Wilkie had been in Calabar for 17 years when he was transferred.

¹³⁶Miss Gladys Wallace died in Ghana on 4th December, 1921

¹³⁷*The Record of the Home and Foreign Mission Work of the U. F. C of Scotland, 1919*, P 82.

¹³⁸Minute by Mr. Mitchell, Controlling Officer, 2nd August, 1918: CO/96/592/51497. P.R.O, London.

their own schools and buildings needed for the work. Realistically, neither of the two options was possible because the U.F.C. could not find the means. Fraser, therefore, urged the British government either to help the church to acquire them "on favourable terms or acquire them and allow the Mission to use them."¹³⁹ It was in response to this property question that the colonial government passed the Basel Mission Ordinance in December 1918.

In 1919, however, as a result of the settlement of their differences, the Basel Mission passed a resolution to hand over the property to the U.F.C without cost. The section of the resolution that dealt with the property said:

As to the property of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast we hand it over to the Scotch Mission (sic) for use and without compensation until the whole situation will be definitely cleared up.....¹⁴⁰

The U.F.C was faced with the problem of how to raise sufficient money to run the administration of the church and also to pay the salaries of the teachers in the schools controlled by the church. Fraser once again called on the British government to offer financial assistance to enable the church to meet their obligations. He stated quite clearly that :

The United Free Church would not probably have dreamed of beginning a mission on the Gold Coast had it not been that political necessity arose for excluding German missionaries from that territory and that the government asked that church to render what assistance she could in this matter..... under these circumstances we should expect liberal treatment from government in respect of our work. We should expect to have at least a liberal assistance from the government in the way of educational and other grants.....It is in the confident expectation of such assistance

¹³⁹It is important to note here that the Scottish Mission was not prepared to assume control of the property of the Basel Mission without passing through the proper channels of legal acquisition. However it appears the Basel Mission was not aware of the efforts being made by the U.F.C that is why they suspected foul play on the part of the U.F.C.

¹⁴⁰Resolution of the Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Society in Basel , 26th December , 1919.

that we have agreed to take up the work and to co-operate with government in government in saving the situation in the Gold Coast.¹⁴¹

In response to this appeal, the British colonial government in Ghana decided to take up the payment of all the salaries of teachers of the schools managed by the church till the church was able to take the payment herself.¹⁴² The Scottish Mission was to generate funds locally to run the administration of the church. In this respect, the church tax was re-organized and men in the church were expected to pay 10s per annum and women, 6s per annum.

From the foregoing discussion, it could be seen that by the end of 1918 the U.F.C. had been able to get a few missionaries to Ghana led by Rev. A. W. Wilkie. Furthermore, the property of the Basel Mission had been handed over to the Scottish Mission, the financial problem was reasonably under control and work had started in earnest. This is not to say that all the problems had been solved. The Scottish Mission continued to be haunted by the problem of lack of missionary personnel and there was still room for improvement in the finances of the church but the important thing, however, was that a bold beginning had been made by the Scottish Mission in Ghana. It could be observed that apart from the political issues involved in the arrangements, the U.F.C appeared to have regarded the invitation to go to Ghana as a call to a Christian duty. This seemed to have been the main driving force behind all the struggles that they went through.

¹⁴¹Sir Andrew Fraser to Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, 2nd January 1918.(Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, Assorted uncatalogued Letters found in the B.M.L, Kumase.)

¹⁴²Colonial Secretary to the Foreign Mission Committee, Edinburgh, 11th April 1918. (Basel Mission on the Gold Coast. *Ibid*)

2.16 FACTORS THAT ASSISTED THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN THEIR TAKE-OVER IN GHANA

A number of factors assisted the Scottish Mission to make a start in Ghana in spite of the problems the U.F.C faced. These included firstly, the indefatigability, foresight, courage and fortitude and the psychological maturity of the leader of the Mission, Rev. A. W. Wilkie. He had earlier in 1917 served on the deputation to Ghana as the leader and, therefore, had a foreknowledge of the work of which he was now in charge. For the best part of 1918, he was the only Scottish missionary in Ghana,¹⁴³ managing, directing and motivating the indigenous Ghanaian church leaders to give of their best in their work. Throughout his eleven years stay in Ghana the indigenous leaders of the church saw him as "administrator and manager" of the church.¹⁴⁴ Much of what was achieved in Ghana by the Scottish Mission was due to his ingenuity as a tactician and gifted missionary strategist. Secondly, the precarious situation in which the church in Ghana found itself after the sudden departure of the Basel missionaries was an important factor which assisted the Scottish Mission. When they were expelled suddenly, the Ghanaian church agents were helpless and felt like "orphans."¹⁴⁵ Such a situation made them vulnerable and, therefore, receptive to whoever they felt could help them out of the crisis. The few Scottish missionaries who came to Ghana were, therefore, enthusiastically received by the leaders and the church members when they arrived. Giving account of the reception they received on their arrival in Ghana Rev. Wilkie had this to say:

When we reached the Gold Coast and visited the Mission stations bereft of all their old and beloved fathers and were everywhere received with such warmth of welcome there was no further room for doubt where present duty lay. They were like sheep

¹⁴³Of course this is not to forget his wife who played a supportive role

¹⁴⁴Wilkie was transferred to head the Lovedale College in South Africa in 1931. The farewell address given by the Moderator Rt Rev. L. Richter described him as such. Dated July, 1931, P.C.G.A, Accra.

¹⁴⁵This was the description of the church after the expulsion of the Basel Mission by Rev N. T. Clerk, the first Synod Clerk of the church. See his Foreword to Minutes 1918-1925, 25th August, 1919.

without a shepherd and we felt deeply that any work which we tried to do must be inspired by the compassion and love of Christ.¹⁴⁶

Thirdly, the take over process was greatly helped by the support provided the Scottish Mission by the British colonial governments both in Ghana and in London. Since the idea of bringing the Scottish Mission to Ghana was arranged by the British government for political reasons, every assistance was given to the Mission to enable it succeed in preserving the work of the Basel Mission. Government officials felt that they were morally bound to assist the Scottish Mission. The Acting Director of Education put it this way:

I consider that every encouragement should be given to the Scottish Mission who have helped us out of such a great difficulty.....¹⁴⁷

Fourthly, the solid foundation laid by the Basel Mission was a significant factor. Though the Basel Mission was slow in involving the indigenous people in the administration of the church, they had given solid training to the leaders in the seminaries as teachers, evangelists and catechists and some had been ordained as pastors. They had developed a simple administration around eleven central stations which had been organized into two districts, the Ga and the Twi. Hymns and liturgy had been developed and the bible had been translated into Ga and Twi, the two main languages spoken in the church. Schools had been established with appreciable standards of discipline and academic performance. All these were at the disposal of the Scottish Mission to use. What the Scottish Mission needed to do on arrival, therefore, was to re-organize, develop and use the material that was already available in the system. This was exactly what Wilkie did. That is why even

¹⁴⁶*International Review of Missions*, 1919, P. 86.

¹⁴⁷From Acting Director of Education to Acting Colonial Secretary , 17th August, 1921. CO/96/626. P.R.O. London.

with the small missionary staff at his disposal he was able to co-ordinate the work with an appreciable degree of success.

Fifthly, the economic situation in the country at the time the Scottish Mission took over worked in favour of the Mission. The country was at the height of its material prosperity mainly due to the success of the cocoa, timber and mining industries. As a result, the Mission could raise money locally to meet the cost of local administration. The statement of account given by Wilkie at synod in 1918 reflected this fact. He reported that the income from church tax for 1918 amounted to £ 8,443 2s 2d as against an expenditure of £3,735 7s 11d.¹⁴⁸ With this development, therefore, the Scottish Mission did not need to bring in any substantial amount of money from Scotland to run the administration of the church in Ghana. This was a big relief for the U.F.C at this time when money was hard to come by.

Furthermore, the fact that the Scottish missionaries were British citizens was a big advantage to them. Since they were British citizens in a British colony they had all the freedom they needed to go about their work without fear of being suspected of any underhand dealings. The problem that the Basel missionaries faced in Ghana was that since they were mainly German they were always under suspicion by the British colonial administration.

¹⁴⁸The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, 1918: Accounts. We have already noted that by 1915 the Basel Mission was raising enough funds locally for local administration.

2.17 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In conclusion, one can say that since the U.F.C. had not intended to send missionaries to Ghana and, therefore, had not planned for it the church faced logistical problems. However, through the intervention of the British colonial government, the sagacity of Oldham and the tact, dynamism and the foresight of Rev. A. W. Wilkie, the dedication of the few Scottish missionaries sent to Ghana and the co-operation of the Ghanaian church leaders, the problems were largely surmounted. The arrival of Rev. Wilkie and his wife on 21st February, 1918, signaled the beginning of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Compared with the Basel Mission, the staff that was assembled by the U.F.C was much smaller and the resources at the disposal of the church meagre. Nevertheless, however inadequate the resources might have been the U.F.C had made a significant beginning. It had courageously taken upon itself the onerous but rewarding task of being part of the historical process that shaped the destiny of the P.C.G.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SCOTTISH MISSION'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE SITUATION IN GHANA BEFORE THE RETURN OF THE BASEL MISSIONARIES IN 1925.

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana marked an important turning point in the life of the P.C.G. It marked the beginning of an era in which the indigenous church leaders were encouraged to participate in the administration of the church. Thus it signaled a major shift from the missionary paternalism of the Basel Mission era to missionary co-operation and set the P.C.G firmly on the road to full independence.

3.1 THE MEETING WITH THE GOVERNOR

On his arrival in Ghana on the 21st February, 1918, Wilkie was met by a government delegation led by Mr. J. D Oman, the Director of Education in Ghana.¹ On 1st March, 1918 Wilkie met the governor and expressed his gratitude for the warm reception accorded him on his arrival.² He also took the opportunity to have a discussion with the governor on the work he was expected to do in Ghana. He agreed with the governor on the following points: Firstly, that the Scottish Mission, on behalf of the U.F.C would take over the religious part of the former Basel Mission work in the first instance leaving the educational part, for the time being, in the care of the government. This was as a result of the financial difficulties that the U.F.C. was facing at that time. Secondly, that

¹Letter from Wilkie to the F.M.C in Edinburgh, 4th March, 1918.

²Confidential Correspondence No. 4/a/1918, CO/96/589. P.R.O, London.

the colonial government wanted the Scottish Mission to treat the work as an entity.³ The unity of the church in Ghana was important for the political unity of the country. Thirdly, that Wilkie would be a member of the Educational Board of the colony. Therefore, right from the beginning of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana its leader was co-opted into the colonial administrative machinery. Fourthly, that the Scottish Mission would have nothing to do with the B.M.T.S. Fifthly, that a name should be chosen for the Mission as a local body. Wilkie had proposed **The Scottish Mission to the Gold Coast**. Sixthly, that the accounts of the Basel Mission should stay with government who would settle with the Mission at the appropriate time.⁴

Wilkie's initial meeting with the governor appeared to have been very useful and important because it enabled both the colonial government in Ghana and the Scottish Mission to agree on how the Mission should proceed with its work.

3.2 THE FAMILIARIZATION TOUR BY WILKIE.

After the meeting with the governor, Wilkie embarked on a tour of the central stations of the church to meet the leaders and officially present the Scottish Mission to them.⁵ He also explained the difficulty of obtaining missionary personnel to work in Ghana and appealed for loyalty and patience.⁶

Wilkie was given a rousing welcome on his arrival in Ghana which was reminiscent of the biblical account of Jesus' entry to Jerusalem (Mk. 11: 1-11, Lk. 19: 28-44, Mt. 21: 1-

³The Basel Mission had organized the church into Ga and Twi districts, independent of each other.

⁴Record of the proceedings of the meeting, dated 21/3/1918, CO/96/589 P.R.O London.

⁵Note: Wilkie had been in Ghana before as leader of the deputation sent by the F.M.C. to Ghana in 1917.

⁶Memorandum to the governor, 23rd March, 1918, CO/96/589/24816. P.R.O, London.

11, Jn. 12: 12-19) wherever he visited. Wilkie himself described the reception in these words:

We have received cordial welcome in every place visited and if words can be trusted the welcome extended to the Scottish Mission has been sincere and apparently enthusiastic.⁷

This enthusiastic welcome appears to be a symbol of the people's gratefulness to God for sending the Scottish Mission in the nick of time to save the church from the trauma, and the spiritual and material limbo into which international political wrangling had landed it.⁸ This is summed up in the words of Rev. N.T. Clerk as "a relief to us..... we thank our Heavenly Father that he has not left us as orphans."⁹

3.3 MEMORANDUM FROM WILKIE TO THE GOVERNOR.

After the tour Wilkie sent a memorandum to the governor on his findings. The following issues were highlighted:

3.3.1 Finance: Wilkie claimed he discovered that there was uneasiness among church members " due to control of Native Funds by the Basel Mission without statement of definite use for which the funds were employed."¹⁰ Here, I think Wilkie has overstated the case. If anything at all, the Basel Mission was known to be very meticulous in the way they handled all their things. It is true the "Native Funds" were controlled by the Basel Mission but annual statement of accounts of the church was presented by the Basel

⁷*Ibid.* Note that at this time all the Basel missionaries had left the colony

⁸H. W. Debrunner: *Pioneer Series: Owura Nico*, Waterville Accra, 1965, P. 65.

⁹N. T. Clerk: Foreword 1918-1925 *Minutes of Synod, Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony 25/8/1919*. All the people interviewed in Ghana generally expressed similar sentiments.

¹⁰Memorandum: Preliminary action towards organization of the Scottish Mission, 23/3/1918, CO/96/589/ 24816. P.R.O. London.

Mission in the *Christian Messenger*, the newspaper of the Basel Mission Church, annually.¹¹ It is very possible that not many people could have read and understood the statement because of the high level of illiteracy at that time. But the fact is that the statement was given. Furthermore, it is difficult to understand what Wilkie meant by his statement that the Ghanaians did not know "the definite use for which the funds were employed." In fact every Ghanaian church member knew what the Basel missionaries were doing with the monies collected even though they might not have known the details. The most obvious was the payment of the salaries of teachers and other church agents which was the responsibility of the Basel Mission and the building of schools. Furthermore, according to Wilkie, there was no clear distinction between funds which were contributed locally and funds accumulated from grants from the Home Committee of the Basel Mission. That could be the way the Basel Mission wanted to handle the accounts and that was not necessarily bad in itself. What is more, it appears that the imminence of the expulsion of the Basel Mission from Ghana created some panic and confusion among the missionaries and, therefore, they could not prepare comprehensive accounts of the finances of the Mission. This might have accounted for the seeming confusion that Wilkie was reporting on. Wilkie further reported that he discovered that "several large amounts had been withdrawn by the local churches since 30th November 1917 but it was difficult to trace what had been done with the amounts."¹² It is difficult to know why the local churches withdrew these "large amounts." It is, however, plausible to think that the local churches might have withdrawn these amounts from the banks so that in case the assets of the church were frozen the churches would not be crippled financially.¹³ Furthermore, it appears that since the Basel missionaries controlled the

¹¹See *Annual Accounts of the Basel Mission Society on the Gold Coast, 1915* in *Christian Messenger, June 1916* (Twi version *Kristofo Senkekafo*). This was done in both Twi and English languages.

¹²*Ibid*

¹³The assets of the Basel Mission were frozen when they were deported. It is possible the Mission feared this might be extended to the whole church and advised the churches accordingly. This scenario implies that the churches had their own accounts at the local level

accounts of the church, they were principal signatories to the bank accounts. Therefore, it is possible that the Basel missionaries foresaw the difficulty of withdrawing money from the bank after they had left the country and, therefore, took steps to avoid a situation where the congregations would be without money by helping them to withdraw the money before leaving. The finances of the Mission and the churches, according to Wilkie's findings, were largely bound up with the finances of the Basel Mission Factory. He was of the opinion that " a measure of confidence in the Native Church in regard to finance was essential."¹⁴

Fig. 8: Part of the Accounts presented by the Basel Mission in 1914 and 1915.

Sika Mpoano ha Basel Asempaterew Fekuw afe 1914 mu Sikagye
ne Sikafwere hō Akontābu.

Nea yeñ nsa kāe:

Mantam.	Asram 3 tow.	Amradofo Grant.	Sukūtow	Ŋkābom.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Abokobi	169. 18. 6.	76. 1. 0.	12. 1. 3.	258. 0. 9.
Osu	204. 1. 6.	249. 13. 0.	28. 6. 0.	482. 0. 6.
Odumase	255. 4. 6.	358. 2. 0.	90. 3. 3.	703. 9. 9.
Ŋkrañfo	629. 4. 6.	683. 16. 0.	130. 10. 6.	1 443. 11. 0.
Abetifi	391. 13. 3.	142. 10. 0.	—	534. 3. 3.
Aburi	361. 5. 9.	137. 12. 6.	5. 2. 9.	504. 1. 0.
Akuropōñ	1 003. 6. 1.	436. 12. 0.	—	1 439. 18. 1.
Anum	192. 1. 3.	193. 3. 0.	—	385. 4. 3.
Bcgorō	233. 15. 9.	156. 17. 4.	—	390. 13. 1.
Kumase	230. 7. 9.	86. 13. 6.	11. 12. 3.	328. 13. 6.
Kyebi	349. 11. 0.	164. 2. 1.	—	513. 13. 1.
Nsabā	565. 14. 0.	228. 9. 6.	5. 5. 0.	799. 8. 6.
Twifo	3 327. 14. 10.	1 545. 19. 11.	22. 0. 0.	4 895. 14. 9.
Ŋkābom	3 956. 19. 4.	2 229. 15. 11.	152. 10. 6.	6 339. 5. 9.

¹⁴ Memorandum, 23/3/1918, CO/96/589/24816. P.R.O, London.

Basel Mission Accounts Continued:

**Annual Account of the Basel Mission Society on the Gold Coast
for the year 1915.**

I. Circuit Account:

Station:	a) Income				Expend.
	Quarterly Fees £ s d	Governm. Grant £ s d	School Fees £ s d	Total £ s d	Salaries of Agents (-5%) £ s d
Abokobi	171.14. 3	105.14.	16.10.	293.18. 3	828. 2. 4
Christiansbg	209.14.	282.15. 6	34. 1. 7	526.11. 1	700.15. 5
Odumase	297. 1.	431. 8.	101.14.	830. 3.	1049. 9. 6
Gã District:	678. 9. 3	819.17. 6	152. 5. 7	1650.12. 4	2578. 7. 3
Abetifi	429. 5. 3	165.18. 6		595. 3. 9	774.11.10
Aburi	368. 4. 3	217. 8. 6	7.15. 6	593. 8. 3	801.19.11
Akropong	1011. 2. 3	517.12.		1528.14. 3	1578.17.
Anum	160.13. 3	214. 6. 3		374.19. 6	574.15. 3
Begoro	264.11. 6	131. 1. 4		395.12.10	721.12. 8
Kumase	249.13. 7	118.10. 6	10. 8.	378.12. 1	841.14. 3
Kyebe	391. 2. 9	164.15. 9		555.18. 6	893. 5. 5
Nsabã	554.17. 2	249. 1. 8	6.15.	810.13.10	1189. 6. 7
Tshi District:	3429.10.	1778.14.6	24.18. 6	5233. 3.	7376. 2.11
Total:	4107.19. 3	2598.12.	177. 4. 1	6883.15. 4	9954.10. 2
Debit Balance:				£ 3070. 14. 10.	
Debit Balance of last year				£ 1060. 18.	

3.4 THE ACTION PLAN

After surveying the mission field, Wilkie designed an action plan for the management of the church. Wilkie found that the beliefs and practices of the U.F.C were "so similar to those of the Basel Mission that changes were unnecessary."¹⁵ At the first Synod of the church, therefore, during which he unveiled his action plan he promised to "continue the work without change of method except as the Synod desired."¹⁶ Apart from the fact that Wilkie found out that things were basically similar, the promise showed that he was prepared to do the work with the people.

¹⁵Wilkie's interview with the governor, 21st March, 1918, CO/96/589. P.R.O, London.

¹⁶The Scottish Mission Gold Coast Colony: Minutes of Synod, 14th August, 1918, P. 3.

3.5 THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Wilkie's plan for administration was a complete break from the paternalistic system of the Basel Mission. On his arrival in Ghana he immediately formed a Central Committee made of some of the most experienced indigenous pastors of the church to assist in the administration in the interim pending the establishment of the new structure. The members of this interim committee were Rev. P. Hall, Rev. N.V. Asare, Rev. W. A. Quartey, Rev. N. T. Clerk, Rev. W. Odjidja and Rev. D. E. Akwa.¹⁷ His new administrative structure had the following features:

3.5.1 The Session or Local Presbytery: This was to be made up of the local church leader and a selected number of lay people as presbyters¹⁸. The minimum number of presbyters that could be appointed was to be two and the maximum was to be seven.

3.5.2 The Presbytery: Wilkie constituted the eleven central stations left behind by the Basel Mission into presbyteries.¹⁹ These presbyteries were to be encouraged to "greater earnestness and more self reliance."

3.5.3 The Synod: The highest level of the structure was the Synod. It was the **supreme court** of the church. It was to be responsible for the general administration and policy making in the church.²⁰

3.5.4 The District: Wilkie sub-divided the eleven presbyteries into smaller segments and "each of the 30 Ghanaian pastors was given a special sphere of influence."²¹ This

¹⁷Memorandum from the Central Committee to His Excellency, Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor, 5th April, 1918.

¹⁸Presbyters in the Ghanaian context are the same as Elders.

¹⁹See Chapter One P. 41 above for the stations.

²⁰*The Scottish Mission: Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of Synod August, 1918* Min. 9

was part of Wilkie's strategy to involve the Ghanaian church leaders in the administration of the church. It however, inadvertently introduced the district level of administration into the structure. This was so because the pastors were placed at vantage points where they had pastoral oversight of a cluster of smaller congregations.²² The new districts were Akropong, Mampong Akuapem, Accra, Larte, Abokobi, Mayera, Aburi, Christiansborg, Kumase, Nsaba, Adawso, Begoro, Asante Mampong, Kwanyako, Bawaleshie, Kyebi, Kwabeng, Asamankese, Odumase, Adukrom, Nsawam, Akokoaso, Koforidua, Otumi, Berekum, Abetifi, Anum, Akyem-Soaduru, Addah and Bompata²³. For the first time the indigenous pastor was put in full pastoral charge of an area in the church. This, I believe, was a great morale booster for the pastors.

3.6 SYNOD MEETINGS

At its inception, Wilkie intended Synod, to meet annually to take stock of the work of the church for the previous year, review strategies and policies, take decisions on vital issues affecting the church and set new goals for the ensuing year. It remained an annual affair till 1920 when the Synod meeting at Aburi decided that " unless special circumstances demand otherwise the meetings be bi-yearly."²⁴ It was, probably, realized that there was not much to be done to justify the annual synod meeting. From 1920, therefore, Synod meetings were held once in two years till 1950 when the church reverted to the annual meetings of Synod. During this period, however, there were emergency Synods and church conferences to deal with special issues which demanded the attention of the Synod.

²¹*International Review of Missions*, 1920 P. 89.

²²Wilkie realized the emergence of the district level of administration coming between the Session and the Presbytery and mentioned that it might be considered in due course. See *Synod Minutes*, 1918, Min. 9.

²³*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes*, 1919, P. 3.

²⁴*Ibid*, 1920 Min. 7.

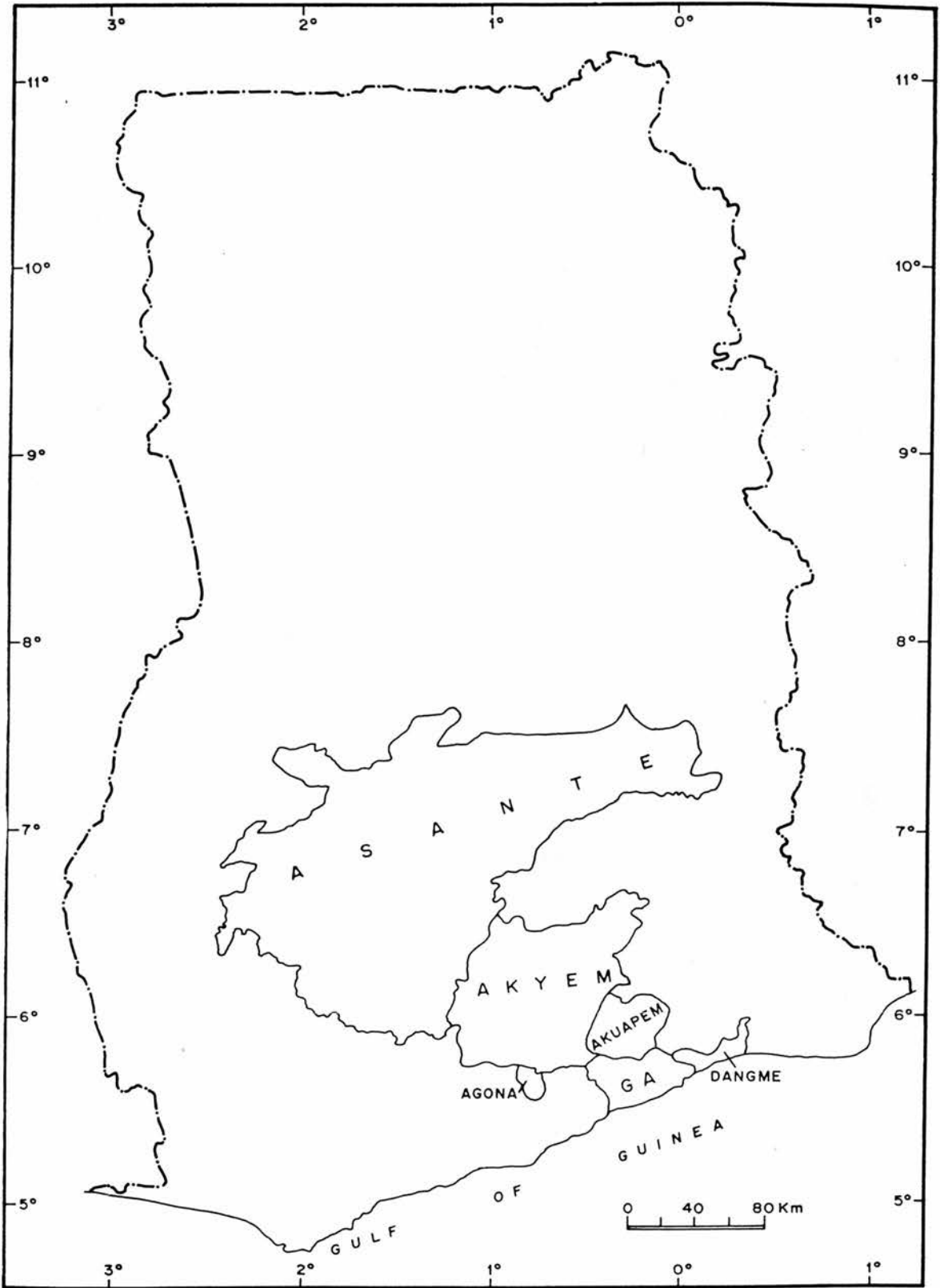


Fig. 9: Map of Ghana showing the extent of the Basel Mission especially the ethnic groups among whom the Mission worked in Ghana.

3.7 THE FIRST SYNOD - AKROPONG, 14TH- 17TH AUGUST 1918.

Within six months of his arrival in Ghana Wilkie assembled the first Synod for the whole church at Akropong from 14th to 18th August, 1918.²⁵ It was attended by 28 Ghanaian pastors, 24 presbyters and six Scottish missionaries,²⁶ four female and two male.²⁷ There were no females among the Ghanaian delegates.

This Synod was important not only because it was the first of its kind in the history of the church but more importantly because it united the Ga and Twi districts of the church. Hitherto, the Basel Mission had organized these two districts as separate entities and as regional churches.

3.8 THE FIRST MODERATOR

The new administration introduced by the Scottish Mission made provision for the appointment of a Moderator of the Synod of the Scottish Mission Church. Rev. Peter Hall, a second generation West Indian was appointed the first Moderator of the Synod.²⁸ He was one of the most senior and experienced pastors at the time. He served as the Moderator till he retired in 1922.

²⁵Wilkie arrived on 21st February, 1918 and the Synod started on 14th August, 1918.

²⁶*The Scottish Mission: Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes 1918*, P. 3

²⁷The four female were Mrs. Wilkie, Mrs. Moffat, Miss Wallace, Miss Ross and the two male were Rev. Wilkie and Rev. J. Rankin.

²⁸His father was John Hall, one of the West Indians who volunteered to come to Ghana to work with the Basel Mission in 1843. He settled in Ghana permanently.

3.9 THE FIRST SYNOD CLERK.

Another position created by the new structure was that of the Synod Clerk. Rev. N. T. Clerk, another second generation West Indian was appointed the first Synod Clerk of the church.²⁹ He held the office of the Synod Clerk till he retired in 1932.³⁰

It is important to note that both the first Moderator of the Synod and the Synod Clerk were second generation West Indians. Though both were black people they were, strictly speaking, not Ghanaian in terms of their upbringing and cultural orientation. What is more Clerk was trained in Basel. They, therefore, had little sympathy for the Ghanaian culture.

3.10 THE SYNOD COMMITTEE.

The Synod Committee was created as an executive to the Synod. Eight experienced Ghanaian pastors were chosen to form the committee initially. They were Rev. P. Hall, the Moderator as chairman, Rev. N.T. Clerk, the Synod Clerk as the Clerk and Rev. N.V. Asare all from the Twi district.³¹ From the Ga district, Rev. W.A. Quartey, Rev. L. Richter and Rev. W. Odjidja. The rest were Rev. C. Martinson from Asante and Rev. D. E. Akwa from Akyem. In 1919 Rev. S. Kumi from Agona- Kotoku area was added on the recommendation of Rev. Wilkie because of the " difficulty in deciding matters from Nsaba³² area in the Synod Committee."³³ It is important to note that though the church was united under one Synod, membership of the Synod Committee was carefully selected

²⁹His father was Alexander Worthy Clerk. He was also one of the West Indians who volunteered to work with the Basel Mission in Ghana in 1843. He, like John Hall, also settled permanently in Ghana.

³⁰In those days both the Moderator and the Synod Clerk held office till retirement, death or resignation.

³¹Twi is used here to refer to the Akuapem area.

³²Nsaba was the head station of the Agona- Kotoku area.

³³*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of Synod, 1919 Min. 14.*

so as to get all sections of the church proportionately represented on the committee. The Secretary of the Scottish Mission and the chairman of the Scottish Mission Council were also made members of the Synod Committee. There was no female representation on the Synod Committee at this time.

A look at the membership of the Synod Committee shows that it was basically the central committee that was converted into the Synod Committee.

The Synod Committee was to meet in between synods and at least three times a year. It was to see that the decisions and resolutions of the Synod were implemented. It became a very important instrument in the administration of the church. Records of the church show that Wilkie and subsequent Scottish Mission secretaries had good working relationship with the Synod Committee. The Committee was almost always consulted or at least informed before the Scottish Mission Secretary acted on matters affecting the church.

3.11 THE SCOTTISH MISSION COUNCIL.(S.M.C.)

Another organ which played an important role in the administration of the church was the S.M.C. Rev. Wilkie was the secretary of the Council until 1931.³⁴ This Council was made up of the missionaries of the Scottish Mission. It was responsible for the welfare of all the missionaries in Ghana. It was also responsible for the handling of all the funds belonging to the F.M.C of the U.F.C. It served as the representative of the F.M.C in Ghana and, therefore, acted with its authority.

³⁴He was transferred to South Africa to head an institution in Lovedale.

The aim of the Council, according to Wilkie, was to "train local churches in self-government."³⁵ As the representative of the Church in Scotland, the Council reserved "the right of veto to any decision of the church courts and takes the place of insisting as in the past, upon the approval by a Home Committee, of every decision of the Synod before such a decision becomes binding upon the local church."³⁶ The formation of the S. M. C. was in step with the missionary policy of the U.F.C.

3.12 THE SCOTTISH MISSION COUNCIL AND THE SYNOD: THE VETO.

Wilkie had established the Synod as the **Supreme Court** of the church and the Synod Committee as its executive. In spite of the supremacy of the Synod, however, the right to veto the decisions of Synod was reserved for the S.M.C. It was, therefore, difficult to reconcile the supremacy of Synod with the veto power held by the S.M.C because it appears the Council with its veto power was interfering in the supremacy of the Synod. Indeed Rev. N.T. Clerk, the Synod Clerk questioned the need for the veto power by the S. M.C. and asked for an explanation to what he felt was anomalous.³⁷

In his explanation, Rev. T. L. Beveridge, deputizing for Rev. Wilkie, said that, the S.M.C was the link between the church in Ghana and the church in Scotland. Therefore, it was the duty of the council to meet and co-operate with the Synod Committee all the time. He emphasized that what was described as "the right of veto" was not intended to prevent the church from exercising their freedom. Rather, according to him, it was to enable the missionaries to consult the church in Scotland in case of "difference of opinion

³⁵*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of Synod 1918* Min. 9 P. 4-5. Wilkie was addressing Synod on the main features of the administration.

³⁶This was an implicit reference to the Basel Mission style of administration where the Home Committee in Basel had to approve of every decision before it could be implemented in the Church in Ghana.

³⁷*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes, 1920*, Min. 16.

on some matter of importance" for guidance and direction."³⁸ Rev. P. Anaman then asked whether a Ghanaian church leader could be allowed to serve on the council, the secretary politely answered in the negative claiming that " all matters affecting the church were discussed by the Council in conference with Synod Committee and the only other business of the Council was concerned with the personal and financial affairs of missionaries."³⁹ By implication, therefore, the Ghanaian church leaders did not have the right to know about the "personal and financial affairs" of the missionaries. There was an interesting parallel to the situation in Ghana in Malawi where in 1921 a distinguished indigenous Ngoni⁴⁰ member of the Scottish Mission Church, Yesaya Chibambo, protested against some policies of the Mission and suggested that "it was time to admit some of the leading African employees of the mission to the meetings of the mission council."⁴¹ This suggestion, like in the case of Ghana, was also politely rejected but the two situations happening at different places independent of each other showed that the indigenous people were not happy with the exclusive nature of the S.M.C.

While it could be argued that the veto power of the S.M.C appeared to infringe on the supremacy of the Synod, a close look shows that it was a necessary tool in the hand of the Scottish Mission to control and nurture the church at this initial stage. The Scottish Mission had not been in Ghana for long and, therefore, had little time to properly assess the theological and spiritual maturity of all the indigenous church leaders. Although the Basel Mission had handled the church for almost a century it was not safe to assume that all was well at the initial stage of the work of the Scottish Mission. It was, therefore, only responsible that a limited control was exerted on the Synod at least for some time before

³⁸*Ibid*

³⁹*Ibid* P. 22.

⁴⁰Ngoni is an ethnic group in Malawi.

⁴¹T. Jack Thompson: *Christianity in Northern Malawi, Donald Fraser's Missionary Methods & Ngoni Culture*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1995, P. 199.

trusting it with major decisions on policy and discipline. The veto power provided this limited control.

This point was made clear by Wilkie himself when commenting on the veto power of the S.M.C in Ghana later. He said:

...inexperienced in self-government, absolute and final control might lead to rapid deterioration of discipline and end in anarchy: merely nominal power would certainly not bring out the very highest possible in the African Church. After careful consideration I constituted the Synod as the Supreme Court of the church reserving however to the Mission Council the right of veto to any decision. A Mission Council worth its salt co-operating with the church should be able to exercise such christian tact as seldom to require to exercise the veto but the right must in experimental stages be reserved so as to secure sound policy and discipline.⁴²

It could be seen, therefore, that the veto power reserved for the S.M.C from the point of view of the Scottish Mission, was a necessary check on the Synod of the church so as to avoid mistakes at this initial stage of the self-rule. This was crucial especially because the Ghanaians had never been involved in the administration in any serious way before this time. However, there is no record that the veto power was ever used by the S.M.C. The probable reason was that as time went on Wilkie and the Scottish Mission so commanded the confidence of the church leadership that they could influence decisions of the various courts without resorting to the use of the veto power. The Mission Council, the Synod and the Synod Committee, therefore, co-existed peacefully and played their respective roles without any major hitch.⁴³

⁴²*International Review of Missions*, 1920 P. 90

⁴³This was confirmed by the leading church members who had the opportunity to work with the Scottish Missionaries Dr. Ephraim Amu who taught at the Presbyterian Training College in the latter 1920s, Rev. A.L.Kwansa, Synod Clerk of the Church from 1955 to 1969 etc. Some of the missionaries interviewed also confirmed it, Rev. C.F. Paton, Rev. Moore, Rev. D.S. Elder just before he died.

3.13 THE POSITION OF WILKIE VIS-A-VIS THE MODERATOR AND THE SYNOD CLERK.

Some commentators on the history of the P.C.G are of the view that the appointment of a Ghanaian Moderator and a Synod Clerk were only "in name." In his review of the work of the Scottish Mission, Fred Agyemang had this to say:

The appointment of an African Moderator.....was in fact in name and for ceremonial purposes and an African Synod Clerk as the administrative Head of the church was also more in name than in effect or substance because the leaders.....came under the administrative and financial tutelage of Dr. Wilkie Secretary of the Scottish Mission.⁴⁴

Fred Agyemang, however, concedes that by appointing a Ghanaian Moderator and a Synod Clerk the church " became slightly independent."⁴⁵ Fred Agyemang is not alone in this assessment. In my interviews with church leaders and members of the P.C.G as part of this research, I realized that quite a few people hold the same views.

The administrative structure introduced by Wilkie was new to the church in Ghana. Though Rev. P. Hall, the Moderator and Rev. N.T. Clerk the Synod Clerk were both experienced people in their own right they had not taken charge of the whole church in those capacities before. The role that Wilkie and subsequent Scottish Mission secretaries played at this stage of the church's life was that of a trainer and a consultant in the build up towards the full independence of the church. Of course in such a case one must expect a certain amount of tutelage to enable the new officers to see their way clear in their work. It is true Wilkie and subsequent secretaries wielded great power in the church. Nevertheless, they effectively promoted and strengthened the positions of the Moderator,

⁴⁴Fred Agyemang: *We Presbyterians, 2nd ed.* Waterville Publishing House, Accra, 1988 P. 31.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*

the Synod Clerk and the Synod Committee knowing that ultimately the administration of the church would be their full responsibility. There was no doubt that the leaders came under "the tutelage of Dr. Wilkie" but it is clear that he wanted to develop the church into a full independent church. Therefore, the "tutelage" should not be seen in the negative sense. Rather, it should be seen positively as part of the process to empower the leaders to be able to function effectively and meet all the challenges that their new roles would demand of them in the course of time. Moreover, there is no record of any attempt by Wilkie to usurp the powers of either the Moderator or the Synod Clerk. Prof. Kwamena Poh sees the whole scenario in a positive way and says "the longer tutelage of the church.....produced a better crop of leaders more mature, more developed and more responsible."⁴⁶ Debrunner has this to say on the power of the secretary of the Scottish Mission in Ghana:

...The Rev. Peter Hall became the Moderator and the Rev. Nicholas Clerk. The Scottish Missionary Society (sic) retained the right of veto for the moment. This meant that until 1950 the local leader of the Scottish Mission had far-reaching powers, but nevertheless, the new ruling was a great step towards independence compared with the old patriarchal leadership of the Basel Mission.⁴⁷

I think this was a fair assessment of the situation as regards the position of the Scottish Mission Secretary and those of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk in the P.C.G. Rev. Wilkie had great power but he nurtured the positions into maturity very well recognized and respected by the members of the P.C.G. By 1950 when the church achieved full independence, the positions had been well established. The church therefore was able to hold its own.

⁴⁶Kwamena Po: *Vision and Achievement- A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1828-1878* P. 286 (Unpublished)

⁴⁷H.W. Debrunner: *Pioneer Series: Owura Nico*, Waterville Publishing House, Accra, 1965, P. 61.

3.14 FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

The Basel Mission had introduced a church tax before the Scottish Mission arrived in the country.⁴⁸ During the Synod of 1918, the tax was fixed at 10s for men and 6s for women per annum with effect from 1st January, 1919⁴⁹ and school fees were also fixed at infants, 1s, substandards, 1s 6d and 2s for standards I-III. Wilkie then introduced a new system of financial administration. According to the new system all funds collected on behalf of the church would be administered as follows:

3.14.1 The Central Fund: This was to be the central pool into which all monies held in the name of the whole church would be kept. Such monies included church tax, anniversary collections and voluntary thank offerings. The central fund would be used for the payment of salaries and for the support of senior schools and seminaries. Wilkie was to be directly in charge of the fund as the treasurer. This made him the treasurer of the church.⁵⁰

3.14.2 The Congregational Funds: These funds were to be held at the various congregations and used for local purposes.⁵¹ They were to be made up of Sunday offerings taken during church services and monies raised during harvests. Congregations would, however, be expected to surrender monies in this fund if the central fund was not able to meet the financial obligations of the church. The congregational funds were to be

⁴⁸This was introduced in 1878. See *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September 1915 P 3

⁴⁹*The Scottish Mission: Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of Synod, 1918* P. 4. This was the first time that the tax was fixed at different levels for men and women in the church. This was probably due to a lower income level for women in Ghana generally.

⁵⁰There was no treasurer for the whole church at this time. Since it was the Basel missionaries who were handling the church's money, their expulsion created a vacuum.

⁵¹It appears the local congregations had their own funds during the Basel Mission period. Wilkie reported after his familiarization tour that "large sums of money" had been withdrawn from the accounts of the congregations a few weeks before the expulsion of the Basel missionaries. See page 97 above.

collected and managed by pastors and other church agents. In 1923, however, Synod Committee decided that pastors and the other church agents should not hold monies belonging to the congregations.⁵² The funds were to be held by "presbyters who should consult and agree with the pastors or church agents before any portion of the money was disbursed." This encouraged co-operation between the church agents and the presbyters and also helped to devolve some powers to the presbyters.⁵³ It also provided for checks and balances in the congregations.

3.14.3 The Synod Fund: This fund, according to Wilkie, would enable the church to offset the bills of Synod and Synod Committee. It was to be collected on the basis of three pence per communicant per annum. Such monies so collected should be paid to the Synod Clerk who was the treasurer of the fund. According to the Synod Clerk, defaulting congregations would be "deprived of the management of their congregational fund."⁵⁴

3.14.4 The Pension Fund: This was introduced by the Basel Mission in 1901 with a gift of a capital of £80 from the Mission.⁵⁵ However, the Scottish Mission streamlined it and put it in a better shape by regularizing the contributions of and payments to the individual church agents. Rev. Wilkie took personal charge of the fund. This shows how serious he was with it.

⁵²It is also possible that because agents were often transferred from the stations while the Presbyters were most of the time permanent. Furthermore, it is also possible that it was meant to protect the agents against any temptation to misapply the funds.

⁵³Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony: Minutes of Synod Committee, 22nd February, 1923.

⁵⁴Circular from the Synod Clerk to all congregations of the Scottish Mission about the fund. Larteh, 15th April, 1919. P.C.G.A Accra.

⁵⁵Rules of the pension Fund Section 5. Ref. *Regulations, Practice and Procedure, 1929* back page 4.

3.14.6 STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Wilkie introduced the practice of presenting annual statement of accounts to Synod.⁵⁶ This was important in the sense that delegates to Synod could question any aspect of the accounts. Detailed accounts of all monies received on behalf of the church were presented to Synod annually.⁵⁷ Alongside the accounts, Wilkie showed the statistics of the church for the year. This helped delegates to have a general picture of the church's development for the year. This openness on the part of Wilkie and the Scottish Mission went a long way to increase the confidence of the indigenous people in the Mission.⁵⁸ It also set the pattern for the administration of the church's accounts and presentation of reports from pastors of the church.

3.15 CIRCUMSTANCES THAT GAVE RISE TO THE ACTION PLAN.

Though the action plan by Wilkie was usual with the U.F.C's missionary policy throughout their mission fields and that its establishment in Ghana could be said to be a matter of course, certain factors hastened the process and also made the plan special to the Ghanaian church. He arrived in February, 1918 and in August he announced the plan at the first Synod. He had to work so fast for the following reasons: Firstly the problem of lack of missionary, greatly quickened the pace. The situation was so desperate that it became imperative that all local human and material resources should be mobilized and utilized as quickly as possible to avoid possible disaster and to maintain the evangelistic

⁵⁶Note: The Basel Mission presented their accounts in the Christian Messenger

⁵⁷It would be recalled that this was one of the concerns of Wilkie after his familiarization tour. See page 96 above.

⁵⁸See Debrunner: *Owura Nico, Ibid* P. 62.

momentum of the church in Ghana. Secondly, the First World War greatly weakened the economies of all the major powers involved in it. This created serious financial crisis in Britain. This made it impossible to raise any substantial funds for the work in Ghana. In such a situation, therefore, it was absolutely necessary that the Scottish Mission should strictly monitor all funds belonging to the church so as to make it unnecessary for the U.F.C to have to send money to Ghana. The structure for financial administration put in place by Wilkie, therefore, was to make for the efficient mobilization of the local funds. Thirdly, Wilkie and the Scottish Mission found out on their arrival that the church was, to a large extent, mature and ready for self-government. In fact the struggle for it had started long before the arrival of the Scottish Mission.⁵⁹ It is very probable that Wilkie thought that the earlier the indigenous people were involved in the administration the better it would be for the Scottish Mission and the church's future.

3.16 ASSESSMENT OF THE ACTION PLAN.

A look at Wilkie's action plan shows that, it introduced a new dimension that helped to answer the agitation of the indigenous people for participation in the administration and decision making process of the church which had eluded them for so long. For once, the indigenous church leaders were, to a large extent, involved in the processes of taking the decisions that affected the destiny of the church instead of being mere passive recipients of directives from missionaries. Secondly, it helped to solve the precarious missionary personnel problem faced by the U.F.C in Ghana by harnessing the leadership potential of the formally under-utilized indigenous manpower resources of the church. Thirdly, it united the church and asserted its indigenous strength with the establishment of a single Synod for the whole church. The church could now rally round one leader and submit to

⁵⁹See discussion on this in Chapter One P. 47 above.

the decisions of one body, the Synod, of which they were part through their accredited representatives. This brought uniformity in church practice and also strengthened their common identity as members of one church, the P.C.G. Fourthly, the Presbyterian system of church administration introduced had in it all the ingredients of democracy through the promotion of collective leadership and co-operate responsibility through the courts of the church. Fifthly, it greatly improved the methods of raising funds locally for the church and thereby, ensured a regular flow of money into the coffers of the church for local administration. Furthermore, the presentation of annual accounts to Synod greatly increased the confidence of the indigenous people in the Scottish Mission. Sixthly, the plan improved efficiency. By dividing the mission field into segments and putting the indigenous pastors in charge and asking them to report on their work to Synod the pastors were motivated to work hard to be able to produce a good report since a bad one would bring disgrace to them. Furthermore, using the indigenous people to preach and handle their own people had a psychological advantage. Now it is their own people in charge of the congregations and preaching the gospel in their own right. This had great positive impact on the people and resulted in a massive harvest of converts. It is, therefore, not surprising that membership of the church increased tremendously during this period. For instance when the Scottish Mission arrived in 1918 membership of the church was 30,001. The number shot up to 37,476 in 1922, 44,463 in 1925⁶⁰ and 53,949 in 1929.⁶¹ The plan, in the final analysis, however, over-centralized administration in Accra.

3.17 MAJOR ISSUES DEALT WITH BY SYNOD AT ITS MAIDEN MEETING.

Issues about the culture of the people of Ghana engaged the attention of the Scottish Mission and the Synod at the early stages of the work of the Mission in Ghana. There

⁶⁰*Scottish Mission: Gold Coast Colony, Reports to Synod, 1922 and 1925*

⁶¹*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports to Synod, 1929.*

was, therefore, a discussion on various aspects of the traditional culture and decisions taken. Some of the major decisions were as follows:

3.17.1 "Illegitimate Children"

By "illegitimate children"⁶² the Scottish Mission Church meant, children who were born outside formal marriage.⁶³ Synod decided that such children could not be baptized " in cases where the parents are unable to take or keep the baptismal vows or where grandparents or others who take the vows cannot also promise to keep the children entirely."⁶⁴ The problem here is not so much with the decision taken by Synod as with the terminology used and why such so called "illegitimate children" were singled out for discussion. The decision itself is perfectly justifiable in the Reformed faith and practice. But this should apply in all cases where children are to be baptized and not only the "illegitimate" children. By its decision the church is only punishing such children because of the circumstances of their birth for which they were not responsible. Furthermore, the church's position creates a cultural problem in that in the Ghanaian culture there are no "illegitimate children." Every child is legitimate. By the use of the term, therefore, the church sanctioned the introduction of a foreign category into the Ghanaian social structure. What is more, it was an illustration of the complete ignorance of the Mission and the church in Ghana of the Ghanaian culture.

⁶²This was the exact term used in the minutes of the Synod , 1918 which were written in English just like all other minutes of the Synod.

⁶³"Formal marriage" here refers to both traditional and ordinance marriages. See comment on marriage below

⁶⁴*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes, 1918 Min. 11*

3.17.2 Marriage.

Synod gave full recognition to the customary marriage in addition to marriage by ordinance which was introduced by the British colonial government into the Ghanaian society in 1884.⁶⁵ Synod, however, stressed that customary marriages should receive the blessing of a pastor of the church after they had gone through the traditional processes and the couple must receive the church's certificate denoting the blessing of their marriage.⁶⁶ This is one area where the Scottish Mission Church should be applauded for the courage to integrate a traditional practice into the church. With regard to marriage by ordinance, Synod resolved to appeal to the government to simplify the procedure for obtaining divorce.⁶⁷

3.17.3 Traditional Oaths.

Synod recalled an agreement reached between the British colonial government and the missionary societies working in Asante on 2nd March, 1912.⁶⁸ This agreement was an attempt made by the colonial government to accord the Christians a degree of religious freedom with respect to the swearing of traditional oath which, the King of Asante insisted, was a traditional obligation on all citizens of Asante including the Christians. The Christians on the other hand insisted that traditional oath swearing was against their

⁶⁵Marriage by Ordinance is a purely British marriage pattern which was imported to Ghana by the colonial administration. This was sanctioned by the Churches in general in Ghana because according to them, the ordinance gives security to widows and their children on the death of their husbands and fathers. It should be noted that all Ordinance marriages are preceded by traditional marriages.

⁶⁶Refer to Appendix III for a sample of the certificate

⁶⁷Marriage by ordinance could only be dissolved in a court of law which usually dragged on for a long time. Probably the Synod felt that the dragging created problems for the parties involved. Traditional marriages on the other hand could be dissolved, if found necessary, by the Synod Committee.

⁶⁸At this time the Scottish Mission had not arrived in the country. It was during the period of the Basel Mission. See Appendix IV for the agreement.

Christian principles. Some of the major decisions taken during a meeting under the chairmanship of the Governor, J.J. Thorburn included "that no Christian be called upon to perform any fetish rite or service to his chief on ceremonial occasions when elements of fetish practice are involved." and "that an effort should be made to draw a distinction between fetish and purely ceremonial services."⁶⁹ The snag about this agreement however, was that there were no traditional rulers involved in it. It was an agreement drawn up by government officials and Basel, Methodist and Roman Catholic missionaries.⁷⁰ There was also the problem of who should decide which ceremonies were "fetish rites" and which were not. Obviously the traditional authorities would not make that distinction neither would they accept any such distinction from the church. However, the Synod of the Scottish Mission Church adopted it as their official position. Since then it has been the official position of the P.C.G.

3.17.4 Satisfaction

The term "**satisfaction**" was used in this context to translate two Akan⁷¹ words " Ayefare" and "Mpata." Both words referred to an amount of money paid to the husband of an adulterous woman by the man with whom the adultery was committed. "Satisfaction" could also refer to an amount of money paid to the parents whose daughter had been sexually abused as pacification. This was an accepted traditional practice and such

⁶⁹*The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Regulations, Practice and Procedure, 1985* p. 107-108. Also Harry Belshaw's article "Church and State in Ashanti" in *International Review of Missions 1946* P. 409-415.

⁷⁰They were all European missionaries. This makes it more intriguing.

⁷¹*Akan* includes such languages as Akuapem, Asante, Akyem, Brong, and Fante..

amounts were normally fixed by traditional rulers with the assumption that under the conditions of human existence adultery could not be avoided.⁷²

Synod, however, took it up and fixed rates for the church as follows:

- Seduction of a man's wife- £5 *ayefare* to the husband.
- Seduction of a virgin £12
- Seduction of a girl who has once fallen⁷³ or "delivered" £8
- Seduction of a fallen girl not yet admitted to church membership £8
- Seduction of a virgin by a married man £12⁷⁴

Synod added that if the seducer of a girl agrees to marry her and can marry her, he must pay £4 to the parents of the girl or £6 if the parents rejected the £4. According to Synod cases between members and non-Christians should be determined by the rates of the offending party.⁷⁵

It is most probable that the Synod took this step to deter church members from committing the offence. Compared with what the traditional rulers were charging, the fees charged by the church were very high. For instance in Akyem Abuakwa, the *ayefare* had been fixed for £3 12s for all ordinary citizens⁷⁶ and inter-state⁷⁷ *ayefare* had been fixed by a Conference of Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province held in Accra in 1918, at £2 8s.⁷⁸ However, by fixing the rates the church seemed to have created the

⁷²Note: Among the *Akans*, as in the traditions of many other ethnic groups in Ghana, adultery is not a criminal offence. Though traditional culture generally frowns on it, it is seen only as a moral wrong which can be settled by the payment of "*Ayefare*."

⁷³This expression refers to a girl who had had sexual experience.

⁷⁴*Scottish Mission, Synod Minutes 1918 Min. 14.*

⁷⁵*Ibid*

⁷⁶J. B. Danquah: *Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution*, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd, London 1928 P. 177.

⁷⁷This referred to a situation where the citizen of one state committed adultery with the wife of another state.

⁷⁸Danquah, London, 1928 *Ibid*, Footnote 2. Note: If the adultery involved the wife of an occupant of a stool the rate was different and reflected the position of the offended party. In that case, it always included a sheep to cleanse the stool of the offended officer which was thought to have been defiled.

impression that the payment of the amounts was sufficient to mitigate the effects of the adultery. In the final analysis, therefore, it trivialized adultery which is considered by the bible as sin and grounds for divorce.(Mt.5:31-32) Furthermore, the action brought the church into head-long collision with the traditional authorities who saw the church as interfering in what they considered to be their sole prerogative.⁷⁹

3.17.5 Inheritance .

Synod decided that on the death of a male church member of the Scottish Mission Church, his property should be divided into three and given out as follows: One part to the children, one part to the widow and one part to the relatives of the deceased. If the deceased had a house it belonged to the widow and the children. However, if the widow remarried , only the children retained the house. If there were no widow and children the inheritance would pass to the next of kin.⁸⁰ This decision was meant to protect the interests of the widow and the children in the event of the death of a male member of the church in the traditional customary marriage in a matrilineal setting.⁸¹ This however brought about tension in the church- state relations because in Ghana, especially in the matrilineal societies, it is the family of the deceased that had the right to dispose of his property and not the church.

