

CONFLICT, IDENTITY AND CO-OPERATION - THE RELATIONS OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH WITH THE TRADITIONAL, COLONIAL AND
NATIONAL STATES IN GHANA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE
PERIOD 1916-1966

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(ii)

D E C L A R A T I O N

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

(iii)

DEDICATION

To Akua, O my life partner, a wonderful supporter and helper and to our children, the lovely gifts of the Lord our God, the Author and Sustainer of our union.

P R E F A C E

Unless the LORD builds the house, those who build it labour in vain. Unless the LORD watches over the city the watchman stays awake in vain. What shall I render to the Lord for all his bounty to me? I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the LORD. I give praises and thanks to the Almighty God by whose grace this research programme has been successfully accomplished.

I would like to put on record my profound gratitude to all those who contributed to the appearance of this thesis. Many grateful thanks to the Presbyterian Church of Ghana of which I am a Minister for its support and to the authorities of the Church. I mention in particular the Rev. E. S. Mate Kodjo, the Synod Clerk, whose invaluable help and encouragement enabled me to undertake a successful and effective field research.

Words cannot express my indebtedness to my supervisor and great mentor, Professor Andrew F. Walls who offered me the very best advice, guidance and direction from the best academic perspective. His wonderful human touch, willingness and capacity to cope with all the spots of bother I showed and his readiness to give me his attention even at odd times when no appointments had been made and in spite of his numerous commitments, made all the difference. Many thanks to him for all that.

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I should enter a word of gratitude to my mother-in-law, Mrs. Lucy S. Baidoo for her wonderful and devoted guardianship of our children during our long period of absence from home. Custom demands, in all writing, that one acknowledges one's indebtedness and thankfulness to one's spouse. With regard to this work I do so with great delight, admiration and love to my very dear wife Akua who, notwithstanding the difficulties and the heavy burden involved in combining the position of a wage-earner, a student and an absentee mother, never wavered in her support and encouragement which . . . /

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To all those who contributed in any way to the realisation of the objective of this research programme, I say thank you ever so much and may the LORD OUR GOD richly bless you.

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A B S T R A C T

A traditional State in the Gold Coast was an amalgamation of towns and villages in a given geographical and ethnic area whose people possessed a common language, culture and religion and ruled by a democratic central government headed by a Paramount chief. The colonial State resulted from the European presence which was motivated by commercial and political interests. It superseded the traditional States but did not destroy them.

In their efforts to advance their political interests, the European authorities needed the help of the christian missionaries whom the traditional authorities regarded as part of European political power. The relationship between the colonial State and the Christian Missions was most prominently seen in the field of education. The missionary enterprise resulted in the planting and growth of the Church which had to relate to both the traditional and the colonial States, giving them its social and political allegiance. The religious allegiance of the Church belonged to its Lord and its refusal to give it to the traditional State resulted in conflict between the two. The Church's success in securing a degree of customary law and religious observance exemptions for christians including chiefs, was an aspect of the influence of Christianity which desacralized the traditional State and chiefship to some extent.

By providing formal education, the use of the christian press and serving as a role model for African leadership, the Church proved to be the architect of Gold Coast nationalism and thus the achievement of Ghanaian independence. The Church's reaction to some of the policies of the Nkrumah Government compelled it to get actively involved in national politics while living outside party politics. The result is that subsequent course of Church-State relations in Ghana has been dictated by the events which took place under the First Republic. The Church in Ghana is the only conceivable counterbalance to the national State. The Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference are a powerful instrument for the Church's actions on national issues.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

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In the creation story we are told that when God created man and woman He commanded them to be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and subdue it and have dominion over His creation. 1 Here God provided human beings with an environment and equipped them with wisdom, intellect, will, strength and conscience and commissioned them to utilize the environment provided in nature to evolve a system of life which would be to His glory and enhance their well-being. In response to this commission, human beings evolved structures and systems whereby they could live together in communities and societies. These structures and systems manifested themselves in religion, morality and culture whose facets include politics, commerce and industry. This is the stage on which religion and politics come into play. If we affirm God as Creator of the world and all it contains, it would be contradictory to deny Him a prominent role in the structures and systems of life of human beings which He enabled them to evolve in the sphere of political relationships.

On the basis of this, Christianity must be concerned with . . . /

Genesis 1 : 28

with all that contribute to the fulfilment of God's purpose in His world, including politics which is the science and art of government. Love for God and love for the neighbour compels christians to be actively involved in creating infrastructure and developing systems and principles through which that love can manifest itself in their relationship with God and with their fellow human beings. The Christian Church should be fully involved in national politics which has the well-being of the citizenry as its aim. Its participation in such politics is imperative in the light of its belief in God as the Creator of the world and of the fact that it is an agent of the fulfilment of God's purpose for humankind. In its involvement in politics, the Church has to ensure that political programmes are in conformity with and not contrary to christian theological convictions.

But how far has the Church in Ghana been able to play its role in Ghanaian politics? How has the Church's belief in God as the Creator and Loving Father of humankind affected its participation in the development of political structures and systems in the country? What type of relationship has existed between the Church and the political authorities in Ghana? The fulfilment of the political aspect of the Church's mission is not exhausted by its advice to its members to pay their taxes, participate in communal labour, be law abiding . . . /

abiding citizens and the like. It involves responsible choice of authority, responsible mandate of political power, responsible scrutiny of and decisions on the validity or otherwise of laws, responsible enforcement and maintenance of the laws responsible accountability and a serene determination and zeal to achieve these goals in the supreme interest of God's purpose for His world. What has been the position of the Church in Ghana in relation to this political duty? Answers to these questions in the light of the nature of the Church and its relation to God and to the society are the motivating factors behind this research.

THE STATES IN GHANA

In this thesis I will be exploring the relations of the Christian Church with the States in Ghana with special reference to the period 1916-1966. Often one hears about the "relationship between the Church and the State" but I shall be dealing with the relations of the Church with the States in Ghana. So the term "States" must be explained. In view of the political system in the Gold Coast, it is ambiguous to speak about "the relationship between the Church and the State" without qualification or clarification. Before the establishment of colonial rule in the country in the second half of the nineteenth century by the British, there were independent traditional States which had their own . . . /

own political and judicial systems. When the colonial apparatus was established, there were 63 traditional States in the Colony, 25 in Asante and 21 in the Northern Territories. From the European presence and interest in the Gold Coast emerged a colonial State administered by the British. Thus at the time of colonial rule, there were two types of State, the 109 traditional States and the colonial State and the Church had to relate to the two forms of State.

As a corollary of the national movement for self-government from British rule in the late 1940s and in the 1950s, the Gold Coast was granted independence by the British Government on 6 March 1957. From this development came a national government which took the place of the colonial government. Although the colonial State superseded the traditional State, it did not destroy it and as the two co-existed in name and function, so did the national State and the traditional State operate in the post-independence period. In the colonial period the Church had relations with both the traditional State and the colonial State and in the post-independence period, it related to both the traditional and the national States. On the basis of this, the research is conducted into the Church's relations with three classes of State, the traditional State; the colonial State and the national State.

THE CHURCHES

The "historic churches" in Ghana are the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, the Methodist Church, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church all established in Ghana before the end of the nineteenth century and before the establishment of the independent churches and the more recently arrived denominations. In view of this, the historic churches are the focus of this study. The terms, "the Church" and "the churches" will be used. When the former is used, it should be seen in its inclusive sense to mean the churches collectively. But it will also be used to mean a particular church or denomination and the distinction will be clear in the context in which it is used. I must indicate at this point that my greatest concentration is on the Protestant churches.

THE PERIOD COVERED BY THE STUDY

The period under study in this thesis is 1916-1966 although some preliminary studies in the nineteenth century and a survey of the post 1966 period will be necessary. The reason for the choice of this period of half a century is that many important events of historical, ecclesiastical, religious, social, economic and . . . /

and political significance, both on the national and international scenes took place in that period. The period covers the two World Wars.

As a result of the First World War (1914-1918), the missionaries of the Basel Mission who planted the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast (the Presbyterian Church of Ghana) and of the Bremen Mission who established the Ewe (Evangelical) Presbyterian Church were expelled from the Gold Coast by the British Government. For seven years the Bremen Mission Church was left without missionary supervision and this, to a large extent, prepared the Church for a position of autonomy in the future. The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast started to be self-governing in 1918 as a sequel of the First World War. The expulsions of the Basel and the Bremen missionaries from the Gold Coast by the British Government during the First and the Second World Wars were major events in the Church-State relations in the Gold Coast in the decades between 1914 and 1945.

The movement from mission structures to church structures took place in the period under study. The Christian Council of the Gold Coast which became the official mouthpiece of the Protestant churches was formed in 1929 and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the National Catholic Secretariat which play a similar role for the Roman Catholics were established . . . /

established in 1960. The religious authority of the Church and that of the traditional States in Asante in relation to the controversy over the observance of Thursday as the day of Asaase Yaa were questioned in 1941. The relationship between the Church and the colonial State was strengthened by the latter's support of the former in this controversy. In the same year (1941) the State Council of Akyam Abuakwa presented a memorandum to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast on the issue of christians and traditional customs and institutions to which the Church replied in 1942.

The period following the Second World War saw a strong wave of nationalist movement across Asia and Africa aimed at achieving independence from colonial rule. In the Gold Coast, a really organized national movement which had as its sole objective the achievement of self-government from British colonial rule started in 1947 with the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention. The famous disturbances which had a profound effect on the process of political development in the Gold Coast occurred in 1948. As a corollary of the disturbances, a Committee on Constitutional Reform was appointed by the British Government in 1949. The first general election which brought into being the first government formed by Africans was held in 1951. This was followed by the 1954 and the 1956 elections.

On 6 March 1957 the Gold Coast was granted independence . . . /

independence by the British Government and its name was replaced by Ghana, after one of the most important ancient Western Sudanese empires. On 1 July 1960 Ghana became a Republic and with the promulgation of the 1960 Republican Constitution, the era of the First Republic under the presidency of Kwame Nkrumah started. This era ended on 21 February 1966 when the C.P.P. Government of Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in a military coup d'etat. This marked the end of an important era in the history of Ghana and it is at this point of the political history of Ghana that this research ends.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH AND INTERVIEWS

Access to archival material in Ghana, Britain and Switzerland has been very helpful in the research. The archives of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and the Akyem Abuakwa States, the Ghana National Archives, papers in the Christian Council of Ghana Offices, the Church of Scotland Archives, Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office in London and the Basel Mission Archives in Basel were consulted. My efforts to consult the archives of the Methodist Church in Ghana were not successful. I could not consult the archives of the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana. Nevertheless, through correspondence with the Secretary General of the National Catholic Secretariat, I had useful information and answers to some questions on some important issues.

I . . . /

I also contacted the Society of Missions for Africa (S.M.A.) Fathers at St. Theresa's Abbey House in Dunblane in Scotland and the Provincial Superior in Nijmegen in Holland from whom I received some useful material.

Personal interviews were conducted with some of the leaders of the churches in Ghana both past and present. They included Moderators, Presidents and Bishops. Some prominent traditional rulers and scholars were also interviewed.

THE USE OF SOME TERMS

Comments on the use of the terms "educated" and "African traditional Religion" must be made at this point. In Ghana the word "education" has in most cases been used in a rather restricted sense to mean formal instruction in Western oriented schools and colleges. People who have been to school are regarded as "educated" while those who have not had formal instruction in schools are considered to be "uneducated". In this sense, "education" does not take into account the proficiency of the "uneducated" in their trade or occupation and the length of time spent in learning the trade. When the word "educated" is used in this thesis it should be understood as referring to people who had received a Western type of education. But . . . /

But that does not mean that those who did not have that type of education were not educated.

The expression "African traditional Religion" is common among scholars of World religions especially among writers of religions in Africa. I have avoided this expression because I believe that the Christian Religion is also traditional to Africa. Furthermore, there is a sense in which every religion is traditional depending on the belief of the adherents and how that belief is handed down from generation to generation.

Christianity has had a profound influence on the Ghanaian Society and has contributed immensely to the social, economic, political, moral and spiritual development of the nation. The rate of the growth of the Church in Ghana has been phenomenal. In 1900 christians constituted only 4.7% of the population of the country. In mid-1970 it increased to 52.7% and in mid-1975 it reached 57.7%. In mid-1980 christians represented 62% of the country's population and it is estimated to increase to 75% by the year 2000. 1 Not only did the Church grow phenomenally but it also established and maintained good relations with the traditional, colonial and national States in Ghana. In these relations, each of the four power structures, the traditional . . . /

1. David B. Barrett, World Christian Encyclopedia, p. 323

traditional State, the colonial State, the national State and the Church did all it could to keep its own identity and at times, one wanted to win over the other. This often resulted in conflict. But notwithstanding the occasional conflicts, there was a strong sense of co-operation among them. In the chapters which follow, the relations of the Christian Church with the traditional, colonial and national states in Ghana and their impact on the Ghanaian society will be examined with special reference to the period 1916 - 1966.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTS AND SYSTEMS OF STATE IN THE GOLD COAST

AND THE SUPERCESSION OF THE TRADITIONAL STATES

BY THE COLONIAL STATE

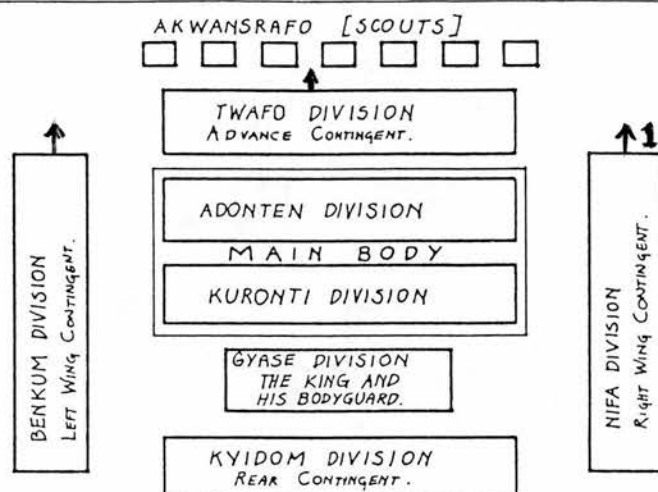
THE TRADITIONAL STATE IN THE GOLD COAST

A traditional State in the Gold Coast had a permanent population which was composed of the members of the various lineages and clans in the towns and villages within a traditional area. Every traditional State had a defined territory. The desire of the States to extend, maintain and to protect their territories from encroachment by other States were some of the causes of the inter-State wars which were a common phenomenon in the Gold Coast especially in Asante before 1900. The desire for expansion was particularly strong in Asante where it led to the expansion of the Kumasi State into the Asante nation which covered a vast area of the Gold Coast.

