

**Evangelical Parachurch Movements  
In  
Ghanaian Christianity:  
C.1950–Early 1990s.**

**By**

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To  
Maame Yaa,  
For Her Love and Devotion.

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been prepared by myself, that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, that all quotations have been distinguished by either quotation marks or indentation and all the sources of information specifically acknowledged by means of footnotes.

Signed:

Samuel B Adubofuor

## ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the origins, growth and indigenisation of parachurch movements, in their primary and secondary forms, in the context of established Christianity in Ghana in the post-war era.

The historical accounts explore the operations of primary groups, particularly, Scripture Union and kindred Christian Fellowships, stimulating the development of secondary independent evangelistic and charismatic organisations. It includes early and later movements towards independency, culminating in "church formation" - a metamorphosis in the whole parachurch movement.

The indigenous and exogenous components of the parachurch phenomena - evangelical and pentecostal, are discussed to indicate the complex multi-lateral determinant factors involved. The very significant background factors include the traditional religion and national political and socio-economic situations to which the parachurch groups respond in diverse ways.

Church relations emerges as the immediate problem in parachurch operations. Parachurch operations are intended to complement that of the Church, but they generate issues of conflict and mistrust which are discussed as they emerge in the historical accounts. Particular international and local efforts towards resolving conflict and promoting co-operation are considered.

A detailed examination is made of the evangelicalism of the parachurch movements, expressed in terms of doctrinal affirmations, commitment to the Bible and evangelism, and particular modest acts of social concern.

A radical brand of evangelicalism emerges with Pentecostal influence, involving the adoption of the music and spirituality of local Pentecostal Churches. Hence the engagement in fasting and extended prayer with *glossolalia*, particularly in all-night prayer meetings; focus on prophecies and visions; with the ministry of healing and deliverance emerging and enduring as evangelical pentecostal response to the supernatural realities of the African world.

The evangelical pentecostal impact of the parachurch movements on church life is evident in the rise of growth of charismatic renewal movements within the Protestant Churches, as indicated by the case of the Methodist Church which has been selected for special treatment.

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## SELECTED ABBREVIATIONS

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| ACP     | Africa Christian Press                                |
| AFCC    | All For Christ Campaign                               |
| AoG     | Assemblies of God Church                              |
| APECON  | All Pastors and Evangelists Conference                |
| BC      | Bible Conference                                      |
| BELAM   | Bethlehem Evangelistic Ministry                       |
| CCFD    | Centre for Counselling and Faith Development          |
| CCCF    | Co-ordinating Committee for Christian Fellowships     |
| CDM     | Charismatic Deliverance Ministry/Ministries           |
| CF      | Christian Fellowship                                  |
| CICCU   | Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union            |
| CMSR    | Christian Movement for Social Reformation             |
| COF     | Christian Outreach Fellowship                         |
| CPC     | Come Preach Christ                                    |
| CPP     | Convention People's Party                             |
| CSC     | Christian Service College                             |
| CSSM    | Children's Special Service Mission                    |
| CU      | Christian Union                                       |
| EHP     | Easter House-Party                                    |
| FC      | Faith Convention                                      |
| FCN     | Faith Convention News                                 |
| FGBMFI  | Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International   |
| FSE     | Faith School of Evangelism                            |
| GCBF    | Ghana Christian Businessmen's Fellowship              |
| GEC     | Ghana Evangelism Committee                            |
| GECF    | Ghana Evangelical Christian Fellowship                |
| GEMA    | Ghana Evangelical Missions Association                |
| GES     | Ghana Evangelical Society                             |
| GHACOE  | Ghana Congress On Evangelism                          |
| GFE     | Ghana Fellowship of Evangelists                       |
| GHAFES  | Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students              |
| GIUCF   | Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship           |
| GWM     | GHACOE Women's Ministry                               |
| HBS     | Holiday Bible School                                  |
| HOVCEA  | Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association |
| ICC     | Inter-College Camp                                    |
| IFES    | International Fellowship of Evangelical Students      |
| IHCF    | Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship                       |
| IVF(EU) | Inter-Varsity Fellowship (of Evangelical Unions)      |
| IVOF    | Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship                     |
| IWTP    | Ideal Womanhood Training Project                      |
| JW(I)   | Joyful Way (Incorporated)                             |
| KCT     | Kumasi College of Technology                          |
| MBC     | Maranatha Bible College                               |
| NAEG    | National Association of Evangelicals of Ghana         |
| NGM     | Narrow Gate Ministries                                |
| NLFA    | New Life For All                                      |
| NTC     | Nurses Training College                               |
| OHN     | Operation Help Nima                                   |
| OICCU   | Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union               |
| PAFES   | Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students        |
| PNDC    | Provisional National Defence Council                  |
| PTC     | Presbyterian Training College                         |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| PWM     | Prayer Warriors Movement  |
| QT      | Quiet Time  |
| REPEM   | Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry                                      |
| SCM     | Student Christian Movement  |
| SICE    | Student-In-Church Evangelism  |
| SIM     | Sudan Interior Mission (now Society for International Ministries)             |
| SMC     | Supreme Military Council  |
| SoM     | School of Ministry  |
| SPG     | Society for the Propagation of the Gospel                                     |
| SU      | Scripture Union   |
| TF      | Town Fellowship   |
| UCC     | University of Cape Coast  |
| UCCCCF  | University College of Cape Coast Christian Fellowship                         |
| UCCF    | Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship [UK]                           |
| UCCF    | University College Christian Fellowship                                       |
| UCF     | University Christian Fellowship   |
| UNIGOV  | Union Government  |
| URF     | Upper Room Fellowship   |
| UST     | University of Science and Technology  |
| VC      | Vice-Chancellor   |
| WAF     | Women's Aglow Fellowship  |
| WAHSCON | West African Holy Spirit Conference   |
| WAR     | Warriors Annual Retreat   |
| WCC     | World Council Of Churches   |
| WCE     | World Congress on Evangelism  |
| WEC     | Worldwide Evangelisation Crusade<br>(now Worldwide Evangelisation for Christ) |
| WEF     | World Evangelical Fellowship  |
| WSCF    | World's Student Christian Federation  |
| YAFCA   | Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association                                      |
| YFC     | Youth For Christ  |

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### CHAPTER ONE

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### PARACHURCH-CHURCH RELATIONS: INITIATIVES TOWARDS CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION

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## INTRODUCTION

### A. PARACHURCH MOVEMENTS:

#### A.1 The "Third Force" in Ghanaian Christianity

Parachurch movements constitute a "third force" in Ghanaian Christianity, with the first being churches established by Western Christian missions, and the second, the Independent African Church movement. Parachurch operations are intended to supplement that of the churches, but in their own right the parachurch movements constitute a significant missionary force in the task of nationwide evangelism.

The writer observes that despite their considerable impact on Ghanaian Christian life, very little effort has been made at the local level to subject parachurch activity to serious academic study. One reason for this is local Ghanaian perceptions and attitudes which restrict Christian activity to direct church activity, discounting parachurch work as perfunctory and incidental, and at best, the work of amateur evangelical enthusiasts lacking theological training. This study is an attempt to stimulate local interest in parachurch work as a subject worthy of serious academic research and documentation.

#### A.2 Concepts And Categories

Parachurch organisations are "Christian service agencies – usually inter-denominational or non-denominational in character, seeking to advance some aspect of the Gospel witness or Christian nurture".<sup>1</sup> A broader but less popular concept of parachurch movements embraces auxiliary ecclesiastical structures – seminaries, mission boards, Sunday schools and voluntary church societies.<sup>2</sup> By their very nature the non-

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<sup>1</sup> See Howard Snyder, *Para-Church Agencies: An Examination of Validity*, in *Co-operation in Evangelization: A Handbook on Church/Parachurch Relationships* (Wheaton: Lausanne Committee For World Evangelization, 1983), 83-99.

<sup>2</sup> Douglas, J.D., ed. *Let The Earth Hear His Voice – International Congress on World Evangelization*, Lausanne Switzerland, Official Reference Volume: Papers and Responses (Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1975), 145, note 3.

denominational and inter-denominational types tend to be specialised in evangelistic functions intended to supplement that of the Church.

This study concentrates on non-denominational Bible study and prayer fellowships, and independent evangelistic associations operating in Ghana; and their links with those in the West. Western organisations that feature more or less prominently in this study include UK student movements such as the Scripture Union, the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF) now Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship (UCCF), and Student Christian Movement. The North American types include the Youth For Christ and the Campus Crusade For Christ movements. The North American organisations such as the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association and the Morris Cerullo group feature prominently in connection with large evangelistic crusades. The American influence is further projected in the pentecostal/charismatic ministry of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, and the sister group, Women's Aglow Fellowship.

An umbrella organisation such as the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES) is significant in fostering international contacts between the IVF related groups. In a much wider context international evangelical associations such as the World Evangelical Fellowship and the Lausanne Movement facilitate international co-operation between evangelicals operating in churches and parachurch organisations. Many evangelical individuals and bodies identify with both. With a predominantly North American background, support-base, and constituency, the two organisations co-operate to develop a "worldwide following and a global programme".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Bevens, S.B. & Scherer, J.A., Mission Statements: How They Are Developed and What They Tell Us, *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 16(3), July 1992, 102. In collaboration with various units of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, consultations organised by the WEF created international fora for articulating evangelical thought on "The Theology of Development" and "Evangelical Commitment to Simple Lifestyle" (both 1980), "The Relationship Between Evangelism and Social Responsibility" (1982), "The Church in Response to Human Need" (1983), "The Work of the Holy Spirit and Evangelization" (1985), "Conversion" (1988), and "The Christian Gospel and the Jewish People" (1989) [ibid.].

The WEF was formed in 1951 as an Anglo-American evangelical model of the World Council of Churches, to reproduce the functions of the IFES (formed in 1947) in linking parachurch and church organisations in national fellowships of evangelicals.<sup>4</sup> Membership of the WEF which is "an alliance of some sixty national and regional evangelical bodies" is open to national fellowships of evangelicals.<sup>5</sup> The National Association of Evangelicals in Ghana<sup>6</sup> and other national evangelical associations in Africa are affiliated to the WEF through its regional branch - the Association of Evangelicals in Africa and Madagascar (AEAM).

For international and local co-operation in evangelism, the Lausanne Movement is particularly important. It emerged with the adoption of the Lausanne Covenant and the formation of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization at the 1974 International Congress on World Evangelization (Lausanne - Switzerland), and consolidated through a series of international conferences, all sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. With substantial assistance from the evangelical journal, *Christianity Today*, and support from various evangelistic agencies and missionary organisations, the Lausanne Congress "carried forward the momentum of the Wheaton Congress on the Church's World-wide Mission and the Berlin World Congress on

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<sup>4</sup> The WEF is a product of negotiations between American and European evangelicals. It was started in Woudschoten, Holland, with initial membership constituted by the Evangelical Alliance in UK and the National Association of Evangelicals in the USA. Continental European members of the former British-based World's Evangelical Alliance (founded in 1846) did not join the WEF until 1967, because of disagreements about its basis and nature. For a comprehensive treatment see Kennedy, Robert L., *Best Intentions: Contacts Between German Pietists and Anglo-American Evangelicals, 1945-54* (PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1989), 316-44.

The WEF has three associated programmes: theological assistance programme, a responsibility of the WEF Theological Commission; international Christian assistance, administered through the Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund (UK); and evangelistic and Bible ministries (see Douglas, J.D., ed. *New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978, 1061).

<sup>5</sup> Bevans & Scherer, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> The NAEG which is still in a stage of gestation is treated in the Epilogue of the Thesis.

Evangelism (both 1966)."<sup>7</sup> In the Lausanne Movement evangelicals concerned with world mission and those active in local evangelism are linked.

### A.3 The Ghana Movements

The earliest parachurch operation in Ghana was initiated by the Children's Special Service Mission (now Scripture Union) in the late nineteenth century. It was an effort which did not endure the two World Wars. Student groups started in the 1930s as local branches of the SCM became established as the first inter-denominational parachurch movement in Ghana. In the late 1950s evangelical unions and SU groups were formed alongside the SCM groups through the agency of IVF graduates. The evangelical groups designated "Christian Fellowships", inherited the conservative evangelicalism of the IVF along with suspicions, common in the IVF about SCM. Social action which had been a pre-occupation of SCM was not the priority of the evangelical fellowships.

Through Ghanaian initiative the category of Christian Fellowships designated "Town Fellowships" emerged in urban and rural communities. Some of the urban CFs were located in work places, and had a mixed membership of professionals and workers with varying degrees of literacy. With Pentecostal influence from local and foreign sources in the 1970s and 80s, the evangelical movement developed indigenous features. The membership base of the urban TFs broadened to include the educationally under-privileged, as the use of the vernacular became predominant. In applying pentecostal theology to needs associated with the world view of the TF members, the "Prayer Warriors" movement emerged within SU, focusing on prayer, fasting, healing and deliverance.

Pentecostalism engendered a radical brand of evangelicalism that was anti-clerical, anti-Church, and anti-intellectual. The TFs became the breeding ground of free-lance evangelists who established independent evangelistic associations, prayer fellowships and gospel music groups.

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<sup>7</sup> Bazans & Scherer, op. cit.

The phenomenon of free-lance evangelism in Ghana was influenced by international contacts. The World Congress on Evangelism (Berlin, 1966) and conferences associated with the Lausanne Movement were particularly significant in facilitating contacts between local evangelists and the big American organisations.

In the late 1970s the proliferation of independent charismatic groups commenced with the influence of charismatic evangelists from North America and Nigeria. The charismatic movement was reinforced in the 1980s by the formation of local chapters of the US based Full Gospel Fellowship Business Men's Fellowship International and the Women's Aglow Fellowship. The gospel of prosperity preached by the new wave of charismatic groups gained a wide acceptance in the context of the current Ghanaian struggle for economic recovery.

The evangelical impact of the parachurch movements on church life and ministry was limited by lack of confidence in the Church. The growing number of evangelical ministers and church leaders since the 1980s reflects a change of mainstream evangelical attitude to the Church and theological education. In addition to the example of an early group of evangelical ministers, the church-based evangelism of the Ghana Evangelism Committee was a significant factor. With the present charismatic trend of evangelicalism in Ghana, evangelicals exercise influence in mainline churches as agents of charismatic renewal.

## **B. THE CHURCH SITUATION**

The evangelical parachurch movements in Ghana operate in the context of established Christianity. Most people in ~~South~~ of the country would claim to be Christians. The principal Protestant Churches in Ghana are Methodist, coming from British Wesleyans, and Presbyterian, coming from the Basel Mission and Scottish Mission. Both are well established denominations with a long history and a dominant social influence in many parts of the country.

The tradition of these Churches is essentially evangelical, but in Ghana members do not usually identify as "evangelicals" but as

Presbyterians or Methodists. "Conversion" is historically associated with breaking with traditional cults and morality, and some association with a church and/or school. However in practice there is a high degree of accommodation with the pre-Christian traditional religious practice, especially in areas of life where Christianity seems not to deal effectively with hostile spiritual forces. There is very little evidence, if any, of "liberalism" as experienced in Western Christianity.

The predicament of the established churches in Ghana as in most African countries has been the relationship of the Christian faith to the traditional religion and related worldview.<sup>8</sup> The inability to respond effectively to spiritual needs of the African world has been the main factor<sup>for</sup> membership drift from Protestant Churches to prophet healing churches.

Against this background the evangelicalism of the parachurch movements constitutes a protest against what is perceived as "nominalism" – superficial profession of Christianity, with apparent contradictions in faith and practice of people in churches that have become "complacent, compromised, and powerless".

Nevertheless, the Protestant Churches are highly recognised for their social services in terms of health and education. For a large number of urban church members, the church-based associations/societies function as social security agencies,<sup>9</sup> besides their religious functions.

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<sup>8</sup> See *Christianity and African Culture*, Proceedings of Conference organised by Christian Council of Ghana, Accra, 1955.

<sup>9</sup> Busia, K.A., *Report on a Social Survey of Sekondi-Takoradi* (London: Crown Agents for Colonies, 1950), 77–9. As with urban mutual benefit societies, the membership of Church societies such as the Singing Band, Choir, Youth Fellowship, Women's Fellowship, Bible Study and Prayer Fellowship, Guild, Christ Little Band, etc. assure one of help in times of trouble, particularly in times of bereavement. Individual members get support for their funeral responsibilities, as well as weddings and child-naming ceremonies.

## C. THE EVANGELICAL HERITAGE OF THE MOVEMENTS IN GHANA

An important consideration for our study of Ghanaian parachurch movements is their evangelical ethos. This derives from the fact that the primary movements, Scripture Union (SU) and the Evangelical Fellowships in Universities and Colleges, were pioneered in Ghana by British expatriates who stood for the conservative evangelical position of the then Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVFEU or IVF), now Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship (UCCF). The historical links with IVF have given the Ghana movements an evangelical heritage characterised by what Bebbington describes as "a quadrilateral of priorities":

*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on cross.<sup>10</sup>

The following historical review of the origins of SU and the IVF examines the British source of the evangelicalism associated with the parachurch groups in Ghana, and relations with the SCM which already had an established presence in Ghanaian educational institutions.

### C.1 The Children's Special Service Mission And The Origins Of Scripture Union

The evangelical movement in Britain in the latter part of the 18th and of the 19th centuries spawned a number of parachurch organisations including the CSSM.<sup>11</sup> Its origin was inspired by Payson Hammond, a Scottish trained American evangelist who conducted evangelistic services for children in London churches. Hammond's preaching, which commenced in May 1867 was regarded<sup>as</sup> unconventional:

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<sup>10</sup> Bebbington, D.W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed account of the emergence and growth of the CSSM-SU organisation into a worldwide movement, see Pollock, J., *The Good Seed: The History of the Children's Special Service Mission and Scripture Union* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1959); Sylvester, N., *God's Word In a Young World* (London: SU, 1984).

"He told stories, and announced hymns the congregation had not heard before, set to music in a lively and attractive way."<sup>12</sup> This informal method aimed at helping children establish a personal faith in Christ, was at variance with the view that children could not understand the truths of the Christian faith sufficiently to make an intelligible response to the gospel.

Hammond's revolutionary method was imitated by enthused Sunday School teachers – Josiah Spiers and Thomas Hughes in Islington (North London); and Tom Bishop with two brothers, Samuel and James Tyler in Surrey (south of the Thames).<sup>13</sup> Spiers who attended the children's services regularly initiated a special service for children in Islington, with the largest at Surrey Chapel led by Tom Bishop. With the two men as pioneer-leaders, the "Children's Special Service Mission" was formed on 30 May 1868 as a non-denominational ministry.<sup>14</sup> By 3 July that year, the CSSM meetings were attracting an average of "300 children connected with about 20 different Churches, Chapels and Sunday Schools".<sup>15</sup> Contact with the children was maintained through correspondence.

In its first year the popularity of the CSSM remained localised. The Mission gained a wider recognition by conducting seaside services for upper-class children during the summer holidays. This work commenced on 26 August 1868 when the CSSM leader, Josiah Spiers traced out on sand the Bible text: "God is love" for a group of children on holiday at the beach resort of Llundudno, North Wales. The interest in religious stories stimulated in the children by their encounter with Spiers was sustained by a daily informal service at Llundudno beach, culminating in a formal Sunday afternoon beach service for children. The focus on the socially privileged children in the seaside service did

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<sup>12</sup> A newspaper report quoted in Sylvester (1984), 13.

<sup>13</sup> *The late Josiah Spiers* (London: CSSM, 1910), 14.

<sup>14</sup> The services were allowed by the Special Services Act passed by Parliament during that time to enable Anglican Churches use services not in the Prayer Book for certain purposes (Sylvester, op.cit., 14).

<sup>15</sup> *Annual Report of the CSSM*, 1868, 1.

not make CSSM an exclusively upper-class organisation. Spiers concentrated on children of "the very poor class" during the winter.<sup>16</sup>

For CSSM the beach service was a development with significant advantages. Apart from being a means of evangelising upper-class children, the service gave the Children's Mission publicity which resulted in substantial financial support and expansion of operations.<sup>17</sup> On the significance of beach services, John Pollock remarks: "The CSSM was becoming a national institution... slowly changing an aspect of British religion".<sup>18</sup> CSSM functioned essentially as a parachurch organisation. Its operations were intended to supplement and not to supersede that of established agencies: "the Christian home, the Christian ministry and the Sunday School". On the continuity of CSSM with the prevailing Sunday School system, Tom Bishop, a CSSM leader, stated:

They are the missing link in our Sunday School system. ...the Sunday School class-teacher leads the child to a certain point, and no further. They come regularly to Sunday School, but they do not come to Christ. ... The work in these Children's Services is a *reaping* work. The Sunday School has sown the seed, and sown it well...<sup>19</sup>

The CSSM leadership maintained that the children's services which were conducted in undenominational halls were evangelistic, nonsectarian, and not to clash with regular ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>20</sup>

A key factor for further expansion of CSSM work in the 1880s is the strong links it forged with emergent Christian Unions in the universities especially in the Cambridge. The alliance between the CSSM and the Christian Unions was fostered by mutual interest in

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<sup>16</sup> See *Annual Report of the CSSM*, 1871, 2.

<sup>17</sup> A legacy bequeathed to Spiers supported his full-time engagement in CSSM work (see *Annual Report of CSSM*, 1869, 2; Also *The Late Josiah Spiers*, op. cit., 19).

<sup>18</sup> Pollock (1959), 35.

<sup>19</sup> *Annual Report of CSSM*, 1868, 2.

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Report of CSSM*, 1869, 7.

evangelising pupils in "public schools"<sup>21</sup>, and consequently strengthening the evangelical base of CUs in the universities. Undergraduates who had been through the seaside services and were continuing in Cus, became a prime source of man-power for the CSSM seaside services. For the Unions, CSSM established grounds for organising boys camps and beach missions which provided practical training in some fundamentals of Christian leadership.<sup>22</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the CSSM work had advanced in diverse ways, incorporating Scripture Union which originated from the CSSM Bible reading programme. The earliest CSSM Bible reading literature appeared on 1 April 1879 as a "Card" with Bible portions for daily reading by older children in schools.<sup>23</sup> The SU "Card" laid the foundation for instituting the "Children's Scripture Union" as a Bible reading branch of CSSM, with the school system as locus of SU operations. The circulation of the "Card" (developed into "Notes" in 1886), launched SU as an international Bible reading movement associated with the CSSM. By the end of the first decade of the SU operation, worldwide circulation of the "Card", printed in 28 languages had reached 470,000.<sup>24</sup> The Card circulated in many African countries in pre-war and post war years. By 1939 the SU Cards were printed in 44 African languages.<sup>25</sup>

Another development in CSSM work in the pre-war years is the production of hymns and choruses. In the 1890s in a pioneering venture, CSSM produced Christian music for children by introducing "choruses" - "short verses with easy tunes, each containing some

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<sup>21</sup> That time most Oxford and Cambridge students were educated in "Public Schools" - boarding schools for boys from middle and upper-class families.

<sup>22</sup> Tatlow (1933), 4.; Barclay, Oliver, R., *What Ever Happened To the Jesus Lane Lot?* (Leicester: IVP, 1973), 52.

<sup>23</sup> *The CSSM*, 5, 1 April 1925, 58.

<sup>24</sup> Sylvester, op. cit., 34.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

scripture or simple piece of teaching".<sup>26</sup> Though some were refrains of hymns already known, most were specially written.<sup>27</sup> In 1921 the first *CSSM Chorus Book* was published, containing over 300 items. Thus through CSSM chorus singing became a popular musical tradition in Christian work among young people.

Accompanying the *Chorus Book*, was the *Golden Bells* – a collection of hymns which became established as "the Mission's full length children's hymn-book". Although John Pollock (1959) discounts the initial compilation of Josiah Spiers as typical of "the low state of hymnody in England", a revised and a much improved edition became popular, selling four million copies by 1925. The singing of the *Golden Bells* hymns and CSSM choruses thus became a significant feature of the meetings of the UK and overseas SU groups.

In the pre-war years the operation of the CSSM was extended overseas through the agency of missionary personnel, and in the inter-war and post-war years, IVF graduates. The early CSSM operation in West Africa was closely associated with Christian missions from UK. In the case of Nigeria collaboration with Church Missionary Society was paramount.<sup>28</sup> The IVF graduate involvement in the African operations of CSSM commenced in 1936 when Freddie Crittenden (later appointed Secretary of Graduates Fellowship of IVF) assumed work in Kenya as the first SU Travelling Secretary in Africa, with particular responsibility for East Africa.<sup>29</sup> After the World War II SU work in the continent was resumed by IVF graduates who combined secular work (particularly, teaching in schools and University Colleges) with evangelical witness.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>27</sup> George Goodman, a CSSM worker, is referred to as the one who first printed a booklet of 68 choruses for use at the Herne Bay beach mission in 1897 (ibid.).

<sup>28</sup> See Ojo, Matthews A., *The Growth of Campus Christianity and Charismatic Movements in Western Nigeria*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College – University of London, 1986.

<sup>29</sup> Freddie Crittenden subsequently became a member of staff of the Alliance High School in Kenya.

In its international expansion, the SU movement could have degenerated into an imperialistic mission, with its operations controlled by CSSM from a remote headquarters in London. But this was averted by the crucial step taken at a historic conference in London in May 1960 to internationalize and decentralize the organisation.<sup>30</sup> At the conference attended by twenty-three delegates from twelve countries, CSSM was restructured and renamed, creating a family of autonomous national movements and regional councils of Scripture Union.

SU's sensitive adaptation to changing culture prevented the movement from becoming a monument. As a worldwide movement, it has developed a diverse programme that responds to contemporary needs in each culture, whilst using modern educational methods.<sup>31</sup>

## **C.2 BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF THE INTER-VARSITY FELLOWSHIP OF EVANGELICAL UNIONS**

### **C.2.1 The Rise of The Student Christian Movement**

One significant impact of the evangelical movement on life in British Universities is the formation of a number of student societies. As a result of a conference held in 1877 between Christian groups in Oxford and Cambridge, the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU) was formed in 1878, and the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (OICCU) in 1879.<sup>32</sup> The Conference became established as an annual event of CUs in the two universities, attracting delegates from universities in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Durham, Dublin, and even America and Australia.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 155. The conference centre was Old Jordans, a 400-year old Quaker Hostel located a few miles north-west London.

<sup>31</sup> Foreword by John Stott in Sylvester (1984), 6.

<sup>32</sup> See Oldham, H.W., *The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland: Its Origin, Development, and Present Position* (London: BCCU, 1899), 7; Tatlow, T., *The Story of the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: SCM, 1933), 6; Coggan, F.D., ed. *Christ and The Colleges: A History of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions* (London: IVFEU, 1934).

<sup>33</sup> Oldham, *ibid.*

The Student Christian Movement (SCM) emerged in the early 1900s as an umbrella organisation of Christian Unions in the British Universities.<sup>34</sup> It was preceded by the Inter-University Christian Union formed in 1893, and later renamed the British College Christian Union. The formation of the Inter-University Christian Union was stimulated by the emergence of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in 1892<sup>35</sup> with its watchword: "The evangelisation of the world in this generation".

At an Inter-University Conference held in Glasgow, January 1893, the SVMU Executive proposed the formation of an inter-collegiate Christian organisation with the object of "deepening the spiritual life" of Christian students and "extending the Kingdom of Christ to others".<sup>36</sup> Later in the year the proposal was considered at the annual CICCU-OICCU Conference, and accepted at the summer conference at Keswick that year, resulting in the birth of the Inter-University Christian Union.

The IUCU Travelling Secretary, Donald Fraser, was to "visit the Colleges for the purpose of establishing Christian Unions where none existed, and of strengthening existing Unions."<sup>37</sup> By the end of 1893 seventeen of the twenty Unions in the Universities and Medical Schools had become affiliated to IUCU, increasing to forty-five by April 1895.<sup>38</sup> The phenomenal growth process was aided by the fact that the IUCU operated in close association with the Student Volunteer Missionary Union. For mutual benefit the two organisations shared the same office (93 Aldersgate Street, London) and General Secretary (Crayden

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<sup>34</sup> For a comprehensive account see Tatlow (1933).

<sup>35</sup> Oldham (1899), 16-17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 21. Oldham notes: "It had become evident that the Travelling Secretary of the SVMU was working at serious disadvantage through lack of preparation in the Colleges for his work."

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27. The SVMU registered a corresponding growth. When the IUCU was formed in 1893 the SVMU had 500 volunteers on its roll. The number had risen to 955, almost doubling, in 1895 (*ibid.* 43-4).

Edmunds), and organised a conference during the Keswick Convention together.<sup>39</sup>

The expansion of the IUCU into theological and teacher training colleges necessitated a change of identity. The name "Inter-University Christian Union" was rendered misleading for affiliated Unions in colleges which had no university connection. Therefore, in 1895 the Inter-University Christian Union was reconstituted as the "British College Christian Union"<sup>40</sup>:

- a. To unite those Christian Unions in British Universities, Colleges, Medical Schools, &c., the aims of which are in full harmony with a belief in Jesus Christ, as God the Son, and only Saviour of the world.
- b. To establish Christian Unions and with similar purposes in Colleges where non exist.
- c. To promote Christian life and activity among the students of Great Britain.

The BCCU continued to maintain close relations with SVMU. The proposal to merge the two movements was initiated in 1897, amidst fears of the latter losing its identity and independence in organic union with the former. After a lengthy discussion of the draft Constitution of the union in the summer of 1898, the merger was accepted by constituent Unions of the two movements. One "Student Christian Movement" emerged comprising three departments<sup>41</sup>:

- a. The Student Volunteer Missionary Union;
- b. The Theological College Department - the affiliated societies in Theological Colleges.

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<sup>39</sup> Oldham (1899), 27; Tatlow (1933), 50.

<sup>40</sup> Oldham, op. cit., 28.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 97. A literature department emerged which engaged in the development of student oriented publications, commencing with booklets for Bible study and missionary study groups, and other subjects of practical interest. The department was re-organised after World War I into the SCM Press.

- c. The General College Department – affiliated Unions in Universities and Colleges other than Theological Colleges.

Following the amalgamation, BCCU began to call itself the "Student Christian Movement" – the name of their new magazine, but it was not until 1905 that the movement officially changed its name to Student Christian Movement.

Under its first General Secretary, Tissington Tatlow, SCM developed in diverse ways, winning the favour of senior Churchmen and members of staffs of the universities and colleges. It developed a broad theological outlook which generated protest and consequent schism in the evangelical student movement, with CICCUC breaking away to preserve its conservative evangelicalism.

In broadening its basis the SCM developed an inter-denominational principle which became its operational policy for twenty-two years.<sup>42</sup> With that policy Churchmen engaged as SCM conference speakers "were not expected to take into consideration the fact that members of other denominations might differ from them, but were to speak fully and freely all that they believed God would have them say on the subject

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<sup>42</sup> Tatlow (1933), 400. The document, "The Interdenominational Position of the Student Christian Movement" states:

The Student Christian Movement is interdenominational, in that while it unites persons of different religious denominations in a single organisation for certain definite aims and activities, it recognizes their allegiance to any of the various Christian Bodies into which the Body of Christ is divided. It believes that loyalty to their own denomination is the first duty of Christian Students and welcomes them into the fellowship of the Movement as those whose privilege it is to bring into it, as their contribution, all that they as members of their own religious body have discovered or will discover of Christian truth. The Student Christian Movement, therefore, while extra-ecclesiastical in the sense that it does not concern itself with questions of ecclesiastical organisation or Church function, is in a position to have its life enriched by its members each bringing into it as their contribution all truth for which they hold that their own denomination stands (ibid.).

allotted to them."<sup>43</sup>

In deciding on Christian activities that could unite the variant groups within SCM without compromising its inter-denominational principle, there was an immediate agreement on corporate prayer, missionary and social study. But a critical and cautious approach was adopted for evangelistic work, Bible study, and the preparation of apologetic literature, due to initial disagreements between the High Church and Nonconformist elements within the movement.<sup>44</sup>

In accordance with its ecumenical and missionary objectives, SCM became instrumental in the International Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, 1910. Tissington Tatlow who functioned as Secretary of the Conference commission on "The Training of Missionaries" notes that SCM "gave to the conference its chairman, Mr John R. Mott, its secretary, Mr. J.H. Oldham, and its historian, the Rev. W.H. Temple."<sup>45</sup> Years later, Dr William Temple (then Bishop of Manchester) affirmed: "Members of the Movement ought to know that without their Movement there never could have been held the Edinburgh Conference, which was the greatest event

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid. For the benefit of conference speakers, "The Interdenominational Position of SCM" further stated:

We consider that it is important that the Movement should seek to derive its spiritual life through the religious bodies with which its members are connected; and, when at summer conferences or on other occasions, a member of any religious body addresses the Student Movement he should be expected to give his full message, and not seek to modify it in view of the fact that there may be some in his audience, who, because they are members of other Christian bodies than that to which he himself belongs, may not agree with him. It is assumed that the aim of all speakers will be to deliver a positive message, and they will not consciously attempt to proselytize (ibid.).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 401.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 410. J.H. Oldham, Missionary Study Secretary of SCM, proved so valuable to the planning committee of the Edinburgh Conference that, he was re-engaged to become the first Secretary of the Continuation Committee of the Conference from which the British Conference of Missionary Societies, the *International Review of Mission(s)*, and the International Missionary Council emerged (ibid., 411).

in the life of the Church for a generation."<sup>46</sup>

In striving for ecumenism SCM lost its evangelistic edge. This is indicated by the increasing social appeal of its post-War campus missions organised on a far greater scale than those of pre-War years. The first post-War Cambridge mission (February 1920) was an ecumenical event inspired and led by SCM. It was organised by "a special committee representative of most of the religious societies in the university", with senior Churchmen as missionaries.<sup>47</sup> In Oxford, what was designated "Religion and Life Week" had the same significance to Student Movement as the Cambridge mission. The speakers, "as a rule assumed the hearers' conviction of the truth of Christianity and aimed solely at a change of heart", as reported:

Taking the Kingdom of God as their starting-point, it was natural that the missionaries should lay stress rather upon social duty and corporate righteousness than upon personal conversion and individual salvation. The personal side was never absent; but it was never made the ground of their appeal.<sup>48</sup>

A similar approach was adopted in SCM missions and "Religion and Life Weeks" in universities and university colleges in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The non-evangelistic focus of SCM missions derived from the broad theological outlook and the surging social interests of the Movement and some of its speakers. It distinguished SCM missions from evangelical missions of CICCUC which were basically evangelistic.

### C.2.2 The Rise Of Social Consciousness in SCM

One of the strengths of SCM was its social consciousness. In reviewing the rise of social consciousness in the Movement, Tatlow notes

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<sup>46</sup> *The Student Movement*, vol. xvii, 96. Dr. William Temple became the Archbishop of Canterbury (1942-4). Years later John Mott lamented that opportunities offered for world evangelization at the Conference were neglected.

<sup>47</sup> The missionaries were the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. T.F. Woods), Bishop Gore, Revs. Dr. Herbert Gray and Barclay F. Buxton (Tatlow, 1933, 644). See *The Student Movement*, XXII (1920), 92.

<sup>48</sup> *The Mission to Cambridge University*, A Report edited by C.E. Raven, p.47., quoted in Tatlow, op. cit, 645.

that "the evils and disorders of society were never mentioned during the first seven or eight years of its history."<sup>49</sup> SCM developed social concern as it grew and broadened its outlook.

Social consciousness in SCM was inspired by a number of factors: the application of Higher Criticism in the study of Old Testament prophets by theological students of SCM; the writings of Profs. A.B. Davidson and George Adam Smith, especially the latter's works on *Isaiah* in the *Expositor's Bible* which "stirred men to think about God and His relation to the world"; and the inspiration from conference addresses by George Hare Leonard, a social worker, and A.W. Richardson, a female lecturer of Westfield College, Oxford.<sup>50</sup> Of the July 1900 Matlock summer conference of the Student Movement it was reported:

The subject of work for the poor at home has perhaps been rather neglected hitherto by the Union (B.C.C.U.), but at Matlock this was rectified. The keen interest in social work felt by many of the delegates was shown as much by the constant discussion of its problems with Mr Leonard and Miss Richardson in conversation, as by close attention to their addresses on the subject.<sup>51</sup>

The conference inspired the publication of a series of seven articles on "Social Questions" in the *Student Movement* magazine in the winter of 1900/91. A booklet, *Outline Studies in Social Problems*<sup>52</sup> - "bearing on the relation of Christianity to society" was produced for social study circles.

The social issues were pursued further at conferences and local meetings in 1903. In 1908 there were two regional meetings: a three-day conference on social problems, jointly organised by Christian Unions in Manchester; and a course of four lectures on "Poverty" arranged by the

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<sup>49</sup> Tatlow, op. cit., 339.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 339.

<sup>51</sup> *The Student Movement*, III, 5.

<sup>52</sup> The pamphlet, produced by Tatlow contained "nine studies suggesting outlines of papers with appropriate readings on poverty, employment, sweating and housing" (Tatlow, op. cit.).

CU of the University College of London, and attended by a large number of students from other London colleges.<sup>53</sup> The two events culminated in a four-day gathering at Matlock, 16–20 April 1909, for a "united intercession in relation to the Student Christian Movement and social problems".<sup>54</sup> Prayers interspersed with addresses on "Discipleship and the Social Problem" generated a corporate awareness of social responsibility, leading the participants conclude: "We are the social problem."<sup>55</sup> The social convictions engendered by Matlock 1909 inspired the formulation of the aim and policy of the SCM in relation to society.<sup>56</sup>

By the time the World War I broke out SCM had become established as<sup>9</sup>Christian movement of social concern. A major post-war activity of the Movement was the Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship (codenamed "COPEC"), April 1924.<sup>57</sup> With Dr William Temple as Chairman, COPEC attracted the participation of social service bodies of the Churches. COPEC was intended to "arrive at a statement of the social message of Christianity". Material from 150,000 questionnaires collected from British universities and colleges formed the basis of

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<sup>53</sup> Tatlow, op. cit., 346.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 348. See the article: Impression of the Gathering for United Intercession in Connection with Social Problems, *The Student Movement*, XI, 188; and addresses of the gathering published as *Discipleship and the Social Problem*, SCM Pamphlet, 1909.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 353–4. The social aim, as finally stated in the *SCM Annual Report* (1910) was: "To call the colleges to study of the will of God for modern life, to the hope of redemption of society, and to the discipleship of Jesus Christ in every department of conduct." The social policy stated in the *SCM Annual Report* (1909), 21, was:

- a. To draw attention to the grave conditions of modern life, and to the duty of the disciples of Jesus Christ in the face of these conditions.
- b. To emphasize the Christian function of home, business and professional life, and to claim men and women for the service of Christ therein.
- c. To direct thought to the discovery of those forms of social life which are the fit expression of the Spirit of Christ.
- d. To recover the hope of the redemption of society.

<sup>57</sup> Tatlow, op. cit., 669.

reports of COPEC commissions on:

The nature of God and His purpose for the World, Education, The social function of the Church, Politics and Citizenship, Christianity and War, The Relation of the Sexes, The Treatment of Crime, Historical illustrations of the Social effects of Christianity, International Relations, Industry and Property, The Home, Leisure.<sup>58</sup>

Other SCM lectures after the War focused on post-war reconstruction.<sup>59</sup>

The studies and conferences on social issues engendered social action, with pre-war examples being settlement work, and practical and religious services in Hospital wards and Poorhouses.<sup>60</sup> During the World War I the welfare needs of foreign students in Britain engaged the attention of the Movement. After the War SCM became prominently involved in the relief of starving students in Europe.<sup>61</sup>

### C.2.3 Focus on Foreign Students

As a demonstration of social action, SCM took particular interest in the welfare of foreign students, especially Asians, with few from Africa then. The concern for Oriental students had a missionary purpose too – the extension of Christianity in the East.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Tatlow (1933), 669. On the significance of COPEC, see H.A. Mess, COPEC – A Personal Impression, *The Student Movement*, XXVI, 173).

<sup>59</sup> See Johnson, D., *Contending For The Faith: A History of the Evangelical Movement in the Universities and Colleges* (Leicester: IVP, 1979), 216.

<sup>60</sup> SCM *Annual Report*, 1909, 21.

<sup>61</sup> See Tatlow (1933), Chapter XXXVII for a detailed account. The attention of the SCM was directed to the famine in Europe by an article: "The Hungry", which appeared in *The Student Movement*, November 1919, as "save the children" appeal.

<sup>62</sup> Early initiatives for the welfare of Oriental students include the assistance of Douglas Thornton (a Cambridge undergraduate) towards Indian students in the University; continued under the general supervision and personal influence of Rev. G.T. Manley, who also projected it his article: "Oriental Students in England" in *The Student*

Early in the winter of 1908 John Mott visited SCM groups in UK and stimulated interest in the Oriental student. In a lecture at the Royal Albert Hall (London) on 21st November, he campaigned on behalf of students from India, China, Japan, Korea and Turkey:

Let them be introduced to Christian homes, to our schools, our philanthropic institutions, our churches, in other words, to the best side of our civilization. Let us make real friends of them, so that when they return to their own countries they will be able to say that when they were in a strange land the people who most interested themselves in their comfort and welfare were the Christians.... In my judgement, such a policy carried on with wisdom and conscientious thoroughness during the next few years will mean more than sending hundreds of missionaries, important as that is.<sup>63</sup>

The burden of responsibility fell on the SVMU whose special welfare sub-committee undertook a survey of the number of foreign students in UK, and their welfare needs. In a circular to foreign missionary stations, SCM pledged its responsibility "for the welfare of any students who might be reported to them as coming to Great Britain."<sup>64</sup>

In 1915 foyers were opened in London at Kingsway Hall and 8 Torrington Place, as centres for foreign men and women students respectively. The war-time engagement of Henri Louis Henroid (of the Swiss Movement) in UK as foreign students worker (1915-20), extended the SCM welfare programme to cover West Africans and West Indians.<sup>65</sup> For permanency, Christian Unions were established in 1915 among the Indo-Ceylonese, Egyptian and West African students. The latter which collapsed some months later after the departure of its leading members, was reactivated as a Joint Union of West African and West Indian

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*Movement*, December 1904. The interest in Asians was further sustained by the re-engagement of Robert P. Wilder as a secretary of SCM - who cultivated friendships with foreign students and opened his house to them. See Tatlow (1933), 550.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 151, quoted from J R Mott, *Modern World Movements*, p.15.

<sup>64</sup> Tatlow, op. cit., 552.

<sup>65</sup> In 1915 Henroid undertook the first tour ever made of British Universities in the interest of foreign students as a whole (ibid).

students.

SCM work among foreign students contributed to the international expansion of the movement. The foreign student members of the Movement became agents for the extension of the frontiers of SCM into countries with no branches of the Movement, as was the case of West Africa.<sup>66</sup> The process was fostered by links with the World's Student Christian Federation which functioned as an agency for "international exchange of experiences".<sup>67</sup>

The SCM operation in Africa was further aided by the vision of Nora Inskip, a member of the movement. In the winter of 1924/25 Inskip started a group for work in East Africa.<sup>68</sup> The idea was to draw into the group men and women who would plan to take up work as teachers, doctors, agriculturists, clergy, some as missionaries and some in government service. They were always to keep in touch by letters, visits and even conferences, in Africa. The group continued to maintain an active existence in Africa into the 1930s, still attracting new recruits.

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<sup>66</sup> See the section on SCM-Ghana below, p.54.

<sup>67</sup> The WSCF was formed in 1895 with John R. Mott as General Secretary. The Federation was initiated when Mott (then College Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of USA) undertook an extensive travel to attend the National Student Conferences of Great Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, and Switzerland the summer of 1895, with further visits to India and Japan. After the Scandinavian Conference, delegates of five Inter-Collegiate Christian Movements of USA, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia and "Mission Lands" met together in the Castle of Wadstena in Sweden to consider forming a world-wide movement of Christian students. The WSCF emerged when "after three days of prayerful discussion they resolved that the organisations which they represented should henceforth be united" (Oldham: 1899, 83). A three-fold aim was adopted: "to win the students of the world for Christ, to build them up in Him, and to send them into the world to work for Him" (ibid.; see full statement in Appendix I).

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 674-5. Around the same period SCM leaders observed a decline in social interest, and a movement towards personal religion. As Tatlow observes: "The tide of interest in the social implications of Christianity which had run strongly in the colleges since the war turned this winter, 1924-25, and moved in the direction of personal religion." (Tatlow, 674). The focus on "personal religion" involved the observance of "quiet days". In Oct. 1924 200 SCM members attended the first of a series of "quiet days" arranged by the Student Movement in London (ibid., 672).

#### C.2.4 Post-War Re-organisation of SCM

The post-World War I period plunged SCM into doctrinal difficulties that led to series of constitutional changes. It commenced in 1919 with the dissolution of the autonomous SVMU Committee, an action which weakened the missionary effectiveness of the Movement. In the same year the membership pre-conditions of SCM were abandoned to welcome into the Movement people with intellectual difficulties about the Christian doctrine. The old SCM "Declaration of Membership" was replaced in "untechnical terms" by a "fuller" (or broader) reference to Jesus Christ in its "Aim and Basis". But this was re-examined three years later.

With its inclusive policy, the SCM General Committee was faced with the question: "Could an amorphous body, with an indefinite membership, be expected to have a sense of mission?" At Easter 1922 the General Committee realised a need to re-state and clarify what the Movement stood for, in harmony with the object of the World's Student Christian Federation to which SCM was affiliated. "It was agreed that the Aim and Basis chosen in 1919 had proved unsatisfactory."<sup>69</sup> In March 1926 a sub-committee was appointed which produced a new one that was adopted in July 1929<sup>70</sup>, together with a new "Condition of Membership" that stated broadly:

The Student Christian Movement is a fellowship of students who desire to understand the Christian faith and to live the Christian life.<sup>71</sup>

Besides the doctrinal issues, some pressing administrative problems led to a re-organisation and consequent decentralization of the Movement in the 1920s.<sup>72</sup> In 1931 a further step was taken towards the complete transfer of the leadership of the Students Movement to a

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 814.

<sup>70</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>71</sup> Tatlow, op. cit., 814.

<sup>72</sup> Tatlow (1933), 820-33.

younger group of men and women. The last act in the re-organisation of the Movement was the appointment of Eric Fenn as new Editor of *The Student Movement* (The SCM Magazine) in May 1933. The changes reflect internal difficulties which weakened SCM and caused it to plummet in the 1960s, inspite of the membership growth from the religious boom after the Second World War.

### C.3 THE EMERGENCE OF THE IVF

#### C.3.1 The SCM-CICCU Controversies

The background to the rise of the IVF is the "inclusive principle" espoused by the SCM and the theological liberalism of some of its members, and the resultant controversy with CICCU before and after the First World War. As Tatlow has stated:

When the Student Movement began to broaden its platform at the beginning of the century by the inclusion of both Churchmen and Nonconformists, whose theology differed from that of the CICCU, its uneasiness and suspicion of the Movement's policy grew.<sup>73</sup>

By 1905 the number of groups federated under SCM had increased considerably; and as later evangelical critics observed, its original evangelical doctrines had been superseded by "a multi-lateral theology, the aggregate of the many varied views within its ranks."<sup>74</sup> By 1901 many of the SCM leaders accepted the "higher critical" view of the Bible, to the dismay of many of the CICCU leaders.<sup>75</sup> The movement was criticised by CICCU for embracing the new liberalism of continental theology. Tissington Tatlow, the SCM General Secretary, received letters from Cambridge protesting against SCM conference speakers "in whom higher critical opinions blended with broader doctrinal views than were

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<sup>73</sup> Tatlow (1933), 381.

<sup>74</sup> Coggan, F.D., ed. *Christ and The Colleges: A History of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions* (London: IVFEU, 1934), 15.

<sup>75</sup> Tissington Tatlow (SCM General Secretary) called it "the modern view of the Bible", describing it later as "The great movement of the Spirit manifested in ... Higher Criticism" (Tatlow, op. cit., 220 & 270).

desired".<sup>76</sup> CICCUC which stood for the promotion of evangelism, prayer, and commitment to overseas missions, maintained the basis: "I declare my faith in Jesus Christ as my Saviour, my Lord, and my God", which SCM had adopted initially. A series of attempts to persuade Cambridge evangelicals to extend the basis and outlook of CICCUC to admit those with intellectual difficulties about Christ as "God" ended in schism, when in March 1910 CICCUC severed its links with SCM.<sup>77</sup>

Concerning the SCM-CICCUC doctrinal divergencies, Douglas Johnson comments:

A vital principle lay at the root of the differences. ... Two essentially different Christianities were confronting each other. One was endeavouring to preserve the historic Christian faith under the control of the plain statements of Holy Scripture. The other aimed to embrace all possible views and to adapt the faith into terms which 'the modern mind could accept'. Therefore the request to the CICCUC to disaffiliate was in keeping with the theoretical and practical facts.<sup>78</sup>

At the root of the debate was the status of the Bible. When CICCUC disaffiliated from the SCM, it declared: "its first and final reference to the authority of Holy Scripture as its inerrant guide in all matters concerned with faith and morals".<sup>79</sup> The evangelical reaction, as Oliver Barclay remarks, was "more by instinct than by theological acumen", resulting in a movement towards "a slightly anti-intellectual stance" - "If scholarship led to such an abandonment of biblical truths, then they were against all scholarship."<sup>80</sup> With the termination of the joint

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<sup>76</sup> Bebbington (1988), 188; cf. Johnson (1979), 70.

<sup>77</sup> Johnson, *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Johnson, D., *Contending for the Faith: A History of the Evangelical Movement in the Universities and Colleges*, (Leicester: IVP, 1979), 77-8.

<sup>79</sup> Pollock, J.C., *The Cambridge Movement* (London: 1953), 178.

<sup>80</sup> Barclay (1977), 53.

CICCU-OICCU conferences in 1905,<sup>81</sup> CICCU maintained an isolated existence.

The major CICCU event before the War was a full scale mission to the University in 1911, led by the American preacher, and Biblical scholar, R.A. Torrey.<sup>82</sup> It was successful in attracting a large attendance. Student interest in Torrey grew to such an extent that he was persuaded to extend his stay for further two weeks. He later wrote: "I believe under God that my three weeks in Cambridge have been amongst the most fruitful of my life."<sup>83</sup> The independent pre-War activities of CICCU continued into the summer vacation with its annual "camp" (under canvas) at the Keswick Convention.

During World War I the existence of CICCU was maintained by the valiant effort of small groups of undergraduates designated "remnants", and consolidated after the War by regular attendants at the traditional Daily Prayer Meetings (fifteen in early 1919).<sup>84</sup> The post-war generation of Cambridge evangelicals were led by a zealous band of war veterans, including, Norman Grubb and Godfrey Buxton (who became CICCU President). Their zeal led SCM to make incessant (yet

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<sup>81</sup> The OICCU-CICCU Conference was discontinued when at the 1905 Conference, by an inclusivist principle, the Oxford evangelicals suggested the basis of the Unions be broadened to admit Unitarians (see Coggan, *op. cit.*, 15).

<sup>82</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, 78-9. Torrey had done postgraduate work in universities at Yale and Leipzig.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>84</sup> Coggan, *ibid.*, 16. On the precarious war-time existence of CICCU, Johnson (1979, 82) states: "the attempt to sustain the DPM survived all but a few months in the middle of the 1916 academic year. In 1917, with ten definite members still in the Union, the DPM was resumed, attended regularly by some five/six university men. In the 1917-18 session the Sunday sermons were restarted in the form of short addresses or Bible readings for the few undergraduates and graduates who were able to meet in the vestry of Holy Trinity Church or in the Henry Martyn Hall. ... at the beginning of 1918, the attendance continued to be low, and those who signed up membership of the CICCU did not exceed fifteen. They were from time to time joined by a few Cambridge and Oxford men from among the wounded who were ambulant. This 'Remnant' held on just long enough ... welcome the stream of ex-servicemen back to Cambridge in the early months of 1919."

unsuccessful) appeals to CICCUCU to reaffiliate on grounds of "charity" and become "a kind of a devotional branch of SCM" like OICCU. A final settlement was reached at a meeting of the leaders of the two organisations in the SCM Secretary's room in Trinity College. On the proceedings, Grubb wrote:

After an hour's conversation which got us nowhere, one direct and vital question was put: 'Does the SCM consider the atoning blood of Jesus Christ as the central point of their message?' And the answer given was, 'No, not as central, although given a place in our teaching.' That answer settled the matter, for we explained to them at once that the atoning blood was so much the heart of our message that we could never join with a movement which gave it lesser place.<sup>85</sup>

The position of CICCUCU in the controversies with SCM highlights some basic essentials of this tradition of evangelicalism: the primacy of Scripture, and the centrality of the atonement to the gospel. Although the evangelical position of CICCUCU isolated the group, it laid the foundation for the emergence of the IVF.

### C.3.2 The Formation Of The IVF

The conception of the IVF was inspired by a 1919 summer house-party at Keswick attended by 29 evangelicals, mostly from Cambridge with a few from Oxford.<sup>86</sup> The house-party also inspired the Oxford participants, under the leadership of Noel Palmer, to re-form OICCU. The re-birth of OICCU and the vision for IVF is recalled by Norman Grubb:

...it was sometime about the middle of that Michael-mas term, 1919, that one day in my room, God gave me the clear vision of the IVF that was to be. I saw that only God was going to do it. Probably the fact of Noel Palmer's catching the vision of starting an OICCU at Oxford and his going to do it, enabled God to open our eyes to the much bigger thing. Anyhow, the immediate outcome was that we saw that the first step towards the realization of the vision would be to have an Annual Inter-Varsity Conference, at which we would get as many as we could from other Universities,

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<sup>85</sup> Memorandum by Norman P. Grubb quoted in Coggan (1934), 16.

<sup>86</sup> Coggan, op. cit., 18-19.

and enthuse them with the vision of starting a branch in their own Universities.<sup>87</sup>

The first Inter-Varsity Conference was arranged in 1919 at the Egypt General Mission Headquarters at Drayton Park, North London, attended by 60 men from Cambridge, Oxford and London, and one from Durham. By April 1923 when a constitution was officially adopted and a General Secretary appointed, the Conference had become larger and more representative.<sup>88</sup> An affirmation of faith in Christ as God and Saviour was required as condition of membership. With these formal arrangements, the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions (IVFEU/IVF) was born in April 1928, with Douglas Johnson as General Secretary.<sup>89</sup> The process was accelerated by the view that "affiliation with a Fellowship composed of Christian Unions from a large number of Universities would carry weight with those responsible for granting official recognition" to small provincial Unions.<sup>90</sup>

The IVF was essentially the creation of CICCUC. From its inception, the IVF became the major "missionary interest" of CICCUC which provided ten of its fifteen chairmen between 1919 and 1933.<sup>91</sup> The growth of the IVF in terms of the membership of its constituent Unions and the number of affiliate Unions was co-extensive with the emergence of new universities and the expansion of existing ones in the inter-War years and the 1960s.

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<sup>87</sup> Memorandum quoted by Coggan, *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> See Appendix II for the IVF statement of faith.

<sup>89</sup> Douglas Johnson, a student at King's College and later King's College Hospital, London, was Secretary of the IVF movement for 40 years (1924-64). He was then General Secretary of the Christian Medical Fellowship for ten years until his retirement.

<sup>90</sup> Coggan, *op. cit.*, 22. Evangelical unions had been created in thirteen of the universities (Barclay, *op. cit.*, 87).

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

### C.3.3 Growth And Development

The IVF was born with the intellectual weakness of CICCUC. CICCUC was regarded as "anti-intellectual, anti-theological and obscurantist, clinging tenaciously to outmoded beliefs".<sup>92</sup> The influence of senior theological graduates, and the intellectual inclination and "organising genius" of the IVF General Secretary, Douglas Johnson, helped to break-up the evangelical anti-intellectual tradition.<sup>93</sup>

Before the World-War II, Basil Atkinson, a Greek scholar and under-Librarian at the Cambridge University Library, stimulated interest in theological studies through informal theological discussions he conducted at his home, and the three-four of the CICCUC weekly Bible studies he led each term.<sup>94</sup> Apologetics lectures given by him and Donald Coggan further weakened the anti-intellectual stance of CICCUC.

The early publications of IVF, particularly, *Search the Scriptures*, a Bible study course written (1934-7) by Archdeacon Guillebaud (a scholarly Bible translator) and G.T. Manley, and *In Understanding be Men* (1936) - "a digest of systematic theology" by T.C. Hammond, were important doctrinal helps in the field of evangelical literature at a student level.

The formation of the Theological Colleges' Prayer Union in 1933 through the instrumentality of Christie Innes (an Aberdeen graduate at Westminster College - the Presbyterian Theological College in Cambridge), and the assistance of John Wenham, helped generate "a positive desire to get the best out of theological study" and steady many waverers.<sup>95</sup> As a dramatic change of attitude, "a very capable group of CICCUC men took up theological studies ... The old defensive

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>93</sup> See Bebbington (1989), 259-61.

<sup>94</sup> Op. cit., 104.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 104.

attitudes gave way to even aggressive theological outlook."<sup>96</sup> The process was sustained by the establishment of the Tyndale House, Cambridge, in 1942 by the IVF as a residential centre for Biblical research - "a place where there were nearly always some capable post-graduates of theological acumen available for consultation."<sup>97</sup>

Another important factor of growth in the post-War years was the triennial evangelistic missions. The first post-War CICCUC mission was in November 1946, led by Donald G. Barnhouse from the USA.<sup>98</sup> It was followed in 1947 by the OICCU mission to Oxford University, led by Archdeacon T.C. Hammond.<sup>99</sup> It was John Stott who set a high standard in IVF missions with his first engagement as missionary of the 1952 CICCUC mission.<sup>100</sup> As an ex-CICCUC member, he is described as "representing the best of the CICCUC" tradition - "biblical, scholarly though not academic, firm though not caustic".<sup>101</sup> His mission

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. Many CICCUC men were awarded first class degrees in theology. One of such, Derek Kidner (1942 CICCUC President), later became Warden of Tyndale House.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 109. See account on the Biblical Research Committee.

<sup>98</sup> Dr. Barnhouse (Minister of Tenth Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia) had previously been engaged as a speaker at Keswick. As a matter of principle CICCUC had refused to co-operate with other Christian groups in Cambridge under the *Koinonia* to organise a joint mission in 1946 (Barclay, 1977, 115).

<sup>99</sup> The triennial missions of the IVF in Cambridge and Oxford were arranged in the following succession:

| CAMBRIDGE                  | OXFORD                                      |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1946 - Donald G. Barnhouse | 1947 - T.C. Hammond                         |
| 1949 - D.G. Barnhouse      | 1951 - Hugh Gough and<br>Martyn Lloyd-Jones |
| 1952 - John W.R. Stott     | 1954 - J.W.R. Stott                         |
| 1955 - Billy Graham        | 1957 - Stott                                |
| 1958 - Stott               | 1960 - Richard Lucas                        |
| 1961 - Kenneth Prior       |   |

The missionaries were supported by some 25-30 assistant missionaries, each billeted in the guest-room of a College (Johnson, 1979, 222).

<sup>100</sup> The Rev John Stott had been a leading member of OICCU during World War II, and until 1950 had been a curate in a London parish, and later Rector of All Souls' Church, London.

<sup>101</sup> Barclay, op. cit., 115.

addresses lifted the image of CICCUC: "the liberals began to comment on John Stott as a new phenomenon in evangelicalism, and to be aware that the CICCUC was not to be ignored in theology, apologetics or thoughtful evangelism."<sup>102</sup> A new type of evangelical missions thus emerged with John Stott in the four mission engagements in Cambridge and Oxford between 1952 and 1958.

#### C.4 THE SPECIALISED SECTIONS OF IVF

##### C.4.1 The Theological Students Fellowship

The Theological Students Fellowship (TSF) of IVF emerged from informal theological "reading parties" initiated in the late 1920s with the support of scholarly senior graduates who conducted seminars. As the Theological Colleges' Representative on the IVF Executive, the Rev. Christie Innes conducted an investigation revealing "no effective evangelical organisation" existed for the estimated 3000 theological students of around seventy denominational theological colleges in Britain in the early 1930s.<sup>103</sup>

The special needs of theological students were considered in April 1933 at the fourteenth Annual Conference of the IVF, and led to the formation of the "Theological Colleges' Prayer Union" that year, with the singular aim to "unite Theological Students in intelligent and earnest prayer, for their teachers, their work and each other, all over the world"; and motto: "Love ... power ... a sound mind" (1 Tim. 1:7).<sup>104</sup>

In 1937 the name "Theological Students Prayer Union" was adopted to indicate its student membership. In 1946 this was changed to Theological Students Fellowship to bring it in line with other specialized sections of the IVF. The growth of the TSF was greatly assisted by the invaluable service IVF theological graduates, particularly Andrew Walls (as mentioned by Douglas Johnson), rendered to individual

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid. The mission addresses formed the basis of the IVF book: *Basic Christianity*.

<sup>103</sup> Coggan, op. cit., 203.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

members and TSF conferences.

#### C.4.2 The Biblical Research Committee

An important development in the intellectual growth of the IVF is the formation of the Biblical Research Committee between the autumn of 1938 and spring 1939. It was designed to "remove the reproach, obscurantism and anti-intellectual prejudice from Evangelical Christianity."<sup>105</sup> Initially the BRC was to assist Theological Students Fellowship with guidance and up-to-date help on Christian doctrine and apologetics.

The first task of the BRC was the "production of conservative commentaries on the books of the Bible and a scholarly re-examination of the linguistic and historical problems connected with the text of the Old and New Testaments."<sup>106</sup> It was to encourage post-graduates with the necessary linguistic equipment to "undertake research at the growing points from the point of view of conservative scholarship."<sup>107</sup>

At the BRC conference on "The Revival of Biblical Theology", at Oxford (7-10 July 1941), a number of proposals were made to stimulate and support evangelical interest in Biblical scholarship.<sup>108</sup> It resulted in the commencement of a new series of Tyndale Lectures in 1942 (one on<sup>the</sup> Old Testament and another on the New Testament), and a project to produce<sup>a</sup>one volume Bible commentary.

A major wartime project of the BRC is the establishment of Tyndale House - a Selwyn Gardens (Cambridge) property purchased in 1942 and developed by IVF into<sup>a</sup>residential Library, with J.N.D. Anderson (later, Professor of Oriental Laws, University of London) as first Warden. Among others, Andrew F. Walls, Librarian (1952-57), is

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<sup>105</sup> Bebbington, op. cit., 260.

<sup>106</sup> Johnson, op. cit., 209.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> See Johnson, *ibid.*, 210-11.

particularly credited with the development of Tyndale House into "an efficient centre for work on primary sources and for reference by biblical scholars".<sup>109</sup> Closely associated with Tyndale House is the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research formed in 1943.

Another IVF enterprise for theological studies is the London Bible College, an interdenominational institution commenced in 1943 to provide basic theological training for Christian work. As with Tyndale House, LBC derives its origins from the vision of Douglas Johnson and the generous financial support of John Laing, a successful Brethren building contractor.<sup>110</sup> The theological standards and products of LBC, and the works of notable evangelical scholars associated with the Tyndale House and the Tyndale Fellowship, confirm the considerable intellectual development of the IVF since its birth.

#### C.4.3 Publications – The Inter-Varsity Press

A major factor for the growth of IVF ministry is literature production. The first IVP booklet, *A Brief History of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions*, appeared in 1928.<sup>111</sup> It was followed in Lent term of 1929 by the first issue of the *Terminal Magazine of the IVFEU*, later renamed *The Inter-Varsity Magazine*. From the CSSM Bookroom in Wigmore Street, London, IVF several IVF booklets were published.<sup>112</sup> By 1932 seven titles in a series of IVF Papers had been

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 298ff. Other notable evangelical theologians linked with Tyndale House as Librarians or Wardens include Leon Morris, Derek Kidner, J.D. Douglas, A.R. Millard, and R.T. France. The foundation members of the Tyndale House project are Dr W.J. Martin (Liverpool University), who proposed the idea; Prof. F.F. Bruce (Manchester University); Rev. Alan M. Stibbs (Oak Hill Theological College, London); supported together by Prof. D.J. Wiseman (London University).

<sup>110</sup> Bebbington, op. cit, 260.

<sup>111</sup> A comprehensive volume written by Donald Coggan (who became Archbishop of Canterbury) was published in 1934.

<sup>112</sup> Johnson (1979), 146. There was an initial co-operation between CSSM and IVF in the literature business. During the World War II CSSM and SU acted as trade agents for the IVF Publications Department. A literature committee was set up by the IVF, CSSM and the "Crusaders Unions" to plan a series of books specially aimed at sixth form students.

published, focusing mainly on "Science and Faith" issues. In 1933 the publication of a series of IVF Booklets entitled *The Quiet Time* was commenced, and in 1934, the first volume of a six-part Bible study course: *Search the Scriptures*.<sup>113</sup> With these publications the development of the Inter-Varsity Press may be said to have started. But it was not until 1936 that the Publications Department was formally established with the appointment of Ronald Inchley (IVF graduate from Birmingham University) as Literature Secretary.<sup>114</sup>

The publishing effort of IVF was aided by the formation of the Graduates Fellowship, with one of its aims being: "to lead the way in the production of more adequate and scholarly literature."<sup>115</sup> The first major publication of the IVF was the *New Bible Commentary* (1953), product of the research effort of the Biblical Research Committee. In the words of Inchley, "*The New Bible Commentary* was the book which more than anything else helped IVF publishing come of age in the post-war era."<sup>116</sup> The success of the publication in terms of sales opened the way for more scholarly works to be undertaken by the specialised research sections of the IVF. Thus in September 1954, three years after the launching of the *New Bible Commentary* the production of Tyndale New Testament Commentaries, "scholarly commentaries half-way between a highly technical and a purely devotional approach", was initiated.<sup>117</sup> The project was completed eighteen years later, when the final volume, that on Luke was published.

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<sup>113</sup> Barclay (1977), 110; Inchley, R., "The Inter-Varsity Press", in Johnson (1979), 314.

<sup>114</sup> Johnson op. cit. Ronald Inchley served in the IVP for 41 years (1936-77).

<sup>115</sup> Inchley, op. cit., 318.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 319. In 1962 a companion volume, *New Bible Dictionary*, was published as a joint British-American venture.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 323.

#### C.4.4 The Graduates Fellowship

The Graduates Fellowship, constituted by IVF graduates, was initiated on the eve of the Second World War, primarily to:

1. unite former [IVF] members in prayer and financial support for their Christian Unions and the central IVF;
2. stimulate them to active Christian witness among their professional colleagues at their places of work and their neighbours.<sup>118</sup>

The underlying concept, as Johnson states: "was of a series of active CUs formed within the various professions, which would bear a similar witness in their more senior setting to that borne by a student CU in the universities and colleges."<sup>119</sup>

The growth of the GF was aided by the production of a journal, commencing with the outbreak of war in 1939 as *The GF Newsletter*. It carried a message from Dr. Martyn Lloyd-Jones (the GF President, 1939-40), and an up-date on the Unions. With the termination of paper rationing after the War, the *GF Newsletter* was enlarged and developed into a *Christian quarterly*.<sup>120</sup>

The Post-War development of the GF involved the commencement of conferences (now in series and varieties), and the emergence of specialised sections - now ~~sixteen~~ under the UCCF Associates,<sup>121</sup> the

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<sup>118</sup> Johnson (1979), 213. The 1941 Constitution of the GF indicates its function as: "a fellowship of graduate ex-members of the university CUs, who would be kept in touch with the activities of their Unions and the IVF, with a view to support by prayer and finance; a co-ordination and development of the existing circles of ex-members in the various professions or for particular purposes" (ibid., 295).

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>121</sup> They ~~include~~ the Agricultural Christian Fellowship, Association of Christian Teachers, Business Studies Group, Christian Dental Fellowship, Christian Medical Fellowship, College Lecturers Christian Fellowship, Historians' Study Group, Research Scientists Christian Fellowship, Social Workers Christian Fellowship, Tyndale Fellowship, University Staffs Christian and Fellowship Veterinary Christian Fellowship (ibid., 295).

new name of the GF. The GF became the primary agency of IVF work among overseas students in UK.

#### C.4.5 Overseas Student Ministry

The work of IVF among overseas students in UK commenced before World War II. Initially it involved "a few well spaced informal receptions" for overseas students mostly from countries which now constitute the British Commonwealth.<sup>122</sup> Efforts were also made to provide a limited form of hospitality in a home environment, especially over bank holidays and during long vacations as needed.

In response to the hospitality needs of the increasing number of overseas students in the early post-war years, the Hospitality Committee of IVF was formed to organise receptions and develop projects for offering hospitality at weekends in homes of IVF graduates. The reception activities included informal discussions led by graduates who had worked in the countries of the foreign students. It was Freddie Crittenden who developed the overseas student work into a specialist department of the IVF for social and evangelistic purposes.<sup>123</sup> From SU work experience in East Africa and military service in India, he had a "vision of opportunity that overseas students in UK presented".

After the War, Crittenden joined the African Department of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. In 1951 he was engaged by IVF as Secretary of the Graduates Fellowship, a position which he used to serve the interest of foreign students. His ability to communicate with many East Africans in their own language was specially valuable in his dealing with them. By 1959 the overseas students work had grown to such an extent that Crittenden transferred from the general GF work to become the full-time Overseas Students

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<sup>122</sup> Johnson (1979), 303.

<sup>123</sup> See Johnson (1979), 304-12; cf. Lowman, P., *The Day of His Power: A History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students* (Leicester: IVP, 1988), 241-2. During World War II Crittenden served with the one of the East African regiments on the north-east frontier of India.

Secretary.

The IVF ministry among overseas students developed in diverse ways under Freddie Crittenden. A hospitality scheme was initiated to provide vacation residence for overseas students in homes of IVF graduates, especially at Christmas. With his experience as adjutant at the IVF Student Camp at Keswick Convention, he contrived ways and means of introducing overseas students with Christian backgrounds to the Convention.<sup>124</sup> The number of foreign participants increased with the provision of financial assistance. International houseparties were successfully experimented <sup>with</sup> at Keswick, and extended to various locations in the UK – the Lake District, Peak District, New Forest, Bude, Oxford, Sussex, and places in Scotland and Wales.<sup>125</sup> Christmas and Easter became established as the most popular houseparty periods, as many of the overseas students tended to return home, get jobs, or travel to the Continent during the summer vacation.

A further development of the overseas students work of IVF was the establishment of international clubs, a residential scheme designed by Crittenden to foster international co-operation. In partnership with the British Evangelical Alliance which provided initial funding, the "The Alliance Club" was opened in October 1952 at Bedford Place, London.<sup>126</sup> A second London club was opened in 1965 at 5 Doughty Street.<sup>127</sup>

Besides their residential functions, the clubs functioned as venues for a variety of international meetings, including Bible study meetings conducted in a language other than English.<sup>128</sup> From these meetings emerged the Africa and Ghanaian Fellowships. Other foreign student fellowships emerged in other parts of London.<sup>129</sup> Together with some

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<sup>124</sup> Johnson, op. cit., 307.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 310.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 312.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

Central London Churches (including the Westminster Chapel and All Souls' Church - Langham Place), the international Christian groups provided fellowship and teaching for Christian overseas students, who became involved in the development of evangelical fellowships in their own countries.

## C.5 THE IVF ENTERPRISE IN AFRICA

The IVF interest in overseas students in UK became linked with its missionary interest in students overseas, particularly in Africa. In the late 1950s, as the Honorary Secretary of the Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship, A.T. de B. Wilmot,<sup>130</sup> an Oxford graduate engaged in secular work in Nigeria, wrote to Freddie Crittenden (then Secretary of the Graduates Fellowship) about opportunities for evangelical work in new universities and colleges in Africa. Shortly before, the GF Secretary had discussed the new situation in Africa with some West African students in London.<sup>131</sup> The overseas interests of Crittenden and Wilmot synchronized and led to the procurement of appropriate immediate action.

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<sup>130</sup> Anthony Talbot de Burgh Wilmot (alias Tony Wilmot), MA (Oxford), was converted in 1932 at an SU camp in Scotland. He was an OICCU member of the student team known as the 'English Seven' who undertook an evangelistic mission in Sweden in 1935 (Johnson, *ibid.* 183-4). He was a founding member of the British Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship (IVOF) in 1938, and its honorary Travelling Secretary from 1955. He became one of the most widely-used mission speakers in African Universities, during his extensive official travels across the continent as colonial civil servant. He joined the Colonial Service in 1938 and served in the former Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) as an Administrative Officer. During the World War II he saw military service in the civil affairs branch, East Africa command. He was married after the war in 1946 to Eve Stanley Smith, a grand daughter of Stanley P Smith, one of the 'Cambridge Seven'. From 1948-55 he occupied senior administrative positions in the Civil Service of Gold Coast (Ghana). He joined the Commonwealth Development Corporation in 1956 in London, was appointed Regional Controller of British West Africa (1958-62), based in Lagos, Nigeria (cf. Papers of Wilmot, MSS Brit. Emp. s. 386, Oxford University Colonial Records Project, Rhodes House Library).

<sup>131</sup> In elaborating the current work opportunities in Africa, Douglas Johnson (*ibid.*, 274) notes that one of the missionary societies had enquired about the possibility of recruiting graduates to staff one of their high schools. The Department of Overseas Technical Aid had started advertising many posts in the new institutions in Africa.

The IVF graduates who took appointments in the education, military and civil service of Anglophone African countries were the prime agents for exporting IVF evangelicalism to African Universities.<sup>132</sup> Africans who returned from UK as evangelical graduates collaborated with the expatriates in consolidating the emergent evangelical unions in universities and colleges of their respective countries. The process was catalysed by the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students formed in 1947<sup>133</sup> and its regional branch – the Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students, which provided international links for the national Evangelical Fellowships.

In the development of evangelical work among African students, IVF and SU literature materials were introduced. As a movement towards indigenisation, between 1963–65, IVF took the initiative to help establish the Africa Christian Press as an independent publishing house to produce relevant Christian literature basically for African consumption. In collaboration with Scripture Union the ACP project began with the IVF providing the initial capitalization for the first four years, after which "ACP was able to repay the money invested, and a little later become financially independent."<sup>134</sup> But for a long time the IVF publishing department maintained its initial function as a clearing agency for ACP, handling all "production, warehousing and marketing in return for a nominal charge."<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> The evangelical expatriates were linked up in the Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship.

<sup>133</sup> The formation of the IFES (the evangelical counterpart of the World's Students Christian Federation) was the culmination of a series of international conferences of evangelical student movements in Europe and North America and other English speaking countries, commencing with Oslo (1934), Stockholm (1935), Beatenberg – Switzerland (1936), Helsinki (1936), Budapest (1937), Copenhagen (1938), Cambridge (1939), Oxford (1946), and Boston (1947). The pioneering movements were those from Norway, Britain Canada and other anglophone countries which were prepared to enter into international co-operation at the first conference. (see Johnson (1964, 52; cf. Lowman, 1988).

<sup>134</sup> Inchley, Ronald, "The Inter-Varsity Press", in Johnson (1979), 327.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

## D. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE OF GHANA

### D.1 The Missionary Heritage: Christianity and Education

A fundamental preparation for the campus evangelical work is the development of the Gold Coast educational infrastructure. The UK evangelicals operated in the context of the educational system established by European Christian Missions and Colonial and the National Governments.

In making the school system the locus of their operations, the evangelicals adopted an operational strategy similar to that of the Christian Missions – the integration of Christianity and education. It indicates that when evangelical work commenced among students in the early 1950s, the primary staged conversion in Ghana had already taken place, and Christianity was the established religion in both church and state schools. Thus "evangelical conversions", aimed at by the parachurch movements were largely secondary conversions – conversions within established forms of Christianity.

Western education in Ghana (originally Gold Coast) was pioneered and dominated for a long time by Christian Missions from Europe to promote Christianisation.<sup>136</sup> School work was generally church work. Education was (and still is) a major constituent of the social service offered by the churches to the local communities.<sup>137</sup> For the Church education was the handmaid of evangelism.

The pioneers were the Basel, Bremen and Wesleyan Missions, followed by the Roman Catholics and Anglicans.<sup>138</sup> By 1880 the

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<sup>136</sup> See Williamson, S.G., *Missions and Education in the Gold Coast*, *International Review of Missions* 41 (1952), 364–73; and articles by Dougall, J.W.C.: *Religious Education*, *IRM* 15 (1926), 493–505; *The Relationship of Church and School in Africa*, *IRM* 26 (1937), 204–214; *Education and Evangelism*, *IRM* 36 (1947), 313–23.

<sup>137</sup> Williamson (1952), 369.

<sup>138</sup> Education in the modern sense of schooling commenced in Gold Coast in 1752 when the Rev. Thomas Thompson, Fellow of Christ's College, was sent to Cape Coast Castle by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) as chaplain, missionary and school

Wesleyan Mission which commenced work in Gold Coast in 1835 had become an educational giant, with 83 schools attended by 3000 pupils. The next was the Basel Mission, a German society based in Basel (Switzerland), which commenced work earlier in 1828, and had established 45 schools with 1200 pupils by 1880.<sup>139</sup>

The schools pursued an integrated programme of Christian Education intended to produce resource personnel for the Missions and their respective churches. As a recruitment ground for church membership, everywhere the schools and churches nestled side by side.<sup>140</sup> It accounts for the disparity in the distribution of schools, most of which were concentrated in areas where the Missions established operational dominance - the Colony area of Gold Coast. Ashanti and the Northern Territories were left educationally deprived.<sup>141</sup> In the Akwapim area and Christianborg (Accra) the Basel Mission established single-sex boarding schools. At Akwapim-Akropong the Basel Mission school developed into a college for training teachers and catechists, and remained the only teacher training college in the country until 1909 when the Government opened Accra Training

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master. A prominent product of the castle school system is Philip Quaque, the first West African since the Reformation to be admitted to holy orders in the Church of England in 1764, and who for 50 years ministered in Cape Coast Castle as "missionary, schoolmaster and catechist" to the local people [See Williams, C.K., *Achimota: The Early Years (1924-48)* (London: Longmans, 1962), 1].

<sup>139</sup> McWilliam, H.O.A., *The Development of Education in Ghana* (Longmans: London, 1959), 18-19. C.P. Groves, *Planting of Christianity in Africa - Vol. II* (London: Lutterworth, 1954), 226, states the missions had the resources to support their education projects. He notes that in 1844 Thomas Birch Freeman on a single visit to Britain was able to collect £5,500 for the operations of the Wesleyan Mission in Gold Coast. It was more than the total revenue of the Gold Coast government that year.

<sup>140</sup> Williamson, op. cit.

<sup>141</sup> In 1919, of the 213 Government "assisted" schools in the country, 186 were located in the Colony; 23 in Ashanti, and 4 in the Northern Territories. Schools in the "unassisted" category (as sub-standard) numbered 250.

College.<sup>142</sup> For the training of Methodist teachers and preachers, in 1922 the Wesleyans opened Wesley College at Aburi. The re-location of the College at its present site in Kumasi in 1924 was an important development in educational expansion beyond the Colony area of Gold Coast to Ashanti.

The concentration of educational facilities in the Colony, is typified by Cape Coast which emerged as a major educational centre where the Wesleyan Mission and the Society for the Propagation of the gospel operated some of the best of the secondary schools in existence by 1925. For boys' education the Richmond School (renamed Mfantshipim School), was opened by the Wesleyans in 1876, and in 1910 Adisadel College commenced as SPG Grammar School.<sup>143</sup> The complementary girls' schools of the two Missions are the Wesley Girls' High School and the English Church Mission Girls' School.

## D.2 Government Involvement

Relative to the missions, the Government maintained a limited involvement in education. It commenced in 1886, with the establishment of a girls' school at Cape Coast and boys' school at Accra, and a third school in 1896 at Oda. Between 1900 and 1919 new Government schools were opened, including a second girls' school in Accra in 1907.<sup>144</sup> In

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<sup>142</sup> The World Wars disrupted mission activity in Ghana. The German Basel missionaries were expelled from the country in 1917, after the deportation of Bremen missionaries in 1916 from the Trans-Volta area. For a short while their institutions were left without management, until 1919 when the Scottish Mission arrived to take over the institutions. Although the deportation of the Germans was regarded necessary for the conduct of the war, Governor Guggisberg of Gold Coast, later described it as "the greatest blow which education in this country has ever suffered" (Guggisberg, *The Gold Coast: A Review of the events of 1920-26*, para. 198, quoted in McWilliam, op. cit., 46). However, the disruptive effect of the World War I on education was limited. In spite of the war setbacks, between 1913-19 fifty-nine new schools were opened, with enrolment increasing by 8,500, representing a one-third increase in number of schools, and number of pupils by half (McWilliam, *ibid.*).

<sup>143</sup> Graham, C.K., *The History of Education in Ghana*, London: Frank Cass, 1971), 153.

<sup>144</sup> Williams, op. cit., 2.

1909 a revision of the educational system under Governor Rodger led to the establishment of Accra Technical School, and Accra Training College – the first, and till 1920 the only Government Teacher Training College in British West Africa.<sup>145</sup>

In addition the Government provided financial and technical assistance to schools that met some basic requirements for state approval – designated "Assisted Schools".<sup>146</sup> It commenced in 1901 with 135 schools, reaching 213 in 1919, and leaving 250 un-assisted.<sup>147</sup> Thus even with the increasing government participation, the influence of the Missions in education continued until 1951 when Government assisted schools were placed under the management of Local Authorities<sup>148</sup>, legislated organs for the implementation of the Accelerated Development Plan of Education.

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 2 & 15.

<sup>146</sup> On the principle of division of labour and specialization, the Government regarded Missions as specialist educational agencies whose efforts were to be favoured and assisted for the mutual benefit of Church and State. As Williamson (op. cit., 364) observes: "Opportunities for clerks and other grades of literate workers existed in government service and it was more economical to have them trained by mission schools than to go to the expense of putting up government schools for the purpose."

<sup>147</sup> Williams, op. cit., 2-3.

<sup>148</sup> In the transition towards Independence, the Local Government Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1951 created Local Authorities which were made responsible, *inter alia*, for education in their respective areas. The Local Authorities were to take over the management of many of the existing mission schools. The issue and Christian instruction in Local Authority (non-denominational) schools, was debated between the Christian Council of Ghana and the Government. Williamson (op. cit., 368) observes that the removal of the burden of expanding education and administering schools had an advantage of re-directing the attention of church personnel to evangelism and pastoral work, which had been overshadowed by educational work.

## D.2.1 The Accelerated Development Plan for Education (1951) and Educational Expansion in the Transition Towards Independence

The evangelical work among students in Ghana commenced in a day of opportunity, in the context of great developments in the educational infrastructure of the nation – the development of higher education and the expansion in number of primary and secondary educational institutions. Of particular importance is the 1951 Accelerated Development Plan of Education.

The Plan was laid before Parliament when a new Constitution for Internal Self-Government came into being in 1951. Its main objective was "to help develop a balanced system working towards universal primary education as rapidly as consideration of finances and teacher-training allowed, but maintaining at the same time proportionate facilities for further education for those most fitted to receive it."<sup>149</sup>

The implementation of the Plan involved a massive educational expansion:

- a. Facilities for the training of teachers were to be increased by the addition of ten new colleges and the doubling in size of six existing ones.
- b. Additional secondary schools were to be provided.
- c. Four secondary-technical schools were to be provided. Technical institutes were to be established at Tarkwa, Accra, Kumasi, and Sekondi-Takoradi.
- d. The middle schools in the Northern Territories were to be increased in number as quickly as possible, and more potential teachers were to be provided.<sup>150</sup>

In pursuing the objective of "universal primary education", the government introduced compulsory primary education and abolished the

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<sup>149</sup> Graham (1971), 177.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

payment of fees for primary education.<sup>151</sup> In the six years preceding the declaration of Independence in 1957, educational facilities rapidly expanded to almost all parts of the country. The number of elementary schools increased from 1592 to 4,312, whilst the government assisted secondary schools rose from 12 to 38.<sup>152</sup> The basic problem associated with the educational expansion was inadequate supply of trained teachers. By 1957 the number of training colleges had increased from 19 in 1951 to 30.<sup>153</sup> The plan aimed at a total enrolment of 3,500 teachers by Independence. By February 1958 the enrolment had reached 4,055.<sup>154</sup>

For higher education, a new College of Technology (now University of Science and Technology) was established in 1952. The Legon campus of the University College was opened in 1953. The staff requirements of the increasing number of secondary schools and training colleges led to the establishment of the University College of Cape Coast in 1962 to produce graduate teachers.

### D.3 RELIGION AND HIGHER EDUCATION: THE ACHIMOTA MODEL

Colonialist interest and prejudice prevented the Government from giving full commitment to higher education of its African subjects. At the vanguard of a small band of people who contributed to the development of higher education in the country were the triumvirate of Achimota College: Sir Gordon Guggisberg – Gold Coast Governor (1919–27) and founder of the College; Rev. Alexander Garden Fraser – the first Principal, and Dr. J E K Aggrey – the celebrated educationalist of Gold

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<sup>151</sup> See the foreword to the *Accelerated Development Plan for Education 1951* (Gov't Printer: Accra, 1951). The policy reflects Guggisberg's vision, re-affirmed by Burns. On 7 January 1943 when Governor Burns was addressing the Gold Coast Teachers' Union, he re-affirmed: "the desired end is compulsory education for all children in the country" (McWilliam, *ibid.*, 84).

<sup>152</sup> McWilliam (1959), 88, 106; cf. Graham, *ibid.*, 1979.

<sup>153</sup> McWilliam, *op. cit.*, 106.

<sup>154</sup> Graham, *ibid.*, 1979.

Coast and first African staff member.<sup>155</sup>

The 1925 Guggisberg educational reforms constituted a dramatic change in government attitude to education in the Gold Coast.<sup>156</sup> The establishment of the Prince of Wales College in 1927 as an autonomous school-college<sup>157</sup> at Achimota (near Accra) was a concrete

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<sup>155</sup> Sir Gordon Guggisberg, born on 20 July 1869 in Toronto, Canada, pursued a military career. He was trained at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, England, in 1887. In World War I he had distinguished record. From 1905 he held the posts of Director of Surveys in Gold Coast and Nigeria, and later of Public Works in the Gold Coast. The major development projects completed or initiated in his period are Takoradi Harbour, Korle-Bu Hospital and Achimota College. "Gorgie" (as Gold Coaster affectionately called him), left the country 3 months after declaring Achimota College open on 28 January 1927. [See Wraith, Ronald E., *Guggisberg* (London: OUP, 1967)].

A. G. Fraser (1873-1962), was educated at Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Oxford. He pursued a missionary career as educationist with Church Missionary Society, first, in Uganda (1900-1903), and second, in Ceylon (1904-24), interrupted by serious illness in 1907, war service as Chaplain in France (1916-18), and assignment on the Indian Village Education Commission of the Indian National Christian Council (1920-21) (see Ward, W.E.F., *Fraser of Trinity and Achimota* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1965)).

Their African collaborator Kwegyir Aggrey, born on 18th October 1875 at Anomabu (Gold Coast), was educated at the Cape Coast Methodist School, where he was engaged as a teacher before becoming Secretary of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society. He obtained BA degree from Livingstone College, North Carolina, USA (1898-1902), and appointed a Registrar and Lecturer of the College. He undertook studies for MA at Columbia University (1922), and was later awarded honorary doctorate. In 1920 he was appointed a member of a commission of experts on colonial questions (administrators, doctors, missionaries and scientists) set up by the Phelps-Stokes Fund for the advancement of Negro education. It engaged him on educational research tours to West and South Africa [See Smith E.W., *Aggrey of Africa* (London: SCM, 1929), Part III]. Concerning his death whilst on a visit to America in 1927, after a brief spell at Achimota, Guggisberg remarked Africa had lost "one of her greatest sons" (Smith, *ibid.*, 274, 286).

<sup>156</sup> Guggisberg presented his educational plans to the Gold Coast Legislative Council in 1925 as "Sixteen Principles of Education". See McWilliam, H.O.A., *The Development of Education in Ghana* (Longmans: London, 1959), 53-4.

<sup>157</sup> Academically, the "College" by 1935 comprised Forms and Classes above Standard III, including classes of students working for Intermediate Degrees in Arts, Science and Engineering, and "(the one Degree Course) B.Sc. Engineering; which (because 'College' was used to mean School) came to be called 'University' classes (Williams, *op. cit.*, xvi).

demonstration of change and a major landmark in the country's educational development.

The reputation of Achimota College as a centre for intellectual excellence and character training projected the importance of religion in education as advocated by Guggisberg in the seventh and eighth of his "Sixteen Principles of Education" which stated:

Character training must take an important place in education.

Religious teaching should form part of school life.<sup>158</sup>

The founders of Achimota, in agreement with the Phelps-Stoke Commission, were convinced the best method of character training anywhere in the world was Christian teaching.<sup>159</sup> The guiding principles of Achimota were revolutionary: "the first co-educational secondary boarding school, the first to have Christian aims and yet be undenominational, the first which tried to preserve African traditions as well as to attain the highest academic standards of the Western world".<sup>160</sup>

### D.3.1 Religious Life at Achimota

Christian life at Achimota was regulated by an inter-denominational principle described by a shrewd observer as "Pre-Barth

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid. Affirmed in the *Minutes of the Legislative Council and Sessional Paper 1925-26*, quoted in Agbodeka, Francis, *Achimota In The National Setting - A Unique Educational Experiment in West Africa* (Afram Pub.: Accra, 1977), 34.

<sup>159</sup> See Bovet, P., Education as Viewed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission, *International Review of Missions*, 15 (1926), 483-492. The findings of Commission's 17 months research tour was published a volume edited by Thomas Jesse Jones: *Education in Africa* (New York/London: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922). Cf. Fraser, A.G., Aims of African Education, *IRM* 24 (1925), 514-22.

<sup>160</sup> McWilliam (1959), 58-9.

Student Christian Movement".<sup>161</sup> However, as a matter of principle chapel attendance was not compulsory, and varied between 85–95%.<sup>162</sup> No specific religious test was applied to staff, but only those who were in sympathy with a Christian foundation were appointed. The Principal, the Vice-Principal, and the Chaplain were all in Anglican orders. Also in the Anglican team was a West Indian priest, "in full sympathy with the monochrome diocese of Accra".<sup>163</sup> There was a Methodist minister who was later granted "semi-official permission" to conduct confirmation classes for Presbyterian and Methodist candidates for full church membership.<sup>164</sup>

The school day began with quiet periods: the private student quiet time, the staff informal prayer meeting and general College assembly. Many students observed the private quiet time, 6.50–7.00am, using notes of "Bible Reading Fellowship".<sup>165</sup> The staff had informal prayers with the Principal at 7.50am before the general assembly commenced at 8.00. It was conducted with prayers, a hymn, and a short address by the Principal if he was on campus. Roman Catholics met separately, as well as students in lower forms. The day ended with House Prayers at 9.00 led by a Housemaster.

The Eucharist was celebrated at 8.00 on Sundays, using the

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<sup>161</sup> Williams, *op. cit.*, 49. The Achimota interdenominationalism reflects Fraser's own association with SCM. He joined OICCU after his evangelical conversion at Oxford. Through the influence of OICCU friend's in the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, Fraser became a Student Volunteer and was engaged as Travelling Secretary of the SVMU after obtaining his degree, before commencing missionary work with the CMS (see Ward, 1965, 1–11). He renewed association with SCM during furlough in Britain (see Tatlow, 1933, 408 & 406).

<sup>162</sup> Students could be withdrawn from instruction and worship for reasons of conscience. Any student could read in the Library, under supervision, instead of attending chapel. The same principle applied to Roman Catholics also, though they received separate treatment in other respects. They had their own chaplain (at first a layman), chapel, ministrations and instructions (*Ibid.*).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

liturgical form familiar to Anglicans in the Accra diocese (in "High Church") tradition for two Sundays; a simpler rite according to the Book of Common Prayer on another Sunday; and on one Sunday a service acceptable to Methodists and Presbyterians. During the day confirmation classes were conducted for candidates of the various protestant denominations for full church membership. At night, the College met in the dining-hall of the Girls' School (which had no chapel) for a forty-five-minute service of hymns, prayers, readings and address, attended by all but a handful of students and a majority of the staff, and visitors from Accra.

In a commentary on the religious tone of Achimota at the end of a brief term of office in the mid-1930s, the second Principal, Rev. H.M. Grace, wrote:

No College can ever be satisfied with the outward forms of its corporate worship of God, but it is certainly true to say that God is truly present in the glorious Sunday evening services at Achimota which most of the staff students seek God's grace and power for themselves and their fellows before the day begins in the silence of their own rooms or dormitories; because many of the staff and students meet for family prayers each morning before the day begins; because many of the staff each Thursday meet in the Friends' Meeting House for prayers and meditation, and once a month on a Sunday in the Chapel for common worship and prayer; because on Saints' Days and Sundays many meet round our Lord's Table to receive His blessings: because the Housemasters and mistresses pray together with their houses before bedtime: because the religious dogmas and doctrines expounded in the Scripture lesson and house prayers often come to life in the corporate worship of a large assembly.<sup>166</sup>

The first two inspection reports of the College affirm:

The religious influences seem most wholesome and the opportunities for ethical and religious teaching more numerous than those provided at most English public schools; and the resulting life seemed neither grim nor flabby.

The students are brought up in a society in which Christian standards of living are always kept before them and the

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<sup>166</sup> Williams, *ibid.*, 50-51. The "Friends' Meeting House" also called "Hill House" was presented to the College in 1934 by the members of the Society of Friends for use of staff and students as a quiet place,

differences which separate Christians elsewhere appear to be felt as little as possible.<sup>167</sup>

In the Achimota experiment Christian teaching and practice were buttressed by other principles. In his first report (1924), Fraser referred to:

the spirit of the daily round, the thoroughness in work, the team play, the training in love of country and in practical service of the people of the country. ... the unity of staff, and the common life of staff and boys living in close relationship in field, dormitory and classroom ...self-government given to the boys....<sup>168</sup>

Achimota College was a successful experiment in the integration of religion and education in a non-denominational context. It became a model for the development of Ghana's premier university - the University of Ghana. The University's motto: *Integri Procedamus* - "Proceed With Integrity", reflects the Achimota principle.

#### D.4 THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA - LEGON

The University of Ghana was opened on 11 October 1948 as University College of Gold Coast, with 90 students and initial location at Achimota, in the old buildings of the Prince of Wales College at Achimota. The re-location of the University College at the present site at Legon (about 4 miles from the old site) commenced in 1953 and was completed in 1960.<sup>169</sup> The development of Legon continued in the early

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid. 51.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>169</sup> Osborne, D.G., *The Colleges of Africa: University of Ghana, Legon*, *Span* (Magazine of The Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students), 2, 1963, 2. Denis Osborne, BSc (1953), PhD (1957), a product of Durham University, an Anglican, was President of Durham Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (DICCU). He has had distinguished career as lecturer in physics in universities in - Durham (1956/57), Sierra Leone (1957/58), Ghana (1958-64), Tanzania (1964-71), London - Univ. College (1971-72). He joined the Overseas Development Administration after leaving university work, and since 1984-87 has been responsible for British Aid to British West Africa. His career at Legon involved him in the development of the University Christian Fellowship.

sixties with the construction of a fifth hall of residence, named Mensah Sarbah Hall. It was to provide campus accommodation for the massive increase in student population, from 700 in 1961 to 1,200 in October 1962.<sup>170</sup> In its formative years, through a "special relationship" to the University of London, the University College awarded London degrees.<sup>171</sup>

On the first anniversary of the inauguration of Ghana's republic, 1st July 1961, academic independence from London was achieved, and the University of Ghana was inaugurated with President Nkrumah as first Chancellor. The transition from University College to full-fledged University status attracted local and international attention. The national press took opportunity to launch a socialist anti-colonialist critique of the university system. Denis Osborne (then at Legon) recalls:

In June 1961 the *Ghanaian Times* editorial described the University College as 'a den of academic reaction', with its teaching 'moulded to suit the needs of London University, which is a stronghold of bourgeois education'. There were cartoons that caricatured academic arrogance and articles to remind students that they were 'not better than the sweating workers and farmers' whose industry paid for their education.<sup>172</sup>

The criticisms exposed some basic defects in the old University College and highlighted problems of the new University. University students in Ghana were once a privileged class. University graduates were greatly respected for their scarcity value as educated men. But the University

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<sup>170</sup> It was caused by several factors: "a double entry caused by changing the dates of the school year, the start of a medical faculty and the inclusion of the College of Administration in the University" (Osborne, *ibid.*, 2). With the attainment of republican status in 1960, the Africanization of country's development and administration was accelerated by socialist Nkrumah government which granted full scholarship for university education of all Ghanaians.

<sup>171</sup> The purpose of the "special relationship" which existed in other new Commonwealth Colleges was to adapt syllabuses to local needs without lowering the value of the degrees awarded. Local and London staff collaborated in setting and marking of examinations. Also the Kumasi College of Technology opened in 1952 as an autonomous institution for vocational and technological training, initially prepared students for Engineering degrees of London University.

<sup>172</sup> Osborne, *ibid.*, 3.



system was frequently criticised because of the superiority complex of some students. The students were accused of unduly expecting the respect of adults in their local communities, and regarding themselves vastly superior to illiterates in the society. There were allegations that some expected to be served at home, and in the halls of residence some bullied the stewards who served. The student and graduate attitude of isolationism and superiority was condemned as "colonial mentality", and partly attributed to "the academic detachment of expatriate staff from local struggles and problems".<sup>173</sup>

The air of luxury on the Legon campus increased the criticisms against the University.<sup>174</sup> The University facilities gave an impression of peace and ease, which though necessary for academic work, was at variance with the socio-economic situation of the country. Socialist critics argued the university conditions insulated and alienated students from realities of life outside. It was in this academic setting of problems and criticisms, change and progress, challenge and opportunity that the evangelical fellowships emerged.

#### D.4.1 The Religious Tone Of The University

The religious life of the University College derives from its Achimota root. The halls of residence incorporated chapels, with part-time denominational chaplains in charge of morning and evening prayers and

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Apart from the Independence Tower of the Great Hall (for convocation), all the University buildings, painted dazzling white with characteristic red tiled roofs designed to be earthquake-resistant, are low. The architecture and horticultural design with grass courts, ornamental pools and fountains, described variously as "Oriental", "Mediterranean" or "Garden City", was viewed by some critics as an embarrassing extravagance. The amenities on the campus: banks, a post office and telephone exchange, a bookshop, university bus service, libraries, open air theatre and a sports field, made campus life fast full. It gave students and staff the modest satisfaction of considering the University the best on the continent (Ibid., 4).

Sunday evening service in each of them.<sup>175</sup> The denominational activities of the Divinity Department were supplemented by non-denominational programmes of SCM. A Christian fellowship of senior members of the University College met fortnightly to discuss diverse Christian topics. It was the general concern of the Christian community in the University College that the spiritual life of the College should keep pace with its material and academic development.

The first major evangelistic activity in the University College was a mission held in 1953, led by Canon Bryan Green from Birmingham,<sup>176</sup> supported by a team of Assistant Missioners. It was an inter-denominational activity sponsored by the church chaplains, with the collaboration of staff and student Christian groups – the Senior Fellowship of evangelical lecturers and the SCM. From the mission theme: "Jonah – The Problem", emerged the question: "Have you thrown your Jonah overboard?"<sup>177</sup>

The *raison d'être* of the mission reveals a perceived inadequacy in the campus Christianity. At a time when being "educated" was equated to being a Christian, many who professed Christianity were by evangelical standards nominal, needing re-conversion. Also the Mission is a significant evidence of the influence of evangelical lecturers who became prime agents for the promotion of evangelical Christianity among the students.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> The chapels were allocated to Roman Catholics and the three main protestant denominations – Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican.

<sup>176</sup> Legon Mission Committee Letter to Christian Friends of the University College, June 1959, 2.

<sup>177</sup> Interview on 8 June 1991 with Mrs Shelagh Hulme, wife of Ralph Hulme (former Physics Lecturer, University College of Gold Coast).

<sup>178</sup> Shelagh Hulme (op. cit.) recalls the assistance of an emerging group of evangelical students: Felix Konotey-Ahulu, Sam Bortei-Doku, John Agama, Florence Yeboah, Margaret Djoletto and the couple, Yaw and Sarah Opong.

E. THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT (SCM) IN GHANA: THE PARACHURCH ANTECEDENT TO THE EMERGENCE OF EVANGELICAL FELLOWSHIPS IN GHANAIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

SCM was the first inter-denominational Christian student organisation in modern Ghana. Its beginnings in Gold Coast educational institutions is associated with the general expansion of the movement into British West Africa through African agents – students returning home after completing studies in colleges and universities in Britain.<sup>179</sup> The local initiatives attracted international interest through a report given at the General Committee meeting of the World Student Christian Federation at Bievres, France, in August 1938:

The Committee received with great interest and appreciation the report of the work of students groups in Prince of Wales College, Achimota, and the Fourrah [sic] Bay College and other centres. It expressed its hope that this work would continue to develop more fully. It referred to the Executive the suggestion that a number of the Federation Staff should visit West Africa to investigate, pioneer and co-ordinate the work of the student Christian groups. The Executive was also asked to ... request the Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland to regard as its special concern these student Christian groups, and the development of a Student Christian Movement, and to act along with the Federation as a means of pioneering, strengthening and planning student Christian work in West Africa during the next three years.<sup>180</sup>

The resolution resulted in the formation of an SCM Senior Friends group in London to co-ordinate the affairs of the emerging West African SCM branches at Achimota College (Gold Coast), Fourrah Bay College (Sierra Leone) and the Higher College at Yaba, Nigeria. In a circular to Principals of the Colleges and SCM graduates working in West Africa, the British SCM solicited their assistance and co-operation in nurturing the fledgling SCM groups. In Gold Coast, Miguel Ribeiro, a West African member of staff of Achimota College, assumed responsibility for the inauguration of the branch of SCM in the College in 1939.<sup>181</sup> Thus through foreign and local agents, branches of SCM emerged in other

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<sup>179</sup> Cf. Ojo (1986), 140.

<sup>180</sup> *The Student Movement* (SCM Magazine), XLI (8), May 1939, 212.

<sup>181</sup> *The Student Movement* XLII (9), June 1940, 202.

secondary and tertiary educational institutions.

The SCM operated in Ghanaian educational institutions as an inter-denominational "fellowship of students and staff who desire both to understand the Christian faith and live the Christian life. ... to witness to Christ as Lord and Saviour in the academic community."<sup>182</sup> The activities of the SCM groups were based on a "four-point programme" of "worship/common prayer, study, evangelism and social action", with the aim to:

- a. Acknowledge and lead others to acknowledge God through Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit.
- b. Work for the understanding and acceptance in the thought and life of the school and college, of the Lordship of Christ, over the whole life of mankind.
- c. Work for the extension, unity and renewal of the life of the Church through out the world.
- d. Call students to bear witness as responsible members of a particular church, in personal commitment to Jesus Christ as their Saviour and Lord.<sup>183</sup>

By 1962 (when Scripture Union groups and evangelical fellowships had just emerged), with T.V. Philip as Travelling Secretary, 40 branches of SCM already existed in Ghanaian universities, colleges, secondary and technical schools.<sup>184</sup> Their campus activities pivoted on Bible study, with focus on Bible books, characters, themes and aspects of Christian doctrine and history, and their relevance to human life. In prayer cells the members engaged corporate prayer, in addition to their private devotions. Prayer retreat (at the beginning of each academic term) was prescribed as "a good opportunity for members to prepare themselves

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<sup>182</sup> Philip, T.V., *Student Christian Movement of Ghana*, Information Booklet (Achimota, 1962), 1.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. At the international level, the Ghana movement was affiliated to the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF).

spiritually to carry out their responsibilities."<sup>185</sup> For worship they were instructed to attend services of the college chapel. Where no such arrangement existed, SCM members were either to arrange services at suitable places on campus or attend the service of the local church.

Evangelism was considered the primary duty of SCM members towards fellow students. Personal conversation about the gospel was recommended as the fundamental form of Christian witness to be pursued in addition to campus missions, open-air campaigns, distribution of Christian literature, religious drama and musicals. The formation and operation of an inter-collegiate Gospel Team was prescribed as an effective means of extending the SCM influence to other campuses.

"To arouse interest and stimulate Christian thinking", the SCM groups arranged public meetings, fora, symposia, debates and "brains trusts".<sup>186</sup> The discussions were further intended to promote "a new intellectual enquiry into the nature of truth and knowledge, a new search for wholeness in the various disciplines of thought and study, both in the Arts and the Sciences."<sup>187</sup>

SCM students were made aware of opportunities for combining evangelism with social services in the neighbourhood: visiting hospitals, care homes, prisons, running literacy and health classes, raising funds for charity conducting surveys of specific social problems and helping in actual social work.<sup>188</sup> In emphasising its commitment to social action, SCM was presented as "a community for service among students

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 3. The WSCF Africa Study Project produced the following titles: *Seven Whole Days* - worship and daily living; *One To Another ... In The Christian Life* - the Christian and family life; *Muslims and Christians* - Christianity and Islam (Part I); *The Gospel and Islam* - Christianity and Islam (Part II); *Science and Christian Faith*; *Good Health* - the Church's ministry of healing; *After Independence* - the Christians political responsibility.

<sup>186</sup> Philip, *ibid.* From Prof. A.F. Walls the writer learns that "Brains Trusts" were a form of panel discussion derived from a popular BBC radio programme.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

and the outside world." Social events became a regular feature of the campus activities of the movement.<sup>189</sup>

As a parachurch organisation SCM was recognised by both church and educational authorities as the main voluntary Christian student society, supposed to function as an "arm of the Church in the academic community", the "manifestation of the unity of the Church".<sup>190</sup> Thus the emergence of SU and evangelical fellowships in the institutions was initially perceived as a divisive development and duplication, which had to be controlled. Hence, the low profile operation of the evangelical groups in their formative period, which in some cases were regulated under the umbrella of SCM. In most institutions the evangelical group was permitted to operate as a society that specialised in Bible study.

Particular care was taken by the expatriate pioneers to insulate the Bible study groups from SCM influence which was perceived as liberalising. The later formalisation and designation of the Bible study groups as Christian Fellowships was intended to establish and promote a distinctive evangelical identity and interest.

The evangelical concept of Christianity required radical conversion, which in most cases involved second conversions, including SCM members. This is illustrated by the experience of E. H. Brew Riverson. Despite his active Christian life and leadership engagements in SCM which culminated in his elevation as Vice-President of SCM-Ghana

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<sup>189</sup> In the UK context, Tatlow (op. cit., 863) notes that the use of social events to make SCM attractive to students was a demonstration of timidity on the part of College SCM leadership about "the drawing power of the Christian message". Cf. Bruce, S., *A House Divided: Protestantism, Schism and Secularization* (London: Routledge, 1990), 105, states the early leaders of SCM believed a liberal social attitude could be used to arouse the interest of those who could not be attracted by the "old time gospel". "Once their interest was aroused, they could gradually be socialised into the real Christian gospel."

<sup>190</sup> Op. cit.

(1956-57), he had to undergo evangelical conversion.<sup>191</sup> As Legon SCM leader, Brew Riverson supported the chaplaincy work and promoted other Christian activities in the University College. He claims associating with the emergent group of evangelicals with Scripture Union background. In the first Mission to the University College (1953), he had an evangelical encounter which led to his re-conversion. In a personal conversation with Tony Wilmot (an evangelical expatriate in the Gold Coast Civil Service), who functioned as Assistant Missioner, Brew Riverson was introduced to what "decision for Christ" meant in the conservative evangelical sense. He recalls being led to make a new and "a conscious decision to receive Christ into his life at that movement in October 1953."<sup>192</sup>

The Riverson story confirms the secondary nature of most evangelical conversions in Ghana. The integration of Christianity and education in mission schools facilitated primary conversions to the faith. However, by the time evangelical fellowships emerged, Christianity for most people, had become something more of a formality than real, a respectable lifestyle than a act of conviction. Thus in their campus evangelistic activities, the evangelical fellowships most often re-evangelised people who were already associated (more or less) with the established form Christianity in schools and churches.

#### F. THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CLIMATE

The parachurch movements operated in a climate of political instability and attendant socio-economic crisis. A survey of the political history of Ghana since independence indicates a situation riddled with a

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<sup>191</sup> In an interview with the writer on 12 Dec. 1990, Rev. Dr. E. H. Brew Riverson (former Principal of Wesley College, and Secretary of Conference of Methodist Church of Ghana since 1986), claims he was born and bred in a Christian home. He maintained an active church life before commencing secondary education in 1945 at Mfantipim, Cape Coast. At Mfanstipim he joined the "Evangelical Group" and engaged in rural evangelism, before joining the SCM. When he entered Wesley College (Kumasi), he became a member of the "Preaching Band", while still maintaining active SCM membership. In 1952 he gained admission to the University College of Ghana.

<sup>192</sup> Interview with Brew Riverson, 18 Dec. 1990.

series of military take-over of government.<sup>193</sup> Before the present democratic experiment commenced in January 1993, Ghanaians had been ruled by the military for 22 years out of 35 years of independence.<sup>194</sup>

The first democratic republic which commenced in 1960 under President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in a *coup d'état* led by Kotoka and Afrifa on 24 February 1966, resulting in the formation of the first military government, National Liberation Council (1966–69). The parliamentary democracy of the second republic initiated in 1969 under Busia was toppled in a military *coup* led by Lt. Gen. I.K. Acheampong in 1972. The Acheampong regime, Supreme Military Council (SMC I) was supplanted by SMC II in a palace *coup* led by Gen. Akuffo in July 1978. The military struggle for political power continued, culminating in the violent June 4, 1979 revolution involving junior officers of the Army, led by Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. They established the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council which restored democratic rule in 1979 under President Hilla Limann, but only to take over government again on 31 December 1981. The revolutionary military government was re-established as Provisional Defence Council (PNDC), which ironically, maintained power for 11 years until its transformation into a civilian government in the 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections.

The military intervention of government in Ghana has political and economic causes which affect student life, and consequently, evangelical student work. It was political dictatorship and not economic hardship which led to the over-throw of Nkrumah.<sup>195</sup> With series of constitutional changes and repressive measures Nkrumah succeeded in turning Ghana into a *one-party* state, dominated by the leftist Convention

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<sup>193</sup> See Amamoo, Joseph G., *The Ghanaian Revolution*, London: Jafint, 1988. Roseblum, M. & Williamson, D., *Squandering Eden: Africa At the Edge* (London: Bodley Head, 1988), 149, notes: "In March 1987 Ghana celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, after fifteen coup de'tats and eight changes of government since --- independence."

<sup>194</sup> *West Africa*, 13–19 July 1992, 1172.

<sup>195</sup> A 1993 BBC Television documentary on the Akosombo Dam links the American CIA with the 1966 military conspiracy. As an influential African leader, Nkrumah's leftist direction did not please the Americans who also had financed the construction of the Akosombo Dam.

People's Party (CPP). The arbitrary detention of political opponents under the "Preventive Detention Act" silenced every political opposition. Expatriate university lecturers suspected of subversion were deported. Student opposition was controlled by the arrest and detention of student leaders, and the imposition a temporary recess on universities and colleges, as in 1964. Military intervention was thus welcomed as the only way to change the government.

Unlike the 1966 event, the 1972 coup took many Ghanaians by surprise. In overthrowing the Busia regime, the 15% devaluation of the US-dollar value of the national currency (the *cedi*) as a condition for obtaining IMF loans, and the withdrawal of special military benefits, were mentioned by Acheampong as factors of socio-economic hardship which had inspired the coup. The introduction of Students Loans Scheme as means of financing university education had made the Busia regime unpopular amongst students, but in relative terms the economy was not as unbearable as the coup plotters were claiming. Unlike 1966, the 1972 coup was more of a shock than a relief.

From the mid-1970s, Ghanaians were beginning to feel the adverse effects of national political instability due to military intervention of government. The Acheampong era was characterised by abuse of political power, national economic mismanagement and socio-economic hardship. Acheampong's political agents included religious leaders. Repressive measures adopted for political control generated political upheavals, with students and professional organisations engaged in violent confrontations with military and the police. The higher educational institutions, particularly the universities, were often closed because they became grounds for fomenting trouble for the government. The crisis culminated in the violent June 4, 1979 Revolution involving junior military officers, and supported by radical student activists. The political crisis of 1970s transformed the students movement, the National Union of Ghana Students, into a political force which often came into conflict with Rawlings over human rights abuses in the PNDC era.

The early part of PNDC rule which orchestrated an abrasive anti-Western rhetoric made it appear communist. A change of attitude

followed the 1983/84 socio-economic crisis of drought and famine, complicated by the re-settlement of one million Ghanaian immigrants expelled from Nigeria that period. It was a politically humbling experience, with much religious significance in terms of Christian thought and action.

By promoting the Afrikania Mission – a revival of the cult of African traditional religion in the guise of *Sankofa*, a slogan for "return to things native", the PNDC was accused by Christian bodies of being anti-Christian.<sup>196</sup> The promulgation of the PNDC Law 221 in 1990 for the registration of religious bodies was a determined but unsuccessful effort by the Government to regulate and control all forms religious activity.<sup>197</sup>

Doubtless, the operations of the evangelical fellowships were affected by the unstable political situation. The relatively stable political environment, from the period of transition towards independence to the end of the first republic (1951–66), favoured the growth of the fellowships. Evangelistic activities such as camps and missions were more regular in that period than the 1970s and 80s when recurrent

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<sup>196</sup> Afrikania Mission was initiated in 1982 as "Reformed African Traditional Religion". It was a movement founded by Osofo Komfo Damuah, a former Catholic Priest and ex-PNDC member. On the significance of Afrikania Religion as an alternative religious system, Kwame Bediako remarks: "What we had in Afrikania was more than another new religious movement; indeed, perhaps even more than a revitalization of traditional religion, Rather, what we had was a deliberate universalizing of the traditional religion into an alternative to Christianity and Islam. Thus in Ghana, it amounted to a fundamental challenge to Christianity, in particular, to offer an adequate interpretation of reality to provide a credible basis and intellectual framework for African life" [William Ofori Atta Memorial Lectures (1992) – Lecture II: "Ghana's Legitimate Quest for Cultural Identity: A Christian Response and Contribution", quoted in Kofi Asare Opoku, Damuah and The Afrikania Mission – The Man and His Mission: Some Preliminary Considerations, *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology*, 3(1), June 1993, 55].

<sup>197</sup> As demonstration of protest, the Roman Catholic and Protestant Church Councils refused to comply with the Law. See Ababio, K. Effah, *Conflict, Identity, and Co-operation: The Relations of the Christian Church with the Traditional Colonial and National State in Ghana With Special Reference to the Period 1916–66*, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1992, 516ff.

military intervention of government, attendant socio-economic difficulties and resultant student unrest, destabilised campus life.

In the midst of the political upheavals the evangelical fellowships maintained a conservative political attitude, consciously avoiding any form of political involvement, and focusing on purely religious issues.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE ROOTS OF GHANAIAN PARACHURCH MOVEMENTS: THE EMERGENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT

#### 1.1 THE EARLY HISTORY OF SCRIPTURE UNION IN GHANA

The year 1990 was celebrated in Ghana as the centenary of Scripture Union operations in the country. It is not a century of continuous operation, but a history broken by periods of recession and accession, in the pre-war and post-war years respectively. In the pre-war years SU work in Ghana was identified as a ministry of CSSM, and as in the Nigerian case<sup>1</sup>, the movement operated in close co-operation with protestant missions from the U.K.