⁷⁹There would be further discussion on it in the next chapter.

⁸⁰*The Scottish Mission, Synod Minutes, 1919 Min. 22*

⁸¹In the matrilineal society, the widow and the children had no claim to any part of the husband's or father's estate unless it was a gift from the deceased and witnessed by credible member of the society.

3.17.6 The Church's Position on Polygynists.

In 1919 Synod "took a firm stand against polygynists" in the church.⁸² It was decided that "only the first woman who applied for baptism from among the wives of a polygamous heathen" would be baptized. A polygynist was allowed the liberty to choose "whom he liked among his wives before he would be baptized."⁸³ Polygynists who failed to comply with the directive were to be expelled from the *Salem* or any piece of land belonging to the church. This decision only succeeded in creating hypocrites in the church because some men registered one wife to enable them qualify for full church membership but still kept other women as wives in the traditional way. It also created animosity among wives because as soon as they realized that one had been registered with the church the others naturally became very embittered.

It is important to note that these issues dealt with here also received the attention of the Basel Mission. However, unlike the Basel Mission, the Scottish Mission took these decisions with the indigenous people though the Scottish influence from all indications, was strong in the process. The fact that these issues were dealt with at this early stage of the work of the Scottish Mission showed the extent to which the Mission was prepared to go with the traditional culture. What comes out clearly in the above discussions and the decisions taken was total lack of understanding of the culture of the people by the Scottish Mission and the Synod as a whole. As a result, they wrongly assumed that they could pontificate on cultural issues. In fact the general missionary attitudes to the indigenous culture was that of revulsion. This created friction and generated a lot of tension between the Missions in general and the traditional rulers and unsettled many indigenous Christians

⁸²Polygyny had already been condemned by the Basel Mission with domestic slavery as "two evils closely connected" Ref. Report on the Work of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, 1879 P. 11.

⁸³*The Scottish Mission, Synod Minutes, 1919 Min. 21*

who were torn between allegiance to the Church and loyalty to traditional society. This friction between the church and the traditional culture has continued ever since.

3.18 FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION CHURCH.

We have already noted that in 1918, the eleven central stations of the church were converted into presbyteries.⁸⁴ In 1921, Synod Committee decided to re-arrange the presbyteries into five larger ones as follows: Ga and Adangme, Akuapem and Anum, Agona and Kotoku, Akyem and Okwawu and Asante and Asante Akyem.⁸⁵ This was confirmed by Synod in 1922.

The aim of this exercise was "to give a chance to the agents and presbyters who cannot attend Synod of expressing themselves."⁸⁶ Only ministers and presbyters were represented on the Synod and the number of the presbyters was limited to a number equal to that of the ministers doing congregational work. These larger presbyteries were, therefore, expected to be the forums for the expression of the views of such people. Reports of the presbytery meetings were to be sent to the Synod Committee. Furthermore, at the pre-Synod meeting of the Synod Committee in 1922, it was again decided that additional central stations should be created to ease the pressure of work on the some of the ministers. The new stations were Teshie, Sra, Akwamu and Old Tafo.⁸⁷ After 1922 therefore, the administrative structure introduced by the Wilkie and the Scottish Mission took its final shape. Below is the structure represented in a diagram:

⁸⁴See the administrative structure introduced by the Scottish Mission P. 100 above.

⁸⁵The Scottish Mission, Minutes of the Synod Committee, 7th December, 1921.

⁸⁶*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod, 1922, Min. 18.*

⁸⁷The Scottish Mission, Minutes of the Synod Committee, 18th-22nd July, 1922.

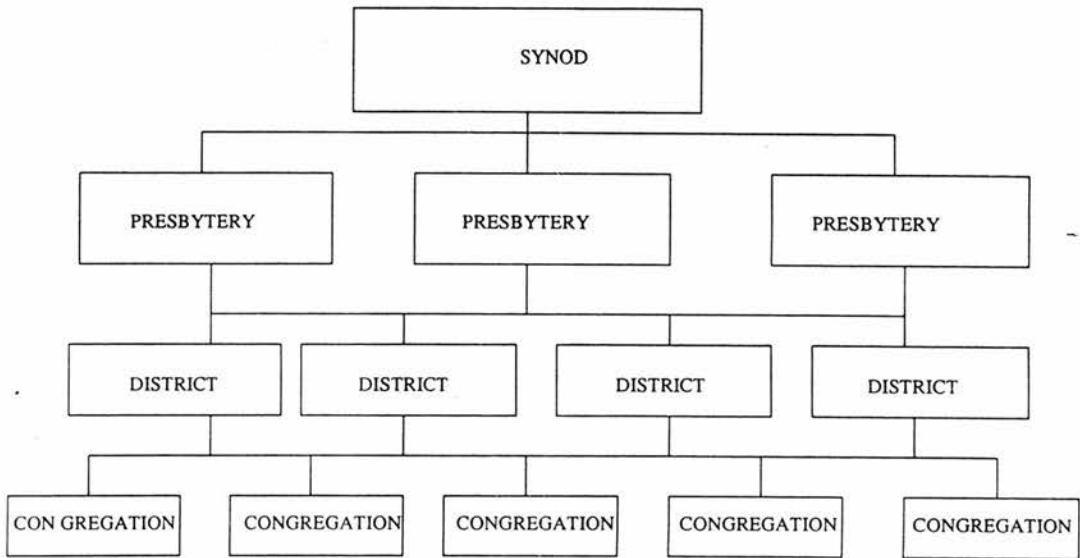


Fig. 10: The Administrative Structure of the Scottish Mission Church after 1922.

3.19 NAMING THE CHURCH

On the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana the name of the former Basel Mission Church was renamed the Scottish Mission Church. However, in all probability, the indigenous people seemed not to have appreciated the change of name from Basel Mission to Scottish Mission. In April 1918, barely two months after the arrival of Wilkie, members of the Central Committee petitioned the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford on behalf of the church, to allow the use of a neutral name if it was not possible for them to maintain the old name. The petition reads in part thus:

May it please Your Excellency,

We the undersigned Native Ministers of the late Basel Mission Society and members of the Central Committee on behalf of the whole society beg most respectfully to submit the following petition for Your Excellency's consideration. That we...beg to approach Your Excellency by asking that we may be granted the favour of calling the society by this designation viz. Native Evangelical Church in lieu of Scottish Mission. That if Your Excellency does not approve of the Society retaining the old name of "Basel Mission" which the debt of gratitude we owe to that Society makes us more inclined to retain we beg to express our preference for the designation as mentioned above.⁸⁸

This petition was rejected by the governor but the leaders continued to press for a neutral name for the church. In 1920 it came up for a discussion at Synod but it was postponed to allow more discussion and consultation among members of the church.⁸⁹ In 1922 the issue came up again but after a brief discussion it was decided to drop it "for good."⁹⁰ There is no indication in the minutes that the Scottish Mission exerted any pressure on Synod to take this decision but it is not improbable that this could have been the case.

The Synod Clerk, Rev. N.T. Clerk, however, reopened the discussion at the Synod Committee in 1923 and stressed the need for the church to get an "**indigenous name**"⁹¹ for the church and suggested the name "**Ga and Twi Church.**"

Presenting the case at Synod in 1924, Rev. Clerk explained that they had become a church and no more a Mission. He, therefore, felt that it was wrong for the church to continue to bear the tag "Mission." He paid tribute to the Basel Mission for planting the church and to the Scottish Mission for watering it but he was of the opinion that "as a church we

⁸⁸Petition from the Central Committee of the Late Basel Mission Church to His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, 15th April, 1918. Ref. Synod Clerk's Office File No. 42, Special Letters, Accra. P.C.G.A, Accra.

⁸⁹*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod, 1920* P. 22, Min. 17

⁹⁰*Ibid* 1922 P. 19, Min. 16

⁹¹Rev. Clerk had had a long and close relations with the Basel Mission and must have felt that it was unfair to the Basel Mission if their name was just removed from the Church they had toiled for. It seems he felt that if the name of the Basel Mission could not be retained then it should be a neutral one.

are still destitute of a name which must preferably be an indigenous one." An attempt was made to translate the name "**Presbyterian Church**" into Twi language, *Mpayimfo Asafo* but it was found not to be convenient so it was dropped. Rev. Clerk then proposed the name **Ga-Twi Church** following the example of the Bremen Mission Church which had adopted the name **Ewe Church**.⁹² Clerk justified his proposal on the grounds that "the Bible was printed for our church in Ga and Twi.....that settles the question."

The problem with Clerk's proposal however was that it technically eliminated other ethnic groups from the equation. This must have occurred to Clerk because he attempted to calm down the other ethnic groups in the church by appealing to them to accept his proposal. But his attempt yielded no dividends. The *Konor*⁹³ of Manya Krobo insisted that his ethnic group the *Dangme* should be included in the name to make *Ga-Twi-Dangme Church*. All attempts by the Synod Committee to persuade him to drop his demand failed.⁹⁴ Upon second thought, the Synod Committee, found that there were inherent dangers in trying to identify the church by the names of a few ethnic groups so the proposal was withdrawn.⁹⁵

In September 1925, as they were still looking for a suitable name, Synod Committee was informed that the Basel missionaries would be arriving in December of 1925.⁹⁶ The Committee, therefore, decided to suspend discussion on the name till the arrival of the Basel missionaries.⁹⁷ This decision to await the arrival of the Basel Mission was in recognition of the fact that as founders, the Basel Mission should have an input in the

⁹²Ewe, refers to an ethnic group in the south-eastern part of Ghana among whom the Bremen Mission worked.

⁹³*Konor* is the title for the paramount chief of Manya Krobo. Odumase is the headquarters. It was a stronghold of the Basel Mission.

⁹⁴The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod Committee, 21st July, 1924.

⁹⁵Other ethnic groups wanted their names included. Ethnic loyalty was very strong in the church.

⁹⁶See discussion on the return of the Basel missionaries below page 133 of this chapter.

⁹⁷It is possible they wanted to seek the opinion of the Basel missionaries as well before deciding on the name.

choice of a name for the church. The Basel missionaries duly arrived on 27th December, 1925 and the issue of the name for the church was settled at Synod in 1926. An examination of the polity of the church was made and it was found to be the Presbyterian type. Synod, therefore, unanimously adopted the name "**Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast.**"⁹⁸ It became the Presbyterian Church of the Ghana on 6th March 1957 when the country gained political independence from Britain and adopted the name Ghana. The name was significant in that it distinguished the church from the Missions and therefore, gave it an independent identity. The name "Presbyterian" was a good compromise and helped to solve a difficult problem. The system by its nature, has close affinities with the Ghanaian traditional political system and, therefore, made it easy for the church to operate.

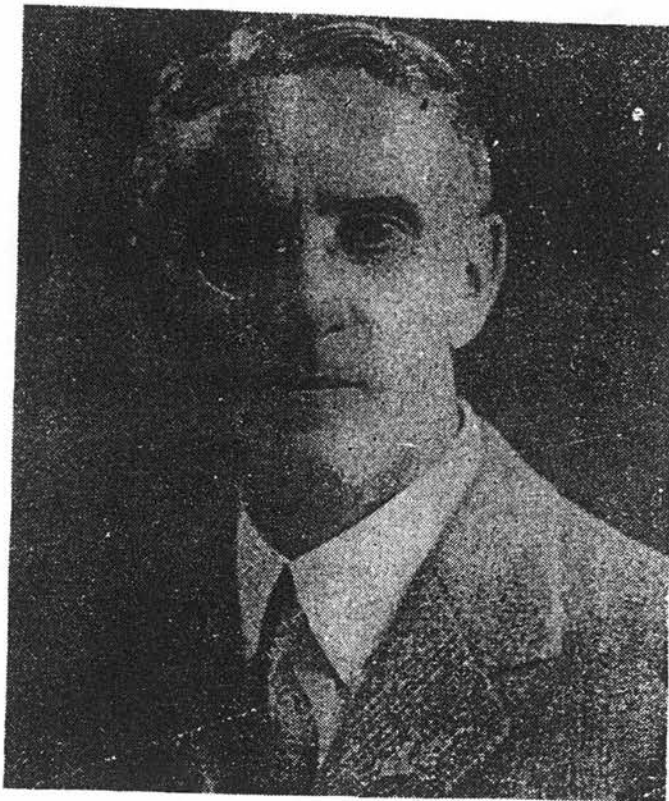


Fig. 11: Rev Dr. A.W. Wilkie

⁹⁸*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, Synod Minutes, 1926, Min. 26.*

3.20 THE VISIT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MISSION COMMITTEE OF THE U.F.C: REV. FRANK ASHCROFT

In 1921, the Secretary of the F.M.C of the U.F.C, Rev. F. Ashcroft visited Ghana to see at first hand the work that had been committed to their care by the British government. The visit lasted from 26th July, till 18th September, 1921.⁹⁹ The visit took him to many key stations of the Church such as Bana , Odumase, Anum, Peki¹⁰⁰ , Addah, Akropong, Mampong Akuapem, Larte, Aburi, Abokobi, Nsawam, Kwanyako, Nsaba, Nyakrom, Kyebi, Tafo, Koforidua, Abetifi, Bompata, Kumase, Asante Mampong and Sekondi.¹⁰¹ He was accompanied by Rev. T. L. Beveridge who was acting as the Secretary of the Scottish Mission for part of the tour and Mr. Martin, Manager of the book depot.¹⁰²

Ashcroft met the Synod Committee of the Scottish Mission Church and also the Colonial Secretary. During his meeting with the Synod Committee Ashcroft assured the church that the U.F.C. would do all it could to get missionaries to work in Ghana. He however stressed that the church should not rely on "white missionaries" but rather " upon the Lord Himself" for its work. He pointed out that the role of the U.F.C in Ghana was to "give brotherly help" to enable the church to stand on its feet. He described the events that led to the coming of the Scottish Mission to Ghana as being the work of "Providence" and therefore, charged the church to make the best out of it.¹⁰³ Obviously, Ashcroft was alluding to the problems that the U.F.C. was facing in getting missionary personnel already noted.

⁹⁹Ashcroft also visited Calabar.

¹⁰⁰Peki belonged to the Bremen Mission field but at this time the British government had contacted the U.F.C. to supervise the area as well. His visit to the area, therefore, was to enable him make an assessment of the work for a decision to be taken.

¹⁰¹The Gold Coast Mission Council Minutes, 17th November, 1921.

¹⁰²Rev. A. W. Wilkie was away in Europe enroute to the U. S .A for the Mohonk I.M.C.

¹⁰³The Scottish Mission , Minutes of the Synod Committee, 28th July, 1921.

In his meeting with the Colonial Secretary, Ashcroft expressed great concern about an opposition that was building up against the Scottish Mission and the agitation by a section of the members of the church, mainly from Christiansborg, for the return of the Basel Mission. He stressed that " a very difficult situation would arise if the Basel Mission returned on a footing of independence." He suggested that " it would be possible to have two or three former Basel missionaries working under our society [Scottish Mission] but a society in direct rivalry to ours would compel us to reconsider our whole policy.¹⁰⁴ He pointed out unequivocally that:

We are in the Gold Coast because we consider ourselves useful and necessary. If we are not, the sooner we withdraw the better and we would like the government to let us know quite clearly what their intentions are.¹⁰⁵

In this connection, therefore, Ashcroft called on the colonial government to give assurance, firstly, that it is the desire of the government that missionary societies working in the colony should be British and that the missionaries themselves except under very exceptional circumstances should be of British nationality. Secondly, that there is no intention of allowing the Basel Mission Society to return to the colony and that the Scottish Mission Society was regarded as permanent in the colony subject of course to Ordinance No. 40 of 1918.¹⁰⁶ Thirdly, that the work of the Scottish Mission had been satisfactory considering the few missionaries at their disposal for the work in Ghana.

According to a letter from the governor's office in Accra, the government gave the assurance in respect of the second and third above. It, however, left the first open because the Roman Catholics had already established in the colony and, therefore,

¹⁰⁴Ashcroft's notes for interview with the Colonial Secretary on German Mission. n.d. MS/7817/23 N.L.S, Edinburgh.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶Ordinance No 40 is the Basel Mission Ordinance already referred to in Chapter Two P. 81 above.

according to the government, it was not advisable to strictly insist that all future missionaries to Ghana should be of British nationality.¹⁰⁷

3.21 ASCHROFT'S REPORT TO THE F.M. C.

In his report to the F.M.C on his visit to Ghana, Ashcroft said that after meeting with government officials he was "convinced that there was no course open to the Scottish Mission but to carry on indefinitely the work it had undertaken in Ghana." He gave as his reason the fact that "the Gold Coast Government's considered educational policy did not admit of their again entrusting the education of a large portion of the colony to a non British organization"¹⁰⁸ because of this the government insisted that "the managers of schools shall be loyal to the King and Empire."¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Ashcroft felt that the U.F.C was "far too committed to our task to make withdrawal now possible."¹¹⁰ In his estimation the missionary personnel needs of the church in Ghana, were 12 men and 7 women.

3.21.1 The Bremen Mission's Work in Ghana.

Rev. Ashcroft recommended in his report that the U.F.C should take over the work of the Bremen Mission that fell under the jurisdiction of the British government.¹¹¹ The Bremen missionaries were expelled in 1916 during the First World War because they were

¹⁰⁷From Acting Governor to the Right Honourable Winston Churchill, 5th September, 1921: CO/96626/49722 P.R.O London

¹⁰⁸Rev. Frank Ashcroft's Report on his visit to the Gold Coast, 15th November, 1921. *Minutes, Foreign Mission Committee, P. 366, Appendix 1.*

¹⁰⁹*Ibid*

¹¹⁰*Ibid*

¹¹¹The Bremen missionaries were also deported because during the First World War Togoland which was German Colony was seized from Germany. It was later divided between Britain and France.

German. He felt that was the right course to take under the circumstance and that it would not add heavily to the burdens of the U.F.C.

3.21.2 Education.

On education, Rev. Ashcroft, recommended the building of more schools especially for girls and the expansion of the teacher training college at Akropong by putting up new buildings "on modern lines." These recommendations by Ashcroft set the pattern for the development of education by the Scottish Mission in Ghana.¹¹²

3.21.3 Importance of Ashcroft's Visit to Ghana.

The visit of Ashcroft to Ghana was important in many respects. Firstly, it enabled the Secretary to see at first hand the work the U.F.C. had taken over in Ghana. Secondly his report provided a blueprint for the future of the work in Ghana. It was to be permanent. Thirdly, his report encouraged the U.F.C. to assume responsibility of the work of the Bremen Mission in 1922. This set the stage for the return of three Bremen missionaries to Ghana to assist the Scottish Mission. This happened because Wilkie had insisted that unless that was done, the Scottish Mission would not be able to supervise the work of the Bremen Mission due to lack of missionary personnel.¹¹³ They were, K. Freyburger, H. Schosser and H. Schroder.¹¹⁴ Fourthly, it gave him the opportunity to speak directly with government officials in Ghana and succeeded in defining the framework within which the Basel Mission could return to Ghana from the perspective of the U.F.C. Fifthly, his

¹¹²There is a full discussion on education in Chapter Six below.

¹¹³From H. J. Hunter to the under secretary of State for Colonies 7/12/1922, MS 7816/233 S.N. L. Edinburgh. Note: Wilkie and the Scottish Mission Council disagreed with Ashcroft on this recommendation simply due to lack of missionary personnel.

¹¹⁴Letter from 10 Downing Street to J. H. Oldham, 13th April, 1923, Ms 7817/129 S.N. L. Edinburgh.

report had great impact on the educational system of the country. For instance it led to the expansion of the Akropong Training College.

3.21.4 Reaction On Ashcroft's Report.

The main reaction on the report issued by Ashcroft on his visit to Ghana came from the Scottish Mission Council itself. The Synod Committee only issued a statement thanking him for the visit. The Council generally agreed with the recommendations in his report. The Council, however, disagreed with him on his recommendation that the U.F.C should accept to take over the work of the Bremen Mission as well. The Council took this stand because mainly, of the old problem of lack of adequate missionary personnel to assist in the supervision of the work. The Council further feared that the take-over would involve considerable financial responsibility.¹¹⁵ In spite of the reaction, however, the U.F.C ordered the Scottish Mission to take over the work of the Bremen Mission that fell under the political jurisdiction of the British government. On 16th August, 1922, therefore, Rev. T. L. Beveridge was transferred to Peki to take pastoral charge of the work of the Bremen Mission on behalf of the U.F.C.

3.22 OFFERING FOR THE BASEL MISSIONARIES FORMERLY WORKING IN GHANA.

The expulsion of the Basel missionaries from Ghana did not erase their achievements from the minds of the indigenous members of the church they had planted. In 1920, therefore, at the Synod at Aburi, it was decided "to write to the Basel Missionary Society heartily

¹¹⁵Minutes of the Gold Coast Mission Council, 11th March, 1922.

thanking them for their noble work done for the church on the Gold Coast."¹¹⁶ After this had been done, reports reached the church in Ghana¹¹⁷ that the former missionaries were facing serious financial problems at home.¹¹⁸ In 1922, therefore, Synod Committee decided to take " a collection to assist the Basel Missionaries who worked in the country." Every female member was expected to contribute 2s and every male member, 5s. By July, 1923, £500 had been collected. This was sent to the Basel Mission for distribution through the Rev. A.W. Wilkie.

In a letter signed by Rev. H. Burckhardt, President and Rev W. Oettli, Secretary, the Basel Mission acknowledged the receipt of the money and expressed sincere thanks to the Synod Committee and the church in general. The Basel Mission had this to say:

Your donation was especially valuable to us also as a testimony of love and attachment of the members of the church on the Gold Coast to their old missionaries.¹¹⁹

A second donation of £525 15s was also sent to the missionaries. On the receipt of this donation, Rev. Oettli informed the Synod Committee that the situation had changed considerably and therefore, " it was no more necessary to send further help."¹²⁰ The Scottish Mission takes part of the credit for encouraging the church to take the donation for the Basel missionaries at time when the Mission itself was facing financial problems.

¹¹⁶*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod , 1920, P. 22, Min. 19.*

¹¹⁷The Synod Committee did not tell how these reports reached them. However, it is very possible that some of the leaders of the Church were having contacts with the former missionaries.

¹¹⁸We have already noted that the First World War weakened the economies of many countries in Europe. The financial strains stemmed from that. It was not the missionaries alone who faced the problem. It was a general problem in Germany.

¹¹⁹From the Basel Mission Committee to The Synod Committee of the Gold Coast. See Minutes of Synod Committee ,4th-6th, December, 1923, P. 84-85.

¹²⁰See Minutes of the Synod Committee, 16th December, 1924.



Fig. 12: Rev T. L. Beveridge

3.23 THE RETURN OF THE BASEL MISSIONARIES.

The church did not only take "collection" for the former Basel missionaries, but they also wanted them to return to Ghana. As early as 1920 Synod gave indications of this wish but it was suspended "on the ground of this being an unsuitable time for such a step."¹²¹ However, there was pressure from individuals and groups for the return of the Basel missionaries. For instance it is on record that in 1923, the "Movement for the return of the Basel Missionaries." based at Osu were putting pressure on the Synod Committee " to

¹²¹*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod, 1920, Min. 18.*

induce Chiefs to embody in their petition to the Under-Secretary of State for Colonies Mr. Ormsby Gore, a request for the return of the Basel Mission."¹²²

While these activities were going on in Ghana there was also pressure from the I.M.C on the British government to allow the Basel Mission to return to its mission fields of which Ghana was one. At its meeting held at Mohonk, New York from 1st to 6th October, 1921¹²³ the Council took a firm stand on the expulsion of the Basel Mission from the British Colonies and resolved that:

Believing that the exclusion of German missionaries from many fields inflicts deep injury upon the spiritual forces, weakens the bonds of International spiritual fellowship deprives non-christian peoples of help otherwise available and retards the development of abiding friendship between the nations and further, that the continuance of the restrictions referred to endangers the principle of religious liberty which is a vital interest of the christian church, the International Missionary Council places its conviction on record that the wounds caused by the war cannot be fully healed until the way is opened for German missionaries to resume foreign missionary work.¹²⁴

The Council further resolved that:

Where German mission fields.....have been occupied by non-German Missions this occupation should be regarded as provisional and that the ultimate solution should be reached by friendly conference between the original society, the occupying society and representatives of local church.¹²⁵

These resolutions directly affected the role of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. The Foreign Mission Committee of the U.F.C, therefore, referred them to the Mission Council in Ghana¹²⁶ for their comments.¹²⁷ The Mission Council on its part thought it appropriate to

¹²²Minutes of the Synod Committee, 4th-6th December, 1923 Min. 50.

¹²³Rev. A.W Wilkie, Secretary of the Scottish Mission in Ghana attended this conference. Missions from Germany, however, did not attend on the grounds that since they had been banned from the British and allied colonies, they could not take part in any international conference.

¹²⁴The I.M.C, Mohonk, 1st- 6th October, 1921, Resolution on the Restriction upon German Missions: See *Minutes of the Foreign Mission Council of the U.F.C, 17th January, 1922 Minute 5798, P. 429.*

¹²⁵*Ibid* P. 430.

¹²⁶India and Livingstonia were also consulted on the Mohonk Resolutions

¹²⁷*Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, 17th January, 1922 Min. 5798 P. 430*

consult the members of the Church for their views concerning the return of the Basel Mission to Ghana. Rev. N.T. Clerk and Rev. W.A. Quartey were mandated to tour the districts and collate views from the grassroots.¹²⁸ Conferences were held at Akropong, Aburi, Christiansborg, Odumase, Addah, Nsawam, Koforidua, Tafo, Asmankese, Otumi, Nsaba, Kwanyako, Akyem- Soaduro, Kumase and Anum.¹²⁹ The issue at stake was whether the Scottish Mission should withdraw completely from Ghana and hand over the work back to the Basel Mission or they should stay and co-operate with the Basel Mission on their return

A referendum that was held showed that majority of the members of the church were in favour of co-operation between the two missionary groups.¹³⁰ In their report to the Synod Committee, Rev. Clerk and Rev. Quartey said:

...in spite of all exertions and instigations by agitators from Christiansborg the result was nearly two-thirds of the communicants were for co-operation and one-third for Basel Mission.¹³¹

The picture that emerges from the results of the referendum was that three key stations of the church, Osu, Kumase, and Abetifi, voted massively in favour of the Basel Mission taking complete control of the church. This was a reflection of the pressure from the "Movement for the Return of the Basel Mission" which was strong in these key centres of the church.

When Wilkie realized that the people were not against the return of the Basel missionaries he wrote to Rev. Frank Ashcroft and informed him of what he described as the "feeling

¹²⁸Minutes of the Synod Committee, 3rd December, 1922 Min. 32.

¹²⁹*Ibid* 4th December 1922, Min. 33.

¹³⁰10,600 people voted for co-operation and 5,970 voted for a complete hand over to the Basel Mission See Appendix V for details of the results.

¹³¹Minutes of the Synod Committee 3rd December, 1922, Min. 32

of the local church with regard to the conditions under which they would accept the return of the Basel Mission." He said that:

the conditions are really twofold. First the return must be in the Scottish Mission and second the present organization must be retained and loyally supported. They are convinced that any return apart from these conditions would lead to a breakaway of many of the younger men, the formation of an African church with evils of racial differences and antagonisms.¹³²

These views here were not substantially different from those expressed by Ashcroft himself earlier on in his report on his visit to Ghana. It is, therefore, clear that Wilkie, Ashcroft and the church were agreed on a common approach to the issue of the return of the Basel Mission.

3.24 THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE: SEPTEMBER 1924.

When it was found that the church in Ghana was not against the return of the Basel missionaries, the F.M.C convened a meeting in Edinburgh with the Basel and Bremen Missions on 17th September, 1924 to work out the modalities for co-operation in Ghana.¹³³ The Basel Mission was represented by Dr. F. Wurz and Rev. W. Oettli and the Bremen Mission was represented by Dr. M. Schlunk. Some of the decisions taken there included, firstly, that application be made to the Colonial Office in London through the Conference of British Missionary Societies to secure recognition of the Basel and Bremen Missions by the British Government to enable them to return to their former mission fields. This application should be sent with a recommendation from the F.M.C ,

¹³²Wilkie to Ashcroft on the Return of the Basel Missionaries, 16th August, 1922, MS 1816/14-3 S .N.L. Edinburgh.

¹³³Note : Three Bremen missionaries had already arrived in the country and working with the Scottish Mission

of the U.F.C.¹³⁴ Secondly, that the Basel Mission and the Bremen Mission should share with the U.F.C. the work in Ghana with the following arrangements:

- a. Basel Mission to be responsible for Asante
- b. The Bremen Mission for the Ewe area.
- c. The United Free Church to be responsible for the remaining part of the former Basel Mission field.

Thirdly, that the church of the former Basel Mission should remain one church under a single Synod with presbyteries as already arranged.

It is interesting to note how the views of Ashcroft and Wilkie had influenced the decisions arrived at the Edinburgh meeting. It appears the British government allowed the U.F.C to dictate the conditions under which the Basel missionaries could return to Ghana. What came out clearly from the Edinburgh conference was that the U.F.C remained officially in charge of the mission work in Ghana. After the conference the F.M.C of the U.F.C supported the application of the Basel Mission for recognition through the Conference of British Missionary Societies of which Oldham had become the Secretary.¹³⁵

¹³⁴The recommendation was necessary because the British government wanted a guarantee from the U.F.C that they are not opposed to the coming of the Basel Mission and that they would guarantee their loyalty.

¹³⁵The colonial government in Ghana had earlier on in 1922 enacted Ordinance No. 23 cited as "The Missionary Educational and Medical(Alien Regulation) Ordinance, 1922." This Ordinance repealed the existing "Alien Missionaries and Teachers Restriction Ordinance" which required all alien missionaries to obtain permission from the Governor before entering Ghana. This Ordinance now provides that permission would be granted provided the missionaries were "guaranteed by the Conference of Missionaries Societies in the United Kingdom and the Foreign Mission Conference of North America. This was to comply with the demands of the ordinance.

3.25 PERMISSION GRANTED

At last in July, 1925, permission was granted to the Basel missionaries to return to Ghana.¹³⁶ Those who were to return were made to sign an undertaking to be of good behaviour during their stay in Ghana. The text of the undertaking is as follows:

I hereby undertake to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of the authority of the Government as by law established.¹³⁷

The fact that the British colonial government was demanding a written undertaking to be of good behaviour implies it was still doubtful of the loyalty of the Basel missionaries even though the war was over. But The fact that the Basel missionaries wrote the undertaking as demanded also implies that they were sure that they would not be involved in subversive activities.

3.26 THE BASEL MISSIONARIES ARRIVE IN GHANA

After all the processes had been gone through, four Basel missionaries who had worked in Ghana before were allowed to return to Ghana under the terms of the Edinburgh Agreement. They were Rev. F. Jost, Rev. I. Bellon, Rev. W. Schäfer and Rev. G. Nyffeler. They arrived in Accra on 27th December, 1925.¹³⁸

Reporting the arrival of the missionaries Wilkie said:

¹³⁶The Basel missionaries were also allowed to return to their fields under British control e.g. South India and West Cameroon. The Mission, however, was not allowed to return to the French Cameroon, its stations there were permanently taken over by the Paris Mission.

¹³⁷The Return of the Basel Missionaries: MS 7817/46 S. N. L. Edinburgh.

¹³⁸Report of the Secretary, Scottish Mission, 1925. See *The Scottish Mission, Synod Reports, 1925*, P. 8.

So many earnest prayers have been answered and all are united in a common desire that their return may be for their own happiness and for the strengthening of the whole church which was founded by their fathers and built up by the sacrifice of many a noble life.¹³⁹

They were formally presented to Synod in August, 1926 at Abetifi by Rev. Wilkie. In his welcome speech, Wilkie said among other things that:

We rejoice in the return of missionaries from Basel.....and in common work in which Swiss, German, Scot and African are now as one body engaged and pray that this may be, under God's leading one step nearer to the fulfillment of our Lord's own prayer "that we may all be one" in Him.¹⁴⁰

On his part the Synod Clerk, while rejoicing over the return of the Basel missionaries, urged them to accept the new administration that had been established by the Scottish Mission.¹⁴¹ He said.

we are glad to welcome back some of our dear friends of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast. Great changes have taken place in the church in their absence. They will work with the Synod Committee and the authority of the Synod Committee will be upheld.¹⁴²

Clerk's message was a warning against any attempt by the Basel Mission to disrupt the established order and to revert to the paternalistic administration of the pre-Scottish Mission era. This obviously was an attempt by Clerk to recall the struggle of the indigenous people for participation in the administration of the church which the Basel Mission had consistently rejected.

¹³⁹*Ibid*

¹⁴⁰Scottish Mission Secretary's Report to Synod, 1926 See *Synod Reports 1926* P. 7.

¹⁴¹It must be noted that generally the people were happy that the Basel missionaries had returned because of their evangelistic zeal and because of the work they had done in establishing the church. However some of the people, especially the leaders, were against their paternalistic attitudes which pushed the indigenous Church leaders to the fringes of church administration

¹⁴²Synod Clerk's Yearly Message, 1925 : "The Basel Missionaries." See *The Scottish Mission; Gold Coast Colony: Reports to Synod 1925* P. 3.

3.27 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

From the foregoing, it can be seen how the Scottish Mission, under the leadership of Wilkie, boldly took up the challenge of managing the former Basel Mission field in Ghana with few resources. We can see how they meticulously managed the finances of the church and motivated the indigenous church leaders to take their destiny and that of their church in their own hands. While some of the measures were hastened by the circumstances at the time, they invariably helped to fulfill the aspirations of the indigenous people and helped to put the church firmly on the road to full independence. Finally, we can see how efforts were made to allow the Basel missionaries to return to Ghana and their eventual return on 27th December 1925.

CHAPTER FOUR

SOME MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE BASEL MISSION

4.0 INTRODUCTION.

The return of the Basel Mission to Ghana at the end of 1925 was broadly welcomed by the Scottish Mission and the leaders and the members of the former Basel Mission Church in Ghana. This was exemplified by official speeches and messages of welcome to the Basel missionaries from the Scottish Mission and the indigenous leadership of the then Scottish Mission Church when they arrived.¹ However, their return introduced an important element into the administration of the church which required a new administrative strategy in order to sustain the momentum of the indigenization that had been started by the Scottish Mission and also to maintain the interest of the Basel Mission in the work in Ghana. The Basel Mission needed to be handled with utmost care by the Scottish Mission in order to avoid a possible rebellion from a section of the church membership because of their loyalty and attachment to the Mission.² This was rightly, I believe, anticipated at the Edinburgh Conference in September, 1924 and, therefore, definite plans were laid out at the conference to deal with the situation. A new arrangement for the Missions was agreed upon which incorporated the Basel Mission into

¹The only issue that the indigenous leaders were particular about was how the Basel missionaries were going to relate to the new administration. Wilkie assured them that the Basel missionaries would work with the new administration and respect the structures established by the Scottish Mission.

²We have already noted that some members had formed a movement to press for the return of the Basel missionaries. See Chapter Three P. 133 above

the mainstream supervisory machinery of the church hitherto handled by the Scottish Mission alone.³

Furthermore, the Scottish Mission Church also needed psychological tuning so that they could accommodate the two Missions. At the Synod Committee meeting held a few weeks before the arrival of the Basel missionaries, Rev. N. T. Clerk asked for a clarification of the position of the Basel missionaries in the church on their arrival back in Ghana. Wilkie explained that:

under the Edinburgh agreement the Basel, Bremen and Scottish Missions would work together with one Mission Council for all matters of general policy. The special area for the Basel Mission would be in Asante. This would not in any way affect the unity of the Church which was to be maintained and the authority of the Synod Committee acknowledged by all.⁴

This question by Rev. Clerk most probably was linked with the fear that the Basel missionaries might interfere with the new administration that the Scottish Mission had established. The answer given by Wilkie, therefore, seemed to have, allayed the fears of Clerk and the Synod Committee. When the Basel missionaries arrived they were restricted to the Asante area whose capital was Kumase, an inland town about 160 miles from Accra to the north⁵.

4.1 THE JOINT MISSIONARY COUNCIL. (J.M.C)

On 29th December 1925, the Scottish, Basel and Bremen missionaries held a joint meeting at Christiansborg. At the meeting the J.M.C otherwise called the General Council was

³The arrangement also included the Bremen Mission whose area was also under the supervision of the Scottish Mission on behalf of the United Free Church of Scotland.

⁴Minutes of the Synod Committee, 5th December, 1925, Min. 55.

⁵See Fig. 2 for Map of Ghana.

constituted in accordance with the Edinburgh Agreement. The Council was made up of all the missionaries of the three Missions working in Ghana at that time. It served as a representative of the Home Boards responsible for them and would be in charge of "all matters of general policy."⁶ A standing executive committee of the J.M.C was also constituted. This was made up of Rev. I. Bellon, leader of the Basel Mission, Rev. H. Schosser, leader of the Bremen Mission and Rev. A. W. Wilkie, leader of the Scottish Mission and chairman of the executive committee.

4.2 THE DISTRICT COMMITTEES.

District Committees were also established. These committees were responsible for the areas to which the Missions had been allocated. These were, the district committee for Asante, the Basel Mission area. This was made up of all the Basel missionaries with Rev. I. Bellon as the secretary. The district committee for the Ewe area, the Bremen Mission area and was made up of all the Bremen missionaries.⁷ Rev. H. Schosser was the secretary. The third district committee was for the colony, the area allocated to the Scottish Mission. Rev. A.W. Wilkie was the secretary. This committee was also known as the Scottish Mission Council.

The chairman of the executive committee of the J.M.C was to be an ex-officio member of the of each of the district committees.⁸ As chairman, therefore, Rev. A.W. Wilkie was an ex-officio member of the Asante and the Ewe district committees. With this arrangement, therefore, Rev. Wilkie became the *de facto*, leader of the whole missionary work being

⁶*Ibid.* Rev. Wilkie explained the role of the Council before the arrival of the Basel missionaries in Ghana.

⁷Note: The Scottish Mission had then assumed responsibility of the Bremen Mission's work.

⁸Minutes of the Synod Committee, 30th December, 1925 Min. 5.

done in Ghana by the Basel, Bremen and of course the Scottish Missions. From this position Wilkie was able to monitor the activities of the missionaries and exert some influence on the Basel and the Bremen Missions in Ghana. It is not clear the extent of this influence but certainly it was not dictatorship. However, it is plausible, looking at the views expressed by both Ashcroft and Wilkie on the terms on which the Basel missionaries could return to Ghana⁹ and the fact that the colonial government itself was still eager to keep the German missionaries within bounds, to suggest that the arrangement was so designed to achieved that aim.

4.3 REPRESENTATION ON THE SYNOD COMMITTEE.

On their arrival back in Ghana, the Basel Mission was asked by the Synod Committee to appoint one of the membership to be an official representative of the Mission on the Synod Committee. The Mission, therefore, appointed Rev. I. Bellon to serve on the committee on behalf of the Mission.¹⁰

With these arrangements, therefore, the Basel Mission had a degree of internal independence to organize themselves within a limited area. At the same time they had some influence through their participation in the J.M.C and its executive committee and through their representative on the Synod Committee of the church. Officially, however, it was the Scottish Mission that was responsible for the entire mission work. I wish to emphasize that this was a completely new situation for the Basel missionaries who, before their expulsion, were in full control of affairs in the church in Ghana. Now they had had to contend with playing a subsidiary role in the affairs of the church which had been

⁹Both were of the opinion that the Basel missionaries should work with the Scottish Mission and not as an independent body.

¹⁰Minutes of the Synod Committee, 30th December, 1925 Min. 6.

established through their labours. Wilkie on the other hand was in a difficult situation because he had to balance up his administration well in order to keep the Basel missionaries on board.

4.4 WHY THE BASEL MISSIONARIES WERE RESTRICTED TO ASANTE

As far as records go no reasons were assigned for restricting the Basel missionaries to the Asante area. However, a close look at the issues involved shows that the following factors might have influenced the decision to a large extent: Firstly, the Scottish Mission had, by 1925 not been able to establish a firm grip on the Asante area. The few missionaries of the Mission then in Ghana were stationed at Christiansborg, Abokobi, Aburi, Akropong and Peki. All these stations were in the southern-eastern part of the country. This was, therefore, probably meant to provide for effective missionary presence in Asante. Secondly, one of the reasons Rev. Ashcroft gave for recommending that the Scottish Mission was to stay indefinitely in Ghana was the fact that the government was not prepared to hand over the education of the young ones to a non-British missionary society.¹¹ Since the colony had the highest concentration of the country's schools it was a matter of course that the Scottish Mission would stay there and control the schools of the church while the Basel missionaries were sent to the Asante where there were very few schools of the church at this time.¹²

¹¹Report of Rev. Frank Ashcroft on his visit to Ghana in 1921. See P. 129 above

¹²It is interesting to note that in the latter 1940s when the colonial government wanted to establish a secondary school in Kumase, the Asante capital, it was the Scottish Mission that the government appealed to for help and not the Basel Mission.

4.5 THE MOTTO AND EMBLEM OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA

We have noted that the P.C.G was established through the combined efforts of the Basel Mission, Scottish Mission and the indigenous Ghanaians.¹³ The adoption of a name by the church in 1926 marked a watershed in the history of the church because for the first time the church had an independent identity. It could now be delineated from the Missions. It was, therefore, a significant development towards the independence of the church.

As a further step towards putting the independent identity of the church beyond doubt, the church adopted its own emblem and a motto. These were designed in such a way as to epitomize the history of the church. The emblem was a pictorial representation of the combined efforts of the Basel and the Scottish Missions and the indigenous Ghanaians. It is made up of two crosses and a palm tree. The first cross has a blue background and refers to the St. Andrew's cross.¹⁴ This represents the Scottish Mission. The second cross, which has been superimposed on the first one, has a red background and refers to the Swiss Cross.¹⁵ This represents the Basel Mission. At the centre of the Swiss Cross is the palm tree representing Ghana and the indigenous church members. The palm tree was selected as symbol for two reasons: Firstly, before the development of the cocoa industry, palm oil was the mainstay of Ghana's economy. It was, therefore, adopted as a symbol for the country because of its economic importance. Secondly it was adopted by the church because of its theological implications. The palm tree is very resilient. It rarely sheds its leaves even in the dry season. This means that it survives even under extreme conditions. An *Akan* proverb describes it thus: " *Nnua nyinaa woso ma eka abe*" which literally translates " all trees shed their leaves except the palm tree." It is also

¹³Note: The West Indians who arrived in 1843 came as part of the Basel Mission. See Chapter One P. 37 above.

¹⁴St. Andrew is the Patron Saint of Scotland.

¹⁵The Swiss national flag is a white cross with red background.

a general belief among the *Akan* that it is only the palm tree that the elephant, believed to be the strongest animal, is not able to break easily.¹⁶ For the P.C.G, therefore, the palm tree represents the everlasting life of Jesus Christ and the fact that the church had survived in Ghana in spite of its difficult missionary history.¹⁷

The motto **That they all may be one** is in reference to Jesus' own prayer as recorded in John 17 :21. The clue to its adoption was provided by Rev. A. W. Wilkie in his welcome address to the Basel missionaries in 1926. In it Wilkie referred to ".....Swiss, German. Scot and the African as one body" and prayed that under God's leading their combined efforts would be " one step nearer to the fulfillment of our Lord's own prayer that we all be one in him." The motto, therefore, was selected to refer to the co-operation that had developed between the missionary bodies and their missionaries and the Ghanaians in spite of their different cultural and religious backgrounds. This had been made possible by their common allegiance to Christ and their commitment to the spread of Christian gospel among non-Christians in Ghana.

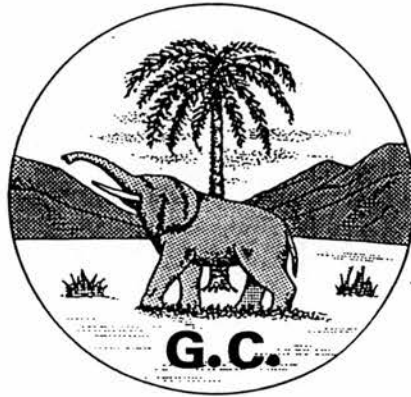
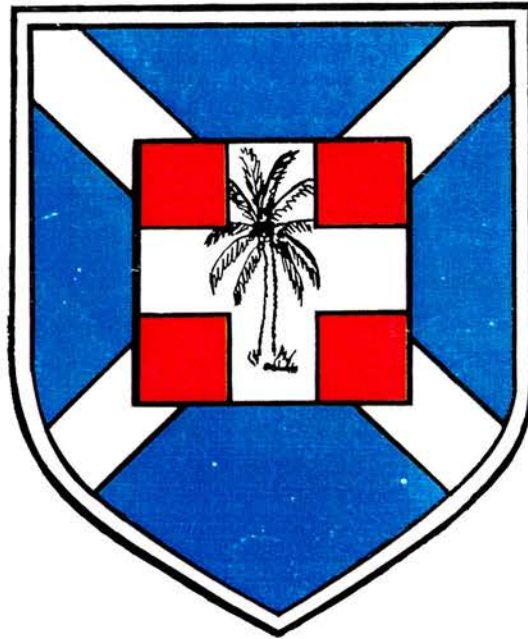


Fig. 13: An Elephant under a Palm Tree (See Footnote 16 below)

¹⁶An elephant standing under a palm tree was the emblem of the Fante Confederacy, one time a powerful nationalist movement in Ghana. It was later used to represent Ghana until 1957.

¹⁷Information supplied by the Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Rt. Rev. D.A Koranteng during personal interview on 18th April, 1994.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA



THAT ONE
THEY ALL MAY BE

Fig. 14: The Emblem and the Motto of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

4.6 THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENARY: 1828-1928.

One basic feature of the Scottish Mission's work in Ghana was that it kept the memory of the Basel Mission alive and always connected the church to its roots. As part of this process the Scottish Mission encouraged the P.C.G to celebrate the centenary of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana in 1928.¹⁸ Preparation for the celebration started in 1924, long before the Basel missionaries returned to Ghana.¹⁹

Meanwhile, the need to expand the seminary at Akropong had been felt in 1922 when plans were being made to transfer the seminary at Abetifi to Akropong and had been estimated that the expansion programme would cost the church £30,000.²⁰ Synod, therefore, decided to link the celebration with the expansion programme in recognition of the work of the Basel Mission. Synod further decided that the buildings that would be put up at the seminary as part of the expansion programme would be known as **Centenary Memorial Seminary**²¹ and dedicated to the memory of the Basel missionaries. In 1923 the church held a conference and decided that a special levy of £1 every adult female and £2 every adult male be taken to finance the building programme. By 1924 when the Synod decided to link the expansion programme with the celebration of the centenary nothing of the special levy had been paid. Rev. Wilkie, then on a visit to Scotland, therefore, offered to raise a loan for the church to finance the building programme.²² This was to assist the church to be able to complete the buildings in good time for the celebration of the centenary since the buildings would form a crucial part in the celebration. The loan was to be paid in ten years at £3,000 a year at an interest rate

¹⁸Note: The Basel Mission started work in Ghana in 1828.

¹⁹*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod, 1924, P. 46. Min. 20.*

²⁰This need was first highlighted by Rev. Frank Ashcroft in his report on his visit to Ghana in 1921.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²The levy was instituted at a special conference of the Church held at Akropong, 22nd-23rd, February, 1923 to raise the estimated £30,000 to undertake the expansion work at the seminary. Unfortunately nothing had been collected by July, 1924. See *Minutes of Synod 1924, Min. 12.*

of 5% per annum. This offer was relayed to Synod by Rev. T. L. Beveridge who was acting in place of Wilkie. Wilkie's offer was, however, not accepted by the presbyters eventually because of the "fear of the interest"²³ and instead, the presbyters pledged to redouble their efforts at collecting the levy to raise the needed amount for the buildings. It is important to note how influential the presbyters had become within the relatively shorter period that the Scottish Mission had been in control of the church in Ghana. I see this as a positive development because the indigenous people were now taking their own decisions instead of being dictated to. However, the pledge made by the presbyters also did not yield any substantial dividends. In the final analysis, Wilkie appealed to the colonial government in Accra for financial assistance for the programme. The governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg²⁴ readily offered to provide a grant of £20,000 on condition that firstly, at least six British graduates would be employed in the seminary. This would obviously strengthen British influence in the college and on the students and secondly, not more than 25 pupils would be instructed in any one class.²⁵ These conditions were readily accepted and the grant was provided. Apart from these conditions Guggisberg himself had great interest in the development of education in Ghana. He also appeared to have had implicit faith in the Scottish Mission as regards their ability to deliver good quality education.²⁶ All these most probably influenced his readiness to assist in the expansion programme which would ultimately serve the interest of the whole nation. The extension programme, therefore, went through as planned and the buildings were completed in time for the centenary celebrations in 1928.

²³*The Scottish Mission, Minutes of Synod 1924 P. 44 Min. 16*

²⁴There is a big photograph of Guggisberg in the college to serve as a memorial of his contribution to the putting up of the buildings.

²⁵Minutes of the Synod Committee, 1st-3rd September, 1925 Min. 12.

²⁶This will be discussed in full in chapter six below on "Education."

The Synod for that year was held at Akropong during which the buildings were officially opened by the Acting Governor Mr. T. S.W Thomas on 20th October, 1928. The whole extension project cost the church £38,160 19s 8d. Out of this amount, the colonial government paid £20,000, Scotland contributed £1,338 9s 3d and the rest was contributed by the P.C.G, chiefs and well-wishers in Ghana.²⁷

The Basel Mission was represented at the centenary celebration by Rev. H. Kurtz, himself a former missionary in Ghana and the U.F.C, was represented by Rev. J. Brash of Glasgow and Miss F. Mackenzie, Principal of the Women's Missionary College in Edinburgh.²⁸

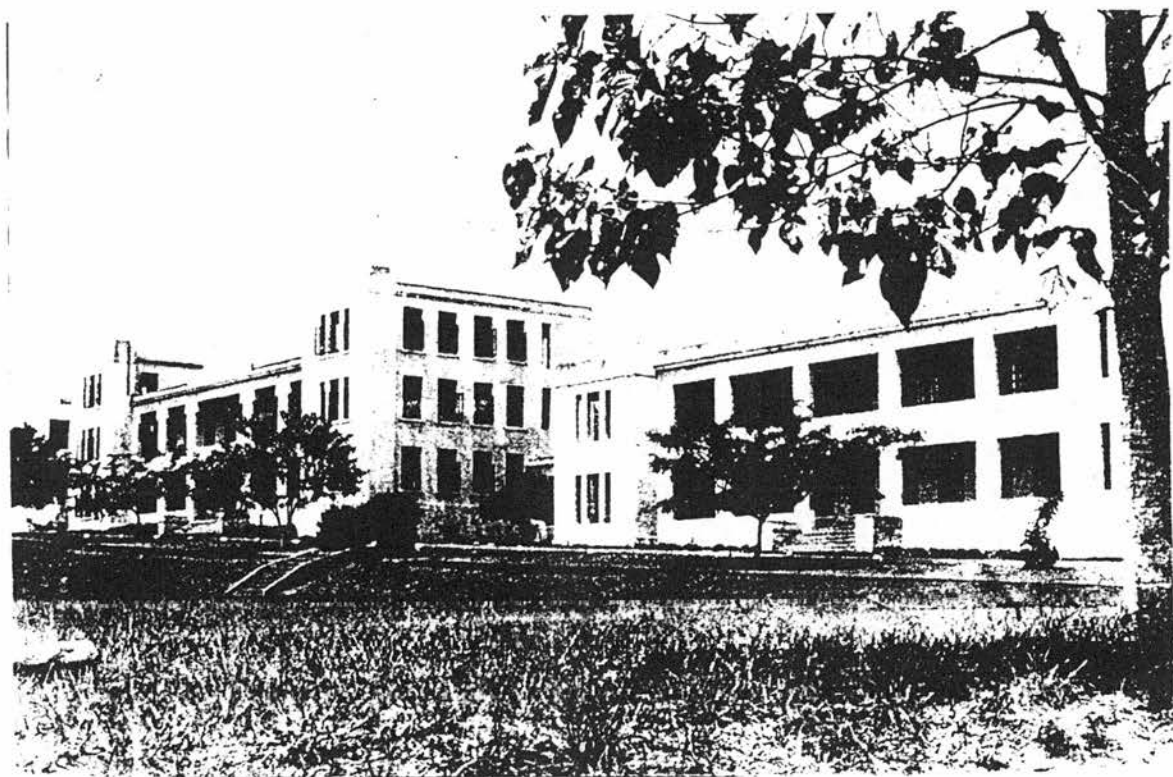


Fig. 15: The New Buildings Opened on 20th October 1928.

²⁷Akropong Training College Building Fund Accounts, Ref. *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1928, P. 87-88.*

²⁸The College is now St. Colm's.

In his centenary address, the Synod Clerk, Rev. N. T. Clerk paid glowing tribute to the Basel Mission for the "good foundation they have laid." He however cautioned the P.C.G that:

A Church that is 100 years old is no more a child to be carried by kind parents. It is therefore for us to know that infancy is passed and will never return. If we have entered into our youth we must make use of our strength to keep ourselves and to help others. Never let us dream of being carried by our loving parents always as feeble infants²⁹

Clerk's message no doubt was a clear indication of the extent of his determination to lead the church to total independence. From all indications the centenary celebration was successful. It was significant in that it helped the church to trace its past and get firmly reconnected to its roots, the Basel Mission, after the interruption of the work of the Mission due to their expulsion from the country.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND
IN COMMEMORATION OF THE WORK OF
THE BASEL MISSION
DURING A HUNDRED YEARS
AND OF ALL
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES IN THE SERVICE OF
THE PEOPLE OF THE GOLD COAST
1828 - 1928
THIS COLLEGE FOR THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS
WAS DEDICATED
ON 20TH OCTOBER, 1928.
"COMPASSED ABOUT BY SO GREAT A CLOUD OF WITNESSES".

Fig. 16: The Foundation Stone unveiled on 20th October 1928.

²⁹Rev. N.T. Clerk: Synod Clerk's message: *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports, 1928* P. 5-6.

4.7 CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH.

When the Basel Mission started work in Ghana initially, they worked with an unwritten constitution. Having come from the pietistic tradition, the missionaries regulated the lives and conduct of the few converts by what they considered to be in consonance with the word of God and their pietistic orientation and discipline. The first written regulations of the Basel Mission Church "adapted to the wants of our Christian Natives"³⁰ were drawn at the first Twi Synod at Akropong in 1880. In 1882, the Ga District Synod also adopted them.³¹ These regulations were revised in 1902 and it was this version that was in operation at the time of the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana.

By 1928, the Mission had erected all the initial structures necessary for the smooth administration of the church by the indigenous people and a name, had been adopted by the church to underscore its independent identity from the Missions.³² It was, therefore, decided to revise the existing regulations to include all the structural changes that had taken place in the church since the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana so as to give them a constitutional status. This revision was made in 1929 by Rev. Wilkie. It was a massive restructuring of the 1902 version resulting in a detailed, properly written out constitution of the church called "*Regulations, Practice and Procedure*."³³ (R.P.P) Unlike the original version which was only made up of rules meant to regulate the behavioural pattern of the "Christian Natives" the new constitution, in addition to the rules drawn up

³⁰The Basel Mission in the Gold Coast, Report, January, 1879, P. 11.