The desire to expand and to defend the State through wars made the military function of the King or the Chief and his elders very important. In view of this, the titles of the elders of the Chief who were, and are still known as Mpanyinfo or Asafohene (War Chiefs) were given them according to their military positions in a battle. The King was the commander-in-chief of the traditional army and the various divisions of the army were . . . /

were under the command of the Chiefs who were the heads of the various lineages. Taking Asante as an example, the military formation of a traditional State may be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

THE MILITARY FORMATION OF THE TRADITIONAL STATE IN ASANTE.



[Fig. 1] 2

Each division was under a commander who was an elder of the King and ipso facto the Chief of the lineage of whose division he was the leader. Thus the Commander of the Adonten Division was the Adontenhene 3 (Chief of the Adonten Division),
the . . . /

-
1. The arrows show the direction of the movement of the army
 2. K. A. Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, p.14
 3. hene means Chief

the Nifahene was the commander of the Nifa Division and so on. The Asante political system, which was based on kinship was organised on a military pattern to enable the King and the various chiefs to discharge their military duty for the expansion and the defence of their territory.

The government of the traditional State was absolutely representative. It was formed by the King and his elders or the Chiefs. When a stool (the office of the King) became vacant as a result of the death, abdication or destoolment of a King, a new King was elected, installed and enstooled as the occupant of the stool. The Chiefs met 1 under the chairmanship of the Kurontihene 2 and made an official request to the Queen-Mother to nominate a candidate to occupy the stool. Under normal circumstances, the King was, and is still, always selected from among the members of the royal family or lineage. Traditionally the Queen-mother is regarded as the "Mother" of the royal lineage no matter what her age is. Thus she is constitutionally considered as the "Mother" of the King. 3 But usually the . . . /

1. Although past tense is used, the practice is the same today.

2. The Kurontihene is the next in command after the King and as it can be seen in the diagram, his division came immediately before the King and his bodyguard.

3. K. A. Busia, op. cit. p.19

the Queen-Mother is either the real "Mother" of the King or a sister of the King's Mother. She may also be a sister, niece, grandniece or grandmother of the King. Her position is illustrated in her title which is Ohemaa (Ohene-baa) 1 (female monarch).

On the receipt of the request for a candidate to be enstooled as the King, the Queen-Mother summoned the adult men and women of the royal lineage to meet to consider the candidature of those who were eligible to occupy the stool. 2 After a careful and thorough consideration of the candidates, taking into account the various qualities expected in a King, they nominate a candidate and present him to the Chiefs and the people at a public meeting. Some of the qualities expected in a King were, intelligence (adwenemudo), humility (ahobrase), physical fitness (onnyare na edem biara nni ne ho), bravery or manliness (akokuoduro), generosity (ayamyé) etc. The Chiefs and the people had the power either to accept or to reject the candidate. If they rejected him, the Queen-Mother had to nominate another one. If the second candidate was also rejected, she had . . . /

1. Ohene is Chief and baa is a woman. See K.A. Busia, op. cit. p. 19. For the importance of the position of the Queen-Mother see R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, pp 84-85. Rattray wrote on the situation in Asanti but it was true of all the traditional States whose constitutions provided for the office of the Queen-mother.

2. K. A. Busia, op. cit. p. 9

had to nominate a third one and if the third one was also rejected, the Chiefs and the people had a constitutional right to make their own choice from among the members of the royal lineage. Once the candidate was accepted by the Chiefs and the people, he became the King-elect and they followed the various procedures and he was finally enstooled as the King of the State. If it became necessary to destool the King, the Chiefs and the people observed the various procedures and destooled him.

When the stool of a chief became vacant on account of death, abdication or destoolment, the King made an official request to the most senior man or woman in the lineage concerned to elect a man to be the head of the lineage and their representative in the traditional government. 1 On the receipt of such a request from the King, the most senior person of the lineage summoned all the adult men and women of the lineage to meet for the selection of a person of their choice as their leader and representative in the government.

When they made their choice from among the men of the lineage, they presented him to the King and the Chiefs as their Chief and representative. The King had the right either to accept or reject the nomination. If he rejected it, he gave his reasons for doing so and asked . . . /

1. Ibid . p. 7

asked the lineage to make a new nomination. 1 Once the nomination was accepted, they followed the various procedures and the person nominated became the Chief and the representative of the lineage in the government. Thus all the members of the government of the traditional State, from the King as its head to the last of the Chiefs (who were the King's councillors) were elected by the popular will of the people as their representatives. The traditional government was therefore purely democratic and representative.

The King, as a member of the royal lineage which nominated him for his high office and the leader of all the people of his traditional area was responsible to both his lineage and the people of the wide area of his jurisdiction. The Chiefs were responsible to both the King and the members of their various lineages which elected them to office. The King and the Chiefs were responsible for the administration and the proper running of the affairs of the State. If they neglected their duties or if the people lost confidence in them, they could be destooled and replaced by more competent and trustworthy people. The King could be destooled by the people who elected him while the members of the various lineages could destool their Chiefs whenever they lost confidence in them. Thus the traditional government was responsible.

The . . . /

1. Ibid. p.8

The traditional State in the Gold Coast had conventions and usages which could be seen as an unwritten constitution. The government and the people were guided in their political system and administration by the usages and conventions. For example, kingship and chiefship were based absolutely on kinship. The King was always selected from among the members of the royal lineage and nobody outside the lineage could be enstooled as the King under normal circumstances. By the same token, all the Chiefs were selected from among the members of their various lineages and no outsider could become a lineage Chief. Among the Akan, with the exception of a few in the Akuapem area, notably the Kyerepon, inheritance to political office and property was matrilineal. Among the Krobo, the Ga, the Ewe and the various ethnic groups in the Northern Territories, inheritance was patrilineal. All the usages and the conventions with regard to the election, installation and enstoolment of the King and the Chiefs and the formation and functions of the government and its accountability to the people were vigorously followed, a practice which vividly showed the constitutionality of the government of the traditional State.

A government of a traditional State in the Gold Coast had the capacity to enter into relationships with other States. For instance, the Asante entered into alliance with the Akwamu and the Anwona States. These two States were attacked by their enemies in 1869.

In . . . /

In view of the relationship into which the two States had entered with the Asante, a contingent of the army of the latter under the command of one Adu Bofo, the commander of the Gyase Division were detailed to go to the aid of the two allies. Adu Bofo and his troops carried out the assignment and captured the towns of Anum and Ho. They burnt down the mission houses in the two towns and took the Basel missionary, the Rev. F.A. Ramseyer, his wife and child, the Mission's cotton trader Kuhne from Anum and a Frenchman, Bonnat from Ho as prisoners and brought them to Kumasi.

CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS

The central government of a traditional State was headed by the King or Paramount Chief who resided in the capital of the State. The members of the government included himself and the elders who were Chiefs but were regarded as subordinate Chiefs in relation to the Paramount Chief. A traditional State consisted of a number of towns and villages. Each town had its own Chief and elders, the elders being lineage heads. The Chief and the elders formed the government of the town. Each village had its own Chief who was known as the Odekuro (the one to whom the village belonged). The Odekuro had his elders and they formed the local government . . . /

government of the village which operated on the same pattern as the local government of a town.

In the capital, the Paramount Chief and the elders in it formed the government of the town and administered the affairs thereof at a local level. But apart from the local governments of the various towns and villages including the capital, there was the central government which represented the whole State and which administered the affairs of the State. The central or State government was formed by the Paramount Chief as its head, the Chiefs in the capital and the Chiefs of the outlying towns. Some of the Chiefs in the capital were given charge of some of the villages whose Chiefs, the Adekurofo 1 were directly under them. If a Chief in the capital or the Chief of a town was in charge of a village in addition to his lineage or his town, he was then a representative of the two bodies. This was designed to ensure that all the villages both big and small were represented in the central government. Such a Chief was responsible to both his lineage or town, and the village which had been placed under him. Both the lineage and the village could destool him if they had cause to do so. Thus the central government which ruled the whole State consisted of the Paramount Chief, the Chiefs in the capital and the Chiefs of the outlying towns some of whom represented the villages.

The . . . /

1. Adekurofo is the plural of Odekuro

The structure and the machinery of the government of the traditional State in the Gold Coast are diagrammatically illustrated in figure 2. 1 The circle A represents the whole State. The square B at the centre of the circle A represents the central government of the entire State and at the centre of the square is the King or the Paramount Chief represented by a big dot at Z. The sub-Chiefs or subordinate Chiefs (known as elders or councillors of the King) are represented by the smaller dots on the square. Inside circle A are smaller circles C, D, E, F, G and H representing the towns in the State. Inside these circles are still smaller circles C1, D1, E1, F1, G1 and H1 which represent the local governments of the towns. At the centre of circle C1 is the Chief of the town. Around the circle C1 in circle C are still smaller circles which represent the various lineages forming the town and at the centre of the circles are the lineage heads represented by the dots. The lineage heads move from the centre of their circles to take their places in circle C1 as elders of the Chief of circle C where they represent . . . /

-
1. The structure and the machinery of government of the traditional State in the Gold Coast as shown here and the illustrative diagram reflect my own knowledge of the traditional systems in the Takyiman, Knoransa and Domaa States in the Brong-Ahafo Region and in the Kumasi State in the Ashanti Region which are common to the systems in the other traditional States especially among the Akan. See also R S Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, Chapter 12. For a diagrammatical illustration, see p.24.

represent their lineages in the local government. Then the Chief of circle C moves from circle C1 as the Chief of that place to square B and takes his place in the central government of the State as an elder or councillor of the Paramount Chief and as the representative of the people of circle C. The system is the same with all the other circles, D, E, F, G and H.

Furthermore, there are in circle A smaller circles V1, V2, V3, V4 and V5 which are isolated and not within any bigger circles. They represent the villages. The dot at the centre of circle V1 represents the Chief of that village, the Odekuro and the dots on Circle V1 represent the lineage heads who represent their lineages as the elders of the Odekuro. The Odekuro and the elders form the local government of the village. Village V1 is under the Chief of town C and so the Odekuro of V1 represents his village and moves to town C and takes his place at circle C1 as an elder of the Chief of town C in the local government at C1. Thus the Chief of town C is the representative of both the people of town C and those of village V1. The system is true of village V2 in relation to town E. But Villages V3, V4 and V5 are not under any towns and the Adikurofo of the villages cannot be elders of the Paramount Chief and members of the central government - their status is below that position. Such villages are placed . . . /

placed under some of the elders of the Paramount Chief in the capital and such elders are in charge of the villages and represent the Adekurofo and their people in the central government. As can be seen from the diagram, some of the elders in the capital do not have charge of any villages and so they represent only their lineages.

Every State was independent and the various towns and villages which formed a State were bound together by their common allegiance to one Paramount Chief ¹. Every town was represented in the central government by its chief who was an elder of the Paramount Chief. Every village was represented in the central government by an elder who was in charge of the village. Although an elder of the Paramount Chief might be in charge of a village, the village had its own Odekuro who, together with his elders administered the day-to-day affairs of the village. But the Odekuro was responsible to the elder and not directly to the Paramount Chief. All the elders were themselves Chiefs but in relation to the Paramount Chief, they were subordinate Chiefs.

1. K.A. Busia, op. cit. p.22. See also R. S. Rattray Ashanti Law and Constitution p.93

A TRADITIONAL STATE AND ITS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

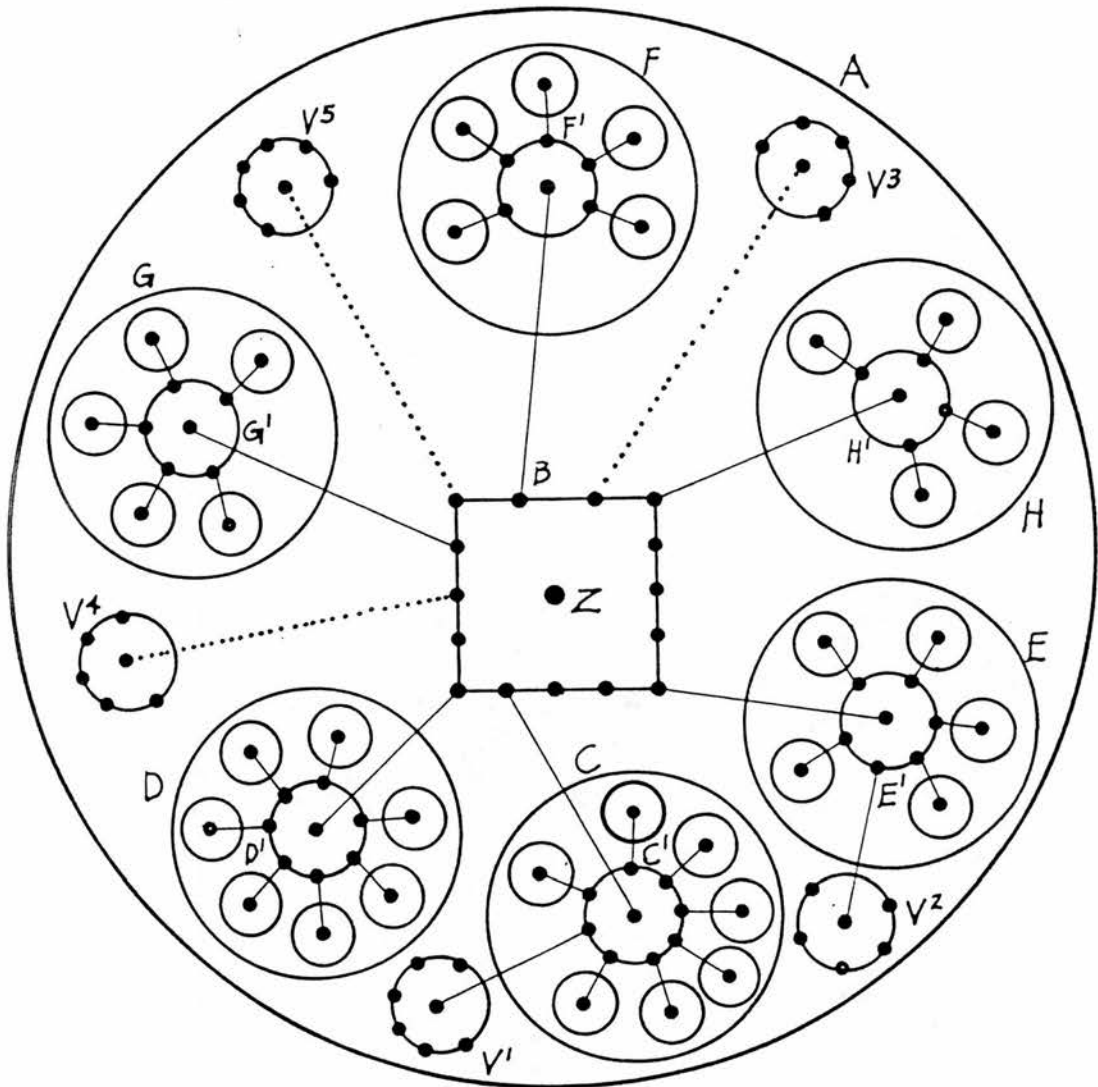


Fig. 2

The legislative, executive and judicial functions in the State were exercised by the central government. 1