The study of the early SU operations in Ghana is severely handicapped by the apparent lack/loss of documentation of its activities. A report sent from James Town, Accra, to CSSM in London in 1890 by J. Mercer, a CSSM worker, is our only available source material with information about SU meetings in Ghana (then Gold Coast) in the late nineteenth century. In the report he states:

Our meetings in this part of Africa are growing brighter and brighter everyday. There is not a day on which we meet when we do not get a new member. The colonial chaplain in this part of the coast enrolled his name as a member, and desires me to tell you that he takes active part in our meetings always, and he announces it in the Church Sunday after Sunday. We meet in the Government schoolroom every Wednesday, and we have now upwards of sixty members.<sup>2</sup>

Sketchy as the report is, the Mercer fragment provides certain significant details of the early SU operation. It indicates the existence of a harmonious SU-Church relations, evident in the active patronage of SU activities by the Colonial Chaplain and the church announcement of SU meetings. The mid-weekly SU meetings were organised to

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ojo (1986), 52, mentions a close association of CSSM with the work of Church Missionary Society in the early history of SU in Western Nigeria.

<sup>2</sup>. *CSSM Occasional Papers*, March 1890, 103.

harmonize with existing church arrangements. As a parachurch operation, the early SU activity did not constitute a competition but a supplement to the work of the church, providing vital spiritual refreshment for the increasing number of participants, in-between Sunday Church Services.

It is also significant to note that from the beginning the school system was the locus of the Scripture Union activity in Ghana.<sup>3</sup> Local SU records indicate the late Rt. Rev. FCF Grant (who became the first Ghanaian President of Methodist Church-Ghana) had been using SU *Daily Notes* for Bible reading in 1911 when he was in school. He became one of the earliest Ghanaian patrons of the movement.<sup>4</sup>

In a much later period, in two separate reports, Nigel Sylvester (staff of Ghana SU in the post-war period) makes allusions to the existence of SU groups in Ghana at Cape Coast around 1909 and Achimota in the 1930s, indicating that some remnants of the defunct SU movement existed when he commenced work in Ghana as SU staff worker in 1955.<sup>5</sup> However, there was no functioning parachurch organisation that could be identified with SU when evangelical graduates from UK took up various secular appointments in Gold Coast in after World War II. The pre-war SU thus represents an episode rather than a movement in the Christian history of Ghana.

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<sup>3</sup> The enormous cost of building has transformed most classrooms of Ghanaian elementary schools into multi-purpose facility - for educational, social and religious activities. Particularly, they serve as a place for SU "Town Fellowship" Bible study and prayer meetings, church services of the some African Instituted Churches and the emergent Independent Charismatic Churches. Such Christian use of state schools has significant implications for church-state relations in Ghana.

<sup>4</sup> See *Hundred Years of Scripture Union in Ghana*, (A Typescript of Unpublished Centenary Brochure of Facts and Figures about SU-Ghana), 1990, 1; also *Tit Bits about SU History*, SU (Ghana), Typescript, n.d., 2. The Rev. F.C.F. Grant also patronized the Africa Christian Press established in 1964, by serving as the first Ghanaian representative on its Council of Reference, (See *Africa Christian Press: Aim and Publishing Policy*, Brochure, 1965).

<sup>5</sup> See *Take and Read*, SU (Ghana) Annual Report, November 1965, 6; *The Golden Lamp*, SU (Ghana) Annual Report, November 1960, 2.

### 1.1.2 The "Silent Years": Decline in SU Activity

The period between 1911–1951 can be described as the "silent years" of the history of SU work in Ghana, with virtually no record of SU activity. Although this apparent Christian recession remains inexplicable, one cannot exclude the factor of the two world wars which disrupted Christian missions worldwide.<sup>6</sup>

The "silent years" were of course, years of Christian expansion by means of education, with many primary but superficial conversions. It produced in Ghana a people who identified themselves as Christians because of their formal association with the Church and the mission school system. The observations of many evangelical secular and missionary workers indicate the existence of a Christianity deficient in knowledge and understanding of the salvation message of the Bible, even in the centres of Christianity – mission established secondary schools and teacher training colleges. As Jim Findlay (formerly a Scottish missionary teacher at Presbyterian Training College at Akropong–Akwapim, Ghana) observed of the prevailing situation in the early 1950s:

Christianity has been the way to education and hence to prosperity... . Hordes of young Africans have called themselves Christians without knowing or understanding what Christianity really is. So the churches are in danger of becoming vast hollow edifices, bodies without souls, gathering places of people who read the Bible but do not understand its message.<sup>7</sup>

In mission schools the religious system compelled faith, with the result that many students professed Christianity, with no genuine conversion, and no deep commitment to Christ. From his extensive evangelical witness among African students since 1938 when he first

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<sup>6</sup> On the decline of SU work in Nigeria during the World War II, see Ojo (1986), 51.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Sylvester (1984) 150. Jim Findlay, a former Scottish missionary taught English, Scripture and Church History at Presbyterian Training College – Akwapem–Akropong, Ghana, from 1951 until his appointment in September 1957 as Principal of St Andrews Training College, Asante Mampong.

came to Africa, Tony Wilmot also observes:

The African does not question authority so readily as Europeans do and in mission schools many make profession of faith in what must be right because the authorities say it is. ... Well taught about Christianity and well able with traditional African charm, to appear outwardly Christian, many pass from mission schools without even having been so convinced of their sin and need as to have made that cry for mercy through Christ crucified which alone brings real salvation.<sup>8</sup>

The statement reflects British conservative evangelical assumptions and perceptions of Christianity in schools and colleges in Ghana in the early 1950s. In the schools dependent on state assistance, the missions employed teachers on government salaries "without particular regard to their Christian profession or denominational allegiance".<sup>9</sup> It encouraged the development of nominalism – a situation where many products of the Christian educational institutions had become "Christians by name but not in heart".<sup>10</sup> The concern for evangelical conversion of students led to the commencement of the second phase of SU work in Ghana in the post-war years from 1951. The conservative evangelicalism introduced by IVF graduates through SU and evangelical unions emphasised "'real Christianity', as distinct from 'formal', or 'nominal' Christianity".<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Wilmot, A T de B, *Report on Tour of British African Universities* (Oct. 1 – 24 Dec. 1955) for the IVF, Typescript, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Wilmot (1955), 7. The major protestant missions active in the Gold Coast then were Methodists, Presbyterian (Church of Scotland, Basel and Bremen Missions), and Anglican (English Church Mission, otherwise known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel).

<sup>10</sup> Sylvester (1984), 150.

<sup>11</sup> On classical evangelicalism in the context of Christendom, Prof. Walls comments: "Evangelicalism was about 'real', as distinct from 'formal', or 'nominal' Christianity. ... 'Real Christianity', following on the knowledge of sin and the consciousness of forgiveness in Christ, involved a life of ongoing devotion and practical duty." See Walls, A F, *The Legacy of Thomas Fowell Buxton, International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 15(2), April 1991, 74.

### 1.1.3 The Inter-College Camp Movement

The second phase of SU work in Ghana began in a very informal way, by a cadre of evangelical professionals from UK, with primary engagement in secular service in Ghana. This development was not just an incidental occurrence, because for these expatriates the evangelical witness was as important as their secular engagements. Many of them had been involved in SU camps and College Christian Unions in UK and had come "with the firm purpose of sharing their faith"<sup>12</sup>. Their high professional calibre benefited their evangelical course. Early arrivals such as Tony and Eve Wilmot (in the Civil Service), and Ralph and Shelagh Hulme, Alan and Honor Ward (all at the University College – Achimota/Legon), were already engaged in informal witness among students in the University College.<sup>13</sup> The others were Col. and Mrs Buck, Majors Charles Barker and Harry Yarde Martin (at the Headquarters of West Africa Command of the Army – Teshie, near Accra); John Cooper (architect with the Public Works Department – Accra) and Jim and Marjory Findlay of the Scottish Mission at Presbyterian Training College – Akropong Akwapim.<sup>14</sup>

After the first camp at Winneba in 1952/53, reinforcements arrived in the persons of Clifford and Mary Simms (at Prempeh College – Kumasi); Stella Graham and Carol Dover Wilson (at Aburi Girls Secondary School); John and Paula Holmes (at College of Technology – Kumasi, now University of Science and Technology); Basil and Joyce Chaplin (at University College of Ghana – Legon).<sup>15</sup>

For the sake of Christian fellowship some of the expatriates often met at the Wilmot's residence in Accra, as mentioned

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<sup>12</sup> Sylvester, *op. cit.*; Cf. Ojo (1986), 53–8, examines the simultaneous development of SU in Ghana and Nigeria in the early 1950s.

<sup>13</sup> Tony & Eve Wilmot, Letter to Friends, 13 March 1952, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Wilmot, 1955, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Jim Findlay, *Tribute to Ralph Hulme*, (Typescript), 17 February 1989. Ralph Hulme, a co-pioneer of the Inter-College Camp Movement in Gold Coast, died in UK in a motor accident on Friday, 10 Feb. 1989.

in a letter:

We have met, sometimes with others, each Sunday evening in our house (as we have a piano) for hymns and prayer. Each Monday we have a Bible Reading, alternating between our house and that of Colonel and Mrs. Buck... Others of like mind who are sometimes able to be with us in Accra are Ralph & Shelagh Hulme, and Alan and Honor Ward, all of the University College, Achimota (7 miles away), and Jim and Marjory Findlay, of the Presbyterian Training College, Akropong (about 35 miles from Accra).<sup>16</sup>

It was at one such meeting of evangelical expatriates at Legon that the idea of beginning Scripture Union camps in Ghana was conceived, as mentioned by Jim Findlay in a tribute to Ralph Hulme:

In November 1951 I returned from a fortnight of evangelistic endeavour and missionary teaching in the bush villages of Southern Gold Coast near Nsawam to our H.Q. at Akropong P.T.C.. My wife Marjory who had been staying meantime at Legon University broke the news that a new group of SU enthusiasts drawn from diverse professional backgrounds had become united in the conviction that God had put us there to plan and pray for the development of SU camps in Gold Coast.<sup>17</sup>

Despite their diverse professional and academic interests, the expatriates were united by their evangelical commitment into a harmonious team who staffed and supported the Inter-College Camps (ICCs) throughout their earlier years in Ghana. Their vision was to win for Christ the post-war emergent student generations of Ghana.<sup>18</sup> They realised it was not possible to make an impression in the prevailing religious environment unless they could get the students away from their surroundings into the temporary Christian community of a camp. This was not possible without wholehearted African involvement, as the Wilmots noted: "It seems to us that the future of these camps cannot lie with the small, ephemeral European community".<sup>19</sup> The ICC thus commenced as a foreign evangelical experiment with the involvement of Ghanaian

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<sup>16</sup> Tony & Eve Wilmot, *op. cit.*, 1.

<sup>17</sup> Findlay, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Tony & Eve Wilmot, *op. cit.*, 2.

students – Felix Konotey Ahulu and Victor Dadson (both of University College of Gold Coast)<sup>20</sup>, Sam Bortei Doku (Odumasi Secondary School), Gladys Aye, Agnes Boateng and Joana Badu (all of Presbyterian Training College (PTC) – Aburi), Beatrice Larbi (PTC –Krobo Odumase) and Gladys Osae Addo.

The first camp was organised at the coastal town of Winneba in the grounds of the Methodist Junior School during the Christmas holidays (27 December 1952 – 7 January 1953). As part of the preparations for the camp Ralph Hulme organised a pre-terminal camp at a Rest House in Apam for the young African co-workers during the Easter holidays, 16–18 April 1952<sup>21</sup>: to prepare them for devolved responsibility – expose them to camp life of communal cooking and shared sleeping accommodation, and to awaken and strengthen their Christian convictions. The programme for the "pre-terminal" included observance of the "Quiet Time"<sup>22</sup>, country walks, and informal

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<sup>20</sup> Our subject, now Dr. Felix Konotey-Ahulu, MD (London) DTMH, Consultant Physician, Cromwell Hospital, London, took up a post at Ghana Medical School, at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra, in 1965. He has a distinguished medical career as specialist in Sickle Cell disease. His colleague, Victor Dadson became a lecturer in Mathematics at the University of Science and Technology, and in continued commitment to the camp movement, he served as Chairman of the Camps Council [See *The Lord is My Song*, SU (Ghana) Report, 1962, 5]. He is also mentioned as a member of the SU (Ghana) Advisory Committee (Ibid., 12).

<sup>21</sup> *Minutes of Inter-College Camp Committee Meeting held on 26 January, 1952*, (Typescript: 2 Feb.1952). Later, reflecting on his experience at the pre-terminal at Apam, Felix Konotey-Ahulu confessed to Tony Wilmot his sense of spiritual inadequacy when he was selected and made aware of his leadership responsibilities as camp officer. Feeling unequal to the task, Konotey-Ahulu surrendered to Christ as Lord of his life, (Interview with Tony Wilmot, 8 May 1991).

<sup>22</sup> See "A Brief History of Inter-College Camps", *ICC Newsletter*, May 1957. The observance of "Quiet Time" was emphasised by SU as a cornerstone of the Christian spirituality of campers. In the *Inter-College Camps Notes for Dormitory Officers (Winneba, 1952–53)* 2, Jim Findlay instructs camp officers on their responsibility for such spiritual formation of campers: "You will be responsible for making the morning and evening Quiet Time in your boys' dorm. This is the most valuable 10 minutes at each end of the day. In it you should aim to show your boys the relevance of systematic scripture reading and prayer to their daily life. Whatever you do, make the QT practical. It will probably be best to read the Scripture Union portion and the SU notes, followed by

discussions about "Our Faith", and a few orderly duties. Felix Konotey Ahulu and Victor Dadson (regular members of Ralph and Shelagh Hulme's Bible Fellowship in Achimota University College) were selected after a three day leadership training with three other Ghanaians to join the cadre of European officers for the camp. Jim Findlay served as camp commandant<sup>23</sup>, Ralph Hulme as adjutant, with Major Charles Barker, John Cooper, Dr Alan Ward and Tony Wilmot as part-time officers. Their wives were engaged as auxiliaries at the bookstall and in the canteen.

Co-operation for organising the camp was obtained from the local Chief - Nana Ghartey V, and the local Methodist Church Minister - Rev C K Yamoah (who later became President of the Methodist Church, Ghana). The ladies of the Women's Fellowship of Winneba Methodist Church volunteered to cook.<sup>24</sup> The goodwill of the local traditional political authority and the Church gave the evangelical enterprise a good start.

In the early 1950s the whole idea of holiday camps was new in the Gold Coast. It was stated:

The camp is organised for the senior students of secondary schools and for training college students by the committee of Inter-College Camps. The camp provides a really healthy and educational holiday by the sea, and gives the campers the opportunity of getting to know the people of their own age from other parts of the country. The organisers, who belong to various churches, believe that a Christian atmosphere is the one most helpful to such an aim. The camp, however, is by no means limited to those attached to any particular church, and any student is invited to attend.<sup>25</sup>

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a short prayer or two in the morning. In the evening a verse (echoing the days theme to be chosen by the officer), one main thought only and prayer, will be more appropriate. As regards prayer, GO CAREFULLY. Many a boy's camp has been completely spoilt by the fear that he may be expected to take part in the prayer at the end of each day. You are unlikely to have a dorm full of saints!"

<sup>23</sup> Camp Commandant - the commanding officer of the camp takes responsibility for the total oversight of the camp, with the assistance of the adjutant.

<sup>24</sup> "A brief History of Inter-College Camps", *ICC Newsletter*, May 1957.

<sup>25</sup> ICC Brochure, 1952/53

As the first of its kind the 1952/53 boys camp was confronted with many challenges for both campers and officers. Between 40–50 boys were invited but only 13 turned up, drawn from Accra Academy, Achimota College, Mfantsipim College, Akropong PTC and Wesley College.<sup>26</sup> Despite the small attendance, the spiritual experience was tremendous. One camper, Sam Bortei Doku confessed later in a testimony reported by Tony Wilmot that, he (Sam) had instigated the other boys in the camp that the organisers were "talking a lot of religion" and so they were going to break up camp and go home. On the "D-Day", quite ignorant of the plot, Tony Wilmot addressed the morning's meeting. Bortei Doku experienced the presence of God in a way that restrained him. As Wilmot puts it: "Sam came under great conviction of the Lord. He sought counselling with the speaker after the meeting, wept in deep remorse over his sins, and surrendered his life to the Lord."<sup>27</sup> The camp break was averted, and many others were converted as they likewise encountered God.<sup>28</sup>

Being a pilot scheme with only 13 campers, the first ICC was small enough to facilitate a closer network of relationships between campers and their officers, and thus enable the officers understand the needs of the campers better, and furthermore, limit the scale of their mistakes and miscalculations. But a critical evaluation of the camp programme shows it was dominated by too many Bible studies, formal talks and discussions. There was insufficient practical group activity, aside from

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ojo (1986), 55, Ojo refers to a CSSM publication of letter that came from a Christian teacher – Miss Louie Harvey in 1952 in Ghana expressing the joy of seeing many more join SU. She is quoted as saying: "I am still receiving postal orders from new members who want to join. My members are contacted only by correspondence, but I have great number; if there were a full-time CSSM worker on the Gold Coast the movement would probably spread like wild fire." There is an apparent discrepancy in the dating of this letter because when SU was reactivated in Ghana it did not gain a wide appeal until after the 1953/54 camp at Achimota.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Wilmot, 8 May 1991.

<sup>28</sup> Wilmot, op. cit.; *Hundred years of SU in Ghana*, 1990, 2, mentions Sam Bortei Doku as members of the first Advisory Committee of SU-Ghana formed in 1958. In July 1962 he led an SU mission from Ghana to Cotonou to hold the first SU camp in Dahomey (now Republic of Benin). See *The Lord is my Song*, op. cit., 1962, 4.

a few games, a bonfire on the beach on New Year's eve and a camp concert.<sup>29</sup> Bortei Doku, therefore, discounted talks as boring. It confirms the view that when a camp programme concentrates too much on "'schooling' techniques... campers find the Christian faith theoretical and irrelevant."<sup>30</sup>

Unlike the first, the second camp organised at Achimota School during the 1953 Christmas holidays was remarkably successful. The camp was over subscribed, with the number of applicants exceeding the seventy places available. About 50% of the campers were students from Prempeh College where Clifford Simms (the Headmaster) had started the first formal SU school group.<sup>31</sup>

The excellent boarding facilities and swimming pool of Achimota were a great attraction. Unlike Winneba where campers had to sleep in classrooms, Achimota offered dormitory facilities. The camp activities were varied: talks on matters of Christian life; and leisure, hobby and manual skill activities - debates, games, swimming, walks, excursions, photography, car maintenance, and ingenuity schemes,<sup>32</sup> all designed to promote a communal sense of fellowship - "doing everything together".<sup>33</sup>

The impact on the campers was remarkable. According to Tony Wilmot (Camp Commandant), "God used the young convert Sam Bortei Doku tremendously. There was a great in-take of new Christians." He recounts that Bortei Doku had entered Sixth Form in Achimota a year after becoming an evangelical Christian. The absence of an evangelical fellowship in school made him feel spiritually lonely: "He did not find

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<sup>29</sup> See "A Brief History of Inter-College Camps", op. cit.

<sup>30</sup> Slater, T., Evangelism Through Camping, *Catalyst*, 1(7), 1989, 20. The article is an extract reprinted from the author's book: *The Temporary Community*, Albatross Books, Sutherland - New South Wales, 1984.

<sup>31</sup> ICC Newsletter, op cit., 1.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Tony Wilmot, 8 May 1991.

<sup>33</sup> *The Golden Lamp*, op. cit., November 1960, 8.

another really born again Christian there. He had really been cast back on the Lord and had learnt something about prayer."<sup>34</sup> At the Achimota camp Sam was given opportunity as a young Christian to address the campers on prayer, with Tony as Chairman to make any corrective remarks in case Sam went off at a spiritual tangent. But as Tony recalls: "As soon as Sam began to speak you knew that he had been living extremely close to the Lord. You could have heard a pin drop. All those boys just hung on every word he said."<sup>35</sup> That brought the breakthrough at the camp in the fourth night. As Wilmot further remarks: "Sam's talk on prayer was a living testimony to the love and power of God and was the turning point in camp."<sup>36</sup> A spiritual awakening began resulting in the evangelical conversion of many student campers.

The inter-college camp was initiated as an event for boys. The idea of a girls' camp was conceived later. With the assistance<sup>of</sup> some Ghanaian ladies, Carol Wilson and the wives of the European camp officers who had been observing the goings-on of the boys camps, organised the first girls camp during the Easter holidays of 1954, at the Abetifi Presbyterian Mission Station (now Ramseyer Centre).<sup>37</sup> Evangelical products of the camp include Sarah Opong and Florence Yeboah (who became full-time Ghanaian staff worker of SU in Ghana (1962-67)).<sup>38</sup>

By 1955 the ICCs had become well established, known in many schools and colleges. The 1954/55 Christmas camp at Winneba gained publicity for the first time by the national press. Its impact in terms of the personal evangelical experience of campers is revealed in correspondence to the camp officials. In a letter of appreciation to Ralph

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<sup>34</sup> Wilmot, 8 May 1991 interview.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Sylvester (1984), 151.

<sup>37</sup> ICC Newsletter, May 1957, op. cit.; Sylvester, ibid.

<sup>38</sup> See SU (Ghana) Report, 1962, 7.; Sylvester, op. cit.; *A Call to Prayer*, SU (Ghana) Report, 1963, 4. Florence Yeboah is currently Executive Director of GHACOE Women's Ministries.

Hume (the Camp Commandant), Joseph Kwaku Dza (a camper) writes:

I don't know how much I should thank you,... for the great kindness and help which you gave me at the camp. You and the officers, notably my dorm officer, Mr Wilmot, have contributed so much to the great experience that I have gained at Camp. Never shall I forget how friendly you have been with all of us both old and young. How true is the saying that the very highest in rank are always the most simple and kindly. I really think that your greatest charm is your sweet simplicity and your kindly, genuine interest even in little things. I was deeply stirred at the morning and evening meetings as you spoke, and soon became convinced that God was speaking in my heart. There came to me a wonderful certainty of God's love and care and faithfulness, and with it a definite call to serve Him. I implore you, therefore, to pray ceaselessly for me that the great fire which has been set up in my heart towards the service of God shall keep burning now and always till I draw my last breath.<sup>39</sup>

Another camper, Odoteye, writes of his personal impression of the camp, highlighting its evangelistic impact:

I say with confidence, Mr Commy, that I have gained enough through this year's camp. It has plainly proved to me that, truly, there is "A WAY back to God", from the dark paths of SIN. And when I look back to Calvary I feel that Jesus died for me."<sup>40</sup>

The evangelistic function of the camps was aided by the Christian quality of social relations and shared experience. As Tony Wilmot remarks:

The first thing which moved their hearts and minds towards the things of God was the wonderful spirit of fellowship in the camp -it was something they had never seen before. It cut across all barriers of tribe, race, temperament and age. It was so obviously of God.<sup>41</sup>

The above conversion experiences affirm what Carl H F Henry observes as an important condition for evangelization: "No person is evangelized until becoming a Christian seems to him or her a genuine

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<sup>39</sup> Jacob Kwaku Dza, Correspondence to Ralph Hulme, 31 January 1955.

<sup>40</sup> S I Odoteye, Correspondence to Ralph Hulme, 16 February 1955.

<sup>41</sup> Sylvester (1984), 151.

option, and when rejection of this option means setting one's self against powerful evidence."<sup>42</sup> The ICC movement became a major agency of evangelical conversion in Ghana in the 1950s. The camps offered opportunities for confronting people with the claims of the gospel with such clarity that conversion to Christ became almost irresistible.

Christian camps and conferences are temporary Christian communities, "an incomplete expression of Christian community" intended to provide Christian influence "more by example than by words".<sup>43</sup> As with missionary schools, the ICCs became a way of neutralizing what the evangelicals perceived as adverse home influences,<sup>44</sup> to allow an uninterrupted exposure to the gospel. For some campers the camp became alternative expression of Christian community, where the life of individuals demonstrated and authenticated the words in which the gospel is expressed.<sup>45</sup>

The community life of the camp was a crucial factor in the evangelical conversion of campers. Within the camp community the Word is incarnated, as "doctrine takes on flesh in the lives of leaders and campers".<sup>46</sup> By observing the lives of evangelical Christians in a camp, the non-Christian could judge with immediacy whether the Christian faith is worthy of acceptance. The community life may thus aid or thwart the teaching and evangelistic effort at camps. Evangelism, as Henry notes, "ideally includes the presence in one's neighbourhood of an obedient believing congregation, so that the unbeliever knows his choice is not only between Christ and false Gods but also between

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<sup>42</sup> Henry, Carl F.H., "The Purpose of God", in Padilla, Rene C., ed. *The New Face of Evangelicalism: An International Symposium on The Lausanne Covenant* (London: Hodder & Stoughton: 1976), 31.

<sup>43</sup> Sylvester, N., Temporary Communities, *Catalyst* 1(7), 1989, 1.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Walls, A.F., *Needs and Opportunities in Christian Literature*, IVF Project Paper, 1963, 5.

<sup>45</sup> See Slater, op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Slater, *ibid.*

distinguishable societies with which he may identify."<sup>47</sup> The Christian camp, regulated by a programme in a secured environment, is not a normal Christian society. But it still provides the camper a model of an alternate society to identify with, a place to belong.

#### 1.1.4 Staff Appointment

The Inter-College Camp movement developed in diverse ways in the 1950s. An *ICC Newsletter* was circulated to link the campers, assist their Christian growth, and consolidate the camp movement as a whole. Occasionally following main camp meetings, re-unions were organised for old and new members of the camp movement to congregate and renew bonds of fellowship.<sup>48</sup> House-parties became the major teaching and leadership conference of the ICC movement, occurring around the new year and Easter for male and female participants respectively.<sup>49</sup>

With the phenomenal growth of the evangelical camp movement, it became necessary to give full-time attention to after-camp follow-up work in schools. The Gold Coast ICC Council appealed to the London Council of CSSM to appoint a full-time staff to take formal responsibility for facilitating the initiation and development of SU groups in pre-university educational institutions. In a communication to the CSSM Tony Wilmot wrote:

We have been able to organise an annual camp for secondary school boys and the results have been wonderfully encouraging. A similar camp for girls has also been arranged. But there are limits to what busy people can do. There is a need for a full-time staff worker.<sup>50</sup>

In 1955 Nigel Sylvester, then a recent theology graduate of Cambridge

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<sup>47</sup> Henry, op. cit., 31.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Shelagh Hulme, 8 June 1991.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Tony Wilmot, 8 May 1991.

<sup>50</sup> *The CSSM*, 35(5), May 1954, 77; Sylvester (1984), 151. In response to this request, a CSSM advertisement appeared in *The Christian Graduate* (The IVF Graduate Fellowship Magazine), VII(2) June 1954, 101.

University was appointed full-time staff worker of SU in Ghana, with additional responsibility for the emergent SU movements in the West African sub-region.<sup>51</sup>

The staff appointment constituted the formalization of SU activity in Ghana, alongside the operations of the ICC Council which continued to maintain an independent existence until 1965 when the SU (Ghana) became independent, and the National Council officially assumed responsibility for camps.<sup>52</sup> Following the staff appointment, CSSM assumed financial responsibility for SU work in Ghana by underwriting the finances of the Ghana Committee. The CSSM contributions continued for a decade, diminishing year by year until 1965 when the London Council declared the Ghana movement independent and self-supporting.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *The CSSM*, July 1955, 100; Sylvester, op. cit. Nigel Sylvester commenced his evangelical missionary career as first SU staff worker in Ghana in November 1955. His evangelical exertions in post-war Ghana and Africa included responsibilities as Chairman of Executive Committee of the African Christian Press. After ministry in Ghana, he continued in 1967 as General Secretary of SU England and International Secretary of the worldwide SU movement until his retirement in 1992.

<sup>52</sup> For organisational purposes, the ICC was not officially integrated into mainline SU work after the staff appointment. The ICC Council continued to operate independently of SU-Ghana Advisory Committee. But as Nigel Sylvester remarks, this official distinction was not evident to many Ghanaians, because the SU Committee formed in 1958 continued to co-operate closely with the Camps Council. Structural changes in the organisation of SU work in Ghana followed its independence. The existing Advisory Committee became a Council, taking over the responsibilities of the ICC Council as well, because as Nigel Sylvester comments: "Since... the two movements have been working extremely closely together, ...it was agreed by all that it would save complications and confusion if they became one body" (*SU-Ghana Report*, 1965, 6.).

<sup>53</sup> See *Request from Africa Christian Press Executive Committee in Ghana for British IVF financial backing*, ACP Paper, 1963, 1). Following the independence of the Nigerian movement in 1966, An Africa Regional Council was set up in 1967 to assume final responsibility for SU work throughout the continent, with Philemon Quaye of Ghana as Chairman for its first fourteen years.

### 1.1.5 Transition From Camp Movement To Student Fellowship Movement

The transformation of the Inter-College Camp Movement into an evangelical student fellowship movement in Ghanaian schools and colleges was a gradual development between 1955-60. By 1955/56 the ICC movement had made a nationwide impact, attracting campers from Secondary Schools and Training Colleges, the College of Technology in Kumasi and the University College at Legon.<sup>54</sup> This led to the emergence of non-formal student Bible study groups in some of the institutions, with a nucleus of ICC converts, and often becoming an instrument of evangelism among the students. The case of a Methodist institution is described by Wilmot:

A group of two converted campers and a master (a camp officer) at Mfantshipim School, Cape Coast, began growing markedly...so that some 20 boys...professed [evangelical] conversion".<sup>55</sup>

When Nigel Sylvester arrived as staff worker of Scripture Union in Ghana, there were already in existence non-formal SU Bible study groups in some schools and colleges including Achimota, Aburi Girl's Secondary School, Krobo-Odumase Presbyterian Secondary School, Mfantshipim Mawuli Secondary School and Akropong Presbyterian Training College. But there was no centralized organisational structure to affiliate the emergent SU groups into an evangelical student movement. The ICC remained the pivot of evangelical work in the schools.<sup>56</sup> SU work at this stage concentrated on promoting Bible study in schools and colleges.

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<sup>54</sup> See 1955/56 campers register, in *ICC Newsletter*, 1956. Participants were drawn from 30 educational institutions - three from Kumasi College of Technology (KCT), and three from the University College at Legon. By 1955 there was no Christian Union in the two institutions of higher education, and the upper age limit of twenty-five prevented many students from participating in the camps, as reported by John Holmes at KCT: "Several students have been to see me about camps but most are over the age limit", (John Holmes, Letter to Ralph Hulme - Legon, 11 November, 1956).

<sup>55</sup> Wilmot, *Report of Tour of British African Universities*, op. cit., 8.

<sup>56</sup> See *SU (Ghana) Report*, November 1960, 8.; Cf. Sylvester (1984), 152.

It did not make much difference for SU work whether a school was purely mission or state controlled. Nigel Sylvester recalls the Baptist College at Abuakwa in Ashanti did not welcome SU because the authorities wanted to maintain the Baptist tradition.<sup>57</sup> However, SU secured a significant presence in many other mission institutions. As with other student societies, SU was introduced as a voluntary organisation with membership determined by the deliberate choice of the individual. In mission institutions students were subjected to Christian instruction as a school routine. SU, however, operated to enable the students make a voluntary spiritual choice, making its presence in mission schools complementary and not superfluous.

The presence of a suitable Christian on the staff of a school often catalysed the formation of the SU group in the school. The evangelical interest of a tutor with Christian Union background inspired the him or her to use Bible studies as a means of evangelising students. In the formative period of SU school groups, the patronage of the Christian School Master was necessary to provide the group with a sense of direction.<sup>58</sup> The phenomenal growth of Scripture Union group at Prempeh College in Kumasi underscores the significance of staff patronage in the development of school fellowships. Under the patronage and vigorous evangelical activism of the Headmaster, Clifford Simms, by 1955 the SU group in the College had been formally established as the first College "Christian Union" in Ghana with an active membership of forty, the largest in the country.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Nigel Sylvester, 19 Dec. 1990.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Andersen, B., *Schools Work Worldwide - The Vision and The Urgency*, *Catalyst*, 1(4), 1988, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Of the 1954/55 Winneba ICC campers, 50% (23) were from Prempeh College, (See Campers Register in *ICC Newsletter*, 1955). In an interview with the writer on 13 Nov. 1991, Isaac Ampah (past student of Prempeh College, 1954-61) remarks, the SU group at the College so flourished that separate fellowships had to be established for junior and senior students. The products of the College (established as a mission secondary school jointly by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in Ghana) included Rev Gottfried Osei Mensah (West Africa Travelling Secretary of PAFES (1966-71), an formerly, Executive Secretary of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization. The other is T B Dankwa, Anglophone Africa Regional Secretary for the IFES (1980-93). Concerning the influence of Clifford Simms on his conversion, Osei Mensah recalls:

When SU school work commenced formally in 1955, it could not have been overtly evangelistic for strategic reasons. The Student Christian Movement (SCM) already had branches in many schools and colleges, though few were active. Scripture Union Committee wanted to avoid a rivalry with SCM which might cause school authorities to force SU into an undesirable amalgamation with SCM.<sup>60</sup> This was in most cases averted because SCM concentrated on overtly social activities. SU adopted a strategy of low profile operation by simply promoting Bible reading amongst students, with emphasis on the observance of daily "quiet time" with God, using either the *Scripture Union Notes* or *Bible Reading Cards*.

The appointment of Nigel Sylvester as full-time SU staff worker accelerated the expansion of the movement. It was his duty to consolidate the existing groups and initiate new ones. As Travelling Staff, Sylvester arranged meetings in schools for interested students. On the first visit to a school he introduced himself to the Headmaster and requested to address to the student body on the importance of Bible reading. Then he would request a meeting with interested students on the use of SU Bible reading materials. The group then arranged to meet to read the Bible, if possible with the guidance of a teacher or a

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"I was in Lower 6 at Prempeh College. John Holmes was leading a Bible Study on Philippians in the house of the headmaster Mr Simms. When I arrived there was no empty chair, so my *headmaster*, gave me his chair and *he* sat on the floor. This sent me home thinking. The next Sunday he preached on 'while we were yet sinners Christ died for me'. I was converted the same year, Lower 6, in Prempeh College" (Quoted in Konotey-Ahulu F. & Dankwa T B, *Accra Chapel: 1967-1992*, MS. for Publication, 1993, 11-12).

<sup>60</sup> Wilmot, op. cit.; See also Sylvester (1984), 210.; cf Dean, J., Schools Work in Nigeria - How We Started, *Catalyst*, 1(4), 1988, 14. When John Dean began SU schools work in Nigerian in 1957 a similar strategy was adopted for two different reasons: "In Southern Nigeria, the whole idea of evangelism and conversion was considered a relic of colonialism to be discarded as soon as possible. Northern Nigeria was dominated by Islam, and the colonial educational administration was more than suspicious of anything with any hint of evangelism. However, it was acceptable in both north and south that Christians be encouraged to be better Christians."

sponsor.<sup>61</sup> The individual group was left to plan its own meetings. There was no set pattern of activity, or "even a set name" for the old and new groups. The groups established their own identity as - "Christian Fellowship", "Bible Study Club", "Miracle Book Club" or whatever name pleased their fancy.<sup>62</sup> The members were often encouraged to attend camps where series of addresses on the gospel were given to promote commitment to Christ.

Thus in the formative period, most SU school groups existed basically as non-formal voluntary Bible study groups or clubs. No official links had then been established between the school groups and the Ghana SU Committee. SU considered spiritual unity of the groups more important than their organic unity, and so did not give prior consideration to creating an association that could affiliate them. In the African environment this lack of formal affiliation was to become increasingly undesirable.

#### 1.1.6 The SU Student Fellowship

The need to affiliate the school groups became a natural development as more and more school groups settled to SU activities and the use of SU Bible reading materials. The Inter College Camps, SU student rallies and joint evangelistic campaigns already fostered a bond of unity among the groups.<sup>63</sup> Thus some sort of organic unity existed but was not formalised. In 1961 SU (Ghana) Committee decided to form "The Scripture Union Student Fellowship" to affiliate SU groups in pre-university educational and vocational institutions into an evangelical fellowship - an association to which all the recognized SU groups could belong. In a communication to the various school groups the SU Committee explained:

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<sup>61</sup> See *SU (Ghana) Report*, 1960, 2.; Sylvester (1984), 152. In his interview with the writer, 19 Dec. 1990, Sylvester refers to delays in accepting SU in some schools particularly those of Roman Catholics.

<sup>62</sup> *SU (Ghana) Report*, op. cit. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

The decision to form this fellowship has only been made after a great deal of thought and prayer. In a way we are just putting down on paper what has already been there in practice for some years. By joining together to form such a fellowship we are committing ourselves in a new way to support one another; and if your group joins the Fellowship you are promising that it will continue to place the Bible at the centre of its activities and do all in its power to encourage the unpopular narrow way.<sup>64</sup>

The formation of the SU student fellowship was an attempt to formalise the existing relationship between the school groups and the national SU Committee, and enable the Committee take official oversight responsibility for the groups by acting as nerve centre:

- a. to encourage the various groups to pray for one another and help one another,
- b. to give special help to those school groups which do not have an SU member on the staff, and to assist groups to continue on the right path after those who started them have left.<sup>65</sup>

In accordance with the SU ethos Bible study was prescribed as the main item for most of the regular meetings of school groups.<sup>66</sup> For the sake of variety, other items were recommended: "A *quiz*... to show how much the members have learnt and encourage them to take their Bible studies seriously. ...A talk by an outside speaker [as] a useful challenge to members who have been attending meetings but have not personally turned to God. A *question time*... when members questions which have been written beforehand are answered."<sup>67</sup> In addition to the main meetings many groups had a special meeting each week devoted to prayer. Inter-school fellowship rallies, weekend retreats and missions, holiday conferences and camps featured prominently in the activities of SU groups at district, regional and national levels, for teaching and evangelism.

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<sup>64</sup> Sylvester, N., Circular to SU groups in schools and colleges, 1961.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> *SU-Ghana Bulletin*, 6, Feb. 1967, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

The SU Student Fellowship movement flourished in the 1960s as more and more Christian graduates from the universities took up teaching appointments in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. SU groups were established in almost every pre-university institution of learning, with some groups unaffiliated.<sup>68</sup>

Later in 1969 a review of the scheme of affiliation of school groups became necessary due to<sup>the</sup> finding that "incidents of unsatisfactory behaviour involving SU groups in schools were symptoms of certain underlying needs in the SU work at present."<sup>69</sup> The national SU council decided that "affiliation would need to be used to consolidate groups, not to introduce a distinguishing factor."<sup>70</sup> A new scheme of affiliation was adopted which extended the responsibilities of the SU field staff, making them assume equal responsibilities for both affiliated and unaffiliated groups. In terms of benefits for school groups, the review of affiliation was undertaken in anticipation of:

- a. Giving a sense of 'belonging';
- b. Providing continuity;
- c. Safe-guarding against difficulties with non-evangelical groups;
- d. Making SU groups more aware of their responsibilities.<sup>71</sup>

Thus affiliation became a controlling mechanism for maintaining the

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<sup>68</sup> Considering the expansion of SU-Ghana up to 1984, Kweku Hutchful (former SU Secretary-General) notes: "This aspect of the ministry has experienced the greatest growth in the past... we now have on record 303 school groups (many more exist but are unknown to us). 60% of these are in Government Secondary Schools - out of 201 such schools we have 182 groups" (Hutchful, K., *General Secretary's Report, SU (Ghana) Annual General Meeting, March 1984, 4*).

<sup>69</sup> *SU (Ghana) Report of Party Convened to Discuss Aspects of Control and Affiliation of Christian Groups in Schools, 27 June 1969, 1*. Most of the irregularities resulted from Pentecostal influence (see Chapter Three).

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

credibility of SU in schools as the movement expanded to new frontiers of the secondary and post-secondary education system.

In 1963 SU-Ghana produced the Bible reading notes, *Daily Guide*, for senior students, and Nigerian SU produced *Daily Power* for junior students.<sup>72</sup> The availability of Bible reading materials with an African background was a significant step towards indigenising the movement.

### 1.1.7 The Middle School SU Fellowship

SU school work was initially restricted to secondary and post-secondary institutions. But in the 1960s, it was extended to Middle Schools to promote the development of Biblical faith among pupils.<sup>73</sup> The SU members who graduated from teacher training colleges became agents in the extension of SU ministry to elementary schools.

The Middle School Fellowship had "its own strategic identity and challenge" for the pupils.<sup>74</sup> It was expected that in furtherance of their education, the elementary school SU products would feed into the SU Fellowships in secondary schools and teacher training colleges, thus establishing a vital line of continuity in SU school ministry.

The SU operation in the middle schools was very "teacher-centred" -very much dependent on "the flow of Christian teachers from training colleges."<sup>75</sup> The school teacher was the axis on which SU middle school work revolved. The SU staff worker exercised no control over the teacher. The teacher received assistance in terms of Bible study outlines and training conferences to make his teaching and

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<sup>72</sup> Sylvester (1984), 211.

<sup>73</sup> *SU-Ghana Bulletin*, op. cit., 8.

<sup>74</sup> See Andersen, B., op. cit. 14.

<sup>75</sup> *Opportunities Open to the Ministry of the Scripture Union (Ghana) in Ghana*, SU (Ghana), Typescript, SU (Ghana) Paper, n.d. 1. Cf. *SU-Ghana Bulletin*, op. cit.

leadership effective.<sup>76</sup>

However by the end of the 1970s SU work in the elementary schools had receded in preference to the work in secondary and post-secondary institutions. As the 1984 report of the General Secretary indicates: "The movement continues to shy away from this area."<sup>77</sup> The rapid expansion of secondary school and teacher training education in the 1960s as a consequence of the Accelerated Plan of Education,<sup>78</sup> placed a limitation on the human and financial resources of SU. Evangelical work in elementary schools fell to local branches of international parachurch organisations such as the Youth For Christ and Child Evangelism Fellowship.

However, recently, with the new educational reforms and the conversion of middle schools into Junior Secondary Schools (JSS), SU-Ghana has resumed work among pupils by forming JSS Bible Clubs as junior SU groups.<sup>79</sup> SU-Ghana has now focused attention on the strategic importance of the SU fellowship in teacher training colleges as an agency for preparing student teachers for the Bible Clubs.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Florence Yeboah, Questionnaire to School Teachers, with Bible Study Outlines, 8 May 1967.

<sup>77</sup> Hutchful, op. cit.

<sup>78</sup> See Introduction to the Thesis.

<sup>79</sup> The implementation of the new educational reforms implies SU would be operating within two levels of secondary education - Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary. On 7 September 1991 SU held a consultation to discuss the implications of the educational reforms for its school work. It was to determine "the SU Ministry target group in the new Schools system" and "identify the challenges and opportunities that the new system pose" (*SU-Ghana Partners Letter*, Oct.-Dec. 1991, 1).

<sup>80</sup> See *SU (Ghana) Partners Letter*, June/July 1991, 3.

### 1.1.8 The "Town Fellowship" Movement

The "Town Fellowship"<sup>81</sup> movement emerged in SU-Ghana in the 1960s. It is a major development which has since brought unique structural changes in the movement – the creation of (more or less) autonomous adult fellowships in Ghana. The roots of the Town Fellowship can be traced to its precursor, the Home Bible Study Fellowship initiated in 1960 by John Agama at his residence in Accra.<sup>82</sup>

While engaged in a engineering degree course in the UK at Southampton University (1953–56), John Agama became an evangelical Christian in the Christian Union. An important factor for his spiritual maturity was the informal home fellowship which his lecturer, Dr Ellis Taverner organised in his house for students on Sunday afternoons, for Bible exposition. When he returned to Ghana in 1960, Agama was appointed Assistant Police Commissioner (for Communications), 1960–72.

As an evangelical commitment, Agama participated in the Officers' Christian Fellowship at the Military Barracks in Accra, and also served in the Executive Council of Scripture Union. As with many others, it became apparent to him that SU fellowship activities were limited to

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<sup>81</sup> Neither the Town/Community Fellowship movement nor the Home Bible Study Fellowship phenomenon from which the former emerged in Ghana, has any association with the "House Church" movement in the UK, often designated "(Newtown) Christian Fellowship or Community Church". However, the Fellowship movements in both countries share significant characteristics. See Alan Munden, "Encountering the House Church Movement": A Different Kind of Christianity, *Anvil*, 1(3), 1984, 204.

<sup>82</sup> From interview with Mr. John Agama, 4 Dec. 1991; See *Mother Tongue* – A newsletter of Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), 1(1) January 1991, 3. John Agama is an active evangelical churchman. He worked with Christian Council of Ghana (1981–85) as Project Officer for Development and Relief. Together with the late William Ofori Atta (the Christian politician and statesman), he organised prayer meetings for parliamentarians. He became associated with Wycliffe Bible Translators during his student days in UK, and in 1962 became Advisor and Committee Member of a Wycliffe Pilot Project in Ghana. He was instrumental in the establishment of the GILLBT (a Ghanaian organisation in partnership with Summer Institute of Linguistics) in 1980, and has since been Chairman of its Board of Trustees. See *Mother Tongue*, *ibid.*; *Drumbeat* (Publication of GILLBT), Jan.– Mar. 1992.

students in school, with no provision for SU members who had graduated from Teacher Training Colleges and Universities, and were engaged in secular occupations. Furthermore, apart from holiday camps there was no regular Christian fellowship activity for students between school terms. His experience in Southampton had given him the conviction that the Bible had a great appeal when studied in the informal context of the home. This led him to initiate on the first Sunday of May 1960 a Home Bible Study Fellowship in his Accra bungalow. Meetings were organised on Sunday afternoons (4–5.30pm) to avoid clash with church services. It was meant to be a non-formal, nondenominational fellowship for evangelical students and workers, basically for expository Bible study and discussion. Meetings commenced with a lot of singing, followed by a long talk.

In this development Agama's major contribution was the venue and the catering facilities which he offered gratis. He was assisted by a team of senior SU members – Gottfried Osei Mensah, Dr Felix Konotey-Ahulu, Edwin Tandoh, Yaw Opong, Philemon Quaye and Kodwo Senanu, who took turns in leading the sessions of Bible exposition. Other speakers included, Denis Osborne, Peter Barker, Nathaniel Sodzi and some other evangelical expatriates. International evangelical speakers such as John Stott and Tony Wilmot were engaged to address the fellowship when the opportunity came. When the Rev John Stott visited Ghana in April 1962 as missionary at the University of Ghana, 180 people congregated at the house fellowship to hear him.<sup>83</sup>

About the same time as the Home Bible Fellowship began in Accra, a similar development took place in Kumasi under the leadership of senior SU members in the Kumasi University of Science and Technology – including Ben Wobil, Essuman, Nelson Henaku, Daniel Ofori Gyane, Emmanuel Frimpong.

In the formative stage the Home Fellowships were dominantly elitist, although membership was opened to anyone. The meetings in Accra and Kumasi had a tremendous appeal to the upwardly mobile

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<sup>83</sup> *Span* (Official Magazine of Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students), 3, 1962, 15.

Christian professionals, especially those associated with SU, and evangelical unions of the Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship and Ghana Inter-Hospital Nurses Christian Fellowship.<sup>84</sup> Other members were those who had settled to work in Accra as civil servants or bank clerks, with some becoming converted after joining. Between 1963-65 other fellowships were started in other areas of Accra, including Korle-Bu and Osu.

With pentecostal influence in the late 1960s and early 70s, there was a phenomenal expansion of the House Fellowship movement. The scope of membership expanded to embrace the "educationally underprivileged" and "non-professional literates". The house groups were transformed into Community and Town Christian Fellowships which adopted public auditoria and classrooms of elementary schools for their meetings. In Kumasi the House Fellowships at the University and Prempeh College laid the foundation for the Central Town Fellowship which met at the Unicorn House in the city centre. The Kumasi Town Fellowship produced its own magazine - *The Fellowship*, which functioned as an organ for information and edification.

The Town Fellowships became a renewal movement - evangelical power houses, a place for augmenting ones spiritual life. As Kwaku Hutchful observes, the Christian Fellowships became - "a place where a Christian goes, as an alternate place for good Bible study, teaching,

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<sup>84</sup> In Ghana there exists a close bond of fellowship between SU and the Nurses Christian Fellowship, because SU Bible study groups in Training Hospitals engendered the formation of the Ghana Inter-Hospital Nurses Christian Fellowship (GIHNCF) in 1965. The GIHNCF as the brain child of two Methodist missionary nurses, Aspinal and Elizabeth Thompson, was conceived to inspire nurses to regard their work as a Christian vocation. Their vision synchronised with the interest of SU to promote evangelical witness in hospitals. Therefore at its birth, SU elected to nurture the GIHNCF and offer it all the essential benefits of affiliation, by "providing Bible study outlines each term, giving invitations to rallies and other activities, offering the services of Miss Yeboah (SU Travelling Secretary)..., and above all providing theological stability" (*Minutes of SU-Ghana Council Meeting*, 25 Oct. 1965, 1). At its official inauguration, the GIHNCF Committee included senior SU members - Dr Felix Konotey-Ahulu, Mrs Faustina Tandoh and Florence Yeboah. See *SU-Ghana Bulletin* op. cit., 8.

worship and prayer."<sup>85</sup> The Unicorn House in Kumasi was thus designated "power house".

Within the same period lunch time Christian Fellowships emerged in offices of government departments and corporations, and financial institutions as graduates with SU or Christian Union background moved into industry, commerce and the public service. Particular reference has been made to the Christian Fellowship at the Head Office of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board (GCMB) – Cocoa House in Accra. Tony Harlow (then Secretary of Africa Christian Press) describes the impressive image of the Cocoa House Fellowship: "Two air-conditioners, rich carpeting and the unhurried opulence of a company board-room: that is setting of a lunch-hour fellowship on the fourth floor of Cocoa House, Accra", organised under the patronage of William Ofori Atta, then Chairman of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board – "a redoubtable Christian Warrior with a Christian bookstall in his secretary's office".<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> From interview on 5 December 1991 with Kwaku Hutchful, MBA (Legon) – formerly lecturer in Business Management (University of Ghana), SU-Ghana General Secretary (1981–88). See *Scripture Union Africa Regional Council Newsletter*, 4, 1981, 3. On supplementary ministry of the "Town Fellowships", see Sylvester (1984), 216.

<sup>86</sup> Harlow, T., *ACP (African Christian Press) Newsletter*, March 1968, 1. William Ofori Atta (affectionately called Paa Willie), born "10:10:10" – 10 October 1910, a royal of the traditional state of Akyem Abuakwa was son of Nana Sir Ofori Atta. He was educated in Mfantshipim and Achimota Schools, and Queens College, Cambridge (1935–38), graduating with a degree in Economics. Later (1955–59) he studied law in England. His multi-faceted career is described as "three distinct yet over-lapping phases, namely, as educationist (1939–51); politician and statesman (1951–1981), ... Evangelist and Missionary (1981–88)." He is described as a "five star detainee" – detained five different times for his nationalism (with the "Big Six"), and party political activism. He became a Christian in 1964 through reading the Bible during solitary confinement at Nsawam maximum security prison, as political prisoner under the Preventive Detention Act introduced by Nkrumah in 1960 to silence political opposition. He was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Busia regime (1969–72) and Chairman of Council of State in the Third Republic, 1979–81). When he became Minister for Education, Culture and Sports of the Busia government, he refused to attend an official celebration football match in Accra, where he was expected to welcome the Prime Minister, because it was held on Sunday. Instead, as Nigel Sylvester reports: "he sat at child's desk in a hot classroom in a poor part of Accra listening to me speaking at an SU meeting" (Sylvester, 1984, 217). Before his death in 1988, his leadership qualities was utilised by various Christian

The community and work-place fellowships became effective instruments in extending the social boundaries of SU – by evangelising and thus drawing into the movement the category of urban workers described as "literate proletariat"<sup>87</sup> – auto-mechanics, dressmakers, petty-traders, taxi-drivers, untrained school teachers, office messengers, and factory workers. They have been most instrumental in extending SU evangelicalism beyond the world of the literati to illiterate urban and rural dwellers. In the dominantly rural region of Brong Ahafo the proliferation of Town Fellowships was phenomenal. The Fellowships in the region emerged as products of rural evangelistic campaigns. In 1983 when only 23 School Fellowships existed in the region, there were as many as 63 Town Fellowships,<sup>88</sup> making the region the stronghold of SU rural ministry. By 1984 the Tfs numbered 188 countrywide, and acknowledged as the cutting edge of SU evangelistic outreach.<sup>89</sup>

As products of the SU dynamic, the Home Fellowships were significant for setting the pace for further expansion of SU ministry. They developed and proliferated into communities as "Christian Fellowships" – popularly designated "Town Fellowships", a phenomenon which became widespread through evangelical activism and the agency of fellowship members who re-settled in other towns or communities.

## 1.2 EARLY MOVEMENTS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCY IN SU-GHANA

### 1.2.1 The Greater Accra Christian Fellowship Movement

The "Town Fellowship" movement was a natural development in SU-Ghana. It was an attempt by Ghanaians to make Christian fellowship less formal. But as a matter of policy SU confined its operations to

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organisations: co-founder, Maranatha Bible College, Accra; Chairman, Ghana Challenge Enterprises; Board Member, World Vision International; Trustee, Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation; President, Bible Society of Ghana, Founding Member and Director, Christian Outreach Fellowship, and a Vice-President of SU-Ghana.

<sup>87</sup> Those who for various reasons have acquired just elementary school education, or dropped out of secondary school [see Walls (1963), 15].

<sup>88</sup> *Brong-Ahafo SU Annual Report*, 1983, 1.

<sup>89</sup> Hutchful (1984), 4.

formal educational institutions. Its unpreparedness to handle the multiplicity of community fellowships led to the first move towards independency in SU-Ghana.

The formation of Greater Accra Christian Fellowships Movement is a significant development in the rise of autonomous Community or Town Fellowships. By 1970 the community fellowships had mushroomed throughout the City of Accra and its suburbs. In reporting of this development Nigel Sylvester notes: "There are now twenty-three such meetings held regularly in different parts of Accra, and there were over fifty people present at the one I attended."<sup>90</sup>

No one had envisaged such a phenomenal growth and its attendant problems. Peculiar problems of immature leadership and lack of proper teaching materials afflicted the fellowships. In addition there was an urgent need for affiliation to formalise their evangelical ethos. As indicated above, though most of the Accra Fellowships had a core membership of SU associates (from schools, colleges and universities), SU *per se* did not play any role in their genesis. Therefore when the SU Office was approached about the above needs, it declined to accept oversight for the new breed of fellowship groups. This was first, a matter of policy: SU regarded the whole Town Fellowship phenomenon as an extraneous development which could distract SU from its primary purpose and basic philosophy – that young people may be "encouraged and instructed in the development of Christian character and witness and in a sense of vocation, and may take their place as members and workers in the life of their churches"<sup>91</sup>, and not in independent Christian fellowships which could eventually turn into churches.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Sylvester, *ibid.*, 216-7.

<sup>91</sup> See Appendix V: *Aims and Basic Philosophy of the Scripture Union Movement* – as defined in the Minutes of the SU International Conference held at Old Jordans, England (May 27 – 3 June 1960).

<sup>92</sup> Confirmed in the writer's conversation in October 1991 with Cullain Morris, SU-Ghana General Secretary (1966-1974). He further explained that SU-Ghana Council was apprehensive that the Town Fellowship phenomenon could be misinterpreted by church leaders as an attempt by SU to poach their members to establish rival churches, and thus have an adverse effect on SU-Church relations.

Second, SU lacked the necessary human and financial resources to manage the crisis.

To prevent the fellowship groups from taking their own course and getting out of control, some senior SU members then serving on various SU sub-committees thought it important to co-ordinate the activities of the emergent Christian fellowship groups in Accra municipality. In August 1971 the Co-ordinating Committee for Christian Fellowships (CCCF) was formed as an autonomous body to manage the Greater Accra Christian Fellowships.<sup>93</sup> A critical review of SU ministry regards the CCCF development as a lost opportunity:

In Accra, the CCCF emerged to co-ordinate, mobilize, and control the mushrooming Sunday and Lunch hour fellowships; while the SU was debating the kind of affiliation that could exist between it and these "fatherless" groups.<sup>94</sup>

Even though the CCCF was constituted by SU members, it was determined to remain independent of SU. So in 1972 when SU reconsidered its decision and resolved to co-operate with CCCF in managing the Accra groups, CCCF declined the offer and determined to remain independent of SU.<sup>95</sup>

The rift between CCCF and SU was widened further by misunderstandings over how to determine representations on the committees of the two movements to facilitate information sharing. Each organisation tried to assert itself as superior to the other. However, the problem was settled amicably, when CCCF agreed to establish working relations with SU and co-operate for their mutual benefit. SU on its part recognised CCCF work as a ministry in its own right,

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<sup>93</sup> Aguda, J., *God at work in Greater Accra Region: Greater Accra Christian Fellowships for CCCF*, A report presented at the Ghana Congress on Evangelisation, 12-22 July 1977, UST - Kumasi.

<sup>94</sup> *Opportunities Open to Ministry of SU (Ghana) in Ghana*, op. cit.

<sup>95</sup> From interview on 25 November 1991 with Edward Okyere: SU Literature Secretary (1973-81), Fellowships Secretary (1981-88), Acting SU General Secretary (1988-90), Ministries Secretary since 1990.

established by God with a specific function and purpose. CCCF granted SU access to the Accra Christian fellowship groups to promote SU activities - the prayer, fasting and gifts week, and rallies. SU reciprocated the gesture by assisting CCCF with Bible study materials when possible. Occasionally, the two bodies co-operate in evangelism and "all-night" prayer meetings.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, CCCF remains independent, thus limiting SU work in Accra to student fellowships in schools and colleges.

Unlike Greater Accra Region, the town fellowships in the other regions were not determined to assert their independence from SU even though they managed their own affairs. After losing control of the Accra groups, SU directed attention to the fledgling town fellowship groups in the regions. They developed a loose form of affiliation with SU. But it was not until 1975 that SU granted official recognition to these groups as SU Christian fellowships.<sup>97</sup> In spite of the huge financial potential the TFs offered SU,<sup>98</sup> the latter's commitment to the former did not go beyond official pronouncements, considering the fact that no staff worker was appointed for the community groups until 1981, when Edward Okyere was appointed as Fellowships Secretary. It was the first such appointment in SU in the Africa Region.<sup>99</sup> The appointment led regional SU committees to focus attention on TF affairs, averting attempts at secession. The apparent lack of interest of the SU Council and Regional Committees in the affairs of TFs was a source of frustration which nearly led some TFs in Kumasi to secede. A prominent

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<sup>96</sup> Hucthful, op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> Okyere, op. cit.

<sup>98</sup> It has been observed that the current relatively healthy financial situation of SU-Ghana is due to the promotion and proper organisation of the Town Fellowships in Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions.

<sup>99</sup> *SU Africa Regional Council Newsletter*, 4, 1981, 3.

case is the Asafo Fellowship.<sup>100</sup>

The phenomenon of town fellowships is a significant development in Ghanaian Christianity. It is a product of Ghanaian initiative, and an attempt to indigenise the SU movement in Ghana.

### 1.2.2 The Ghana Evangelical Christian Fellowship

The Ghana Evangelical Christian Fellowship (GECF) was formed early in 1967 as an association of evangelical Christians in Accra.<sup>101</sup> It functioned more as a fellowship of evangelical elites, and less as a national association of evangelicals.<sup>102</sup> Its leadership was dominated by Christians associated with SU, and resident in Accra. They included Isaac Ababio (evangelist and former SU volunteer office and camp worker), Gottfried Osei Mensah (chemical engineer who became PAFES Travelling Secretary for West Africa), Samuel Edwin Tandoh (meteorologist and formerly, Chairman of SU-Ghana Council); William Ofori Atta (notable SU patron), Felix Konotey Ahulu (physician and pioneer-leader of SU-Ghana). The rest include George Anim Addo and Joe Yawson.<sup>103</sup> With the exception of a few, the leadership had been associated with the Westminster Chapel in London while studying in England, and were well acquainted with the teachings of its minister, Martyn Lloyd-Jones. Their operations indicated an undeclared desire to re-create and re-live the foreign evangelical experience.

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<sup>100</sup> It was reported: "The Asafo Fellowship nearly broke away for their independence because the Fellowship felt that the SU was not caring for them in any way, therefore, they owed no allegiance to the SU. This was the feeling of a few other fellowships in Kumasi. But when the Executive Committee went around and found the problem, it organised itself to pay regular visits to the fellowships. This has helped to restore cordial relationship between the fellowships and SU" (See *Annual Report: Ashanti Regional SU Committee Annual General Meeting at Abetifi, 5-9 March, 1981, p.3*).

<sup>101</sup> See Konotey Ahulu, F I D, & Dankwa. T B, *Accra Chapel 1967-1992, MS, 1993*).

<sup>102</sup> The GECF is quite distinct from the National Association of Evangelicals in Ghana (See the Epilogue of the Thesis).

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

The Association adopted a basis of faith that embodied mainline evangelical Christian beliefs.<sup>104</sup> The evangelicalism of the GECF is reflected in its aims:

- a. To pray ceaselessly for a mighty Holy Spirit Revival of True Religion to break upon our country.
- b. To reach all groups of people of all ages with the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.
- c. To demonstrate the relevance and the power of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ to every day life.
- d. To present a bold evangelical front in the country, and to knit various denominations to uphold Evangelical Truth.<sup>105</sup>

In pursuance of the above objectives the group engaged in prayer meetings, weekend open-air evangelistic preaching, Sunday worship, weekly Bible studies in the vernaculars and in English, setting up an evangelical Library and an Evangelical Bookshop, and publication of books and booklets.<sup>106</sup>

In 1967 the GECF had its first meeting at the Bible House in Accra, addressed by David Bentley-Taylor who had just commenced work in Ghana as a missionary with the Wycliffe Bible Translators.<sup>107</sup> The address which centred on the theme: "Counter-attack by Satan" challenged members to "a deeper study of the Scriptures and related

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>107</sup> David Bentley-Taylor (a former President of the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union) had a previous missionary engagement in Indonesia "where part of his work related to the College population and circles of higher education" (Johnson, 1979, 277). He was one of the "English Seven" - those IVF members who joined Dr. Howard Guinness (who operated as an IVF international speaker) for evangelistic public meetings in universities and senior high schools in Sweden, sponsored by the Evangelistika Fosterlands Stiftelsen (Sweden). The "English Seven" were actually eight: G. Harman, C.G. Scorer, and J. Taylor - from Cambridge; A.S. Aldis, A.J. Broomhall and J. Lockett - London; David Bentley-Taylor and A.T. de B. Wilmot - Oxford (ibid., 183-4).

subjects, contribution to Christian literature, sacrificial service, and a responsible attitude to the Church's ministry."<sup>108</sup>

Subsequent GECF meetings involved week-day evening prayer meetings and Bible studies arranged in the homes of members, and open-air evangelistic preaching on Saturdays and/or Sundays. Christian literature was made available at the Open-Air meetings through the "mobile evangelical bookshop system". An "Evangelistic Library", was operated by Rosemary Konotey Ahulu from her residence. Three booklets were published: *The Power of darkness* (by Tony Wilmot), *The Lord is king* (adapted from an evangelical magazine), and *Food for Hungry Souls* (a reproduction of a Christian classic). In continuance of the evangelical traditions of Westminster Chapel, the group maintained a regular practice of listening to recorded sermons of Martyn Lloyd-Jones in the home of the Konotey-Ahulus.<sup>109</sup> The writer has no evidence to suggest that the strictly Reformed teachings of Martyn Lloyd-Jones generated conflict among the local evangelicals, though SU is more Wesleyan.

The GECF was established as an interdenominational association, so the inclusion of "Sunday Worship" as an activity of the group generated controversy. As Felix Konotey Ahulu observes: "The sole item in our list of GECF activities that engendered much discussion and that endangered the GECF was ... Sunday Worship." He refers to an expatriate evangelical (un-named) who sent him a letter just before an evening prayer meeting of the GECF at William Ofori Atta's house on Thursday, 16 March 1967.<sup>110</sup> The letter caused him much indignation because the writer queried "the wisdom of starting the GECF", suggesting: "why can't Scripture Union take over the functions of GECF?" and also why SU was not approached. The writer further questioned "the wisdom and spirituality" of GECF starting "a new

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<sup>108</sup> *Span*, 3, 1967, 20.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 6. Identity of the writer of the letter is not disclosed by Konotey Ahulu.

denomination".<sup>111</sup> The issue is the first documented evidence of conflict between nationals and expatriates associated with the evangelical movement in Ghana.<sup>112</sup> It was made a subject of prayer which continued until past midnight. The association determined to pray and fast about "the question of Sacraments and the whole question of a *church proper*, rather than just Sunday Worship". Three days later - 19 March 1967, Felix Konotey Ahulu who felt much agitated by the letter noted in his diary:

NYONMO LE EBAAFE - THE LORD HE WILL DO IT! As I struggled and meditated and pined in spirit, and read Dr Martyn Lloyd-Jones' sermon on Schism, Divisions, True and False, The Lord seemed to reassure me by the words of that Basel Mission Hymn: Nyonmo le Ebaafe - The Lord He will do it -An Independent Church He will establish for us, where HIS GLORY is our only motivation.<sup>113</sup>

The decision to finally implement the Sunday worship idea was made through the activism of Konotey Ahulu - his personal consultations, and not a general meeting of the GECF. A personal religious predicament had stimulated that. A few Sundays back, at their usual place of worship - Osu Baptist Church, the American minister-in-charge approached the Konotey-Ahulus with the decision of the Church that they had not been baptised by immersion so they had been forbidden from participating in the Holy Communion.<sup>114</sup> They thus left the Church. Therefore, on 26 February 1967, <sup>my</sup> contacted George Anim Addo and fixed Sunday 12 March 1967 for the first service of the GECF held in the main hall of the Nurses Training College at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, Accra.<sup>115</sup> This accounts for the beginning of the Accra

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Despite the initial complaints, many evangelical expatriate workers and missionaries became associated with the new church -Accra Chapel, as regular preachers (see page 97, note 117).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. The "disfellowshipping" of the Konotey-Ahulus reflects the predicament of Ghanaian evangelicals who left mainline denominations they considered less evangelical, for Baptist and Pentecostal churches considered more evangelical.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 7.

Chapel which took over the activities of the GECF. GECF thus became defunct.

The transition from fellowship to church took 8 years. As Konotey Ahulu recalls: "For the first 8 years it was more of a fellowship without a fixed membership."<sup>116</sup> In the transition period, the ambiguity about Accra Chapel as an inter-denominational entity (a fellowship-church) camouflaged the denominational intentions of its leadership, allowing it to operate without attracting much criticism by established denominations. In 1973 steps were taken to formalise Accra Chapel as an independent evangelical church with particular ministry to medical and paramedical staff and students in the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital Community. The pattern of its operations made it an imitation of the evangelical Westminster Chapel of Martyn Lloyd-Jones, attracting preachers associated with mainline evangelical organisations in Ghana and abroad.<sup>117</sup>

As a precursor to Accra Chapel, GECF emerged in the context of the Christian Fellowship movement constituted by SU fellowships and evangelical unions universities and colleges. Even though the GECF maintained an independent existence at birth it assumed the essential characteristic features of the existing Christian fellowships. Its statement of faith basis, aims and objectives, activities were identifiable with those of the Town Fellowships, the only essential difference being the GECF "Sunday Worship" arrangement. In terms of membership, the GECF elitism reflects that of the home fellowships in Accra and Kumasi before their transformation and proliferation into Town Fellowships.

The "evangelical opposition" to the denominational intentions of

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. 7-14. In addition to the pioneer leaders of the GECF, the Ghanaian preachers include T B Dankwa and Felix Sekyi, both associated with SU and the then Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship. The foreign evangelicals include: John Bergen (SIM), Eugene Grau (Trinity College, Legon), Ronald Inchley (IVP, UK), Lawrence Hughes and Bendor Samuel (both of Wycliffe Bible Translators), Nigel Sylvester (SU-Ghana), Tony Wilmot, Donald Banks (ACP, Accra), Denis Osborne, John Callow and Llewellyn Grimes (all at Legon).

GECF arises from the non-denominational policy of SU-Ghana to which most of the GECF leadership were associated. In spite of the initial claims of autonomy, Accra Chapel is perceived as a product of the Town Fellowship phenomenon, and therefore, historically associated with SU.

SU has always rejected the accusation of being separatist or sectarian, though some of its activities give credence to such accusations. The case of the Accra Chapel was the exception and not the norm in the development of SU-Ghana in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some SU leaders were instrumental in the establishment of churches, which developed not into independent, but inter-denominational churches managed jointly by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. Prominent examples are the Accra Police Church and the United Garrison Methodist-Presbyterian Church at Burma Camp, Accra, with whose genesis John Agama (Ex-Assistant Police Commissioner) and Cdr. Philemon Quaye (Retired Navy Commander) were closely associated, respectively.<sup>118</sup>

The Accra Chapel is a metamorphosis which occurred in the early stages of the development of Christian Fellowship movement in Ghana. Some mainline church leaders regard it as a betrayal of concealed separatist intentions of SU.<sup>119</sup> For SU-Church relations, the transformation of fellowships into independent evangelical/charismatic churches, rife in the 1980s and '90s, is an adverse development.

### **1.3 THE GHANA FELLOWSHIP OF EVANGELICAL STUDENTS**

#### **1.3.1 Background To The Rise Of Evangelical Unions In Africa**

The formation of Evangelical Christian Unions in tropical African universities is a post-war development. Before the two world wars only two institutions of higher learning existed in Anglophone Tropical Africa – Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone and Gordon Memorial College in

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with John Agama, 4 December 1991.

<sup>119</sup> See Appendix VI – *SU in The Eyes of The Church in Ghana*.

Khartoum.<sup>120</sup> The post-war evangelical work among African university students proceeded on the assumption that "the future of Africa depends to a large extent on how far spiritual and moral forces can accompany higher education".<sup>121</sup> It was further supported by the view that "the African regards education as the sure gateway to prosperity and the danger lies in his seeking his redemption through it."<sup>122</sup> The post-war African graduate exercised with immediacy, an immense influence at both national and local levels. Tony Wilmot thus concluded:

From among the ranks of the educated will come with alarming rapidity, the leaders of tomorrow – the policy makers who, among other things will not only set a personal example for good or bad but will decide the future of missions and foreign missionaries.... There can be no doubt that a determined concentration of effort on educated classes by evangelical Christians is the first and most urgent demand in the next strategic and tactical phase in Africa.<sup>123</sup>

This evangelical concern became a pre-occupation of the British Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship (IVOF). In 1938 a group of eight Christian, graduates of universities serving in secular posts overseas – four of them in Africa started a prayer fellowship. From that group emerged the British IVOF which aimed "to give expression to the growing awareness of the opportunity for Christian service through secular employment overseas".<sup>124</sup> But as Tony Wilmot has observed, when that group was formed in 1938 no-one really foresaw its future relationship to the

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<sup>120</sup> Wilmot, T. (1963), 1; Johnson, D., ed. *A Brief History of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students*, (Lausanne: IFES, 1964), 116, has chronological details of Fourah Bay College: Land acquired in 1827, first buildings erected 1845–48, and affiliated to Durham University in 1876, now an independent University; and Khartoum Gordon Memorial College: established in 1902 and in 1915 merged with the Kitchener School of Medicine to form the University of Khartoum.

<sup>121</sup> Johnson, *ibid.*, 88.

<sup>122</sup> "Africa – Land of Opportunity", *The Christian Graduate*, VIII(1) March 1955, 31.

<sup>123</sup> Wilmot (1955), 1.

<sup>124</sup> Wilmot, T. *Africa's University Students*, (IFES Paper: Typescript, 1968), 2.

development of evangelical student work in Africa.<sup>125</sup> The special opportunities provided by the universities emerging in Africa in the fifties were laid on the IVOF as its definite responsibility, with the full backing of the British IVF as a whole. As Douglas Johnson, then General Secretary of the British Inter-Varsity Fellowship writes: "We put up all our graduates overseas to the idea of getting students together for prayer and Bible study, leaving the initiative [of forming Christian Unions] in the hands of the students."<sup>126</sup> Then with "consistent prayerful action" these opportunities were brought to the Christian Union members in Britain and Ireland.

By the end of 1955 no evangelical Christian Union had been formally established in any of Africa's nascent Universities. However, the exploratory mission undertaken by Tony Wilmot in the last quarter of that year, at the instance of the British IVF, revealed the emergence of informal evangelical groups in some campuses, as few expatriate evangelical graduates made efforts to present the claims of Christ to interested students.<sup>127</sup>

The political situation in Africa at this time was turbulent with nationalist struggles. The clamour for independence occupied a prominent place in the thinking and emotions of University students. Yet in his evangelistic encounter with students during his tour of African universities, Tony Wilmot was amazed at the readiness of some students to hear and receive the gospel. As he observes: "There was a refreshing realism in the approach of many students in a consciousness of the need for the human soul to be anchored to the eternal, and in some cases, a very genuine consciousness of sin and the need for reconciliation to God. Some students at that time came to the

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<sup>125</sup> Wilmot, T. *With Christ in Africa's Colleges*, (IFES Paper: Typescript, 1967).

<sup>126</sup> Quoted in Lowman, op. cit.

<sup>127</sup> Wilmot (1963), 1.

Lord in tears."<sup>128</sup> It was against this background that the post-war evangelical ministry in African universities proceeded.

### 1.3.2 The Pan-African Fellowship Of Evangelical Students

An important factor for the development of evangelical unions in African universities is the formation of the Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students (PAFES), which antedates the emergence of most of the unions in Africa. PAFES was conceived from the strong pan-African feeling expressed by the few students who were prayerfully contemplating the formation of Christian Unions. Their desire was "to have some form of machinery to establish effective links with like minded Christians facing similar problems of [evangelical] witness in universities elsewhere in Africa."<sup>129</sup> As Tony Wilmot further observes: "A small group of students in one university, knowing that their establishment of an aggressive witness for Christ would evoke some opposition, wanted contacts with others, and a clearing house where experiences could be shared and mutual help given."<sup>130</sup>

As the midwife of Christian Unions in African Universities, the IVOF with its international connections and human resources undertook to provide the embryonic Christian Unions with a "machinery of mutual fellowship in a form which would be wholly African as soon as there were enough CUs to take it over".<sup>131</sup> Therefore after a gestation period of three years PAFES was born in 1958 with "a self-liquidating foundation committee" that was to be replaced by an elected

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<sup>128</sup> Wilmot (1967), 2. In a interview between the author and Mr Wilmot on 5 May 1991, he recalls five student leaders at the then College of Technology in Kumasi were converted after he engaged them in discussions on the Christian viewpoint of life.

<sup>129</sup> Wilmot, T., *Christian Unions in Africa*, (IFES Paper: Typescript, 1963), 1.; Johnson (1964), 116. See also *Span* 1, 1961, 2; Daniel Jonah, What is PAFES?, *Span* 1, 1967, 8-9. On value of Pan-African sentiment for the development of an Africa Christian literature programme, see Walls (1963), 33.

<sup>130</sup> Wilmot (1967), 3.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

committee as soon as possible,<sup>132</sup> with administrative centre based in Nigeria.

The basic aim of PAFES is "to seek to awaken and deepen personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to further evangelistic work among students".<sup>133</sup> Later in reviewing the evangelical vision of PAFES Daniel Jonah (first Chairman of the movement) reiterates PAFES commitment to what was considered Africa's greatest need:

building men and women who will see themselves as stewards of God's gift to them, and realise their responsibilities towards God and man; building stable homes in which God will be acknowledged as head, and children brought up in His nurture and admonition; building men and women with a true sense of purpose, direction and eternal destiny.<sup>134</sup>

In 1960 Alonzo Fairbanks (an African-American graduate domiciled in England) was appointed its first Travelling Secretary.<sup>135</sup> In 1962 John Holmes (a science lecturer at the then Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, and also editor of *Span* (official magazine of PAFES), took up the appointment as PAFES Travelling Secretary for East Africa (Khartoum to Salisbury) with base in Nairobi,<sup>136</sup> allowing Fairbanks to concentrate on West Africa. The vastness of the continent necessitated a degree of regionalization of the

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> *Span* 1, 1961, 2. The doctrinal basis of PAFES embodies fundamental Christian beliefs with evangelical emphasis: a. The unity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the Godhead; b. The divine inspiration and entire trustworthiness of the Holy Scripture, as originally given, and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct; c. Redemption from the guilt, penalty, dominion and pollution of sin solely through the sacrificial death (as our Representative and Substitute) of the Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God; d. The justification of the sinner by grace of God through faith alone (Daniel Jonah, What is PAFES?, *Span* 1, 1967, 9-10).

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Prior to his appointment, Alonzo Fairbanks, with PhD in Biophysics, University of Washington (1956), researched first in the USA, and later in the UK at the University of Southampton.

<sup>136</sup> Wilmot (1963), 2.; Johnson, op. cit., 89.; See also Wilmot, Travellers in Africa, *Span* 2, 1962, 16.

PAFES operations. In 1966 as a move towards the Africanization of PAFES, two African Travelling Secretaries were appointed - Gottfried Osei Mensah for West Africa, and David Gitari for East, Central and Southern Africa.<sup>137</sup>

When PAFES came into existence it maintained informal links with the British IVF and the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, and it was expected that it would ripen into a formal international association. At the 1959 meeting of the IFES in Paris there was an impressive African presence (excluding three officially invited African students), which testified to the growing evangelical<sup>witness</sup> in university campuses in Africa. This generated "a domestic discussion within the IFES", which came to fruition in 1963 at the IFES conference in Nyack, New York,<sup>138</sup> where a constitutional provision was made for the affiliation of a multinational movement like PAFES. The IFES constitutional provision preserved "the right of Evangelical Unions in any one nation in Africa to form a national movement, and seek direct affiliation, without breaking the affiliation of their constituent unions to PAFES."<sup>139</sup> Daniel Jonah (Sierra Leone) was elected as African representative on the IFES executive.

The affiliation to IFES was vital in solving the teething problems of PAFES, especially finance. The vast distances in Africa and its undeveloped communication system, militated against developing a truly self-supporting continental evangelical agency. The affiliation of PAFES to IFES meant the resources of the international fellowship could be used to promote the growth of the nascent unions in African Universities. One product of such international co-operation is the PAFES quarterly magazine, *Span*, a publication which commenced in 1961

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<sup>137</sup> Wilmot (1963), 2; see Audrey Osei Mensah, *The Lord Has Done Great Things*, *Span* 1, 1971, 10-11. After returning from theological studies in Britain in 1972, David Gitari was engaged as General Secretary of the Bible Society of Kenya, and assisted PAFES as part-time worker (*Span*, 2, 1972, 8).

<sup>138</sup> Wilmot (1967), 3; See also *Span* 1, 1961, 1; Wilmot (1963), 2; Johnson op. cit. 117.

<sup>139</sup> Johnson, *ibid.*

to facilitate international link among students of PAFES groups, with an outreach to any other interested students.<sup>140</sup>

Through further international co-operation it was possible for PAFES to arrange missions in African Universities as means of campus evangelism and strengthening the witness of Christian Unions concerned. The first was undertaken between April and May 1962 by Rev John Stott, in both East and West African universities.<sup>141</sup> According to Tony Wilmot, "inspite of definite opposition to these missions there were professions of conversions and strengthening of the position of the Christian students in each place."<sup>142</sup>

Finally, under the auspices of PAFES it was possible to organise Student Conferences for affiliate Unions at sub-regional level for Biblical teaching and leadership training. With its central position in West Africa, Ghana hosted three of the PAFES Student Conferences – 1962 (Winneba), 1965 (Kumasi) and 1968.<sup>143</sup> These conferences had the double advantage of fostering physical links between evangelical unions in the sub-region, as well as enabling economic use of human and material resources of the international evangelical organisations for the development of evangelical leadership in Africa.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid. 89; Johnson (1979), 281; Wilmot (1963), 2. Ojo (1986) discounts such link as feeble because it attempted to cover Christian Unions in all African Universities. Nevertheless at that time, for many readers *Span* was the only magazine that provided information about CU activities on the continent. It was also vital organ for informing Christian faith, as well as disseminating information about developments in the universities.

<sup>141</sup> For the itinerary of John Stott, see Wilmot, *Travellers in Africa*, *Span* 2, 1962, 16.

<sup>142</sup> See *Span* 3, 1962, 15. Rev. Stott's tight schedule in Ghana (between 28–30 April), as Denis Osborne reports, included: Late Saturday night – address to the University Christian Fellowship; Sunday morning – preaching in the Anglican Holy Trinity Cathedral in Accra; Sunday afternoon – address to the Agama House Fellowship; Sunday evening – Sermon at the University United Service. His sermon at the University's combined chapel service generated a spontaneous discussion of the gospel.

<sup>143</sup> See *Span*, sers. – 3, 1962, 13; 1, 1966, 22–25; 2, 1968, 16.

### 1.3.3 Emergence of Evangelical Unions in University Colleges

The formation of PAFES meant that evangelical unions in Ghana did not develop in isolation but in the fellowship context of international family of evangelical unions. By the time PAFES was formed there were groups of evangelical students on campuses of several Africa universities who had already taken steps to create formal Christian Unions, (the first being the Christian Union in the College of Technology, Kumasi). The number of the pioneers of the CU in the College had been augmented and strengthened by the arrival at the universities of fresh students who were already Christians through the work of evangelical organisations such as SU and the Inter-College Camp movements, and others through the evangelistic efforts of Churches and missionary societies.<sup>144</sup>

Evangelical unions in the first two universities in Ghana – the University of Ghana at Legon, (formerly University College of Ghana) and the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi (formerly College of Technology), trace their origins to informal Bible study group meetings in the homes of expatriate lecturers.

In an unfamiliar religious environment, the home fellowship was adopted as a cautious low profile strategy for promoting evangelicalism among students. As Tony Wilmot observes:

A young lecturer feeling spiritually lonely, missing the stimulating fellowship of the Christian Union at his alma mater, found himself as perhaps the only real ambassador of Christ on a new campus. With no previous experience of building a work for the Lord out of nothing, and fearful of acting unwisely in unfamiliar cultural surrounding, he quietly invited a few students to join in the study of the Bible.<sup>145</sup>

By 1951, in the University College at Legon, such informal fellowships for Bible study had become hall based. Ralph Hulme and Alan Ward

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<sup>144</sup> Wilmot (1963), 1; Johnson op.cit. 117.

<sup>145</sup> Wilmot (1968), 2. Cf. Woods, S., *Some Ways of God*, (IVP-USA: 1975), 54–55.

organised meetings in the Legon and Akuafo Halls of residence respectively. Another meeting was started in the female Volta Hall by Mrs Hulme. All the halls of residence were thus catered for, as Wilmot notes in his report for the British IVF.<sup>146</sup> At the College of Technology in Kumasi, the lecturer in Mathematics, John Holmes organised a weekly Bible study meeting, with increasing attendance that ranged between twenty and thirty by 1955.<sup>147</sup>

The usual pattern of meetings was to follow the Bible "reading" with questions, discussions and prayer, then as Kofi Owusu remarks: "as one might expect from Britons, there was afternoon tea as well!".<sup>148</sup> Some of the participants had already had a primary exposure to the gospel in mission secondary schools, but the majority of the participants were interested rather than truly "born again". Most of the conversions occurred at the Inter-College Camps and the camp converts became important agents in the initial development of the Christian Unions as Wilmot reports:

A converted camper only three years a Christian and already a camp officer, has brought new life to the Akuafo Hall group, and three of the new converts are in that hall and will be recruited to the group. The other convert will be recruited to the Legon Hall group.<sup>149</sup>

Such student initiative was demonstrated by ICC participants in the development of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship (IHCF) in the College of Technology (now University of Science and Technology) in Kumasi. In a correspondence to Ralph Hulme, John Holmes writes: "George Boni Bensus has started a Bible Study Group in Hall "One" and Sodzi and

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<sup>146</sup> Wilmot (1955), 7.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Owusu, K., God's Mighty Acts in Ghana, *In Touch* (IFES Magazine) 1, Feb. 1982, 2. Kofi Owusu, B.Ed., M.T.S., appointed Travelling Secretary of GHAFES in 1977, is currently the General Secretary of the movement.

<sup>149</sup> Wilmot, op. cit., 6.

Amon have started one in my Hall."<sup>150</sup> As in the UK development at an earlier stage, there was a strong linkage between SU work and development of Christian Unions in Ghanaian Universities. The SU camps became "a school of pastoral and evangelistic training"<sup>151</sup> for university participants, with a linked effect on evangelism in the University.

For maximum benefit some strategic conclusions were drawn by the pioneers of evangelical ministry among students. Ralph Hulme (Legon) suggested that the intensification and strengthening of work at the secondary school level was the best method to promote the development of Christian witness in the Universities.<sup>152</sup> In a further amplification of this proposal, John Holmes (Kumasi) divided the development of the evangelical work chronologically into two phases: phase one – the growth of the work of the ICCs until some of the converted campers had started courses at the College, and phase two – the formation of a Gold Coast Inter-College Christian Fellowship linked in the first place with the camp movement.<sup>153</sup>

However, it became clear that "there was a need to consolidate and deepen the work of what in effect was embryonic Evangelical

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<sup>150</sup> John Holmes, Letter to Ralph Hulme, 11 November 1956. Dr Nathaniel Sodzi (retired lecturer of UST) was one of the five student leaders converted to Christ when Tony Wilmot engaged the Student Council of the College of Technology in a discussion on "Africa's Rising Intelligentsia", during his tour of British African Universities in 1955. Sodzi became a founder member and President of the IHCF (1958-60). See *Span* 3, 1961, 15.

<sup>151</sup> Barclay, O., *Whatever Happened to the Jesus Lane Lot?*, (IVP: Leicester, 1977), 49.

<sup>152</sup> Wilmot, Op. cit., 6. David Gitari, formerly General Secretary of PAFES, thus concludes: "The strategy of promoting Christian witness in the university must begin in secondary schools. Students who come to know the Lord in secondary schools are a great asset for witness when they join the university. Anyone who is interested in witness in the university must also take interest in Christian work in the secondary schools." See Gitari, D.M. *The Strategy of Christian Witness in the Universities of Africa*, *Span* 1, 1968, 8.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

Union",<sup>154</sup> before products of the SU school fellowships or ICC converts entered the Universities. Especially at the College of Technology the leadership of the informal hall groups was mature enough to necessitate the formalization of the Bible study groups into a Christian Union. Tony Wilmot had also observed that five students, all in the fourteen member student representative council were converted in November 1955, in circumstances which showed that the spirit of God was very much at work in the College.<sup>155</sup> Thus from the hall based Bible fellowships emerged the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship, constituted in 1956 as a formal CU in the College of Technology,<sup>156</sup> and the first to be affiliated to the PAFES.

Five years later, reviewing the growth of the IHCF, Yaw Opong (a member of IHCF executive) recalls that from a humble beginning of a handful students meeting in a lecturer's bungalow for Bible study and prayer, the membership of the group when it was formalised was thirty.<sup>157</sup> By 1960 the registered membership of IHCF had reached fifty, and the number attending the weekly Tuesday evening meetings ranged between sixty and ninety.<sup>158</sup> The emergence and growth of the IHCF was thus the product of corporate effort. It was undoubtedly assisted by the consistent witness of some British IVF graduates amongst the staff (especially John Holmes), the work of the Inter-College Camp Movement, and the Scripture Union groups in some secondary schools.

At Legon the formalization of the University College Christian Fellowship (UCCF) as a CU was influenced internal as well as external factors. By 1959 there were weekly informal meetings led by some lecturers or enthusiastic students in the halls of residence for

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<sup>154</sup> Johnson, Op. cit., 7; Wilmot, *ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> See the report on the College of Technology (Kumasi), *Span* 3, 1961, 15.

<sup>157</sup> Opong, Y N, College of Technology Report, *Span* 1, 1961, 13.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

Bible study. They were attended by a small number of students. According to Crisp-Dodoo, a founding member of the UCCF, "this group was rather undefined and the number of participants at meetings fluctuated a lot. There were other Christian and religious groups already in the College but those of us in this emerging group longed for a real and living Christian Fellowship."<sup>159</sup> With the Student Christian Movement being<sup>the</sup> officially recognised inter-denominational Christian society on campus, the independent Bible study groups came under the umbrella of SCM Committee in 1959.<sup>160</sup> It was intended to create uniformity, but SCM did not exercise any effective control. The formalisation of the Bible Study groups as an evangelical union was influenced by a number of factors. Initially the Bible study groups co-operated with SCM in campus evangelism. Some representatives of the Bible groups served with SCM in the Christian Action Group constituted to plan for the 1960 Legon mission.<sup>161</sup> But in order to maintain their evangelical identity, it became necessary to formalise the Bible study groups as a Christian Union.<sup>162</sup>

Another factor is the 1960 mission itself.<sup>163</sup> The week long

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<sup>159</sup> Crisp-Dodoo, University College (Legon) Report, *Span* 1, 1961, 12.

<sup>160</sup> Osborne, Colleges of Africa - University of Ghana (Legon) Report, *Span* 2, 1963, 6.

<sup>161</sup> Introduction to *Report on Legon Mission*, 13 March 1960, 1.

<sup>162</sup> In asserting its evangelical identity, the leaders of the "Christian Fellowship" reviewed relations with SCM, and decided to curtail co-operation with SCM: "We discussed our attitude to the SCM. It seemed agreed that the Christian Fellowship should have priority claim on our time and effort. It was recognised that the broad membership and the inclusion of different doctrinal positions within the SCM implied that conversion did not really matter. This made it essential that the Fellowship should maintain a clear and separate witness to the truth of the Bible and the necessity for a personal faith in Christ. At the same time it was realized that an attitude of personal friendliness to members of SCM was both right and necessary" (*Minutes of Committee Meeting of the University College Christian Fellowship held in Commonwealth Hall, n.d., 2*).

<sup>163</sup> Osborne, Report of Mission in University College - Legon, *Span* 2, 1961, 11.

mission, sponsored by denominational chaplains of the University College, generated much discussion of the gospel amongst students. The converts of the mission needed continued fellowship to become established in the newfound faith, but no machinery had been set up to consolidate and conserve the conversions. SCM social activities, and debates and symposia on socio-political issues were seen as not meeting the spiritual needs of the converts. Two members of the mission committee started a weekly Bible reading meeting as to provide Christian nurture.<sup>164</sup> A few of the students who started meeting together formed the nucleus of the UCCF. They were motivated by a conscious need for an evangelical fellowship,<sup>165</sup> but an external factor had brought the inspiration to form the UCCF. After the Inter-College Easter Conference in Kumasi in 1960, the Legon participants, six students (Oppong Agyare, Humphrey Arthur, Kwame Monney, Samuel Amissah, Buor Bofar, Crisp Dadoo), and two lecturers (Kodwo Senanu and Denis Osborne) were challenged by fellowship with members of the IHCF to draft and sign the following declaration:

It is our aim to form a fellowship of committed Christians in the University College of Ghana, so that we may help each other to live the Christian life and witness in the College to the Lord Jesus Christ and the truths of Biblical Christianity.

With this aim in mind we propose to:

Arrange meetings for prayer and Bible study for all students who wish to come.

Seek, by personal witness and by arranging meetings, to tell members of the College of the salvation offered in Jesus Christ and the need for a personal faith in Him.

In signing we declare our faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour, Lord and God; we acknowledge the divine inspiration and entire trustworthiness of Holy Scripture and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct; and we promise by the grace of God to endeavour to live consistently with this declaration.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Osborne, op. cit.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., The UCCF became University Christian Fellowship (UCF) when full university status was attained in July 1961.

<sup>166</sup> *Minutes of UCCF Meeting Held in Dr. Osborne's Flat, Commonwealth Hall - Legon, 29 May 1960.* Crisp Dadoo was elected Secretary. It was agreed that no formal constitution or even a name

With the formalization of the UCCF in May 1960, its activities assumed a regular pattern – with meetings on Friday nights for prayer, and Saturday nights for Bible exposition, discussions and talks, on selected Christian topics. Attendance ranged between twenty and thirty by 1961. In addition, the leadership encouraged attendance of campus chapel services as much as possible, though in certain circumstances "It was suggested that if Committee members were pressed for time during the week, Fellowship Prayer meetings should have priority over Chapel services."<sup>167</sup> The growth of the evangelical fellowships in Kumasi and Legon campuses was fostered by the quality of *koinonia* in the groups, commitment to evangelism, particularly, in campus missions, and established links with Scripture Union.

#### 1.3.4 The Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship

The expansion of the evangelical student movement was co-terminus with educational expansion. In 1962 the University College of Cape Coast was established to produce graduate teachers for the expanding sector of secondary education. By this time Christian Fellowships in the two Universities at Legon and Kumasi had developed roots as vital part of religious life on the campuses. Therefore, the University College of Cape Coast Christian Fellowship (UCCCCF) was established in the same year as the College came into being.<sup>168</sup> The

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were yet need, but the Chaplaincy Board Convener was to be informed of their plans. As the University College was legally liable for any debts incurred by societies which are part of itself, the evangelical group wrote later to the Principal asking for permission to form the society, and use the name "University College Christian Fellowship" (*Minutes of UCCF Meeting*, Sunday, 26 June 1960). In 1961 a constitution was drawn spelling out the doctrinal basis of the Fellowship (see Appendix III).

<sup>167</sup> *Minutes of Committee Meeting of the University College Christian Fellowship held at Commonwealth Hall*, n.d., 1. The Committee recognised that "Hall chapels take the place of the Churches within the College" and should have the loyal support of UCCF members. When members missed chapel to attend Fellowship meeting, it was expected "They would, of course, attend chapels on Sunday and some might choose to aim at attending chapel a certain number of time in the week as well" (*ibid.*).

<sup>168</sup> Okyere Pabby, E., University College of Cape Coast Report, *Span* 3, 1966, 15.

UCCCCF like all the other campus fellowships in Ghana had humble beginnings, with a founding membership of five students with SU background who used to meet in their cubicles for Bible study and prayer.

The Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship (GIUCF) was born out of co-operation between the Christian Fellowships in the two existing Universities and the new University College of Cape Coast: IHCF (Kumasi), UCF (Legon), and UCCCCF (Cape Coast). The co-operation was expressed in joint activities which included the annual Christmas Conference, and the long vacation "All-For-Christ Campaign" - a rural evangelistic programme with and within local churches.<sup>169</sup> The GIUCF formed in December 1966 at the annual Christmas Conference at Aburi, was thus a formalization of the inter-varsity fellowship that had existed in principle for some years.<sup>170</sup>

As an evangelical students movement the purpose and function of the GIUCF was:

To strengthen evangelical Christian fellowship at degree-awarding institutions in Ghana", by arranging national conferences, co-ordinating joint efforts in Christian witness, and supporting other activities among university students that seek to awaken or deepen their personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>171</sup>

Provision in the GIUCF constitution was made for the formation of GIUCF graduates fellowship, "both for the support of the work in the three universities and for the carrying on the evangelical witness into the professions and the local churches."<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> See *Span* 2, 1967, 14.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.; Owusu, K., God's Mighty Act in Ghana, *In Touch* 1, Feb.1982, 2.

<sup>171</sup> *Span*, Op. cit.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid. The graduates fellowship (GHAFES Associates) today constitutes the financial backbone of GHAFES, with financial contributions of graduates (home and abroad) accounting for over 85% of the movement's income (Ibid.) Generally the importance of graduate fellowships is perceived in terms of: "encouraging members in Christian

With the expansion of tertiary education outside the existing universities in the late 1960s, evangelical unions were established in a number of diploma-awarding institutions. By the early 1970s evangelical unions in Colleges affiliated to the GIUCF outnumbered those in universities,<sup>173</sup> indicating that the GIUCF as an evangelical student movement was becoming more inter-collegiate than inter-varsity fellowship. As expected, some students felt that the name GIUCF was not representative enough. Thus in December 1985 at a Christmas Conference at the Presbyterian Boys Secondary School (Legon), the name Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES) was officially adopted to take retrospective effect from April 1976 when name "GHAFES" entered conventional usage of its members.<sup>174</sup> The adoption of the name GHAFES also reflected the affiliation of the Ghana Fellowship to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, effected in 1971. Currently, GHAFES has about 1500 members in 15 affiliate fellowships in all degree and diploma-awarding institutions in the country,<sup>175</sup> and aims to expand into the Polytechnics which are yet to be upgraded into diploma institutions.

The remarkable growth of the ministry of GHAFES in the tertiary institutions is a reflection of the success of SU work in secondary educational institutions. Affiliate and associate fellowships of the two movements constitute the Christian Fellowship movement in Ghana. The common factor of growth of the two movements is interdependence, fostered by harmonious operational relations.

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growth and personal evangelism; supporting the student work in schools and colleges; encouraging members to engage in Christian witness and service through their professional careers; and help in the production of standard and relevant Christian literature" (Gitari, D.M., *The Strategy of Christian Witness in The Universities of Africa*, *Span*, 1, 1968, 12).

<sup>173</sup> See Owusu, K., *Report of the General Secretary (of GHAFES) Presented To The General Committee Meeting Held At The Commonwealth Hall, University Of Ghana, Legon, 23-25 March 1991*, 2.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 9. Kofi Owusu indicates the 15th group at the School of Medical Sciences – University of Science and Technology, is yet to be formally affiliated to GHAFES. See Appendix IV for list of institutions with evangelical fellowships affiliated to GHAFES.

The SU-GHAFES relations is historically rooted in the operations of the Inter-College Camp movement. The development of the Inter-College Camp movement and its later amalgamation with SU-Ghana was a strategy which laid foundation for promoting evangelical witness in universities and colleges. The symbiotic relationship between SU-Ghana and GHAFES is thus a historical development which continues to flourish for the mutual benefit of the two movements.

#### 1.4 THE AFRICA CHRISTIAN PRESS: CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND EVANGELICAL MINISTRY IN AFRICA

##### 1.4.1 Background: The Need for a Christian Literature Production Programme in Africa

The distribution of Christian literature is a cornerstone of evangelical work among students. With the emergence and growth of evangelical student movements in Ghana and other African countries, the need for relevant African Christian literature became crucial. Hence the establishment of the Africa Christian Press (ACP): an evangelical literature production and distribution programme born out of the confluence of interests SU and IVF in the early 1960s.

In reviewing the historical background of ACP Nigel Sylvester mentions a letter was received from Ronald Inchley, the Secretary of the Publications Department of the IVF, that a donation had been made by a UK Christian towards the promotion of a publishing programme in Africa, and other evangelical organisations like the IVF were prepared to augment the amount – thus making the amount available £6000, considerably substantial.<sup>176</sup> In response to this offer Andrew Walls (then Head of the Department of Religions of the University of Nigeria at Nsukka) was requested to prepare a report as a basic working document for the proper utilisation of the literature fund.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Sylvester, N., *Proposals for the Formation of ACP*, submitted for discussion at a working party meeting in Accra, 11 December 1963, 1–2. It was estimated about £12,000 would be needed over 5 years for a viable literature production programme (ibid. 2).

<sup>177</sup> See Walls, A.F., *Needs and opportunities in Christian Literature: Suggestions for a Programme*, Feb. 1963.

Already operating in Ghana were Christian presses and bookshops, the protestant ones owned by the Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, and Challenge Bookshop operated by the Sudan Interior Mission (now Society of International Ministries). But there was a dearth of relevant literature, as a local minister observes: "the missions presses issued books which were imported from overseas".<sup>178</sup>

An effort by the SU General Secretary, Nigel Sylvester, to persuade bookshops in Accra to stock more evangelical literature was largely unsuccessful.<sup>179</sup>

In commenting on the Andrew Walls Report, Sylvester strongly underscores the point that the Church bookshops in Ghana did not stock much Christian literature. The Presbyterian Book Depot stock of evangelical literature was very little. Even in the Challenge Bookshop, he observed their stock of Christian books was in small proportion to the mass of other materials, a situation he attributes to creeping commercialism.<sup>180</sup> However other factors are identified in the Walls Report.

#### **1.4.2 The Walls Report: Analysis of "Needs and Opportunities" for a Programme**

The Walls Report provides an analysis of the apparent disinterest in the purchase and consequently minimal stocking of Christian literature – the effect of the "ladder of promotion" on reading habits of a category workers without the privilege of university education.

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<sup>178</sup> Bortey, B. E., *Christian Publishing in Ghana Today*, A paper presented at the Seminar on Christian Literature, 6 & 20 November 1991, 1. He notes that the absence of any sustained Christian publishing effort in Ghana led to the establishment in 1965 of Asempra Press, the literature department of the Christian Council of Ghana (ibid. 2). Cf. Sylvester (1984), 212.

<sup>179</sup> Sylvester, N., *Comments on Andrew Walls Report*, Typescript, 1963, 1. Cf. Walls (1963), 31.

<sup>180</sup> Sylvester, ibid., He underscores the need to subsidize Christian bookshops in Africa to stock Christian books. However, Walls (op. cit., 17; 22) cautions the perils of over-subsidizing Christian literature: "Literature must not be too cheap, or intelligent people – of which Ghana ... [is] not starved – suspect a catch."

They include teachers with non-matriculable School Certificates" or in Ghana, Post-middle school teachers - those who have come through teacher training colleges without secondary school education. The determined ones toil away on their own to secure GCE (General Certificate of Education) Ordinary Level passes for promotion to the grade of Post- secondary Teacher or Advanced Level passes for promotion and university entrance. As Andrew Walls remarks: "This is a serious problem, for it shuts the door on 'off the subject' reading for a reasonably educated section of the population who are often people of influence."<sup>181</sup>

The cumulative effect of this trend is the neglect of Christian literature, apart from those that are GCE textbooks. "Accordingly, Missionary Bookshop Managers complain that although they can produce fair balances and trade figures, the staple is the sale of school texts and accessories - religious books account for only a fraction of the sales."<sup>182</sup> In Ghana the Government's free textbook scheme seriously undermined the book trade.<sup>183</sup> Hence, there was an urgent need "to make... book-selling more Christian",<sup>184</sup> but today the need to make book-reading more Christian has become more urgent.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Walls, op. cit., 14.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Bortey, op. cit., 4.

<sup>184</sup> Walls, op. cit., quoted with reference to Africa, in Penning, P., A Paper on Distribution with Special Reference to Promotion and Training, *Books for Africa*, XXXII, 1962, 65.

<sup>185</sup> The Seminars on Christian Literature in Accra and Kumasi on 6th and 20th November 1991, respectively, were organised by Asempa Press to affirm reading and writing as vital assets of the church, and promote the use of literature in the ministry of the church in Ghana, as means towards integration of Christian ministry and Christian publishing. Kwame Bediako, *The value of Literature for Christian Education and Growth*, Paper for Literature Seminar for Pastors and Church Leaders, 6 & 20 November 1991, 2, draws attention to the implications of Christian Faith for the growth of literary culture, in a context like Ghana "with little or no indigenous literary culture, with a large illiterate population and a struggling book-producing infrastructure unable to meet even the needs of the small literate market there is." He advocates the view that the growth of Christian

By early 1960s SU had become the main distributor of evangelical literature in Ghana, ordering directly from overseas publishers, mostly in the UK. However, such imported materials did not always satisfy the local African needs. In commenting on reading habits of Africans, Nigel Sylvester recalled a conversation with the Secretary of the Christian Fellowship of the Kumasi University, in which the student indicated the aversion of the student folk to reading long books. Nigel Sylvester was thus led to make the emphatic but uncritical comment: "I would emphasize that his point was *not price* but *size*, and the fact that folk are scared of having to plough through a lot of pages of foreign language".<sup>186</sup> Therefore he suggested the phobia for long books could be undermined if they contained many short chapters and thus give the reader a sense of achievement in having completed something useful. Thus on relevance of evangelical literature for the African, he advocates readability as well as saleability, and so recommends the production of booklets and pamphlets. Though this proposition may be accepted for commercial purposes, it rests on a false generalisation. Students in secondary school may subsist on a diet of "4d. Pamphlets" and booklets as Nigel Sylvester suggests, but for the average Ghanaian university student of the 1960s with a sophisticated adult life and thought, to prescribe such simple materials is to adopt a simplistic approach to a much serious problem.<sup>187</sup> Nigel Sylvester obviously made a wrong diagnosis of the problem. He failed to identify the different categories of readers in Ghana as an African "Area of Rapid Social Change" (ARSC).<sup>188</sup>

The concept of the "ladder of promotion" elucidated in the Walls

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faith and literary culture "is not reducible to merely economic and logistic dimensions", and argues that good booksales does not necessarily imply a movement towards a sustainable literary culture.

<sup>186</sup> Sylvester, op. cit.; cf. Walls, op. cit. 21.

<sup>187</sup> Up to the 1960s and mid 1970s students in Ghanaian schools and colleges were considerably older, with most senior school students at 20 or above, and many University students with families of their own (cf. Walls, op. cit., 22, note 1; 23).

<sup>188</sup> See Walls op. cit., 2ff. ARSC (with UNESCO origins) is adopted by Prof. Walls as being more appropriate than the term "Third World".

report offers an extraordinary insight into the spectrum of reading habits of Africans and thus provides an accurate diagnosis of the disinclination of some Ghanaian students (including Christians) to reading Christian literature. He focuses attention on forces which discount "off the subject" reading. This includes the high premium on success at university because as he observes: "Few African graduates need face frustration or financial insecurity: important jobs, of manifest value to the community, and well rewarded are almost certain to come their way."<sup>189</sup> Hence the high premiums on success at University, and by the same token the premiums on sixth form and university entrance. Consequently with so much depending on their success, senior secondary school students (in fifth and sixth forms) often make desperate efforts to obtain the right number and level of passes to qualify for university. They read hard but not "off the subject", what Ghanaian students term "non-sylla", that is outside the syllabus.<sup>190</sup> In extreme cases the obsession with reading just what the syllabi prescribe. In the University, the pressure to concentrate on course work becomes greater, thus, "to spend too much time in reading 'off the subject' would be frivolous."<sup>191</sup> This is highlighted by Walls as special problems set for establishing a Christian literature programme, as "two important sections of the reading public - senior school boys and university students - have to be wooed into reading outside certain lines."<sup>192</sup> The issue projects into particular focus the significant role

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<sup>189</sup> Walls, op. cit., 13. With the advancement of the phenomenon of graduate unemployment in Ghana since the 1983 economic crisis, and the mass repatriation on Ghanaian graduate and non-graduate workers from Nigeria, university education no longer guarantees a comfortable lifestyle in Ghana. The situation has been exacerbated by the adoption of the IMF Structural Adjustment Programme in 1985, with its attendant measures of mass retrenchment (see *West Africa*, 13-19 July 1992, 1182).

<sup>190</sup> Since the mid 1970s, in desperate effort to pass GCE examinations, most prospective GCE candidates in secondary schools attend remedial/revision classes during the summer vacation, and also remain in school during Easter holidays to revise towards May/June examinations. The resultant effect is low attendance at SU summer camps and Easter house-parties. In response to phenomenon of "holiday classes", in 1975 SU-Ghana initiated summer "Study Camps" for Christian and academic instruction (See *SU-Ghana Partners Letter*, Oct.-Dec. 1991).

<sup>191</sup> Walls, op. cit., 13.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

of SU School Fellowships and University Christian Fellowships in any attempt to develop among students the habit of reading "off the subject". The primary aim he recommends "should be to cultivate reading habits in student days in such a way that they are formed for life."<sup>193</sup>

Andrew Walls identifies yet "another vitally important section of the reading public [in West Africa] which, while fully literate, does not belong to the intelligentsia" – the "educationally under- privileged" or "literate proletariat".<sup>194</sup> Most for various reasons have just the basic elementary school education, and others are secondary school drop-outs. They are able to read but possess no paper qualification to open the door to advancement. They are manual skilled workers who have acquired their skills through apprenticeships as carpenters, carvers, masons, "fitters" (auto-mechanics), electrical and electronic technicians. Others are office messengers and clerks, and school "pupil teachers" – the unqualified teachers, occasionally soldiers and frequently policemen. The rest engage in various commercial activities in markets and streets as traders and hawkers. Despite their position outside the intellectual establishment, Walls observes that this category of readers possess "an intellectual awareness, a critical, enquiring spirit, and a tough- mindedness one has sighed for in many university students."<sup>195</sup> They are not intellectually accomplished, but an earnest group of people who will read any material provided it is not frivolous, but designed for their level and significant for their interest. Many profess Christianity, and are active members of SU Town Fellowships in Ghana, but it is their political significance which has been appropriated, as Andrew Walls observes:

The group stands, for the most part, outside values, and the promotion ladder, of the Establishment: occasionally someone forces his way in, but essentially these men are concluded to nonconformity. As a group they are the least inhibited and the

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

hardest to deceive, and the only people who have noticeably grasped their significance are the Communists.<sup>196</sup>

In considering the literature needs of the potential readers constituted by the "educationally under-privileged", he projects their adult intelligence and adult experience as "man-sized" issues to be considered as important index of relevance. This renders any attempt to meet the literature needs of the "non-professional literates" with materials designed for younger readers in the West not only irrelevant but insulting.<sup>197</sup> Besides, as Andrew Walls cautions, any scheme of "slanting" Western literature for use in ARSC was certainly to sink, especially in Africa.<sup>198</sup> He writes:

If the impression were given that special versions of Christian books were necessary for inferior capacities outside the West – and this impression could be given perilously easily. The hackles of the sophisticated would rise, and with justice: and among the less sophisticated, colour would be given to the suspicion that the white man always holds back a certain amount of knowledge for himself.<sup>199</sup>

He further notes that "too strict a concentration on the problem of language will obscure the fact that language in itself is not the main problem at all."<sup>200</sup> Though vocabulary, syntax, sentence construction may obscure meaning, the difficulties of relevance and reference are far

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 16. Between the late 1940s and early 1950s such appropriation of the political dynamic of the educationally under-privileged became evident in nationalist struggle for independence in Ghana. This group designated "Veranda Boys" (the outsiders) by Kwame Nkrumah came to constitute a massive political force which he mobilised to form the socialist Convention Peoples Party. The political activism of the "Veranda Boys" under Nkrumah led to defeat of the United Gold Coast Convention, the party of the Gold Coast intelligentsia led by Dr J. B. Danquah in a series of elections for internal self-government in 1951, and independence in 1957.

<sup>197</sup> Walls, op. cit., 22.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid. Walls illustrates the approach of literature adaptation designated in American "slanting" with the case of an author who "cut [an original material] by 50%, removed hard words, recast some sentences, and added a few explanatory notes."

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 22f.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 23.

more crippling for the ministry of Western- produced literature.<sup>201</sup>  
This is elucidated in the critique that:

Western Christian literature displays a lack of understanding of the history and the consciousness of the various African social groups. Most Western publications display a persistent and appalling insensitivity to the realities that shape the recipients beliefs and values. They also display a naive adherence to the assumption that Western modes and styles are universally applicable. Some of the experiences in the Western Christian literature cannot easily be translated into African scene. Some of this literature is not easily readable or understandable to the average African Christian, because of its foreign setting.<sup>202</sup>

The paucity of appropriate literature for Christian education became apparent to Ralph Mann in his missionary career as teacher in Sierra Leone, a country with varied levels of English literacy. His disappointment at the irrelevance of imported materials is evident in his remark: "books which have been most helpful in England are of little use here",<sup>203</sup> and hence his perceptive remark:

Our problem is, therefore, to find Christian literature sufficiently simply expressed to be intelligible to the average literate school teacher, and yet not childish. Ideas and teaching suitable to adults but expressed in simple words, are not easy to find. The language should be short and simply constructed; illustrations should be drawn from African rather than European life."<sup>204</sup>

The Walls report is valuable in identifying for our purpose and especially in the West African context – the different levels of literary competence in English and the differences in reading habits, particularly the non- professional literates. It projects this class as the hardest, yet most rewarding to write for as a field for evangelistic literature, an intellectual task that demands careful and imaginative handling of language.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Sabageh, Joseph, Why African's Must Write For Africans, *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 21(4), Oct. 1985, 362-7.

<sup>203</sup> Mann, R., Extract of Article to "Floodtide", in correspondence to Ronald Inchley, London, Oct. 1963.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

### 1.4.3 Recommendations

The main recommendation of the Walls report is the establishment of Africa Christian Press: a literature programme with the official interest and goodwill of IVF, SU and PAFES.<sup>205</sup> ACP was to undertake the production of "Christian literature of good quality in Africa for Africa addressed to specific needs, and especially to the needs of students, the ministry, and non-professional literates".<sup>206</sup> It further recommended that "arrangements be made where possible, appropriate and just, for the Press to re-issue under its imprint or adapt for local use particular IVF and CSSM publications".<sup>207</sup> Any product of such adaptation had to suit the language, background, and concerns of the actual and potential reading public.

The report is emphatic that writing for Africa must be done in the existential situation of Africa - "in the midst of the situation as it - not even as it was two years ago."<sup>208</sup> Hence the recommendation that the both the editorial board and the council of reference be based in Africa, and be dominantly African,<sup>209</sup> to further ensure that ACP become established not as just another Western based missionary society, but to place executive responsibility firmly on African soil. It was to further ensure ACP was born free not as an extension of IVF publishing.

However, finances was to become the determinant factor of the

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<sup>205</sup> Walls, op. cit., 41.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Walls, op.cit., 19. Cf. *ACP Newsletter*, Nov. 1966, 1, quotes a remark by E A Adegbola (Principal of Immanuel College, Ibadan, Nigeria) that "The primary need is for books that are realistic efforts to meet these readers where they are, not "written down" to them...".

<sup>209</sup> Sylvester, N., *Proposals for the Formation of the Africa Christian Press*, A Working Paper, 11 Dec 1963, 1, reiterates with further qualification the composition of the ACP Council of Reference: "senior churchmen of strong evangelical convictions", to gain the confidence of the churches and safeguard its "clear-cut evangelical witness".

independence of ACP. Though Andrew Walls suggested initial financial control resides in UK, he cautioned: "...to vest ultimate control for policy in a London committee would be stultifying and ultimately crippling."<sup>210</sup> Yet in the early stages financial crisis led to the suggestion that ACP could trade independence for IVF support on sponsorship terms.<sup>211</sup> However to ensure an authentic independence for ACP, IVF declined, as Ronald Inchley indicated: "It is essential to retain some measure of independence for ACP. This seems to be the only way of making sure that genuine African thinking lies behind the MSS produced."<sup>212</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Establishing ACP

As an initial step towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Walls Report, an interim committee was formed in London (reconstituted later as London Advisory Committee) to discuss the modus operandi of the literature project. The London Committee recommended Nigel Sylvester (then General Secretary of SU Ghana) to be the convener of an executive committee in Africa that would assume responsibility for policy and planning.<sup>213</sup> To this committee, Joyce Chaplin became part-time editorial secretary from 1963<sup>214</sup> until the appointment of Anthony F. Harlow as full-time General Secretary in September 1966, by secondment from SU-Zimbabwe.

In 1964 under the auspices of IVF Joyce Chaplin undertook a

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<sup>210</sup> Walls, op. cit., 35.

<sup>211</sup> *Request from Executive Committee (of ACP) in Ghana for IVF financial backing*, ACP Paper, 1967, 1f. Nigel Sylvester, suggested IVF sponsor ACP as London SU sponsored Ghana SU, with IVF underwriting ACP finances in exchange for a formal veto on ACP staff and committee appointments until a later period when ACP becomes self-supporting and autonomous.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>213</sup> Sylvester op. cit., 1.