³¹Prof. Kwamena Po: Vision and Achievement: A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana: 1828-1978, Kumase, 1980. P. 266 (Unpublished)

³²See full discussion on the new administrative structure introduced by the Scottish Mission in Chapter Three P. 100 above.

³³The title "Practice and Procedure" was a direct transplant from the U.F.C of Scotland whose constitution bears the same name. "Regulations" was the original version left behind by the Basel Mission. The two were, therefore, put together to form the title of the new one thus "Regulations, Practice and Procedure" to show that the two traditions had been merged. By maintaining the original title, the Scottish Mission showed that they respected the Basel Mission factor.

by the Basel Mission, set out how the various aspects of the church should be ordered, directed and supervised. It was divided into four main parts as follows:

Part One: The organization of the church.

Part Two: Customs to be observed in the church

Part Three: The discipline of the church.

Part Four: Administration of temporal affairs.³⁴

Presenting the new revised constitution to Synod for approval in 1930, Rev. T. L. Beveridge, Secretary of the Scottish Mission³⁵ said that " the constitution and rules had been revised with the greatest care" and urged Synod to give " the new rules.....a patient trial for some years." ³⁶

The new constitution was, as a matter of course, influenced by the constitution of the U.F.C. It was, however, adapted to suit local conditions. It gave clear guidance on how the church should be administered from the congregational level to the synodal level and the functions of the various officers in the church. It also provided clear guidance on the sanctions that should be applied and actions that should be taken in given situations. By so doing, therefore, the constitution injected a degree of administrative competence into the church because it enabled the various indigenous church leaders and agents to administer the church in their respective areas without having to refer to the Scottish Mission always for direction. As the managerial competence of the indigenous church leaders improved, their confidence also improved. They could now take their own decisions and take the responsibility. The new constitution was, therefore, an important

³⁴*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Regulations, Practice and Procedure, 1929: See Contents.*

³⁵Rev. A.W. Wilkie was getting ready to go on transfer to Lovedale in South Africa. Therefore though he was around he had handed over to Rev. Beveridge

³⁶*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1930, Min. 17.*

ingredient in the process of the training of the indigenous church agents and preparing the church for complete independence. The problem, however, was the interpretation and application of the stipulations in the constitution. Most often presbyters and church agents tended to go strictly according to what was written in the constitution especially with regard to the application of sanctions and the handling of ecclesiastical procedures possibly in order not to make any mistakes. In the end what, to all intents and purposes, appeared to be a helpful document tended to kill the initiative of the indigenous church agents and also lost its human face as a result of the dogmatic approach to it.

Nevertheless, the new constitution was tried for twenty years i.e. 1930-1950. Within this period other developments took place because it marked the final phase in the process towards full independence of the church. By 1950, therefore, it became apparent that another revision of the constitution was necessary to take care of all the changes that had taken place. This revision was completed and published on 29th May 1953. This was also an improvement on the 1929 edition but the spirit behind both remained the same, that was "the orderly management of the church and of the life of members in a manner that will please the Lord."³⁷ The 1953 constitution gave the Ghanaian church leaders complete control of the affairs of the church. It could, therefore, be properly described as the "Independent Constitution" of the church.³⁸

4.8 THE BASEL MISSION AND THE PROPOSED ASANTE SYNOD.

Though the Basel Mission accepted the Edinburgh Agreement which restricted them to Asante on their return to Ghana, later developments after they had arrived in Ghana

³⁷Foreword: *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Regulations, Practice and Procedure, 1953 edition.*

³⁸The full independence of the Church actually took place in 1950 before the revision of the Constitution in 1953. See chapter 7 below for a full discussion on the independence of the Church.

seemed to show that they were not satisfied with the arrangement. It appears that they accepted it because it gave them the opportunity to return to Ghana. After their arrival in 1925, they were restricted to Asante as agreed at the Edinburgh Conference and they had to co-operate with the Scottish Mission in the administration of the church. According to Paul Jenkins, the "idea that they had to co-operate in, rather than direct the life of the church all alone was very painful to them."³⁹ However, though they did not like the arrangement they did not protest openly against it. They endured it for four years before taking some action. In 1929, the same year in which a new constitution was being drawn for the church by Wilkie, the Basel Mission proposed to the Synod Committee the establishment of the Asante district church and the creation of a separate Synod for Asante which would be the direct responsibility of the Mission.⁴⁰ This proposal would have split the P.C.G into two, the Asante Basel Mission Church and the Scottish Mission Church of the south. Of course, this proposal was a reaction to the subordinate role the Mission had been compelled to play in the administration of the church on their return to Ghana. Though they were back in Ghana it was the Scottish Mission that was setting the agenda and they seemed to be dissatisfied with it. The creation of a separate Synod for the Mission would, therefore, give them the opportunity to handle their Synod and the church in their district their own way. The Synod Committee rejected the proposal on the grounds that:

The courts of the church as at present arranged in Sessions, Presbyteries and Synod are working well. In the Presbyteries Africans meet by themselves but if the Basel missionaries want to take part in the Presbytery for Asante and make any arrangements within the Presbytery, there is no objection, but a District Synod for Asante would impair the unity of the church.⁴¹

³⁹Paul Jenkins: *Texts and Documents, Basel Mission No. 10*, May 1989 P. 16.

⁴⁰Synod Committee Minutes, 9th-12th, April, 1929.

⁴¹*Ibid*

The Synod Committee, however, appeared to have recognized the cause of the indignation of the Basel Mission and attempted to find a solution to the problem. The Committee realized that it was the imposition of restrictions on the Basel Mission that was the major cause. It, therefore, decided to appeal to the British colonial government to revoke the restrictions imposed on the Basel missionaries which limited their activities to the Asante to allow them the freedom to participate in the activities of the church in the country as a whole. It was hoped that this would go a long way to set them at ease. On 22nd May, 1929, therefore, Rev. Wilkie sent a petition to the government in Accra urging it to lift the restrictions. Accordingly, the restrictions were withdrawn according to a letter written by the Acting Colonial Secretary dated 24th July, 1929 and addressed to Wilkie.⁴² The government, however, insisted that firstly, the Scottish missionaries should be members of every committee and council which considers, organizes or controls the educational work of either Basel or Bremen Missions in the country. Secondly, that the staff of the Basel and Bremen Missions should strictly avoid concerning themselves with political affairs and that they were liable to be withdrawn on the request of the governor if they failed to observe this condition.⁴³ It is clear from these conditions that the colonial administration was still suspicious of the loyalty of the German Missions and wanted to keep them under control. However, the most important issue here was that the restriction on the Basel missionaries was withdrawn and they were now free to work anywhere they wanted. Officially, however, the administration of the P.C.G was still in the hands of the Scottish Mission. After this the Basel Mission sent missionaries to Nsaba, Abetifi, Begoro and Akropong Akuapem. A Girls' school, Women Teacher Training college⁴⁴ and a hospital were established at Agogo in 1931. Other hospitals were also established at Bekyem and Dormaa Ahenkro.

⁴²Ref. *Foreign Mission Committee minutes, 17th September, 1929 Min. 2665.*

⁴³*Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, 17th September, 1929 Min. 2665.*

⁴⁴See Golden Jubilee Souvenir Programme for the two institutions 1931-1981 P. 17

In 1932, the Basel Mission opened the Gyamang Mission field with Suma Ahenkro⁴⁵ as its headquarters to the north-west of Kumase.⁴⁶

4.9 THE SECOND WORLD WAR: 1939-1945.

The Basel missionaries were still re-establishing themselves after their return to Ghana in 1925 and the lifting of the restrictions imposed on them in 1930 when the Second World War broke out in 1939. This time the colonial government did not show any ambivalence with regard to what to do with the Basel missionaries of German nationality. A decisive action was taken as soon as the war broke out. All the fourteen Basel missionaries of German nationality and all the missionaries of the Bremen Mission were rounded up and repatriated.⁴⁷ The colonial government could act decisively and swiftly because the Scottish Mission had established itself and was already in control. Furthermore, the indigenous pastors had been prepared and empowered by the Scottish Mission to handle the congregations and, therefore, with or without missionaries the congregational work could go on without any hitch. But more importantly the British colonial government seemed to have learnt a lesson from the previous experience. This time the Basel missionaries of Swiss nationality were not repatriated. They were left to continue the work of the Mission. As a result of all this, therefore, the Second World War did not have any serious negative effect on the P.C.G. Nevertheless, it was another serious setback to the efforts of the Basel Mission in Ghana. Some of the stations which had mainly Basel missionaries had to be closed down and in some cases the staff was drastically reduced and responsibilities devolved on the few missionaries who were left behind. For instance

⁴⁵Suma Ahenkro is the present name for Nweneme.

⁴⁶*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports, 1934:* See Report of the Secretary, Basel Mission, 1934.

⁴⁷Prof. Kwamena Poh: *Vision and Achievement: A Hundred and Fifty Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1828-1978* P. 284. (Unpublished)

Nsaba, Abetifi Seminary and Suma Ahenkro were closed down. In 1942 the compounds of the Basel Mission Girls' school and Women's Teacher Training college which had been established at Agogo in 1931 were taken over by the British and turned into an army camp for their soldiers. The two institutions were, therefore, temporarily transferred to the seminary at Akropong Akuapem then under the control of the Scottish Mission. They were brought back to Agogo at the end of 1943. The Basel Mission hospital also at Agogo had to close down due to lack of staff. It was re-opened in 1947.

It was in 1945 that the German Basel missionaries were again allowed to return to Ghana. But after the war the Basel missionaries worked mainly in specialized areas such as hospitals and educational institutions. The few who were interested in congregational work mainly played the role as facilitators. Kumase continued to be the headquarters of the Basel Mission even after the restrictions were removed.

4.10 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BASEL AND SCOTTISH MISSIONS IN GHANA.

On the official level, there was harmonious working relations between the Basel and Scottish Missions. They both participated in the J.M.C, the Synod Committee and the Synod. However, in the real sense of human relations it was anything but cordial. The Basel Mission continued to resent the fact that they had to co-operate with the Scottish Mission. What was more, they could not see their way clear with regard to their status and place in the new "self-governing" church which had the Scottish Mission Secretary stationed at Christiansborg as its focus hence the petition for a separate Synod. But more importantly, they vehemently criticized the Scottish Mission for introducing what they termed "liberal -modern" type of theology at the seminary at Akropong. It seems that it

referred to the revision of the syllabus which de-emphasized the teaching of Christian religion and placed emphasis on the training of teachers for a holistic ministry. The Basel Mission also attacked the Scottish Mission for not doing much work in the congregations. The Mission however praised the Scottish Mission for their work in the educational sector.⁴⁸ It appears the Basel Mission was not very much aware of the difficulties faced by the U.F.C in its attempt to recruit missionary personnel for the work in Ghana. Of course with the few missionaries at their disposal, the Scottish Mission could not do any effective congregational work in addition to the educational and the administrative work. The Basel Mission, however, saw things differently. In fact the criticisms leveled against the Scottish Mission were symptoms of the deep resentment and dissatisfaction of the Basel Mission for losing control of their mission field.

On the whole, it appeared the Basel Mission were not satisfied with the work that the Scottish Mission did in their absence. They, however, stopped short of formally asking the Scottish Mission to hand over their mission field back to them probably because of the likely political implications of such a move. Furthermore, such a step would certainly have caused a lot of confusion in the church since the indigenous leaders, who were to an appreciable degree, in control of affairs would have been very reluctant to cede power back to them. However, the criticisms put pressure on the Scottish Mission and appeared to have exhausted their patience. During the Synod in 1930, therefore, Rev. T. L. Beveridge spoke openly and asked the P.C.G to decide whether they wanted the Scottish Mission to stay in Ghana and work with the church or leave the scene. Beveridge took advantage of the opportunity granted him to welcome Dr. Stokes ⁴⁹to Ghana during the Synod to throw the challenge part of which said:

⁴⁸See Noel Smith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960*, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1966, P 192.

⁴⁹Dr. Stokes was a Basel missionary. His father was a Scottish and his mother, a Swiss.

When help was called for twelve years ago,⁵⁰ the Scottish Church had come to the rescue with some fifty missionaries.....and about £100,000 which were very substantial signs of goodwill and sympathy. They had never ceased to press Government for the return of the Basel and the Bremen missionaries and the removal of all restrictions. Now there seem to be three partners in the work, Basel, Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast but there is a fourth partner the Lord Jesus Christ, whose work it is and whose spirit alone brings strength into our co-operation. Scottish missionaries are here only so long as His church has need of them.....This Synod is therefore expected to express its mind clearly and definitely as to its further need for the help of the Scottish Mission. A negative answer would cause no ill-feeling for they have come to do only what our Master needs for His church in this land. ⁵¹

Beveridge's challenge seemed to be a veiled reaction to the attacks from the Basel Mission. It was as if to say "we have had enough." He made it abundantly clear that the work belongs to Jesus Christ. Therefore, in effect, no Mission could claim it as their property. By implication, therefore, Christ might have used the Basel Mission to establish the church in Ghana at a particular time. Just as he called the Scottish Mission at a particular time to work with the church but it did not belong to any of the Missions. That was a powerful challenge which probably took the church by surprise. In the end Synod decided that both Missions should "carry on the work for us in love and unity."⁵² This decision was taken at a meeting during which both the Basel and the Scottish missionaries were excused. When Synod reconvened with the missionaries present this message was formally conveyed to Synod by a Presbyterian, Edmund Asa from Akropong. The fact that it was a Presbyterian who served as the spokesperson for the people was meant to show that the decision was not imposed by the clergy and that it was the decision by the people themselves.⁵³ This settled the question posed by Rev. Beveridge and assured both

⁵⁰He was speaking in 1930 but the Scottish Mission arrived in Ghana to assume duty in 1918. That makes it 12 years.

⁵¹Ref. *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1930 Min. 5. P. 42.*

⁵²*Ibid* Min. 36 P. 48.

⁵³Members of the Synod Committee chose to remain neutral and, therefore, were not involved in the decision.

Missions of the support of the P.C.G but whether it was able to heal the pain of the Basel Mission was another issue that was not clear. But it was doubtful it did.

4.11 REACTIONS FROM SOME GHANAIS OUTSIDE THE CHURCH.

There were very few occasions where traditional rulers openly confronted missionaries working in Ghana.⁵⁴ The general picture one gets is that the missionaries were greatly respected by both Christians and non-Christians in Ghana. This was due to two main reasons: Firstly, Ghanaians by nature have great respect for foreigners in general and Europeans in particular.⁵⁵ Secondly, the social services such as schools, colleges, and health centres established by the missionaries and gifts of clothing, food and, in some cases, money had helped the social advancement of the traditional society. For these reasons traditional rulers in many cases supported the work of the missionaries and the church in their areas.⁵⁶

In the early 1940s, however, Nana Sir Ofori Atta I,⁵⁷ King of Akyem Abuakwa⁵⁸ and President of the Akyem Abuakwa State Council⁵⁹ found it necessary to launch a scathing

⁵⁴We have already noted the arrest and detention of Rev. Ramseyer, his wife and Kuhne, his colleague in Kumase for four and a half years. We have also noted the destruction of the Mission station in Kumase by Asante forces. These were some of the very few confrontations. See Chapter One P. 39 above.

⁵⁵Europeans are seen in Ghanaian society as rich people because they are always seen riding in cars and living in big houses with many servants.

⁵⁶This does not mean that the missionaries had it easy all through. There were problems but the general picture was that the traditional rulers were supportive.

⁵⁷He was made Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire on 3rd June 1927 for his role in the Ghanaian politics and for his efforts at persuading his people to show loyalty to the British Crown. His state contribute £1,500 towards the cost of an aeroplane named after "*Akyem Abuakwa*", which fought in the first world war 1914-1918.

⁵⁸*Akyem Abuakwa* is one of the three states of the Akyem people. The other two are *Bosome* and *Kotoku*. Abuakwa is the largest and the capital is Kyebi, a key Basel Mission station and residence of the King.

⁵⁹Nana Ofori Atta I was a brother of the veteran nationalist Dr. J. B. Danquah. Their father was an evangelist in the Basel Mission Church. It is rumoured that Dr. Danquah was involved in the writing of the memorandum.

attack on the missionaries and the P.C.G. He took advantage of the Synod that was being held at Kyebi in 1941 to launch the attack which was presented in the form of a memorandum to the Synod. The crux of the memorandum was a criticism of the missionaries, both Basel and Scottish about what the State Council felt was a negative attitude to the culture of the people. While recognizing the good work done by the missionaries for which he was grateful, Nana Ofori Atta I lamented what he described as "the unsophisticated and naive thinking" of the missionaries about "the customs and habits of the people."⁶⁰ For instance he attacked the *Salem* concept as divisive and disruptive of the traditional society. He also attacked the church's involvement in the fixing of the rates of "satisfaction" for members of the church as imprudent.⁶¹ He said that the church had "had the misfortune of regarding everything European as the best and everything African as the worst." He, therefore, urged the church to change its attitude to the Ghanaian culture and ensure that Christianity did not become a divisive instrument. What is interesting about the attack of Nana Ofori Atta I was that he was a trained teacher-catechist of the church. He had his training at the seminary at Akropong. He, however, lost his position as a church member on becoming a traditional ruler, a position the missionaries and the P.C.G felt involved "heathenish" practices and, therefore, Christians were debarred from holding such office.⁶² He, therefore, appeared to know the beliefs and practices of the church well.

The missionaries and the Synod appeared to have been taken by surprise by the attack. In a brief reaction Rev. H.H.G. MacMillan, Secretary of the Scottish Mission, gave a summary of the memorandum and concluded that the "ultimate aim of the memorandum is that the church and the state may come to closer co-operation."⁶³ I see MacMillan's

⁶⁰Akyem Abuakwa State Council : Memorandum to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 11th -18th, July, 1941 Par. 8. P.C.G A Accra.

⁶¹Ref. Chapter three P. 118 above for the discussion on "Satisfaction"

⁶²See R.P.P 1929 Edition, article 241, P. 23

⁶³*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, July 1941, P. 20 Min. 16.*

summary as an oversimplification of the memorandum. I think what the King wanted was a recognition of and respect for the Ghanaian culture by the missionaries and the church. Synod appointed a nine member committee to prepare a fitting reply to the memorandum. This included two Scottish missionaries, Rev. C.M. Morrison and Rev. F.D. Harker. In a detailed reply the church discounted all the charges leveled against it by the King and his State Council and defended its policies. It argued that it could not accept many aspects of the culture because it felt that:

.....at many points the ethical standards of Christ come into direct conflict with those of African traditional custom if therefore such custom cannot be done away with or modified to make it inoffensive to the Christian conscience then the Christian must decline to obey it and humbly suffer the consequences.⁶⁴

The church's reply is very interesting because so far as the records of the church go no serious study of the culture of the people had been done at this time. The church relied on mere observation of the cultural phenomena and information provided by some members of the church. It was on that basis that the church formed its opinion on the culture. The church, however, conceded that " many grave errors have been committed mainly through the misinformed zeal of individual agents."⁶⁵ These "grave errors" were not defined by the church and there is no record of any attempt at any point to correct them. The reply was presented to Synod and to the State Council in 1942. By their reply the P.C.G seemed to have polarized its position and it was very clear that there was not going to be any progress in the dialogue. This appeared to be the case because there was no way the traditional ruler or any traditional leader was going to do away with any traditional practice simply because the church did not like it. However the king did not live to follow up on the reply and continue the fight. He died in 1943.

⁶⁴Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reply to the Memorandum of the Akyem Abuakwa State Council, 1942 P. 15.

⁶⁵*Ibid*

4.11.1 NANA OFORI ATTA II.

The death of Nana Sir Ofori Atta I did not end the debate he had initiated on church-state relations but no concrete steps were taken by either side to move the process forward until 1954. In that year Nana Ofori Atta II, nephew and successor to Nana Sir Ofori Atta I re-opened the case and reiterated the sentiments expressed by his late uncle earlier in 1941. He also took advantage of the Synod being held at Kyebi to launch his attack. He proposed to the church the setting up of a joint committee to discuss all the relevant issues raised in the 1941 memorandum. He advised the church "not to condemn our customs before they have themselves carried on the most exacting research into them."⁶⁶

In its reply to the reminder, the church stated among other things that:

The Church always sought with the greatest patience and tolerance to communicate her lofty teachings in a genial atmosphere avoiding as much as possible every seeming rashness. The Church's stand on ancestors' worship is never-the-less unflinching and shall seek by all the means that lie in her power to present to the people of this land a better object of worship.⁶⁷

It is clear from the reply that the church had already passed judgment on traditional beliefs and taken a firm stand against them. The church would continue to present to the people a "better object of worship." However, the church accepted the invitation to appoint a joint committee to discuss the issues at stake. The twelve member party from the side of the church included Rev. C.F. Paton, the Acting Secretary of the Scottish Mission.⁶⁸ At

⁶⁶Address of Welcome to the Synod Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by Nana Ofori Atta II, Okyenhene, 27th September, 1954. P.C.G.A Accra.

⁶⁷*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1955, Nana Ofori Atta's Memorandum (1954), Appendix VI.*

⁶⁸The joint Committee met on two occasions. Dr. J. B. Danquah presented a paper which served as the basis for the discussions.

the end of the sitting of the committee the P.C.G issued the following statement which was drafted by Rev. Paton

- a. The church will continue to pray to God through our Lord Jesus Christ
- b. The States should ask pastors to pray at festivals and ceremonies exactly as it is done in parliaments.
- c. We should respect our ancestors and if need be, special prayers be inserted in our liturgy for the dead.
- d. If stools were merely symbols of unity and authority then the church could recognize them as such. But other means of blackening them must be found as slaughtering of sheep on stools was an outmoded custom.
- e. Further research was to be conducted into festivals, blackening of stools and drumming at funerals.⁶⁹

A close study of the church's statement shows that it did not find anything theologically outrageous about the culture that they had investigated so far. However after the statement was issued the joint committee did not meet again neither did the church conduct the further research into festivals, blackening of stools and drumming as promised. For instance the church's comment on the stools of chiefs was very interesting. The statement recommended that other ways of blackening them should be found because using the blood of sheep for the purpose " was outmoded." The fact that it was outmoded did not mean it was against the Christian faith. The church further asserted that it will "continue to pray to God through Jesus Christ." This has never been disputed by any traditional authority in Ghana. The argument that has always been advanced is that the traditional way of praying, that is by pouring libation, is also valid and that the church should recognize it. This has been the bone of contention and a solution is yet to be

⁶⁹*Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Minutes of Synod, 1958 P. 13 Min. 15.*

found. I, therefore, think that on the whole the church and the Akyem Abuakwa State Council came very close to solving a major problem and it was unfortunate that the issue was not pursued further. No reasons were given for the discontinuance of the dialogue but at least a start had been made. It, however, seems to me that the P.C.G did not show further interest in the work of the joint committee because it had already taken a stand that the culture was "heathenish."

On the whole the 1941 and the 1954 memoranda to the P.C.G from the Akyem Abuakwa State Council were of great significance. They were the most organized and stiffest challenge from a traditional council to the P.C.G. For once, the church was forced to re-examine her attitude to the culture of the people. It was also forced to come to terms with the fact that it was operating in a socio-cultural milieu and among a people whose leaders would not countenance any flagrant condemnation of their culture and interference in their domestic affairs. Furthermore, the replies to the memoranda are by far the only coherent theological response setting out the church's position on traditional culture in which the church openly admitted that some agents of the church had committed "many grave errors." This is important because that was the first time that the church publicly admitted its fallibility so far as its dealings with the culture of the people was concerned. Above all the memoranda created the opportunity for the church to enter into dialogue with the traditional authority on traditional culture. Though the dialogue did not appear to have had any substantial impact on the church's attitude to the culture at least attention had been drawn to the issues, the church had been forced to admit its mistakes and an attempt had been made at resolving them. However, the church continued to have a negative attitude to the culture of the people.

4.12 THE APPOINTMENT OF A DEPUTY SYNOD CLERK.

As the church grew in size the level of administration also grew. In November, 1945 therefore, Synod Committee found it necessary to create the office of Deputy Synod Clerk due to "the ever increasing scope and volume of the Synod Clerk's work and the need for some experienced man ready to manage the work during the Synod Clerk's eventual absence."⁷⁰ Rev. E. A. Asamoah was appointed by the Synod Committee as the first Deputy Synod Clerk of the church. His appointment was confirmed by Synod in 1946. After two years in office, however, he was transferred to the staff of the Trinity College, Kumase.

Synod Committee, therefore, appointed Rev. H. A. Boateng as Acting Deputy Synod Clerk.⁷¹ He acted in this capacity till 1950 when he was elected the substantive Deputy Synod Clerk against Rev. P. C. Richter and Rev. A. L. Kwansa. However, the post was suspended in 1954 on the grounds that "there was no work enough at the Head Office and the money as well as more ministers are need to the N.Ts [Northern Territories] and other ministerial stations."⁷² Though this was the official reason given for the suspension of the post it was not as simple as that. There appeared to have been a big controversy with regard to the administrative competence of the incumbent Deputy Synod Clerk, Rev. H. A. Boateng. Synod Committee had detected that Rev Boateng did not have the capacity to perform his duties as Deputy Synod Clerk.⁷³ However, the Synod Committee wanted to keep it to itself till Rev. Boateng ended his term of service at the

⁷⁰Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, *Minutes of Synod, 1946* P. 6 Min. 8

⁷¹Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, *Minutes of Synod, 1948*, P. 7, Min. 7.

⁷²Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast *Minutes of Synod 1954*, P. 5-8.

⁷³Ibid P. 7.

end of 1953⁷⁴. However, it was found that Rev. Boateng wanted to stay on even after the end of his term. This embarrassed the Synod Committee and a way was found to get rid of him. Therefore, the official reason given to suspend the post was a tactical way to handle the situation without causing any embarrassment to any one. It appears there was confusion during the discussion but the Moderator closed the discussion insisting that "the Synod Committee had in its responsible capacity acted in a manner that would promote the welfare of the Church and what remained to be decided was the future of the post of the Deputy Synod Clerk."⁷⁵ This might not have been the best way to handle the situation but the Synod Committee felt that under the circumstance they had no other option. The Synod Clerk Rev. C. H. Clerk was forced to explain the situation at Synod when Rev. Boateng himself introduced the issue and called on Synod to consider extending the period of his stay in office as Deputy Synod Clerk. So in the final analysis the embarrassment that the Synod Committee wanted to avoid could not be avoided. By 1957, the position had still not been filled.

4.13 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA.

We have already noted that the Scottish Mission established a central administrative machinery for the whole church when they arrived in Ghana⁷⁶ and a Moderator and a Synod Clerk were appointed for the church. After erecting the central administration there was the need for the creation of a central point where the central office of administration would be located from where the administrative machinery would be monitored, co-ordinated and supervised. Wilkie had settled at Christiansborg to make his

⁷⁴I have learnt that Rev. Boateng was very much respected in the church hence the approach.

⁷⁵*Ibid* P. 8

⁷⁶Refer to the action plan in Chapter Three P. 99 above.

contacts with the government quick and easy. He had raised funds to build a house at Kuku Hill⁷⁷ and had established a small office in the house from where he worked.⁷⁸ However, Akropong continued to be regarded as the unofficial headquarters of the church.⁷⁹

When the Moderator of the Synod and the Synod Clerk were appointed, they operated on a part-time basis. Both Rev. P. Hall and Rev. N.T. Clerk were full-time district pastors in charge of Akropong and Larte respectively while performing their duties relating to their respective offices. The Moderatorial office continued to be on a part-time basis till 1946 when Rev. S.S. Odonkor was made a full-time Moderator of the church.⁸⁰

With regard to the Synod Clerk, he remained at Larte till 1922 when the Synod Committee decided that he should work as full-time Synod Clerk. He, however, declined a proposal to live at Christiansborg and rather decided to live at Adawso where he had a house of his own and a cocoa farm⁸¹ but came to Christiansborg any time there was an administrative duty to perform. After the retirement of Rev. Clerk, in 1932 the next Synod Clerk Rev. D.E. Akwa stayed at Mamfe, near Akropong. In 1933 Synod decided to build permanent houses for the Moderator and the Synod Clerk at "a suitable place." However, it was decided to build the Synod Clerk's first since he was full-time. The question of "suitable place" dragged on till 1939 when Synod decided on Akropong against Christiansborg, Nsawam and Koforidua, as the permanent seat for the Synod Clerk. The church was in the process of preparing to put up the house when in 1941, the

⁷⁷Kuku Hill is an area in Christiansborg. The house that Wilkie built is known as **Wilkie House** and later became the residence of the Moderator of Synod.

⁷⁸ *Foreign Mission Committee Minutes, 21st March 1922 Min. 5907.*

⁷⁹The Basel missionary Andreas Riis moved from Osu and settled there in 1835. Since then Akropong had been the seat of the Mission until they were expelled in 1917.

⁸⁰*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Minutes of Synod, 1946, P. 22, Min. 26: 1*

⁸¹Adawso, located between Akropong and Koforidua, was a settlement for cocoa farmers

Asante Presbytery asked Synod to reconsider its decision to make Akropong the permanent seat for the Synod Clerk and proposed Christiansborg for the following reasons:

1. Nearness to the Secretary of the Scottish Mission for consulting to the heads of other churches and to the education and other departments.
2. Easy means of transport and communication.
3. Contact with leading men of the country.
4. The house of the Synod Clerk would provide boarding and lodging for members of the Synod Committee who would be attending meetings in Accra.⁸²

These reasons given appeared to be very sound but proponents of Akropong continued to press their case and argued that since Akropong was "the headquarters of the church, the residence should be retained there to commemorate the work of the Basel missionaries." If they were hoping to court the sympathy of the Basel missionaries and their admirers they were disappointed because the argument was countered by the Secretary of the Basel Mission who declared that "the Basel missionaries did not appoint a town as their headquarters."⁸³ This must have weakened considerably the position of the supporters of Akropong who probably thought that the mention of the Basel Mission would help them to win the fight. In a vote that was taken Synod reversed its previous decision and chose Christiansborg as the permanent seat for the Synod Clerk.⁸⁴ The Scottish Mission promised to provide land for the building of the house.

⁸²*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1941, P. 6, Min. 8.*

⁸³*Ibid.* Note: Though the restriction limiting the Basel Mission to the Asante had been withdrawn Kumase continued to be the headquarters of the Basel Mission. It is, therefore, not surprising that they associated with the Asante presbytery.

⁸⁴*Ibid.* The vote was 80 in favour of Christiansborg and 51 for Akropong.

Before the Scottish Mission could take action, however, the Akuapem /Volta Presbytery raised the issue again at Abetifi in 1942 and urged Synod to maintain Akropong as the permanent seat for the Synod Clerk.⁸⁵ The Presbytery also gave the following reasons to support their case:

1. That the previous Synod Clerks chose to stay among the Twi speaking people because these comprised four Presbyteries.⁸⁶
2. That each of the three missionary bodies should have its own headquarters. The Scottish Mission were in Christiansborg, the Basel Mission were in Kumase and therefore the Presbyterian Church should have hers in Akropong.⁸⁷

These arguments advanced by the Akuapem/Volta Presbytery seemed to have won the hearts of many delegates because they seem to emphasize the independence of the church. In a vote that was taken Synod voted overwhelmingly to maintain Synod Clerk's residence at Akropong.⁸⁸ The Synod Committee was urged to build the house immediately to avoid any further change. The house was, therefore, built at Akropong.

The struggle between Akropong and Christiansborg over who should have the permanent seat of the Synod Clerk was simply a struggle for pre-eminence and honour. This had something to do with the history of the church. It was at Christiansborg that the Basel missionaries first settled in 1828. They later moved to Akropong for health reasons, in 1835 and it was from there that the Mission built the church. As a result of this both Akropong and Christiansborg claim to be the "Mother" congregation and, therefore, the

⁸⁵Akropong was the headquarters of the Akuapem/Volta Presbytery and, therefore, it was in the interest of the Presbytery.

⁸⁶There were five Presbyteries at this time. The Akuapem /Volta Presbytery, therefore, was playing on language and for that matter ethnic factor.

⁸⁷*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Synod Minutes, 1942, P. 5, Min. 10a.*

⁸⁸The results of the vote were 127 for Akropong and 23 for Christiansborg. The missionaries abstained.

headquarters of the church. Therefore, they saw the permanent seat of the Synod Clerk as a symbol that would confirm their claim and bestow the honour of being the "Mother" on the congregation hence the struggle.

The Synod Committee took a decisive step to solve the problem once and for all when in 1946 it recommended to Synod the establishment of permanent church offices in Accra. The committee, therefore, asked Synod to allow the transfer of Synod Clerk's residence to Christiansborg from Akropong. It explained that " the decision had been arrived atin view of the urgency of present day conditions regarding facility and efficiency of the church's business ."⁸⁹ This time the proposal was accepted without a vote being taken. Hitherto arguments advanced in favour of either Akropong or Christiansborg mainly looked at the glory inherent in having the seat of the Synod Clerk and not based on the overall interest of the church. One, however, wonders why the Synod Committee had to wait till 1946 before taking this step.

The new house for the Synod Clerk at Christiansborg was completed in July, 1950 and the Synod Clerk, Rev. C. H. Clerk⁹⁰ moved from Akropong to Christiansborg.

The construction of the permanent national headquarters for the church started in August, 1950 in Accra on a piece of land allocated to the church by the British colonial administration on 1st November, 1944. The architectural designs were drawn by Mr. T. S. Clerk, a brother of the Synod Clerk, and donated to the church. The contractor who worked on the building was Mr. F. J. McDonald. The building cost the church £8,923

⁸⁹*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1946, P. 21 Min. 25.*

⁹⁰Rev. C. H. Clerk was the son of Rev. N. T. Clerk the first Synod Clerk of the Church.

2s 9d to build. Out of this amount £6,800 was paid directly out of the church's central fund and £2,123 3s 11d came from donations from well-wishers in Ghana.⁹¹

The new offices were dedicated on 12th August, 1951. In his speech at the dedication, Rev. C. F. Paton, the Acting Scottish Mission Secretary paid glowing tribute to the Ghanaian church leadership saying:

This fine building is one more sign of the independence⁹² of a truly African Church in the Gold Coast; for it owes practically everything to African initiative and effort and I would like to pay special tribute to the energy and ability of the Synod Clerk [C.H. Clerk] in carrying through the project.⁹³

Rev. W. Stamm, on behalf of the Basel Mission thanked God for the building and prayed that its dedication would "help us to renew our allegiance to God and strengthen our bond of unity."⁹⁴ From August 1951 therefore all the national officers came to operate under one roof in Accra. Rev. E.V. Asihene, the first Moderator of the church to work in the offices described the situation in these words:

The headquarters of the Church is now in Accra, the residence of all officers, the Moderator, the Synod Clerk, the Treasurer, the General Manager and the other important officers.⁹⁵ The construction of new Church offices dedicated during Synod in August 1951 brought all the officers to work under one roof and I had around me a team of strong Church officers with a sense of fellowship for administration and service.⁹⁶

⁹¹Synod Clerk's Report, 1951. See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports and Accounts, 1951* P. 4. The building was financed by the P.C.G.

⁹²The full independence of the Church is discussed in Chapter 7 below.

⁹³*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports 1951, P. 4.*

⁹⁴*Ibid*

⁹⁵These officers were appointed in the build up towards the full independence of the Church. See Chapter 7 below for details.

⁹⁶Moderator's Message, 1951. See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports, 1951, P. 1.*

4.14 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

From the foregoing discussion it could be seen that there were major developments in the P.C.G after the arrival of the Basel Missionaries in Ghana. Some of these developments were the direct result of their return in that the Scottish Mission and the church had to adjust the administrative machinery to accommodate the missionaries in the administration and the decision making process of the church. Other developments took place as a natural consequence of the growth of the church as the years passed by. It could also be seen that while there was good official working partnership between the Basel and the Scottish Missions, the relationship between them on an informal level was not absolutely cordial. The most important thing, however, was that in spite of everything the two Missions were able to co-operate in their work in Ghana for the benefit of the P.C.G. The result of such a co-operation was the building of a strong and vibrant indigenous church which had been empowered to undertake its destiny in its own hands and to answer the Lord's call to engage in evangelism.



Fig. 17 : Wilkie House, Kuku Hill-Osu



Fig 18: The Presbyterian Church Headquarters in Accra dedicated on 12th August, 1951.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVANGELISM AND CHURCH GROWTH UNDER THE SCOTTISH MISSION.

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The whole programme of the Scottish Mission in Ghana could be seen from the perspective of holistic evangelism. However, I wish to restrict my working definition of evangelism to the actual preaching of the gospel and planting of congregations, religious instruction in schools, ministerial training and general preparation of personnel for the work in the church. I also wish to include in my definition other programmes specifically designed to deepen the spiritual life of the church, widen the scope of the spiritual and material horizon of the indigenous members and assist church growth both spiritually and materially.

Unlike the Basel Mission, the Scottish Mission did not follow any structured programme to evangelism in Ghana. They adopted a pragmatic approach to it quite contrary to the work of the Mission in other Mission fields such as Jamaica, Calabar or Malawi. I think the difficulties faced by the U.F.C in getting missionary personnel forced them to deploy the few personnel at their disposal to consolidating the work of the Basel Mission mainly. They, however, seized the opportunity whenever it occurred to launch programmes that they felt would help increase the tempo of evangelism in the church. This had been the pattern of the approach of the Scottish Mission to evangelism in the church in Ghana generally during the period under

consideration. I intend therefore to look at these programmes and find out how they were conducted and their impact on the growth of the P.C.G.

5.1 THE MISSION ANNIVERSARY OR THE *ASEMPATREW*

The Mission anniversary was celebrated by the church at district level every year. It was known as *Asempatrew* in Twi which literary means "the extension of the good news." It is sometimes called **Church extension** programme. The Mission anniversary was instituted by the Basel Mission in the 1840s to publicize the work of the Mission and provide a platform for the assessment of the work of the Mission, and the preaching of the gospel. Funds were also raised to support the work of the Mission in Ghana.¹ The records of the P.C.G show that the Mission anniversary was powerfully used during the period of the Scottish Mission as a major source of income and as a vehicle for evangelism in the Church.²

The church in a particular district identified an area where the anniversary would be held for the year. It was, usually, a place where either a congregation had not been planted yet or where a congregation of the church was weak. In the early days of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana districts of the church were very large and there was no reliable means of transport but church members traveled on foot for long distances to attend the *Asempatrew*.³ This situation according to reliable information

¹The Mission Anniversary was normally celebrated in the second week of December every year. It is still being celebrated in the church.

²For instance an amount of £6,066 12s 8d was raised through the anniversary in 1921. See Accounts of the church in *Reports of the Scottish Mission Church in 1921*. It was the second highest source of income after Church Tax.

³My father Mr. C. A. Dua, for a long time head teacher-catechist of the church, tells me that on one occasion they walked for about 35 miles to attend one of such anniversaries. Interview 10th March, 1994.

from many church leaders I interviewed continued well into mid 1950s. On the date appointed for the anniversary members of the church in the district would assemble at the place. The anniversary usually started in the evening on Friday and ended on Sunday after church service. The programme of the anniversary included street preaching, worship, talks, courtesy calls on the chief and the elders of the town, singing and stock-taking of the work done during the year in the district.

In the process of going through the programme of the anniversary those converted would be registered. On Sunday, the last day of the anniversary, an open air service was conducted to which the chief and his elders and all the people of the town were invited. It was at this service that new converts were introduced and either used to start a new congregation or to strengthen an existing one. The chief and his elders were asked to support the church which they almost always agreed to do.⁴ In almost all cases the chief and his elders gave monetary contribution to support the church's programmes at this period

The Asempatrew was planned by the indigenous church leaders in the district. The new administrative structure introduced by the Scottish Mission helped the efficiency of the planning and the execution of the programme in that it made districts smaller and, therefore, easier to organize and control effectively by church agents in the district. The Scottish Mission's style of administration also introduced a certain level of positive competitive spirit into the organization of the anniversary among the districts in the church. Each district pastor was expected to report on the organization of the anniversary

⁴Chiefs in Ghana are not considered to be members of the church by virtue of the fact that they occupy traditional stools and perform duties related to their office. Some of these duties include the pouring of libation which the church feels is incompatible with Christian faith. Those who want to be full members of the Church must give an undertaking that they will only be leaders of their people but have another person to perform traditional practices considered to be "heathenish" by the church. See R.P.P. (1985) Articles 309 & 310 P. 111-112.

in their respective areas to the Scottish Mission Secretary and to the Synod. This engendered seriousness in the church agents in order to be counted among the hard-working and the successful ones. Furthermore, the publication of all amounts of money collected during the anniversary on district basis in the annual report by the Scottish Mission Secretary⁵ served as an added impetus to the church agents to put in more efforts to have a successful anniversary. The Scottish Mission, therefore, by its policies motivated the indigenous church agents to celebrate the anniversary.

A feature which was, I believe, inadvertently introduced into the anniversary was the political dimension. Church members carried the British Union Jack and the Swiss flag to the anniversary grounds. It is also to be mentioned in this connection that there is a hymn which uses the tune of the British national anthem, "God save the Queen."⁶ None of the people I interviewed could tell how the hymn and the tune were admitted to the repertoire of the church. It is not known for sure, for what reasons the flags were carried with them. It is possible they were meant to represent the Basel and the Scottish Missions. However, national flags usually symbolize more of political presence than missionary and demonstrate the strong link between politics and mission work during the colonial times.

On the whole the *Asempatrew* was a very powerful and effective means of evangelism. Through the programme many people were converted and congregations were planted in many places in Ghana. This is the way one of the district pastors of the church evaluated the effectiveness of the anniversary:

the Mission Anniversary which was held here in 1925 has been like a hook and has drawn many converts into the fold. Twenty-six adults and 32 infants were baptised. Sixteen converts are under instruction for baptism. Boadwa

⁵See Chapter Three P. 111 above under financial administration

⁶The hymn is No. 13 in the Twi Hymn Book and is still being used in church worship in the P.C.G.

has become a Christian town.⁷



Fig.19: Church Members carrying the Union Jack and the Swiss flag to a church anniversary.

5.2 THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

The Basel Mission realized from the early stages of their work in Ghana that successful evangelistic work depended on well trained personnel. That is why they established seminaries at Akropong in 1848 and at Abetifi in 1898. In fact, the reason why the church was able to hold together so well after the departure of the Basel Mission in 1917 was partly due to the training given to the church agents by the Basel Mission. These training centres naturally suffered a set-back when the Basel missionaries left the country.

⁷*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports 1926* P. 32-33. Asamankese District, Boadwa.

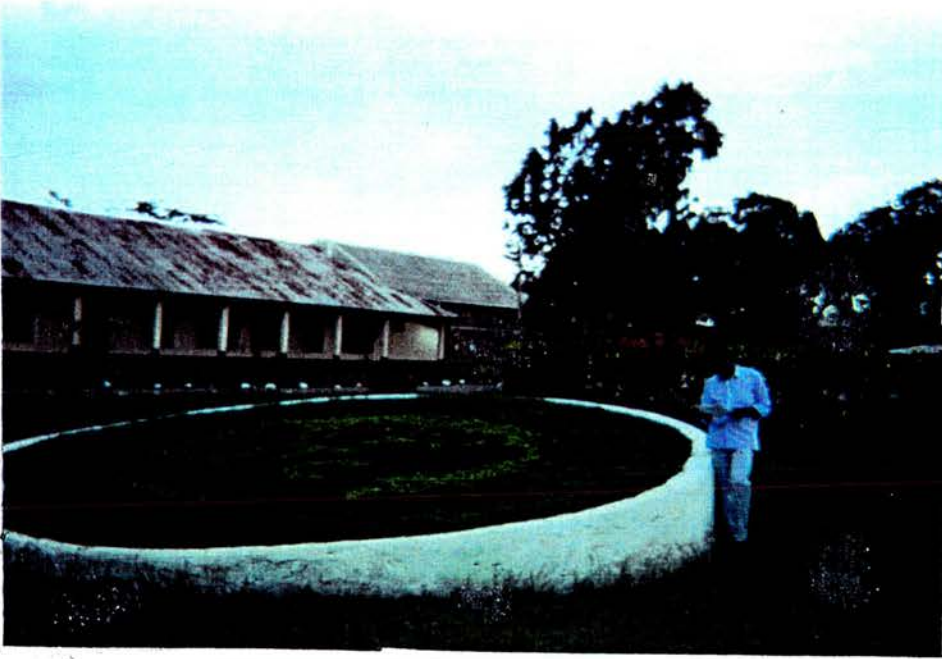


Fig. 20: The Abetifi Seminary (The Ramseyer Training Centre)

5.4.1 Work in the Seminaries

The members of the church, realizing the importance of the seminaries in the life of the church, therefore, saw the coming of the Scottish Mission as an opportunity to resuscitate them. It was, therefore, not surprising that in 1918, Synod made a passionate appeal to the Scottish Mission to "undertake the training of teachers and pastors in the seminaries of Akropong and Abetifi."⁸ Synod was convinced that the development of leadership personnel through theological training, was extremely important for effective evangelism.

⁸*The Scottish Mission, The Gold Coast Colony, Minutes of the Synod, 1918, P. 7.*

In reaction to the appeal, Rev. A. W. Wilkie informed Synod that the Scottish Mission had sent a special appeal to the U.F.C for suitable personnel to teach in the seminaries.⁹

The Scottish Mission demonstrated its commitment to the work in the seminaries when it posted two of the very few missionary personnel at its disposal to teach there. They were Rev. G. D. Reith to Abetifi and Rev. W. Samson to Akropong, in 1919. However, the course in each of the seminaries was reduced from four years to two. The Mission explained that lack of adequate number of missionary personnel made it imperative that the classes be cut down to enable the few missionaries available to handle effectively. Though there were Ghanaians also teaching in the seminaries, the Mission felt that "it would be unwise and hurtful for the future to allow only natives to manage the seminaries."¹⁰ Rev. Reith explained this stand by the Mission that "a great revolution had taken place in Bible study, new difficulties had arisen and new light thrown upon them" and, therefore, he felt the Mission was right in their action.¹¹ As a matter of fact there were no Ghanaians adequately trained at this time to whom the work of theological training could be entrusted. Those who were teaching there already, Rev Djolito, Rev. Asihene and Mr. Ofori were products of the same seminaries.

However, it appears Synod was not happy with the action taken by the Scottish Mission to reduce the number of years of study to two from four. According to the minutes of the 1919 Synod, there was a general consensus among the Ghanaian delegates that the classes be restored to the original four. It seems there was fear among the Ghanaians that the reduction of the classes would negatively affect the content of the course. In spite of the promise given by Rev. Samson and Rev. Reith that, that would not happen,¹² Synod

⁹*Ibid*

¹⁰Rev. W. Samson: Report from the Seminaries, *Minutes of Synod, 1919, Min. 6.*

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² The Ghanaian staff in the seminaries, Rev. Djolito at Akropong and Mr. Ofori at Abetifi held a contrary view. They felt the content of the course would be affected by the reduction.

insisted that the classes be restored to four immediately. The Mission Council on its part also insisted that they had decided already that the classes be cut to two each and, therefore, the matter should close. It is interesting that in this case not even the Synod Committee was consulted by the S.M.C, contrary to the promise given by Wilkie in 1918. However, the presbyters especially, did not relent and threatened to boycott Synod proceedings until the issue had been settled to their satisfaction. It is not surprising that it was the presbyters who were leading the protest. It was the general feeling that the church belonged to them. Rev. Wilkie saved the situation by promising Synod that the Mission would do all it could to satisfy their demands. A partial solution was found when in 1923 the seminary at Abetifi was transferred to merge with the one at Akropong and the years of study were restored to four years as demanded by Synod. It was in 1946 that Abetifi was re-opened for a two year post-primary course for the training of evangelists.¹³

5.2.2 Higher Theological Education

In 1937 Synod expressed the need for higher theological education for church agents.¹⁴ This higher education was expected to be a course beyond the four-year post primary course offered at the Akropong seminary. Synod wanted to improve the quality of theological training offered the agents so that they could effectively respond to the changing needs of the church. A 9-member committee made up of five missionaries¹⁵ and four Ghanaians, was appointed to make recommendations as to how this could be done. The committee recommended that a two year course should be organized with the help of both Basel and Scottish Missions in Ghana for that purpose. Nsaba was chosen as the venue for the institution and it was to start in 1940. An important recommendation of the

¹³The re-opening took place on 15th June, 1946

¹⁴*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1937, Min. 13 P. 14.*

¹⁵There were two Basel missionaries and three Scottish missionaries.

committee worth noting was that provision should be made for the wives of those undergoing training to take some courses as appropriate on part-time basis since lack of accommodation could not permit their being accepted into residence. This was the first time the issue was given consideration in the training of agents of the church who were all male at this time.

5.2.3 The United Theological College.

The Synod accepted the recommendations of the committee on higher education. It, however, decided "to invite the Methodist Mission to join with the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in setting up a united college for the Theological Education of Ministers and catechists of the two churches."¹⁶ The decision to invite the Methodist Mission to join in setting up the institution must have been influenced by financial considerations. The cost involved in setting up such an institution would be great and too heavy for the church to bear alone. It was, therefore, wise to share this with the Methodists so that the two churches could maintain one institution efficiently instead of two poorly run institutions. It also had the advantage of providing the opportunity for the two churches to co-operate in the spirit of Christian love and unity¹⁷ which saw the establishment of the Christian Council of Ghana in 1929¹⁸

The Methodist Mission accepted the invitation. At a joint committee meeting with representatives of the P.C.G, it was agreed that " the Joint College be built at Kumase as it

¹⁶*Ibid*, P. 31.

¹⁷The two churches were already members of the Christian Council of Ghana formed in 1929.

¹⁸ It was the two churches who pioneered the establishment of the Christian Council of Ghana.

offers for both churches, rural and urban preaching and pastoral work."¹⁹ The following temporary arrangements were also made to enable the college to start in 1943:

1. That the Methodist Church would release the mile 11 site near Wesley College in Kumase for the ministerial training.
2. That the joint college should not be socially connected with the Wesley College.²⁰
3. That the total cost of houses, chapel and furniture estimated not to exceed £600 be shared equally by the two churches.
4. That the staff was to be a joint one representing equally both the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches.
5. That the course should be for three years and would start in 1943.
6. That an Executive Committee of 8 members, four from each church be appointed to manage the College.²¹

The college started on schedule with four students and two European Staff, Rev. S. G Williamson, a Methodist, as Principal and Rev. D. S Elder of the Scottish Mission. In 1945 the name **Trinity College** was adopted for the College. By 1947, the student population had risen to 27 and some were being prepared for the London University B.D. degree.²² F. L. Bartels evaluates the programme for theological education at the College and says:

...The course stretched each student to his full capacity, with the happy result that , while many of the students were fitted for work in the circuits, several were encouraged to proceed to the London University Diploma and Degree

¹⁹*Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1941 Min. e. P. 8-9.*

²⁰ The Wesley College was established by the Methodist Church for the training of teachers. A clear separation between the two colleges was, therefore, needed

²¹*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1941 P. 9-10*

²²*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports for 1941-48, P. 11: Report on The Trinity College*

Examinations, both in the College itself and at the University of Ghana.²³

Since its inception, the Trinity College has played an important role in the evangelistic work of the church. It has significantly improved the quality of training for church agents in Ghana without sending them to Europe. It soon overshadowed the Akropong seminary in the training of pastors. Furthermore, the staff of the college teamed up to produce teaching material on important theological themes for the education of church members.. Some of these materials were on themes like, The Divine Christ, Jesus the Man, The Christian and the Life after Death, the Christian and the use of Strong Drink, The Holy Spirit and the Christian idea of Sin. These materials were edited by Rev. S. G Williamson and Rev. J. N Smith both of the College.²⁴ With the establishment of the joint college, the P.C.G dropped the idea of establishing a college at Nsaba.

5.3 THE SCHOOL AS AN AGENCY FOR EVANGELISM.

Both the Basel and Scottish Missions established schools as part of their missionary thrust "to provide means of Christian education"²⁵ and thereby serve as preparatory and harvest grounds for church membership. The Missions, however, also recognized the important role the School plays in the training of individuals for life in general. The church's philosophy on schools has been enshrined in its constitution as follows:

It is important that all children go to school not only for the development of mental powers and training for life but for religious instruction and to enable each evangelical christian to read for himself the Holy Scriptures. All boys and girls without exception belonging to our congregations are bound therefore to attend

²³F. L. Bartels: *Roots of Ghana Methodism*, Cambridge University Press, 1965 P. 223-224.

²⁴*The Christian Way, September-October, 1948* P. 66. Also *Christian Messenger, March-April, 1950.*

²⁵*Syllabus of Religious Education for Junior Schools: Introduction*, P. 1 : Scottish Mission Book Depot, Accra, 1945.

school from at least the age of seven years until the period of confirmation.²⁶

Right from the beginning, therefore, the school was seen as an agency for evangelism and everything was done to make the children Christians.²⁷ Within this framework, therefore, the syllabus for the school was designed in such a way as to give it a Christian focus. Teachers were given a special training in the seminary to equip them for the task of evangelism. Pastors of the church were mostly selected from the teachers, some played the role of catechists and the others played various roles in the church as appropriate to their experience and interests. On the whole the school was seen as a Christian community where Christian education was provided the children, and an indispensable part of the larger Christian community. The annual statistics of the church always showed the number of schools of the church and the pupils in them to show how the church was doing with Christian education. This reflected the extent of the Mission's influence in the country.

The church was of the opinion that :

The chief means of christian education is participating in the life of a christian community. If congregational and school life is not that of a christian community the most useful class lessons on scripture may be wasted. Our schools should become not mainly places where lessons are taught but places where life is lived..... Happy shall we be if the children of our church grow up in schools which are christian communities.²⁸

It could be seen in this statement that the church considered schools as Christian communities or at least expect them to be so.

²⁶R. P. P : *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1929*, Art. 214, P. 21.

²⁷Some of these school children were clear adults. It was, therefore, not difficult for the Church to be established from the school children.

²⁸*Syllabus of Religious Education for Junior Schools P. 2, Introduction*, Scottish Mission Book Depot, Accra, 1945. P.C.G.A

As Christian communities, therefore, the work for the day in all their primary school started with a school assembly which involved a period of worship and ended in the same way.²⁹ In addition to this, one day in the week, usually on Wednesday, was set aside for a full school worship. This school worship followed the pattern of the normal Sunday adult church service. The time-table was arranged in such a way as to give five lessons periods to religious instruction. "Three of these should be used for story lessons, one lesson should be memory work which include learning passages and hymns. The remaining lesson should be used for the weekly school service."³⁰ The nature of the time table shows the emphasis on religious education. The district pastor was mandated to examine the pupils in religious instruction at least twice every year to ensure that the prescribed lessons were properly taught by teachers and assimilated by pupils.³¹ The teachers were also to attend church services regularly as example for the children. What was more, teachers were "subject in all spiritual matters to the discipline of the session"³² and the Synod Committee had the power to dismiss teachers when in its opinion there was sufficient evidence to justify it.³³ Teachers and the school were under the complete control of the church and, therefore, in many cases the teachers had no choice but to obey instructions from the church without question.