There . . . /

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1. Although the legislative and executive functions of the State were entrusted to the King and the Chiefs in the central government they could not pass any law or exercise any legislative or executive functions until the matter had been submitted to the people through their representatives. See R S Rattray, *Ibid* p.407

There was no separation of powers. All the three functions were exercised by the same body namely, the Chief and his elders. But there were checks and balances which operated through the power of the people to destool the Paramount Chief and any subordinate Chief whose character was questionable and the authority of the Paramount Chief and the subordinate Chiefs over the people. It was within the power of the Paramount Chief and the elders to discipline or punish any citizen who misbehaved, was anti-social or acted against customs and traditions. The subordinate Chiefs were the executive. When legislation was passed by the central government, they went to their respective towns, villages and lineages and informed their people of the decisions of the State government and it was their responsibility to implement the decisions in their areas of authority. Disputes were settled and cases decided in the towns and villages by the Chiefs and their elders. But appeal lay from the courts of the Adekurofo to those of the subordinate Chiefs who were also known in Asante as the Aberempon (The singular for Aberempon is Oberempon) and from there to the court of the Paramount Chief. The supreme court of the State was the one which was constituted by the Paramount Chief and the elders in full session.

As already stated, what bound the people of the various towns and villages together in a State was their common allegiance to one Paramount Chief.

The Chief was the political, military and religious head of the State. Although he did not have a standing or regular army, he could raise an army whenever necessary. He could declare war and negotiate peace. In time of war he ordered his army captains to provide men from their lineages, towns and villages to raise his army and they were always readily available.

In religious matters, the Chief was the occupant of the ancestral stool. Through the rite of his enstoolment, he was brought into a mystical relationship with the ancestors and thus his body became sacred. This sacral position of the Chief was marked by the observance of a number of taboos. For instance he could not strike anybody and could not be struck by anybody, he could not walk barefoot, he could not eat in public, he could not sit on the ground, he could not talk to a woman who was in her period and could not eat food prepared by such a woman and so on. If it became necessary for him to be destooled, the taboos ought to be broken in order to break his mystical relationship with the ancestors. Thus he was stripped of his sandals so as to make him walk barefoot, he was struck and made to sit on the ground and so on. The Chief was believed to be the link between the ancestors and the living members of the society. 1 The ancestors were . . . /

1. R S Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, p.405

were believed to form part of the family and the society and the Chief was regarded as their representative. The Chief's position and authority had religious and political sanctions but the political sanction was based on the religious sanction. It was the duty of the Chief and his elders to see to it that all the religious observances were kept throughout the State. As will be seen later, the religious observances were some of the factors of conflict between the Church and the traditional States.

THE NATURE OF A TRADITIONAL STATE

J. E. Casely Hayford defines a traditional State as follows:

The Native State, in its highest development, is to be found where a number of considerably important communities combine and own allegiance to one central paramount authority. Such Authority is the King, properly so called. Thus in Ashanti, before the breaking up of the Court at Kumasi, there were the Manpons, the Juabins, the Kokofus, the Beckwas, the Adansis, and several other large and important communities, owing allegiance to the Stool of Kumasi as the paramount Stool of all Ashanti. Each of these important communities, when regarded with respect to the entire State, was a sort of imperium in imperio 1

This definition is misleading since it confuses a traditional State with a union of States. The example of Manpon, Dwaben, Kokofu and Bekwai is inappropriate. These . . . /

1. J E Casely Hayford: Gold Coast Native Institutions, p.19

These peoples formed separate and autonomous States and they and other States came together to form the Asante Union which was a nation per se. There was nothing like "the Asante State" - there was not a single State so known. There were a number of States known as the Asante States. The Asante States were tributary to Denkyira. According to tradition, these States came together to form a union in order to be able to fight against the Denkiyira for their independence. The name "Asante" is derived from this process of forming a union so as to destroy the hegemony of Denkyira. Sa means war or battle and nti means because or "the reason why". When the King of Denkyira heard that the various States were planning to form a union he said that it was because of war against him (against his State) that they were forming the union - sa (war) nti (because of or the reason why) and from sa and nti the word Asante came. The King of Denkyira called the States Santifo 1 meaning, people who formed a union because of war. Until that time the name Asante was not known but the various States were in existence. "The traditional histories of Kumasi, Mampong, Asumengya, Juaben, and Aduaben indicate a segmentary society with autonomous groups bound by ties of clanship. 2 Kumasi itself was . . . /

1. The etymology was given and explained by the Asantehene, Nana Agyeman Prempeh 11, See K A Busia, op. cit. p. 52

2. Ibid p.52

was a State with Kumasi as its capital and until the formation of the Asante Union, it was just the capital of the Kumasi State and not of all the Asante States. There were not many unions of this nature in the Gold Coast to warrant their designation as States. Thus Mampon, Dwaben, Kokofu and Bekwai were not simply communities. They were States in their own right. After the removal and imprisonment of Nana Prempeh in 1896 and his subsequent exile in the Seychelles which dismantled the Asante Union, the policy of the British administration was to make separate treaties of protection with all the Asante State. Thus treaties were concluded with Adanse (before the British expedition to Kumasi), Bekwai, Nkoransa, Mampon, Kokofu and others. The Asante Union had ceased to exist. The King who was the point of connection and the binding force in the Union had been taken away and his place was never filled till he returned in November 1924. Because of this, the Great Oath of Asante which carried a weight of authority in all the Asante States no longer had any force of authority. This situation was made quite clear by the British Governor W. E. Maxwell on 16 August 1897 when he publicly declared, "There is no King and there is consequently no great oath." 1

The Governor suggested an alternative Fanti oath to be adopted by those who wanted to cling to the Great Oath . . . /

1. David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, p.299

Oath namely, "Sir Charles MacCarthy's red coat" but the people did not accept it.

The suggestion of the Governor regarding the oath was significant. Traditional oaths had reference to tragic and important events in the history of the people concerned. An oath might refer to memorable events in war, sickness and death. Sir Charles MacCarthy was the Governor of the Gold Coast from April 1822 to January 1824. He went to war with the Asante and was defeated and wounded in the battle near the village of Bonsaso on 21 January 1824. In order to avoid capture, he killed himself. The proposed oath was not accepted because it had no reference to any significant event of historical importance to the people. This was an attempt by Governor Maxwell to transfer the allegiance of the people from the Asantehene to the Governor. In other words, it was an attempt to shift the allegiance of the people from their traditional rulers to the colonial power. It can be argued that the Yaa Asantewaa war of 1900 was neither a war against nor a defeat of the Asante Nation for the Asante Nation of States was then non-existent. Some of the Asante States joined the rising against the British while others stood out. The States which joined the rising were : Kumasi, Edweso, Offenso, part of Kokofu, Bechem, Nkwanta and later Adanse. The States of Mampon, Nsuta, Dwaben and Agona did not join the rising (their Chiefs had been taken . . . /

taken into the Fort in Kumasi). The States which stood out included Kumawu, Atebubu, Gyama, Nkoransa, Bekwai, Asumengya and others.

Furthermore, the assertion that a number of considerably important communities combine and own allegiance to one central paramount authority before they constitute a State is unacceptable. A State is not simply a combination of considerably important communities. A State includes both the important communities and the less important ones as well as the very small villages.

A traditional State was an amalgamation of towns and villages in a given geographical and ethnic area whose people possessed a common language, culture and religion and ruled by a democratic central government headed by a King or a Paramount Chief to whom the various Chiefs and the Adekurofo paid allegiance and who was responsible to his subordinate chiefs who were his elders, and to the people. The Paramount Chief was the Head of State and the Commander-in-Chief of the State army when it was raised. He combined in his one person the political and religious headship of the State and thus his position was both secular and sacred. The Chief was "at once a judge, a commander-in-chief, a legislator, and the executive and administrative head of his community. It was not many offices, but a single composite office to which various duties and activities, rights . . . /

rights and obligations were attached." 1 He was sovereign and represented the sovereignty of the State which represented the identity of its people.

The traditional States were independent States and were very particular about their independence. For this reason, any attempt by a State to interfere in the affairs of another State very often resulted in a war. Obedience to and veneration of the ancestors, allegiance and loyalty of the subjects to the Chief and respect for age and authority were some of the most important elements in traditional statehood. The Paramount Chief ruled the State with the assistance, co-operation and advice of his elders who represented the lineages, villages and the towns. The system of government in the central government was similar to the system of government in the towns and villages. The political units in the traditional State were the lineages, villages, town and the capital. Thus the government started from the grass roots namely, the lineage to the central government in the capital. Any attempt whether internal or external to disturb the status quo was ruthlessly and vehemently resisted.

These were the nature and functions of the traditional State before the emergence of colonial rule and . . . /

1. K A Busia, Africa in Search of Democracy, p.23

and the situation in which the colonial administration was placed as a new State administered by a foreign power. It is against this background that one should analyse the system and functions of the colonial government as forming and administering a new State within States. In the Gold Coast there were formerly 109 politically autonomous States. The Gold Coast Colony contained 63 different States, Asante had 25 and the Northern Territories had 21.

THE EUROPEAN PRESENCE IN THE GOLD COAST

The first European contact with the Gold Coast was by the Portuguese. Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1395 - 1460) generated interest in West Africa. Before his death in 1460, he sent out expeditions to learn about West Africa beyond Cape Bojador, open up trade relations, ascertain the extent of the Muslim power, find Prester John (the mythical Christian Prince who lived beyond the Muslims) and evangelize the peoples of Africa and thus weaken any Muslim influence in Africa south of the Sahara. In 1469 King Alfonso V of Portugal signed a contract with Fernao Gomez, a Lisbon merchant under the terms of which he was given a monopoly of the trade on the Guinea Coast for five years. It was through this contract that the Portuguese came in contact with the Gold Coast. In January . . . /

January 1471 Joao de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar, employees of Fernao Gomez arrived on the Gold Coast.

In 1474 the contract with Fernao Gomez expired and the monopoly of the trade on the Guinea Coast was taken over by the Portuguese Government who decided to build a fort on the Gold Coast in order to make the Portuguese monopoly of trade secure and to guard against competition by foreign traders and attack by the States. An expedition detailed to build the fort left on 11 December 1481 under Don Diogo de Azambuja. The expedition which included 500 soldiers and seamen and 100 engineers and workmen arrived on the Gold Coast at Cape Three Points on 19 January 1482. On the following day the royal Portuguese banner was hoisted on a big tree which stood on a small hill in Elmina. Under the tree an altar was built at which the first Mass in the Gold Coast was celebrated. After the Mass, Don Diogo de Azambuja and his people held a meeting with King Caramansa (Kwamena Ansa) of Fetu and his Chiefs and people. The planting of Christianity on the soil of the Fetu State and the establishment of trade relations between Portugal and that State could not be carried out without the consent and the goodwill of the King and his people hence the calling of the meeting. At the meeting, Azambuja said:

King John of Portugal had sent him to ask King Caramansa to recognise God as his Creator and to worship Him, to promise to live and die the Faith, and to accept Baptism as a token . . . /

token of it. Should Caramansa accept and receive Baptism, he Azumbuja, promised him that henceforth King John would regard King Caramansa as a friend and brother in the Faith of Christ and would help him in all his needs.¹

The first contact of the Christian Mission in the Gold Coast was made with the traditional State into which it was brought. The Gospel was brought to the Gold Coast but the Mission had to address its message first to the King of the Fetu State and to ask him to accept the Gospel. Once the King of the State accepted the Mission and its message, the way to evangelistic work was open.

The Portuguese built a castle at Elmina which became their headquarters and built other smaller forts. They met strong competition from the English and the French. In 1480 the Portuguese Government made a protest to Edward IV of England against an expedition which the English were preparing to send out to the Guinea Coast. The French represented a serious attack on the Portuguese monopoly. They raided the Guinea fleets and got involved in the trade in gold, ivory and pepper in the early 1500s and from 1530 French participation in the Guinea trade became stronger and stronger.

The first English ship arrived in the Gold Coast in 1553 and the second in 1555. The competition against the ... /

1. Martin J Bane, Catholic Pioneers in West Africa (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1956), p.26 cited in John S. Pobee "Church and State in the Gold Coast in the Vasco da Gama Era, 1492-1947" in Journal of Church and State Vol. 17, No.2, 1975, p.226

the Portuguese was joined by the Dutch in 1595. In 1618 an English company called the Company of Adventurers of London Trading into Africa was formed. In 1631 a Royal Charter granted the Company the monopoly of English trade on the west coast of Africa from Cape Blanco in the North to the Cape of Good Hope in the South. The Portuguese and the Dutch signed a treaty by which the former gave up their claim on the Gold Coast in return for which the latter gave up their claims in Brazil. Thus the political power of the Portuguese in the Gold Coast was brought to an end.

The Portuguese missionary work in the Gold Coast was not effective. The Catholic Priests could not establish a Church. The commercial interest of the Portuguese authorities outweighed their missionary interest. The situation did not improve with the assumption of control by the Dutch. Missionary activities were limited to chaplaincy work in the castles and no attempt was made in the field of evangelization among the people.