<sup>214</sup> See Chaplin, J., *Writer, My Friends* (Elgin-Illinois: Cook Foundation, 1984), 10.

tour of the continent to survey the whole Africa literature field.<sup>215</sup> Her tour revealed the grim reality of lack of African produced Christian literature, as she indicates: "In all the bookshops I visited I did not find any book, NOT EVEN ONE, written by an African Christian...."<sup>216</sup> The report of the survey accelerated the process that culminated in the establishment of ACP on 23rd January 1964, at the campus of the University of Ghana – Legon, with an editorial board and office based in Ghana.<sup>217</sup> It commenced operations with the aid of the production and distribution machinery of the IVF.

The location of ACP operational base in Ghana is indicative of the favourable evangelical climate which SU in collaboration with IVF had created by instituting the Christian Fellowship movement. The establishment of ACP office in SU building in Accra symbolises the symbiotic relationship between the two organisations which has flourished to their mutual benefit. ACP enjoys a ready-made local market, with SU as the major constituent organisation. Thus ACP is now able to fully maintain its staff in Ghana from local sales. Conversely, the easy availability of ACP materials in Ghana has been an important factor for the development of local Christian Fellowships.

From the fellowships affiliated to SU and GHAFES has emerged a pool of Christian writers for ACP. The earlier Ghanaian writers include, Emmanuel Ephraim ('Daniel'), author of ACP first publication: *A Young Man's Secrets*, (published June 1, 1965), and *God Over My Shoulder*,<sup>218</sup> Daniel Ofori Gyane and Gottfried Bamfo co-authors of *Mr Mee* series; Gladys Osaë-Addo, co-author of *Newtown Families*,<sup>219</sup> and Kwesi Andam,

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<sup>215</sup> *Transcript of interview between the General Secretary (of ACP) and Michael Hews (member of the ACP London Advisory Committee)*, – prepared for press release and as basis for informal interview at London ACP reception, 26 Sept. 1966, 3.

<sup>216</sup> Chaplin, J., *ACP Newsletter*, 1964.

<sup>217</sup> *ACP Newsletter*, April 1984, 1.

<sup>218</sup> See *ACP Catalogue*, Jan.– June 1968; See also *ACP Newsletter*, April 1984, 1, promotes *A Young Man's Secret* (the Dairy of 'Daniel') as a bestseller which had sold 3000 copies by 1 July 1965.

<sup>219</sup> See *ACP Catalogue*, Jan.– June 1968.

*Ato Badu's School Days*, and lately, *The Contractor*.<sup>220</sup>

The SU-ACP co-operation in publishing has enabled the reprints by ACP the series of SU "Power" booklets launched in 1963.<sup>221</sup> Thus preventing the two complementary organisations from operating in the same field, and fostering interdependence and prudent utilisation of resources of the evangelical movement at local and international levels. ACP was born out of the coalition of interests of SU and IVF. Though as a matter of policy ACP became independent at birth, it could not have operated without the corporate assistance of the necessary human and financial resources of two organisations, and thus mitigating the effects of teething problems which often afflict infant publishing establishments in Africa.

The success of ACP as an evangelical literature production programme in Africa for Africans is therefore, a tribute to the evangelical alliance between the IVF and SU, the two major movements that have promoted the establishment of evangelical fellowships in schools and colleges in Ghana.

### 1.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The emergence of evangelical fellowship movements in Ghana as discussed, is basically a post-war development, though it has a separate pre-war history. A prominent feature of this development is the active involvement of the IVF which foresaw the strategic importance of evangelical witness among the post-war student generation in African schools and colleges. Such conscious sense of mission engaged the attention of the evangelical professionals from the UK who staffed various state educational institutions in Ghana, and offered informal

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<sup>220</sup> Kwesi Andam (Professor of Civil Engineering, University of Science and Technology) has pioneered the formation of an association of Christian writers - "Christian Research", to encourage Christian writing among members of the Christian Fellowship movement in Ghana, by organising writer training workshops. The first Christian Research workshop held in Kumasi at the UST in 1988, was led by an ACP staff, Raymond Mills-Tetteh (see *ACP Interim News*, Jan. 1989, 2).

<sup>221</sup> Sylvester, op. cit., 3.

spiritual service alongside the official duties of secular occupations.

The educational occupation offered very significant advantages for the evangelical enterprise. First, it offered easy access to the student audience. Second, the income from secular work became a sound financial base for supporting the teacher-missionary. Third, the secular involvement of the evangelicals coupled with their informal missionary approach made them less likely targets of anti-colonial invectives which most Western Church missions in Ghana attracted in nationalist era.

The Inter-College Camp movement initiated by evangelical expatriates culminated in the formation of the two evangelical student movements: The SU Schools Fellowship (basically in secondary educational institutions) and "Christian Unions" in the tertiary institutions affiliated to the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES). The existence of a vital linkage in the development of school fellowships in the SU movement and the evangelical unions of GHAFES was emphasized by the pioneers of the two movements as operational strategy, resulting in a symbiotic relationship exploited to the mutual benefit of both movements.

The phenomenal growth of these movements was facilitated by their affiliation to international evangelical organisations at continental and global levels. The SU International, and the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students operating through the Pan African Fellowship of Evangelical Students, provided the international context of evangelical fellowship in which the national movements flourished while still maintaining an indigenous character.

The indigenous initiative in the evangelical enterprise is very prominent. Whilst the UK pioneers were content to limit the operations of SU and the "Christian Unions" to the school and university contexts, the national leaders were not thus content. The emergence and proliferation "Town Fellowships" is ample evidence of the initiative and dynamic of Ghanaian evangelicals in seeking to extend Christian fellowship to communities and work places in towns and cities, as an attempt to integrate life and faith.

## CHAPTER TWO

### EVANGELICALISM OF THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Scripture Union (Ghana) and the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students have an evangelical heritage rooted in the conservative evangelical tradition of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (UK) with which the pioneers of the Ghana movements were associated. This is reflected in the tenets of faith and activities of the movements,<sup>1</sup> which lays emphasis on the sovereignty of God, the final authority of the Bible regarding matters of faith and practice, and the centrality of the death of Jesus Christ to the Gospel.

Beyond the doctrinal system, the belief that lives need to be changed, coupled with a strong confidence in the salvific power of the Gospel, inspires a passionate desire and a rigorous effort to evangelize.<sup>2</sup> Thus in 1979 GHAFES adopted the motto: "Knowing Jesus Christ and making Him better Known."<sup>3</sup> The paramount interest in evangelism is enunciated in the aims and objectives of the movement:

To witness to the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour and God, and to lead fellow students to a personal faith in Him.

To stimulate interest in evangelistic and missionary work, and prayer on its behalf.

In respect of associate friends [GHAFES graduates]: To assist them in their witness for the Lord Jesus Christ in the work places, churches and communities.<sup>4</sup>

The evangelical movements place a strong emphasis on conscious

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<sup>1</sup> See doctrinal statements and declarations in Appendices III-V.

<sup>2</sup> See Bebbington (1989), 3; cf. Bevans & Scherer (1992), 101.

<sup>3</sup> *GHAFES Report of the General Secretary Presented to the General Committee Meeting held at The Commonwealth Hall, University of Ghana, Legon, 23-25 March 1991*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Article V of the 1981 GHAFES constitution.

experience of faith in Christ as the way to salvation, a personal life of holiness, and observance of the "Quiet Time" through private prayer and meditation on Scripture as practical expression of devotion to God. The emphasis on personal religion is counter-balanced by constant reference to the Bible passage: "Let us not give up meeting together, as some are in the habit of doing, but let us encourage one another..."<sup>5</sup>, to assert the importance of Christian fellowship. At the local level meetings are regularly organised by SU and GHAFES groups for fellowship, corporate prayer, Bible discussions, lectures and symposia on a wide range of issues. These corporate activities are pursued further at regional and national levels in weekend retreats and inter-fellowship rallies, holiday camps, conferences and Bible schools.

The commitment of the evangelical fellowships to vigorous campus evangelism finds expression in activities like door-to-door visitation, occasional weekend evangelistic campaigns in halls of residence, with "Jesus-March" - parading the campus with singing, as a prelude to open-air preaching and periodic missions. In collaboration with local churches, the evangelical fellowships engage in occasional revival missions, and evangelistic outreach to rural and urban communities.<sup>6</sup>

The evangelistic vision of the Christian Fellowships is not completely divorced from social concern. A modest demonstration of an evangelical social conscience which commenced with clean-up campaigns at Nima (a slum in Accra), initiated by the Legon fellowship, culminated in the formal institution of Operation Help Nima (OHN) in 1968 as an

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<sup>5</sup> Hebrews 10:25 (New International Version).

<sup>6</sup> The Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students (PAFES) to which the GHAFES groups are affiliated projects evangelism as a divine imperative: "In concentrating the greater part of our attention on evangelism, we believe we are carrying out the Lord's command: 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel' (Mark 16:15). We believe that basically, all the world's ills are due to man's estrangement from God. When a man gets right with God, by acknowledging he has 'sinned and come short of the glory of God' (Romans 3:23), and in true repentance confesses his sins, ... and accepts Jesus as his Lord and Saviour, he'll then love God and his fellow men" (Jonah, D., What is PAFES? *Span* 1, 1967, 10).

urban renewal project later adopted and elevated by GHAFES.<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2 EVANGELICAL BIBLICISM

### 2.2.1 The "Quiet Time"

The Bible is central to evangelicalism of Christian Fellowships in Ghana. This is evident in the observance of the "Quiet Time". The evangelicalism of the British IVF was exported to Ghana with emphasis on the spirituality of observing the "Quiet Time" – systematic private daily Bible reading and prayer. Through the controlled medium of the SU camp young Christians were introduced to the observance of QT as a prime factor of Christian growth.<sup>8</sup> Initially, notes for Bible reading were imported from the UK. But in 1963 SU booklets, the *Daily Power* and *Daily Guide* (produced in Nigeria and Ghana respectively) were introduced as indigenous materials for anglophone West Africa.<sup>9</sup> For an advanced reading by college and university students, the IVF publication, *Search the Scriptures*, was introduced. The material which is a six-part Bible study course is designed to take reader through the whole Bible in three years.<sup>10</sup>

In observing the QT, emphasis is placed on privacy: being "alone with God", at time "that is most quiet".<sup>11</sup> It is a spiritual exercise involving a mental discipline that suits the literate membership. With the aid of Bible reading notes the Christian is encouraged read and memorise Bible texts, and reflect, recollect, and record their thoughts to indicate a personal understanding and application of the scripture. For young Christians, the SU guideline on QT is stated with poetic simplicity and emphasis:

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<sup>7</sup> See the latter part of this chapter.

<sup>8</sup> See page 69, note 22.

<sup>9</sup> Sylvester (1984), 211.

<sup>10</sup> Johnson (1979), 314.

<sup>11</sup> See *Quite Time*, Typescript of SU Guidelines, n.d. 1. The solitary practice of Jesus Christ recorded in Mark 1:35 is cited as Biblical basis of the "Quiet Time".

Open the text, then  
Read. Re-read.  
Meditate on what you read.  
Try to see what it says -  
Try to see what it means  
Try to see what it can mean to you  
See if you can get a thought to carry all throughout the day.  
Then pray. Convert what you read into a prayer.  
See if there's a verse to learn off, and write it out on a small card.  
And take it along with you. Refer to it several times to master it.  
Then record what you have learnt in your note book.<sup>12</sup>

To encourage others, subjects are encouraged further to share their thoughts and personal experiences of God. The observance of the QT became an index of the Christian spirituality of SU members. The neglect of the QT was perceived as indicating a downward trend in one's spirituality, whilst its regular observance pointed to an upward trend.

The significance of QT in Ghanaian Christianity cannot be over-emphasised. In the dominantly oral culture of Ghana where public reading of scripture in church is what many were used to, the SU emphasis on private reading of scripture constitutes a significant development in Ghanaian Christianity. Through the QT, SU promoted a move from "oral relationship with scripture to literary relationship with scripture; from communal relationship to individual relationship with scripture".<sup>13</sup> As it was in the reformation times, lay Christians started reading the scripture for themselves as individuals, and scripture spoke to them as individuals, deepening the personal relationships with God and their fellowship with one another.

### 2.2.2 Focus on Holiness

Closely associated with the SU emphasis on the observance of QT is the focus on holiness, making SU appear as a holiness movement in the sixties and seventies. Devotion to God was expressed in terms of

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> An idea expounded by Prof. Andrew Walls in a course lecture, 1991.

a life of "holiness unto the Lord" – often stressed to imply separation from the world. The SU holiness teaching was buttressed by some foreign teachings. In the late 1960s and early 1970s a charismatic teaching which emphasised prayer and holiness was introduced by the *Lutheran* renewal community in Germany – The Evangelical Sisterhood of Mary in Darmstadt. It was channelled through literature: discount books and booklets, free tracts and bookmarks, distributed by mail order and local agents.<sup>14</sup> Through their local agent in Accra, Regina Agbozo (who married Enoch Agbozo, a pentecostal activist), the German Sisters held teaching conferences in Accra and Kumasi in the mid-1970s. Their teachings heightened expectations of the parousia, and advocated a devotional life of solitary prayer and personal holiness as a preparation for the imminent return of Jesus Christ.

In the seventies "holiness" became a popular subject for talks at SU retreats, particularly those of the Prayer Warriors Movement. The Bible statement: "Be holy, for I am holy" was a recurrent quotation in holiness talks which often advocated separation from the mundane – "the things of the world" including fashion, alcoholic drinks, social dances, movies, smoking and sexual immorality. They were condemned as sins to be avoided by SU members.<sup>15</sup> The Pauline theology of the "body" as "the temple of God"<sup>16</sup> was applied to condemn smoking and drinking, as things that pollute "the temple of God" – the human body, in SU teaching. Conversion into SU was seen by outsiders as cessation from active social life, an initiation into an other-worldly lifestyle. The anti-social overtones of the holiness teachings of *Scripture Union* thus became an impediment to evangelical conversion of students. The SU

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<sup>14</sup> Books written by Basilea Schlink that appeared in Ghana in the seventies include the following titles: *Realities, On The Eve Of Persecution, Countdown to World Disaster, You Will Never be the Same.*

<sup>15</sup> Nigerian SU members demonstrated a similar attitude. In describing them as "radical evangelicals", Okorochoa writes: "They insist on purity of faith and conduct; combining the moral austerity of early of early Christian Pietism with the millennialism and exuberance of modern Pentecostalism but seeking to anchor all this in a strict biblicism... ." (Okorochoa, C.C., *Salvation in Igbo Religious Experience: Its Influence on Igbo Christianity*, PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1982, 406).

<sup>16</sup> I Corinthians 3:16 & 6:19 are often cited as Biblical references.

isolationism also inhibited evangelical involvement in social action which offered no direct or immediate opportunities for evangelism.

The social implications of the SU emphasis on holiness extended to the choice of marriage partners. SU talks on Christian Marriage projected evangelical commitment as a prime index of compatibility. Endogamy in the fellowships was encouraged to maintain evangelical holiness. Unbelievers, that is non-Christians, were considered sources of pollution to be avoided as marriage partners.<sup>17</sup> This attitude was supported by the Bible text:

Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness? What harmony is there between Christ and Belial? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols?<sup>18</sup>

The emphasis on holiness, with its moral and social implications attracted unfavourable comments about the SU movement. Evangelical students in Christian Fellowships associated with SU were nicknamed "Chrife" - to ~~denigrate~~ their teachings and lifestyle regarded as sectarian and isolationist. Negative opinions about SU included the following:

The sins they attack so much are drinking, smoking and sexual immorality. If someone stops drinking, smoking and sex vices, he becomes a brother of the Union. ... a born again Christian.

They alone have the sense to smell true Christians and false Christians, and can tell outright those going to heaven and those going to hell. They have a spiritual thermostat to check 'hot' and cold Christians and quickly dissociate from those they find growing cold.

Wherever they are, SU members exhibit a 'holier-than-thou' attitude. Their fanatic women will not accept marriage to any

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<sup>17</sup> SU members were advised against making marriage an evangelistic enterprise - marrying an unbeliever one loves, with the hope that unbelieving would be converted in the marriage.

<sup>18</sup> II Corinthians 6:14-16a (NIV).

Christian except the man is an SU.<sup>19</sup>

The focus on holiness persisted into 1980s among conservative evangelical elements of the Christian Fellowships. It accounts for the initial appeal of the evangelical holiness teachings of the Deeper Life movement introduced in the late seventies from Nigeria. But ironically, later, SU officially rejected the Deeper Life teachings as sectarian for its "over-emphasis" on holiness.<sup>20</sup>

### 2.2.3 Inter-School Fellowship Rallies

SU (Ghana) has historical roots in the inter-college camps which flourished in the 1950s. SU fellowships were established in schools to promote Bible study. Inter-School Fellowship rallies were initiated with the primary purpose of consolidating faith in Christ. As a follow-up to the Billy Graham Crusade in Accra in February 1960, SU organised a rally at the Baden Powell Memorial Hall to anchor the faith of the converts in solid biblical teaching. According to Nigel Sylvester: "A crowd of about 400 heard a fine message from Rev Roland Lamb, who started his University mission the following day,..."<sup>21</sup> It was the largest rally after the first one held in March 1958 in Accra which had attracted 250 participants. Since then SU-Ghana has maintained the tradition of organising school rallies every term of the academic year to reinforce its evangelical objectives and doctrinal basis.

SU rallies are organised during each of the three school terms, at weekends at particular zonal locations (in a school/college, a large church or public assembly hall) as a form of inter-school fellowship. The rallies foster a wider sense of fellowship among participants. Rally events such as Bible expositions and discussions, lectures, dramatic presentations and filmstrips are designed to consolidate the evangelical

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<sup>19</sup> Ampiah-Addison, J.K., *Scripture Union in the Eyes of the Church in Ghana*, SU (Ghana) Research Report, 21 Jan. 1980, 2-3. See Appendix VI for extracts of both negative and positive opinions.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter Five of the Thesis.

<sup>21</sup> *SU (Ghana) Report*, Nov. 1960, 4.

biblicism of SU – the primacy of the Bible in terms of faith and practice. The SU leadership regard lectures given at rallies as a Biblical corrective to "sectarian" and "extremist" Christian teachings peddled around schools by self-styled evangelists.<sup>22</sup> The rallies are also important as occasions for introducing evangelical literature and teaching new songs. SU zonal rallies have thus become established as regular inter-fellowship activity for preserving the evangelical identity of local school fellowships.

#### 2.2.4 The Easter House-party

The major conference of SU-Ghana is the Easter House-party (EHP) – an annual congregation of members of both school and community fellowships during the Easter weekend. It is a residential conference of Bible centred teachings organised to let participants "feast on God's word" – the Bible.

According to Tony Wilmot<sup>23</sup> the first of the house-parties always occurred around the new year, except the girls' one which occurred around Easter. There were at least two boys' house-parties before that of girls was started. When the two were merged the Christmas event was discontinued in preference for<sup>the</sup> Easter one. Initially the primary purpose of the EHP was leadership preparation for summer camps, as indicated by the objective statement of the 1958 conference: "To prepare senior campers for responsibilities of leadership, and to give practical training in dealing with problems" of camp life.<sup>24</sup>

With the growth and development of SU the objective of the conference has been revised to reflect the situations in life senior SU members experience in secular and Christian contexts. The primary

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<sup>22</sup> See Memorandum submitted by Wilson Awasu to SU-Ghana, Nov. 1974, 6. Awasu's association with SU began in 1961. He was a member of SU-School Group for 3 years; and operated as SU voluntary helper for 9 nine years; and worked as full-time Travelling Secretary for 3 years (1972-75).

<sup>23</sup> In interview with the writer, 8 May 1991.

<sup>24</sup> 1958 Easter House-party brochure, 2.

objective is to provide participants with spiritual and theological equipment for Christian service. Addresses delivered at each conference are based on a theme that reflects current Christian concerns, for example, Christian discipleship and maturity, family life, and standards of Christian behaviour, as indicated by the conference themes: "The Fuller Christian Life" (1963), "Everyone a Disciple" (1975), "Christian Maturity" (1981), "Christ Made Home" (1988), "By Whose Standards?" (1989).

The 1963 conference held at Akwapim-Akropong which attracted 200 participants (considered then as a record attendance) was "planned to help committed Christians into a deeper spiritual life".<sup>25</sup> Under the theme: "The Fuller Christian Life",<sup>26</sup> a package of activities was designed to equip participants fulfil lay Christian responsibilities in church and parachurch contexts. They included group training sessions on "How to be camp officer", Sunday School work, preaching - sermon preparation, and other aspects of Christian service.<sup>27</sup> "Six intensive courses" were organised concurrently with the sessions for Christian service. The centrality of the Bible to training in leadership and service is evident in the study of biblical models, as indicated by the report: "The 'peak periods' of our summit conference were the studies in the Book of Joshua given as a series of addresses by Mr Tony Wilmot."<sup>28</sup>

When SU-Ghana became independent in 1965, it was celebrated with an EHP at Wesley Girls' High School, Cape Coast. The conference described as "memorable weekend" attracted 300 participants, with Rev. Michael Green (former Rector - St Aldates Church, Oxford), as main speaker.<sup>29</sup> By this time SU Town Fellowships were emerging, with membership dominated by adult Christian workers - professional and

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<sup>25</sup> *The SU (Ghana) Report*, 1963, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ghana SU Prayer Fellowship Letter*, May 1963, 6.

<sup>27</sup> *SU (Ghana) Report*, 1963, 3; *Ghana SU Prayer Fellowship Letter*, op. cit., 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Report on SU work in Ghana*, 1965, 7.

non-professional literates some of whom had no previous association with SU. Hence there was need for consolidating the Biblical basis of the movement.

In addition to a number of activities, SU-Ghana has maintained the tradition of holding Easter conferences, with primary focus on the Bible. The 1981 EHP held at in Accra at Accra Academy attracted 250 residential and 50 non-residential participants.<sup>30</sup> Under the general conference theme: "Christian Maturity", Rev. Peter Barker (a Presbyterian missionary closely associated with SU-Ghana) gave Bible expositions on Christian growth, focusing on "Paul as a Mature Christian".<sup>31</sup> His addressed centred on Christian virtues: "Work of Faith, Labour of Love and Steadfastness of Hope".<sup>32</sup> The group activities included Bible discussions, and early Easter Sunday morning [preaching] - "Dawn Broadcast" in neighbourhoods around the conference centre -Kaneshie and Bubuasia and other parts of the city.<sup>33</sup>

With rapid expansion of the movement in the 1970s, the EHP was decentralised to achieve maximum attendance and impact. Regional SU committees were made responsible for planning. The number of conference centres, therefore, increased to three in 1983 and four the following year.<sup>34</sup>

The EHP is recognised today as an annual evangelical event which provides opportunity for old members of the Christian Fellowship movement to renew fellowship broken by secular and church commitments. The lectures and seminars of the conference explore

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<sup>30</sup> *Report of Greater Accra Regional Committee of SU to the 1981 Annual General Meeting at Abetifi, 2.*

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. The "Dawn Broadcast" - open-air preaching of the gospel at dawn is a peculiar feature of Ghanaian evangelical activism, incorporated in the programme of the EHP as an evangelistic exercise.

<sup>34</sup> Hutchful (1984), 3.

applications of the Bible and faith to life.

#### 2.2.4.1 The EHP and Easter Church Involvement of SU Members

The EHP is a parachurch activity for Biblical teaching and training. However, as an Easter conference, the EHP clashes with other major programmes planned to celebrate the Easter: church services and conventions of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal denominations. Thus although as a para-church organisation SU operations are intended to supplement those of the church, the EHP is perceived by some church leaders as an alternative rather than a supplementary Christian arrangement. The movement has therefore been criticised for isolating its members from church activities, and operating in a manner that appears competitive with local churches. Despite the good Christian teaching participants derive from the EHP, they are denied the opportunity of full church involvement during Easter. In the opinion of some churchmen:

SU consists of people who shun themselves from activities of the Church in order to do their own thing. They are a Church in disguise. ... On an important occasion of the Church like Easter, when sharing of faith becomes so important, they leave the Church to meet somewhere and return only after the season.<sup>35</sup>

Ghanaians have a good reputation of maintaining traditions, and so the leadership of SU-Ghana has rigidly adhered to the tradition set by the pioneers of the movement by holding the Easter conferences. Apart from the campus chapel, most of the UK pioneers of SU work in Ghana were not closely associated with local churches, and therefore, did not anticipate any future conflict arising between the EHP and Easter Church arrangements. Moreover, SU was then a student movement and the EHP was seen as a student conference. Besides, the students were not prominently involved in church work. However, today with many senior SU members occupying church positions leaders and

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<sup>35</sup> Ampiah-Addison, *op. cit.*, 1.

ministers as indicated by the list of "Old Guards"<sup>36</sup>, the conflict of EHP with Easter Church activities has become more prominent.

In reviewing the activities of SU-Ghana in the 1980s, Kweku Hutchful (then General Secretary of the movement) observes a receding level of participation in the EHP, but he rather attributes it to transportation difficulties and recommends more decentralisation:

The Easter House Party has gone from one centre to three in 1983 and four in 1984. The 1981 EHP in Accra was the last one to attract a full house. Since then Kumasi ('82 & '83) and Accra '83 have not had large crowds. It is hoped that taking the programme nearer to people through the setting up of more centres will help to overcome transportation problems. No doubt there's a need for a new name and format.<sup>37</sup>

The General Secretary obviously failed to recognise the problem discussed above. As SU-Ghana has not paid particular attention to this problem, individual SU members are left to resolve the conflict themselves by determining their own priorities. Full participation in the EHP has, therefore, diminished. This is evident in the increasing number of non-residential adult participants as indicated by the attendance register of the 1988 EHP in Kumasi which shows a record of 237 "Boarding Participants" against 125 "Day Participants". The facilities for non-residential participation enables some SU members maintain involvement in Easter church activities, and benefit of some EHP addresses as well.

### 2.2.5 The GHAFES Conference

The Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship (re-named Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students - GHAFES) was born at a conference

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<sup>36</sup> The list of "Old Guards" includes those whose association with the movement commenced not later than 1970. A short *List of Old Scripture Union Members (Old Guards)* drawn up in 1990 in connection with the centenary celebrations of SU-Ghana, names over 200 evangelicals who occupy prominent church positions. Those ordained as ministers include 25 Methodists, 15 Presbyterians, 2 Evangelical Presbyterians, and 4 Anglicans (see Appendix VII).

<sup>37</sup> Hutchful, op. cit.

of affiliate Fellowships held during the Christmas holidays of 1966. Since then the evangelical student movement has maintained a tradition of holding an annual conference of 3-4 days duration at Christmas.

As with SU Easter House-party, the GHAFES Christmas Conference is a "teaching conference" for Bible exposition and discussion, centred on a theme reflecting current concerns of evangelical students and graduates. The 1968 conference attended by 180 students focused on "Christian Warfare"<sup>38</sup> - problem and conflicts in Christian life, whilst the 1969 event centred on "Dying to Self" - the spirituality of selflessness.

As a student programme the GHAFES Conference is affected by political and socio-economic crisis which afflict student life in Ghana. Until the 1983 the Conference was wholly a student activity - planned, financed and executed by student committees. In that year the crisis of drought and famine, exacerbated by the mass repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria, and student unrest on campus, made it impossible to have a conference for two years. In 1985 in an attempt to resume the Conference some fundamental changes were made in its planning and execution. A joint meeting of Students Executive and the Senior Advisory Committee of GHAFES (constituted of GHAFES graduates) adopted three major resolutions:

- a. To move the conference to summer holidays: July/August, at the end of the academic year;
- b. To extend the duration of the conference to one week;
- c. To have GHAFES staff take responsibility for details of the programme which should focus attention on training.<sup>39</sup>

Since then the annual conference has assumed a new character, with a Bible centred teachings designed to prepare evangelical graduates "to

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<sup>38</sup> *Span 2*, 1968, 16.

<sup>39</sup> *GHAFES Report of the General Secretary Presented to the General Committee Meeting Held at the Commonwealth Hall - University of Ghana, Legon, 23-25 March, 1991*, 3.

use their National Service as Kingdom service"<sup>40</sup> – advancing the cause of Christ in their secular engagements. The challenge is for GHAFES graduates to extend the boundaries of Christian influence to work places. The function of work place evangelical fellowships in this enterprise is very significant.

The positive student response to the above changes is indicated by the increased attendance of the summer conference, oscillating between 300–400. The register for 1990 conference indicated 320 residential and 50 non-residential participants, with seventy new graduates commissioned for Christian service in secular engagements. The programme included Bible exposition on the Epistle to the Philippians, and lectures on Christian growth and unity:

- a. The Holy Spirit and the Body of Christ
- b. Towards Christian Unity and Integrity
- c. Growing in the Word
- d. Balancing Christian Life on Campus
- e. Maintaining Your Spiritual Glow.<sup>41</sup>

The presentations were to serve as a guidepost to graduating students, and at the same time re-emphasise the evangelical distinctives of the movement. The concern for Christian unity relates to the current multiplication Christian student groups –the proliferation of independent pentecostal and charismatic groups on campuses, and consequent reactivation of protestant student groups. As an inter-denominational Bible centred event, the GHAFES Conference has a paramount ecumenical role in fostering unity in diversity.

The prominent absence of socio-political issues in the conference lectures demonstrates a lack of interest in politics, and a diminished

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<sup>40</sup> *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, Dec. 1990, 2. The cause of Christ in "National Service" scheme was instituted in the early seventies to engage university graduates in public service, initial for one year, for a fixed monetary allowance, as a contribution to reciprocate the benefit of fee free university education. It was designed to restrain the high rate of brain-drain.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

social concern. It is a conscious effort by GHAFES to avoid political involvement.

### 2.2.6 The Holiday Bible School

The centrality of the Bible to the evangelicalism of the Christian Fellowships is further evident in the Holiday Bible School (HBS). The school was commenced by SU-Ghana Committee "as a service to the churches and for all students on holiday".<sup>42</sup> It was organised as an evening programme lasting 2-2½ hours.<sup>43</sup> The basic function of the school as its name suggests, was to engage Christian workers and students in a systematic study of the Bible through series of lectures by a reputable Bible expositor on a selected book, theme or character of the Bible.<sup>44</sup> The main lectures were supplemented with addresses on a variety of topics in an attempt to satisfy a broad spectrum of Christian interests represented by different categories of participants. Depending on local circumstances and availability of lecturers, the normal session of the HBS was 10-14 days.

Under the auspices of SU-Ghana, Gottfried and Audrey Osei Mensah organised the first HBS in Accra in September 1964. The success of the experiment is indicated by the attendance which far exceeded the expectations of the organizers. The double classroom of the Bishop's Girls' School in Accra was filled to capacity. The success of the school led to a request for another one during the Christmas holidays, 11-22 January 1965. In anticipation of a larger audience, new venue - a church place suggested.<sup>45</sup> The school was publicised through church announcements, posters and handbills which mentioned the main speaker and the team of assistant speakers. Different speakers (lay and clergy) took turns addressing each of the subjects of interest at each

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<sup>42</sup> See *Minutes of SU-Ghana Committee Meeting Held on 28 Sept. 1964*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *SU Prayer Letter*, Sept. 1964, 1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

evening meeting.<sup>46</sup> The Accra experiment led to the commencement of HBS in other regions of the country.

After the first school in Accra, the local SU committee in Kumasi were inspired to explore the possibility of organising one in Kumasi.<sup>47</sup> When the HBS was initiated in Kumasi it became a regular SU activity together with camps and conferences. Dr. Kwame Bediako (member of staff of Christian Service College - Kumasi, 1976-78) was regularly engaged as a lecturer.<sup>48</sup> His scholarly lectures advanced evangelical understanding of the Bible and aspects of Christian doctrine beyond the devotional. In the context of the prevailing evangelical aversion to theological studies,<sup>49</sup> the Bediako lectures were significant in demonstrating the importance of theological education.

The Kumasi HBS flourished, superseding that of Accra which had declined into oblivion by 1982, as regretfully observed by Hutchful (then SU General Secretary):

The Holiday Bible School is flourishing only in Kumasi. The Accra HBS had only one person attending the last one in 1982. A once popular programme has grounded a halt.<sup>50</sup>

In Accra public interest in the Bible school receded with schismatic

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<sup>46</sup> See handbill attached overleaf.

<sup>47</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>48</sup> Rev. Dr. Kwame Bediako, a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, is an evangelical associate and not a product of SU-Ghana. Following his evangelical conversion experience during doctoral French studies in Bordeaux, he undertook theological studies at London Bible College, with subsequent teaching engagement at CSC (from the writer's interview with the subject, 3 Mar. 1992). Prior to doctoral theological studies at Aberdeen University (1978-83), he offered for the Presbyterian Church ministry. He is currently engaged by the Church as Director of the Akrofi-Christaller Centre of Missions and Applied Theology at Akwapem-Akropong, in addition to engagements as Lecturer in African Theology - The Centre for the Study of Christianity in Non-Western World, New College, University of Edinburgh.

<sup>49</sup> Examined in Chapter Four.

<sup>50</sup> Hutchful, op. cit.

*Don't miss*  
 the  
**HOLIDAY BIBLE SCHOOL**  
 organized by  
 S C R I P T U R E  
 U N I O N  
 as a service to the churches and  
 for all students on holiday  
**programme**

5.0 - 7.15 pm  
each evening



Dr E. Grau, Principal of Trinity College, will speak each night on the book of ROMANS. Also:

|     |     |    |                      |                      |
|-----|-----|----|----------------------|----------------------|
| Mon | Aug | 30 | WHY BE A CHRISTIAN?  | Mr T.B. Danquah      |
| Tue |     | 31 | FAITH                | Major C.W. Amaning   |
| Wed | Sep | 1  | PRAYER               | Mr Peter Edwards     |
| Thu |     | 2  | LOVE                 | Rev John Hiebert     |
| Fri |     | 3  | MARRIAGE             | Mrs F. Wiredu        |
| Mon |     | 6  | THE CHRISTIAN & WORK | Mr James Binka       |
| Tue |     | 7  | JOY                  | Mr Michael Farchie   |
| Wed |     | 8  | PROPHECY             | Rev Egyir Paintsil   |
| Thu |     | 9  | SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD   | Commodore P.F. Quaye |
| Fri |     | 10 | QUESTION TIME        | Panel                |

**CHURCH of the RESURRECTION**

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developments which led to the formation of the Co-ordination Council For Christian Fellowships in Greater Accra Region in 1971, and subsequent loss of SU control of the community fellowships in the metropolitan area. The general decline of HBS was due to the initial lack of interest of the national SU authorities in the affairs of the TFs, and the proliferation of independent evangelistic associations and ministries which engaged TF members in operations not subject to SU control.

### 2.3 EVANGELISTIC MISSIONS

The major evangelistic activity in universities and colleges in Ghana is the campus mission. It is pursued on the assumption that "most students crystallise once and for all their philosophy of life" during the period of learning in colleges and universities.<sup>51</sup> The main objective of a university mission is maximum coverage of the campus population with a presentation of the gospel through public addresses and private conversations. For a period of about one week a missionary (as main speaker of the mission) delivers series of public addresses on the Christian faith, supported by senior Christians (lay and clergy) who function as assistant missionaries.

The campus residential University system in Ghana offers a peculiar advantage in terms of the planning and impact of missions.<sup>52</sup> It enhances the effect of publicity, and encourages mass attendance. With over 95% of the students in full residence on campus, at least 50% percent of the student population regularly attend at least one of the mission lectures. This is confirmed by figures stated in various mission reports.

Much of student evangelical activism during missions involves facilitating personal contact between students and assistant missionaries stationed in student halls of residence as counsellors. The assistant missionaries are also responsible for the immediate counselling of enquirers who stay for "after meetings" that follow main evening

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<sup>51</sup> *Span* 2, 1961, 10.

<sup>52</sup> See Johnson (1979), 222.

addresses.

In campus missions the proclamation of the gospel is made relevant to rational demands of the university system. On the form and function of missions in the context of emergent African Universities Frederick Wangati observes:

Very often in a University college, the Christian student or tutor is faced with a problem previously unknown to him. Should he develop the same attitude toward his faith as he has toward his lectures in which the words: "perhaps", "probably", "I think", "they say", etc predominate? ...the Mission...was meant to provide an opportunity for the presentation of the Christian faith in a rational manner, and for people to ask questions and seek advice on personal problems confronting them.<sup>53</sup>

With particular reference to British institutions, Oliver Barclay (former President of CICCUC, and General Secretary of the Universities and Colleges Christian Fellowship of UK) states:

Missions gave a unique opportunity of presenting the whole Christian message on the authority of God. In universities the tendency is to regard religious views as just human opinion open to debate and discussion and having no authority other than the transient authority of the current academic fashion.<sup>54</sup>

The first university mission in Ghana was held in 1953 as an ecumenical event of campus chapel committees, with the active involvement of SCM, evangelical lecturers and students. After seven years missions were resumed as a standard form of campus evangelism. But the regularity of missions in University campuses was curtailed by national political instability, resultant socio-economic problems, and student political activism which often caused universities and colleges to be closed.

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<sup>53</sup> Report on "Three College Missions", *Span* 2, 1961, 12.

<sup>54</sup> Barclay (1977), 128.

## 2.3.1 BACKGROUND: NATIONAL POLITICS AND CAMPUS LIFE

### 2.3.1.1 The 1964 Political Crisis

One of the first major political crisis that destabilised university life occurred in 1964, a politically volatile period of the Nkrumah regime characterised by repression. The account of events given by Conor Cruise O'Brien, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana (from September 1962), shows how the University was affected.<sup>55</sup>

The year commenced with a declaration of state of emergency, following an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate President Nkrumah on 2 January 1964. It coincided with political arrangements for a referendum on certain controversial changes in the country's constitution, and generated a wave of political detentions nationwide, and deportation of expatriates suspected of subversion.

From a militant stance and with vituperative language, various persons and institutions suspected of disloyalty came under renewed press criticism. The University of Ghana was described as a "perpetuation of colonialist and neo-colonialist values, subtly alienating ... students from the rest of the people and imbuing them with loyalties to countries and systems of government not their own".<sup>56</sup>

On 17 January 1964 the Government ordered a seventeen day recess for all the university institutions of Ghana. The same day two lecturers of the University of Ghana (Legon) – Dr. de Graft Johnson, Director of the Institute of Public Education, and Dr. D.G. Osborne, Senior Physics Lecturer, were arrested and detained after a sizeable contingent of police had searched their apartments on Legon campus.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See O'Brien, C.C., *Writers and Politics* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), 238–259; or (Penguin: 1975), 301–18.

<sup>56</sup> O'Brien (1965), 254.

<sup>57</sup> Denis Osborne recalls his own detention experience in an interview with the writer (25 Aug. 1992), In January 1964 he, Kwame de Graft Johnson (Legon) and all the committee members of the Ghana Union of Students were arrested in a wave of detention orders issued by Nkrumah. He believes the arrest was due to his apparent political contacts which led the Government suspect subversion. His evangelical

A crowd of some hundred students started a demonstration against the recess and the arrests, but were dispersed on the request of the Vice-Chancellor. The campus was vacated peacefully after the entire student body had been addressed by the VC on the wisdom of heeding the Government order. Following an interview between the VC and the President on 24 January, Denis Osborne was released after one week detention, and placed under "semi-house arrest" and banned from either speaking to any Ghanaian or leaving the country.<sup>58</sup> Osborne was later permitted to leave the country. But de Graft Johnson who had been politically active for many years, first, in the opposition United Party, and secondly, the ruling CPP remained in detention until 24 February 1966 when the Nkrumah regime was overthrown. Two students who were arrested early February 1964 were detained until August that year, when they were released on the orders of the President.

In another assault on the University during the recess, the senior security personnel confronted the VC on 30 January and the day after with orders for the deportation of six expatriate personnel.<sup>59</sup> Various frantic representations by the VC to the Government failed to get the orders revoke. Following the deportations the press resumed its attack on the University as a "centre of subversion", that "it would be better to have a university with no professors at all than one that harboured

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friends included John Agama (Deputy Police Commissioner), Joshua Hamidu (Army Officer) and Philemon Quaye (Navy Officer). He operated a research station at Tamale (Northern Ghana), for which he had free flights on Air Force planes and radio service of the Signal Regiment of the Ghana Army. He also taught Physics at the Teshie Military Academy, and was visited by many students, particularly those in the University Christian Fellowship. He had once spoken in Church, admonishing students to be courageous and make their convictions public. He believes one of the "Young Pioneers" - young activists of CPP, might have reported him and caused his arrest for alleged subversion.

<sup>58</sup> The acting British High Commissioner had been refused custody to Osborne, a British subject [O'Brien (1965), 246].

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 246-8. The first four included two Americans: Prof. W.B. Harvey - Professor of Law, R.B. Seidman - Senior Lecturer in Law; Prof. L.H. Schuster - a newly appointed member of the School of Administration, and the fourth as an un-named French man. The others were Rev. Stewart - a British, Chaplain of Legon Hall, and Jean-Pierre - an American lecturer in African Studies.

subversives."<sup>60</sup>

The reopening of the University on 3 and 4 February after the recess, did not restore normalcy to the campus. The detention of student leaders and orders for the deportation of lecturers made the students more determined to demonstrate against the Government. Reports had reached the President of a big student demonstration on 8 February, the day the deportation were to take effect. There was a danger of the university "becoming a political storm centre". But this was averted by the VC's student address at 8am of the "D-Day", focusing on the unhelpful consequences of the intended action: a fresh and longer period of recess, and the loss of academic freedom at the University.<sup>61</sup>

By exercising restraint, the students avoided a violent confrontation with over 2000 activists of the ruling Convention People's Party marching to besiege Legon. The campus area, particularly, Commonwealth Hall (the nearest to the Registry), was turned into a CPP occupied territory, resulting in damage to doors and windows by radical elements of the CPP force. The demonstration was intended to "awe the students and prevent, or blunt the effect of, the student demonstration which was anticipated for that day but never took place..."<sup>62</sup> It was only after the personal intervention of Nana Kobina Nketsia, then Chairman of the University Council, that the demonstrators dispersed.

The effect of the 1964 political crisis on campus life was not limited to Legon. It extended to the University of Science and Technology and affected the arrangements for an evangelistic mission that year.

#### 2.3.1.2 Student Political Activism and Missions

After Nkrumah, the nation experienced two decades of socio-economic distress and political turbulence associated with the military

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 248.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 249.

regimes of Acheampong and Rawlings. Student political activism was resumed in the Acheampong era, reaching its peak in the late 1970s when the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) collaborated with the Professional Bodies Association as a force of political opposition to the military regime of Gen. I K Acheampong. As a measure of political control, the universities and other tertiary educational institutions were often closed.<sup>63</sup>

Evangelical student work was hampered by the national crisis and campus instability. In the relatively peaceful first half of the Acheampong era (1972-74), major evangelistic activities were held in campuses of all the universities and colleges of education at Winneba. But in the tumultuous second part (1975-78), the rampant closing of the universities and colleges made it impossible to arrange missions. Even when it was possible to hold evangelistic programmes in some colleges, follow-up efforts were frustrated by the poor national economy which caused the institutions to shorten academic terms.<sup>64</sup>

The campus crisis of the 1970s, however, offered opportunity for a few individual evangelical students to demonstrate socio-political concern. As Christian "concerned students", the evangelicals joined the vanguard of peaceful negotiations with university authorities. Some were later elected to the Students' Representative Councils (SRC).<sup>65</sup> But in a survey of views about Christians and national affairs the evangelical fellowships are criticised for what appears as an attitude of non-involvement:

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<sup>63</sup> For additional discussion, see pp.310-14.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *In Touch* 2, 1977, 5. As T B Dankwa (the GHAFES Travelling Secretary) reports, two missions were held together with a number of weekend evangelistic programmes, however, the evangelistic efforts were handicapped by ineffective nurture of converts, resulting in loss of converts over the years.

<sup>65</sup> A notable evangelical student political activist, Albert Bosomtwi Sam (a law graduate), is pursuing a political career after being elected MP for Sekondi-Takoradi Constituency in the 1992 parliamentary elections.

When asked whether Christians are only concerned with spiritual matters instead of the social problems of life such as hunger, disease, injustice, etc. Mr Kutana [UST student activist] smiled and answered Yes. "I remember a former NUGS Secretary saying in criticism of the Christian Fellowship students on campuses: 'some people have concerned themselves so much with Heavenly matters that they have forgotten that there are urgent problems on earth requiring their attention.'" He said that the usual attitude of members of the Christian Fellowship on our University Campuses was one of total divorce from the social life of the campuses - 'You would hardly find their member at an important NUGS or SRC <sup>meeting</sup> because this would mean missing a prayer meeting.' Mr Kutana continued: 'Thus while the rest of us were demonstrating against UNIGOV [Union Government] they were on campus praying for their souls.'<sup>66</sup>

The above remark represents the view of extreme student political radicals concerning the apparent display of apathy by "Chrife" (CF) members in the context of the current political upheaval. The issue was one of different perceptions. With a conservative political attitude, the CF members believed the national crisis had moral and religious factors which required divine intervention not political action. Hence the pre-occupation with prayer.

After student unrests in the 1970s, campus life was restored to some relative normalcy in 1980/81. University missions were resumed in Kumasi in 1980, and Legon in 1981. But renewed military intervention of government politics hindered follow-up programmes. Following the 31 December 1981 military coup, the lent academic term of all tertiary educational institutions was suspended for an economic exercise involving students. In a national economic rescue programme, students were conscripted for the evacuation of cocoa (the country's major export commodity) from the hinterland to main depots, for onward transportation to the ports.<sup>67</sup> It fostered a Rawlings-student alliance

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<sup>66</sup> *Christian Outreach* (Publication of Christian Outreach Ministries, Kumasi), 1(1) Jan. 1984, 3. "Union Government" was political system devised by Acheampong to unite the military, professional bodies and students, and "workers of Ghana" in government. However, it was rejected in a national referendum in 1978.

<sup>67</sup> See *Task Force: Students Serve the Nation*, Asempa, Accra, 1983). The involvement of evangelical students in its co-ordination led to the election of two members of the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students as President and Secretary of the National Union of Ghana Students.

which became short-lived because of a renewed conflict between students and Government, culminating in closing of universities in 1983. The increasing student involvement in national politics and its disruptive impact on campus life thus accounts for the irregularity of missions in the 1970s and 80s.

### 2.3.2 The 1960 Ecumenical Missions

In 1960 Ghana achieved republican status as a sovereign state, with Dr Kwame Nkrumah as President. The inaugural ceremony on 1st July was preceded by mass evangelistic meetings in Accra, and missions in university-colleges at Legon and Kumasi. The Accra crusade undertaken by Billy Graham in January in his preaching tour of West Africa, resulted in many student converts and created an evangelistic awareness in Legon campus. It was immediately followed by missions led by Rev Roland Lamb<sup>68</sup> to the College of Technology in Kumasi and the University College of Ghana), 7-14 and 21-28 February respectively, under the theme: "What think ye of Christ?"<sup>69</sup> He was supported by local and foreign clergymen and laymen stationed in halls of residence as assistant missionaries, to conduct private conversations with enquirers.<sup>70</sup> One reason given for holding the missions was the

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<sup>68</sup> From interview with Denis Osborne, 25 August 1992, the writer learns that the Rev. Roland Lamb was Travelling Secretary for the British IVF in the 1950s and had gained considerable experience in Missions in British Universities. When he undertook the Legon Mission he was a Methodist Minister in Aberystwyth - Wales. However, as Osborne observes, Lamb has become much more of leading figure in a minority of a very extremely doctrinally correct evangelicals in UK called the British Society of Evangelicals which is extremely opposed to the World Council of Churches. When Roland Lamb undertook the Legon assignment his views were rather less extreme, reflecting mainline evangelicalism.

<sup>69</sup> "What Think Ye of Christ?": *Mission to The University College of Ghana - Feb. 21-28, 1960*, Legon Mission Committee Report, April 1960, 1. The same theme had been used in the 1958 Cambridge mission of CICCUC, led by John Stott (see Barclay, 1977, 130).

<sup>70</sup> Nwosu, S., *Legon Mission Committee Correspondence to Christian Friends*, 26 Nov. 1959, 1, notes the following allocations: Rev. J K Dadson and Rev. L Osaë-Addo (Commonwealth Hall), Mrs P K Dagadu (Volta Hall), Rev. E Stafford (Legon Hall) and Nigel Sylvester (Akufo). At UST Rev. C K Dovlo and V C Dadson operated in Queen Elizabeth II Hall, whilst Nigel Sylvester (assisted part-time by Rev. P C Richter) catered for

increasing challenge of secular humanism,<sup>71</sup> reinforced by the socialist ideology of the Nkrumah government. The convictions of the Legon Mission Committee was strengthened by the knowledge that in Kumasi there was an advanced arrangement for a mission at the College of Technology. The Committees of both institutions thus collaborated in arranging for a speaker.

A distinctive feature of missions was their ecumenical character. The evangelical staff and students operated through the Chapel Committees of the two institutions. The Mission Committee of Legon, designated "Christian Action Group" was constituted by representatives of Christian organisations on the campus, with varied shades of denominational and theological opinion: The (Anglican) Philip Quaque Society, Presbyterian Union, Methodists, SCM, the Senior Fellowship (of evangelical lecturers), and a few of the College Chaplains.<sup>72</sup> Evangelical student involvement was limited by the absence of a formal evangelical union. However, at Kumasi College of Technology where an active CF was already in existence, the effort of the Chapel Committee (comprising staff and students) was largely supplemented by that of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship which was also charged with the responsibility of sustaining the faith of the converts.<sup>73</sup> In stressing the paramountcy of student involvement, Nathaniel Sodzi (a former IHCF President) notes:

The staff were not able to do much, but some of the students worked very hard and very effectively. They sent out personal invitations for most of the subsidiary meetings... . They met for prayer at 6.30 a.m. each morning, spent time conversing with

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Independence Hall. Revs. J K Dadson and Roland Lamb concentrated on the "Freshman" Halls (Sodzi, N., *Mission at Kumasi College of Technology: 7-14 Feb. 1960*, Report of Mission Committee Chairman, 22 Feb. 1960, 1).

<sup>71</sup> *Legon Mission Committee Letter to Friends*, June 1959, 2.

<sup>72</sup> *Legon Mission Committee Report*, 27 April, 1960, 3. To complete the ecumenism, an invitation was extended to Catholic students to join the CAG prayer sessions.

<sup>73</sup> *Span* 1, 1961, 13.

friends about the Mission and bring them along to the meetings.<sup>74</sup>

The main feature of the missions was the public address delivered each night of the week by the missionary, Roland Lamb, "to answer some aspect of the central question: 'What think ye of Christ?'" In both campuses the mission attracted a considerably large attendance. In Kumasi "the Assembly Hall was full almost every night throughout the week".<sup>75</sup> At Legon the daily attendance varied from about 120 to 350 on the last day, out of a student population of 600.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3.2.1 Impact

The immediate impact of the two missions is assessed in terms of converts made and renewal of Christian commitment. At UST the impact of the mission was phenomenal. About 90 students expressed the desire to commit their lives to Christ for the first time, and attended Christian Growth meetings in their respective halls of residence. For the IHCF the immediate impact of the mission was "a big increase in attendance at Hall Prayers and in the various Bible discussions groups."<sup>77</sup> The new converts brought new life into the evangelical CF. Their testimonies generated renewed evangelical zeal, as Osborne observes:

Before the mission a student would find it very difficult to speak to others about the Lord Jesus Christ. Now it is not so. Lives have been changed and their testimonies have proved a great challenge to both Christians and the non-Christians alike.<sup>78</sup>

The impact of the Legon mission was equally profound. Those who sought further counsel on gaining or re-gaining faith in Christ

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<sup>74</sup> Sodzi, op. cit.; published in, "Three College Mission": Kumasi College Of Technology, Ghana, Feb. 7-14, 1960, *Span* 2, 1961, 11.

<sup>75</sup> Sodzi, op. cit.

<sup>76</sup> *Legon Mission Committee Report*, 27 April 1960, 3.

<sup>77</sup> Sodzi, Op.cit., 11.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

numbered seventy-five.<sup>79</sup> The over-all impact of the Legon mission is described as follows:

Some have seen some new facet of the Christian faith. Some have had their sense of Christian service revitalised. Some have received a new awareness of the Christian community. One quite definite result of the Mission is group of persons, Senior and Junior meeting on Sunday mornings to study the Bible together – which numbered sixty on the last Sunday of the Lent Term. Many of us would say that here, in this discovery or re-discovery of the Word of God speaking to us in a community of Christians, a most significant result of the Mission.<sup>80</sup>

The mission further accelerated the formation of the University Christian Fellowship in June that year, as an organ for evangelical fellowship, and the nurture of converts.

### 2.3.2.2 Publicity

The success of the 1960 missions was partly due to good publicity. The organised system of publicity included "a series of posters, programme cards, press and broadcast coverage of Mr. Lamb's arrival."<sup>81</sup> The first posters, called "teasers", were designed to create a scenario that arouses interest and stimulate discussions about the gospel, while subsequent ones provided clear information about the mission.<sup>82</sup> The following report explains the rationale behind the "teasers" used in the 1960 Legon mission:

One Morning a poster showing a large fish and nothing else – appeared on College notice boards. Christians supporting the College Mission knew it was their clue to tell their friends about the coming Mission. We chose the symbol of the fish because it was a sign used by persecuted Christians when they hid in Roman catacombs, the Greek word spelling out the initial letters

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<sup>79</sup> *Legon Mission Committee Report*, 27 April 1960, 3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Nwosu, *op. cit.*

<sup>82</sup> A second poster gave the title, dates, and name of the mission speaker. The third, displayed on the first day of the mission, outlined titles of the individual addresses. Finally, a daily poster carried the title of each day's address in bold letters (*ibid.*).

of "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour."<sup>83</sup>

The function of teasers in generating evangelistic discourse between CF members and their non-Christian friends is regarded as important pre-mission activity which continues during and after the mission programme. Christians associated with a mission are expected to extend personal invitations to friends. Such personal contact is considered more effective in getting people to attend the public meetings, and also have private consultations with assistant missionaries resident in their halls of residence. As Denis Osborne observes:

Later posters had given more details of the Mission, but people came because they were brought by their friends. Groups met and talked in student rooms at all hours of the day and night; often the students who were already committed Christians invited their friends to meet one of the team of missionaries who stayed in the College.<sup>84</sup>

The 1960 missions served as prototype for subsequent missions at Legon and UST, with the evangelical Christian Fellowships assuming responsibility for all preparatory arrangements, as well as the nurture of converts.

### 2.3.3 MISSIONS OF THE EVANGELICAL FELLOWSHIPS

#### 2.3.3.1. Evangelical Ministry on Campus and Beyond

The formation of the Pan-African Fellowship of Evangelical Students facilitated the process of placing missions at the forefront of the CFs. International assistance was mediated through PAFES to local CFs. Missions were arranged to derive the maximum benefit of itinerant mission speakers. In 1962 under the auspices of PAFES, arrangements were made by the UCF to engage John Stott for a short weekend mission at Legon as part of his preaching tour of colleges and

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<sup>83</sup> Osborne, D., "Three College Missions": (Legon Report), *Span* 2, 1961, 11.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

universities in Anglophone Africa. It served as an important follow-up to the first mission, and a vital supplement to the witness of the fledgling UCF.

The benefits of the multi-lateral co-operation was maximised by extending the mission beyond the campus context to city congregations. In Accra, John Stott addressed the congregation of the Holy Trinity Cathedral.<sup>85</sup>

In a second case Tom Houston (former President of World Vision International) who was originally engaged for missions in Kumasi and Legon, extended his stay with missions to church congregations in Accra Central. When Tom Houston arrived from Nairobi on Tuesday 29 October 1968 for missions at Legon and Kumasi campuses, student unrest at Legon had led to the closure of the University of Ghana and subsequent postponement of the mission there. After completing the UST mission he returned to Legon on 7 November in anticipation of the students being re-called. Already the missionary had decided to extend his stay so an extra intervening week was utilised in mission engagements in Accra. As reported:

With lightning rapidity – three days notice – series of three meetings were held in the main Presbyterian church backed by the other churches. The numbers at 5.30 p.m. each day averaged about 750. They were intended to be mainly a little teaching mission, but in fact turned out to be evangelistic also.<sup>86</sup>

The church engagements were arranged by senior evangelicals active in campus and emergent community fellowships. They reflect the cordiality of relations between the evangelical fellowships and local churches in the 1960s, and the influence Ghanaian evangelical graduates were gradually exercising in their own churches.

Tom Houston's lectures at UST had a great impact. The mission achieved a maximum coverage of the campus population with the

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<sup>85</sup> See *Span* 3, 1962, 15.

<sup>86</sup> *Span* 2, 1969, 10.

presentation of the gospel. It is estimated 1,200 students had attended at least one lecture. Some 900 students were present at the first night of the mission. Attendance for the meetings fluctuated with an average of about 750 (half the student body). By the end of the mission more than 200 students made a specific response to the message, with about 40 of these indicating they were committing themselves to Christ for the first time.

When Legon re-opened permission for the mission was given after intense negotiation with the University authorities. The event attracted crowds exceeding the seating capacity of the 440 seater auditorium. About 530 attended the first lecture. An average of 500 students attended the six mission lectures. Considering the 2300 student population of Legon, the coverage was not as extensive as Kumasi, but the addresses had a considerable evangelistic impact. To UCF "it seemed as though the whole Christian witness was lifted out of its rut - 'come of age'" as some UCF members put it.<sup>87</sup>

#### **2.3.3.2 The 1963 Legon Mission: Establishing a Tradition of Triennial Missions**

The first mission wholly organised by the UCF of Legon was in 1963, 15-18 February, with Tony Wilmot (then a business administrator in Nigeria) as missionary. He was supported by three assistant missionaries (Florence Yeboah and Nigel Sylvester, both SU workers; and Alonzo Fairbanks, General Secretary of PAFES) who were allocated to each of the three halls of residence - Legon, Akuafu and Volta. The mission, which consisted of a series of four addresses on the theme "Eternal Questions", attracted a considerably large audience of students, in spite of the attraction of other activities taking place concurrently with the mission. A report by Godfrey Gyekye (then President of the UCF) indicates a 240 seater lecture room which served as the mission auditorium was filled beyond capacity, and continued to be full for the following three days.<sup>88</sup> This was due to a variety of factors - prayer,

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> See *Span* 3, 1963, 18-19.

publicity and personal contacts.

The publicity was intense and extensive. Public announcements had been made in all the chapels on the campus about five weeks before the commencement of the mission. In addition to posters on notice boards and personal notices deposited in students' pigeon holes and on dining hall tables each evening. Personal contacts were made by UCF members who through room-to-room visitation announced the mission.<sup>89</sup> As an incentive, transportation arrangements were made to save students walking distances from halls of residence to the mission auditorium. Spiritual support for the mission was marshalled through prayer requests disseminated in prayer letters to UCF members and fraternal Christian individuals and organisations.

By the end of the mission between 30-40 students had made professions of faith. The effect on the UCF was remarkable. The membership of the group doubled, making hall group meeting more vibrant. In reporting of the impact of the mission, Gyekye also notes the resolve of the UCF:

Bible study and prayer meetings in halls are throbbing with life. In my own hall the number of students in our Bible study meetings suddenly shot up to about 20. We also praise God for the new lease of life that our group in the women's hall [of residence - Volta] obtained from the mission... The UCF was so pleased with the outcome of the mission that we have decided to conduct a similar evangelistic campaign in the university at least once in three years, i.e. once in a students life-time in the university.<sup>90</sup>

The resolve of the Legon CF to hold triennial missions reflects the tradition of Christian Unions in Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>91</sup> The 1963 Legon mission set a standard for future missions to the university, but the arrangements for the conservation of converts were disrupted by the effect of the political crisis of 1964 on Legon. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *Span* 3, 1963, 19.

<sup>91</sup> See Johnson, *op. cit.*, 222.

tradition of holding triennial missions was maintained until the mid-1970s when recurrent student political activism destabilised campus life.

### 2.3.3.3 Focus on Prayer: Mission in Times of Crisis

By 1964 the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship had become a dominant Christian group at UST. In pursuance of its commitment to campus evangelism, the group assumed responsibility for organising a mission in 1964, the second in the university. The primary objective was evangelistic: "to reach those students and staff who have not accepted the Lord [Jesus Christ] as their personal saviour with the challenge of the gospel."<sup>92</sup> Originally, the Rev John Mills of Ibadan Baptist Church was engaged as missionary, with a selection of senior Ghanaian Christians as assistant missionaries.

The mission which had been scheduled to take place in February 1964 was undertaken in October 25-31 by a new missionary, the Rev. R.C. Henderson (an American missionary), because of the national referendum and political crisis early in the year. The crisis created a spiritual perception that projected the importance of prayer for a harmonious national life. Evangelicals of the IHCF developed a spiritual awareness which projected prayer as an indispensable spiritual preparation for missions, as<sup>indicated</sup> by a remark about the 1964 mission:

We have come to realise that it is not the successful organisation of a mission that brings people to the Lord but free working of the Holy Spirit in response to the earnest prayers of believers.<sup>93</sup>

The mission attracted a large attendance, with an estimated 80% of the students attending at least one meeting. As reported: "Students were rushing through their supper to get seats, and all other society meetings that week had to be cancelled." About 200 public professions of evangelical conversion were made, apart from private decisions. Although not mentioned, it may be surmised that state of terror initiated by the mass political detentions also caused many to seek security in

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<sup>92</sup> *Span* 3, 1964, 19.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

Christ.

As a follow-up to the mission, a series of Tuesday evening teachings on I Corinthians given by the missionary, was attended by 200. Its impact is described by Ablordeppey:

These Bible expositions have been of great help to the old members, and especially to the new members, who were converted during the mission, to be firmly grounded in the faith. The Lord has also through His servant shown us the way we should go in many matters affecting our Christian living.<sup>94</sup>

The UST mission was followed by a Legon mission in 1966, the year Nkrumah was overthrown. In spite of the national political uncertainty, the sense of mission of the UCF was renewed with the increasing student population of Legon:

We are now over 2000 students. But how many of these souls know their Creator, let alone why they were created. How many are victims of indifference and unbelief? The UCF has therefore decided, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit to organise a Mission here to confront as many members of the University as possible with the blessed Son of God, because the Son is the only answer to our need.<sup>95</sup>

In the context of the uncertain political environment the fellowship demonstrated a sense of total dependence on God as the chief architect of any mission:

Now knowing that 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain", the Fellowship meets daily to ask God himself to build the mission and keep the missionary.<sup>96</sup>

In recognition of divine involvement in mission, the UCF gave priority to prayer – petitioning God on vital spiritual and material aspects of the preparations.

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<sup>94</sup> *Span* 1, 1965, 19.

<sup>95</sup> *Span* 1, 1966, 19.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

The emphasis on prayer, and particular attention given to the role of the Holy Spirit in missions also reflects the pentecostal influence in the Cfs which commenced in the mid-sixties. The emphasis on prayer led Tony Wilmot to describe the 1966 mission as "spiritual warfare", with the Legon warriors joined by a brigade of 25 evangelicals from UST. His report to the U.K. based International Fellowship Evangelical Students states:

The Legon mission was not just another university mission... it was a battlefield against the powers of evil. These men and women knew God and believed in prayer. Students from IHCF in Kumasi joined in this prayer warfare and were so conscious of their involvement that 25 of them travelled down by bus after lectures on Friday and spent all of Saturday night praying with their brothers and sisters at Legon. The power of the Holy Spirit was apparent. God visited and blessed the mission.<sup>97</sup>

By the end of the mission about 150 students had made open declaration of faith in Christ.

The corporate participation of the UST team in the Legon mission was a demonstration of the informal affiliation developing between the CFs of UST, Legon and Cape Coast. The expansion of university student population in the mid-1960s necessitated elaborate planning for missions. The emergence of a CF in 1962 at the new university college at Cape Coast necessitated a centralised co-ordination of evangelical activities in Universities to foster co-operation among the CFs. The Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship thus emerged in 1966 with a principal aim "to co-ordinate joint efforts in Christian witness". With the machinery of the GIUCF (now GHAFES) campus missions have become an inter-varsity CF activity.

#### **2.3.3.4 Missions in The Early 1970s**

The major evangelistic programmes of the Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship (GIUCF) in the early seventies were missions by

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<sup>97</sup> Quoted in Lowman (1983), 246-7.

four of the five affiliate CFs.<sup>98</sup> Apart from the Legon mission held in first term of 1971/72 academic year, the others coincided with the second era of military rule was initiated by General I K Acheampong on 13 January 1972.

The first mission was held in the University of Ghana, Legon, from Wednesday 24 November to Tuesday 30 November 1971.<sup>99</sup> Under the theme: "Light in Our Darkness", Tony Wilmot spoke on the following topics:

Is there an answer?

Hypocrisy

Is God fair in the people he chooses?

Is God fair in the people he judges?

The emptiness of life.<sup>100</sup>

The mission addresses attracted an average attendance of 500 (out of total student population of 2500), with the largest on the last night of the weeklong programme. At the weekend the mission was extended to the Ghana Medical School, Korle-Bu, where the missionary addressed the subject: "Now or Never" based on text of Revelation 3: 15-21. At the Sunday evening University United Service, the missionary preached on "New Life or New Leaf", emphasising that "What satisfies God is not turning over a new leaf, but receiving a new life through Jesus Christ."<sup>101</sup> As indicated above, the mission ended as the major evangelistic activity in Legon until 1981.

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<sup>98</sup> The GIUCF was then constituted by CFs in Universities at Legon, Kumasi and Cape Coast; and the Advanced and Specialist Teachers' Colleges in the Winneba area. At Cape Coast a weekend crusade was arranged early in the academic year.

<sup>99</sup> See *Span* 2, 1972, 10-11.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. For student personal consultations, two assistant missionaries were stationed in each of the five halls of residence.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

A second GHAFES mission was held between 9–15 January 1972, at the Specialist Training College – a smaller College of Education at Winneba, with about 300 students.<sup>102</sup> The general theme was "Jesus Christ – The Way, The Truth, The Life". The opening night of the mission, Sunday, 9 January, was the College Sunday evening service. The sermon which portrayed the Bible as "A Reliable Compass" was preached by the missionary, T B Dankwa (then GHAFES Travelling Secretary). The daily evangelistic messages were based on the following topics:

"Security" – Eternal values.

"What am I living for?" – The meaning of existence.

"Does it matter what I believe?" – Belief and salvation.

"Aren't we all Christians?"

"Alive from the dead" – How men who are dead in their sins can be made alive when they receive Jesus Christ.

"Victorious Christian living" – With reference to Letter to the Ephesians.<sup>103</sup>

The average attendance of the STC mission estimated around 100, included students from the local Advanced Teacher Training College. Attendance of the Thursday evening meeting was far below average because it coincided with the national radio and television broadcast of new Head of State, Gen. Acheampong, who had taken over government that day in a military coup.<sup>104</sup> The report about the mission does not contain any comment about change of government, but it may be surmised that the uncertainty of the national situation became an important subject of prayer.

The change of government had no immediate effect on campus life. After the 1966 coup, and the 1967 unsuccessful attempted coup, Ghanaians were becoming used to the phenomenon of military

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<sup>102</sup> There were about 30 students in evangelical fellowship of STC.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

intervention in politics. Thus the GIUCF was able to proceed with a third mission ten days after the sudden change of government in the country. As pre-arranged, the mission was held at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, 23-30 January 1972, with Tony Wilmot as missionary.<sup>105</sup> Under the theme: "Can I Know God?", the first mission address entitled "What have I done?", was presented as a sermon of the Sunday evening service of the University. Subsequent addresses were based on<sup>9</sup>series of questions:

What must I do? - concerning repentance.

What will God do for you? - about divine pardon and forgiveness.

Is it [the gospel] for Africa?

Can I be free?

What if I fail? - based on Ephesians 2:8-10.

How do I begin? - the Christian life.<sup>106</sup>

Music for the evening meetings was provided by the male-voice choir of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship, together with Rev. and Mrs. Arnold of Church of God Mission, Kumasi. At a special afternoon mid-week with the academic staff of the University, the missionary examined the question: "Christianity -a non-starter in our generation?".<sup>107</sup> Just as it began, the mission ended with a sermon preached by missionary at the University service of the second Sunday of the eight-day mission week.

Considering the prevailing national political predicament, a significant feature of the UST mission was the conspicuous absence of any political comment. By focusing on straight-forward evangelistic questions, the mission was concluded without any interference by the university authorities who were eager to avoid confrontation by a government struggling with political legitimacy. The same evangelistic

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<sup>105</sup> Each of the six halls of residence had two assistant missionaries, except the Africa Hall (the ladies place) which had four (ibid.).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

focus was maintained by the GIUCF when it undertook a fourth mission (15–21 January 1972) at the Advanced Teacher Training College, Winneba.

Although the ATTC mission was less elaborate compared to the preceding missions, the significance of its central theme: "Christ is the Answer", was more than evangelistic.<sup>108</sup> The statement was an important religious comment on the state of uncertainty that characterised national life in the early years of the Acheampong military regime. Christ was projected and prescribed as the answer to personal and national problems. In the context of the current uncertainty about the nation's future, faith in Christ provided the confidence for living; and more especially in the later years of political upheaval and severe socio-economic crisis.

#### 2.3.3.5 Healing and Deliverance: Pentecostal/Charismatic Trend of Missions in the 1980s

The resurgence of pentecostalism in Ghanaian Christianity, particularly in the Christian fellowships affiliated to SU and GHAFES, has focused attention on the importance of healing and deliverance in campus missions. The gospel is proclaimed not only as the Word of God but "the power of God for salvation" in all its fullness. Reports of campus missions since the 1980s emphasize the "power of God" demonstrated in miracles of healing and deliverance from demonic influence.

Mission'80, held at UST in the early years of the Rawlings Revolution, epitomizes the new trend the campus mission has taken. The mission was held after eight years of decline in mass evangelism on campus due to student political activism against the Acheampong government, and intermittent closing of universities.<sup>109</sup> Apart from its evangelistic significance, the mission theme: "Has God Changed?",

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<sup>108</sup> *Span* 2, 1973, 8. The mission was conducted by a team of four, led by Wilson Awasu – SU Travelling Secretary for Accra. The weeklong program comprised a college service sermon, four evangelistic addresses, a film show, and symposium on "Success in Marriage".

<sup>109</sup> See Owusu, K., God's Mighty Acts in Ghana, *In Touch* (IFES Magazine) 1, Feb. 1982, 2; Lowman (1983), 247.

reflects the current evangelical concerns about the national political instability and attendant socio-economic problems.

The mission addresses were given the Rev. Sam Atiemo, an ex-President of two GHAFES groups and current Africa Regional Director of Youth For Christ International. Much time had been invested in prayer and fasting for the mission which attracted a daily attendance estimated over 1000 out of a student population of about 4000.<sup>110</sup> Apart from over 500 professed evangelical conversions, Kofi Owusu (General Secretary of GHAFES) reports:

The power of God was also present to work miracles. Each night prayer was said for the sick, the oppressed and the troubled, and each night there were testimonies of healing and deliverance. ... When the main speaker and I, together with an assistant missionary and the President of the Fellowship, went to pray at the hospital for a Christian lady who could not walk. After we prayed and anointed her with oil, she rose from her bed and walked, to the amazement of all around. No doubt many believed and brought their charms and protective amulets to be burnt.<sup>111</sup>

Similar incidents occurred at Legon during Mission'81 which centred on the theme - "Does God Care?" and ended with about 200 professed conversions.<sup>112</sup>

Further evidence of spectacular experiences of evangelical conversion, healing and deliverance is indicated by the report on Mission'85 at UST, 9-16 November. The theme of the mission: "Is Jesus Christ the True Revolutionary?" reflects a Christian reaction to the rhetoric of the Rawlings revolution. Testimonies of conversion and deliverance indicate power encounters, and project Jesus as the true liberator. As simply reported: "many came into personal relationship with the Christ, others were healed too and some were delivered from demonic oppression."<sup>113</sup> The conversion experience of an alcoholic

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<sup>110</sup> *IFES Praise & Prayer Bulletin*, Apr. 1980; Owusu, Op. cit.

<sup>111</sup> Owusu, *ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *cf.* *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, March 1986, 1.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

student, incorporating deliverance from demonic influence, is recounted as a demonstration of the power of the gospel:

Kyereh was a final year medical student. He has been on campus for ten years. He was a terrible alcoholic, in addition to other problems. He could never be sane especially during examinations, even though he was a brilliant student. His relatives sought help for him from shrines and fetishes to no avail. "At one shrine I was asked to curse myself that I would die if I tasted drink. But the following morning I went back to drinking and I never died." ...his deliverance came when two concerned neighbours virtually tricked him into one of the Missioners daily morning prayer time. "Since my encounter with Jesus I have not yet gone back to the drinks", he testified to the nearly 2000 audience in the Great Hall.<sup>114</sup>

A second account describes deliverance from the practice of witchcraft:

there was this person who came forward after one of the very powerful messages, accepted Christ and surrendered a witchcraft pot and an accessory article. These were collected and shown as exhibits the following day to encourage others to give up similar articles and surrender to Christ. Such articles collected were burned in a bon-fire at the end of a Jesus March across the campus on the Saturday morning of the Mission Week.<sup>115</sup>

The graphic details of the above account reflects a strong influence of the African traditional worldview in Christian thought of the evangelical students.<sup>116</sup> Even though healing and deliverance is a prominent aspect of campus Christian ministry in Ghana, the proclamation of the gospel remains the central point of campus missions.

#### **2.3.3.6 The "Mission Year": A Revised Concept of Campus Mission**

When GHAFES groups resumed campus missions in the 1980s the concept of "Mission Year" was introduced in preference to "Mission Week", to ensure a sustained and extended period of evangelism with

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, op. cit., 1.

<sup>116</sup> On persistence of the traditional worldview in Akan Christianity, see Adubofuor, S.B., *Akan Cosmology and Akan Christianity in Contemporary Ghana*, MTh Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1987.

maximum student involvement. The episodic nature of evangelistic activity in the "Mission Week" minimised the duration of student involvement. Moreover the students were ill-equipped to carry out effective follow-up of converts. In stating the GHAFES objective for campus mission Jude Hama remarks: "We want to think of the whole academic year as mission year. For that, we need to train every member carefully in personal witness (and follow-up)."<sup>117</sup>

When an academic year is declared mission year, a series of evangelistic activities termed "pre-mission" activities is planned as a prelude to the mission lectures. The strategy is to saturate the campus with the preaching of the gospel, making the week of mission lectures and private consultations the climax of an on-going programme of evangelism. Thus the programme of the regular week of mission now constitutes just one of the catalogue of evangelistic activities that precede and follow it. The activities include evangelism training seminars designed to equip CF members to undertake person-to-person evangelism and discipling of converts. In student halls of residence CF cell groups undertake of the door-to-door visitation and present the claims of Christ to residents. Such sub-group or individual effort often precede a special corporate weekend evangelistic campaign in a selected hall of residence, at least once a term.<sup>118</sup>

The "mission year" concept has made evangelism on campus the primary responsibility of the CF membership, with that of the missionary and assistant missionaries as supplementary, considering their momentary presence. Evangelism is thus sustained throughout the "mission year", and not just an episode lasting a week.

#### **2.3.3.7 The "High-life High-tech Mission"**

The communication of the Gospel on radio by parachurch organisations was a feature of the operations of the Ghana Broadcasting

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<sup>117</sup> Hama, J., *Impact: Ghana Students Build On Evangelistic Breakthrough*, *In Touch* 1, 1987, 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

Corporation until the advent of the Rawlings era.<sup>119</sup> Occasional campus FM radio broadcast had been allowed at UST in the seventies, but its evangelistic potential had not been exploited until Mission '88 held between 12–19 March 1988. The use of modern audio-visual technology – FM radio broadcast, and video recording equipment made it possible for mission addresses to reach the campus population beyond the confines of the mission auditorium. A report about the mission indicates "about 80% of the total student population attended at least one meeting. Many more listened over FM radio or watched a repeat programme on video in halls of residence the following afternoon."<sup>120</sup> Hence the mission was designated "High-life, High-tech Mission", after which subsequent university missions were to be patterned. During Mission '90 held at Legon, 22–29 April 1990, "those who were unable to personally attend the meetings were reached by radio through a campus FM station installed for the purpose."<sup>121</sup>

The evangelistic use of radio and video technology has enhanced the coverage of campus community with presentation of the gospel. The effect on the audience is complemented by the opportunities for personal conversations with missionaries and their assistants. Unlike the Western world where the religious use of the modern electronic mass media is well established, the fairly recent evangelistic use of the audio-visual technology in Ghana creates a fascination and impact that is dramatic.

The "hi-tech" feature of campus missions since the late eighties, derives from the appropriation of the modern electronic mass media in evangelistic operations of American evangelical pentecostal movements, introduced to Ghanaian Christians in both international and local contexts. The Morris Cerullo School of Ministry and World Evangelism in Accra (1983) and Kumasi (1985);<sup>122</sup> and the Billy Graham sponsored

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<sup>119</sup> The Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association, an indigenous Ghanaian organisation, had been operating a radio ministry since 1967 (see p.296 of the Thesis).

<sup>120</sup> *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, July 1989, 3.

<sup>121</sup> *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, July 1990, 2.

<sup>122</sup> On the influence of Morris Cerullo in Ghana, see p...

International Conference of Itinerant Evangelists – Amsterdam 1983 and '86, stimulated Ghanaian interest in<sup>122</sup> phenomenon of televangelism.

#### 2.3.3.8 Mission in the Nineties and Ecumenism on Campus

Missions to Kumasi and Legon campus communities were initiated as ecumenical evangelistic efforts of the committee of chaplains of Protestant student congregations and leaders of student parachurch movements. When CFs assumed responsibility for campus missions the direct involvement of church groups receded. The CFs functioned as an evangelical context for inter-denominational co-operation in campus evangelism. Denominational differences were not accentuated. However, since the mid 1980s, the proliferation of charismatic churches in Ghana has led to a proliferation of Christian student societies that compete in membership recruitment. On the adverse effect of the phenomenon, Kofi Owusu observes:

Gone are the days when the Christian fellowship (GHAFES groups) were the only good Christian group on campus. In recent years, there has been a remarkable increase in the denominational and parachurch groups on campus, all trying to minister to students. Normally this should not be listed as an 'adversary', but it is in the way it affects our students. Most times, a numbers of them are unable to select and end up involved in a lot of good Christian activities to the detriment to their academic work and personal devotion. Secondly, in our non-individualistic but community-oriented culture,<sup>123</sup> this decreases the impact of Christian witness and influence.

The renewed interest in student church groups does<sup>not</sup> make GHAFES redundant. The function of GHAFES as the agency for developing evangelical leadership is still recognised by evangelical churchmen. As an activity of GHAFES, the campus mission has assumed an ecumenical function of uniting the numerous student Christian societies to co-operate in evangelism. Mission '90 at Legon, 20–29 April led by Gottfried Osei-Mensah (now special representative of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association) attracted an average daily attendance of 1200, with 100 professing faith in Christ. A call to missionary work saw over 120 Christians responding and committing themselves to Christian service.

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<sup>123</sup> *GHAFES News and Prayer Letter*, July 1989, 2.

But the significant achievement of the mission was the sense of Christian unity it fostered, as indicated by a GHAFES report:

One glaring achievement of Mission '90 was the bringing together of the Christians for the purpose of seeking to win their campus for the Lord, irrespective of denominational differences.<sup>124</sup>

The campus mission is thus recovering its original nature as ecumenical evangelistic activity, with the local GHAFES group at the vanguard of operations.

#### 2.3.4 SU School Missions

The close association of SU with evangelical work in universities and colleges led to the introduction of missions into secondary schools. The main event was evangelistic preaching, illustrated with a film show or short drama. As the evangelistic mission was not basic to SU school work, it was organised occasionally, either as a weekend or weeklong activity to supplement the chaplaincy work and revive dormant SU groups. The evangelical converts of school missions included nominal SU members – those who had joined the school group as a "safe-haven", and enjoyed the benefits of Christian fellowship offered by old members to new students.

The nature and scale of the SU mission depended on peculiarities of the situation in the particular institution and Christian interests of the staff. SU-Ghana records indicate the first SU missions were held concurrently in 1962 with SU staff as speakers – Nigel Sylvester at Wesley College in Kumasi, and his co-worker, Florence Yeboah engaged at Aburi Girls' Secondary School.<sup>125</sup> Both had been involved in university missions as assistant missionaries.

Weekend missions (Friday evening to Sunday evening) were often

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<sup>124</sup> GHAFES News and Prayer Letter, July 1990, 2.

<sup>125</sup> See *The Lord is My Song: SU (Ghana) Report*, 1962, 8. Florence Yeboah's appointment as SU travelling staff complemented the efforts of Nigel Sylvester in evangelising Girls' Schools effectively.

planned to engage visiting SU staff for evangelistic purposes in schools located in distant regions. During a visit to Northern Ghana, 15–24 November 1964, provisional arrangements were made in the itinerary of Florence Yeboah to enable her<sup>126</sup> to undertake a weekend mission to<sup>the</sup> schools of Tamale.<sup>126</sup>

The programme for a weeklong mission comprise short evening evangelistic addresses, incorporating the sermon for the school Sunday evening service. Between 4–11 October 1964 when Nigel Sylvester and Florence Yeboah jointly conducted a mission in Achimota School, where a junior and senior SU group existed, they preached in the evening services on two Sundays, and in week day evangelistic meetings, 8 – 8.30pm.<sup>127</sup> The event was planned with minimal interruption of the normal academic programme. Where a mission is arranged with the collaboration of a chaplain as a major religious programme of a school, whole evenings are devoted to the meetings.

In planning for an SU mission the staff-patron(s) of the local SU school group liaise between the regional/national SU authorities and the school authorities in obtaining the co-operation of the school chaplain and approval of the head. Depending on the level of co-operation, the event may be held as either as an activity of the SU group with an open attendance or as a formal inter-denominational programme of the school chapel. In either case the understanding and cooperation between the SU and school authorities are important factors for the success of a mission.

The evangelical commitment of the SU staff-patron is of paramount importance in arranging a school mission and consolidating results. The February 1964 mission to Prempeh College, Kumasi, ended with 200 evangelical converts attending the follow-up meeting and over half the number maintaining a regular attendance in July that year.<sup>128</sup> A prime factor for success story of the Prempeh College Mission was the

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<sup>126</sup> *SU (Ghana) Prayer Letter*, Sept., 1964, 1.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

involvement of the evangelical expatriate members of staff: Geoff Price, Alan Goodfellow, Victor Thessen and Neil Harding.<sup>129</sup>

Another significant factor of SU missions is the involvement of evangelicals from universities and free-lance evangelists, who function as preachers or "counsellors". Wilson Awasu and Kissiedu of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, became well known for their weekend evangelistic engagements in schools.<sup>130</sup> At Koforidua (Eastern Regional Capital), an outreach group – The "Jesus Movement" was formed in the TF to evangelize the schools and colleges, together with towns in the region.<sup>131</sup> A mission at Koforidua Nurses Training College undertaken by the Jesus Movement on 15 and 16 November 1975 helped revive the Nurses Christian Fellowship at the College. Many school fellowships were revived by their visits.

Although SU School missions tend to be episodic, they have a renewal impact on Christian life in schools, and are significant in producing evangelical conversions. The missions proceeded on the assumption that the chaplaincy work in state and church established schools was inadequate for evangelism.

#### 2.4 THE "ALL-FOR-CHRIST CAMPAIGN": STUDENTS IN RURAL AND URBAN EVANGELISTIC OUTREACH

The evangelistic activities of the Christian Fellowships extended beyond the immediate campus community to rural and urban communities, far and near. The evangelistic outreach programme which became known as "All-For-Christ Campaign" (AFCC) was initiated in the formative years

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> In 1973 when Awasu joined SU-Ghana as Travelling Secretary for Kumasi, he was already known in the schools; and as reported, although "only a few weeks old in the Kumasi Office" he had "a good grip of the job". He had undertaken two missions – to Juaben and St Monica's Training Colleges, with a third one planned for March the same year, to the Nurses Training College of Komfo Anokye Hospital, Kumasi [*The Fellowship*, 2(3), March 1973, 10],

<sup>131</sup> *Annual Report of Eastern Region Area Committee of SU, 1975/76*, 1.

of the Christian Fellowships. It is an early example of parachurch-church co-operation in evangelism.

The AFCC commenced in the summer vacation, September 1959, when arrangements were made through an evangelical lecturer at the College of Technology in Kumasi, for eight students to assist in a united church campaign in Suhum - a multi-ethnic settlement town in Eastern Region of Ghana.<sup>132</sup> The Suhum campaign involved senior members of SU (who constituted the nucleus of the emergent Christian Fellowships in the University Colleges) in church-based evangelism. The primary objective was to stimulate the interest<sup>of</sup> the CF members in the affairs of the local church.<sup>133</sup>

The student team in collaboration with the local congregations of Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican churches conducted an evangelistic weekend in the town.<sup>134</sup> The students embarked on house-to-house visitation, open-air preaching to a crowd well over 1000, and other personal evangelistic work.<sup>135</sup> The harmonious co-operation of the host churches made the programme successful.

The success of the Suhum campaign engendered others. The Cfs received invitations from churches in coastal twin towns of Sekondi-Takoradi in 1960, and Asante Bekwai in 1961. They were undertaken as joint responsibility of the committees of the IHCF in Kumasi and the UCF of Legon. When the Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship was

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<sup>132</sup> See *Span* 1, 1962, 12.

<sup>133</sup> At UST the AFCC heightened student interest in church work. A preaching band comprising some IHCF members commenced Sunday church work in villages around the University. As Yaw Opong (an IHCF leader) reports: Every Sunday now a group of two or three members of our fellowship goes to each of the villages to preach, organise the children or help the churches in any way they can" (*Span* 3, 1961, 15). Difficulties of transportation handicapped the preaching work in the villages but they were surmounted through the kindness of the university chaplain and some of the lecturers who acted as "taxi-drivers" on Sunday mornings (*Ibid.*).

<sup>134</sup> *The Golden Lamp: SU (Ghana) Report*, Nov. 1960, 10.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

formed, the responsibility for planning and execution of the Christian outreach programme – AFCC rotated among the affiliated Cfs.

The AFCC became established in the early 1960s as a major inter- varsity evangelical enterprise, but it was not packaged and delivered from campus. The student committee either approached, or were approached by a Christian leader in a town. Churches in the locality chosen for the campaign "prayerfully plan together a special week, in which with the help of the students they make a particular effort to win those outside the churches to the Lord Jesus Christ and bring their own church members to a greater committal and dedication."<sup>136</sup> The size of the student team was decided by the host church(es) according to available boarding and lodging facilities. The campaigns occupied either the last or last but one week of the summer long vacation when the student team were near the end of their vacation employment.

The student team for the Sekondi–Takoradi Campaign, 16–21 September 1960, comprised 16 students from the Kumasi College of Technology, Trinity College, University College of Ghana and Prempeh College, Kumasi.<sup>137</sup> They were accompanied by two ministers: Rev. R.O. Danso, Presbyterian minister at Akwapim–Akropong; and Rev. Y. Adu-Badu, Methodist minister at Asante Bekwai.<sup>138</sup> Apart from preaching evangelistic sermons, the ministers guided the team in prayer and Bible study.

The urban context of Sekondi and Takoradi (a harbour town) determined the forms of evangelism: preaching at services and meetings in churches and schools, lunch time evangelistic visits to the Municipal Council Offices and engineering workshops; gospel tract distribution at the harbour; and a weekend visit to the Builders' Brigade Camp.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> *Span* 1, 1962, 12.

<sup>137</sup> *Sekondi–Takoradi All For Christ Campaign (16–21 September 1960), Final Report*, 1.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–5.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

The Campaign had a profound impact in terms of evangelical conversions. But it also exposed the students to the living and working conditions of the urban working class, weakening the socialist accusation that the university system alienated students from workers.<sup>140</sup>

The Bekwai campaign held in 1962 summer holidays took the form of a crusade, with open-air meetings in the evenings. The meetings were publicised with posters and handbills bearing titles of the evening addresses:

What is the secret of a happy home ?  
What is my aim in Life?  
Is death the end of everything?  
What is a Christian?  
Is Christ the only way to God?  
Which is the right church?<sup>141</sup>

In addressing these issues, a Superintendent Minister of the Methodist Church and a university lecturer took turns in presenting the claims of Jesus Christ.<sup>142</sup> The students were engaged in sharing personal testimonies and counselling enquirers afterwards. They also spoke at Morning Prayers in each of the participating churches and addressed school assemblies. They further carried out house-to-house visitation, had meetings with local teachers, the Students' Union and the Youth Fellowship of the local churches. On a visit to the local hospital they ministered in prayer and preaching of the gospel. A team meeting held with the speakers and local church leaders, served as time for fellowship in prayer and Bible study, and offered opportunity for programme evaluation and finalizing plans for the day.

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<sup>140</sup> See Introduction of the Thesis, p.51ff. The AFCC which had commenced earlier, could not be a response to the press criticisms. Religious rather than social concern inspired the AFCC.

<sup>141</sup> *Span* 1, 1962, 12.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* The speakers are not named in the source material cited.

The Bekwai campaign was followed by another one at Dixcove (a coastal town near Takoradi), 19–26 September, 1963. It was in response to an invitation from the local Methodist Church which was hosting a "Camp Meeting" of Methodist congregations in surrounding villages. According<sup>143</sup> to Nelson Henaku (member of the student team from Kumasi), the students were involved in "the 5 a.m. prayer meetings, 2½-hour children's sessions, they dramatized parables (which formed part of the evening services, and the 'Camp Meetings' ...addressed powerfully by the Rev. Koomson, Methodist Chairman of the Sekondi District."<sup>143</sup> Regarding their own hands-on learning experience the students testified:

We were encouraged by the welcome given by the local church, and challenged by the witness over the years of the faithful few, and one family in particular. In answer to their prayers and those of other people, we were privileged to see a number come to Christ, including two local teachers who, we believe will be a great help to the minister and the church.<sup>144</sup>

The campaign made an impact in two directions. The students derived enormous spiritual benefit from the generosity and simple faith of the local Christians with whom the students ministered. They had been ministered unto as much as they did.

The AFCC which took place at Akwapim–Mampong in 1964 was unique in terms of size and gender composition of the student team. It was undertaken by a team of 17 students, considered the largest. It reflects growing student and church interest in the AFCC. Hitherto the campaign team had been all male. But according to Isaac Ababio, Campaign Secretary, "For the first time, the team included women students and they proved to be a tremendous help."<sup>145</sup> The campaign followed the normal pattern of dawn preaching in the churches, team meetings, house-to-house visitation during the day and open-air preaching in the early evening as weather conditions permitted. In

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<sup>143</sup> *Span* 1, 1963, 21.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Span* 1, 1964, 20.

describing the dual impact of the rural mission, Isaac Ababio remarks:

We were privileged to see the power of God at work – lost souls were won to Christ, backsliders restored and church members helped. We students were also greatly blessed, especially through the fellowship we had together with the local Christians. The Lord's presence became so real to us we knelt together in prayer. Our heart-cry was, "Lord it is good for us to be here."<sup>146</sup>

The foregoing narrative about the AFCC illustrates the early parachurch-church co-operation in urban and rural evangelism. There had been no experience of confrontation by traditional religious authorities. Conversely, the student team did not find it necessary to confront them. It is the influence of pentecostalism which made the evangelicals radical in dealing with the traditional cultic personnel and acts. Such radical confrontation characterised the 1966 campaign in Volta Region of Ghana, introducing a new dimension to the AFCC.

#### 2.4.1 Spectacular Power Encounters in Volta Region

The account of evangelistic campaigns in the Volta Region of Ghana in 1966 portrays spectacular power encounters in which the evangelical students confront traditional cult specialists and devotees with the power of Christ.<sup>147</sup> The student team operated under the leadership of Pastor George Appekey of Assemblies of God Church, Ghana.

When the students commenced the campaign at Adidome "they knew very little about the town and the people".<sup>148</sup> As in previous campaigns they embarked on house-to-house visitation in groups of two, emboldened by the statement of Jesus Christ: "...I am with you always, even unto the end of the world". With an assurance that Jesus was present with them in Spirit, they entered a house and started to proclaim the Word to some residents, unaware it was the residence of

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> See "Two Encounters During and After the Adidome 'All For Christ Campaign'", *Span* 1, 1966, 20-21.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 20

the chief priestess of Adidome who was then out consulting with a client at the cult shrine. Their encounter with the priestess is described in dramatic terms interpreted as a visible demonstration of the power of Christ:

That regular noise, *ko! ko! ko!* meant nothing to the two brothers in the Lord. No sooner had they started to deliver the message than a very fat and furious woman, with a spear in hand, made her appearance and dashed straight at the two brothers. It was a sight which would have sent some...running for miles, but... When this woman - furious with evil spirits was within reach, one of the brothers offered his hand in the name of Jesus. He said, 'I shake hands with you in the name of Jesus Christ.' 'Ah! Jesus has caught me, Jesus has disappointed me', cried the woman. Then she calmed down and almost in tears, she narrated the following story.<sup>149</sup>

Apparently she had been a Christian, and called Mary. Unfortunately she had suffered the dreadful experience of what is known in Akan as *awomawuo* - giving birth to children who die shortly afterwards.<sup>150</sup> She had brought forth children five times, but all had died. Infantile mortality as presented here, is a calamitous experience in the African society where a woman's worth is assessed by her ability to have children. In Akan experience *awomawuo* is associated with witchcraft practised by the subject herself, or that of a close relation. It also lends credence to Akan belief in reincarnation. Hence Mary's conclusion: "Jesus had disappointed me." The statement reflects a traditional African religious orientation motivated by desire for success in life.

There is no evidence that the priestess re-converted to Christ. When the news of the encounter between the priestess and the Christians was circulated in the town the following day it was received with scepticism:

Believers and non-believers doubted it. They could hardly take it in that Satan had fled from that house at the sight of Jesus Christ and His own. Light and darkness are not compatible.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>150</sup> See Adubofuor (1987), 79.

<sup>151</sup> *Span* 1, 1966, 21.

A second episode, not so spectacular, involved an encounter with a *Dasi* (Ewe name, literally meaning snake-worshipper). As adherents of the Ewe snake cult, the *Dasis* were distinguished by "ropes around their necks", but this cultic identity was concealed by the *Dasi* the students encountered after the Adidome experience.

From Adidome, the next destination of the team was Keta. They lodged at Anloga to enable them see off Pastor George Appekey, the main speaker of the campaign. While crossing a lagoon to Keta they engaged passengers travelling with them in the canoe in discussions about the gospel. A *Dasi* was on the canoe but remained aloof to gospel. But as the team later realised: "The Lord had prepared this woman, but we did not know it." Incidentally, they encountered her alone in a taxi still unaware of her identity as *Dasi*. The students recount how the anonymity of their female companion ended:

We set off happily ... After travelling about three miles, we had a glimpse of two women having ropes around their necks, classifying them as belonging to a typical Ewe cult. We could only shout out to them, 'Come and let us cut those ropes and you will be free from the devil.' When we shouted the second time, the woman, *Dasi*, exclaimed, 'Ah! cut it! How? Don't you people fear?'<sup>152</sup>

Her hostile reaction betrayed her cultic identity when the students turned and saw typical marks on her shoulder. Appekey began to address her personally about the Lord Jesus Christ. Her hostility was transformed to astonishment with the remark: "You must have a devil. How did you manage to know my name and the sort of thing I worship?"<sup>153</sup> Her apparent display of interest led the group to engage her in further conversation about the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which continued beyond her destination to the next town, Anloga. She narrated to the group how her mother introduced her into the snake cult, and the attendant worry and helplessness. In describing her conversion the students remarked:

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

She was amazed that we could know all her secrets. We attributed this to the Holy Spirit. This woman, Dasi, then accepted the Lord Jesus Christ. She went back later to her village and returned to us early the next morning in sincere need of the Bible to enable her learn more about her Master and Maker.<sup>154</sup>

With her new faith in Christ, she assumed a new identity –Mary, relinquishing the cultic identity as Dasi. Her association with the snake cult would today be interpreted by SU and GHAFES members as demonisation and thus require a special experience of deliverance by exorcism to make her Christian conversion complete.<sup>155</sup>

The student encounter with the cultic priestess and devotee occurred in the Volta Campaign because the AFCC team was operating in an area notorious for the proliferation of cults associated with the traditional religion. The experience precedes the era of demonology in Christian thought of evangelical fellowships in Ghana. The advent of pentecostalism in SU and GHAFES groups in the late sixties and early seventies generated an acute interest in the operation of demons. Demon activity was associated with the cult of the traditional African religion and some forms of deviant behaviour. This has given credence to the emergence of the ministry of deliverance – the practice of exorcism involving binding and casting away of demons which now constitutes an important aspect of the ministry of SU and GHAFES, with members of the Prayer Warriors Movement as specialists.<sup>156</sup>

A significant feature of the AFCC is the active involvement of church ministers who functioned as preachers and instructors. It indicates an early expression evangelical confidence in the Church as the primary agency of evangelism. The importance of the Campaign goes beyond making converts. It stimulated and sustained student interest<sup>n</sup> evangelism by offering practical experience in rural and urban evangelism. A prominent product of the AFCC as a training programme

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. On some current Ghanaian Christian perspectives on the deliverance, see Asiedu, Y A, Who Needs Deliverance, Step (Magazine of Youth For Christ, Ghana), 4 (5) 1992, 10–13.

<sup>156</sup> See Chapter Three.

is Isaac Ababio who continued in the evangelistic enterprise as evangelist-leader of the Hour of Visitation Evangelistic Association.

## 2.5 THE STUDENTS-IN-CHURCH EVANGELISM

The AFCC was continued as an annual outreach programme of GHAFES. But as the involvement of local churches in the programme diminished in the 1970s, the programme was beset with problem of follow-up which reached its climax in the Larteh and Nyakrom crusades of 1974 and 1976 respectively.<sup>157</sup> The programme lost momentum. Student unrest already noted in connection with campus missions made it impossible to undertake holiday campaigns till 1980.

The problem culminated in the review of the whole outreach programme by GHAFES. In discussing the way forward, the Students Executive adopted "a programme which would supplement the efforts of Evangelical pastors and missionaries called the Students-in-Church Evangelism (SICE)."<sup>158</sup> The staff of GHAFES was given responsibility to contact with churches and missionaries to decide on venue, and the Students Executive was made responsible for publicity.

The attempt at revamping the outreach programme was saddled with problems of student unrest which quenched the revived interest. The first SICE programme was undertaken by four student teams in Kwahu villages in the Eastern Region of Ghana. In 1981, there was only one team. The programme was suspended in 1982 and 1983 as a result of the Students Task Force initiated with the 31st December 1981 military coup, and the twin evils of drought and famine which afflicted the country in 1983. The SICE was resumed in 1984 with two teams in Greater Accra and Volta Regions.

The outbreak of Christian students' societies on campus in the 1980s diminished interest in the GHAFES holiday project, as various denominations made alternate holiday programmes to interest their

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<sup>157</sup> *GHAFES Report*, 1991, 3.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

students in church work. Between 1986-88 GHAFES found it expedient to sustain the SICE by recruiting students from Cfs to join in similar programme organised by the Presbyterian Students Union.<sup>159</sup> The plan to continue the SICE in 1991 was still tentative when the General Secretary of GHAFES requested the General Committee of the movement to decide on the future of the holiday programme.<sup>160</sup>

The surging interest of evangelical students in affairs of their churches offers opportunity for co-operation between GHAFES and the Churches of its members. With the SICE experience, GHAFES can function as an agency for equipping students with skills for evangelism with rural congregations of their denominations.

As outreach programmes, the significance of the SICE and its precursor, the <sup>A//</sup>For-Christ campaign, is more than evangelistic. They have been significant in exposing evangelical students to the socio-economic conditions of rural communities and the urban working class, as one participant of a recent SICE remarked: "I never imagined people could live in such deprived conditions in this country... I slept with guilt feelings, considering what the Lord has done for me and the little I have reciprocated." The rural and urban encounters fostered by the student outreach recalls and undermines the criticism that the university system alienated students from the realities of local situations.

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<sup>159</sup> GHAFES reports that, today, "...Methodist and Assembly of God students are all undertaking SICE" (*In Touch*, 1, 1994, 6).

<sup>160</sup> *In Touch* 1, 1994, 6, describes the resumption of the SICE. After an "orientation retreat for SICE", the participants -forty-six students and staff of GHAFES, and five members of the Nigerian movement (Nigeria Fellowship of Evangelical Students) formed ten teams and embarked on evangelistic work in ten villages. It involved "house-to-house evangelism, open air evangelistic meetings, evangelism and leadership training, teaching on discipleship, counselling sessions, small group Bible studies, book sales, communal work on farms, and medical clinics." The significant social aspect of the campaign: "clinics run by medical students, and lectures on health related and social issues", generated informative discussions. The current emphasis on deliverance ministry is reflected in the conversion a devotee of the traditional religious cult. As reported: "At Okyirikomfo, a young lady dedicated to the gods was converted and delivered. Her hair, a symbol of her covenant, was cut."

## 2.6 TOWN FELLOWSHIPS AND RURAL-URBAN OUTREACH

Outside the denominational context of the church GHAFES graduates maintained their commitment to evangelism with senior SU members in the framework of Town Fellowships. TFs in cities like Kumasi and Accra became agencies for evangelising rural and urban communities. Some were established as a mechanism for Christian nurture of converts of the "All-For-Christ Campaigns". The Asante-Mampong TF for instance was established as a result of the AFCC held there in 1967. After five years the Kumasi TF realised a need to revisit the place and its outskirts. This was undertaken by Earnest and Emmanuel Asante, both evangelists of the Kumasi TF, and a female companion, Comfort Enning.<sup>161</sup>

In addition to rural engagements the TF undertook evangelistic missions in urban communities, with renewing effect on local churches. In 1972 one of the outstanding results of a Mission to Bantama (in Kumasi) undertaken by the Kumasi TF was the impact on the local Methodist Church.<sup>162</sup> The devotional life and evangelistic zeal of societies in the Church including the Youth Fellowship, Christ Little Band and the Guild was renewed. The societies resumed monthly devotional meetings which had been neglected. They stepped up their rural evangelistic outreach by sending some of their members on Sunday missions to villages in the circuit of the Church - Patasi, Adjamasu, Tanaoso, Asuoyeboa and Bekwankye.<sup>163</sup> The attendance of the voluntary Friday Prayer Meetings of the Church increased, as "more people became aware of the need and usefulness of constant prayer."<sup>164</sup> Not only the attendance, but the quality of prayer improved. Testimonies of participants helped sustain the prayer interest. Prayer became more meaningful to participants. The mission further generated among the congregation a consciousness of true Christianity

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<sup>161</sup> *The Fellowship* (Magazine of Kumasi TF), 1(5) Oct. 1972, 8.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

and a desire to appropriate the grace and power of Christ for Christian living.

The Bantama Mission had a secondary impact on the Kumasi Town Fellowship. Some fellowship members were encouraged by the renewed church life engendered by the mission to change their views about their churches. There was a call for TF members to re-order their priorities by involving themselves in their churches as agents of renewal.<sup>165</sup>

By engaging in evangelistic outreach the Tfs propagated themselves through Fellowships established for discipling converts. This accounts for the proliferation of Fellowships in Greater Accra Region under the auspices of the Co-ordinating Council for Christian Fellowships (CCCF), as evident in Jacob Aguda's report:

Since the formation of this group in August, 1971, our main objective has been to win souls to the Lord through open air meetings. In Greater Accra, we held campaigns in Tema, Old Ningo, Teshie, Kpone, Ashiamang and Nima. We formed fellowships at places where there were none and where there were fellowships, we encouraged and strengthened the brethren.<sup>166</sup>

The success of any such evangelistic effort depends on the co-operation of local churches into which converts are integrated. But the experience of CCCF groups indicates some local churches refused to co-operate with the Town Fellowships in evangelism, and also denied any access to their congregations. While asserting the willingness of the Greater Accra Christian Fellowships to co-operate with all churches, Aguda laments the hostility of some local churches and emphasises the importance of parachurch-church co-operation in evangelism:

It has been one of the principles of the Greater Accra Christian Fellowships to work closely with all the churches. We have tried to involve almost all the churches in the various areas we visited. However, genuine co-operation with some of the congregations has been very discouraging. Some of these would not even like to see us. But I must add that whenever pastors have co-operated fully with us, we have had fruitful and lasting

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Agudah, (1977),1.

results. For example, during the last Easter Holidays, we held three campaigns at Nima, Ashiamang and Tema. The results were far reaching. A fellowship was established within the Evangelical Presbyterian Church at Ashiamang. The numerical strength of the Nima Fellowship increased and the faith of many strengthened.<sup>167</sup>

The intentions behind the operations of Town Fellowships have always been viewed with suspicion by many church leaders, because of the fear that the Fellowships may eventually be turned into churches by their leaders. Some pastors denied access to their congregations for fear their membership might be transplanted into other churches. Their suspicions are buttressed by the fact that under the influence of pentecostalism some radical elements of the Christian Fellowships had denounced their own churches as "cold" – lacking the presence of the Spirit. Some left their churches for congregations which they considered more spiritual or evangelical.<sup>168</sup> The pentecostal image which the Christian Fellowships assumed in the late sixties was a significant cause of the hostile attitude some protestant leaders developed towards them.<sup>169</sup>

The evangelical radicalism and revivalism of the youthful Christian Fellowships was at variance with the cherished traditional social value of respect for the elderly. This influenced how local church leaders interpreted the activism of the boisterous young evangelicals. Some church leaders and ministers associated the call for radical conversion with youthful arrogance, and therefore refused to co-operate with the Christian Fellowships in evangelisation or re-evangelisation of local communities and congregations.

## 2.7 CONCLUSION

Our attention has so far been centred on the dominant aspects of the evangelicalism of SU and GHAFES fellowships, precisely, their

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> A different concept of "spirituality" was responsible for the exodus of adherents of the historic churches to prophet healing churches, designated "Spiritual Churches".

<sup>169</sup> See *A Survey of Opinions About SU* in Appendix V.

biblicism and evangelism. This is evident in the predominance of Bible teaching at local group meetings, inter-fellowship rallies, conferences, and Bible schools. In addition Fellowship members demonstrate an evangelical commitment by vigorously engaging in diverse forms of evangelism in school, college and university campuses. The student evangelistic exertions extend to rural and urban communities, often with the collaboration of local churches.

This form of evangelicalism is occasionally enriched by a modest demonstration of social conscience in work-camps and community sanitation campaigns. A major example is what was initiated in Accra by the University Christian Fellowship of Legon as sanitation campaign, and has become established as a major urban renewal project.

## 2.8 "OPERATION HELP NIMA" – AN EVANGELICAL SOCIAL ACTION

### 2.8.1 Nima: The "No Man's Town"

Nima is an urban slum located in Accra. The derogatory designation of the place as "No Man's Town" derives from the multi-ethnic constitution of the community as a settlement of migrant workers.<sup>170</sup> Pre-war Nima was a small community under a Muslim leader – Malam Amadu Fulani. The settlement expanded during World War II as migrant workers took up jobs as labourers and domestic servants in the "Soldiers' Lines" – the military barracks in Accra (Burma Camp), and adjoining Cantonments residential area. The influx to Nima increased in the post-war period, with population expanding beyond control. Most of the service-men discharged after the war settled in Nima because of low rents and easy availability of land for building.<sup>171</sup> The prevailing multi-ethnic presence in Nima made it homely for the ex-servicemen.

Apart from its multi-ethnic constituency, by 1968 Nima had become a hotchpotch of West African migrant population, mainly muslim, from Mali, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Dahomey (now Benin), Nigeria,

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<sup>170</sup> Sarpei, J., *Letters From Nima – and After*, (London: Church Missionary Society, 1982), 14–16.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

Togoland, Ivory Coast and Niger.<sup>172</sup> The population of Nima had reached 40,000, and that of an adjacent settlement, Maamobi, was 30,000.

The wartime settlement in Nima was uncontrolled and haphazard – with houses just scattered around, creating the conditions for its development into an urban slum. Nima was then outside the municipal boundary of Accra. An attempt was made to plan for Nima by including a draft plan for Nima in the post-war plan for Accra. The plan was amended in 1953, and for Nima its implementation did not go beyond an attempt to control building in the settlement.<sup>173</sup>

The environmental and sanitation hazards of the slum conditions in Nima and Maamobi became public through "Operation Help Nima" (OHN) which commenced through series of community sanitation exercises and research studies undertaken in Nima by members of the University Christian Fellowship at Legon in the late 1960s.

#### **2.8.2 The Nima–Maamobi Community in 1968: A Case of Social Paralysis**

When the evangelical students embarked on OHN their perception of the slum conditions was limited to sanitation, unaware of the factors that had militated against its improvement. The 70,000 Nima–Maamobi residents occupied a land area of about one square mile, bounded on the north–west by a deep, refuse–swamped gulley, and on the south–east by Kanda Estate, a middle–class residential area. There was therefore no land space for expansion inspite of the increasing convergence of migrant population on the Nima– Maamobi settlement. Hence the acute overcrowding in the area. The unhealthy environmental conditions of the people was perpetuated by a fatalistic outlook interpreted as the outcome of several negative factors:

Years of living in abject poverty, of being economically exploited; decades of being politically excluded from taking decisions affecting their lives, had inferiorised, humiliated and kept them in the shackles of a fatalistic religious outlook. This was what God

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

had ordained for them, they believed, and having a zeal and an awe of God, they were resigned to his will. ...traditional worshippers, Christians and Muslims who made up the Nima-Maamobi Community all shared this fatalistic approach.<sup>174</sup>

This sense of apathy was reinforced by the absence of community feeling. The Nima-Maamobi community was diversified in terms of ethnic composition, religion, and economic activity. There was no communal spirit because the residents functioned to satisfy their particular interests:

ethnic communities functioning to maintain their ethnic survival; religious communities of Muslims, Christians and animists affirming their different faith in worship and liturgical life according to their different rites; economic communities of market women's groupings, associations of traders grouping together to protect their trade, unions of drivers, butchers, food sellers, criminal and street urchins functioning in mafia-like gangs to protect their turfs - it was not as a whole a functioning community.<sup>175</sup>

The lack of a sense of unity in diversity among the inhabitants of Nima hindered community development. There was no collective sense of responsibility to breaking through the paralysis of fatalism, and let the inhabitants realise their function and potential as a community capable of acting to improve the total well-being of its members.

Moreover there was no collective leadership to mobilise the residents to deal with external constraining factors - government policies and plans made on assumptions without prior consultation with the people. In the government's bid to develop Accra, the Nima-Maamobi slum was earmarked for clearance, and the resettlement of the residents in Madina (near Legon). As Sarpei comments:

For 30 years [from 1930s-60s], a ban was placed on developments in the Nima-Maamobi area because it could not be fitted into the plans of the Crown Housing Agent and their later successors. Indeed the planners regarded Nima- Maamobi as an eye-sore, a pigsty that had to be wiped off the face of the earth.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 57.

The predicament of the Nima-Maamobi residents was exacerbated by the actions and statements of individuals within government, business, the media, the universities and even churches suggesting the area be bulldozed. The affected people thus felt intimidated and prevented from acting for their own betterment.

Fortunately or unfortunately the government was prevented from implementing the resettlement plan by lack of funds, leaving the situation in Nima-Maamobi to deteriorate with untarred dusty roads separating rows of cement and mud buildings (many dilapidated); insanitary refuse disposal, muddy foodstuff market grounds located near refuse dumps and public toilets; poor drainage; and inadequate public toilets and water supply. Apart from a number of privately owned water taps, Nima was provided with only 12 public water taps, unevenly distributed. Thus Nima-Maamobi is described as:

a low-income, sub-standard, Muslim dominated, slum community of over 70,000 persons fighting not only the crippling effects of poverty, ignorance, prostitution, crime, ill-health, apathy and disenchantment, but also the inaction of governments, institutions and personnel paralysed by the magnitude of the community's problems.<sup>177</sup>

The slum conditions which confronted the Legon students in 1968 were just the external symptoms of the social paralysis that had afflicted the Nima-Maamobi community in the post-war era. The causative factors were rooted in social structure of the community and its worldview, and government policies and inaction. Until the commencement of OHN there was no such perception of the problem in Nima-Maamobi community.

### **2.8.3 Accounts of the Beginnings of Operation Help Nima**

There are basically two variant accounts on the beginnings of OHN. In one account OHN is presented as an aspect of the "All-For-Christ Campaign" which commenced in 1959. The account highlights the

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<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 45.

inadequate follow-up of converts because the areas chosen for the AFCC were too distant for students to undertake effective nurture of converts from the campus base. Hence Nima was chosen in 1968 after prayerful consideration of the following factors:

- a. Its proximity to the University of Ghana, Legon.
- b. Its social and environmental problems had caused much concern to the authorities of the Accra municipality.
- c. There were growing churches in and around Nima which could take up follow-up work.
- d. The University Christian Fellowship at Legon thought it wise to comply with the directive of Jesus Christ to start witnessing to Him from Jerusalem and Judea before Samaria and to the ends of the world. Hence Nima became the "Judea" of Legon UCF.<sup>178</sup>

This account presents the issue of social concern as one of many factors and not the prime factor for OHN. The premium placed on proximity reduces OHN to an action of convenience and not a demonstration of social conscience. In terms of the advantage of Nima for the AFCC, Madina (a multi-ethnic settlement, considered the backyard of Legon) would have been more appropriate. But Madina is not a slum. As in other accounts, it was particularly because the slum conditions of Nima awakened the social conscience of the UCF members that OHN was initiated not because it was convenient, considering the fact that Nima is about seven miles from Legon. When the students were confronted with the unpleasant insanitary conditions of Nima, and the bureaucracy of the Public Service machinery, they persevered because of their concern for the welfare of Nima residents.

A second account links OHN to student participation in communal labour in Nima in the early sixties. According to Denis Osborne, before OHN became a formal UCF project, the evangelical students had started looking out.<sup>179</sup> He mentions Sam Bortei Doku, a physics student whose

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<sup>178</sup> *Operation Help Nima: Witness Through 20 Years of Christian Involvement In Social Action*, OHN Booklet, n.d., 2.

<sup>179</sup> Interview with Denis Osborne, 25 Aug. 1992.

family lived in Nima, as an evangelical social activist. Occasionally he took a group of students to Nima to help with ordinary communal labour – dredging drains and building houses. A group of the students joined in building a church in Nima.

In a third account (a sequel to the second), James Sarpei (OHN pioneer) indicates the determination to formally undertake an operation to improve the slum conditions of Nima came through the inspiration of Rev. Peter Barker.<sup>180</sup> He addressed the UCF Saturday evening meeting on the topic: "Christian and the World", with 24 students responding to the challenge for social action on behalf of Nima by embarking on an annual clean-up campaign, designated "Operation Help Nima".