The hold of the church on schools was further strengthened when the Synod Committee decided to make district pastors local inspectors and managers of the schools in their districts.³⁴ Later they were empowered to appoint pupil teachers³⁵ to teach in schools in

²⁹ The worship consisted of singing of a church hymn, reading of a short bible passage, a short exhortation and prayer with the Lord's prayer.

³⁰ *Syllabus of Religious Education for Junior School*, P. 4, *The Time-Table*, Scottish Mission Book Depot, 1945. P.C.G.A

³¹ *The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony: Minutes of Synod 1920 Min.* 6.

³² *R. P.P.*, 1929 P. 2 Art. 23.

³³ *Ibid.* Dr E. Amu a veteran nationalist and a renowned musician was dismissed by the Synod Committee from the Presbyterian Training College in 1933 for preaching in traditional cloth. Personal interview with him at his home in Peki, 20th May 1994.

³⁴ Synod Committee Minutes 28th July, 1921

³⁵ *Ibid* Nov. 12-24 1946.

their districts.³⁶ This situation whereby teachers were under complete control of the church had the possibility of subjecting the teachers to great stress in their attempt to please church leaders in order to keep their jobs.

With the head teacher as the catechist of the local church, the teachers as key players in the church and the pastor as the local manager of the school, the focus of the life of the school was not in doubt. The pupils were prepared for baptism by the staff. "Christian names" were imposed on the children who were taken to the church for baptism.³⁷ Confirmation was also made mandatory for pupils in senior school standard six usually at the age of fifteen and above. Furthermore, attendance at Sunday adult church service was compulsory for pupils from standard one to standard seven. The children usually congregated in the school and marched under the command of teachers to the church where they sat at a special place. The attendance was scrupulously checked and the absentees were punished when school resumed on Monday morning.³⁸ It is possible, therefore, that some of the children attended the church to avoid the punishment. Children from classes one to three, usually under the age of eight years, attended the children's service. At this level the children were not punished for failing to attend the service. They were, however, encouraged to attend by their teachers who distributed sweets to them at regular intervals after services.

³⁶Pupil Teachers were untrained teachers. They were Middle School leavers who were usually active in the church and who were appointed to teach so that they could continue to serve the church in their towns.

³⁷Some of these so called Christian names were in actual fact English, Swiss or German names. eg Charles, Rose, Gladys, Herman, Ramseyer, etc. These were mostly names of missionaries and their spouses, and names of European kings, queens and important people.

³⁸ The type of punishment was left to the discretion of the teacher on duty. But it was usually caning, or weeding a portion either on the football field or school garden.

5.4 THE CHILDREN'S DAY

In 1924 the Scottish Mission church introduced the children's day in the church to be celebrated on the last Sunday in August every year. According to the Synod, the purpose of the day was to "train the children to support the church." On that day, therefore, it was decided that "the children should be given an opportunity of contributing to the central fund of the church."³⁹ The programme of the day was led by the children who were usually prepared in advance for the day by teachers. This included singing of hymns, reading of texts from the bible, recitation of biblical verses, prayers with responses and offering. The sermon was, however, given by an experienced parent. It took the form of advice to the children.⁴⁰

Setting a day aside for the children gave the children the opportunity, once a while, to participate in the worship life of the church. However, it seems to me that the fact that the day was instituted for the purpose of collecting money to help the church the worship aspect was usually lost sight of.⁴¹ Furthermore, the collection of money from the children tended to be a burden on the parents who had to pay in addition to paying their church tax. On the whole, from experience, the children seemed to enjoy celebrating the day.

It could be seen that the school was an important agency in the church's evangelism. From the first day the child enrolled in the school till the day they left, systematic attempts were made by the church to give them Christian orientation to make them members of the church. To a large extent, the church was successful in this venture. Many of the children who went to the schools of the church remained in the church. Those who did

³⁹ *The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti, Synod Minutes, 1924 Min. 13/3 P.43*

⁴⁰ The Children's Day continues to be observed in the church and children enjoy it very much.

⁴¹ *Presbyterian church of the Gold Coast: Notes on the Keeping of Children's Day: Scottish Mission Book Depot, Accra, 1950.*

not remain in the church, at least, had sympathy for the church. However, it is important to note that the school system was largely responsible for nominalism now prevalent in the country. There is a large army of people in Ghana who have been baptised in their school days and bear "Christian" names and are, therefore, assumed to be Christians but who are not active in the church. There are others who are in the church because they have grown with the school routine and have become sentimentally attached to the Presbyterian Church and not because they have actually gone through a conversion experience.

In view of the evangelistic role the school was playing in its life, the church, became alarmed when in 1925, the colonial government introduced a new education ordinance to strictly control the opening of new schools.⁴² It was to ensure that proper conditions existed before schools could be opened. Conditions under which schools would be allowed to operate were, therefore, laid down⁴³. Existing schools that did not fulfill those conditions were to be closed down. This the church felt was an attack on evangelism since some schools were definitely going to be closed down. Rev. Wilkie had to assure the church that " the ordinance should not in any way hinder evangelistic development."⁴⁴ In his opinion it was rather to raise standards of the schools in the country. He felt that " the new ordinance has no terrors for any but the bad teacher and bad school."⁴⁵

5.5 THE ROLE OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION BOOK DEPOT IN EVANGELISM.

The Basel Mission started a book shop in Christiansborg which served as the distribution outlet for the Christian literature produced by the Mission for church members and the

⁴² This was The Education Ordinance of 1925.

⁴³ The 1925 Education Ordinance is discussed in Chapter Six below. See 224 below

⁴⁴ Scottish Mission , Synod Committee Minutes , 5th December, 1925.

⁴⁵ *Scottish Mission , Gold Coast Colony, Reports, 1925 P. 7.*

schools managed by the church. The book shop was handed over to the Scottish Mission by the colonial government in Ghana when it took over the work of the Basel Mission in 1918. The Scottish Mission re-organized it and continued to use it to distribute Christian literature such as bibles, hymn books, and catechisms. It also distributed school stationery and general educational material, to the general public.

The printing department which was developed alongside the book depot also assisted in the printing of relevant religious material and other books for the education of church members and the general public at large. Some of these material included the following:

1. The Christian Messenger,⁴⁶ printed in English, Ga and Twi.
2. Mmea Akwankyerefo (Twi) Women Pathfinders.
3. Monufiame Le Dokuisi Gbedododa nu (Ewe) A Guide to prayer. A Twi version "Mpaebo Ho Akwankyere" was also printed.
4. Marko: An Ewe version of St. Mark's Gospel.
5. Asase a Yesu Traa so no . (Twi) The Country of Jesus.
6. Nokware Do (Twi) True Love.
7. Aduan Ho Afotusem (Twi) About Food.
8. Mmayen Ho Adesua (Twi) Lessons on the care of Babies
9. Bo Yadee Ano (Twi) Prevention of Disease
10. Yesu Fi N'adwuma ase (Twi) Jesus begins His work- A translation from Dr. Frank Laubach's work.

A look at the materials shows that they were about prayer, the bible, Jesus, love, food, child care, disease and general information. These issues formed the essential elements of the church's evangelistic outreach. By printing these materials and making them available

⁴⁶ The *Christian Messenger* is the church's newsletter. See discussion on P. 194 below

in the local languages the printing press played an immense role in the church's evangelistic programme.

5.6 THE CHRISTIAN MESSENGER.

The Christian Messenger was introduced by the Basel Mission in 1883 as a newsletter and a teaching document. Rev. J. G. Christaller, was the first editor. During the First World War, the British colonial administration imposed censorship on the paper for fear that the Basel Mission might use it to conduct political propaganda against the British. It died off completely when the Basel Mission left the country.

In 1920 the Synod Committee of the Scottish Mission church decided to restore the paper.⁴⁷ However the restoration could not be done due to the difficulty in acquiring a new printing machine. It was in 1929 that the printing of the paper was resumed in Kumase by the Basel Mission.⁴⁸ Economic recession coupled with the difficulty in getting good quality paper forced the Basel Mission to suspend the printing of the paper in 1931.⁴⁹

In 1941, Mr. Andrew Atkinson, an accountant of the Scottish Mission started a new paper for the Young People's Guild known as **The Christian Youth** to inform and educate the youth of the church about issues affecting them in the church.⁵⁰ The Christian Youth was, however, absorbed into a new paper called **The Christian Way** launched by the church in 1942. The aim of this new paper was "to serve as pages to claim man's

⁴⁷Minutes of Synod Committee of the Scottish Mission church, 6th December, 1920.

⁴⁸Fred Agyemang : *Christian Messenger Centenary, 1883-1983*, Presbyterian Press. Accra 1983, P. 53.

⁴⁹ *Ibid* P. 54.

⁵⁰ The Young People's Guild is the Youth Movement of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. It was started by Atkinson. There is a discussion on it in Chapter Seven. See P. 281 below.

attention for the message of salvation."⁵¹ This aim was clearly an evangelistic one and tied in well with the title of the paper. The editors of the "Christian Way" were Mr. D. Benzies and Rev. C. M. Morrison both Scottish missionaries and members of staff of the Akropong Training College and Rev. C. G. Baeta. In line with its evangelistic stance the paper was used to educate readers on the tenets of Christianity. Articles featured in it included, the preparation of sermons, the history of the church, Christian concept of marriage and family life and the role of the Christian in civil life. There was also a column on general information about developments in the church. Regular contributors to the paper included Rev. D. S. Elder, Rev. C. M. Morrison, Rev. H. H. G. MacMillan and Rev. C. F. Paton all Scottish missionaries. Others were Rev. W. Stamm a Basel missionary Rev. S. S. Odonkor, and Dr K. A Busia an eminent Ghanaian Sociologist. The paper was published in English, Ga and Twi.

The Literature Committee of the church decided in 1950 to revert to the original name, **The Christian Messenger**. The March-April, 1950 issue of the church's paper therefore came out as "Christian Messenger", instead of the "Christian Way". Rev. T. T Laryea, and Mr. E. O. Aye both Ghanaian church leaders and Rev. C. F. Paton, a Scottish missionary were joint editors for the Ga, Twi and English sections of the paper respectively.⁵² However the evangelistic aim of the "Christian Way" was strictly maintained.

In a goodwill message to the new "Christian Messenger", the Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Rev. S. S. Odonkor, expatiated on the change of the name to Christian Messenger and said:

⁵¹ The maiden issue of the "Christian Way", Jan-Feb, 1942, Editorial.

⁵² Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1950, Min. 16a.

This change of name...justifies the aim of the Christian Way which all the time has acted as a sign-post leading us to the recovery of our sense of the evangelistic value of our church. What we stand in need of now is no longer a sign-post to the right way but a Messenger prepared to make known the love of God in Christ so that the Spirit of Christ may rule in the whole of life as the good news which is the power of God onto salvation to everyone that believes.....That the Christian Messenger might live to fulfill its obligations as herald of the Gospel under the Mastery of Christ, is my fervent wish and prayer.⁵³

From the Moderator's message it could be deduced that the change of name to Christian Messenger was to reflect the shift in the evangelistic needs of the church at the time. The aims of the new Christian Messenger were as follows:

1. To carry the message of God's deliverance of the world through Jesus Christ to the people of this land .
2. To help church members to believe that message more fully and more firmly so that it touches every side of our lives.
3. To bring the message to those who have drifted from the church or have never belonged to it.
4. To bring to church members news of what is going on in the churches.
5. To help to unite church members more closely in one fellowship of Christ.⁵⁴

The evangelistic focus of the paper is very clear in the aims. It was printed by the Scottish Mission press at Christiansborg. This time the vernacular sheets of the Christian Messenger were sold out separately alongside the English edition, as *Kristofo Senkekafo* in Twi and *Kristofoi Abofo* in Ga. This enabled the paper to reach many people in the country and became very popular. It was distributed by pastors , teachers, catechists, evangelists and presbyters.

⁵³ Rev. S .S. Odonkor; Goodwill message to the Christian Messenger: *March-April 1950 issue of the new Christian Messenger*, P 1-2.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

5.7 THE CHURCH HYMNARY

One distinctive contribution to the worship life of the church in Ghana by the Scottish Mission was its introduction of the Church Hymnary. This was in addition to the existing hymns which were mainly European hymns which had been translated into Twi and Ga before the arrival of the Scottish Mission. No attempt was made to translate the Church Hymnary into any Ghanaian language. Some of the tunes, however, were familiar because they agreed with some of the Ga and Twi hymns already being used in the church. It remained in English and was used for services held in English. It was, therefore, mainly used in schools and colleges of the church. Its advantage was that it could be used by all speakers of the local languages who could read English. It also shared some tunes with hymns of other denominations and, therefore, could be used for inter-denominational and non-denominational church services. Its disadvantage in a society like Ghana's was that since it was only in English vast majority of church members could not use it because of their inability to read English. It was, therefore, not common to grassroot Presbyterians and many did not even know of its existence. However, it served a good purpose in schools and colleges not only of the P.C.G but also government institutions some of which had heads who were Presbyterians. Having said this, I wish point out that the general pattern was that the indigenous church members were made to sing Europeans tunes to the neglect of the traditional ones. Though the singing of the European tunes connected the church to the international Christian community, it stifled the development of indigenous tunes. This situation has persisted in the P.C.G.

5.8 THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE CHURCH

The Scottish Mission realized from the early stages of their work in Ghana that evangelism would be more effective if only leaders and members of the church would deepen their spiritual life and live according to the tenets of Christianity. In this case the power of the church's witness would be greatly enhanced. Rev. Wilkie took advantage of Synod meetings to emphasize the need to maintain a high standard of spiritual life in the church which, according to him, could be "maintained by living continuously with God."⁵⁵ It must be mentioned here that on this score both the Scottish and the Basel Missions would agree. In fact the Basel Mission also made attempts in that direction.

I have already mentioned that the Scottish Mission arrived in Ghana when the country was at the height of its prosperity. This had serious implications for the church's spiritual tone. As a result of the economic prosperity many Ghanaians flocked to the traditional deities for spiritual protection.⁵⁶ This included some members of the church. Such behaviour was an attack on the belief in the efficacy of the power of Jesus Christ to save believers from the power of the evil one and, therefore, a betrayal of the central core of the Christian message. The Synod Clerk, Rev. N. T Clerk, decried this practice by some church members and warned them against it. In his report to Synod in 1921, he observed that:

Reference is made in several reports of the influence of a new fetish called *Fwe-me-so*⁵⁷....I am sorry to state that some Christians and enlightened people believe in the supernatural power of this fetish and secretly join by drinking the medicine connected with it.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Wilkie's address to Synod. See *Synod minutes of the Scottish Mission, 1920 Min. 6.*

⁵⁶ See Chapter One P. 28 above.

⁵⁷"*Fwe Me So*" also rendered "*Hwe Me So*" is another name for "*Tigare*". Ref. Chapter One P. 29 above for details.

⁵⁸ Rev. N. T Clerk, Synod Clerk's Report, 1921. See *Scottish Mission Church reports, 1921 P. 5.*

A glance through the reports by district pastors seems to corroborate the Synod Clerks observation. For instance Rev. E.B Amaning reports of the exclusion of many members " because of the *Fwe-me-so* fetish."⁵⁹ Rev. C. F. Fleischer, reports of the worship of "*La-pka*" at Labadi.⁶⁰ Rev. David Som makes more explicit when he says, " the devil tempted more members to believe in witchcraft which drove them to consult and drink fetishes to save them from devilish practice."⁶¹ This was a recurrent scenario generally in the church and had had a negative impact on the spiritual life of the church.

There were also sexual scandals and also increase in polygyny among church members. For example, in the Accra district Rev. W.A. Quartey reports that " superstitious and polygamous ideas are strong and creeping into the congregation." This had helped to create a " spiritually unhealthy domestic environment...."⁶² Rev. D.E. Akwa reports from Kyebi that " the chief characteristics of the year have been moral weakness leading to the excommunication of many members."⁶³ At Otsirikomfo the " leading presbyter had become a polygamist"⁶⁴ and at Larte, Rev. C.E Martinson reports that, " morals of the young members are becoming low....."⁶⁵ He expressed great concern about the spiritual life of the church at Larte.⁶⁶ The reports also raise an important question about how far pastors of the church had been able to, convincingly, convey the Christian message of the power of Christ to save the people from the power of the devil.

⁵⁹ See *Scottish Mission Church Reports, 1922*, P. 15. Brakwa.

⁶⁰ *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports, 1928*, P. 13.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* See Otumi District Report, P. 36. This report seems illogical because it seems to suggest that the devil helped people to find ways of fighting him. (devil) but the interest of the pastor was not logic. His interest was to report the extent of the influence of traditional beliefs on church members and its effect on the church.

⁶² See *Scottish Mission church reports, 1923*, P. 7. Accra District Report.

⁶³ See, *Scottish Mission church reports, 1925* P. 26, Kyebi District Report.

⁶⁴ See *Reports : Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1929*, Abokobi District Report.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* See Larte District Report.

⁶⁶ Larte had the largest congregation in the Basel Mission church by 1900. See Report of the Basel Mission 1900, P. 60.

Another issue that plagued the country and which also affected the spiritual life of the church was drunkenness. The Synod Clerk was very much concerned about the fact that "drunkenness has been common even amongst those who had been members of the church."⁶⁷ It was a matter of great tragedy that foreign firms operating in the country kept importing liquor into the country. These included whisky, schnapps and brandy. In the course of time these drinks became status symbols in the society. They became so established that they became the official drinks for the performance of traditional marriage rites, funerals, naming ceremonies, festivals and pouring of libation.⁶⁸ At the local front palm wine was also produced in large quantities and sold cheaply to people. This added to the problem of drunkenness in the Ghanaian society.

The effect of the influence of the traditional deities, sexual scandals polygyny and drunkenness on the spiritual life of the church was petrifying, because these were the things that the church was attacking. If, therefore, the church members were involved in them then they would have no moral justification to condemn them. This would thus weaken the church's power of witness. The Synod of the church, therefore, adopted a strategy to warn members and to train them to be able to live the life required of them as Christians. Those who contravened church regulations were punished, some with suspension from the Lord's Supper for a period and in extreme cases dismissal from the church.

In order to instill Christian values in members, the Synod called for the intensification of the teaching of religious instruction in the church's schools. This, it was hoped would help to influence the lives of the children at an early stage and make them adopt Christian life

⁶⁷ See *Scottish Mission Church Reports, 1921*, P. 6.

⁶⁸They are still the official drinks for such rites. Anything other than those drinks is considered to be of inferior quality.

style in their adulthood.⁶⁹ Synod also ruled that the preaching and the study of the Word of God in the congregations should be stepped up by the church agents. This was an implicit admission that church agents were not doing enough in that direction. This was the source of the problem and the church wanted it remedied. It was further decided that the number of preachers of the church should be increased to aid the effective preaching of the gospel. Prayer meetings were also to be intensified in the church.⁷⁰ All these measures were meant to create awareness in church members of the importance of living in accordance with the Word of God. With regard to the teaching of Christian religious instruction in the church's schools there was evidence that action was taken. However, with regard to the others very little or nothing was done. For instance there was no significant increase in the numbers of preachers and there was no evidence that either bible study or prayer meetings were intensified in the church.

The Scottish Mission church also launched a ferocious attack on the traditional deities whose activities were enticing some Christians. The attack was meant to destroy their influence on the society which the Mission felt was destructive. In this crusade the Scottish Mission collaborated with the Methodist and the Ewe Presbyterian churches.⁷¹ All the deities were attacked generally but *Tigare* was specifically attacked because it was the most influential. The churches managed to court the sympathy of the colonial administration which greatly assisted in suppressing *Tigare*. For instance in 1923, the District Commissioner of Asamankese ordered the destruction of the *Hwe-me-so shrine*⁷² and the arrest of the traditional priest in charge because he felt the activities of the deity were not conducive to public good.⁷³ Though all these steps were taken by the churches assisted by the government they were not able to eradicate the worship of the traditional

⁶⁹ See *Scottish Mission Church minutes 1920*, Min. 6 P. 18

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

⁷¹ The Ewe Presbyterian Church was the part of Bremen Mission's work in Ghana.

⁷² *Hwe-me-so*, referred to *Tigare*.

⁷³ *The Scottish Mission Church Reports, 1923*, P. 18. See Asamankese District Report.

deities and they continued to pose a real spiritual problem to the churches in Ghana. The reports of pastors continued to show that some church members continued to consult them in time of difficulty for help. This means that the people were deriving some benefit from these deities but the church simply dismissed them as being ineffective and punished those found to have consulted them without any effective teaching.

The Mission also drew up a strict code of discipline to control the lives of the members of the church. It believed that strict discipline was necessary " for the glory of God , the purity of the church and the spiritual benefit of her members....."⁷⁴ According to this code , teachers who engaged in pre-marital sex were to be dismissed from the service of the church. On the other hand such teachers could be retained if they agreed to marry the girl involved but would suffer "class degradation"⁷⁵ for what the church termed as **premature cohabitation**. It was estimated that on the average about thirty teachers were dismissed every year, most of whom were guilty of sexual offences.⁷⁶ Ordinary church members who were involved in church offences were suspended from the Lord's Supper for six months if they confessed the guilt. If they failed to confess the guilt and the charge was proved, the culprit was suspended from the Lord's Supper for one year.⁷⁷ This is an example of how the Scottish Mission used the Lord's Supper, which is meant to be a means of grace as a means of punishment in the church.⁷⁸ The effect of the church's attitude to teachers who fell victim to sexual offences was that some of them were forced to enter into marriages they did not like with possible psychological consequences on the teacher concerned. It also had negative consequences on the stability of marriages and

⁷⁴ *R.P.P. of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1929, P. 25 Art. 247.*

⁷⁵ Teachers in those days were graded into seven classes.

⁷⁶ See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1930 Min. 7b, P. 43.* This caused serious shortage of teachers in the church schools.

⁷⁷ See Synod Committee Min., 22nd May, 1925.

⁷⁸ The Lord's Supper continues to be used as a means of punishment in the church. It is a vestige of missionary control.

family life in general. A few also resigned from the service of the church and joined government service where the pressure to conform was significantly less.

In order to eliminate or at least reduce to the barest minimum the temptation of falling victim to sexual offences among pastors of the church Synod Committee decided to restrict the movements of agents and their spouses. It decided that:

No minister was allowed to go beyond his district except on urgent business and permission was to be sought if the minister would stay away for more than a week.....the wife of an agent leaving her husband for longer than three weeks is subject to a fine.⁷⁹

The idea here, I believe, was to prevent a situation where the pastor and his wife would be separated for a long time. This separation, the church felt, might create a fertile ground for sexual immorality. The Synod Committee must have had good intentions for imposing such restrictions but it tended to put ministers and their wives in a disguised quarantine. Furthermore, such restrictions were a demonstration of the lack of trust in the pastors and an indictment on their ability to control themselves without being forced.

The church also discouraged the establishment of co-educational schools for fear that they might turn out to be centres for sexual immorality. When in 1930, evangelistic considerations forced the church to consider the establishment of such schools Synod insisted that the "girls are to be carefully selected and it must be the chief concern to provide the schools with reliable married teachers."⁸⁰ The church was forced to give consideration to such schools because it feared that parents who were not able to send their daughters to the few girls' schools of the church either because of lack of space or

⁷⁹ See Synod Committee Minutes, 21st July, 1924.

⁸⁰ *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Synod Minutes, 1930*, P. 47, Min. 25. The church's position on the selection of girls seems to assume that it was the girls who were the cause of the problem which I think was not totally correct.

because of distance usually sent "their daughters to other schools where there was a danger of being lost to the church."⁸¹

The church also targeted marriage and family life. In order to maintain stability in marriage and family life, measures were taken to check divorce. Church members who dissolved their marriages without the knowledge of the session were to be suspended from church membership for five years. In all traditional marriages the final authority with regard to divorce was the Synod Committee.⁸² Furthermore, church members who became polygynists were suspended from the Lord's Supper until they were able to adjust their marriages to be in line with the church's position of monogyny.⁸³ Male converts who were polygynists could be baptized only if they did away with all their wives except only one of his choice. A female who was involved in polygynous marriage could be baptized only if neither she or her husband had been baptized before the marriage. All other women involved in the same polygynous marriage as the one baptized should leave their husband before they could be accepted into the church.⁸⁴ The church recommended the payment of compensation by the husband to the divorced women. The problem that arises from this stand by the church is that the payment of such compensation would depend on the ability of the man to pay and most often the men were not capable of paying. Children from such marriages would also suffer because they did not get the fatherly care after their mother's divorce as is usually the case in the Ghanaian society.

Furthermore the church did not recommend marriage " between a Christian and a heathen" but where it was unavoidable, permission should be sought from the minister and the session.⁸⁵ With regard to "marriage with Roman Catholics and Mohammedans" the church

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Synod Committee Minutes, 21st July, 1924.

⁸³ *Regulations, Practice and Procedure, (R.P.P), 1929, P. 17 Art. 183.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid* P. 19, Art. 3, 4, & 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, P. 17, Art. 182.

was strongly opposed.⁸⁶ It was the view of the church that both the husband and the wife should be united in worship and, therefore, both should belong to one church which they are free to decide. While this position of the church is the most ideal situation it overlooked the strong possibility of marriage being used as vehicle for evangelism. In my own town there are many members of the church who were brought in by their spouses.⁸⁷

All these steps were taken by the Scottish Mission and the Synod in order to ensure the spiritual purity of the church. It was felt that by discouraging marriages between church members and members of other faiths, the church members were being protected against any doctrinal and spiritual contamination which might cause them either to lose their Christian faith completely or switch their loyalty to other denominations. This was a real possibility at that time, there is no doubt about that.

The Mission launched a two pronged attack on alcoholism which the Mission felt was a destructive force in the Ghanaian society. First of all Rev. Wilkie wrote to the F.M.C of the U.F.C of Scotland to lobby the British government in London to ban traffic of liquor to Ghana. By 1920 the government had imposed restrictions on trade in liquor in the whole of British West Africa.⁸⁸ The Basel Mission had earlier protested against the liquor trade by refusing to deal in it, in its trading activities. The Synod Clerk Rev. N. T Clerk applauded the government's action and said that it "has removed one of the great temptation from the masses of the people."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, Art. 181.

⁸⁷ My own mother is an example. She was brought into the church by my father in 1943.

⁸⁸ The U.F.C. of Scotland also protested vehemently against the revival of trade in intoxicants in Southern Nigeria. See *F. M. C Minutes 20th December, 1921, Min. 5778*.

⁸⁹ The Synod Clerk's Report for 1921. See *The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast and Ashanti, Reports and Accounts, 1921 P. 6*.

With the imposition of restrictions on foreign alcoholic drinks the Scottish Mission turned its attention on the consumption of the locally produced alcoholic drinks. Through verbal appeals and teaching sessions the ills of alcohol were highlighted and church members were advised to desist from its use but this was hardly successful. In 1930, however, the church decided to legislate against the use of what they termed "strong drinks." Those who contravened the legislation were to be warned the first time, suspended from the Lord's Supper for the second time and excluded from the fellowship of the church for the third time.⁹⁰ Presentation of alcoholic drinks by church members to the families of a proposed wife as demanded by culture was also strictly prohibited. Synod recommended the presentation of money instead.⁹¹ By this stipulation the Scottish Mission and the church ran into a headlong collision with a major aspect of Ghanaian tradition where no marriage was complete without the presentation of alcoholic drinks.⁹² More over, the decision could work only if the family of the woman to be married consented to take money. This was not the case in most situations. However, the church wrongly assumed that the decision of Synod was binding on the whole society. This was a miscalculation on the part of the Synod and an example of how the church usually took the culture of the people for granted. From all indications, this stipulation could not be enforced. This demonstrates the resilience of some aspects of the Ghanaian culture. "Intoxicating drinks were also not to be served at funerals."⁹³

The stringent enforcement of church laws seemed not to have gone down well with the members of the church. Some of them, therefore, left the church. But Synod was convinced that the church's cause was right and, therefore, were determined to press on. In 1930 Synod explained that people were deserting the church because of "an inclination

⁹⁰ *The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Synod, Minutes of Synod, 1930, P. 47, Min. 31.*

⁹¹ *R.P.P, 1929, Art. 184.*

⁹² Usually schnapps and whisky are preferred. It shows the influence of European drinks.

⁹³ *R.P.P, 1929 P. 16, Art. 172.*

for lax discipline" and declared " as our rules are based on the word of God we decided to stand firm and prefer quality to quantity."⁹⁴

So the church continued with its rigorous application of church rules and regulations. In spite of that, reports from districts continued to speak of the prevalence of the influence of traditional deities, polygyny, sexual immorality and drunkenness among members of the church. There were, however, other aspects of the reports which showed that the church was succeeding in its crusade to rid the church of what it felt was not compatible with the life of those who call themselves Christian.

The picture that emerges on the whole, from this attempt by the Scottish Mission, to "improve" the spiritual tone of the church by being tough on those who were found to have deviated from the norm, was that the church became so overly strict that no room was given for human frailty. In the process, serious theological problems were created. God was inadvertently portrayed only as a judge and the church, as a community of "sinless people" only. For instance in 1925 the Synod Committee turned down an application for the Lord's Supper from a prisoner, Martin Daniel Obeng of Accra prison, on the grounds that it was "a mockery to administer the Holy Sacrament to a prisoner who has been guilty of a crime."⁹⁵ This decision by the Synod Committee serves as a window through which we could see into the thinking of the church leadership about who qualified to part-take in the Lord's Supper. According to the decision it was only those without sin who qualified. This contradicts the fundamental principle underlying the Lord's Supper as a means of grace.

⁹⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Synod Minutes 1930 P. 44 Min. 14.*

⁹⁵*Minutes of the Synod Committee, Scottish Mission, 3rd September, 1925 Min. 34.*

5.9 THE INTER- COLLEGE CAMPS AND THE SCRIPTURE UNION

Another way by which the Scottish missionaries exerted evangelistic influence was through the organization of inter-college camps. The programme was spearheaded by Rev. Jim and Mrs. Majorie Findlay. With assistance from some members of staff at the university of Ghana, the Findlays organized the first of such camps at Akropong in December, 1951.⁹⁶ Rev. J. S Malloch, Principal of the Akropong Training College, commended the camp highly and urged the Mission Council to support future camps. Similar camps were organized at Winneba from 27th December 1952 to 7th January, 1953. Rev. Findlay served as camp commandant, and at Achimota school from 29th December, 1953 to 6th January 1954 where Rev. Findlay again served as the adjutant. He was assisted by Mr. B. Wilmot, Acting permanent secretary to the Ministry of Communication and Works in Accra.⁹⁷ Another camp was organized for female participants at Abetifi in December, 1954.

In all the camps participants, who were mainly students, were taken through talks on Christian faith and life, worship, debates and sports. Such programmes seemed to have had great impact on the participants. One of them gave the following testimony:

Many or all of the campers realized in the end that they or we were all glorified pagans and that there is a vast difference between a christian and a true christian. Many had accepted and received Christ into our hearts at the end of camp.⁹⁸

These camps are relevant to the discussion on evangelism because they, in a humble but very important way, sowed the seeds of the Scripture Union (S.U) in Ghana. The S.U is

⁹⁶ Rev. J. S. Malloch, Report to the Scottish Mission Council on the activities of the Akropong Training College, 31st December, 1952.

⁹⁷ Papers supplied by Rev. Jim. Findlay. Former missionary to Ghana.

⁹⁸ Report issued by a participant R. Acquah Harrison Jnr. of Kumase 18th January, 1954. to Rev. J. Findlay. (Findlay Papers)

a powerful para-church evangelistic movement which operates mainly in schools and colleges and affiliated to the worldwide S.U. fraternity.⁹⁹ Though the camping programmes were not formal programmes co-ordinated from the official executive level of the Scottish Mission, it was an important aspect of the evangelistic influence exerted on the Ghanaian Christian scene made possible by the presence of the Mission in Ghana. What is more, the Mission gave the camping programme their fullest support. The Scottish Mission press printed all the material needed for the programme. The fact that it merited a place in the Mission's annual report shows the interest and the recognition that the Scottish Mission gave to the programme. In one of the reports the Secretary of the Scottish Mission said he was proud to report that :

Mr. and Mrs. Findlay at Akropong took part in a very interesting camp for secondary schools and college students, at Winneba at the end of the year ...and the challenge of faith in the saving power of the Lord Jesus Christ was clearly presented to the young people attending the camp.¹⁰⁰

5.10 THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN THE BUILSA AREA IN THE NORTHERN GHANA.

Since their arrival in Ghana in 1918, the Scottish Mission had worked mainly in the southern half of the country usually described as the colony. However, in 1954 the Synod of the P.C.G invited the Mission to share in the work in the Northern part of the country.¹⁰¹ By 1950 the Basel Mission had started work in the Northern part of the country with the establishment of station in Salaga and Kalandi. Rev. O. Rytz was in

⁹⁹S.B Adubofour has done a study of Para-Church Movements in Ghana at the University of Edinburgh (1994)

¹⁰⁰Rev. D. S. Elder: Secretary, Scottish Mission, 1952. See *The Presbyterian church of the Gold Coast Reports and Accounts, 1952*, P. 4--5 . Note: At this time the Church was fully independent that is why they had to invite the Scottish Mission before they could work in the north.

¹⁰¹Report of the Scottish Mission 1954. C. F. Paton, Acting Secretary . See *The Presbyterian Church of Gold Coast , Reports and Accounts, 1954* P. 7.

charge of the stations. The P.C.G was also nursing a congregation in Tamale with Rev. E.K.O. Asante in charge.¹⁰² The invitation extended to the Scottish Mission was, therefore, to ask the Mission to take its place in the work in the north to complete the team as was being done in the south. The north is a vast area with very difficult climatic and social conditions. It had a high Muslim population and also believers of the traditional religious practices. After a study tour, the Mission decided to establish a station at Sandema, the capital town of the Builsa people.¹⁰³

The Builsa people numbered about 50,000, according to the 1948 census and there was very little Islamic influence. The White Fathers, a Roman Catholic group had started work among the Builsa in 1935 but their influence had been minimal.¹⁰⁴ Contacts were made with the Paramount Chief of the area, Nab¹⁰⁵ Zantilow and in July, 1956, he willingly released land for the Scottish Mission to start the station. On 19th January, 1957 the station was opened by Rev. C. F. Paton.¹⁰⁶ Rev. Paton was holding the fort for Rev. R. H. and Mrs. Duncan who had been appointed for Sandema by the F.M.C of the Church of Scotland. He was accompanied by Mr. Paul Atinga, himself from the north but who had been converted at Christiansborg. It was he who served as interpreter for the missionaries when they started working in the Sandema area. The Duncans arrived in Sandema on 10th March, 1957 and the manse was completed and dedicated on 25th July 1957.¹⁰⁷ The first baptism of six people took place on the Christmas day 1957¹⁰⁸ and the work looked promising.

¹⁰² Rev. E. K. O. Asante volunteered to go to the north in response to the church's appeal. As a result of the difficult conditions in the north at this time, the church had to depend on volunteers.

¹⁰³ Sandema is now in the Upper East Region of Ghana

¹⁰⁴ Report of the delegation to survey the north, April, 1956. (Provided Rev C. F. Paton)

¹⁰⁵ Nab, is the title of the Paramount Chief of the Builsas.

¹⁰⁶ The Chronicle of the Sandema Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1957.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Rev. D. S. Elder, Secretary: Report of the Scottish Mission 1957. See *Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Reports and Accounts, 1957* P. 16.

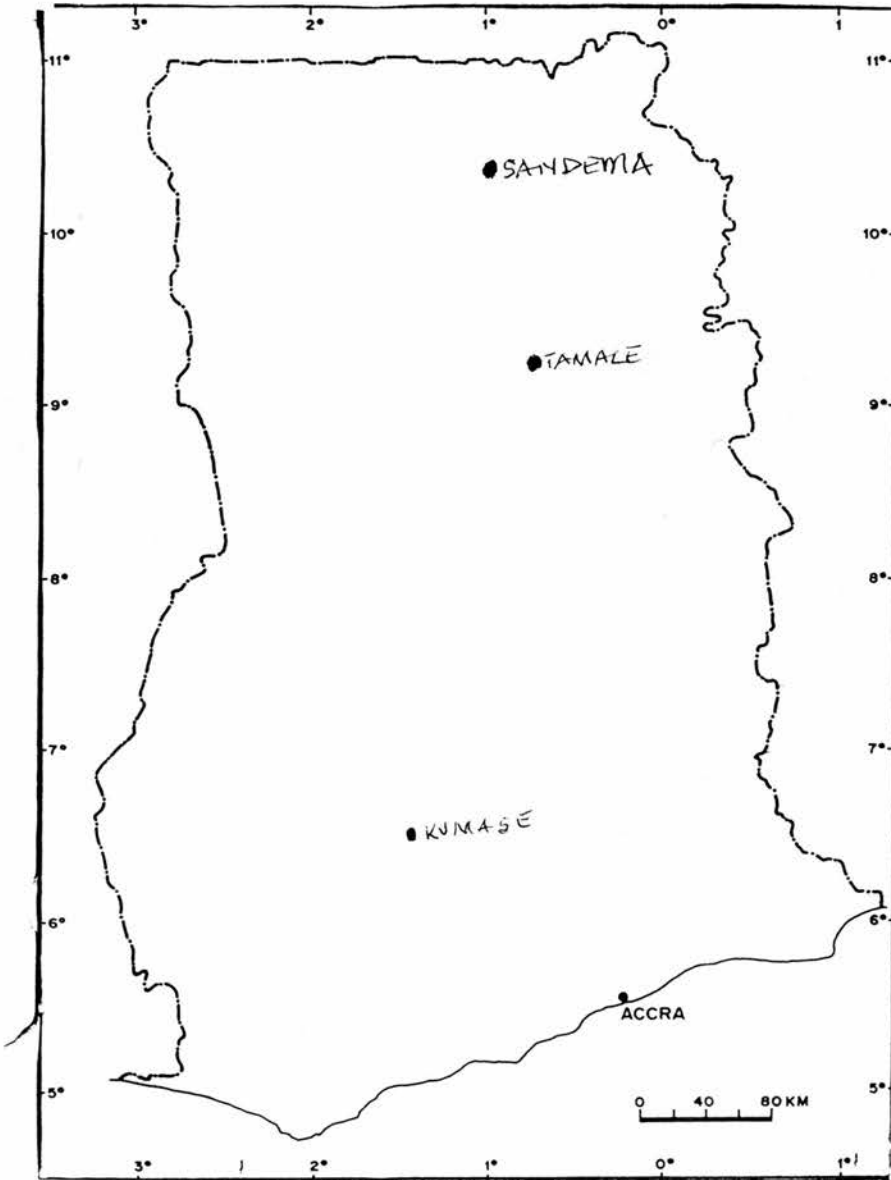


Fig.20: Map Ghana showing the Position of Sandema

The arrival of the Duncans introduced a new dimension into the evangelistic work in Sandema. Mrs. Duncan, a nurse by profession started a small clinic where she provided first aid to the people. She held special sessions with the women at which she taught them new ways of child care and ante natal issues.¹⁰⁹ The missionaries also distributed free

¹⁰⁹ *Kristofo Senkekafo, Ahinime, 1957 P. 8.*

food items such as powdered milk, wheat and rice and second hand clothing to the church members. Needless to say that this practice attracted a great number of people to the church. In a difficult and deprived area such as the Builsa area this was bound to happen.

The Scottish missionaries introduced literacy classes, as usual, to help people to be able to read the bible themselves. For this reason night schools were established. They undertook the study of *Buli*¹¹⁰ and did some translation work on St. Mark's Gospel, the book of Psalms, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and the parables in St. Luke's Gospel. Some of the hymns that they brought with them from the south were also translated and taught the people. Finally a *Buli* primer was prepared by Rev C.F. Paton. Later the diction in many of the translations was found to be faulty but the efforts made by the missionaries formed the basis for work in *Buli*. Later on an agricultural extension work was added to the work in Sandema to teach the people improved methods of farming to achieve maximum yield.¹¹¹

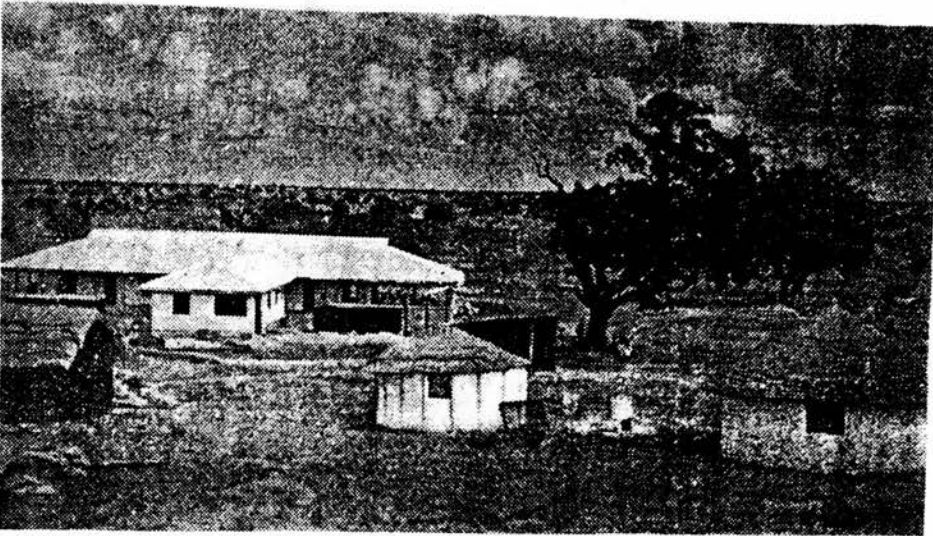


Fig. 22: The New Manse at Sandema dedicated on 10th March 1957.

¹¹⁰ "*Buli*" is the language of the Builsa people.

¹¹¹ This was started in 1959 and was headed by Rev. C. M. Hutchison.

The Scottish Mission's work in Sandema was therefore a holistic evangelistic work consisting of the church, the clinic and the agricultural station all working together to improve the lives of the Builsa people. The Scottish missionaries are greatly remembered in Sandema for the work they have done. In an interview with a cross section of church members in April 1994, Paton, Duncan and Hutchison were often mentioned but the people expressed great disappointment about the fact that the Scottish Mission had left Sandema. Nab Zantilow was full of praise for the Mission and said that he became a "Christian" because of the work done by the Scottish missionaries.¹¹² He said :

The Government disappointed me greatly. They did not develop my area in spite of my contribution in the second world war. But the Scottish Mission came in and within a very short time they built a church, a clinic and an agricultural station. I am very grateful to them.¹¹³

He was however very sorry that the Scottish Mission had left his area and had "allowed some other whites to take over their work."¹¹⁴ The Mission left the area in 1972. However, long before they left Doris Hodds, a nurse from Holland had taken charge of the Clinic in 1961.¹¹⁵

An evaluation of the work of the Scottish Mission in Sandema shows that there was no doubt that great pioneering work was done by the Mission. However, there were a few problems. For instance their attempt to translate hymns from the south was seriously inappropriate because the Builsa have a completely different cultural context from the

¹¹² Nab Zantilow is now very old probably in his 90s but he still remembers the story of the Scottish Mission very well.

¹¹³ Personal interview with him on 12th April, 1994. He spoke in Buli, as tradition demands and was interpreted by Rev. W. Awomnab, the district pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Sandema.

¹¹⁴ The Clinic is now being run by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and the Netherlands Reformed Church with input from the Government of Ghana. The Agricultural Station is also being run by The Christoffel Blinden Mission (C.B.M.) and the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

¹¹⁵ History of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Sandema District, prepared by the District Pastor, Rev. W. A. Awomnab dated 30/4/93.

south. Furthermore, the supply of free food and clothing, though, I believe, was done with genuine humanitarian motives, in the final analysis proved counter productive. It, by and large, became part of the *modus operandi* of the Mission's evangelistic work in Sandema. The people therefore came to associate the missionaries and the church with free food and clothing. The consequence of this was that when the distribution of the free items ceased especially with the departure of the Scottish missionaries, many of the people also stopped attending church service because there was no motivation for them to attend. This reduced drastically the membership of the church because many of them relapsed into their traditional practices. According to the District Pastor, in his usual pastoral visits he was often told bluntly "no food, no clothing, no church, we will only come back when we are sure that you will supply us these as usual."¹¹⁶ For people who were not grounded in their Christian faith this is not unexpected. What happened in a situation like this was that the pastor was usually put in an awkward position in that some of the members of the church felt the Ghanaian church agent was keeping the food items for himself.

Having said that I would like to say that the Scottish Mission's work in Sandema is very important for three reasons. Firstly it helped to open up the place for the evangelistic work of the P.C.G. Secondly, the clinic they started has now developed into well established mobile clinic providing health services to people in the villages in the Builsa area and the agricultural station now provides extension services to many farmers in the area. These services have helped tremendously to improve the lives of the people. The initiative came from the Scottish Mission. Thirdly, Sandema area is the only place in the whole country where the Scottish Mission directly opened congregations. We cannot therefore talk of the evangelistic work of the Mission without talking about the Builsa area.

¹¹⁶ Personal interview with Rev. W.A. Awomnab, 10th April, 1994. See also paper on the history of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Sandema., 1957-1992/3, 30/4/1993 by Rev. Awomnab.

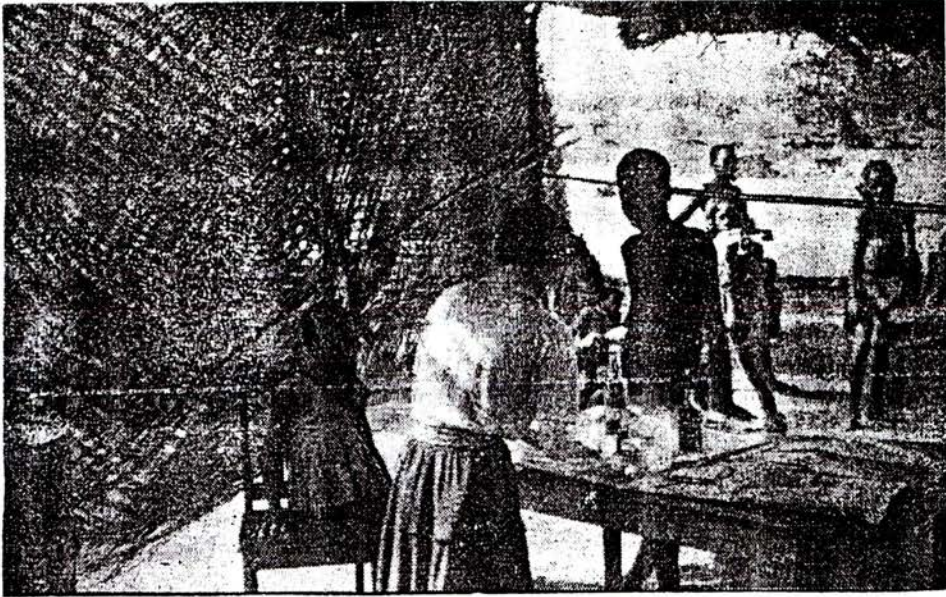


Fig.23: Mrs. Duncan at work in her Clinic at Sandema.



Fig. 24: Rev. W.A. Awomnab and some members of the church at Sandema.



Fig. 25: Rev. C. F and Mrs. Jean Paton



Fig. 26: Blind Farmers being taken through training sessions at Sandema Agricultural station

5.11 CONCLUSION.

On the whole it could be said that evangelism under the Scottish Mission was done on three levels. Firstly, working to widen the theological horizon of the indigenous leaders of the church through training. Secondly, deepening the spiritual life of the members of the church through teaching, and strict enforcement of the church's code of conduct and thirdly reaching out to convert those outside the church. It was the belief of the Mission that all three were interrelated and, therefore, were all held in reasonable balance. However, in respect of reaching out to those outside the church and planting congregations, the general picture, that one sees is that the Mission mainly played an indirect role. This they did by putting the right structures in place, training, equipping, motivating and supervising the indigenous church leaders to spread the gospel and do actual conversion on the ground. Finally, it should be noted that the desire of the Scottish Mission and the church to enforce the church's code of discipline created theological problems which were largely ignored by the Scottish Mission and seemed to have gone unnoticed by the Synod of the P.C.G.

CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE SCOTTISH MISSION

6.0 INTRODUCTION.

The Scottish Mission had been made responsible for education in the P.C.G, even after the return of the Basel Mission, because the British colonial government was not prepared to entrust the education of the young to a non- British organization.¹

Generally, Scotland has for many years been a country of good quality education. Scotland attached great importance to education because, like all Reformed countries, its vision and basis of education was theological. Hugh MacDiarmid describes the vision this way:

In Scotland, God is not a mystic but an intellectual. He prefers clear thinking and accurate explication of terms to pious adoration however sincere. Pre-Reformation Catholicism had allowed the faith to become obscured in fog of enfeebling intelligibility. Now faith had to make sense and it had to make sense to everybody. Thus the need for a parish system of education, teaching a child to reason logically and appraise discerningly the only sure way to the knowledge of God and the only sure safeguard against obscurantism and clericalism.²

This was the motivative factor in the establishment of schools by the church in Scotland. This vision of education was carried with them wherever the Scottish Mission evangelized throughout the world and Ghana was no exception.

¹Ref. Rev. Frank Ashcroft's Report on his visit to the Gold Coast, 15th Nov. 1921. See F.M.C. Minutes, 1921, P. 366 Appendix 1

²Hugh MacDiarmid et al : *John Knox*: The Ramsay Head Press, Edinburgh 1976 P. 23-24.

6.1 AN OVERVIEW OF EDUCATION DURING THE BASEL MISSION ERA.

The Basel Mission also took interest in education in Ghana as part of their missionary outreach.³ By 1917 the Mission had established 179 primary schools and two seminaries. In the context of the problems the Mission faced in Ghana initially, this was an astounding success. Governor Guggisberg, in his Sessional address to the Legislative Assembly in Accra in 1927 paid glowing tribute to the Mission in these words:

First among them [Missions] as regards quality of Education and character training was Basel Mission.....their removal from this country during the war of 1914-1918 was the greatest blow which education in this country has ever received.....the blow was a great one.....⁴

This was a realistic appraisal of the work of the Basel Mission in education and demonstrates the honesty of the governor who did not allow political prejudice to colour his critical judgment.

6.1.1 THE STRUCTURE OF BASEL MISSION EDUCATION.

In the initial stages of the Basel Mission's work the school was made of six classes. This was followed by a four year course at the seminary. The first school was started in 1843 at Akropong. In 1848 the Mission started a seminary also at Akropong to train the most outstanding children from the school for the ministry of the church.⁵

³See discussion on it in P. 42 above

⁴Sessional Address to the Legislative Council 1927/28, 3rd March, 1927, Accra. Also Ref. Chapter Two P. 54-55 above for governor Hugh Clifford's Comments.

⁵The Basel Mission had earlier in 1845 established a seminary at Christiansborg for the Ga district. This was later merged with the one at Akropong.

In 1858 Rev. J. G Auer, an educationist, arrived in Ghana. It was he who re-organized the Basel Mission schools and introduced a four-year senior school⁶ in between the existing six-year school and the seminary. By 1869, therefore, the educational structure of the Mission was as follows:

Infant School:	Classes I-III
Junior School:	Standards I-III
Senior School:	Standards IV-VII
Seminary:	4 years.

There was no strict age limits at this time. The interest of the Mission during this formative years was to encourage as many people as possible to go to school because the greater the number of pupils in a school in a particular area the better the prospects for a strong congregation in that area.

The infant and junior schools at this time were all day and co-educational schools. While the senior schools and the seminary were boarding where the children were subjected to strict missionary discipline. The senior schools were established based on sex, boys were educated separately from girls while the seminary was purely male. Since these senior schools were few and located only at the central stations of the Mission's work many of the young people who completed junior school standard III terminated their education at that point. The Basel Mission did not establish a secondary school. It is not clear why the Mission did not establish a secondary school in Ghana.⁷ However, I think two reasons

⁶The senior schools became known as "middle schools" from 1951 as a result of a directive from the government when then Accelerated Educational Plan was launched.

⁷Note : The Wesleyan Mission had established a high school at Cape Coast in 1876 and the Anglicans had established one in 1910 also at Cape Coast.

might have influenced it. Firstly, it appears that since the aim of establishing schools was mainly evangelical the Mission was only interested in providing the minimum level of education to as many people as possible to enable them read the bible. This would, hopefully, provide the opportunity to convert as many people as possible. Secondly, it appears the Mission felt that education at the secondary school level would eventually be a loss to the Mission. This was because it was likely that those who would benefit from the secondary education would want to join government service for better financial remuneration. On the whole, however, the interest of the Basel Mission in education was never in doubt and the history of educational development in Ghana would not be complete without reference to the role of the Mission.

6.2 SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG'S EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Sir Gordon Guggisberg was the British governor in Ghana from 1919 to 1927. In my estimation, he was one of the most illustrious governors the country ever had. On his assumption of office as governor of Ghana, he declared that his government regarded education as the first and foremost step in the progress of the people of the country. He, therefore, regarded it as the most important item in his programme.⁸ Guggisberg had as his prime aim the desire to prepare Ghanaians to take over the administration of the country as true Ghanaians proud of their nation and culture. He expressed it this way:

We want to give to all Africans the opportunity of both moral and material progress by opening for them the benefits and delights that come from literature and by equipping them with the knowledge necessary to success in their occupation no matter how humble. We want to give to those who wish it an opportunity of becoming leaders of their own countrymenThroughout all this our aim must be not to denationalize them but to graft skillfully on to their

⁸H.O.A. McWilliam: *The Development of Education in Ghana*, 1962 P. 48.

national characteristics the best attributes of modern civilization. For without preserving his national characteristics... ..no man can ever become a leader in progress..⁹

A look at Guggisberg's aim shows that he had a wide perspective of education. He recognized the merits of a contextualized education and embarked on many educational reforms in Ghana. Before he started his reforms he set up an **Educationists' Committee** in 1920 to advise him on how to improve education in Ghana. Wilkie was a member of this committee. His interest in education tied in well with that of the Scottish Mission and it was an interesting co-incidence that the two parties started work in Ghana just about the same time. The Mission received a lot of support from the governor.

6.2.1 THE PHELPS STOKES COMMISSION

Guggisberg consulted widely before embarking on his educational reforms in Ghana. The recommendations of the Phelps Stokes Commission threw more light on what the focus of Guggisberg's reforms should be. The Commission was a million-dollar project set up by an American woman whose name the Commission bore and was committed to the development of education among Negroes. It visited Africa to assess the development of education and facilities available for educational advancement in the areas visited. This was to assist missionary societies from America to plot their missionary strategies to suit their mission fields. Rev. A.W. Wilkie served on this Commission also. There was also a Ghanaian, Dr. J. E. K Aggrey, on the Commission which was chaired by Dr. Jesse Jones. The Commission visited Ghana in 1920.¹⁰

⁹*Sessional Address to the Legislative Council 3rd March, 1927. Par. 199.*

¹⁰The Commission visited the Scottish Mission Girls' School at Aburi on 23rd October, 1920. The Commission also visited other countries in West, East and South Africa.