The Dutch strengthened their position in the Gold Coast. They made the Elmina Castle larger and stronger with a view to establishing a monopoly. But the Guinea trade was so attractive and profitable that other nations could not afford to allow the establishment of a Dutch monopoly. The nations which joined the competition with the Dutch in the trade on the Gold Coast included Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany and England.

In 1662, a new Company called the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa was formed in England. The importance of this Company was seen in the vested interest which some prominent people, including James, the Duke of York and later James II (James VII of Scotland) had in it. The Charter of the Company granted it the monopoly of trade from the Strait of Gibraltar which forms the only outlet of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope. Under the terms of the Charter, the Company was to supply 3,000 slaves a year to the West Indies. It was to take over the fort at Kormantine and to build new ones at Cape Coast, Egya, Anashan, Komenda, Winneba and Accra with Cape Coast as its headquarters. The Company built a castle at Cape Coast and lodges at all the places it was required to build them with the exception of the one at Accra.

The Dutch claimed monopoly of the trade in the Gold Coast on the grounds that their conquest of the Portuguese gave them the monopoly which was once enjoyed by them. They registered a formal protest against the English violation of the monopoly. After the formal protest, the Dutch attacked the English taking their castle at Cape Coast and their lodge at Egya, but these were regained by the English.

In 1672 a new company known as the Royal African Company was formed. The Cape Coast castle came under the . . . /

the control of the Company which built the James Fort at Accra and two other forts at Komenda and Anomabo. Between 1750 and 1821, British bases and factories were administered by the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. Administration was in the hands of a Governor and his officials at the Cape Coast castle. The Company had financial problems and it was dissolved and in 1821 its possessions were vested in the Crown. In 1828 a committee of London merchants was set up and charged with the administration of the British bases on the Gold Coast under the supervision of the Governor of Sierra Leone.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, big and small forts were built on the Gold Coast by some European countries. The forts were built, occupied, abandoned, attacked, captured, sold or exchanged. European political and commercial interests were represented on the Gold Coast by the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, the French, the Swedes, the Danes and the Brandenburgers. The European forts were built on lands which belonged to the traditional States from whom the Europeans rented them. Written agreements were made with the Kings and the Chiefs in respect of the lands which were released to the Europeans. For example, the rent for the land on which the Elmina Castle stood was two ounces of gold 1 a month which was increased . . . /

1. An ounce of gold was valued at £4. See W E F Ward, A History of the Gold Coast, pp.91-92.

increased to four ounces at the end of the seventeenth century. The rent paid for the land occupied by James Fort at Accra was two ounces of gold while four ounces of gold each was paid for the pieces of land occupied by the Cape Coast Castle and the fort at Anomabo. It is evident from this that the Europeans who came to the Gold Coast not only recognized the authority of the rulers of the traditional States and their ownership of their lands but they also recognised the sovereignty of the States. The lands were not acquired by force or conquest. They were acquired through negotiations and agreements and the security of the castles and the forts and of the trade of which they were bases, depended to a large extent on the goodwill of the Kings and Chiefs and the people of the traditional States. The purpose of the castles and forts in the eighteenth century was the establishment of trade between the west coast of Africa and Europe in which the prosecution of the slave trade was paramount. It has been said that slaves represented nine-tenths of all exports from the coast. 1

The management of the slave trade and the possessions of the British, the Dutch and the Danes were entrusted to trading companies from these nations. The abolition of the slave trade put the companies out of business . . . /

1. Evidence of James Swanzy before the Select Committee on African Forts, HC506 of 1816, Cited in G E Metcalfe, Maclean of the Gold Coast, p.35

business and the governments of the countries had to take over the administration and management of the castles and forts. After the abolition of the slave trade by Britain in 1807 it was no longer profitable for the British to remain in the Gold Coast but they did and they had two reasons for doing so. First, to suppress slaving and second, to develop a legitimate commerce.

THE COLONIAL STATE

The operation and dissolution of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa have been dealt with. In 1821 the British Government showed its dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Company towards the people of the Gold Coast during the Asante - Fanti wars of 1803, 1808 and 1813 and with its inadequate efforts to prevent the slave trade. In the light of this, the British Government withdrew its charter and united the Gold Coast settlements with the Colony of Sierra Leone. For the first time, the forts in the Gold Coast came under British governmental control. The then Governor of Sierra Leone was Sir Charles MacCarthy. He visited his new territory and on his arrival in the Gold Coast he decided to wage war against the Asante in which the British were disastrously defeated.

As a result of the expense and disasters of the MacCarthy . . . /

MacCarthy campaign, the British Government decided to abandon the Gold Coast. But the merchants who had commercial interests in the Gold Coast asked the British Government to return the Gold Coast to company government. The Company of London Merchants which has been alluded to above, was authorized to form a new organisation to take up the control of the trade and to keep up the forts with the aid of a government subsidy. A British army officer, Captain George Maclean, was appointed as the President of the Council of Merchants which was the government charged with the administration of the British forts and stations in the Gold Coast with Cape Coast as its headquarters. Maclean's tenure of office started on 15 February 1830 and ended in 1843. He gained the confidence of the people to the extent that he was able to extend British influence over the entire coastal area up to the Pra River which was the southern boundary of Asante. He stationed a soldier in each of the principal coastal towns and established a court to deal with native disputes over which he presided. He was assisted by some of the Chiefs in hearing cases which were judged according to native customary law, except where it was judged to be inhuman. This was the genesis of the Colonial State and its rule. By establishing a court over which he presided and bringing the people under its jurisdiction, Maclean was bringing them under a foreign political and judicial power . . . /

power, although he had no authority from the British Government to do so. This point is further strengthened by the fact that the "Bond of 1844" which will be discussed presently, merely acknowledged the operation of Maclean's judicial practice and authority. It neither brought it into being nor created a new or a different judicial system.

Notwithstanding the British Government's policy against slavery, some domestic slavery still existed among the people. This situation led to public criticism in England. In 1840 the British Parliament instituted an investigation into the matter and a House of Commons Select Committee was appointed for that purpose. Although the Select Committee reported favourably to the House of Commons on the work of Maclean, it made the following recommendations:

1. That control of the Gold Coast forts should be resumed by the British Government.
2. That the informal method of jurisdiction which had grown up should be more accurately defined

As a result of this, the British Government once again assumed authority in 1843.

In March 1843 Captain Henry Worsley Hill R.N. was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Gold Coast in place of Captain George Maclean. He arrived at Cape Coast on 13 February 1844 and took over the government from Maclean. Another recommendation of the Select Committee was that the relation of the peoples in the "Protectorate" to the British Government should not be that . . . /

that of their allegiance of subjects (to which Britain had no right to pretend and which entailed inconvenient responsibility) but the deference of weaker powers by a stronger and more enlightened neighbour, whose protection and counsel they sought and to whom they were bound by certain definite obligations. 1 The recommendation did not show the basis of the "deference", neither did it define the nature and the terms of the "obligations". In the light of this, Hill saw the need to clarify the relations between the British and the people of the Gold Coast by negotiating an agreement with the Chiefs. To this end, he prepared a document which became known in the Gold Coast as "the Bond of 1844". Hill then met some of the Fante and other chiefs and made a treaty or an agreement with them which was embodied in the document. The treaty which was designed to clarify an ambiguous position, was itself ambiguous. It contained a rather vague acknowledgement on the part of the Chiefs of the "power and jurisdiction" of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. The full text of "the Bond of 1844" was as follows:

1. Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, within divers countries and places adjacent settlements on the Gold Coast; we, chiefs of countries and places so referred to, adjacent to the said forts and settlements, do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction, and declare that the first objects of law are the protection of individuals and and property.

1. W E F Ward, A History of the Gold Coast, pp.186-187

2. Human sacrifices, and other barbarous customs, such as panyarring, are abominations, and contrary to law.
3. Murders, robberies, and other crimes and offences, will be tried and inquired of before the Queen's judicial officers and the chiefs of the districts, moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law. 1

The signatories to the document were: Governor Hill and eight chiefs including the Chiefs of Denkyira, Anomabo, Cape Coast and Asin. Those who signed as witnesses of the Bond were Maclean and Samuel Bannerman, the Acting Adjutant of Militia and Police. After 6 March 1844, other Chiefs from some of the districts went to Cape Coast Castle to sign the Bond. For instance the following Chiefs signed on the following dates: The Chief of Twifo 12 March, the Chief of Ajumako 27 March, the Chief of Gomoa 12 April and the chief of Asikuma 22 April 1844.

The Secretary of State, E. G. Stanley, appointed Maclean to the post of Judicial Assessor 2 and was formally commissioned on 22 April 1844. His duty was to sit in court with the Chiefs and try cases involving citizens so as to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor from judicial functions. Such cases were to be tried in accordance with native customary law and the principles of . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 187 See also G. E. Metcalfe, Maclean of the Gold Coast, pp. 306-307.

2. G. E. Metcalfe, op. cit. p. 296

of British equity. This judicial system which had already been established by Maclean and which had been in operation for about a decade or more, was now given official recognition. Both the traditional States and the colonial State which was in its rudimentary stage were represented in the court which had now been legitimized by the Bond of 1844.

The Bond contained neither proclamation of a protectorate nor any mention of a territorial sovereignty or suzerainty. It did not grant Britain any legal and political control and authority in the Gold Coast. It did not even accord Britain any trading rights. Nevertheless some of the people saw the Bond as the legal basis of British colonial rule in the Gold Coast. 1 Although the Bond was not the legal basis of British colonial rule in the country, it occupied an important place in its history since it had some influence on the subsequent relations between the British . . . /

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1. For instance as late as 10 July 1953, Kwame Nkrumah said in the Legislative Assembly that Britain assumed political control of the Gold Coast from the formal association effected by the Bond of 1844. He said:
"Following on trade with the early merchant adventurers who came to the Gold Coast, the first formal association of Britain with our country was effected by the famous Bond of 1844, which accorded Britain trading rights in the country. But from these humble beginnings of trade and friendship, Britain assumed political control of this country."
(Gold Coast Legislative Assembly Debates, Issue No. 2, 2-7 July 1953, p. 271).

British and the people of the Gold Coast. The Bond was not the result of a conquest. The Chiefs voluntarily submitted to British power without surrendering their sovereignty and independence and the birthright of their people. In the light of this, they never stopped speaking of or demanding their inherent rights and they maintained an attitude of independence towards the imperial government and opposed unpopular colonial legislation.

Britain assumed political control in the Gold Coast not on the basis of the Bond of 1844 but on that of the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843 which "empowered the Crown to exercise any jurisdiction it might have in a foreign country in as full a manner as if that country had been acquired by conquest or cession" 1. The Gold Coast had its own government with its own executive and legislative councils following its separation from Sierra Leone in January 1850. In the same year, Britain bought the Danish possessions in the Gold Coast. More Chiefs associated themselves with the Bond of 1844 and this widened the scope of British authority in the Gold Coast. The result of this was that the people who came under British authority expected the government to provide such social services as education, medical care and roads. 2 The Secretary of State, Lord Grey favoured . . . /

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1. Martin Wight, The Development of the Legislative Council, 1606-1945, pp 38-39, 62-63. Cited in W E F Ward, op. cit. p.188
 2. Ibid. pp.188-189

favoured the provision of these services to the people.

1 The grant which the government received from Britain was not enough to cover the expenses involved in the provision of these services. The Governor therefore decided to raise a revenue locally for that purpose. To this end, the Governor met the Chiefs at a meeting in 1852 which constituted itself into a legislative assembly "with full powers to enact such laws as it shall deem fit." Furthermore, the meeting declared that "its enactment, sanctioned and approved of by the Governor, shall immediately become the law of the country, subject to the approval of Her Majesty the Queen, and be held binding upon the whole of the population being under the protection of the British Government." 2 Again the meeting declared that considering the advantages derived from "the protection afforded them by Her Majesty's Government" it was incumbent upon them to pay taxes. On the basis of this, it passed the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 under which every man, woman and child who lived within the sphere of British authority had to pay one shilling.

The Poll Tax became unpopular and a matter of great concern among the people. Contrary to native customary law, the tax was imposed on the people without giving them the opportunity to discuss it. Furthermore, it was . . . /

1. See David Kimble, *op.cit.* p.169

2. *Ibid* p.189

was collected not by the Stool authorities but by officers appointed by the Governor over whom the people had no control. What is more, the proceeds of the tax were not used in providing the social services for which it was levied but for the payment of the salaries of government officials. Thus in 1861 the tax ceased to be levied.

British power in the sphere of its influence was organised and consolidated. This phenomenon attracted more States to join the British "Protectorate". Some of these States were Akyem Abukuakwa, some divisions of Akyem Kotoku, Wassa, Agona and others. The sale of the Danish possessions to the British also brought some States under British control including the Akuapem, Krobo and Krepi States. The Akwamu State joined the British "Protectorate" in 1886.

The Gold Coast did not officially become a colony until after the British-Asante war of 1873-74. On 6 August 1874 an Order in Council was issued authorising the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast to legislate for the protected territories. Colonial rule had started but Asante had not been formally annexed and in London it was regarded as a foreign country. Although the 1896 Asante treaties were regarded locally as having incorporated the various Asante States into the Colony, the Colonial Office realised that they had only been brought into the Protectorate. 1

1. David Kimble, op.cit. p.316

On 26 September 1901 three Orders in Council were passed. They were the Gold Coast Order in Council (which was sometimes called the Boundary, Annexation and Ordinance Extension Order in Council), the Order in Council declaring a Protectorate over the Northern Territories and the Order in Council declaring Asante as annexed. These three Orders in Council came into force on 1 January 1902. With the implementation of these Orders in Council, colonial rule formally and legally started in all the three parts of the Gold Coast namely, the Colony, Asante and the Northern Territories.

THE CHANGE OF THE STATUS QUO

The Power of the Governor and his Government

The institution of colonial rule implied the abolition of the political and military sovereignty of the Kings and the Chiefs of the traditional States whose authority and power and their central and local governments had to give way to those of the Governor. In each of the three territories into which the Gold Coast was divided, the powers of the Governor reigned supreme and were exercised by a Chief Commissioner. The Chief Commissioner had political, administrative and judicial powers in his area of jurisdiction. In the old . . . /

old regime all these powers were vested in the Kings and the Chiefs. At the initial stage the Chief Commissioner could carry out a death sentence without even consulting the Governor - an act which was once within the exclusive power of the Kings.