In June 1968 the group conducted an initial project research to determine the magnitude of the sanitation task of OHN. The research was followed with a clean-up campaign in July, involving manual clearance of refuse and dredging of gutters. From the campaign the students assessed the logistical needs for refuse disposal in Nima and confronted the City Council with the needs, but the Council could not commit its resources to an area which was not in its priority list. The sheer magnitude of the sanitation problem necessitated mass community health education. So the initial clean-up campaign was supplemented with a health education campaign through filmshows: one captioned "Clean Living, Happy Living" and another on community development. The third was evangelistic – "Something to Die For".<sup>181</sup>

The Christian commitment to healthy living is evidenced in the numerous mission hospitals in Ghana, and through OHN the UCF wanted to demonstrate to Nima residents the importance of healthy living. The

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<sup>180</sup> Sarpei (1982), 66. Peter Barker (born 1928, England) studied history and theology at Oxford, came to Ghana in 1956 as a secondary school teacher. Later he became a journalist for a newspaper of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. He was ordained into the ministry of that Church in 1963 after two-year course at Trinity College (then located in Kumasi), and until his return to England in 1984, served as Literature Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana. He maintained a close association with evangelical fellowships in schools, colleges and universities as a preacher and Bible teacher.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 38

insanitary conditions had produced a catalogue of diseases: typhoid fever, malaria, dysentery, and other fly-borne and water-borne diseases.<sup>182</sup> Nima was becoming potential danger as the nursery of an epidemic for residents in Accra and Ghana as a whole.

As move towards an integrated development, the OHN group drew an action plan to: give Nima a face-lift by constructing a tarred main thoroughfare and a footbridge across the main drain to connect Nima with Maamobi, construct a concrete floor in the market and a drainage system; ensure regular collection of refuse and emptying of public latrines; install bore-hole latrines in hundreds of compounds; arranging extension of the water mains to certain areas of Nima; initiate an active bureau of information; organise series of youth clubs for the young people; and stimulate into action the local Chief's Committee and Nima Development Committee as agencies of local development.<sup>183</sup> In connection with these projects the OHN group conducted series of research studies and spent their long vacations working within the Nima-Maamobi Community.

Initial funding for OHN was generated locally from the UCF membership and fraternal individuals, church congregations (including Accra Ridge Church and the Religious Society of Friends) and private companies.<sup>184</sup> The expansion of OHN commitments since 1970 created the need for greater financial resources not locally generated. A request was therefore submitted through the Christian Council of Ghana to the World Council of Churches for support. Between 1972-73 a total of over ₵12,000 (about US\$2000) was received from Christian funding agencies including: Sitchting - Holland, Bread For the World and Lutheran World Federation.<sup>185</sup> Such international funding did not affect the original objective of OHN in any way.

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>184</sup> *Trumpet* (Magazine of GIUCF), 1975, 27.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

#### 2.8.4 Stabilizing and Widening the base of Involvement

In November 1969 the Student Committee of OHN realised the need for a full-time project staff to arrange projects for students to undertake and also serve as: secretary to the newly formed Nima Development and Welfare Committee, travelling secretary to promote OHN and generate more student involvement in other campuses.<sup>186</sup> The inability to finance such an appointment coupled with the growing administrative problems led the students to a widening of the base of involvement in OHN. The Student Committee approached the Committee of Senior Members (UCF Graduates) to assume control of the project, to give it permanence and stability.<sup>187</sup> Therefore in March 1970 the Senior Members Committee assumed control of the OHN projects, with the Student Committee in advisory role. A month later, the need to secure a wider student involvement led the Student Committee to propose a direct affiliation of OHN with the then Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship. By November 1970 the Student Committee at Legon had reached agreement on the adoption of the proposal, but the formal adoption of OHN as an Inter-Varsity Fellowship project was delayed by difficulties in formulating operational principles acceptable to the GIUCF. In the interim, James Anorbah Sarpei (a Legon graduate) was appointed Honorary Director of OHN, and full-time Executive Director in 1972.

The need to establish the legal basis of OHN led to the formulation of a constitution in 1971 by the Students Committee and the Senior Members Committee, with the GIUCF maintaining 50% control through its six nominees on the OHN Council of twelve. The GIUCF appointed an autonomous body – Trustees of OHN to manage the project. In 1972 OHN was registered and incorporated as a Trustees Society, with the Department of Architecture (UST) as consultants and Dr H.N.A. Wellington (OHN pioneer, and a Senior Lecturer in the Department) as director of programme. The aims and objectives of the Society were stated as follows:

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<sup>186</sup> Sarpei, *op. cit.*, 69.

<sup>187</sup> *Trumpet*, *op. cit.*

- a. To Witness to the love of God in Nima-Maamobi through service,
- b. To promote the spirit of self-help,
- c. To promote social and economic well-being within the community.
- d. To co-operate with organs of the central and local government and other organisations, religious or secular with compatible aims and objectives,
- e. To provide a pool of experience for projects elsewhere.<sup>188</sup>

The association with UST led to the secondment of a German Volunteer Service Civil Engineer to OHN.<sup>189</sup> Under the auspices of UST a group of lecturers and senior architecture students of the Institute of Tropical Building and Planning, Darmstadt - Germany, spent a number of weeks in Nima in 1970.<sup>190</sup> The staff base of the project was widened in 1974 with the appointment of a project administrator, a project organiser and a social worker. Through the National Service Scheme 12 graduates from UST and Legon were engaged between 1974-78 at no extra cost to OHN.<sup>191</sup> Thus through OHN the Nima-Maamobi community became the focus of professional attention at local and international levels.

### 2.8.5 Community Leadership and Development

The development of community leadership structures became paramount in the operations of OHN. OHN catalysed the process towards the establishment of the Nima-Maamobi Development Welfare Committee

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<sup>188</sup> *OHN Witness*, op. cit., 3.

<sup>189</sup> *Trumpet*, op. cit.

<sup>190</sup> *OHN Witness*, op. cit., 4.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, 10. The list of Servicemen includes Mohammed Ibn Chambas (1975/76) who has served in the Rawlings (PNDC) regime as Deputy Foreign Secretary. After 1978 the government directed that salaries and allowances of servicemen should be paid by the Organisations and Departments engaging them. Thus for financial reasons OHN discontinued the engagement of servicemen.

(NMDWC), whose General Secretary, Baba, later became a Christian.<sup>192</sup> The NMDWC organ became a nursery of local political leaders, with one of its members becoming a Member of Parliament in the Third Republic.<sup>193</sup> A number of NMDWC members were elected to Accra City Council as Councillors.

Under the new breed of community leaders functioning alongside the old ethnic leaders, a housing co-operative was initiated to meet government demands for local involvement in community development. It raised a sum of ₵20,000 (about US\$150),<sup>194</sup> a very modest sum in 1981, considering the enormity of the development needs of the community. Nevertheless it signifies the emergence of community consciousness and the impact of OHN was making on the Nima- Maamobi community - to get the residents to act collectively on their problems.

#### 2.8.6 Government Action on "OHN-Wellington Proposals"

The growing sense of community in Nima-Maamobi was recognised by the Government. It led to government acceptance of proposals for development of the community, known as "OHN-Wellington Proposals".<sup>195</sup> It included the provision of 22 public toilet units and the construction of "a major infrastructure artery" into Nima - the so-called Nima Highway: a two mile main street bringing into the community water, electricity and sewerage lines.<sup>196</sup> The "highway" project was initiated in 1973 and completed by the mid eighties despite the usual debate about sources of finance. Those displaced by the road construction were re-settled in a hundred low-cost housing units at Madina (ten miles

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.; Sarpei, op. cit., 58.

<sup>194</sup> Sarpei, op. cit., 58.

<sup>195</sup> The "OHN-Wellington Proposals" were the product of the visit to Nima by the German architectural team, UST staff, Government Officials, and discussion held with the community leaders in 1970. (See *OHN Witness*, op. cit., 5.)

<sup>196</sup> Sarpei, op. cit., 59.

away, near Legon).<sup>197</sup>

As further demonstration of commitment to improving the Nima-Maamobi community, on 18 March 1980 the government committed ₵1 million to the redevelopment of Nima through "a pocket development strategy" in the "OHN-Wellington Proposals".<sup>198</sup> A pilot scheme was commenced to provide 36 housing stocks to accommodate 2000 people on 6.20 acre of land in Nima.

Over the years, the OHN project has developed in diverse ways for a holistic development. Attention has been focused on adult literacy, child-care with pre-school education, operating a community library, supporting the vocational training of selected residents, training women in dress-making and a correspondence course in Islamic Studies for Christian witness among Muslims.

#### 2.8.7 Controversies about Evangelical Social Action

The adoption of OHN by the GIUCF was not without some disagreements. The disagreements centred on three issues: the goal of Christian witness and work; the relationship of the Christian Fellowships with people of other faiths; and the relationship of the Fellowships with government authorities.<sup>199</sup>

As an evangelical organisation the GIUCF believed the emphasis of the project should be evangelism – preaching the gospel and winning souls for Christ. The protagonists of this radical position emphasised that the value of every Christian effort must be assessed in evangelistic terms, that is, whether it leads to repentance of sins and acceptance of salvation through Jesus Christ.<sup>200</sup> Therefore an action which does not produce such results does not merit Christian involvement.

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<sup>197</sup> Trumpet, op. cit., 27.

<sup>198</sup> Sarpei, op. cit., 59.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 70-85.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 70.

The immediate emphasis of OHN was not evangelistic. After two years of operation OHN had made just a few converts, though it had made considerable progress in tackling the social and environmental problems of Nima- Maamobi. Those committed to OHN pointed to the ultimate evangelistic purpose of the social ministry, indicating that even though the "Great Commission" (in Matthew 28:19-20) required the making of disciples, the Gospel is not only the preaching of repentance. It is also the proclamation of good news to the poor, release to captives, recovery of sight for sight to the blind, and liberty to those who are oppressed. They argued that Jesus's ministry was not all preaching, it also involved a demonstration of the signs of the Kingdom of God: restoration of life and wholeness to unwholesome humanity.

The debate continued during the tenure of office of first Executive Director of OHN (1972-76), consuming a lot of intellectual effort. It surged at a seminar organised in 1974 to resolve some problems confronting OHN. The participants included government officials, university staff, churchmen, members of evangelical groups and the Nima-Maamobi community. James Sarpei makes particular reference to a comment by<sup>9</sup>senior official of the Capital Investment Board of Ghana who is highly regarded in the evangelical fellowship movement. Sarpei recalls:

He faulted the OHN administration for having given up the task of preaching the word of God to serve tables. 'It is not right that we should give up preaching the word of God to serve tables,' he quoted Acts 6: 2.<sup>201</sup>

The remark typifies the radical evangelical opposition to the programme of social action being pursued by OHN in a dominantly Muslim context. Hence many Christians in the evangelical fellowships refused to participate in OHN work- camps which was considered "table serving", and would only participate in voluntary projects if evangelistic rallies and campaigns were being conducted also. As emphasis shifted from direct evangelism to social action the initial interest in OHN diminished, together with financial support from the evangelical fellowships.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

The dominantly Muslim locus of OHN operations made it difficult to sustain the interest of the radical evangelicals. They did not believe in meaningful dialogue with people of other faiths and therefore questioned the relationship of OHN personnel with the Muslims of Nima-Maamobi. The collaboration with Muslims in fulfilling OHN objectives was interpreted as conformity to the world.

Besides the lack of interest of some evangelical radicals, OHN encountered government opposition. Initial efforts were made by the OHN Executive to engage government authorities in dialogue about solutions to slum conditions of the Nima-Maamobi community. But as Sarpei observes, "The authorities - politicians and technocrats - favoured slum clearance, the destruction of the community, first advocated in the 1940s and they were not prepared to compromise on this."<sup>202</sup> In an attempt to solicit public support for OHN various public relations exercises were undertaken, including a reprint of OHN booklet - *Letters From Nima*, 1970; making of a film: *Death In a Suburb* (1972); and the publication of a new booklet - *Operation Help Nima: Five Years of Christian Involvement in Urban Renewal* (1974); writing series of newspaper articles, interviews, discussions on the national radio, public seminars and symposia.<sup>203</sup> These activities had a cumulative impact by creating a strong lobby on behalf of Nima-Maamobi community.

At that time the military government of Acheampong was struggling with problems of political legitimacy and was therefore very sensitive to public opinion. Thus when pressure began to build on the government about the Nima- Maamobi situation, the OHN Director was accused of inciting opposition against the government. The political interpretation of OHN mass media activities was not restricted to the government. The members of the evangelical fellowship movement and churches supporting OHN became worried by what they regarded as politicisation of OHN. They were concerned the OHN "propaganda" might be interpreted as an attempt to subvert the government.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 82-83ff.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 83.

However in retrospective sense, the "propaganda" yielded positive results. It led to the resumption of dialogue between OHN Executive and the government, culminating in the abandonment of the policy of slum clearance and the commencement of the re-development of Nima-Maamobi community. It further led to the recognition of OHN by some professional groups in the country. OHN attracted the research interest of the University of Science and Technology. A number of students were attached to OHN for practical training in planning and architecture. In 1976 the Executive Director of OHN, James Sarpei, was elected honorary associate by the Ghana Institute of Architects in recognition of OHN developmental effort.<sup>204</sup> In terms of ecclesiastical recognition, OHN ministry among muslim residents of Nima-Maamobi led to the appointment of James Sarpei as Secretary to the Islam Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana.<sup>205</sup>

In the history of the Christian Fellowship Movement in Ghana, OHN represents a remarkable demonstration of social responsibility. But the failure to recognise and resolve the tension between evangelism and social responsibility has undermined local evangelical interest, as Kofi Owusu observes with regret and alarm of future judgement:

It appears the initial interest in social action may be dying. We will be giving up on part of our heritage as evangelicals and we may appear before the judgement throne to hear, "I was hungry and you did not feed me... I was naked and you did not clothe me...(Matt. 25:42-43).<sup>206</sup>

The diminished local interest led to the involvement of overseas partners in OHN in 1988 – particularly Action Partners (formerly Sudan United Mission, U.K.).<sup>207</sup> As a partnership in social action, OHN has acquired new image which necessitates changes now being considered – the revision of the constitution, and change of name from "Operation Help Nima" to "Care Incorporated" in response to the opinions about what old name connotes:

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> *GHAFES Report*, March 1991, 6.

<sup>207</sup> *OHN Witness*, op. cit., 12.

The name limits the area of operation.

The name sounds too patronising.

The word "operation" carries a sense of urgency and OHN has often been mistaken to be an organ of a "Revolution".<sup>208</sup>

In re-organising OHN, the original student vision of helping Nima has not been supplanted, but rather enlarged. The new image of OHN does not imply a take-over. It is a reflection of the expanding scope of operation and involvement. Thus what started as local student operation has become an international partnership.

## 2.9 CONCLUSION

The prominent aspects of the evangelicalism of the Christian fellowships associated with SU and GHAFES were its biblicism and activism. The primacy of the Bible as basis of faith and practice is evident in the concentrated attention it is given in private meditation, local fellowship meetings, and inter-fellowship rallies, conferences and Bible schools. The Biblical instruction at these meetings constitutes a vital supplement to that which obtains in the church, and a significant corrective to the contamination of "sectarian" teachings. The biblicism of the fellowship movement inspired its activism. Evangelism was perceived as a Biblical imperative of Jesus Christ. Hence the engagement in rigorous evangelism in campus, town communities and work places. This was extended to protestant church congregations most of which were considered nominal, needing to be re-evangelised. But the *modus operandi* of the fellowships and their deprecatory attitude to mainline protestant denominations made many church leaders suspicious of their intentions.

As an expression of social responsibility, an urban sanitation programme was commenced at Nima under "Operation Help Nima", later adopted as inter-fellowship project of urban renewal. The evangelical awareness of social responsibility engendered new evangelical relations.

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

The execution of OHN implied evangelical students establishing relations with the under-privileged in the urban society, and also with the state. OHN represents an evangelical parachurch operation in a dominantly muslim context, thus fostering a Christian-Muslim working relationship in parachurch activity in Ghana.

The new relations were sources<sup>of</sup> controversies in the evangelical movement. The failure to recognise and resolve the tension in the network of relations generated debates about the basis of evangelical involvement in social action, diminishing interest in OHN, notwithstanding the significant achievements of the project. Nevertheless, the continuance of OHN has further led to establishing new relations - partnership with international organisations which necessitates change of identity and widening of focus.

It cannot be over-emphasised that the effective and continuous operation of the Christian Fellowship movement depends on maintaining internal coherence, together with a harmonious working relations with the various institutions of the society it affects including the church and the state. This issue became prominent with pentecostal influence.

## CHAPTER THREE

### PENTECOSTAL INFLUENCE IN THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION AND THE PROBLEM OF TERMINOLOGY

The influence and expression of Pentecostalism in the Christian Fellowships of SU and GHAFES in Ghana became prominent in the late 1960s. It was part of the general non-denominational pattern of Pentecostalism which was designated "the new Pentecost" in the late 1950s - the manifestations of "Pentecostal-type Christianity that in some way differ from classical Pentecostalism in affiliation and/or doctrine"<sup>1</sup> and now identified with the charismatic movement.

Pentecostalism in the evangelical fellowships of Ghana generated interest in spiritual gifts - *glossolalia*, prophecy, healing and deliverance. It also focused on prayer and fasting, and engendered the Prayer Warriors movement of SU-Ghana.

Our discussion of the manifestation of the pentecostal phenomenon in the Christian Fellowship movement encounters a problem of terminology. It originates from the inter-changeable occurrence of the terms: "pentecostal" and "charismatic" in oral and written source materials. The problem is compounded by the different categories of (foreign and local) sources of the pentecostal influence in the movements. Whilst the foreign source is traced mainly to healing evangelists of North America operating in non-denominational contexts, the local source is traced to elements of independent and affiliated Pentecostal denominations. Thus in the Christian fellowships we encounter elements that can be identified with classical Pentecostalism

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<sup>1</sup> Burgess, S. M., & McGee, G. B., eds. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1988), 130. "The new Pentecost" attributed to Donald Gee means "the occurrence of distinctively Pentecostal blessings and phenomena, baptism in the Holy Spirit with the spiritual gifts of I Corinthians 12:8-10, outside a denominational and/or confessional Pentecostal framework" (ibid.). Until his death in 1966, Donald Gee was a world Pentecostal leader - eight times chairman of the General Conference of the Assemblies of God in the U.K. He was a dominant figure at the Pentecostal World Conferences, and from 1947-66 the editor of its quarterly, *Pentecost*.

and those that can be identified with the charismatic movement. In recognition of the difficulty in distinguishing the manifestation of what is a "pentecostal" phenomenon from what is "charismatic", a general use would be made of the term "pentecostal" notwithstanding the general non-denominational context of SU and GHAFES.<sup>2</sup> However, the use of the term "charismatic" will also be retained as it occurs in context of source materials.

### 3.2 SOURCES OF PENTECOSTAL INFLUENCE

The main sources of pentecostal influence in the Christian Fellowship Movement in Ghana have been identified as local and foreign, with former being more direct. The foreign influence was indirectly exerted through literature, audio tapes cassettes and itinerant preaching of North American pentecostal evangelists – T L Osborn (based in Tulsa, Oklahoma); Gordon Lindsay (founder of Christ For The Nations Ministry in Dallas, Texas); Kenneth Hagin (founder of the Rhema Bible Church in Tulsa, Oklahoma); Oral Roberts, Morris Cerullo and Franklin Hall.<sup>3</sup>

The foreign pentecostal influence became effective because of the local pentecostal influence. The mainline and indigenous Pentecostal churches in Ghana were the primary sources of Pentecostalism in the Christian Fellowship movement. It was exerted through their members, pastors, missionaries and other functionaries who became closely associated with the fellowships. Old Pentecostal denominations – the Assemblies of God, Apostolic Church, Christ Apostolic Church and Church of Pentecost – exerted differing degrees of influence concerning the exercise of spiritual gifts.

An important factor of pentecostalism in Kumasi Town Fellowship in the 1970s was the missionaries of Pentecostal denominations who received regular invitations for various speaking engagements at prayer retreats, all-night prayer meetings and the regular Sunday afternoon

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<sup>2</sup> Local SU and GHAFES sources tend to favour the use of the term "charismatic" in describing what is essentially "pentecostal" phenomenon, to maintain the nondenominational identity of the movements.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, (London: SCM, 1972), 356.

meetings. They included Rev. Krakke of the Assemblies of God Mission in Kumasi, and Rev. David Mills, missionary pastor of Church of Pentecost, Ghana.<sup>4</sup> SU members from Pentecostal congregations were instrumental in the spread pentecostal doctrines and practices, and the use of the local Pentecostal chorus in college, school, community and work place fellowships.

### 3.2.1. Enoch Agbozo: The Independent Local Pentecostal Activist

Independent Ghanaian pentecostal evangelists became important agents of pentecostalism in nondenominational contexts. Consciously or unconsciously, the Ghanaian evangelist, Enoch Agbozo became instrumental in propagating pentecostalism in Christian fellowships in schools, colleges, universities, government offices and communities in Accra metropolitan area in the early 1970s.<sup>5</sup> By 1972 Enoch Agbozo had established the Ghana Evangelical Society as an indigenous evangelical prayer fellowship with the pentecostal basis of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI).

The pentecostalism of Agbozo can be traced to his early association with the Christ Ascension Church, an indigenous Pentecostal Church, and later the FGBMFI. Despite his Presbyterian family background Agbozo's association with various religious friends led to his encounter with various religious movements. He had a brief encounter with "spiritism" whilst a mature student at the University of Ghana. Then through a female companion he had a brief exposure to the African Christian tradition of the Apostolic Revelation Society (ARS) – an indigenous pentecostal church with headquarters in Tadzevu, in Volta Region, Ghana.<sup>6</sup> But it was a temporary encounter because he discounted ARS as non-Christian. His final destination in quest of faith in Christ was a pentecostal prayer group where he committed his life

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<sup>4</sup> See *The Fellowship* (Magazine of Kumasi Town Fellowship), ser., 1(5) Oct. 1972, 16; 1(6) Nov. 1972, 16; 2(3) March 1973, 13, 17.

<sup>5</sup> A claim made by the subject in an interview with the writer on 25 September 1990.

<sup>6</sup> On ARS See Baeta, C.E.G., *Prophetism in Ghana* (London: SCM, 1965), 76–93.

to Christ, and which became constituted as Christ Ascension Church. The church later merged with Christ Apostolic Church, an off-shoot of the Church of Pentecost, Ghana.

It was in the Christ Ascension Church that Agbozo gained the initial pentecostal experience which later made him a charismatic evangelist. His ministry in the Church commenced with his appointment as church secretary. In this position, he engaged in healing, casting out demons, prayer and fasting. Agbozo assumed full control of the ministry of the group when the leader was appointed District Pastor after the group was merged with Christ Apostolic Church.

When conflict developed between Agbozo and the local church leaders, he conceived the idea of establishing an independent prayer group which became known as Ghana Evangelical Society (GES). His contact with an American business friend led Agbozo to enrol as an international member of FGBMFI in 1971. Up to then there had been no local chapter of the FGBMFI movement in Ghana.<sup>7</sup> Agbozo admits that ideas from the membership materials of FGBMFI which he received from USA became the basis for establishing GES in 1972. Thus GES became established as a pentecostal fellowship, with Friday all-night prayer meetings as the pivot of its activities.

Through GES Agbozo's pentecostal teaching gained a wide appeal. His pentecostal ministry in Accra extended to school and community Christian Fellowships; and to the lunch-hour Fellowships of Bank of Ghana, Electricity Corporation, and Government Ministries - the Civil Service. Such was his influence in the "Ministries Fellowship" that Agbozo was appointed its President. Some members of these groups attended GES monthly retreats which emphasised the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Student participants of the GES retreats came from evangelical fellowships in the University of Ghana and the Institute of Professional Studies at Legon.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On FGBMFI-Ghana, see Chapter Five.

<sup>8</sup> On the national significance of GES ministry, and Agbozo's socio-political activism, see Part Two of Chapter Four.

Agbozo's pentecostal mission encountered opposition. His emphasis on the Holy Spirit baptism did not find favour with "conservative evangelicals" who reject classical pentecostal doctrines. They accused him of introducing strange teachings into the fellowships and churches.

### 3.2.2 The Influence of Franklin Hall

Of the North American pentecostals Franklin Hall caused a lot of sensation in Ghana with his controversial teachings on salvation, prayer and fasting. In 1956 Hall established a pentecostal ministry - "Deliverance Foundation", with headquarters in Phoenix, Arizona.

Around 1967/68 some of his literature appeared on the Ghanaian scene.<sup>9</sup> It was his book: *Atomic Power With God Through Fasting And Prayer*, which particularly appealed to people, especially those with an interest in prayer and fasting.<sup>10</sup> Later other Franklin Hall materials appeared that introduced a concept of "Body-felt Salvation" into the pentecostal revival on campuses.<sup>11</sup>

According to T B Dankwa, Franklin Hall visited Ghana during a preaching tour of Africa in 1973 and held a series of meetings. His audience included students and others who had read some of his literature (especially the work on prayer and fasting), and were keen to hear him. Some of the meetings were held at the Accra Community Centre where he expounded on his concept of "body-felt salvation" and teachings on "prayer and fasting". There was a mixed reaction to his teaching. Some found him impressive on various issues especially his

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<sup>9</sup> His writings include: *Atomic Power With God Through Fasting and Prayer* (1946); *The Fasting Prayer* (1947); *Formula For Raising the Dead* (1960); *Our Divine Healing* (1968); *The Body Felt Salvation* (1968). In 1956 he began publishing the *Miracle Word* as the official magazine of his "Deliverance Foundation", which reached a peak circulation estimated around 24,000. Together with his wife he circulated several other tracts. On the impact of Franklin Hall's ministry in Nigeria, see Ojo (1986), 211-20.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with T B Dankwa (IFES Anglophone Africa Regional Secretary), 26 Nov. 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

ideas on prayer and fasting, but controversial with the idea of "body-felt salvation".

At the University of Ghana – Legon, the auditorium of the School of Administration was booked by the University Christian Fellowship (UCF) for the Franklin Hall meetings on the campus. Prior to his arrival at Legon, the leadership of the UCF had preliminary discussions with co-workers of Hall on some of his ideas of "body-felt salvation" which had generated controversy at the Town meetings. When the Franklin Hall group could not openly endorse some of the teachings they were propagating, the Legon meetings were cancelled. Instead, the UCF leaders held a seminar with Hall and his team.<sup>12</sup> It was a cautious move to prevent any controversy erupting within the UCF over the new teachings.

### 3.2.2.1 The Theology of "Body-felt Salvation"

Franklin Hall taught that repentance from sin and belief in Christ brings a "heart-felt" salvation which affects only the soul, and thus constitutes a partial salvation. Salvation of the soul is therefore "half-salvation. Salvation, he emphasized must be full salvation, "body-felt salvation", one that affects the body as well as the soul. Whilst the "heart-felt salvation comes through the agency of the death of Christ, the "body-felt salvation" is obtained through the agency of the Holy Spirit, as Hall states:

You have a heart-felt salvation. You may likewise have a body-felt salvation... . As the work of salvation for the soul was accomplished by Jesus' shed blood through the Holy Spirit, so like wise is the work accomplished by the Holy Spirit for our body-felt salvation. Only the body-felt salvation comes about through the proper discernment of our Lord and Saviour's body."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> As a personal evaluation of the meeting, Theophilus B Danquah, who attended (in his capacity as Travelling Secretary of the then Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship), remarks that Franklin Hall was not as impressive as his wife Helen.

<sup>13</sup> Hall, F., *The Body Felt Salvation* (Phoenix: 1968), 11-12.

Hall's doctrine of "body-felt salvation" became a variant of the gospel of health which taught that those who had "body-felt salvation" would never be sick, tired, nor have body odours.<sup>14</sup> The "body-felt salvation" becomes an immunisation against diseases and an insurance against death, by providing the subject with the protection of the "Holy Ghost clothing of fire".<sup>15</sup>

An evidence of "full salvation" or "body-felt salvation" as taught by Hall is the baptism of the Holy Spirit which he interprets (by reference to Acts 2:3) as baptism with Holy Spirit and fire, and not Holy Spirit alone.<sup>16</sup> This baptism can come through fasting and prayer.<sup>17</sup>

### 3.2.2.2 Prayer and Fasting

Franklin Hall gained wider acceptance in the Christian Fellowships for his ideas on prayer and fasting. He projects fasting as the cornerstone of Christian spirituality,<sup>18</sup> emphasizing that with fasting the appetite for food and sex is eliminated from the mind,<sup>19</sup> and a long fast leaves the body cleansed of its "filth" – carnality.<sup>20</sup> He explains the effect of fasting by teaching that when one fasts, the energy that should have been expended on digestion is converted into a fiery furnace which purifies the body of all the waste in it, and offers it

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<sup>14</sup> This teaching is supported with the experience of his wife, Helen who claims: "I have a deeper inward salvation now that I have a body felt salvation. ... I have no more fatigue or tiredness in my body... I can walk or hike over twenty miles in one day and not have the least tiredness.... I have no foul odours..."(ibid., 6).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>16</sup> Hall, F., *Unlimited Salvation*, A Tract, n.d., 5.

<sup>17</sup> Hall, Helen, *Freed From Sickness Power*, (a tract), n.d., 5.

<sup>18</sup> See Hall, F., *Atomic Power With God Through Fasting and Prayers* (Phoenix, 1946) 10.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 29-31.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 36.

protection against diseases.<sup>21</sup> In emphasizing the therapeutic effect of fasting he teaches that fasting improves eyesight, removes tumours, cures ulcers and cancers.<sup>22</sup>

The teachings of Hall fuelled what has been described as a "hyper-charismatic" Christianity that prevailed in evangelical fellowships at Legon and other higher educational institutions.<sup>23</sup> As Jude Hama observes: "With the visit of the 'body-felt salvation' man, many students were caught up in the charismatic influence. Some made claims about salvation being felt like one smelling rose flower."<sup>24</sup> Particular mention is made of the pentecostal activist, Seth Kwaku Ohene Asare (alias Kwaku Asare), a General Science student at Legon who became Prayer Secretary of the UCF in 1968-69, and President the following year.

The influence of Franklin Hall extended to the colleges and the University in coastal towns of Winneba and Cape Coast respectively.<sup>25</sup> At the Advanced Teacher Training College at Winneba, a revival was

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 42. See also Hall, *The Bonfire*, A Tract, n.d., 6-7; The supposed health benefits of the "body-felt salvation" is reflected in the physical effects of fasting taught elsewhere that: "When our bodies become purified by the fire of God and when they are clothed with his fire, then they are saved from the power of sickness and from the power of all other harm.... We no longer have foul smelling body odours caused by our corruptible flesh.... Our flesh now smells like Jesus" (Hall, *New Blessings and Deadly Gas Weapons For the Saints*, A Tract, n.d., 4).

<sup>22</sup> Hall, *The Bonfire*, 5.

<sup>23</sup> A comment made by Jude Hama in an interview with the author, 25 Nov. 1991. Before his appointment as Director General of SU-Ghana in 1990, Jude Hama (a Legon graduate) was GHAFES Travelling Secretary for Winneba area Colleges.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Hama, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> At the University of Cape Coast, some of the students in the Christian Fellowship who became instrumental in propagating pentecostal teachings include C K Konadu and Yao Ametepe (now a minister of the Methodist Church, Ghana). In a personal testimony, Winfred Habel Yao Ametepe, currently Head of the Department of Mathematics of Winneba Training College, recounts his pre-Christian involvement in the magical arts, the cult of the African Traditional Religion and drunkenness, and his conversion through prayer and deliverance administered by some students [see *Methodist Times* (Newspaper of Methodist Church - Ghana), 6(3), June/July 1992, 1, 4.

initiated as a result of the pentecostal influence, with many students experiencing a personal awareness of sin and the need to turn to Christ for salvation.<sup>26</sup>

The Franklin Hall teachings found favour with extremists of the evangelical fellowships. It was effective because of the prevailing pentecostal influence. However, the cautious response of the leadership of the Christian Fellowship movement kept his influence under control, limiting it to the fringes.

### 3.3 LEGON PENTECOSTALISM

The phenomenon of Pentecostalism in the University Christian Fellowship at Legon is a typical example of the role played by foreign and local agencies. According to Denis Osborne, by 1963 the pentecostal influence (which became prominent in late 1960s) was evident in the University Christian Fellowship (UCF) of Legon.<sup>27</sup> As he observes, in 1963 two first year students from the Church of The Lord – Aladura attended UCF meetings. Also in that year, as he recalls, a Ghanaian Pentecostal Church in Accra, began exercising some influence on students.<sup>28</sup> It was later, after his departure from Ghana in 1964, that Denis Osborne learnt that the pentecostal influence had become dominant in the UCF.

Around 1968/69 the USA based evangelist, Morris Cerullo, conducted a crusade in Accra which focused attention on the pentecostal phenomenon. As Juliana Senavoe (then a student at Legon) recollects, several members of the UCF attended the meetings daily from campus.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Hama, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Denis Osborne, 25 August 1992.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Mentioned in her correspondence to the writer, 18 August 1992. Juliana Senavoe BSc (Legon), MA Theol. (Fuller), (formerly Juliana Amoh-Addae) was a member of the UCF (1967–71), and served on its Executive Committee as the representative of the female Volta Hall of residence, and has since 1979 been teaching at Christian Service College, Kumasi. Kwabena Darko, Africa President of Full Gospel Business Men's

Pentecostal influence on the leadership of the UCF was a significant factor in its effect on a large section fellowship. Some of the UCF leaders had been exposed to the phenomenon in Christian fellowships outside the campus.<sup>30</sup> One such fellowship was located at Tema (near Accra). Its founder-leader, David Ayim was a licentiate student in the Department for the Study of Religions. He is described as "an articulate and deeply religious man" in the UCF.<sup>31</sup> Although he was not on the fellowship executive, he exerted a significant if indirect influence in the fellowship. According to Juliana Senavoe some members of the UCF started attending the fellowship he led at Tema "where spiritual gifts were openly in operation and the service was vibrant and joyful".<sup>32</sup> Some of the UCF members were even influenced to be re-baptised by immersion by Ayim.

The key pentecostals in the leadership of the UCF between 1968-70 included Kwaku Asare (described as one who "had several spiritual gifts"), Franklin Dove, Cyril Schandorf and Kwame Owusu-Ankomah "who had terminated his studies at the University because he felt called into the Lord's service but spent several days on end on campus, especially during the weekends".<sup>33</sup> In describing the extent of the pentecostal influence at Legon, Juliana Senavoe remarks: "In time the whole fellowship was affected."

### 3.3.1 The Mensah-Sarbah Prayer Group

The epicentre of the Legon pentecostalism was the Common Room of the Mensah-Sarbah Hall of Residence which became the meeting place

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Fellowship International, recalls attending the two-week Morris Cerullo crusade in Kumasi, along with other members of the Kumasi Town Fellowship [see interview in *Step* (Youth For Christ magazine, Ghana Edition), 3(1), 1991, 18].

<sup>30</sup> Correspondence from Juliana Senavoe, *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

of a pentecostal prayer group that emerged within the UCF at the time. The group engaged in "extended times of prayer on a weekly basis." The primary purpose was "to bear up the whole phenomenon [of UCF Pentecostalism] in prayer and also to pray specifically for those who desired the pentecostal experience."<sup>34</sup> It was not long before "news of events and experiences of the brethren from those Sarbah Hall prayer meetings began trickling in to some members of the Christian Fellowship."<sup>35</sup> The prayer meetings in the Common Room of Mensah-Sarbah Hall catalysed the pentecostal influence in the UCF. The pentecostal prayers stimulated pentecostal experiences as indicated by the personal experience of Juliana Senavoe. Upon invitation by a friend - Phoebe Cofie (then serving on the UCF Executive as representative for (female) Volta Hall of residence), Juliana Senavoe attended the Mensah-Sarbah prayer group meeting where she had her initial pentecostal experience of *glossolalia*. As she recalls:

In the course of the meeting there was a prophecy in which my name was mentioned. I do not remember the contents of the prophecy but as the brother was speaking I felt a warm sensation suddenly go through my whole body right where I was seated and I immediately began to speak in tongues. This was the beginning of a spiritual gift that has since stayed with me. My private life was transformed as a result of this gift in that I could pray for much longer periods at a time than I previously used to. There was a new sprint in my spiritual walk and the urge to share my faith became heightened.<sup>36</sup>

The pentecostal phenomena in general was interpreted as God blessing the UCF in an unusual way - "with quite a number of spiritual gifts including speaking in tongues, prophecy, healing and boldness in witnessing".<sup>37</sup> It led to many Christian conversions (with some spectacular cases) and a phenomenal increase in attendance of activities

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> *Span* 2, 1970, 12. According to Juliana Senavoe, one of those who was boldly confronted with the gospel at this time despite his agnosticism was Kwame Bediako (now a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and Director - Akrofi-Christaller Centre, Akwapim Akropong - Ghana). Apparently nothing happened to his views then.

of the UCF – Friday prayer meetings and Saturday Talks and Bible expositions.<sup>38</sup> The size of the group tripled, and a larger meeting place was found: "E9" – a lecture hall on top of the University bookshop. The phenomenal expansion of the UCF made it the dominant Christian group at Legon.<sup>39</sup>

The pentecostal influence further led to an intense evangelistic outreach to secondary schools in Accra area, culminating in the extension of the pentecostalism on campus to SU fellowships in the schools as indicated in a report: "God is also showering blessings on the Christian groups in secondary schools in Accra which students from the [Legon] Fellowship go to visit on Sundays."<sup>40</sup> To concretize the renewed interest in evangelistic outreach, the Outreach Group of the UCF was formed as a sub-group within the fellowship.<sup>41</sup>

Bane accompanied the "blessings" of Pentecostalism. The exercise of particular spiritual gifts such as speaking in tongues and prophecy generated some unpleasant experiences that laid grounds for scepticism about the pentecostal phenomenon. Denis Osborne recalls the disaffection of a section of the University staff (particularly those in the Staff Christian Fellowship) concerning certain aspects of pentecostalism in the UCF. Undue pressure exerted by some students on others to have experiences of speaking in tongues, as evident in all-night prayer meetings and the practice of laying hands on people.<sup>42</sup>

There was an over-emphasis on the possession of spiritual gifts as an index of one's spirituality. This led to an obsession with pentecostal experiences that created divisive impact on the unity of the membership of the Fellowship. A section of the UCF membership expressed reservations about the pentecostal spirituality and therefore

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Senavoe, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> *Span*, op. cit.

<sup>41</sup> Senavoe, op. cit.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Denis Osborne, 25 August 1992.

rejected it as representing an unbalanced Christian experience. For that reason they were labelled as "conservative evangelicals" by the "charismatics". The "conservatives" discounted some prophecies as people's personal opinions. There was a feeling that most of the expression of *glossolalia* was imitation.

A mechanism was adopted to check excesses of glossolalia through a regulation that it would be improper to speak in tongues aloud at a meeting unless there was someone present with the gift of interpretation. Since this was not always easy to determine, impulsive *glossolalia* was effectively controlled, as indicated by the following experience:

I had a strong urge, during one of the general meetings of UCF to speak out loud in tongues. I resisted this urge because I know it would not be proper if there were no interpretation of it for the benefit of the whole group. Eventually, however, I could not contain the urge and spoke out in tongues. To my amazement, there was an interpretation of it by Kwaku Asare for the benefit of all those who were gathered.... I came to recognize this urge very well in my prayer life but I would never speak out loud in a meeting at which I did not know of someone with the gift of interpretation of tongues.<sup>43</sup>

The regulation of the use of spiritual gifts was intended to maintain order in the fellowship. The adoption of the Common Room of Mensah Sarbah Hall as a special pentecostal centre facilitated an unrestrained manifestation of pentecostal phenomena with minimal effect on the internal harmony of the whole UCF. The 'conservative' elements of the UCF were thus accommodated.

### **3.4 INTER-VARSITY FELLOWSHIP AND THE SPREAD OF PENTECOSTALISM**

The Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship was formed in 1966 as a formal expression of unity and co-operation that existed between evangelical unions in the Universities and Colleges. Annual Inter-Fellowship programmes such the All For Christ Campaign and the Christmas Conference facilitated interaction among the membership of the

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<sup>43</sup> Senavoe, op. cit.

affiliated fellowships. Such interaction accelerated the spread of Pentecostalism into less affected fellowships such as the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship at University of Science and Technology (Kumasi). Kwabena Adu Baah (formerly Seth Kwabena Baah) who became a pentecostal activist at UST, had his initial pentecostal experience through this trend.<sup>44</sup> Particular mention is made of two events in 1969 – a ten-day summer evangelistic campaign by the GIUCF at Nkwatia, in the Kwahu District of Eastern Region – Ghana, and the GIUCF Conference at Accra Academy.

The 1969 Nkwatia Campaign was undertaken by a team of students from Legon, UST and Trinity College, and a few GIUCF graduates.<sup>45</sup> According to Kwabena Baah, the campaign was commenced with "an all-day retreat with fasting", and it was repeated every other day. Some members of the team became convinced they were going to receive a special blessing of God during the campaign. Baah recalls his personal anticipation: "Before the crusade, Love Mintah and I had expressed our desire to 'receive the Holy Spirit' to Peter Owusu-Akyaw, who had that experience earlier."<sup>46</sup> In the course of the first "all-day retreat", T B Dankwa who led a session called "Waiting on the Lord" went round laying hands on those who desired God to empower them for the crusade. In describing the experience, Baah writes:

Suddenly, after about 20 minutes of silence in the prayer room, Love Mintah began to weep and speak in a tongue unknown to any of us. Then Dorothy Adomako did a similar thing, then

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<sup>44</sup> See Baah, S.K., *Charismatic Christianity: A Memorandum on Current Charismatic Trends*, IHCF Paper, 25 Jan. 1983. Also reiterated in his correspondence with the writer, 24 Oct. 1992.

<sup>45</sup> In the above mentioned correspondence with the writer, Kwabena Baah recalls the following: Omane-Acheamfuor and Dr Kwasi Aboagye Mensah (both now ministers of Methodist Church, Ghana); Isaac Fokuo (now Minister and Ecumenical Secretary – Presbyterian Church of Ghana); Peter Owusu-Akyaw, K.V. Kuranchie, Patience Bediako (now Mrs Patience Sakyi), Dorothy Adomako (married to Kwaku Asare, former arch-Pentecostalist of Legon UCF); T B Dankwa (GIUCF staff: 1971–77), Victoria Yankson, D O Gyane, Godfred Bamfo (former SU-Ghana Travelling Secretary), Coleman, Love Mintah (now Mrs Coleman), and Ransford Ackah.

<sup>46</sup> Correspondence from Baah, *ibid.*

Victoria Yankson, then Omane Acheamfuor, and some others... When T B laid his hand on me, I expected to fall to the ground and cry as the others had done, but nothing like that happened to me. Instead, I felt a faint electric feeling travel from my head, through my body to my feet and then my head. This happened three times. During the time I was still on my knees, I saw a vision:... . After the retreat, I realised I was filled with great joy that defies description.<sup>47</sup>

For Baah, the initial pentecostal experience was visions, an experience which recurred during the campaign, on his way to the grounds for open-air preaching. Apart from witnessing to the faith, he and several others engaged in prayer for the sick. Later retreats during the campaign led Baah into further pentecostal experiences of *glossolalia* and prophecy as he recalls:

During our second all-day retreat, Dorothy Adomako and Love Minta laid hands on me. I felt my tongue become light, and then some words which at first sounded funny to me came out of my mouth. As I continued praying, those words turned into a song! Neither the tune nor the language was familiar to anyone present. It was such a thrilling experience. I understood this to be 'singing in tongues'... . During our third all-day retreat, I was kneeling against a chair, when I heard a commanding voice behind me: "*Kasa*"! (that is, "Speak out!"). I had never seen or heard anyone prophesy before, but I understood this to mean that I should prophesy...".<sup>48</sup>

He resisted the urge to prophesy because the phenomenon was strange to him. However after praying he felt confident and uttered in Twi:

Do not fear. Why are you afraid? Have faith in me. I have brought you to this town to use you for my glory... Have faith in me. I will perform many wonders through you. The blind will see. The lame will walk. The deaf will hear, and many who are sick will be healed...".<sup>49</sup>

Attempts were made to prevent the prophetic utterances from disrupting the retreat programme. Baah was led by self-confidence to prophesy an immediate resumption of the preaching but the team was restrained

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

by Dankwa to "tremble at" the written word – the Bible, and not at prophecy. As a measure of control and order, "he also pointed out from I Corinthians 13:9 that prophecy is imperfect and should therefore be judged (I Corinthians 14:29) whereas the written word is perfect and to be obeyed without question."<sup>50</sup>

When the students from the University of Science and Technology returned to campus at the end of the campaign they publicised their pentecostal experiences in the fellowship and caused others to pursue "speaking in tongues", prophecy and visions. The prayer meetings of the IHCF were dominated by "speaking in tongues". Consequently as Baah notes: "Some members of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship at UST were not happy about this new trend in the fellowship and left the fellowship."<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the decreased membership was replenished by those who later joined the fellowship: "the Conference Hall of the Great Hall became too small for the increased number of people who attended the meetings – especially the prayer meeting".<sup>52</sup>

During the first term (Michaelmas) of the 1969–70 academic year any public manifestation of pentecostalism in the UST fellowship was limited to *glossolalia* – "There was no public prophesying. Any prophesying that was manifested was at small meetings."<sup>53</sup> In expressing his own personal inhibition Baah admits: "I was keenly aware that I had the gift of prophecy, but I was afraid to manifest it. The main cause of fear was, 'lest I prophesy falsely'."<sup>54</sup>

However the fear was dispelled through a renewed contact with Pentecostals of the Legon fellowship at the 1969 GIUCF Christmas Conference at Accra Academy. The main speaker, Tony Wilmot, addressed the Conference on the theme: "Dying to Self". There was a

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

public manifestation of gift of prophecy in "tongues" by Juliana Amoh-Addae (now Juliana Senavoe), with English interpretation by Kwaku Asare in a manner described as "beautiful and intriguing":

Regularly, throughout the three-day conference, Juliana Amoh-Addae would rise to her feet in the middle of the main session, just after Tony Wilmot had finished his address, and speak in tongues. This would immediately be followed by an interpretation of the message into English by Kwaku Asare.<sup>55</sup>

Baah who was amazed by the demonstration of Legon brethren, approached Kwaku Asare about the secret of "how he gets to understand Julie's tongues before he interprets them". The reply was simply, "Oh, it's by faith".<sup>56</sup> Baah was boosted by this remark and thus began exercising faith and when the UST commenced Lent term, he remarks, "I was surprised at myself as to how easily I was prophesying now at meetings, devoid of all the fears and uncertainties that had accompanied my first prophesying at Nkwatia crusade."<sup>57</sup> Other members of the IHCF present at the conference had taken their cue from Kwaku Asare and Juliana Amo-Addae and had 'courageously' begun exercising the gift of prophecy along with Baah. This led to a "charismatic awakening" with an explosion of prophecy at UST.

### 3.5 CAMPUS PROPHECY – A PENTECOSTAL TRADITION AT U.S.T.

The charismatic revival in Ghanaian Christianity which peaked in the 1980s recalls a tradition of prophecy which characterised the trend of Pentecostalism on the campus of University of Science and Technology in the late sixties and early seventies. In an effort to curb extremities of current student charismatic exertions, IHCF published a paper which recounts unsavoury incidents that discredited the early student pentecostalism and thus constitutes a critique of the excesses

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

of pentecostal expression among students.<sup>58</sup>

The author of the IHCF paper, Seth Kwabena Baah (now Kwabena Adu Baah), in a note of self-criticism expresses regret for the excesses of his "charismatic" activism. As a prologue to the narrative about the UST experience Baah sees the history of erroneous pentecostal claims of an earlier period repeating itself in a different way in the current charismatic trends in campuses and the country as a whole:

After witnessing "Maranatha '83", an evangelistic programme that has brought some souls to Christ but embarrassment to others, I am compelled to write on an issue that has been disturbing my mind for the past two years... . It is about the new dimensions the charismatic re-awakening on and around our university campuses are assuming. It seems to me that a sad event which took place here at UST in 1970 is taking place again in another form.<sup>59</sup>

Seth Baah describes the period 1968-70 as a time "the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship was then going through its *buga-buga* days (i.e. days of crude principles)."<sup>60</sup> Under the supposed influence of the Holy Spirit some members of the fellowship displayed apparent disregard for principles that regulated IHCF activities.

In defining his role as a pioneer of the 1970 "charismatic revival" in Kumasi, Baah claims: "I was very instrumental in the spread of the baptism in the Holy Spirit on this campus and in town."<sup>61</sup> His charismatic activism earned him the nickname "the smiling prophet" who "was to be seen everywhere -from Katanga to Africa [halls of residence] from K-Poly [Kumasi Polytechnic] to NTC [Nurses Training College] - preaching, prophesying, giving visions, casting out demons, healing the

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<sup>58</sup> See Baah (1983). The manifestation of the gift of prophecy which the author by self-definition associates with charisma is essentially a pentecostal phenomenon, and part of the trend of pentecostalism in non-denominational Christian groups in the period under consideration.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

sick and counselling the troubled."<sup>62</sup> Baah's designation as a prophet is an evidence of the dominant and enduring interest in the gift prophecy which overshadowed the exercise of *glossolalia* in the encounter with pentecostalism in evangelical unions. It was the pre-occupation with prophecy which discredited the prophetic tradition of the pentecostal movement in the IHCF.

What Baah describes as UST 'charismatic awakening' was also characterised by emphasis on performing miracles of healing and deliverance. Seth Baah recalls an experience of his engagement in deliverance ministry:

During my honeymoon in 1972, my bride and I ministered the deliverance of a drunkard wizard. This man vomited from his belly two horns of some antelopes, two *Nyame Akuma* stones, three coins: a Gold Coast penny, a CFA 100 francs, and a 10 Nigerian kobo, and then surrendered certain dangerous disease and death causing relics.<sup>63</sup>

The engagement in the ministry deliverance by 'Prophet Baah' reflects the emerging interest in demonology in evangelical fellowships as result of pentecostal influence. His interpretation of his encounter with the 'drunken wizard' was determined by his own traditional Akan background and worldview that associates drunkenness with witchcraft or some evil power resident in the subject. The process of the deliverance also reflects the Akan traditional belief in objects of power as visible sources of personalised power which must be surrendered or

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 2., The historical relationship between evangelical unions in tertiary and secondary institutions allows members of Christian fellowships in Universities to be granted audience in SU fellowships as senior brothers and sisters. Baah claims through his instrumentality, the sisters in the Nurses Christian Fellowship at Komfo Anokye Hospital, Kumasi, began exercising charismatic gifts of healing and deliverance: NTC girls who had been gifted under my ministry prayed for and instantly raised up a crippled accident victim (Grace Eshun, UST Laundry) in the name of our Lord Jesus - an episode that shook the Komfo Anokye Hospital and brought many to Christ." (Ibid.)

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 2, *Nyame Akuma*, literally 'God's axe' is Akan interpretation of thunderbolt. The stone designated 'God's Axe' in Akan is actually identified as a neolithic celt (See Balfour, H., "Stone Implements" *Journal of the African Society* 39(45) Oct. 1912, 1-16; Rattray, R.S., *Ashanti*, (Oxford: OUP, 1923), 143-4).

removed and destroyed before any cure or deliverance from the witchcraft can be effected. By exercising such a ministry of deliverance the UST campus pentecostal prophets became involved in the same business as their forerunners, the prophetic divine healers and their cohorts in deliverance churches of the Independent African Church movement.

### 3.5.1 Fasting, Vision and Prophecy

In the attempt to maximise spiritual power some of the UST charismatics adopted an ascetic lifestyle by undergoing prolonged periods of fasting. In recounting some of his fasting experiences Seth Baah claims: "At the age of 22, I successfully went through and successfully recovered from a 40-day complete fast: nothing called food entered my mouth."<sup>64</sup>

Fasting was perceived as an exercise which paved the way to new spiritual experiences such as visions about the future. On 30th March 1969 Baah claims he circulated a prayer letter on UST campus concerning two visions which he interprets as the oracles of God concerning the Ghana's political destiny. He recalls:

Once I had foretold the overthrow of Busia's Progress Party regime and the coming of a period irresponsible, destructive mismanagement of our beautiful country by a military regime, that would in turn be ousted by a section of the army; a firing-squad execution of those who were irresponsible for the looting of the country had also been predicted. A second dream was a prediction that a government in which Mr William Ofori-Atta would play a key role would be toppled by anti-Christian forces, which would then attempt to destroy Christianity in the land. ...the anti-Christian forces would be made up of the Communists, African Theology advocates and Heathenists. ...God has shown me that, after one final, unprecedented, bloody event, Ghana will be rebuilt into a powerful, prosperous missionary nation of hard-working people. The duration and extent of this man made disaster will be determined by the intercession of God's people.<sup>65</sup>

The visions of Baah reflect evangelical concerns about the national

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

political instability and turbulence associated with military interventions of government, and anticipation of government anti-Christian policies made apparent in the PNDC era.

In their "charismatic" zeal the UST prophets exercised no restraint in their desire to impose their "prophecies" on the university community as divine oracles to be accepted without question. Baah recalls some false prophecies which discredited the IHCF and its prophets and prophetesses:

This was at the very peak of UST charismatic awakening. 'Prophecy' was the excitement of the day, and I was very much used in this. I was then 20 years old. All went well until I began to think God should move a little faster than he was doing. On Friday 30th January, 1970, at about 9 p.m. in the conference room [of Great Hall], I 'prophesied': "...On Sunday, when you gather with the unbelievers to worship, my spirit shall cause a stir among the people! ...Then that fateful Sunday came, 1st February, 1970. At about 8 p.m. in the main hall of the Great Hall, Dr Riggs (physics lecturer) was conducting the Protestant service. I was sitting in the choir, clad in a dark purple robe, breathing in the mixture of academic and religious airs that characterise the University's Christian Worship services. I rose majestically to my feet and 'prophesied' in my deep voice that ran across the hall: "Whosoever wants my spirit should walk over to the front, and I will baptise him with my Spirit!" ... No one moved... I repeated the prophecy. Not a soul moved, Dr Riggs was silent for while, and then continued the service to a normal close."<sup>66</sup>

Apparently, such was the pentecostal domination of the evangelical union that when the intention to prophesy at Sunday worship was announced at the Friday meeting of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship, no one felt adequate to challenge the prophet even on the principle of maintaining order at worship. What happened at the Great Hall is a typical case of "illuminism" - "a false claim to be enlightened and directed from on high".<sup>67</sup>

The erratic nature of such prophesying became evident in another incident at the same weekend involving a female student in the

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<sup>66</sup> Baah, op. cit., 2.

<sup>67</sup> O'Connor, Edward O., *The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church* (Notre Dame: Ave Maria, 1971), 221.

IHCF who had assumed the role of a campus prophetess in flourishing "charismatic awakening". As at Legon, a feature of the UST pentecostal trend was all-night prayer meetings lasting 10 pm to 4am. At one such all-night prayer meeting organised by the IHCF on Saturday 31st January 1970, Baah reports:

At about 2 a.m., 'the spirit of the Lord' came upon one of the sisters whom we had accepted as a prophetess. She prophesied till dawn, and then she led us to Africa Hall [of residence for females] for a dawn preaching. There, she did a lot of gymnastics, calling the girls to 'come down for salvation'. One girl who wanted 'salvation' came down. The 'prophetess' laid her hand on her head, then stroked her over her face, breasts, abdomen, legs and feet, and then pronounced her 'saved'. And all the 'champions' [charismatic giants] were there, watching, mute. Then she said, "Some of you are doubting if I am really the Lord. Look at the sun (it was now about 9 am) and we saw the sun glittering in all colours,... She again commanded, and a small, black cloud from nowhere drifted across the clear, February sky and stood over the sun. "You are now convinced that I am the Lord."<sup>68</sup>

The apparent demonstration of signs and wonders left the spectators baffled. Being unable to gain any structure and meaning of the situation, the spectators dispersed. At 4 p.m. while she was still preaching, very wearied and famished, some concerned charismatics who became suspicious of the constraining factor approached her in a "charismatic" style:

We became suspicious of the spirit in her, and when we challenged him, in the name of Jesus, to confess who he was his reply was: "I am Lucifer. I came to confuse the children of God because He has been blessing them very much."<sup>69</sup>

The incidents narrated about the campus prophets and prophetess and their fantastic claims generated controversy about the charismatics. Seth Baah, the "smiling prophet" and the 'satan possessed' prophetess became objects of ridicule with cartoons in campus magazines. They were classified among false prophets. The effect on the campus charismatic movement was dramatic: "The roaring charismatic waves were

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

suddenly hushed to a standstill",<sup>70</sup> as Baah remarks. In an effort to restore the credibility of the evangelical fellowship, the IHCF ordered the prophetess to be subjected to an interview. Her behaviour was attributed to possession by "Lucifer", as a consequence of her post-Christian involvement with the traditional cult of her hometown due to parental pressure. As Baah reveals:

It was found out that, although she had been a Christian for some time, she had yielded, during one recent vacation to pressure from her parents and had gone to 'fortify' herself at a *juju fetish* shrine in the Volta Region.<sup>71</sup>

The whole incident was great embarrassment to the IHCF, and a humiliation to the "charismatics" who interpreted their failures as victory for Satan, saying: "Satan has achieved a goal so far."<sup>72</sup> By shifting the blame on to Satan and making him responsible for their failures, of the campus prophets were able revive themselves from self-pity and re-direct operations which involved the exportation of pentecostalism to Christian fellowships in schools, colleges and town communities. In recounting his personal involvement in such missions Baah remarks:

While the brothers and sisters were still moaning and refusing to get consoled, a few of us, undaunted, saw something ahead of us from the Lord, which was far greater than what the Devil had done. We left campus and introduced the charismatic experience to sisters of the Nurses Christian Fellowship at the Nurses Training College [Kumasi]. There it caught on successfully and soon spread into the Town Fellowship. The Kumasi Polytechnic and

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.; On the missionary source of dualism in African Christianity, see Birgit Meyer, "If you are a devil, you are a witch and, if you are a witch, you are a Devil." The Integration of "Pagan" Ideas Into the Conceptual Universe of Ewe Christians in South Eastern Ghana, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXII(2) 1992, 98-131. Hollenweger, op. cit., 345 notes the importance of prophecy "in Pentecostal churches of the Apostolic type, and in various African churches", but makes the important comment: "Wherever the Pentecostal movement has taken on organisational forms, spontaneous prophecy, which goes beyond exhortation for edification has necessarily been rejected as 'Satan deceiving and misdirecting simple souls'."

Wesley College Fellowships were likewise blessed through us.<sup>73</sup>

The encounter with pentecostalism in evangelical fellowships on campus produced what has been termed "charismatism", or what O'Connor calls "charismania" – "attributing excessive importance to the charisms".<sup>74</sup> Of the spiritual gifts, it was prophecy that emerged as the prominent and enduring characteristic feature of pentecostalism in the Christian fellowship movement. The campus prophet became a "man of God" – one who challenged the whole fellowship with the oracles of God to inspire and maintain evangelistic and pietistic zeal. But in claiming to have 'hot lines' to God, the campus prophets also became agents of religious 'disorder' within the local evangelical fellowship context and beyond.

### 3.6 PENTECOSTALISM AND EVANGELICAL RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF AFRICAN BELIEFS AT CAPE COAST

Pentecostal influence in the Christian Fellowships heightened the spiritual awareness of evangelical students, and focused attention on forces of power in traditional religious worldview. Spiritual conflict became an important dimension of Christian life and witness, with prayer and fasting projected as spiritual exercises for dealing with anti-Christian forces of power in the spirit world. Recurrent road accidents which claimed the lives of some students of the University College of Cape Coast revived traditional beliefs which the College evangelical fellowship felt challenged to counter, as reported below:

The Christian Fellowship is praising the Lord for vindicating their trust in Him. The College's oldest Hall of residence appears to be haunted by spirits. For the past four years, at a particular season, a student from the hall has been involved in a fatal accident, or died suddenly. Three students have died in this way. Last year, the students appealed to the Hall authorities to offer the traditional blood sacrifice to appeased the spirits. Feeling ran high when Christians in the College opposed the decision. The non-Christians argued that the Christians could claim God's protection, but they could not. Upon this, the Christian Fellowship accept the challenge to pray for the Lord's intervention and

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<sup>73</sup> Baah, op. cit.

<sup>74</sup> O'Connor, op. cit., 225.

deliverance for the Hall. The fatal season has passed, and there has been no death or fatal accident in the Hall. This has favourably impressed some members of the Hall and created further opportunities for witness.<sup>75</sup>

The Cape Coast case reflects the incompatible elements of the mixed worldview of Ghanaian Christians and associated perceptions of reality, and the challenge it poses for evangelical ministry. It is an important factor for the emergence of the deliverance ministry associated with charismatic/pentecostal revival in the Christian Fellowship movement.

### 3.7 SOME REACTIONS TO PENTECOSTALISM IN EVANGELICAL FELLOWSHIPS

The pentecostal brand of Christianity in the evangelical unions was perceived as a deviation from the evangelical Christianity introduced into schools and colleges through SU and the British IVF. The extremities of the campus prophets and prophetesses of UST attracted reactions which range from derogatory remarks to outright condemnation. In an attempt to restore the credibility of the fellowship, the President of the IHCF took extreme measures and imposed a ban on "congregational praying" and public manifestation of "pentecostal experiences".

Tony Wilmot, who had been closely involved in the development of the evangelical unions in Ghana and other parts of Africa wrote a letter to the IHCF of UST in which he effectively denounced the pre-occupation with 'spiritual experiences', and drew the attention of its members to "the Lord Jesus Christ and His sanctifying spirit".<sup>76</sup> At Legon attempts were made by the "conservative evangelicals" in the UCF to re-direct the attention of the members of the fellowship to the basics of evangelicalism and re-define the spirit-filled life by emphasising "purity and concern for the unsaved as marks of the

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<sup>75</sup> The University College of Cape Coast Christian Fellowship Report in *Span* 1971 (3), 9.

<sup>76</sup> *Span*, 3, 1970, 11.

spirit-filled life".<sup>77</sup> Prayers were intensified "for more vigilance against extravagances due to immaturity and sin".<sup>78</sup>

By the mid 1970s the pentecostal influence in the University fellowships still existed but not as pronounced as it was between 1969 and the early 1970s.<sup>79</sup> In a negative sense pentecostal influence had a divisive impact on some evangelical fellowships, though others consider it initiated a period of revival.

### 3.8 PENTECOSTALISM IN SU FELLOWSHIPS

The pentecostal influence in SU school groups occurred through the agency of pentecostal churches to which some of the SU students belonged, and the association of the school groups with evangelical unions in higher educational institutions and community fellowships. It was characterised by incidents of disorder which damaged the reputation of the movement.

Whilst pentecostalism flourished in evangelical fellowships operating in the liberal context of Universities and other higher institutions, the manifestation of the phenomenon could not be tolerated in secondary schools. The fact that most of the SU school groups existed in boarding institutions with a structured and controlled student life, created problems for groups that came under pentecostal influence. There were no control mechanisms within the school fellowships to regulate the exercise of spiritual gifts and to avoid pentecostal excesses: excessive emotionalism, extremism and indiscipline.

As in university fellowships, the school fellowships were led to identify spirituality with the possession of the spectacular gifts of the Holy Spirit. Ironically their concept of spirituality resulted in apparent indiscipline and led to a diminished credibility of the movement in some institutions. Official complaints lodged with SU authorities indicate the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Hama, op. cit.

desire to become "spiritual", suggesting that is the pursuit and exercise of charismatic gifts had led to flagrant disregard for school rules and a distraction of attention from studies.<sup>80</sup> Those designated "spiritual" engaged in prolonged and noisy prayer meetings which caused disturbance. In extreme cases of reaction some school authorities threatened to proscribe the SU groups in their schools.<sup>81</sup> The emphasis on pentecostal expression of spirituality in SU groups led some school authorities to identify SU with the pentecostal churches. There was a gradual erosion of the non-denominational image of SU in schools which the Council was anxious to restore.<sup>82</sup>

In a communication to Headmasters and Principals of schools and colleges the SU Council responded to the criticisms of the pentecostal inclination and misconduct in SU school fellowships by referring to the positive influence of SU work, but also acknowledging that the pre-occupation with spiritual gifts had led to imitations and undesirable behaviour. The Council, however, suggested the need for objective appraisal of pentecostal expression, saying: "We are finding it necessary to distinguish between genuine gifts and works of the Holy Spirit, and imitations."<sup>83</sup>

In a separate communication to secretaries and patrons of the SU

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<sup>80</sup> Tandoh, S. E.<sup>1</sup>, *Circular Letter of SU Council Chairman to Headmasters and Principals*, n.d., 1.

<sup>81</sup> The resurgence of pentecostalism in Ghanaian Christianity in the 1980s has had detrimental effect on operation of some SU school groups, as indicated by SU report on schools in Central Region: "During the year under review 3 major problems cropped up in 3 schools in the region which resulted in the complete ban of one and threats of suspension on the others." The group at Wesley Girls' High School was banned indefinitely. The one at Mfantseman Girls' Secondary School was threatened with suspension, and its meeting times reduced. The group at Holy Child School (a Catholic institution) came under a threat of suspension, with its meetings times reduced to once a week. According to the SU report, all three cases related to "the exercise of the gifts of the Holy Spirit and irregular prayer times." A committee was thus set up by the Regional SU Committee to investigate the crisis in the groups and provide remedies (see *SU Central Region Annual Report*, 1982/83, 3).

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

school fellowships, the SU Council considered the positive revivalistic impact of Pentecostalism by acknowledging:

In recent days there are appearing in an increasing number "spiritual gifts" in some college groups. We praise the Lord for places where this has resulted in genuine conversions, and renewed zeal for the Lord. Some members are walking with the Lord in a new and living way. Others have rich testimonies of the power of the Lord in their lives.<sup>84</sup>

However, the Council expressed concern about the crisis generated by the over-emphasis of pentecostal experiences and denounced the acts of misconduct which had brought SU under criticism:

There has been an unhealthy interest in particular gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially tongues, prophesy, and healing. Some, under the pretext of speaking in tongues and prophesying, utter a lot of nonsense and false predictions. Others shout so much and misbehave at prayer meetings to such an extent that the school campus is disturbed. Still yet others are so 'spiritual' that they disregard school rules, and appear to disrespect authority. Their meetings run into hours without permission. Some are always struggling to get the Holy Spirit. This is a sad catalogue. It really dishonours the Name of the Lord.<sup>85</sup>

In diagnosing the problem, the Council identified some determinant factors including the influence of local independent African and pentecostal churches and denounced: "Those who have been influenced by the so-called 'spiritual churches', often use a lot of self effort to 'get the Holy Spirit'." In the Council's opinion: "Such people are untaught and are just being silly" and had to be given biblical guidelines as the "whole counsel of God".<sup>86</sup>

Another factor identified by the Council is the situation where "often the person an SU group can lay hands on to speak to them is one who will present his particular slant in this issue which leads to all

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Tandoh, S.E.<sup>2</sup>, *Circular Letter of SU Council Chairman to Patrons and Secretaries*, n.d., 1.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

such unhappy repercussions."<sup>87</sup> The Council related the current crisis to the Biblical case of the situation at Corinth where the adult congregation encountered serious difficulties about the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>88</sup> It concluded: "Our young and immature 'congregations' are more likely to meet with serious problems."<sup>89</sup>

Although the SU Council accepted in principle the validity of the pentecostal experience the unhappy repercussions that characterised pentecostal influence in SU groups generated some uncertainty in the minds of SU authorities about the authenticity of the manifestation of the phenomenon in schools. The dilemma of the Council is indicated by its statement:

...is this a genuine revival, or has the devil caught us off our guard! Why don't we ban any group which indulges in such things? Is it of God, could things be done so decently that it will glorify the Name of the Lord?<sup>90</sup>

At a continental level, the pentecostal problem afflicted SU groups in Africa and presented a great challenge to the leadership, as Nigel Sylvester observes: "In some countries, particularly in Africa, the leadership has at times found it necessary to restrain some of the more exuberant younger SU members, so that they do not equate spiritual life with excessive emotion."<sup>91</sup>

As a panacea for the pentecostal problem in SU school fellowships the SU Council stated, for study and teaching, its doctrinal position and instructions concerning the Holy Spirit. On the issue of the "baptism of the Holy Spirit", the official SU teaching denies it is a second aspect of a two-stage conversion experience. It is synchronous with conversion to Christ:

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.; See I Cor. 1, 13, and 14.

<sup>89</sup> Tandoh<sup>2</sup>, op. cit.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>91</sup> Sylvester (1984), 247-8.

We also believe that all who are truly converted to Christ are BORN OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, and that the Holy Spirit Himself immediately takes residence in them. In this way the Holy Spirit lives IN all believers. ... Every converted SU member must be led into an assurance that the Holy Spirit indwells him or her. ... We are exhorted to be filled with the Holy Spirit, i.e. yield to HIS control, to walk in the Spirit. ... Indeed the whole Christian life is a life in the Spirit.<sup>92</sup>

The official SU position stated above laid emphasis on the desire to "be filled" with reference to the Pauline imperative: "... be filled with the Spirit".<sup>93</sup> However the SU interpretation of the Spirit-filled life implied a disciplined life which was meant to counter the pentecostal teaching that equated spiritual life with excessive emotional expression faith.

Furthermore, the Council found it necessary to explain its position on what is termed an "anointing" of the Holy Spirit – the overwhelming experience of the Holy Spirit which first occurred on<sup>the</sup> day of Pentecost and which according to classical pentecostals is manifested in glossolalia, prophecy and healing. Though the gifts of the Spirit are recognised by SU, its teaching consistently avoids associating the gifts of the Holy Spirit with the pentecostal concept – "baptism of the Holy Spirit". On 'anointing' of the Holy Spirit the SU Council taught:

The Scriptures... speak about an 'anointing' for all believers. Here the Bible says that the Holy Spirit comes UPON the believer. From the experience of the Apostles, it was both what happened on the day of Pentecost, and what seemed to happen when they prayed for strength. It also happened that this experience of the Holy Spirit coming UPON the early disciples ushered the church into a dispensation in which Tongue Speaking, Prophecy, Healing, etc., were an essential part of Church life. ... It seems to us that there is place in the scriptures for gifts of the Spirit. It is therefore in order for us to see such manifestations in their proper scriptural setting...<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid. The SU emphatic statement on the residence of the Holy Spirit in all believers is supported with the following Bible references: John 14:16,17; Romans 8:9; Ephesians 1: 13; I Corinthians 6:19).

<sup>93</sup> Ephesians 5:18 (NIV).

<sup>94</sup> Tandoh<sup>2</sup>, op. cit.

In a concluding remark, in unequivocal terms the Council registered its rejection of classical pentecostal doctrine of 'baptism of the Holy Spirit' with initial evidence of speaking in an unknown tongue:

The sign of the Holy Spirit having come upon a believer is NOT the ability to speak in an unknown tongue. No two descriptions of the coming of the Holy Spirit upon a person or group of persons is similar in the Scriptures.<sup>95</sup>

In principle the SU Council affirmed a position that can be identified as charismatic - one identifiable with the official position of the charismatic groups within the established churches.<sup>96</sup>

The official statements of the SU Council concerning controversies surrounding the "baptism of the Holy Spirit" could not gain acceptance in the town and work place fellowships which were very open to teachings of local pentecostal preachers. The Kumasi Town Fellowship with a significant pentecostal membership adopted an ambivalent attitude which considered the pentecostal teaching of "baptism of the Holy Spirit" as an issue 'too hot to handle'. This was reflected in a call to the SU Council to respond to an 'unkind comment' about SU, a protestant criticism of the movement as being liberal towards pentecostalism:

It is said that SU is 'too loose' with regard to her teaching on the Third Person of the Trinity. To be specific, on the question of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. This is serious because: (i) It is a doctrinal issue. (ii) It is an issue raised by 'in-members' mainly. They reject the attitude of "forbid not; encourage not". They reject the argument that the doctrine (and the active promotion of it), is bound up with too many dangers and therefore should be encouraged to 'lie cool'.<sup>97</sup>

Formally, the SU Council accepted in principle but with a

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Hollenweger, op. cit., 247, states the position of German churches which concludes: "Every reborn Christian is a 'charismatic': We Christians do not look for a special act of reception of the Spirit in 'sealing' or 'the baptism of the Spirit', but we know that the Holy Spirit dwells in every Christian and desires to be visible in every Christian."

<sup>97</sup> *The Fellowship* 2(3) March 1973, 2.

different interpretation and qualification the validity of experience of the Holy Spirit described by pentecostals as 'baptism of the Holy Spirit'. However within the Kumasi Town Fellowship the controversy prevailed despite the teaching of the SU Council. An editorial commentary in the fellowship's magazine states:

The Fellowship wishes to ask: The Baptism of the Holy Spirit (claimed by many to be the wrong phrase) 'IS IT ONLY AN EXTRA-OPTIONAL' issue for the Christian? Oh, God, Bless; dear Lord, help those whose task it is to answer the above questions and to take the right "decision".<sup>98</sup>

With the controversy surrounding the exercise of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, pentecostal preachers from local pentecostal churches were invited not just to stimulate interest in the spiritual gifts but to give Biblical expositions to clarify the subject and other related issues. The polarisation of the relationship between SU and protestant churches as a result of the increasing pentecostal influence in the SU further led the Kumasi Town Fellowship to depend more on missionaries of pentecostal denominations and non-denominational evangelical missions in prosecuting its teaching programmes.<sup>99</sup>

### 3.8.1 The "Local Chorus" – Pentecostal "Sung Music"

An important evidence of the influence of local Pentecostal churches in the Christian fellowship movement is the use of the "local chorus" – songs originating from the pentecostal churches in Ghana.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> The evangelical include Ross Harbinson and Ross Campbell (all of the Worldwide Evangelization for Christ Mission), and Rev Vidal Kliensasser of Sudan Interior Mission, renamed Society for International Ministries. Kliensasser toured many SU school groups as a Bible teacher. Ross Campbell was later seconded to the directorship of the Ghana Evangelism Committee (see p.447 of the Thesis).

<sup>100</sup> A collection of 28 songs of the "local chorus" translated in English and classified as "Ghanaian Spirituals" has been published together with other songs for both denominational and inter-denominational services in schools and colleges. But the English version – more or less a translation and adaptation of the "local chorus" has never gained a wide appeal because of loss of meaning and flavour in the translated product. It is the only documented collection the

The "local chorus" was introduced first into Town Fellowships by SU members of pentecostal churches who also became agents of their use in evangelical unions and SU school groups. The use of the 'local chorus' in SU groups, especially the town fellowships is accompanied by the traditional musical instrumentation, especially drums and percussion instruments, with rhythmic clapping which stimulates swaying of the body or actual dancing as in mainline pentecostal churches in Ghana.

In the early 1970s the use of the "local chorus" in SU fellowships was not meant to replace but to supplement the singing of traditional SU English songs in the *Golden Bells* hymn book and the choruses of the *CSSM Chorus Book*. By the end of that decade the "local chorus" had almost replaced the traditional English hymns and choruses of SU-Ghana. The "local chorus" became the popular music at all-night prayer meetings when participants needed quick rhythmic music with instrumentation to sing and dance to keep the vigil.

In examining the factors and characteristic features favouring the predominant use of the "local chorus" by SU Samuel Amissah (General Secretary of SU-Ghana, 1975-81) observes:

Due to either the predominance of SU members from pentecostal churches in SU fellowships or the fact that the choruses sang by these churches are simple, short and in indigenous language are therefore more meaningful, they tend to be popular at fellowship meetings.<sup>101</sup>

Furthermore, the decline of Ghana's economy between 1975-85, rigid foreign exchange controls and devaluation of the Ghanaian currency placed a limitation on the importation of the English song books. The use of the "local chorus" was not only an appropriate local substitute but a (more or less conscious) movement towards the

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author is aware of. See Appendix XV for a selection of the translated version in *Asempa Hymns* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1980).

<sup>101</sup> Amissah, S.E., *Relationship with the Churches and Development of SU Ministry*, SU-Ghana Paper, 1980, 2.

indigenisation of SU- Ghana.<sup>102</sup>

With its Pentecostal ethos, the widespread use of the "local chorus" by SU fellowships earned the movement the accusation of the Protestant Mission Churches as leaning towards pentecostals.<sup>103</sup> However, the current trend in Ghana of producing new and modernised forms of the chorus through the use of electronic music has led to a nationwide explosion of the pentecostal songs reproduced and played as "Gospel Music" on audio cassette tapes and national radio programmes.<sup>104</sup> The cumulative impact is the further enhancement of the use of the chorus with modern instrumentation even in mainline protestant denominations.<sup>105</sup> The use of the chorus encourages spontaneous congregational participation in church worship as worshippers sing, clap and dance to the medley of choruses. The pentecostal denominational identity of the "local chorus" is thus of no consequence in Ghanaian Christianity today.

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<sup>102</sup> The influence of pentecostalism in SU-Ghana is further evident in the increasing use of contemporary "renewal music" of charismatic movements. The new SU-Ghana song booklet: Centenary Praise, published in 1990 to commemorate the centenary of the Ghana movement is a collection of old and new English songs in current SU usage. The priority given to "renewal music" in the order of songs confirms the charismatic impact. The first 15 of the collection are the following renewal songs:

1. "Seek Ye First the Kingdom of God"; 2. "O Magnify The Lord"; 3. "This Is The Day"; 4. "I will Bless The Lord"; 5. "We Have Come Into His House"; 6. "Majesty"; 7. "Jesus, Name Above All Names"; 8. "There Is A Redeemer"; 9. "The Steadfast Love Of The Lord"; 10. "Lord Be Glorified"; 11. "Our God Reigns"; 12. "We Bring The Sacrifice Of Praise"; 13. "Father I Adore You"; 14. "Bind Us Together"; 15. "Bless His Holy Name". Most of these songs are now in common use in the U.K. outside charismatic circles.

<sup>103</sup> Amissah, op. cit.

<sup>104</sup> The popularity of the "gospel music" is evident in its dominance of the national radio music, a phenomenon which led to the over-reaction of the PNDC government in imposing a ban on "gospel music" in programmes of the national radio stations including audience request programmes. See *The Christian Messenger* (Newspaper of Presbyterian Church of Ghana), 5(7&8), July/August 1990, 1.

<sup>105</sup> Begbie, op.cit, 228, mentions the influence of 'renewal music' on "virtually all mainline denominations in Britain".

### 3.8.1.1 The Spirituality of the "Local Chorus"

The saying is attributed St. Bernard of Clairvaux (circa 1090–1153): "When it comes to spirituality each must learn to drink from his own well". For an oral society such as Ghana, the local chorus becomes the wellspring from which Christian faith is nurtured. As with the Spirituals of black slave religion, the chorus is the music of an oral people and are spread orally.<sup>106</sup> The theological content of the "local chorus" follows no systematic sequence of thought comparable with Western Hymns. But what may be discounted as "theologically trite" and repetitive music has great meaning and function in the context of popular religion in Ghana. The chorus as "sung music" is a significant factor in determining theological reflection at the grassroots level.

Furthermore, as indigenous pentecostal music, the "local chorus" offers countless possibilities of praise and adoration of God in private devotions and congregational worship. Praise is one of the commonest features of music in the Ghanaian society, and it is by far the most distinctive theme of the "local chorus". God is praised as creator and sovereign ruler of the universe as indicated by the following songs:

*Wo nsa anadwuma kamfo wo,  
Soroabofo sore wo,  
Ahotefo to nnwom se,  
Nhyira nka wo din;  
Nhyira nka wo din.*

Your creation adore you,  
Angels worship you,  
And the saints sing,  
Praises to your name;  
Praises to your name.

*Yehowa, yeyi w'aye,  
Wo din na yekamfo,  
Wo din na yekamfo,  
Amen, halleluya!  
Wiase ha, yede nnwom to,  
Yi wo din kronkron no aye,  
Kosi se yebefiri ha;  
Amen, Aleluia.*

We praise you, Jehovah,  
We glorify your name,  
We glorify your name,  
Amen, hallelujah!  
In this world, with hymns and songs,  
We extol your holy name,  
Until we leave this place;  
Amen, hallelujah.

*Momma no so; Yesu n'oye hene!  
Momma no so; Yesu n,oye hene!  
Momma no so; Yesu n'oye hene!  
Oye Hene, ampa.  
Ahemfohene; esese obiara nkoto no,  
Monyi n'aye, monhye n'animouyam,  
Ahemfohene; esese obiara nkoto no  
Monyi n'aye, monhye n'animouyam.*

Uplift Him, Jesus is the King;  
Uplift Him, Jesus is the King;  
Uplift Him, Jesus is the King;  
He is King indeed.  
King of Kings; All must bow before Him,  
Praise Him and glorify Him.  
King of Kings; All must bow before Him,  
Praise Him and glorify Him.

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<sup>106</sup> See Hollenweger, W.J., Music in the Service of Reconciliation, *Theology*, XCII (1989), 277.

The Kingship of Jesus as God is emphasized and constitutes a recurrent theme of many of the choruses. It is a reflection of the importance of the kingship or chieftaincy in the Ghanaian society. As the King of kings, Jesus is regarded as one to be accorded the praise and adoration given to chiefs in the society. Hence the emphasis on glorifying and bowing down before him in worship as in the song – "*Momma no so; Yesu n'oye hene*" literally, "Uplift Him, Jesus is the King".

In accordance with His position as King, Jesus is designated "Osahene" – the King of battles, that is the conqueror who is to be praised in the songs: "*Nyame ye Osahene*" – literally "God is King of Battle" and "*Osahene Christo*" – "Jesus the King of Battle".

*Nyame ye Osahene,  
Aman nyinaa koto no,  
Me nso mekoto no bi,  
Mebo ne din daa.  
Nyame! Wo din ye me de,  
Enti mebo wo din akyere amansan,  
Nyame ye Osahene,  
Aman nyinaa koto no;  
Me nso mekoto no bi,  
Mebo ne din daa.*

God is King of battle,  
All nations bow before him,  
I will also bow before him,  
And bless His name always.  
God! I adore your name,  
So I will publish your name abroad,  
God is Captain,  
All nations bow before him;  
So I will also bow before him,  
And bless His name always.

*Osahene Christo!,  
Momma ne din so,  
Oye hene, Oye hene ampa;  
N'ahenie da n'abatiri so,  
Obefre no se onwanwa,  
Daa Gya, Afutufo,  
Asomdwoehene,  
Oye hene, Oye hene, oye hene ampa.*

Jesus, King of battle!  
Uplift His name  
He is King, He is King indeed;  
His government is on His shoulders,  
He will be called Wonderful,  
Everlasting Father, Counsellor,  
Prince of peace;  
He is King, He is King indeed.

The dire socio-economic realities of Ghana have created the perception that "Life is War". The traditional African worldview introduces a supernatural dimension to the problems of survival and makes the Christian life a battle in which Jesus becomes the conquering King for the Christian.

The influence of the Bible has been a very important source of inspiration for the composition of some choruses. The song "*Osahene Christo*" (above) is a direct appropriation of the Twi text of the prophecy about the messiah in the Book of Isaiah 9:6. So is the song "*Na wotoo Onyankopon Akoa Mose Dwom*" – "And They Sang the Song of Moses" which appropriates the text of Revelation 15:3 as follows:

*Na wotoo Onyankopon akoo Mose dwom,  
N'adwamaa no dwom se;  
Awurade Nyankopon, Ade Nyinaa so Tumfo  
Wo nnnwuma ye kese, na eye nwanwa.  
Meresantenehene, W'kwantenee,  
Meresantenehene, W'kwantenee,  
Meresantenehene, Wo nnnwuma ye kese  
Na eye nwanwa.*

And they sang the song of Moses,  
And the song of the lamb saying:  
Lord God Almighty of all creation,  
Your works are great and marvellous.  
Eternal King, Your ways are just,  
Eternal King, Your ways are just,  
Eternal King, Your works are great  
And marvellous.

The composition of this particular song is attributed to Pastor Painstil (lately of Church of Pentecost - Ghana) who gained the inspiration for the tune at a prayer meeting. It was introduced at the Kumasi Town Fellowship by SU members of the Church who had just learnt it at Church.

Apart from Biblical texts, some choruses centre on Biblical themes. The song below "*Da a Yehowa de ne ma no betwa epo no*" literally, "When Jehovah takes His Children Across the Sea" is an appropriation of the exodus experience. It is sung in hopeful expectation of victory in any crisis of life associated with the Christian's earthly pilgrimage.

*Da a Yehowa de ne ma no,  
betwa epo no,  
Ahurusi beba Israel;  
O! Israel ani begye.  
Da no na Isreal ani begye,  
Da no na Israel ani begye,  
Ahurusi beba Israel;  
O! Israel ani begye.*

When Jehovah takes his children,  
across the sea,  
Joy will come to Isreal;  
O! Israel will rejoice.  
That day Israel will rejoice,  
That day Israel will rejoice,  
Joy will come to Israel;  
O! Israel will rejoice.

Christian dedication is the theme of the chorus, *Se me hwe nea Onyame aye* - "When I consider What God has done":

*Se me hwe nea Onyame aye,  
Adea w'aye ama me yi;  
Mede me nipadua yi,  
Bebo afodee ama Yehowa.*

When I consider what God has done,  
What He has done for me;  
I will offer my body,  
As a sacrifice to Jehovah.

The song is a personal reflection on the creative and redemptive work of God and echoes the Pauline admonition in Romans 12:1 which urges Christian dedication as an appreciative response to God.

Most of the choruses, including those stated above, were originally composed in the Twi language but have been adapted for use in other Ghanaian languages. In the absence of documentation, it may be surmised that the emergence of new songs caused old ones to recede to the background. But the recording of some choruses on cassette

tapes in contemporary Ghanaian "gospel music" production has enabled the resurrection of old choruses and caused new ones to remain longer in currency.

### 3.8.2 All-Night Prayer Meetings

The pentecostal influence in Christian Fellowship movement intensified the zeal for prayer. It led to the popularisation of the all-night (10pm-4am) prayer meetings in Christian fellowships in university and college campuses and town communities. Participants were kept alive through the singing of the 'local chorus' with drumming, clapping and dancing. The programme of activities punctuated by prayer sessions and singing stimulated pentecostal experiences. The all-night prayer meeting was already a practice of the pentecostal and independent African churches in Ghana, so SU members in pentecostal churches were already used to the practice.

SU authorities discouraged secondary school groups from organising all-night meetings because school regulations prohibited such late night meetings. However as a preparation towards a special evangelistic event such as school mission, permission was granted for a half-night meeting from 8.30pm - 11pm at weekends, either Friday or Saturday, normally with the SU patron in attendance. In almost all post-secondary institutions all-night prayer meetings became either an occasional or regular feature of the activities of the Christian fellowship depending on the local peculiarities and the academic programme for the term. In a year of evangelistic mission on campus the all-night meeting then became a regular pre-mission activity.<sup>107</sup>

In Kumasi Town Fellowship the all-night prayer meeting was organised monthly - the last Saturday of the month.<sup>108</sup> The Saturday

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<sup>107</sup> On a research visit to University of Ghana, Legon, in November 1991, the author observed that all-night group and individual prayers had become a regular feature of the charismatic explosion on campus, with most of the meetings taking place in distant lecture theatres and the botanical gardens to avoid disturbing student halls of residence with loud glossolalic prayers.

<sup>108</sup> See *The Fellowship* 1(5) Oct. 1972, 16.

night meetings favoured members of the fellowship who were not occupationally engaged on Saturday. But as many of the membership of the fellowship were self-employed, working on Saturdays, a review of the choice of Saturday nights was demanded. However, it appears Saturday was considered more suitable than Friday as announced:

The question of when we should hold the "All-night" was resolved at the last Saturday. All-nights will continue to be held on the last Saturday of each month.<sup>109</sup>

The Saturday all-night prayer meeting had a disruptive effect on active church involvement of some Town Fellowship members. For some participants the package of activity in the six hour night programme – praise and adoration, Bible exposition, sessions of prayer and "being filled" with the spirit, sharing testimonies, were considered as effective as, if not better substitutes for Sunday morning church service. Others were just too tired to attend the church service which starts at 9.30am for most protestant congregations in Ghana. Others sacrificed the Sunday morning service, sleeping in to regain strength to attend Sunday afternoon town fellowship meeting at 4pm. Those who managed to attend Sunday morning church service often could not maintain mental alertness. The counter-productive effect of the Saturday night meetings in terms of diminished church commitment of fellowship members was an issue that often engaged the attention of the leadership of the Kumasi Town Fellowship as indicated below:

The issue of the ALL-NIGHT prayer meeting being shifted to Friday was raised again because some have been of the opinion that if holding it on Saturday night makes them too tired to be fully involved in Sunday worship, then the ALL-NIGHT is defeating its purpose. We want your view on the issue: Why you think the ALL-NIGHT should continue to be held on Saturday...<sup>110</sup>

In spite of the call for review there is no evidence of a change to Friday. The quest for pentecostal experiences inspired the mass attendance of the all-night meetings, but participants were encouraged

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> *The Fellowship* 1(6) Nov. 1972, 17.

to keep the vigil without neglecting Sunday morning church worship. This was reiterated at all-night prayer meeting in September 1972 as indicated by the fellowship report:

"Do you desire the Lord to give you a spiritual gift?" asked Pastor David Mills at the latest 'all-night' when he spoke on 'The Spiritual gifts' with special emphasis on prophecy. "Well, then," he continued "You have started rightly-by sacrificing your sleep to be here. But, remember, a sacrifice must cost us something. It is no sacrifice if you come here on Saturday night only to cash in on worship time by sleeping when you should be in church."<sup>111</sup>

The disruptive effect of Saturday all-night prayer meetings on the active involvement of participants in Sunday church worship continually engaged the attention of the leadership of the Kumasi Town Fellowship, but the problem was effectively resolved. With the proliferation of Town Fellowships, independent prayer and charismatic groups in the eighties, all-night prayer meetings became a subject of dispute not only between SU and mainline denominations, but also between pentecostal/charismatic movements and the government.

In 1989 apparently in response to complaints about nocturnal disturbance of neighbourhoods, the PNDC government announced measures to check noisy all-night Christian meetings. They included the need for acquisition of a police permit and imposition of time limitation. The regulation on drastic reduction of noise levels implied a virtual ban on shouting, the use of noisy loud-speakers and musical instruments.

It was clear the regulation was targeted at the new charismatic movements - derogated as "mushroom churches". But in the prevailing context of deteriorating church-state relations the regulation was interpreted by Christians as a pretext by the government to control Christian activities. Moreover the affected Christian groups criticised the government for overlooking the all-night "disco" sessions which also caused noise pollution.

Officially SU has de-emphasised all-night meetings but some

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<sup>111</sup> See *The Fellowship* 1(5) Oct. 1972, 16.

individual parachurch and church groups maintain the practice with little adherence to the government regulation.

### 3.9 THE PRAYER WARRIORS MOVEMENT

#### 3.9.1 Background and Origins

One of the most important developments resulting from the dynamic of Town Fellowships in SU-Ghana is the Prayer Warriors Movement (PWM). The origins of the movement can be traced to the pentecostal influence in SU-Ghana which began in the late 1960s. SU was established in Ghana as a movement for promoting Bible reading. Pentecostalism introduced a new dimension into the spirituality of SU members by emphasising the importance of prayer and fasting. From the early 1970s, prayer and fasting retreats were organised at Wesley College in Kumasi during Christmas holidays and on some public holidays, with the patronage of the then Principal of the College, Brew Riverson.<sup>112</sup> The retreats were organised to meet the particular interest of some particular members of the fellowships, and so attendance was basically voluntary. Though participants were encouraged to fast, it was not mandatory. The programme was purposely planned to stimulate spiritual experiences that a regular SU camp could not. It fulfilled the desire of participants for pentecostal experiences like prophesying and speaking in tongues. The retreats also provided opportunity for participants to engage in extended prayers. It was the establishment of the PWM which institutionalised prayer and fasting retreats in SU-Ghana. As Edward Okyere (pioneer of the PWM) notes: "People attend a camp at which they fast for at least three days, living only on water."<sup>113</sup>

The formation of PWM was inspired by an acute awareness by Edward Okyere of the need for prayer support for SU work in

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<sup>112</sup> From research interview on 7 May 1992 between the author and Yaw Frimpong-Manso, a founder member of the PWM, minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and now engaged in doctoral studies at the University of Aberdeen. Rev Dr. E H Brew Riverson, who associated with SU as a senior friend, has been Secretary of Conference of the Methodist Church, Ghana, since 1986.

<sup>113</sup> Okyere, E., Ghana Fasting Camps, *Catalyst*, 1(7), 1989, 7.

Ghana.<sup>114</sup> In September 1973 when he assumed responsibility as Travelling Secretary of SU-Ghana for Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions, he "felt woefully inadequate to swim all by himself in the frightening ocean of responsibility that lay before him".<sup>115</sup> He realised a desperate need for personal prayer support. He therefore mobilised a small band of prayer partners from Town Fellowships in his area of responsibility (Asante and Brong-Ahafo) for a prayer and fasting retreat.<sup>116</sup>

His concerns synchronised with that of a group of Christians who also engaged in prayer and fasting retreats, and thus had established a pietistic identity as the "Praying Saints" in the Town Fellowship at Sekyere-Odumasi in Ashanti Region. It was led by local SU leaders, Bernard Okyere and Yaw Frimpong-Manso.<sup>117</sup> Thus when Edward Okyere communicated his vision for establishing a spiritual power house for the SU ministry there was already an enthusiastic organised prayer group that met in a bush cave of a plateau at Sekyere-Odumase.<sup>118</sup> It was constituted into a prayer force which became the nucleus of the PWM. The first retreat dubbed "bush camp",<sup>119</sup> was held in April 1974 in the Sekyere-Odumase cave. Edward Okyere recalls it was attended by "about thirty people [who] studied

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<sup>114</sup> *Prayer Warrior Brochure*, n.d., 1, directs attention to St. Paul's admonition in I Thess. 5.25 and II Thess. 3.1-3 to emphasize the need for Christians to prevail in prayer for Christian workers who are perceived as doing battle for God.

<sup>115</sup> *Hundred Years of Scripture Union in Ghana*, SU-Ghana Centenary Brochure, 1990, 5.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*; Okyere (1989), *op. cit.*

<sup>117</sup> See *Prayer Warriors Brochure*, *op. cit.*, 1.

<sup>118</sup> From interview with Yaw Frimpong-Manso on 7 May 1992, the author learns the cave of Sekyere-Odumase was discovered and adopted for Christian use by Bernard Okyere whose mother farms around the plateau in which it is located. Other centres for prayer retreats established in mountains in the Asante Area include the Methodist centre in the Atwea Mountains and the Roman Catholic shrine at Buoho.

<sup>119</sup> Okyere, *op. cit.*

the word, prayed and fasted together" for three days.<sup>120</sup> One guest participant mentioned is Brew Riverson.<sup>121</sup>

The spiritual experience and excitement which the participants derived from the "bush camp" led to organising a second one in August the same year. That established the Sekyere-Odumase cave as the Prayer Warriors 'base' designated "Jordan",<sup>122</sup> which is capable of accommodating about 50 campers. A bulletin, *Ammunition Guard*, renamed *Prayer Warrior* came into circulation as a result and continues to date.

### 3.9.2 Change of Identity: From "Ammunition Guard" to "Prayer Warrior"

In the formative years the registered members of prayer movement assumed an identity in military tradition as "ammunition guard", with emphasis on their function as "soldiers of Christ" and "God's watchmen". It teaches:

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.; *Hundred Years of Scripture Union in Ghana*, SU-Ghana Centenary Brochure, 1990, 5. In an earlier report he mentions 20 as a more accurate number (See *Annual Report of the Fellowships Secretary*, Jan.- Dec. 1982, 3).

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Frimpong-Manso, 7 May 1992.

<sup>122</sup> See *Prayer Warriors Retreat Report*, 19-22 August, 1982.12 The designation of the cave as 'Jordan' - interpreted "hiding place", is attributed to Bernard Okyere. The Prayer Warrior is instructed as the Lord instructed the prophet Elijah in the Old Testament: "Leave and hide in the Kerith Ravine, east of Jordan. You will drink from the brook, and I have ordered the ravens, to feed you there" (I Kings 17:3-4, NIV; cf. Numbers 22:1). On the significance of the "hiding place" the Prayer Warrior is exhorted with the commentary that: "'God's Servants must be taught the value of the hidden.... Every saintly soul that would wield great power with men must win it in some hidden Cherith. The acquisition of spiritual power is impossible, unless we can hide ourselves from men and from ourselves in some deep gorge where we may absorb the power of the eternal God. Our Lord found his Cherith at Nazareth, and in the wilderness of Judea; amid the olives of Bethany, and the solitude of Gadara. None of us, therefore, can dispense with some Cherith where the sounds of human voices are exchanged for the waters of quietness which are fed from the Throne; and where we may taste the sweets and imbibe the power of a life hidden with CHRIST...' . This is what Prayer Warriors have been seeking all over these years and will continue to enjoy till Captain JESUS appears" (*Prayer Warrior Bulletin*, Sept.- Dec. 1982, 1).

Christians are Soldiers of Christ. They guard His servants against the Enemy's attacks, so that they don't lose their inheritance (1 Pet. 1:3-7). They are God's watchmen (Ezek. 3:17)." They have been given the privilege of prayer - "to do battle in His name".<sup>123</sup>

Later the organising committee of the movement, designated "orderlies", decided on a new identity for the movement - one "with a wider bearing and meaning for the purpose of the movement."<sup>124</sup> Hence the adoption of the name: "Prayer Warrior" - to depict the role of a "Watchman", to "pray, guard and fight on for His [Christ's] sake".<sup>125</sup> In adopting this new identity, the movement was declaring its primary interest in prayer: "The PRAYER WARRIOR is the Christian who patterns his life after his Master in everything, especially PRAYER..."<sup>126</sup> In effort to dissuade nominal membership, this paramount interest in prayer is reiterated:

The name 'PRAYER WARRIOR' could mean nothing to the Christian who does not believe in actual/real prayer, who does not pray sincerely. It is not a matter of calling oneself a PRAYER WARRIOR but it is a matter of sincerely praying (fervently), praying through daily, that makes one a PRAYER WARRIOR.<sup>127</sup>

For the Prayer Warrior, Christian life is essentially a spiritual warfare, and so to ensure "combat readiness" the prayer task and what it connotes is elaborated as follows:

It must be noted that the Prayer Warrior is not just an ordinary fighter, but a Christian who 'battles' in and through prayer. The 'WARRIOR' sees himself as a sinner saved by grace, through Christ, knows his own weakness, and needing God's help to fight the Christian warfare. He enters into real (agonizing) prayer daily interceding for people especially in the full-time ministry. He sees his/their need of God's POWER for SERVICE. He believes in and

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<sup>123</sup> *Prayer Warriors Brochure*, n.d., 1.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* Reference is made to Luke 11:1; 18:1; 1Thess. 5: 17 to secure a Biblical mandate for the role of the prayer warrior.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

makes prayer part of his life as a Christian. The PRAYER WARRIOR believes that Christ has called him to the prayer ministry, for it is prayer which energises and activates the working of the Holy Spirit with the Word of God releasing power for him to serve effectively. The PRAYER WARRIOR knows that he is constantly in a warfare, FIGHTING NOT AGAINST FLESH AND BLOOD but against Satan and his host of wicked spirits and that his weapons are not Carnal, but Spiritual.<sup>128</sup>

In such comprehensive terms the identity and function of the Prayer Warrior was thus clearly established in the formative years of the movement, as one who exerts him/herself in prayer battles. The Christian who enlisted as a warrior, whether engaged in full-time Christian ministry or secular employment became a "partner in warfare" inspired by a conscious awareness of the presence of the "principalities and powers of darkness" and their nefarious activities. This makes prayer action an urgent issue addressed to the prayer warrior:

Today the Principalities and Powers of darkness are massing powerfully in heavenly warfare against Christ and them that are His. To overthrow them he commands us to 'Take the whole armour of God' and with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit and watching thereunto with all perseverance for all saints to wrestle against these despotism and empires of evil. This scripture makes no provision for defeat nor for the back of a flee saint.<sup>129</sup>

The conception of Christian life as spiritual warfare becomes acute in the African traditional worldview in which the PWM operates. The traditional African belief in supernatural causation of evil is interpreted to intersect with the Biblical teaching concerning Satan and demons, "principalities and powers".<sup>130</sup> The elements of the traditional worldview which are regarded as incompatible with Christianity are demonised - projecting a dualist worldview in which the Christian embattles Satan and his cohorts.

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> *Prayer Warrior Bulletin (PWB)*, May-Sept. 1984, 1.

<sup>130</sup> *Prayer Warrior Brochure*, 1, has to reference Ephesians 6:10-18 as Biblical source for the concept of "Ammunition Guard" and spiritual warfare.

The PWM became instrumental in focusing attention on forces of evil arrayed against the Christian, and the source of spiritual power and protection available. Thus private and corporate prayer with fasting became vital in the spiritual life of SU members. This factor accounts for the dramatic expansion of the PWM in the 1970s and '80s.

### 3.9.3 Prayer and Fasting Retreats

The PWM engages in fasting and commends it as a spiritual exercise with a Biblical basis. The teaching of the movement makes particular reference to the life and teaching of Jesus Christ: "Jesus taught it, practised it, we therefore have to follow His steps".<sup>131</sup>

The Old Testament passage in Isaiah 58:1-12 is of paramount importance in declaring the purpose of fasting for the PWM. It is believed fasting moves God to accomplish his numerous promises of deliverance - "to loose the bond of wickedness, to undo the thongs of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free and break every yoke" (Isaiah 58:6). It helps individuals to break through personal problems, and promotes personal devotion to God by revealing the mind of God and facilitating closer fellowship with him. Fasting is thus commended as a means to personal spiritual revival. Furthermore personal religious piety is enhanced through fasting because it assists growth in faith and enables one to "dive deep into prayer". With particular reference to the ministry of healing and deliverance, the PWM perceives fasting as an indispensable means to obtaining spiritual power:

It gives us special power to pray for the sick and to cast out demons - to destroy the work of the devil and to break through hardened hearts. ...It strengthens us spiritually. It is the most powerful armour in the fight against the works of the devil.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *Notes on Prayer and Fasting*, Warriors Annual Retreat, Sunyani, 1-4 August 1985. Fasting is understood as a Christian imperative as indicated by the statement: "Jesus does not ask you to fast but tells you to fast. Neither does he say 'if you fast...' but 'When you fast...'" (Ibid.)."

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

Through the PWM prayer and fasting retreats became a popular religious activity, with the fasting camp – Warriors Annual Retreat (WAR) becoming a regular nationwide retreat for SU members. There has been a phenomenal increase in attendance, averaging between 300 and 600, and reaching a record of 900 in 1982. In a commentary on the 1982 WAR, Edward Okyere notes: "...this annual event of the Prayer Warriors is drawing participation from all regions of Ghana and from all walks of life. We were overwhelmed with the attendance of 900 at the December 1982 Retreat in Kumasi."<sup>133</sup>

The WAR became established as the most popular SU event in the 1980s – a time when participation in SU activities had declined as a result of the proliferation of new charismatic movements to which some SU members gravitated. The annual "Faith Convention" event which began in 1980, organised by a confederation of charismatic groups in Kumasi gained a nationwide appeal, rivalling the summer SU camps and conferences. In reviewing the totality of ministry of SU-Ghana from 1981 to December 1983, the Secretary General while lamenting the recession in participation in SU camps and conferences, comments with great delight the remarkable appeal the WARs were making, saying: "Prayer Warriors Retreats are the 'IN-THING' now. Over 900 were at the 1982 annual retreat. Regional retreats were held in eight out of nine regions in 1983. This programme is currently the most successful in meeting needs and providing sound teaching."<sup>134</sup>

In between the WARs, retreats organised in the regions assisted in decentralising and consolidating the operations of the movement to make impact at the local level. Over the years reports on regional retreats indicate<sup>134</sup> apart from "Jordan" in Sekyere-Odumase, the nationwide expansion of the PWM led to the emergence of "Action Centres" of the movement co-extensive with SU constituencies at

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<sup>133</sup> Okyere, E., *Annual Report of the Fellowships Secretary*, Jan.-Dec. 1982, 3. The political turmoil and the consequent economic crisis that followed the 31st December Revolution of 1981 is a factor that inspired the massive attendance of WAR '82.

<sup>134</sup> Hutchful, K., *Report For SU (Ghana) Annual General Meeting*, 1984, 4. See *PWB*, Jan.- April, 1986, 1; and ser. 1980-87.

regional and district levels: Ashanti Region - Mampong, Obuase, Nkenkaasu, Kumasi, Abofuor, Offinso, Nsuta; Brong Ahafo Region - Sunyani, Acherensua; Western Region - Awaso, Sefwi- Wiawso; Greater Accra Region - Aburi, Accra; Eastern Region - Koforidua, Akuse, Akosombo, Awisa, Akim-Oda, Akwatia, Kade; Central Region - Winneba, Cape Coast, Tarkwa, Dunkwa; Volta - Ho, Hohoe, Kpandu; and Northern Region - Tamale.

The attendance register of WAR '85 indicates a wide range denominational affiliation of 653 participants from more than twenty-one churches - Roman Catholic, Protestant, Pentecostal, Adventist and African Instituted Churches.<sup>135</sup> Reviewing the less-than-a-decade growth of the PWM, Edward Okyere comments on its influence in SU and churches:

The group which started around Ashanti and Brong Ahafo has spread throughout Ghana. Attendance which was only a few run now into hundreds. We were not more than 20 at the first retreat but the Warriors Annual Retreat 1981, registered over 300. The retreats are becoming a regular feature of many fellowships especially in Ashanti and Brong Ahafo. Out of the first participants we now have twenty Anglicans, one Church of Pentecost pastor, one New Life For All director, two Child Evangelism Fellowship directors, one Evangelical Presbyterian Church pastor, one SU travelling secretary... apart from many evangelists.<sup>136</sup>

The nature of the prayer task makes the PWM a predominantly adult movement. Unlike the SU schools camps and the Easter House-parties, the Warriors retreat (whether at local, regional or national level) has no provision for games and hobbies. The retreats are essentially spiritual wars, with Christian combatants engaged in fasting for days and occasionally a week, battling in prayer with spiritual powers of darkness. The programme of activities of the fasting camp is therefore directed towards that purpose. They include Bible teaching,

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<sup>135</sup> See Appendix IX for list of churches and numerical representation. Some participants did not indicate their denominations in the register.

<sup>136</sup> Okyere, *Annual Report of the Fellowships Secretary*, op. cit., 3.

meditation, counselling, and workshops on prayer and deliverance.<sup>137</sup> These activities are related to a main theme which is addressed in plenary sessions. A catalogue of subjects considered at the retreats and published in various reports of the movement include: Spiritual Warfare, Commitment, Servant Service, Watch and Pray, Anointed to Set Captive Free, Warriors Faithfulness, Obedience, Kneeling To Conquer, Suffering, Filled With the Holy Spirit to Serve God, A Committed and Disciplined Christian, Prevailing Prayer, The Faithful Soldier of Christ, Endurance – A Loyal Soldier of Christ, We have Fellowship With Him.<sup>138</sup>

A particular attention is given to the study of Bible characters to illustrate teachings of success and failure in spiritual conflict. Those considered included Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Joseph (son of Jacob), Nehemiah, Jonah, David, Peter, John, and Paul. The addresses and Bible studies are interspersed with for sessions of prayer. Provision is always made for worship and sharing of testimonies of personal spiritual experiences to encourage and strengthen faith, and promote the movement. As Edward Okyere remarks:

The testimonies show the impact the camp has made on many: a large number have given their lives to Jesus Christ for the first time; some have renewed their faith and dedicated themselves to His service; others have come to understand what Christian commitment is at these camps. many more have come to receive physical and spiritual healing. Demons have been cast out of many lives.

The Gospel, the power of God, is seen to full effect in the lives of many at this special camp... For this reason, the camp is highly recommended for people who find the gospel cold and dead in the

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<sup>137</sup> Okyere, *Fasting Camps in Ghana*, op. cit. "Deliverance" involves prayer and exorcism liberate and insulate the Christian subject from demonic/satanic attacks. Conversion to Christ is a sine qua non for Deliverance of the non-Christian subject. Thus the deliverance ministry is evangelistic.

<sup>138</sup> PWB, ser. 1981-87; See *Report on Warriors Annual Retreat – WAR'87, Held at Yaa Asantewaa Girl's Secondary School From July 31st – 2nd August, 1987*; Okyere, E., *National Orderlies Retreat Letter*, 19 March 1990, and *Letter to Partners in Warfare for Deliverance Workshop '90*, 10 April 1990.

area in which they are serving."<sup>139</sup>

In affirmation of the significance of the warriors retreats for spiritual revival and renewal of Christian commitment, a regional leader of the PWM also remarked: "I believe we need retreats of this kind more regularly to put us in 'combat readiness' for effective work for the Lord."<sup>140</sup>

#### 3.9.4 Healing and Deliverance Workshop

An important factor of attraction of some people to the WARs was the healing they received for their numerous ailments. Some were delivered from various forms of spiritual and demonic attacks. The WAR had virtually become a healing and deliverance camp, as Edward Okyere observes: "...they have desperate spiritual needs which can only be met in such an environment."<sup>141</sup> However, the enormity of the problems that emerged at the national, regional and district retreats called for special attention, which necessitated special training for the orderlies of the PWM.

Further, as a result of the charismatic explosion of the 1980s many deliverance workers emerged (some with SU background) but with little experience,<sup>who</sup> established independent healing and deliverance ministries. Church prayer fellowships were thus influenced. Therefore, according an official SU account, "it became necessary to examine the ministry of healing and deliverance more closely - to achieve maximum results and to correct many of the mistakes which the deliverance workers were committing, and more importantly, the casualties which

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<sup>139</sup> Okyere, Ghana Fasting Camps, op. cit. has reference to Rev. 12:11, On the reference to the gospel as the power of God, (see Romans 1:16). For a selection of the testimonies are compiled and published in the *PWB* (see Appendix VIII).

<sup>140</sup> Bosumpem, S.K., Eastern Region Retreat Report, *PWB*, Dec. 1987 - Jan. 1988, 2.

<sup>141</sup> Okyere, Ghana Fasting Camps, op. cit.

some of them suffered in the process of casting out demons."<sup>142</sup>

The healing and deliverance workshop was therefore conceived as a solution to these problems. In December 1984 Edward Okyere organised a meeting in Kumasi which brought together a number of deliverance workers, most of whom were operating independently, to share their experiences and to learn from one another.<sup>143</sup> Since then the workshop has become a regular feature of the operations of PWM, organised annually between 26-31 December. Since 1988 the workshop has placed emphasis on the operation of "teams of deliverance workers", because as Edward Okyere remarks: "experience has shown clearly that the whole exercise is not a one-man-show business."<sup>144</sup>

Though the workshops were primarily organised to equip deliverance workers with the techniques of exorcism and acquaint them with the spiritual preparation involved, some attended because of their own particular problems. Such participants only became practical cases for demonstrations. However, it became necessary to limit the attendance to prevent the workshop from losing its primary purpose and degenerating into a "pray-for-me" meeting. As the organisers had problems controlling the numbers, participating groups had to register in advance.<sup>145</sup> In announcing the "Deliverance Workshop '90", Edward Okyere reiterates this measure and directs the "orderlies" of the PWM to exercise discretion to limit attendance:

Let the spirit lead you to register, ONLY THOSE who are *called* and *qualify* We will not accept large numbers, so pray and cut down your team drastically. Those who are included in the team should feel challenged to be selected - those who would benefit fully and contribute to training at the local level.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *Hundred Years of Scripture Union in Ghana*, SU (Ghana) Centenary Brochure, Typescript, 1990. 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Okyere, E., *Notice to Orderlies: Prayer Warriors Deliverance Workshop '90*, 10 April 1990.

The deliverance workshop was literally a spiritual workshop for the deliverance workers, so that they would be "overhauled, strengthened, welded and sprayed spiritually".<sup>147</sup> In a testimony a participant shares his personal evaluation of the impact of the deliverance workshop in terms confirming the above statement:

All along I saw my Christian life as one of indiscipline. Apart from major Retreats organised, I did not seriously wait on and seek the Lord for directions. I was like that "Weak-Strongman", Samson who took things for granted and joked with his strength. Sometimes, I set my mind to fast but before I was aware, I would have stopped half-way and eaten! The Lord would speak to me that if I sought His face, He would reveal a lot to me and use me mightily, but still I have lived the undisciplined life.

At the workshop, I have been overhauled. The Engineer has worked on me seriously and has given me Galatians 5:24: "They that belong to Christ have crucified the flesh and all its passions." That "Old Part" of the Engine - "The Self" that leaked a lot has been replaced by new one. Thank God for the great things He hath done.<sup>148</sup>

Through the healing and deliverance workshops, the PWM has been instrumental in propagating some concepts of demonology which constitute a synthesis of some constituent elements of the traditional African belief in multiplex spirit forces of evil and Biblical teachings about demon activity. It is believed demonic association is effected through rituals of traditional medicines and charms, tribal/facial marks, naming ceremonies, spirit possession, cultic meals, ritual curses and other traditional cultic acts. The deliverance ministry thrives on the belief that even when a person becomes a Christian, the pre-Christian cultic/occultic associations survive conversion and become factors of demonic bondage or harassment. Therefore the pre-Christian past must be investigated and dealt with through exorcism, and "complete burning and destruction of any and every demonic relics that are surrendered."<sup>149</sup> Only then can the Christian with such background be really liberated as indicated by the following oral account:

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<sup>147</sup> *PWB*, Jan.- April 1986, 3.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> This is considered particularly important in the conversion of a person who practised witchcraft or sorcery (see Chapter Five).