In the report issued, the Commission generally praised the efforts being made in Ghana with regard to the development of education. However, it appeared to contain a veiled criticism of the content of education in the country. It felt that the curriculum was out of touch with "the needs of the masses" and recommended that the situation be addressed.¹¹ This raises a crucial question of whether educational policies planned and drawn up by Europeans for Africans have been relevant to their social needs and, therefore, helpful to their economic and sociological advancement. However, there were no protests from Ghanaians about the content of education during the colonial period.¹² The Basel Mission is known to have provided vocational training in Ghana. The Scottish Mission also provided such training in Calabar at Hope Waddell College but could not do so in Ghana probably because of economic and personnel problems already noted.¹³ However, generally, the type of education provided by the colonial government mainly produced clerks for the colonial civil service. Furthermore, it turned out people who frowned on manual labour. All told, the type of education provided eventually undermined the traditional economic activity of Ghana. This was the case in many African countries also. It also killed traditional initiative and strangled traditional skills out of existence. This has been a problem that independent African countries have had to wrestle with. Many of them have been trying to change the educational structures instituted by colonial administration but with great difficulty.

The Phelps Stokes Commission, however, described the educational plans of Guggisberg¹⁴ as "among the most significant governmental movements for education observed in

¹¹ Thomas Jesse Jones: *Education in Africa- The Gold Coast*, P. 143. No. 3

¹²The educated Ghanaians did ask for the establishment of a university in Ghana after the second world war..

¹³See Chapter Two P. 85 above problems faced by the U.F.C

¹⁴We will look at a summary of these plans under the next heading. See below.

Africa."¹⁵ Its report also stressed the need to adapt education to the needs and experiences of the people being educated. The report was hailed in Ghana as a blueprint which partly set the tone for the educational reforms of Governor Guggisberg. However in East Africa, public reaction to the Commission's report was not complimentary. It was seen as reinforcing the existing social classes which put the white person on top of the social ladder with the black person below it. Roderick MacDonald who did a research on education in Nyasaland observes that as a result of this policy of adaptation in education the colonial government "refused to grant the Africans better education." Furthermore, it "was seized upon by advocates of segregation in its varying degrees and disguises in Southern Africa as a means of advancing their ends."¹⁶ In East and Southern Africa, therefore, the Commission's work is said to have had racist undertones.¹⁷ Dr. Aggrey however, is highly respected as one of the very first black people to serve on a Commission of this nature. My interest in the Phelps Stokes Commission, however, is limited to the extent to which it influenced the thinking of Guggisberg in the process of formulating his educational policy in Ghana. I, therefore, do not intend to discuss its philosophy in this research.

6.3.3 THE SIXTEEN PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION.

Guggisberg's framework for his educational reforms was put into what he termed the "Sixteen Principles of Education" in 1924. In these principles the governor emphasized the need for thoroughness in primary education, the importance of a secondary school with an educational standard that would fit young men and women to enter a university,

¹⁵ Thomas Jesse Jones: *Education in Africa: The Gold Coast*: New York 1922, P. 126.

¹⁶Roderick James MacDonald; *A History of Education in Nyasaland*, Ph.D. Thesis, 1969 P. 263

¹⁷Detailed discussion on the work of the Phelps Stokes Commission in East Africa is found in *Pan Africanism and Education*: Kenneth James King, Claredon Press, 1971.

the provision of a university and the need for equal opportunities in education for both boys and girls. Guggisberg also emphasized the need for co-operation between the government and the Missions with the government subsidizing the Missions for educational purposes only.¹⁸ He however made it clear that the government should ultimately take control of education throughout the country.¹⁹

These principles were aimed at a type of education that would develop the whole person and also to provide a contextualized education. Guggisberg was also looking far ahead into the future when the country would be producing her own graduates from a Ghanaian university. At this time it appeared impossible. But even to make it an aim and to commit himself to it was in itself a demonstration of an exceptional bravery worth commending.

6.2.3 THE EDUCATION ORDINANCE, 1925.

In December, 1925 Guggisberg and the Legislative Council passed the Education Ordinance to give a legal effect to his sixteen principles of education.²⁰ The Ordinance provided for the establishment of a Board of Education. Wilkie was appointed a member of the Board by the Governor. It also provided for the registration of all teachers before they could qualify to teach in all schools in the country.²¹ Such registered teachers should be paid a standard rate of salary as determined by the government. This was to do away with any disparities in salary between teachers in Mission schools and those in the government schools. Furthermore, the Director of education was granted the power to

¹⁸Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates: Session 1927/28, 3rd March, 1927. Guggisberg recalled the principles when he was addressing the session.

¹⁹ See Appendix VI for the Sixteen Principles.

²⁰ The Ordinance was to take effect from 1st January 1927.

²¹*Ibid.* Sect. 5

recommend the amalgamation of a number of schools in a particular locality if deemed necessary.

The ordinance also provides that the churches were expected to seek the approval of the Director of Education before any non-assisted school was opened.²² In effect, the government was in the process of controlling the opening of schools.

The ordinance was aimed at streamlining education in the country and placing it under the control of the government. By registering all teachers and ensuring that they were paid an approved salary, by empowering the Director of education to order the amalgamation of schools where necessary and approve the opening of new ones before they are opened and by ordering that no fees should be taken in any school that did not receive its approval the government was on the way to controlling education in the country on a scale unknown before. This, therefore, engendered cynicism among leaders of the Scottish Mission Church with regard to the motives of the governor and what the future was likely to be. Initially, leaders of the church feared that the governor was deliberately targeting the church to throw its evangelistic programme, of which the school was an important part, out of gear. It was feared that the measures put in place by the governor in the ordinance would cause the closure of many schools.

Rev. Wilkie, however, assured the church that the ordinance was in the best interest of the country as a whole and that it should not in any way disrupt the evangelistic programme of the church. He said that:

The ordinance would certainly close inefficient schools with teachers wholly

²²Non-assisted schools were those for which grants were not paid to the Missions. They were, therefore, wholly supported by the Missions that started them. Those for which grants were paid by the government were Assisted Schools.

untrained, but such young untrained and inexperienced teachers are equally unfitted for real evangelism. Far more evangelistic work could be done by many of the trained teachers if such work was organized.²³

The ordinance came into effect on 1st January 1927 and the church had to cope with it.

6.2.4 THE ACHIMOTA SCHOOL OR THE PRINCE OF WALES COLLEGE.

One of the principles of education announced by Guggisberg was the establishment of a secondary school.²⁴ This was implemented soon after the 1925 Education Ordinance came into effect in 1927. Governor Guggisberg caused the school to be established in Achimota, a suburb of Accra. It was officially established with effect from 1st January, 1927. The school was established on Christian principles but was non-denominational. In order to maintain Christian principles at the school Guggisberg appealed to Oldham to look for a headmaster who would be able to help him to achieve his aim. Oldham proposed Rev. A. G. Frazer²⁵ who was the son of Sir Andrew H. L. Frazer, one time Convener of the F.M.C of the U. F.C of Scotland. The School was named *The Prince of Wales College*. The name of the institution was a clear vestige of British colonialism. Although Rev. Frazer was for a long time resident in India and was not officially part of the mainstream Scottish missionary group, there was no doubt that the Scottish link and influence were strong and evident. Wilkie was appointed member of the Board of Governors of the school by the governor. It is important to mention that Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey was appointed Vice-Principal of the college. This was an example of how Guggisberg recognized and supported indigenous talents.

²³ *The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of the Synod Committee Meeting 1 5 December, 1925. Min. 57.*

²⁴ See Appendix VI:

²⁵ W. E. F. Ward: *Frazer of Trinity & Achimota, Ghana University Press, 1965, P. 169.*

I have taken some time to look at the Guggisberg's educational reforms in a nutshell because they provided the context in which the Scottish Mission worked and it was under his aegis that many successes achieved by the Scottish Mission in the realm of education were wrought.



Fig. 27: Sir Gordon Guggisberg: Governor, 1919-1927.

6.3 THE SCOTTISH MISSION ERA.

Lack of the required missionary personnel and the necessary financial resources prevented the Mission from taking over the educational aspect of the Basel Mission's work immediately they arrived in Ghana in 1918. Under mutual agreement with the government, the Mission took over the religious part of the work immediately while the

government took a temporary oversight of education. It was in 1920 that the Scottish Mission took full control over the education. It resuscitated the Basel Mission schools, supervised the existing ones and established new ones.

6.4 THE ABURI GIRLS' BOARDING SCHOOL / WOMEN'S TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE / GIRLS' SECONDARY SCHOOL.

The Aburi Girls' Boarding School was originally started by the Basel Mission as their modest contribution to the development of girls' education in Ghana. However, their deportation from Ghana disrupted the programme of the school and it had to close down. Though the Scottish Mission did not take over the schools immediately they arrived they made sure that the Aburi Girls' School was re-opened in September 1918. This was because it was the only School of the church providing education at senior primary school level for girls. It was, therefore, given special attention within the context of their aim to promote female education. Miss Wallace was appointed headmistress and Miss Moffat as the matron.²⁶

Subjects taught in the school by the Scottish Mission included English, Music, Arithmetic, Agriculture and Domestic Science. The standard was appreciably high. For instance in October 1920 it was reported that "three of the standard VI girls passed the Junior examination of the tonic solfa College, London".(sic)²⁷ This was a clear testimony of the level of work being done in the school and the academic heights they were aiming at for girls in Ghana.

²⁶*Scottish Mission Church, Minutes of Synod, 1918, P. 8, Min. 19/3*

²⁷The Chronicle of the Scottish Mission Girls' School Aburi, 6th October, 1920.

The Phelps Stokes Commission visited the school from 21st to 23rd October, 1920 and were reported to have been "much impressed by the thoroughness and practical character of the educational activities in the school."²⁸ Rev. F. Ashcroft also visited the school during his visit to Ghana in 1921 and this was what he had to say about the school:

Much pleased with the general arrangements and with the practical character of the instruction being given. The new curriculum for which the lady teachers are largely responsible secures adequate time for domestic training. The girls are evidently happy and making progress and Misses Wallace and Ross are to be congratulated on the state of the school. The school though small is thoroughly up to date.²⁹

An official report issued by the Provincial Inspector of Schools Mr. I. P. Robertson also had this to say about the school:

The girls in standard 7 were examined individually. The literary work was generally satisfactory. There was more than average intelligence shown in reading and arithmetic. Formal grammar had been given sound ideas of how words are related in sentences and their knowledge of this applied grammar was in advance of the other schools.³⁰

These reports give a fair view of the quality of work done in the School by the Mission.

The Scottish Mission continued to post women missionaries to the school at various times to strengthen the staff. These included Mrs. M. E. Howie, Miss I. P. Ross, Miss A. M. Gray, Miss E. C. Sutherland,³¹ Miss N. N. Cairns, Miss Lamont, Miss Whimster and Miss E. P. Moir. They were assisted by a long list of Ghanaian women who were described as Assistant Teachers. These included Miss Jane O Ansa, Miss Docia Israel, Miss M. Kokua, Miss Agnes Quao, Miss Jane Clerk, Miss Ellen Ampoma and Ophelia Som.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 23/10/1920.

²⁹ *Ibid* 15/8/1921.

³⁰ Report issued on 10th October, 1921. Aburi Training College Special File.

³¹ One of the dormitories in the institution has been named after Miss Sutherland.

6.5.1 THE ABURI WOMEN'S TRAINING COLLEGE.

By 1927 the Aburi Scottish Mission Girls' school³² had been well established and from all indications the future was bright. In order to guarantee regular supply of qualified indigenous women teachers for the school and other schools of the church, Miss McKillican the headmistress of the school, decided to begin a 2-year teacher training course to run alongside the girls' senior primary school. On 30th January 1928, therefore, the teacher training college was started with two student teachers³³ and three students who had completed senior school standard VII.³⁴ The Director of Education gave approval for the establishment of the college immediately in a letter in which he said :

Aburi Girls' School is recognized as an approved institution for the training of women teachers with grants from 1928.³⁵

6.4.2 THE ABURI GIRLS' SECONDARY SCHOOL.

With the teacher training course now established, Miss McKillican decided to begin a secondary school branch. She felt that the secondary school would improve the academic standard of the teachers produced at the college. In 1946, therefore, Miss McKillican introduced the secondary school course with seven girls whom she had carefully selected. There was a problem of lack of qualified staff at this initial stages. A temporary arrangement was, therefore, made whereby students of both the secondary school and the training college were taught together in some lessons. The Scottish Mission, however,

³² Though by 1927 the church had adopted the name Presbyterian, the School continued to be called Scottish Mission Girls' School. The school was considered as the property of the Mission.

³³ The Student Teachers were those who were being provided on-the - job training as teachers before the official beginning of the college. That was how many of the Assistant teachers were trained by the missionaries.

³⁴ The chronicle of the Aburi Scottish Mission Girls' Boarding School, 30th January, 1928.

³⁵ Gold Coast Mission Council Minutes, 12 th November, 1928

organized scholarships for three Ghanaian women to train in Scotland to strengthen the staff. They were Miss Obeng, Miss Aboagye Atta, and Miss Odonkor. They returned in 1950 and at the beginning of 1951 the two courses were separated.

With the introduction of the secondary school the primary school branch was phased out at the end of 1950. By this time the training college had 60 students and the secondary school had 42 students.³⁶

The Scottish Mission handed over the two institutions to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in 1950 and Boards of Management on which both the church and the government were represented were formed to manage them. In the same year the government promised new buildings for the secondary school so that each of the two institutions could have its own compound and be able to develop in its own way. The foundation stone of the new buildings was laid on 8th November, 1952.³⁷ by Lady Arden Clarke,³⁸ assisted by Mr. Kojo Botsio, Minister of Education. The buildings were ready for occupation at the beginning of 1954. In January, 1954, therefore, the secondary school moved to the new buildings with Miss M. I Anderson, another Scottish missionary, as the headmistress. During the same year i.e. 1954, Miss McKillican retired from Aburi and from Ghana after 30 years of service.³⁹

The Scottish Mission left something of the Scottish culture at Aburi. Apart from naming some of the dormitories and blocks after Edinburgh and Aberdeen, a past student of the secondary school told me during this research that they were taught how to do some

³⁶*The Presbyterian church of the Gold Coast: Reports, 1950*, P. 8. Report on Aburi Presbyterian Girls' Training College and Secondary School, by Miss E. H. McKillican.

³⁷*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports 1952* P. 10-11.

³⁸She was the wife of the British Governor Charles Noble Arden Clarke.

³⁹Miss McKillican was awarded an M.B.E. in 1952 for her services rendered in Ghana.

Scottish traditional dances.⁴⁰ History lessons were also concentrated on Livingstone, Moffat, Chalmers, Mackay, Mary Slessor etc., all Scottish missionary personnel in various parts of Africa.



Fig.28: Sutherland House at Aburi Women's Training College.

6.5 THE AKROPONG SEMINARY/ TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE.

The institution that by 1957 was known as the Akropong Presbyterian Training College (P.T.C) was started by the Basel Mission on 3rd July, 1848 as a seminary. It was established by the Mission to serve a dual purpose of training personnel locally to handle the congregations of the Mission and also to teach in the schools. By this arrangement the

⁴⁰ My informant Miss Comfort Ntiamoah- Mensah is now the Development Officer of the P.C.G She even demonstrated what she still remembers of the dance.

Mission was able to save some money by using one person to perform the two functions instead of engaging two people for the two jobs. Those who were admitted were taken through a four-year course which qualified them to be teacher-catechists.

As the work of the Mission expanded, the seminary became more and more important as the main local source of trained personnel for the Mission. In 1860 therefore, permanent buildings were put up to house the seminary. The institution continued to produce trained personnel to staff the mission's schools and congregations in the field until the Basel Mission was deported from Ghana in 1918.

6.5.1 THE SCOTTISH MISSION ERA AT THE P.T.C.

We have already noted that the Scottish Mission took control of education in 1920. Between 1918 and 1920 therefore, the colonial government in Ghana appointed two people from the Government Training College in Accra to administer the seminary. They were Mr. T.D Grantson who acted as principal and Mr. Pearson.

As soon as the personnel situation improved, the Scottish Mission took over control of the seminary and appointed Rev. W. G. Murray as the first Scottish Mission principal of the seminary. When the Mission took over they devised a plan to make Akropong concentrate on the training of teachers while Abetifi, the other seminary of the church, concentrated on the training of catechists. The courses at these two seminaries which used to be of a 4-year duration each were reduced to two years each.⁴¹ Rev. W. Ferguson was stationed at Abetifi to supervise the work there.

⁴¹ See discussion on the issue in Chapter Five P. 182 above.

The visit of Rev. Frank Ashcroft in 1921 brought about a significant change in the fortunes of the seminary at Akropong. In his report he recommended the establishment of a central institution for the training of the agents of the church.⁴² His recommendation was accepted by the Mission Council in Ghana and they decided to merge Abetifi with Akropong so that they could concentrate all their efforts at one institution. In fact it was the aim of the Scottish Mission to build an institution which "offers a training not inferior to anything that can be had elsewhere and provides in addition what cannot be secured to the same degree in any Government Training College, definite and thorough religious training."⁴³

However, in 1923, Wilkie tactically avoided a suggestion that the scope of the curriculum at the college be widened to "include secular training in subjects such as science, physics, engineering" to make it "possible to secure affiliation with a Scottish University, as Fourah Bay College is affiliated to Durham."⁴⁴ If this had been done, P.T.C would have been the first university in Ghana. In his response, Rev. Wilkie "expressed the hope that the present undertaking would prove to be only a first step in the development of a training centre gradually extending its scope and widening its influence."⁴⁵ This hope never materialized. Nevertheless, the college became famous for the training of teachers and has had tremendous influence on the Ghanaian educational scene.

In 1924 the merger of the seminary at Abetifi with that of Akropong was effected and Rev. Ferguson and the students were transferred from Abetifi to Akropong and it was he who succeeded Rev. Murray as principal of the college at Akropong in 1926. In 1928 the course for the training of teachers at the college was made a four year course according to

⁴²See Rev. Frank Ashcroft's report on his visit to the Gold Coast, 1921.

⁴³ *Minutes of Conference 22nd-23rd February, 1923 Min. 5*

⁴⁴*Ibid*, P. 15.

⁴⁵*Ibid*

government policy brought about as a result of the promulgation of the Education Ordinance of 1925. This left no room for the church to tie in their normal theological training in the official course for the training of teachers at the college. The Scottish and the Basel Missions, therefore, decided to establish a one year course separate from the official teacher training course for theological training to prepare those who would like to be teacher-catechists. This became what was termed **the 5th Year**. From 1928, therefore, theological training ceased to be compulsory.

Gradually the church's interest was being detached from the government's interest and now there was a clear separation between the teacher training college and the seminary. The college moved into the new buildings and the seminary stayed in the old buildings each under different management. The church was on the verge of being pushed to the periphery in the training of teachers at the college. However, the Scottish Mission continued to supply principals and some of the teachers for the college. In 1943, a 2-year Post Secondary course was introduced and in 1952 a 2-year Post "B" Certificate course was also introduced to give the teachers holding the Certificate "B" the chance to qualify for Certificate "A"⁴⁶.

Other Scottish missionaries who became principals of the college were Mr. Douglas Benzies, (1937-1947)⁴⁷ Rev. C. M. Morrison, (1948),⁴⁸ Rev. J. S. Malloch (1948 -1957) and Rev. Noel Smith, (1958-1962).

It was during the Scottish Mission era that games and sports were introduced into the curriculum of the college. Rev. Ferguson introduced football and volleyball in 1925. This

⁴⁶ P. T. C, *Akropong-Akwapim, 125 Years Anniversary, 1848-1973 Brochure, Waterville, Accra, 1973* PP. 52-53.

⁴⁷ He was the only Scottish missionary to head the institute without being an ordained minister.

⁴⁸He served in an acting capacity before the arrival of Rev. Malloch.

was the first time games were played in the college since its inception in 1848. Furthermore, it was through his initiative that one Major Wignell who was on the staff of the Prince of Wales College introduced athletics in the college in 1927.⁴⁹ In 1948 when the college celebrated its centenary, a college chapel was built. The "5th Year" course was discontinued in 1951 because the number of people who opted for it continued to fall as a result of the disadvantage suffered by those who took it in the loss of one year of their service. From 1952, therefore, the college turned out only teachers without the theological training. The P.C.G continued to provide principals for the college but it was clear that the whole content of the course was determined by the government. This was a big shift from the original aim. Nevertheless the atmosphere at the college continued to portray the Presbyterian Church character and discipline.



Fig. 29: Mr. C.M. Morrison



Fig.30: Rev. J. S Malloch.

⁴⁹Brochure: *The Centenary celebration of the Presbyterian Training College, 1848-1948, Akropong.*

6.6 THE KROBO GIRLS' BOARDING SCHOOL/ TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE.

When the Scottish mission re-opened the Aburi Girls' Boarding school, it was decided that another girls' school should be considered for the Ga area.⁵⁰ The school was eventually established at Abokobi near Accra in 1923. The missionaries were in the process of settling down when at the beginning of 1924 one of the teachers, Miss Elliot, was diagnosed to have caught yellow fever. The Medical Department, therefore, advised them to move out of Abokobi to a healthier place.⁵¹ It was at this time that the Mission was invited by the *Konor*⁵² of Manya Krobo, Sir Emmanuel Mate Korle, to establish a girls' school at Odumase-Krobo. Miss Sussie Lamont responded to this invitation and moved to Odumase to assess the suitability of the place. In consultation with the *Konor*, a piece of land was released for the establishment of the school on top of the *Agodza hill* near the village of Asite.

Having identified a suitable place for the school, Miss Lamont took it upon herself to appeal for funds from friends and well-wishers in Scotland to put up the buildings needed for the school to start operating. In one of such letters of appeal she gave a brief account of the life of the Krobo people in order to set the appeal in context. She writes:

Krobo Hill used to be the home of the people amongst whom we are now living and a fierce and warlike people they were. A large flat rock on which many human sacrifices took place not so many years ago can be clearly seen near the top of the hillMuch of the history of the people is connected with Krobo Hill. And now on another hill we are opening the Krobo Girls' School. We want you to help us so that the girls who come to us may be led not to worship Nadu or Kotokro⁵³ or any other god but to give themselves wholly to Him who is the

⁵⁰*The Scottish Mission: Gold Coast Colony Synod Minutes 1919, P 10, Min. 26a.*

⁵¹Rev. E. M. L. Odjidja: *K.G.S: Death and Resurrection*, P. 48.

⁵²*Konor* is the title of the Paramount Chief of the Manya Krobo people.

⁵³ *Nadu and Kotokro* are traditional Deities of the Krobo people.

Lord of all good life.⁵⁴

By giving the background of the life of the people, Miss Lamont succeeded in creating an emergency which greatly inspired her friends and the well-wishers in Scotland to donate money for the work at Odumase.⁵⁵ The estimated cost of the buildings was £11,300.⁵⁶ The local people provided free labour. When the buildings were completed, they were named after the friends and well-wishers who donated money and the places from where those donations came. These included names like Brodick, Danburn, Inverness, Neuk, Falkirk, Cairns, Glasgow, Iona and Edinburgh.⁵⁷ The school was opened by the Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg on 19th January 1927.⁵⁸ However, actual work in the school started on 1st March 1927 with 16 girls in senior primary standard VI and eight children in the kindergarten.⁵⁹

Miss Lamont was joined at Odumase by Miss C. P. Moir and three Ghanaians, Miss Felicia Nani, Philipa Larsen and Ophelia Som. This was the first staff of the school.

As their contribution to the spiritual development of the school the pupils and the Ghanaian staff appealed for funds locally to build the school chapel which was completed in 1931. The school continued to make a steady progress and by 1939 the enrollment had reached 126 pupils.⁶⁰ Some of the girls who completed their studies there were sent to Aburi to train as teachers and returned to teach in the school. In 1935 a domestic science course was introduced in the school to provide practical training to the girls to prepare

⁵⁴ Letter of appeal: Letter VII, written from Scottish Mission Senior School, Bana Hill, Kpong, Dated 14th November 1926. (Kpong is near Odumase): Susie Lamont's Papers (C.S.C.N.W.W Archives)

⁵⁵ Rev A. W. Wilkie confirmed this fact in his 1927 report.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ E. M. L. Odjidja, *K. G. S. Death and Resurrection*, 1977, P. 33.

⁵⁸ *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports 1927, Odumase District Report.*

⁵⁹ E. M. L. Odjidja, *K.G.S. Death and Resurrection*, 1977, P. 32.

⁶⁰ *The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports and Accounts, 1939 P. 7- Scottish Mission Girls' School, Krobo.*

them for family life later in their lives. By 1940, the school had been well established and was making a significant contribution to the education of girls in Ghana as a whole and Krobo land in particular. Reporting on the school earlier Rev. Wilkie described the venture as :

a gift from Scotland for the benefit of the girls of the Gold Coast and it has been due mainly to the enthusiasm of Miss Lamont who inspired friends in Scotland and particularly the girls and the girls' associations to come to the help of their African sisters.⁶¹

Rev. W. A. Odjidja, the District Pastor of Odumase on the other hand saw it as an answer to "our cry and prayers" and prayed that :

this school fulfill its purpose, giving out christian girls, future mothers, to remodel our homes from which Christian light may never fail to shine.⁶²

Rev. Odjidja's observation emphasizes the evangelistic motives behind the founding of the school and also reinforces the traditional notion of the woman's place in the society- the home.

The school was handed over to the P.C.G in March, 1950.⁶³ The handing over was done on the following terms as seen in the agreement signed between the F.M.C of the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ghana:

The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast shall be granted occupancy of all Mission buildings of the Krobo Girls' school and College at a nominal rental of One Shilling per annum on the understanding that:

- a. The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast shall use the property for the education of girls.
- b. accommodation is available for missionaries as at present.

⁶¹*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports 1927.- Report of the Scottish Mission.*

⁶²*Ibid : Report on Odumase District.*

⁶³*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports and Accounts, 1950, P. 9 - Krobo Girls' School and Krobo Training College Report for 1950.*

- c. The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast is responsible for rates, taxes and necessary repairs⁶⁴

A close scrutiny of the text of the above agreement reveals that it had been couched in such a way as to make the Church of Scotland still the legal owner of the buildings even after handing over the institution to the church. Furthermore, the agreement prescribes that the property should be used for " the education of girls" so even though the school had been handed over to the P.C.G. it was still the missionary policy that was being implemented. Such was the nature of agreements and bonds in the colonial period generally. There was, in most cases, a clause in such documents which gave some advantage to the European party and which guaranteed the perpetuation of the European interest.



Fig. 31: The Krobo Girls' School at its inception

⁶⁴ *Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, 20th December, 1949, Min. 297.* The Agreement was adapted to suit the Aburi Scottish Mission Girls' School and Agogo Basel Mission Girls' School .

6.6.1 THE KROBO TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE.

In 1944 Miss C. P Moir decided to establish a two-year teacher's Certificate "B" course at the Krobo Girls' school to turn out more women teachers for the country.⁶⁵ The college was to serve two purposes. Firstly, it would improve significantly the academic standard of the women and secondly it would empower them to share in the efforts to develop the country's education because most teachers at this time were male.⁶⁶ Miss Moir, therefore, got it established with twenty girls from the Girls' school and became its first principal. By 1950, the college had 50 students⁶⁷ and arrangements had been made with the Presbyterian Secondary School also at Odumase⁶⁸ to coach some of the young teachers to write school certificate examinations.⁶⁹ In 1950 the college was handed over to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Part of the handing over deed reads as follows:

The College shall be a Christian college. Its primary purpose shall be: The training of Christian teachers for the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. The training is based on the scriptures and its aim is not only to qualify students for their future educational task but also to bring them under the claim of Jesus Christ in all spheres of their life.⁷⁰

The evangelistic motive in the establishment of the college is very clear in this declaration. By 1954 the student population of the college had grown to 120. This is an eloquent testimony that the experiment had been a great success. It was becoming increasingly difficult for the college to co-exist with the girls' school. A new school block was

⁶⁵The Scottish missionaries made the course two years for women so that they could finish early and get married if they wanted to. See paper on Aburi Training College by Miss McKillican. (Provided by Rev. C. F. Paton.) This was long before the Government adopted it.

⁶⁶ For instance in 1927, the number of male certificated teachers was 972 against only 37 women Ref. F.H. Hillard: *A Short History of Education in British West Africa*: Nelson & Sons Ltd. London:1957 P. 83.

⁶⁷*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports and Accounts, 1950, P. 9.*

⁶⁸There will be a discussion on it later in this chapter.

⁶⁹ The School Certificate Examinations were mainly for students who had passed through the secondary school. It led to the acquisition of the School Certificate an equivalent of the Ordinary Level Certificate.

⁷⁰ The Deed of transfer, Krobo Training College, March 1950. P.C.G .A, Accra.

,therefore, built further down the *Agodza hill* for the girls' school in 1954 and the whole of what used to be the Girls' school was taken over by the training college. Miss C.P Moir retired at the end of 1953 after 24 years of service to the Girls' school and the training college and her place was taken by Miss E. Booth-Harris another Scottish missionary.⁷¹ By 1957 the college was still turning out Certificate "B" trained teachers⁷². Some other Scottish women missionaries who helped to build the School and College were Miss M. M Cairns, Miss E. M. Moir, Miss E. Hondry, Miss I. M. Mackintosh , Miss K. Thomson and Miss J. C Foreman⁷³

On the whole the institution now stands as a monument in honour and cherished memory of the Scottish Mission.



Fig. 32: Miss E. McKillican



Fig. 33: Miss J. C. Foreman

⁷¹*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Reports, 1953, P. 14.*

⁷² The course was converted to a 4-Year Certificate "A" Teacher training course in 1962 and in 1972 the institution was converted into a secondary school for girls.

⁷³ Miss J. C Foreman is the best remembered of the Principals by the modern generation. She was the last of the Scottish missionaries to head the college which she took over from 1957 and many of the teachers now in service were trained under her. She retired in 1969.

6.7 THE ST. ANDREW'S TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE.

The college was established in response to the high demand for teachers in the country. The 1925 Education Ordinance had insisted on the need for qualified teachers for the country in order to achieve good results in education. However, by 1936 the demand for the qualified teachers had outstripped supply because of the high demand for education throughout the country. The situation was so grave that the government had to put a freeze on the opening of more assisted schools. A committee that was set up to review the whole educational set up so that the government could see a clear way forward⁷⁴ recommended among other things that in view of the high demand for teachers, a 2-year Teacher's Certificate "B" course should be introduced alongside the 4-year Certificate "A" course.⁷⁵ This would make it possible for twice the number of teachers then in training to be trained at the same cost and at a shorter period than the 4-year course⁷⁶. The Presbyterian and the Methodist churches were invited to try the scheme and open two of such colleges.

By 1946, the Methodists were not ready to start but the Presbyterians, ably supported by the Scottish Mission, were ready. They, therefore, started a 2-year Certificate "B" teachers training course at the Akropong training college in 1946 pending the completion of permanent buildings in Mampong in Asante. The initial intake of students was 30. This was to run alongside the existing 4-year course. This new college was named St. Andrew's Training College after the patron Saint of Scotland⁷⁷. Mr. D. Benzie took care of both colleges as principal.

⁷⁴H. O. A. McWilliams: *The Development of Education in Ghana*, Longmans, Accra, 1962, P 69-70.

⁷⁵ Aburi Training College had already started such a course for women in 1928

⁷⁶The committee was set up in 1937 and it presented its report in 1941.

⁷⁷ The Asante Presbytery protested against the name St. Andrew when it was later transferred to Mampong. They wanted something more Ghanaian. But the protest was not heeded by the church and the name remained.

In July, 1950 Rev. J. W. Moore, a Scottish missionary was appointed principal of the St. Andrew's Training College and in January, 1951 the college was transferred to Mampong in Asante as planned. The selection of Mampong in Asante as the permanent site for the college was significant in that it provided the Scottish Mission the chance to have direct contact with the presbytery which had up till now not been sufficiently touched by the Scottish Mission.⁷⁸ The years that followed the transfer saw the college develop as an independent institution. In 1957 the college had a student population of 120 and was playing an important role in the supply of qualified teachers for the primary schools of the country. Rev. Moore retired in July 1957 and was replaced by Rev. J. H. Findlay, another Scottish missionary.

6.8 THE AKROPONG SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND.

The School for the Blind, at Akropong Akuapem, the first of its kind in Ghana and in fact in the whole of West Africa was started informally by Mr. F. D. Harker, a Scottish missionary. It started in his house in 1932 when he was a teacher at the training college. His "house-boy"⁷⁹, Isaac Ofori Addo brought his cousin Benhard Ofori who was blind to the house several times. Mr. Harker observed the blind boy for a time and decided to put him through lessons in basket-making while his cousin did his house work. It was very difficult initially but through persistence Mr. Harker made a breakthrough.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The Scottish Mission could not supply the Presbytery with personnel until the return of the Basel Mission in 1925 and the place was reserved for them. Though the Basel Missionaries were given the chance to work all over the country, they continued to use Kumase as their base.

⁷⁹He did some cleaning in the house of Mr. Harker. That was how he was described.

⁸⁰F. D. Harker: *The Church is There: Ghana: Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1964 P. 28-29.

Mr. Harker was in the process of polishing up Benhard when his house-boy himself Isaac whom Mr. Harker affectionately called Kwaku⁸¹ caught measles and became blind as a result. Mr. Harker took up the challenge and decided to help both of them to acquire some skills. He then started gradually to teach them Braille. He had barely gone far with this when he was appointed a Supervisor of schools and transferred to Begoro in 1942. He could not take them with him because his new schedule would involve a great deal of travelling and would, therefore, be away from home most of the time. Mr. Harker, therefore, left Isaac and Benhard in the care of Mrs. M. Benzies who also had in her care a girl born blind. According to the information received from the school, Mrs. Benzies was assisted by one Mrs. Greenwood who was said to have taught in a school for the blind in Lancashire in England before. With her previous knowledge Mrs. Greenwood continued to teach the children Braille.

The success of their work encouraged Mrs. Benzies and Mrs. Greenwood to publicize the work they were doing in all the mission stations and asked for those who had blind children to bring them for training. By August 1945 six blind children had been enrolled with them and the school for the blind began. The school was formally opened in January 1946 with Mr. Sakyiama-Amoako as the first officially appointed teacher for the school. It started as a joint venture between the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches and supported by the government but the Methodists gave up and the Presbyterians took full control of the school. A plot of land was acquired where permanent buildings were put up with grants from the government. In 1957 the enrollment of the school was 66, 54 male and 12 female.⁸² There were two levels of education in the school. The first level involved blind children of school-going age. Such children were taken through the normal elementary education approved for all children in the country. The second level of

⁸¹ *Kwaku* is an Akan traditional name for a male born on Wednesday

⁸² *Presbyterian Church of Ghana: Reports, 1957 P. 32-33.*

education involved blind adults who had passed the school-going age. Such people were taken through vocational training. Some of the courses taught there included basket weaving, floor and door mat weaving, upholstery and chair caning and seating.⁸³ The courses helped the graduates to earn a living without begging for alms. The success of the course offered in the school was summed up by the headmaster of the school Mr. Sakyiama Amoako in these words:

blindness is no longer an affliction but a handicap. For here at last is a school where light is shining for the blind who are being trained to face the future with confidence and to take their place in the community as useful citizens⁸⁴

Dr. F. Raaflaub, Basel Mission Secretary for Africa, while on visit to the institution was quoted as saying that "the school for the Blind at Akropong is one of the finest flowers of Mission work in the Gold Coast."⁸⁵ Mr. Sakyiama- Amoako himself testified that "the school is a witness to the Spirit of Christ which is ever at work in His Church and the hearts of men."⁸⁶ Once more another experiment initiated by Scottish missionaries appears to have been successful.



Fig. 34: Rev. F. D Harker

⁸³See Report on the School for the Blind, 1955. *Presbyterian Church Reports, 1955* P. 19.

⁸⁴*Ibid* 1956, P. 35.

⁸⁵*Ibid* : 1955 P. 19.

⁸⁶*Ibid*

6.9 THE SCOTTISH MISSION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN SECONDARY SCHOOL.

In spite of their interest in education, the Scottish Mission did not establish a secondary school in Ghana. In 1930, however, "the native members of Synod stated the urgent need for a secondary school."⁸⁷ Two reasons were given for this. Firstly, they felt that secondary education was the *sine qua non* for progress in education. Secondly, it was disadvantageous to send their children to secondary schools that were not Presbyterian because they could be lost to other churches.⁸⁸ The Methodists had established a secondary school, the Richmond College, in 1876 at Cape Coast⁸⁹ and the Anglicans had also established one, St. Nicholas Grammar School at Cape Coast, in 1910.⁹⁰ The Government had also established the Prince of Wales College at Achimota. in 1927. The "native" members, therefore, might have felt very bad about the church not having its own secondary school.

The Scottish Mission, however, failed to support the venture on the grounds that it "had neither men nor money" for the purpose.⁹¹ This was confirmed by the Secretary of the F.M.C in a message to Synod which said in part:

We have heard with deep interest of the church's efforts to found a secondary school We fully sympathize with your aim of providing a means whereby there may be secured a high standard of education in future..... We regret that with all our other obligations in so many parts of the world we cannot make any promise to share in so hopeful a scheme.⁹²

⁸⁷Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Synod Minutes, 1930, P. 46 Min. 24.

⁸⁸Ibid : Note: Education was used by all churches as a means of evangelism in Ghana.

⁸⁹It is now known as the *Mfantsipim* and is the first secondary school in Ghana.

⁹⁰It is now known as the *Adisadel* College.

⁹¹Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Minutes of Synod, 1933 P. 14-15, Min. 17a.

⁹²Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1937, P. 26, Min. 15

Notwithstanding the Scottish Mission's failure to help, the Ghanaians went ahead and started the school in an old Basel Mission bungalow in Odumase on 1st February, 1938. By 1957, it had become one of the leading secondary schools in Ghana and a symbol of indigenous initiative. Fred Agyeman describes the attitude of the Scottish Mission as an "obstructionist and short-sighted policy."⁹³ In fact, many people I spoke to in Ghana expressed similar sentiments about the attitude of "the white man."⁹⁴ However, the failure of the Mission to assist had some positive effect. It enabled the Ghanaians to demonstrate that they were capable of getting what they wanted.

6.10 THE PREMPEH COLLEGE: KUMASE.

The Prempeh College, the first assisted secondary school for boys in Asante was opened in Kumase as a joint venture between the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Government. It was initiated by the government as part of the plan to extend educational facilities at secondary level to Asante. In 1943, the Acting Director of Education formally invited the Scottish Mission to co-operate with the Methodist Church in founding a united secondary school in Kumase.⁹⁵ The government would provide buildings and the grants needed for the running of the school. The churches on their part were expected to provide the staff for the school and also administer it.

In their draft proposals submitted to the government on the establishment of the school, the churches proposed, among other things a Boy's Secondary School with a maximum of 400 pupils and a staff of 30. The school was officially opened on 5th February 1949 and

⁹³Fred Agyeman: *We Presbyterians*, Waterville, Accra 1988, P. 17.

⁹⁴The impression was that it was part of the whiteman's plan to deprive the blackman good education.

⁹⁵ Letter dated 12th July, 1943: *F. M.C. Minutes, May 1943- April, 1944, Min. 7220.*

named after Nana Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II the then King of Asante⁹⁶. The F.M.C supported the establishment of the school because it was "convinced that the school would offer a great opportunity for Christian Missions."⁹⁷ By 1957 Prempeh College had become one of the leading secondary schools in Ghana.



Fig. 35: The Prempeh College Library, Kumase.

6.11 THE ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR EDUCATION 1951.

The Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1951, was put in place by the new Ghanaian political administration led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in order to increase the tempo of educational development in Ghana. It was aimed at making facilities for

⁹⁶History of Prempeh College, Kumase, Asante, provided by the School.

⁹⁷ *Foreign Mission Committee Minutes: Min. 7220, May 1943-April, 1944.*

education such as schools, accessible for as many children of school going age as possible.

In its report the Phelps Stokes Commission gave the number of children of School going age in 1920 as 300,000 out of whom only about a tenth were attending school.⁹⁸ By 1946 the number of children of school going age had risen to an estimated figure of about 470,000 out of whom only about 90,000 were in school.⁹⁹ The new political administration, therefore, decided to redress the situation by quickening the pace of the educational development so that as many children as possible would benefit from at least primary school education within the shortest possible time.

Political changes in Ghana in 1951 saw Dr. Kwame Nkrumah being appointed as Prime Minister.¹⁰⁰ This had immense consequences for education in Ghana. Mr. Kojo Bostio was appointed the first Ghanaian Minister of Education and Social Welfare. Dr. Nkrumah made education his top priority because they realized that the country could not progress without it. Soon after assuming office, therefore, the Accelerated Development Plan for education was launched to hasten the process of providing education to the children of Ghana. Mr. Bostio described the plan as " the keystone of the people's life and happiness."¹⁰¹ According to Bostio, its aim was " to provide , as soon as possible a six-year basic primary course for all the children of school-going age." Some of the highlights of the Plan were as follows:

1. There shall be a six- year primary course for all children of the country who had attained the age of six and above at the public expense.
2. Primary education will be the joint responsibility of the Central Government and Local Authorities.

⁹⁸ Thomas Jesse Jones: *Education in Africa*, Phelps Stokes Fund, New York P 142.

⁹⁹ H. O. A McWilliam : *Development of Education in Ghana, Accra, 1967* P. 84.

¹⁰⁰ Dr. Nkrumah was initially given the title Leader of Government Business .

¹⁰¹ *Foreword to the Accelerated Development Plan, 1951.*

3. In future no new primary school opened by a denominational religious body or by a group of persons will be eligible for assistance from public funds unless prior approval of the Local Authority concerned under powers delegated by the Central Government has been obtained¹⁰²

It was estimated that by 1957 about 405,000 children should be in primary schools all over the country and about 140,000 in the Middle schools.¹⁰³ This according to the Plan would require a total of 4,667 teachers. These targets placed the Government under severe pressure because it meant that more classrooms would have to be built and more teachers trained. These could not be provided immediately before the plan took off. Schools, therefore, were established all over the place most of them under sheds and temporary structures many of which were unsatisfactory and many pupil teachers were also recruited to supplement the trained teachers in the system.

The section of the plan which created doubt in the minds of the church leaders was the stipulation that Missions and churches should seek clearance from the Local Authorities before opening any new school. As in the case of the 1925 Ordinance launched by Guggisberg, the church saw it as an attempt to curtail its influence on education in the country.¹⁰⁴ By this stipulation, the government was asserting its authority and establishing the fact that it is its responsibility to provide the people with education.

However, the church found out that as the plan developed its educational responsibility grew contrary to expectation. Some local authorities handed over their schools to the church to manage. For instance, in 1954 alone six middle and seven primary schools were handed over to the Presbyterian Church by local authorities who founded them.¹⁰⁵ According to the General Manager of Schools of the church," this is attributable to the

¹⁰²*The Accelerated Plan for Education, 1951 P.14-15* (Office of the General Manager of Schools P.C.G, Accra)

¹⁰³*Ibid*

¹⁰⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports, 1954, P. 38*

¹⁰⁵*Ibid*

realization by some Local Authorities of their inexperience in the matter of education and their appreciation of the past good performance of the church units." ¹⁰⁶ It must be pointed out that the fact that some local authorities handed over their schools to the church did not mean that the government was backing down on its policy to take overall control of education in the country. The local authorities were only asking for a temporary assistance.

Thus the number of schools managed by the church continued to increase after the launching of the Accelerated Development plan and so did the numbers of the pupils and the teachers. The following statistics of schools managed by the Presbyterian Church illustrate this:

YEAR	SCHOOLS	PUPILS	TEACHERS
1950	582	60,434	2,032
1951	640	65,376	2,108
1952	824	86,989	3,444
1953	933	95,202	3,515 ¹⁰⁷

It can be observed from the above figures that between 1950 and 1951 the increase in the number of pupils in school was about 5,000 and between the same period only about 48 schools were established. After the launching of the Accelerated Development Plan, however, there was a dramatic increase in 1952 of over 20,000 pupils and 184 schools over the respective figures for 1951. This was the effect of the Plan on the church. This had serious implications for the general administration of the church .

¹⁰⁶*Ibid*

¹⁰⁷Compiled from *Synod Reports of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1950-1953*.

First of all the increase in schools meant a corresponding increase in the church's expenditure on education. Generally, it was the church through the local congregation that provided classrooms for the schools and accommodation for the teachers. In a few cases the central government or the local authorities provided funds to support the building of the classrooms but the responsibility had always been on the churches and the Missions.¹⁰⁸ Secondly the plan affected the general structure of the church's educational administration. The massive increase in the number of schools, pupils and teachers needed effective supervision in order to achieve the goal the government had set. This supervision had to be done by experienced educationists most of whom were found in the Presbyterian Church in the Visiting Teachers appointed by the church. Some of these Visiting Teachers were engaged by the government as education officers to strengthen the inspectorate division of the government's educational administration. This reduced the inspectorate staff of the educational unit of the church. For instance while in 1951 the church had a General manager of schools, three grade one supervisors, five Assistant Supervisors, and eight Visiting Teachers, the church had only a General Manager and three Grade one supervisors in 1952.¹⁰⁹ Gradually the government was taking over the education of the country as a whole and cutting down the staff of the church to make sure that all sections of the community had the basic education of the same quality.

The Accelerated Development Plan for education in certain respects negatively affected the administration of the church itself at the grassroots level. The Plan introduced a new element known as "Priority" and "Non-Priority" schools. The "Priority" schools were those that had good enrollment, good classrooms and good staffing.¹¹⁰ "Non-Priority" schools were the reverse of the Priority schools. The problem that was created by this new development was that the government tended to concentrate all efforts and resources

¹⁰⁸*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Synod Reports, 1952*, Education Report.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰Good staffing here meant schools with at least three trained teachers.

on the "Priority" schools which were found mainly in the urban areas of the country. Trained teachers were transferred from the "Non-Priority" schools to the "Priority" schools. This led to the withdrawal of trained teachers, some of whom were also catechists in their respective stations of the church. These stations, therefore, lost the services of trained catechists and had to rely on pupil teachers. This resulted in poor services to the church.¹¹¹ Furthermore, the strict enforcement of this categorization ran counter to the government's aim of providing good quality education to all the children in the country. In the end it was only those in the urban areas who realized the benefits of the plan while schools in the rural areas retrogressed. With the launching of the plan, a new pattern of school administration developed. The Government now assumed control of overall posting of teachers. Trained teachers in non-priority schools could be transferred without taking the evangelistic needs of the church into consideration. Hitherto the church posted teachers according to its evangelistic needs. The church was being pushed to the fringes in the provision of education by the government.

My assessment on the whole is that the Accelerated Development Plan was an over-ambitious programme. The feeling among nationalists at this time was that the colonial government had not done enough to develop education in the country, therefore, the new Ghanaian administration should be seen to be doing something in that direction hence the plan. Though the government must have had good intentions in launching the programme there were no resources to back it up.¹¹² Many schools were opened and many children went to school but the returns were very poor generally. By 1955 the target set by the Government when the programme was launched in 1951 had been exceeded.¹¹³ Many

¹¹¹*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports to Synod 1954. P. 38.*

¹¹²Classrooms were inadequate and, therefore, classes were held under sheds and trees sometimes without necessary books and stationery.

¹¹³The Government had set 405,000 children in Primary schools as the target being aimed at by 1957. By 1955, there were 429,518 children in Primary schools in the country. See *F.H. Hilliard, A short History of Education in British West Africa London, 1957 Page 117*

traditional rulers and the churches established schools without seeking the proper clearance from the local authorities. Soon the plan was in disarray and by 1957 the government had placed an embargo on opening of new schools.¹¹⁴ This was a sign that things were out of control.

6.12 EDUCATION AND THE MISSIONARY GOAL

We have already noted that the original aim for establishing schools was evangelical. The schools were meant to be bases for Christian education and also serve as harvest grounds for church membership.¹¹⁵ This appeared to have worked out well for the Missions for a long time. However, the Missions also realized the importance of training the children and the youth in their schools for future life in general. For this reason secular subjects were included in the curriculum of the schools. The schools of the church were very popular for their Christian training, discipline and academic excellence and were, therefore, in very high demand. When the Scottish Mission took over control of the former Basel Mission schools, there were 86 assisted and 98 non-assisted schools.¹¹⁶ In 1930, ten years after the take-over by the Scottish Mission the number had risen to 112 assisted¹¹⁷ and 109 non-assisted schools under the Management of the Presbyterian Church and there were 603 teachers.¹¹⁸

The management of these schools cost the church a lot of money in salaries of teachers, buildings and equipment and accommodation for teachers¹¹⁹. The government provided

¹¹⁴See Report of the Presbyterian Educational Unit 1957

¹¹⁵See discussion on the School in Chapter Five P. 187 above.

¹¹⁶*Scottish Mission Church Reports, 1920: Statistics of Congregations and Schools.*

¹¹⁷This figure represented a third of all assisted schools. This provides a fair knowledge about the role of the Church and the Mission in the educational development of the country.

¹¹⁸*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Reports 1930 Statistics of Schools.*

¹¹⁹The church also provided free accommodation for teachers.

some grants but this did not meet all the financial obligations connected with the management of the schools. For instance in 1930 the total amount spent on schools by the Presbyterian Church was £60,028. Out of this amount the government provided £33,873 in grants and the church collected £5,988 in school fees. This left a balance of £19,166 to be settled by the church according to Wilkie.¹²⁰ In addition to this there were other schools which did not qualify for grants from the government. These also cost the Church £9,047 to maintain in 1930 alone.¹²¹ This means that for 1930 alone the Presbyterian Church spent £28,213 on schools under its management after deducting grants given by the government. The accounts presented here by Wilkie were amounts that were officially reported and recorded and settled from the central fund at the national level. Apart from these, various congregations spent money at the local level on the schools which were not reported at the national level.

Apart from cost to the church in financial terms, there was also cost to the church in respect of time. Almost all the leading members of the church had something to do with the school. For instance, the Catechist was the head teacher who was free to attend to the church only when he had performed his duty to the school for which he was paid his salary. The District pastor was the local manager of the schools in his district. He was expected to visit these schools, inspect their work and offer advice and counseling in some cases and help to solve problems where necessary. He was also expected to write reports on these schools. Presbyters, who in most cases, did not have any formal education were expected to visit the schools regularly to see what they could do to assist in the running of the schools. This usually consisted of building new classrooms, repairing old ones and helping to raise money to purchase some school equipment. On the whole great attention

¹²⁰ Apart from being the Secretary of the Scottish Mission Wilkie was the Treasurer as well as the General Manager of schools for the church. This was his last statement of accounts to the Synod before going on transfer to Lovedale in South Africa.

¹²¹ Memorandum on the Financial situation of the church 1930, by Rev A. W. Wilkie.

was given to the schools by the church and there was no doubt that much time and money were spent on them by the church at all levels.

In 1922 a debate ensued over the relationship between the evangelistic aim of the church and its work in education. The issue that needed to be addressed was "whether the church loses in evangelical power by over attention to education."¹²² Wilkie took advantage of the Synod meeting in 1922 to address the issue. He emphasized that the aim of the education " should be the training of the complete life, not only the head but of the hand and the heart, and the soul."¹²³ According to him "the religious character of the whole training must be central at each stage" of the education process. For Wilkie, therefore, if this was done, then the church's attention on schools did not conflict or weaken its evangelistic power. Conversely, he was saying, by implication, therefore, that if the religious character of the training offered in schools was not made central then it would be useless for the church to invest so much time and money on the schools.

Wilkie spoke on the same issue at the I M C held in Le Zoute in Belgium in 1926. One of the major issues discussed at the conference was whether the Missions and the churches should get involved in the provision of education and management of schools in Africa. In his contribution, Wilkie said the aim for the provision of education should be consistent with Jesus' statement " I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly."¹²⁴ He, therefore, emphasized holistic education, with a Christian focus, which would enable people to realize maximum benefit from life in general. As long as this was happening in schools, Wilkie was of the opinion that the church should continue

¹²²*The Scottish Mission church, Synod Minutes. 1922, Min. 12.*

¹²³*Ibid*

¹²⁴E. W. Smith : *Education in Africa: Le Zoute, P. 9.*

to participate in the provision of education. He charged Missions and churches to keep the aim clearly and steadily in view

Wilkie's position was achievable only if the whole Ghanaian society was Christian and was going to remain so and also that successive governments were going to allow Christian influence on schools to continue *ad infinitum*. Wilkie was speaking in 1926, at the time that Governor Guggisberg had launched his educational programme with his emphasis on co-operation between the Missions and the government and the importance of Christian training in the curriculum of the schools.¹²⁵ It is quite possible that he based his assumption on that development. However, he was by the same token implying that if Christian religious training was not central to the curriculum of the school then the church must stop managing schools.

The debate continued in the church. When Rev. T. L. Beveridge took over as the Secretary of the Scottish Mission he also took the advantage to express his opinion on it. Speaking at Synod in 1930 on "Evangelism" Beveridge stressed the "need for stronger emphasis on the preaching of the Gospel to the heathen who are waiting and needing to hear it from us." He charged all church members to obey "our Lord's command: Preach the Gospel to every creature."¹²⁶ In a discussion that followed the talk Synod observed that "so much stress is laid on school work that the necessity for preaching does not get enough emphasis."¹²⁷ Synod, however, stopped short of recommending a way out of the problem. However, the fact that Synod itself recognized the fact that work in the school was impinging on effective evangelism in the church is very crucial to the debate.

¹²⁵See the Seventh, Eighth, and Fourteenth of his Sixteen Principles of Education. Ref. Appendix VI.

¹²⁶*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Synod Minutes, 1930 P. 43 Min. 11.*

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

In 1948 the Scottish Mission Council tried to look at the issue more closely and to find how to handle it. After a hard look, it was generally agreed that the involvement of district pastors in school management was taking too much of their time. The Council, therefore, proposed " that relief for managers [pastors] must be sought perhaps by passing routine work on to non-teaching head-teacher."¹²⁸ In addition to this the Council looked at the possibility of forming School Boards of Management on which the church would be represented to manage the schools in order to release the agents to do effective evangelism. By 1957 non of the above recommendations had been implemented and the Scottish Mission and the church continued to manage the schools against the background of diminishing resources and influence of the church over the schools as a result of government policy.¹²⁹

The fact that the issue kept coming up for discussion at Synod shows that it was a real one which the Scottish Mission and the church had to contend with. In his report issued in 1948 Rev. D. S. Elder, Secretary of the Scottish Mission, highlighted the issue and admitted implicitly that the involvement of the church and the Mission in school management was a problem. He appeared to imply that the church was holding on to the management of the schools because of the fear that if it withdrew from the management of the schools , " the control of education would pass out of Christian hands"¹³⁰and thereby limit the scope of the church's influence on the society. He called on all church members to pray for God to "guide our leaders to make the right choice and give them resolution to abide by it."¹³¹

¹²⁸Minutes of the Scottish Mission Council, 20th January, 1948, (P. C. G. A. Accra)

¹²⁹It is quite possible that the Church did not want to take the risk of handing over the schools to others which might tempt the Government to go along that way in that case the church would be the loser.