Under the Chief Commissioner came the Provincial Commissioners, below whom were the District Commissioners all of whom were responsible to the Governor. The pattern of colonial rule was in certain respects on the lines of the concept of "indirect rule" which was a confused and undesirable form of government in States which had a well advanced and effective political system of their own. The idea of indirect rule (which is not an appropriate term) is attributed to Frederick Lugard who devised the system for the purpose of ruling the Emirates of Northern Nigeria. Lugard laid down the following principles regarding the operation of indirect rule:

1. Native rulers were not permitted to raise and control armed forces or to grant permission to carry arms.
 2. The sole right to impose taxation in any form was reserved to the suzerain power
 3. The right to legislate was reserved
 4. The right to appropriate land on equitable terms for public and for commercial purposes was vested in the Governor. 1
 5. The . . . /
-

1. As a result of the strong opposition by the people and the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, this principle could not work in the Gold Coast.

5. The employees of the native administration should consist entirely of natives subject to the native authority.
6. The right of confirming or otherwise the choice of the people of the successor to a chiefship, and of deposing any ruler for misrule or other adequate cause, was reserved to the Governor. 1

The eradication of the power of the native rulers to raise and control armed forces was tantamount to the abolition of their military sovereignty. As we noted in relation to Asante, the military organisation formed an important part in the political organisation and this was true of most traditional States. The military exploits of the ancestors of the Kings and Chiefs are still the basis for determining rank and prestige among them. 2 The case of the Chief of Nkontanase in Asante shows the importance of military power in Asante chiefship. In October 1946 the Asante Confederacy Council divided the Chiefs into three grades for the purpose of fixing the rate which each Chief should pay as aseda (token of thanks) when he took the oath of allegiance to the Asentehene on his enstoolment. The Nkontanasehene was placed in the second grade. He was not satisfied with his grade and so he asked that he should be placed in the first grade. His reason . . . /

1. Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, pp 205-207.

2. K A Busia: The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, p.111



THE GOLD COAST AND ITS PROVINCES

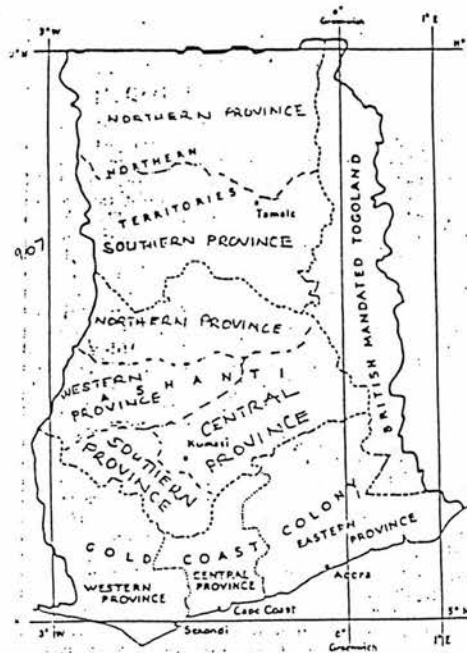


Fig. 3

reason was that formerly Nkontanase occupied an important position in the Asante military organisation. The Asantehene asked him to substantiate his claim with an historical instance of any war in which Nkontanase had played an important role. He could not substantiate his claim and so his request was regarded as a presumption which, but for the intervention of the Nsutahene, could have rendered him liable to heavy fines. In the traditional States, the Chiefs were the commanders in chief of their armed forces and the people look to them for defence. It was the Chief who could declare war and negotiate peace. But the colonial administration got rid of this important position of the Chief . . . /

Chief, which meant a loss of prestige, power and authority.

The power of the imposition of taxation was one of the spheres of authority and financial strength of the traditional ruler. Through taxation and other sources, the Chief was able to meet the financial commitments of his State including preparation for war. By the eradication of this power, the colonial government drastically limited the authority and the financial power of the Chief and paralysed the administrative machinery of the traditional State. Furthermore, since taxation is unpleasant to most people, the abrogation of the power of taxation was seen by the common people as a relief and this generated unpopularity and disloyalty among the people towards the traditional rulers in favour of the colonial government.

Before colonial rule, the King or the Chief and his council of elders, who were also Chiefs, formed the legislature. The legislative function of the King and the Chiefs was one of the most important elements of the sovereignty and independence of the traditional State. With the advent of colonial rule, the officials of the traditional State could no longer make laws. Legislation then became the sole duty of the Colonial government.

The first action of the colonial government after the Orders in Council of 1874 was the emancipation of all slaves and the abolition of internal or domestic slave-dealing . . . /

slave-dealing. This was one of the factors which weakened the power of the Chief for he could no longer make money from the Slave-dealing neither could he have a number of slaves around him as servants. The colonial government became the acknowledged authority of the country. The reaction of some of the Chiefs to the loss of political sovereignty was to rely on the government as the source of their authority. This made the situation worse. Not only did the reliance on the government as the source of authority help the colonial officials to consolidate their position and make their influence felt but it also made it quite clear to the people that the ultimate authority was no longer the Chief. This fact became evident in the way many of the Chiefs complained that their subjects refused to obey them. The Chief Commissioner of Asante recognised this shift of allegiance in 1906 when he reported on the Southern Province of Asante as follows:

The Ashantis of the Southern District have given no trouble during the year. They have marked the year 1906 by their excellent behaviour, absolute obedience, and a desire to help and co-operate with Government. I think they have further begun to recognise that Government is the chief guardian of their interests, judging by the way they have sought advice on every matter, however small, that concerned them, and they have displayed a trusting and friendly spirit towards the Commissioner of the District that is most pleasing to record. 1

1. Cited in K A Busia, *ibid*, p.110

Hitherto the Chief was looked upon as the guardian of the interests of the people and their defender against external aggression. These functions were taken over by the colonial government to which the Chief was a subordinate. This situation was very often evidenced in the relationship between the Chief and government officials.

The first Native Jurisdiction Ordinance in the Gold Coast was passed in 1878 but was never implemented. It was replaced by the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 under the governorship of Samuel Rowe. A major provision in the 1883 Ordinance was that decisions of native tribunals were made subject to appeal to the colonial courts. Although this provision ensured the integration of both British and native judicial systems, it made colonial courts superior to native courts because the decisions of the Chiefs and their courts were subject to either confirmation or rejection by colonial courts. Notwithstanding the many criticisms against it by the Chiefs and the educated people, the 1883 Native Jurisdiction Ordinance remained in operation and formed the basis of native jurisdiction until 1927.

The Native Prisons Ordinance of 1888 gave the governor the power to regulate and, when necessary, to close down village native prisons. It also prohibited imprisonment in the native prisons for a period exceeding one month. The British policy had been a progressive removal of the traditional sanctions from the . . . /

the hands of the Chiefs. The Chiefs and their tribunals had lost their power over life and death, enslavement and pawning and physical punishment. The judicial authority of the Chief was drastically weakened bringing into prominence the machinery of the colonial courts. The seriousness of the rapidly changing judicial system is seen in the fact that traditionally, political leadership and judicial leadership were inseparable since the former included the administration of justice. Executive and judicial functions were now exercised not by the Chief but by the District Commissioner. The diminishing position and the loss of the authority of the Chief was vividly stated in a confidential dispatch by the Governor of the Gold Coast Matthew Nathan in 1901 in relation to the position of King Tachie of Accra:

He no longer has a Court in which to sell justice at Accra and so has no revenue. He has also no power of punishment and so no means of making his nominal subjects obey him. He is an old man with the recollection of great former importance and of an influence extending over all the Ga-talking people and he naturally resents the new order of things and is not inclined to assist the Government that has brought it about. 1

An Ordinance was passed in 1895 known as the Compulsory . . . /

1. A confidential despatch of 10 March 1901 from Governor Matthew Nathan (1900-1903) to Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies (1895-1903). Cited in David Kimble, *op.cit.*, p.466 (footnote)

Compulsory Labour Ordinance. Under the Ordinance, the Chiefs were required to provide workers demanded by the government. It was initially designed to secure carriers for the Asante expedition. In 1896 King Cudjoe Imbrah of Cape Coast was imprisoned under the Ordinance. His hair was shaved and he was made to don prison clothes. J. E. Casely Hayford appealed against his conviction in the Appeal Court and succeeded in getting it quashed and the £100 fine which he was to pay in addition to his humiliation and disgrace was remitted. According to Casely Hayford, Her Britannic Majesty's Government did not even apologise to the King on the reversal of the judgement of the lower court. In the eyes of the colonial officials the importance of the Chief lay in his position as an agent of the government for the implementation of its policies. The compulsory Labour Ordinance of 1895 adversely affected the position of the Chief in two main ways. First, it reduced his status as the paramount authority to a mere agent charged with the recruitment of labour for the government. Second, it was the unfortunate labourers who fell victim to the humiliating compulsory labour and the severe penalties associated with it and the Chief was seen as the immediate source of that form of oppression since he was the agent of the government and enforced the oppressive policy. This made the Chief unpopular among his subjects.

In 1904 the Chiefs Ordinance was enacted in spite of the . . . /

the opposition by Mensah Sarbah and J. P. Brown who were the African members of the Legislative Council. Under the Ordinance, whenever the enstoolment or destoolment of a Chief was questioned, the Governor's decision was to be final and not subject to challenge in the courts. Associated with the Ordinance was the Stool Property Detention Ordinance which empowered a District Commissioner to compel an ex-chief to hand over the stool and its paraphernalia. All these were but a gradual movement towards the dismantling of the institution of chieftaincy in the Gold Coast or at least weakening it.

THE LANDS BILL AND THE ABORIGINES' RIGHTS PROTECTION SOCIETY

The Gold Coast was an agricultural country, as Ghana still is. Thus land was of great importance to the people. It is a traditional Akan belief that the land belongs to the ancestors and has been handed down from generation to generation. The kings and the chiefs and the lineage heads are regarded as the custodians of the land which can be held in usufruct by the members of a lineage or a community. On the other hand, the colonial government was very particular about the land and its control.

Seeing itself as the paramount authority in the Gold Coast and motivated by the prospects of land control, the . . . /

the colonial government passed an ordinance known as the Crown Lands Ordinance in 1895 to vest in the Crown all land which was not in visible use and which was termed "waste and forest lands". The Government passed the Bill under the pretext of safeguarding the interests of landowners against undesirable concessions and unreasonable felling of timber. There was a very strong opposition to this move of the government by the kings and the chiefs as well as the educated people. The opposition was so strong that the government had to abandon the Ordinance. In the Gold Coast land tenure system there was nothing like "waste" or "public" land. If a piece of land lay fallow it did not mean that it had no owner. Every piece of land belonged to a stool or a lineage and to describe a piece of land as "waste" or "unoccupied" sounded incomprehensible in the ears of the people. The Kings and the Chiefs and the people of the Gold Coast regarded the government's land policy as tantamount to exploitation of the people and their natural resources in the interest of the British Government and they had to fight against it. This method of governmental land control was used in Kenya to provide land for European settlers.

In 1897 the colonial government again attempted to gain control of the land which belonged to the Chiefs and their people by way of the Lands Bill. It was an "Ordinance to regulate the administration of public land and . . . /

and to define certain interests therein, and to constitute a Concession Court". As was expected, the Chiefs and people of the Gold Coast opposed the Ordinance. The leaders of the opposition conducted an investigation into the government's persistent desire to control the land. It was found that the government's land policy was designed to exploit the people.

The desire to establish a united front to fight for the right of the people to protect their land and interests, to preserve the native institutions, to oppose any undesirable measure of the government and to press for African representation in the Legislative Council were the main factors which led to the formation of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (A R P S). The membership of the Society which was formed in 1897 included a number of Chiefs and educated citizens.

In the face of strong opposition, the government could not pass the Bill and had to refer it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies who was then Joseph Chamberlain. The A.R.P.S. reacted to this action of the government by sending a delegation to England in May 1898 to plead its case. As a result of the mission of the delegation, the British Government abandoned its policy of land control and decided that the devolution of land should be by native law. Although the Bill was ultimately passed in the Legislative Council in 1898, it did not go any further than the establishment of a

Special Tribunal of the Supreme Court which was to approve concessions. The Bill rather emphasised the British Government's policy of non-interference with the rights of landowners to make grants in respect of their lands. This was clearly seen as a victory for the ARPS and it reinforced its political role as a pressure group and a political unit in the Gold Coast and increased its popularity.

POWER OVER ENSTOOLMENT AND DESTOOLMENT OF CHIEFS

On 1 August 1924 the colonial government passed the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance which purported "to make better provision for the regulation and exercise of certain powers and jurisdiction by native authorities, and for purposes connected therewith".¹ The Ordinance defined the position of Chiefs in the administration of Asante. After the enactment of the first Native Jurisdiction Ordinance in 1878, the kings of the various traditional States in the Gold Coast were officially designated "Head Chiefs" and those who were formerly chiefs and served under the kings were designated "minor" or "subordinate" Chiefs. The 1924 Ordinance defined a Head Chief as "a person elected to and installed in accordance with native customary law, and confirmed by the Chief Commissioner . . . and who is not subordinated . . . /

1. Governor's Order, 3 of 1924, 14 July Gazette No. 55
17 July. A. Vol. 1-11, Ghana National Archives.

subordinated in his ordinary jurisdiction to any other Chief". Part 2 Section 3 of the Ordinance categorically stipulated that, "it shall not be lawful for any Head Chief or Chief to exercise any powers as Head Chief or Chief until he has been confirmed by the Chief Commissioner, such confirmation in the case of a Head Chief being subject to the approval of the Governor". In Section 4 the Ordinance continued, "The resignation or deposition of a Head Chief or Chief shall not take effect until it has been confirmed by the Chief Commissioner, such confirmation in the case of a Head Chief being subject to the approval of the Governor." Section 5 of the Ordinance gave the Chief Commissioner the power to destool or suspend a Head Chief or Chief and stated that, "The Chief Commissioner, subject to the approval of the Governor, may by order suspend for a stated time or may depose any Head Chief or Chief who appears to him to have abused his power or be unworthy or incapable of exercising the same justly, or for other sufficient reason, and thereupon from the date of such order the Head Chief or Chief shall for all purposes be deemed to have ceased to be a Head Chief or Chief, either for the stated period, if suspended, or finally if deposed."