One does not need deliverance to be totally saved, but the believer needs deliverance from some particular things. What are some of these particular things? It is difficult to describe these particular things. It looks like we in Africa, Ghana in particular, have a problem which beats the mind because it looks like for everything, even the smallest thing in our home there is something spiritual about it – names given to us, places we visit, and so on. These have some spiritual connotations and they hamper our spiritual growth in Jesus Christ. For example, most Akans (and Ghanaians in general) get a mark on the cheek when they are born. That thing, we have come to realise has spiritual connotation which is very enormous. There are people who born twins. In Ghana a small "fetish" (*abamo*) is made for them. That has a spiritual power to protect the twins. The one after the twins is called *Tawia*, he also gets something. *Nyankomago*, the second after the twins also gets something. From dealing with these people, we have come to realise that you meet a twin, *Nyankomago*, or *Tawia* who has a problem. You discuss it with him, you trace it and you find that it has its beginning from the *abamo* or that small "fetish". We pray and break the connection between that "fetish" and the *Tawia* or the *Atta* (the twin). We find out that they begin to experience a new lease of life. We have family "fetishes". Every Akan family has got a "fetish". At the moment I do not go to the "fetish" house but when the head of my family (my father's brother) goes to the shrine and prays for the whole family, he prays for my father too and my mother too, and all of us are prayed for at the shrine. So somehow the powers behind this shrine cover me. So that if I want to be free from these things then I might seek to break that connection. So there are a lot of things in our homes we might not consider them important but they have created these bonds which must definitely be broken. I did not say they affect salvation, but somehow they affect our ministry, our lives – making us live miserable lives. But when they are broken then you see people begin to have new lease of life.<sup>150</sup>

For some participants of the deliverance workshop such teaching

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<sup>150</sup> By Kwame Ansong (SU administrator – Kumasi), in interview with the author, 23 July 1990. At the University of Cape Coast (UCC), an evangelistic prayer group – Fruitful Christian Ministry (FCM) emerged around 1976 to provide spiritual help in terms of deliverance for people with problems often attributed to pre-Christian spiritual bondage believed to be rooted in traditional African religious connections. Under the leadership of Isaac Okyere, lately a lecturer at UCC and former member of the UCC Christian Fellowship, FCM has attracted a membership which is dominantly graduates of the UCCCF. FCM was formed as result of an acute awareness of its founder leader that the existing prayer groups were just dealing with external symptoms of spiritual problems without touching the root cause. There was a perception that to experience fruitful or victorious Christian life it was necessary to break from the past (Interview on 22 Mar. 1992 with Abenaa Yeboah, B.A., M.Th., Acting Secretary of FCM, and Lecturer, Christian Service College, Kumasi).

brought enlightenment as evident in the following testimony:

I have been enlightened the more about certain vital areas of the deliverance ministry; for instance, the knowledge that mediumistic powers may survive conversion hence the need for effective and sustained follow-up work on the delivered to get him/her free completely and established in the faith.<sup>151</sup>

For other participants such a knowledge brought liberation, and in a particular case it was probably liberation from fear of being hunted by some cultic spirits or fear of the effect of a ritual curse as suggested by literal reference to the passage Galatians 3:13 in the following testimony:

By the grace of God I had personal deliverance from the spirit of fear. This began when I learnt that early contacts with spiritism have effect after conversion. When I sent in my request for prayer and deliverance, the Lord convinced me of this with Galatians 3:13.<sup>152</sup>

The emphasis on deliverance as an integral part of the process of conversion in the African world led a speaker at the 1984 Pastors Conference of Ghana Evangelism Committee to declare: "Ours is the age of 'POWER EVANGELISM' - preaching the whole Gospel with signs and wonders/miracles following."<sup>153</sup> The deliverance ministry of PWM constitutes a Christian response to the spiritual realities of the African traditional worldview, an attempt to let the gospel - "the power of God" speak directly to the need of the African.

### 3.9.5 Prophecy: Divine Revelation and Edification

The PWM places a high premium on prophecy as a source of divine revelation, with retreats at local and national levels serving as important occasions for prophetic utterances. While some of the prophecies foretell the future, most are basically for the edification of

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<sup>151</sup> See Report on Deliverance Workshop at Aburi, Dec. 26-31, *PWB*, Jan.- April 1987, 1.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Quoted in *PWB*, Jan.-April 1985, 1.

members of the movement. They convey instructions on some Christian values considered essential for effective ministry of prayer – holiness, faithfulness, and self-denial.

Prophecies given at prayer warriors retreats can be classified into two categories: principal and secondary prophecies. In a session of prophecy, a principal prophecy is often followed by secondary prophecies, with the latter affirming the former on issues that may be considered vital. To achieve a direct edificatory impact, the prophecies are often uttered in an intelligible language. Occasionally a prophetic message may be delivered in 'tongues', followed by a vernacular interpretation. Commentaries are made by the leader of the meeting to refine and crystallize the spiritual lesson of the prophecy to edify the group. The edificatory purpose of the prophetic message is further consolidated by prayer which concludes the session of prophecy. At a major meeting like WAR salient points of the prophetic messages are further made public by reiterating them in plenary sessions as prologue or epilogue to main addresses.

A record of a series of prophecies given at the Orderlies Meeting – 3 August 1985 at WAR '85, offers a significant insight into pattern and message of prophecy.<sup>154</sup> In the tradition of the PWM, prophecy is delivered in direct speech to establish a divine authority for the message, and create an "awareness of the immediacy of God".<sup>155</sup> This is indicated by the opening statement of a principal prophecy in which God seeks audience with the people addressed as His "children":

"My children, This is the time to meet you," says the Lord. "All should listen to me. I am the Almighty God who speaks to you."<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> See Appendix X for full text of the prophecies.

<sup>155</sup> Mather, A., Talking Points: The Charismatic Movement, *Themelios*, 9(3), April 1984, 21. On charismatic distinctives, Mather observes: "A charismatic will often confidently assert that "God told me,..." (Ibid).

<sup>156</sup> Extract from text of Prophecy IV (see Appendix X).

The introduction is followed by a pronouncement which legitimizes the PWM by reference to the divine purpose for its establishment:

I would work out my plans through Prayer Warriors ... Many are touched by the need for revival. I will send you to different places. ... I have equipped you. ... You are my weapons and bullets, I will use you.<sup>157</sup>

Other pronouncements are made to affirm the divine mission of PWM, to revive Christianity – "not only in Ghana but throughout Africa", adding that "some will even minister to the whites".<sup>158</sup>

However persecution is foretold as an integral part of the revival mission. The source of the persecution would be an internal resistance of the Christian community to the revivalism of the PWM as prophesied: "Expect it in your congregations and fellowships. Your ministers will come against you."<sup>159</sup> The leadership credibility of Edward Okyere (founder-leader of the PWM) is affirmed with particular reference to him as one who is aware of the impending persecution.<sup>160</sup>

Among others the prophecy stresses the need for the Orderlies to surrender to God and be sanctified. Self-denial is prescribed as a means to sanctification, with reference to John the Baptist as the archetypal figure in Christian asceticism. In calling for holiness, the prophecy demands a renunciation of sin and the pleasures of the world.

The prophecy is important in bringing into focus the forces of resistance to the revivalism, radicalism and asceticism of the PWM, even within SU. Within SU there was a perception of PWM as a sect – extremely pentecostal. Hence the long delay in recognising it as constituent ministry of SU.

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<sup>157</sup> Extract from text of Prophecy I, (ibid.).

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

### 3.9.6 Towards National and International Recognition

Despite the popular appeal of the PWM there were lingering doubts and fears about the movement. The background for its emergence led some members of SU to perceive the movement as an interest group within the whole SU movement – a sort of prayer club. There were fears of possible breakaway and so in 1982 its founder-leader, Edward Okyere (then SU Town Fellowships Secretary), had to clarify his intentions concerning the future of the PWM and its relationship to the national SU movement:

The group was established as part of my ministry in SU. It was not meant to be independent of SU. If only SU people would see the need and catch the vision to support full-time staff and the whole ministry in prayer it would continue to be part of the ministry even after the founders depart in peace."<sup>161</sup>

The PWM emerged essentially as a movement within SU Ghana. Its leadership had no intention of making it an independent movement. However, the fear about the PWM becoming "separatist" movement was not without cause, because interest in its activities was surging at a time when interest in main traditional SU activities such as camps and conferences had diminished.<sup>162</sup>

The PWM gained the official recognition of the SU-Ghana Council a decade after its formation. At the 1984 Annual General Meeting of SU-Ghana Edward Okyere gave a comprehensive report of the activities of the PWM which made a great impression.<sup>163</sup> Consequently in 1985, Edward Okyere was commended by Yaw Opong (Chairman of the SU-Ghana Council) in a citation for his effort as founder leader of the PWM.

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<sup>161</sup> Okyere, E., *Annual Report of the Fellowships Secretary*, Jan.-Dec. 1982, 3.

<sup>162</sup> Hutchful, *Report for SU-Ghana Annual General Meeting*, March 1984, 4.

<sup>163</sup> Interview with Edward Okyere, 25 Nov. 1991; confirmed by Hutchful's report (Ibid.).

The significance of the ministry of deliverance in the above context has been recognized by the international movement of SU, in<sup>a</sup>bid to accommodate the Christian experiences and Christologies of the non-western world. One of the most important revisions in its doctrinal statement adopted at the international conference of SU in Harare, 1985, is the mention of "Jesus as servant and conqueror of Satan and power of the powers of evil".<sup>164</sup> On the fundamental importance of this statement to the pastoral work of SU, the International Secretary, Nigel Sylvester comments:

In our ministry, we have met young people or adults who want to grow in their faith and to experience a flourishing Christian life, without knowing why, they need a genuine liberation. This may be a liberation from occult or fetish practices in which they were involved before their conversion and through which the enemy keeps them bound. For in these things we have to deal with the enemy himself... It is necessary then not only to proclaim the gospel, but to call on the power of the liberation of Jesus. Through his name we must bind the evil spirit, 'the strongman' of which Jesus speaks. That is why we confess Jesus as the conqueror of evil powers. This message gives authority to his disciples to release in his name those whom the enemy keeps chained."<sup>165</sup>

In the context of the operations of the PWM this statement may be regarded as a commentary on the oral account of Kwame Ansong quoted above. This aspect of the revised SU doctrinal statement represents an international recognition of African religious concerns reflected in the activities of the PWM in Ghana.

The prayer warriors movement may be branded as a pentecostal holiness movement which seeks to recover and apply the power of the gospel of Christ in terms meaningful to the African.

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<sup>164</sup> Sylvester, N., ed., *Scripture Union Now: Scripture Union International Conference - Harare '85*, (London: SU, 1985), 79.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 79-80. For our purpose, the text of the revised statement as ratified reads: "Jesus Christ...Victor over Satan and his forces (*ibid.*, 83).

### 3.10 CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of pentecostalism in the Christian Fellowship movement was derived from local and foreign sources. It accentuated the evangelical activism of the membership. It intensified the zeal for prayer and witnessing to Christ in campuses and, town and villages communities. It thus accelerated the growth of individual fellowships in schools, colleges and universities, and the proliferation of Town Fellowships in urban and rural communities.

The pentecostal influence created new perceptions in evangelical thought of Christian Fellowship members. It focused attention on demonic activity often associated with aspects of the cults of the traditional religion considered incompatible with Christianity. Concepts of demonology and associated dualism in the pentecostal evangelical thought gave credence to the ministry of healing and deliverance, practised and propagated by the Prayer Warriors Movement.

Pentecostalism was associated with excessive emotionalism in prayer and worship. The pre-occupation with the manifestation of spiritual gifts had a divisive impact. Disputes about spiritual gifts and radicalism of pentecostal activists created serious disharmonies in some groups, with consequent loss of membership.<sup>166</sup> In school fellowships pentecostalism attracted hostile reactions from educational and Protestant church authorities.

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<sup>166</sup> With particular reference to the UK situation, Douglas Johnson (1977, 244) notes:

In the late '60s there were several sources of potential disharmonies from movements which were influencing the churches. The chief was a widespread interest in what earlier had been known as 'Pentecostalism', but now the 'Charismatic Movement'. In so far as this challenged the cold formalism into which worship so easily can fall, revived due attention to the status of the Holy Spirit in the Church and recovered the confidence and notable joy of the early Christians, it was to be welcomed. But in the hands of over-zealous extremists, as has so often happened in church history, something good in itself became a near-heresy, and produced reaction and, in some cases, over-reaction.

The adoption of the local Pentecostal chorus music was a significant movement towards indigenisation of the Christian Fellowship movement. But the dominant use of the chorus gave SU a pentecostal image, with adverse effect on its relationship with Protestant denominations.

In spite of the disorderly tendencies associated with pentecostalism in the Christian Fellowships, it initiated a revival in the fellowships making them radical in their evangelicalism.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### REVIVALISM AND THE RISE OF SECONDARY EVANGELICAL GROUPS

#### PART ONE

#### 4.1 BACKGROUND TO THE EMERGENCE OF INDEPENDENT EVANGELISTIC MINISTRIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

An important phase in <sup>the</sup> development of the parachurch movements in Ghana in the 1960s and '70s is the emergence of independent evangelistic organisations as specialised agencies for evangelism. In this study the independent groups are designated "secondary" evangelical groups because of their indigenous origins as products of Christian Fellowships.<sup>1</sup>

A close association existed between the fellowships and the evangelistic societies they generated. The main factor accounting for their origin is evangelical revivalism resulting from the influence of pentecostalism and its adverse effect on evangelical attitudes to the Church.

An external stimulus to the phenomenon of free-lance evangelism was produced by the World Congress on Evangelism held in Berlin in 1966, sponsored by the evangelical magazine: *Christianity Today*.

##### 4.1.1 "Operation Involvement" and Church Revival

The evangelical revivalism of the Christian Fellowship movement had an adverse effect on its church relations. Prior to that Scripture

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<sup>1</sup> The Christian Fellowships associated with SU-Ghana and GHAFES continue an evangelical tradition inherited from the former British Inter-Varsity Fellowship. Such direct association has led Kalu to describe the Scripture Union and University Christian Fellowships as "primary" evangelical groups and the indigenous evangelistic associations resulting from the evangelical activism of the primary groups as "secondary" evangelical groups in his revised Typology of Christian Bodies in Nigeria. Kalu, O., *Testing the Spirits: A typology of Christian Forms in Igboland*, Paper presented at a seminar at Centre For The Study of Christianity in Non-Western World, New College, University of Edinburgh, 8 Dec. 1992.

Union and the Ghana Inter-University Christian Fellowship collaborated with the established churches in urban and rural evangelistic outreach. The "All-For-Christ Campaign" was initiated in 1959 as a joint evangelistic venture between student fellowships and local churches. It was to interest SU and GIUCF members in the affairs of their home churches.

However, from the late 1960s Pentecostal influence made fellowship members radical in their evangelicalism. The ministry of the established churches did not meet the expectations of the evangelical radicals who emphasised radical conversion to Christ. They expected church ministers to function more as evangelists, preaching sermons which demanded "new birth". The life-style and pronouncements of some ministers led to the general conclusion that majority of the clergy of the established churches were not "born again". The radical elements in the fellowships were thus unprepared to operate under such church leadership.

The arid formalism that characterised church worship also attracted criticism. Extremists within the fellowships resorted to deprecatory remarks about the ecclesiastical system, elevating the Christian fellowships above the established churches which were discounted as dead, in desperate need of revival:

The Churches are cold these days. One does not see the work of the spirit much. There is no 'life' in the activities of the churches. Some ministers are corrupt and how we wish they did more than what they are doing now? The Town Fellowship meetings are more satisfying than those of our churches. THE CHURCHES NEED REVIVAL.<sup>2</sup>

This attitude resulted in a tendency where some church members gravitated towards the fellowship system. Others deserted their churches for Baptist and Pentecostal churches which they considered more evangelical and Spirit filled. But

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<sup>2</sup> Ofori, G.I., Suame Methodist Church, *The Fellowship*, 1(6), Nov. 1972, 11.

moderate and mature elements of the Kumasi Town Fellowship counselled involvement in church life and work as a means to church revival. Hence the campaign for "Operation Involvement".<sup>3</sup> As part of the campaign the leadership of Kumasi TF created a column for "Life In Our Church" in its magazine - *The Fellowship*, to publicise the church activism of its membership, beginning with a report on a mission at Bantama Ebenezer Methodist Church.<sup>4</sup> The Report projected the renewing impact of the mission on the societies in the church as a justification for "Operation Involvement", urging:

Whether the Lord will bring revival into our Churches will DEPEND SQUARELY ON the Christians. Unless, and until we are willing to go back to our churches, become involved in her activities, the avenue to revival is blocked." Are you a member of the Youth Fellowship, Choir or Guild, Prayer Group the Bible Study Group? Why not? Whom shall I send and who will go for us?" The Lord asked (Isa. 6:8). Here am I send me" that was Isaiah's, WHAT IS YOURS? Let us ask the Lord to set us free from the spirit that stands aloof only to criticize. Let us get involved.<sup>5</sup>

Particular reference was made to the Lord's incarnation to encourage church involvement:

We ought to go back to our churches to spread the fragrance of Christ by getting involved. Remember, when all was wrong with the world, God did not stand aloof and criticize, He became involved! "THE WORD BECAME FLESH AND DWELT AMONG US, FULL OF GRACE AND TRUTH."<sup>6</sup>

With such remonstrations the incessant criticisms against the church were turned into prayer for spiritual awakening in churches - "The fellowships were to be fire-houses from which living coals could be

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<sup>3</sup> The catchphrase "Operation Involvement" appeared first as the caption of an article in the first issue of *The Fellowship*.

<sup>4</sup> See Tuffuor, Y., Bantama Ebenezer Methodist Church, *The Fellowship*, 1(5), Oct. 1972, 11-12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

taken to start fires in cold churches...".<sup>7</sup> Fellowship members were urged to join church societies participate actively in their activities. Those who responded converged in the Youth Fellowship of the Methodist Church, and the Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church.<sup>8</sup>

Initially they adopted a low profile operation commencing as teachers of the Sunday School for children, and progressing through youth fellowship work to exalted positions as local preachers as obtains in the Methodist ministry.<sup>9</sup> The ecclesiastical system of the Methodist Church - Ghana allows leaders of church societies to be automatic members of the Church Leaders Meeting. Thus in the early 1970s Emmanuel Asante (then evangelist of the Kumasi Town Fellowship) commenced a "church based ministry" in the Youth Fellowship of the Ebenezer Methodist Church, Bantama - Kumasi, it culminated in his appointment as President of the Church Youth Fellowship, and subsequently as a member of the Leaders Meeting.<sup>10</sup> By operating through such church societies the "evangelicals" became agents of renewal in their local churches as they obtained opportunities to organise all-night prayer meetings and missions.

However some responses to "Operation Involvement" became counter-productive because of the misinterpretation and consequent misapplication of the teaching on the "priesthood of all believers". As Sarpei observes: "Members of this fellowship movement believe firmly in the priesthood of believers and encourage all Christians to be active

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<sup>7</sup> Sarpei (1982), 47.

<sup>8</sup> Both groups have become agencies of charismatic renewal in their respective churches. For the Methodist case, see Chapter Six.

<sup>9</sup> Ofori, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Asante (Superintendent Minister, Kumasi Circuit of Methodist Church of Ghana), 12 July 1990. When he entered the ministry of the church in 1986, in addition to his academic qualifications, his early involvement in the lay ministry of the Methodist Church as a youth leader and local preacher was an important factor for his unusually rapid rise in the hierarchy of the Church.

ministers, servants of God, promoting and proclaiming the Kingdom."<sup>11</sup> With boisterous revivalist zeal, evangelical radicals who assumed that their church ministers were not "born again", sought without success the control of their local church pulpits to "convert" the leadership and congregations. Their attempts to organise all-night prayer meetings in the churches to usher in "revival" were short lived because of the apparent lack of interest on the part of church leaders. The resistance of the church hierarchy to the revivalism of the radical evangelicals was an important factor for the emergence of non-denominational evangelistic ministries and prayer fellowships outside the Church.

This development was accelerated by the high premium the church placed on theological education, with consequent disregard for the evangelists in the Christian Fellowships who were discounted as novices – self-made and theologically ignorant. Despite his strong Presbyterian background, Evangelist Yaw Asante (founder-leader of the Standing Together Ministries, Kumasi) attributes his parachurch vocation to the lack of recognition by the Church. He felt the Church recognised only "the ordained pastoral ministry", and had no regard for evangelists because they had no theological training. In reaction, he established his own evangelistic ministry which he intended to be non-denominational, one free of any church association.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of the detrimental effect on church relations of the Christian Fellowship movement, the evangelical revivalism was productive in terms of the development of lay ministries both within and without the established church. The independent evangelistic organisations thus emerged as protest movements.

#### 4.1.2 "Theological Liberalism" and Anti-clericalism

From the late 1960s to the mid 1970s, anti-clerical sentiments prevailed in the Christian Fellowships and contributed to the rise of independent evangelistic organisations. The supremacy of the Bible was

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<sup>11</sup> Sarpei, op. cit., 48.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Evangelist Yaw Asante, 30 July 1990.

fundamental to the evangelicalism of the Christian Fellowship movement, and therefore sermons and teachings using critical exegetical forms were rejected by fellowship members as "liberal". The ministers of mainline protestant churches were perceived as propagating liberal theologies which they were believed to have acquired from their theological training at Trinity College – the Protestant Theological College at Legon. CF members developed an aversion to theological education and shunned Trinity College to keep away from being infected with liberalism. Thus "theological liberalism" prevented many evangelicals from offering for church ministry in the 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>13</sup>

The evangelical aversion to theological education was buttressed by the pentecostal teachings which emphasized knowledge by inspiration of the Spirit as means to Christian spirituality.<sup>14</sup>

Ghanaian evangelicals shared with their UK counterparts a nagging fear of their evangelicalism being submerged in the process of theological training, and consequent alienation from the evangelical fraternity. Douglas Johnson describes it as a process of "attrition":

Almost irrespective of denomination ... there has been what might be called a process of attrition, reducing evangelical fervour. An earnest young Christian, full of zeal for Christ, believing that he has had a call from God to enter the Christian ministry, offers to his denomination. During his days in the faculty of arts he may remain fresh in his personal devotional life, an enthusiastic reader of the Bible and full of evangelistic zeal in leading others to Christ. Having graduated, however, he must pass over into a theological hall for the theological and pastoral part of his training. A subtle change soon comes over him and he is not so much at ease with colleagues in ordinary life as he used to be. There is not the same warmth at the chance meeting with the old friends of the other faculties.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Agbeti, K.J., *West African Church History II: Christian Missions and Theological Training 1842–1970* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 199–200, discusses other factors accounting for the failure of the ministry to attract young brilliant minds after 1950.

<sup>14</sup> This view was particularly asserted by the Church of Pentecost which until 1984/85 had no theological institution in Ghana, (Interview with Rev Yaw Frimpong Manso, doctoral student, University of Aberdeen).

<sup>15</sup> Johnson (1979), 240.

He observes "one of the IVF's mistakes in the earlier years was that more direct help was not given to the theological students battling to keep their devotional freshness and their intellectual poise in spite of the conditioning process of liberal theology."<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence that this happened to any of the Ghanaian evangelicals, because they had not yet ventured into theological training. The early presence of a few European evangelicals (Dr Eugene Grau and Peter Barker) in Trinity College did not change the negative perception of theological education held by the Ghana evangelicals.<sup>17</sup>

The myth of "liberalism" surrounding Trinity College persisted among the evangelicals until the early 1970s when it was undermined by a few who trained for church ministry, with no consequent loss of, or a diminished evangelical commitment. They include Maclean Kumi, William Blankson, Robert Aboagye-Mensah and Emmanuel Lartey, all of the Methodist Church, and Sam Atiemo and Isaac Fokuo, both of Presbyterian Church.

An evidence of the small but significant evangelical presence in Trinity College in the early seventies is the evangelical fellowship which was initiated in the College, and affiliated to the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students in 1974. Evangelical interest in Trinity College was accelerated in the 1980s by several factors. The first was the presence and counsel of evangelical graduates of the College who assumed teaching in the College after postgraduate theological studies overseas.<sup>18</sup> The second was the rise of senior SU members to

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>17</sup> Both Peter Barker (Trinity College student 1963-65), and Dr Eugene Grau (Trinity College staff from 1964), were closely associated with the development of SU and University Christian Fellowships in Ghana. They often received invitations to speak at camps, conferences and fellowship meetings. The longstanding Ghanaian evangelical confidence in Eugene Grau was revived when he was engaged as a main speaker at the Ghana Congress on Evangelisation in 1989.

<sup>18</sup> The past and present evangelical members of the faculty of the College include: Rev Dr Maclean Kumi (Vice-Principal, 1979-82); Rev Dr Emmanuel Lartey (1984-89), continuing as lecturer in Pastoral Studies and Theology in the University of Birmingham (UK); Rev Dr Robert Aboagye Mensah (Trinity College lecturer in Systematic Theology since

leadership positions in their churches, facilitating a change in evangelical attitudes to the clergy and church ministry, and consequent change of the image of SU in some churches.

Today, the ministry has become more meaningful to SU members with established church backgrounds. To the question: "How would you describe your call to the Ministry?", Casely Essuamuah (son of Rev. S B Essuamuah, fifth President of Conference, Methodist Church – Ghana) responds:

Since my infancy, I have had the privilege of associating closely with my father, accompanying him on his rounds and was much impressed with the zeal and strength with which he conducted services. This made the desire to become a minister a childhood obsession long before I encountered Jesus Christ personally. ...there was nothing dramatic about that experience, except in the resultant lifestyle and secondly ... my father had a part to play in it. In one of my father's trips outside, he wrote to me, ... and the contents of that letter suggested I partake in SU activities at Mfantshipim and seriously consider the claims made there. So it was as result of this that at one of the meetings, I fully understood and appropriated for myself the mediatorship of Jesus Christ in a relationship with God. From then on, my values changed and one very outstanding event was my understanding of what the work of a minister was really about. The most important thing in my world became the advancement of God's kingdom and upon reflection, I felt the most effective way in which I could be part of it was to offer myself as a candidate for the Methodist ministry.<sup>19</sup>

Essuamuah's testimony is unique, but it explains how evangelical commitment can complement and deepen commitment to the Church, as originally intended by SU.

Finally, the evangelical prejudice against theological education

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1984). The Presbyterians, Rev Isaac Fokuo and Sam Atiemo were engaged at different times as Wardens at The Ramseyer Presbyterian Training Centre, Abetifi. Until 1994, Isaac Fokuo was Ecumenical Relations Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Sam Atiemo, currently based in Nairobi as Africa Regional Director of Youth For Christ International, was engaged as Missioner for both 1980 and 1988 missions to the University of Science and Technology.

<sup>19</sup> *Methodist Times*, 2(3), Dec. 1987, 10. At the time of the interview the subject (with BA degree from University of Ghana) was final year student of Trinity College.

disappeared as more evangelicals successfully completed theological training at Trinity College and other theological colleges, still maintaining their evangelicalism. The institution of the "William Ofori Atta Award for Holistic Lifestyle" by the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students, in conjunction with the staff of Trinity College and the family of William Ofori Atta in 1988, is a concrete demonstration of the current surge of evangelical interest in theological education with particular reference to Trinity College.<sup>20</sup>

When the need for theological training was realised by the leadership of the evangelical fellowships, Maranatha Bible College (MBC) was begun in Accra in 1972, and Christian Service College (CSC) in Kumasi 1974, as evangelical alternatives to Trinity College, initially, to train personnel for the parachurch ministry. The two colleges are products of co-operation between local evangelicals and international missionary organisations – the SIM (Sudan Interior Mission, renamed Society for International Ministries) and the Worldwide Evangelisation for Christ (WEC) Mission, based in Bulstrode, England.

## 4.2 EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS

### 4.2.1 Maranatha Bible College

The establishment of Maranatha Bible College was inspired by the vision of two men – William Ofori Atta, an evangelical Ghanaian statesman; and Rev. John Bergen, SIM missionary in Ghana.<sup>21</sup> Following his evangelical conversion and release from political detention, Ofori Atta approached John Bergen with his concern for the establishment of an evangelical non-denominational theological college for the training of evangelical young men and women operating in parachurch fellowships. His concerns coincided with that of the SIM missionary. In 1972 MBC was initiated as a joint venture between SIM and a select group of local

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<sup>20</sup> The annual award of C10,000 is given to "a deserving final year student of Trinity College who has lived an exemplary life of practical holiness, piety and social concern" [see Jude Hama, *The William Ofori Atta Award*, *The Watchman* (Publication of The Watchman Gospel Ministry, Accra), 38, 1989, 4].

<sup>21</sup> *MBC Prospectus: 1992-93*, Computer Draft, 3.

evangelical leaders in Accra who constituted the first MBC Council.<sup>22</sup>

Until 1980 MBC operated as a non-residential institution, offering courses designed for part-time students in week-day evening and Saturday morning classes.<sup>23</sup> In 1980 a full-time three-year residential programme commenced at a new MBC campus at Sowutuom, near Accra.<sup>24</sup> Most of the early students of the College were leaders of the Town Fellowship groups in Accra-Tema area, later organised under the Co-ordinating Council For Christian Fellowship. In an effort to widen its student constituency, 1985 MBC commenced an extension programme to students in Ho - Volta Region.

Concerning the MBC programme, the 1992-93 Prospectus of the College states:

MBC exists for the education and training of both lay and professional Christian workers, including teachers, ministers and missionaries, that they may competently and effectively proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ in whatever capacity they may minister - evangelist, missionary, teacher, pastor etc.<sup>25</sup>

The College offers courses at both post-elementary and secondary levels for Diploma/Certificate in Theology. The courses cover biblical, historical, theological and pastoral subjects, plus Missions, Christian Education, Anthropology and Non-Christian Religions (Islam and African Traditional Religion). Recent additions - "New Courses", include "Prayer and Warfare", Contextualisation, Accounting and Church Administration.<sup>26</sup>

The programme for theological formation incorporates spiritual

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 10. The "New Courses" reflect contemporary developments in church and parachurch ministry, particularly the emergence of charismatic deliverance ministries.

formation which requires spiritual qualifications: evangelical conversion, with evidence of dedication to Christ and emphasis on morally upright life: "No one who smokes, drinks alcoholic beverages, abuses drugs, or who is involved in immoral sexual relations will be considered for admittance."<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the predominantly Ghanaian Council, until recently MBC appeared more as an SIM institution, because it was staffed by SIM personnel. As a movement towards indigenisation of faculty, Alfred E. Moran (SIM missionary and Principal of the College), notes:

From its inception MBC has primarily been staffed by expatriate missionaries supplied by SIM International. However, it is the goal of MBC to have a well qualified national faculty in addition to these expatriates. A programme of further education is designed to provide advanced training for spiritually and academically qualified graduates of the College.<sup>28</sup>

The current prospectus (1992-93) indicates a significant indigenisation trend. The twelve-member faculty includes nine Ghanaians (seven full-time instructors and two adjunct instructors) and three expatriates (a Korean couple and the American Principal). Nevertheless the course structure remains American.

#### 4.2.2 Christian Service College

Christian Service College is a product of co-operation between WEC Mission and evangelical leaders in Kumasi. WEC operations in Ghana commenced in the early 1940s, focusing on the north. It involved evangelism and church planting through medical and agricultural services.<sup>29</sup> Around 1967/68 WEC extended its operations to the south of the country by establishing a station in Kumasi for radio and

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 10. Three of the seven full-time Ghanaian tutors of the College, are on study leave in the U.S.A.

<sup>29</sup> Chapman, W.H., *Christian Service College*, Information Paper, Jan. 1974., 1.

literature ministries to assist local churches and parachurch organisations.<sup>30</sup>

The idea of establishing a training centre in Kumasi originated in 1972, though the plan was hindered by lack of personnel. That year under the auspices of WEC, William Henry Chapman (Principal of WEC Missionary Training College, Glasgow, since 1957) made a preliminary visit to Ghana "to explore the possibility of opening a missionary and pastoral training college".<sup>31</sup> On 6 November 1973 he returned to Ghana, "entrusted with the responsibility of seeing a College started". Greg Francis, the WEC (Ghana) Field Leader in Kumasi introduced him to a number of key evangelical leaders – Nathaniel Sodzi, Sam Adjei, Daniel Ofori Djane, Joseph Okyere (all lecturers at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi), and Felix Maafo (Principal, Kumasi Advanced Technical Teachers' College).<sup>32</sup> They were joined by Ross Campbell and Ross Harbinson (WEC Missionaries), and Rev Virgil Kleinsasser of SIM, at the first CSC Committee Meeting convened by W.H. Chapman in Kumasi on 4 December 1973.<sup>33</sup>

The CSC Committee which became the CSC Council decided on the commencement of the CSC programme with two evening classes on weekdays, and a Saturday morning class at a location in the city centre. The courses were designed to prepare students for the certificate of the Examinations Board for Biblical and Religious Studies (UK) and the West African Examination Council Advanced Level Certificate in Religious Studies. The CSC programme thus commenced in January 1974 with the first evening class in the St George's Church, attended by four people,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Chapman, W.H., *Personal Addition to the Principal's Report Presented to the Annual General Meeting of Christian Service College on Saturday, 6 Nov. 1993.*, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. Other UST evangelical lecturers who later joined the CSC circle as Council members include Nii Adziri Wellington, Ben Wobil, and Edwin Engman, and E.H. Brew Riverson (Principal, Wesley College).

<sup>33</sup> Chapman, W.H., *Notes of the First Committee Meeting of CSC*, 4 December 1973. Don Theobald (WEC) later joined the missionaries on the CSC Council, and served up to 1977. Greg Francis left the country two weeks after Chapman's arrival.

taught by William Chapman and Rev. Kleinsasser, and supported by the secretarial services of Myra Chapman (Mrs).<sup>34</sup> The part-time course was an interim arrangement discontinued when a full-time programme was initiated in the mid-1970s.

In September 1974 the full-time residential programme of the College commenced in buildings of WEC Mission station in Kumasi,<sup>35</sup> with four students – Daniel Buer, Justin Frempong, Seth Nana Minta and John Ntsiful, joined later by Emmanuel Asante. The theological training programme followed foreign models of WEC Missionary Training Colleges in Scotland and Tasmania – "to provide training of an inter-denominational character, to prepare Christians to work as effective evangelists and church planters."<sup>36</sup> The entry requirements emphasised spiritual qualifications in addition to the academic. For admission to CSC, "the applicant must be sure of [his/her] salvation, have a stable Christian life, be active church member, have a clear call into Christian service, and be willing to undergo the disciplines of training."<sup>37</sup> Consideration for the spiritual aspect of the CSC training led to an the early development of the College into a residential institution. It was based on the conviction that "[spiritually] students mature more rapidly, often, in a fellowship".<sup>38</sup>

The original CSC programme was a two-year course in Biblical studies, with an optional third year. By the end of 1976/77 academic year, ten students had graduated: two from the three-year course,

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<sup>34</sup> Chapman, 1993, op. cit. The Certificate of Incorporation of CSC under the Trustees Act was issued in 1979 (see *CSC Council Chairman's Report for Annual General Meeting of the College*, 24 Nov. 1979, 1).

<sup>35</sup> CSC is today located on plots land originally acquired by WEC which erected the first buildings of the College. In movement towards independence, in 1977 the land and buildings housing the College were deeded by WEC to CSC (Chapman, 1993, 1).

<sup>36</sup> Chapman, *CSC Information Paper*, Typescript, Jan. 1974, 1.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

three from the two-year course, and five for shorter periods.<sup>39</sup> In 1979/80 the programme was modified into a full three-year diploma course to cover subjects in Biblical theological, historical and African studies, and "ministry".<sup>40</sup>

The recruitment of Ghanaian evangelical graduates of local and foreign universities and colleges as full-time staff, supported by part-time instructors (lay and clergymen from local schools and churches) undermined perceptions of CSC as a WEC Mission college.<sup>41</sup> The engagement of local ministers as part-time staff enhanced relations with the historic churches.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Chapman, W.H., *Christian Service College*, Information Paper, Typescript, 1977, 2.

**1976 Graduates and Current Engagements:**

1. Daniel Buer - Child Evangelism Fellowship staff worker, Tema.
2. Justin Frempong - Sissalla Bible Translation, with Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation.
3. Eric Asare - SU Travelling Secretary, Northern Ghana.
4. Seth Nana Mintah - Christian Radio Broadcast (New Life For All Programme), and now Minister of Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
5. Johann and Nel Knol - Dutch couple, one at CSC (following Bible training in Holland); engaged by WEC for missionary work in Northern Ghana.

**1977 Graduates:**

1. Emmanuel Asante, PhD.- Superintendent Minister of Methodist Church, Ghana.
2. Edward R C Odame - Founder-leader, Global Missions, Ghana.
3. John Ntsiful - Staff worker of CSC (see Appendix XI).
4. John Kipo Mahama - Pastor, Evangelical Church of Ghana, Buipe (Northern Ghana); and co-translator of Gonja New Testament.
5. Haile Mariam Fesseha (Ethiopia)- initially appointed by SIM to work in Sudan among Ethiopian refugees.

<sup>40</sup> Chapman, *Principal's Report for 4th Annual General Meeting of CSC*, 24 Nov. 1979, 1. The first year course was preparatory - for the two-year diploma programme, as well as equipping students to write examinations for A'Level Religious Studies.

<sup>41</sup> See staff list in Appendix XI.

<sup>42</sup> The CSC-Church relations has been promoted further by the increasing movement of CSC graduates into the ministry of Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches.

A significant factor for the development of CSC in the 1980s is the establishment of external links. In 1982 the College established a special relationship with the Department for the Study of Religions (University of Ghana), allowing qualified CSC students access to the External Diploma in Theology certificate of the University. In 1989 the CSC diploma programme was accredited by the Accrediting Council for Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA).<sup>43</sup> The two developments have been significant factors for indigenising the CSC programme, maintaining academic standards, and fostering local and international confidence in the College.<sup>44</sup>

When CSC and MBC emerged the evangelical ethos of the Colleges did not guarantee a wholehearted acceptance. In Kumasi the persistence of suspicions about theological education prevented some evangelists from fully appreciating the theological programme of CSC. Until recently some never embraced its programme. Others such as Edward R. C. Odame (leader of Reapers Evangelistic Ministry) went intending to undergo a limited training – "just enough to do the work" due to the apprehension that "theological education was dangerous to one's faith."<sup>45</sup> But a few including Emmanuel Asante (founder of the Upper Room Fellowship),

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<sup>43</sup> ACTEA is a department of the Association of Evangelicals in Africa and Madagasca (AEAM).

<sup>44</sup> International confidence in CSC is reflected in the funding of various building projects of the College by overseas donor agencies. TEAR Fund (UK) and Hilfer Bruder – "Help for Your Brother" (Germany) have funded the building of a student accommodation complex and four staff flats, as well as making substantial financial contributions towards staff graduate studies in UK universities (see Appendix X). The TEAR Fund scholarship for the theological training of Ghanaian evangelicals at CSC is a major source of income for the College.

Association with WEC has attracted a number of overseas students to CSC for studies in cross-cultural context. The 1988 CSC student community was enriched by the presence of:

1. Timothy Rudge, BA, PGCE (UK) – now engaged with UCCF (UK).
2. Andrew and Louise Lang – Australian graduate couple
3. Martin Klein – special research student from Tubingen-Germany
4. Saliwe Wepari – Burkina Faso
5. Modou Lamin Sanneh – President, Evangelical Church of Gambia (a WEC Mission related church). See *CSC News* (Occasional Newsletter of CSC), April-June 1988, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with E.R.C. Odame, 13 July 1990.

undertook a full three-year theological programme. As an evangelical with no SU background, and a theological scholar from London Bible College, Dr. Kwame Bediako (CSC lecturer, 1976–78) exerted a positive influence which persuaded some CSC students, including the above named products, to pursue theological education at a higher level.<sup>46</sup>

Theological training at CSC gained a wider acceptance among evangelicals in the 1980s, and provided theological stability for the emergent evangelistic organisations. The surge of evangelical interest in theological education in the 1980s is evident in the rapid growth of student population of CSC and MBC (which has re-located at a new campus).<sup>47</sup> Both CSC and MBC have become evangelical gateways to obtaining the External Diploma in Theology awarded by the University of Ghana, Legon.

#### **4.3 The Significance of the World Congress on Evangelism for the Emergence of Indigenous Evangelistic Organisations in Ghana**

The external factor for the emergence of indigenous evangelistic organisations in Ghana is the World Congress on Evangelism (WCE) held in Berlin in October 1966. The Congress, described as "an outstanding representation of evangelical Christian leadership", was attended by

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<sup>46</sup> After one year at CSC (October 1976–June 1977), with good A'Levels, Odame continued studies in England at LBC (1977–80) for BA (Theol.), and All Nations Christian College (1980–81) for Graduate Diploma in Mission Studies. He is now Director of Global Missions, Ghana.

Emmanuel Asante – studied in England at London Bible College for Cambridge Diploma in Theology, and continued in Canada for BTh, MA and PhD. He is the minister of Wesley Methodist Church, Kumasi.

Another CSC product, JOY Mantey (1976–78), offered for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and underwent further training at Trinity College, Legon (1978–81). He completed two years probational ministry at Ramseyer Church, Kumasi, and served one year as District Pastor of Obuasi (Ashanti), before leaving for the USA for further theological studies, currently at doctoral level.

<sup>47</sup> The total student enrolment of CSC in 1993 was 130, with 50 in full-time residential diploma programme and 80 in part-time non-residential certificate programme. The total number of CSC graduates reached 111 after the June 1992 graduation.

more than 1200 delegates from 100 countries including Ghana.<sup>48</sup> The Ghanaian participants included Florence Yeboah (SU travelling staff) and Isaac Ababio (then a physics student at the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi), who attended in his capacity as secretary of the student evangelistic programme - "All-For-Christ Campaign".<sup>49</sup>

A primary purpose of the Congress was to recover for the Church the evangelistic and missionary zeal and vision of the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910. In the words of Billy Graham (the honorary Chairman of the Congress), it was "to make an urgent appeal to the world Church to return to the dynamic zeal for the world evangelization that characterised Edinburgh 56 years ago."<sup>50</sup> He referred to John R Mott who had "lamented the fact that doors opened in 1910 for evangelism and mission were not entered."<sup>51</sup> The loss of evangelistic zeal and passion by the Church had been attributed to the creation of the World Council of Churches. The WCE organizers perceived that within the World Council of Churches there existed a confused and distorted view of evangelism which necessitated Biblical redefinition and clarification. Billy Graham recounts a conversation a few years before the WCE in which an official of the WCC had said: "if that group adopted a definition of evangelism it would split the Council. Within the conciliar movement deep theological differences make it almost impossible to form a definition of evangelism and to give authoritative biblical guidelines to the Church."<sup>52</sup> Thus one purpose of the WCE was "to help the Church to come to grips with this issue and to come to a

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<sup>48</sup> Publisher's note on flap of jacket of the book: Henry C.F.H., & Mooneyham S.W., eds. *One Race, One Gospel, One Task* (World Congress on Evangelism Official Reference Volumes - Papers and Reports), Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1967, Vol. I. According to Carl F H Henry, Chairman of the Congress and founding editor of *Christianity Today* (an evangelical magazine), the Congress was organised as a 10th anniversary project of the magazine.

<sup>49</sup> *Span* 1, 1964, 20. See *SU (Ghana) Bulletin*, 6 Feb 1967.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 22. He was referring to the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, 1910.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

clear understanding of the evangelistic and missionary responsibilities of the Church for the remainder of this century."<sup>53</sup>

The Congress served as an international forum for reviewing evangelistic strategies, and renewing the vision and commitment to evangelism, as Billy Graham emphasised:

We are not here to organise a new movement – we are here to ask God to rekindle the flame of revival and evangelism throughout the world church ... that the Holy Spirit will so manifest himself that we will go back to our people with a fresh vision, a fresh zeal, and a fresh love for the souls of men."<sup>54</sup>

The concerns of WCE coincided with the pre-occupations of the evangelicals in Ghana. The experience of being at the vanguard of the "All-For-Christ Campaign" engendered in Isaac Ababio a passion for evangelising non-Christians. This became evident in his presentation at the Congress in a prayer seminar. In the address entitled: "Compassion in Personal Evangelism",<sup>55</sup> Ababio demonstrates a keen knowledge of the Bible, and makes particular reference to Biblical figures like Moses, Jeremiah and Jesus as illustration of the sense of compassion essential for evangelism. The paper made an impact, and as Ababio remarks: "Some wondered whether I had written it myself or copied from a book."<sup>56</sup> The experience of the Congress confirmed his passion for evangelism.

The WCE catalysed a development already latent in the evangelical movement in Ghana. It gave Ababio the confidence to launch out full-time in 1967 as an itinerant evangelist. With the corporate support of evangelical friends he undertook crusades in towns in Brong Ahafo Region – Wenchi and Duayaw Nkwanta. The urban and rural evangelistic engagements<sup>led</sup> to the emergence of the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association in 1967 as the first Ghanaian independent

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 9–10.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 391–3.

<sup>56</sup> Interview with Isaac Ababio, 1 August 1990.

evangelistic organisation. The evangelistic career of Isaac Ababio thus set the pace for the emergence of secondary evangelical groups closely associated with the Christian Fellowship movement.

#### **4.4 INDEPENDENCE AND CONTINUITY IN THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT**

The evangelistic ministries and associations represented independence and continuity in the Christian Fellowship Movement. They existed as separate organisations from SU and GHAFES, yet functionally continuous with the evangelical traditions of the main evangelical movements. Though the evangelistic organisations identified themselves as independent groups, they did not operate in isolation from the fellowships. The leadership and membership of the independent evangelistic groups had strong associations with local CFs and operated with their co-operation.

As secondary evangelical groups, the evangelistic organisations also operated as fellowships, engaging in regular prayer and Bible studies for edification of members and the renewal of their commitment to particular evangelistic causes. To Christians outside Christian Fellowship circles these groups were more or less extensions of the CFs – their evangelistic wings – a re-grouping of SU and GHAFES members for particular evangelistic interests. The concern for rural and urban evangelism, and revival in local churches led to the formation of the first group – the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association in 1967 in Accra, with local branches emerging later in Kumasi, Cape Coast, Takoradi and Akosombo. The 1970s saw a proliferation of several local evangelistic organisations. In Kumasi the following groups emerged: the Upper Room Fellowship, established around 1973/74; the Spirituals (1974), with the Reapers as its splinter group. The other Kumasi groups are the Aflame For Christ (1974/75), and Standing Together Ministry (1977). In 1974 the Holy Fire Revival Ministry was initiated at Takoradi and formally registered in 1977, and in 1975 the Powerhouse Evangelistic Group emerged at Tema.

A vision for promoting indigenous missionary work inspired the conception of the Christian Outreach Fellowship (COF) by evangelical

leaders at SU Easter House-party at Aburi in 1974. The concern for youth evangelism led to the formation of the Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association in Accra around 1973/74. A similar evangelistic concern led to the formation of "gospel music" groups by evangelical students. At Cape Coast the Joyful Way group emerged in 1971/72 as an amalgamation of singing groups in Mfantsipim School, Adisadel College, and Wesley Girls High School. The Joyful Way phenomenon influenced the establishment of other music groups. The Calvary Road singers was formed by students in Accra. Their counterparts in Kumasi include the Way-faring Strangers (1973) and Royal Diadems (1975), which merged in 1977 to form the New Creation. At the University of Science and Technology, the Abundant Life group which functioned initially as a musical sub-group of the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship, later became an independent music group on the campus.

All the above secondary evangelical groups maintained the conservative evangelical traditions of SU and GHAFES to which they had direct historical links. The only group that emerged with a distinctive pentecostal ethos is the Ghana Evangelical Society, initiated in Accra in 1973 by Brother Enoch Agbozo as a pentecostal fellowship, and inaugurated in 1977 as an independent evangelistic organisation.

A common denominator of all the organisations is their primary preoccupation with evangelism, pursued in diverse ways: person-to-person sharing of the gospel, radio broadcasts, crusades, church revival meetings, gospel musical concerts, and drama. All the groups recognise and employ the evangelistic value of Christian music in public preaching of the gospel, as means of securing audience attention, and inspiring faith in Christ. As a performing art, the "contemporary gospel music" is central to youth evangelism and popular Christian recreation. Thus most of the groups have a core membership which also constitutes a choir or singing group, as typified by the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association.

An essential characteristic of the groups that emerged outside university and college campuses is their evangelist-founder type of leadership. Their link with the Christian Fellowships implies the

development of independent evangelistic organisations was not an isolated phenomenon, but a metamorphosis in the Christian Fellowship movement.

#### 4.5 THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP AS THE ROOT OF EVANGELIST-LEADERS AND THEIR MINISTRIES

Essentially the Christian Fellowship (whether in school, college, university, town community or the work place) was an organ for thorough-going Christian discipleship. By vigorously promoting Bible study, prayer and evangelism, the CFs became training grounds for evangelists who became the founder-leaders of the evangelistic ministries and associations that emerged between the late 1960s and mid 1970. They include Isaac Ababio (Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association - HOVCEA); John Owusu Afriyie (Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association - YAFCA); Emmanuel Asante (Upper-Room Fellowship); Yaw Asante (Standing Together Ministries); and Yaw Kankam and Akwasi Appiah (Aflame For Christ).

The evangelistic career of Isaac Ababio was nurtured in the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. He held an executive position as the Secretary responsible for the summer All-For-Christ Campaign. He recalls that the 1963 AFCC at Begoro - Eastern Region (Ghana), gave him the initial experience in planning later campaigns to Bekwai, Manhyia and Akwapim Mampong. The AFCC exposed him to the challenges of urban and rural evangelism, in addition to experience from SU work as volunteer office and camp worker. The IHCF and SU assignments challenged and inspired him to take up evangelism as a vocation, as he recalls: "I started praying that God would bring revival to our country and also preachers and evangelists for our nation. God spoke to me literally, 'How about you?'" After considering the call for sometime, he says "I offered myself for God to send me."<sup>57</sup> His engagements as an itinerant evangelist, and the corporate support of evangelical friends laid the foundation for establishing HOVCEA in 1967.

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Isaac Ababio, 14 August 1990.

Likewise, it was SU work which gave John Owusu-Afriyie the initial experience and interest in youth evangelism, culminating in the establishment of the Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association. His association with SU commenced in the early years of his Christian conversion, through the agency of a friend who introduced him to a home Bible study group. It provided him with essential benefits of Christian fellowship and instruction for spiritual growth.

In 1969 he received an invitation to work with SU. Several requests had come to the SU Office in Accra for Bibles, holy handkerchiefs and other religious artifacts. He observes there was a desperate search for knowledge and young people wrote for all kinds reasons. The letters came from enquirers in Anglophone West Africa and Kenya, Zambia, and Uganda who had obtained the address of SU-Ghana from SU Bible reading materials. With the assistance of a few friends, he took time after normal working hours to read the numerous letters and respond to the enquiries. In scheme that continued for three years, Owusu Afriyie devised a Bible study outline as format for a correspondence course on "How to be a Christian" and "How to grow as a Christian".

As a supplement to the correspondence courses, in 1971 Owusu Afriyie commenced school visitation as most of the correspondents were in secondary schools. He was assisted by students from the University Christian Fellowship at Legon as well as members of HOVCEA and the Nurses Christian Fellowship who provided music for Owusu Afriyie's preaching. A school visitation team was formed to undertake "mini-missions" – weekend evangelistic campaigns in schools. The group later constituted the nucleus of the Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association, with Owusu-Afriyie as leader. Thus YAFCA emerged around 1973/74 as an off-shoot of SU school work.

Emmanuel Asante, the founder-leader of the Upper Room Fellowship, acquired his evangelistic vocation in the Kumasi Town Fellowship. When financial problems frustrated his secondary education, Asante decided to train as a teacher, but around 1967/68 he felt consumed with zeal for evangelism after his elder sister had introduced

him to the Kumasi Town Fellowship. His involvement in evangelistic activities of the Fellowship led to the realization of his potentialities in evangelistic preaching. He assumed responsibilities of leadership of all-night prayer meetings and further undertook speaking engagements at the Nurses Christian Fellowship at Komfo Anokye Hospital, Kumasi. He and two other Asantes (not relatives) – Yaw Asante and Nicholas Asante received recognition as evangelists in the Kumasi TF. The three Asantes often met together for prayer and plan strategies for further evangelistic campaigns, involving mobilising the rural churches for evangelistic campaigns with one of the Asantes as preacher.

As President of the Youth Fellowship of the Bantama Methodist Church (Kumasi), Emmanuel Asante combined the church responsibilities with parachurch engagements as free lance evangelist – preaching in villages, schools and town fellowships. The need for spiritual support for his numerous evangelistic engagements and desire for revival in his local church led to the commencement of special prayer meetings out of which the Upper Room Fellowship emerged around 1974/75.

The second Asante in the team of evangelists in Kumasi Town Fellowship was Yaw, who established the Standing Together Ministry in Kumasi. His involvement in SU commenced at Opoku Ware School in Kumasi. His conversion occurred through the witness of a senior member of the school SU fellowship. The SU group offered the essential nurture for his Christian growth. His early evangelistic engagements were rural evangelistic campaigns with the Kumasi TF. At the University of Cape Coast he joined the University Christian Fellowship and became an active participant in the All For Christ Campaign. After graduating, he became active in SU camps and Kumasi TF meetings during holidays, gaining recognition in the TF as an evangelist. The Fellowship context of parachurch activity inspired his vocation as free-lance evangelist, which initially involved co-operating and assisting in various evangelistic campaigns. For seven years he engaged in joint evangelistic ventures with the emergent evangelistic ministries at Bantama – the Upper Room Fellowship and the Spirituals. His particular interest in street and rural evangelism which he thought was not popular with the existing groups, led him to establish the Standing Together Ministries

in 1977.

Most of the evangelists operated without any formal theological training. As preparatory grounds for the evangelistic vocation, the Christian Fellowships offered an informal system of training, a sort of "on-the-job" training. Lectures and Bible expositions at Holiday Bible Schools, camps, seminars and conferences, and the regular Fellowship meetings provided a basic working knowledge of the Bible to enable the evangelists function. Formal theological education was pursued later as a means of acquiring further equipment for a more effective parachurch or church ministry.

#### **4.6 DENOMINATIONALISM AND SCHISM: THE CASE OF "THE SPIRITUALS" AND "THE REAPERS" OF BANTAMA**

In continuity with the Christian Fellowship tradition most of the evangelistic organisations defined their membership and operations as inter or non-denominational. Some operated independently, and others in collaboration with local churches. The historical origins of a group often determined how it functioned. Most commonly, the nature of their church relations was determined by the degree to which the leadership and membership were involved in their respective churches. Naturally, an evangelistic group was granted ecclesiastical recognition and support by the church to which majority of the group's membership were affiliated.

But the inter-denominational nature of the membership of the evangelistic groups made a close association with a particular denomination sometimes undesirable. In an isolated case, denominational or ecclesiastical association caused schism in one of the Kumasi groups. The close association of the Spirituals with the Presbyterian Church generated a dispute which ended in the break-up of the group. The Spirituals emerged in the early 1970s at Bantama in Kumasi, as a non-denominational gospel music group. But the group developed a close association with the local Presbyterian Church to which the founder-leader, R O Asiedu, and a section of the membership were affiliated. Later as the group enlarged, evangelistic preaching was added to the music ministry. A senior member of the group, E R C

Odame, was appointed Director of Evangelism to focus attention of the group on evangelism.

In pursuing evangelistic outreach, the immediate problem that confronted the group was the existing relations with the Presbyterian Church. Some wondered whether the group should evangelise in close association with the Presbyterian Church or operate independently. The leader, with a strong attachment to the Presbyterian Church, favoured a continuance of the close collaboration with the Church. But the Evangelism Director and a section of the membership (the non-Presbyterians) felt the group had deviated from its non-denominational ethos, and was becoming a Presbyterian group. The protagonists of independence from the Presbyterian Church argued for the Spirituals to revert to the original non-denominational policy to avoid subordination to ecclesiastical regulations. The failure to reach a compromise decision caused a break-up, resulting in the formation of Reapers Evangelistic Ministry in 1978 a separatist group for the advocates of independence, with Odame as leader.

The close alliance of an evangelistic group with a particular church did not necessarily threaten its independence, neither did it constitute a loss of its inter/non-denominational identity. The New Creation with a predominantly Baptist membership maintained its independence inspite of the support of the Grace Baptist Church in Kumasi to which most of its founding members were affiliated. The group had free use of the facilities of the Church. Maintaining a close association with a particular church often ensured some groups often benefited from its support. But that could render its operations suspect to others. It was more likely to be perceived as an evangelistic organ of that particular church, and consequently be denied recognition and support by those not belonging to it.

Disputes in the independent evangelistic groups did not often centre on the denominational question. The commonest cause of disputes was personality conflicts resulting from the tendency of founder-leaders to dominate decision making. The failure to resolve internal conflicts often resulted in schisms, and the proliferation of independent

evangelistic groups in the seventies.

The schismatic development in the Spirituals highlights some sensitivities about church relations in the parachurch movements. Groups which proceeded without a clear definition of church relations were later saddled with problems relating to nurture of converts.

#### 4.7 NURTURE OF CONVERTS

The evangelistic endeavours of the parachurch organisations were bedeviled by the perennial problem of the nurture of converts. After a brief period of instructing converts in the fundamentals of Christian growth, most of the groups such as the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association, adhered strictly to their inter-denominational policy, and directed crusade converts to collaborating local churches to be established in their faith. However, in addition to the ministry of local churches, some Kumasi groups such as the Upper Room Fellowship and Standing Together established separate non-denominational fellowships as nurture groups for discipling converts. Most of such fellowships were located in rural areas. The Standing Together Ministry, with original commitment to rural evangelism, had one such fellowship in Kumasi, and ten others in towns and villages it had evangelised in the Brong Ahafo Region.<sup>58</sup>

The town and village fellowships were not intended to be evangelical alternatives to proper affiliation of converts to local churches. One reason given for establishing the fellowships was the "unco-operative attitude of churches" – the apparent lack of interest of local churches in the evangelistic campaigns. Another was the view that the churches of mainline denominations were not evangelical enough to undertake the discipleship of converts effectively.<sup>59</sup> The teaching provided in the fellowship context was considered a vital supplement to the ministry of the local church in sustaining the faith of the new Christians.

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with Yaw Asante, 30 July 1990.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

The fellowships also became mechanisms for introducing the evangelical tradition inherited by the evangelistic groups to rural and suburban Christian communities. The discipleship programme was patterned after the SU tradition, with instructions in the observance of the "quiet time", the practice of group Bible studies, engaging in collective prayer (occasionally all-night), and some exercises in evangelism. The local fellowships thus became springboards for further evangelistic outreach and extending the frontiers of the Christian Fellowship movement.

#### 4.8 BAPTISING CONVERTS: THE C.O.F. DILEMMA

Closely associated with the nurture of converts is the problem of baptism, as encountered by the Christian Outreach Fellowship. After its initial conception at Aburi in 1974, COF was formally inaugurated as a Ghanaian "inter-denominational and evangelical missionary society" on 17 May 1975, at the Christian Service College, Kumasi. Its original function was to create missionary awareness and interest among churches, fellowships and individual Christians by collating and disseminating information about mission fields in Ghana. COF was to be "a hub" - "an integration of all existing evangelical bodies in Ghana."<sup>60</sup> The multi-purpose vision of the COF pioneers was to:

- a. Motivate and sustain missionary awareness among Christians,
- b. Bring together in fellowship all believers who have a burden for promoting Christian missionary service in Ghana and abroad.
- c. Provide active and constant prayer support for ... missionary work.

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<sup>60</sup> *The Christian Outreach Fellowship - A Missionary Society*, COF Brochure and Constitution, Typescript, n.d. 3. COF failed to become a national missionary movement because the vision for COF was restricted to a select few evangelical leaders. In its formative years the COF "core groups" (in Kumasi and Accra) were dominated by academics and professionals, creating the impression that it belonged to a particular class of Christians or evangelicals. Attempts to establish COF core groups in other regional centres failed (See Eric Anum, *Suggestions For Christian Outreach Fellowship*, Memorandum to COF, 1985, 1). For an update on COF, see *Step* (Ghana edn.), 1(1), June, 1989, 7.

- d. Seek and spread information about ... missionary work in Ghana and abroad.
- e. Train and sponsor individuals to undertake missionary ventures both at home and abroad.
- f. Research into cultural practices such as marriage customs, funeral rites, inheritance etc. and determine their relevance to the Christian life... .
- g. Become disciples who are responsible members of His church within the context of ... denominations.
- h. Co-operate and actively co-labour with other missions and other groups and denominational congregation in Ghana and elsewhere with a similar aim.<sup>61</sup>

The COF development, particularly its direct participation in church planting, was inspired and assisted<sup>61</sup> WEC and SIM operations in Ghana.<sup>62</sup> COF recruited its own missionary personnel for church

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 2. Concerning evangelical co-operation, COF was instrumental in the formation of the Ghana Evangelical Missions Association around 1989. GEMA emerged from the First Consultation of Evangelical Mission Agencies [in Ghana] held on 13 September 1989, attended by the following delegates: Dr. Seth Anyomi (Africa Christian Mission), Rev Divine Amattey (All for Christ Mission), A.S. Ocran (Torchbearers), Ross Campbell (Ghana Evangelism Committee), A S Fonsi (GILLBT), Mike Arthur (Foundation for Christian Leadership), Yaw Asante (Standing Together Mission), George Yormabu (New Life Volta Ministry), Moses K Akpalu (Pastor's Training Institute), Albert Vanderpuye (Volta Evangelistic Association), I. Frimpong-Ampofo (Gospel Missions International), Kennedy Berko (Greater Accra Christian Fellowships), Egya-Blay (Siloam Evangelical Mission), Paul Sabban (Christ to the Muslim Mission), Rocky-Bell Adatura (Islamic and Christian Studies Programme), Pastor G. Norsah (Mission to the Millions Crusade), Beloved Pastor S Bonney (Jesus Disciples Ministry), Pastor David R Quansah (All Souls Salvation Ministry), E.G.A. Aye (World Vision Int.-Ghana), Rev J.B. Padmore (Unction Faith Ministry), Rev. Edward Arcton (Liberation Mission for Christ), and Rev G.G. Ennin (Methodist Church Missions), (List attached to *Organising Committee of GEMA Letter*, 29 Sept., 1989). See Appendix XII for 1990 GEMA list.

<sup>62</sup> Initially, SIM provided a vehicle and a temporary office accommodation for use of William Ofori Atta, the first Field Director of COF. On African participation in evangelisation of Africa, Wakatama, P., "The Role of Africans in the World mission of the Church, *Evangelical Missions Quarterly*, 26 (2) April 1990, 126, criticises the irrational imitation of the West, saying: "Some Western missiologists say that the answer is for Africans to start their own American-style independent mission agencies. They encourage Africans to do this. We now have in Africa more than 350 indigenous mission organisations, some of which are little more than crude clones of some Western agencies."

planting in Ghana, but problems relating to the baptism of converts surfaced alongside that of effective Christian nurture, and persisted for a decade.<sup>63</sup> Initially COF had no clear policy on the nurture and baptism of its converts, as revealed in a report of a consultation of the COF Director with Rev. Van Der Broek, a Dutch Presbyterian missionary of "The Mile 7 Ministry", Tamale:

To which church, he [Van Der Broek] asks, will the early baptized converts of the COF belong? By reason of COF's policy the missionaries may win converts and disciple them in a period of about a year and build them up to responsible reproducing disciples. Until a church denomination is invited to take up the body of believers and give the body the name of its denomination, to what church will the believers belong?<sup>64</sup>

Some COF missionaries arranged for their converts to be baptised into churches of denominations to which the missionaries were affiliated. Edith Larbi, a prominent member of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church<sup>65</sup>, operating in an area dominated by the EP Church, directed her converts to that Church. Others operated as local agents of foreign missionary societies. As the COF Director reports: "...two missionaries in Chiana [Northern Ghana] joined the stream of the SIM church planting ... setting up churches and calling them Good News Churches"<sup>66</sup> as the SIM churches in Ghana are called.

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<sup>63</sup> By 1990 COF had ten missionaries operating in Ghana: Anthony and Francis Kupoe (Chiana - Upper-East Region), Evans Ntiamoah and James Diku (Mafi - mid-Volta), Edith Larbi (Klonu - Southern Volta), Emmanuel Anukun Dabson (Jaman - Brong Ahafo Region), Philemon Bansah (Afram Plains), Oliver Osei Genning, John Amoah Asare and Peter Osei Yaw, Enchi - Western Region (see *COF Director's Report*, Feb.-July, 1989).

<sup>64</sup> Ofori-Atta, W., *Matters Arising Out of the Report on the Northern Tour for Consideration of the Council of the COF*, Mimeograph, n.d. 1.

<sup>65</sup> The Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, a product of the missionary effort of the Bremen Mission (Germany), was originally called Ewe Presbyterian Church because of its predominant ethnic Ewe membership. The adoption of the name "Evangelical" was intended to give the Church a multi-ethnic image. Recent leadership and doctrinal disputes in the EP Church has resulted in schism and the constitution of a separate EP Church which claims to be more "evangelical".

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

An attempt was made by COF in 1985 to adopt a policy statement on the above issue, but it only made apparent the evangelical opinions of the Accra and Kumasi Committees set up to advise the COF Council. The Accra Committee recommended that:

- a. Where no Churches exist our missionaries should form fellowships and invite an evangelical denomination to oversee;
- b. Where other Churches exist but are not such as could be entrusted with the new believers, still COF must invite an evangelical denomination.<sup>67</sup>

The Kumasi Committee on the other hand recommended that:

- a. COF should not start a new denomination;
- b. COF should form fellowships which meet out of church hours;
- c. But where there are existing denominations even if not evangelical, converts must still be affiliated.<sup>68</sup>

The two recommendations represent two different influences in COF: the local and foreign. The foreign influence came from the SIM which provided substantial assistance for COF operations. It was represented on the two-man Accra Committee by Edward Moran, Principal of Maranatha Bible College. It favoured the movement towards establishing evangelical churches as its missionaries were doing in Northern Ghana. The local influence was represented by evangelical leaders associated with SU Town Fellowships which were more active in Kumasi than Accra. Their predilection for the "town fellowship" model of establishing converts is consistent with the non-denominational evangelical ethos of SU. It is also indicative of the improved SU-Church relations to which the Kumasi Fellowships leaders were sensitive. By 1985 many of the leaders of the Fellowships in Kumasi had risen to leadership positions in their churches, and were eager to maintain the good relations cultivated between the fellowships and the churches.

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<sup>67</sup> *Minutes of COF Council Meeting Held at Accra Girls Guide Centre on 30 Nov. 1985, 2.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

The church/fellowship issue was re-considered in February 1986 at Christian Service College, with guidelines for COF missionaries to adopt the evangelical church-planting mode of operation. The COF missionaries were expected to baptise their converts and constitute them into a church if no "evangelical" church existed. The non-existence of "evangelical churches" in most rural areas implied COF had to set up its evangelical churches as it is doing today, with consequent loss of its inter/non-denominational status. Denominationalism thus generates questions of church relations which has been a perennial problem for parachurch work in Ghana.

#### **4.9 THE EVANGELISTIC GROUP AS A CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP: THE CASE OF THE UPPER ROOM FELLOWSHIP**

In continuity with the "town fellowship" phenomenon most of the evangelistic groups operated more or less as Christian fellowships in their formative period. Typical examples are The Ghana Evangelical Society (GES) in Accra and the Upper Room Fellowship (URF) in Kumasi. Each represents one of the two traditions of evangelical activism in the Christian Fellowship movement - pentecostal evangelicalism (with its insistence on holy spirit baptism) and conservative evangelicalism (of those with a moderate view about pentecostal experience).

The deliberate effort of Enoch Agbozo to promote pentecostalism in Christian Fellowships in Accra culminated in the formation of the GES. Initially its principal activity was Friday all-night meeting for Bible study and prayer, with fasting.<sup>69</sup>

Unlike the GES the formation of the URF was a natural development resulting from the evangelistic concerns of Emmanuel Asante. His responsibilities as class leader, local preacher, and President of the Youth Fellowship of the Ebenezer Methodist Church at Bantama in Kumasi, coupled with his parachurch engagements as itinerant evangelist made him conscious of the need for spiritual support. This led him to initiate a "prayer ministry" in a house opposite

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<sup>69</sup> The GES story is given a separate treatment in the second half of this chapter due to its particular response to socio-political issues.

the church. The group engaged in prolonged fasting. As the leader recalls, during a particular retreat the members fasted for two weeks - "praying all the night till day break, continuous".<sup>70</sup> This maintained the tradition of prayer initiated in the Kumasi Town Fellowship as a result of pentecostal influence. Emmanuel Asante had already assumed leadership responsibilities for the all-night prayer meetings of the Kumasi TF.

The meetings for prayer and Bible study in the upstairs of the house designated "real power house" in Bantama attracted many participants. Day prayer retreats were attended by people from towns and villages, far and near - from Tafo (4 miles from Kumasi) to Sekyere-Odumase (about 30 miles away). Evening meetings were attended by members of mainline protestant churches in the Bantama area including the local Methodist Church.

In fulfilment of the evangelistic vision of the group, the leadership decided to constitute the group into a Christian organisation to mobilise and equip the membership to engage in "saturation evangelism" through house-to-house visitation. This was an evangelistic strategy adapted by the group from the practice of the Jehovah Witness movement in Ghana to reach every household in the Bantama locality with the gospel of Christ. The Bantama prayer group thus became a house fellowship and an evangelistic group. Its operation was nothing different from that of the Kumasi TF. It was a phase in the transition to becoming an independent evangelistic ministry or association. This occurred around 1973/74 when the leadership of the house fellowship decided to turn the organisation into an indigenous evangelistic ministry, but maintaining the old identity as a fellowship. Hence the adoption of the name: "Upper Room Fellowship" - the fellowship that met upstairs.

The re-organisation of URF brought structural changes in the ministry of the group. New forms of evangelism, music and drama, were adopted to enhance evangelistic effectiveness. Some of the members were

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with Emmanuel Asante, 12 July 1990.

equipped with evangelistic counselling skills to enable them attend to enquirers at crusades. URF focused attention on rural evangelism. It became an agency for the propagation of TFs in Akomadan and Barekese Areas of Ashanti Region.

Although the URF leadership and membership were predominantly Methodist, there was no formal co-operation between the group and the Methodist Church at Bantama, where the group established its operational base. Rather in its formative years the URF activities was a source of conflict between its leadership and that of the Church. The proximity of the URF meeting place to the Bantama Methodist Church, exposed Emmanuel Asante to criticism by his church minister, with allegations that he was establishing a church to generate funds for his personal support. Such hostility was common and bedeviled parachurch-church relations.

#### **4.10 MUSIC AND EVANGELISM: THE CASE OF HOVCEA**

The origins of the Hour Of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association (HOVCEA) rooted in the evangelistic vocation of Isaac Ababio. In 1967 he gave permanence to the group that assisted him in crusades by forming a Bible study and prayer group. The group undertook open-air preaching (frequently - three/four times a week) around Nkrumah Circle in Accra.<sup>71</sup>

In 1967 with an initial membership of ten, HOVCEA was born with the launching of a radio ministry - a fifteen minute Sunday morning (7.15- 7.30) evangelistic broadcast on the National Radio Station (GBC II). The first programme was recorded at the Bible House in Jamestown, Accra, and entitled "The Hour Of Visitation".<sup>72</sup> The programme

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<sup>71</sup> Interview with Ababio, 1 August 1990.

<sup>72</sup> Subsequent programmes were recorded at the studios of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation at a small fee. The HOVCEA radio Programme continued until 1982. On 12 February 1982, the military regime of PNDC ordered the GBC to suspend all privately sponsored Religious Radio Broadcasts, including the Hour Of Visitation and "Okristoni" (The Christian) - a weekly radio theatre on practical Christian living. Only the Sunday Religious Service Broadcast was

commenced with the signature tune of HOVCEA – the first verse of the hymn: "There shall be showers of blessing". It was followed by a scripture reading and an evangelistic message by Isaac Ababio, then a song, and the announcement of a contact address. With the choir that provided music for the radio programme, HOVCEA operated with the motto: "We sing, we preach, we tell that Jesus saves."<sup>73</sup> With the centrality of music to the ministry of HOVCEA, the choir became the nucleus of its membership.

In addition to the radio ministry the group undertook weekend evangelistic campaigns in town communities, churches and schools. By late 1968 when Isaac Ababio had to leave for Biblical studies at the Melbourne Bible Institute (Australia),<sup>73</sup> a solid foundation had already been laid for HOVCEA to operate effectively. The leadership vacuum created by the absence of Ababio was filled by two talented foreign evangelists – Stevenson Alfred Williams (an Afro-American Baptist) and Madge Thompson (a Caribbean).<sup>74</sup> In 1971 HOVCEA was formally registered as "an inter-denominational religious organisation", with members from Church of Pentecost, Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican, Methodist and Assemblies of God Churches; and a few Roman Catholics.<sup>75</sup> Its purpose was:

- a. To preach, tell and sing the goodness of redemption and forgiveness of sins through the blood of Jesus Christ to all people.

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retained to placate the Councils of the mainline churches. All attempts to get the government to lift the ban failed. In 1987 Radio ELWA in Monrovia, Liberia, started to broadcast the HOVECEA programme to West African listeners, the ELWA operation ceased with the outbreak of civil war in Liberia.

<sup>73</sup> After obtaining Dip. Theol., Ababio taught in Papua-New Guinea before returning to Ghana in 1974.

<sup>74</sup> The musical talents of Steve Williams helped in building up the choir to respectable standards. When Isaac Ababio returned Steve Williams continued with HOVCEA as Music Director until 1979 when he entered the Baptist ministry as Pastor of Calvary Baptist, Accra.

<sup>75</sup> *Reaching the Nations With the Message of Hope*, HOVCEA Brochure, n.d.

- b. To win people far and near to a living faith in Jesus Christ and to endeavour to build them up to spiritual maturity.
- c. To share common fellowship in Jesus Christ with people of living faith in Him throughout the world.<sup>76</sup>

In the quarter-century of its existence (1967-92) HOVCEA has engaged in diverse forms of evangelism: "Evangelism among the youth and children, radio and television evangelism, church evangelism (revival meetings and missions), evangelism in educational institutions, urban and rural evangelism, prison and hospital evangelism, teaching seminars in collaboration with local churches."<sup>77</sup>

The regular annual events of the organisation include Easter Crusades organised "to remember the great sacrifice the Lord gave ... and spread the news to those who have not heard that he died for them..."<sup>78</sup> The other is the anniversary celebrations activities with the primary purpose of raising funds, and often includes "Marriage and Family Life Seminars" for family life renewal, "Choral Concerts", "Anniversary and Thanksgiving Service". As with HOVCEA crusades, the anniversary activities are often preceded by the observation of a week of "consecration" during which members engage in fasting, with group prayer and Bible reading each evening.

Rural evangelistic crusades of HOVCEA follow the pattern of the student All-For-Christ Campaigns, and organised with the collaboration of local churches. In the "Okwahu For Christ Crusade" (October 31 - 5 November 1986) the group undertook open-air preaching each night of the crusade week; Sunday preaching in local churches; School ministry in elementary and secondary schools in the Kwahu District; and house-to-house visitation.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> HOVCEA *Circular Letter to Members and Friends*, 22 March 1990, 1.

<sup>79</sup> HOVCEA *Report*, Oct.-Dec 1986, 1-2.

A special feature of this particular crusade was the international co-operation from the USA. A seminar organised for local pastors and other Christian workers, was addressed by a team of guest preachers from the USA: Keith Hershey, Raymond Wong and Bob Smith, invited to join HOVCEA for the crusade.<sup>80</sup>

Until the emergence of other evangelistic organisations in the mid 1970s, HOVCEA enjoyed the singular support of SU Town Fellowships from which it derived the core of its membership, mostly school teachers, university lecturers, and nurses. In Kumasi, the local branch of HOVCEA established a close alliance with the Town Fellowship, making it more or less an evangelistic and musical subgroup of the TF. Thus occasionally the Kumasi HOVCEA was invited to meetings of the Kumasi TF to provide music, share its vision and experiences in evangelism, to engender support for the organisation and inspire TF members to be active in evangelism as well.<sup>81</sup> As a demonstration of this close alliance, the Kumasi TF merged one of its regular Sunday afternoon meetings with the inaugural activities of the Kumasi HOVCEA on 8 April 1973 at the Kumasi Cultural Centre.<sup>82</sup> The evangelistic organisation needed the support of local fellowships to function effectively.

Such co-operation brought mutual benefits. It was vital for preserving the internal harmony of the Christian Fellowship movement. The evangelistic organisations were able to function without seriously depleting the membership or disrupting the functions of the fellowships. The Town Fellowship members in the evangelistic organisations were able to maintain a dual parachurch involvement without any conflict. It was the church which suffered loss eventually. The multiple parachurch activism was pursued at the cost of active involvement in church life and work. The increased involvement in parachurch work diminished commitment to the church.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>81</sup> *The Fellowship* 1(5), Oct. 1972, 1.

<sup>82</sup> See *The Fellowship* 2(3), March 1973, 5.

#### 4.11 THE YOUTH AMBASSADORS FOR CHRIST ASSOCIATION AND YOUTH EVANGELISM

Until the emergence of independent evangelistic organisations, parachurch evangelical ministry in schools was basically the preserve of Scripture Union. The first indigenous independent organisation to specialize in youth evangelism was the Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association (YAFCA). It developed from the special student ministry initiated in 1969 by Owusu Afriyie within the framework of SU - correspondence courses and weekend "mini-missions" to students in secondary schools. The school visitation team which assisted him constituted the nucleus of YAFCA. The team sustained the school missions after the departure of Owusu Afriyie for studies in the USA in 1972.

Whilst in the USA, Owusu Afriyie associated with the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship and some churches. He returned to Ghana as an evangelist, and resumed the evangelistic outreach to schools with renewed zeal.<sup>83</sup> With the assistance of the evangelistic team, he undertook school missions on a more regular basis, using the correspondence course materials for discipling converts.

The idea of formally establishing an independent evangelistic association for youth evangelism was conceived in January 1974, during a weeklong mission at Sogakope Secondary School in the Volta Region. Whilst observing the "quiet time", he had a vision of the biblical Samson and the 300 foxes:

...the Lord showed me a clear vision of Samson sending forth the 300 foxes with firebrands into the grain fields of the Philistines. As I prayed the vision became clearer to me. The Holy Spirit made me see that Samson alone could not have gotten all the farms ablaze, but with 300 foxes going indifferent directions, the job was done. As I got off my knees that morning, I knew the Lord was showing me what was going to be a life-time job of TRAINING YOUNG PEOPLE and sending them out under the anointing of the Holy Spirit to invade enemy [Satan's] territory. I began to

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<sup>83</sup> The school work was enhanced by Owusu Afriyie's new credential as Reverend Minister. He was ordained into the Christian ministry by a church with which he was associated in the USA.

understand the great potential of young people, which for so long a time had been under-estimated.<sup>84</sup>

Owusu Afriyie claims the vision gave him a strategy for youth evangelism, to equip young Christians to undertake evangelism among students.

In the summer of 1974, under the auspices of YAFCA, Owusu Afriyie initiated the Youth Evangelism School (YES), one month summer camp which attracted about 100 participants from schools and colleges. Local and international speakers were engaged: Isaac Ababio (HOVCEA); Gottfried Bamfo and Wilson Awasu (all SU - Travelling Secretaries), and Robert G. Kennedy (USA). The annual YES camp organised at Achimota became the pivot of YAFCA's operations from its base in Accra. The YES camp focused on: The Bible, Personal Discipleship, The Holy Spirit, Relationships, Evangelism, Christian Worldview, and Christian Leadership.<sup>85</sup> The YAFCA leadership claims that 3000 students had benefited from YES by 1989.<sup>86</sup>

The YES camp was to complement and not compete with that of SU. YAFCA operated with the co-operation of SU staff and patrons, who were engaged as speakers. The camp offered the youthful participants opportunities to realise their evangelistic potentialities. They were introduced to new forms of evangelism - American models, with particular appeal to the youth. The side attractions included music workshops modelled on the use of Western musical instruments - electronic organs and guitars. The ministry of YAFCA thus catalysed the development of "gospel music" groups in secondary schools, a phenomenon typified by the genesis of the Joyful Way, Calvary Road, and New Creation groups.

The ministry of YAFCA has developed in other ways, and now includes "Christofest", initiated in 1978 as a "trans-denominational

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<sup>84</sup> Kumah, D.P. & Asiedu, O.Y., *The YAFCA Story* (The Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association: Accra, 1988), 12-13.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>86</sup> *Weekly Spectator* (A National Weekly), 19 August 1989, 12.

Christian New Year's Eve watch-night programme" of music with evangelistic preaching. With Accra as location, the programme has become a major evangelical activity which involves the participation of "gospel music" groups and soloists associated with the Christian Fellowship movement. The Christofest programme which normally starts at 12.30am and continues till dawn, does not conflict with the regular New Year's eve church vigil which normally ends by 12.30am. Since its inception, the only occasion when Christofest was suspended was 31 December 1981, the night when Rawlings staged a second military coup and imposed a dusk-to-dawn curfew on the nation.

Another annual activity of YAFCA is the "Jesus Jubilee", initiated in 1982 as a Christian form of celebrating Ghana's independence anniversary. The "Jesus Jubilee" is a musical entertainment with evangelistic impact, and purposely designed to appeal to the youth. As with the Christofest, the Jesus Jubilee involves the collaboration of evangelical music groups and individuals. Such joint evangelical ventures create a sense of interdependence, which is an important factor of unity and co-operation among the evangelical parachurch groups, particularly those in the performing arts which often share the use of common platforms and musical instruments.

The ministry of YAFCA has been instrumental in the introduction and appropriation of exogenous Christian concepts and evangelistic forms in evangelical fellowships in schools, colleges and universities. It is evident in the engagement of American preachers and artistes in executing programmes of the YES camp, and related activities of YAFCA.

#### **4.12 THE "CONTEMPORARY GOSPEL MUSIC" MOVEMENT: THE PERFORMING ARTS AND YOUTH EVANGELISM**

##### **4.12.1 The Joyful Way Group**

The historical root of the "contemporary gospel music" movement can be traced to music groups formed by evangelical students in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The first of such is the Joyful Way group. It emerged in the early seventies as an amalgamation of two singing groups in Cape Schools. The oldest of the constituent groups was the

"Noise of Joy" which was constituted by sixth formers from Mfantshipim School, and the second, "The Evangel Singers", was made up of students of Adisadel College.<sup>87</sup> With both schools being male, the female component of the membership of the two groups was provided by students from Wesley Girls High School.

The move towards merging the two groups was initiated in 1971 by the Noise of Joy. In 1972 the "Joyful Way Singers" emerged as a product of the merger. In a move towards out-dooring itself, the group embarked on a nationwide "Love Mission" in July/August 1972, with musical performances in churches and public auditoria in Cape Coast, Takoradi, Tema, Kumasi and Sunyani.<sup>88</sup> Later as the pioneers of the group left the Cape Coast schools and proceeded to Universities and other higher institutions in other parts of the country, they formed 'nucleus groups' and continued the Joyful Way operation in the new localities.<sup>89</sup> Out of the local cells three branches of JW were established in 1978 in university towns of Cape Coast, Kumasi and Accra (which became the national headquarters). That same year the group was registered under the Trustees Incorporation Act. Hence the designation: Joyful Way Incorporated. In 1985 following a review of the operations and structure of JW, it reverted to the original unitary structure of 1972, and maintained its operational base in Accra.

Evangelistic activities of the group, concentrated among students, has had impact in producing evangelical conversions, as indicated by the following testimony:

Right from infancy, there was the early morning prayer meeting and Bible study. From these prayer meetings, church services,

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<sup>87</sup> The Rev Dr Emmanuel Lartey (Birmingham University) and Dr Henry Badoo (Korle-Bu Hospital) were members of the original groups, and pioneer leaders of fledging Joyful Way group. According to an oral account, a third group, "Calvary Victory Singers", which was absorbed in the merger, also existed at Wesley Girls High School.

<sup>88</sup> Correspondence from Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Lartey, University of Birmingham, England, 9 Sept. 1992.

<sup>89</sup> Such mode of operation resulted in the formation of the Calvary Road Singers by Spencer Duncan, a JW convert.

and my fathers exemplary life, I grew up to love the Lord. Unfortunately, half-way through my secondary education, I drifted off the Christian way of life and did what my peers did. This continued till August 21, 1982, when I was converted at a crusade organised by the Joyful Way Inc., at Agona Swedru. My priorities have since changed. By God's grace a deeper relationship with the Lord Jesus has been established.<sup>90</sup>

The subject, Paul Adu, later offered for the Methodist ministry, confirming the non-sectarian intention of the group.

#### 4.12.2 The New Creation Group

The JW phenomenon was reproduced in the a different way in Kumasi. It inspired the formation of the Wayfaring Strangers in 1973, and the "Royal Diadems" in 1975. The Cape Coast groups were located in schools but the Kumasi groups emerged in the locus of the Grace Baptist Church to which most of the founding members were affiliated and from which they derived initial support.<sup>91</sup>

The Royal Diadems was formed by a group with the self-designation: "Rebels for Christ", led by Jervis Djokoto.<sup>92</sup> When Jervis became a Christian in 1975, he wanted to utilise his musical talents for God's work, but felt his pre-Christian association with secular 'pop' music groups would render him unacceptable in the Wayfaring

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<sup>90</sup> Press interview with Paul Adu (final year student, Trinity College, Legon) in *Methodist Times* 2(4), June 1988, 8.

<sup>91</sup> The founding members of the Wayfaring Strangers were Baptists: Divine Morny, Ebenezer Djokoto and Ken Ofori (all Baptists). The membership was augmented later by David Djokoto (Brother of Ebenezer); Esther Owusu Agyeman (now a popular soloist, and married to Evangelist Alfred Nyamekye of House of Faith Ministries); Mercy Ghansah, Augustine Donkor, Grace Doodoo and John Afful. See "Historical Prologue" in *The New Creation 10th Anniversary Brochure*, 7 Nov. 1987.

<sup>92</sup> The Founding membership of the Royal Diadems included Dorothea Ellis (now married to Augustine Donkor), Joseph Edusei, Samuel Nana Poku, Joseph Asare, Sammy Oppong. They were joined later by Betty Essuman (now married to Jervis Djokoto) Rosemund Atta-Armah (now married to Edusei) and Sylvia Adjaye described as "the first Christian lady bass guitarist in Ghana". Alongside the Wayfaring Strangers and the Royal Diadems, some "lovers of contemporary gospel rock music" converged in 1976 into a prayer group nicknamed "Power House", to offer prayer support for the two musical groups (Ibid).

Strangers, so he started his own group. Most outsiders considered them as Baptist groups, though there was a significant Methodist component in their membership. Therefore when the two groups amalgamated, the close Baptist association made it difficult for the united group to secure the confidence of other churches regarding its inter-denominational claims.

The Wayfaring Strangers–Royal Diadems merger was inspired and consolidated by social and religious factors. The membership was not less diverse in denominational affiliation. Most were Baptists, and the rest Methodists. Their slight denominational differences were overshadowed by their common evangelical commitment. Their social relations was strengthened by family and ethnic connections, and after the merger, by inter-marriage.

When Royal Diadems commenced operations in 1975 it became a duplication what the Wayfaring Strangers were doing, prompting the suggestion that the two groups merge. After some initial resistance idea was considered at joint retreat at Kumasi Academy, 12–18 August 1977. An address to the retreatants on 16 August by Florence Yeboah (former SU Travelling Secretary), based on I Corinthians 1–3, affirmed the need for unity. To their amazement: "She smashed all disagreements on the merger without knowing what God was using her for."<sup>93</sup> The retreat thus resulted in a merger – the birth of a new group – "The New Creation", a name adopted from a Bible quotation by Florence Yeboah: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come!"<sup>94</sup> With the support of local fellowships and churches the group established an operational base in Kumasi as the local counterpart of the Joyful Way group in Accra. Both have become established as "contemporary gospel music" groups in the parachurch movement in Ghana.

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> II Cor 5:17, (New International Version).

#### 4.12.3 Art Forms: Musicals and Drama

The Joyful Way and the New Creation claim to be pioneers of "contemporary gospel music" in Ghana, with an evangelistic objective: "To proclaim the Good News of Salvation in Jesus Christ through the medium of contemporary gospel music, and encourage revival among Christians;...".<sup>95</sup> It involves the use of Western "pop" and "rock" musical instruments, including electronic organs, acoustic guitars, drum sets and percussion instruments, in the production of Christian music for both evangelistic and recreational purposes.

The operations of the groups are determined by their sense of divinely inspired mission to the youth in schools fellowships and churches:

We believe that God has given us a unique ministry of bringing salvation to the youth through music that is wholesome, contemporary and salutary. Our hearts reach out to young people everywhere who in their quest for truth and meaning to life, have made a shipwreck of their lives through drug and sex abuse, crime and other social vices.<sup>96</sup>

To this end they stage musical concerts and drama; organise crusades and revival meetings; and undertake the composition, production and sale of musical recordings.<sup>97</sup>

The regular public concerts of New Creation in Kumasi include:

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<sup>95</sup> *The Joyful Way Incorporated*, Information Leaflet, n.d.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> The cassette albums of JWI include: "Joyful Noise" (1978), "Help" (1981), *Ofata Ayeyi* – He Deserves Praise (1984), "Never Give Up" (1986), "Through the Years" (1988). The group won the 1988 Entertainment Critics and Reviewers Association of Ghana (ECRAG) Award for the best gospel group in Ghana (JWI Information leaflet, n.d.; Weekly Spectator, Ghanaian Weekly, 29 July 1989, 6).

The New Creation claims to have 160 musical compositions in its repertoire (See *New Creation 15th Anniversary Brochure*, 1991, 9.), with some on cassette tapes: "I Love Him" (produced in Nigeria, 1979); Thanks for the Morning (1981); *Daa Nkwa* – "Everlasting Life" (1986); *Ahuntahunu* – The Omniscient (1988); *Ahennie* "The Kingdom" (1991). Interview with Jervis Djokoto, 6 Dec. 1991.

"Explo" - a musical concert on New Year's Day; "Jesus Festival of Praise" - a musical performance on Easter Saturday and other statutory public holidays (Independence Day - 6 March; May Day - 1 May, and Republic Day - 1 July). In Accra, the Joyful Way organise public concerts - "Explosion of Joy", regularly on Boxing Day during Christmas, and occasionally in collaboration with other Accra groups, especially the Youth Ambassadors for Christ Association.

The eagerness to appeal to the youthful audience inspired the development of "gospel music" into a performing art, as is the philosophy and practice of the New Creation:

Since its ministry is mainly to the youth, the New Creation tries to be in step with what is in vogue; with what catches the hearts and souls of the youth in this changing world. As a result of this, much choreography has been incorporated into the group's performances.<sup>98</sup>

The same keen interest in the youth led to the incorporation of dramatic art into the ministry of the music groups, as an audio-visual evangelistic form. The Joyful Way Theatre, the drama sub-group of JW emerged in 1978/79 with the drama: "Freedom is our goal" deals with the quest of the youth for freedom. It was followed by *Adapa* - drama which portrays the conflicts between Christianity and aspects of Ghanaian culture.<sup>99</sup>

The New Creation dramatic wing was initiated in 1980/81, and has since then staged the following drama productions: "Then came love from above"; "In all these things"; "The Son of hope"; and the serial drama "See how they run" (I-III), made popular by its emphasis on demonic possession and deliverance by exorcism.<sup>100</sup> This can be attributed to pentecostal/charismatic resurgence and popular concepts of demonology in the 1980s.

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<sup>98</sup> *The New Creation 10th Anniversary Brochure*, op. cit.

<sup>99</sup> *JWI*, Information Leaflet of Joyful Way Inc., n.d.

<sup>100</sup> *The New Creation 15th Anniversary Brochure*, op. cit., 9. The group claims to have staged the "See how they run" series 50 times since 1986 when it was written (Ibid.).

The operations of the gospel music groups is indicative of evangelical awareness of contemporary musical needs and developments in the secular world. The productions of the Ghanaian groups constitute a Christian appropriation of exogenous and indigenous musical forms. The employment of instruments and rhythms of Western "Pop" and "Rock", Afro-Caribbean "Reggae" and Ghanaian "High-life" forms of music as vehicles for conveying the gospel, is an attempt at contextualisation in methodology of evangelism. It involves a synthesis of traditional and the modern, old and new, resulting in the development of a distinctive type of musical tradition, with products for evangelism, personal spiritual edification, as well as private and public entertainment.

#### 4.12.4 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF GOSPEL MUSIC IN GHANA

As a popular form of entertainment, the gospel music has socio-economic significance seen as a Christian contribution to the national Economic Recovery Programme initiated by the PNDC government. In asserting the value of gospel music, Rev. Apostle Kojo Daniels argues:

Now it is time, that every patriotic citizen is exhibiting the talent to contribute his or her quota, towards the Economic Recovery Programme, some do it with pens, others with injections [as with health workers]. I and others like me do it with song. Through gospel music, we hope to put confidence in the people especially the youth for them to know that they don't need drugs to make it in life. With gospel music, we bring comfort to the broken-hearted and remind all and Sundry that God never fails.<sup>101</sup>

The social significance of gospel music is thus projected by the religious and moral content of the lyrics.

The Christian argument for the socio-economic importance of the gospel music arose as a reaction to the apparent anti-Christian policies of the PNDC government, which had led to the imposition of restrictions or "ban" on the broadcasting of "gospel music" by the state owned

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<sup>101</sup> Kojo Daniels, "Why Ban Gospel Music ?", Letter to the Editor, The Weekly Spectator, 14 July 1990, 12. Cf. Christian Messenger (5 & 7), July/August 1990, 1.

Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. It was not announced publicly, but as Kojo Daniels observes: "Almost, two and half months ago [March/April 1990], rumours had circulated that GBC had banned gospel songs on radio and TV. Most gospel music lovers and musicians took it as a nine-day wonder, but for some period, there has been no gospel song on the air."<sup>102</sup>

In the context of the current national moral crusade, gospel music has become a medium for moral education. In presenting the case for gospel music producers, Daniels thus argues: "All we are saying is that if our method is not interpreted as undermining the authority of government, then there is no justification for the ban."<sup>103</sup> The restrictive measures of the government continued until it was made counter-productive by the private production of gospel music. As a popular form of Christian music, the demand for gospel music led to the growth of cassette music production for domestic and foreign consumption. Today, the production of gospel music is no longer the preserve of Christian groups. It is an industry in which Christian and non-Christian groups and individuals thrive.

#### 4.13 CONCLUSION

The categories of evangelistic organisations considered in first section of the chapter are groups with direct historical and functional roots in the Christian Fellowship movement. They emerged as evangelical protest movements, in reaction against established ecclesiastical order, particularly formalism, "liberalism", denominationalism, and the apparent disregard for evangelism and missions. They also constitute a protest against the ecclesiastical restrictions imposed (consciously or unconsciously) on lay participation in ministry, by the insistence on theological education. By establishing independent evangelistic ministries, fellowships or associations, the evangelist-leaders registered their protest in terms similar to that of the prophet-healers of the Independent African Church movement.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

## PART TWO

### 4.14 "REBUILDING THE BROKEN WALLS OF GHANA": ENOCH AGBOZO AND THE PENTECOSTAL MISSION OF THE GHANA EVANGELICAL SOCIETY

The Ghana Evangelical Society (GES) emerged in Accra in 1973 as an independent pentecostal fellowship. But after its inauguration in 1977, its ministry assumed a nature peculiar to the evangelical traditions of Christian Fellowship movement. The transmogrification of the GES ministry from a local prayer fellowship into a pentecostal movement for "social reformation", derives from the "prophetic" claims of its founder-leader, Brother Enoch Agbozo, who turned GES into an organ for his socio-political activism.

Enoch Agbozo is an archetypal "prophet-evangelist" figure in the independent evangelical pentecostal tradition of Ghanaian Christianity, who believes the preaching and the realisation of the Kingdom of God must be concretised by promoting social action. Unlike the evangelists of the Christian Fellowship movement who preached a "gospel" that emphasised the salvation of the soul, the "prophet-evangelist" role of Agbozo made him integrate the preaching of the "gospel" with a vigorous promotion of "social righteousness". Agbozo's political involvement and pronouncements made him a controversial figure in his relations with both pentecostal and conservative evangelical leaders.

The nature of Agbozo's ministry was determined by his background as a student activist, his pentecostal conversion, and the socio-political situation in Ghana under the military regime of Gen. Kutu Acheampong.

#### 4.14.1 The Immediate Socio-Political Context: Religion and Politics in the Acheampong Era (1972-78)

Gen. Ignatius Kutu Acheampong assumed power on 13 January 1972 after staging a military coup to depose the Busia regime. The latter part of the Acheampong era was characterised by socio-economic crisis, with serious political consequences for the government. The period also witnessed the rise of leaders of fringe Christian groups to national

prominence as agents of political control.<sup>104</sup>

The repudiation of the country's international debt by Acheampong resulted in the withholding of vital economic aid by international financial organisations. In pursuance of a policy of self-reliance, the government launched the "Operation Feed Yourself" programme in 1974/75 to make the nation self-sufficient in food production, but it failed miserably due to poor rainfall. Prices of foodstuffs and "essential commodities" sky-rocketed. It was worsened by *kalabule* - the profiteering which characterised trading activities.<sup>105</sup> A hyper-inflation prevailed, with a drastic devaluation of the Cedi (the national currency). The real value of wages plummeted, generating civil strife, with civil servants resorting to a series of strikes for wage increases.

The deteriorating socio-economic condition of the nation produced political turmoil, commencing with student political demonstrations. In May 1977 when Mr Andrew Young the then USA's ambassador to the United Nations visited Ghana, University students took advantage to demonstrate their disgust with Acheampong. Their placards bore accusations against Acheampong: corruption, moral ineptitude, and mismanagement of the nation's business. Acheampong reacted by a show of brute force and ordered armed police and the military to expel students from the campuses. Students on university campuses became victims of police brutalities and atrocities. The three universities in the country were closed down on 13 May 1977 and placed under armed guard.

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<sup>104</sup> See Pobee, J.S., Religion and Politics in Ghana, 1972-78, Some Case Studies From the Rule of General I. K. Acheampong, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XVII (1) 1987, 44-62.

<sup>105</sup> The word *Kalabule* came into currency as a term for describing all forms of cheating - from bribery to profiteering. *Kalabule* was accentuated by government regulation of importation and distribution of goods. Special import licenses were introduced to regulate the use of the nation's dwindling foreign currency reserves. Internal distribution of goods (locally manufactured or imported) was controlled by issuing chits to traders. The whole system of distributing economic goods was thus open to corruption which became rife.

The government action was considered extreme. As demonstration of solidarity with the students, the professional bodies, including the University Teachers Association, Ghana Bar Association, Ghana Medical Association, Ghana Nurses Association, went on strike. They determined to continue until the universities were re-opened and the government fixed a firm date for returning the country to civilian rule.

It is against this background that Acheampong declared June 27-3 July 1977, the "Week of National Repentance", as remedy for the national socio-economic malaise. It was a religious interpretation of the national political and economic crisis, which was attributed to the sinfulness of the nation. Most of the established churches ignored the government's call, but some joined the bandwagon of National Repentance.

The Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat were not directly involved in the activities of the Week of Repentance.<sup>106</sup> Acheampong by-passed them "because of their critical and sophisticated views on national issues."<sup>107</sup> Pobee observes that Acheampong relied on leaders of the fringe Christian groups because they appealed to his "psyche, superstition, and somewhat base religion." The declaration of the week of repentance was a conspiracy between Acheampong and his religious aides for their mutual benefit. The political benefit for Acheampong was the misuse of religion to divert public attention from his problems with the students and the professionals. It gave his religious aides a national image which they exploited to advance their personal ambitions.

Enoch Abgozo claimed credit for conceiving the Week of National Repentance. But Pobee attributes it to Rev Abraham de Love who also had access to the Christianborg Castle (the seat of government) in Accra, and "regularly prayed and saw visions for the General".<sup>108</sup> The

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<sup>106</sup> Pobee (1987), 50.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 50

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 50. Rev. Abraham de Love claims to be 'international evangelist', founder of 'Philadelphia Mission of Africa', head of the 'Christian Brotherhood Council', The 'National Union of Christian Youth', and pioneer of the 'Christian Youth Jamboree'.

above claims are not contradictory but confirmation of the multiplicity of Acheampong's religious aides.

The other national issue in which Acheampong employed leaders of fringe religious groups is the concept of "Union Government" (Unigov) – proposed as a national government constituted by a coalition or union of the Armed Forces, the Professionals and Students, and the 'Workers of Ghana'. It was devised by Acheampong in response to the demand for civilian rule. He was determined to foist it on the nation and so recruited religious leaders to preach Unigov alongside the political organs.<sup>109</sup> The Christians among them included Rev. Bro. Charles Yeboah Korie, founder-head of F'Eden Revival Church (originally) Eden Revival Church.<sup>110</sup> The alliance with Acheampong gave Yeboah Korie a national profile. Acheampong ordered the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation to let F'Eden Church feature on Ghana Television once a month. He proclaimed Unigov as a revelation from God. Others in the "sectarian" tradition who preached Unigov as divinely inspired include: Rev. Dr. K.O. Thompson (leader – Cherubim and Seraphim Church of Ghana, Takoradi); Rev. Francis Walters (African Religious Congress); Rev. Dr. Blankson (former head – Bethany Church and Presiding Director – 'National Christian Ministers Union').<sup>111</sup>

The most sensational of the Unigov prophets was Elizabeth Clare Prophet – "Mother of the Summit Lighthouse of the Keepers of the Flame Fraternity of Southern California".<sup>112</sup> She arrived in Ghana in January 1978 just before the 6th anniversary of the 13 January coup. The syncretistic element of her organisation involved "a fellowship of

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<sup>109</sup> The Unigov organs included, "The Friends" and the "Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council". But they became agencies for terrorizing opponents of Unigov including, secondary school students (cf. Pobee, 51–52; Effa Ababio (1992), 512).

<sup>110</sup> Though the Yeboah Korie's Church belonged to the Christian Council of Ghana, as well as the Ghana Pentecostal Association, he represented neither of the ecclesiastical organisations when he joined the campaign for Unigov.

<sup>111</sup> Pobee, op. cit., 51

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 55–58

ascended Masters including Lord Jesus the Christ, Lord Buddha, Lord Krishna, Mohammed and Confucius".<sup>113</sup> Her public engagements included lectures on Unigov. She caused a national outrage with her religious interpretation of Unigov in terms of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity: The Armed Forces represented God the Father; the Professional Bodies and Students represented the Son; the 'Workers of Ghana' represented the Holy Spirit. It was reported she even discovered the 'fourth' person of the Trinity in the 'Mother' representing the women of Ghana.<sup>114</sup>

The distortions and misuses of Christianity by Clare Prophet were condemned by the Ghana Bar Association, the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES). GHAFES reacted with a public statement on 6 February 1978, criticising "her exclusion of sound belief in the Trinity and her misconception of the biblical teachings in respect of the image of God in man and the person of Jesus."<sup>115</sup> Opponents of Acheampong were enraged by the fact that her mission was sponsored by the state at a time when it could not pay its workers.

In the 1978 national referendum on Unigov the government lost to the unofficial opposition. The Unigov campaigns generated series of violent confrontations between the government, and the opposition group (of professionals and students).<sup>116</sup> It culminated in Acheampong's overthrow in a palace coup in July 1978 led by Lt. Gen. F.W.K Akuffo.

The events of the Acheampong era are significant as an inter-play of religion and politics in Ghana. The nation witnessed the emergence of religious aides who assumed the role of "national prophets", and declared the oracles of God concerning the destiny of the nation. Whilst some of the "prophets" disappeared with the exit of

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<sup>113</sup> *The Mirror* (a Ghanaian Weekly), 17 Jan., 1978.

<sup>114</sup> See *The Ghanaian Times*, 17 Jan. 1978.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted in Pobee, op. cit.

<sup>116</sup> The violent clashes with armed police resulted in the killing of Agyei Barima (a Legon student) by "a stray bullet".

Acheampong from the political scene, others, including Agbozo, survived and continued their "prophetic" functions without state patronage. For Agbozo the Ghana Evangelical Society became a parachurch context for pursuing his self-proclaimed "prophetic" mission. This accounts for the designation of GES activities or programmes as "National".

#### **4.14.2 The Educational and Religious Background of Enoch Agbozo**

Agbozo entered the University of Ghana (Legon) in 1962 at the age of 29 as a mature student – a Public Officer, with several years working experience in Government Service, and also in foreign companies in Ghana – the United Africa Company and Shell. At Legon he became a student activist and was elected President of the Students' Representative Council. The student leadership position and his adult work experience made him socialise freely with the lecturers of the Economics Department, mostly expatriate. They often engaged him in political discussions, and he served as a sounding-board for their economic and political theories about Ghana.

He describes his early encounter with Christianity as an experience distinct from his later encounter with Christ. His early exposure to the Christian faith was determined by the strong influence of his family (who had pioneered the establishment of the local Presbyterian Church), and his education in Presbyterian schools. He was involved in church activities as a singer and a lay preacher, and appointed Secretary of the Evangelism Committee in his last two years at Odumasi Presbyterian Secondary School and had represented the school in a Christian Council of Ghana Youth Programme. However, after leaving school his church involvement diminished as he drifted away into secular life as a footballer and dancer. By the time he entered Legon as a mature student, his church attendance had become occasional. Thus he considered himself unChristian, needing re-conversion. It is against this background that Agbozo's Pentecostal conversion occurred.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> See page 206.

#### 4.14.3 The Ghana Evangelical Society

The experience which Agbozo describes as his personal "encounter with Christ", and subsequent experience of baptism of the Holy Spirit, occurred in Pentecostal prayer group which later became a church. He commenced ministry in the church without any previous theological training. He became a Pentecostal activist in Christian Fellowships in Accra, and in April 1973 initiated the Ghana Evangelical Society at Labone Secondary School in Accra, as a non-denominational pentecostal fellowship. Its operations centred on all-night prayer meetings at Labone.

On 30th October 1977, at the Liberation Circle in Accra, GES was formally inaugurated as "a Non-Denominational Movement, dedicated to the service of God and man, the liberation of mankind and society from the bondage of sin and death, from the power of satan and forces of evil into LIGHT, LIBERTY, LOVE AND LIFE in Christ Jesus."<sup>118</sup> Its vision was three-fold:

- a. The evangelization of Ghana, Africa, and the World;
- b. Revival and unity in the Church;
- c. The rebuilding of the broken walls of Ghana - spiritual and social transformation of society.<sup>119</sup>

A decade after its formal launching, the GES ministry had become a conglomeration of Christian activities with varied designations, comprising all-night prayer meetings, retreats, evangelistic crusades and missions, revival meetings, "House of Worship" - "open non-denominational services", lectures and seminars on social reformation, conferences, anniversary celebrations, music and thanksgiving festivals. This is evident in the programme of activities on the 1986 GES Calender:<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> *The Herald* (renamed *The Salvation Herald* - Official Journal of the GES), 1(1) April/May 1986, 16.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 15; cf. *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.-Dec. 1987, 10.

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|-----------------|---|
| 9-16 February   | - 6th House of Worship Anniversary                          |
| 27-31 March     | - Easter '86 Mission at Agona Swedru                        |
| June - August   | - Mission Africa [GES missions to Sierra Leone and Liberia] |
| 27-30 August    | - Achiase Crusade   |
| 2-7 September   | - Holy Spirit Conference                                    |
| 24-26 September | - Missions Conference                                       |
| 4-5 October     | - Thanksgiving Day  |
| 4-6 December    | - Music Festival (Kumasi)                                   |
| 14-21 December  | - Somanya/Odumase Krobo Mission.                            |

The above catalogue of activities is characteristic of the GES dynamic. Its diversity derives from the vision of the leader. A new vision brings a new activity, and old ones are either replaced or renamed to make them appealing. The constant review and change of GES operations makes it complex. Thus in charting the course of the GES ministry, priority is given to subject order rather than chronological sequence of events.

#### **4.14.4 SOCIAL REFORMATION AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION: THE "PROPHETIC MISSION" OF G.E.S.**

The Ghana Evangelical Society commenced in 1973 as pentecostal fellowship which engaged in all-night prayer with fasting. By 1977 when it was inaugurated, the deterioration of the national socio-economic situation had led the Society to assume a "prophetic mission". The leader claims GES received a divine commission to rebuild the "broken walls" of Ghana, and therefore the group undertook studies of the books of Nehemiah, Ezra and Haggai for a Biblical manifesto. Agbozo thus emphasises:

The mission of the Rebuilding of the Broken Walls of Ghana is a definite commission of the Lord who after a time of fasting and prayer by members of the Society requested the study of HAGGAI, EZRA AND NEHEMIAH for the purpose. It is from these three books, and Isaiah, Ezekiel and Zecharia, revelations and prophecies in the House [of Prayer - GES auditorium], we drew inspiration on the nature of the mission, the strategy, and the operations towards the ultimate goal - GHANA, A PEOPLE UNITED IN CHRIST UNDER GOD."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 9.

In the formative years of the movement, GES involvement in social action was limited to organising a few communal projects and health schemes for rural communities the group evangelised. However, with the assumption of a "prophetic mission" of national reconstruction, actual involvement in social action receded in preference to promoting its concept of social reformation – "promoting research into Ghana's culture for purposes of transformation for a Christian and advancing Ghana, and also for promoting social righteousness and Christian responsibility in society."<sup>122</sup> Thus in 1976 Agbozo initiated the formation of the Ghana Christian Businessmen's Fellowship, and made GES the sponsor of the "Annual National Religious Music Festival" (initiated in 1979/80), the "Christian Movement for Social Reformation" (launched in 1984), and the "Annual Celebration of Praise and Thanksgiving" (commenced in October 1985) and the West Africa Holy Spirit Conference introduced in 1988.<sup>123</sup> As public interest in one activity wanes, it is revived by the introduction of new one, pursued in place of or in tandem with the old.

#### 4.14.4.1 National Week of Repentance and GES Thanksgiving Festival

As the first major step towards the fulfilment of GES "prophetic mission", Agbozo pioneered the formation of the Ghana <sup>Christian</sup> Businessmen's Fellowship (GCBF) as a mechanism for developing a national resource of Christian leadership and bring "healing" to the nation.<sup>124</sup> On 18

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> As part of the GES move towards the "reconstruction of the broken walls of Ghana", series of GCBF seminars were organised for various professionals (including medical doctors, engineers, lawyers and accountants) in Ghana. Speakers included Justice Azu Crabbe (The Chief Justice), Dr R.P. Baffoe (the first Ghanaian Vice-Chancellor of the University of Science and Technology), and Kwabena Darko (Commercial Poultry Producer). The seminars were organised with the conviction that in re-building the broken walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah engaged the services of various professionals and artisans (Interview with Enoch Agbozo, 25 September 1990). The GCBF was initiated under the aegis of the GES, and not as a local branch of the USA based Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. The national crisis associated with the latter part of the Acheampong regime generated much Christian concern. The GCBF was an institutionalised Christian response. By 1983 when the first local chapter of the FGBMFI was inaugurated in Ghana, the GCBF had ceased functioning.

December 1976, Agbozo succeeded in persuading the military Head of State, Gen. Acheampong to host the first dinner of the GCBF, and deliver the Presidential address under the theme: "What can we do to Salvage the Nation?" He and other Christian leaders influenced Acheampong to declare a "National Week of Repentance, Prayer and Fasting" in 1977.<sup>125</sup>

After the Acheampong era, the 1983–84 drought and famine in Ghana led GES to organise another "National Week of mourning and prayer" on the eve of independence day, 5 March 1983,<sup>126</sup> an event which was part of the general trend pursued by churches and other Christian organisations. The drought united Ghanaians in prayer for rain. Diverse religious interpretations were made of the situation. The popular Christian interpretation was based on the Bible text:

When I shut up the heavens so that there is no rain, or command locust to devour the land or send a plague among my people, if my people who are called by name, will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven will forgive their sin and will heal their land.<sup>127</sup>

Many believed the nation had been visited with divine retribution for its sins, in the immediate past and present. Hence the numerous calls for repentance to end the prevailing calamity.

Unlike the former Head of State – General Acheampong, the Rawlings regime was seen as pursuing a policy considered anti-Christian, and therefore could not be influenced to declare a "Week of National Repentance". Many Christian groups – church and parachurch, engaged in series of prayer retreats and all-night prayers meetings. It was a spontaneous response to the national crisis. However, GES claimed to be at the vanguard of Christian concern because it

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<sup>125</sup> See *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.–Dec. 1987, 8. Confirmed in interview with Kwabena Darko (founding member of the GCBF), 24 September 1990.

<sup>126</sup> See *The Herald*, 1(1), April/May 1986, 6.

<sup>127</sup> II Chronicles 7:13–14, The New International Version.

organised prayer meetings at the Independence Square, and was "joined in prayer and repentance towards God" on behalf of the nation by other Christians.<sup>128</sup> The 1984 rainfall which resulted in a dramatic end of the calamitous drought, and abundant harvest of foodstuffs in 1984, is the *raison d'être* for the GES Praise and Thanksgiving Festival. The two day festival was launched on 5 October 1985, at the Independence Square in Accra with a programme of music, poetry, drama and dance, and prayer "thanking God continually for His sustained blessing on the Land".<sup>129</sup> In Agbozo's words, the festival was an occasion for "acknowledging the wonderful blessing and deliverance God had bestowed upon our country to end the drought, famine, pestilence and death of the recent past."<sup>130</sup> The ending of the drought was attributed to the gracious response of God. This was acknowledged in various church prayers, but there was no organised national thanksgiving event. Though some church groups, such as the Christ Little Band of Accra Calvary Methodist Church and some Christian individuals apparently joined GES in celebrating the festival, it was not an ecumenical event. There is no mention of any official involvement by mainline protestant or pentecostal churches in its arrangement. It was purely a GES activity with invitations to other Christian groups.

Agbozo's concept of national week of repentance derives from a conviction influenced by a confluence of African and Biblical beliefs which attributes social evils to sin and Satan. He believes "the social manifestation of sin ... is poverty, sicknesses, diseases, afflictions and death, idolatry, unbelief, and empty religion."<sup>131</sup> To "Satan and wicked men", he ascribes "the bondage of backwardness, oppression, social injustice, unrighteousness, rebellion and violence, and deceitful religion".<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *The Herald*, op. cit.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.-Dec. 1987, 9.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

The religious prescription for the two types of national crisis discounted the vital political and environmental causative factors needing human and not supernatural attention. The 1976/77 Acheampong crisis generated a particular nationwide political awareness, not a new religious awareness. The 1983/84 drought on the other hand, stimulated an environmental awareness, and a resolve buttressed by government legislation against deforestation through uncontrolled logging and the perennial practice of bush burning.

#### 4.14.4.2 The Christian Movement For Social Reformation

After the Acheampong era, GES could not sustain public interest in the Ghana Christian Businessmen's Fellowship. There was state patronage for its programmes. The GCBF was supplanted by the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1983. The gravity of the socio-economic crisis associated with the drought and mass repatriation of Ghanaian immigrants from Nigeria in 1983/84, led GES to renew its goal of "rebuilding the broken walls of Ghana". Thus in 1984 the society launched the Christian Movement for Social Reformation (CMSR) as a "non-denominational Christian social action group".<sup>133</sup> By this move the leadership of GES arrogated to itself the mandate for "bringing the church to an awareness of its responsibilities towards the transformation of society".<sup>134</sup>

The early CMSR operations involved public lectures and symposia aimed at generating Christian awareness of economic socio-political issues affecting Ghana. The first as a symposium in December 1985 on the topic: "Factors Responsible for High Road Transport Costs and the Effect on the Economy". It was followed in 1986 with a public lecture by Agbozo on the topic: "The Revolution, The Church and The People". He examined the basis for Christian participation in the PNDC Revolution.<sup>135</sup> A subsequent CMSR programme engaged Muslim and Christian speakers, Abdullah Nazir Boateng (a trustee of the Ahmadiyya

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<sup>133</sup> See *The Herald*, April/May 1986, 7.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>135</sup> *The Herald*, April/May 1986, 7.