¹³⁰*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Summary Reports 1941- 1948, P. 9-10, Scottish Mission Report.*

¹³¹*Ibid.*

The Government's Accelerated Development Plan for Education of 1951 which gave the local authorities the chance to participate in the management of schools was regarded by the General Manager of Schools of the P.C.G. as a "great relief of the church." He felt that now there was an institution to share the burden of school management with. This was a clear indication of the pressure under which the church was working with regard to school management. He still felt that the increase in the number of schools "and in the volume of work involving school administration continued to over-tax the pastor-managers."¹³²

Generally, the whole debate over whether the church's attention on schools disturbed its evangelism was a real one most especially during the Scottish Mission period. It was not an issue during the Basel Mission period because the Ghanaians had very little or nothing to do with the management of either the school or the church. Moreover, the schools were comparatively fewer during that period. From 1952 the Scottish Mission and the Presbyterian Church had grappled with the issue. Both the Mission and the church seemed to have admitted eventually that there were real problems involved in combining the church's evangelistic programme with the management of schools. It was established beyond doubt that the management of schools over-taxed the energies of the church agents who were left with little time and energy to engage in any meaningful evangelism. On the other hand it was felt that by managing the schools the church could exert some Christian influence on the children and youth in these schools and through the schools to the whole society for the better. The Scottish Mission and the P.C.G while recognizing the problem could not offer any lasting solution to it. They, therefore, kept limping between the two positions and tried to manage the situation as best as they possibly could. What made it difficult for the Scottish Mission and the P.C.G to take a firm decision to back out from managing the schools was the fact that other Missions working in the

¹³²*Presbyterian church of the Gold Coast: Reports 1954, P 38-39, Educational Unit.*

country, such as the Wesleyan, Roman Catholic and Anglican, continued to manage their schools and, therefore, they would be losing out if they stopped managing their schools. The re-opening of the Abetifi Seminary in 1946 to train Evangelists who would be set aside solely for the work of the church was a partial response by the Scottish Mission and the P.C.G to a difficult problem which continued to haunt the church.

6.13 GOVERNMENT GRANTS FOR EDUCATION.

The government gave the Missions some grants to help run the schools. The government provided grants because it felt that the provision of education by the Missions was in the interest of the whole society.¹³³ However, not all the schools qualified for government grants. It was only those that met the standards set by the government that qualified. The Missions and the churches took full responsibility of the those schools that did not qualify for the government grants.¹³⁴ There was no doubt that the grants went a long way to help the Missions and the churches to offset some of their running costs in respect of schools. For instance the Basel Mission reports that it had received 28,660 Marks¹³⁵ in grants from the Government in 1900.¹³⁶ In 1925, the Scottish Mission received £11,297¹³⁷ and in 1930, £33,873¹³⁸ in grants from the government. The upshot of this payment of grants to the Missions and the churches was that the government assumed the position of a strong partner in the management of schools. The government began to set standards which had to be met in order to qualify for those grants. The Missions were, therefore,

¹³³The Central Government never provided money to run the administration of the church itself.

¹³⁴The Church usually started and nurtured the schools for some time before the government gave grants

¹³⁵This was roughly £1,433. The exchange rate in 1900 was 20Mks to one Pound approx. See Statistical abstract for Foreign Countries 1895-1904/5 No. 33 Edinburgh Univ. Library.

¹³⁶*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915, P. 8.

¹³⁷*Gold Coast Scottish Mission Reports: The Central Fund: Summarized Statement, 1925.*

¹³⁸Rev. A. W. Wilkie: Memorandum on the Financial Situation of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. See Reports, 1930 P. 49.

forced by their desire to qualify for the grants to shift their policy towards government's standards on education. Before long, the government was dictating the pace in determining education policy in the country while the Missions and the churches tried to cope with the situation.

The Basel Mission was initially apprehensive towards these grants from the government because of what the Mission felt would be the consequences. Writing in the Mission newsletter, Rev. Oettli, the Mission Inspector said:

the Government grant grew larger and larger.....But against this we must set the subtle difficulties which arose from this time and which had never been felt before. The Mission had to fight to keep up the missionary character of their schools and this fight grew more and more serious with the growing demands of the Government.¹³⁹

In spite of this the Mission continued to take the grants from the government because of the fear that if it refused to co-operate with government " there was the risk that schools complying with Government demands would attract all the children" and the Mission would lose hold on them.¹⁴⁰ The Mission, therefore, reluctantly took the grants which provided the government with the excuse to interfere in the educational programme of the Mission.

During the Scottish Mission era, the church plunged deeper into the financial clutches of the government. As a result of the financial crisis that faced the Mission already noted, it relied heavily on these government grants and money raised from the church to run the schools. The Scottish Mission did not see anything wrong with receiving grants from the

¹³⁹*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, September, 1915, P. 8

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

government and, therefore, was not as skeptical as the Basel Mission was.¹⁴¹ In fact, the Mission was proud that " the church's educational expansion has been greatly helped by the continued interest and ready help of the Government through the Education Department."¹⁴²

As the country became self-governing in the build up towards political independence, education became a political issue. The government assumed full control of education in the country and the church had to work within the structure built by the government and standards in schools were measured in terms of government's policy. By 1957 the church continued to manage schools but on the terms set by the government. The government gave due recognition to the important role the Missions and the church had played during the formative years of the country's education and had, therefore, granted a leeway by which the church could exert some influence on the schools and also to use the facilities of the schools to further the cause of the church. For instance, many head teachers continued to be catechists of the church though paid by the government as teachers. District Pastors continued to be local managers of the schools in their districts and appoint pupil teachers. Bible knowledge continued to be an important subject in the schools managed by the church. Furthermore, the church had control over who taught in the schools and could exercise discipline on the teachers according to the constitution of the church. But all these were only at the pleasure of the government and there was no doubt that the fortunes of the church depended on the political circumstances of the day.

¹⁴¹It is possible this was due to the circumstances surrounding the coming of the Mission to Ghana . See Chapter Two above for details.

¹⁴²Rev. D. S. Elder: See *Summary Reports of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1941-1948, P. 10*

6.14 THE SCOTTISH MISSION AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

When the Mission took control of the former Basel Mission Schools in 1920 the responsibility of co-ordinating and managing them devolved on Rev. Wilkie the Secretary of the Mission. Successive Secretaries of the Mission played the same role as General Managers of the schools of the church. In 1921 the Mission, realizing the enormous size of the work in education urged Synod Committee to appoint experienced personnel to help to supervise the schools. Synod Committee, therefore, decided that District Pastors should serve as Local Managers of the schools in their respective districts.¹⁴³ As managers they were expected to visit the schools, check the registers and the accounts and make sure that the interests of the church were being maintained.¹⁴⁴

As the demand for education increased and more and more villages and towns established schools, more teachers were engaged. It was this demand that forced the government to approve the opening of 2-year certificate "B" teacher training colleges¹⁴⁵ and the appointment of pupil teachers to assist in teaching in the schools. District Pastors were given the responsibility as local managers of Schools to appoint pupil teachers to teach in schools in their districts in 1946.¹⁴⁶ In order to assist the untrained teachers especially and all other teachers to be able to perform their duties well the Scottish Mission and the church appointed supervisors of schools and visiting teachers. The supervisors of schools were in charge of the administration of the schools. The visiting teachers on the other hand were in charge of the method of teaching. They, therefore, conducted in-service training and conducted demonstration lessons where necessary. In 1946, Mr. F. D.

¹⁴³ Synod Committee Minutes, P. 30, 28th July, 1921.

¹⁴⁴ *The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland: The Gold Coast: Revised Edition, 1949*, P. 22.

¹⁴⁵ The St. Andrew Teacher Training College in Mampong-Asante was opened as a result of this.

¹⁴⁶ Synod Committee Minutes 12th -24th November, 1946 Min. VI, 2

Harker a Scottish missionary was appointed the first substantive General Manager of Schools of the P.C.G.¹⁴⁷ In 1951 the Presbyterian Church had one General Manager of schools , three grade one supervisors of schools, five assistant supervisors and eight visiting teachers.¹⁴⁸

With the launching of the Accelerated Development Plan by the Government in 1951 the Government converted the positions of the assistant supervisors and visiting teachers into a new position of Assistant Education Officers. This was meant to strengthen the inspectorate division of the newly created Ministry of Education to take on the supervision of the whole educational system in the country.

6.15 MISSION EDUCATION AND GHANAIAAN SOCIETY.

The original intention of the Missions in general for establishing schools as we have noted a few times was to use the schools as part of their evangelistic outreach.¹⁴⁹ As part of this general plan for evangelism, the Basel Mission in particular established Boarding Schools at the senior primary school level. The boarding schools, according to the missionaries, had the advantage of removing the young adults from the traditional environment to usually a secluded place where they (missionaries) could be with them and train them the way they believed to be Christian way of life. This is what the Basel Mission had to say on the opening of the Boarding Schools:

In many cases also either the father or the mother were yet converted. It is clear with children living with their ungodly relations, the good influence of the school is apt to be weakened by the venomous influence of paganism.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports and Accounts, 1952, P. 33.*

¹⁴⁹See Chapter Five P. 187 above.

This is less the case with our Boarding Scholars, who live entirely with Missionaries under strict discipline.....We do not expect all these children will be converted....But one thing we know : the Holy Spirit is working in the hearts of many of them and they all learn at least so much under our roofs as is necessary to become useful members of the society in their after life and to regard African superstition as sin and folly.¹⁵⁰

The F.M.C of the Church of Scotland also in its review on the work in Ghana in the latter 1940s had this to say on the importance of intensifying missionary education in Ghana:

The old order is already dead. The faiths of their fathers are swiftly losing all hold of the people. Now is the Church's supreme opportunity to hold out to them the Faith that alone can satisfy, the one foundation on which the new African can rightly be upraised.¹⁵¹

There seems to be an implicit joy in the fact that the " faiths of their fathers are swiftly losing all hold of the people." Thus implying that a great victory had been won by the Scottish Mission. But if it was at all, that victory led to the loss of the people's cultural heritage and national identity. Nevertheless, whatever it was, the evangelistic motives behind the establishment of schools and the involvement of the Missions and the church in education in general were clear, that is, to fight African "superstition" and to loosen the hold that the traditional faith had on the people. Thus in Ghana as in many other African countries where the Missions worked, education was closely linked with the church and Christian evangelism. ¹⁵²

As a result of the close association between the school and the church, the content of the curriculum of the schools was heavily influenced by the church's religious and evangelistic considerations and interests. Furthermore, children were taught "good citizenship",

¹⁵⁰*The Basel Mission : Gold Coast, Western Africa: A Retrospect on Fifty Years of Mission Work, 1st January, 1879, PP. 11-12.*

¹⁵¹*The Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland: Sketches of the Fields, No. 8: The Gold Coast, Revised Edition, 1949, Edinburgh, PP. 27-28.*

¹⁵²In Ghana especially among the Akans, both the School and the church are referred to as *Sukuu*(That is the Akan rendering of "School."

respect for authority and humility.¹⁵³ The church itself must be loyal to the state hence messages of greetings and loyalty were sent to the government during Synods. This practice was introduced by the Scottish Mission when they arrived in Ghana to assure the British colonial government of the church's loyalty to the British Crown during the First World War.¹⁵⁴ History and Geography were done in school but they were all about European inventions, discoveries, scientific achievements and exploits in wars of conquests. Other subjects done were Hygiene, Nature Study¹⁵⁵ gardening, art and singing. In the primary stages of the education nothing was studied on African Religion and philosophy. It was not until the Seminary that "African Religion" was taken as part of Comparative Study of Religion, once a week during the second year.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the young adults came out of school ignorant of life around them. Furthermore, European lifestyles such dress, food, musical instruments, songs and hymns¹⁵⁷, weddings and festivals¹⁵⁸ were presented as the normal standards of life by which a scholar's level of education and politeness were measured .

The result of this type of education was that it lifted the scholars from their cultural milieu and made them ashamed of their traditional lifestyle. The irony of the situation, however, was that it failed to ground them firmly in the European way of life. They were, therefore, destabilized in the end. It was not surprising that the Phelps Stokes Commission saw this

¹⁵³Humility here meant accepting orders without question. Children were taught to believe that it was a Christian virtue to accept orders without question. I want to emphasize that this notion had something to do with the culture of Ghanaians. Young people are not to ask questions. They must be obedient at all times and accept whatever adults will say. This teaching by the missionaries, therefore, reinforced this traditional notion.

¹⁵⁴See Chapter Two P. 75 above

¹⁵⁵This essentially was environmental studies.

¹⁵⁶Syllabus of Trinity College, 1948.

¹⁵⁷These were direct translations from either English or German

¹⁵⁸The British King's Birthday was celebrated on 3rd June and the British Empire Day, 24th May, was also celebrated with pomp and pagantry. Both dates were indicated on the church's almanac probably as part of the church's loyalty to the British Crown.

type of education as out of touch with the needs of the people.¹⁵⁹ Commenting on the curriculum of the Seminary the Commission had this to say:

The curriculum is evidently very dogmatic and theological in content. There seems to be little provision for the development of interest in community activities. No physical science is offered and agriculture is presented only in manual labour.¹⁶⁰

The situation at the lower level of the educational ladder was not different. Governor Guggisberg had tried to draw attention to the need to adapt education to the local needs of the people and had said this in the 10th Principle of education thus, " the course in every school should include special reference to health, welfare and industries of the locality." He explained further that:

It is essential to the preservation of nationality of race that all pupils should be kept in close touch with the conditions of the life which they would lead in the future. Their education should so be devised as to enable them on leaving school or even before, to help in improving the conditions in their own particular localities. What every school should aim at is the development of an educated African in touch with his own people and the conditions of their daily life¹⁶¹

This was a far sighted policy but Guggisberg could not achieve his aim before he was transferred from Ghana. Earlier on in the 1850s the Basel Mission was said to have established trade schools¹⁶² in their mission field to train people as joiners, shoe-makers, black/ gold smiths, book binders and lock smiths.¹⁶³ The programme was said to have had tremendous influence on the society.¹⁶⁴ However, it was disrupted when they were deported in 1917. The Scottish Mission did not take over the industrial establishments when they came in to take over the work of the Basel Mission because they did not have

¹⁵⁹Thomas Jesse Jones: *Education in Africa: Report of the Phelps Stokes Commission*, 1922, New York. Summary Recommendations, PP. 141-144.

¹⁶⁰*Ibid*, P. 136

¹⁶¹Sir Gordon Guggisberg: *Legislative Debates, Session 1927-28, 3rd March, 1927* Pp. 217-218

¹⁶²The Basel Mission called them Industrial Establishments.

¹⁶³*The Basel Mission : Gold Coast, Western Africa: A Retrospect on Fifty Years of Mission Work, 1st, January, 1879, P. 13.*

¹⁶⁴*Ibid*

the human and the financial resources to back it up.¹⁶⁵ The educational efforts of the Mission in Ghana, therefore, were mainly geared towards producing literates some of whom became teachers while others became clerical staff. Farming, the mainstay of the country's economy and fishing continued to be in the hands of the aged traditional farmers who relied on old traditional methods of farming to produce food to feed the nation and cash crops for export.

The Asantehene, Sir Osei Agyemang Prempeh II was said to have expressed concern about the type of education provided by Missions in Ghana in 1942 in a message to the Methodist Conference in Kumase. The traditional ruler criticized the content of Mission Education in Ghana in general as being "too bookish" and not aimed at generating wealth for the nation.¹⁶⁶ The comments also served as precursor to the concerns expressed by the All Africa Churches' Conference held in 1963 in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia¹⁶⁷ on Christian Education in Africa.¹⁶⁸ The Conference recognized the importance of education to the economic and social development and called on churches and Missions to organize the content of their educational programmes as to make them relevant to the needs of the people. They advised that in the teaching of Agriculture for instance, Mission schools should try to link their teaching in the classroom to work on the farm.¹⁶⁹ This was what the Conference felt could help make the Mission education relevant to the African society.¹⁷⁰ The fact that the church in Africa talked about the issue meant that it was a problem all over the continent.

¹⁶⁵The Scottish Mission had a technical school in Calabar, at Hope Waddell College.

¹⁶⁶See F. L. Bartels: *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*, Cambridge, 1965, PP. 238- 239.

¹⁶⁷Southern Rhodesia is now known as Zimbabwe.

¹⁶⁸All Africa Churches' Conference: *Education in Africa: Report of a Conference held at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, 29th December, 1962 - 10th January, 1963.*, O.U.P, 1963. PP. 77-91.

¹⁶⁹*Ibid*

¹⁷⁰The Scottish Mission established an Agricultural Station when they opened a Mission Station at Sandema in the Northern part of the country to offer extension services to farmers in the area. It was not part of the school curriculum any way. See Chapter Five P. 209 above.

In a nutshell, therefore, I wish to say that the education provided by the Missions had an evangelistic focus. It succeeded, to a large extent, to make people either members of the church or sympathizers of it. Mission schools produced hard-working, disciplined, honest, independent and "humble" people in their own right. There is no doubt that both the church and the Missions had tremendous influence on the Ghanaian society positively. However, on the wider spectrum Mission education generally did not take cognizance of the culture of the people. It is true some of the major local languages were developed and the bible and some religious books were translated into those languages but this was done mainly for evangelistic reasons. It was to use the languages as an effective vehicle for the transmission of the Christian message. In the end literates were turned out of the church schools but they became social misfits who did not understand their culture and who saw everything around them as bad and in some cases sinful.

Kenneth King mentions that in Kenya people were hostile to "much Mission education" and, therefore, taxed themselves to establish their own schools because they felt that the type of education provided them by the Missions was not sufficient enough and that the type of education only qualified them to work for the white people in Kenya¹⁷¹. It was felt that the education was deliberately being manipulated by the missionaries to serve a colonial purpose. This might not have been the motives of the missionaries but this was what it appeared to be in the eyes of the indigenous social commentators in Kenya.

In Ghana, however, the situation was quite different. There was no rebellion to the education provided by the Missions. In fact, people clamoured for Mission education for their children because the general feeling was that it was of good quality. However, the education provided eventually subverted the Ghanaian culture and also inadvertently weakened the economy in the long run. In the end the well intentioned educational

¹⁷¹Kenneth James King: *Pan Africanism and Education*, Clarendon Press, 1971, P. 24.

programme initiated by the Basel Mission and continued by the Scottish Mission created an economic burden which successive governments have tried over the years to correct.

6.16 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Elizabeth Hewat, writing about the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana had this to say about the achievements of the Mission:

It is in the educational field that Ghana's progress has been specifically remarkable and it is in this sphere that the contribution of the Scottish Missionaries has been distinctive..... in Ghana attention has been mainly concentrated in education in its different aspects. In two respects education in that country has taken a specially interesting form in the closeness of the link between church and school and in the passion for education displayed by the people.¹⁷²

These observations of Hewat aptly describe the achievement of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Almost everybody interviewed in connection with this research paid glowing tribute to the Scottish Mission for its work in education. Whatever could be said against the content of education provided by Missions, it is a fact that the Scottish Mission left their mark on the educational scene of Ghana as a whole. By promoting education, the Scottish Mission was being true to its Reformed roots and nature.

Great attention was paid to the expansion of educational facilities for children and young adults in general but for girls in particular. The Mission placed much premium on the training of qualified teachers as any successful educational programme must have qualified teachers. The Mission also built an effective administration for education which officially

¹⁷²Elizabeth G. K. Hewat: *Vision And Achievement 1796- 1956: A History of the Foreign Missions United in the Church of Scotland* : Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. London, Edinburgh, 1960, P. 246.

involved the District Pastors, Supervisors , Visiting teachers and the General Manager.¹⁷³ This greatly improved professional competence and ultimately led to high academic performance in the schools managed by the church.

Furthermore some of the Scottish missionaries were involved in the planning of the country's education even at the national level. Rev. Wilkie for instance was a member of the Educationists Committee of 1920 appointed by Guggisberg to advise him on plans for education in Ghana. He was also a member of the Board of Education created after Guggisberg had inaugurated the 1925 Education Ordinance. He served on the Phelps Stokes Commission. Mr. Douglas Benzie was also at one time a member of the Committee advising the government on education in the country just to mention a few. Governor Guggisberg paid glowing tribute to the Mission in a letter of thanks addressed to Rev. Wilkie on behalf of the government for the help the Mission had given to him with regard to educational matters. The letter says in part:

my intimate knowledge of the work for Christianity done by the Scottish Mission leads me to attach especial value to its educational efforts. I am frankly anxious lest lack of personnel or financial support should interfere with the great work which the Mission is doing in Africa.¹⁷⁴

This "intimate knowledge" by the governor might have greatly influenced the massive financial and material support that he gave to the Scottish Mission during his tenure of office.

There was the recognition that the church's involvement in the provision of education overtaxed the energies of its agents and negatively affected the church's evangelistic

¹⁷³Elders of the church were involved in the administration in an unofficial capacity.

¹⁷⁴From Guggisberg to Wilkie, 30th May , 1926. See *F. M. C Minutes, June, 1926, P. 48.*

programme. However, Synod thought that it was tactically inexpedient for the church to withdraw from the management of schools because such a move would make education pass into non-christian hands and leave the church with no influence on the children in schools.

By 1957, the church was still deeply involved in the management of schools in the country with the hope that it could " maintain Christian principles in all its schools and lead the pupils and students to Christ Our Lord and Master."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵*Presbyterian Church of Ghana: Minutes of Synod, 1956* , P. 34.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA BECOMES FULLY INDEPENDENT

7.0 TOWARDS INTEGRATION OF THE CHURCH AND THE MISSIONS: 1950.

The establishment by the Scottish Mission, soon after its arrival in Ghana in 1918, of the Synod as the highest court and its executive, the Synod Committee for the P.C.G was an important historical development. This was so because it was the beginning of a process that ultimately led the church into full independence. The appointment of Ghanaians as Moderator and Synod Clerk after the establishment of the Synod allowed indigenous Ghanaian church leaders to participate in the administration and the decision-making process of the church for the first time. However, the appointments did not immediately divest the church in Ghana of missionary control. At best the measure granted the church in Ghana a limited self government which ran alongside missionary control. The Scottish Mission by that token, therefore, continued to exert strong influence on the church's administration and the decision-making process. However, the establishment of the Synod and the Synod Committee and the appointment of Ghanaians as Moderator and Synod Clerk were the first serious attempts to involve the indigenous Ghanaians in the administration of the P.C.G. The measures were, therefore, important landmarks in the development towards total independence of the P.C.G.

The establishment of the Synod in 1918 was followed in 1922 by the creation of five presbyteries in the Scottish Mission Church. By 1926, a definite pattern of the

Presbyterian system of church administration had emerged.¹ It was, therefore, not surprising that when the Synod wanted a name for the church to differentiate it from the Missions, "Presbyterian Church" was ultimately adopted in 1926.² From 1926, a clear distinction could be made of the P.C.G, the Scottish Mission and the Basel Mission.³

In 1929 the Scottish Mission provided the P.C.G with its first constitution, the R.P.P. Another important step in the process towards full independence of the P.C.G was taken in 1930. In that year the Synod Committee was made the legal Trustee of all the property of the church instead of the Scottish Mission Council. The Synod Committee itself was restructured in 1935. Its membership was enlarged to include one presbyter from each of the five presbyteries.⁴ It was clear from all these changes that the Scottish Mission was looking far into the future of a full independent church handling its own affairs.

In 1932, the Synod Committee set up what they termed the General Financial Board with Mr. Ofori a Ghanaian layman as the chairman.⁵ There were six members, three of them were Ghanaians and the other three European missionaries.⁶ Both the chairman and the secretary of the board were Ghanaians. Ghanaians were gradually finding themselves in management positions of the church. The aim of the board was to have a general oversight of the finances of the church.⁷ Similar financial boards were created for the districts as well.

¹See full discussion on this in Chapter Three P. 100 above.

²The naming of the Church has been fully discussed in Chapter Three P. 123 above.

³Note: At this time the Basel Mission had returned to Ghana.

⁴*Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast 1935 P. 9.*

⁵*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1933 P. 8 Min. 14.*

⁶Two of the missionaries were from the Scottish Mission and one from the Basel Mission.

⁷*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1933 P. 9.*

In 1944 the Synod Committee appointed Mr. B.Y. Quarshie, to assist the treasurer of the church⁸ in the office in Accra."⁹ For the first time, a Ghanaian had something directly to do with the control and the disbursement of the church's funds at the highest level of the church's administration.

By 1949, the P.C.G was raising all the money needed to run its internal administration. This is confirmed by the testimony of the F.M.C of the Church of Scotland thus:

It [the Presbyterian Church of Ghana] raises all the money needed for the support of its ministers and other agents and shoulders the expenses of the erection and upkeep of houses for them and its churches and schools.¹⁰

7.1 CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1918-1950: THE MODERATOR AND THE SYNOD CLERK.

Both the Moderator and the Synod Clerk were part-time appointments when they were established in 1918. The Synod Clerk was made a full-time appointment in 1922. The Moderator, however, remained a part-time appointment till 1946 when Rev. S. S. Odonkor was made the first full-time Moderator. When these positions were established the nominations were made by the Synod Committee and confirmed by the Synod. The R.P.P states that:

The Moderator is nominated by the Synod Committee and his appointment must be confirmed by the Synod at its first sitting thereafter. He shall however, exercise all the powers and functions of the Moderator pending the official confirmation of his appointment by the Synod.¹¹

⁸Mr. Quarshie was appointed member of the Synod Committee in 1937 and member of the Financial Board in 1941. He became its Chairman in 1942.

⁹*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast.*

¹⁰F.M.C: *Sketches of the Field*, No. 8, 1949 P. 42.

¹¹*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, R. P. P., 1929 Rule 58 P. 5-6.*

This rule also applied to the appointment of the Synod Clerk.¹² This was the procedure till 1948 when the Presbyters Union of the P.C.G proposed an amendment to Rules 58 and 64 on the appointment of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk. The final amendment which was accepted by the Synod says:

When the post of Moderator becomes vacant the Synod Committee shall nominate from the whole Church three Ministers to the Synod who shall elect one of them by ballot.¹³

The amendment also applied to the appointment of the Synod Clerk. The Synod also restricted the term of office of the Moderator to four years and that of the Synod Clerk to five years. Both officers could seek re-election.¹⁴ Furthermore, Rule 97 of the R.P.P which was altered in 1942 to give the Synod Committee the power to initiate moves to alter a decision of Synod was again amended in 1948 to give that power to an emergency Synod instead of the Synod Committee. The 1948 amendment reads thus:

Whenever it becomes necessary to alter the decision of the Synod an emergency Synod should be convened to discuss the necessary alteration instead of the Synod Committee only.¹⁵

The quorum of the emergency Synod was made of 2 ministers, 2 catechists, 2 presbyters, one missionary, one pensioned minister from each presbytery in addition to the normal Synod Committee. The decision of the emergency Synod was final.¹⁶

What was emerging by 1948 was the development of a strong lay voice and participation in the administration of the church. Lay people had been appointed to various boards and committees of the church.

¹²*Ibid*, Rule 64. P. 6.

¹³*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1948 P. 5-6.*

¹⁴*Ibid*

¹⁵*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1948 Minute 6 P. 7.*

¹⁶*Ibid.*

7.1.1 THE PRESBYTERY.

The creation of presbyteries by the Scottish Mission was a very important development of the P.C.G. However, at the early stages of their creation, the presbyteries were not granted any executive powers. The presbyteries as created in 1922, therefore, were nothing more than simple administrative segments of the church where once in two years, all agents and presbyters met for fellowship and shared ideas of common interest in a presbytery. Issues discussed and decisions taken during such meetings did not have any constitutional significance. Nevertheless, such discussions and decisions which were always reported to the Synod Clerk helped the Synod Committee and the Scottish Mission Council to get a fair idea of developments in the presbyteries. Executive power was concentrated in the hands of the Scottish Mission Council Secretary resident in Osu. Below is a brief summary of the functions of the presbyteries as defined by the R.P.P of 1929:

The Presbyteries were formed by Synod to give Catechists and Presbyters an opportunity of meeting together with the Ministers in united district groups to consider matters that concern the welfare of the church. The purpose was to promote the sense of corporate life and responsibility. The Presbyteries should seek mainly through their meetings to secure more Christian activity in all the congregations within their bounds. By united prayer and by conference they should seek the will of God andadvance His Kingdom. ¹⁷

From the above quotation it can be deduced that the main task given to the presbyteries was evangelism which is or at least should be the task of every church of Christ any way. In doing all these however, the presbyteries did not have power of legislation or impose sanctions on any individual or congregation. It was the Synod Committee which had that power.

¹⁷R.P.P 1929 Edition P. 4-5

Furthermore, the presbyteries did not have power to hold their own funds. A general fund known as the "Synod and Presbytery Fund" was established to support the work of Synod and the presbyteries but this was controlled by the Synod Clerk at the central administration. All expenses of the presbyteries were rendered to the Synod Clerk who had power to reject any statement of accounts from any presbytery and to impose sanctions that he thought appropriate¹⁸ for what he felt were "excessive charges" presented by a presbytery for payment.¹⁹ The presbyteries did not have permanent officers. A chairman and a clerk were elected at the beginning of each meeting of the presbyteries which met biennially.

7.2 EDUCATION

We have already noted that the greatest achievement of the Scottish Mission in Ghana was in the field of education.²⁰ By 1950 the Scottish Mission had consolidated the policy²¹ and administrative set up of educational work of the P.C.G and had established a firm base for the church's educational expansion and development. Girls' education in particular had been given a big boost by the Mission with the establishment of girls' institutions at Aburi and at Odumase-Krobo.²²

In 1942 Synod appointed an Education Committee of 15 members to advise on education in the church.²³ This was the beginning of the establishment of the church's education department. Before this time the Scottish Mission Secretary acted as the general manager

¹⁸These sanctions were not defined, therefore, the Synod Clerk used his discretion.

¹⁹*Ibid* P. 4-5

²⁰See Chapter Six above for full discussion on Education under the Scottish Mission.

²¹The main policy of the Scottish Mission on education was that schools and educational institutions must be bases for Christian Education and that the Christian faith should inform all aspects of school life.

²²See Chapter Six P. 229 & 238 above.

²³*Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast 1942 P. 8 Min. 11/4*

of all schools controlled by the Presbyterian Church. The statistics of the Presbyterian Church in 1950 show that the church managed 582 primary schools with 60,434 pupils out of whom 17,145 were girls and 43, 289 were boys. There were also 2,032 teachers.²⁴ When the Scottish Mission took over the work of the Basel Mission in 1918, there were 179 Schools 10,295 pupils²⁵ and 316 teachers.²⁶

7.3.1 THE BIRTH OF THE PRESBYTERIAN YOUTH GUILD

Development of youth work in the P.C.G took a sharp turn for the better with the arrival in Ghana by Mr. A. M. Atkinson an accountant of the Scottish Mission early in 1937.²⁷ Mr. Atkinson is described by a Scottish paper as " the man who somehow always finds himself involved in pioneering work."²⁸ Mr. Atkinson's work with the Scottish Mission took him to many parts of the country where the P.C.G had been established. He took it upon himself to organize the youth of the church into a homogenous group so that they could be shepherded as Christian youth.²⁹ It was a courageous initiative on the part of Atkinson since in the Ghanaian tradition children and youth had no proper recognition. This traditional attitude towards youth was also reflected in the church.³⁰ For Atkinson to decide to organize the youth at this time, therefore, was a bold action. I suspect strongly that his position as a missionary must have helped him a great deal to achieve his aim.

²⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports for 1950, P. 29.*

²⁵The number of girls was not indicated but there was no doubt that it was very small at this time.

²⁶*The Scottish Mission, Gold Coast Colony, Synod Minutes 1918, P. 30, Summary of Statistics for 1918.*

²⁷*Minutes of Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 1937, P. 4 Min. 6.*

²⁸See *PEOPLE: Scottish Magazine*, November, 1958 Edition. Front Page.

²⁹Mr. Atkinson was believed to have started the first Youth Fellowship of the Church of Scotland. Ref. *PEOPLE* November, 1958.

³⁰It is so even today and I imagine it was much more difficult in those days i.e in the 1930s.

In the cause of his official assignment in Odumase-Krobo he organized the first Presbyterian Youth Guild in 1937. By June, 1938 he had opened 8 branches at Odumase, Adabraka, Accra, Nsawam, Suhum, Koforidua, Christiansborg and Kukurantumi³¹ and in the same year the Guild received Synod's recognition. In 1939 a motto **To know His Will and to do it** was adopted for the Guild. In the same year the district pastor of Christiansborg Rev. H. N. Annan had this to say about the Guild:

This Guild having as its aim the promotion of the spiritual and social welfare of the young people of our Church is really doing good workDuring the past year the Guild held regular meetings and occasional youth services; they sent sets of members monthly to help in conducting the children's service and they on several occasions gifts to charity..... On the whole the activities of the Guild during the year were satisfactory and Mr. A.M Atkinson, the organizer is to be congratulated on his kind efforts.³²

The Guild soon became popular with the young people in the church and, therefore, spread to many congregations. Mr. Atkinson resigned from the service of the Scottish Mission to take an appointment as senior welfare officer in the colonial government in Ghana on 1st September, 1943³³ but the group continued to grow. By 1950 there were about 47 registered branches in the P.C.G³⁴ and was helping to mobilize the youth for effective participation in the life and work of the church. The problem with the Guild, however, was that Mr. Atkinson did not define the youth constituency clearly. Perhaps in the initial stages the aim was to get people to join the group and, therefore, the issue of who qualified to be described as a youth was not addressed. By 1957, therefore, the group had been hijacked by men and women of thirty-five years of age and above.³⁵

³¹See Brochure :50 Years of Young People's Guild, 1938- 1988, P. 18

³²Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports and Accounts for 1939 P. 15.

³³Minutes of the F. M. C, 18th October, 1943, Min. 7027.

³⁴ Brochure: 50 years of Young People's Guild 1938-1988, P 56.

³⁵It was in 1983 that Synod dealt with the situation by promulgating the church's "Youth Policy" in which the constituency was well defined. Now no one above the age of 30 could be described as youth in the church.

Nevertheless Mr. Atkinson is still fondly remembered in the P.C.G as the one who pioneered effective youth work co-ordination in the church and thereby helped the youth to get recognition as a necessary part of the church.

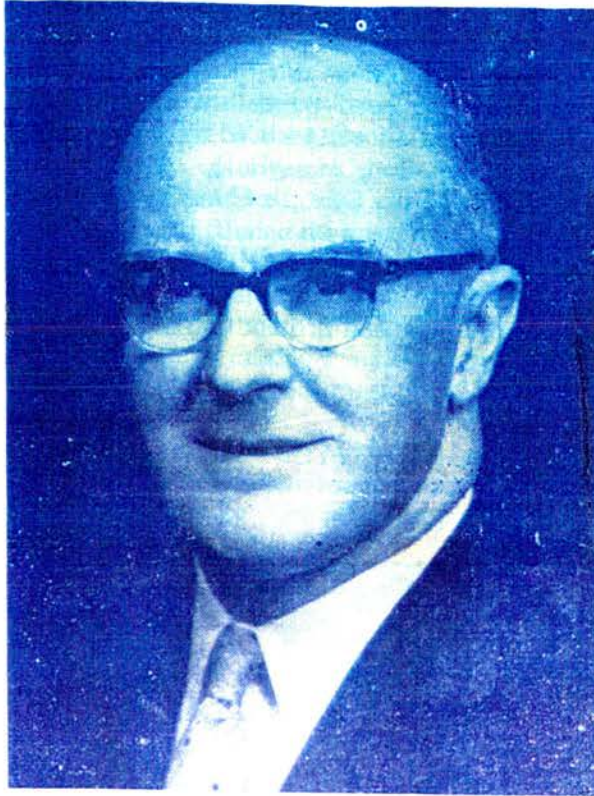


Fig. 36: Mr. A. M. Atkinson: Founder of the Presbyterian Youth Guild.

7.3.2. THE YOUTH COMMITTEE

We hear of a Youth Committee in the P.C.G for the first time in 1933 when the Synod Clerk Rev. D. E. Akwa reported of its formation " to work among young men and women in the Church."³⁶ The details of the work of the Youth Committee were, however, not defined by the Synod Clerk. Not much was heard of this committee's

³⁶*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast : Reports for 1933 : The Synod Clerk's Message.*

activities and according to Rev. A. L. Kwansa, one time Synod Clerk of the P.C.G.³⁷ there was no effective organization of the youth in the church at this time that he was aware of. The only activity of this youth committee we hear of are reports that members had regular meetings. In 1939, however, an issue regarding the editing of some of the hymns of the church was referred to the Youth Committee which at this time had Mr. F. D. Harker, a Scottish missionary as the secretary.³⁸ This gives a faint hint of the use to which the youth committee was put by the Synod. The committee was probably used to do any work that was available thus giving the impression that the duties of the committee were misplaced. Nevertheless, the appointment of a Youth Committee was a testimony of the church's recognition of the importance of work among the youth in the church.

7.4 WOMEN'S WORK

We have already noted that work among women in the P.C.G was initiated by wives of missionaries during the Basel Mission era. The aim was to help the women in the church, who were mostly without formal education, to know how to bake bread and make cakes, do knitting and sewing, child care, learn how to sing hymns and do bible study.³⁹ Thus the work among women in the church remained an individual interest group till 1942 when Synod decided to set up what it termed **Women's Interests Committee** to co-ordinate the work among women.⁴⁰ The idea was said to have been mooted by the Moderator, Rt Rev. S. S. Odonkor on his return from a European tour where he found that women were very much involved in the life and work of the church there.⁴¹ The committee was constituted and inaugurated on the 19th February 1943. At the time of the inauguration,

³⁷Rev. Kwansa was the Synod Clerk from 1955 to 1969

³⁸*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of the Synod 1939 Min. 19/10.*

³⁹See discussion in Chapter One P. 43 above.

⁴⁰*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod 1942 Min. 11/4b*

⁴¹He visited Basel and Edinburgh.

the name of the committee was changed to **The Committee on the Development of Work among Women and Girls.**⁴² The Moderator was the Convener and Miss C.P. Moir, a Scottish missionary, was the first secretary. In September, 1944 white uniform was adopted for the women's group.⁴³ In March 1949 the name of the committee was again changed to **Women's Class Central Committee.** By 1950 the church had in place a machinery for the co-ordination of the work of women in the church. Mrs. Agnes Malloch wife of the principal of the P.T.C at Akropong Rev Malloch, a Scottish missionary took over as Secretary till her sudden death in 1951. Mrs. E. M. Elder, wife of the secretary of the Scottish Mission took over as the Secretary of the committee after the death of Mrs. Malloch and the women's group in the church had been described as "the backbone of the congregations"⁴⁴ Mrs. Elder held the position till 1955. Mrs. Joan Martin (Nee Murdoch) also a Scottish missionary took over as secretary in 1956 till 1962. According to the statistics of the church for 1950, there were 180 registered women's class groups with 6,000 members.⁴⁵ Work among women in the P.C.G was co-ordinated by women missionaries sent in by the Church of Scotland and the Basel Mission on request until 1962 when a Ghanaian Mrs. R. M. Addo was appointed secretary for women's work in the church.⁴⁶ The missionaries were, however, ably supported by Ghanaian women in the presbyteries.

⁴²*Presbyterian Women's Fellowship: 25th Anniversary of the Centralization of Women's Work in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1943-1968: A Historical Sketch*, Presbyterian Press, Accra. P. 3

⁴³The white uniform was adopted because the price of the material was low and easily available.

⁴⁴*Summary of Pastors Reports 1941- 1948* P. 20.

⁴⁵*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports for 1950* P. 21.

⁴⁶Mrs. Addo had a year's training at St. Colm's in Edinburgh in 1956 sponsored by the Church of Scotland. She was the first Ghanaian to hold that position.



Fig. 37: Miss. C. P. Moir



Fig. 38: Mrs. A. Malloch



Fig. 39: Mrs. J. Martin

7.5 OTHER COMMITTEES.

Other committees were also set up by Synod to advise on various aspects of the church's life. These included the Worship Committee, the Property Committee, the Seminary Board and the Literature Committee.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the Pastors, Teachers and Presbyters of the Church had been organized into unions and Conferences such as the Pastors Conference, Presbyterian Teachers' Union and Presbyters Union. Though these groups did not have any constitutional backing, they had considerable influence in the church.⁴⁸

One area that was left out in this build up towards full independence of the P.C.G was men's work. No committee was set up to supervise and co-ordinate work among men in the church along the same lines as women's work was being developed. It is important to

⁴⁷The Literature Committee was a joint Committee with the Ewe Presbyterian Church because it was to supervise the printing of the Christian Way/ Messenger, a paper that belonged to the two Churches.

⁴⁸ It would be recalled that it was the Presbyters' Union that moved the amendment which changed the mode of the election of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk.

note that all these committees set up by the Synod did not have any executive power. They were all advisory committees.⁴⁹

I have so far summarized the development of the various aspects of the church's life from 1918 to 1950. By 1949 the Synod, the Synod Committee and the committees and boards that had been set up to oversee various aspects of the church's life both at the national and the Presbyterian levels were, from all indications, functioning effectively. At this point the Scottish Mission realized that it was time to transfer administrative power to the indigenous leaders of the P.C.G.

7.6 THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GHANA

The political situation in Ghana in the 1940s, however, also contributed to the process towards full independence of the church. The nationalist activities led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah ushered in anti-British colonial sentiments. This anti-British colonial sentiments was heightened by an incident which took place on 28th February 1948. On this day ex-servicemen organized a march to the castle to present a petition to Governor Creasy calling on the British colonial administration to give them a better deal.⁵⁰ As they got near the castle a British police officer, Superintendent Imry, fired at the demonstrators and killed two instantly.⁵¹ This incident further strengthened the resolve of the U.G.C.C., the nationalist movement of which Dr. Nkrumah was the secretary, to press the British for political independence for the country. It is to be mentioned here that the success of Ghandi's nationalist movement in achieving independence for India in 1947 was also an

⁴⁹*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod, 1942 P. 8 Min. 11/5*

⁵⁰They had fought in the Second World War and they felt they were being poorly treated by the British Colonial administration.

⁵¹They were Sgt. Adjetej and Cpl. Attipoe. They are remembered every year in Ghana.

added boost to the efforts of the nationalist movement in Ghana. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. Nkrumah was a good friend of the Indian Prime Minister J. Nehru later. From 1950, therefore, the British government in London started to make plans to grant political independence to the country. These political changes taking place in the country had tremendous implications for the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Indeed Rev. G. S. Gunn, Convener of the F.M.C of the Church of Scotland foresaw these implications of these political development for the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana and in his message to Synod in 1948 he alluded to what might possibly happen in future thus:

When we look to the future we cannot but be conscious of changes and anxieties on a large scale..... Recent events in your own country serve as an immediate illustration.....⁵²

By "recent events" Gunn was referring to the intense nationalist activities and the pressure being exerted on the British to grant political independence to Ghana. The position of the Church of Scotland was later made clearer by the Policy Committee of the church as regards missionary work in West Africa in these words:

The rapidity of change in West Africa should be a warning that Missions cannot rely much longer on the privileged position they have held with the support of the Colonial Office. They have to play their part under conditions increasingly controlled by an African Government.....⁵³

The possible loss of privileged position and the uncertainty about how an African government in an independent African country might relate with the Mission might have influenced the action of the Scottish Mission. Furthermore, it is possible that the Scottish Mission was conscious of the fact that they were brought to Ghana by the British and, therefore, they probably thought that there was no point in staying in Ghana if the British

⁵²*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1948 P. 15, Min. 11.*

⁵³*Minutes of the F.M.C. of the Church of Scotland, 19th February, 1952, Min. 1312.*

Crown was moving out. It is, therefore, plausible to argue that the political events in Ghana in the 1940s hastened the pace for the independence of the P.C.G.

7.7 NEW STRUCTURES FOR FULL INDEPENDENCE.

We have noted that by 1949 all the administrative structures put in place by the Synod were working according to the mandates given them. The problem, however, was that these structures were established to run alongside a centralized missionary control. In April, 1949, therefore, the Synod Committee asked for a memorandum to be prepared proposing the necessary administrative changes to be made in the existing structure to enable the church to take on the new status as a full independent church. The memorandum was to be prepared by two senior ministers of the church, Rev. P. C. Richter and Rev. E. M. Dodu, a Presbyterian, Mr. H. A. Bekoe and the Acting Secretary of the Scottish Mission, Rev. J. Noel Smith.

The memorandum proposed the re-constitution of all the existing committees including the Synod Committee and the redefinition of their roles so that they could make a more purposeful contribution to the administration of the church. It also proposed the setting up of some new committees such as Church and Ministry and the Foreign Mission Committees and a complete overhaul of the presbytery which, as we have noted, until now had only been a mere administrative area of the church" where opinions could be offered but not the slightest executive power."⁵⁴

⁵⁴Memorandum Drawn up by Revs. P. C. Richter, J. N. Smith, E. M. Dodu and Mr. H. A. Bekoe on Inter-Departmental Committees in the Church, 1949. (By Courtesy of Rev. C. F. Paton former missionary in Ghana, 1946-1972.)

The memorandum was presented to the Synod Committee in April, 1949. The Synod Committee decided to allow all the presbyteries to discuss it and send their views to the Synod Committee which would then prepare the final draft proposals for Synod to be held early in 1950.

7.8 THE 1950 SYNOD-CHRISTIANSBORG.

Reports from the presbyteries on the memorandum were discussed by the Synod Committee in November 1949 and the final draft proposals were presented to the Synod of the church which was held at Christiansborg in January 1950. It was at that Synod that fundamental decisions were taken to restructure the whole administrative system of the church in readiness for full independence. The venue of the Synod is very significant because that was where the first Basel missionaries landed in 1828 and it was at the same venue that official missionary control of the church came to an end.⁵⁵

After carefully considering the draft proposals submitted by the Synod Committee, Synod decided to reconstitute the Synod Committee itself, the Presbyteries, the Financial Board and the Education, Youth, Literature, and Women's Committees. Synod further decided to set up the Church Extension Committee to supervise and direct evangelism and church growth. Synod also decided that from 1950, both Synod and the presbyteries would meet annually instead of biennially as it used to be. The Synod would meet in August-September and the presbyteries, in March- April.

⁵⁵It is very possible that it was deliberately planned because the Synod of 1948 decided that the 1950 Synod would be held at Nsaba. The reasons for change are not clear but it appears the Church wanted to meet at Christiansborg because of its place in the history of the Church.

The representation of the Missions on the Synod Committee was also changed. Before 1950 there were two representatives from each of the Basel and the Scottish Missions on the Synod Committee.⁵⁶ This was reduced to one from each Mission.⁵⁷ This measure did not make any substantial difference, in practical terms, in the influence of the Missions on the Synod Committee because it was the secretaries of the Mission Councils who served on the Synod Committee.⁵⁸ However, the fact that the number was reduced at all was a sign that direct missionary control was coming to an end. The General Manager of Presbyterian Schools and the Evangelist Minister were also made members of the Synod Committee.

With regard to the other committees they all now had representations from all the presbyteries and were regarded as departments of the church with a constitutional backing. Their duties were well defined and, therefore, given clear objectives. Furthermore, they were vested with executive power instead of the mere advisory role they used to play before 1950. From this time all the committees presented annual reports on their work to Synod. The committees also had Ghanaians as chairpersons and, with the exception of the committee on Women's work, all of them had Ghanaians as secretaries.

Still conspicuously absent in the whole restructuring of the administrative machinery of the church was a committee on Men's and Children's work in the church. The Children's work was fused with the Youth work and catered for by the Youth Committee. Men's work, however, was not provided for under the new administrative arrangement though Men had been organized in the church by the Evangelist Minister, Rev. E. V. Asihene

⁵⁶They were the Chairman and the Secretary of the Council of each of the Missions.

⁵⁷The Mission representation on the Synod Committee was abolished in 1960

⁵⁸The Secretaries were in effect the leaders of the Mission in Ghana. They had considerable power. However, the nature and function of the Scottish Mission Council changed in due course. It will be discussed later in this Chapter.

since 1943 for Bible Study and fellowship.⁵⁹ Though there was no committee at the national level to supervise and co-ordinate the work among men in the church men's groups continued to be active in some congregations of the church such as Nsawam by 1955⁶⁰. By the early 1960s, however, nothing was left of the group.



Fig. 40: The Men's Fellowship of the Nsawam Presbyterian Church, 1955

The presbyteries also underwent substantial structural change. They were transformed from being mere forums where pastors, presbyters, catechists and evangelists met to share fellowship and exchange opinions into dynamic executive instruments of the church. They now had Presbyterial committees which functioned along the lines of the Synod

⁵⁹Information provided by Rev. K. A. Akyeampong, Secretary Men's Work Central Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Accra, 3rd June, 1994.

⁶⁰See *Kristofo Senkekafo* (the Twi Version of the "Christian Messenger") September, 1955 issue.

Committee in the presbyteries. They now had permanent Presbyterial officers instead of the hitherto *ad hoc* way in which officers were appointed for a particular session of the presbytery only. The officers were the chairman, the clerk and the treasurer who were elected by the presbyteries on a two-year term. Furthermore, the presbyteries now had their own funds controlled and disbursed according to the needs of the presbyteries by the Presbyterial treasurers. The Presbyterial treasurer was responsible to the Presbyterial committee. The treasurer further had power to organize fund-raising to augment the finances of the presbytery.

On the whole, therefore, the 1950 Synod could justifiably be described as **Independence Synod**. It was at the Synod that the constitution of the church was revised to strengthen the administrative organs of the church to usher in the full independence of the church. The revised constitution came into effect on 1st June 1950. With the coming into effect of the constitution the church and the Missions were integrated. The P.C.G ceased to be a mission field and, thereby, began a new phase of life as a fully independent church from then on. The missionaries then became fraternal workers in Ghana while maintaining their membership of their respective churches in Scotland, Switzerland and Germany.⁶¹ The Church of Scotland and the Basel Mission became partners after 1950. The independence of the P.C.G was achieved in 1950 just before the country itself gained limited self government in 1951 in preparation for full independence which eventually happened in 1957.

⁶¹In 1959 however, the missionaries were made to transfer their ministries to the P.C.G, according to Rev. C.F. Paton.

7.9 THE REACTION OF THE F.M.C TO THE CHANGES IN GHANA.

In view of the changes that were taking place in Ghana both on the political front and in the church, the F.M.C appointed a special committee to draw a new policy for the missionary work in Ghana and other mission fields.⁶² The committee observed that:

The integration of Church and Mission meant that the younger church had become a responsible partner to be consulted in all decisions and its resources in personnel and experience now more clearly defined and limited the direction and scope of missionary activity. F.M.C had to ask of every undertaking how far it could enlist the interest and increase the vigour of the church on the field and how much that could now and in future make itself responsible for a significant share in the undertaking.⁶³

In other words the Policy Committee was recommending that missionary support to the P.C.G after the integration should be limited to areas where the church did not have qualified personnel to handle. Thus the Africanization of personnel was being called for as much as possible.

In Ghana itself the Scottish Mission Council on its part was also re-organizing itself to meet the changes that were taking place in the Presbyterian Church. The Council decided to draw a new constitution for the Scottish Mission Council to reflect the new role that they had to play in the life of the P.C.G after 1950.⁶⁴ They now had to work as equal partners and as directed by the indigenous leadership of the church. The Mission also handed over all institutions which were being controlled by the Mission before 1950, to the church and boards of management had been appointed by the church to manage them.⁶⁵

⁶²*Minutes of the F.M.C, 21st February, 1950, Min. 323.*

⁶³*Minute of F.M.C 21st February, 1950 Min. 522.*

⁶⁴*Minutes of the F.M.C 20th February, 1951. More on the constitution later in the chapter.*

⁶⁵Details of the handing over have been given in Chapter Six. See P. 242 above.

7.10 THE NEW CONSTITUTION: THE SCOTTISH MISSION COUNCIL.

In the face of the changes that had taken place in the P.C.G since 1950 the functions of the Scottish Mission Council changed accordingly. The Scottish Mission Council did not have any executive functions anymore. At its meeting held on 12th-15th, January 1952 therefore, the Council worked out a new constitution to reflect the changed role of the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Highlights of the constitution which are crucial to this discussion concern the re-designation of the Council and the changes in its business. The name of the Council was changed to the **Gold Coast Scottish Missionaries' Committee**.⁶⁶ The main business would be:

- a. to deal with questions concerning the relations of missionaries to F.M.C. (eg. Conditions of service, allowances and furlough)
- b. to deal with the budget and accounts of the Scottish Mission and with its property
- c. to hear from missionaries reports on their work and to interpret these to the F.M.C.⁶⁷

An interesting but very important caveat was added to the main constitution thus:

It shall not be the business of the Committee to come to decision on questions that are the affair of the Courts of the local churches and of the Boards of Management of the institutions⁶⁸

The content of this new constitution of the Missionaries' Committee illustrates the non-executive role the Scottish Mission was playing at this time in the church's life. The Committee would deal mainly with issues affecting the welfare of the missionaries. Furthermore, it would not decide on issues that belonged to the courts of the church. Hitherto, the Mission Council had absolute control over the administration of the church. It even had a veto over decisions of Synod.⁶⁹ Therefore, for the Mission now to

⁶⁶*Minutes of the F.M.C Min. 1484, 15th April 1952.*

⁶⁷*Ibid May 1951-April, 1952 Appendix II.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*

⁶⁹See full discussion on the Veto Power in Chapter three P. 106 above. Also *Synod Minutes 1920, P. 21-22.*

decide not to get involved with issues that belonged to the courts of the church showed the extent of the changes that had taken place. Another interesting aspect of the constitution of the Scottish Missionaries' Committee was the fact that the Scottish Mission, for the first time, was prepared to have representatives from the P.C.G on its Executive Sub-Committee. This was also a big shift from their original position not to allow a representation from the Church on the Scottish Mission Council.⁷⁰ However, it could be of benefit to the Scottish Mission. Now that it had lost the executive role in the church a representative from the church would, in all probability, inform the Missionaries' Committee of developments in the church.

7.11. THE SYNOD COMMITTEE EXECUTIVE.

In the early stages of the changes that had taken place in the church the Synod Committee found it necessary to re-organize itself in order to set up an executive body of the Committee to take charge of the day to day running of the church. In 1951, therefore, Synod Committee informed Synod of its decision to have an executive and called on Synod to approve it. The Synod Committee Executive would be based at the head office in Accra. It was to be made up of , the Moderator, the Synod Clerk , the Deputy Synod Clerk, the Secretary, Basel Mission and the Secretary, Scottish Mission.⁷¹

Two reasons might have forced the Synod Committee to take that decision. Firstly, hitherto, though the Synod Committee met periodically to deliberate on issues affecting the administration of the church, the day to day administrative decisions were taken by the

⁷⁰See *Synod Minutes of 1920* P. 22, Min. 16. The Church was then called "the Scottish Mission."

⁷¹*Ibid*, P. 18 Min. 23.

Secretary of the Scottish Mission.⁷² It is possible they felt that with the integration it would be necessary to have a small committee of both the indigenous leaders of the church and the missionaries to take collective decisions on issues that needed to be addressed immediately. Secondly, the reconstituted Synod Committee now had a wider representation from all the presbyteries. It was, therefore, impossible to assemble a full house anytime there was the need to take a decision on an aspect of the church's life. Fortunately, at this time in 1951, the P.C.G had completed its national headquarters in Accra where all the national officers had their offices. It was, therefore, easier for the officers forming the membership to meet at short notice and at very little or no cost, in financial terms, to the church to take decisions on behalf of the Synod Committee. It needs to be mentioned, however, that the Synod Committee Executive idea, critically assessed, provided the Secretaries of the Missions a leverage to continue to exert strong influence on the church even after independence.