The implementation of the provisions of this Ordinance as regards enstoolment and destoolment of Chiefs brought about a serious departure from the customs and traditions and the constitution of the traditional . . . /

traditional State. The election, installation and enstoolment of a Chief was exclusively the right and duty of the King-makers and the people. This right ensured the independence of the State and showed its ability to manage its own affairs. It also showed that power in the State belonged to the people who gave it to the Chief and his elders and who could take it away from them whenever they thought it was necessary to do so. The power to take away authority from the Chief was exercised through the act of destoolment of the Chief by the people. An Akan proverb runs thus:

Ensa a yede hye nku no eno ara na yede te - It is the same hand that is used in filling a bottle with ointment that is used in taking it out. It is the people who give power to the Chief and it is the same people who have the right to take the power away from him. This power of the people served as a check on the Chief who was always under their critical observation. The system made the Chief absolutely accountable to the people and to the people only.

The 1924 Ordinance transferred almost the whole of this power from the king-makers and the people to the Governor and his Chief Commissioners. This transfer of power took away political sovereignty from the traditional State. The election and the deposition of the King of the State were now controlled by a foreign power over whom the people had no control. This new system . . . /

system reduced the status of the traditional State to that of a mere vassal State in which the King and the Chiefs were made accountable to the government instead of to the people. Thus the good of the government superseded the welfare of the people in the discharge of the duties of the King and the Chiefs for they no longer ruled with the absolute mandate of the people but with the sanction of the government. This situation made the King or the Chief a pawn in his relation with the government.

The Ordinance made nonsense of the very powers for which it purported to make better provision. The powers belonged to the people who gave the King or the Chief the mandate to exercise them. But these same powers were transferred from the people to the government. In the light of this, the interpretation of the phrase "to make better provision" would be "to transfer the powers of the people to the government."

What is more, the Ordinance transferred the respect and honour due to the Chief from the people to the government. The Chief was seen as the supreme authority who occupied the stool of the ancestors. Now a more powerful authority had emerged who could enstool and destool the Chief at will. That authority was then seen as the supreme authority and therefore respect and honour were his due. This situation drastically reduced or weakened the people's regard for the Chief.

The Ordinance empowered the Chief Commissioner not only . . . /

only to destool or suspend a Chief but it also empowered him to deport him from his area to any area which the Chief Commissioner found fit. Section 8, subsection 1, stipulated that if and whenever a Head Chief or Chief was duly deposed or suspended by the Chief Commissioner under the provisions of section 5 of the Ordinance, then and in any such case, it was lawful for the Chief Commissioner if and as he thought fit to make an order and by such order he could effect the following:

- (i) Direct that any such Head Chief or Chief should be removed from his Division or subdivision within which he exercised jurisdiction.
- (ii) Prohibit any such Head Chief or Chief from returning to such Division or Subdivision.
- (iii) Prescribe any area within such Division or Subdivision wherein alone such Head Chief or Chief might reside.
- (iv) Prescribe any area within such Division or Subdivision into which such Head Chief or Chief should be prohibited from entering.
- (v) Prescribe the period during which such order should have effect. Provided that in the case of the suspension of a Head Chief or Chief such period should not extend beyond the period of such suspension.
- (vi) Make such order and further provision as he might consider expedient with a view to giving full and better effect to the order.

As an example of the implementation of the Ordinance, on 10 April 1928, the Chief Commissioner of Asante made an order under the Ordinance for the destoolment and the removal of the Paramount Chief of the Nkoransa Division, the . . . /

the late Kwame Baffo. The Order 1 for his removal stipulated that:

- (1) The said Kwame Baffo shall be removed from the Nkoranza Division and his return to the said Division shall be prohibited.
- (2) The revenues and other property of the Stool of Nkoranza shall not be chargeable with the support or maintenance of the said Kwame Baffo during the period of his removal as aforesaid.

To make its decision regarding the enstoolment or destoolment of a Chief known to the public, the government published such enstoolment or destoolment in the gazette. This gazette system was inherited by the national Government after independence and it survived in the First, Second and Third Republics. The heads and members of the various governments knew the position of the Chief in the traditional State and the authority and power of the people. They also knew that when the people gave authority and power to the Chief through the rite of enstoolment, that mandate needed no sanction of any other authority and therefore any system of gazette was unnecessary. Why did the various national governments retain that colonial legacy? The answer can be found in the desire of the politicians to keep chiefship and all its authority under the control and power of the government especially during the Nkrumah regime.

1. The Nkoranza Division Head Chief's Removal Order - Order No. 8 of 1928. Ghana National Archives.

The Ordinance not only reduced the power and the prestige of the Chief and the traditional State but it also brought about discrimination and the creation of social classes of the privileged and the peripheral. The Ordinance provided for the formation and function of Native Tribunals. Section 2 of the Ordinance defined a Native Tribunal as "a Head Chief or Chief, as the case may be, sitting with the sub-Chiefs, headmen, and others who by native customary law are the Councillors of such Head Chief or Chief." Section 29 of the Ordinance set out the nature of the tribunals and spelt out the jurisdiction for the hearing and determination of the causes and matters relating to affiliation actions, custody of children, divorce, land, personal suits and succession. Section 29, subsection 1 clearly stated:

A Head Chief's tribunal shall have and may exercise within the Division of such Head Chief, but without derogation from the the powers and jurisdiction hereinafter conferred upon a Chief's tribunal, civil jurisdiction for the hearing and determination of the causes and hereinafter mentioned in which all parties are natives, and the defendant is at the commencement of the proceedings, or was at the time when the cause of action arose, resident within such Division, or in which any party not being a native consents to his case being tried by such Head Chief's tribunal.

According to this provision, all citizens could be tried by the native tribunals within their divisions. But section 43 of the same Ordinance stipulated that:

No criminal proceedings shall be instituted in a native tribunal against any native in the service of the Crown without the written

an officer duly authorised to act for him; and no such native shall be arrested on any warrant or other process, or by any officer of a native tribunal unless the like consent shall first have been obtained.

Why should the Ordinance state that "natives" could be tried in certain cases by the native tribunals and at the same time state that "natives" in the service of the government could not be tried by the native tribunals or arrested by the officers of the native tribunals without the written consent of the Provincial Commissioner? The importance of this question lies in the fact that the citizens who were in the service of the colonial government were mostly educated. Thus, with the privilege of education and the governmental employment it carried, a section of the natives were placed above their own native tribunals and assured of the protection of the government while the less privileged were within the jurisdiction of the native tribunals.

One example will illustrate the nature of this new phenomenon and the seriousness of the situation which it created. Until the period of colonial rule, the Asantehene (King of Asante) was the supreme authority in Asante whose sphere of influence and power was wide. He was seldom seen in public and it was very difficult if not impossible for a commoner to approach him. Some time in July 1946 the Chief Commissioner of Asante left Kumasi for England on sick-leave. The Asantehene decided to go and see him off at the railway station. The . . . /

The gate leading to the platform had been shut and behind it stood a government policeman who was a citizen. The Asantehene's private secretary went to the policeman and told him that the Asantehene was in the car and wanted to say good bye to the Chief Commissioner, but the policeman refused to open the gate. He had been instructed not to open the gate to let any African in. He opened the gate to the European officers but kept the Asantehene behind it till he came out of his car and went to speak to him himself in protest of his behaviour. 1 Dr Busia who narrated this story in his book did not state whether the policeman was one of the Asantehene's "subjects" or not (many of the low ranking police personnel were recruited from the Northern Territories). But whether or not he was one of them did not matter much. The fact that he lived and worked in Asante was enough to warrant his allegiance to the Asantehene in the old regime. On no account could the policeman have behaved the way he did under traditional rule. He was in the service of the supreme authority whose power superseded that of the Asantehene whose court could not penalise him.

THE COMMONERS AND THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

The drastic reduction of the authority and prestige of the Chief and the status of the traditional State affected every sphere of the activity of the Chief and his elders and their relationship with the commoners who

1. K A Busia, Ibid p.113

who were known as the "young men". According to native custom the commoners had the right to keep the Chief and his elders in check so as to prevent the abuse of power. They were under the authority of the traditional rulers but they had the right to participate in the decisions which affected them.

With the emergence of the colonial administration, the commoners became subjects of two authorities - servants of two masters. One cannot be a servant of two masters and serve them equally well. The tendency was to try to throw off one of the yokes and as the colonial government was stronger than the traditional authorities, the loyalty of the commoners to the former was greater than to the latter. The situation was vividly explained by the Chief Commissioner of Asante in his annual report in 1920 thus:

Generally native affairs in Ashanti have reached a stage of transition. A new generation which has grown up under the British Administration is coming to the fore. Prima Facie also native institutions which suited the environment of the old order are hardly likely to be adapted as they stand to the radically changed and changing conditions of the present. A strong Central Government superimposed upon the tribal (traditional) 1 administration must affect adversely the power and prestige of the Chiefs, and allegiance is apt to be transferred from the Chiefs to the Government. This accounts to some extent for the paramountcy cases, Chiefs desiring to serve Government direct rather than through a Paramount Chief. 2

1. Brackets are mine

2. K A Busia: op.cit. p.109

This transfer of political power from the chiefs to the colonial government had an adverse effect not only on the relationship between the Chiefs and the people but also on that between the Kings and the Chiefs or between the Chiefs and their elders. In the light of the weakened and still weakening position of the Kings and the Chiefs, some of the subordinate chiefs decided to throw off their allegiance to their superior Chiefs and to serve the government direct instead of doing so through their Paramount Chiefs. This state of affairs was what was known as the "paramountcy cases."

The rift between the commoners and the traditional authorities found expression in a great number of riots and destoolment cases especially in Asante. The situation was commented upon by Governor Alan Burns in his address to the Legislative Council in 1942 as follows:

As a newcomer to this country I have been struck - and struck with dismay - by the large number of interminable Stool disputes which disturb the peaceful life of the community. From enquiries I have made, I learn that within the last ten years no less than twenty-two Paramount Chiefs have been destooled, in addition to twenty-two others who have abdicated in that period - in most cases in order to forestall destoolment. 1

1. Ibid p.109

According to the Governor, his enquiries also revealed that seven Stools of Paramount Chiefs were then vacant and that in many States no Paramount Chief had succeeded in maintaining his position for more than a very short time. He asserted that in the case of subordinate Chiefs, the situation was worse and that since his arrival in the Colony, rioting had occurred in small villages over stool disputes.

The situation commented on by the Governor was in many respects the result of British administration. On the one hand the government had proved beyond any doubt that it was the master of and the controller of the affairs of the Gold Coast. On the other hand, the traditional authorities also wanted to maintain their control of their subjects. But the people could not be subjects of two authorities. The weaker authority therefore had to give way to the stronger, hence the rift. In the situation of rampant riots and destoolments, the policy of the government was to support the Chiefs.

There was in Asante in 1900 an insurrection commonly known as "the Yaa Asantewaa War" which was occasioned by the demand by Governor Hodgson for the Golden Stool of Asante. When the political atmosphere settled down, those who were seen to be loyal to the government were selected and enstooled as Chiefs in place of those destooled by the government. These government appointees to chiefship were picked outside the authentic royal lineages. For example, such chiefs were appointed at places like Agona, Edweso, Akuropon, Ahenkuro, Nsuatre etc. The people reacted strongly against this act of the government and at every place where such Chiefs were appointed, there was a strong move to destool them. But the government supported the illegitimate chiefs and not only retained them on the stools but also punished the people involved in the move against them.

Among . . . /

Among the commoners, this action of the government further reduced the respect and prestige of the institution of chieftaincy. Chiefship was based on kinship, but now chiefs could be selected and appointed by the government irrespective of blood relations or kinship and in absolute disregard for native customary law and constitution. All these contributed to the rift between the commoners and the Chiefs and their elders.

LOSS OF POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL SOVEREIGNTY - AN EXAMPLE
FROM ASANTE

The "Golden Stool" of Asante, the occupant of which is the Asantehene (the King of Asante) is regarded as a symbol of the unity of the Asante people. In 1895 the Asante decided to submit to the British and refrained from going to war with them because they knew that they would be defeated and the Golden Stool would be lost to the British. As a result of this submission King Prempeh I of Asante was deported to the Seychelles Islands off the east of Africa in 1896 and did not return till 1924. The Asante preferred the deportation of their King to the loss of the Golden Stool. 1

On 28 March 1900 Governor Frederic Hodgson demanded the . . . /

1. R.S. Rattray, Ashanti, p. 291. See also K.A. Busia, Ibid p.114.

the Golden Stool. For fear of the seizure of the Stool, the Asante decided to hide it in the ground at a secret place. This was done under the direction and supervision of one Asubonten, the Gyasehene of Kumasi in whose custody the stool was. It was hidden in the ground near the village called Wawase near the town of Aboabogya. In August 1920 a road was constructed from Aboabogya to a village and in the course of the construction the Golden Stool was dug out of the ground and kept in a room in Aboabogya. Later, five men, Kwadwo Danso (the Chief of the town), Yankyera, Seniagya, Yogo and Kwadwo Poku robbed the Stool of its ornaments and shared it among themselves and there was little left on it in the form of ornament. Rumours circulated among the people regarding what had happened to the Golden Stool and eventually the matter was reported to the Chiefs of Kumasi.

On 12 September 1920 the Chiefs reported to the Chief Commissioner of Asante that the Golden Stool had been desecrated. To the Asante, the desecration of the Golden Stool was the greatest sin that could be committed against the royal ancestors. The people saw the crime not only as a sacrilege but also as evidence of disloyalty to the whole Asante Nation of States. It was seen as the greatest insult to the personality and the nationhood of Asante since the Golden Stool was regarded as the symbol of the nationhood and the centre of . . . /

of the unity of the people of Asante and therein lay the soul (sunsum) of the Nation.

The whole of Asante was thrown into confusion and an atmosphere of national mourning. The grief of the people was emphasized by the fact that in every town and village all over Asante the people were seen in either their russet clothes (kobene) or black clothes (kuntunkuni) which are the clothes of mourning. Furthermore, some of the people had ntwoma (red clay) smeared in lines on the forehead and arm - watwa asafe or wabo ntwoma. These were signs of mourning.