Muslim Movement), and Rev. Fr. Dr. Osei Bonsu (University of Ghana), in lectures on "Religions and Politics".<sup>136</sup> The religious symposium is significant in projecting matters of common interest in Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana. It also reflects the need for meaningful inter-faith dialogue for peaceful religious co-existence and practice.<sup>137</sup>

#### 4.14.4.3 CMSR Mission to Students

In consonance with the GES hope for the emergence of a "New Ghana", and influencing students "for righteous and effective service", in 1987 Agbozo undertook a CMSR Mission to universities and institutions of higher learning in the country.<sup>138</sup> It was his conviction that "critical to the whole issue of social transformation and the ultimate

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> As an inter-faith debate, GES organised "The Path of God Symposia" between 13-17 March 1990. For GES, it was an intellectual crusade in which Agbozo presented "The Christian Viewpoint on The Path of God" as against viewpoints of speakers of other religions and cults active in Ghana - with African Traditional Religion (represented by Okomfo Damuah's Afrikania Mission), Hinduism (represented by Hare Krishna), then Islam and Eckankar (see *GES Special Newsletter*, 1/90, April 1990, 1; and GES handbill in Appendix XIV-A). Though the symposium was a one-off event designed to expose the falsity of the religions represented, it is a recognition of the religious pluralism in Ghana, a reality which complicates the dimensions of Christian relations with non-Christians. Most Ghanaian evangelicals consider the country as a Christian country because Christianity is the single dominant religion. But Ghana is a multi-faith society, with Christianity and Islam and African Traditional Religion as the dominant religions. The existence of other religions is recognised by evangelical Christians only to the extent that they constitute grounds for evangelism. For the evangelicals there is no ground for inter-faith dialogue. Many interpret any such dialogue as a denial of the uniqueness of Christian truth and an erosion of the grounds for evangelism. Those who engage in dialogue with adherents of other religions do so to prove how true the Christian faith is, and how wrong the others are. For further thoughts, see Dovlo, E., Religious Pluralism and Christian Attitudes, *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology* (of Trinity College, Ghana) 2(1), June 1992, 40-52. *GES Special Newsletter*, 1/90, April 1990.

<sup>138</sup> The itinerary for the mission included lectures at the Great Hall of the University of Ghana - Legon (Thursday 5th - Sunday 8th February); The Specialist Training College - Winneba (19-22 February); University of Science and Technology - Kumasi (12-15 March); University of Ghana Medical School - Korle-Bu (27 & 28 March); with a later arrangement for lectures in the University of Cape Coast in December (See *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.-Dec. 1987, 5).

goal of making Ghana a nation of God's people is responsible and dynamic leadership."<sup>139</sup>

The mission proceeded with lectures under the theme: "Thy Kingdom Come", outlined topically as:

The Kingdom of God is Here;

The Christian Faith and Social Order;

Christian Leadership in Our Times.<sup>140</sup>

The mission was to "challenge, motivate and help equip the saints [that is Christians] in these institutions and the professions in Christian responsibility and leadership in the nation."<sup>141</sup> As Agbozo puts it:

"The aim is to manage a critical analysis of relationships between God, Man and Society, laying a basis for sound CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP."<sup>142</sup>

He argues that "worldly philosophies of social organisation, materialism and technology have failed to produce the harmonious earth that was once proclaimed." He thus presents the Bible as the means to "a peaceful, fulfilled and harmonious society". In assessing the immediate impact of the mission on the students, he notes: "it had never occurred to them that the Bible deals fully with the physical, social and economic problems of man."<sup>143</sup>

Three years later, in 1990 Enoch Agbozo undertook another CMSR mission to universities in the country. This time the lectures centred on an overtly political subject: "Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana, A Christian Perspective", discussed as follows:

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid. See p.3. for details of the lecture at Legon on 5 Feb. 1987.

Kwame Nkrumah and Ghana: An Overview;

Kwame Nkrumah, His Philosophy and Ideology;

Kwame Nkrumah as Nation Builder: Lessons and Prospects.<sup>144</sup>

The above issues were addressed by Agbozo in a preliminary seminar in 1989 at the GES headquarters in Accra. The focus on "Nkrumah" in the seminar and the students lectures, was influenced by resurgent political interest in Nkrumah and his ideology, evident in the restoration of his national image by the PNDC government.<sup>145</sup>

Agbozo argues that the Nkrumahist mythical statement: "Nkrumah Never Dies", is a blasphemy in the Christian perspective.<sup>146</sup> Although he recognizes and commends the contributions of Nkrumah (as Ghana's first President) in the development of the country's socio-economic infrastructure, Agbozo maintains that Nkrumah could not liken himself to Jesus Christ nor did he possess ideas which could be projected as absolute truths binding on Ghanaians and Africans.<sup>147</sup> Agbozo further rejects Nkrumah's messianic claims and labels him "anti-Christ" and "anti-God, concluding that "a society founded on his ideas will lack divine light and hence fall under a curse".<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> *GES Special Newsletter*, 1/90, April, 1990, 2.

<sup>145</sup> Following the 1966 coup d'etat, Nkrumah's statue at the Old Polo grounds in Accra was demolished. He was not given any national burial when he died in exile in Romania. In the late 1980s in an effort to restore his image, the PNDC re-designed and reconstructed the Old Polo grounds where it erected a new statue of Nkrumah. His dead remains was re-buried with full national honours in his hometown, Nkroful, in a mausoleum constructed and designated by the Government as a national monument. In honouring the national dead, the PNDC was criticised for failing to extend such gesture to figures like J B Danquah and K A Busia.

<sup>146</sup> "Agbozo Rejects Nkrumah's Ideas", Report on GES Seminar, *Methodist Times*, 4(1), Jan. 1990, 1. Some religious leaders interpret the statement literally to mean immortality. But many think it refers to Nkrumah's ideas and not his person.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

The anti-Nkrumah sentiment of Agbozo reflects the view of many Ghanaian evangelicals who believe the religious overtones of Nkrumah's claims has placed the nation under a curse of political instability. Hence the recurrent military coups and the attendant socio-economic ills of the nation.

As<sup>a</sup>political activist, Agbozo claims to have been consulted on some national political issues by student leaders.<sup>149</sup> He also admits obtaining an opportunity to address a congress of the National Union of Ghana Students, and stirring student thought on various political issues. But there is no evidence to suggest his activism had any connection with various demonstrations of student opposition to the Rawlings regime in 1983-84 and 1989-91.

Agbozo's dealings with students recalls his own experience at the University of Ghana (Legon), as a student activist. His activism was not submerged but given a new meaning in his pentecostal conversion and ministry. The political implications of social activism prevented conservative evangelical leaders in Ghana from actively pursuing social action, as evident in the "Operation Help Nima" project.<sup>150</sup>

#### **4.14.4.4 The Religious Music Festival**

The GES mission of "Social Reformation" involves a pursuit of "cultural transformation". It is based on the assumption that some elements of the Ghanaian culture including traditional music can be appropriated for Christian worship. This is the basic philosophy behind the annual "Religious Music Festival" of GES.

The festival was initiated in 1978 with the purpose of "promoting a healthy transformation of Ghana's rich cultural and music heritage

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<sup>149</sup> Disclosed in an interview with Bro. Agbozo, 25 Sept. 1990.

<sup>150</sup> See Chapter 2 of the thesis. William Ofori Atta is an exception to the conclusion drawn. He was a politician before becoming a Christian.

into the worship and service of the Living God, *Odomankoma Nyame*".<sup>151</sup> The event was designated "Religious Music Festival" to embrace the performance of both Christian and non-Christian groups. In Accra where the festival was initiated, the participating groups included the Wulomei (Ga cultural troupe). GES believed the Wulomei group which is associated with the cult of Ga traditional religion could produce music for Christian worship.

In an attempt to make the festival national, GES located the 1985 festival in Kumasi, at the National Culture Centre. It attracted performing groups from Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions, of various categories, including "cultural groups, evangelistic groups, church choirs and social choirs".<sup>152</sup>

As a practical application of its philosophy, GES has adopted the use of traditional drums such as the Akan *atumpan* in its demonstration church. Although the use of drums in Ghanaian church music is now established in mainline churches, the drums in the above mentioned category are not in common use. Some evangelical Christians consider the combined performance of Christian and non-Christian groups a controversial issue, and therefore have not welcomed the GES event. Others simply consider it a cultural event, a mixture of traditional and contemporary musical forms, Christian and non-Christian, to be appreciated.

#### 4.14.4.5 The West African Holy Spirit Conference

The latest innovation of Agbozo in his effort to sustain public interest in the GES "Social Reformation" lectures is the biennial West African Holy Spirit Conference (code-named WAHSCON). It was conceived in 1988 to serve as a public forum "to equip and challenge Christians, and confront issues relating to the Christian mission in Africa."<sup>153</sup> The pentecostal identity of the West African Holy Spirit

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<sup>151</sup> *The Herald*, op. cit., 4.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

Conference is derived from the belief in the Holy Spirit as Teacher who illuminates the human mind and inspires knowledge on various issues.<sup>154</sup> It implies that inspite of its socio-political commitments, GES still maintains its identity as a pentecostal movement. The conference aims to explore issues of Christian interest ranging from religion to politics. As with the "Social Reformation" lectures, the agenda for each WAHSCON is determined by Agbozo.<sup>155</sup> WAHSCON '88 covered such broad issues as:

The Church and the Christian Faith;

The Church and the Spirit World;

The Church and the Religious World;

The Church and the Politico-economic, socio-cultural world.<sup>156</sup>

The above topics were re-examined in more precise terms in the 1990 conference by selected speakers from mainline protestant and pentecostal churches in Ghana and Nigeria, and a local Paramount Chief. The topics discussed centred on Christianity and Culture - *inter alia*, chieftaincy, libation, harvest festivals and polygamy.<sup>157</sup>

In an interview with the writer, Agbozo disclosed the next WAHSCON (in 1992) would explore "Political Action - The Kingdom and Political Issues". Before 1992 such pursuit would have been regarded by the PNDC government as subversive. However, the transition to democratic rule in Ghana in 1992/93 necessitated a relaxation of the ban imposed on party politics, and subsequently the re-surfacing of subterranean political interests. For Agbozo it offers opportunity for GES to pursue the socio-political agenda of its "prophetic" mission, with WAHSCON<sup>as</sup> a "Christian" platform.

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<sup>154</sup> Interview with Janet Atuobi (Missions Secretary of GES), 15 August 1990.

<sup>155</sup> Interview with Brother Agbozo, 25 Sept. 1990.

<sup>156</sup> Handbill for WAHSCON '88.

<sup>157</sup> See WAHSCON '90 handbill in Appendix XIV (B).

#### 4.14.5 PENTECOSTALISM: THE NATIONAL HOLY SPIRIT CONFERENCE

The pentecostal essentials of the Ghana Evangelical Society is properly reflected in its annual "National Holy Spirit Conference" which takes place at specified venues in Accra. The Conference which was initiated in 1984, is basically a pentecostal convention of 4-7 days duration. The programme of lectures, seminars and workshop focuses on the significance of the Holy Spirit in Christian ministry. The participants also engage in prayers which stimulate pentecostal experiences.

Under the general theme - "The Holy Spirit In Action", the 1985 conference (12-15 September) addressed the following topics:

The Holy Spirit: His Person and Ministry;

The Holy Spirit and the Five-fold Ministry.<sup>158</sup>

The 1986 conference (2-7 September), supplemented with evening evangelistic exercises, concentrated on "Power in Service".<sup>159</sup>

The GES pentecostal conferences attract popular participation because of the renewed Christian interest in concepts of "power" associated with pentecostal/charismatic resurgence in the 1980s. However, with the 1985 conference, it was particularly because of the belief in the reality of the presence of the Holy Spirit at the conference, authenticated by spectacular experiences of power attributed to Him, as reported:

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<sup>158</sup> *The Herald*, op. cit., 9. The pentecostal emphasis of the conference is further reflected in the selection of local pentecostal preachers who joined Brother Agbozo as conference speakers: Rev. Dr. Barnor (Christ Foundation Church, Accra); Rev. S. Azore (Evangel Assemblies of God Church, Accra); Rev. J. Amoah (Assemblies of God Church, Tema); Rev. Alan Hunu (Livingstones Ministry); and Rev. Nicholas Opuni (Kumasi Central Assemblies Of God Church).

<sup>159</sup> *The Salvation Herald* 1(2), March/April 1987, 8.

The speaker who had mounted the platform to speak on 'Ye shall be endued with Power' had no need to speak. The Holy Spirit Himself gave a physical demonstration of the enduement with power as He slayed down many, filled many, caused many hearts and mouth to cry out loud under deep conviction of His presence and raised many to higher thresholds of power and spiritual experience.<sup>160</sup>

The 1986 conference which is described as a "noteworthy of concentration of Christians from various churches", was graced with the presence of Mrs Aanaa Enin (then a civilian member of the military government - the Provisional National Defence Council). As with most government officials, her speech concentrated on the social significance of Christianity - "that the Holy Spirit is the One who equips believers to contribute towards the good of society".<sup>161</sup> For GES this was not a deviation but an affirmation of the interest in social action pursued in the Christian Movement for Social Reformation.

#### **4.14.6 EVANGELISTIC MISSIONS: "THE KINGDOM OF GOD CRUSADES"**

The evangelisation of Ghana is fundamental to the GES mission. This is pursued not in isolation, but as an integral part of its "prophetic mission" of "rebuilding the broken walls of Ghana". The society thus engages in rural and urban evangelism in various forms, under various titles.

As a demonstration of its evangelistic commitment, the Society organised a crusade in Accra as part of its inaugural activities in 1977. The first "mass crusade" of the Society outside Accra was in 1978, at Kwahu Abetifi, described as "the highest habitable point in Ghana", in the Eastern Region.<sup>162</sup> It marked the commencement of a series of countrywide missions later designated "Kingdom of God Crusades", and described as "evangelistic and prophetic missions involving deep

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

spiritual warfare".<sup>163</sup> In reviewing the first decade of its existence, the Society claims to have embarked on three series of such missions:

We have undertaken three separate series of Kingdom of God crusades around Ghana, with missions to difficult places dominated by witchcraft and fetish (demonic) power, idolatry etc. from Abetifi to Axim, from Tema to Tamale, from Denu to Lawra, from Sekondi to Hohoe, GES has been involved in spiritual warfare and prophetic exposures of evil and wickedness to open eyes, to turn from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God, and to get people saved.<sup>164</sup>

The concept: "Kingdom of God Crusades", was introduced in 1984 when GES converted its Easter Conventions into "special Easter Evangelistic/Revival Missions" to towns and cities outside the City of Accra. It began with the Easter '84 Mission at the Eastern Regional capital. Agbozo describes the series of "Kingdom of God Crusades" (1984-87) as a movement towards the integration of evangelism and social action:

The mission of the Ghana Evangelical Society has entered new threshold, from evangelistic crusades, outreach programmes, and teaching and culture-oriented programmes to broadbased missions and social transformation activities.

Hitherto, the Society's broad objectives had as it were been pursued in isolation, each with its special programmes, to achieve special objectives. For example, the Kingdom of God Crusades I were aimed at opening eyes, turning the people from darkness to light, from the power of satan unto God (Acts 26:18) and destroying the works of the devil. The Kingdom of God Crusades II added a new dimension to the above by challenging the Church and nation on social righteousness.... We now enter a new phase in our mission, of not only combining prayer, preaching and teaching with Christ-centred social transformation of Ghana. We must now organise broadbased comprehensive programmes for the total take-over of society for God and His Christ.

The Kingdom of God Crusades III shall be organised in broad terms as missions,... The total effect...will be to bring total liberation to human society, from sin, darkness and death, from Satan and wicked man.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 9; Cf. *The Herald*, op. cit., 16.

<sup>165</sup> *The Herald*, ibid., 5. In connection with the "Kingdom of God Crusades II" GES organised "The Mission 84 (Kumasi)". A statement attributed to the "Church assembled in Kumasi" was adopted, which throws light on the social aspect of the GES ministry. See Appendix XIII for full text.

The Easter '87 mission at Sekondi typifies the GES dynamic. Under the theme: "Thy Kingdom Come", the mission proceeded with following objectives:

- a. Revival/Renewal and Unity in the Church;
- b. Challenging Christian leadership, including laymen to social righteousness and Christian responsibility in society, and
- c. Equipping the saints for Missions.<sup>166</sup>

The five day mission 16–20 April 1987 incorporated evening evangelistic and revival meetings, day seminars and inter-denominational services. The two-day seminar attracted 500 participants, including ministers of church denominations, and members of local social organisations. The mission was closed with the celebration of the eucharist at a service graced with presence of the Western Regional Secretary of Government, Col. Thompson. The seminars addressed by Agbozo, explored "the spiritual and social significance of the Kingdom of God and vision of God for this Kingdom". Some of the evangelistic/revival evenings turned into pentecostal evenings:

We recall to mind the evening of Saturday 18th April. There was no need for the Word to be preached that night. The Spirit of the Lord moved through worship, praise and adoration, bringing healing and deliverance to the many who were sick, afflicted, oppressed and possessed. Many were the souls that were saved. Hallelujah.<sup>167</sup>

The apparent pentecostal manifestations in terms of healing and deliverance, were interpreted as a demonstration of the power of the Kingdom of God, resulting in conversions.

The premium GES placed on the manifestation of such pentecostal phenomena in its evangelistic operations distinguished the group from the evangelistic organisations directly associated with the Christian Fellowship movement. GES was perceived more as a pentecostal group

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<sup>166</sup> *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.–Dec., 1987, 9.

<sup>167</sup> *Op. cit.*, 7.

than evangelical. In the 1970s the pentecostal extremities of GES became a prime factor for the controversies that emerged between the GES leadership and the leadership of Scripture Union (Ghana).

#### 4.14.7 CHRISTIAN REACTIONS TO AGBOZO

The ministry of Bro. Enoch Agbozo in the Ghana Evangelical Society encountered much Christian opposition. The first major cause of opposition was the pentecostal emphasis in Agbozo's teachings, particularly the issue of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Scripture Union leaders and patrons accused him of introducing "strange" teachings into Christian Fellowships in Accra, and therefore denied him their co-operation.

At the inauguration of GES, the address delivered by Agbozo caused further rift between him and the evangelical leaders. The address captioned "The Four Ghanaians" examines the spiritual, political, economic and social problems hindering the progress of the nation.<sup>168</sup> He makes a rather arbitrary selection of characters from the disciples of Christ as typical examples of the undesirable four Ghanaian characters to be eschewed. It is a moralising critique of church and national life which ironically avoids any direct comment about Acheampong, the centre of the national crisis.

Agbozo identifies "Ghanaian I" with "The Doubting Thomas" (John 20:24-24). He sees the "Thomas" in church as one who "is very doubtful and is sunk in unbelief about the working of the Holy Spirit in the Church."<sup>169</sup> He depends on "human intellect and worldly standards", and "concerned with Church membership, money and the praise of men rather than God, and compromises with sin and sinners. He lacks confidence in the Lord and his people so he craves for missionary and foreign assistance of all kinds."<sup>170</sup> In national affairs, this Ghanaian is the unpatriotic: "very unsure about the sovereignty of Ghana and the

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<sup>168</sup> See *The Salvation Herald*, op. cit., 12-14.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., 13.

people's ability to safeguard this sovereignty. He suffers from bouts of nostalgia about colonial days and the great things happening in other lands. Such events do not offer a challenge to him. Instead, they create a great yearning for things foreign; education of children overseas, adopting foreign music, foreign culture...".

Agbozo associates "Ghanaian II" with the sons of Zebedee (Matt. 20:20-23). They are described as "the power and status seekers who stop at nothing in their quest". In the Church this is evident in denominationalism, and the influence of tribalism in church appointments. In national affairs, as Agbozo perceives, "Appointments are made on tribalistic lines, membership of secret societies, and old boyism."<sup>171</sup>

The "Ghanaian III" is identified with Judas Iscariot (Matt. 27:3-10) described by Agbozo as the god-father of traitors in the church and secular affairs. They are seen in the Church as "false prophets and teachers ... who are betraying the cause of Christ in heresies..., misleading souls and feeding the children of God with untruth, human philosophy and wisdom, instead of the true word of God, the spiritual food and wisdom of and power of God."<sup>172</sup> Their presence in the Church is manifested in "the lust of money and diversion of money and church property ... condoning of wickedness, oppression and aggrandizement in society."<sup>173</sup> In national life it is evident in bribery, corruption, smuggling and foreign exchange deals.

Finally he identifies the "Ghanaian IV" with "The People" who followed Jesus, with particular reference to those Jesus met on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:13-31). They represent the "Ordinary Citizen" in the Ghanaian society, who engages in hero-worshipping and rumour-mongering or gossiping, "sowing seeds of discord, distrust, and disaffection" in church and society.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 14.

Agbozo supports his parody of Biblical characters with the assertion: "We believe that just as there are parallels between events in the spiritual and physical planes, so there are parallels between events in the Church and events in the nation. For a nation with a strong Church is a nation blessed and buoyant."<sup>175</sup>

Agbozo's address on "The Four Ghanaians" exposes some of the social and moral problems current in the Acheampong era. But the religious interpretation of the issues raised deflects attention from the underlying political factors. He perceives the nation as "sick ... overwhelmed by the forces of darkness". He attributes the causes of the national malaise to the absence of "fear" - "fear of God", "fear of traditional powers" and "fear of authority"; and presence of forces "materialism, individualism, wickedness, obstinacy and sin."<sup>176</sup> As to the cure, he prescribes the initiation of "a great revival in the Church":

The Church must begin to pray for revival and re-align itself against the spiritual powers holding this nation at ransom. ... Unless the Church takes open stand for truth and honesty, against the abominations in the land, working daily, demonstrating the power of God and the love of Jesus, this country is doomed.<sup>177</sup>

The prescription is based on his conviction that "just as in the days of the Prophet Nehemiah of Israel, Ghana's broken walls can only be rebuilt when there is return to proper worship and service of God in the land."<sup>178</sup>

The "prophetic" pronouncements in Agbozo's address are rooted in his religious interpretation of the national crisis which characterised that latter part of the Acheampong regime. He failed to appreciate the

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

political factors underlying the socio-economic problems, and thus shifted responsibility for the crisis to Christians. He was thus acting like the leaders of fringe religious groups who influenced and supported Acheampong for personal gain. This explains the disaffection of evangelical leaders against Agbozo. He makes particular reference to the annoyance his address caused the late William Ofori Atta, SU Patron, and a cabinet minister in the regime overthrown by Acheampong. From his Christian perspective and his long experience in Ghanaian politics, Ofori Atta had a critical and sophisticated perception of the prevailing crisis, and thus could not accept the simplistic religious solution Agbozo was prescribing. Agbozo was thus alienated further from the evangelicals.

In 1979 when Agbozo introduced the concept of "House of Worship" into GES ministry, it generated widespread Christian reaction. He claims the "House of Worship" concept was divinely inspired, and by divine instruction it was instituted as a "demonstration church" – to show how to worship God.<sup>179</sup> It is described as an "Open Non-denominational Evangelistic Church",<sup>180</sup> but outsiders interpreted it as an actual movement towards constituting the GES membership into an independent church. It generated opposition from churches and fellowships to which GES members were affiliated. Agbozo was denounced by Calvary Baptist Church, Accra, as well as his own Church in Accra – The Apostolic Church.

Agbozo alienated himself further from evangelicals by his resignation from the Ghana Evangelism Committee. When the Ghana Evangelism Committee was established in 1974 he was appointed General Secretary. However, he resigned later after clashing with Ross Campbell (the National Director), in a dispute over strategy for evangelism. Ross Campbell adopted for use in Ghana the "New Life For All" programme<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> In an interview with the writer, 25 Sept. 1990, Agbozo admitted the House of Worship was an important source of financial support for GES ministry.

<sup>180</sup> See *The Herald*, op. cit., 3.

<sup>181</sup> Examined in Chapter Six.

which emphasized person-to-person evangelism.

Agbozo, however, prescribed what he terms "Operation Rural Electrification", a mass evangelistic method experimented without success in 1979 by his group (GES). It was devised "to promote revival, unity and co-ordinated co-operation evangelism and Church planting".<sup>182</sup> It involved mobilising the churches in one rural locality to co-operate in evangelism – an evangelistic method reflecting the communal nature of the traditional Ghanaian society. It was to de-emphasize denominationalism and individualism in evangelism. But Ross Campbell who did not believe mass evangelism discounted it as ineffective and impracticable. The disagreement led to the resignation of Agbozo from the Ghana Evangelism Committee.

The cumulative effect of the above controversies was the loss of evangelical confidence in Agbozo. He increasingly became alienated from the mainstream evangelical organisations, as well as some established pentecostal churches which initially co-operated with him.

#### 4.14.8 CONCLUSION

The evangelical pentecostal "prophetic" mission of Enoch Agbozo in the GES was a product of his background as a student activist, his pentecostal conversion experience, and a sense of mission which intersected with evangelical commitment to social action. It projects the socio-political significance of pentecostalism in the parachurch movements, and the particular nature of Church and Parachurch-State relations in the Acheampong era.

The Acheampong era is significant in Ghana's political history as a period of national disorder, during which religious agents from fringe religious groups (in the parachurch and Independent African Church movements) were engaged to restore order. Thus religious leaders like Agbozo moved from the periphery to the centre of national life, and exerted religious influence on perceptions of disorder in the nation.

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<sup>182</sup> *The Salvation Herald*, op. cit., 8.

The prescriptions for restoring order in the society were based in variant perceptions and interpretations of the situation of disorder. Religious or supernatural perceptions and interpretations produced religious prescriptions – declaration of the week of national mourning and repentance, with prayer and fasting. But the opponents of the government, with sophisticated socio-political perceptions and interpretations, demanded a political solution – change of government. The supernatural interpretation of the national disorder was influenced by some Biblical beliefs and the traditional African worldview, which perceive all forms of disorder in the human society as reaction of supernatural power(s) to human sin or evil actions.

The Ghana Evangelical Society and all the other independent evangelistic associations belong to the evangelical pentecostal category of New Religious Movements. They are movements of protest or reaction against forms of order and disorder. The mission of GES is essentially an evangelical pentecostal reaction to a perceived disorder in Church and Society in Ghana. The independent evangelistic organisations in the tradition of the Christian Fellowship movement emerged as an evangelical expression of protest or reaction against established ecclesiastical order.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### RESURGENT PENTECOSTALISM: THE PROLIFERATION OF CHARISMATIC DELIVERANCE MINISTRIES AND PENTECOSTAL FELLOWSHIPS IN THE 1980s

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION: THE SECOND PHASE OF NEO-PENTECOSTALISM IN THE PARACHURCH MOVEMENT

The advent of pentecostalism in evangelical fellowships between the mid-1960s and '70s was an early phase of neo-pentecostalism in the parachurch movements in Ghanaian Christianity. Its impact was limited and controlled by the denominational sensitivities of the "conservative" evangelical leadership, in its determination to preserve the inter-denominational ethos of the fellowships and foster cordial relations with local churches.

Within Scripture Union, pentecostal influence persisted in terms of the dominant use of local pentecostal songs and the operations of the Prayer Warriors Movement. The genesis and operations of the Prayer Warriors Movement and the Ghana Evangelical Society as indigenous agencies of neo-pentecostalism, antedates the emergence and explosion of Charismatic Deliverance Ministries (CDMs) and Pentecostal fellowships in the 1980s. The operations of the latter groups represent a continuum of pentecostal activity, spanning two phases of neo-pentecostalism in the parachurch movement. Some are designated "ministries" to indicate the plurality of their engagements, with evangelism, healing and deliverance as primary. Concerning the distinctive manner of their operations, Sam Prempeh, a senior minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, remarks:

The recent brand of evangelists is quite different in many respects. Characteristic among them are the following: preaching with American accent and mannerism, using most recent electrical gadgets, tuning P.A. [public address] address system so high even if the target audience is less than a room full; assurance of financial prosperity if you give all to the Church; always city based; message plays on a word or a short expression from the

Bible. Crusades are invariably concluded with altar calls."<sup>1</sup>

The movements associated with the current upsurge of pentecostalism in Ghana have indigenous and exogenous origins. Some emerged as off-shoots of Scripture Union Town Fellowships. A prominent case is the Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry, founded in 1978 by the late Francis Akwasi Amoako, who belonged to the SU Town Fellowship at Santaase (a suburb of Kumasi). In a separate case, a local SU group (the "CPC" Fellowship<sup>2</sup> in Kumasi) was taken over and turned into an independent evangelistic group by Owusu Achiaw who was welcomed by its founder to assist in its management. Owusu Achiaw who had resigned as evangelist of Aflame For Christ Evangelistic Ministry (Kumasi), assumed oversight of the "CPC" Fellowship when the founder, Kwaku Agyeman-Duah, later commenced theological training at Trinity College. The name of the group was re-defined as "Come Preach Christ" Fellowship to reflect the independent charismatic identity it assumed.

The influence of foreign charismatic evangelists on local evangelicals engendered the formation of some local CDMs which became agencies for extending and perpetuating the territorial influence of international evangelists like Morris Cerullo based in the USA and Benson Idahosa of Nigeria.

Other groups were established as local branches of international pentecostal fellowships. The inauguration of Ghana chapters of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International in 1982/83, and the Women's Aglow Fellowship International in 1985, contributed to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Address delivered at the Graduation Ceremony of Christian Service College, Kumasi, 25 June 1988 (Typescript), 5.* The speaker was formerly Principal of Trinity College, Legon.

<sup>2</sup> The "CPC" Fellowship was established in early 1975 as a localised SU Fellowship for non-literate adults in the New Tafo area of Kumasi designated "CPC" - the location of the former Cocoa Production Company. The fellowship derives its origins from the evangelistic concerns of Rev. Fr. Duah Agyeman of the Anglican Church in Ghana, formerly a school teacher resident in area. The growth of the group into a fellowship for literates and non-literates was accelerated by the policy of the Kumasi Town Fellowship to decentralise its operations by encouraging the development of satellite fellowships in wards and suburbs of the city.

upsurge of pentecostalism in the eighties. The Full Gospel and Aglow fellowships were inaugurated as national movements, but the CDMs were localised in urban centres where they established their headquarters and embarked on sporadic evangelistic campaigns to selected districts in various regions.

In the period under consideration, Kumasi emerged as a "Spiritual Capital" – the epicentre of charismatic activity in Ghana. Two outlying areas of the city, Bantama and Santaase, became the centres of gravitation. Santaase became established as the base of the Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry (a witchcraft eradication movement) and the Deeper Life movement from Nigeria, and Bantama, the "Faith Convention" movement, a confederation of charismatic groups, initiated in 1981 as a result of a schismatic development in the evangelical movement in Kumasi. It was also the base of the "Bible Conference" movement, which emerged later as a "conservative" evangelical reaction to the pentecostalism of the "Faith Convention" movement.

## **5.2 The Foreign Pentecostal Advance: Charismatic Preachers and Healing Miracle Crusaders**

Indigenous and exogenous factors were responsible for the pentecostal explosion in the eighties. The charismatic interests of local evangelists coincided with those of foreign pentecostal preachers who proceeded to Ghana. The pentecostal advance commenced with a Morris Cerullo Crusade and "School of Ministry" in Accra, 4–7 March 1978. Later series of the School of Ministry in Accra (1983), and Kumasi (1985 and '87), conducted with literature, video and satellite presentations from the USA, created a sensation which attracted young charismatics. The charismatic trend continued the late 1970s with the missions of Benson Idahosa and W F Kumuyi from Nigeria.

In the same period, the charismatic and deliverance teachings of Don Basham, Derek Peter Prince and others associated with the Christian Growth Movement (Mobile – Alabama, USA) infiltrated Christian Fellowships through the free circulation of the *New Wine Magazine* in

Ghana in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>3</sup> Seminars undertaken by Derek Prince in Ghana in the early eighties centred on demon possession.<sup>4</sup> His claim that Christians could be demonized (by possession or oppression) generated controversy in Town Fellowships in Kumasi and Accra.

The charismatic trend continued in the 1980s with the appearance of Rev. Mark Ruthland, a charismatic Methodist preacher from USA, claiming he had been directed by a vision to proceed to Ghana. The Ruthland mission was followed by visits of T L and Daisy Osborn of the Osborn Foundation (USA), 14-17 November 1984. Their visit to Kumasi coincided with that of Edward Byer - described as "international evangelist" and "God's anointed messenger" from Barbados in the West Indies, who was in the city (11-18 November), undertaking a crusade at the Jackson Park.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Burgess & McGee (1988), 51 & 727-8 lists other key members of the Christian Growth Movement as Bob Mumford, Charles Simpson and Ern Baxter. Don Basham BA, BD, served as editor of the *New Wine Magazine* from 1975 to 1981 and as chief editorial consultant until 1986 when NWM ceased publication. He commenced freelance writing and teaching after leaving the pastorate of "Disciples of Christ" ministry (Washington DC) in 1967. His well known writing is *Deliver Us From Evil* (c. 1972). His teachings emphasize the Holy Spirit, faith, family relationship, spiritual warfare, and deliverance. Basham is reputed to be the first in the charismatic renewal movement to teach and engage in the ministry of deliverance. His prominent colleague Derek Prince BA, MA, was educated in England at Eton College and Cambridge University, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. As a student he was a self-proclaimed atheist, but became Christian while serving with the British Medical Corps (1940-41). He was founder-pastor of a Pentecostal Church in London (1949-56), and principal of the African Teacher Training College in Kenya (1957-61). He commenced deliverance ministry in USA in 1964, generating controversy with his teachings on demonization. In 1974, together with Don Basham and Bob Mumford, he established the Good News Church, based on some concepts of "shepherding" and "disciplining" which generated considerable debate and controversy. He separated from the Christian Growth Movement in 1984, and operates a radio ministry established in 1979, designated "Today with Derek Prince".

<sup>4</sup> The demonology and deliverance seminars of Derek Prince were repeated in Accra and Kumasi between 3-14 August, 1987 (*Hour of Visitation Ministries Report*, July-Oct. 1987, 1).

<sup>5</sup> See *Christian Outreach* (Magazine of Christian Outreach Ministries), 1(7), 1984, 6-7. A reported interview with Byer reveals his views on wide-ranging issues of current Christian concern in Ghana:

Finally, as part of his Africa preaching tour, the German pentecostal evangelist, Reinhard Bonnke, and his Christ For All Nations team based in Frankfurt, undertook crusades in Kumasi in 1986, and Accra, 1988.<sup>6</sup> The Kumasi crusade was preceded by a major Pentecostal event on the continent – the "Fire Congress" convened by CFAN in Harare, Zimbabwe, 21–27 April, to which many Ghanaian pastors and evangelists were invited.<sup>7</sup>

Locally, charismatic events such as Faith Convention facilitated interaction between the local evangelists and their foreign counterparts. Faith Convention became a local platform for exhibiting foreign models of pentecostalism.

### 5.2.1 Nigerian Influence: The Economic factor of Religious Impact

The socio-economic decline in Ghana associated with political instability, particularly as evident in the Acheampong era (1972–78) and its aftermath, generated a mass exodus of Ghanaian professionals, manual skilled and unskilled workers to Nigeria for relatively lucrative jobs. The Nigerian oil boom of the 1970s increased international confidence in the Nigerian economy, and strengthened its currency (the Naira). The strength of the Naira *vis-a-vis* the fragile and devalued Ghanaian Cedi accelerated the exodus to Nigeria.

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The second coming of Christ, The blood of Jesus, The Bible and sex, Christian unity, The devil, The Spirit of God, The healing ministry, and Belief in the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues in Pentecostal, Protestant and Catholic Churches. The advert of the Byer Crusades projects its pentecostal emphasis: "The gospel preached; Blessings untold; Deliverance for all; The deaf hear; The lame walk; The sick healed; ... Don't miss a chance for God's Miracle Hour" (Ibid., 9.)

<sup>6</sup> In a correspondence from Ghana, May 1992, the writer learns the Bonnke crusades were repeated 1992. Tyson, E.D., *An Analysis of Neo-Pentecostal Mission Theology 1960–90: Four Case Studies*, PhD Thesis University Of Edinburgh, 1993, 115, notes that "Bonnke's all-consuming zeal for Africa is tied up in his belief that Africa is ripe for spiritual harvest."

<sup>7</sup> See *Charismata* (Newsletter of Christian Outreach Ministries), 1987, 3. Gifford (1987), 63, estimates the "Fire Congress" was attended by 4000 delegates from 41 African countries, "who were to return to their respective countries to put into practice what they have learnt."

With the oil boom Nigeria exerted a significant economic influence on its West African neighbours, particularly Ghana. Large imports of Western goods which flooded Nigerian markets, made it the West African supermarket from which Ghanaian traders made purchases to replenish their depleting stocks.

The Nigerian economic influence had religious impact. The importations from Nigeria involved not only economic goods but religious goods as well. Some of the Ghanaian traders and workers returned with new religious experiences and ideas. They became agents for introducing charismatic teachings in local fellowships and churches. Nigerian preachers armed with the strong Naira, which gave them an economic advantage, peddled their predominantly charismatic teachings in Ghana. It took the form of crusades, literature, and audio and video cassettes, and scholarships for Bible training in Nigeria. It was in this form that the Idahosa and Kumuyi models of African evangelical pentecostalism were exported to Ghana.<sup>8</sup>

The Nigerian factor of charismatic Christianity in Ghana in the 1980s can be further attributed to the mass deportation of Ghanaian migrant workers from Nigeria in 1983–84. It involved the return of about one million people. Some were traumatized and hardened by the rigorous working experience and brutalities of life in Lagos and other Nigerian cities, and thus become impervious to religious teachings. On the other hand, the feeling of loneliness which characterised the awareness of being a minority group, or a band of economic refugees, caused others to seek solace and security in the Christian faith. Some of the Ghanaian immigrants gravitated towards Christian groups, including emergent evangelical pentecostal movements which became their "safe-havens". With the deportation order, some of the deportees returned with newfound faiths, of the charismatic type, quickening the momentum of the mass neo-pentecostal movement.

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<sup>8</sup> Kalu (1992), 12, associates Idahosa with "prosperity" and Kumuyi with "Holiness".

### 5.2.2 The Idahosa Connection

Benson Idahosa is the founder and head of Nigeria's Church of God Mission International and the Miracle Centre in Benin City.<sup>9</sup> He is described as "an affluent show-bizz crusader" whose organisation (considered one of the largest revivalist movements in Nigeria) owns "a well-equipped television studio, a 30,000 capacity cathedrome, and a post-primary school known as Word of Faith Day School."<sup>10</sup> Idahosa claims to have established 1000 churches in Nigeria, with as many as 74 located in Benin City alone.<sup>11</sup> According to Paul Gifford, in establishing his church, Idahosa "taught (his disciples) only two subjects - to cast out devils and to baptise in the Holy Spirit".<sup>12</sup> His ministry is thus of the charismatic deliverance type.

Idahosa's close association with North American pentecostals, particularly Kenneth Copeland,<sup>13</sup> made him an African agent for the spread of "Prosperity Gospel" in the West African sub-region, particularly Ghana.

His influence in Ghana commenced around 1977/78 when he undertook evangelistic crusades in regional capitals in the Southern part of the country, including Accra, Tema, Takoradi and Kumasi. The Idahosa crusades were patronised by local evangelicals associated with Scripture Union and related fellowships, and the independent

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<sup>9</sup> See Gifford, P., *Prosperity: A New and Foreign Element in African Christianity*, *Religion*, 20, 1990, 385, note 9. Some of Idahosa's works cited by Paul Gifford include: *Power For Your Zero Hour*, 1986; *Faith Can Change Your Destiny*, 1986; *I Choose to Change*, 1987; all published by Highland Books, Crowborough.

<sup>10</sup> Hackett, R.I.J., "Enigma Variations: The New Religious Movement in Nigeria Today", in Walls, A.F., & Shenk, W.R., *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold Turner* (Elkart: Mission Focus, 1990), 135.

<sup>11</sup> Gifford, P., "Africa Shall be Saved". An Appraisal of Reinhard Bonnke's Pan-African Crusade, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XVII (1) 1987, 90.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

evangelistic organisations. They collaborated with the visiting Nigerian team in setting up the crusade grounds and "counselling" respondents to "altar calls".

The venue for the Idahosa crusade meetings in Kumasi was the Jackson Park. The last meeting was graced with the presence of the Asantehene (the Asante monarch), Otumfuo Nana Opoku Ware II. In an apparent determination to honour the Asantehene, Idahosa offered scholarships for any eight qualified Asante evangelists to undergo Bible training in Nigeria. As it later became apparent, similar offers were made in Accra and other places where he preached. The current exodus to Nigeria, the land of prosperity in the 1970s, made the Idahosa offer attractive. The scholarship system became an effective means of exporting his charismatic model and concepts across West Africa.

The Idahosa disciples returned with teachings considered extremely charismatic. Those considered "too hot to handle" by their local churches and fellowships established their own independent ministries which gestated into churches, functioning initially as parachurch organisations.<sup>14</sup> A prominent Idahosa student, Nicholas Duncan Williams, established the Christian Action Faith Ministry in Accra. Other Idahosa related organisations are the Redemption Hour Faith Ministry with branches in Accra and Kumasi, and the Gospel Ambassadors Ministry with headquarters at Swedru in the Central Region. At Tema the impact of Idahosa's mission engendered the formation of the "Idahosa Women's Fellowship", later reconstituted as a local chapter of Women's Aglow Fellowship International.<sup>15</sup> The Idahosa mission thus catalysed the formation of independent charismatic

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<sup>14</sup> One such disciple from the Grace Baptist Church, Kumasi, was denied acceptance by the Ghana Baptist Convention and opportunity for the Baptist ministry. He had to re-train at Christian Service College (Kumasi) to qualify for re-entry and prospect of gaining ministry in the Baptist Church. In an interview with the writer, Jude Hama (SU-Ghana Director General) observes, the Idahosa disciples were trained to establish churches. In the absence of any organisation or structure in Ghana to contain the Idahosa elements, new charismatic ministries were established which were later turned into churches.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Christiana Darko (International Outreach Director of Women's Aglow Fellowship), 24 Sept. 1990.

organisations in Ghana.

### 5.2.3 The Deeper Life Movement

#### 5.2.3.1 Nigerian Origins

The emergence and growth of the Deeper Life movement in Nigerian centres on the evangelistic zeal of its founder-leader, William Folorunso Kumuyi.<sup>16</sup> His evangelical pentecostal background derives from his association with the Anglican Church (as a student, and later teacher and SU patron of Mayflower School, Ikene), Apostolic Faith Church, and the Christian Unions of the Ibadan and Lagos Universities where he undertook undergraduate and postgraduate studies respectively.

The Deeper Life movement emerged in the mid-seventies, as the climax of informal Monday evening Bible studies initiated early 1973 by Kumuyi in his campus residence as lecturer in the College of Education of the University of Lagos. His association with the University CU as patron increased the participation of CU members. Membership growth led to a more public operation, with the commencement of off-campus meetings by late 1975 in a near-by auditorium of Redeemed Christian Church of God, an indigenous pentecostal church. The new location offered proximity advantage which extended Kumuyi's influence, with membership of the group embracing students from the near-by Yaba College of Technology and non-student city dwellers.

The movement was inaugurated with two major retreats – around Christmas 1975 and Easter '76, with attendance estimated around 2500. Since then Easter and Christmas Retreats have become pivotal to the growth of the Deeper Life movement.

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<sup>16</sup> See Ojo, Matthews A., *Deeper Christian Life Ministry: A Case Study of the Charismatic Movements in Western Nigeria*, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XVIII (2), 1988, 141-61; Isaacson, A., *Deeper Life: The Extraordinary Growth of the Deeper Life Bible Church*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990; and Tyson (1993).

### 5.2.3.2 Deeper Life Mission in Ghana

International conferences facilitated personal contacts between Ghanaian preachers and their foreign colleagues. One of such contacts led to the introduction of the Deeper Life movement in Ghana. In 1978 a Ghanaian evangelist, Douglas Okono Frempong attended a Morris Cerullo World Evangelism Conference in Kenya where he had acquaintance with a Nigerian Pentecostal preacher, Brother Godwin. In the same year, following the initial contact, Godwin was invited to Ghana to address the Pentecostal Association of Ghana at its meeting in Kumasi. He was accompanied by Kumuyi who expressed desire to undertake a crusade in Kumasi. The Deeper Life movement in Ghana thus commenced with a crusade at Jackson Park in Kumasi and series of Easter and Christmas retreats between 1978-81.

The Deeper Life mission in Ghana involved the collaboration of local evangelists (particularly Douglas Frempong, Yaw Owusu Achiaw and Yaw Asante), and the Kumasi Town Fellowship of Scripture Union. With colourful posters and handbills, and free transport offers, boarding and lodging (the first time ever in the context of the prevailing economic hardship), many people were attracted to the Deeper Life retreats at Prempeh College, Kumasi. The retreats were used to introduce "holiness" teachings of Kumuyi which generated much controversy and isolated the movement.

Initially (1979-81), the movement functioned as a parachurch group designated "Deeper Life Christian Fellowship". It limited its activities to mid-weekly evening area fellowship meetings, a harmonious arrangement which avoided clash with Sunday afternoon fellowship meetings of SU. It allowed the participation of interested SU members who were attracted to Deeper Life because of its Christian Fellowship identity. However, in 1982 as a process towards independency and consolidation of membership, there was a re-definition of operations and a modification of identity. Deeper Life Christian Fellowship thus became "Deeper Christian Life Ministry", establishing a separatist identity with teachings that regulated the lifestyle of members. It organised separate Sunday evening meetings in addition to the mid-week one. The

leadership exerted control by centralising fellowship meetings at one new location, Santaase, where large wooden auditorium had been erected.<sup>17</sup> Deeper Life members took to an aggressive form of evangelism and publicity in attracting people to its regular meetings and retreats, by distributing gospel tracts and handbills in public transport in Kumasi, particularly those bound for Santaase.

The new identity and *modus operandi* of Deeper Life was a stage in the transition towards forming a formation. In 1984 the movement was renamed "Deeper Life Bible Church". Its membership was boosted by Ghanaian deportees from Nigeria, already converted to the movement.

Deeper Life was established with a predominantly Nigerian leadership. Through a scholarship scheme some Ghanaians were selected for Bible training in Nigeria. By 1980 Deeper Life Bible Centre had been established in Lagos as an interdenominational institution, offering a nine-month multi-lingual programme, with tuition in English, French, Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. The first set of twenty West African students included Ghanaians, with Boham Owusu Ansah as a prominent product. It was a means towards the development of an indigenous leadership.

### 5.2.3.3 Reactions To Exclusivism and Legalism of Deeper Life

The success that attended the early operations of Deeper Life in Ghana is due to its initial identification with Scripture Union. But the SU-Deeper Life link was severed due to controversies surrounding Deeper Life teachings. Apart from basic evangelical tenets, Deeper Life introduced teachings to regulate the life of adherents, with emphasis on restitution as evidence of genuine repentance. Some aspects of its code of ethics conflicted with Akan culture. It prescribed a particular style

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<sup>17</sup> In 1985 the Deeper Life Ministry purchased 105 acres of land at Pakyi Number Two, a major farming community near Kumasi (and 8 miles from Santaase), for development as a national convention centre. Recently, the payment of ₵2m. (about £2000) for acquisition of additional 300 acres by the movement has generated a fierce dispute, now a court case between the Pakyi II locals and the Christian group (See *West Africa*, 13-19 Sept. 1993, 1636).

of dressing and hair cut. The wearing of cloth in the traditional Akan way (like the Roman *toga*) by males was discouraged because it left the shoulder and a side of the chest exposed. The teachings encouraged segregation of the sexes by forbidding the exchange of greetings between males and females. These and deprecatory remarks condemning Christian use of ornaments, particularly wedding rings, generated controversy within SU fellowships.<sup>18</sup> The strictures led mainline evangelicals to perceive Deeper Life as an evangelical sect, a "holiness movement" which rejected all other Christian groupings as deviant.

Official SU response rejected the legalism and doctrines of sanctification.<sup>19</sup> SU collaboration with deeper life ceased. However, the conversion of Florence Yeboah (former SU Travelling Staff) to Deeper Life had influenced many SU members to join the group, though she later withdrew, along with many others. It is against this background that symposium organised in the early 1980s at SU Easter Houseparty in Kumasi to examine the "controversial" features of the Deeper Life Christian Fellowship.

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<sup>18</sup> The Deeper Life strictures on the use of wedding rings reflects the views of those who advocate a radical departure from marriage traditions inherited from Europe, as Kumuyi writes: "The giving of wedding rings is an English custom. It is a waste of money. It adds nothing to making the couple keep their fidelity. People who have rings on their fingers still flirt and go into immorality. The rings do not restrain them. It is not the ring that keeps Christians from immorality, it is the grace of God. You should not go to the extent of wasting and lavishing God's money on what is not necessary" (Ojo, op. cit., 158).

<sup>19</sup> The regulations originated with Kumuyi, as Ojo (1988, 146), indicates: "Kumuyi stands in a conspicuous and significant position in the life of Deeper Christian Life Ministry. As founder and leader, he has formulated all the doctrinal teachings and has dictated all the religious practices by which members are guided. Up until 1982 Kumuyi rigidly applied the doctrinal emphasis and religious practices by which members are guided. ... For example, until the early 1980s Kumuyi was prescribing the mode of dressing, the pattern of hair cut, what attitude to adopt to friends and the opposite sex, and what luxuries are to be allowed in homes." The rigid regulations of DL is attributed to Kumuyi's previous association with the Apostolic Faith Church in Lagos, particularly the doctrines of Holiness and Sanctification (associated with the three-stage salvation) which earned him the nickname: "Holiness Preacher" and gave Deeper Life a separatist image in the 70s, and degrading other Christians "as sources of pollution" (Ibid., 154).

With the restrictive regulations Deeper Life assumed a distinctive sectarian identity, alienating it from mainstream evangelicalism in Ghana. Nevertheless, its proselytizing zeal,<sup>wik</sup> emphasis on holiness and sanctification, continued to make a significant appeal. The phenomenal expansion of the movement, particularly in Nigeria, led to a later relaxation of the regulations.

#### 5.2.4 The "Strange Visitor": Mark Ruthland and the Mission of Trinity Foundation in Ghana

In 1982 Rev. Mark Ruthland, a charismatic Methodist minister, who operates an independent evangelistic organisation - Trinity Foundation, based in Marietta, Georgia - USA, visited Ghana. He proceeded without any prior invitation or local arrangement.<sup>20</sup> Hence the designation the "strange visitor" by his Kumasi host, Samuel Odarno (SU Travelling Secretary for Ashanti).

Ruthland claims his decision to visit Ghana was inspired by a vision. This became apparent in one of his speaking engagements with Kumasi SU school groups and Town Fellowships, in an itinerary co-ordinated by co-hosts, Brew Riverson and Odarno. Odarno recalls:

At one such meeting under a cocoa grove, Mark began to weep as he was starting to preach. I did not understand why but I sensed that the Holy Spirit was working. When he spoke, I heard him say, 'Lord, I know you are God indeed. Thank you for this.' Then he explained that on the night he had the vision to come to Ghana, this was what he had seen. He had envisioned a scene of black faces under some trees with him preaching to them. The result of his sermon was great. Many gave their lives to the Lord and several who were sick received healing.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> By some coincidences Ruthland was granted an initial reception in Accra by Godfred Bamfo formerly, SU Travelling Secretary for Ashanti and Brong - Ahafo. Later as it became apparent, his letter to Rev. Dr. Brew Riverson (the Principal of Wesley College) had been unduly delayed. It arrived six month later, just when Mark Ruthland arrived in Ghana.

<sup>21</sup> Odarno, S., *Sammy: The Compelling Account of the Holy Spirit Working Through One Man in West Africa* (Marietta: Trinity Foundation, 1990), 26.

The group in question was the Bethlehem Evangelistic Group, then in its embryonic stage of development.<sup>22</sup>

In spite of the impromptu nature of his visit, Ruthland was well occupied with speaking engagements arranged by church and para-church leaders who hosted him in Accra and Kumasi. His evangelical charismatic emphasis endeared him to pentecostal and charismatic elements in local SU fellowships and other organisations. His first assignment was arranged by a former SU staff, Godfred Bamfo. Ruthland was engaged to address the Breakfast Meeting of the burgeoning Accra Chapter of Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, at the Black Caesar's Palace.<sup>23</sup>

Ruthland's identity as Methodist minister offered him access to Methodist congregations in Kumasi. Brew Riverson used his respectable position in the Church to secure preaching engagements for the visiting charismatic preacher. As the sole SU staff for Ashanti, Samuel Odarno welcomed Ruthland's visit as a prime opportunity to fulfil preaching and teaching assignments in local fellowships. Odarno's SU connection offered the foreign preacher access to a vast network of parachurch fellowships. Thus apart from being Ruthland's interpreter, Odarno arranged numerous speaking assignments for him in SU groups in the region, especially fellowships in Kumasi. The appropriate local contacts ensured the success of the Ruthland visit. It was a preliminary visit which prepared grounds for future missions of Trinity Foundation, with the agency of the local SU personnel.

#### 5.2.4.1 The SU-Trinity Foundation Co-operation

The initial association of Odarno with the "strange visitor" as "driver, companion, tour guide, interpreter and advisor" continued with a second Ruthland mission in 1983.<sup>24</sup> The mission which involved a

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<sup>22</sup> See the discussion on "Pentecostalism and Akan Cosmology", in latter section of this chapter.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Christian Outreach*, 1(7) 1984, 1.

Trinity Foundation (TF) team, coincided with the National Leaders Conference of SU-Ghana, to which Mark Ruthland became guest speaker. In describing the pentecostal impact of the Ruthland talks on the 300 delegates, Odarno remarks: "They were so blessed by his many talks, many got baptism in the Holy Spirit."<sup>25</sup>

The unofficial SU-TF alliance flourished as Odarno continued to play host to subsequent TF missions. In August 1984 a young graduate from Asbury Theological Seminary, Michael Mozley proceeded on a solitary mission to Ghana, and was hosted by Odarno in his SU rented accommodation. Mozley functioned as an assistant of the SU Travelling Secretary. In an appreciative comment on the Mozley mission, Odarno notes: "He proved very useful in the vineyard as we travelled extensively to visit schools, colleges and churches, preaching, showing films and having crusades in towns and villages."<sup>26</sup> Considering the paucity of personnel relative to the vast network of SU fellowships in Ashanti, the Mozley mission was a significant complement to the local effort.

After the departure of Mozley, another Trinity Foundation missionary couple, the Halvestons were sent also "to live and work with" the SU staff in Kumasi. A product of their mission is the commencement of an independent ministry to the Kumasi Prisons and Police, and a charismatic church - Freeman "English" Society, within the Kumasi circuit of the Methodist Church, Ghana.<sup>27</sup>

The increasing foreign association culminated in Odarno's resignation from SU, for a full-time engagement by Trinity Foundation as its national agent in Ghana, with particular ministry to the police and prisoners in Kumasi. The Odarno-Trinity Foundation association is a case of foreign attraction, where a local parachurch worker who voluntarily assisted a foreign organisation was eventually recruited as its local

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<sup>25</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> See *Wesley News* (Quarterly Newsletter of Wesley Methodist Church, Kumasi), 1(3), April-June 1990, 4-6.

agent.

The collaboration with local parachurch organisations is a recurrent feature of the international evangelistic enterprise, intended to assist evangelistic efforts in Ghana. But such collaboration ceases when a local branch of the foreign organisation is established. It thus leads locals to conclude that the foreign organisations only use the local groups to advance their expansionist purpose.

### 5.3 "GHANA WILL RISE AGAIN": MIRACLE CRUSADES OF HEALING EVANGELISTS

#### 5.3.1 The Osborn Engagements

An important component of the pentecostal explosion of the 1980s is the crusades of foreign healing evangelists, and their sensational claims to perform miracles. One of such events was undertaken by the Osborns. T L Osborn described as "the world renowned evangelist", and founder of the Osborn Foundation in Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA, accompanied by his wife Daisy, made a stop-over in Ghana, 14-17 November 1984.<sup>28</sup>

To his surprise what was intended to be a flying visit was turned into a major preaching and teaching opportunity, as he remarks: "Little did I know that a series of crusades and seminars had been lined up for me"<sup>29</sup>, in Accra and Kumasi. In Accra it is estimated around 70,000 people attended the Osborn healing crusades at the Independence Square for three consecutive nights. An important factor for the massive attendance is the news and testimonies of healing miracles reported as a daily feature of the Accra meetings:

prayers were said for the sick as had been done during the first two nights, and cripples threw their walking sticks away, and others healed of deafness, dumbness and blindness pressed through the crowd to be given a chance on the stage to testify of their healing.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(7), 1984, 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

In Kumasi the Osborns were engaged in discussions at a three-hour seminar at the City Hotel Complex. It was attended by over-capacity crowd of pastors, evangelists and other Christian workers eager to learn what was advertised as "keys to his worldwide healing and deliverance ministry."<sup>31</sup> Many of the participants were already acquainted with the Osborn teachings. It was nothing unique, but it helped consolidate the prevailing trend of neo-pentecostalism and widen the horizon of the local charismatic preachers.

### 5.3.2 The Bonnke Crusades

The advancement of international pentecostals and charismatics into Ghana climaxed with the healing crusades of Reinhard Bonnke in Kumasi in 1986, and Accra, 1988. The five-day event described as "miracle-packed Gospel Crusade", took place between 11-15 February at the city's sports stadium, with daily attendance estimated around 80,000.<sup>32</sup> The crusade is considered unique for its particular emphasis on the performance of miracles, which served as the main factor of attraction. The attendance was boosted by intensive publicity campaign preceding Bonnke's arrival in Kumasi.

For five consecutive nights Bonnke's message was preceded by a song by his wife, who had apparently learnt local pentecostal choruses. On the first day she impressed the crusade crowd when she burst into a Twi song, *Din bi wo ho*, to which the stunned audience responded <sup>with</sup> a deafening applause, as a greeting to the beautiful German lady who knew the local language so well.<sup>33</sup> Bonnke's message which focused on the resurrected Christ - his love and power to save the lost and heal the sick, "charged up the multitude into a spiritual state of expectation and repentance".<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 3(1), 1986. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

The preaching was followed by healing session, with Bonnke confronting demons, as indicated by his later remark that "At once people sensed that the demons of Kumasi were in trouble."<sup>35</sup> In proceeding to perform healing miracles, he called for the separation and grouping of people according to the nature of their infirmity, praying for the blind first. It is claimed 40 people were healed in the first night: a six-year<sup>old</sup> boy with five years of total blindness; a man with poor eye-sight, and others with diverse kinds of diseases - rheumatism, paralysis, heart-attacks; and a woman who was delivered from "witchcraft spirit".<sup>36</sup>

On the second day, Bonnke adopted a new strategy by performing healing through "counsellors" or assistants to whom he imparted what is described as "the Healing Anointing", with prayer, to lay hands on the sick. On the third day Bonnke continued with the practice of performing healing miracles through assistants, claiming Jesus would touch and heal a dying man brought to the stadium. With such claims, it is reported "Bonnke really did challenge the Christians in the city with his faith and boldness in exercising kingdom power".<sup>37</sup> Bonnke virtually boasted of his confidence to heal in outlining his preaching and healing strategy daily:

Each day before preaching he would say: 'I am going to preach the word of God, then I will pray with those who will like to give their lives to Christ. Finally I will pray for the sick and everybody will see the sick recover and the glory of the Lord revealed.' He always announced what things he expected to happen before preaching."<sup>38</sup>

On a second visit to Ghana in 1988, Bonnke undertook a healing crusade in Accra, sponsored jointly by the Ghana Pentecostal Council, Church of Pentecost and Christian Action Faith Ministry. He was ridiculed by press reports indicating he failed to heal five blind

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

youngsters on Wednesday of the Crusade week.<sup>39</sup>

The Bonnke crusades were the most sensational pentecostal events undertaken in Ghana in the eighties. They pivoted on the claim to perform miracles of healing, dismissed by the secular press as a publicity stunt, but used by local evangelists to attract public attention. This did not characterise the operations of evangelists who had emerged earlier within Scripture Union.

#### **5.4 THE AGENCY OF THE LOCAL EVANGELIST IN THE INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL ENTERPRISE: THE CASE OF DOUGLAS FREMPONG AND THE MORRIS CERULLO MOVEMENT**

The independent evangelistic organisations of the late sixties and early seventies had a theological stability rooted in the evangelical traditions of SU-Ghana. But Charismatic Deliverance Ministries of the eighties had no such local anchorage. Their leaders pursued foreign alliances which made them function more or less as local agencies of international evangelistic organisations in Europe and North America.

This trend is typified by the alliance forged between the Christian Outreach Ministries of Douglas Frempong and the Morris Cerullo School of Ministry and World Evangelism.

##### **5.4.1 The Local Preparation: Early Christian Experience and Church engagements of Frempong**

Douglas Frempong belongs to the generation of evangelists who emerged outside the Scripture Union context. He had a mixed religious background. His father was custodian of the Tigare cult in his hometown.<sup>40</sup> He derived his early Christian experience from the influence of his mother, a "practising Presbyterian" who nurtured him in church attendance and dawn prayer meetings. The early Presbyterian association became unstable because as with many Ghanaian Christians,

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<sup>39</sup> *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, 8 Dec. 1988.

<sup>40</sup> Tigare was anti-witchcraft cult imported from Northern Ghana which proliferated in the south in the 1920s and 1940s.

his mother pursued a multiple denominational association by visiting local Pentecostal Churches –Church of Pentecost and Apostolic Church. His evangelical conversion occurred in April 1971, at the age of twenty-one, in Form five at Okwapeman Secondary School, Akwapem–Akropong. The preaching of a Pentecostal friend led him to believe in Christ and experience "new birth".<sup>41</sup>

Frempong's spiritual formation was inspired by concern for his father's involvement in the Tigare cult, and accelerated by rigorous reading of the Bible. He claims reading all the New Testament a week after his conversion. His personal understanding of the mission of Christ inspired the development of an evangelical outlook that pre-occupied him with evangelism: dawn preaching in streets and assisting local pastors in rural evangelism.

Though his Christian conversion came through a Pentecostal agency, it was in a Presbyterian context that he gained initial recognition and opportunity for ministry in church as lay preacher. His "aggressive evangelistic thrust" was noticed by the minister of the Presbyterian Church in his hometown, who offered him a preaching appointment on 31 December 1971. His preaching impressed the minister, and led to his re-engagement the following week in a larger Presbyterian Church at Asamankese. He addressed a congregation (including his relatives) who knew his background as "the son of a famous fetish priest". The impact of his preaching resulted in the re-conversion of his mother as a "born again" Christian. The lay-preaching earned him recognition as a potential candidate for the Presbyterian ministry. But his youthful sense of inadequacy led him to decline the recommendation of the Asamankese Presbyterian Church for ministerial training at Trinity College.

Nevertheless, his evangelistic interests persisted and disturbed his career in accountancy, commenced in 1973 at the University of Science and Technology. His attention was re-directed to Christian

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Douglas Frempong, 21 September, 1990. See his written account: "I was not disobedient to the Heavenly Vision", *Charismata*, Newsletter of Christian Outreach Ministries, n.d., 1.

ministry – this time in pentecostal contexts.<sup>42</sup> It commenced with ministry in Gospel Mission Church, an Independent African Church located at Kwadaso (housing) Estate in Kumasi.<sup>43</sup> The church was more of a prayer group, and Frempong's assignments involved preaching to the youth, promoting the payment of tithes, and blessing water for members and other clients of the Church.

As with most indigenous pentecostal preachers, Frempong undertook the Church ministry with virtually no formal theological training. His attempt to undergo training at the Christian Service College, Kumasi was frustrated by pressure of church work, causing him to withdraw after two weeks. However, he was able to complete a three month evangelism training programme designated "New Life For All" by the Ghana Evangelism Committee.<sup>44</sup> He considers the training a valuable equipment for dealing with what he describes as syncretistic practices of the Gospel Mission Church: blessing water, bathing clients, and removing shoes at the entrance of the Church. They were de-emphasised and eventually replaced with baptism and "Sunday School". However, in the late seventies, his ministry in the church diminished due to local parachurch engagements, evangelistic training with Morris Cerullo and ministry abroad as a free-lance evangelist.

#### **5.4.2 The Problem of Recognition: The Free-lance Evangelist and Local Churches**

In adherence to a "divine commission" received in the Philippines Frempong returned to Ghana in April 1980 and resumed ministry with the Gospel Mission Church, terminating in June 1981 in preference for free-lance evangelism. It involved undertaking crusades and establishing independent Bible study groups, first at Kwadaso Estate where he resided, and later at Buokrom (on the outskirts of Kumasi) where he re-located.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>43</sup> The relationship between Frempong and the prophetess-founder of the church was cemented with his marriage to her daughter.

<sup>44</sup> On Ghana Evangelism Committee, see Chapter Six.

At Buokrom he exerted varying degrees of influence on the local churches. Apart from undertaking occasional preaching appointments, he failed to gain full recognition from the Assemblies of God Church and the Presbyterian Church, as an evangelist. He was offered a limited acceptance on their own terms. The Buokrom Presbyterian Church occasionally invited him to undertake "revival" and evangelistic campaigns. The Assemblies of God Central Church in Kumasi accepted him, but on probation – to study his doctrinal background. His Cerullo training was unacceptable to the Church. As with other local churches, the AoG had become wary of free-lance evangelists perceived as poachers of church members. Therefore, his willingness to undergo AoG training at Southern Ghana Bible School to qualify for full acceptance as AoG evangelist was not welcomed. Nevertheless, he was granted a provisional acceptance by the pastor-in-charge of the Central Church, Nicholas Opuni, who assigned him all the Church's evangelistic work. The impression he made on the leadership of the Church in conducting an evangelistic campaign at Konongo (in Ashanti) earned him the confidence of the Church. He therefore continued with the AoG Central Church for 9 years, together with two other free lance evangelists in Kumasi, Kwasi Appiah and Yaw Asante.

Frempong pursued the AoG assignments in tandem with his favourite parachurch activities. He continued to manage the Buokrom Bible study group, with evangelistic campaigns to neighbouring villages, culminating in the formation of Christian Outreach Ministry, an independent evangelistic organisation, in 1981.

#### **5.4.3 Evangelistic Vocation and Training: The Morris Cerullo Factor**

The operations of international evangelists provided Ghanaian evangelists with opportunities for evangelistic training. In the case of Frempong it was provided by Morris Cerullo. The attendance of series of Morris Cerullo School of Ministry conducted in Ghana, Kenya and USA between 1978–79, equipped Frempong to undertake evangelistic ministry at local and international levels.

His association with the Morris Cerullo School of Ministry (SoM) and World Evangelism began with an invitation to participate in the

February 1978 Crusade and SoM in Accra.<sup>45</sup> On the impact of the Cerullo event, Frempong comments:

We not only learnt a lot from the teaching sessions of the school but we were lost in words when we also saw the Bible come alive by the practical demonstration of the power of God at the crusade meetings as the blind, crippled, deaf, and dumb and all sorts of diseases and sicknesses were healed each evening to the glory of God. After the meetings my wife and I were so challenged by what we heard and saw that we began to seek the Lord more earnestly for a deeper walk with Him. God began to deal with us and a great revival broke out in our congregation. The Church began to grow, more assemblies were established and God confirmed his Word with signs and wonders as we, in simple faith and obedience to the scriptures, put into practice what we have learnt at the School.<sup>46</sup>

Six months later, the SoM experience was renewed in Kenya. In August 1978 Frempong proceeded to Nairobi to attend the Pan Africa National Training Institute organised by Cerullo. In claiming that the Nairobi meeting provided him with "the keys to work the works of God", Frempong recalls:

For almost six weeks Ministers, Evangelists and Christian Workers from all countries in Africa and with different denominational background met for prayer, marathon teaching sessions, and wonderful times of fellowship.<sup>47</sup>

The lectures of Cerullo were delivered in absentia through the screening of his "Proof Producers Film" series.<sup>48</sup> They were supplemented with the lectures by his colleague Alexander Ness.<sup>49</sup> For

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<sup>45</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 2(2), 1985, 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> To Alexander Ness is attributed the establishment of "several outstanding Churches, including the Queensway Cathedral Centre in Toronto", and the authorship of the following titles: *Triumphant Christian Living*, *Transference of Spirits*, and *The Work and Ministry of the Holy Spirit* (*Christian Outreach*, 2(3) 1985, 11). His association with Cerullo led to his election as missionary for Mission '81, organised by the Christian Fellowship of University of Ghana, though he could not accept the invitation.

Frempong the teachings renewed his perception of the evangelistic mission:

The Holy Spirit began to deal with me, and the spiritual needs of the lost and hungry souls in Africa, and Ghana in particular, became heavy on my heart. I began to catch the vision and burden of Dr. Cerullo and the World Evangelism Team and I understood beyond doubt that this world cannot be evangelised by men of great oratory but rather those who can find the answer to the "WHAT MUST I DO TO WORK THE WORKS OF GOD". I understood that working the works of God was more than mere oratory or rhetoric competence but it took the anointing of the Holy Spirit to be able to present the gospel message in all its simplicity to meet the needs of the dying world in demonstration of the Spirit and power....<sup>50</sup>

In pursuance of the Nairobi vision, Frempong claims he returned to Ghana and embarked on mass evangelistic campaigns nationwide, performing healing miracles:

Thousands of people were saved, healed and delivered from the claws of the enemy as God worked with us confirming the Word with signs following ... The blind saw, cripples walked, broken relationships restored and churches were revived.<sup>51</sup>

The third in the series of Cerullo Schools attended by Frempong is the "World Outreach School of Ministry" in 1979 in San Diego, California. Scholarships were offered to attract "two-thirds world" participants to the six months intensive programme, with teachings of Cerullo packaged and presented as equipment for mission.

The Cerullo training launched him immediately as an international evangelist, with initial preaching engagements in San Diego, and the Philippines where he spent 5 months preaching from city to city.<sup>52</sup> The significance of the ministry in the Philippines is underscored by the claim that it was in that oriental context, in Bacolod City, in February 1980, that Frempong received a call to full-time evangelistic

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Douglas Frempong, 21 Sept. 1990.

ministry. He recalls:

The whole idea to answer a definite call of the Lord into full time ministry, ... began ... in the heart of Philippine Islands with a definite commission to reach untold millions with the full gospel of Jesus Christ. direction in prayer ... that I had one of the most solemn moments of my entire Christian life. In between the pews of an Assembly of God Church in Bacolod city, God spoke to me and said, "My son, I have a great work for you in Ghana and you must return home after you are done here in the Philippines".<sup>53</sup>

On returning, fully equipped as an ardent Cerullo disciple, Frempong established the Christian Outreach Ministry, with Kumasi as its operational base. It became an organ for implementing teachings of his mentor in Ghana. The organisation undertook evangelistic campaigns with healing and deliverance. It also organised Holy Spirit conferences designated "Charismata", and in 1983 commenced the publication of a Christian magazine.

The evangelistic career of Douglas Frempong flourished in the mid-eighties through formal collaboration with Morris Cerullo. When Frempong was appointed the Ghana agent for Morris Cerullo School of Ministry and World Evangelism, the Christian Outreach Ministry assumed a new identity. The local organisation became a satellite in the orbit of the international organisation, with the activities of the former reflecting the priorities of the latter.

#### **5.4.4 The Ghana "School of Ministry"**

The Morris Cerullo SoM was introduced in Ghana in 1978 as a crusade event. With the pentecostal explosion of the 1980s, the Cerullo experience was revived through the formal launching of the SoM in Accra in 1983, though attendance was below expectation. As prominent Cerullo disciple, Douglas Frempong was formally approached by the SoM

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 1, 3. An Assemblies of God Church with membership around 500 hosted Frempong's preaching visit. In a conversation with the writer on 8 August 1993, Dr Rosalind Hackett, University of Tennessee, mentioned her research focus on the developing interest of African preachers in Asian countries like South Korea, Philippines and Singapore.

Africa Director to organise a second conference to re-launch of the Ghana SoM. It is against this background that Douglas Frempong became directly and officially associated with the Cerullo movement, as Director of the Ghana SoM.

The 1985 SoM at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, 21–27 July, was a grand revival of the Morris Cerullo movement in Ghana.<sup>54</sup> It was attended by participants of varied denominational backgrounds from Ghana, Togoland and Nigeria. The considerable large attendance estimated around 2,500, can be attributed to a number of factors. First, the SoM was given a wide publicity, particularly in the *Christian Outreach* magazine, which had become established as a standard Christian monthly.<sup>55</sup> As publisher of the magazine, Frempong used it to promote the SoM. Elaborate adverts of the event appeared in the magazine<sup>56</sup> Second, Frempong's association with the Faith Convention movement in Kumasi as its vice-Chairman, made it possible for him to publicise the SoM throughout the 21 days of the Convention which immediately preceded the School. Third, the use of satellite television in delivering live addresses Cerullo was a novelty which caused mass attraction.

As with all Cerullo SoMs, the main objective of the Kumasi SoM was "that participants may learn the keys to an effective Apostolic Ministry", and receive "new anointing, vision and burden to work the works of God." It was conducted with seminars and lectures by the SoM Team led by Alexander Ness, and addresses of Morris Cerullo delivered from USA via the "Morris Cerullo Global Satellite Network". Some

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<sup>54</sup> *Christian Outreach* 2(5), 1985, 6; 3(1), 1986, 15. The opening address of the School was delivered by the Vice-Chancellor of UST, Prof. Frank Kwame. Prominent guests included, Rev Paul Doraisami (Africa Director of Morris Cerullo SoM), some individual UST lecturers, and a traditional ruler from Agona-Dunkwa Area (see *Christian Outreach*, 2(4), 1985). For the Morris Cerullo All Africa Congress on Evangelism in Nairobi Kenya, 11–16 August 1986, with an estimated attendance of 6000, Douglas Frempong co-ordinated the attendance from Ghana and six other the West African countries (See *Charismata*, op. cit., 3).

<sup>55</sup> See *Christian Outreach*, 2(1), 1985, 6–7; 2(3), 1985, 11.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. See advert in Appendix XVII–A.

reference literature and lecture notes were also made available for sale.

The success of the 1985 SoM led to the commencement of a regular weekend School. The basic aim of the weekend school was "to motivate Christian workers to seek the Lord more; study the Bible; and evangelise more - to do something for God in their local churches."<sup>57</sup>

Registered students attended seminars and conferences on Saturday mornings for 4-6 hours, completing after 4 weeks. The course materials were designed, produced and sent from the USA as a complete package.<sup>58</sup> Video presentations were used to introduce printed course material designed for weekly private study. Certificates were issued to participants on successful completion of the programme.

The SoM printed course material, designated "Victory Miracle Library Lessons", comprised a series of study lessons, notes and review questions which centred on the pentecostal concept of "five-fold ministry" derived from Ephesians 4:11. The "five-fold ministry" is presented as the ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers - with particular emphasis on the exercise of charismatic gifts. Through the SoM the concept of "Five-fold ministry" gained currency among evangelical pentecostals in Ghana.<sup>59</sup>

Between 1986-90 the weekend SoM became established as a regular parachurch activity linked with the Christian Outreach Ministries. The Cerullo movement in Ghana was centred in Kumasi, the operational base of Christian Outreach Ministries. The connection with Morris Cerullo enhanced the finances of Christian Outreach Ministries, but its indigenous operations were eclipsed by the SoM. An office was opened in a City centre building and designated "Morris Cerullo World

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<sup>57</sup> Interview with Douglas Frempong, 21 Sept. 1990.

<sup>58</sup> In a later attempt to reduce prices of the course books, templates were sent for local printing at the Assemblies of God Literature Centre, Accra.

<sup>59</sup> The first "All Pastors and Evangelists Conference" (1987), centred on the "Five-fold ministry". See Chapter 6 of the Thesis.

Evangelism".<sup>60</sup> The first floor of a modern office block (formerly occupied by the Ghana Commercial Bank) was also acquired and designated "Convention Centre". It became the location of SoM weekend seminars and conferences. Hence, the Christian Outreach Ministry became a local instrument for extending and consolidating the influence of Morris Cerullo in Ghana.

### 5.5 The *Christian Outreach* Magazine (1983–86)

The *Christian Outreach* magazine emerged in the eighties as a standard indigenous magazine for Christian reporting, teaching, reflection, debate, and advertising. The title-head of *Christian Outreach* presents the publication as "one of Ghana's most dynamic and widely read non-denominational monthly magazine". Between 1983–86 *Christian Outreach* joined a few well established church publications: The *Christian Messenger* and the *Methodist Times*. The government had banned the publication of the *Catholic Standard* because of its abrasive criticisms of PNDC repressive measures.

The founder-editor of *Christian Outreach*, Douglas Frempong, claims the publication was conceived in September 1982 by divine inspiration.<sup>61</sup> It was "to help Christian thinking on public issues", to be a media for Christian response to anti-Christian polemics of the PNDC

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. Gifford, P., *New Crusaders* - Revised Edn. (London: Pluto Press, 1991), 43, note 23. He observes that since 1982 the Cerullo <sup>group</sup> has established an office in Harare, with the local director co-ordinating Cerullo programmes in 10 sub-Saharan African countries. The Harare Office circulates free within Zimbabwe correspondence Bible course. In mid-1988, 1847 were enrolled for the English course, and 457 for the Shona. Cerullo himself visited Zimbabwe from 10–16 Feb. 1985 to conduct a "School of Ministry" attended by 1200 people (150 from Tanzania and 50 from Zambia), and a "Miracle Crusade" at Rufaro Stadium, Harare.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. He also attributes it to inspiration gained from training at the Haggai Institute for Advanced Leadership Training in Singapore. It was established by Dr John Haggai, from USA, to equip Christian leaders from the developing world with leadership skills. Past students in church and parachurch leadership positions in Ghana have formed "The Haggai Alumni".

government that the Church had failed nation.<sup>62</sup> The publication was thus, an expression of evangelical concern about what was perceived as deteriorating Christian image. *Christian Outreach* emerged in the context of a private publishing industry that flourished with publication of magazines considered disreputable and abuse of public morality.<sup>63</sup> The magazine was therefore introduced as a reaction to the proliferation of soft-porn magazines on newsstands – to provide a wholesome Christian alternative.

As a parachurch publication, *Christian Outreach* was immediately preceded in July 1983 by *Faith Convention News*, edited by Frempong as an organ of the Faith Convention movement. He admits the FCN generated interest which encouraged the pursuance of the idea of a private Christian monthly. Thus *Christian Outreach* was also a product of Faith Convention movement.

The publication of the magazine commenced with its formal constitution and registration in 1983. The first issue appeared in January 1984, and formal launching took place on Sunday, 25 March 1984, at Assemblies of God Central Church, Kumasi, attended by 2000 people.<sup>64</sup>

The publication had a primary evangelistic purpose. In commenting on a special edition published for the launching ceremony, with headline: "What is Our Hope?",<sup>65</sup> the publisher declares:

Our hope was "not only to give the reading public something uplifting to read instead of the bilge that was flooding the newspaper stands, but more importantly to get the Goodnews across to every person in Ghana using the mass media."<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Interview with Douglas Frempong, 21 Sept. 1990.

<sup>63</sup> *Charismata*, op. cit., 2.

<sup>64</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(4), 1984, 8.

<sup>65</sup> See *Christian Outreach*, 1(3), March 1984, 1.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Douglas Frempong.

Despite its primary evangelistic objective, the calibre of *Christian Outreach* staff gave the magazine a wider focus than its precursor, *Faith Convention News*.<sup>67</sup> However, their religious perceptions influenced their interpretation of national economic and socio-political issues.<sup>68</sup> It also focused attention on general issues like "Christianity and Culture", "Women and Development" were also covered. For prime Christian interest, the magazine covered local parachurch activities including Morris Cerullo School of Ministry, Faith Convention, Crusades of T L Osborn and Reinhard Bonnke, and the Ghana Congress on Evangelisation. Particular attention was also devoted to the leadership crisis of the Methodist Church, Ghana,<sup>69</sup> to serve as a corrective to sensationalist accounts of the secular press.

For evangelistic purposes testimonies of spectacular conversion experiences were published, with the most popular being that of Naval Capt. (Rtd) Kyereme (former Commissioner for Cocoa Affairs), which occurred in prison. With the above features the magazine attracted a nationwide interest, evident in the phenomenal growth of circulation from initial 1000 to 10,000, with subscriptions extending to "Christians in over 26 countries".<sup>70</sup> Its popular appeal is indicated by the following comment:

The emergence of the Christian Outreach Magazine has opened a new chapter in our country's religious publications. Although a late starter, it has gained so much popularity. The magazine is dynamic and very informative. It is easy to read and has in it all that can make one sit up to recount his or her past activities and to take a new decision about one's spiritual well being. ... At the

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<sup>67</sup> The editorial staff included R K B Kyerematen (Post-graduate student-journalist, Legon), William Osei (Law Dept., Legon), Peggy Osei Tutu (Business Communications, Cape Coast University) and William Thompson BA (Legon).

<sup>68</sup> See issues Vol. 1(1) - "Have Christians failed the Nation?" - a report of interview with heads of mainline churches and parachurch organisations; Vol 1(2) - "Revival - The Key to Ghana's Economic Recovery"; Vol 1(4) - "Christianity and Nation Building" with Rev Dr Brew Riverson discussing ways of Christian involvement in national development.

<sup>69</sup> See issue 2(1), 1985.

<sup>70</sup> *Charismata*, 1986/87, 4.

time I received my copy, it came to provide me with some information I urgently need. ... Articles in the magazine offer practical solutions to many of the problems Christians encounter in their homes. ... It is a magazine that this generation needs most.<sup>71</sup>

Another reader also affirms:

I am greatly impressed by the quality of your magazine. No doubt, the aesthetic properties of a paper does not, perse, give a clue to the nature of its contents, yet it is a fact that the beauty of the magazine itself draws people who would otherwise not care to read a CHRISTIAN paper to it. I would like to suggest therefore that within the limited resources of a burgeoning magazine like the *Christian Outreach* this quality is maintained.<sup>72</sup>

As a nondenominational parachurch publication, the Christian Outreach magazine was perhaps the only publication which endeavoured to project on to the national scene evangelical pentecostal activity consigned to the "fringes" by mainline church publications. Financial and administrative problems which frustrated the continued publication of the magazine, accounts for its termination in 1986.

## 5.6 "FAITH CONVENTION" AND "BIBLE CONFERENCE": CHARISMATIC REVIVAL AND EVANGELICAL DIVIDE IN KUMASI

### 5.6.1 Historical Background: Derailed movement towards Evangelical Unity

The historical background for the emergence of "Faith Convention" is the proliferation of Town Fellowships and independent evangelistic organisations in Kumasi in the seventies. There was an urgent need for unity and co-operation in the operations of the local parachurch groups. But there was no regulatory body to co-ordinate their activities.

The first step towards establishing harmonious working relations

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<sup>71</sup> Opinion of The Venerable B.B. Bewaji, (Provost, St Cyprians Cathedral, Anglican Diocese of Kumasi), "Letter to the Editor", *Christian Outreach* 2(1), 1985, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Assabil J.K., of the Dept. of Philosophy, University of Ghana, Legon (ibid.).

amongst the local parachurch movement was initiated in 1978 with games, in the form of inter-group football matches. The idea was conceived between the Reapers Evangelistic Ministry, Standing Together Ministry, Upper Room Fellowship, and Aflame for Christ Evangelistic Ministry. It progressed towards an evangelical alliance that engaged the groups in joint evangelistic crusades, with the first at Old Tafo a township of Kumasi. The success of the event inspired another. The groups also organised joint fund-raising activities for the procurement of public address equipments and a vehicle to enhance their evangelistic effectiveness.

It was envisaged that the developing evangelical co-operation would progress beyond evangelistic activities, and culminate in the institution of an annual teaching conference patterned after the Keswick Conference of UK evangelicals. But the effort was derailed due to a leadership controversy over the control of funds. The disagreements and consequent schism led to the emergence of two movements: first, the "Faith Convention", and later, the "Bible Conference". The latter emerged as a "conservative" evangelical reaction to the pentecostal emphasis of the former.

The annual meetings of the two movements focused attention on different but complementary aspects of evangelicalism in Ghana. The Bible was central to the teachings of both movements; however, FC developed into a faith movement which concentrated attention on pentecostal experiences to generate and consolidate faith in Christ. The BC on the other hand, concentrated attention on the Bible, doctrinal expositions, and selected subjects on the Christian life. In Scripture Union tradition, the BC was more or less a revival of the Holiday Bible School which had collapsed in the mid-seventies.

The Faith movement was sustained by the national and international interest it attracted. Its internal coherence was enhanced by doctrinal unity, common purpose and harmonious relations between the co-operating organisations, enabling the movement to initiate its own Bible school. But BC was plagued by leadership disputes and theological controversies, causing its collapse after just two years existence.

## 5.6.2 Faith Convention

Faith Convention commenced in December 1981 with the "All Fellowships and Evangelistic Groups Meeting" held at the Christ Apostolic Church at Bantama, Kumasi. The pentecostal inclination of the leaders of the co-operating groups influenced them to designate the second meeting "Faith Convention" – a charismatic programme.

Initially, the convention lasted 8 days (from Sunday to Sunday as in the traditional Akan week). But with the growth of public interest, and increasing international participation, the duration of the convention was extended to 15 days (June 24–8 July) in 1983 and '84, and 21 days in 1985.<sup>73</sup> For each day there were morning and early evening sessions. In publicizing the 1984 convention, the event was presented as "nothing but a fellowship of burdened Christians in Ghana. ... thousands of Christians from all walks of life and from different denominations meet for days of prayer, marathon teaching sessions and wonderful times of fellowship."<sup>74</sup> It involved what was described as "anointed teaching on apostolic evangelism" and "a time for seeking the face of God for a nation-wide revival".<sup>75</sup>

Although Faith Convention commenced as a local event centred in Kumasi, by 1984 its evangelical pentecostal impact extended to other parts of Southern Ghana. Mini FCs were organised in regional capitals including Accra, Koforidua and Sunyani.<sup>76</sup> The 1983 Sunyani convention also involved "a gospel invasion" of the market place.<sup>77</sup> In 1984 after the main Kumasi convention, a weeklong meeting was arranged in Accra towards the end of the year (9–16 Dec).<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 2(3), 1985, 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(2), Feb./March 1984, 8.

<sup>75</sup> See Appendix XVII-B, advert in *Christian Outreach*, 1(5), 1984, 8.

<sup>76</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>77</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(1), Jan. 1984, 8.

<sup>78</sup> See advert in *Christian Outreach*, 1(1), Jan. 1984, 14.

As an association of independent charismatic ministries, the Faith Convention was managed by an executive constituted of evangelist founder-leaders of the affiliate groups:

- Chairman - Rev. Gregory Ola Akin (Harvestors Evangelistic Ministry)<sup>79</sup>
- Vice-Chairman - Douglas Frempong (Christian Outreach Ministries)
- Secretary - Yaw Owusu-Achiaw (CPC Christian Fellowship)
- Treasurer - Alfred Nyamekye (House of Faith Ministry)
- Publicity Officer - Maxwell Koranteng (Word of Life Ministry)
- Associate Members:
- Rev. Samuel Otoo (Redemption Hour Faith Ministry)
- Rev. Ransford Obeng (Calvary Charismatic Centre - Assemblies of God English Church).

The activities of FC was supported by the collective resources of the constituent ministries and donations of the Christian public. As gesture of generosity and commitment to FC, the Executive Secretary, Yaw Owusu Achiaw (also President of CPC Christian Fellowship), donated a 33-seater Benz bus to the convention. The constituent ministries had their own separate annual conventions, with various designations, as supplementary aspects of FC: the "Harvest" of Harvestors Evangelistic Ministry; "Acts" of House of Faith Ministry; "Believers Convention" of CPC Christian Fellowship and "Charismata" of Christian Outreach Ministries. The three week FC in July was preceded in April 21-28 by Acts '85 - "Holy Spirit Conference" of the House of Faith Ministry,<sup>80</sup> and followed in September 30-6 October by Charismata '85. The "Charismata" event is described as "an old fashioned Holy Spirit conference on evangelism designed to enrich not

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<sup>79</sup> The association of Rev. Ola (formerly pastor of Christ Apostolic Church, Bantama, Kumasi) with FC commenced when he was engaged as preacher for the joint evangelistic campaigns of the former evangelical alliance in Kumasi. The disapproval of Christ Apostolic Church concerning his increasing parachurch involvement led to his resignation from the Church, and the establishment of the Harvesters group.

<sup>80</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 2(1), 1985, 8.

only the spiritual life of the Christian community in Ghana, but also to challenge, motivate and equip the Church to intensify her OUTREACH AND WITNESS."<sup>81</sup> With such a succession of events, Kumasi became saturated with charismatic activity in the eighties.

#### 5.6.2.1 International Participation

By 1985 Faith Convention had become established as the most popular charismatic event in Ghana, attracting a significant international participation. International interest in FC peaked in 1985 when it hosted 25 foreign guests, as reported below:

This year's Convention was special in the sense that it was not only 21 days of 2 sessions a day; but also about 25 delegates made up of ministers, evangelists and Christians from USA, Canada, Holland, New Zealand, Singapore, Zimbabwe and other parts of the world came to lift up the name of Jesus...<sup>82</sup>

The duration of the 1985 event was extended to enable all the "delegates" opportunity to address the convention. Faith Convention thus became a local platform which foreign preachers used to propagate their teachings. It also offered local evangelists opportunity to interact with their foreign colleagues, a process which led to the assimilation of exogenous concepts and styles of preaching. It became a regular practice for FC preachers (even the local ones) to preach in English, with vernacular interpretation by another person.<sup>83</sup> It also offered opportunity for the local evangelists to negotiate external financial support and exchange programmes, enabling Ghanaian evangelists to participate in conventions abroad. Thus the convention facilitated the development of an international focus.

However, it is claimed the desire to recover the "original vision" of FC and concentrate on domestic issues accounts for the later de-

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<sup>81</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 2(4), 1985, 5.

<sup>82</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 2(3), 1985, 7.

<sup>83</sup> The use of English (*lingua franca* in Ghana), facilitated communication across ethnic and international boundaries.

emphasis on invitations to foreign delegates, but the increasing economic burden of hosting foreign guests cannot be overlooked.

#### 5.6.2.2 Faith Convention '83: Spiritual Awakening in Times of Hardship

The drought and famine of 1983/84 generated a national spiritual awareness which caused many to seek God's blessing for themselves and Ghana as whole. In that year too FC initiated what is described as "a mighty spiritual awakening in Kumasi".<sup>84</sup> The long duration of the 1983 convention (15 days with 3 Sundays), allowed for the engagement of as many as 18 speakers from varied denominational backgrounds, compared with 6 in 1981.<sup>85</sup> Under the main theme: "It's Harvest Time", the speakers addressed a wide range of subjects, including: Salvation, Sanctification, Prayer and Fasting, Spiritual Warfare Christian Marriage, Mass and Child Evangelism, God's Plan of Prosperity, The Christian and Work.<sup>86</sup>

There was a "special Holy Ghost session" of the convention during which "for hours on end the participants cried out to God for a mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost."<sup>87</sup> As reported, over 355 people were instantly baptised.<sup>88</sup> Besides the Pentecostal experiences engendered by sessions of prayer and worship, the convention had impact in renewing faith in Christ and commitment to evangelism.

In addressing the convention theme, particular reference was made by the speaker to the excuses of Moses in his response to God's call, to illustrate the resistance of many Christians to the ministerial and evangelistic vocation. The passionate appeal of the message and its emotional impact is recalled as follows:

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<sup>84</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(1), Jan. 1984, 7.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

He called on Christians to make this year, one of harvesting for the Almighty God. ... and called on the congregation to sing... "Hark the voice of Jesus calling". At this juncture some of the members of the congregation broke down and wept bitterly.<sup>89</sup>

This was interpreted as a breakdown of human resistance to the will of God. But the response to the "divine will" went beyond emotionalism. Faith Convention had impact in projecting the evangelistic ministry as vocation worth pursuing. The Faith School of Evangelism was instituted in 1984 to offer training for those who offered for the evangelistic ministry.

### 5.6.2.3 Focus on Miracles

A prominent feature of the charismatic deliverance movement is the claim<sup>to</sup> perform healing miracles and cast out demons. Such claims dominated reports about FC in the *Christian Outreach* magazine, as indicated concerning the 1983 event:

This year's convention, like the previous ones, was not without its miracles: numerous healings and the casting out of demons. The number of people who received their healing were uncontrollable as time did not permit all those who had received a healing to come forward and to testify.<sup>90</sup>

In pentecostal practice the miracle of healing is a sign of the presence of the Kingdom of God among men.<sup>91</sup> In Faith Convention miracles were projected as evidence of the immediacy of the power of Christ. In reaffirming the belief that "Jesus is the same yesterday, today and forever", what~~were~~ described as "Three Great Miracles" were publicised:

a. A young boy of 10 years who was totally blind in one eye since infancy received his sight. To make sure the boy was no faking, he was taken through a rigorous eye test and the young boy passed with distinction.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(1), Jan. 1984, 10.

<sup>91</sup> See Lartey, E. Y., Healing: Tradition and Pentecostalism in Africa Today, *International Review of Mission*, 75, 1986, 81.

b. A nurse who had been plagued with eye troubles for the past 17 years was also miraculously healed. She left the convention without her glasses.

c. Another elderly woman from Airport Estate who had been plagued with chronic asthma and bronchitis also received a miraculous healing.<sup>92</sup>

It is also claimed: "The demon-possessed people as usual were there and they were well taken care of by the power of the Holy Spirit."<sup>93</sup> This is confirmed by an eye-witness account:

I was an eyewitness to a testimony by a woman who claimed to be witch. She narrated all the harm she had caused with her witchcraft. However, the wonderful aspect of her testimony was when she called on those present to help her in giving praise and thanks to God because she was now free.<sup>94</sup>

The focus on healing miracles in the Faith Convention movement is not an obsession, as it may seem. The inadequacy of affordable modern health services in the country makes it meaningful. It also derives from Christian perceptions influenced by the traditional religious background which encourages a pragmatic approach to faith. In the traditional religion Akan gods are besought for health, children, prosperity in business, and protection from misfortune and witchcraft.<sup>95</sup> Thus African premium on wholeness of life underlies African religion in its traditional and pentecostal forms. In its pentecostal form, it influenced perceptions of Christ as one who generates and confirms faith with miracles of healing and deliverance. In focusing attention on healing and deliverance the charismatics of Faith Convention were imitating and exalting, consciously or unconsciously, what prophets and healers of indigenous pentecostal churches had commenced earlier.

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Busia observes the regard for the gods depends on their ability to grant these wishes, noting: "The gods are treated with respect if they deliver the goods, and with contempt if they fail; ..." (Busia, K.A., "The Ashanti", in Forde, D., ed. *African Worlds*, London, International African Institute, 205).

The traditional African pragmatic approach to religion, with emphasis on human well-being, also explains the popular appeal of the teachings generally associated with the "Gospel of Prosperity".

#### 5.6.2.4 "God's Plan of Prosperity": The Gospel of Prosperity in An African Context

The "gospel of prosperity", a teaching generally associated with American televangelists, gained currency in Ghana in the early eighties. A variant concept - "God's plan of Prosperity", linked with "The Christian and Work", was addressed at Faith Convention '83. The fact that the subject was addressed by a "conservative evangelical", Daniel Ofori Gyane (current Chairman of Scripture Union-Ghana), indicates interest in the prosperity issue cannot be restricted to charismatics and pentecostals.

The concept of prosperity presented in the address reflected the national economic crisis and attendant corruption - called *kalabule*, to which Christians felt pressurised to conform. In public and private establishments few adhered to the virtue and dignity of honourable labour. In that context material prosperity was advocated with caution. For the Ghanaian Christian the issue was economic survival: "how a Christian can make ends meet in these very hard times without resorting to *kalabule*".<sup>96</sup> The Christian emphasis was prosperity through honourable labour.

As a lecturer (at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi) who also undertakes poultry farming, the speaker made references to his personal experience to emphasize the supernatural and human factors of prosperity, saying: "the problem with you is that you work too much and pray too little. Some of you also pray alright but work very little."<sup>97</sup> Prosperity that glorifies God was therefore prescribed as a combination of the two - prayer and work. The address advocates material prosperity of Christians, but with adherence to the

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<sup>96</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(1), 1984, 7.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

work ethic of honourable labour. Hence its condemnation of slothfulness as unChristian, emphasising: "the Bible commands us in 2 Thessalonians 3:6-13 to work diligently."<sup>98</sup>

Although the address recognises the divine agency of material prosperity, it is a critique of imported prosperity doctrines which discount human enterprise. In this respect what was presented at FC '83 is different from the classic American version which promises wealth and health as reward for faithfulness in terms of making donations towards evangelism. Hence Gifford's assertion:

The 'gospel of prosperity' does not belong in Africa's revival. It did not originate in Africa. It originated with the mass media evangelists of the US.<sup>99</sup>

But Gifford's assertion may be countered with argument that the recognition of the supernatural agency of prosperity, is not alien to African belief. African piety is not disinterested. People offer sacrifices to gods and ancestors in expectation of their blessings. This religious attitude is carried over into Christianity when Africans become converted. This is one of the reasons for the appeal of Independent African Churches whose concept of salvation embraces realities of everyday life like health, fertility, success and wealth.<sup>100</sup>

In evangelical contexts, the advent of prosperity preachers has revived the belief that God blesses with wealth and success, those who give towards his work. One popular Bible passage used to support such belief is Luke 6:38:

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Gifford, 1990, 382. Cf. Hackett, R.I.J., African Religions: Images and I-Glasses [an editorial comment], *Religion* (1990) 20, 303-9. On origins of the Gospel of Prosperity, see Jackson, Robert, Prosperity Theology and the Faith Movement, *Themelios*, October 1989, 15(1), 17-23.

<sup>100</sup> Gifford observes it accounts also for the Africa's receptivity to the American "Gospel of Prosperity". He states: "Africa has no tradition of asceticism. Africa's new Christians come to the Copelands, Ray McCauley, Kenneth Hagin and others from a tradition completely different from that influenced by the desert fathers, monasticism and Francis of Assisi" (Gifford, 1990, 381).

Give, and it will be given to you. A good measure, pressed down, shaken together and running over, will be poured into your lap. For with the measure you use, it will be measured out to you.<sup>101</sup>

At the SU "Gifts Day" in Kumasi in 1986 a leader remarked: "As for us Christians, giving [towards God's work] is our 'medicine for wealth' – *sikaduro*." The statement reflects the Akan belief persisting among Christians, that some charms or "medicines" associated with witchcraft called *Nzima Bayie*, make the owners rich.

The ambivalence of Ghanaian evangelical attitude to the 'gospel of prosperity' became evident in an address on the subject at the third Ghana Congress on Evangelisation (6–12 November 1989), held at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. The popular acclamation which the Nigerian speaker, Emeka Nwakpa, received for his critical review of the prosperity teaching, and the many requests for cassette recordings of his address, demonstrates an evangelical concern and dissatisfaction with the current dominance of unorthodox prosperity teachings.<sup>102</sup>

Today the 'gospel of prosperity' in all sorts of versions is vigorously promoted in Ghana by both protestant and charismatic churches, and parachurch groups, because Christian giving is their primary source of income. It has led to the emergence of "appeal for funds" specialists, who feature prominently in recurrent fund raising programmes.

#### 5.6.2.5 The Faith School Of Evangelism

An important product of the Faith Convention is the Faith School of Evangelism (FSE), an interdenominational secondary institution. It was initiated in July 1984 with 64 students, as a "three month [July –

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<sup>101</sup> The passage which occurs in the Lucan account of the Sermon on the Plain, is a statement Jesus made to illustrate divine retribution, and thus dissuade his disciples from being judgemental.

<sup>102</sup> Emeka Nwakpa was a speaker at the 1988 Convention of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International – Ghana, [*Voice*, Publication of Ghana FGBMFI, 1(1), 2].

September] Bible School of intensive teaching, to enable students gain the proper understanding of the Holy Scriptures and become skilled in personal witnessing," and "profit from exposure to many dimensions of the spirit-filled life."<sup>103</sup>

As a non-residential institution, the school commenced each morning with devotion at 8.40, before lectures which ended at 2.00pm. For purposes of spiritual and ministerial formation of students, the FSE courses were designed to:

- a. strengthen and sharpen a Christ-centred faith, lifestyle, and ministry.
- b. teach Christians to respect the authority of God's Word and study and the Bible carefully."<sup>104</sup>

The outstanding feature of the FSE is its pentecostal/charismatic appeal, as "a school of spirit filled, spirit directed and anointed Bible teaching that would deepen ... knowledge of basic principles of effective apostolic ministry."<sup>105</sup> The pentecostal feature is also reflected in the admission requirements which states:

Each applicant must have vital experience of salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. Any student who has not received the baptism of the Holy Spirit will be encouraged to seek these experiences.<sup>106</sup>

The faculty of the school was constituted by the Faith Convention executive, pentecostal pastors from local Assemblies of God Churches,

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<sup>103</sup> FSE Information Leaflet.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. The non-residential programme of FSE enabled the enrolment of mature students with families. The varying background of students enhanced the spiritual life of the school. As stated in the FSE leaflet: "Spiritual life within the school is a composite of that which students and faculty bring together in communion in Jesus Christ. Since both groups come from many denominations and varying backgrounds, there is a mutual enrichment in the sharing of Jesus Christ with one another."

<sup>105</sup> Advert in *Christian Outreach*, 1(5), 1984, 8. See Appendix XVII-B.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

and visiting preachers from USA and Canada. They handled a comprehensive curriculum comprising a wide variety of Christian subjects, listed as:

Major Doctrines of the Bible, Homiletics, The Holy Spirit, The Life of Paul, The Christ Life, Evangelism, Leadership (particularly, Managerial Skills, Authority, Qualities of Spiritual Leadership), Follow-up, Faith, The Vision, Healing (The Healing Ministry in the Word of God), Healing (Healing the Nations – Spiritual Warfare), Contemporary Theology, Principles of English, Prayer and Worship, and Acts of Apostles.<sup>107</sup>

The FSE programme served as an immediate follow-up to Faith Convention, providing evangelistic and theological equipment for those who offered for the evangelistic ministry. Some of the FSE products were recruited into existing charismatic ministries. Others pursued independent evangelism, as indicated by the testimony of Charlotte R. Ampah of Wesley Methodist Church, Kumasi:

I am a mother of nine, and had a vision to do my Father's work. How could I combine the household chores and the Ministerial work? FSE answered that for me. The lack of confidence which was hitherto my problem was wiped off at FSE. I can now confidently speak to students, workers and at Christian gatherings. I am now the leader of Narrow Gate Ministries ... the Lord is reaching the unreached around the University community [in Kumasi] through this Ministry.<sup>108</sup>

The Faith Convention movement thus became a factor for the proliferation of independent charismatic groups in Southern Ghana.

Some FSE students became charismatic activists in protestant churches to which they belonged. In Kumasi Charlotte Ampah and her husband initiated the Wesley Prayer Fellowship, a charismatic group which organises Friday prayer meetings in Kumasi Wesley Church.<sup>109</sup> Thus through FSE the impact of the charismatic revival engendered by Faith Convention was extended to some mainline protestant

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<sup>107</sup> FSE Information Leaflet.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> See Chapter Six.

congregations.

### 5.6.3 The Bible Conference Movement

The Bible Conference was initiated in 1984 as a "conservative" evangelical reaction to the Faith Convention movement. The annual conference composed of 3-hour evening meetings lasting 8-10 days (covering two Sundays), was designed to re-assert evangelical biblicism with the upsurge of Pentecostalism. A section of the evangelical leadership in Kumasi perceived the FC as having a destabilising influence on Christians, because its pentecostal teachings placed emphasis on miracles, healings and "prosperity gospel", to the neglect of doctrinal and moral issues. The BC teachings were thus intended to be a biblical corrective to perceived extremities and deficiencies in teachings of the FC.

The BC leadership wanted to re-establish Christian priorities: "to build people's faith on the Word of God, before they can trust God for miracles", as Odame puts it.<sup>110</sup> The BC had three-fold purpose:

- a. To counteract the half-truth dangerous teaching - "prosperity gospel", by providing good exposition of God's word by correct interpretation;
- b. To educate Christians to be balanced in their beliefs and be able to stand against the wiles of the devil;
- c. To stabilise Christians in the faith.<sup>111</sup>

The BC movement comprised independent evangelistic organisations and community based fellowships affiliated to SU. Its executive was constituted by evangelist-leaders of the associated groups: E.R.C. Odame (Reapers), Kwasi Appiah (Aflame for Christ), and Yaw Asante (Standing Together). In fulfilment of its objectives the affiliated groups organised an annual conference of Bible teaching, focusing attention on doctrine and ethics. Speakers for the conferences were thus selected mainly

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<sup>110</sup> Interview with E R C Odame (co-leader of the BC), 13 July 1990.

<sup>111</sup> Interview with Odame.

from parachurch organisations in Ghana identified with mainline evangelicalism.<sup>112</sup>

The first conference, in 1984, was successful in attracting a large participation. By holding the meetings in December, the conference became an important supplement to the July Faith Convention. The success of the first led to an extended conference in 1985, lasting ten days, 6–15 December. The executive were directed by current evangelical concern for Christian integrity to adopt "Christian Ethics" as theme of the conference. The subjects addressed in daily meetings were based on topics designed to focus attention on a wide range of issues: The Bible View of Time, The Kingdom, The World, Authority, Maturity, Marriage, Singles, Culture, Time, Work, Money, etc.<sup>113</sup>

The 1985 conference executive followed a developing trend to internationalise by securing the participation of foreign preachers from some fringe evangelical groups in the UK: J S Stuart Reid of Amersham Old Town Christian Fellowship and Derek Wilkinson of Popular Christian Fellowship in Nottinghamshire.<sup>114</sup>

The Bible Conference was initially intended to re-assert evangelical biblicism, and counter the pentecostal advance of Faith Convention, but the publicity of the second Conference signifies an evangelical pentecostal appeal also identified with FC: "Come and learn deep from the Bible! Come and drink deep in the Holy Spirit; Come and

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<sup>112</sup> The speakers for the Bible Conference '84 (2–9 December 1984), held at Bantama Presbyterian Church, thus included Godfred Bamfo (formerly SU Travelling Secretary – Ashanti & Brong-Ahafo), W H Chapman (Principal – Christian Service College, Kumasi), Isaac Ababio (Evangelist – Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association), and the BC executive. The only Pentecostal speaker was Rev. Moses Sumaila, Assemblies of God Central Church, Kumasi (Poster for 1984 Bible conference).

<sup>113</sup> Wall Poster, Bible Conference '85. In addition to the old set of speakers, new speakers were recruited: Seth Amedor (Christ is the Same Ministry, Aflao – Volta), Eric Anum (Christian Service College), Steve Asante (Techiman Baptist Church), J C Kwarteng (Ghana Bible Institute, Church of God, Kumasi), Kojo Osei Wusu (Grace Baptist Church, Kumasi).

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

let God bless you."<sup>115</sup> It reflects the increasing charismatic influence even in "conservative evangelical" groups. The inability to contain charismatic elements in the BC movement is factor for its discontinuance after 1985.

There are various reasons for the brief existence of the Bible Conference as a reactionary evangelical episode. The internal unity of the leadership was undermined by a suspicion that the evangelist-leaders were using the Conference to promote their independent ministries locally and abroad.<sup>116</sup> Within the leadership, doctrinal disunity prevailed. It was worsened by lack of accommodation, and intolerance of theological differences between evangelicals from protestant and pentecostal churches. Finally, the Bible Conference collapsed after two years because it lacked the kind of momentum<sup>and</sup> dynamism which sustained the Faith Convention movement.

#### **5.7 PENTECOSTALISM AND AKAN COSMOLOGY: PROPHET-EVANGELIST AMOAKO AND THE WITCHCRAFT DELIVERANCE MINISTRY OF RESURRECTION POWER EVANGELISTIC MINISTRIES**

The late Francis Akwasi Amoako, alias Brother Amoako, was perhaps the most sensational preacher of the prophet- evangelist type to emerge in the charismatic deliverance movement in the 1980s. By the time Amoako died in March 1990, his bold preaching of the gospel and verbal attacks on the PNDC government for its anti-Christian policies had earned him the tribute: "John the Baptist of Ghana".<sup>117</sup>

The sensation generated by the deliverance ministry of Amoako in the eighties, recalls the early indigenous charismatic traditions of

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<sup>115</sup> Ibid. Odame had established contact with them in his UK travels.

<sup>116</sup> Interview with Odame, 13 July 1990.

<sup>117</sup> Mentioned in a tribute by Rev. Osei-Wusu, Snr. Pastor, Grace Baptist Church - Kumasi, and President of the Ghana Baptist Convention. See Serebuor, K., "Who Killed Evangelist Amoako?", *Christian Messenger* (bi-monthly of Presbyterian Church of Ghana), July/August 1990, 3. It was rumoured the government arranged the head-on collision of a military vehicle with Amoako's car.

Samson Oppong of Ghana. For his effort, Samson earned the nick-name: *Osebetutu* – "destroyer of charms". The dynamism of Amoako's preaching is typical of African Christian response to the traditional cosmology. The rise of Amoako to prominence as a deliverance worker is indicative of the persistence of traditional Akan worldview in Akan Christianity,<sup>118</sup> even the evangelical pentecostal type. His evangelistic effort was not simply to present the gospel, but to deal directly with non-Christian personal and impersonal aspects of power in the traditional cosmology, particularly witchcraft.

### 5.7.1 Witchcraft In Akan Worldview

The worldview of the Akan focuses attention on both personal and impersonal spiritual forces that account for all kinds of evil, particularly witchcraft (*bayie*). In classic terms, "a witch is one who is believed to harm others mystically and illegitimately by means of psychic emanations from an inherent physiological condition that is transmitted biologically; and a sorcerer is one who is believed to harm mystically and illegitimately by practising destructive magic,..."<sup>119</sup> In Akan belief the sorcerer is essentially a witch (*bayifo*).

The Akan perceive witchcraft as an ultimate evil, and the witch the embodiment of evil. The stereotype of a witch is one who is greedy, envious, jealous, and quarrelsome.<sup>120</sup> These traits have a basis the Akan describes as *anibone*, literally, "evil eye". So horrific are the deeds ascribed to witches that one is careful not to appear like one.

In Akan worldview belief in witchcraft serves as an answer to the problem of evil. There is no chance incident in Akan experience, particularly death in tragic circumstances. In most cases the personal

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<sup>118</sup> The subject has been explored by the writer in *Akan Cosmology and Akan Christianity in Contemporary Ghana*, MTh Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1987.

<sup>119</sup> Fortes, M., Introduction, in Fortes & Dieterlen, eds., *African Systems of Thought* (Oxford: OUP, 1965), 22.

<sup>120</sup> In Akan society the fact that females are associated with such traits make them constant subjects of witchcraft accusations.

cause of death is attributed to the remote control of witchcraft by a witch exercising mysterious and innate power to harm, or a sorcerer manipulating medicines with deliberate ill-intent. It is<sup>re</sup> human personality soul (*sumsum*) which is targeted. Apart from causing outright death, it is believed witches can inflict harm in diverse ways – causing childlessness by stealing wombs, miscarriage of fetuses, and impotence in men. To them are also attributed the cause of business failures, motor accidents, farm diseases, bush fires, drunkenness and dull mentality of students. Thus the idea of witchcraft is a recognition of the reality of evil, and the denial of it is denial of the existence of evil.

A distinctive feature of Akan witchcraft is the belief that *bayie* (witchcraft) is also externally activated by a witchcraft pot, *bayiseaa* or *bayikukuo*. The pot which serves as witchcraft power station is believed to contain the blood of victims and parts of their bodies. In order to cleanse a witch from the witchcraft power, the pot must be surrendered and burnt. It implies the active co-operation of the witch is essential in any effort to relieve a person of witchcraft. Besides the pot, there is<sup>a</sup> belief that witchcraft power resides in personal valuables like ornaments, *Kente* (traditional) cloth, and precious beads. This implies witchcraft can be transferred or inherited along with some property, indicating there is an external dimension to the acquisition and practice of witchcraft. The efficacy of the inherent psychic power is dependent on the external source of power.

Solitary witchcraft is alien to Akan belief. The belief in the fraternity of witches hinges on belief in the communally owned pot and conference centre of the witchcraft fraternity. The pot which empowers the communal activities of witches, is believed to be buried under the tree whose top serves as centre for nocturnal meetings.

To the Akan the world is not safe enough. It is dangerous with supernatural forces of evil at work. Thus a basic motivation for Akan religious devotion is the search for security. The belief in witchcraft and its baneful effects led to the proliferation of anti-witchcraft cults in the 1920s and 1950s, most of which declined with the rise of African Independent Churches. The new witchcraft eradicating movements in

Ghana are the charismatic deliverance ministries, a typical case being the Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministries (REPEM) of Francis Akwasi Amoako. His claim to offer security in Christ made REPEM a force of attraction in the eighties.

### 5.7.2 Amoako: The Man and His Mission

There are varying accounts of the background of the late Evangelist Francis Akwasi Amoako and his call to the deliverance ministry. He was native of Santaase (now a suburb of Kumasi) where he had elementary school education. As with most deliverance preachers, Amoako's pre-Christian lifestyle was a recurrent testimony in his early preaching. His criminal associations and engagements were emphasised to project the spectacular nature of his conversion, and indicate special divine interest in his life.<sup>121</sup>

Prior to his conversion, Amoako operated with a robbery and drug syndicate. He became a drug addict, who peddled Indian hemp. He also dabbled in "spiritism" - the practice of uttering certain incantations to invoke spirits (of "Saints") for a particular benevolent or malevolent end. His pre-conversion religious experience does not reflect an association with any church.

There are two independent, yet complementary accounts, of his Christian conversion. The first indicates the agency of a local church: that his conversion occurred when he attended a revival meeting of the Methodist Church at Santaase.<sup>122</sup> After his conversion he gave up all his criminal activities, and devoted himself to Bible reading and itinerant preaching in the neighbouring villages. He became affiliated to the local Assemblies of God Church, and the Scripture Union Fellowship

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<sup>121</sup> According to Rev Dr Emmanuel Asante of Wesley Methodist Church, Kumasi, Amoako exaggerated his pre-Christian criminality. As a contemporary of Amoako, Asante reveals the criminal gang identity of the subject as "Guy Sampo", but dismisses his claim that he was even a murderer.

<sup>122</sup> Ahlija, Emmanuel, M., *Pentecostalism and Belief in Witchcraft in Ghana: A Case Study of Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry (REPEM), Kumasi*, BA Dissertation, University of Ghana (Legon), 1989, 12.

of which he later became President.

In the wake of rumours of assassination surrounding his death in motor accident, a Christian press published a variant account of his Christian conversion (devoid of any human agency) as follows:

Amoako whose early life was shrouded in fear – a terror in the society – became converted when one day he was preparing to wrap Indian Hemp (*wee* or *marijuana*) for sale. It all happened suddenly in July 1969 at Santaase, Kumasi, when a bright light surrounded him in his room and a voice told him to give his heart to the world Saviour so that the Lord can use him. Amoako at first seemed adamant but the sign was so burning and conquering that he could not help. He did not sell that day. And the call also did not end that day. It continually dawned on him and he was later led by the light to the forest where he was confined for two weeks with only the Bible as his armour, fasting and praying. Having thus been equipped by God for His work, Amoako started travelling throughout the country with the message of salvation through Jesus Christ.<sup>123</sup>

The media account of Amoako's conversion and early preaching has significant dramatic and chronological details, but omits the vital church and parachurch agencies which facilitated his Christian encounter and growth, as corroborated in other oral accounts. They indicate the solitary bush retreats were occasions for personal reflection after the initial exposure to the gospel through the church revival meeting.