Synod did not reject the idea but considered it as an internal affair for the Synod Committee in which Synod did not want to interfere.⁷³ The Synod Committee Executive was, therefore, established and though it did not have any constitutional status, it played an important role in the church's administration.⁷⁴

7.12 THE FINAL TRANSFER

With the adoption of the new constitution for the P.C.G in 1950 the Scottish Mission's direct participation in the administration of the church officially came to an end. This

⁷²Even after the return of the Basel Mission the Secretary of the Scottish Mission was seen and regarded by the Church and by the Colonial government in Ghana as the leader of the Presbyterian Church.

⁷³*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of the Synod, 1951 P. 18, Min. 23.*

⁷⁴See The 5th edition of the R.P.P, 1963, P. 19-20. It received constitutional status in the 1960s.

culminated in the dissolution of the Scottish Mission Council as we have already noted. There was, however, one key position still in the hands of the Scottish Mission Secretary. He was still the treasurer of the P.C.G. In that respect the Secretary, Rev. D.S Elder was still very important in the administration but not because he was the Scottish Mission Secretary, though that could not be ruled out completely, but because he was the treasurer of the P.C.G. At the end of 1952, however, Rev. Elder handed over the treasurership to a Ghanaian, Mr. C. D. K. Lokko, who thus became the first Ghanaian treasurer of the church.⁷⁵ This hand-over signaled the end of direct participation in the administration of the church by the Scottish Mission. Commenting on this event Rev. Elder had this to say:

The Mission's [Scottish] service of direct administration in the church offices has come to a close with the transference at the end of the year [1952] from the Secretary of the burden of the Treasurership of the church to the capable shoulders of Mr.C.D.K. Lokko. The Missionaries however hope that through the committees and the church Courts...they will be able to continue to serve the church and lend a hand with burdens and responsibilities that still lie on the shoulders of the church leaders. ⁷⁶

Indeed, direct administration had officially come to an end but the Scottish Mission was still around in Ghana and had some influence.⁷⁷ At least they were still justifiably seen as the people who sacrificed everything to come to the aid of the P.C.G in time of need and guided it to its full independence. For this the church was very grateful, but whatever influence the Mission now had, had to be tactfully exerted from advisory perspective. The Church continued to have cordial relationships with the Missions and respected their counsel .

⁷⁵Mr. Lokko was the Deputy Treasurer.

⁷⁶*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports and Accounts, 1952 P. 4* : Report of the Scottish Mission Secretary: Rev. D. S Elder.

⁷⁷So was the Basel Mission also.

From this time onwards the Church of Scotland started to scale down the number of missionary personnel in Ghana. For instance there were no new missionaries from the Church of Scotland in 1952. After that the missionaries who retired from service in Ghana were either not replaced or replaced only on official request from the P.C.G. The areas that the Scottish Mission firmly controlled and for which they always appointed personnel from Scotland were the Book Depot and the Printing Press.⁷⁸ Apart from that the few Scottish missionaries around were found only in educational institutions.

7.13 INTEGRATION: THE BASEL AND THE SCOTTISH PERSPECTIVES:

After the integration there arose the problem of interpreting the process by the Missions because it had a lot to do with the way the Missions related to the P.C.G. Both the Basel and the Scottish Missions looked at the process from different perspectives which in essence were not diametrically opposed to each other but the way the Missions acted made it appear so. While the Basel Mission understood the integration to mean complete hand over to the church in Ghana, the Scottish Mission on the other hand understood it to mean partnership with the church in which all the partners were seen as equal. Both were right to a large extent in the way they understood the integration but the extent to which it influenced their attitude to the church in Ghana was what brought a slight friction

In 1952 the Basel and the Scottish Missions had a meeting at Akropong most probably to iron out their differences and to develop a common approach to the issue of the integration that had taken place in the church in Ghana. It became clear at the meeting that they could not agree on common means of approach to the issue. The Basel Mission held on to its view of immediate and complete hand over to the church as much as

⁷⁸This will be explained later in this Chapter.

possible. Therefore, they immediately set processes in motion to hand over the Gyamang Mission field which they had created on their return to Ghana to the church. They also decided to hand over the Basel Mission Book Depot in Kumase to the Church pending the completion of a new building for the Book Depot. This building was dedicated on 18th December, 1953⁷⁹. Arrangements were also made for the Basel Mission Home Committee to deal directly with the P.C.G. With the consent of the Church however, the Basel Mission continued to participate in the management of the Agogo, Bechem, Dormaa Ahenkro and Salaga hospitals which were specialized areas for which missionary assistance continued to be needed. In a memorandum to the Synod of the P.C.G to announce the intention to hand over the book depot the Basel Mission stressed that for them " integration as outlined at last year's Synod⁸⁰ means that the Missions have been merged into the Presbyterian Church and ceased to exist as separate bodies. In consequence we propose to hand over the Basel Mission Book Depot to the Presbyterian Church." ⁸¹

The Scottish Mission on the other hand differed slightly in terms of approach from the Basel Mission. The F.M.C continued to deal with the P.C.G through the Secretary of the Scottish Mission as matter of policy. The Scottish Mission was also not prepared to hand over the Scottish Mission Book Depot and the Scottish Mission Press immediately to the church in Ghana. Instead what they decided to do was to set up a Book Depot Trust in which the Scottish Mission, the P.C.G, the Ewe Presbyterian Church and the Lutheran Mission from America⁸² would participate as equal partners. The Scottish Mission proposed the setting up of the Trust because according to them, they understood the

⁷⁹The date marked the 125th Anniversary of the arrival of the first Basel Missionaries at Christiansborg on 18th December, 1828.

⁸⁰This was referring to the 1950 Synod in the real sense.

⁸¹*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1952, P. 11.*

⁸²The Lutheran Church in America had at this time forged a relationship with the Ewe Presbyterian Church.

policy of integration of the church and the Missions " to mean a partnership between Churches and Missions in which the church partners assume step by step fuller responsibility."⁸³ Furthermore, the Scottish Mission wanted to set up the Trust and participate in the running of the Book Depot in order to recover " an outstanding loan of capital from the Church of Scotland."⁸⁴ The Scottish Mission, however, stated categorically that it:

does not want to take profits out of the Gold Coast from the Book Depot. Its only financial aim in continuing to run the Book Depot is to repay the money it had borrowed in Scotland for the running of the Book Depot. Its bigger aim is to run the Book Depot for the Glory of God and in the service of the Gospel in the Gold Coast.⁸⁵

The Basel Mission dismissed the idea of the Book Depot Trust because in their view, " the idea of a Book Trust does not completely agree with the principle of integration"⁸⁶ The reason the Basel Mission gave for their position was that " in the Trust two churches and three Missions form an association, each party still safeguarding its own interest."⁸⁷ Though there was no reason as far as the records of the P.C.G are concerned, to doubt the sincerity of the Scottish Mission, the church asserted its newly gained independence and refused to participate in the Trust. The church, however, decided to accept the offer from the Basel Mission and to proceed with that as a separate entity from the Book Depot Trust of the Scottish Mission. The Scottish Mission on its part, informed Synod that they were going ahead with the Trust with the Ewe Presbyterian Church and the American Mission adding that " its offer to the Church would remain open."⁸⁸ There is no record that the offer was ever accepted by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. In 1955, however,

⁸³*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast : Minutes of Synod 1952 P. 12-13 Min. 12/3*

⁸⁴*Ibid* P. 12.

⁸⁵*Ibid* P. 13.

⁸⁶*Ibid* P. 11

⁸⁷*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod 1952 P. 11.*

⁸⁸*Ibid*

the Scottish Mission revised its position to set up a Trust and instead proposed to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church the establishment of a "Limited Liability Association" which, according to the Mission, would be controlled by both the P.C.G and the Evangelical Presbyterian Church. This development was an indication that the Book Depot Trust idea did not succeed. But again the P.C.G was not enthusiastic about it. The idea was referred to the presbyteries for further discussion. However, the issue was not taken up again till 1958 when at a meeting held at Manya Kpogunor near Odumase Krobo the two churches decided to share the assets of the Scottish Mission Book Depot and the Press. The Book Depot was, therefore, handed over formally with effect from 1st April 1958⁸⁹ to both the P.C.G and the E.P.C.⁹⁰ The Scottish Mission Printing Press went to the P.C.G. A portion of the Reserve Fund held in Edinburgh which amounted to £G117,180 and a portion of the Scottish Mission Religious Literature Fund amounting to £G2,497 were also handed over to the P.C.G.⁹¹ The F.M.C was represented by Miss B. G. R. Reid, Assistant Secretary, Women's Foreign Mission. After the hand-over Mr. Constable, the last Scottish missionary personnel to manage the Scottish Mission Book Depot, moved to Ho⁹² to take charge of the Book Depot of E.P.C. There is no record of any unpleasant incidents arising from these differences of opinion with regard to the integration as perceived by the Missions but it shows how each Mission interpreted the events and handled them in their own way but eventually arriving at the same destination albeit at different times.

⁸⁹*Minutes of Synod, Presbyterian Church of Ghana, P. 15 Min. 17.*

⁹⁰The Ewe Presbyterian Church changed its name to Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana in 1953 when some members of the Church who were not Ewe protested against the use of the Ewe language.

⁹¹Presbyterian Church of Ghana : Reports for 1959: Report of the Scottish Mission by Rev. C.F.Paton. Note: At this time Ghana was using Pounds hence the use of the Pound Sign with the G. meaning "Ghana Pounds".

⁹²Ho is the capital of the Volta Region of Ghana and the headquarters of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church. Mr. Albert Ott, a Basel missionary took over the Book depot of the P.C.G.

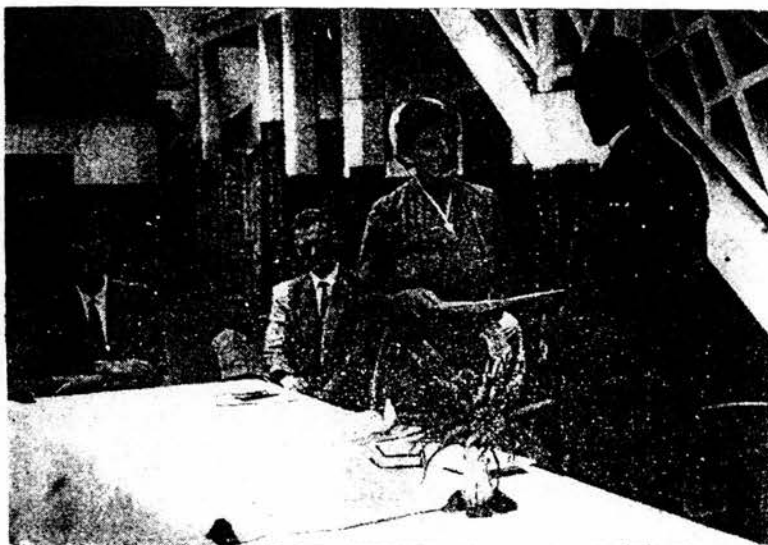


Fig. 41: The handing over ceremony: The Scottish Mission Book Depot

7.14 NEW APPOINTMENTS

With the independence of the P.C.G in 1950, Ghanaians were appointed to take over positions which had earlier on been held by missionary personnel. For instance the Very Rev. S.S Odonkor, former Moderator of the Synod of the P.C.G was appointed Principal of the Abetifi Seminary with effect from January 1951. He took over from Rev. W. Stamm a Basel missionary who had been transferred to take over as Principal of the joint theological college in Kumase.⁹³ Mr. M .E Ansah was appointed the first Ghanaian General Manager of Presbyterian Schools with effect from 1st January 1952. He took over from Mr. F. D. Harker, a Scottish missionary. Mr. Ansah had acted in that capacity

⁹³Rev. Stamm left in May 1950 and Rev. O Tschudin acted as Principal of the seminary till the arrival of Rev. Odonkor.

from 30th August 1951 in the absence of Mr. Harker on sick leave.⁹⁴ Furthermore, Mr. C. A. Aboagye was appointed the first Ghanaian Accountant of the church with effect from 1st September 1952. He replaced Mr. A. H. Riddel, a Scottish missionary. Mr. Aboagye, however, resigned in January 1953 after only five months in office as accountant of the church most probably due to poor salary and conditions of service.⁹⁵ Another Ghanaian Mr. T. A. Kisseih was appointed in his place.⁹⁶

Other appointments included Rev. F. W. K. Akuffo as the first Ghanaian Secretary for the Youth Committee and the General Youth Secretary of the P.C.G in 1951. Rev. Akuffo had one year's training in Youth Work in Scotland in 1950. At the beginning of 1953, the Scottish Mission Secretary Rev. D. S. Elder who was the Treasurer of the church handed over to Mr. C. D. K. Lokko thus ending the Scottish Mission's direct administration in the headquarters of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

7.16 INDEPENDENCE COMPLETED.

We have noted that one of the first things that the Scottish Mission did as soon as they arrived in Ghana was to constitute the Synod and appoint Ghanaians as Moderator and Synod Clerk.⁹⁷ By 1950 these two positions had been well established. After the integration, Ghanaians were appointed to positions previously held by missionary personnel. Furthermore, committees were set up to plan and supervise aspects of the church's life such as Finance, Education, Evangelism, Literature, Youth Work and

⁹⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1951 P. 8, Min. 9.*

⁹⁵Mr. C. A. Aboagye was recommended by the Church for a Government scholarship for Training in the United Kingdom. After the announcement of his resignation, the Moderator spoke of the need for sacrificial service in the Church and called for patience for higher posts and salaries. This provides a clue to understanding why Mr. Aboagye resigned. See Minutes of Synod 1953 P. 10 Min. 7/i

⁹⁶*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1954, P. 3, Min. 4.*

⁹⁷See discussion on it in Chapter Three P. 100 above.

Women's Work. The presbyteries were reconstituted and for the first time vested with executive power and also provided with permanent officers. The Synod Committee had also been reconstituted with some of its work devolved to the presbyteries and the representation of the Missions on the committee reduced. These measures put the church's administration and the decision-making process firmly⁹⁸ in the hands of Ghanaians. This completed the process which was started in 1918 by the Scottish Mission.

7.16 THE ROLE OF THE MISSIONARIES AFTER THE INTEGRATION.

The Policy Committee of the Church of Scotland had advised that in view of the integration and the subsequent transfer of administrative responsibility from Mission to the church, missionary appointments should now be limited to areas where the local church was not in the position to provide a qualified person. This policy was started soon after 1950.⁹⁹ Thus after 1950 the Scottish and the Basel Missions gradually withdrew to areas where the local church could not provide any suitably qualified person to take over. These areas included mainly areas of health delivery and education. The Missions also assisted in evangelizing difficult areas of the country, especially the northern part.¹⁰⁰ Missions continued to send personnel to head educational institutions at the request of the P.C.G. such as Aburi Women's Training College, Aburi Girls' Secondary School, Krobo Women's Training College, St. Andrew's Training College, Akropong Presbyterian Training College and Agogo Women's Training College.¹⁰¹ The only institution which had

⁹⁸This is not to say that the missionaries did not have any influence they surely did but this time any influence was purely advisory.

⁹⁹See discussion on New Appointments P. 303 above.

¹⁰⁰The Basel Mission opened a station at Salaga in the North and continued to manage it even after the integration. The Scottish Mission also opened a station in Sandema also in the north. See discussion in Chapter Five P. 209 above.

¹⁰¹The Agogo Women's Training College was under the control of the Basel Mission.

been headed by a Ghanaian since its inception was the Presbyterian Secondary School at Odumase. This was due to the circumstances of its founding.¹⁰² Women's work was also under the leadership of the women missionaries. From 1950 Mrs. Malloch had taken over as the Secretary of the Women's Work Central Committee. The Scottish Mission also continued to send missionaries to run the Book Depot and the Scottish Mission Press.

A major difference with missionary appointments now, however, was that they would have to be approved by the Synod Committee and confirmed by the Synod. These processes were to a large extent mere formalities but the fact that they took place at all was very important because they demonstrate the effectiveness of the principle of integration. Hitherto, Synod was only informed of the appointments and the people so appointed introduced. Furthermore, it became the sole prerogative of the Synod Committee to determine where missionary assistance was needed and the terms of appointment. Missionary advice was very much respected but the final decision in all things affecting the church was taken by the Synod Committee. The Basel Mission Home Committee and the F.M.C, on their part were not under any obligation to provide whatever the P.C.G asked for. There was a clear separation between the P.C.G and the Missions at this point of the church's life and the church was free to decide what it wants to do. For instance in 1952 the Synod Committee rejected an advice from the F.M.C. which asked the Synod Committee to always consult the respective Committees and Boards of Management of Educational institutions before missionaries were posted. The Synod Committee rejected the advice on the grounds that appointments and postings were internal matters which were decided by the Synod Committee in Ghana.¹⁰³ In effect,

¹⁰²See discussion on the Presbyterian Secondary School in Chapter Six. See P. 248 above.

¹⁰³*Minutes of F.M.C 15th July, 1952 Min. 1584.* Note: The Synod Committee appointed Dr. G. Juzi, a Basel Missionary as Principal of the Aburi Women's Training College, and institution established by the Scottish Mission after the retirement of Miss McKillican. This is an example of how the Presbyterian Church was free to make appointments.

the Synod Committee considered the advice from the F.M.C as an interference in the internal affairs of an independent P.C.G. Such a response by the Synod Committee would have been unimaginable before 1950 when the Missions were in firm control of affairs. Furthermore, Synod refused the offer from the Scottish Mission to join the Book Depot Trust

There was no doubt that the Missions and their missionaries continued to play an important role in the P.C.G after the integration. But whatever role they played was determined by the Synod Committee of the church and approved by Synod. This meant that the missionaries remained at post only as long as the church needed their services.

On the administrative level, although the Missions were represented on the Synod Committee and other committees and the courts of the church, they played an advisory role.

On the whole, the missionaries continued to exert some influence on the church after the integration. But instead of major decisions being taken by the Secretary of Scottish Mission or a ruling coming from Scotland or Basel as it used to be, now the decisions were taken by the Synod Committee and confirmed by the Synod of the P.C.G. These decisions were taken by the church according to their circumstances without any coercion from any missionary group either from within or without Ghana. This made the difference between the period before the integration and the period after it and underscores the full independence of the P.C.G.

7.17 THE CHURCH AFTER THE INTEGRATION.

With the administration and the decision-making process firmly in the hands of the Ghanaians the P.C.G was now able to develop in its own way. A number of very important and encouraging things took place after the integration. These included the admission of the church into the fraternity of the World Council of Churches(W.C.C) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches(W.A.R.C.) both of which took place in 1953. The P.C.G was invited to attend the meetings of these world bodies for the first time in 1954. The Synod Clerk, Rev. C. H Clerk attended the meetings for the W. A.R.C in July 27 - August 5, 1954 in Princeton and for the W.C.C in August, 15-31, 1954.¹⁰⁴ With these admissions the P.C.G now became a recognized member of the world-wide church in its own right. The church also embarked on a project of revising the Ga and the Twi hymn books. Since the two hymn books developed from different sources they were arranged differently though most of the tunes agree.¹⁰⁵ In 1952, therefore, the Synod appointed a committee to review the two hymn books and help to synchronize the hymns. The chairman of the committee was Rev. R. O. Danso, a Ghanaian musician and a minister of the church. He was to be assisted by Rev. P. C. Richter, Rev. E. T Koramoah, Rev. C. H Clerk and Rev. J. S Malloch, a Scottish missionary who would help the committee to collect what Synod termed "universal hymns."¹⁰⁶ By 1957 this work had still not been completed.

Another important development during this period was the complete revision of the constitution of the P.C.G, the R.P.P. to bring it "up-to-date and embodying all synod amendments and present changes."¹⁰⁷ What happened at the 1950 Synod was that various

¹⁰⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod, 1953. Min. 7a P. 6.*

¹⁰⁵The Ga hymn book has Danish background and the Twi hymn book had a West Indian Moravian background.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid* P. 9 Min. 7f.

¹⁰⁷*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Synod Minutes 1952 P. 21. Min. 14.*

aspects of the constitution which were relevant to the policy of integration were reviewed to enable the integration take off. Now Synod was incorporating all its decisions in the written constitution of the church. The revision was completed in 1953 thus bringing into being the 1953 (Revised Edition) of the R.P.P.¹⁰⁸ Synod took further steps to decentralized the church's administration to the presbyteries and the districts. For instance Youth and Women's works were decentralized after 1951 to make them more effective and efficient. District Finance Committees were also established for the first time in 1953 to take care of the finances of the districts.¹⁰⁹ The district from this time was made responsible for accounting for all funds collected in the districts.

In 1953 the Synod found it necessary to reiterate its position on what it termed "heathen rituals i.e. observance of fetish sacred days, puberty rites and the taking of heathen oaths." Led by Rev. A. L. Kwansa, a leading minister of the P.C.G Synod declared that :

In the ancient days the power of fetish priests was supreme and their laws and taboos became our customs but a protective understanding has now been effected by the Government and the Christians cannot be compelled to observe heathenish customs.¹¹⁰

This statement was in reference to an agreement reached between the government and the Missions then working in Kumase in Asante in 1912 in which the Governor J. J. Thorburn decreed that Christians should not be forced to take traditional oaths.¹¹¹ Since that time the agreement had been a blue print as regards the church's attitude to traditional practices in Ghana. I am of the opinion that the church found it necessary to restate its position and to remind the church members of the agreement at this time of the church's independence because of the possibility that some church members might think that the

¹⁰⁸ It was published on 29th May 1953.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid* P. 21.

¹¹⁰*Ibid* P. 15

¹¹¹See Appendix IV for full text of the order.

absence of the missionaries was a licence for them to participate in the traditional practices. On the other hand it was possible that some traditional rulers could take undue advantage of the absence of the missionaries from the administration of the church to bully church members into submission. This was, probably, to assure all church members that the law of the land was still on their side even in the absence of the white missionaries.¹¹²

Traditional practices were still rife in the Ghanaian society in the 1950s and some members of the church were involved in them to the disappointment of church leaders in Ghana generally. Church members were living in two worlds. On one hand, members of the church wanted to remain Christian but on the other hand in time of crisis, these same Christians sought help from traditional priests and medicine men and women. This obviously created a conflict of loyalty. The Christian Council of Ghana mounted a seminar in May 1955 to educate church leaders and member of the church on **Christianity and African Culture**. Speaking at the seminar Dr. Busia stressed the need for the church in Ghana and Africa to recognize the importance of the traditional culture in order to make Christianity thrive in Africa. He observed that:

For the conversion to Christian faith to be more than superficial the Christian Church must come to grips with traditional beliefs and practices and with the world view that these beliefs and practices imply. It would be unreal not to recognize the fact that many Church members are influenced in their conduct by traditional beliefs and practices and by the traditional interpretation of the universe¹¹³

¹¹²The 1953 Synod took place in Kumase in Asante where the pressure on the Church members to observe traditional sacred days and customs had been the strongest in the country. Probably, therefore, the handling of the topic was an indirect attack on the behaviour of the traditional rulers of Asante.

¹¹³Dr. K.A. Busia: Christian Council Conference on **Christianity and African Culture**, 2nd -6th, 1955, Accra. He earlier in November 1954 made the same statement at a reception held to mark the Silver Jubilee of the Christian Council of Ghana.

The problem for the church in Ghana generally was that they recognized that the traditional beliefs and practices had influence on members of the church but they simply dismissed them as mere superstition and punished members who were caught participating in the practices without doing any in-depth study of these traditional practices. Nevertheless, the use of the Christian Council as a medium of action is a symbol of the recognition of the resilience of the traditional practices and their influence on the church in Ghana as a whole and the realization of the need for a collective action to check any "negative" influences on church members if any.

In 1955 the Synod of the church made a deliberate attempt to increase the representation of women at Synod. It was decided that Presbyterian women's committees should appoint delegates to Synod.¹¹⁴ Though at this time there was no rule in the church debarring women from attending Synod it was clear that the Synod delegates were mainly male.¹¹⁵ This decision was, therefore, a conscious attempt by the Synod to improve the situation by increasing women's representation at Synod.

The year 1956 was very important in the life of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana with respect to establishing relations with other churches in Europe. All along the relationships had been with the Basel Mission and the Church of Scotland. In 1956 the Synod Clerk Rev. A. L. Kwansah took advantage of the invitation extended to him by the Basel Mission to visit Switzerland and Germany to visit the Presbyterian Church of England and established relations between the P.C.G and the Presbyterian Church of England.¹¹⁶ The Synod Clerk also met the "Standing Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church at

¹¹⁴*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Minutes of Synod 1955, P. 28 Min. 38.*

¹¹⁵For instance in 1953 out of 30 teachers and catechists at Synod there were only 5 women and out of 60 presbyters there were only 8 women. All the 69 ministers at Synod were male. This had been the pattern over the years.

¹¹⁶The Presbyterian Church of England went into union with the Congregational Church in England and Wales on 5th October, 1972, to become the United Reformed Church (U.R.C.)

Oegstgeest"¹¹⁷in Holland and established relations between the P.C.G and the Church in Holland.¹¹⁸ The P.C.G was widening its scope of experience and establishing relations with the Reformed Churches in Europe. These were some of the opportunities that were opened to the church after its independence.

What was more, it appears that the various committees that were set up in the build up to the independence and church members had responded favourably to the challenges presented by their new status as a fully autonomous church. The following assessment of the performance of the fully independent P.C.G by the Moderator of the Synod of the church Rt. Rev. Max Dodu¹¹⁹ sums it up. He says:

A retrospective glance over the operations of the New Constitution, now in its sixth year has shown remarkable progress and stability in various aspects of the Church's life and work. The Presbyteries and Departmental Committees have passed the experimental stages and are now well established organs of the church. This proves to the hilt that a real indigenous church has come to full maturity.¹²⁰

From this assessment it can be deduced that the Moderator had been impressed by the overall performance of the church after its independence hence he could testify that the church has come to "full maturity."

7.18 CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana in 1918 though co-incidental was an important event in the history and the development of the P.C.G. This is so because it set

¹¹⁷ The Church now wants to be known as the Netherlands Reformed Church to differentiate it from the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa.

¹¹⁸*Presbyterian Church of Ghana: Reports 1956 P. 8-9*

¹¹⁹Max Dodu was the Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana from 1955 to 1958.

¹²⁰*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports, 1955, P. 1* The Moderator's Message.

the process towards full independence for the church in motion. The Scottish Mission started the process by setting up Synod and the Synod Committee and the appointment of a Ghanaian as Moderator and Synod Clerk and a partial self government for the Scottish Mission Church, as it then became, was introduced. Additional districts to the ones already in existence, were created and later in 1922 five presbyteries were created. The presbyteries did not have executive powers initially. However, they were gradually cultivated until they reached maturity. The Scottish Mission continued to introduce other structures such as departmental committees and boards in accordance with the Presbyterian system of church polity. These committees and boards also initially did not have any executive powers, they only played an advisory role. But in playing that role the committees were being nurtured for a more effective role in the future.

By 1949, when the spate of nationalism intensified in Ghana and saw nationalists and political leaders vigorously campaigning for political independence, it became increasingly clear that the P.C.G could not be left behind. The Scottish Mission being aware of the changes that were taking place in the political front and being satisfied that the P.C.G had reached maturity adopted a new missionary policy and re-organized the church in Ghana for full independence. All the existing committees and the presbyteries were reconstituted and vested with executive power. The constitution of the church was revised in January 1950 in readiness for full independence of the church. The new constitution made provision for Ghanaians to take full responsibility of the administration and the decision-making process of the church. However, the Missions were still around but only played an advisory role and provided personnel on request to fill vacancies for which the Church did not have any qualified personnel.

From 1950, therefore, the P.C.G became a fully autonomous church instead of a Mission field of either the Church of Scotland or the Basel Mission. It was admitted to the

W.C.C. and the W.A.R.C. It also established relations with the Netherlands Reformed Church and the Presbyterian Church of England (now part of the United Reformed Church.)

The picture that emerges in general when a close look is taken of the period during which the Scottish Mission was in full control of the P.C.G (1918-1950) is complete lack of serious criticism of the policies of the Mission by the indigenous leaders and members of the P.C.G. A few questions were asked, for instance, about why there was no Ghanaian representation on the Scottish Mission Council and why was there the need for the Mission Council to have a veto power over decisions of Synod. However a simple explanation by the Mission was enough to settle any doubts. Furthermore, there was a misunderstanding by Synod led by presbyters about the plan by the Scottish Mission to reduce the number of years of the course of study at the seminaries from four years to two years as a result of difficulty in recruiting missionary personnel already noted. But Wilkie solved it at the same Synod by promising to retain the four years. The Scottish Mission also faced a problem posed by a group of people who wanted the return of the Basel Mission but that had more to do with an emotional attachment to the Basel Mission than on policy. Therefore, on the whole the Scottish Mission did not face any stiff criticism with regard to their policies. This came out clearly in my interviews with some of the missionaries who worked in Ghana. Asked whether some one ever said "no" to them during the period of their work in Ghana almost all of them answered in the negative.¹²¹ Judging from the fact that almost all these missionaries spent at least ten years in Ghana the answer is significant.

¹²¹Some of the missionaries included Rev. and Mrs. Paton, Rev. and Mrs. Moore, Rev. Dr. Noel Smith Rev. and Mrs. Elder (Rev. Elder died a few days after the interview) and Rev. Findlay.

The following reasons might have accounted for this. Firstly Ghanaians by nature have great respect for foreigners especially Europeans and, therefore, did not want to embarrass them by criticizing them. Secondly, after their arrival in Ghana in 1918, the Scottish missionaries were presented to the church as people who had come to assist the Ghanaian church to manage their affairs after their mentors the Basel missionaries had been forced to withdraw. The indigenous church members, therefore, did not want to antagonize a kind person who had come in to help. Thirdly the Scottish Mission's work in Ghana involved mainly the establishment of structures of administration and work in educational sector both of which the indigenous people knew very little or nothing at all, therefore, the capacity to criticize was not there. Fourthly, the indigenous people saw visible signs of the commitment of the Scottish Mission to involve them in the administration of the church in the establishment of the Synod and the Synod Committee and the appointment of a Ghanaian as Moderator and a Ghanaian as Synod Clerk and other structures already noted. This was a cause that they had struggled for without success during the Basel Mission era. It is very likely that the Ghanaians were very careful not to antagonize the Scottish missionaries in order not to disrupt the process that had been started by them.

In the final analysis when the full independence of the P.C.G was achieved it was greatly welcomed by the indigenous leadership of the church. However, the Moderator, Rt. Rev. E. V. Asihene¹²² welcoming the new status of the church warned that :

We should guard against the abuse of independence thinking that the transfer of responsibility to Africans allows us to be careless each behaving as he likes. For the good of the Church all wrong ways will be checked by the administration without fear of opposition.¹²³

¹²²Rev. Asihene became the first Moderator of the autonomous Presbyterian Church of Ghana. He was the Moderator from 1951 to 1954

¹²³*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod 1952, P. 19, Min. 9/d.*

With this warning coming at the beginning of the new era of full independence agents of the church worked with renewed vigour and with pride that the P.C.G had become theirs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE WORK OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION IN GHANA AND AN EXPLANATION OF ITS MARGINALIZATION.

8.0 INTRODUCTION

We have looked at the circumstances that led to the coming of the Scottish Mission to Ghana.¹ When they arrived, the Mission worked assiduously to preserve the work of the Basel Mission left behind after their expulsion by the British colonial government. The question is, what did the Mission do to preserve the work and help the growth and development of the P.C.G?

This question has been answered in various ways and in various parts of the preceding chapters. What I intend to do in this concluding chapter however, is to pool all that was done by the Scottish Mission in Ghana and to assess the impact of the work on both the P.C.G and on Ghanaian society as a whole.

8.1 CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE SCOTTISH MISSION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA.

The arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana gave confidence to the indigenous church leaders and served as an impetus and a psychological boost to a down-hearted and

¹This is the subject of Chapter Two above.

demoralized church as a result of the forcible expulsion of the Basel missionaries. Rev. N. T. Clerk, one of the leading church ministers of the P.C.G describes the situation thus:

After the expulsion of the Basel Missionaries we were in a difficult situation. We were all sad at the hard blow fate had dealt the church.... We had had no experience and at first stood there helpless. But the Lord of the work did not leave us in the lurch, he sent us help.....Then Dr. Wilkie of the Scottish Mission came to our aid.²

With the leaders and members of the church in Ghana now bubbling with renewed vigour and vitality, the Scottish Mission was able to galvanize them for the task of rebuilding the church. Therefore, the first major contribution of the U.F.C and the Scottish Mission to the building of the P.C.G was that they revived the confidence and hope of the Ghanaian church leadership that all was not lost.

The Presbyterian administrative system of the P.C.G was built by the Scottish Mission. The Synod and the Synod Committee were established for the first time within the very first year of the arrival of the Mission in Ghana.³ The positions of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk were also created by the Scottish Mission and filled by indigenous church leaders⁴. Presbyteries were also established and committees were formed to handle various aspects of the church's life.

The Mission also introduced new systems and streamlined old systems of financial management in the church.⁵ They organized courses on the rudiments of simple accounting for the pastors and other agents of the church to enable them present proper

²H. W. Debrunner: *Owura Nico: Rev. N.T. Clerk 1862-1961*, Waterville Publishing House, Accra, 1965, P. 63.

³See full discussion on the Administrative Structure of the Church in Chapter Three P. 100 above.

⁴Both Rev. N. T. Clerk and P. Hall, Synod Clerk and the Moderator respectively, were second generation West Indians but had taken Ghanaian citizenship.

⁵See Chapter Three P. 111 above for full details.

accounts on monies collected on behalf of the central administration. Furthermore, it was the Mission that introduced annual report writing by district pastors to Synod. Before then it was the Basel missionaries who wrote an annual report on their work in Ghana in general.

The Scottish Mission set in motion the process of indigenization in the P.C.G with the appointment of indigenous people to positions in the church. This culminated in the handing over of the administration to Ghanaians in 1950. As a matter of fact I am of the opinion that the Mission won the support of the Ghanaians mainly because of their readiness to involve the Ghanaians in the administration and the decision-making process of the church.

The Scottish Mission created a unified national church in Ghana. The Basel Mission had developed the Basel Mission Church into two distinct parts around two language groups, the Ga and the Twi. The two districts had developed separately and were administered separately. The single administrative machinery introduced by the Scottish Mission dissolved the Ga and Twi districts and brought into being one united church. The Scottish Mission, therefore, gave the Ghanaian church the gift of unity which is an important factor underlining the strength of the P.C.G. By so doing the Scottish Mission indirectly contributed to national unity. On the other hand, however, the system as introduced by the Mission appears to have over centralized administration at the national headquarters in Accra.

The Scottish Mission also played a significant role in guaranteeing the financial security of the retired agents of the P.C.G. The Mission did this by reorganizing the pension fund and putting it on a sound footing. The Pension fund itself was originally established by

the Basel Mission with an amount of £80 in 1901.⁶ By 1916 the fund had grown to £4027 19s 11d⁷ and the balance at the end of 1919 was £4079 2s 6d.⁸ When the Scottish Mission took over the administration of the former Basel Mission, they paid particular attention to the fund and built it into a reliable source of financial support for retired agents of the church.

Much has been said about the Mission's achievement in the field of education in Ghana.⁹ It saw education as the *sine qua non* for effective evangelism and the general development in the existential life of the country and its people hence the efforts made by the Mission to improve the educational facilities in the country. Most especially female education was greatly boosted by the establishment of schools and colleges for their education and the training of women teachers to serve alongside their male counterparts in the schools.¹⁰ The Akropong Presbyterian Training College was also expanded and the St. Andrew Training College was established to run a two-year teacher's certificate "B" course for male teachers.¹¹ They, therefore, helped a great deal to build an efficient primary education system for the church and Ghana as a whole.

Closely related to the development of the facilities for education was the publication of a Twi reading book known as the *Kan Me Hwe*¹² series for primary schools which were edited by E. M. Beveridge.¹³ The series became very popular among school children

⁶See *Regulations Practice and Procedure, 1929 Edition back page 4.*

⁷See *Minutes of Synod, Scottish Mission of the Gold Coast, 1919 P. 13.*

⁸*Ibid*: The small balance between 1916 and 1919 was due to the crisis arising from the First World War.

⁹This is the subject of Chapter Six above.

¹⁰We have mentioned already that Aburi Women's Training College and Secondary School and the Krobo Girls' School and Training College were established by the Scottish Mission for the development of female education in Ghana. See Chapter Six P. 231 & 238 above.

¹¹The Scottish Mission was also responsible for the opening of two other teachers' training colleges in the former Bremen Mission section at Amedzofe and Jasikan.

¹²*Kan Me Hwe* means literally **read me and see.**

¹³She was the daughter of Rev. T. L. Beveridge one time Secretary of the Scottish Mission and the later wife of Rev. D. S. Elder another Secretary of the Scottish Mission.

because it had an indigenous background and, therefore, was very well understood and enjoyed by readers.¹⁴ Beveridge also assisted in the compilation of hymns for children *Mmofra Nnwom* (Twi) for children's services in the church.¹⁵

The Scottish Mission was responsible for the introduction of games and sports into schools and colleges of the church. It began in 1925 when football, volleyball, and later, hockey and athletics were introduced into the Akropong Presbyterian Training College. From there, these disciplines spread to other schools and colleges of the church. The Basel Mission were more interested in the spiritual development of their students and felt that games and sports were a waste of time. The Scottish Mission, however, while not forgetting the spiritual life of the students, felt that it was better to develop the total person and, therefore, introduced the sporting dimension to help develop the body. It does not need to be said that this initiative from the Scottish missionaries has been of great benefit for students as means exercising their bodies to keep healthy.

The Scottish Mission exposed the P.C.G to the outside world and placed it firmly on the map of the international missionary activity. While serving in Ghana Rev. A. W. Wilkie attended the I.M.C held at Mohonk in 1921. Though he attended the meeting on the ticket of the Scottish Mission it is very possible that he reported on the missionary work in Ghana.¹⁶ He also attended the meeting of the I.M.C. at Le Zoute in Belgium in 1926. This time he attended the meeting with Rev. N. T. Clerk the Synod Clerk of the P.C.G.¹⁷ This was the first time that an indigenous Ghanaian church leader attended an international conference in his own right. This served as a great morale booster for Clerk personally

¹⁴I had personal experience of the series and still have copies of my own.

¹⁵The hymns have been translated into Ga and are still being used for Children's services in the P.C.G.

¹⁶There is no record on this. It is, however, a matter of course.

¹⁷See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports, 1926* P. 8.

and the P.C.G as a whole. Rev. C .G. Baeta¹⁸ also represented Ghana at the World Missionary Conference at Tambaram in 1938 and later at the Whitby, Ontario meeting of the I.M.C in 1947. Rev. Baeta was elected as a Vice-Chairman of the I.M.C¹⁹. Furthermore, it was the Scottish Mission that prepared the P.C.G and introduced it to the W.C.C and the W.A.R.C for admission into the two august world bodies. Both admissions took place in 1953. However, the preparations for admission started as early as 1948 the year the W.C.C was born.²⁰

The Scottish Mission, identified suitable persons and arranged scholarships for them to acquire training in specific areas in Britain to take charge of specialized areas in the church in Ghana. For instance Rev. F. W. K Akuffo was trained as youth worker in Scotland in 1950 and returned home to take charge of youth work in the Church. Mr. and Mrs. Sakyiama Amoako were also trained at the Royal College for the Blind in Edinburgh and they returned home to take charge of the Akropong School for the Blind which was informally started by Scottish missionaries at Akropong.²¹ Mr. C. A. Aboagye was also trained in accounting in London and Mrs. Regina M. Addo had her training in women's work at St. Colm's College in Edinburgh in 1956.²² She later became the first Ghanaian Secretary for Women's Work Central Committee in 1962. These are only a few examples of the many people who were trained through the initiative of the Scottish Mission to take over vital aspects of the church's life and work. The training provided helped to improve efficiency in the P.C.G.

¹⁸Note: Rev. Baeta was a member of the Ewe Presbyterian Church but since the Church was jointly administered with the Presbyterian Church of Ghana by the Scottish Mission he represented both

¹⁹*Sketches of the Fields: THE GOLD COAST*: Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, 1949, P. 23.

²⁰*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Minutes of Synod 1948* P. 15.

²¹See discussion on the development of the School in Chapter Six P. 245 above.

²²*Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Synod Minutes, 1956.*

The Scottish Mission instituted the Children's Day for the first time in the P.C.G. of Ghana in 1924. This helped the church to focus special attention on children in the church and gave them a place in the thinking and planning processes of the church. It also provides a base for the monitoring of the work and progress of the children in the church and provides the opportunity for the children in the church to share worship with adult members of the church. The Children's Day celebration has become an important event for the mobilization of all children in the church.

Finally the Scottish Mission came to Ghana to assist in preserving the work of the Basel Mission during the First World War. Therefore, the fact that the church survived and grew both materially and spiritually meant that the aim had been achieved. This to me is the greatest contribution made by the Scottish Mission to the Presbyterian Church and Ghana as a whole. It could be argued, however, that the church could have survived all the same without the Scottish Mission. While this was possible, we cannot deny the fact that the presence of the Scottish Mission helped to provide the necessary structures upon which the indigenous independent Presbyterian Church was erected.

On the whole, the Scottish Mission converted the Basel Mission field into a strong indigenous church with the Presbyterian system of church polity.

The above picture painted of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana gives an impression that there was absolutely no problem with the Mission's work. But the Mission had a few shortcomings. For instance it failed to show much interest in the development of the traditional culture of Ghanaians. In spite of persistent calls from leading Ghanaians like Dr. J. B. Danquah, Dr. K. A. Busia, Nana Ofori Atta I and many others to missionaries to pay particular attention to the culture of the people in order to make

"Christianity a place to feel at home, rooted in the people's culture..."²³, no serious work was done in that direction by the Scottish Mission in Ghana. Debrunner, however, mentions that Wilkie did some work on Calabar customs and religion. Debrunner was of the view that the Scottish Mission did not do any in-depth study of the Ghanaian culture because according to him "the Scottish missionaries were far too busy in administration and school work."²⁴ He further condemns the *Kan Me Hwe* as "a set of vernacular readers which lack the appreciation of the old Akan culture."²⁵ Contrary to the verdict of Debrunner almost all the people I interviewed during my field research in Ghana were full of praises for the Scottish Mission for the publication of the series. However, looking at it in the context of serious cultural development the series pales into insignificance but this does not devalue its importance as Debrunner seems to portray.

Furthermore, the Scottish Mission did not show interest in the political life of Ghana in the sense of assisting Ghanaians in their struggle for political independence. From the time of their arrival in Ghana, that is 1918 till about 1950 there is no record of the Mission's involvement in the politics of the country in that direction. The attitude of the Mission in Ghana is in stark contrast with the activities of the Mission in Malawi where it was deeply involved in the political life of the country. In fact, the formation of the first Native Association which was the precursor of the nationalist movement was encouraged by the Mission in 1912. The inaugural meeting of the Association was held in the library of the Mission at Karonga. After 1950, however, when it became obvious that Ghana's political independence was imminent the Mission mounted a few teaching programmes to educate church members and for that matter Ghanaians on their civic responsibilities as Christian citizens.

²³A .F Walls: "Africa and Christian Identity": *Mission Focus, Current Issues*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, Herald Press, Scottsdale, 1980, P. 215.

²⁴Debrunner Hans W: *Christianity in Ghana*, Waterville, Accra 1967 P. 313.

²⁵*Ibid.*

The Scottish Mission also did not do much direct congregational work. This was due to lack of adequate missionary personnel already noted. What the Mission did, therefore, was to concentrate its attention on the training of indigenous personnel to do direct congregational work. This approach had two advantages. Firstly it helped to solve the personnel problem and secondly it was helpful eventually because it empowered the Ghanaians to manage their own affairs efficiently and hastened the process towards full autonomy of the P.C.G. The disadvantage, however, was that because the missionaries did not have much direct contact with the people, many church members did not know them.

8.2 THE SCOTTISH MISSION AND ECUMENISM IN GHANA.

The Scottish Mission contributed immensely to the development of ecumenism in Ghana. Under the guidance of the Mission the P.C.G became a founding member of the Christian Council of Ghana in 1929. The motivation for the start of the Council emanated from the proceedings of the International Missionary Conference held in Le Zoute in Belgium in 1926. Reports of various Christian Councils in other parts of the world were read at the conference. These reports revealed how much churches could achieve together. On their return to Ghana the Scottish Mission teamed up with the Methodist church in Ghana to form a Christian Council.²⁶ At the inauguration of the Council Rev. Wilkie became a joint Secretary with Rev. Bradsley, a Methodist.

The Scottish Mission, through the efforts of its Secretary Rev. H. H. G MacMillan also helped to establish the Ridge Church, an ecumenical congregation, in Accra in 1935.²⁷ The

²⁶*The Christian Council: Silver Jubilee Brochure, 1954.*

²⁷Ridge in Accra was formerly a residential area for Europeans, mostly Colonial government workers.

Mission also teamed up with the Methodist Church to establish a joint theological seminary in Kumase in 1943 and the Prempeh College, in Kumase in 1949. By its interest in ecumenism the Scottish Mission was able to bring the P.C.G closer to other churches in Ghana.



Fig. 42: Rev. H. H. G MacMillan

8.3 COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE SCOTTISH MISSION AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN GHANA.

The circumstances surrounding the coming of the Scottish Mission to Ghana made its collaboration with the colonial government inevitable.²⁸ The Mission had come to Ghana as a result of a special request made to the United Free Church of Scotland by the British colonial government in London. The Mission was to perform a duty which, though essentially religious, was in the interest of the British government for political reasons. In this respect, therefore, the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana was different from the

²⁸This is the subject of Chapter Two above.

work of the Mission in either Calabar, Malawi, India or Jamaica where the Church in Scotland planned its own mission mainly for evangelistic purposes without political considerations and without the direct involvement of the British government.

It was, therefore, natural that when the Mission faced problems the obvious place to turn to for help was the colonial government. The colonial government for its part felt that it had a moral obligation to co-operate with the Mission and offer any assistance within its power to enable the Mission to do the work for which it had been brought to the country. The co-operation started soon after the arrival of the Mission in Ghana. Financial problems and the shortage of missionary personnel made it impossible for the Mission to take over the educational aspect of the former Basel Mission Church immediately. The government in Ghana immediately stepped in to manage the schools until the Mission was able to take over in 1920. A strong bond of friendship developed between the colonial government and the Scottish Mission to the extent that the government co-opted Scottish missionaries to serve on various committees that it deemed fit.²⁹ The colonial government contributed to the building of the official residence of the Secretary of the Scottish Mission Rev. A. W. Wilkie at Kuku Hill, Osu in 1922.³⁰ This type of assistance was unique in that the government never gave assistance of any kind to Missions for the building of manses and churches. This was solely the work of the Mission concerned but here we see the government going out of its way to assist the Scottish Mission to complete a house for its Secretary. This was an indication that the government considered its relationship with the Scottish Mission as special.

Furthermore, Scottish missionaries whose work was considered to be outstanding were recommended by the governor to be honoured by the British King. For example, Rev. A.

²⁹See the Church of Scotland Magazine "Other Lands" October, 1957 P. 68.

³⁰It laid the water mains at the cost of £700. See *Foreign Mission Committee Minutes*, March, 21 1922 Min. 5907.

W Wilkie had a C.B.E conferred on him in 1927.³¹ Miss E. H. McKillican was honoured with M.B.E³² Miss C. P. Moir and Mr. J. W. Craig were also each honoured with M.B.E.³³ These honours are always conferred on British subjects who, through their work, according to the British government, have helped in the enhancement of the image and influence of Britain in the world. It appears, therefore, that the British colonial government considered the Scottish missionary work as part of the general British colonial establishment in the country. The P.C.G on its part showed great appreciation for the honours and sent congratulatory messages to the recipients for the fact that someone associated with the church had been given such a high honour by the Imperial Crown.³⁴

From all indications it is a fact that cannot be denied that the Scottish Mission had a close relationship with the colonial government in Ghana. The result of this close relationship was that both the Mission and the P.C.G came to occupy a privileged position. The government readily offered assistance to the church, especially in the educational sector. The successes achieved by the Mission in education were mainly due to this governmental assistance. For instance the government gave money for the building of the new blocks at the Akropong Training College which were dedicated in 1928 and later Aburi Girls' Secondary School. The government's assistance was acknowledged by Rev. D. S. Elder, Secretary of the Scottish Mission in these words:

The church's educational expansion has been greatly helped by the continued interest and ready help of the Government through the Education Department³⁵

³¹See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Reports: Scottish Mission Report 1927.*

³²Report of the Scottish Mission, 1952. See *Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Reports, 1952.*

³³*Ibid* 1954

³⁴*Ibid*

³⁵*The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast: Summary Reports, 1941-1948 P. 10.*

It could, therefore, be concluded that both the P.C.G and the whole country in the final analysis benefited from the close relationship between the Scottish Mission and the colonial government.

However, there were some members of the United Free Church who were bitterly opposed to the close relationship between the Mission and the colonial government. Right from the beginning of the arrangement to bring the Mission to Ghana, Mr. G. R. Robertson sounded a strong warning to the General Assembly of the U.F.C about the political implications of the arrangement. He called on the General Assembly to rather appeal to the British government to allow the Basel Mission to return to their Mission fields instead of taking over the fields. He believed that, that would be " the most Christian thing that the United Free Churchcould do." Mr. Robertson's position was that the U.F.C of Scotland had entered into an unholy alliance with the colonial government and was being used as a tool to achieve a political end³⁶. Though his plea to the General Assembly was rejected, Mr. Robertson touched on an important issue which caused indignation on both sides in the General Assembly.

On the whole, looking at the missionary agenda of the Scottish Mission critically it could be said that the U.F.C seized an opportunity created by political considerations to preserve the work of the Basel Mission which was very crucial to the development of the country. Having said this, I would like to say that though things might not have been as blunt as Mr. Robertson had argued at General Assembly, it was difficult to rule out any political considerations completely on the part of the United Free Church of Scotland. For instance, one Mr. Andrews countered Mr. Robertson's argument by stating that " the German missionaries should not be allowed to occupy their mission fields until they

³⁶See *Proceedings of General Assembly, 22nd May 1919. P. 107.*

showed a perfect repentance."³⁷ What Mr. Andrews meant by "perfect repentance" is not clear but he appears to have endorsed the existing allegations that the Basel missionaries were involved in some clandestine activities against the British during the war. By all means, there might have been some of the missionaries who, like Mr. Andrews, were interested in the political issues and shared his views but at the same time they were missionaries whose paramount interest was to evangelize. It is possible that sometimes the two interests conflicted and individual missionaries took their own stands in line with their own individual interests. But as a missionary group there is no conclusive evidence to show that the Scottish Mission was deliberately used as a tool by the British colonial government to further their colonial ambitions. However, this is a matter for debate and any conclusion that various people will arrive at depends on the angle from which they see the whole process and their own subjective analysis.

8.4 MEDICAL WORK.

When the Scottish Mission re-opened the girls' school at Aburi they also re-opened the hospital which had been started by the Basel Mission but which had been closed down for obvious reasons. Both the girls' school and the hospital were being run on the same compound. A Scottish woman doctor called Dr. Sybil Russell, was brought in by the Mission to take charge.³⁸ However, it was later realized that there was not enough room on the same compound for both the medical work and the school. Dr. Russell was, therefore, moved to Abetifi where she started a small hospital beside the seminary. The Scottish Mission brought in another woman doctor, Dr. Jess Ireland to team up with Dr. Russell at Abetifi. According to Mrs. Elder, Dr. Ireland later got married and had to

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸See papers from the Elders on Medical work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana.

leave Ghana but Dr. Russell stayed on in Abetifi. In 1922 a health centre was opened at Osu by the Mission. This was run by Dr. (Mrs.) Jessie Berveridge³⁹, wife of Rev. T. L. Berveridge a Scottish missionary who was specifically asked by Governor Guggisberg to start it. Mrs. Berveridge had worked as a medical missionary in India from 1898 to 1902 before getting married to Rev. Berveridge. She concentrated her work mainly on women and children and health education programmes. However, as a result of financial difficulties the F.M.C discontinued the medical work in Ghana in 1928.⁴⁰ Dr. Russell joined the government service in Ghana and the hospital at Abetifi had to close down. The Osu health centre continued to operate with the financial support from the colonial government.

8.5 COMPARISON BETWEEN THE BASEL AND THE SCOTTISH MISSIONS

8.5.1 Education.

Both the Basel and the Scottish Missions had immense interest in the development of both formal and informal education in Ghana because they saw education as the key to successful evangelism. They also saw the school as the centre for Christian education and a harvest ground for church membership. Both Missions, therefore, established schools and colleges to further their evangelistic cause. However, in terms of the content of the curriculum in the schools and the colleges there was a slight difference between the approaches of the two Missions. The Basel Mission appears to have been more conservative in their approach to the place of the teaching of Christian faith. They appeared to have placed more emphasis on the teaching of the Christian religion than the

³⁹Mrs. Berveridge was the mother of Mrs. Elder.

⁴⁰See *Minutes of the F.M.C 19th March, 1929* *Afin.* 2399.

Scottish Mission. For instance at the Akropong Training College two of the four years spent in the college were spent on the Christian faith while the other two were spent on the teaching methods and studying other subjects. The Basel Mission also did not give any time for games and sports. The Scottish Mission on the other hand appeared to have adopted a more liberal approach. While they were not against the teaching of Christian faith they appeared to have adopted a broad view towards the curriculum in which all subjects were given fairly equal attention in order to prepare the products to have a broad knowledge about the society and the world in which they lived.

It appears also that while the Basel Mission insisted on just enough educational qualification necessary for their evangelistic task⁴¹ the Scottish Mission on the other hand seemed to have aimed at academic qualifications which had international recognition for their students. The Scottish missionaries encouraged students at the Trinity College to write Cambridge School Certificate examinations and do degree courses in Britain and the United States of America. Furthermore, the Scottish Mission was in favour of state-controlled education while the Basel Mission appeared to be in favour of Mission controlled education so that they could get free hand to determine the content of the curriculum.

8.5.2 Evangelism.

Evangelism here is used in the sense of preaching the gospel, converting people to the Christian faith and establishing congregations. In this respect, it appears the Basel Mission had a more purposeful and systematic programme for evangelism than the Scottish Mission in Ghana. The history of the development of the P.C.G shows that the Basel

⁴¹This was a certificate from the Seminary at either Akropong or Abetifi.

missionaries really committed themselves to the preaching of the gospel and directly planting congregations. The Scottish missionaries on the other hand did not commit themselves to the planting of congregations. Apart from Sandema, the Scottish Mission did not directly get involved in the planting of congregations in Ghana. They adopted a more pragmatic approach to evangelism taking advantage where possible to preach the gospel and to teach but not committed to any specific plan. It appears they concentrated on preserving the work of the Basel Mission for which they were sent to Ghana.⁴²

8.5.3 Administration.

We have already noted the administrative changes introduced by the Scottish Mission on their arrival in Ghana.⁴³ At this juncture, therefore, it is enough to mention that the central administration of the P.C.G was built by the Scottish Mission. The Basel Mission established a simple administrative structure in consonance with their paternalism⁴⁴ but it was the Scottish Mission that established the Presbyterian system and nurtured it into maturity. The Scottish Mission was able to establish a national administrative structure based on the Presbyterian church polity soon after their arrival in Ghana because it came from a church with a Presbyterian system of administration. It was, therefore, conversant with the system and was able to introduce it without much problems.⁴⁵ The Basel Mission on the other hand was a missionary body which did not come from an established church. Its main interest was to evangelize. In fact initially the Basel Mission did not intend to establish their own mission fields. The Mission wanted to train missionaries for churches

⁴²It must be noted that shortage of missionary personnel might have contributed to this approach by the Scottish Mission to evangelism in Ghana. They planted congregations in their Mission fields in other parts of the world.