The Chiefs decided to bring the culprits to trial and met at a place called Apremoso (a place of cannons) which further signified the seriousness of the case. Following a series of discussions between the Chiefs and the Chief Commissioner, the former were allowed to try the culprits but they were to follow certain regulations and limits set by the Chief Commissioner. The trial was to be conducted in accordance with the principles of British justice and at the close of it, a report was to be submitted to the Chief Commissioner who would consider the question of guilt and the nature of punishment to be imposed on those found guilty. This implied that the British Government, and for that matter the colonial government, was the de facto judicial authority and power and it was within the scope of that authority and that power that the Asante law and constitution ought to operate. Furthermore, the court constituted . . . /

constituted by all the Paramount Chiefs of Asante which was the National Court and which the Paramount Chiefs thought was the supreme court of the Asante Nation, was in fact a mere inferior court constituted ad hoc with no legal power to impose the penalty which it thought appropriate. The ultimate word and the final verdict was to come from the government.

The hearing started on 23 and ended on 26 September 1920. The court found the culprits including Asubonten guilty on the grounds that, "being natives of Ashanti and subjects of the Golden Stool of the Ashanti Nation did expose, steal, destroy, sell, and otherwise unlawfully deal with and use the said Golden Stool, thereby betraying the said Ashanti Nation and laying it open to disgrace and ridicule and debasing the name and fame of Ashanti, much to the annoyance and provocation of all people, young and old, thereby giving occasion for disturbance and bloodshed but for the intervention of Government."

The formal report made by the Chiefs to the Chief Commissioner was that the Golden Stool of Asante had been desecrated. But according to the judgement, what constituted the offence for which the culprits were found guilty were, exposure, stealing, destruction and sale of the Golden Stool. There was no mention of the word "desecration". Although it was the acts of exposure, stealing, destruction and sale which constituted . . . /

constituted the desecration, to the Asante, those words were insignificant in relation to the insignia on the Golden Stool. The most important issue was the act of desecration. Thus what to the Chiefs and the people was the most heinous offence amounted to very little in the eyes of the colonial government.

A report on the trial was submitted to the Chief Commissioner who studied it and ruled that Asubonten's case be retried and five of the eight others who were tried and convicted of purchasing the gold ornaments on the Golden Stool be acquitted. He also ordered that the death sentence imposed on the culprits be commuted to banishment overseas. 1 The last of these orders was the most painful one to both the Chiefs and the people of Asante. In Asante law, a crime such as the desecration of the Golden Stool, which was the national shrine, could carry nothing but the capital punishment. But the Asante law had been superseded by British law.

Eventually the final word as regards punishment came from the government within the framework of British administration. This shows the subordinate position which the chiefs and the traditional States occupied in relation to the government. In the old order, the authorities of the traditional State had power to impose the capital punishment if they had cause to do so. That was why the chiefs sentenced the culprits to death. But . . . /

1. K A Busia, op. cit. pp. 113-117

But now it was only the colonial government which had legal right and power to do so. This brought home not only to the Asante but also to all the traditional States in the Gold Coast that the time of their political and judicial sovereignty had passed with the passage of the old order. In their relationship with the colonial government, the traditional authorities were subordinates. The government was interested in them and supported them only insofar as they played their subordinate role and served as instruments and channels of British rule and interests.

THE SITUATION IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES

The situation was even worse in the Northern Territories, There the government officials involved the chiefs in the administrative process for purely administrative reasons and not because of any respect for the traditional rulers and their institutions. The Chiefs were absolutely subservient to the District Commissioners whose orders they took without question. The situation was worse still in areas where the institution of chieftaincy was either unknown or at its early stages. For example, among the Dagarti and those commonly known as the "Frafra", there was no organised political system with a chief at the centre. In such places, the government had to appoint Chiefs whom it used as pawns. For instance, the Chief Commissioner, Cecil . . . /

Cecil Hamilton Armitage wrote in 1912, "When at Navarro I appointed the Chief of Sandema Paramount Chief of Kanjarga, and if Adachuro gives any more trouble he must be destooled altogether and deported." 1 The Chief Commissioner could appoint anybody as either a subordinate chief or a paramount chief and he could destool or deskin him at any time and deport him. This was absolutely a new phenomenon in the political system of the Traditional State. Needless to labour on what sort of relationship that would exist between the government and such government appointed Chiefs. Worse still, it was stated in the Departmental Reports of the Northern Territories for 1907 that 60 per cent of the Chiefs elected in the Northern Territories were "absolute imbeciles". What sort of relationship would one expect to exist between an "idiotic" chief and a colonial political officer?

Like the situation in the south, the chiefs depended on the external authority of the government as the source of their power and not on the people as it was hitherto the case. This situation created a great tension between the chiefs and their subjects and they were only kept in office by the power and support of the government. As a result of the strained relationship between the chiefs and their subjects, rampant . . . /

1. C H Armitage to Acting Commissioner of the North-East Province, 27 August 1912, Ghana National Archives.

rampant riots were a common sight and often enquiries were conducted into the riots. At one of such enquiries in 1916, one of the government-appointed chiefs said in evidence thus:

Before I was made a Chief, the people around here used to say - "When the Whiteman goes away, we will teach the Chiefs some sense . . . it is only because there has been no Whiteman stationed in Zouaragu that the people have started to go against their Chiefs They disobey their Chiefs when the latter had not the direct support of the Commissioner. 1

But the striking thing was the paternalistic attitude of the political officers in the Northern Territories. Notwithstanding the fact that they appointed and supported the chiefs, they underrated their position and importance by encouraging the people to depend upon them rather than upon their chiefs for the administration of the affairs of their various communities. In view of this paternalism, even small domestic cases which could have been settled by the chiefs were reported to the local Commissioners.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RULER IN THE NEW ORDER

With the emergence of colonial rule, a new chapter was opened in the administration of the country. The colonial government introduced a new form of administration . . . /

1. Departmental Reports of the Northern Territories 1916, Ghana National Archives.

administration in which the ruler provided a variety of welfare services. The provision of these services created a new dimension in the socio-political life of the people. In the next chapter partnership and co-operation which existed between the government and the Churches in the provision of educational and health and medical facilities to the people will be dealt with.

By 1922 Accra, Kumasi, Oboase, Tarkwa and Sekondi were linked by rail and many roads had been built to open up the country and to facilitate trade and commerce. Under the supervision of government officials many new towns and villages were better laid out and others rebuilt. In 1913 Kintampo and Ejura were rebuilt. In the following year Wenchi was rebuilt and three years later Sunyani was rebuilt. The government encouraged agriculture by offering assistance to farmers in dealing with the problems of cocoa diseases and the supply of cocoa and rubber seedlings.

The government maintained law and order and ensured peace and security by the appointment and maintenance of professional police force and a standing army. The government army and the police which were under the command of British officials proved more efficient and more powerful than those ad hoc forces which were occasionally raised by the chiefs when the need arose. The members of the forces were employed and paid by the government and so their allegiance was to the government and its officials and not to the Chief and his elders. The . . . /

The relationship between the traditional rulers and the government officials was one of a Master-servant and the presence of government army and police often kept the people including the chiefs in constant fear of the government. Through the provision of the various welfare services, the government convinced the people of the wide scope of the activity and the multiplicity of the responsibilities of the ruler. Now the ruler had to establish schools, colleges and hospitals, build roads and railways, provide employment, promote trade and commerce, provide incentives for agricultural pursuits, ensure effective maintenance of law and order, security and defence without forced labour, town and village planning. All these were absolutely beyond the capacity and the means of the Chief and the government of the traditional State. But the colonial government provided them all and consequently the people reciprocated the enjoyment of those facilities with their allegiance, obedience and submission to the government. The government had introduced a new form and a new conception of government in which the governed depended on the government for quite a lot of things and in which the latter had to meet all the political, economic, social and administrative needs of the former. The government of the traditional State could not stand this and therefore had to give way to the colonial government which had the capacity and the means to accomplish them.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

The 1925 Constitution was conferred upon the Gold Coast Colony by an Order in Council dated 8 April 1925 and on 10 December 1925 it was published in the Gold Coast Gazette. What the Governor, Gordon Guggisberg, regarded as the outstanding feature in the 1925 Constitution was the provision which it made for the establishment of the Provincial Councils. On 15 April 1926 an Order in Council was made for the declaration of the recognised Head Chiefs for the establishment of the three Provincial Councils for the Eastern Province, the Central Province and the Western Province and electoral regulations were published. The first meeting of the Provincial Councils was held on 17 May 1926. In the Western Province, due to apathy and strong opposition to the idea of the establishment of the Provincial Councils of Head Chiefs, only eight out of the twenty Head Chiefs attended the inaugural meeting at Tarkwa and they could not elect any member for the Legislative Council. In the Central Province eleven out of the twenty-two Head Chiefs met at Dunkwa and elected the two members to which the Province was entitled to the Legislative Council. In the Eastern Province, all but one of the twelve Divisions qualified for representation in the Provincial Council attended the meeting and elected three members to the Legislative Council. Thus out of the total of six members who were to be elected by the three . . . /

three Provincial Councils to the Legislative Council, five were elected and the Acting Governor, by the power of the Royal Order, nominated Nana Ofori Atta I, the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa in the Eastern Province to fill the vacancy. This action was opposed by the anti-Provincial Council groups.

Notwithstanding the initial difficulties the Provincial Councils were established. But what was the motive behind the establishment of the Provincial Councils? The strong opposition which was raised against the idea of the Provincial Councils can be understood in the light of the functions which they were designed to perform.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

In the main, the Provincial Councils were to perform the following functions:

1. To elect from their own number members to the Legislative Council.
2. To afford the Head Chiefs and their Councillors the opportunity to unite in order to preserve their national institutions.
3. To enable the Head Chiefs to consult together on the subjects to the common welfare of their respective peoples.
4. To examine and advise Government on any proposed legislation affecting the people.
5. To . . . /

5. To discharge any function that might be allotted to them by legislation from time to time.

The idea of Provincial Councils was strongly opposed by some of the people especially the educated citizens and more especially by the ARPS. Dr J. E. K. Aggrey, who was a good friend of the Governor, commented on the attitude of some of the people towards the establishment of the provincial Councils in a private letter as follows:

The new Order in Council concerning the new Legislative Council has stirred up a hornet's nest. Part of the people of the Eastern Province, especially the educated, are against it. . . . The Paramount Chiefs of the Eastern Province, Krobo, Akuapim, Asiaman-Kesi, Akim Abuakwa, including Nana Ofori Atta and Konor Mate Kole, are heartily for it. In the Central Province the chiefs seem to be with the so-called Intelligentsia in opposing it. . . . And the Western Province seems to be opposed to it. . . . Wish I had known about the whole thing before it was promulgated. I might have saved some of the ill-feeling. Mrs Aggrey and I spent the week-end with the Governor on invitation some time ago. I tried to point out some of the parts of the Order that seemed to conflict with our native constitution Sir Gordon is the best British Governor that has been sent here lately. . . . I am not sure that all his advisers are so genuine. . . . Some seem to dislike the educated class. 1

Various views have been expressed in opposition to the Provincial Councils and the main objection was that it was contrary to native custom for the Paramount Chiefs to . . . /

1. J. E. K. Aggrey to Dr Jesse Jones 24 April 1926 Cited in Edwin W Smith : Aggrey of Africa - A Study of Black and White pp.259-260. See also David Kimble, op.cit. p.443

to attend the Provincial Councils and to represent the people on the Legislative Council. But none of the sources so far consulted seems to give a convincing explanation of what was really contrary to native customs in that respect.

What was wrong, according to native custom, with the Paramount Chiefs serving in the Provincial Councils and in the Legislative Councils? The service of the Amanhene (Paramount Chiefs) in the Provincial Councils and in the Legislative Council was contrary to native custom on two main grounds:

1. No Chief, whether paramount or subordinate, could form a government of his own without his elders who were also Chiefs of lower grades. If there was a matter to be disposed of or legislation to be made, the Chief summoned his elders and they met in council to deliberate on the matter, the result of which affected the whole town or if it was the central government, the result affected the whole State. The elders represented lineages or towns whose views they carried to the central government and who were informed of the conclusions of the central government on specific matters. Thus any decision taken by the central government was taken by the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the people - the elders. This meant that the people indirectly participated in the decision making process of the central government.

In . . . /

In the Provincial Councils, only the Paramount Chiefs were to be members. They were not to attend meetings with any of their elders. That meant that when the Amanhene met in council they did not constitute a government according to native custom. A Paramount Chief alone could not constitute a government in the traditional State. By the same token, a number of Paramount Chiefs alone could not constitute a government for a number of traditional States which formed a province. 1 When the Paramount Chiefs met what they could have done was to have discussed issues affecting them as individual Chiefs and how they could offer their best services to their people but they did not have the constitutional right to discuss issues which affected a whole Province of various States and to expect their decisions to be binding on the States without the people's representation by their elders. It would have made a difference if the Order in Council had made a provision to allow the Paramount Chiefs to meet in Council with their elders. In that way, they would have . . . /

1. An element of the system of government of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana will help to illustrate the point at issue. In the Church, there is the Pastors' Conference and there is the Presbyters' Union. When the Pastors' Conference meets it discusses issues affecting the Pastors and their work and the decisions of the Conference do not affect the Church generally. In the same way, the Presbyters' Union discusses issues which affect the Presbyters and their work and their decisions do not affect the Church in general. But when both the Pastors and the Presbyters meet at Synod, they discuss issues affecting the whole Church and Synod decisions are binding on the whole Church.

have represented the various States in the Province and their deliberations and decisions, according to native law and constitution, would have been for and on behalf of the various States. As the elders alone could not constitute a government to decide on issues for a State, so the Paramount Chiefs alone could not. As already noted, Provincial Councils, were designed to give the Head Chiefs and their councillors (the elders) the opportunity of uniting for the preservation of their national institutions and of consulting together on subjects to the common welfare of their respective peoples. In spite of this stipulation, the Councillors were not allowed to be members of the Provincial Councils. How then could they give them the opportunity to unite for that purpose?