### 5.7.3 Origins and Growth of Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministries

The origins of the Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministries (formerly Bethlehem Evangelistic Ministry) can be traced to the early bush retreats of its founder, Amoako. Pentecostal influence made prayer retreats an occasional feature of SU spirituality. But for Amoako, solitary retreats under cocoa trees became a spiritual routine.<sup>124</sup> In a prolonged retreat he had an experience which launched his

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<sup>123</sup> Serebuor-Badu, op. cit. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Amoako's solitary bush retreats is an adherence to an observance of "quiet time" in accordance with the tenets of Scripture Union. Over-crowding and disturbance in typical Akan homesteads made the surrounding bushes in villages ideal for prayer and meditation.

deliverance ministry:

One day he ... felt a strong urge to pray so he went to the bush as was his normal practice, but on that memorable day he was so engrossed in the prayer that he passed the night there. He continued the prayer the next day and ended up spending 16 days in the bush, praying and reading his Bible. On the third day he heard a voice he believed was God's, which assured him that, He had called him and would use him to bring deliverance to many that are oppressed, not only in Ghana, but throughout the world."<sup>125</sup>

Amoako interpreted the experience as a divine commission to commence deliverance ministry. The inability of the Santaase SU fellowship to accommodate Amoako's radical views led him to pursue an independent village preaching as itinerant evangelist, praying for those who consulted him with personal problems. He initiated daily morning prayer meetings with his "clients" under cocoa trees near his house. This led to the emergence of a prayer group named Bethlehem Evangelistic Ministry (alias BELAM) around 1977, under the solitary leadership of Amoako. In 1978 BELAM was re-organised, with Amoako assisted by a leadership committee of eight people who had just basic elementary education as the founder.<sup>126</sup> The expansion of the group in the early eighties and its formal constitution as an independent parachurch organisation led to its renaming as Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry.

The main factor for the rapid expansion of the Amoako movement is its operational emphasis on healing and deliverance, with a specialisation in witchcraft related cases. The group was advertised through the testimonies of its clients. The group claims to have had its first case of deliverance in 1978, when it relieved one Madam Dufie of her witchcraft powers. By encouraging her to tell the story of her former witchcraft practices and her conversion experience at its fellowship meetings, the fame of the group spread, causing a mass

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<sup>125</sup> Ahlijah (1989), 13.

<sup>126</sup> Around 1983/84 in a leadership power struggle, the power and glory of Amoako was challenged by his deputies, resulting in schism and the formation of a rival group. However, arbitration efforts succeeded in a later reunion.

attraction to its Santaase base on Wednesday and Saturday mornings. The testimony session thus became a prominent feature of REPEM fellowship meetings, with many people attending to hear the stories of former witches. The sale of tape-recorded versions of the testimonies generated income, as well as causing a nationwide spread of Amoako's fame. The leadership of REPEM attributes<sup>127</sup> phenomenal growth of its membership reaching 20,000 by 1990, to the emphasis on prayer, Amoako's bold and plain preaching of the gospel, and demonstration of the power of Christ in healing and deliverance.

In an attempt to decentralise its meetings, and facilitate effective discipleship of converts, local branches and cells of REPEM were formed, with 36 emerging in Kumasi alone. Other branches were established in areas where REPEM undertook crusades: 4 in Takoradi, 10 in Accra, and others in Ashanti (at Offinso, Abofuor, Bekwai and Konongo), in Central Region (Oda), and Northern Region (Tamale). At the peak of its growth, the local branches were managed by fifty paid and voluntary workers, thirty in Kumasi, eleven in Accra and four at Takoradi.

As a result of international preaching tours of Amoako, branches of REPEM were established among Ghanaian immigrant communities in London, Holland, Belgium and Germany.<sup>127</sup>

#### **5.7.4 REPEM-SU Relations: Involvement of SU Staff in REPEM Operations**

Amoako's association with Scripture Union as a whole, did not cease immediately with the establishment of REPEM. Amoako had problems with his own spirituality; besides, he was a novice in the business of exorcism and witchcraft eradication. His association with SU continued in two ways: first, through his own initiative in seeking<sup>the</sup> assistance of the Prayer Warriors movement of SU, and second, in terms of SU official reaction to the emergence of REPEM which had caused the decline, and the virtual collapse of Santaase SU Fellowship.

In 1980 Amoako attended a retreat of the Prayer Warriors at its

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<sup>127</sup> A branch of REPEM was established in Israel after Amoako's death.

base at Sekyere–Odumase where he had a casual encounter with Edward Okyere, who later became his "spiritual father and advisor".<sup>128</sup> He took a personal interest in helping Amoako manage his group. Many stories were circulating in SU circles that Amoako had commenced a healing ministry without any previous experience or training. Besides, he had a personal problem with impolite language, a hang-over from his pre-Christian gang life. With his experience in the Prayer Warriors ministry, Okyere instructed Amoako on rudiments of deliverance ministry: team-work, spiritual formation, preparation for deliverance, counselling clients.<sup>129</sup>

In 1984 the Prayer Warriors movement under the auspices of SU (Ghana), organised a healing and deliverance workshop to assist free lance evangelists. Okyere observes<sup>that</sup> most of the literature available on the subject were European and American, with little relevance to Ghanaian context. Amoako participated in the workshop, and subsequent ones in 1985 and '86. He further arranged for Edward Okyere to undertake leadership seminars tailored to the needs of the "deliverance team" of REPEM. Under the theme, "The Christian Spiritual Character", the following topics were treated:

1. The Christian leader and spiritual gifts
2. The purpose and use of spiritual gifts
3. Developing spiritual character
4. The word of God in the leader's life
5. Temptations and leadership (with particular attention to power, prestige, money, and women/sex)
6. Leadership skills: goal setting, planning, evaluation, time management, leading fellowship meetings,
7. Prayer and Bible study
8. Spiritual Warfare<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Edward Okyere, 25 Nov. 1991.

<sup>129</sup> Personal notes of Edward Okyere.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

A subsequent seminar considered "Victorious Christian Living". The SU-sponsored deliverance workshops and seminars provided vital theological stability and anchorage for the Amoako movement.

The SU-REPEM relations was further consolidated through the involvement of Samuel Odarno (SU Travelling Secretary of Ashanti Region) in the activities of the Amoako group. In 1980 at an SU Regional Committee meeting in Kumasi, representatives from the SU fellowship at Santaase alleged "that a brother, Francis Amoako, was turning the fellowship into a spiritualist church."<sup>131</sup> The Ashanti Regional SU Committee therefore assigned Samuel Odarno, the Regional Travelling Secretary to investigate the allegation. His observation indicates that the initial operations of the Amoako group was not really a deviation from the SU tradition:

They sang local choruses, clapped and danced, all of which is typical of our SU fellowship. There was an open question time when all kinds of pertinent Biblical questions were asked. The answer came from anyone present who could answer. There was also a Bible study time when they divided into small groups. Finally, there was a talk and ministry time. During the ministry time, prayers were offered for seekers. Though different from our SU meetings, I knew it was Biblical and did not see anything wrong with it.<sup>132</sup>

The warmth of the BELAM fellowship impressed Odarno, and led to further visits. On the third visit, Amoako invited Odarno to address the group. Gradually Odarno became influenced. His initial interest in the group as an official SU observer developed further, as he admits:

My zeal for the Lord was growing as a result of the testimonies and the challenging sermons I was hearing at these meetings. I continued to attend the Wednesday meetings regularly as I had little to do in the middle of the week.<sup>133</sup>

Odarno's account of the activities of the group, therefore,

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<sup>131</sup> Odarno (1990), 32.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

represents that of an interested participant who joined in deliverance sessions – casting out demons, destroying witchcraft charms and artifacts, indicating its early operations pivoted on deliverance and testimony sharing. He recounts:

The testimonies were often challenging. Sometimes some came confessing that they were witches who wanted to be saved from witchcraft. They would even bring their witchcraft pots stained with blood. ... It was exciting to see these witches fall at the mention of Jesus. ... At another time, we prayed for a fetish priest who had really gone deep into fetish. ... That night we met in a classroom and started singing war-like choruses and praises to the Lord. After some time, the fetish priest was called into the room and made to kneel. As soon as we started praying and praising God in Jesus' name, he went down with his head between his thighs and began shivering and rolling about the room. When he finally calmed down, he went out and vomited all the black he had eaten from various fetishes. He was later gloriously baptized in the Holy Spirit....<sup>134</sup>

In furtherance of the collaboration with REPEM, Odarno accompanied Amoako and his team on deliverance missions to other regions. One of such missions took the group to Gambaga, a settlement for victims of witchcraft accusations in Upper-East Region of Ghana. The mission was to pray for the "witches" and deliver them from demons of witchcraft.<sup>135</sup>

For most SU members the deliverance ministry of Amoako was not new. He was only pursuing independently a ministry initiated in SU by the Prayer Warriors. This explains why Samuel Odarno, Edward Okyere and other senior SU members were drawn into Amoako's orbit as "advisors".

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. The "Witches of Gambaga" suffer sanctions of physical deprivation and social isolation as "victims of witchcraft accusation". It is a case confirming the argument that the real victim of Witchcraft in any objective sense is the accused "witch". See Lewis, I.M., *Ecstatic Religion: Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (London: Penguin, 1971), 118.

### 5.7.5 Concepts Of Witchcraft And Demonology In REPEM

The concepts of witchcraft in REPEM is influenced by its reading of the Bible and the Akan cosmological context of its operation. The movement asserts witchcraft occurs in Bible, with Satan as the primary source.<sup>136</sup> Closely linked with this teaching is the belief in a hierarchy of evil spirits with intelligence, memory, will, emotions and pride, who are associated with all the negative temperaments displayed by humans. It is believed they possess and function through human beings.

As with most Ghanaian evangelicals, REPEM associates deities of the traditional religion with demons, and condemns cultic acts and rites including libation as demon worship. The traditional belief that deities are viceroys of the *Nyankopon* (God in Akan belief), is rejected.<sup>137</sup>

Members of the REPEM perceive the ministry of the group as spiritual battle with a hierarchy of spiritual powers of evil, including witchcraft.<sup>138</sup> In this spiritual engagement Christological concepts are employed to fortify the Christian combatants.

### 5.7.6 Christology Of Repem And Attitudes To Witchcraft

The members of REPEM derive confidence from Christian belief in the residence of the Spirit of Christ in believers, to assert combat superiority over witches. Particular reference is made to the statement of scripture: "...the one who is in you is

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<sup>136</sup> REPEM teaches with reference to Deut. 8:10-12 that the Bible condemns witchcraft as abomination unto the Lord, that according to Exd. 22:18, witches were not permitted to live.

<sup>137</sup> I Cor. 10:20 is used as a Biblical ground.

<sup>138</sup> The assertion is supported with the Bible statement: "For our struggle is not against flesh and blood but against rulers, against the authorities, the powers of the dark world and against the forces of evil in the heavenly realm" (Eph 6:12, NIV).

greater than the one who is in the world",<sup>139</sup> to assert that the spirit of Christ is greater than witchcraft. The group perceives witches as powerless over Christians, and so consider themselves immuned to witchcraft attacks. Although the teachings of REPEM make members develop an acute awareness of the presence of witches at fellowship meetings and crusades, or wherever they might be, they are not terrorized by such awareness.

In its preaching the group takes an offensive stand in confronting and challenging witches perceived to be present with such statements:

To night I silence you witches, and stop you all from engaging in any nocturnal activity. Anyone who disobeys will suffer the consequences in the "name of Jesus". The "name of Jesus" is also used to threaten the witches with death or some chronic diseases.<sup>140</sup>

Such use of "the name of Jesus" may seem magical, but it is not so in the view of REPEM. The REPEM attitude to the name of Jesus is influenced by the traditional Akan attitude to names as directly identical with power and authority of person(s) associated with it, and belief in the potency of the spoken word, as indicated by the Akan proverb: "The word of the adult is more potent than charms/ gods". Also the power and authority derived from the pronouncement of "the name of Jesus" is based on the interpretation of the death and resurrection of Christ as victory over Satan, the master of witches. Hence the confidence that the mere mention of "the name of Jesus" puts witches to flight. As one puts it: "They [the witches] know the authority given me by Jesus Christ and they can see the mark of the Holy Spirit in me." REPEM members attribute their confidence to their faith in Christ as "born again" Christians.

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<sup>139</sup> 1 John 4:4 (NIV).

<sup>140</sup> In spite of the general hatred of witchcraft, there is an ambivalent or paradoxical attitude in REPEM which is based on the traditional religious belief that witchcraft is an irresistible innate power, as indicated by statement: "Witches are destructive and should not be tolerated, on the other hand they are helpless and must be helped and encouraged to give up their lives to Jesus" (Ahlijah, op. cit., 25).

### 5.7.7 Witchcraft And Morality

In the encounter with witchcraft, it is believed that prayer and a morally upright life are necessary for securing the Christian. Testimonies of converted witches indicate witches cannot make a direct attack on Christians, though they can weaken the moral life of Christians and render them vulnerable. Confessions at REPEM meetings associate immorality of Christian leaders with witchcraft: female witches having affairs with male Christians, and causing them to neglect the vital spiritual exercise of prayer and Bible reading. This makes them vulnerable to further assaults.

Such beliefs about witchcraft deflect moral responsibility from males to females. However, it has a positive function of strengthening Christian morality and attitudes to Bible reading and prayer. It reflects the moral function of witchcraft in Akan traditional religion. In Akan metaphysics, a strong *sumsum*, the personality soul, secures a person from evil spirits and witchcraft. However, it is believed the *sumsum* can be weakened by immorality or wrong doing, and thus render the individual vulnerable.<sup>141</sup>

### 5.7.8 Testimonies And Confessions Of Converted Witches

The testimony session at fellowship meetings of REPEM is dominated by lengthy confessions of converted witches, and serves as a forum for educating the Christian public about witchcraft. For members of REPEM it is a primary source of information about acquisition and operation of witchcraft as pertains in Akan worldview. The uncritical acceptance of certain fantastic stories as genuine experiences has led to a reinforcement of Akan beliefs about witchcraft in the Christian thought and practice of REPEM. They include the transference of witchcraft power/spirit from adults to children through birth, gifts, and child-naming ceremonies involving transfer of saliva of

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<sup>141</sup> See Debrunner, H.W., *Witchcraft in Ghana* (1959), revised edition (Accra: Presbyterian Book Depot, 1961), 16.

grandparents to infants.<sup>142</sup>

The testimonies also reveal how witches perceive Christians, indicating they are able to distinguish between spiritually "developed" and "under-developed" Christians, and nominal Christians or mere Church-goers. In some of the confessions, sleeping in Church, and seemingly boring sermons are attributed to witchcraft attacks. The leadership of REPEM claims to be constant target of ineffective attacks. The founder-leader, Amoako, claims being a prime target of attacks rendered powerless by his prayerfulness and watchfulness. He refers to an occasion when he refused a gift of three tins of milk and a bundle of chewing-sticks intended to "spiritually" poison and kill him.

The REPEM fellowship is portrayed in the confessions as a spiritual fortress which most of the witches feared and could not penetrate. This<sup>is</sup> attributed to the potency of its preaching and prayer. Those who dared infiltrate the group confess being exposed, and had to surrender to the power of God, and undergo deliverance to become converted.

With the search for security as a basic motivation for Akan religiousness, the witchcraft confessions serve as a security propaganda, enhancing the reputation of REPEM and the sense of security of its membership.

#### **5.7.9 Witchcraft Detection of REPEM**

The teachings of REPEM associate some particular personality traits with witchcraft as most Akans do. They are persistent forms of anti-social behaviour manifested in insolence, disrespect for the elderly, aggressive temperaments, seductive appearances, kleptomania, tendency to cheat – all arising from the belief that witches are cunning and deceptive in their inimical practices.

People who tend to avoid direct eye contact with others

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<sup>142</sup> In the case of infants it is claimed the witchcraft passed to them remain latent till the attainment of self-awareness.

(particularly Christians) are suspected of being witches. But this is rejected as wrong, because of the popular Akan precept which discourages young people from establishing direct eye contact with adults when being admonished. Such direct eye contact may be interpreted as a challenge to the authority of the adult. In so far as a particular kind of behaviour undermines traditional social values, it is likely to render the subject a prime suspect of witchcraft.

In its witchcraft detection operations, REPEM leadership claims to rely more on the self-confession of the individual witch, visions and the exercise of the "gift of discernment" through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. If a vision reveals someone indulging in a dishonourable or lewd act, the person becomes a prime suspect for further investigation of witchcraft involvement.

#### **5.7.10 Preparations For Deliverance**

The self-confession of witches normally takes place in response to appeals made for witches to come forward after preaching at fellowship meetings or crusades. It is claimed many respond voluntarily without undue pressure.

The first step in preparing subjects for deliverance is prayer, made to suppress and subdue the witchcraft power/spirit. Special meetings are arranged to interview the subjects individually. They are then subjected to series of teachings in Monday evening meetings, focusing their attention on the power of God and his ability to deliver those who surrender to him. They are made aware of the punishment for their evil deeds, with warnings of damnation in hell if they do not repent and surrender. In personal testimonies some of the subjects admit the alarming prospect of going to hell moved them to renounce witchcraft. The teachings may continue for 3-6 weeks depending on the preparedness and availability of the "Deliverance Team", constituted by a group of males who have specialised in exorcism.

It is claimed in surrendering to God, the subjects also surrender their witchcraft pot, related charms and valuables, which are destroyed

(often burnt) to ensure the efficacy of the exorcism. The REPEM leaders claim to know by divine revelation if a potent object is being withheld. It is believed any witchcraft object concealed or withheld is a potential factor for reversion to witchcraft.

#### 5.7.11 The "Deliverance All-Night Prayer Meeting": The Precautions And Process of Exorcising Demons

When preparations for exorcism are concluded, a special session of exorcism designated "Deliverance All-Night Prayer Meeting" is arranged on a Friday. As a precautionary measure, no "weak Christian" is allowed participation.<sup>143</sup> The belief in susceptibility of children to spirit possession also excludes them from the deliverance meeting.

The precautionary measures also require adequate spiritual preparation by all REPEM participants, particularly the Deliverance Team. It involves prayer for protection by the "blood of Jesus"<sup>144</sup>, private confession of conscious sins to God, and where necessary publicly, to one another. Sin is perceived as factor of vulnerability of Christians to attacks of Satan.<sup>145</sup>

Finally, in the cause of the exorcism, as a literal imitation of the New Testament pattern of exorcism, the Deliverance Team ensures the expelled spirits are directed to a specific remote destination, to avoid

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<sup>143</sup> A "weak Christian" by REPEM's definition is one who either cannot endure long sessions of prayer or pray for long time, and is also not consistent in prayer and Bible reading. Such person is excluded because of the belief that he or she can be possessed by the expelled demons or evil spirits.

<sup>144</sup> For REPEM, the "blood of Jesus" has identical significance with the "name of Jesus". It's potency is real not just symbolic.

<sup>145</sup> Ahlijah (1989), 47, refers to a case where a REPEM member got possessed by a spirit that was being cast out of a person during an evangelistic campaign at Tarkwa (Central Region). The member who sought permission to visit the urinal, had apparently gone to sleep in an adjacent room. The Deliverance Team thus concluded: "The fact that he lied made him vulnerable."

their staying in the vicinity.<sup>146</sup> The exorcists assume the spirits adhere to instructions given "in the name of Jesus", because they recognise his authority.

The Deliverance All-Night Prayer Meeting which normally takes place in a local school block, opens with prayer, and continues with a session of songs of praise. The session exorcism, the climax of the nocturnal activity, is immediately preceded by preaching which reiterates exhortations to the witches to renounce their witchcraft and be liberated. Meanwhile, as a final preparation to commence exorcism, the Deliverance Team engage in collective prayer in a separate classroom where subjects are escorted individually to undergo deliverance.

The process of exorcism involves "rebuking" demons by the use of "the name of Jesus" and "the blood of Jesus" - mentioned repetitively as verbal assault weapons:

You spirit of witchcraft! In the name of Jesus, I command you to come out of this body and go into the sea. You foul spirit, I rebuke you with the blood of Jesus, and command you to come out.<sup>147</sup>

In the exorcism, the particular verbal formula which typifies offensive and aggressive attack, with threats and scorn on the spirits/demons, is considered most effective way. It reflects popular oriental forms studied by Duncan J M Derret, former Professor of Oriental Laws, University of London. He notes: "Threatening the demon was, as it still is, a recognisable way of 'driving it out'".<sup>148</sup>

The response of the demons to the harsh verbal commands and abusive language is perceived in terms of the strange behaviour of the human subject:

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<sup>146</sup> See Mark 5.

<sup>147</sup> Recalled from the writers own observation.

<sup>148</sup> Derret, D. J.M., Getting on Top of Demon (Luke 4:39), *Evangelical Quarterly*, 65(2), 1993, 103.

Most fall down violently when the name of Jesus is mentioned. ...the person is often seen shaking her head as if to say 'I will not go.' They continue shaking, jumping frantically as if they are being moved by a violent force. Sometimes the eye literally darts out of its socket. ... rolling to-and-fro whilst some pull their tongues out so long. The voice with which questions allegedly put to the spirit are answered is never like the person's original voice. They vary depending on the type of spirit being cast out. ...from feminine to masculine, from coarse to shrill. If there are other spirits in addition to the witchcraft, the person depicts the characteristics of that spirit... For instance if the person is sexually immoral she acts seductively by turning her body in a peculiar way. If it is an aggressive spirit, ... it would take quite a number of men to keep her under control. ... Finally, the spirit leaves with a violent screaming, sometimes shouting 'I will go, I will go'.<sup>149</sup>

Testimonies of converted witches emphasize what is considered as evidence of deliverance. Some claim to feel light and refreshed after the session of exorcism. Others claim they had visions of spirits leaving their bodies. However, according to the Deliverance Team, when one is totally delivered there is a change in one's countenance, and the person appears calm and delighted. The subject does not respond violently to the name of Jesus any more. The Deliverance Team also claim to have the gift to discern spiritually in any particular case whether that the task of deliverance is completed.

The last stage in the process of deliverance is Baptism of the Holy Spirit. People whose witchcraft have been exorcised are prayed for to receive baptism of the Holy Spirit. The vacuum created by the departed demons or "spirit of witchcraft" is filled by the Holy Spirit. The presence of Holy Spirit empowers the individual to effectively resist any alien spirit. In accordance with the pentecostal ethos of REPEM, the reception of the Holy Spirit is evidenced by glossolalia. Regular glossolalic prayers, Bible studies and fellowship with mature Christians are recommended as effective immunization against vindictive witchcraft assaults. Finally at the regular fellowship meetings of REPEM the ex-witches are encouraged to give testimonies of their pre-Christian witchcraft operations and current conversion experience of deliverance to expose Satan's wickedness.

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<sup>149</sup> Ahilja (1989), 48-50. His observation is collaborated by the account of other participant observers. See Odarno, op. cit., 33.

By 1990 when its founder-leader died, REPEM claims to have delivered over 3000 people of witchcraft: infants and adults, mostly female (between the late teens and mid-thirties), in various pursuits as school pupils, petty-traders and farmers.

#### 5.7.12 The Demolition of a "Conference Centre"

The witchcraft eradication operations of REPEM includes the demolition of what is claimed to be "conference centre" of witches. It is claimed<sup>150</sup> at a prayer meeting of the REPEM leadership in 1983, "the Lord laid on the leaders heart" that a certain tree standing in the centre of Santaase was the "conference centre" of witches and wizards of the town.<sup>150</sup> They should therefore make its demolition an urgent subject of prayer. As they focused their attention on the tree they were instructed in prayer to push the tree down. To their amazement, with a little effort the tree got uprooted. The next day, a group of people confronted the REPEM leader, Amoako, about the destruction of the tree and loss of their pots, demanding replacement. However, as the demolition exercise was executed at midnight, the complainants could not produced any physical evidence to link REPEM with the act, and so departed with annoyance.

In Akan cosmology the above story reflects the belief in the communality of witches. For REPEM the demolition exercise constituted a disruption of the society of witches at Santaase.

#### 5.7.13 CONCLUDING COMMENT

The operations of the Amoako movement is a concrete demonstration of how traditional African beliefs, particularly those about witchcraft, flourish in African Christianity, even in the emergent evangelical pentecostal type. Conversely, the persistence of the traditional beliefs creates a dynamic environment in which Christianity flourishes in various forms. The paradoxical symbiotic relationship between African Christianity and African traditional beliefs can be

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<sup>150</sup> Interview with Ernest Pianim, REPEM Administrator, 27 Nov. 1991.

attributed to the reflection of African worldview in African reading of the Bible. Ironically, in its effort to eradicate witchcraft, the deliverance operations of the Amoako movement contributed to the revival and propagation of witchcraft beliefs among Akan Christians in the 1980s.

## 5.8 INTERNATIONAL PENTECOSTAL FELLOWSHIPS: THE FULL GOSPEL BUSINESS MEN'S FELLOWSHIP INTERNATIONAL AND THE WOMEN'S AGLOW FELLOWSHIP

### 5.8.1 American Origins of FGBMFI

The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI or shortly Full Gospel) is a nondenominational pentecostal fellowship of businessmen and professionals. The pentecostal essence of the movement is its insistence on belief in the baptism of the Holy Spirit with initial evidence of "speaking in tongues" as precondition for full membership. The movement emerged in the early 1950s in Los Angeles out of the evangelistic concerns of Demos Shakarian, a wealthy Armenian-American dairyman in California.<sup>151</sup>

His parachurch interests became evident in 1940 when he started sponsoring Pentecostal evangelists as his contribution towards the building of the Kingdom of God.<sup>152</sup> During an Oral Roberts evangelistic campaign in 1951, Shakarian shared with the faith-healing preacher his desire to initiate a fellowship for evangelising businessmen

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<sup>151</sup> Demos Shakarian took after his father in dairy business. The Shakarians migrated from Armenia to the USA (California, ultimately) in 1905 following prophetic warnings of imminent disaster. The inhabitants of the Shakarian hometown were massacred in the Turkish conquest of Armenia. After settling in Los Angeles the Shakarians witnessed the Azuza Street revival in 1906. Quebedeaux asserts "the Shakarians had been among these Presbyterians in Armenia who were practising glossolalia long before the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement, and became Pentecostals" (Quebedeaux, Richard, A., *Charismatic Renewal: The Origins, Development, and Significance of Neo-Pentecostalism as a Religious Movement in the United States and Gt. Britain (1901-74)*, PhD Thesis, Oxford, 1975, 143).

<sup>152</sup> Hollenweger (1972), 6.

and professionals.<sup>153</sup>

The initial meeting of the group was widely publicised in the Oral Roberts crusades. Shakarian convened the first meeting in 1951 in the "upper room" of Clifton's Cafeteria in downtown Los Angeles. The meeting which marks the beginning of FGBMFI, attracted 21 lay Pentecostals. It was addressed by Oral Roberts who prayed the first group would be the first of thousand others to emerge with the global expansion of the movement.

The Los Angeles fellowship continued with breakfast meetings on Saturday mornings at the Clifton's Cafeteria. Inadequate publicity inhibited its growth in the first year. However, it was alleviated with a donation of \$1000 which enabled the commencement of publication of the fellowship's monthly testimony magazine, *Full Gospel Business Men's Voice (or Voice)*.<sup>154</sup> The first issue of the magazine appeared in 1953. That same year five directors were appointed and articles of incorporation drawn. In the following year eight more chapters were inaugurated in the country, and the first annual convention of the movement was held in Los Angeles, with an estimated attendance of 3000.<sup>155</sup> The convention was addressed by noted American faith healing evangelists - Oral Roberts, Jack Coe, Gordon Lindsay, Raymond T. Richely, O. L. Jaggars, and Timmy Hicks.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid. Hollenweger perceives the conception of FGBMFI by Shakarian and its expansion as a reaction of the laity of the Assemblies of God Church to the clericalism of the Church - "the resolution of the AOG not to accept those who were not full-time pastors into their regional leadership". He maintains: "This also explains the FGBMFI anti-clericalism: 'no preacher can be elected to the leading circles, although they appear regularly at the conferences and banquets of the FGBMFI'".

<sup>154</sup> The *Voice* features mainly testimonies of conversion, healings and deliverance experienced by members of the movement.

<sup>155</sup> Burgess & McGee, (1988), 321.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., 321-2. The rise of the teaching ministries of many of the prominent "faith teachers" in the USA is attributed largely to their association with FGBMFI. The movement attracted members from churches which had not stressed faith, healing or the ministry of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostal teachers like Kenneth E. Hagin, Sr., Kenneth Copeland and others were engaged to teach at regional and annual conventions.

Since then FGBMFI has achieved a phenomenal growth worldwide. In numerical terms by the mid-sixties more than 300 chapters had been inaugurated, with a total membership of 100,000, reaching 300,000 in 1972.<sup>157</sup> By 1988 3000 chapters of the movement had been inaugurated in 87 countries, with international operations directed from its headquarters in Costa Mesa, California.<sup>158</sup> As a reflection of its upper and middle class membership, the movement subscribes to the basic philosophy that God prospers financially those who are committed to him.<sup>159</sup>

The original vision for Full Gospel was of a non-sectarian fellowship of laity who could come together to share testimonies of divine involvement in human life - healing, ecstatic pentecostal experiences, or deliverance from demonic forces. At Full Gospel meetings speakers told of God's remarkable and miraculous intervention in their lives and businesses. Many were thus converted. Prayer was offered for the sick, resulting in healing. Others were filled with the Holy Spirit.

The meetings provided opportunity for charismatic Christians from mainline protestant churches to fellowship with "respectable" Pentecostals (businessmen and professionals) without the explicit or even implicit demand for affiliation to any particular Pentecostal denomination or church. FGBMFI never established official ties with Pentecostal ecclesiastical structures. In USA it became the main instrument for charismatic renewal in the mainline protestant churches. David Du Plessis (the worldwide Assemblies of God leader in the USA) thus elevates FGBMFI as truly ecumenical, because it has been bridging the gap between Pentecostals and "mainliners".<sup>160</sup> However its insistence on acceptance and experience of Holy Spirit baptism with glossolalia precludes many Protestants from full membership.

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Quebedueax (1975), 146.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 145.

In its international expansion, FGBMFI was transplanted with its Pentecostal dogma, but local peculiarities necessitated the revision of some concepts and adaptation of operational principles. In Ghana the introduction and subsequent expansion of the movement from regional capitals to district centres (in sub-urban areas) necessitated a revision and adaptation of directives from America. It meant a re-definition and expansion of the concept of business to embrace sub-urban and rural occupations of farmers, teachers, nurses, cocoa officials and traders, and the holding of breakfast meetings in less glamorous places.

### 5.8.2 FGBMFI-Ghana: Genesis and Growth

The antecedent to Full Gospel in Ghana is the defunct Ghana Christian Businessmen's Fellowship initiated by Enoch Agbozo in 1976 as an integral part of his self-proclaimed "prophetic" mission of national reconstruction. The GCBF was intended to be an independent Ghanaian equivalent of FGBMFI, with the former adopting the latter's practice of holding breakfast meetings. However, GCBF did not assume the Pentecostal ethos of FGBMFI; instead it became an agency for socio-political activism. Its breakfast meetings were devoted to lectures on national issues, and not the sharing of testimonies. By the early 1980s the GCBF had become defunct, as repeated military interventions of government, subsequent proscription of political activity, and lack of public patronage, rendered GCBF inoperative.

The upsurge of pentecostalism in the eighties led to the formation of Ghana Chapters of FGBMFI, with the first emerging in 1982 in Accra through the initiative of Joseph Kwaw, the current National President of the movement in Ghana.<sup>161</sup> It commenced with breakfast meetings at Ghana's premier hotel, the Ambassador Hotel. Since then the growth of movement has been phenomenal. In less than a decade, by September 1990, 62 chapters of the movement had been inaugurated, and Ghana established as base for West African outreach.

The Ghana movement is credited with the establishment of FGBMFI

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<sup>161</sup> *Voice* (FGBMFI-Ghana Newsheet), 1(2) 1990, 2.

chapters in seven West African countries – Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Togoland and Burkina Faso.<sup>162</sup> The elevation of the Ghanaian industrialist, Kwabena Darko, as both International Executive Vice-President and the Africa President of FGBMFI in 1990, led to the relocation of the Africa office of the movement to Ghana, making the country the centre for the continental operations of the international movement.

In 1990 FGBMFI-Ghana commenced publication of its *Voice*, a newsheet detailing its operations at local and national levels, and personal testimonies of members. The requirements for full membership of Chapters in Ghana is outline in the terms of: conversion by new birth in Jesus Christ; acceptance of FGBMFI doctrinal statement, and experience of baptism of the Holy Spirit, with *glossolalia*; payment of annual membership fee of C2000 or life membership fee of C35,000.<sup>163</sup> The amount was considered affordable for average wage earners and small business owners or the self-employed to join the movement.

### 5.8.3 Activities of FGBMFI-Ghana

#### 5.8.3.1 Breakfast Meetings

The pivot of operations of local chapters of Full Gospel in Ghana is the monthly breakfast meetings. This is supplemented with mid-weekly chapter meetings for prayer, fellowship and Bible study. In accordance with directives issued by the International Headquarters of FGBMFI, the Ghana movement followed the tradition of prestige and class that characterize FGBMFI by adopting hotels and restaurants as venues for breakfast meetings. City chapters of FGBMFI in Accra and Kumasi are thus identified with the private and state hotels where they meet: Ambassador, Novotel and Continental Hotels in Accra, and City Hotel in

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<sup>162</sup> By 1990 FGBMFI had established chapters in 32 African countries (Interview with Kwabena Darko, FGBMFI Africa President). The background of Kwabena Darko is examined in a latter section of the discussion as an integral part of the Darko factor of the expansion of the movement in Ghana.

<sup>163</sup> See *Voice* (Ghana), 1(1), April-June 1990, 2. It mentions that initially the membership fee included an US dollar component which has been scrapped.

Kumasi. However, the growth of the movement in cities, and further expansion into districts has led to establishment of Chapters exhibiting lesser degree of affluence. The realities of local situations have led to adaptations, with some Chapters in cities and suburban districts holding breakfast meetings in workers' canteens, YMCA centres, classrooms, assembly and dining halls of secondary schools and training colleges.

The breakfast meetings involve sessions of "gospel music" by guest music groups, "praise and worship" with songs and prayer by the congregation, all arranged to prepare participants for the principal session of testimonies. A guest speaker gives an account of a personal experience that demonstrates the operation of divine power. The main testimony which may be followed by other short ones as time permits, serves as a message or ground for making an evangelistic appeal.

The characteristically prestigious image of FGBMFI is maintained in terms of appropriate appearance of members at breakfast meetings and dinners. At an "open forum" of the 1989 Men's Camp in Kumasi, the concern for maintaining standards of dressing was expressed: "We are Men's Fellowship, and the Happiest People on Earth – and particularly at Breakfast Meetings and Dinners, we must project that image."<sup>164</sup> The concern was about decency, nothing beyond the normal dressing for Sunday church services. The image issue could not be pressed too far, because even meal tickets had to be subsidized to encourage regular attendance of Breakfast Meetings by less affluent professionals.

#### **5.8.3.2 The Men's Camp**

The national activities of Full Gospel include biennial National Conventions and Men's Camp meetings held in alternate years. The Men's Camp, a weekend meeting designed for leadership training, was introduced as an intervening arrangement between National Conventions, and serves as "a means of bringing the leadership of FGBMFI together for fellowship, encouragement, instruction and fresh ideas."<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 2.

By limiting attendance of camps to the leadership of the movement, the camp provides opportunity for an "Open Forum" which exposes and deals with local problems and other pertinent issues ranging from image making to Biblical teaching. The "Open Forum" of the 1989 Camp (September 30 - 1 October) was attended by 130 delegates from all Chapters in the country. The issues discussed include ineffective nurture of converts; inadequate visitation of chapters by Field Representatives; and lack of "sound biblical teaching" in rural chapters.<sup>166</sup> It also deliberated on the efficient administration of funds by encouraging individual donations to finance breakfast meetings, and designating 'offerings' for evangelistic outreach. The Men's Camp therefore, functions as a business meeting of the national movement.

#### 5.8.4 Factors For The Spread Of FGBMFI In Ghana

##### 5.8.4.1 Kwabena Darko: The "African Apostle" of FGBMFI

Kwabena Darko, senior deacon of Assemblies of God Church, Ghana, described as the "Poultry King of West Africa", is the owner and Managing Director of Darko Farms & Co. Ltd., the single largest poultry complex in Ghana.<sup>167</sup> He attributes his involvement in poultry business to "the desire to support the gospel", and his success to hard work and God's blessing.<sup>168</sup> His interest in poultry work commenced with training in Israel. After basic education at the age of 16, he obtained a government scholarship to undertake diploma studies in poultry husbandry at the Ruppin Institute in Israel (1959- 62).

His pentecostal conversion was motivated by a desire for deliverance from *amuntum* - a nightmare the Akan attribute to witchcraft or evil spirits. His association with the Assemblies of God Church began with his deliverance and conversion experience at a "miracle healing crusade" organised by the AoG Central Church in

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<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> See reprint from *Poultry World in Step* (Ghana), 3(1), 1991, 20.

<sup>168</sup> The writer's interview with K. Darko, 25 October 1990; see interview in *Step*, *ibid.*, 13-16.

Kumasi in 1959. He recalls:

When the preacher called people to the altar to receive Jesus Christ into their hearts, I was the first man to go forward and was led in a salvation prayer. Men ... gathered around to pray for me. I told them I couldn't sleep because of the evil spirits taunting me. They laid hands on me and prayed: 'We rebuke this demonic oppression in the name of Jesus Christ.' The preacher then exhorted, 'You have received Jesus Christ. You are now a son of God. Tell God your need.' ... That night I slept soundly without torment. God had healed me. The next morning I rushed joyfully to the preacher's house and shouted, 'God has redeemed me. I have given my life to Him and He has driven the forces of darkness from me!'<sup>169</sup>

His Christian growth was aided by his affiliation to AoG, and early association with Scripture Union. The SU involvement accentuated his parachurch interests. He recalls his participation in a two-week Morris Cerullo Crusade in Kumasi in 1967. His substantial donations to church and parachurch work is motivated by his conviction that God called him to be a businessman and to support Christian work. Recently he demonstrated his political activism as the Presidential Candidate of the National Independence Party in the November 1992 Presidential Elections in Ghana.

The Introduction of FGBMFI in Kumasi and its spread in Ashanti is due to the instrumentality, leadership and financial commitment of Darko. His involvement in the movement commenced when he was invited as a guest speaker to give a testimony at a breakfast meeting in Accra. He claims the impact of that testimony led to the conversion of 150 people.<sup>170</sup> It was followed with another appointment as main speaker of the first convention of the nascent fellowship in Accra, with some USA delegates in attendance. His impressive address caused him to be drafted into the fellowship, and charged with the responsibility for initiating a Full Gospel fellowship in Kumasi. Thus Darko became an apostle of Full Gospel in Kumasi, and Ashanti as a whole. The success of the Full Gospel enterprise in Kumasi<sup>is</sup> partly due to Darko's influence in Assemblies of God Church, and association with SU, which secured

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>170</sup> Interview with Kwabena Darko, 27 September, 1990.

the confidence of pentecostals and evangelicals in the new movement.

As the one with the most pronounced business establishment in Kumasi, Full Gospel operations in the City centred on Darko who committed the resources of his company (cars and personnel), to Full Gospel work. The hospitality facilities of the Darko Farms Company in Accra and Kumasi were offered to host guest speakers and foreign visitors of the movement.<sup>171</sup> In the formative years breakfast meetings of the Kumasi City Chapter were substantially subsidised with regular provision of funds and poultry products donated by Darko. Other chapters in Kumasi and district centres of Ashanti were established under his leadership and patronage. The 62nd chapter of the Ghana movement<sup>was</sup> inaugurated in 1990 in his hometown, Bekwai, a district centre in Ashanti.<sup>172</sup> His appointment as President of the Pan-African Council of FGBMFI is a demonstration of international confidence in his leadership capabilities and commitment, and a recognition of the strength of the Ghana movement.

#### 5.8.4.2 The Scripture Union Factor

In its genesis and growth Full Gospel has benefited from the leadership infrastructure of Scripture Union in Ghana. Senior or old SU members designated "Old Guards", engaged as business executives and professionals in enterprises and institutions (private and public) embraced Full Gospel as an evangelical pentecostal fellowship for adults. They constituted the nucleus of most local chapters of the new movement. They were already used to the concept of inter/non-denominational fellowship through SU. Thus Full Gospel became a

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<sup>171</sup> Leadership in FGBMFI is a voluntary responsibility. The FGBMFI officers are expected to finance their leadership responsibilities themselves. Darko's personal wealth finances his local, continental and overseas travels as the sole African representative on the International Executive Board in USA. In an interview with Darko on 27 Sept. 1990, he claims voluntarily spending around \$50,000 of his personal wealth in international travels for FGBMFI meetings and assignments. He sees this as an important financial commitment to God.

<sup>172</sup> There are four chapters of Full Gospel in Kumasi: City and University (English) Chapters, Twi (vernacular) Chapters of Tafo and Subin.

re-grouping of SU "Old Guards" with pentecostal inclinations. The Full Gospel involvement caused no disruption to their church engagements, though the new parachurch engagement diminished commitment to SU, weakening its vital support base.<sup>173</sup>

In addition to Kwabena Darko, the prominent Full Gospel leaders with an SU background include Ghana Field Representatives: Godfred Bamfo for Accra; Dr HNA Wellington – Kumasi; Richard Ekem – Winneba, Saltpond, Mankessim and Cape Coast and Kofi Amponsah Effah – Dunkwa, Bibiani, Atibie, Nkawkaw, Konongo–Odumase.<sup>174</sup>

Much as Pentecostals associated with SU welcomed Full Gospel, the "conservative" elements were hindered by its pentecostal emphasis. Nevertheless, some of the "conservatives" associated with Full Gospel attended breakfast meetings without becoming fully committed as registered members.

#### 5.8.4.3 Revised Concept Of Business

FGBMFI was introduced in Ghana as a fellowship for professionals and business executives. Its operations were interpreted as evangelising the affluent members of society who could not be reached through conventional forms of evangelism. Breakfast meetings and dinners in hotels and restaurants were understood as a Christian appropriation of the practice of clinching business deals over dinners.

Initially, the strict adherence to the classical definition of business limited the operation of Full Gospel to business entrepreneurs and financial executives who frequented hotels and restaurants. The group was thus perceived as a club for rich men who met to promote their business interests. It excluded the mass of self-employed literate

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<sup>173</sup> In some areas like Central Region, with small concentration of evangelical leaders, Full Gospel flourished at the expense of SU. The Full Gospel commitments of SU patrons diminished their patronage for SU school work, thus weakening SU operations in the region [interview with Rev. John Quayson of Methodist Church – Ghana (and formerly, SU Travelling Secretary for Central Region), 7 Nov. 1990].

<sup>174</sup> See *Voice* 1(1) 1990, 2.

and semi-literate owners of small scale enterprises – mechanical fitting shops, retail shops; food distributors and owners of public transport. It also excluded the mass of school teachers and nurses. Finally by limiting the concept of business to the phenomena of city life, those engaged in the rural economy of commercial agriculture were unreached.

To avoid such alienation, the concept of business in the Ghanaian context was later redefined and expanded to embrace all engaged in "wholesome and productive" ventures. This revised concept of business opened the Chapters of Full Gospel to artisans, traders, academics, and further to farmers, as the movement expanded to rural district centres. Such expansion led to the establishment of vernacular chapters in cities and district centres for the semi-literate and illiterate. The revisions and adaptations reflect the dynamism of the Ghanaian religious environment. They are developments towards indigenising FGBMFI, consciously or unconsciously rooting it in the local soil.

#### **5.8.4.4 The FGBMFI *Modus Operandi***

When FGBMFI was introduced in Ghana, its mode of operation caused attraction. The sheer novelty of Christians meeting in hotels made Full Gospel breakfast meetings attractive. A few Secretaries of State were even persuaded to attend. The operational strategy of subsidizing meal tickets enabled the attendance of less affluent professionals and academics, Christian and non-Christians.

For evangelistic purposes invitations are extended to non-Christians, by encouraging registered members to seek and sponsor the attendance of non-Christian friends. New Chapters are initiated through free breakfasts and dinners sponsored through voluntary donations by wealthy members and established Chapters of the movement.

In the early years, the Full Gospel operations were enhanced by an efficient publicity system co-ordinated from its national and regional offices in Ghana. The mass media was employed each week in advertising breakfast meetings of all local Chapters, giving details of venues and main speakers. It was supplemented by handbills and wall

posters. The media publicity continued until 1988 when government policy led to the termination of all privately sponsored religious broadcasts and adverts. By then the FGBMFI had become well established in all regions of the country as a national movement.

#### 5.8.4.5 Testimonies Of "The Happiest People On Earth"

Testimony sharing constitutes an important aspect of pentecostal worship in Ghana. Full Gospel de-emphasizes preaching at its meetings. Instead it concentrates attention on personal testimonies as an alternative form of evangelistic preaching, as an evidence of God's existence and his direct involvement in individual human affairs.

In advertising breakfast meetings, Full Gospel focuses attention on testimonies to attract public attention as indicated by the following adverts:

1. FGBMFI Kumasi (City) Chapter Presents - "A most exciting testimony of how a child of God in Islam became a true muslim in Christ (*ALMASI /ISA*), as told by Ahmed Adjei ... It is as exciting as it is challenging."<sup>175</sup>

2. FGBMFI Subin Chapter invites you to its Breakfast Meeting...

Speaker: Mr Raphael K Anokwaa from Atibie, "Dealing in occultism he spent most of his life time at a fetish grove, with dwarfs and witches. But when he came into contact with the Lord Jesus Christ he saw the light and abandoned his association with the agents of satan. Come and listen to this great man of God whose personal encounter with the Lord Jesus Christ has greatly transformed him to be what he is now..."

A package of Blessing awaits you. Join the happiest people on earth.<sup>176</sup>

3. FGBMFI Effiduasi Chapter invites you to its inaugural Breakfast Meeting

Main Speaker - Rev J C Kwarteng:

"Come and listen to this man who is a son of an idol worshipper. His father had three idols and he committed his family to the worship of idols. After graduation he became an excessive

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<sup>175</sup> Poster for Full Gospel Breakfast Meeting at City Hotel, Kumasi, 12 May 1990.

<sup>176</sup> Handbill for Breakfast Meeting of Subin Chapter of FGBMFI at the Auditorium of Kumasi Technical Institute, 26 May 1990.

drunkard and occultic... He was later saved from the powers of occultism, drunkenness and reckless living. God's hand is mightily upon him to bring healing and deliverance upon them that seek such from God."

The Lord will do the same for you. A package of blessing awaits you, why don't you join the Happiest people on Earth?<sup>177</sup>

Thus in appointing speakers for breakfast meetings, the popular choices are those with testimonies of spectacular Christian conversions, which demonstrate the power of God and emphasise the gravity of one's un-Christian past as godless, criminal or immoral. Such preferences have led to the projection and glorification of the pre-Christian experiences and lifestyles, often recounted with some fantastic exaggerations.

### **5.8.5 The Women's Aglow Fellowship International**

#### **5.8.5.1 The FGBMFI Root**

The Women's Aglow Fellowship (WAF), described as "an interdenominational evangelistic outreach" derives its origins from FGBMFI. When FGBMFI emerged in USA, some women accompanied their husbands to its meetings, and others attended as interested individuals. However, the male identity of the movement created a gender barrier which denied females full membership.

The conscious alienation of women from the movement is a significant factor for the formation of WAF. The immediate factor for its emergence is attributed to divine inspiration received by some American women at the close of the Full Gospel annual convention in the USA, May 1967. Close to midnight, in a hotel in Portland, Oregon, when the final session of the convention was breaking up, four women participants: Joyce Doerflein, Virginia Blankinship, Ruth Gotenquist, and Rose Collins, all resident in the Seattle area of Washington, felt constrained to remain and pray together. The prayer centred on their common vision and desire for the commencement of a "full-gospel fellowship for women". The first breakfast meeting which marks the genesis of WAF was arranged that summer in Seattle, followed by a

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<sup>177</sup> Advert of Inaugural Breakfast Meeting of Effiduase Chapter on Saturday, 5 Oct. 1991, *The Pioneer* (Kumasi Newspaper), 3 Oct 1991, 4.

national breakfast meeting in September 1967. Approximately 125 women attended the event at the Meany Hotel in the Seattle University district. WAF thus emerged with a founding membership constituted by spouses of the delegates of the 1967 FGBMFI Convention resident in Seattle.

In its formative years the group operated unofficially (more or less) as the women's wing of FGBMFI, with the designation: "Full Gospel Women's Fellowship". At its incorporation in 1972 the group was named "Women's Aglow Fellowship", in short "Aglow" – the title of its national bi-monthly magazine commenced in 1969.<sup>178</sup>

In addition to basic evangelical doctrines, Aglow adopted the pentecostal dogma of FGBMFI which emphasises:

Belief in the baptism in the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking with tongues, as the Spirit of God gives utterance; that all of the gifts of the Holy Spirit are valid and operative today; and that the fruit of the Holy Spirit should be increasingly evident in a Christian's life. ...that the redemptive work of the Lord Jesus Christ provides healing for our spirit, soul and body.<sup>179</sup>

With international operations directed from its headquarters at Edmonds in Washington, Aglow has made a remarkable global expansion, operating alongside FGBMFI. By 1985 it had established over 2400 fellowships in 70 countries, increasing to 2,600 in 1988 under the presidency of Jane Hanson.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> See *Aglow Is a Network Of Caring Women*, WAF Brochure, Lynwood, 1985, 1. The name "Aglow" is biblically derived from the text of Romans 12:11 in the *Amplified New Testament* which states: "Be aglow, and burning with the Spirit, serving the Lord." WAF claims this was realised by divine inspiration during a prayer meeting attended by 29 women in Seattle on 29 Oct. 1969 (*Aglow*, WAF International Magazine, 1986, 4). As expression of Christian sisterhood members of WAF greet each other with the phrase: "Be aglow!", and the response: "For Jesus!".

<sup>179</sup> *Aglow is a Network of Caring Women*, op. cit., 2.

<sup>180</sup> *Ordinary Women Touching The Power of God*, Second Ghana National Aglow Convention Brochure, Aug. 30 – 2 Sept. 1990, 5. The international expansion of WAF commenced with the establishment of Fellowships in Canada (July 1973), New Zealand (1974), and then The Hague, Netherlands. The first International Conference of WAF held in Seattle (24–26 October 1974) was attended by delegates from 25 states,

Despite its declared independence, when Aglow was introduced in Ghana, its close association with FGBMFI created impressions reviving its old identity as women's wing of its male precursor. The WAF link with FGBMFI is reinforced by the members of the latter who function as advisors for the former.

#### 5.8.6 The WAF Movement in Ghana

The WAF groups in Ghana were initiated through local agents, Esme Sereboe (Accra) and Christiana Darko<sup>181</sup> (Kumasi). The first Ghana Aglow fellowship was established in Accra in 1985, followed in the same year by one at Tema, and a third in Kumasi. The membership was initially constituted by women from mainline pentecostal churches, and evangelical parachurch groups. At Tema the "Idahosa Women's Fellowship" was re-constituted as a local chapter of Aglow.<sup>182</sup> In Kumasi the neighbourhood Women's Bible Study Group organised by Darko at her residence at Ahodwo was re-organised as a nucleus of the City Chapter of Aglow.<sup>183</sup>

The first meetings of Aglow in Kumasi commenced with evangelistic

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including Mexico and Nigeria. In November 1980 more than 700 people gathered in Jerusalem for Aglow's first International Conference held outside North America (see *Aglow*, op. cit., 4-5).

<sup>181</sup> Interview with Christian Darko, 24 Sept. 1990; See Darko, C B, *To God Be The Glory* (Accra: Assemblies of God Literature Centre, Accra, 1992), 17. Christiana Boatema Darko (Mrs), presently International Outreach Director of WAF in West Africa, also serves as a member of the International Board of Directors of the movement. Her professional career as a nurse has been eclipsed by over twenty years church and parachurch ministries. Originally a Methodist, she became pentecostal through marriage to Kwabena Darko. Her church engagements include leadership responsibilities as Co-ordinator of Women's Ministries of the Assemblies of God Church, Ghana, (1981-92). She is an ex-member of the Kumasi Town Fellowship and the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association. She underwent theological training at Christian Service College (1983-86), graduating with Diploma in Biblical Studies, and External Diploma in Theology (University of Ghana, Legon).

<sup>182</sup> Interview with Christiana Darko, 24 Sept. 1990.

<sup>183</sup> The Women's Bible Study Group was an off-shoot of the Ahodwo Bible Fellowship that meets in the Darko's residence, an evangelical tradition in Ghana, pioneered in the sixties by Scripture Union.

tea-parties in the Darko's residence. It commenced with monthly Saturday breakfast meetings at the City Hotel, after the inauguration of the fellowship in 1985 with a registered membership of 100.<sup>184</sup> The International Office of Aglow assisted in the development of the embryonic Ghanaian groups in terms of teaching and leadership training. Gloria Bisline and Jarve Brooks, Vice-President and Manager respectively of the Aglow Foreign Fellowships Department undertook seminars in Ghana.<sup>185</sup>

Although WAF is autonomous, co-operation with FGBMFI (fostered by historical links and common evangelical pentecostal ethos), has facilitated its growth in Ghana. The movement has expanded nationwide, with 22 of 36 Chapters opened by 1990, affiliated.<sup>186</sup>

As with FGBMFI, WAF has established an operational base in Ghana for outreach to Anglophone and Francophone countries in the West African sub-region. Through Ghanaian agents WAF has initiated fellowships in Togoland, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Oversight for the West African operations is the responsibility of Christiana Darko, appointed in 1990 as International Outreach Director for West Africa.

#### **5.8.7 Purpose And Ministry Of The Aglow Movement In Ghana**

Aglow functions in Ghana as a parachurch movement which seeks to:

- a. worship, praise, and glorify God in all areas of our lives;
- b. win souls for Christ, especially those not reached by commonly used methods of evangelism;

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<sup>184</sup> Interview with Christiana Darko. By 1985 City Hotel (one of the group of State Hotels) had become established as a Christian centre – the venue for breakfast meetings of the City Chapter of FGBMFI in Kumasi.

<sup>185</sup> *Ordinary Women Touching the Power of God*, Brochure of 2nd Ghana National Aglow Convention (Aug. 30–2 Sept. 1990), 16.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 20; *Step 3(2)*, 1991, 24.

- c. share with believers everywhere the full gospel of Jesus Christ, including Jesus as Saviour, Baptizer, in the Holy Spirit, Deliverer, and Healer;
- d. work for spiritual unity among Christian believers;
- e. foster fellowship among women;
- f. encourage each woman to be a member of and to participate in the activities of her local church;
- g. help women recognize their role and relationships according to scripture.<sup>187</sup>

The ministry of Aglow in Ghana is primarily evangelistic, and directed towards females as home makers, business owners and managers, civil servants, medical personnel, teachers, farmers, and retailers in high streets and market places. It also includes ministry with charity to institutionalised persons in prisons, hospitals and orphanages.

The absence of an elaborate government social welfare system in Ghana, means Christian organisations bear enormous social burdens. With women and children as subjects of most social problems, the social aspect of Aglow ministry is enlarged. Local Chapters of Aglow consider it a prime responsibility to help needy members, particularly, assisting single/teenage parents with vital social needs and the acquisition of vocational skills. However, the movement has no definite social programme for implementing such objectives. Marriage and family life feature prominently in Aglow teachings, with counselling for singles contemplating marriage. The ministry of Aglow extends to teenage girls. The basic objective of the "Teen Aglow" ministry is to provide Christian instruction and fellowship for teenage girls, as a preparation for marriage and motherhood. The importance of such youth ministry is underscored by the current social crisis of rampant teenage pregnancies.

The prominent interest of Aglow in social issues involving marriage and family life is evident in testimonies reported as follows:

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<sup>187</sup> *Ordinary Women Touching The Power of God*, op. cit, 15

- 1a. A sister living with a married man gave up her life to the Lord ... changed by Jesus ... and now involved in market place evangelism.
- 1b. A sister's marriage was restored. After she was driven from the marital home by her husband, she was re-united to her husband by God after prayer.<sup>188</sup>
- 2a. A sister's bill was paid for by God after prayers for God to save her children from being thrown out of school. Some body sent a cheque to settle it.
- 2b. A rebellious son who had stopped schooling was prayed for and counselled. He turned his life over to Jesus, and now he is back to school.<sup>189</sup>

Other testimonies indicate the fulfilment of desires to get married, have children; and the restoration of broken homes. The testimonies reflect the social problems and values of Ghana as an African society. In responding to the Ghanaian situation, Aglow performs a social function identical to that of voluntary church organisations and mutual benefit societies patronised by women as agencies of social security.

The regular activities of Aglow are primarily for evangelistic ends. Monthly breakfast meetings, and occasional lunches, dinners and home evangelistic tea-parties are organised as informal forms of evangelistic outreach to women unreached by conventional forms of evangelism.

Weekly Friday evening meetings, are arranged by local fellowships for formal teaching, with lectures on selected doctrinal, moral and social issues. The teaching session is often preceded by a session of prayer, and occasional Friday all/half-night meetings are arranged to provide opportunity for extended prayer and Bible teaching.

WAF operates home cell meetings in week-days to provide an informal context for its basic teachings, designated "Home Bible Studies", using literature produced by its headquarters. The home

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<sup>188</sup> *Aglow Quarterly Praise Report*, Cape Coast Chapter, 3rd Quarter, 1991.

<sup>189</sup> *Aglow Quarterly Praise Report*, Kumasi City Chapter, 3rd Quarter, 1991.

study materials include series on: *Wholeness from God, Proving Yourself, God's Daughter* and *The Call of Jesus*.<sup>190</sup> The WAF imported materials and annual international conventions are means through which American Pentecostal concepts are transmitted into Ghanaian Christianity.

The operations of FGBMFI and WAF in Ghana are important components of pentecostal resurgence in Ghanaian Christianity. They are significant factors for the charismatic renewal in non-pentecostal churches. The rapid growth and domestication of the two parachurch organisations in the Ghanaian religious environment has been facilitated by their response and adaptation to local needs and situations.

## 5.9 CONCLUSION

The period between the late 1970s and mid 1980s was a gestation period during which most of the groups identified today with the charismatic church movement functioned as parachurch organisations, designated "Fellowship" or "Evangelistic Association/Ministry". The formation or development of Charismatic Churches in Ghana, therefore, constitutes a metamorphosis in the parachurch movement. The essential parachurch background of the charismatic church movement is not examined in Dovlo's recent study of the movement in Ghana.<sup>191</sup>

The explosion of evangelical pentecostal activity and associated revivalism in Ghana in the eighties was a function of local and foreign parachurch agents. Notwithstanding the influence of prominent US agents like Morris Cerullo, Paul Gifford's assertion that "Africa's current

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<sup>190</sup> Cf. Burgess & McGee, op. cit., 898. Under a programme designated "World Literature Thrust", WAF International claims to have distributed 44,000 Bible study books in Africa, and 28,500 in India. The programme was initiated when "in one of the high points of the huge 1983 International conference in Washington D.C., 5,500 Aglow women and friends from 40 nations accepted the challenge to support a literature program that would take Aglow Bible studies and other teaching materials to needy women around the world (*Aglow*, 1986, 5).

<sup>191</sup> See Dovlo, E., Comparative Overview of Independent Churches and Charismatic Ministries in Ghana, *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology*, 2(2), Dec. 1992, 55-73.

evangelical revival is directed from the US",<sup>192</sup> overlooks the significant indigenous factors and components of the phenomenon. It also denies the significant level of sub-regional co-operation observed in West Africa. Thus in a critical editorial comment Rosalind Hackett notes:

African Christianity is, according to Gifford, characterised by an evangelical revival which is, in large measure, funded and directed from California and Southern US. ... However, some might challenge Gifford's interpretation of the unilateral influence of American evangelical Christianity, pointing instead to indigenous initiative and the complex multi-national and multi-lateral relationships of this global phenomenon.<sup>193</sup>

The Ghanaian revival had significant foreign features, but it was not externally directed from the US. It was not the sporadic crusades of visiting international evangelists which determined the course of local events. Indigenous needs and initiative determined much of what happened at the local level, as evident in Faith Convention, the Bible Conference and the deliverance ministry of Amoako centred in Kumasi. Local evangelists welcomed and co-operated with foreign evangelists whose operations were interpreted as assisting the local effort, and giving it an international assent, but not directing it.

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<sup>192</sup> Gifford (1990), 373.

<sup>193</sup> Hackett (1990), 308.

## CHAPTER SIX

### PARACHURCH-CHURCH RELATIONS: INITIATIVES TOWARDS CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

The multiplication of parachurch groups in the 1970s and early 1980s resulted in a competition which generated rivalry between the groups, and conflict with local churches. Co-operation between the parachurch groups and local churches became a matter of local and international Christian concern. The Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization (1974), sponsored by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (USA), stimulated local Ghanaian efforts towards parachurch-church co-operation. It culminated in the holding of the first Ghana Congress on Evangelisation (GHACOE) in 1977, repeated in 1984 and '89, with a diminishing appeal.

In a separate initiative, the All Pastors and Evangelists Conference (APECON) was initiated in Kumasi in 1987 as a pentecostal forum for Christian unity. It became established in the late 1980s as a pentecostal alternative to GHACOE.

Perhaps the most sustained initiative for parachurch-church co-operation is the Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) - an inter-denominational agency for church based evangelism, established in the 1970s. GEC adopted a programme of evangelism, designated "New Life For All", which involved the collaboration of local and foreign parachurch organisations in church based evangelism. It facilitated a process of parachurch-church co-operation which culminated in the integration of evangelicals into the ecclesiastical system of their respective denominations as ministers. It indicates a movement of evangelical influence on the Church from the fringes to the centre. The evangelical influence<sup>was</sup> exerted in a charismatic form in the Methodist Church -Ghana, through its Prayer Fellowship movement.

## 6.2 THE INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAUSANNE CONGRESS ON WORLD EVANGELIZATION

The International Congress on World Evangelization held in Lausanne, Switzerland, 16-25 July 1974, was a unique gathering. John Stott estimates around 2700 participants from over 150 nations attended, representing "a wide diversity of denominational backgrounds from both inside and outside the World Council of Churches."<sup>1</sup> Approximately 50% of the participants were from the "Third World".<sup>2</sup> Hence its description as "a formidable forum, possibly the widest-ranging meeting of Christians ever held".<sup>3</sup>

In the context of World Evangelism, the Lausanne Congress was preceded in the post-war era by the World Congress on Evangelism, Berlin (1966), and in the pre-war years by evangelism and missionary conferences in New York (1900) and Edinburgh (1910).<sup>4</sup> John Stott observes that "something of the excitement and euphoria of Edinburgh were recaptured at Lausanne."<sup>5</sup>

In an opening address Billy Graham, Honorary Chairman of the Congress, states what Lausanne '74 was intended to accomplish:

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<sup>1</sup> John Stott, *The Significance of Lausanne*, *International Review of Mission*, 64 (1975), 289. John Stott, Rector Emeritus, All Souls Church, London, was plenary speaker at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization and the chief architect of the Lausanne Covenant. Elsewhere the actual number of participants is stated as 2473 from 135 Protestant denominations (see Introduction in Padilla, Rene' C., ed. *The new Face of Evangelicalism - An International Symposium on the Lausanne Covenant*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976, 9).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See Douglas, J.D., *Let The Earth Hear His Voice* (International Congress on World Evangelization, Lausanne, Switzerland, Official Reference Volume - Papers & Responses), Minneapolis: Worldwide Publications, 1975.

<sup>5</sup> Stott, op. cit., 288.

1. Take the participants "back 'theologically' ... to the visions and concepts of those great conferences in the early part of this century".
2. Re-emphasize "biblical concepts" considered essential to evangelism: the authority of scripture, "the lostness" of man apart from Jesus Christ, that "salvation" is in Christ alone, and that Christian witness must be by both word and deed.
3. Frame a biblical declaration on evangelism.
4. Consider "the unevangelised world and the Church's resources to evangelize the world."
5. Challenged the Church to complete the task of world evangelization.
6. To state the relationship between evangelism and social responsibility.
7. To consider the relationship between gospel and culture.
8. To present for study and application effective methods of evangelism developed in various parts of the world during the past decades, both by denominations and by parachurch organisations.
9. To develop a new *koinonia* or fellowship among evangelicals of all persuasions throughout the world.<sup>6</sup>

Under the Congress theme: "Let the Earth hear His Voice" the above issues were examined in plenary and seminar addresses, and re-stated in affirmations of the Lausanne Covenant.<sup>7</sup> Thus as Padilla remarks: "The Lausanne Congress turned out to be an updating of the evangelical agenda."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 26-34.

<sup>7</sup> The 2700-word Covenant statement divided into fifteen sections is presented in the following order: 1. The Purpose of God; 2. The Authority and Power of the Bible; 3. The Uniqueness and Universality of Christ; 4. The Nature of Evangelist; 5. Christian Social Responsibility; 6. The Church and Evangelism; 7. Co-operation in Evangelism; 8. Churches in Evangelistic Partnership; 9. The Urgency of the Evangelistic Task; 10. Evangelism and Culture; 11. Education and Leadership; 12. Spiritual Conflict; 13. Freedom and Persecution; 14. The Power of the Holy Spirit; 15. The Return of Christ. (Padilla, 1976, 10).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

On parachurch-church co-operation, the Covenant affirms the "centrality of the Church in the purpose of God and in evangelism",<sup>9</sup> concluding "there can be no evangelism without the Church". It raises "the question of co-operation and renewal"<sup>10</sup> and advocates Christian unity with the exhortation: "evangelism also summons us to unity, because our oneness strengthens our witness just as disunity undermines our gospel of reconciliation."<sup>11</sup> The Lausanne Continuation Committee was thus given mandate, *inter alia*, to encourage what was perceived as a "growing partnership of churches" and of parachurch agencies.<sup>12</sup> For the Ghanaian situation, Lausanne '74 is significant in stimulating the conception of the Ghana Congress on Evangelization.

### 6.3 THE LAUSANNE ORIGINS OF GHACOE

The Ghana Congress on Evangelization was born out of Lausanne '74. At the National Strategy Group Meeting in Lausanne, Ghanaian participants of the Congress were encouraged to be pioneers of new ventures in evangelism.<sup>13</sup> For the evangelization of Ghana in the ensuing decade, the group set up the following "priority goals":

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<sup>9</sup> Stott, *op. cit.*, 292. Paragraph 6 of the Lausanne Covenant states "the Church is at the very centre of God's cosmic purpose" (Douglas (1975), 5).

<sup>10</sup> Stott, *op. cit.*, 292.

<sup>11</sup> Lausanne Covenant, Paragraph 7 (Douglas, *ibid.* 5).

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 292. Lausanne '74 spawned series of conferences, congresses and consultations at local and international levels, with the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization (LCWE) functioning as the central organ of the Lausanne Movement. On parachurch-church relations, the Consultation on World Evangelization, held in Pattaya, Thailand, in June 1980, is particularly significant. The International Commission on Evangelical Co-operation produced a report later published as *Co-operation in World Evangelisation - A Handbook on Church/Parachurch Relationships* (1983). In emphasizing its significance, LCWE specifically "encourages national leaders to plan regional or national seminars to help put into practice the suggestions in this handbook", and promises "to consider supplying a resource person wherever possible" (see *ibid.*, 82).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1369.

1. Church renewal
2. Leadership Training
3. Total Evangelization through New Life For All and other denominational programmes from 1975.
4. Research leading to the production of information on unevangelized areas and groups in Ghana.
4. Setting up the means of taking the Gospel to specified groups.<sup>14</sup>

The group resolved to "share the vision and insights gained at the Congress with churches, organisations and other Christians".<sup>15</sup> Their proposals included holding a "Mini Congress on Evangelism" in Ghana. A committee made up of ministers: T.A. Kumi (Methodist Church), Joseph Egyir-Painstil (Church of Pentecost), Joseph Gyanfosu (Acting General Secretary – Bible Society of Ghana), Peter Barker (Literature Secretary – Christian Council of Ghana) and Theophilus B. Dankwa (Travelling Secretary – Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students), was set up by the Ghana Group in Lausanne to convene a meeting with denominational heads on their return to Ghana, and to share the vision of Lausanne.<sup>16</sup> GHACOE was thus externally stimulated, in the international context of Lausanne.

#### 6.4 THE FIRST GHANA CONGRESS ON EVANGELIZATION

The first Ghana Congress on Evangelization (GHACOE I) was held at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, 12–20 July 1977. It was intended to be a national forum for creating and sustaining evangelistic awareness, introducing forms of evangelism, reporting on

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Ghanaian members of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization constituted after the Congress include Gottfried Osei Mensah (based in England, appointed Executive Secretary of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization); Isaac Ababio (Evangelist, appointed Executive Chairman of GHACOE); Florence Yeboah (formerly, with Ghana Evangelism Committee as Producer of "New Life For All" Radio Programmes, and currently, Executive Director – GHACOE Women's Ministry).

evangelistic activities of churches and parachurch organisations and fostering co-operation and harmony between them.<sup>17</sup> As a continuation of the Lausanne vision, the theme of GHACOE I: "Let the Nation Hear His Voice", was derived from that of Lausanne: "Let the Earth Hear His Voice". In focusing on nationwide evangelism the Congress aimed to:

1. To proclaim the biblical basis of evangelism ...;
2. To share and strengthen ... unity and love in Christ;
3. To identify those who are yet unreached or shut-off from the Gospel and seek ways and means of reaching them;
4. To relate biblical truth to issues which obstruct or complicate Christian witness in Ghana;
5. To learn ... the patterns of evangelism ... [of] Churches, fellowship and missionary societies;
6. To awaken ... Christian consciences to the implications of expressing Christ's love...;
7. To pray ... for the completion of the evangelization of the world in general and of Ghana in particular in this century,....<sup>18</sup>

The programme of the Ghana Congress was modelled after Lausanne '74, and comprised seminars, plenary addresses, workshops, regional reports, symposia, and weekend evangelistic meetings in local churches.<sup>19</sup>

Plenary addresses were presented on the following topics: The Bible and Evangelism; The Church as God's Agent in Evangelization; The Christian Home and Evangelization; The Holy Spirit in Evangelization; Evangelization and Ghanaian Culture; Hard Places of Ghana; The Challenge of World Evangelization; African Christianity; Marxist Socialism

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<sup>17</sup> *Christian Outreach*, 1(5), 1984, 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Congress Handbook*, GHACOE I (12-20 July 1977), 2.

<sup>19</sup> See *Congress Handbook* (1977).

and Christianity.<sup>20</sup>

There were series of symposia involving a detailed discussion of "Missionary Programmes of the Churches" in Ghana, "The New Life For All Programme", and "Hindrances to Gospel and Christian Witness in Ghana Today". In regional reports designated "God at Work" the Congress was informed of evangelistic activities in urban and rural districts. These were supplemented with reports of Christian meetings on the continent during the year, with particular focus on the Pan-African Christian Leaders Assembly in Nairobi which considered relations the between the clergy and laity in church work.

For the variant and specialised interests of Congress participants, seminars were presented on Expository Preaching; Church Growth; Evangelism and Social Concern; Follow-up in Crusade and Church Evangelization; Open-air Campaigns; Evangelising Intellectuals or "Thinking People", Children, the Youth, Students, Muslims etc.; Evangelistic Writing and Literature Evangelism; Rural/Village Evangelism; and workshops on evangelistic methods.<sup>21</sup>

The national political and economic crisis of the seventies heightened evangelical expectations of first Congress. In the context of the current revivalism, GHACOE I was expected to initiate a national spiritual revival, beginning with Churches. Religious interpretations of the deteriorating national socio-economic situation and attendant political unrest led to the high evangelical expectations concerning GHACOE I. This is expressed in the welcome address by Isaac Ababio (Executive Chairman of GHACOE) captioned *Akwaaba* (Akan):

At such gathering as the Ghana Congress on Evangelisation we need to remind ourselves of the desperate spiritual need of our people and of the nation in general. We need God's intervention in the affairs of this land. We need a mighty outpouring of God's Holy Spirit upon His people in Ghana. We need a mighty revival in our Churches. ... The Church of Jesus Christ in Ghana needs to wake out of her sleep and slumber. We as a body need to

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 10.

confess our failure to God. We have failed Him and our land in many ways. Meanwhile the powers of darkness have been doing their worst and the nation is plunged into chaos. Has the church anything to offer Ghana at this hour? ... Please prepare your heart to hear what God is saying to you at this Congress."<sup>22</sup>

As the first of its kind the Congress was successful in attracting a large attendance estimated between 2000 and 2500 for both residential and non-residential participants. The level of church and parachurch involvement is indicated by the diverse denominational and parachurch association of the planners and speakers.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the prevailing socio-political crisis which exploded a year later into the violent June 4 Revolution, the Congress presentations maintained an evangelistic focus which failed to consider the wider issues relating to the immediate national situation. It derived from a "conservative" attitude which avoided political involvement, even though the Lausanne Covenant affirmed that "evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty."<sup>24</sup>

## 6.5 GHACOE II: ANTI-CLIMAX IN EVANGELICAL CO-OPERATION

The second Ghana Congress on Evangelization (GHACOE II) held at the University of Science and Technology, 10-20 July 1984, was a revival of the Lausanne vision. It was organised as a project of the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelists - an association of Ghanaian participants of the Billy Graham sponsored International Congress for Itinerant Evangelists, Amsterdam (1983).<sup>25</sup> Political crisis in Ghana

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix XIV.

<sup>24</sup> Stott, op. cit., 290.

<sup>25</sup> See *Ghana Congress on Evangelization (GHACOE 2)*, Report compiled by GHACOE II Communication Committee, 30 August 1984, 1. The Ghana Fellowship of Evangelists was formed at the first meeting of the Ghanaian ICIE participants at Achimota in January 1984. Most of the 80 Ghanaian participants of the 1983 ICIE were already associated with the GHACOE movement. They were joined by other evangelical ministers and laymen in forming the GHACOE II Planning Committees in Accra and Kumasi (see Appendix XVI).

prevented the GHACOE II from being held three years after GHACOE I as previously envisaged.<sup>26</sup> But following the Amsterdam Congress, the Ghanaian participants felt that second GHACOE was long overdue. The organisers were undaunted by the prevailing socio-economic crisis of drought and famine, exacerbated by the arrival of one million Ghanaian deportees from Nigeria. The efforts of Planning Committees in Kumasi and Accra were largely assisted by voluntary service and donations (in cash and kind) by Christian individuals and organisations committed to or in sympathy with the GHACOE vision.<sup>27</sup>

Though externally stimulated, GHACOE II was intended to be a follow-up of GHACOE I, and therefore, the general theme and objectives of the first Congress were maintained in the second. In addition GHACOE II was intended to "review evangelistic efforts over the past seven years and to rearm ... for a united evangelistic thrust" to every part of the country.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Following a student demonstration against the PNDC government, the three universities including the UST had been closed down when plans were already set to hold the second Congress there. Its re-opening was seen as an answer to prayer, but the initial uncertainty about the availability of the place meant it was not published as the venue until 26 May 1984 (just 45 days before the Congress) when permission was granted.

<sup>27</sup> Congress Report, Op. cit., 3-6. Two thousand participants were expected, each paying 800 cedis. The Planners estimated 1.4 million cedis was needed in cash or kind as a subsidy. Fund-raising activities in Kumasi and Accra yielded C120,000. The ICIE follow-up committee provided C150,000, and C10,000 by the Church of Pentecost. Food aid came from the Catholic Relief Services and SIM. Some Ghanaian Christians in the UK sent six bags of rice and office supplies. As with the first Congress, the staff and equipment of HOVCEA (a Ghanaian evangelistic organisation) was placed at the disposal of the Congress, supported by the secretarial service of Lydia Prempeh of Standing Together Ministries. The then Protestant Chaplain, Rev. D.A. Koranteng, assisted the effort of the UST Staff Fellowship. The Congress Administration was headed by S.E. Vanderpuye, a legal officer in Accra. Evangelical student volunteers were engaged in publicity exercises in district centres in Ashanti. The Congress ended with a surplus income of C67,424 and C114,400 worth of food items designated "twelve baskets of fragments".

<sup>28</sup> *Ghana Congress on Evangelization (GHACOE 2)*, *ibid.*, 1-2.; cf. *Christian Outreach*, 1(6) 1984), 7.

The opening ceremony was made impressive by the presence of a traditional ruler representing the Asantehene (King of Ashanti), the Deputy Regional Secretary, the Vice-Chancellor of the UST (who gave the welcome address), and media representatives.<sup>29</sup>

A host of issues were considered in plenary sessions on the following topics: "Has Christianity Challenged Ghana?" - focusing on culture - whether Christians can be traditional chiefs; "The life of Faith", "The Holy Spirit in Evangelization", "The Role of the Church in Evangelization", "The Preacher's Study Habits", "Social Action" or evangelism and social responsibility, "The Reliability of the Gospel Records", "The Christian Worker's Family Life", "God is Able" - the implications of the omnipotence of God for evangelization, "Discipleship and World Evangelization", "Blind Spots in Evangelisation in Ghana", "Unreached People's of Ghana", "The Preacher and His Message", "Opportunities for Evangelization in Ghana Today".<sup>30</sup>

The particular needs of participants for evangelism were considered in workshops and seminars on Open-air Evangelism, Healing and Deliverance, "Women's Special", Preaching Techniques, Film Ministry, Church Mobilization, Reaching Children, Faith Planning, "Getting the Story Out" - in Christian writing, Follow-up in Crusades, Evangelistic Methods, Rural Evangelism, Evangelizing People of Other Faith, Evangelizing Businessmen and Politicians, Principles of Biblical Leadership, Family Life Seminar, Cross Cultural Communication, Counselling, Evangelizing the Youth, Evangelism, Preaching and Major Crusades.<sup>31</sup>

A number of events were arranged as special features of the Congress. They include a day of prayer and fasting until 6pm, on Saturday 14 July, as expression of concern for the national situation;

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 6. The committee handling protocol had arranged press coverage. The morning after the opening ceremony the Congress was on the national radio and the BBC.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 7-11.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

evangelistic campaigns in various locations of the city; excursions to the Darko Poultry Complex near Kumasi, and the National Cultural Centre in the city.

The attendance register of the Congress indicates different levels of participation: 589 residents, 294 non-residents, and 631 guests/visitors, totalling 1,514, and about 2000 participating in closing communion service.<sup>32</sup> An outstanding feature of the Congress was the colourful and informative exhibition mounted by 26 church and parachurch organisations.<sup>33</sup> It is a graphic indication of the multiplicity of parachurch activity that made co-ordination and co-operation necessary. The affirmations of the Congress were to be pursued by various continuation committees: national and regional co-ordination committees for co-operation in evangelism; and "working committees" for communications, prayer, social action, moslem outreach, "strategies for reaching out to people" of other faiths and research on "unreached peoples groups, needs and receptivity model of people, belief models...."<sup>34</sup>

But in terms of evangelical co-operation the Congress was really an anti-climax. Disagreements emerged among the evangelicals. Some parachurch leaders felt unduly criticised, as reflected in the post-Congress recommendation that "Speakers should be given guidelines on presentation of their addresses so as to avoid undue criticisms and unwarranted attack on certain groups or churches."<sup>35</sup> Some charismatic evangelists, intent on maintaining their evangelical radicalism, felt co-operation with the old denominations would compromise their evangelical convictions.<sup>36</sup> Such group of evangelists became instrumental in the rise of independent charismatic churches

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 14, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Listed in Appendix XVI.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 19-22.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Yaw Asante (founder-leader of Standing Together Mission), 30 July 1990.

after GHACOE '84.

## 6.6 GHACOE III: A SECTARIAN EVENT

As with previous Congresses, GHACOE III (6-12 November 1989) was inspired by international conferences associated with Lausanne movement: The second ICIE in Amsterdam, 1986, and Lausanne II (1989) held in Manila, Philippines.<sup>37</sup> As the inspiration for GHACOE III was externally derived, the agenda was determined by both domestic and foreign evangelical concerns:

1. The current campaign seeking to offer traditional African religion as the religion of Africa;
2. Benefits and problems associated with the proliferation of independent Christian ministries;
3. An observation by Dr Billy Graham that Africa is becoming Christian more rapidly than any other continent.<sup>38</sup>

Under the theme "Ghana for Christ by the year 2000", GHACOE III (1989), addressed old and new issues, the new ones being: The Challenges of Other Religions in Ghana - Traditional Religion, Islam, Eastern Religions; Stewardship in Ministry; Servanthood in Ministry; Women in Evangelism; Ethics in Ministry; Personal Holiness; Biblical Prosperity; The Role of Healing and Gifts in Evangelism; Healing and Deliverance.<sup>39</sup> The issues reflect concerns about Christian integrity. The humiliation of some prosperity preachers in the USA intensified

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<sup>37</sup> See GHACOE III Brochure, 1989.

<sup>38</sup> GHACOE III Brochure, 1989. In Ghana the challenge of Africa Traditional Religion to Christianity climaxed with the emergence of Afrikania Mission (see p.61, n.196).

<sup>39</sup> Congress Programme Sheet, GHACOE, 1989. The old issues include: The Unfinished Task - Ghana, Preaching Ghana Together, Preaching the Unreached, Personal Bible Study, Personal Growth and Maturity, Mission World - Global Overview, The Gospel We Preach, Transforming Society, Evangelistic Preaching, The Christian Home in Evangelism, and The Holy Spirit in Evangelism. Reports presented included Lausanne II: The Second International Congress on World Evangelization (July 1989), Manila - Philippines. The theme of GHACOE III relates to the "AD 2000 and Beyond Movement" born out of the Manila Congress.

misgivings about prosperity teachings of charismatic preachers in Ghana. The current advance of Islam into Christian strongholds, and increased adherence to the cult of the Traditional and Eastern Religions, are exposed in the *National Church Survey* of the Ghana Evangelism Committee, published in June 1989. The focus on healing and deliverance is indicative of the pentecostal/charismatic trend of evangelicalism in Ghana.

In terms of participation GHACOE III lacked the success of the previous Congresses. It failed to attract the participation of ministers in mainline churches, apart from a few already associated with the general GHACOE movement who were engaged as speakers.<sup>40</sup> In contrast, the plenary sessions of the Congress featured many local charismatic preachers, and a considerable number of foreigners.<sup>41</sup> Some "conservative" evangelical leaders (including ministers), therefore, felt alienated.

GHACOE was essentially a parachurch initiative for co-operation with churches. The membership of the GHACOE executive and planning committee was dominated by evangelical leaders of parachurch organisations.<sup>42</sup> The clergy on the GHACOE Executive, Rev. E.H. Brew-

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<sup>40</sup> They include: Rev Felix Maafo (Presbyterian Church, Associate National Director - New Life For All Programme); Rev. Dr. E.H. Brew Riverson (Secretary of the Conference of Methodist Church - Ghana); Rev. Joshua Kudadjie (Methodist, Christian Ethics Lecturer - Dept. for The Study of Religions, University of Ghana, Legon).

<sup>41</sup> The Ghanaian Charismatics included: Nii Amo-Darku (Congress Co-ordinator, now Baptist Minister), Rev. D. Ofori Twumasi (Holy Fire Revival Ministry - Takoradi), R B Adatura (Islamic and Christian Studies Programme - Tema), Mr & Mrs Bamfo (FGBMFI - Accra), Selassie Williams (Roman Ridge Fellowship - Accra), Kizzie-Hayford (University College of Education, Winneba).

Other locals of "conservative" evangelical tradition assigned to plenary sessions were Kwaku Hutchful (former General Secretary, SU-Ghana), and Ross Campbell (WEC Mission-Ghana, National Director - Ghana Evangelism Committee).

The foreigners included: Rev. Dr. Eugene Grau (Canada), formerly at Trinity College, Legon; Dr. Ramesh Richard and Gary Clark (both from USA); Rev. Tom Houston (Oxford-UK), formerly, Secretary - Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, and President - World Vision International; Emekpa Nwakpa (Legal Expert from Nigeria).

<sup>42</sup> See List in Appendix XV1.

Riverson (Honorary Chairman) and Rev. William Blankson (Secretary), both Methodists, were chosen because of their evangelical associations and not as denominational representatives. The actual planning of the Congress was the responsibility of lay-evangelical leaders.<sup>43</sup>

In terms of attendance GHACOE I (1977) was fairly successful. It attracted the participation of major protestant and pentecostal denominations, as well as local and foreign parachurch organisations, and therefore, generated a momentum for co-operation in evangelism. But successive GHACOE's could not sustain the momentum. The initial appeal of GHACOE dwindled with divisive and sectarian developments in the evangelical movement. In Kumasi, Faith Convention and the Bible Conference movements emerged as rival parachurch federations.

GHACOE II (1984) and GHACOE III (1989) gave evidence of a multiplicity of urban based evangelistic ministries and charismatic churches duplicating each others effort, and competing with each other against the established denominations for membership and funding. From a moderate evangelical perspective Felix Maafo observed that "appeal for funds had overtaken the need to share information and co-operate. It was competition rather than co-operation."<sup>44</sup> By 1989 (when GHACOE III was held), GHACOE had become identified with sectional evangelical interest, making GHACOE III sectarian. Many churches and parachurch organisations were not represented at the 1989 Congress. The registered attendance of 600,<sup>45</sup> compared with 2000 for GHACOE I and 1500 for GHACOE II, was far below expectation. Local meetings including Faith Convention and the All Pastors and Evangelists Conference had emerged as pentecostal/charismatic alternatives to GHACOE. Parachurch-church relations deteriorated with the emergence of charismatic churches.

From a radical evangelical perspective, Yaw Asante (GHACOE Committee member) expresses a personal dissatisfaction with the second

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Rev. Felix Maafo, 4 Sept. 1990.

<sup>45</sup> *Voice* (Ghana), 1(1), 1990, 2.

Congress. He observes:

In one of the GHACOE's (probably the second), there was a negative attitude displayed by the older brethren towards the independent evangelistic groups and fellowships. That the planners of GHACOE were already biased and prejudiced against certain groups. Some leaders of evangelistic groups felt the Congress had been arranged to get them there to be "blasted" - [criticised]. ... If that was the intention of GHACOE then the leaders of the evangelistic groups would not attend GHACOE again.<sup>46</sup>

Thus it is no wonder GHACOE '89 was poorly attended, with most of the founder-leaders of the new charismatic churches absent. Yaw Asante's criticisms of GHACOE are typical of radical evangelicals who perceived co-operation with the historic protestant churches as a softening of the evangelical cause. Their unco-operative attitude alienated their groups from mainline evangelicalism, culminating in the formation of new churches, and thus creating a new dimension in the church-parachurch conflict.

The transformation of some parachurch organisations into independent charismatic churches from the mid-1980s hindered co-operation. It confirmed the suspicions of mainline churches that the parachurch organisations had separatist intentions. The co-operation initiated by GHACOE I in 1977 degenerated into competition and hostility. In a vicious circle of accusations and counter-accusations the new churches thrive on criticising the old churches as "dead", in order to attract the latter's members, and the old, determined to keep their own, respond with derogatory remarks denigrating the new as "mushroom churches".

The divisive developments within the parachurch movement since the 1984 GHACOE, and the unfavourable consequences for parachurch-church relations, indicates that GHACOE has failed to foster unity and co-operation. However, this does not imply GHACOE is totally irrelevant in Ghanaian Christianity. The name "GHACOE" endures today because of what developed as a by-product of GHACOE I. The first Congress

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<sup>46</sup> Interview with Yaw Asante.

catylsed the formation of a movement of evangelical churchwomen – "GHACOE Women's Ministry", which has gained national and international recognition for its commitment to evangelism and social action in terms of women's development. It remains the most enduring achievement of GHACOE, though not originally envisaged by it.

## 6.7 GHACOE WOMEN'S MINISTRY: EVANGELISM AND WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

The GHACOE Women's Ministry (GWM) is an inter-denominational women's movement which emerged in 1977 as a product of the first Ghana Congress on Evangelization. In the context of the national economic crisis and corruption that characterised the latter part of the Acheampong regime, GHACOE generated a Christian concern for the deteriorating national situation, and its effect on morality. The image of women had deteriorated because they were identified with *kalabule* – trading mal-practices, and immoral lifestyles, even though men, as people in positions of authority were equally guilty.

Against this background GHACOE I generated among the female participants a concern for the integrity of women, that "God was expecting a standard of holiness among Ghanaian women" inspite of their apparent religiosity.<sup>47</sup> But there was no inter-denominational national women's movement to spearhead a campaign to uplift the image of women. This was due to the marginalisation of women in church and parachurch leadership. GHACOE I itself did not consider women's issues. The evangelization of women and the restoration of their integrity, inspired the formation of GHACOE Women's Ministry.

At the Congress Florence Yeboah and a few evangelical women leaders convened a meeting of the women participants. The success of the meeting, which was attended by 45 of the 70 registered female participants, inspired a second.<sup>48</sup> The group was nicknamed "GHACOE Ladies" because of its genesis from GHACOE I. After the July 1977

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with Florence Yeboah, (pioneer and Executive Director of GWM), 3 Aug. 1990.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

Congress, the first meeting of the group was held in October in the WEC Mission studio in Kumasi. It resulted in the inauguration of the Fellowship of Ghana Christian Women which developed into the GHACOE Women's Ministry (GWM), with the evangelization of women as its primary objective.

The growth of GWM into a movement for women's development was influenced by a situation of national emergency – the 1983/84 refugee crisis. In responding to the crisis, the vision of GWM was widened to embrace a "wholistic ministry" – an integrated programme of evangelism and social responsibility. It is the GWM commitment to the socio-economic development of women which has attracted Christian and secular interest at both national and international levels, and contributed to its growth.

From Kumasi where it originated, the GWM has developed into a national women's movement with over fifty local branches active in eight regions of the country. The administrative system of the movement is structured to encourage local initiative in the Christian development of women. All local and regional operations are managed voluntarily by executives elected at those levels. At the national level the movement is governed by a nine-member Advisory Council, and a National Council constituted by Regional and National Executives. It has established a headquarters in Accra where its "Ideal Womanhood Training Programme", a vocational training scheme for women introduced in 1983, is centred.

Evangelistic activities of the movement at local and regional levels include Bible Studies, Prayer Retreats, Evangelism Training Seminars, and Open Air Crusades conducted in collaboration with local churches. The teachings of the movement relate to problems that confront Ghanaian women in rural and urban settings: particularly those relating to family life, marriage and motherhood. The main national event of GWM is a five-day annual conference attended by delegates and male associates of all local branches. The conference which attracts over 1000 participants from pentecostal and protestant churches, serves as a national evangelical forum for addressing current women's issues.

### 6.7.1 The "Ideal Womanhood Training Project": An Integrated Programme Of Evangelical Social Action

The flagship of the operations of the GHACOE Women's Ministry is the Ideal Womanhood Training Project (IWTP), initially designed as a programme for rehabilitating Ghanaian refugees. The background to the IWTP is the mass repatriation of Ghanaians from Nigeria in 1983/84. The IWTP emerged out of the "Training Course for Women Refugees" initiated in 1983 by GWM in response to the socio-economic needs of thousands of women "returnees" who had suddenly become refugees in their own country.<sup>49</sup> Most returned with nothing but brutalised lives. Some had acquired disreputable lifestyles. Psychologically, they were shocked and disoriented, having to leave Nigeria on expulsion order at short notice. Some returned with unfulfilled dreams of Nigerian riches. With their hopes and aspirations shattered overnight, they had no confidence in life in Ghana, then afflicted with drought and famine.

The GWM Training Course for Women Refugees was designed "first to introduce them to Jesus Christ, and secondly, to teach them skills that would make them self-supporting."<sup>50</sup> It commenced in 1983 as a one month residential training programme for 24 at Achimota Girls Guide Centre. It involved instruction about the Christian faith, marriage and family life; and training in basic skills of nutrition, cookery, cottage crafts, ante-natal and post-natal care.<sup>51</sup> The success of the first led to a second at the same venue in the same year. A third was organised in February/March 1984 at Sunyani, Brong-Ahafo Region, and fourth in the Western Region. With the region-to-region operation, the course continued in the mid-1980s as a major programme of GWM. It was an ad hoc response to a national crisis which stimulated evangelical interest in women's development.

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<sup>49</sup> By returning to their own country, the Ghanaians from Nigeria were officially designated "returnees". The "returnees" were also described as refugees because most of them arrived on government chartered rescue ships and trucks, unprepared for the desperate socio-economic situation in the country, and therefore, initially, became dependent on government and international aid.

<sup>50</sup> GHACOE Women's Ministry Brochure on IWTP, n.d., 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

The need to establish a permanent programme for women's development later led to the re-structuring and re-designation of the refugee training programme as the "Ideal Womanhood Training Project". The IWTP involves a comprehensive vocational training programme that embraces textile crafts, soap making, body cream preparation, food processing and preservation, tailoring, poultry keeping, etc. As an integrated development programme, the IWTP is designed to:

- a. Inculcate spiritual life into the life-style of married and single women through Bible study, music, [dramatic] episodes, etc.
- b. Help develop leadership qualities and talents of Christian women in Ghana and abroad through teaching and training.
- c. Provide short-term training for women in home management and cottage industries.
- d. Help make women productive and self-reliant.
- e. Organise women in rural and urban centres to form multi-purpose productive units."<sup>52</sup>

The expanded operational objectives of GWM reflects its increasing involvement in social action, besides the primary commitment to evangelism.

Since 1983 when GWM launched its women's training scheme, it has attracted national and international interest. Initially, as a refugee rehabilitation programme, the GWM training scheme attracted state assistance. The Government provided food and other logistical support through the National Mobilisation Committee, the Department responsible for re-settling the "returnees". The Government supplied the cotton fabrics for teaching skills of "tie-and-dye" and batik in textile and fashion design, as well as tailoring. The state assistance was maintained until 1987 when the refugee rehabilitation programme was concluded.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Mrs Opuni, National President of GWM, 3 Aug., 1990. She claims GWM was the first organised national women's movement to respond to the 1983 refugee/"returnee" crisis.

Some funds are generated locally through the voluntary donation of members and friends of the movement. However much of the funding is generated from external sources, the major sources being World Vision International (Ghana Office), and TEAR Fund (UK). WVI commenced support in 1985 with the provision of a vehicle for operations at the GWM headquarters.<sup>54</sup> TEAR Fund assistance was provided through a sponsorship scheme. It sponsored the training of seven Ugandan women (January 25 - 22 February 1989), in the basic skills developed in the IWTP package.<sup>55</sup>

Assistance from the above organisations and a few other international agencies has enabled the re-development of the headquarters of GWM into a training centre. It has also financed the establishment of a *gari* (a local dry food) processing factory at Kwanyako in Central Region of Ghana.

The modest operations of GWM are significant in projecting national and international concerns about the issue of gender and development. In Ghana it is evident in the establishment of the National Council on Women and Development, and the rise of the 31st December Women's Movement.<sup>56</sup> However, in an African country where tradition and poverty conspire to impose serious restrictions on education of females, the development of women becomes a formidable task for which co-operation between the churches, parachurch and secular organisations is essential. The network of women's societies in the ecclesiastical systems of the denominations constitute a ready made structure for implementing a joint programme.

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<sup>54</sup> Florence Yeboah claims in an interview, 3 Aug. 1990, that the Bread For the World, also promised a vehicle.

<sup>55</sup> GWM Brochure, *ibid.*, 6. The internationalisation of GWM operations has led to the introduction of the programme for "Training of African Christian Women in Development", advertised for July 20-26 September 1993, as "Seminar designed for Christians working among women and women groups in the Church, parachurch and similar groups, or are aspiring to a worker among women" [*Step*, 5(3), 1993, 19].

<sup>56</sup> The 31st December Women's Movement is a non-governmental organisation established after the 31st December Revolution under the leadership of Agyeman Konadu Rawlings, wife of the Ft. Lt. J.J. Rawlings (leader of the Revolution, and now President of Ghana).

## 6.8 "CHRISTIAN UNITY AND NATIONAL PROGRESS": THE FIRST ALL PASTORS AND EVANGELISTS CONFERENCE

The proliferation of independent evangelistic and charismatic groups in the 1970s and '80s provoked reaction by some mainline pentecostal denominations aimed at arresting the increasing number of parachurch organisations and the divided loyalty of their membership. The Church of Pentecost imposed a ban on the parachurch involvement of its members. The Assemblies of God (AoG) Church which initially supported parachurch work, issued pastoral letters to its congregations to restrain the parachurch activities of its members.<sup>57</sup>

In Kumasi the widespread popularity of the Amoako movement (REPEM) in AOG circles diminished the church commitment of AoG members of REPEM. The fear anxiety of AoG that the Amoako movement might culminate in the formation of a separate church led to demands that REPEM be merged with the Santaase AoG to which Amoako belonged. Amoako's refusal led the Church to "disfellowship" him. Nevertheless, REPEM continued its independent operation.<sup>58</sup> It is against this background that the annual "All Pastors and Evangelists Conference (APECON)" was launched at the Kumasi Technical Institute, 14-19 September 1987.

In convening APECON as forum for Christian unity and co-operation, Amoako refers to the prevailing disunity as legitimate ground for what he claims is a divine assignment:

Jealousy and unhealthy competition have eaten into the leaders of various Christian groups with one bearing another grudge. Reconciliation seems far off and unity a substance untenable. ...

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<sup>57</sup> Interviews with Douglas Frempong, 29 Sept. 1990, and Edward Okyere, 17 Dec. 1990.

<sup>58</sup> The restraining orders and threats of excommunication did not have any drastic effect on the membership of parachurch groups like those associated with Faith Convention and the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International. The continued parachurch involvement of some key lay-leaders of the Pentecostal Churches, and the engagement of Pentecostal ministers as conference speakers and teachers, created some understanding and led to the development of harmonious church-parachurch relations.

To this end, the Lord, in a vision to a son ... asked for the convening of a conference of all the five-fold ministers viz: pastors, evangelists, prophets, apostles and teachers in Ghana. The conference ... APECON, seeks to serve as a forum for the patching up differences and restore vital unity that has been lost to the Church for so long a time.<sup>59</sup>

In the Conference keynote address APECON is introduced as a product of the spiritual awareness created by <sup>the</sup> 1983/84 crisis of drought and famine. Along with many other preachers and evangelists of the day, Amoako assumed the role of a national prophet, giving prophetic interpretations that attributed Ghana's economic decline to Christian disunity. He recalls:

In 1983, the year which has gone down in Ghana's history as the year of crisis in time of peace, there was smoke all over the country... I sat down and questioned God about what was actually happening. In the process the Lord spoke to me that there was no unity among his children... The Lord again said if Ghana would prosper and become great then the whole solution depends on the unity of the various denominations... The Lord referred me to 2nd Chronicles chapter 7, verse 14... 'If they pray to me and turn away from the evil they have been doing, then I will hear them in heaven, forgive their sins and make their land prosperous again.'<sup>60</sup>

The conviction that national progress had been hindered by Christian disunity inspired the choice of conference theme: "Christian Unity and National Progress". The government's economic recovery programme initiated in 1985 had created a context for public discussions about national prosperity. The "green shoots" of recovery were interpreted by some "prophets" of the charismatic movement as God's hand at work. In prescribing Christian unity as an essential factor for the full operation of divine power, Amoako states:

The mighty hand of the Lord is moving greatly over this nation and soon the Lord will transform this Country into a mighty nation that He wants it to be and the power of God is going to be demonstrated mightily as never before. And for the full impact of God's Power to be felt, there is the need for UNITY and ONE

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<sup>59</sup> APECON, Newsletter of All Pastors and Evangelists Conference, 1(1), 1987, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 1.

APECON '87 was intended to realise a vision of "Christian unity", but the participation indicates a focus on Pentecostal unity. There was a dominant participation of Pentecostal and charismatic leaders, in contrast with the conspicuous absence of the leadership or representatives of the churches belonging to the Christian Council of Ghana. Pentecostal leaders were engaged as conference executives and speakers. They include Moses Afful (General Secretary of Ghana Pentecostal Council – GPC), programme advisor; S B Asore (General Superintendent of AoG – Ghana, and President of GPC), chairman of the conference planning committee; and R O Brown (General Overseer, Church of God Mission – Ghana) as speaker.<sup>62</sup>

International participation in APECON '87 was very limited. In adherence to the primary objective of resolving domestic issues, Amoako emphasised:

Let us devote this conference to healing our wounds, apologising to one another for our mistakes and offenses committed against one another and remove all impediments that hinder christian unity. ...this first conference is one of reconciliation and stock

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<sup>61</sup> Amoako, F., *Pastors and Evangelists Conference, 14–19 September, 1987*, Circular to Christian Leaders, 3 June 1987, 1.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. Speakers from other Ghanaian churches and parachurch organisations were: Revs. Fosu (AME Zion Church, Kumasi), Blemadji-Mensah Kwao (Principal, Hope Institute of Theology), Martey (Holy Apostle Church, Kumasi), Isaac Quaye (Trancea Ministry, Accra), Nicholas Asante (Baptist Church, Asokwa-Kumasi), S.R. Addae (Shiloh United Church, Kumasi), and Thomas Sarpong (AoG, Sunyani) who administered the eucharist in the closing service of the conference; and Evangelists Alfred Nyamekye (House of Faith Ministry, Kumasi), Kusi Berko (Miracle Word Evangelistic Ministries, Kumasi), Yao Paul (Fellowship of Christ Ministries, Accra), E.R.C. Odame (Evangelical Ministries, Kumasi), Owusu Akyaw (CPC Fellowship, Kumasi), Douglas Frempong (Christian Outreach Ministries, Kumasi), Enoch Agbozo (Ghana Evangelical Society, Accra), Florence Yeboah (GHACOE Women's Ministries, Accra) and Edward Okyere (SU-Ghana) – designated "Spiritual-Father and Advisor" of Amoako.

taking and we can't think of inviting foreign speakers.<sup>63</sup>

The issues addressed at APECON so indicate a pursuance of unity in Pentecostal context. Discussions centred on the concepts of "five-fold" ministry, ecclesiology and pneumatology in pentecostal thought, outlined as:

What is the Church?, The goal of the Church, The quality of the Church - major tasks, The power of the Church, The Holy Spirit, The work of the Holy Spirit, Holy Spirit Baptism - Who is qualified to receive it?, "Authority of the believer, The gifts of the Holy Spirit, The harmony of the five-fold ministries, The distinctive operations of the gifts: Apostles and Prophets, Evangelists and Pastors; Hindrance and solution to Christian Unity; How Christian Unity can enhance national progress; The place truth in Church and Nation; The role of the Church in Society; The home and nation building.<sup>64</sup>

The discussions on the "five-fold" ministry were intended to establish a biblical ground to foster harmony in the operations of parachurch and charismatic ministries, and their relations with established Pentecostal Churches.

As the first of its kind APECON '87 was successful in establishing a forum for dialogue between emergent charismatic ministries and mainline Pentecostal Churches. However, with successive Conferences, APECON assumed the character of a local charismatic convention, declining in appeal. The event was perceived more as a convention of Resurrection Power Evangelical Ministry than as a forum for pentecostal-charismatic co-operation.

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 3. Only speakers of foreign groups closely associated with REPEM were engaged: Lawrence Helveston (then commencing the Ghana mission of Trinity Foundation Int., Georgia, USA); and Adu-Gyamfi and Nana Woode (both Ghanaian preachers of New Life Fellowship, London). As was a feature of Christian conferences in Ghana, the opening of APECON'87 was graced with the presence of a government representative, J. Y. Ansah (PNDC under-Secretary for Ashanti Region), who saw the conference as opportunity to stress the civic responsibilities of Christians - payment of taxes, by interpreting Jesus' action in driving away thieves from the temple as religious legitimation for early revolutionary excesses of the then military government.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., passim.

## 6.9 THE GHANA EVANGELISM COMMITTEE: INTER-DENOMINATIONAL AGENCY FOR CO-OPERATION IN EVANGELISM

The Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) is an indigenous interdenominational service agency. There are two published accounts of its origin, one stating: "The Committee came into existence in 1974 to introduce the New Life For All movement into the churches of Ghana."<sup>65</sup>

The other indicates an earlier, though dormant existence of GEC until 1974 when it was reactivated to put into operation a programme of evangelism designated "New Life For All".<sup>66</sup>

Despite the chronological variations, GEC is emphatic on its evangelistic mandate, claiming: "The movement started in Ghana because the heads of a number of churches wanted to see a new, more effective programme of evangelism: they therefore appointed official representatives to form an Evangelism Committee...".<sup>67</sup> The committee which became known as the Ghana Evangelism Committee was initially constituted by representatives of both Pentecostal and Christian Council of Ghana Churches. When GEC began experimenting the NLFA Programme in 1975 the Church of Pentecost withdrew from GEC, leaving Presbyterian and Methodist Churches as the main collaborating denominations, supported by some parachurch organisations, including Scripture Union.

The concern of GEC is that the Church in Ghana "ought to be working directly at the discipling of the whole nation, including all people groups," in response to the "Great Commission", the command of Jesus Christ to his disciples.<sup>68</sup> GEC believes the discipling of the

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<sup>65</sup> Publisher's note on back cover of *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Ghana Evangelism Committee: Accra, 1989).

<sup>66</sup> *What is New Life For All?*, GEC Booklet (Revised Ed.) Feb. 1975 (first published in 1971) Accra, 5.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>68</sup> Publisher's note, *op. cit.* GEC operates as a "Church Growth" movement promoting church planting as a fulfilment of Lord's command: "... go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of

nation will be effectively accomplished when the denominations are committed to the goal of "saturation church planting" – establishing "an active witnessing church in every village, town, neighbourhood and ethnic community of 300–1000 people in the nation".<sup>69</sup> Each church established becomes an organ for evangelising the community in which it exists. The primary purpose of GEC is to communicate this vision to all levels of church leadership, to mobilise the churches of Ghana to complete the task of church planting in the present generation.

#### 6.9.1 "NEW LIFE FOR ALL": PROGRAMME FOR CHURCH-BASED EVANGELISM

"New Life For All" was introduced in Nigeria in 1963 as "an inter-denominational evangelistic movement", through the vision and pioneering leadership of Rev Gerald Swank, an SIM missionary.<sup>70</sup> On the origins as NLFA as an evangelistic strategy, Dominy observes: "Although the basic ideas were developed independently, they were greatly stimulated by the Evangelism-In-Depth campaigns taking place in South America at the time."<sup>71</sup> Between 1964–65 an NLFA pilot scheme was initiated in the Plateau and Zaria Provinces of Northern Nigeria.<sup>72</sup> The success of the experimental project led to the extension of NLFA to other areas of Northern Nigeria, in subsequent years. An important factor for the development of NLFA into a mass movement for evangelism is "the agency and enthusiasm of evangelicals associated with Scripture Union and other independent local evangelistic associations."<sup>73</sup>

Under the auspices of the Ghana Evangelism Committee, New Life

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the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. ..." (Matt. 28:19–20, NIV).

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> For full treatment, see Dominy, Peter J., *Church and Change on The Jos Plateau, Nigeria: 1960–80* (M.Litt. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1988), 131–6, 166–8.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 133

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

For All was introduced into Ghanaian churches in the mid-1970s as a religious import from Nigeria. The process was stimulated and catalysed by SIM and WEC missionaries in Ghana. In September 1970 the GEC held an exploratory conference on evangelism, with the Rev. Wilfred Bellamy of the 'New Life For All' movement in Northern Nigeria, as main speaker.<sup>74</sup> He recommended NLFA for adoption by GEC as a programme for mobilising local churches for evangelism. Although the conference adopted the NLFA, the necessary structures for its implementation did not exist.<sup>75</sup> GEC thus remained dormant until 1974 when Rev. Peter Barker (then Literature Secretary of Christian Council of Ghana) suggested the engagement of Ross Campbell (already working in Ghana WEC Mission) as a full-time staff member of GEC. With the secondment from WEC Ross Campbell commenced work with GEC as National Director of NLFA, using WEC facilities – residential and office accommodation, and radio recording studio – all located at its Kumasi mission station. The NLFA thus commenced as an interdenominational evangelistic venture in which local and foreign organisations collaborated.

In 1975 Campbell produced the first set of NLFA literature as adaptation of foreign materials: *Get Ready to Witness* and *Do You Know There is New Life For You?*, both being adaptations of Nigerian NLFA booklets; and a third being an adaption of *The Spirit Filled Life* booklet of the USA based Campus Crusade For Christ International. At a meeting at Trinity College the NLFA materials were introduced to representatives of the participating denominations, and approved for use. In the same year NLFA was officially launched by GEC as a programme for "the total evangelization of the nation through the effective communication of the Gospel ... and the planting of churches in every unevangelized town,

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<sup>74</sup> Publisher's note, op. cit.

<sup>75</sup> In a bid to promote the NLFA, GEC published and distributed 10,000 copies of the booklet: *What is New Life For All?* (Accra, 1971).

village and community."<sup>76</sup>

Fundamental to the programme are orientation retreats where pastors are first trained in personal evangelism and discipleship, with instructions on how to extend the training to leaders and members of their respective congregations.<sup>77</sup> As a pilot scheme, 120 congregations located in three Akan regions of the country - Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern, were specially selected for implementation and monitoring.

#### 6.9.2 Evangelism Committees: Structures For Church-Parachurch Co-operation

As a programme for evangelism at the grassroots, NLFA was to be operated by "Evangelism Committees" constituted at district and regional levels by representatives of the participating churches. In the NLFA organisational structure the Ghana Evangelism Committee functioned as the national management committee with oversight for the local committees. The responsibilities of GEC included "liaison with heads of churches, overall planning, the preparation of literature, the raising of finance and the co-ordination of the whole [NLFA] work with a view to

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<sup>76</sup> Swank, G., NLFA: Alive and Well in Ghana, *Church Growth Bulletin*, XV(2), Nov. 1978, 239.

The "NLFA time table for 1975" was drawn up as follows:

- Jan. -Feb.: **Preparation:** Evangelism Committees formed and plan congregational Leaders Retreats.
- Feb.-Mar.: **Leaders' Retreats** in every area to prepare leaders from every congregation to lead their people into fruitful service [to evangelize].
- Apr.-Jul.: **Prayer and Training** ... launched on Easter Sunday 30th March. All church members to form daily prayer cells and attend weekly instruction classes to study *Get Ready to Witness*.
- Jul.-Dec.: **Evangelization:** On Sunday, 13 July, six months of full scale outreach ... launched, to bring Christ to every person in every district by house-to-house visitation, literature distribution, preaching etc.
- December: **Continuation:** Evangelism Committees ... meet to evaluate the work done and plan for 1976. (See GEC Booklet, 1975, 2.)

<sup>77</sup> Ibid; *What is New Life For All?* op, cit., 9-10.

making a united and simultaneous impact."<sup>78</sup> The District and Regional Committees operated within frameworks structured and co-ordinated by the National Committee – the GEC.

The NLFA Programme was introduced in Ghana at a time when many evangelicals disparaged and disregarded church work in favour of parachurch activities which they considered more effectively evangelistic. In contrast with popular evangelical notions, the NLFA programme was designed for operation through local churches, not independent parachurch agencies. Evangelical involvement in the programme thus necessitated church involvement.

The evangelistic objectives and the committee structure of the NLFA programme encouraged evangelical involvement, facilitating co-operation between parachurch organisations (particularly SU) and participating churches. Evangelical leaders associated with SU functioned in local Evangelism Committees alongside ministers and church leaders. At the national level, others were involved in decision making as members of the Ghana Evangelism Committee. In the mid-seventies, the notable evangelical churchman-statesman, William Ofori Atta (Chairman and later Director of Christian Outreach Fellowship), served as Chairman, with Enoch Agbozo (Evangelist-Leader of the Ghana Evangelical Society) as Secretary. Officially SU had three representatives: S.H. Amissah (the General Secretary), and Wilson Awasu, a travelling staff member, and one member of SU Council.<sup>79</sup> At regional and national levels SU associates in church positions as leaders and ministers were engaged full-time or part-time as NLFA Directors whose role involved them in affairs of local churches.

The combination of church and parachurch roles of NLFA functionaries is typical of moderate elements of SU, whose evangelical commitment found expression in active church involvement. In Ashanti Felix Maafo, an evangelical churchman, was engaged full-time as

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *Minutes of the SU (Ghana) Executive Committee Meeting Held on 29 Sept. 1976, at the SU Headquarters, Accra, 3.*

Regional Director and Vice National Director (1975–90), culminating in his ordination into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.<sup>80</sup> Other NLFA Directors with SU background were Kwesi Siaw and S.B. Antwi (Ashanti Region); Yaw Frimpong–Manso, Samuel Oppong, Cosmos Opoku, Stephen Asante, and Samuel Adu–Boateng (Brong Ahafo Region); Victor Otitiaku (Volta Region); Richard Foli and S.M. Mante (Eastern and Greater Accra Regions); and Rev. John K. Ampiah–Addison (Western Region). With evangelical leadership in the seventies predominantly male, the only prominent female functionary of NLFA was Florence Yeboah (first Ghanaian SU Travelling Secretary), engaged as Producer of NLFA Radio Programmes.

The involvement of SU members in the work of Ghana Evangelism Committee was not left to individual choice. It was supported by official policy of SU. SU welcomed the NLFA as a fulfilment of the evangelical expectations of the churches. Its policy supported co-operation with participating churches at all levels. In terms of SU–Church relations S.H. Amissah (SU General Secretary) endorses NLFA as a model of church–parachurch co-operation to be further pursued and consolidated:

The SU should take every opportunity to co-operate with a church or groups of churches in a nationwide evangelistic outreach. The New Life For All – a movement ... with the aim of spreading the gospel in Ghana – is an example of SU co-operation with a group of Churches and other Christian organisations. SU members are serving on the Regional and District Committees to implement the programme. The SU had to suspend some of its activities outlined in its five-year Development Programme in order to allow members full participation in NLFA."<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Interview on 4 Sept. 1990 with Rev. Felix Maafo (Director of Ramseyer Training Institute, Abetifi), was formerly Principal of Kumasi Advanced Teacher's Technical College. His education influenced his church and parachurch involvement. His training at Akropong Training College prepared him for lay-ministry in the Presbyterian Church. Thus he commenced church work before his evangelical conversion in 1963 through the Inter–Hall Christian Fellowship, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. In 1964 he was introduced to the student summer evangelistic outreach designated "All–For–Christ Campaign", an exercise which enabled sustained his interest in preaching. After University, he joined the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association, and associated with Scripture Union by assisting in its school work.

<sup>81</sup> Amissah, S.H., *Relationship With the Churches and Development of SU Ministry*, SU–Ghana Paper, n.d., 4.

In addition to personnel, SU considered making financial contributions to the operations of Ghana Evangelism Committee.<sup>82</sup>

The NLFA programme encountered problems reflecting the tension in parachurch–church relations. The dominant role played by NLFA Directors as lay–instructors in training retreats was unacceptable to some ministers.<sup>83</sup> With their theological training and exalted church positions, most of the clergy could not submit to instruction by lay–parachurch personnel. Felix Maafo thus concludes: "The NLFA has not been fully accepted by the Church because the organisers are considered unqualified." He also notes some church leaders perceived the NLFA as an attempt to impose something on the Church. Others identified NLFA with SU,<sup>84</sup> perceiving it as an attempt to introduce SU into churches by emphasising radical conversion – "new birth".

In spite of above setbacks the NLFA had an evangelical impact on congregations involved. In terms of "second conversions" the NLFA was a means of re–evangelising people with established church membership. Felix Maafo observes that "in the first 10 years (1975–85) NLFA had impact in terms of evangelical conversion of some church leaders and members", and therefore concludes: "NLFA was to the Church, what SU was to schools".<sup>85</sup> Whilst SU promoted evangelical Christianity among students in School Fellowships, NLFA promoted evangelical Christianity in congregations of participating denominations, resulting in "people becoming committed to Christ in the Church".