⁴³See details in Chapter Three P. 100 above.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵The Scottish missionaries introduced the same Presbyterian system in other parts of the world where they operated.

and organizations who were involved in evangelism throughout the world. Ghana was the first area in Africa and among the very few areas in the whole world where the Basel Mission established their own mission for the first time. Ghana was, therefore, described in the Basel Mission circles as "the first daughter of our mission in Africa."⁴⁶ This means that unlike the Scottish Mission which came from an established church and, therefore, had immense experience in church government, the Basel Mission did not have that experience.

8.5.4. Theology

Though both the Scottish and the Basel Missions came from Reformed tradition and, therefore, operated basically from the same theological standpoint, the Basel Mission tended to be more conservative in their approach than the Scottish Mission. On their return to Ghana, the Basel missionaries accused the Scottish Mission for introducing "liberal theology" in the seminaries.⁴⁷

8.5.5 Attitude to Traditional Society

Generally both the Basel and the Scottish Missions regarded Ghanaian society as "heathenish" and Ghanaians as "heathen" who had to be "civilized" and converted to Christianity. This was the principle underlying the negative attitude of both Missions to traditional society. However, there was a difference between the two missions as regards the way they articulated this disregard to the traditional society and its practices. The

⁴⁶See letter from Basel Mission Inspector Emmanuel Kellerhals, dated 22nd May 1934: Synod Clerk's Office file No. 42: Official Letters 1918-1940 P. 180.

⁴⁷See discussion on the issue in Chapter Four P. 159 above.

Basel Mission adopted a separatist attitude to the traditional "heathenish" society hence their establishment of the *Salems* in all their Mission stations where they could live with their converts to avoid any "contamination."⁴⁸ The *Salems* were under the absolute control of the missionaries and their church agents and life there was ordered by what the missionaries believed to be the principles of the Christian faith. After years of missionary influence in the *Salems* the Christian converts became *ipso facto* aliens to their own traditions and cultural practices and became very hostile to them. This *Salem* concept has come under serious criticism from leading Ghanaians such as Dr. J. B. Danquah and Nana Sir Ofori Atta, King of the Akyem Abuakwa State.⁴⁹

The Scottish Mission on the other hand did not establish *Salems* on the same degree as the Basel Mission. But this might be due to the fact that the Mission did not have much to do with congregational work. Most of the them lived with students in colleges. In the Sandema area where the Scottish Mission was involved in the planting of the congregation, the manse was built about a mile away from the main town. However, it was the missionaries alone who lived in the area.

It must be noted also that each Mission worked at a different time and under different conditions in Ghana which might possibly have influenced the different attitudes to the separate settlements. The Basel Mission in their pioneering work operated in the traditional setting which was hostile to Ghanaians who accepted the Christian faith. Such people were considered to have betrayed the traditional cause. Therefore, the Basel missionaries might have felt that it was safer to move such converts to the *Salem* where their safety could be guaranteed to a large degree. The Scottish Mission on the other hand arrived at a time when Christianity had to a large extent been established and was

⁴⁸See Chapter One P. 45 above for details on the *Salem* concept.

⁴⁹Boarding schools at the senior primary school level were also established by the Basel Mission so that they could be removed from "heathenish" influence according to the Mission.

playing an important role in the development of the Ghanaian society. Therefore, most of the traditional rulers and their elders, had softened their position against Christianity and had become more accommodating than before. Christians were, therefore, not under any serious threat of attack from non Christians.

On the whole both the Basel Mission and the Scottish Mission were not violently opposed to each other in terms of the fundamental principles underlying the provision of educational facilities, evangelism, church administration and attitude to the traditional society and their cultural practices. They broadly agreed on the basic principles of Christian faith and practice and the Mission work of the U.F.C. "was closely akin to that of the Basel Mission."⁵⁰ It was because of this similarity that the colonial government turned to the U.F.C of Scotland for help so that they could maintain and develop further the fine traditions of the Basel Mission. However since there were variations between the Missions in terms of equipment, that is, financial capability, number of missionary personnel, type of training and missionary and theological orientation there was bound to be differences in emphasis in various areas. But the over-all assessment of both missions shows that they were complementary.

8.6 REASONS WHY THE SCOTTISH MISSION IS USUALLY MARGINALIZED IN THE LIFE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA.

Throughout this research we have discovered that the Scottish Mission has played an important role in the development of the P.C.G. What is baffling, however, is that in spite of the role that the Scottish Mission has played in the life of the P.C.G very little is said or

⁵⁰See *Sketches of the Fields No 8: THE GOLD COAST: Church of Scotland, Foreign Mission Committee Revised Ed. 1949, P. 11.*

heard of the Mission in the daily life of the church. Instead, the Basel Mission is given all the credit for everything in the church and is very well remembered.⁵¹

A critical examination shows that the situation has been caused by a combination of factors. At their deportation from Ghana by the British colonial government, the Basel Mission had been in the country for almost ninety years and had been deeply involved in the lives of the people. Almost all the major congregations were directly established by the Basel missionaries and, therefore, the nature and form of worship in these congregations were established by the Basel missionaries. As a result of this, the Basel missionaries had built up a considerable influence on the members of the congregations before the arrival of the Scottish Mission in Ghana.

Many congregations in the P.C.G are named after Basel missionaries who had something to do with their establishment. For instance, congregations at Adum in Kumase and Abetifi have been named after Ramseyer who established them. The congregations at Nungua in Accra and Odumase Krobo have been named after Zimmermann. Many institutions have also been named after some Basel missionaries in recognition of their contributions to the development of the church. The Ramseyer Vocational Centre in Kumase, Ramseyer Training Centre in Abetifi for the Training of lay agents of the church and Margaret Buechner Vocational School at Duayaw Nkwanta. The names of the Basel missionaries are, therefore, always on the lips of the people.

⁵¹It is not wrong for the Presbyterian Church of Ghana to remember the Basel Mission. There is no doubt that the Mission did an excellent work in Ghana which has been very well acknowledged through out this research. The concern I have, however, is the complete lack of recognition of the work of the Scottish Mission. This to me makes the history of the P.C.G incomplete hence this study.

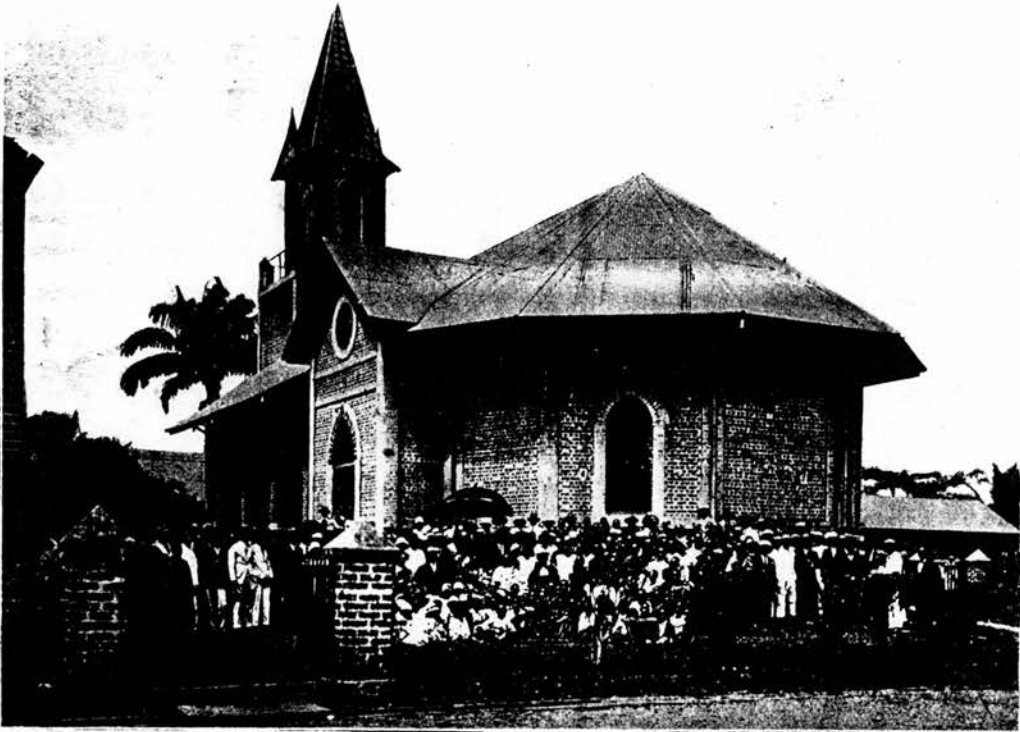


Fig. 42: The Adum Ramseyer Presbyterian Church in Kumase in 1930

Another landmark that always reminds people of the Basel Mission are the buildings put up by the Basel Mission. In almost all the key centres of the P.C.G, such as Akropong, Osu, Aburi, Begoro, Abetifi, Kumase, Anum and Nsaba the original Basel Mission houses are still standing firmly and are being used as manses, schools, church offices and transit quarters. The buildings which have identical architecture and associated with the Basel Mission serve as vestiges of the missionary work of the Mission.



Fig. 44: The Basel Mission House: Abetifi

The Scottish Mission on the other hand arrived in the country after all the key stations had been established and their character modeled after the Basel Mission's standards. What is more, the Scottish missionaries did not do serious congregational work. They established educational institutions mainly where they lived with the students. In these institutions established by the Scottish Mission, the memory of some of the missionaries has been kept through the naming of some of the dormitories after them. For instance, there is Wilkie House at the St. Andrew's Training College, Sutherland House at the Aburi Women's Training College and Cairn's House at Krobo Girl's Secondary School.⁵² Since these are located in schools outside the daily experiences of the vast majority of the members of the church their influence is limited to the school or college environment

⁵²This is what used to be the Krobo Girls' School/ Training College. It is now a Girls' Secondary School.

There was an attempt soon after the arrival of the Scottish Mission, by the indigenous church leaders to either maintain the name Basel Mission or change to a name that had close affinity with the Basel Mission instead of the Scottish Mission Church.⁵³ This is a sign of deep emotional attachment of the church in Ghana to the Basel Mission. The attempt failed because the colonial government did not allow it. In 1926, however, the church succeeded in its quest for a name and adopted the name "Presbyterian." This was barely eight years after the arrival of the Scottish Mission.⁵⁴ Therefore, the Scottish Mission could not establish itself and get its name properly embossed on the church before a new name was adopted. By contrast the church had been identified with the Basel Mission for almost a century before they were deported. It goes without saying, therefore, that the common people of the church and in fact the whole country would continue to remember and identify the church with the Basel Mission more than the Scottish Mission.

The few Scottish missionaries who arrived in Ghana worked mainly in the colony. Even in this part of the country they worked only in Osu, Aburi, Akropong and Odumase-Krobo. In many parts of the country, therefore, very little or nothing was known about the Scottish Mission. What many Ghanaians knew about the Basel Mission and which had firmly registered in their minds, therefore, continued to stick.

Another area in which the Basel Mission left an indelible mark was the acquisition of property, especially land. The Mission acquired large tracks of land on behalf of the congregations. Documents on these pieces of land were prepared in the name of the Basel Mission and duly signed by the missionaries of the Mission. These documents did not change with the arrival of the Scottish Mission though the name of the church was

⁵³See Chapter Three P. 124 above for details of the petition to the governor to that effect.

⁵⁴Note: Rev. Wilkie arrived in February 1918.

changed to Scottish Mission Church. These pieces of land were utilized for the building of manses, schools and settlements for the missionaries and the christians. These pieces of land, their documents and the buildings on them are still with the people and serve as constant memorial to the Basel Mission. The Scottish Mission on the other hand did not acquire land to the same degree as the Basel Mission. Where they also acquired pieces of land and other property such as Osu, Aburi, Odumase and Sandema these property continue to remind the Mission on the basis of the property.

The Basel missionaries were also remembered for their iron discipline. In all schools established by the Mission children were trained to respect authority without question. Rules regarding moral principles and codes of conduct were strictly enforced not only in the church but in schools as well. They were always guided by the biblical maxim "train the child the way he should go and when he grows he will not depart from it." (Prov. 22:6) Pupils who violated the rules were severely punished usually by caning and in extreme cases suspension or complete dismissal from school. In the church, members who violated church rules were severely dealt with. They were paraded in front of the congregation and their faults publicly announced to the congregation and suspended from the Lord's Supper for periods ranging from one month to one year depending on the gravity of the offence. In a few cases offenders suffered excommunication.⁵⁵ By so doing the Basel Mission managed to establish a certain pattern of life style in the school and in the church. It must be noted that the Scottish Mission was not against the type of discipline that had been established by the Basel Mission.⁵⁶ Since there was no significant change in the form of discipline in the church and the school it continued to be associated with the Basel Mission

⁵⁵In cases such as indulging in juju or refusal to pay "Church tax"

⁵⁶See R.P.P 1929 Edition, Par. 285/5 & 289 P. 29-30.

The P.C.G is very much attached to the Basel Mission in a way that the Scottish Mission was not because of the presence of what can properly be described as the remnant of the Basel Mission in Ghana. Only three of the West Indians brought in by Riis in 1843 later left the service of the Basel Mission⁵⁷. All the rest remained permanently in Ghana. The descendants of these West Indians are still in Ghana and though they are now Ghanaians in all respects, the connection of their grandfathers and grandmothers with the Basel Mission and the history of the P.C.G is fresh in the minds of the people. In 1943 the Presbyterian Church celebrated the centenary of the arrival of the West Indians.⁵⁸ The presence of these remnants of the Basel Mission serves as a powerful reminder of the work of the Basel Mission.

Furthermore, the history of the work of the Basel Mission shows that many of the missionaries died while in service in Ghana.⁵⁹ These missionaries were buried in special cemeteries which are spread all over the country and evoke strong emotions among church members. Some of the cemeteries have now been encircled by the towns and some of the graves of these missionaries are found near manses and church buildings and are, therefore, in constant view of people. These fallen soldiers of Christ are rightly considered as people who sacrificed their lives for the sake of the P.C.G. In the case of the Scottish Mission, the number of those who died was much smaller than the Basel Mission and, therefore, do not evoke the same response from the people.

⁵⁷Ref. Chapter One P. 34 above for details of the story of Riis and the West Indians.

⁵⁸According to the report produced during the centenary celebration the descendants by 1943 numbered 103. There was a note stating that some names had been omitted because they were not submitted in time to be included. This means that the descendants were a great force to reckon with. See Centenary Report re: *The West Indians, assistant founders of the erstwhile Basel Mission Church, 1843-1943*, P. 20-21, Appendix 1 of the report.

⁵⁹138 missionaries and their wives were known to have died between 1829 and 1913. See L. Sanneh, *West African Christianity, The Religious Impact*, C. Hurst & Co. Ltd., London, 1983, P. 116

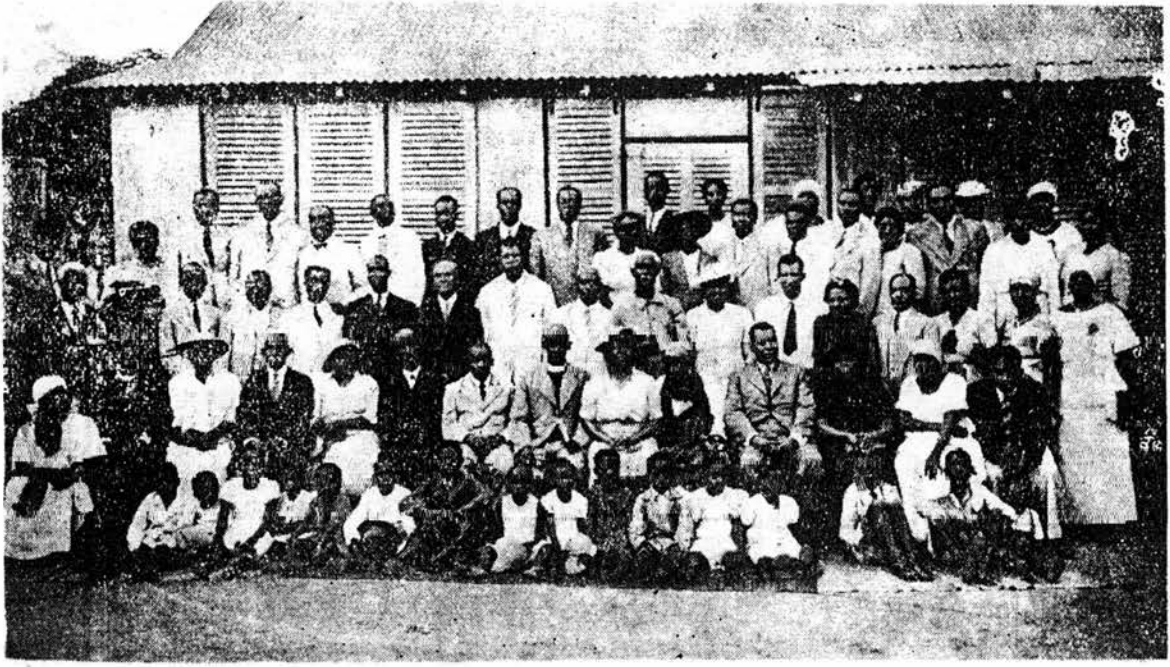


Fig. 45: Descendants of the West Indians in 1943.

Furthermore, the history of the work of the Basel Mission is closely linked with the historical development of some traditional states of the country. For instance, the Basel missionary, Rev. F. Ramseyer, was arrested in a dramatic way with his wife and another missionary, Kuhne, in the Anum area and forced to Kumase in 1869 by the invading forces of Asante. They were forced to stay there for four and half years.⁶⁰ Therefore, any time the story of the Asante military campaign is told, the Basel missionaries have a place. Furthermore, in 1888, Rev. Ramseyer and his colleagues witnessed a treaty signed between the Chiefs of Kwawu and the British Imperial power. In that treaty the Chiefs of Kwawu, out of the fear of the Asante invasion agreed to place themselves under the protection of the British. In the mid 1840s soon after the return of Rev. Andreas Riis with a party of West Indians he (Riis) was involved in a chieftaincy dispute in Akropong which was between two stool claimants. The Danes and the British supported the two

⁶⁰They were released only when the Asante heard that the British forces were advancing on Kumase in 1874.

claimants on the opposite sides. Riis decided to support the British side to the great displeasure of the Danes.⁶¹ This dispute is part of the tradition now at Akropong and any time the story is told Riis is remembered. In addition to this some of the Basel missionaries originally stayed with some traditional people before moving to the *Salem*. For instance Ramseyer stayed with a traditional priest called Nana Preko at Abetifi where he started his school. The house has now been developed into a shrine and visited by many people any time they visit Abetifi. When Ramseyer was leaving Abetifi finally he left the priest with a bell. This bell has become a symbol in the whole family and it is rang to summon members of the family to their meetings. Riis also stayed in a house near the chief's palace in Akropong. This has also been renovated and called **Riis House** in memory of Rev. A. Riis.⁶² Apart from this, the original house built by Rev. Riis at Akropong and which had earned him the accolade *Osiadan*⁶³ has been reinforced and preserved as a symbol of the work he did. With all these in the constant view of the people throughout the country, it is not surprising that the Basel Mission is closely linked to the P.C.G.

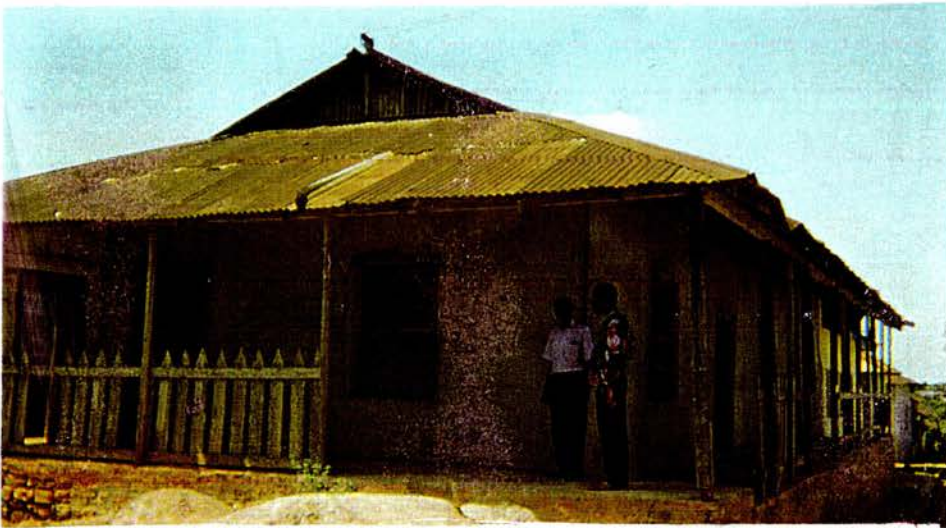


Fig. 46: The original building of Riis "The Builder" at Akropong.

⁶¹Rev. Andreas Riis was Danish.

⁶²I have visited both places and seen these myself.

⁶³*Osiadan* is an Akan word meaning "The Builder"

The position of the Basel Mission in the daily lives of Presbyterians in Ghana is further strengthened by the self-effacing posture adopted by the Scottish Mission during their stay in Ghana. The Scottish Mission was very much aware that they had been brought to Ghana to supervise the work of the Basel Mission. They acknowledged that basically, the work belonged to the Basel Mission and, therefore, realized that they were building on the foundations laid by the Basel Mission. In this sense, therefore, their work in Ghana was quite different from their work in either Calabar or Malawi where the U.F.C started the Mission work and nurtured the church their own way to maturity.

Facts available show that in spite of the achievements of the Scottish Mission in Ghana, the Mission did not try to claim any honour for itself. As much as possible the Scottish Mission directed attention away from itself and pointed the church to its roots, the Basel Mission. Wilkie began his work by declaring that the Scottish Mission would not change the focus or the pattern set by the Basel Mission.⁶⁴ This, by implication, meant the endorsement of the work of the Basel Mission and as soon as it was politically feasible, the Scottish Mission put its weight behind moves to get the Basel missionaries to return to Ghana. This was finally achieved in 1925.⁶⁵

Some of the ways in which the Scottish Mission tactically pointed the church to the Basel Mission included, firstly, the celebration of the centenary of the beginning of the work of the Basel Mission in Ghana in 1928. The Scottish Mission played a key role in initiating the programme and effectively supported the activities marking the centenary. The most outstanding contribution made by the Scottish Mission to the maintenance of the memory of the Basel Mission was the dedication of the new buildings at the Akropong Training College to their memory. The buildings were the brain child of the Scottish Mission

⁶⁴See *The Scottish Mission Church of the Gold Coast and Ashanti: Synod Minutes 1918*, P. 3

⁶⁵See full discussion on the return of the Basel missionaries in Chapter Three P. 133 above.

which also solicited funds for putting up the buildings. Therefore, Wilkie and his colleagues had a good reason to dedicate them to the memory of the Scottish Mission but instead, they were dedicated to the memory of the sacrifices made by the Basel missionaries. Therefore, apart from the history of the buildings, which is not known to many people, there is very little to connect the Scottish Mission to the buildings at the college which now house the college.⁶⁶ However, the plaque erected to commemorate the centenary and in honour of the Basel missionaries still stands and informs even casual visitors to the college of the work of the Basel Mission.

In the introduction to the 1929 constitution of the church, the R.P.P which was solely the work of the Rev. Wilkie and the Scottish Mission, the following declaration is made:

The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast is in historical continuity with the Basel Evangelical Mission Church of the Gold Coast. It incorporates the Christian communities and congregations in the Gold Coast and the neighbouring districts which were formed through the Basel Mission Society or placed themselves under its guidance.⁶⁷

Throughout the constitution nothing is said either overtly or covertly to allude to the fact that the Scottish Mission played any major role in the development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.⁶⁸ In a report issued in commemoration of the centenary of the arrival of the West Indians, the West Indians were described as "assistant founders of the erstwhile Basel Mission Church."⁶⁹ This was also effectively supported by the Scottish Mission led by the Secretary Rev. H. H. G. MacMillan.⁷⁰ It is significant to note that

⁶⁶There are also photographs of the former principals of the college which include the Scottish missionaries.

⁶⁷*The Regulations, Practice and Procedure, 1929, Part One No. 1*

⁶⁸It is in the 1985 edition of the R.P.P. that a few sentences were inserted about the Scottish Mission.

⁶⁹*Centenary Report: re West Indians: 1843-1943: Basel Mission Library Kumase No. 825 /1*

⁷⁰The celebration took place in 1943 when the Second World War was in progress and the Basel missionaries had again been interned by the British. So even in their absence the Basel Mission was still being advertised.

the Scottish Mission itself never organized any celebration to commemorate their arrival in the country.

The final point I wish to make to explain why the Scottish Mission is always marginalized in the P.C.G. is the fact that the Scottish missionaries who worked in Ghana never returned there after their stay neither did any of their descendants. Visits from the Church of Scotland to the P.C.G have also been very rare and links between the two churches have not been as strong as one would expect.

On the other hand most of the Basel missionaries who worked in Ghana and had retired returned to see the church they had helped to develop. The descendants of those who have died also visit frequently to see where their parents and grand parents worked. For instance, in Switzerland there is a group known as the *Abokobi Society*.⁷¹ This society is made up of descendants of the Basel missionaries who lived and worked in Abokobi, and they organize visits to Abokobi once in a while. These visits help to keep the links and keep the memory of the Basel Mission alive in Ghana.

I would like to say that an examination of the total life of the P.C.G shows that there is so much about the Basel Mission embedded in it that it is absolutely impossible to forget them. Their memory is, therefore, powerfully kept in the church.

The Scottish Mission on the other hand does not have many symbols of remembrance which are visible to many people in the life of the church to the scale of the Basel Mission. The few symbols that the Mission has in respect of schools and colleges are limited to a small area in the southern part of the country. What appears to have been the

⁷¹The current president of the society is Mr. Helmut Hiss. He works with the donor agency "Bread for the World" in Stuttgart, Germany.

case was that the Scottish Mission felt that they were brought in to help preserve the work of the Basel Mission. That is why they seized every opportunity to direct members of the church to the Mission. The relationship that the Scottish Mission has with the P.C.G, therefore, was that of a caretaker. In that sense the attachment of the Church of Scotland to the church in Ghana has not been as strong as the attachment of the Scottish Church to the Presbyterian Church in Calabar or Malawi or South Africa or Jamaica where the church was planted and nurtured by the Church in Scotland. I am quite sure that in these areas too there is a lot in the lives of the churches to remind the people of the Church in Scotland in the same way as the Basel Mission is very well remembered for their work in Ghana.

8.7 IMPACT OF THE WORK OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION ON GHANA AS A WHOLE.

The Scottish Mission had a great impact on the country as a whole as a result of their work.⁷² By stressing good quality education which was seen in the opening of more teacher training colleges to turn out more qualified teachers, the Mission helped to raise the standards of education in the country. This contributed immensely to the process of making the country literate. It is true the Scottish Mission did not encourage the Presbyterian church to establish a secondary school, but the overall contribution of the Mission to the development of the education in Ghana was undoubtedly positive.⁷³ Furthermore, the Scottish Mission continued the strict discipline of the Basel Mission stressing hard work, honesty, judicious use of resources available and the fear of God.

⁷²See the Mission's work in Education in Chapter Six above.

⁷³The circumstances surrounding the opening of a boys' secondary school by the Presbyterian Church of Ghana has been discussed in Chapter Six P. 248 above.

People who went through the schools and institutions of the church, therefore, were able to influence the society with these qualities for the good of the country to a large extent.

The Scottish Mission is remembered also for its interest and emphasis on female education. It was the first Mission to turn out professional women teachers. By turning out women teachers on a large scale, therefore, the Mission helped to change the traditional view about women as being good only for marriage and child bearing because women teachers were seen all over the country competing with men in schools as teachers. By so doing, the image of women was significantly improved. The Scottish Mission brought women missionaries to Ghana right from the beginning of the work in Ghana. These were different from wives of male missionaries. These also served as good models for educated women who, though without husbands and children of their own, had a great contribution to make towards the development of human society. This served as a motivation to Ghanaians as a whole. This is important because in Ghana women in particular, who had no husbands and also had no children were considered to be of no use to the traditional society irrespective of their achievements in other fields of human endeavour.⁷⁴

Some of the Scottish missionaries served on committees that formulated the educational policies of the colonial government. Rev. A. W. Wilkie for instance served on the Educationists Committee of 1920 appointed by Governor Guggisberg to advise him on educational development in the country. It was the Committee that recommended the establishment of the Prince of Wales College, Achimota with the first principal Rev. A. G. Fraser, a Scottish Presbyterian minister.⁷⁵ Mr. Benzies who, later became Principal of the Akropong Training College, first taught at the Prince of Wales College. It was the

⁷⁴There are still some of these beliefs around but it is much better these days than before.

⁷⁵Rev. A. G. Fraser though Scottish by birth was not part of the mainstream Scottish Mission. It was Oldham who influenced his appointment when Guggisberg asked help from him.

college that eventually formed the nucleus for the University of Ghana which began in 1948.

The introduction of games and sports into the Akropong training college helped to inject interest in the schools and colleges in the country. In the final analysis the college produced Ghana's first indigenous athletic coach in 1952 in the person of Mr. E. C. Nyarko. He became the national athletic coach for Ghana after independence and assisted in developing the athletic talents of many young people in Ghana. He prepared Ghana's athletic teams for many international games including Olympic games. The seed of all this was sown in a humble way by the Scottish Mission at Akropong. In this respect, it can be said, with justification, that the Scottish Mission had an influence on the development of games and sports in the country.

The first school for the blind in Ghana was started informally by the Scottish missionaries at Akropong led by Mr. F. D. Harker. Mr. Harker also managed to influence the government to take interest in the rehabilitation of disabled people in Ghana. Through their activities disabled people in Ghana had some hope of succeeding in life on their own. Blind people could be educated like their sighted counterparts and could earn academic qualifications and play a meaningful role in the national reconstruction.⁷⁶ One of the disabled people personally recruited by Mr. Harker called Mr. F. E. Y. Attipoe later became the Managing Director of the Presbyterian Book Depot.⁷⁷ This gives a fair assessment of how successful the experiment had been.

In the Sandema area, the only place where the Scottish Mission was directly involved in the establishment of congregations, an agricultural extension work and a clinic were

⁷⁶See Chapter Six P. 245 above for the development of the School for the Blind.

⁷⁷He was Managing Director from 1964 to 1977. There is now a Sixth form department for the blind at Wenchi Secondary school in Ghana.

attached to the congregational work in Sandema the capital of the Builsa. The agricultural work was intended to provide advice to the large agrarian community in the area and the clinic was also intended to provide ante-natal advice to women in the area and first aid to the general community. After suffering a few setbacks at the initial stages the agricultural project has developed into a giant project providing extension services to the farmers in the area.⁷⁸ This has helped to improve significantly the incomes of the people and correspondingly improved their standard of living. The clinic has also grown into a well established mobile clinic and providing advice to hundreds of people in the area with regard to child care and rudiments of modern nutrition and basic hygiene. Though the Church of Scotland now has nothing to do with the projects, their inception was due to the foresight and initiative of the Scottish Mission which has the right to share in any impact that these projects are having on the society.

On the political front, it can be said that generally the Scottish Mission did not show interest in terms of helping Ghanaians to fight for independence. It is probable that this was due to the circumstances under which they came to Ghana.⁷⁹ However, by training and guiding the P.C.G and encouraging it to become fully independent, the Scottish Mission indirectly helped to strengthen the hands of the nationalists that given the chance, the Ghanaians could manage their own affairs. In this respect, therefore, the church and the Scottish Mission played an indirect role in the fight for independence in Ghana.

By helping in preserving the work of the Basel Mission the Scottish Mission saved for the country a priceless legacy left behind by the Basel Mission. This legacy was made up of numerous schools and the code of discipline that was associated with the Basel Mission

⁷⁸When I visited Sandema in April, 1994, the station had opened a blind rehabilitation section to provide training to blind people to be able to do their own farming to earn a living on their own. See Fig. 26 P. 216 above. According to the Director, Mr. Moses Appiah, the project also provides scholarships to blind children for further studies.

⁷⁹This is the subject of Chapter Two above.

educational system and the P.C.G. The schools and the church undoubtedly have both played a significant role in the country's educational development and contributed to the moral education of the people of Ghana.

Compared to the Basel Mission, the Scottish Mission had a very small band of missionary personnel in Ghana. Many of the Scottish missionaries were not known by many people and the resources were few. However, working from obscure places with few resources and usually not known by many people the Scottish Mission had a tremendous impact on the country as a whole.

8.8 THE IMPACT OF THE WORK OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION ON THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA.

The Scottish Mission had a tremendous impact on the P.C.G. In the first place the Mission transformed the Basel Mission field into a strong indigenous, independent and self supporting church recognized and respected by the world christian community. Thus it succeeded in placing the church in the orbit of world ecumenical movement. It also helped to raise the morale of the church leaders and members who were downcast by the forcible removal of the Basel missionaries. The Scottish Mission gave the Ghanaian church leaders confidence by involving them in the administration of the church because by so doing the Mission boosted the self esteem of the indigenous church leadership.

The opportunity given to the Ghanaians to participate in the administration of the church gave them the chance to demonstrate their capabilities and to bring the best performance out of them. The paternalistic regime of the Basel Mission inhibited whatever potential the Ghanaians had because they were not given the opportunity to put it into practice.

Furthermore, the training courses provided by the Mission helped in no small measure in ensuring efficiency in the administrative machinery of the church.

We have already noted that the Presbyterian system of church government was introduced by the Scottish Mission. The system of church government assisted the church to solve the problem of choosing a name. In 1926 when there was a complete deadlock as to how to get a suitable name after all attempts had failed Wilkie explained the Presbyterian system of church polity which the Mission had introduced to the Synod. This helped to break the deadlock and the name **Presbyterian** was adopted. It was the Mission that gave to the P.C.G its first constitution, the R.P.P. The constitution helped to systematize order and discipline in the church since all agents of the church could now be guided by the same constitution. The disadvantage in connection with the use of the R.P.P though was that it was seen as a blueprint given to the church by the missionaries. Therefore, the stipulations were enforced to the tiniest detail especially, the clauses that dealt with church discipline. In the end, the church which was expected to be a place where sinners could get some hope and assurance of forgiveness became a place where punishment was meted out without any mercy. The constitution in the end killed the initiative of the church leaders and made them uncompromising in the enforcement of church discipline. Furthermore, the constitution entrenched missionary revulsion against the culture of Ghanaians by its legislation against almost all vital aspects of Ghanaian culture.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the Scottish Mission, by the way they ordered their activities, bequeathed to the P.C.G a character that elicits careful planning, meticulous examination of church accounts and judicious use of resources available. These are good qualities by all standards and should be commended. However, there are corresponding disadvantages in

⁸⁰A Presbyterian could not become a chief, he/she could not take part in traditional funerals, oath, festivals, they could not take traditional medicine etc. In the final analysis, to be a Presbyterian was to disassociate oneself from all that makes one a Ghanaian in the traditional sense.

the practical application of these qualities. It appears that the P.C.G usually applies these to the extreme to the point that the judicious use of resources is sometimes understood to mean stinginess. Also the church lacks courage to take risks in respect of investments for fear that it might incur losses.

We have also noted that the Scottish Mission taught the church proper financial management. However, apart from the Scottish Mission Book Depot and the Printing Press, the Mission did not take any interest in investments from which the church could derive some additional funds to beef up the finances of the church. The result of this is that the budget of the central administration is mainly supported by monies collected from church members in "church taxes". In view of this the church is always in a precarious financial situation in the sense that since the level of income of the church is dependent on contributions from members, one cannot predict fairly accurately how much is likely to be the level of income in a particular year. Furthermore, since the income of the church depends on the incomes of the members, any serious decrease in church membership or any adverse effect on their incomes would have a corresponding adverse effect on the income of the church. Such a situation does not augur well for any meaningful development of the church.

The Scottish Mission had cordial relationship with the colonial government. This had two consequences for the church. Firstly, it helped to create a new image for the Presbyterian Church of Ghana in the governmental circles. Instead of the disloyal and suspicious church of the Basel Mission era, the church was seen as a loyal, "obedient servant" of the British Imperial government. At every Synod loyal greetings were sent to the governor in Accra to express the church's loyalty to the British Crown.⁸¹ The King's birth day June, 3rd was marked on the church's almanac and celebrated in the church and

⁸¹See Chapter Two P. 75 above for an example of the loyal message.

all the schools of the church and so was the Empire Day, May 24th.⁸² Some of the Scottish missionaries served on policy making committees on education in Ghana. The church also received sympathetic hearing from the government. Secondly, the corollary of the close relation with the government was the apparent loss of the prophetic voice of the Scottish Mission and the Presbyterian Church. All the messages sent to the government merely praised the "wise leadership" of the governor and the colonial government and prayed for the continuation of such leadership. I have not come across any time that either the Scottish Mission or the P.C.G was critical of the colonial government in Ghana.⁸³ Even during the critical days of intense nationalist activity sparked off by the shooting incident of 28th February 1948 which brought about a general unrest in the country the church could not openly condemn it.⁸⁴ This attitude of the Scottish Mission in Ghana was in contrast with its attitude in Malawi where the Mission was said to have been critical of the policies of the British colonial administration which were considered to be detrimental to the well-being of the indigenous people. This uncritical approach to the policies of the government of any kind had been the pattern of the Presbyterian Church's dealings with the government even after political independence.

We have already noted that as part of the administrative arrangements introduced by the Scottish Mission presbyteries were created in 1922. These Presbyteries were created along defined ethnic boundaries such as Ga and Dangme, Akyem and Okwawu, Asante and Asante Akyem, Agona and Kotoku, Akuapem and Anum. All these are ethnic groups who are justifiably proud of their ethnicity. What this has done, therefore, is to sharpen

⁸²The Empire Day was a National Celebration marked with games and sports and flag raising ceremonies. This was elaborately observed in Schools supervised by the Scottish Mission. Reports of this can be found in chronicle of the Aburi Girls School.

⁸³ This is put down to the circumstances under which the Scottish Mission came to Ghana and the massive assistance given to the Mission by the colonial government which have already been discussed.

⁸⁴On 28th February, 1948, a British police officer shot into a group of ex-Service men who wanted to present a petition to the governor and killed a number of them instantly. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah took advantage to organize boycotts protests against the British Rule.

ethnic consciousness in the church.⁸⁵ This sometimes even threatens elections and appointments to offices in the church because presbyteries which are coterminous with ethnic groups struggle to have a fair share of the positions available instead of looking for people who can actually do the work. The consequence of this is that sometimes we do not get the right people at the right places. This has damaging effects on administration and brings about tension, suspicion and mistrust and strains general human relations in the church. This also has a covert cultural dimension. The various ethnic groups in the church implicitly see the creation of their own presbytery as a symbol of their cultural identity and a mark of their independence as people. Every ethnic group represented in the church, therefore, is asking for their own presbytery. It is interesting to note that this struggle for their own presbytery is in most cases supported by traditional rulers who also see it as symbol of cultural emancipation.

8.9 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Asked why the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is so much attached to the Basel Mission, Rev. C. A. Ansah, a retired pastor of the Presbyterian Church who had the opportunity of working with some of the Scottish missionaries in Akropong had this to say:

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana considers the Basel Mission as Mother and the Scottish Mission as step Mother hence the special attachment to Basel. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana derives roots from Basel.⁸⁶

Many members of the church I interviewed described the church's relationship with Basel Mission in similar filial terms. This explains the emotional attachment to the Mission by

⁸⁵After 1957 further Presbyteries were created to make the situation more pronounced. The Ga area became a separate Presbytery from Dangme, Okwawu also became a separate presbytery from Akyem etc. This has been the pattern for creating presbyteries in the church

⁸⁶ See response to questionnaire by Rev. C. A. Ansah.

the members of the P.C.G. As regards the Scottish Mission the church sees it as a "step mother" who acted when the "Mother" was away. They did their utmost to ensure the preservation and growth of the Presbyterian Church as this research has shown conclusively. However, the Mission decided to keep to the background and instead project the image of the Basel Mission, being the "Mother" of the church. This has led to its marginalization in spite of the important contribution it has made to the development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. But its decision to keep to the background demonstrates its sincerity because it is an illustration of the fact that its prime interest was to assist to preserve the missionary work done by a sister missionary group and not to take full possession. This, to me is a sign of strong moral character. This research has unearthed a great deal in the P.C.G which go to the credit of the Scottish Mission but which many members of the church had, unconsciously, assumed came from the Basel Mission. However, by adopting the self-effacing stance, the Scottish Mission refused to take credit for anything that they had done because I believe they felt that they were merely "unworthy servants" who had only done their duty. The good news for all, Basel Mission, Scottish Mission, the British colonial government and Ghanaians, however, is that by 1957, the Scottish Mission had completed its work, the church had been preserved and there was a strong, lively and growing indigenous Presbyterian Church of Ghana to the glory of God.

On the whole it is a fact that the Scottish Mission did not do any serious study and development of the Ghanaian culture. It is a fact that they did not take any serious interest in the political life of the country and it is true that very little was done in respect of direct congregational work in the church. Nevertheless the Scottish Mission was an important factor in the development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana as this research has conclusively proved by highlighting important aspects of the work of the Mission. A retrospective look at the work of the Mission identifies the Aburi Girls' Secondary School,

Aburi Women's Teacher Training College, Krobo Girls Secondary School, the extension work of the Akropong Presbyterian Training College, the St. Andrew's College, Mampong Asante, the Prempeh College in Kumase, all are very important educational institutions in Ghana today as some of the major contributions to the educational programme of the P.C.G. Furthermore, the Administrative structure of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Synod, the Synod Committee, the positions of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk, the R.P.P. the various committees of the church, the indigenization of the personnel and the full autonomy of the church are also some of the major contributions made by the Scottish Mission to the development of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. These serve as lasting monuments of the work of the Scottish Mission in Ghana.

It can, therefore, be seen from this research that there is enough in the life of the P.C.G. which should always remind the members of the work of the Scottish Mission and the strong presence of the Basel Mission which, no doubt, also deserve commendation, should not be allowed to obliterate it.

APPENDIX I

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF TIGARE

1. Do not speak evil of your friend on the public highway.
2. Do not use the name of God in cursing your fellow men.
3. Do not steal, except where Tigare allows it.¹
4. Do not defraud your fellow men.
5. Do not break up another person's home through adultery.²
6. Do not gossip or speak untruth about your fellow men.
7. Do not make "sipe" (i.e. cherish evil thoughts about other people)
8. Do not harbour witchcraft.
9. Do not take the life of another person either by poisoning or any other method.
10. Do not challenge the power of Tigare.

¹Tigare allows the stealing of public money or from European firms.

²This commandment affects women only. The traditional law on adultery is very soft on men.

APPENDIX II

THE BASEL MISSION ORDINANCE

GOLD COAST COLONY.

No 40 of 1918

I assent

HUGH CLIFFORD
CGovernor,

31st December 1918.

An ORDINANCE to control the property and continue the work of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory.

WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the control of the property of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory and for the continuation of the missionary and educational work of the said Society and Factory and for that purpose to appoint Trustees of the said property with power to transfer the property of the said Society to a British Missionary Society or Body and the property of the said Factory to a British Company approved by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State all to be administered for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti so far as may be in accordance with the principles and practice observed and followed by the said Society and Factory;

BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:-

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the Basel Mission Ordinance 1918.

2. In this Ordinance.

"The Basel Mission Society" means the Missionary Society commonly known on the Gold Coast as the Basel Mission Society.

"The Basel Mission Factory" means the Societe Commerciale des Missions, Basel, being the Trading Society commonly known on the Gold Coast as the Basel Mission Factory.

For/

For the purpose of this Ordinance any property, real or personal, which belonged to or was in the possession of the Basel Mission Society or the Basel Mission Factory and was, by virtue of an Order of the Governor made on the fourth day of February one thousand nine hundred and eighteen under sections 3 and 4 of the Enemy Property control and disposal Ordinance, 1914, taken possession of by the Controlling Officer appointed under section 3 of the said Ordinance, and thereby became vested in such Controlling Officer shall be deemed to be property belonging to or in the possession of the said Basel Mission Society or the said Basel Mission Factory as the case may be.

3. (1) Notwithstanding any act or thing done or performed in respect of the property belonging to or in the possession of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory it shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint such number of Trustees of the property of the said Basel Mission Society and Basel Mission Factory as he may think fit, of whom a majority shall be persons actively interested in missionary work, and thereupon in accordance with and by virtue of such appointment all the property, real and personal, in the Gold Coast Colony belonging to or in the possession of the said Basel Mission Society and Basel Mission Factory, save such sum as the Governor may declare by writing under his hand to be necessary to make payment of the debts and other liabilities of the said Basel Mission Factory and to make such payments as may be sufficient to extinguish the interest of the shareholders and bondholders of the said Basel Mission Factory shall become vested in such Trustees as from the date of their appointment, and after all such payments shall have been made the Governor may so declare by writing under his hand and thereupon any balance remaining over from the sum first declared necessary shall become vested in such Trustees.

(2) The Governor may from time to time add to and fill vacancies occurring in the number of such Trustees; and the manner in which their powers may be exercised during the absence of inability to act of any Trustee, the manner in which documents shall be executed by them and their acts shall be evidenced and generally all matters of procedure may be regulated by Rules made under section 8.

4. It shall be lawful for the said Trustees to transfer or lease all or any of the property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Society to any British Missionary Society or Body to be administered by such Society or Body for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti so far as may be in accordance with the principles

observed/

observed and followed by the said Basel Mission Society. And in the event of any British Missionary Society or Body to which any such property may be so transferred or leased failing so to administer the same, it shall be lawful for such Trustees to cancel any such transfer or lease and thereupon such property shall again become vested in such Trustees and may again be leased or transferred by them to another British Missionary Society or Body under the same conditions as hereinbefore provided.

5. It shall be lawful for the said Trustees to transfer or lease all or any of the property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Factory to any British Company approved by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to be administered by such Company for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti subject to the approval of such Secretary of State so far as may be in accordance with the principles and practice observed and followed by the Basel Mission Factory. And in the event of any Company to which any such property may be so transferred or leased failing so to administer the same it shall be lawful for the said Trustees to cancel any such transfer or lease and thereupon such property shall again become vested in such Trustees and may again be leased or transferred by them to another British Company under the same conditions as hereinbefore provided.

6. It shall be lawful for the said Trustees to deal with any property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Factory which may not be transferred or leased under the provisions of the last preceding section in such manner as one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State may approve.

7. None of the property transferred leased or otherwise dealt with by the said Trustees and none of the profits derived from the use of such property shall be used by the said Trustees or by any Missionary Society or Body or Company to which the same may be transferred or leased for the promotion of enterprises elsewhere than in the Gold Coast or Ashanti.

8. The Governor in Council may make rules for the better carrying out of the purposes and provisions of this Ordinance.

Passed in the Legislative Council this Thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord, One thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

APPENDIX III

CERTIFICATE FOR THE RECOGNITION OF CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA

Christian Blessing of Marriage under
Native Customary Law



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that

..... and
duly marriage in accordance with Native Customary Law, have this day solemnly
promised before God, and in my presence, to observe the Christian Law respecting
marriage that I have confirmed and blessed their union in the name of the
FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY SPIRIT.

Those whom God has joined together
let no man put asunder Matt. 19: 6

Signed this..... day of.....19.....

Witnesses:

.....
.....

.....Minister

.....Church

APPENDIX IV.

OBSERVANCE OF TRADITIONAL DAYS AND CUSTOMS³

At a meeting of the Governor of the Gold Coast (Ghana) his Excellency, Sir J.J Thorburn, CMG, his Chief Administrators and Heads of Missions and Churches held at Kumase, 2nd March 1912 the following;

1. That no Christian should be obliged to swear back an oath.
2. That on an oath being sworn against him, a Christian should be bound to accept it as a summons to attend court.
3. That Failure thereafter to attend the court, an official of the court should be sent to summon him and the Christian to pay the cost of sending the message.
4. That Chiefs be warned that the failure of a Christian to swear back an oath should in no way prejudice his case when heard on its merits.
5. That no Christian should be called upon to perform any fetish rite or service to his Chief on ceremonial occasions when element of fetish practice is involved.
6. That an effort should be made to draw a distinction between fetish and purely ceremonial services

³R.P.P 1985 Edition article 300 P.107-108. All those who attended the meeting were Europeans. The government delegation, three Basel missionaries, one Wesleyan missionary and two Roman Catholics.

APPENDIX V

RESULTS OF REFERENDUM TO DETERMINE THE CONDITIONS UNDER
WHICH THE BASEL MISSION COULD RETURN TO GHANA.

Extract from the Minutes of the Synod Committee,
which met at Christiansborg, from 30th November to
5th December 1922.

After the International Missionary Council held at Mohonk, which considered the question of the return of the Alien Missionary Societies to their former Mission Fields, the Synod Committee decided to gather the views of the members of our congregations about the return of the Basel Missionaries to the Gold Coast, and to inform the said Council of the result.

Through our enquiries we have found that the whole community has nothing against the return of the Basel Missionaries; the majority being for cooperation with the Scottish Mission, and the minority for the Basel Mission alone.

The Synod Committee submit this information to the Committees of the Churches in Scotland and Basel for their consideration and decision.

Signed in the name of the Synod Committee:-

P. Hall Moderator.

H. F. Clerk Clerk.

Conferences in regard to the Mohonk Resolutions were held at the following centres:- Akropong, Aburi, Christiansborg, Odumase, Addah, Nsawam, Koforidua, Tafo, Asamankese, Otumi, Nsaba, Kwanyako, Akyem-Soaduru, Kumase and Anum.

The following table shows the result of the Conferences, and the number of Communicants in the districts represented:-

	For cooperation with the Scottish Mission.	For return of the Basel Mission alone.
GA. C'borg, Abokobi, Mayera, Bawaleshie		1820
ADANGWE. Odumase, Addah.	600	260
AKWAPIM. Akropong, Adawso, Adukrom, Late, Mampong, Aburi, Nsawam.	5400	
ANUM.	670	
AKYEM. Begoro, Kyebi, Kwabeng. Asamankese Otumi, Koforidua	1930 130	260 380 260
AGONA KOTOKU. Nsaba, Kwanyako, Soaduru, Asuboa.	1180	780
KWAHU. Abetifi.		1010
ASANTE-AKYEM Bompata.	690	
ASANTE. Kumase, Mampong, Berehum.	_____	<u>1200</u>
TOTALS.	10600	5970
	=====	=====

APPENDIX VI

GUGGISBERG'S SIXTEEN PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION

1. Primary Education must be thorough and from the bottom up.
2. The Provision of Secondary Schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
3. The Provision of a university.
4. Equal opportunities to those given to boys should be provided for the education of girls.
5. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
6. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
7. Character -training must take an important place in education.
8. Religious teaching should form part of education.
9. Organized games should form part of school life.
10. The course in every school should include special reference to health, welfare and industries of the locality.
11. A sufficient staff of efficient African Inspectors of Schools must be trained and maintained.
12. While an English education must be given, it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
13. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
14. There should be co-operation between the Government and the Missions; and the latter should be subsidized for educational purposes.
15. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.

16. The provision of Trade Schools with a technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.

Note: Culled from Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates, Session 1927-28; Sessional Address by the Governor, 3rd March 1927.

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INTERVIEWEES

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Asiedu, E.A, Rev. District Pastor, Berekum Presbyterian Church, Berekum.

- Ashong, A Rev. District Pastor, Osu- Christiansborg Presbyterian Church.
- Awankyimbe, Andrew., Member Sandema Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
- Awomnab, W W. Rev. District Pastor, Sandema Presbyterian Church.
- Ayerepok, Member, Sandema Presbyterian Church.
- Azantilow, Nab., Paramount Chief, Builsa Traditional area, Sandema.
- Baeta, C. G (Prof.) Former Synod Clerk, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana,
Former Head of the Department for the Study of Religions,
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- Bediako, K Rev. (Dr.) Director, Akrofi-Christaller Centre, Akropong- Akuapem
- Beeko, A.A Rev. Chairman, Akyem Abuakwa Presbytery, P.C.G. Kyebi.
- Dadzaa, G. A. Rev. (Dr.) Chairman, Volta Presbytery, P.C.G. Anum.
- Duah, C.A., Former Head teacher- Catechist, P.C.G, Seekwa.
- Dzakpasu, E.K Rev. Synod Clerk, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana, Ho.
- Dzobo, N.K Very Rev. Former Moderator, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana.
- Effa- Ababio, Rev. (Dr.) Chaplain, University of Science and Technology, Kumase.
- Frempong, I.H. Very Rev. Former Moderator, P.C.G., Apedwa.
- Koranteng, D.A, Rt. Rev, Moderator P.C.G, Accra.
- Kwamena-Poh, (Prof.) Former Head of the Department of General and African Studies
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- Kwansa A.L, Rev. Former Synod Clerk, Former Inter Church and Ecumenical Relations
Secretary, P.C.G , Aburi.
- Laryea Philip, Rev. General Youth Secretary, P.C.G, Accra.
- Mate Kodjo, E.S, Synod Clerk, P.C.G, Accra.
- Mensah Yaw, Nana Farmer Seekwa.
- Minta, S.N. Former Head teacher-Catechist P.C.G, Nsaba
- Odoi, G.A., Former Chairman of Central Finance Committee, P.C.G, Accra
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Tekperthy, E.T., Evangelist Minister, P.C.G Kumase.

Ursule, Engel., Nursing Sister, Sandema Mobile Clinic, Sandema.

2. SCOTLAND

Elder, D.S (Rev.) Former Secretary, Scottish Mission in Ghana, Accra. (Deceased)

Elder, E. Mrs. She was with her husband, Rev. Elder in Ghana.

Findlay, J. Rev. Former Tutor at P.T.C Akropong- Akuapem, Former Principal of St.
Andrews Teacher Training College, Mampong Asante.

Macrae, Norman Rev. Former missionary in Calabar.

Martin, Joan Mrs. Formerly with the Women's Work Committee, Accra.

Moore, J. W Rev. First Principal of St. Andrews' Training College, Mampong, Asante.

Paton, C. F Rev. Former missionary in Ghana. First missionary to Sandema.

Paton, Jean, Mrs. Wife of Rev. C. F. Paton

Smith, Noel Rev. Dr. Former missionary to Ghana. Last European Principal of P.T.C.

Wilkie, James Rev. Dr. of the Headquarters of the Church of Scotland, in charge of Sub-
Saharan Africa.