Furthermore, NLFA created among average church members an evangelistic awareness: "the need to go out and witness". The GEC Church Survey data indicates that more churches were opened in the

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<sup>82</sup> *Minutes of the SU (Ghana) Executive Committee Meeting Held on 29 Sept. 1976, at the SU Headquarters, Accra, 3.*

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Felix Maafo, 4 Sept. 1990.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *SU in The Eyes of The Church in Ghana* (Appendix VI).

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Felix Maafo.

first 10 years of the NLFA than in the 50 years preceding it.<sup>86</sup> Most of the new churches were planted by congregations of denominations that collaborated with GEC in the NLFA programme. Statistics published separately on the impact of NLFA on selected protestant congregations out of the 120 involved in the programme indicate a remarkable percentage increase in adult membership, and attendance of Morning Prayers and Sunday Worship, between February 1977 and July 1978.<sup>87</sup>

The impact of NLFA in terms of church renewal and growth is indicated by the following testimonies:

- a. Majority of the members of my church have accepted Christ as their Saviour, and are sure of their salvation. Petty squabbles have ceased. Church attendance has improved (A Methodist Catechist).
- b. My congregation is growing as a result of the witness of my trained leaders. I now have 170 converts, 116 new members and one new station with 35 members (A Presbyterian Minister).
- c. We have been able to reach almost every corner of Wiomoase [in Ashanti] with the Gospel and have extended it to a town about 3 kilometres... [away]. There is now a new congregation here and attendance at Sunday services is over 300 (A Methodist Care-taker).
- d. The program has helped me to understand my work as a minister... I am sure of my salvation now (A Presbyterian Minister).<sup>88</sup>

One significant positive impact of the NLFA Programme which most Ghanaian evangelicals have not recognised, and also not mentioned in GEC reports, is the direction of evangelical attention to the significance of theological education and church ministry. The local Directors of NLFA were exposed to opportunities for church-based evangelism. The desire to gain the confidence of the Church influenced most of them to

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<sup>86</sup> See Swank, *op.cit.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 238–9. The source material does not mention the names of the various church personnel.

<sup>88</sup> See *National Church Survey* (1989), 113.

undergo theological training for church ministry. Thus in addition to Felix Maafo, those who have entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana include Frempong-Manso, S.B. Antwi, and S.M. Mante. Victor Otitiaku has been ordained into the ministry of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church; Richard Foli and Samuel Adu-Boateng, in the Methodist ministry; and Stephen Asante, the Baptist ministry.

Although the implementation of the NLFA was handicapped by problems of confidence, its dual impact has been made clear. Its effect in terms of change of evangelical attitudes is profound. The integration of GEC functionaries into their churches as ministers is a demonstration of surging evangelical confidence in the Church as the primary agent of evangelism.

### 6.9.3 THE GEC NATIONAL CHURCH SURVEY

After experimenting with NLFA for 10 years (1975–85) the Ghana Evangelism Committee has revised its operations, and now perceives its role as a catalyst: "researching *The Task* [of church planting] and the dissemination of information in seminars and publications; through orientation of leaders and local churches on ways and means to grow, plant churches and reach the unreached; and through pioneering new programmes and strategies geared to the growth and multiplication of churches – especially among the unreached."<sup>89</sup>

The research operations of GEC commenced with region-to-region Church Surveys (1985–87), producing first comprehensive statistical data on the Church in Ghana. The amalgamation and publication of the research data in 1988 as *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana*, provides information that indicates Ghana is less Christian than has often been claimed or assumed. In terms of evangelisation five major challenges emerge from the survey for the Church and parachurch organisations:

- a. Seven million people profess Christianity but neglect Church attendance.

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<sup>89</sup> Publisher's Note, *National Church Survey*, op. cit.

- b. Of about 22,000 villages and towns in the country, only 7,500 have churches planted in them.
- c. Two million northern and alien peoples living in the southern section of the country have no church affiliation.
- d. Three million people in Northern Ghana are yet to be reached with the gospel.
- e. Five million adherents of Islam and Traditional African Religion.<sup>90</sup>

The survey reveals there are still many people in Akan, Ga, and Ewe areas of Southern Ghana who need to be reached with the gospel, despite the long concentration of Christian activity and churches in the south.

Through a series of consultations GEC has endeavoured to make churches and parachurch organisations aware of the facts and figures of the church survey and the implications for evangelism. It commenced in June 1989 with the National Consultation in Accra, followed by a number of mini-consultations throughout the country. These were supplemented in 1990 by Pastors Prayer Conferences in Accra and Kumasi, jointly organised by GEC and Challenge Enterprises (of SIM).<sup>91</sup>

The GEC operation is the most sustained inter-denominational venture for church-parachurch co-operation in evangelism. It is an indigenous evangelistic development with international parachurch assistance. The difficulties encountered in the implementation of the New Life For All Programme exposes some of the problems associated with the adoption of foreign evangelistic concepts and schemes, as indicated by the NLFA literature. Nevertheless, the NLFA programme is

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 5. In 1987 when GEC completed the Church Survey, Ghana's population was 13.4 million (see *1987 Ghana in Figures - 1987* (Statistical Service of Ghana Booklet, Accra, 1988, 1). The country's population is currently estimated around 16 million.

<sup>91</sup> Ghana Evangelism Committee Report, in the proceedings of *29th Annual Synod of Kumasi District of Methodist Church - Ghana, at Old Tafo, 17-21 May 1990, Representative Session*, 148. Following the Church Survey, GEC now offers "Literacy Teachers' Training Courses", and "a series of practical extension courses on prayer, evangelism, church planting and church growth" (Ibid.).

significant in re-focusing evangelical attention on the Church in positive terms as the centre and agent for evangelism, as emphasized by the Lausanne Movement in the Lausanne Covenant. The GEC post-NLFA operations reinforce such positive convictions about the Church.

## **6.10 PARACHURCH IMPACT: THE CASE OF THE METHODIST CHARISMATIC MOVEMENT**

### **6.10.1 The Prayer Fellowship Movement**

A significant impact of parachurch activity in Ghana is the rise of charismatic renewal movements in mainline Protestant Churches. The Methodist case is the "Prayer Fellowship" movement.<sup>92</sup> It emerged in the Kumasi Wesley Church through the church activism and charismatic inclinations of Isaac and Charlotte Ampah, both leaders of the Church.<sup>93</sup> Isaac Ampah is among moderate evangelical graduates who developed an early interest in church work. He became actively involved in the

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<sup>92</sup> The case of the Presbyterian Church, which the writer has observed, is the subject of a current research for M.Phil. in the University of Ghana by Rev. Cephas Omenyo of Presbyterian Church of Ghana. His title is: *Charismatic Renewal in Mainline Churches: The Case of The Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana* (see *Akrofi-Christaller Centre News*, Bi-annual Newsletter of the Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre For Mission Research and Applied Theology, Akwapem-Akropong, Ghana, No. 12, Jan.-June 1993, 15).

<sup>93</sup> Isaac and Charlotte Ampah, married since 1967, are likened to "Aquila and Priscilla" in the Book of Acts, for their corporate commitment to church and parachurch work. Ampah is a pharmacist by profession is now an evangelist. He was educated in Kumasi at Prempeh College and the University of Science and Technology, graduating in 1966 with B. Pharm. degree. He was a member of the Scripture Union group and the Inter-Hall Christian Fellowship of the respective institutions. After University he became a regional and national leader of the Child Evangelism Fellowship International (Ghana). For lay-Christian ministry he has undergone formal training as Marriage Counsellor in a programme sponsored by the Christian Council of Ghana (1974); attended the Haggai Institute of Advanced Leadership Training, Singapore (1981); and Institute for World Evangelism (sponsored by the World Methodist Council), at Candler School of Theology, Emory University (1986-87). He is now a full-time evangelist, marriage and family life counsellor.

Charlotte Ampah, a teacher by profession, and now an evangelist, was educated at Holy Child Secondary School, Cape Coast, and Wesley College, Kumasi. She is a product of the Faith School of Evangelism (established by the Faith Convention Movement in Kumasi in the early eighties), and a popular speaker at charismatic meetings in both church and parachurch contexts.

Kumasi Wesley Church, submitting humbly to leaders supposedly not "born again". He qualified as a local preacher in the Kumasi Methodist Circuit in the early 1970s. His active involvement in the Youth Fellowship of Kumasi Wesley Church led to his election as President of the group. He was consequently made a Church Leader – a member of the Leaders Meeting, and later appointed Assistant Society Steward. Today in addition to a number of responsibilities in the Church, he is the Secretary of the Evangelism, Mission and Renewal Sub-Committee of the Synod of Kumasi District of the Methodist Church, Ghana.

In the mid-seventies, the Youth Fellowship became the arena of evangelical pentecostal activity in the Methodist Church. In Kumasi Wesley Church the last Friday of every month was devoted to all-night prayer meetings intended to arrest the drift of the youth in the church to emerging parachurch prayer fellowships.<sup>94</sup> But the leadership of the church as a whole were less enthusiastic about that, causing the prayer meeting to cease after a few years' experimentation. However, pentecostal resurgence in the 1980s has led to the resumption of the prayer meetings, a phenomenon associated with the emergent Prayer Fellowship movement.

In the early eighties, parachurch fellowships associated with the charismatic movement in Kumasi exerted considerable influence on the youth in established churches, causing many to neglect church activities. In 1982, following his training at the Haggai Institute in Singapore, Isaac Ampah was inspired to commence with his wife and other Church leaders, the Wesley Prayer Fellowship. It was intended to arrest the drift of the youth in the Church to charismatic fellowships. The WPF thus commenced as a charismatic group.

With an initial membership of eleven, designated the "evangelicals", the Prayer Fellowship has grown into an authentic lay-ministry of Kumasi Wesley Church. It is managed by Isaac and Charlotte Ampah, supported by charismatic inclined lay-leaders of the Church and

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<sup>94</sup> Early examples of such prayer fellowships are the Upper Room Fellowship in Kumasi and Ghana Evangelical Society in Accra (see Chapter Four).

the Superintendent Minister, Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Asante. The group conducts prayer meetings every Friday morning from 9.30 am to about 2 pm. Its meetings are conducted in a typical charismatic form – the singing of pentecostal songs, with instrumentation, rhythmic clapping and dancing; loud preaching, evoking "gusty yells of hallelujah" and applause, glossolali prayers, and sessions of testimonies, healing and deliverance. The charismatic feature of WPF meetings is given as the main factor for the dramatic increase in attendance, estimated around 1500.<sup>95</sup>

The leadership of the Prayer Fellowship claims the ministry of the group is modelled after that of Jesus Christ, because it "ministers the whole gospel to the whole person – catering for individual physical, emotional and spiritual needs."<sup>96</sup> The "four-fold vision" of the group focuses on "personal holiness; renewal...; ministering Pentecost; serving God's people".<sup>97</sup> On the impact of the prayer meetings, Isaac Ampah claims:

Through the ministry of the Prayer Fellowship God is transforming many lives dramatically ... Street boys and girls attracted by the gathering in the Church, come and experience the redeeming power of Jesus' love. Drug addicts come and kick the habit. Prisoners come and find the transforming power of Jesus Christ. Alcoholics come and are released from the bondage of alcohol. At a meeting an armed robber came and surrendered his pistol. He has quit the criminal business and is now learning a new trade. In another meeting an imposter, "Azaa" man, dressed in white cassock like a priest came, having been virtually 'arrested' by the Holy Spirit. What happens there on Fridays is not by human effort. It is based on the power of the Word of God, prayer, and the love of God's children.... Ours is a charismatic renewal. We allow the Holy Spirit to operate His gifts freely and signs and wonders follow. Many people who are demon possessed or oppressed come and are delivered.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Report on Methodist Prayer Fellowship, Proceedings of *29th Annual Synod of Kumasi District of Methodist Church – Ghana*, op. cit., 142.

<sup>96</sup> Interview with Isaac Ampah.

<sup>97</sup> Isaac Ampah, "Signs and Wonders at Wesley Church" (A Report on the Prayer Fellowship), *Wesley News*, 1(2), Jan.–Mar. 1990, 5.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 5–6.

The Prayer Fellowship also responds to the social consequences of its ministry. In settling to the Christian life after conversion through the Prayer Fellowship, a priest of the traditional religion was assisted in finding a job and accommodation. After completing a rehabilitation programme, a blind man was re-settled as a cane weaver.

The Prayer Fellowship is an emergent charismatic movement in Ghana Methodism. Their activities include monthly all-nightly prayer meetings and weekly healing and deliverance services and retreats. Members are encouraged to fast and pray for each other and the Church as whole. The paramount interest of the Fellowship in evangelism is a prime factor for the rise of charismatic evangelists in the Methodist Church. From Kumasi Wesley Church, Opanin S.K. Danso, Kumasi Circuit Steward (1983-90), a charismatic lay-preacher and President of Subin Chapter of Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (Ghana), was trained and designated Kumasi District Evangelist of Methodist Church of Ghana.<sup>99</sup>

The charismatic impact of the Prayer Fellowship movement in Kumasi Wesley Methodist has inspired the emergence of other Fellowships with their own evangelists, prophets and prophetesses in congregations of other Methodist circuits in Ashanti. In 1990 the Bantama Circuit Methodist Evangelism Group was inaugurated in Kumasi in a ceremony during which Joseph Otsin was commissioned "as the first-ever full-time evangelist" of the Methodist Church of Ghana.<sup>100</sup> Circuit reports indicate the formation of a Central Prayer Band and the commencement of Friday healing and deliverance service/retreats in Achinakrom circuit; Friday morning prayer meetings at Suame and New

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<sup>99</sup> Between 1989-90 Opanin Danso was sponsored by the Methodist Church-Ghana for training at the World Institute of Evangelism, Candler School of Theology, Emory University - Atlanta, Georgia (USA).

<sup>100</sup> See *Methodist Times*, June 1990, 3. The Bantama Evangelism Group was consecrated by Rev Frank Derker (Evangelism Director of the Methodist Church - Ghana), assisted by Rev. S.E.A. Quarm, Supt. Minister of the local Circuit. As Circuit Evangelist, Otsin heads "a team of evangelists responsible for organising crusades and revivals in the societies under the circuit..."(ibid.).

Tafo, incorporating monthly all-night prayer meetings at Amakom; Sunday evening healing services, with cases of exorcism in Obuasi, extending to Edubiase; prayer and evangelistic exercises in Offinso.<sup>101</sup> Members of the Methodist prayer movement are encouraged to fast and pray for each others needs and the Church as whole.

In Ashanti where it originated, the Prayer Fellowship movement has gained ecclesiastical recognition as a Church society, as "a vital force in evangelisation ... and renewal".<sup>102</sup> It is a recognition which involves regulation. The need to regulate the operations of the Fellowship is the main objective for organising deliverance workshops for the leadership, as indicated by the following notice:

The Chairman of the Kumasi District, of the Methodist Church, Ghana, ... invites all Evangelists, Prophetess and Prayer Fellowship leaders under its wing to a three ... day deliverance workshop. ... at the Freeman College, from the 14-17 December 1989. ... The Rev. Chairman expects all Prayer Fellowships in the Methodist Church in Ashanti Region to send representatives to this workshop."<sup>103</sup>

The cumulative effect of the operations of the prayer movement is the revitalization of faith, evident in increased church attendance and renewed zeal for evangelism.

Although there is a growing adult interest, the charismatic movement is a phenomenon generally associated with the youth in the Church. In asserting that "Methodism is not dead", some observers point to the Ghana Methodist Students Union (GHAMSU) to prove "the spirit of [Ghana] Methodism is alive and kicking,..."<sup>104</sup> At the 24th Annual Conference of GHAMSU at the University of Cape Coast, as

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<sup>101</sup> See Proceedings of *29th Synod of Kumasi District of Methodist Church - Ghana*, op. cit., passim.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ampah, I.K., *Workshop For Prayer Fellowship Leaders Under the Kumasi District of the Methodist Church, Ghana*, Circular to Prayer Fellowship Secretaries, 1989, 1.

<sup>104</sup> *Methodist Times*, 3(3), Dec. 1989, 4.

"students were singing praises and loudly praying, some adherents of the Church expressed concern as they asked each other 'has the Church now come to this or are we [Methodists] ... now turned Pentecostal?'"<sup>105</sup> In a symposium on "Exodus of the of the Youth" to Charismatic Churches, by the Youth Fellowship of Accra Wesley Church, it was suggested the orthodox churches modify their liturgy to reflect the growing charismatic interest.<sup>106</sup> The eagerness to accommodate charismatic elements and arrest attraction of the independent charismatic churches for youth is one factor for the introduction of the "Youth Service" and "Deliverance Service" in some Methodist and Presbyterian churches.<sup>107</sup>

### 6.10.2 The Deliverance Service

In Ghana today the deliverance ministry is undertaken by evangelical pentecostals/charismatic with the recognition that the desire for healing and deliverance directed many church members to cultic shrines of the traditional religion and to prophets and prophetesses of the Independent African Churches called "Spiritual Churches".

In some congregations of the Methodist Church, the operations of the Prayer Fellowship movement has led to the recognition of deliverance ministry. In Kumasi Wesley Methodist Church such recognition led to the introduction of a monthly "Deliverance Service" on 4 February 1990, as an attempt to meet the "special" spiritual needs of members which cannot be attended to in the regular service.<sup>108</sup> In addition to announcements in the Church, and in line with current

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 2. Cf. "Curbing the Youth Drift", *Methodist Times*, 4(1), Jan. 1990, 2, advocates a charismatic model, incorporating: "sessions of praises and worship, word ministrations, altar call and testimonies".

<sup>107</sup> The "Youth Service" which is conducted in English, is already in operation in city churches - Ramseyer Presbyterian Church (Kumasi), and Mount Olivet Methodist Church, Dansoman (Accra), (see *Methodist Times* 4(1), Jan. 1990, 2).

<sup>108</sup> See *Wesley News*, 1(2), Jan.-March 1990, 10. The Deliverance Service is also revival of the "Monthly Evening Healing Service" initiated in the 1970s but declined in the early 1980s.

trends, the first service was advertised by handbills as follows:

"Methodist Church, Ghana, Deliverance Service,  
Every first Sunday of each month,  
Commencing - Sunday 4 February 1990  
Venue - Kumasi Wesley Methodist Church  
Time: 6-8pm.

Anointed Men of God: senior Ministers and Charismatic leaders in the Church (Isaac and Charlotte Ampah, and S.K. Danso - FGBMFI leader) will minister.

The sick, the afflicted, the troubled are invited for healing and deliverance. See Jesus' saving power."<sup>109</sup>

The service attracted a large attendance, around 500, with most of the time devoted to praying for those who proceed forward for prayer. Ministers and Church leaders assigned for <sup>the</sup> evening prayed, laying hands on over 200 individuals.

The Deliverance Service is in an experimental stage, but it is an authentic response of the Methodist Church to the supernatural worldview and charismatic interest of the its membership.

### **6.10.3 The "Aldersgate Week" and The Charismatic Significance of John Wesley**

One product of the pentecostal/charismatic influence in the Kumasi Methodist Church is the institution of "Aldersgate Week". The "Aldersgate Week" meetings in Ghana Methodism derive from the observance of 24 May as "John Wesley Day". The day is observed to commemorate Wesley's spiritual experience on 24 May 1738, particularly that relating to a meeting at Aldersgate Street in London. The day commenced at 5.00am with a reading of passages in Greek New Testament, as his custom was.<sup>110</sup> In the afternoon he accompanied a friend to an "evensong" at St Paul's Cathedral, where he heard the choir render an anthem: "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee, O

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<sup>109</sup> Kumasi Wesley Church "Deliverance Service" Handbill, 1990.

<sup>110</sup> He started with II Peter 1:4, and later Mark 12:34.

Lord".<sup>111</sup> Wesley's experience climaxed that evening with his presence at a Moravian meeting in Aldersgate Street in the City. There was a reading of Luther's Preface to the *Epistle to the Romans*. Wesley describes his personal experience that evening as follows:

About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given to me that he had taken away *my* sins, and even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death.<sup>112</sup>

There are variant interpretations of Wesley's experience at Aldersgate: either as his "conversion-experience"<sup>113</sup> or as a confirmation or continuation of a process (of faith development) which had commenced at Oxford.

Wesley's unique experience at Aldersgate was a climax of what commenced at St. Paul's, though the interpretations given to the former overshadow the significance of the latter. Methodists in Ghana commemorate Wesley's Aldersgate experience with special evening meetings in churches and schools, and service on the Sunday immediately following 24 May. Evangelistic addresses are given to secure conversions. Many Ghanaian evangelicals refer to Wesley's Aldersgate experience as "conversion-experience", and advocate evangelical conversion (or second conversion) of people already established in the Church, even as leaders or ministers. The charismatics identify Aldersgate with "spiritual/faith renewal", and describe John Wesley as

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<sup>111</sup> Schmidt, M., *John Wesley: A Theological Biography* (Epworth: London, 1962), 262, states the words of the anthem were from Psalm 130. It's appeal to Wesley is indicated by the fact that he wrote out the words of anthem in full in his *Journal* (Vol. 1, 147).

<sup>112</sup> Wesley's *Journal* 1, 475-6.

<sup>113</sup> Schmidt, op. cit., 1962, 263; cf. Tuttle Jr., R.G., *John Wesley: His Life and Theology* (Zondervan: Grand Rapids, 1978), 193-201.

"evangelical and a pentecostal".<sup>114</sup> This is reflected in a call for renewal:

Today as we celebrate the 250th anniversary of John Wesley's conversion, let us pause and soberly reflect ... Methodism has lost its savour and we do not see the power thereon. Our pulpits are filled with preachers who preach "fairy tales". Class meetings are led by leaders who are not spirit filled. The causes of such a divergence are to be found in the neglect of the old time religion. ... We say John Wesley was evangelical and a pentecostal, but what do we see here, a cold and lack-lustre Church ... sustained by the faithful few who are filled by the Holy Spirit. To bring the religion of the old times then there is the need to allow the fullest of the Holy Spirit operation in our Church.

The time has come for us to uproot any witchcraft spirit, principalities and secretism (lodges) assigned to rule over our Church. ...stand in readiness for combat and resist every strategy of that fallen enemy, satan...<sup>115</sup>

The association of John Wesley with pentecostalism is intended to validate the charismatic movement in Ghana Methodism, and establish a legitimate ground for the Methodist Church to be more charismatic. In calling for the Church to exhibit the presence and control of the Holy Spirit, a charismatic enthusiast remarks: "As present day Methodists, we still do have the structure and set up of John Wesley but not his charisma."<sup>116</sup> A group self-designated: "Methodist Revival Movement", therefore, calls on the Church to initiate Wednesday prayer and fasting for "revival in the Methodist Church as in the days of ... John and Charles Wesley."<sup>117</sup> For the charismatic Methodists John Wesley is a

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<sup>114</sup> Tyson (1993), 5, states: "Wesley's insistence on the palpable 'witness of the spirit' earned him the contemptible label of an 'enthusiast'. Some of Wesley's theological emphasis are similar to that of present day pentecostalism. The pneumatology apparent in the writings of John Wesley foreshadow the pneumatology advocated by twentieth century pentecostals."

<sup>115</sup> *Methodist Times*, 2(5), Oct. 1988, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Bilson, James F., Why the Youth Drift, *Methodist Times*, 3(1), May/June 1989, 4.

<sup>117</sup> *Methodist Times*, June 1990, 5. In a press interview, Rt. Rev. Prof. K.A. Dickson (President of the Conference of Methodist Church - Ghana) offers a response to the charismatic demands by re-stating some general notions of evangelicalism and pentecostalism, and concluding that the Methodist Church is essentially evangelical and pentecostal. But the charismatics have no such perceptions of the

pentecostal forebearer of the Christian faith.

The current charismatic trend in Kumasi Wesley Methodist has led to an extended observance, and the transformation of "John Wesley Day" to "John Wesley Week" –designated "Aldersgate Week". Events of the Week, morning and evening sessions of prayer, Bible addresses and testimony sharing, are intended to project the charismatic significance of John Wesley's Aldersgate experience. The 21–25 May 1990 programme, code named "Aldersgate and You", emphasised: "This Years John Wesley's Week is a week for spiritual renewal", with focus on the blessings of God for the believer.<sup>118</sup> Methodist ministers and lay preachers engaged as "anointed speakers" for the daily meetings (9am – 12noon and 6.30–8.00pm) included: Rev. Dr. S. Asante Antwi (Chairman of Methodist District of Kumasi), Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Asante (Superintendent Minister of Kumasi Methodist Circuit), Rev. Kofi Amponsah (Principal, Wesley College, Kumasi), Rev. Grace Nnuro (Principal, Kwadaso Women's Training Centre), S.K. Danso (Kumasi Methodist Circuit Steward) and Isaac and Charlotte Ampah.<sup>119</sup> As a special attraction to the Aldersgate event, it was arranged for Nana Ama Owusuaa (a converted priestess of the traditional religion) to give a testimony.

Being a Methodist charismatic movement, the operations of the Prayer Fellowship of Kumasi Wesley Church now incorporates the "Aldersgate Week". The charismatic significance of the event is extended to members of other denominations who attend the Friday meetings of the Prayer Fellowship. It is estimated around 2000 attend the Friday morning prayer meeting of the "Aldersgate Week".

In the observance of the "Aldersgate Week" and recurrent references to John Wesley as pentecostal/charismatic, the charismatics of the Ghana Methodist Church make an emphatic statement that historic

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Church (see *Methodist Times*, 4(5), Dec. 1990, 4).

<sup>118</sup> Ampah, I. K., *Aldersgate and You* (21–25 May, 1990), Notice to Leaders of Kumasi Wesley Methodist Church, 3 May 1990, 1.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

Methodism has charismatic traditions or features which give grounds for the current movement towards charismatism. To the charismatics the Methodist Church is charismatic, implying one can be an authentic Methodist and charismatic at the same time.

#### **6.104 Church-Parachurch Integration: The Emergence Of The Centre For Counselling and Faith Development And its "affiliation" To The Methodist Church - Ghana.**

The Centre For Counselling and Faith Development (incorporating Narrow Gate Ministries) is a non-denominational organisation based in Kumasi. Its official affiliation to the Methodist Church of Ghana offers a symbiotic model of parachurch-church co-operation. CCFD emerged in 1985 from the Narrow Gate Ministries, originally established by Isaac and Charlotte Ampah in the early 1980s in Kumasi as an independent evangelistic organisation. When the Prayer Fellowship of Kumasi Wesley Methodist Church was initiated in 1982 with the Ampahs as co-pioneers, the Narrow Gate Ministries became closely associated with it. NGM operated as an extension of the Wesley Prayer Fellowship. Personal problems requiring extended private attention which could not be handled at the Friday meetings of the Prayer Fellowship were dealt with at the Saturday meetings of Narrow Gate Ministries. The NGM pre-occupation with counselling led to its designation as the Centre for Counselling Faith Development. It commenced with the Ampahs attending to 15 people daily, increasing to 45 (a total of 2850 new cases) in 1990.<sup>120</sup> Under the leadership of the Ampahs, with three other supporting voluntary staff workers, CCFD functions as a "faith clinic", attracting a clientele of "people from diverse backgrounds across the social strata".

The CCFD founders have a vision to develop it into a centre for spiritual renewal, a healing camp - providing residential healing ministry through deliverance, pastoral and medical care.<sup>121</sup> CCFD is

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<sup>120</sup> CCFD Report, Proceedings of the 29th Synod of Kumasi District of Methodist Church - Ghana, op. cit., 144.

<sup>121</sup> Interview with Ampah, 12 Nov. 1991. The Centre is housed in donated private building located at Asokwa, behind the Kumasi Sports Stadium. Extensions have been made to the property, with three cubicles

further described as a ministry devoted to helping clients "develop a life-long solution to all ... problems be it spiritual or physical ... through faith sharing and by teaching ... some relevant Bible principles."<sup>122</sup> The regular CCFD activities include: weekday consultations with clients (Monday to Thursday, 9am-2pm); fellowship meetings on Saturdays (9-12 noon), for "Bible teaching on successful family life", facilitating "group therapy where clients interact with each other, share testimonies, and learn to adjust to the Christian reality".<sup>123</sup> On Fridays, the clients are directed to the prayer meeting of the Wesley Prayer Fellowship, where the CCFD activities are publicised for the benefit of new supplicants.

The teachings of the Centre on marriage and family life are extended (upon request) to church congregations, and parachurch and secular groups through seminars. In 1990 its staff presented seminars to around 40 church congregations and parachurch groups in Ashanti, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions; and under the auspices of Family Planning Association of Ghana, they spoke at work places on Family life.<sup>124</sup> CCFD teachings are also propagated through the joint publications of Isaac and Charlotte Ampah.<sup>125</sup> Also 1990 in line with a prevailing trend of internationalisation of indigenous charismatic ministries, Isaac and Charlotte Ampah (the CCFD Directors) addressed 12 congregations in two visits to Liberia; extending with visits to USA, Canada, and UK, by Charlotte at the invitation of some churches.<sup>126</sup>

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available for the accommodation of distant clients (CCFD Report, op. cit.).

<sup>122</sup> CCFD Information Leaflet.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.; CCFD Report, op. cit., 145.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>125</sup> The couple are co-authors of *The Prize of Christian Giving* (1985); *Marriage - Life Long Partnership*; *God's Plan For Your Financial Break-Through* (1989); *The Faith That Works* (1990); *God's Preventive Grace* (1990); *Rudiments of Christian Counselling* (1990); *Ideal Husband and Wife* (1990); *Steps into Marriage* (1991).

<sup>126</sup> CCFD Report, op. cit.

Besides marriage and family life issues, CCFD staff counsel clients on host of problems relating to religious and socio-economic realities of the Ghanaian world: "baseless fears", bad dreams, nightmares associated with attacks of witchcraft, drug addiction, stress related sicknesses (particularly) hypertension, menopause, alcoholism, business crisis, academic work, and travel documents (passport and visa applications).<sup>127</sup> The leadership recognizes the importance of modern medicine, and therefore, after initial prayers, deliverance and counselling, suspected mental cases are referred to psychiatrists.<sup>128</sup>

The Bible is the pivot of CCFD teachings, as Isaac Ampah claims: "The full gospel is proclaimed" and clients are "taught to internalise and make<sup>129</sup> of relevant Bible principles."<sup>129</sup> Those who confess Christ are provided with further teachings on Christian growth.

Though CCFD commenced as an independent prayer and counselling ministry, it was later "affiliated" to the Kumasi District of the Methodist Church. Its operations therefore constitute an extension of the work of the Church in Kumasi District. However,<sup>130</sup> CCFD leadership consider the organisation a "quasi-Church organisation" because of its financial independence. Isaac Ampah claims the Methodist Church makes no financial provision for CCFD operations. The CCFD affiliation to Methodist Church of Ghana is basically for expediency – a compromise arrangement between the Ampahs and the Wesley Church leadership to keep CCFD under the control of the Church.<sup>130</sup> It was to prevent the

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> CCFD Report, op. cit., 144. According to Isaac Ampah the School of Medical Sciences of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, has requested the CCFD to allow its students on outreach to participate in CCFD counselling sessions (Ibid.).

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Confirmed in interview with Rev. Dr Emmanuel Asante (Minister of Wesley Church, Kumasi), 12 July 1990. He mentioned that there is no formal relationship between CCFD and the Methodist Church, Ghana. Though a report of the Centre's activities is submitted to the Kumasi Methodist District Synod, it not discussed. He concludes that the operations of CCFD, together with the Friday Prayer Meetings are allowed as part of "Methodist tolerance".

possible development of "paraclericalism"<sup>131</sup> or an independent church with membership drawn from the Wesley Prayer Fellowship.

The CCFD-Methodist affiliation is conditional, with terms that allow CCFD to operate as a non-denominational organisation, maintaining an "open door policy to all people of different faiths and denominations who are sincerely in search of Christ centred solutions to their problems."<sup>132</sup> Its non-Christian clients include adherents of Islam and the traditional religion, who often become converted to the Christian faith. In reviewing 1990 cases, the Centre claims:

Those we counselled this year included people from other faiths. A young lady ... from the Ahmadiyya sect. She accepted Jesus as her personal saviour, stopped immoral life and later brought her younger brother also to accept the Lord. Since then they worship with us every Friday at Wesley Prayer Fellowship.

We counselled a fetish priest - Kwame Kyei and family. They were made to stay in the Centre for three months to go through convert sessions.<sup>133</sup>

Other clients have criminal backgrounds as ex-convicts and drug addicts. CCFD recognizes the difficulties in handling drug addiction, that cases of addiction do not disappear with momentary counselling and prayer.<sup>134</sup> Thus as a long term goal, the Centre intends establishing a separate centre with residential facilities for drug addicts.<sup>135</sup> With the support of the Methodist Church, this is not an unrealistic goal. The

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<sup>131</sup> "Paraclericalism", according to O'Connor (1971, 22), "occurs when lay religious leadership develops in such ways as to duplicate or supplant the functions proper to the ordained clergy. If allowed to develop to its full term, it would reduce the latter to a kind of ceremonial or sacramental chaplaincy, while the active work of evangelising, teaching, pastoring and the like would be exercised by charismatic leaders."

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>134</sup> In an effort to help one addict recover, the subject stayed with the Ampah's for almost one year, giving them problems, though, as the Ampah's admit: "He went back to the drugs when we slacked our supervision and gave him some responsibilities" (Ibid).

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

growing problem of drug addiction afflicting the youth in Ghana, makes the CCFD proposal an urgent issue for the Church to consider in its social work.

CCFD is a product of the emergent charismatic deliverance movement in the Ghana Methodist Church. The CCFD-Methodist "affiliation" is a special relationship in parachurch-church co-operation. It is a development expected to culminate in integration, with CCFD re-constituted or re-structured, financed and regulated by the Methodist Church as its specialised agency. On the other hand, as a self-supporting organisation, the independence of CCFD could influence its possible development into a charismatic church.

## 6.][ CONCLUSION

Until the 1970s Christian conflict in Ghana was an inter-church conflict: between churches of Western missionary societies and African Instituted Churches, with the latter exerting a strong force of attraction on the membership of the former. Since the 1970s the problem has been compounded by parachurch-church conflict which has attracted international and local Christian concern.

The international concern for parachurch-church co-operation was demonstrated at the Lausanne Congress on World Evangelization which emphasized the need for mutual recognition. On the primary agency of the Church for evangelization the Lausanne Covenant is emphatic: "The Church is at the very centre of God's cosmic purposes and his appointed means of spreading the Gospel".<sup>136</sup> It implies parachurch activity is secondary and supplementary to that of the Church. Parachurch organisations exist purposely as specialised Christian agencies whose operations are intended to complement the mission of the Church, and hence, the need for parachurch-church co-operation.

In Ghana, the Ghana Congress on Evangelization was intended to promote understanding between churches and parachurch organisations,

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<sup>136</sup> Lausanne Covenant, Paragraph 6 (Douglas, op. cit., 5).

and initiate a process of co-operation in evangelization. Initially, it had a limited impact which could not be sustained. The major hindrance towards co-operation was the schismatic developments within the parachurch movement, and the transformation of some parachurch groups into churches mostly designated "ministries".

The cumulative impact of the parachurch and charismatic church/"ministries" phenomena is the rise of charismatic renewal movements in mainline protestant churches - a development which is either promoted or accommodated to arrest the membership drift of the latter into the former.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Evangelical ministry among students established the base for the development of indigenous parachurch movements in Ghana. The informal missionary efforts of the IVF graduates operating in educational institutions in the post-World War II years generated evangelical student fellowships. The fellowships promoted evangelicalism in established Christianity in educational institutions and churches by emphasising a personal commitment to Christ, sustained by daily Bible reading, a life of holiness and vigorous engagement in evangelism.

In spite of the elitist component of its membership, the other-worldly focus of the evangelical movements in educational institutions and communities did not encourage much socio-political action as the Ghanaian situation demanded. It limited what the evangelicals could have achieved through the urban renewal project designated "Operation Help Nima", and the "All-For-Christ" Campaigns in rural and urban communities.

New movements emerged that indicate indigenous appropriation of the foreign impositions. The development of the Town Fellowship and the Prayer Warriors movements in Scripture Union, and emergence of independent charismatic fellowships such as the Agbozo and Amoako groups, indicate the adoption of foreign models of evangelical fellowship involved some adaptations to meet local needs. The Town Fellowship movement was a development towards independency and indigenisation in the evangelical movement. Through Pentecostal influence, the Fellowships engendered indigenous charismatic movements and radical forms of evangelicalism which denigrated church ministry and encouraged free-lance evangelism.

The Pentecostalism of the parachurch movements, with its indigenous and exogenous components, projects the persistence and influence of the traditional religious worldview in Ghanaian evangelical thought and action. The parachurch movements operated as agents of evangelical conversion, seen as a dramatic spiritual experience, involving personal encounter with Christ, and in a radical break with the non-

Christian past. With pentecostal influence evangelicals became involved in ministries of deliverance intended to deal with various forms<sup>of</sup> pre-Christian religious associations.

The alienation of evangelicals from mainline churches limited the impact of parachurch activity on local churches. The current trend of charismatism in mainline Protestant churches reflects a change of attitude which indicates a focus of evangelical attention on the Church as the base for Christian ministry and evangelism.

#### A. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP MOVEMENT

The evangelical student unions were products of camps and conferences initiated by IVF graduates. But the community and work place fellowships emerged as an indigenous Ghanaian innovation for extending evangelicalism beyond the academic environment. With no membership pre-conditions, they commenced in non-formal domestic contexts as graduates fellowships, attracting both professional and non-professional literate workers, initially in Accra and Kumasi. They proliferated and became institutionalised in urban communities and work places as Christian Fellowships. The process reflects what Rosalind Hackett describes as "the institutionalization and democratization of religious experience" - "Those possessing charismatic gifts and spiritual powers feel bound to create a fellowship where their individual experience may be shared and disseminated to the benefit of the group...."<sup>1</sup>

With Pentecostal influence the community fellowships designated Town Fellowships, generated their own evangelists and became instrumental in evangelising the educationally under-privileged in urban and rural contexts. This was facilitated by the use of the vernacular and the local Pentecostal chorus in regular fellowship meetings, as well as evangelistic crusades. The Town Fellowship phenomenon thus prevented the evangelical movement from developing into<sup>a</sup> movement for the educationally privileged class.

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<sup>1</sup> Hackett, R I J, ed. *New Religious Movements in Nigeria* (N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1987), 11.

As fraternities of "brothers" and "sisters" in Christ, the urban TFs and related evangelistic associations performed important sociological functions normally associated with urban-based mutual benefit societies. For migrant workers who settled to work in Accra and Kumasi municipalities as teachers, nurses, bank clerks and civil servants, the Fellowships offered essential benefits as a "safe haven". It mitigated the effects of *anomie* associated with rapid social change in the developing urban environment. As localised groups the TFs fostered a sense of identity and communality comparable to that of voluntary church societies, but unavailable in the big city churches. Many found the Fellowship a place to belong – a home away from home.

In terms of traditional African expectations, the TFs performed another vital social function by ensuring that the members were properly married. Christian marriage became the most discussed social issue at meetings and conferences. The various fellowship meetings, camps and conferences, had the supplementary function of facilitating the kind of interaction that enabled eligible members to find marriage partners considered suitable by Ghanaian evangelical standards. Those contemplating marriage could count on the moral and material support of the entire fellowship for both the customary engagement rites and ceremonies of church wedding. The voluntary assistance of the Fellowship in major preparatory arrangements made weddings affordable.

The phenomenal growth of the Town/Christian Fellowships reflects a traditional religious attitude based on the concept of separation and distribution of powers in the traditional worldview. The belief that God's power is not concentrated at one source, but distributed among several religious agencies acting as his viceroys is central to the traditional cult of divinities.<sup>2</sup> In applying this to Christianity, many Ghanaian Christians maintained multiple church membership to access God's power to the maximum. As a security measure it was not uncommon for people belonging to Protestant Churches to frequent Pentecostal and prophet healing Churches as well. For most evangelicals the Christian Fellowships and the independent

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<sup>2</sup> See Adubofuor (1987), chap. 2. cf. Oduyoye M.A., *Hearing and Knowing* (N.Y.: Orbis, 1986), 44ff.

evangelistic associations were alternate means of accessing divine power which many felt was unavailable in their churches. Even though the Church was perceived as the primary agency of God, many believed it did not have monopoly of God's power. The parachurch organisations were recognised as secondary agencies for obtaining spiritual power for a full and meaningful Christian life.

The operation of the parachurch movements raises the question of gender and evangelical leadership. Although the first Ghanaian SU Travelling Secretary was a female – Florence Yeboah, generally, leadership responsibilities in the parachurch movements are the preserve of males, with female roles limited to auxiliary functions. Women's movements such as the Women's Aglow Fellowship and GHACOE Women's Ministries are particularly significant in projecting female leadership capabilities in the parachurch context.

#### **B. WHY GHANAIAN EVANGELICALS BECOME PENTECOSTAL**

A significant aspect of Ghanaian evangelicalism is its pentecostal features. This is evident in the emphasis on prayer and fasting, healing and deliverance, prophesying and speaking in tongues, and adoption of the local pentecostal chorus and renewal music of the charismatic movements in the West. The rise and phenomenal growth of the Prayer Warriors as a pentecostal movement in SU, and the proliferation of independent charismatic fellowships now operating as churches, indicate the pentecostal trend of evangelicalism in Ghana. Why then do Ghanaian evangelicals become pentecostal?

Pentecostal theology makes sense in the worldview and socio-economic situation of Ghanaians. The spirit worldview of Ghanaians persist even when they become evangelical Christians. The belief in the supernatural agency of evil influences Christian interpretations of national and personal socio-economic problems such as drought and famine, ill-health, and childlessness. These are attributed to personal sins, or the work of personal and impersonal forces of evil, requiring repentance through prayer and fasting, and the exercise of the Pentecostal gifts for healing and deliverance.

Pneumatological concepts of Christ and the Holy Spirit in Pentecostal theology provide the spiritual equipment for dealing with the spiritual agents that account for the perplexities in personal and national life. God as the ultimate cause of creation is seen as the source of all power. The Holy Spirit is not just the Spirit of God but the power of God for dealing with undesirable elements of the cosmology. As with the indigenous African "Spirit-type" Churches, the evangelical pentecostalism of the Ghanaian parachurch movements focuses on the Holy Spirit as a "dynamic, life giving power that meets this-worldly needs and responds fully to culturally based religious aspirations".<sup>3</sup>

For the evangelical pentecostals, the "name" and the "blood"<sup>of Jesus</sup> has a significance which goes beyond the symbolic to the real, and is therefore, employed in spiritual engagements to expel demons. Thus for Ghanaian evangelicals, Pentecostal theology is a theology of spiritual power. Salvation is a personal experience of the power of God, and the message of salvation is "the message of receiving the power of the Spirit of God".<sup>4</sup> Through the Holy Spirit the omnipotence of God is demonstrated in the life of the believer. For Ghanaian evangelicals, therefore, the Christian life is life in the Spirit.

### C. EVANGELICALS AND NATIONAL POLITICS

The operations of the parachurch movements had no significant political fall-out. Political involvement was not a prominent feature of mainstream Ghanaian evangelicalism. In general terms the Ghanaian evangelicals exhibited a conservative political attitude that reflects Jesus' teaching in Mark 12.13-17, amplified by Paul in Romans 13.1-7, which advocates submission to the political authority - the state, together with submission to God.

It became evident in the politically volatile first republic which erupted into a violent military coup that deposed Nkrumah. The

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<sup>3</sup> Anderson, A., *Moya - The Holy Spirit in an African Context* (Pretoria: University of SA, 1991), 120.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

arbitrary detentions and deportations which included university students and lecturers only caused fear. The arrest and detention of the evangelical lecturer, Denis Osborne, had devastating effect on the University Christian Fellowship and other evangelical friends who responded with frantic prayers for his safety. Osborne recalls that House Fellowships of evangelical graduates and professionals, such as the one started by John Agama (Deputy Police Commissioner), succeeded in being non-political.<sup>5</sup>

The crisis of the Acheampong era, and its disruptive effect on campus life, failed to provoke any political reaction by SU or the Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students, apart from comments about the unorthodox teachings of Acheampong's religious aides.

The evangelical a-political attitude inhibited social action, as displayed in the "Operation Help Nima" project, initiated in 1968 in Accra. The evangelical unease about the growing political implication of the project during the Acheampong era diminished the initial interest. Whilst the "prophetic" mission of Agbozo demonstrated a pro-active evangelical pentecostal attitude towards socio-politic issues, it occurred on the fringes as<sup>9</sup>one-man show, unwelcomed by mainstream evangelical leaders.

The evangelical attitude of political non-involvement prevailed even in the AFRC and PNDC eras. Besides extra-ordinary prayer meetings, there was no official condemnation of the revolutionary excesses: summary executions, the open display of violence, including the abduction and murder of high court judges, and many human rights abuses that characterised the June 4 Revolution and the early part of the 31 December Revolution. The leader of the revolution, Rawlings, was rather perceived by some as an instrument of God's judgement on the "sins" that characterised the previous regimes. With the anti-Christian character of the Revolution, some evangelicals even considered the national situation as the beginning of a prophesied era of persecution which had to be endured.

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with Denis Osborne, 25 August 1992.

The conservative political attitude of the evangelical movements had an existential significance. The movements were established primarily for evangelistic work among students. They were not equipped for political engagements. As fringe Christian groups, the fellowships did not have the weight of the Church as a force of political resistance. Political involvement would have attracted immediate political control, and consequently, the proscription of all evangelical student activities. However, by focusing on purely religious issues the student fellowships were able to operate openly in the stormy political climate without any governmental control.

It may be concluded that a restricted sense of mission and concept of Christian civic responsibilities, and the violence associated with Ghanaian politics since independence, inhibited evangelical political activism. It explains the limited socio-political content of conservative evangelical thought. Religious interpretation of the national crisis inhibited evangelical socio-political activism, and rather generated prophetic statements which urged Christians to endure hardship as their lot in Christ.

#### **D. ENLARGING THE CONCEPT OF NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS**

The study of the evangelical parachurch movements in Ghana indicates a continuing trend of form and flux in a dynamic religious environment. Within and around primary evangelical movements such as Scripture Union and related Christian Fellowships have emerged independent charismatic groups and churches in a process of "routinization of charisma". The phenomenon suggests a revision of established concepts and categories of New Religious Movements to accommodate the emergent indigenous evangelical pentecostal groups.

In commenting on the pioneering work of Harold Turner on NRMs, Rosalind Hackett states that "the independent church has come to epitomize the new religious movement in Africa today" – with the Aladura or prophet healing church as the standard model in terms of

religious innovation.<sup>6</sup> With the rise of evangelical pentecostal movements, Hackett argues for the reformulation of the typology of NRMs to embrace the "revivalist movement" emergent in established Christianity in Nigeria since the early 1970s. She suggests with particular reference to the Nigerian situation (and with wider applicability) a definition of the New Religious Movements as:

an indigenously created religious organisation stemming from social and religious encounter, and selecting and combining local and exogenous religious elements in diverse and dynamic ways.<sup>7</sup>

Of the evangelical revivalist type, she observes that "some movements fearless in their creativity and eclecticism, have forged new links with overseas religious organisations and some have embarked on proselytization, not just in neighbouring African countries but also in the religious movements as a mere defensive response to invading political and religious systems."<sup>8</sup>

In an editorial comment on categories of New Religious Movements (Ethiopian and Zionist), Walls observes:

Rosalind Hackett's article shows that flux continues; the aladura are no longer the 'new' churches of Nigeria, and some extension of categories is needed to cope with the dynamic ebullience of religion in today's West Africa.<sup>9</sup>

In a seminar presentation at the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Ogbu Kalu offers suggestions which include

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<sup>6</sup> Hackett, R I J, Enigma Variations: The New Religious Movements in Nigeria Today, Walls, A F, & Shenk, W R, eds. *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W Turner* (Elkart: Mission Focus, 1990), 131.

<sup>7</sup> Hackett (1987), 3; re-stated in Hackett (1990), 140.

<sup>8</sup> Hackett, "Religious Innovation and Self-determination the Continuing Quest", in Hackett (1987), 240,

<sup>9</sup> Walls, A.F., Building to Last: Harold Turner and the Study of Religion", Walls, A F, & Shenk, W R, eds. *Exploring New Religious Movements: Essays in Honour of Harold W Turner* (Elkart: Mission Focus, 1990), 8.

a revised typology of NRMs in Nigeria.<sup>10</sup> The study of the evangelical parachurch movements in Ghana presented in this thesis affirms the need to enlarge the concept of NRMs and extend the typology to include the evangelical pentecostal category.

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<sup>10</sup> Kalu, O. U. *The Wind of God: Evangelical Pentecostalism in Igboland, 1970-90*, Seminar Paper, 16 Dec. 1992.

## EPILOGUE

### THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EVANGELICALS OF GHANA

In the 1970s a number of evangelical groups in Ghana made separate applications to the Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM) for affiliation. They were advised to first work towards national unity - the formation a national association of evangelicals, as means to securing affiliation to AEAM. In July, 1977 at the AEAM General Assembly at Boauke, Ivory Coast Ghanaian representatives from the Kokomlele Bible Fellowship (Accra) were urged to provide leadership for the formation of an Evangelical Fellowship in Ghana.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting on 20 May 1978 at the Bible House in Accra, "individuals from (but not representing) over a dozen evangelical organisations and a church" discussed the need to form a national evangelical fellowship.<sup>2</sup> An executive committee was formed; and by the end of 1979 a constitution with statement of faith had been adopted, and the fellowship registered with the Government under the name: "National Association of Evangelicals of Ghana" (NAEG), with aim to:

- a. Provide a spiritual fellowship among evangelical Christians that profess the same faith, as a means of united action; and to co-operate throughout Ghana with other evangelical groups of like precious faith and policy.
- b. Manifest in Ghana the unity of evangelical Christians which is based upon belief in the infallibility of the written word of God.
- c. To promote evangelism by encouraging churches to mobilise their membership for continuous witness and total outreach.
- d. To promote the strengthening of the spiritual life and ministry of the churches.

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<sup>1</sup> Hutchful, K., *Report for NAEG Enlarged Executive Committee Meeting*, 1 Mar. 1989, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

- e. To alert Christians to trends and spiritual dangers which would undermine the spiritual foundations of the Gospel testimony.
- f. To assist one another by rendering special services or channelling emergency relief, and to provide representation before governments or other agencies when necessary.<sup>3</sup>

In furtherance of the above aims the association decided to:

1. To invite applications for membership so that the Association can become representative of Evangelicals in Ghana.
2. To produce a quarterly duplicated News Sheet, giving details of evangelical activity in Ghana, and activities of the Association.
3. To invite well-known Bible Teachers to Ghana to have a ministry among Christians and church leaders.<sup>4</sup>

In 1981 NAEG arranged for the Trobisch Team from USA to undertake marriage family life seminars in Ghana, together with Bible teaching by John Hunter, an American Bible expositor. The Association lapsed into inactivity until 1983 when its working Committee was re-constituted and mandated to "undertake the necessary constitutional and other changes and to initiate a membership drive. With Kwaku Hutchful (then SU General Secretary) as NAEG Secretary, the new Committee arranged for international evangelical leaders – John Stott, Gottfried Osei-Mensah and Brian Stiller, visiting the country to address a meeting of leaders of 20 evangelical organisations and churches on evangelical unity.<sup>5</sup>

Although at the local level the Association was relatively unknown, it gained a wider international recognition. It was represented at the

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<sup>3</sup> NAEG Executive Committee Letter to Friends, n.d., 1. Signatories to the Letter include local and foreign evangelicals resident in Accra: Stephen Antwi (Secretary) Otto Ray Aamot (Treasurer), Charles Anderson, Agyeman Nkansah (now General Secretary of Association of Goodnews Churches), Benjamin Boateng, James Howard, Bisi Orebayo, Donald Banks (General Secretary – Africa Christian Press), Rev. John Bergen (SIM Missionary).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Hutchful, op. cit., 1.

AEAM General Council Meeting (1984); the AEAM General Assembly (1987); AEAM Ethics, Society and Development Consultations in Nairobi (1987) and Ouagadougou – Burkina Faso (1988) and the General Assembly of the World Evangelical Fellowship (1986).<sup>6</sup> The NAEG was affiliated to WEF in 1986 and AEAM the following year.<sup>7</sup> It raised the international profile of the NAEG Secretary who became a globetrotter, and under auspices of NAEG and SU, co-ordinated the Ghanaian attendance of international conferences organized jointly or separately by the AEAM, the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, and the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

The international activities of NAEG contrasts sharply with the local dormancy of the Association. The NAEG gained international recognition five years before its local inauguration was even considered. The international engagements of the Secretary overshadowed the effort initiated in 1983 to reactivate and make NAEG known nationally. It was not until December 1991 that arrangements were made to inaugurate the Association. The inauguration was planned to coincide with the visit of Tuko Adedeji (General Secretary of AEAM) to Ghana in March 1992 at the invitation of the International Central Gospel Church.<sup>8</sup>

Practically, the NAEG vision has never been a reality in Ghana, because it is limited to a localised group of evangelical leaders in Accra, and hardly known in the regions. The Association is saddled with problems listed as: "in active committee", "poor communication" and "lack of follow through on decisions taken to promote NAEG (eg. membership drive)". Being externally stimulated, NAEG is also bedeviled by problems similar to that which caused the Ghana Congress on Evangelization to loose momentum.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Minutes of NAEG Steering Committee Meetings: 3 & 5 Dec. 1991.

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1. Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Asante – Superintendent Minister, Wesley Methodist Church, Kumasi.
2. Rev. Dr. E H Brew Riverson – Secretary of the Conference of Methodist Church, Ghana.
3. Rev. Felix Maafo – Warden, Ramseyer Centre of Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Abetifi, Eastern Region.
4. Rev. Yaw Frimpong-Manso – Regional Manager of Education of Presbyterian Church of Ghana; and Doctoral Student, University of Aberdeen, since 1990.

5. Rev. Dr. Kwame Bediako – Director, Akrofi-Christaller Centre (of Presbyterian Church of Ghana), Akwapem-Akropong.
6. Abena Yeboah (Mrs) – Lecturer, Christian Service College, Kumasi.
7. Isaac Ababio – Executive Director, Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association, Accra.
8. Yaw Asante – Evangelist-Leader, Standing Together Mission, Kumasi.
9. Isaac Ampah – Co-Leader, Centre for Counselling and Faith Development, Kumasi.
10. Kwaku Kwarteng – Counsellor, CCFD; and Leader, Freeman Methodist Church, Kumasi.
11. Samuel Kwabena Danso – Evangelist and Circuit Steward, Kumasi District of Methodist Church, Ghana.
12. Dr. Daniel O Gyane – Chairman, SU-Ghana Council, Kumasi.
13. Florence Yeboah – Executive Director, GHACOE Women’s Ministry, Accra.
14. Kweku Hutchful – Founder-Leader, Leaders International (a ministry for leadership development), Accra; and formerly, General Secretary, SU-Ghana.
15. Jude Hama –General Secretary, Scripture Union-Ghana, Accra.
16. Edward Okyere – Director of Ministries (of Town Fellowships), SU-Ghana Head Office, Accra.
17. Kwame Denkyi Ansong – Administrator, SU Office, Kumasi.
18. S.A.S Boateng – Ashanti Regional Travelling Secretary (School Fellowships), SU Office, Kumasi.
19. Kofi Owusu – General Secretary, Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students, Accra.
20. Theophilus B. Dankwa – Accra Chapel; Anglophone Africa Regional Secretary of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (1980-93).
21. John Agama – SU Council Member; and Chairman of Board of Trustees, Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation.
22. Kwabena Darko – Africa President, Full Gospel Business Men’s Fellowship International – Africa Regional Office, Accra.
23. Christiana Darko (Mrs) – Co-ordinator, Women’s Ministries of Assemblies of God Church, Ghana; and International Outreach Director for West Africa, Women’s Aglow Fellowship International.

24. Prince Mac Obiri Mainoo – Vice-President, Kumasi City Chapter of FGBMFI.
25. Opanin Kwadwo Kyere – Mathematics Tutor, Prempeh College, Kumasi.
26. Rev. Douglas Frempong – Evangelist-Minister, Christian Outreach Ministries, Kumasi.
27. Rev. J.C. Kwarteng – Evangelist-Minister, Hour of Faith Ministries, Kumasi.
28. Rev. E.R.C. Odame – Director, Global Missions; and Minister, King's Church, Kumasi.
29. Brother Enoch Agbozo – Evangelist-Leader, Ghana Evangelical Society, Accra.
30. Rev. Owusu Afriyie – Founder-Leader, Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association, Accra.
31. Earnest Pianim – Administrator, Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry, Kumasi.
32. Tony Wilmot – Sevenoaks, Kent (England): former Administrator, Gold Civil Service (1948-55); Private Business Administrator, Nigeria; and synchronously, Honorary Travelling Secretary of the Inter-Varsity Overseas Fellowship.
33. Nigel Sylvester – London: Former International Secretary of Scripture Union; and Travelling Secretary of SU in Ghana (1955-65).
34. Shelagh Hulme (Mrs) – St. Andrews, Scotland: Wife of the late Dr. Ralph Hulme (Physics Lecturer, 1951-56), University College of Gold Coast, Achimota/Legon).
35. Dr. Denis G. Osborne – Dulwich Village, London: Physics Lecturer (1958-64), University of Ghana, Legon.
36. Jim Findlay – Maidens, Ayrshire – Scotland: Scottish Missionary, Akropong Training College (1951-7).
37. Cullain Morris – Denstone College, Somerton, England: SU-Ghana Travelling Secretary (1967-75).

## APPENDIX I

### A. 1919 REVISED AIM AND BASIS OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT<sup>1</sup>

The Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland is a fellowship of students who desire to understand the Christian faith and to live the Christian life.

The Movement seeks to set forth Jesus Christ as the supreme revelation of God and of the true nature of man.

It sees in Him the one sure guide for all mankind in every sphere of thought and conduct, in art and industry, in politics and the professions, in science and education; the source of power for the overthrow of evil and the renewal of all human life.

The Movement challenges students to recognize the urgent need of the whole world for Christ without limit of race or nation, and to respond by dedicating their lives to His service as He may guide them.

It calls them to explore His teaching and to follow the guidance of His Spirit in the pursuit of truth, beauty, and righteousness; to prepare themselves by study, discipline, and prayer for the tasks of the future; joyfully to accept God's gift of deliverance and life for themselves; and to enter the fellowship of worship, thought, and service which is the heritage of the Christian Church.

#### MEMBERSHIP:

The Membership of Affiliated Christian Unions and of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union shall be open to students who, having considered the aim and basis, desire to enter the fellowship of the Student Christian Movement. Those theological colleges may be associated which are recognized colleges of denominations whose principles are in harmony with its aim and basis.

### B. REVISED AIM AND BASIS OF THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT ADOPTED IN 1929 AS ARTICLE III OF THE CONSTITUTION<sup>2</sup>

**AIM AND BASIS**--being and expression of the convictions which guide the thought and life of the Student Christian Movement as a whole:

As a Christian Movement we affirm faith in God, our Father, whose nature is creative love and power.

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<sup>1</sup> Extract from *The Aim and Basis of the Student Christian Movement*, SCM Pamphlet, 1919; published in *The Student Movement*, Oct. 1919; and quoted in Tatlow (1933), 628.

<sup>2</sup> Tatlow (1933), 818.

God is made known to us in Jesus Christ, in whom we see the true expression of His being and the true nature of man.

Through His life and triumphant death, and through the living energy of the Spirit, we share in the redeeming love which overcomes evil, and find forgiveness, freedom and eternal life.

Faced with the need and perplexity of the world, we desire to give ourselves to Christ and to follow Him wherever He may call us.

We seek the Kingdom of God, the recreation of all mankind into one family, without distinction of race or nation, class or capacity.

We desire to enter into that fellowship of worship, thought and service which is the heritage of the Christian Church.

### C. OBJECTS OF THE WORLD'S STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT ADOPTED AS ARTICLE XVIII OF THE SCM CONSTITUTION<sup>3</sup>

1. To unite students' Christian movements or organisations throughout the world, and to promote mutual relations among them.
2. To collect and distribute information about the conditions of students in all lands from the religious and other points of view.
3. To promote the following lines of activity:
  - a. To lead students to accept the Christian Faith in God--Father, Son and Holy Spirit according to the Scriptures and to live as true disciples of Jesus Christ.
  - b. To deepen the spiritual life of students and to promote earnest study of the Scriptures among them.
  - c. To influence students to devote themselves to the extension of the Kingdom of God in their own nation and throughout the world.
  - d. To bring students of all countries into mutual understanding and sympathy, to lead them to realize that the principles of Jesus Christ should rule in international relationships, and to endeavour by so doing to draw the nations together.
  - e. To further either directly or indirectly, the efforts on behalf of the welfare of students in the body, mind and spirit which are in harmony with the Christian purpose.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

## APPENDIX II

### THE DOCTRINAL BASIS OF THE INTER-VARSITY FELLOWSHIP OF EVANGELICAL UNIONS (IVFEU/IVF)

On the basis of the IVF, its Constitution<sup>1</sup>, states "its objects shall be to stimulate personal faith and to further evangelistic work amongst students by upholding the fundamental truths of Christianity, including:

- a. The divine inspiration and infallibility of the Holy Scripture, as originally given, and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.
- b. The unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Godhead.
- c. The universal sinfulness and guilt of human nature since the Fall, rendering man subject to God's wrath and condemnation.
- d. Redemption from the guilt, penalty and power of sin only through the sacrificial death (as our Representative and Substitute) of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God.
- e. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.
- f. The necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit to make the Death of Christ effective to the individual sinner, granting him repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ.
- g. The indwelling and work of the Holy Spirit in the believer.
- h. The expectation of the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> See Coggan, F.D., ed. *Christ and The Colleges: A History of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions* (London: IVF, 1934), 205-8.

## APPENDIX III

### CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP (Effective from 26 February 1961)

#### 1. PURPOSE

- a. To witness to the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour and God and lead fellow students to a personal faith in Him
- b. To deepen the spiritual life of Christian Students by the devotional study of the Bible, by prayer and by fellowship.
- c. To encourage responsible church membership.

#### 2. MEMBERSHIP

- a. Membership of the Fellowship shall be open all students in the University College of Ghana who expressly agree with the following declaration:

I declare my faith in Jesus Christ as my Saviour, my Lord and my God, I acknowledge the divine inspiration of the Holy Scripture and its final authority in all matters of faith and conduct and I promise by the grace of God to endeavour to live a life consistent with this declaration. I further pledge my active support to all parts of the Fellowship's purpose and programme.

- b. A student wishing to join the Fellowship shall do so by handling a signed copy of this declaration to the Secretary. He shall cease to be a member of the Fellowship when he leaves the College or if, at any time, he expresses the desire to discontinue his membership.

#### 3. BASIS OF FAITH

The Fellowship shall uphold the fundamental truths of Christianity, including:

- a. The divine inspiration and entire trustworthiness of Holy Scripture as originally given and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.
- b. The unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in the Godhead.
- c. The universal sinfulness and guilt of all men, since the fall, rendering them subject to God's wrath and condemnation, without respect of persons and without discrimination on account of race, nation, colour, social position or otherwise.
- d. Redemption from the guilt, penalty, dominion and pollution of sin solely through the sacrificial death (as our Representative and

substitute) of the Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God.

- e. The resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.
- f. The justification of the sinner by the grace of God through faith alone.
- g. The necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit to make the death of Christ effective to the individual sinner, granting him repentance toward God and faith in Jesus Christ.
- h. The indwelling and work of the Holy Spirit in the believer.
- i. The one Holy Universal Church to which all true believers belong; and the unity of all believers in Christ without discrimination on account of race, colour, nation, social position or otherwise.
- j. The expectation of the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ.

## APPENDIX IV

### A. INSTITUTIONS WITH EVANGELICAL UNIONS AND DATES OF AFFILIATION TO THE GHANA FELLOWSHIP OF EVANGELICAL STUDENTS<sup>1</sup>

#### University Institutions:

1. University of Ghana (Legon Campus) - 1960
2. University of Ghana Medical School (Accra) - 1976
3. University of Science and Technology (UST) - 1956
4. UST School of Mines (Tarkwa) - 1979
5. UST School of Medical Sciences (Kumasi) - 1990
6. University of Cape Coast - 1965

#### Diploma-awarding Institutions:

7. Advanced Teacher Training College (Winneba) - c.1971
8. Advanced Teacher Training College (Kumasi) - 1981
9. Specialist Training College (Winneba) - c.1971
10. National Academy of Music (Winneba) - 1977
11. Institute of Professional Studies (Legon) - 1979
12. St Andrews Agriculture College (Asante Mampong) - 1986
13. School of Ghana Languages (Ajumako) - 1981

#### Theological Colleges:

14. Trinity College (Protestant, Legon District) - 1974
15. Christian Service College (Non-denominational, Kumasi) - 1986

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<sup>1</sup> As founder members of the GIUCF (re-constituted in 1975 as GHAFES) the dates of formal constitution of the Christian Fellowships in the three universities in Kumasi, Legon, and Cape Coast is stated as dates of affiliation. Concerning the date of affiliation of the two Winneba institutions - ATTC and STC, to GHAFES, a correspondence by Martin Obeng (Travelling Secretary of GHAFES for Accra institutions) to the author, 25 May 1992, states: "The exact dates for STC and ATTC are not available but a letter on the files indicates that before 1971, they were recognised as members of the fellowship."

**B. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF GHAFES**  
(1981 GHAFES Constitution, Article V.)

1. The aims of the GHAFES in respect of member fellowships shall be:
  - a. To witness to the Lord Jesus Christ as Saviour and God, and to lead fellow students to a personal faith in Him.
  - b. To deepen the spiritual life of Christian students by the devotional study of the Bible, by prayer and by fellowship.
  - c. To stimulate interest in evangelistic and missionary work, and prayer on its behalf.
  - d. To encourage responsible church membership.
  
2. It shall be the aims of GHAFES in respect of associate friends:
  - a. To encourage a continuing and deepening spiritual life.
  - b. To assist them in their witness for the Lord Jesus Christ in the work places, churches and communities.
  - c. To mobilize their assistance for the GHAFES and other Christian organisations in the form of prayer, giving and direct ministry.

## APPENDIX V

### A. THE AIMS AND BASIS OF FAITH OF SCRIPTURE UNION-GHANA<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. AIM: To assist the work of the Christian Churches:

- a. In presenting the claims of Christ, especially to the young people, and seeking to bring them to put their trust in Him and surrender to Him.
- b. In strengthening the spiritual lives of committed Christians especially through the thoughtful reading of the Bible daily, through prayer, and through Christian fellowship.
- c. In encouraging the growth of mature Christian character and active church membership.

#### 2. CONVICTIONS

The SU Committee (now Council) upholds the truths of Christianity as revealed in Holy Scripture including:

- a. The unity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit in the Godhead.
- b. The sovereignty of God in creation, providence, revelation, redemption and final judgement.
- c. The divine inspiration and entire trustworthiness of Holy Scripture, and its supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.
- d. The sinfulness and guilt of all men since the fall, rendering them subject to God's wrath and condemnation.
- e. Redemption from the guilt, penalty and power of sin solely through the sacrificial death, as our representatives and substitute of the Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God.
- f. The bodily resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and His ascension to the right hand of God the Father.
- g. The necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit to make the death of Christ effective to the individual sinner, granting him repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.
- h. The justification of the sinner by grace of God through faith in Christ alone.

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<sup>1</sup> Stated in the Constitution of the SU-Ghana, and in *Tit-bits About Scripture Union*, SU-Ghana Information Paper, 1990, 5.

- i. The indwelling and work of the Holy Spirit in the believer.
- j. The one holy, universal Church, which is the body of Christ, and to which all true believers belong.
- k. The expectation of the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ.

**B. THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SCRIPTURE UNION (GHANA)**  
(Main points of the amplified version for fellowship groups)

- a. To lead young people and others to personal saving faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.
- b. To encourage young people and others to acknowledge and witness to such faith in their own schools, colleges, working places and homes.
- c. To encourage the regular and intelligent reading of the Bible.
- d. To encourage the development of Christian character.
- e. To teach the nature and obligations of the Christian vocation.
- f. To uphold the principles of the Christian home.
- g. To give instruction in methods of evangelism and generally to promote and conduct special evangelistic and other services and public and private meetings and gatherings so far as only shall not be contrary to law.
- h. While always evangelical and inter-denominational in fellowship and function, SU encourages the youth and others to active connection with regular worship in a congregation or assembly of the Christian Church.

## APPENDIX VI

### SCRIPTURE UNION IN THE EYES OF THE CHURCH IN GHANA<sup>1</sup>

#### A. Negative Views About Scripture Union

1. Whoever talks too much about being "born again" is a Scripture Union member. SU members ... go about talking about nothing but "being saved" – "being saved from sin".
2. The sins they attack so much are drinking, smoking and sexual immorality. If some stops drinking, smoking and sex-vice he becomes a brother of the Union. ...a born again Christian.
3. It is alleged that they alone have the sense to smell true Christians and false Christians and can tell outright those going to heaven and those going to hell. They have a Spiritual Thermostat to check "hot" and "cold" Christians and quickly dissociate from those they find growing cold.
4. SU consists of people who shun themselves from activities of the Church in order to do their own thing. They are a Church in disguise. They have formed one Church within the area of Korle-Bu hospital, Accra. On an important occasion of the Church like Easter, when sharing of faith becomes so important, they leave the Church to meet somewhere and return only after the season.
5. They claim they have all the answers to the Church's problems. They know what the Church stands for, what ought to be done in the Church and by the Church; they can even prescribe the best medicine they know for a "dying-Church" but they do not draw near to the "patient-Church" to nurse it to health."
6. Some SU members have the ability during the preaching of Sermons, to attack fearlessly Ministers and Church leaders under the pretext of an inspiration by the Holy Spirit... .

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<sup>1</sup> Extracts from SU-Ghana Paper by Rev. John K Ampiah-Addison, 21 Jan. 1980. In the introductory note the writer states: "The source of information for this paper is traced to the views collected personally from Church Authorities, Religious Leaders, Pastors, Priests, Church Elders, and Christians during conversations and interviews. There is no record in the archives of any of the Christian Churches in Ghana written against or about the Scripture Union. But since the information has come from the cross-section of Church Authorities and members of our Society, I consider all the information authentic. However, instead of saying SCRIPTURE UNION IN THE EYES OF THE CHURCH IN GHANA, I would prefer it to be worded: 'SCRIPTURE UNION IN THE EYES OF CHURCH PEOPLE IN GHANA. The content of this paper is very raw ... not all Church people know exactly what the SU is all about, ... but they have tried to know something about [the movement] through the lives of ... members."

7. SU is associated with extremism and Charismatism. They encourage the youth, especially students, to fast or stay too late in prayer at night for the receiving of the power of the Spirit.
8. The SU people disagree with some Churches on certain doctrinal issues. Infant baptism by sprinkling, are wrong to them. On the other hand they commend a Church that beats drums, claps dances and sings short verses of songs as the only one that has more of the Holy Spirit.
9. Wherever they are, SU members exhibit a "holier-than-thou" attitude. Their fanatic women will not accept marriage from any Christian except the man is an SU.
10. The SU organisation is a centre where women in need of husbands first go to be made Christians and later qualify to win husbands. All the men crown their marriage with matrimony – a very good security for women.
11. In Colleges and Institutions SU students try to force their faith and ideas about Jesus Christ on other students and bring about confusion and tension. What is happening now at a prominent Institution that trains Church Ministers in Ghana, is an example. The SU people have now invaded that institution. Majority of SU members have become students training for the ministry and are now creating tension with those who do not see eye-to-eye with them on matters of faith. A senior Tutor, an SU, is supporting the invaders.
12. Some SU members are just hypocrites. They practise sex secretly while they condemn the same sin in the lives of others.
13. Some church dignitaries believe strongly that all the Organisations listed below are SU given additional names:

- a. HOVCEA – Hour of Visitation
- b. Aflame for Christ
- c. Deeper Life Ministry
- d. New Life For All
- e. Reapers
- f. GHAFES
- g. Campus Crusade for Christ
- h. Youth For Christ
- i. Child Evangelism Fellowship
- k. Africa Christian Press
- l. Joyful Way Singers
- m. Singspiration
- n. Great Christian Singers
- o. Prayer Groups in Offices

## B. Positive Views about SU

There are also those who even though are not members of the SU do sympathize with the organization and just love them for their zeal. They refer to many changed-lives in our Society and praise the Lord for the work of the SU in Ghana. ... Some positive comments are:

1. They have the sterling qualities of helping lost souls to know Jesus Christ personally.
2. They have no shame speaking about what Christ has done in their lives, even in public.
3. They are men and women with a clear-cut faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.
4. They are very honest. You cannot get them to accept a bribe for duties and jobs they have to perform. They refuse large sums of money offered to corrupt them.
5. In Ghana today wherever you hear of Revival whether in a Church or in a school, check up, and you will find out that SU members are unassumingly involved.
6. You give all the SU people you talk about viciously to me. I will transform my Church with them. I have few of them as Leaders of my Church and they are those who are really faithful. They are the ones I can trust for the success of any programme in my Church.
7. I owe my conversion and ministry to the work of the SU in Ghana. I accepted Christ through the Testimony of one of them and has been strengthened by their fellowship. To hate the SU is to have a personal reason or a personal problem.

## APPENDIX VII

### EVANGELICAL MINISTERS IN THE HISTORIC PROTESTANT CHURCHES

#### A. METHODIST CHURCH – GHANA

1. Dr E H Brew Riverson, Secretary of Conference (since 1986).
2. Dr Emmanuel Asante, Wesley Church, and Supt. Minister Kumasi Circuit.
3. Dr Sarfo Kantanka, Agric. Lecturer, (University of Science and Technology); and Minister, Ayigya Methodist Church, Kumasi
4. Dr MacLean Kumi, Chairman of Koforidua District; formerly, Vice-Principal, Trinity College.
5. Asamoah Okyere, Lecturer, Trinity College
6. William Blankson, Ridge Church, Accra.
7. J.K. Ampiah-Addision, Sekondi-Takoradi
8. Dr Aboagye-Mensah, Lecturer, Trinity College, and Minister-in-Charge, Police Church, Accra.
9. Dr. Emmanuel Lartey, formerly, Lecturer (Trinity College) and Minister-in-Charge (Ridge Church); now Lecturer, Theology Dept. – University of Birmingham.
10. Joseph N Kudadjie, Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana, Legon.
11. Kofi Amponsah, Principal, Wesley College
12. Isaac Bonful, Accra District.
13. Richard Essua-Sekyere, Chairman, Sunyani District; and formerly, Chaplain – World Vision International (Ghana).
14. Emmanuel W M Tetteh, Somanya, Eastern Region.
15. Moses Antwi, Manager of Schools, Methodist Headquarters, Accra.
16. Abayie Sarpong, Principal, Osei Tutu Secondary School, Asante Akropong.
17. Samuel Aidoo-Bervell, Ntwantanum, Central Region.
18. Nur Ben Abubekr, Asawasi Circuit (Kumasi District).
19. Isaac T Fynn, Nkawkaw, Eastern Region.
20. Foster Nyarko, Breman Asikuma, Central Region.

21. **Samuel Adu-Boateng**, Regional Director - "New Life For All", Brong Ahafo
22. **Richard Foli**, NLFA Director, Greater Accra/Eastern Region
23. **S A Amankwah**, Wesley College, Kumasi.
24. **Kwame Odam**, Sekyere-Odumase, Ashanti.
25. **Obuo-Dadzie**, Koforidua, Eastern Region.
26. **Esther Anaman**, Kwesiminstim, Western Region.

## B. PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA

1. **Samuel Atiemo**, Formerly, Warden, Ramsyer Training Centre, Abetifi; now resident in Kenya as Africa Director, Youth For Christ International.
2. **Albert Berko**, Kibi, Eastern Region; formerly, Presbyterian Chaplain, London.
3. **Isaac Fokuo**, Ecumenical & Inter-Church Relations Secretary
4. **Yaw Frimpong-Manso**, formerly, NLFA Regional Director and Regional Manager of Schools, Ho - Volta Region; now studying for PhD at Aberdeen University.
5. **Margaret Boama-Seku**, Chaplain, Agogo Women's Training College, Ashanti.
6. **Osei Sarpong**, Asonomaso, Ashanti; engaged in further studies at the University of Cape Coast.
7. **S M Mante**, NLFA Regional Director, Greater Accra/Eastern Region.
8. **Philip Laryea**, Formerly, Chaplain of Prempeh College - Kumasi; now National Youth Minister, Presbyterian Church Headquarters - Accra.
9. **Felix Maafo**, Warden, Ramseyer Training Centre, Abetifi.
10. **Dr Samuel Adjei**, University of Ghana, Legon.
11. **Seth Nana Mintah**, Youth Minister, Ashanti.
12. **Abraham A Berinyuu**, formerly based in Tamale as Chaplain of Schools, and Tutor, Ecumenical Lay Training Centre; now studying for PhD at New College, University of Edinburgh.
13. **Emmanuel Ollando**, Tamale, now in Germany as fraternal relations minister.

14. **J O Y Mante**, formerly at Obuasi (Ashanti); undertaking doctoral studies in USA.
15. **Earnest Asare Addo**, Anyinase, Nzima.

#### **C. EVANGELICAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF GHANA**

1. **Victor Otitiaku**, NLFA Regional Director, Ho, Volta Region.
2. **John Timpo**, Ho.

#### **D. ANGLICAN CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF WEST AFRICA**

1. **Robert Koomson**, Diocesan Evangelist, Kumasi.
2. **Duah Agyemang**, formerly of Kumasi Diocese; now in USA for further studies.
3. **Daniel Y Sarfo**, Military Chaplain: formerly, at Liberation Barracks (Sunyani), and now at Uaddarra Barracks, Kumasi.
4. **Festus Yeboah-Asuamah**, Chaplain, Anglican Society, UST - Kumasi.

## APPENDIX VIII

### "WHAT I HAD FROM THE RETREAT": TESTIMONIES AT THE 1978 WARRIORS ANNUAL RETREAT (WAR)<sup>1</sup>

1. I was made aware that if Jesus had not left his glory above to come to save me, I would still be living in sin and therefore, I was challenged to leave my trivial matters of life and concentrate on His work. I saw that I was very complacent and therefore challenged to live a more holy life and win the crown.

2. Yes, this is my first time of attending a retreat. Apart from amazing strength given me, God has revealed me what I left undone. At first I thought I was alright but have realised emptiness. Oh! the hell of me. I relied on the facts of being born again, being able to win a few souls for Christ not even able to bear them up and set a standard to my Christian growth. Even though, I was totally blocked from knowing the way ahead. Oh! wretched, who can deliver me from this spiritual blindness. But praise be to God the victor, he has broken the barrier and now I can look ahead, through his ever-living word.

3. I thought I was a giant in my fellowship but at the Retreat, God revealed my position to me that I am but a waste matter and I have to resolve and take up the humble and obedient character of his servant Moses else there will be no prize for my power. To be frank, I left the retreat ground so much ashamed, for, my true Picture of sinful was revealed to me.

4. I was a coward but by the grace of God and the Blood of Jesus, I have become bold to say that Jesus is my Saviour and Lord. I am no longer the same.

5. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength..." (Isaiah 40:31). If there is ever a time which I have really understood this verse and experienced the reality of it, it's now. ...Just before I came home on holidays, I thought I was spiritually alright, COMPLACENCY. When I came home, Oh man! here was I caught in a strong spiritual depression. Lust of the world, lust of the eyes and flesh, wandering and filthy thoughts (planning marriage even though I am not ready for it). I could not pray longer or and to witness was a hectic blow. But here I am rejoicing within me for all my chains are broken, set free and filled with His spirit. Try Him and you will also find Him to be real.

6. On the day we began the WAR, I had fever and in the afternoon I could not stand. I was shivering and feeling very cold. This was happening during our first character study of Moses. I prayed short prayer in my mind and sat there until the morning session was over. When I woke up after the long rest all the shivering, the cold and the headache had vanished in the name of Jesus. ... And I could see that I was renewed in strength. God continued to give me new strength for the rest of the days we spent at the retreat. God revealed my weakness to me: fear, and for that matter could not witness effectively for Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> Extracts From The *Prayer Warrior Bulletin*, 1978.

7. Before the retreat I had many problems relating to marriage. ...even though my wife and I love each other. However, after listening to the first brief talk on possible causes of unhappy marriages, and after we had prayed on these factors the Lord revealed to me and removed the factors that had been making my wife and I unhappy in our marriage.

8. I had been suffering from stomach ulcer for the past two years. Several doctors have given me their prescriptions but all their attempts have not been successful. I had a strong desire to attend the retreat but the sickness kept on haunting me, so I prayed to the Lord and asked him to heal me, and really expected Him to work. Now Praise the Lord! I am healed; for during these days I felt not the slightest pain in my stomach.

9. I thank the Lord so much that He purposely brought me from Accra to this retreat. The Lord has quickened, blessed and brought me into rest in a NEW AND LIVING WAY - for I was entangled with rabbles and He had operated on me and removed the cobwebs of evil thoughts, greed, laziness etc. out from me and has taken X-ray picture of myself and showed it to me that I was not loving Him as I ought to. I thank Him for His love. He has expounded everything to me, empowered, and strengthened me to bear much fruit.

## APPENDIX IX

### DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF PARTICIPANTS OF PRAYER WARRIORS ANNUAL RETREAT (WAR) '85, 1-5 AUGUST 1985 AT SUNYANI SECONDARY SCHOOL.

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1. Roman Catholic Church                            | - 93  |
| <b>CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA CHURCHES</b>          |       |
| 2. Presbyterian Church of Ghana                     | - 180 |
| 3. Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana         | - 10  |
| 4. Methodist Church - Ghana                         | - 197 |
| 5. Church of the Province of West Africa (Anglican) | - 21  |
| 6. Ghana Baptist Convention Churches                | - 14  |
| <b>GHANA NATIONAL PENTECOSTAL CONGRESS CHURCHES</b> |       |
| 7. Church of Pentecost                              | - 45  |
| 8. Assemblies of God Church                         | - 50  |
| 9. Christ Apostolic Church                          | - 15  |
| 10. Apostolic Church of Ghana                       | - 10  |
| <b>AFRICAN INSTITUTED CHURCHES</b>                  |       |
| 11. African Faith Church                            | - 1   |
| 12. True Church                                     | - 3   |
| 13. Divine Church                                   | - 4   |
| 14. Church of the Lord Brotherhood                  | - 1   |
| 15. Bethany Church                                  | - 1   |
| 16. Faith Church                                    | - 1   |
| 17. Hour of Redemption Church                       | - 3   |
| <b>OTHERS</b>                                       |       |
| 18. Seventh Day Adventist Church                    | - 1   |
| 19. Church of God in Christ                         | - 1   |
| 20. Unity Church                                    | - 1   |
| 21. New Testament Church                            | - 1   |

## APPENDIX X

TRANSCRIBED TEXT OF PROPHECIES AT PRAYER WARRIORS ORDERLIES MEETING AT WARRIORS ANNUAL RETREAT AT SUNYANI 3 AUGUST 1985.

### PROPHECY - I

This is the time to meet you, says the Lord. All should listen to me. I repeat: I am the Almighty God who speaks to you. I have called you. I have authority to change whatever I have prepared. I am repeating because I want you to be witnesses and keep it in memory in order not to forget. I said I would work out my plans through prayer warriors. I want to revive Christianity. When it is time for me to act and you resist, I will override you and you will be cursed. You realised the slow running of my ministry. Many are touched by the need for revival. I will send you to different places. Note That I have equipped you. You are my weapons and bullets, I will use you. Many are here and many are yet to be selected. Blessed are those who listen and do according to my word. If you will follow me then be prepared to face persecution for it is part of the ministry. Expect it in your congregations and fellowships. Your ministers will come against you. It will be my act. Not only in Ghana but through out Africa. Some will even minister to whites. It is my ministry (work). Surrender your lives to me and I will let you be sanctified. If you deny yourself, you will know that I am God. I will supply your needs. Holiness is essential. Refrain from sins and pleasures of the world. Consider John the Baptist. What did he eat? What did he put on? Consider, my son. How many cloths did he possess? I have sent you. My son, know that you are seated on my laps. Why do you doubt? Is it the first time I have spoken for long, long with my children? My servant Okyere in particular knows of the persecution ahead. Let those in the [SU] headquarters know what is to happen. I know what goes on at the headquarters. I will work out my plans there. Those who will stay may stay, and those who may resign may resign. My work does not depend on the wisdom of this world, but heavenly wisdom. It is not by might. Take care of God's work and yours will prosper. I cause rain and sunshine. Blessed are those who hear my word and obey them. My grace and blessings will come upon them

### PROPHECY - II

My beloved, why are you dismayed? I have promised that I will be with you always. I led Moses to deliver the people of Israel from slavery. I led Samuel, Moses and Abraham. I led Daniel. Let all be liars and I be faithful. Lead a holy life, you will see my mighty hand on you. He who doubt will not see my glory. My peace be with you. I am Almighty God.

### PROPHECY - III

Look! Look! Look! Look! I repeat: Look! Look! Look! Look! And I ask you too. So do you live a Holy life. You ask yourself why is there no development in all that you do. I am making you aware that it is because you do not understand holiness. That is why I departed from you. Today I have come to warn you.

### PROPHECY - IV

My children note this from now. No one can compete with me. You are warned. He who doubt will be condemned. I will reveal myself to individuals. He who resist, I will punish. You are filled with unbelief. That is why I have called you together. I am concerned with all that goes on among you. Because you do not pray and read the word, you have given the devil the chance to work out his plans among you. You are defeated because there is separation among you. I am merciful and gracious. All who continue to harden their hearts will be blindfolded. Worries and trials are ahead of you. You will deny each other, but be careful. I am warrior, he who follows I equip and strengthen. Persecution, worries will come upon you. Remember what happened to me in the Garden, how I suffered. Put on the whole armour of God. My glory will be upon you. I pour on you rich blessing. I have chosen you. Do not count yourself less. My glory is sure and is there forever. My peace be upon you. He who endures will be victorious.

## APPENDIX XI

### CHRISTIAN SERVICE COLLEGE STAFF (1974-93) AND PERIOD OF ENGAGEMENT

1. **William Henry Chapman**, MA (Oxon) – Principal (1974-93), formerly, Principal of WEC Missionary Training College, Glasgow (1957-73).
2. **Myra Chapman (Mrs)** – Honorary Secretary (1974-93).
2. **Isaac Ababio**, BSc (UST-Ghana), Dip. Th., (Melbourne), 1974-76.
3. **Brian Woodford**, BTh (Georgia, USA), WEC Missionary – Burkina Faso (1960-72); CSC engagements – 1975-79 and 1982-83.
4. **Dr. Kwame Bediako**, BA Hons. (Legon-Ghana & CNAAC); Me-es-L Doct. 3eme Cycle (Bordeaux), 1976-78.
5. **Gillian Bediako (Mrs)**, BA Hons. (Dunelm), Dip. Th.(Lond.), 1976-78
5. **John Ntsiful**, BA (CNAAC), MTh (Edinburgh), engaged since 1977.
6. **Ransford Senavoe**, BA (Oklahoma), MA (Fuller), 1979-90; previously SU (Ghana) Travelling Secretary.
7. **Juliana Senavoe (Mrs)**, BA Hons. (Legon-Ghana), MA (Fuller), engaged since 1979, and appointed Principal in 1993.
8. **John and Rosalind Priddle** (Australian couple with WEC Mission), 1981-82 and 1986-88.
9. **Eric Anum**, BA Hons (Legon), MTh (Glasgow), 1981-88; now minister of Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
10. **Samuel B. Adubofuor**, BA Hons. (Legon), MTh (Aberdeen), engaged part-time in 1982, and full-time since '83.
11. **Abena Yeboah**, BA, Dip. Ed. (Cape Coast-Ghana), MTh (Aberdeen), engaged since 1983.
12. **Nelson Agyeman**, BA Hons. (Legon), 1990-92.

### PART-TIME LECTURERS

1. **Rev. J. de-Graft Johnson**, BA, BD, (former Chairman of Kumasi District of Methodist Church, Ghana) – Christian Ethics (1978).
2. **Rev. Robert Osei** (Anglican Diocese of Kumasi) – Greek (1978).
3. **Ebenezer Afful**, Dip. Th. (Legon) – 1976-78.
4. **Rev. Joseph Osei** (Methodist Chaplain, Prempeh College, Kumasi) – 1978.

5. **Antwi-Adjei**, BA Hons. (Legon), (Staff Member of Prempeh College) - 1979/80
6. **Rev. Dr. Emmanuel Asante**, BTh, MA, Phd (Canada), Wesley Church, Kumasi) - Old Testament (since 1988).
7. **Rev. Philip Laryea**, Dip. Th., BA Hons. (Legon), Presbyterian Chaplain, Prempeh College - Church History (1990-92)
8. **Rev. Cyril Ben-Smith** (Anglican Diocese of Kumasi) - Philosophy of Religion (since 1992).
9. **William Garriba**, BSc (UST) - Kumasi worker of Navigators (USA) - Evangelism Tutor (1992).

## APPENDIX XII

### MEMBERS OF GHANA EVANGELICAL MISSIONS ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

1. Abundant Life Ministries
2. Accra Chapel Trust
3. African Christian Mission
4. Africa Christian Press
5. All For Christ Mission
6. African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
7. Bethesda Mission
8. Calvary Gospel Mission Incorporated
9. Child Evangelism Fellowship
10. Christian Outreach Fellowship
11. Continental Charismatic Evangelistic Missions
12. Evangelical Bible Mission
13. Foundation for Christian Leadership
14. Foursquare Gospel Church
15. Ghana Christian College and Seminary
16. Ghana Evangelism Committee
17. Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation
18. Gospel Ambassadors Ministry
19. Gospel Missions Crusade
20. Islamic and Christian Studies Programme
21. Labourers' Ministry
22. Liberation Mission for Christ
23. Medium Bible College (Church of Divine Word)
24. Methodist Church
25. Methodist Church Missions
26. Mission to Millions Crusaders
27. New Life Volta Ministry
28. Pastors' Training Institute
29. Power of Jesus Evangelistic Ministry
30. Siloam Evangelistic Ministry
31. Standing Together Mission
32. Torchbearers
33. Volta Evangelistic Association

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<sup>1</sup> List attached to GEMA Letter to Members, 12 Feb. 1990.

## APPENDIX XIII

### THE MISSION '84 (KUMASI) STATEMENT<sup>1</sup>

#### PREAMBLE:

We members of the Church of God assembled for the Seminar on the CHURCH AND THE NATION held in Kumasi from 25th to 29th September 1984 give thanks unto God for the outpouring of His Spirit upon us as we gathered in the name of JESUS. We bless His Name for His presence in our midst during the Seminar and the Revival service on REVIVAL IN THE LAST DAYS held alongside the seminar, all constituting Mission '84 (Kumasi).

We salute the Government, the Church and the people of Ghana in the blessed name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

#### AFFIRMATIONS:

1. We confess JESUS CHRIST as God, our Lord and Saviour who is revealed in the Bible, which is the infallible Word of God.
2. We affirm that the Lord's hand is on the nation and we are calling on the people of Ghana, the leaders of the country, Church leaders, Christians, public servants, progressive men and women, traders, businessmen, farmers, students and all workers to eschew evil, turn away from their wicked, corrupt and fraudulent ways, and live honest, dedicated and sober lives and to work hard in love in all their several callings, duties and assignments for social progress, equity, peace, justice, economic prosperity, spiritual upliftment and the glory of God in the nation: "but sin is a reproach to any people".
3. We affirm that Ghana is a Christian country, with Christians, in all social and economic classes, forming the largest religious group, and should remain as such.
4. We therefore call upon the people of God, the Church to recognise its position and responsibility as Salt and light of Society, and the prophetic and reformative role in society to provide guidance and leadership. The Church has for a long time been in the forefront in the provision of social services - in education and health, and has in recent times been receiving, channelling and distributing foreign aid, food, drug, etc. in the country.
5. We urge the Government of Ghana to maintain channels of communication with the Church as we are all committed to the welfare and progress of our people and to hold regular consultations with the Church so as to make the Church part of the decision-making apparatus in the governance of the nation.
6. We urge that in doing so, the Government should NOT identify itself with only one section of the Church.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Salvation Herald*, Oct.-Dec. 1987, 5-6.

APPENDIX XIV (A) - HANDBILL OF GES RELIGIOUS DEBATE

SYMPOSIA! SYMPOSIA! SYMPOSIA!

THE GREAT DEBATE ON THE PATH OF GOD

(13TH - 17TH MARCH, 1990)

A look at the religious scene today reflects the presence of not only diverse and numerous groups but also deep seated beliefs and claims for the best and only method of spiritual salvation and perfection.

One is always tempted to ask, which way salvation? Is it the Quran way as revealed to Mohammed or by chanting 'Hare Krishna' as advocated by Prabhupada? Is the Buddhist or Eckankar method to be adopted? What about Theosophy, Freemason and the like? Is it the traditional African case and the current move towards African roots?

Which way salvation? Is it by ascetism and Yoga practices, chanting, soul travel or by believing in a saviour? Is it by grace or works?

What about the bold assertion by the Lord Jesus Christ, "I am the Way the Truth and the Life. No one comes to the Father except by Me?"

Which way salvation? Which religion? Which God, Oh Ghana? What is the true path of God - Creator of heaven and earth - instituted for the salvation of man? This is what the series of symposia would afford participants the opportunity to discuss.

VENUE : THE POLICE CHURCH, opp. Continental Hotel  
Airport Road, Accra

TIME : 6.30 PM EACH DAY

SPEAKERS: Drawn from the various Religious groups

A D M I S S I O N I S F R E E . A L L A R E W E L C O M E .

APPENDIX XIV (A) - HANDBILL OF GES RELIGIOUS DEBATE

THE PATH OF GOD SYMPOSIA

(The Christian and other Religious views)

(13TH - 17TH MARCH, 1990)

- Tues. 13th March - THE WAY OF SALVATION -  
(The African Religion view  
The Christian view)  
Speakers : Osofo Kofi Ameve  
(Afrikania Mission)  
Bro. Enoch Agbozo  
(Ghana Evangelical Society)
- Wed. 14th March - THE NEW BIRTH -  
(The Eckankar view  
The Christian view)  
Speakers : Rep. from Eckankar  
Bro. Enoch Agbozo
- Thurs. 15th March - THE NEW LIFE -  
(The Moslem view  
The Christian view)  
Speakers : Hajj Malam Wusaini Zakariya  
Bro. Enoch Agbozo
- Fri. 16th March - THE PATH OF PERFECTION -  
(The Hare Krishna view  
The Christian view)  
Speakers : Srivatsa Das  
Bro. Enoch Agbozo
- Sat. 17th March - YE SHALL RECEIVE POWER -  
(Power for Life, Power for Service,  
Power for Protection)  
Speaker : Bro Enoch Agbozo

A D M I S S I O N I S F R E E . A L L A R E W E L C O M E .

APPENDIX XIV (B) – HANDBILL OF G.E.S. CONFERENCE

WEST AFRICA HOLY SPIRIT CONFERENCE II, 1990  
ACCRA — GHANA

THEME: THE CHURCH, THE FAITH AND (AFRICAN)  
CULTURE

Our age is undoubtedly, rife with confusion and wild debate on the African Christian's involvement in the traditional African customary practices

For the information of the Christian Community and the General Public, the Second West Africa Holy Spirit Conference is scheduled for SEPTEMBER 4—8, 1990.

The aim of the Conference among others is to provide knowledge, direction and help to all saints regarding the Christian Faith and African Culture.

Topics to be discussed include:

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| * The Faith, Culture and Religion    | * Death Rites and The Christian Faith                |
| * The Church and Cultural Revolution | * Christianity — A. Whiteman's Religion?             |
| * The Faith and Chieftancy           | * The Faith and African Harvest Festivals            |
| * The Faith and Libation             | * The Faith, Polygamy and<br>The Lord's Supper, etc. |

Speakers include:

- |                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| * Rev. Dr. K. A. Dickson  | * Rev. Dr. Emml Asante       |
| * Rev. Dr. Aboagye-Mensah | * Nana Addo-Danquah          |
| * Rev. David Dartey       | * Bishop Ayo Ladigbolu       |
| * Rev. Sam Odunaiké       | * Rev. Dr Ofori Adu-Twum     |
| * Rev. Cephas Omenyo      | * Bro. Enoch A. Agbozo, etc. |

VENUE: UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON

FEES: Residents — ₵2,500.00 Non-residents — ₵800.00

Please note that Registration for participation is opened to all interested on 4th September, 1990 at the Commonwealth Hall, University of Ghana, Legon from 9. 00am — 5. 00pm.

Opening Ceremony is at 6. 30pm the same day.

**COME AND BE BLESSED**



Correspondence: The Secretary, West Africa Holy Spirit Confab.  
P. O. Box 4393, Accra-Ghana. Tel. (021) 227207



# PRAISE & ADORATION SPIRITUALS

1

Twi Yehowa, yeyi w'aye IM GP 160

WE praise you, wonderful God. We glorify your name.  
We glorify your name: Amen, hallelujah!  
Here on earth with hymns and songs  
We extol your holy name;  
Then one day we'll sing above: Amen, hallelujah!

translated from the Twi

2

Twi Momma no so IM GP 174

JESUS is king, give him all the glory;  
Jesus is king, give him all the glory;  
Jesus is king, spread abroad his story,  
He is Lord of all.  
He's king of kings, and Lord of lords, so bow down now  
And give him honour, thanks, and praise;  
He's king of kings, and Lord of lords, so bow down now  
And give him honour, thanks, and praise.

adapted from the Twi

3

Twi Onyankopon, aman nyiraa IM GP 148

O LORD of lords, and king of kings:  
Let every nation praise your name.  
Let every tribe upon you call:  
Let all the universe proclaim  
That Jesus Christ is Lord of all.

adapted from the Twi

4

Twi Da n'ase IM GP 151

THANK the Lord for he is good,  
Thank the Lord our God;  
He's given more than we can tell –  
Thank the Lord for he is good  
Thank the Lord our God.

translated from the Twi

## PRAISE AND ADORATION (SPIRITUALS)

**5**

Ga Ani nyɛ baja wɔŋ lo

GP 175

IM

PRAISE the Lord, hallelujah:  
Praise the Lord, hallelujah!  
He's the only God to worship:  
Why serve other gods instead?  
Rings and amulets are useless  
If by Jesus Christ you're led.  
Shall we worship lifeless idols  
Pour libation to our fathers who are dead?  
No! we have a saviour who is Christ the Lord.  
Even if they tied us tightly  
And they threw us to the lions we would not—  
No! we have a saviour who is Christ the Lord.

adapted from the Ga

**6**

Twi Osorosoro Nyankopon

GP 168

IM

OUR God is in the highest heaven  
And great is his power;  
His power is great, his power is great.  
He made us by his word alone  
And all we can see  
He did create, he did create.  
He is our mighty shepherd and he knows us all,  
He keeps us by his love lest into sin we fall.  
Our God is in the highest heaven  
And great is his power;  
His power is great, his power is great.

adapted from the Twi

**7**

Ga Odani ofe fɛɛ

GP 162

IM

YOU are the king of kings,  
Other gods are lifeless things.  
Lord Jesus, who can be compared with you?  
You are the king of kings.

adapted from the Ga

PRAISE AND ADORATION (SPIRITUALS)

8

GP 165  
IM

PRAISING the Lord always,  
Praising the Lord always,  
Praising the Lord with all your heart,  
Praising the Lord with all your heart always.  
Yes, God is good,  
Yes, God is good,  
Yes, God is good, he's good to me.

adapted from the Twi

9

Twi Yɛda w'ase, Nyame guammaa IM GP 159

O LAMB of God, we praise your name;  
You never change, you're still the same  
You took away our sin and stain,  
O Lamb of God, we praise your name.

translated from the Twi

10

Twi Ampara se Onyame ye ɔhene IM GP 149

ALL power and honour belong to him,  
God is still on the throne.  
He's ruling his people,  
We'll serve him as our king today;  
All power and honour belong to him,  
God is still on the throne.

SPIRITUAL

11

GP 167  
IM

REJOICE, my soul, and praise the Lord,  
Rejoice and praise the Lord.

SPIRITUAL

12

Twi Nyame ye ɔɔɔ

GP 158  
IM

OUR God is love,  
Our God is love,  
Our God is love,  
And his praise shall never cease.

translated from the Twi

13

GP 147  
IM

LET all the people praise your name,  
Let all the people praise your name;  
Let all the people praise your name  
For ever and evermore.

SPIRITUAL

14

Twi Yi n'aye

GP 161  
IM

WORSHIP him, worship him,  
Worship the Lord;  
Because he's good,  
And his mercies never end.

translated from the Twi

15

Twi Onyame, tie m'asɛm

GP 164  
IM

HEAR my prayer O God,  
Let me belong to you:  
O my God and Father,  
Make me your child today.  
Here on earth, then above  
I will praise you for your love.

translated from the Twi

## APPENDIX XVI

### THE GHACOE MOVEMENT: MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES<sup>1</sup>

#### PART ONE

##### PLANNING/CONVENING COMMITTEE OF GHACOE I (1977)

###### THE EXECUTIVE:

Rev. E. H. Brew Riverson (Methodist) - Honorary Chairman  
Isaac Ababio (Evangelist) - Executive Chairman  
Rev. William Blankson (Methodist) - Secretary  
Theophilus B. Dankwa (GHAFES) - Programme Chairman  
Florence Yeboah (Ghana Evangelism Committee)

##### EVANGELICALS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

|                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Albert Pupulampu     | Dr. S.Y. Boadi Siaw   |
| Kwame Ansong         | N.O. Henaku           |
| Prof. D. Santra      | J.N.D Riverson        |
| S. Osafo-Parry       | Dr. Isaac Oko         |
| Dr. Ebenezer Jackson | Dr. E.O. Engman       |
| Dr. Samuel Adjei     | Dr. H.N.A. Wellington |
| Dr. Alfred Abaitey   | S.K. Baah             |
| C.C.T. Blankson      | Dr. I.A. Allotey      |
| J.N. Okyere          | Miss Baehler          |
| Dr. Victor Kpodo     |                       |

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<sup>1</sup> Compiled from Handbook and Letterhead of GHACOE '1, and the Report by GHACOE 2 Communication Committee, 30 Aug. 1984.

### CLERGYMEN:

- Isaac Bonful - Methodist  
F.D. Walker - Methodist  
D. Konotey-Ahulu - Presbyterian  
S.Q. Sowah - Presbyterian  
D. Tei Kwabla - Accra Chapel  
J.B. Annis

### OTHER SENIOR EVANGELICALS

- Edward Okyere - Scripture Union Staff Member  
Eric Asare - SU Staff  
Y.N. Opong - SU Council Member  
Jonathan Teteh-Hago- Bible Society of Ghana  
Major L. Kudjiku - Formerly, Ashanti Regional Secretary of the Supreme Military Council Government  
Cdr. P.F. Quaye - Formerly, Ghana Ambassador to Egypt, and lately, Director - Ghana Office of World Vision International (WVI).  
Brigadier Joshua Hamidu- Executive of WVI (Africa).  
Prof. E.S. Aidoo - Legal Expert and Lecturer - University of Ghana, now Executive of WVI.  
Dr. F.I.D. Konotey Ahulu- then at Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital, Accra.  
R.O. Ankra - Engineer, Volta River Authority.  
K. Omane Acheamfuor - Business Administrator, now Methodist Minister, and Publications Manager of Christian Council of Ghana.  
Yaw Asante - Evangelist-leader, Standing Together Ministry.

### OTHERS:

- |                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Tom K. Adevu     | Alfred Adjetey         |
| Dr. A.K. Antwi   | Regina Benstil-Enchill |
| Gladys Osae-Addo | Victoria G. Yankson    |
| Hannah Hagan     |                        |

**GHANAIAN CONGRESS SPEAKERS (Not Listed Above):**

- Rev. Joseph Gyanfosu – Evangelist, Former Acting General Secretary of Bible Society of Ghana.
- Rt. Rev. Sinti-Misa – Moderator, Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
- Rev. A.K. Sah – Synod Clerk, Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
- Rev. J.K. Ampiah-Addison – Methodist, Western Regional Director, New Life For All Programme
- Rev. George Appekey – General Secretary, Assemblies of God Church (Ghana).
- Pastor David K. Asiam – Founder-Leader, Gospel Revivals Ministry.
- Rev. John Owusu Afriyie – Director, Youth Ambassadors for Christ Association.
- Samuel Amissah – SU (Ghana) General Secretary.
- S.E. Tando – Meteorologist, and former Chairman of SU Council.
- Godfried Bamfo – SU Council Member.
- E.G.A. Ayeh – Tutor of Adisadel College (Cape Coast), and SU Council Member.
- William Ofori Atta – Chairman, Ghana Evangelism Committee, and Christian Outreach Fellowship.
- Felix Maafo – Vice National Director, New Life For All.
- S.M. Mante – Eastern Regional Director, NLFA.
- Stephen Adjetey – Agricultural Extension Officer, Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
- Seth Osafo – Barrister-at-Law, and SU Council Secretary.
- John Adu – Projects Officer of National Investment Bank, and National Organiser of ACP Shoe Box Libraries.
- Alfred Addison – Regional Director, Challenge Bible Correspondence School.
- Alfred Nortey – Executive Director, Operation Help Nima.
- Justin Frempong – Ghana Institute of Linguistics: Sissalla Bible Translation and Literacy Project.
- John Agama – Manager, Motorola Communications (Ghana); Member of SU-Ghana Council.
- James Amoakohene– Youth Leader, Bantama Presbyterian Church.

- Emmanuel Asante - Evangelist-Leader, Upper Room Fellowship.
- Stephen Asante - Pastor, Techiman Baptist Church, and NLFA Regional Director, Brong-Ahafo.
- Dr. Joe Riverson - Medical Officer, University of Cape Coast, and now Director, World Vision Int. (Ghana).
- R. Ablordeppey - Engineer, Ghana Cement Works, Takoradi.
- George Bonney - Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association.
- Jacob Aguda - Secretary, Co-ordinating Committee of Christian Fellowships in Greater Accra Region.

**Missionaries in Ghana Associated with GHACOE I as Speakers or Planning Committee Members.**

- Rev. Peter Barker - Literature Secretary, Christian Council of Ghana.
- Rev. V. Kleinsasser - Sudan Interior Mission
- Rev. David Mills - Church of Pentecost
- Rev. Van Den Broek - Presbyterian of Ghana Agricultural Ministry to Dagomba Farmers.
- W.H. Chapman - WEC Mission, Principal of Christian Service College
- Ross Campbell - WEC Mission, National Director of Ghana Evangelism Committee.
- Ken Rout - Open Air Campaigners
- Robert B. Thelin - Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Rural Ministry in Chereponi Area.
- Belly Christian - Director, Child Evangelism Fellowship Int. (Ghana).
- Dr. Clair Glauser - Presbyterian Church Hospital, Bawku.
- Donald Banks - General Secretary, Africa Christian Press
- Everett Dadis - West Africa Regional Director, Campus Crusade For Christ Int.
- Bruce Carlson - Navigators (USA) Worker in Ghana.
- Roberta Veit - Navigators Worker in Ghana.

- Danny Stamley - Baptist Student Ministry (UST Campus)  
 Norman Price - Prempeh College, Kumasi.  
 Rev. L.M. Horst  
 Margrit Frempong (Mrs) - Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Sissalla  
 Literacy and Bible Translation Project.

**Other Guest Speakers:**

- Rt. Rev. Festo Kivengere - Anglican Bishop of Kigezi (Uganda),  
 associated with the African  
 Evangelistic Enterprise Team.  
 Rev. Ebenezer Sikakane - African Evangelistic Enterprise.  
 Rev. Howard O. & Wanda Jones - Billy Graham Evangelistic  
 Association, USA.

**PART TWO**

**PERSONALITIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN THE SECOND GHANA  
 CONGRESS ON EVANGELIZATION (GHACOE 2): 10-20 JULY 1984,  
 UST - KUMASI.**

**KUMASI COMMITTEE**

1. Rev. Dr. E.H. Brew Riverson (Wesley College) - Hon. Chairman
2. Nii Amoo Darku (Fellowship of Evangelists) - Co-ordinator

**UST Staff Fellowship**

3. Dr. Nii-Adziri Wellington - Co-ordinator
4. Seth Baah - Secretary
5. K.S. Nketiah
6. Dr. Isaac Allotey
7. Flora Sackeyfio
8. Kofi Owusu-Daaku
9. Dr. Merlin Mensah
10. Dr. Victor Kpodo
11. Dr. D.O. Gyane.

### Others

12. Nana Osei Agyeman (Chemist)
13. Yaw Asante (Leader, Standing Together Ministries).
14. R.K. Koomson (Evangelist, St. Cyprian's Anglican Church).
15. Samuel Odarno (SU Travelling Secretary for Ashanti).
16. Mac Obiri Mainoo (Tutor, Wesley College)
17. Felix Maafo (Associate National Director–New Life For All, Ghana Evangelism Committee)
18. Fuastina Hagan
19. Mary Baisie
20. Mary Dosoo (Wesley College).

### Clergymen

21. Rev. Apostle E.D. Aninkorah (Church of Pentecost).
22. Rev. Abayie Sarpong (Chaplain, Wesley College).
23. Rev. D.A. Koranteng (Protestant Chaplain, UST).
24. Rev. Nicholas Opuni (Assemblies of God Central Church).
25. Venerable B O Bewaji (St. Anne's Anglican Church).

### ACCRA COMMITTEE

1. Isaac Ababio (HOVCEA) – Executive Chairman.
2. Godfried Bamfo (Ghana Fellowship of Evangelists) – Secretary.
3. Charles Osmond Aidoo (HOVECEA) – Recorder.
4. Stephen L Adjovu – (Co-ordinating Council of Christian Fellowships in Greater Accra Region).
5. Edwin Otabil (GFE).
6. G. Aidoo Dadzie (GFE).
7. Mike Arthur (GFE).
8. Kofi Owusu (General Secretary, Ghana Fellowship of Evangelical Students).
9. Richard Crabbe (General Manager, Africa Christian Press).

10. Dela Adadevor (Great Commission Movement – Campus Crusade for Christ).
11. Edward Okyere (SU Fellowships Secretary).
12. Rocky–Bell Adatura (Converted Muslims Ministry).
13. S.M. Kweku Hutchful (SU General Secretary).
14. S E Vanderpuye (Legal Officer).
15. Grace Ababio (Mrs) – HOVCEA.
16. Rev. John Owusu Afriyie (Leader, Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association).
17. Rev. H. Insaidoo (Assemblies of God Church).
18. Rev. C.O. Aryee (Methodist Church – Ghana).

**SPEAKERS AND SEMINAR LEADERS NOT MENTIONED ABOVE**

**Denominational Ministers:**

1. Maclean Kumi – Methodist Staff Member of Trinity College, Legon.
2. Isaac Bonful – Methodist Church–Ghana.
3. Essuah Sekyere – Methodist Chaplain of World Vision (Ghana)
4. Steve Asante – Baptist Church, Takyiman–Brong Ahafo.
5. J.O.Y. Mante – Presbyterian Church, Obuasi.
6. F. Owusu Afriyie – Anglican Church, Kumasi Diocese.
7. Gregory Ola–Akin – Christ Apostolic Church.
8. George Appekey – Assemblies of God Church, Takoradi.

**Others:**

9. Alfred Addison – Accra Chapel.
10. Florence Yeboah – Fellowship of Ghana Christian Women (now GHACOE Women’s Ministry)
11. Ransford Senavoe – Vice–Principal, Christian Service College.
12. Dr. Nathaniel Sodzi – formerly of UST Engineering Faculty.
13. Frank K Siaw – New Life For All, Ghana Evangelism Committee.

14. Richard Foli – NLFA, Ghana Evangelism Committee.
15. Ebow Whyte – Step Magazine, Youth For Christ (Ghana).
16. Kwasi Appiah – Aflame For Christ Evangelistic Association, Kumasi.
17. Dr. Stephen Addai – Accra Economist, founding member of the Christian Outreach Fellowship.

#### **Missionaries**

1. Ross Campbell (Accra)– WEC Missionary with Ghana Evangelism Committee
2. David Hall (Accra) – Navigators International (USA).
3. Rev. A.P. Van Den Broek– (Tamale) Dutch missionary with Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

#### **Overseas Guest Speakers**

1. Eric Wilson – New Zealand
2. Roland Richard – New Zealand
3. Dr. John Corts – Associate, Billy Graham Evangelistic Association, and Program Director of ICIE (Amsterdam '83).

#### **LOCAL AND FOREIGN ORGANISATIONS REPRESENTED IN CONFERENCE EXHIBITIONS**

1. Aflame For Christ Evangelistic Association
2. African Mission Home (Efie based in Holland).
3. Asempra Publishers (Christian Council of Ghana).
4. Bible Society of Ghana
5. Campus Crusade For Christ (Ghana).
6. Challenge Cinema Today (SIM-Ghana).
7. Christian Outreach Fellowship
8. Christian Outreach Ministries
9. Christian Service College
10. Co-ordinating Committee of Christian Fellowships (Greater Accra).
11. Every Home Crusade

12. Fellowship of Ghana Christian Women (GHACOE Women's Ministry).
13. Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International
14. Ghana Evangelism Committee
15. Ghana Fellowship of Evangelists
16. Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation
17. Gideons International
18. Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association
19. Maranatha Bible College, Accra
20. Navigators International
21. Reapers Evangelistic Ministries
22. Standing Together Ministries Inc.
23. Volta Evangelistic Association
24. Worldwide Evangelization for Christ Mission (Ghana).
25. Youth Ambassadors For Christ Association
26. Youth For Christ (Ghana).

# Morris Cerullo Ghana School of Ministry

## July 21-27, 1985

University of Science and Technology, Kumasi



DR. MORRIS CERULLO

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DR. ALEX NESS

Dr. Ness has trained literally thousands of National ministers throughout the world, and has founded several outstanding churches, including the Queensway Cathedral and Christian Centre in Toronto. His teachings include "Triumphant Christian Living," Transference of Spirits," and "The Work and Ministry of the Holy Spirit."

### SCHEDULE:

**DELEGATES ARRIVAL:** Sunday July 21, 1985  
**OPENING SESSION:** 6,30 p.m. Sunday, July 21  
**FINAL REGISTRATION:** 11 a.m.—5 p.m. Sunday, July 21 at Queen's Hall

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**Hear Morris Cerullo share the answer to this question:**

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- \* House of Faith Ministry, Stadium Kumasi
- \* Harvesters Evangelistic Ministry, Bantama Christ Apostolic Mission Kumasi
- \* Redemption Hour Faith Ministry, Old Tafo Kumasi
- \* Christian Outreach Ministries Office 'B' 115, Airport (Buokrom) Estate, Kumasi

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SERVICE SCHEDULE

Sunday, June 24  
Monday to Saturday  
Sunday, July 8

Morning Session 9 a.m.

Opening Session 2.00 p.m.  
Evening " 6pm.-9.30 pm.  
Closing Session 2 p.m.

- \* Anointed Teaching On APOSTOLIC EVANGELISM
- \* A Time of Seeking The Face of GOD For A NATION-WIDE REVIVAL
- \* Meet Key Christian Leaders From HOLLAND, U.S.A. etc.
- \* GOD has a SPECIAL MESSAGE for The CHURCH this time