2. There is a maxim in Akan in the following words:

Yenntu Opanyin ase kwa - One cannot occasion the travel of an elder 1 without a cost. In the traditional State, Kings and Chiefs seldom travelled. They did so only on special occasions and on some of such occasions rituals and sacrifices had to be made before the travel. The common practice was that they delegated some of their elders to travel and to carry out some functions on their behalf and to report back to them. The King or the Chief could send people . . . /

1. An Elder in this context means a Chief

people but he could not be sent on an errand. In theory the Chief is the servant of the Oman (the State) but in practice he is the occupant of the Stool of the ancestors and to think of sending him on an errand when somebody else can run that errand is unconstitutional according to native custom. The Provincial Members of the Legislative Council were supposed to have been sent by the various States in the provinces to help the government to legislate for the country. In accordance with native custom, the Paramount Chiefs should have appointed the most trustworthy and the most intelligent people among their subjects to represent the provinces in the Legislative Council. Before the representatives left for a Legislative Council meeting, the States could meet in Council to tell their representatives what they should say and what they should do on their behalf. On their return, the Paramount Chiefs could summon their elders and people and sit in state to listen to what their representatives had brought from the Legislative Council. It was odd for the Paramount Chiefs themselves to attend the Legislative Council meeting, and come back and summon the elders and the people and to sit in state, not to listen to the message from the Legislative Council but to deliver it. The point is that those who opposed the idea of the Provincial Councils did not oppose the establishment of Provincial Councils per se. They rather opposed the composition of the Councils which was solely by the Paramount Chiefs and . . . /

and thereby empowering them to do what was contrary to native law and custom.

A PICTURE SHOWING THE MEMBERS OF THE EASTERN
PROVINCIAL COUNCIL



1. Kyidomhene KWAKU DANKYI (Representative of Omanhene of Kwahu). 2. Nana KWAKU BOATENG (Omanhene of New Juaben). 3. Nene E. NUER OLOGO V. (Konor of Yilo Krobo). 4. The Hon. Nene E. MATE KOLE, K.M.A.C. (Konor of Manya Krobo). 5. The Hon. Nana OPORI ATTA, C.B.E., K.M.A.C. (Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa). 6. The Hon. TODDI SRI II, K.M.A.C. (Awoame Fia of Awunna). 7. Nana E. ASARE AKOTO ABABIO IV. (Omanhene of Akwamu). 8. NENE AWAH II. (Manche of Shai). 9. The Hon. Nana F. W. KWASI AKUFFO (Omanhene of Akwapim).

Fig. 4

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE EDUCATED ELITE

Another area of opposition against the Provincial Councils was where they were seen as discriminating against the educated citizens. This discrimination was interpreted as dislike or hatred of the Gold Coast "intelligentsia" on the part of the colonial government. In his message to the Provincial Councils on the occasion . . . /

occasion of their first meeting on 17 May 1926, the Governor, F. Gordon Guggisberg said:

To-day your institutions and customs are coming into close contact with European customs and education. It is of great importance that you should know how to deal with these new things in the best way for the good of your people and the strength of your Oman. And therefore I ask you to consider seriously whether it would not be better, for the sake of your people and your Oman, if you could arrange for your successors, and the successors of your Councillors to be educated and thereby assisted to deal better with the many problems which European civilisation will raise in your country. 1

It can be deduced from the above quotation that the Governor recognised the important role which the educated people could play in the political arena and the administration of the country. In view of this he urged the Paramount Chiefs to arrange for their successors and the successors of their Councillors to be better educated and thereby be assisted to deal better with the many problems which European civilisation would raise in the country. It is noteworthy that there were people already educated and thereby had been assisted and prepared to deal better with the problems which European civilisation had already raised. These people were ready at hand and they offered themselves for the service of the government and the people but the . . . /

1. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimates Session, March, 1927, p.8.

the colonial government was not prepared to accept them for political service. For instance members of the A.R.P.S. openly indicated their willingness to place themselves at the service of the government but they were not given the chance to serve. Why were the educated citizens who were not Paramount Chiefs not allowed to be members of the Provincial Councils? One is inclined to think that the answer lies in the fact that the colonial officials knew that if they allowed the "intelligentsia" to serve in the Provincial Councils and in the Legislative Council, they would prove equal to the challenges of the government and represent a strong opposition to it. Hence the restriction of the membership of the Provincial Councils to the Paramount Chiefs whom the European officials could easily outwit.

One could argue that the restriction of the membership of the Provincial Councils to the Paramount Chiefs was a strategy and a deliberate attempt on the part of the government to keep the educated people from the political sphere where they could influence public opinion and exercise some measure of control on the government. But to show to the people and the outside world that the 1925 Constitution offered the people a representative government, the government opened the doors of the Provincial and the Legislative Councils to the Paramount Chiefs very few of whom were influential and . . . /

and outspoken and whom the colonial government could use as pawns. The Gold Coast Leader, a local newspaper expressed the situation in the following words:

We and others have pointed out over and over again that the root objection to the present provincial Council lies in its being restricted to the Amanhene (Paramount Chiefs) 1 who have the right to vote for members to the Legislative Council from their ranks only. In other words . . . freedom of choice as to the persons to serve in the Legislative Council would remove all the difficulties. 2

The justification of the opposition to the membership of the Provincial Councils being restricted to the Paramount Chiefs was realised by the government in 1940 when the constitution was amended to allow those who were not chiefs to be members of the Provincial Councils. But notwithstanding the amendment to the constitution, the practice continued and only Paramount Chiefs were members of the Provincial Councils until 1946 when two commoners or non-chiefs were elected to serve in the Joint Provincial Council. They were the Rev. C. G. Baeta and Dr. J. B. Danquah, both products of the Church.

1. The brackets are mine

2. West Africa 10 April 1926

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, concepts and systems of State in the Gold Coast have been discussed. The nature of the traditional State and how it was administered have been dealt with showing that a traditional State had a permanent population and a defined territory. It has been shown that the central government of the traditional State was headed by the King or the Paramount Chief while the local governments were headed by the subordinate chiefs.

The European presence in the Gold Coast which was motivated by commercial and political interests has been looked at. It has been noted that the colonial State resulted from the European presence and interest in the Gold Coast. The power of the colonial government which covered the social, political and economic life of the people, superseded the power of the traditional States. The traditional State lost its political and judicial sovereignty to the colonial State the functions of which made the people aware of the responsibilities of the ruler in the new order. This further weakened the position of the traditional State and helped to transfer the loyalty of the people from the traditional authorities to the colonial authorities.

Land was of great importance in the Gold Coast. In view of this, the colonial government showed a desire to control it but its actions in this direction were vehemently . . . /

vehemently resisted or opposed by the people. This resulted in the formation of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society which became a strong political force and a pressure group.

The relationship between the commoners and the traditional authorities in the light of the changing social and political order was marked by tension and disloyalty resulting in rampant destoolment of chiefs. The new regime also brought about the paramountcy cases where subordinate chiefs wanted to throw off their allegiance to their superior chiefs and serve the government direct. The Chapter was concluded with a discussion on the establishment and functions of the Provincial Councils which were opposed by the educated elite against whom it discriminated. The opposition centred on the membership of the Councils which was restricted to the Paramount Chiefs.

It has been seen from this chapter that the authorities of the traditional State in the Gold Coast constituted a power structure. With the coming of colonial rule, a second power structure was constituted by the colonial authorities. Although this second power structure superseded the traditional power structure, the former did not destroy the latter. The two structures co-existed both in name and function. With the Christian Mission came a third power structure which was constituted by the missionaries and their home committees. . . . /

committees. The third structure manifested itself in two phases, first, in the government of the mission churches and second, in the government of the autonomous churches. The next chapter deals with the relations of the third power structure with the first and second power structures.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE GOLD COAST AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE TRADITIONAL AND THE COLONIAL STATES FROM THE PERIOD OF COMPANY RULE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE LATE COLONIAL PERIOD.

The relationship between the traditional State and the colonial State which constituted two power structures in the Gold Coast was discussed in the previous chapter. The Christian Missions constituted another power structure. The object of this chapter is to look at the relations of this third structure with the two structures, showing the nature of the relations, where there were coincidence and divergence of interests and what their consequences were, where the Missions acted as intermediaries between the two States, partnership and co-operation and how and where the partnership tended to "co-opt" the Missions into the colonial administrative machinery. In dealing with the Missions, examples will be drawn from the Basel Mission, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the Anglican Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission and the Bremen Mission.

The European authorities with whom the Christian Missions had relations within the period covered by this chapter were the Danish and the British whose points of view with regard to the Missions will be looked at.

THE DANISH AUTHORITIES

The Basel Mission was sent to the Gold Coast by the
Basel . . . /

Basel Mission Committee in Basel with the sanction of the Danish Government as a result of the efforts made in that respect by Major de Richelieu who was appointed Governor at the Danish Castle of Christiansborg in 1824.

On 18 December 1828, 1 the first batch of the Basel missionaries arrived at Christiansborg (Accra) on the Gold Coast, being the first Protestant missionaries to the country who planted what is now the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. They were Karl Ferdinand Salbach, Gottlieb Holzwarth, Johannes Philip Henke (all Germans) and Johannes Gottliebe Schmidt (a Swiss). In August 1829 Holzwarth, Salbach and Schmidt fell sick and died in the same month leaving only Henke.

The first official connection which the Danish authorities made with the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast was the appointment of J.P. Henke as a teacher-chaplain by the Governor on the authority of the King of Denmark. Henke thus became a paid servant of the Danish administration with an annual salary of 600 Rigsdaler which was to be increased by 200 Rigsdaler as soon as Henke proved to have mastered the Ga language. Reporting on his employment Henke wrote, "I accepted the work - an important and difficult one - and now spend 7 hours daily in the school." 2 Although the missionaries . . . /

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1. Henke to Basel, No. 2, 20 May 1830, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Henke to Basel, No. 2, 20 May 1830, Basel Mission Archives.

missionaries were not Danish nationals, the Danish authorities expected them to represent the political interest of the Danish administration and to further its cause. The missionaries were sent to the Gold Coast with the sanction of the Danish Government and they operated in the area of Danish influence and so the Danish officials wanted them to behave in a way that would reflect their subordination to their authority which they expected them to enhance in their work among the people and in their relationship with them. As the authorities wanted to use the missionaries as their agents, they did not want them to create the impression that they were a separate entity who had nothing to do with Danish political interest.

The second batch of the Basel missionaries who arrived on the Gold Coast in March 1832 were Peter Peterson Jager, Andreas Riis (both Danes) and Christian Frederich Heinze (medical missionary from Saxony). It is significant to note that the Basel Mission Committee sent to the Gold Coast missionaries of Danish nationality. In the first place the Committee sent them because it wanted missionaries and they readily responded to the call to mission but more importantly, they were sent because the Committee thought that Danish nationals might be more acceptable to the Danish authorities than German or Swiss nationals and thus their nationality could, in a way, contribute to the success . . . /

success of the missionary enterprise. But as will be seen later, their nationality rather brought problems and conflicts which impeded the progress of the work of the Mission to some extent. The Danish Governor F.S. Morck made every effort to impress upon Riis that he was his agent in political matters. For instance, he forced him to accompany his troops as their chaplain. As a reaction to the growing British influence in the Akuapem and Krobo States, Morck sought to establish Danish hegemony in these States and he was determined to use the missionaries to achieve this end. For example, he sent them a Danish flag to be hoisted at Akuropon as an indication that they represented the political interest and supremacy of the Danish Government. But the missionaries declared their stance against any involvement in Danish political ambition and activities by refusing to hoist the flag. They wanted the Danish authorities as well as the people of the Akuapem State to know that they were not there to champion the political cause of the Danish administration but to champion the cause of the Gospel of Christ.

When Andreas Riis decided to move from Christiansborg to Akuropon in the Akuapem State, the Danish Governor provided him with a soldier to accompany him. 1 Prima facie, this would indicate the Governor's concern for the safety and protection of the missionary. However . . . /

1. Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960, p.31.

However it was intended to show that he was a subject and agent of the Danish Government under whose protection he was going to do his work. This impression had an effect on Riis' reception by the King of the Akuapem State as will be shown later. In his desire to use the missionary to achieve his political ends, the Danish Governor wanted Riis to act as his spy in Akuapem and to keep him informed of what went on in that State but he refused to do that. The Governor did not understand why Riis, being a Danish subject, would not offer his services in the interest of Danish political supremacy. In view of this, he started to make accusations against him. But in his correspondence on his dealing with the Mission, the Governor created the impression that he was a supporter of the Mission from a purely christian motive. Reporting on this state of affairs Riis wrote, "The accusation of the Governor against me revealing. He uses christian language in it, but in his life out here he lives like a pagan and despises the word of God. He reproached me, that I knew everything that was happening in Akwapim, but did not tell him about it anymore." 1

Governor Morck was disturbed by the way British influence was spreading among the people of the eastern area of the Gold Coast. Because of this he was determined . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, No. 4, 28 May 1838, Basel Mission Archives

determined to enforce Danish authority among the Akuapem and the Krobo. He thought the opportunity had come when the Akuapem invaded the Krobo in 1836. Morck decided to intervene and to compel both sides to submit to his arbitration. He forced Riis to accompany the Danish soldiers as their chaplain attending to the wounded on both sides. But due to Morck's suspicion of Riis with regard to his relationship with King Ado Dankwa of the Akuapem State and his popularity among the people, he decided to detain Riis at Christiansborg and he was detained from April 7 till 2 June 1836. The Governor detained him under the pretext that it was for his own protection but actually he wanted to prevent him from any contact with the Akuapem if he was not prepared to serve his political interest in that State. Furthermore, he wanted to sever the relationship which existed between Riis and the King of the Akuapem State whose adviser the Governor thought Riis was. Above all, the Governor wanted to show the King and the people of Akuapem among whom Riis was so popular, that the missionaries were under his authority and they could carry on with their work only if they were prepared to do what he wanted them to do. Reporting on the matter from his detention at Osu Riis wrote, "I am still kept back in Ussu and am not allowed to return to my home, Akropong - the Governor threatens to send soldiers to fetch me and imprison me in the castle at Christiansborg, . . . /

Christiansborg, if I should set foot on the soil of Akropong. He is a man who wants to rule absolutely over everybody, otherwise a good man." 1

Riis applied both orally and in writing to the Governor for permission to return to Akuropon but his applications were turned down ostensibly for his own security since, according to the Governor, the troubles in Akuapem made it unsafe to allow him to return and that investigation into his affairs in Akuapem might be necessary. Riis' reaction to this was that "there are no troubles in Akwapim and I am not involved in any political trouble." 2 Eventually, on 2 June 1836, the Governor granted Riis permission to return to Akuropon. Writing about his permission to return to Akuropon Riis said, "Matters have changed to my advantage. The Governor has permitted me to return to Akwapim." 3 Reacting to the report that the missionaries had been involved in politics, the Basel Committee wrote to Riis and his colleagues saying "missionaries should keep out of politics, but try to maintain good relations with the Government if possible." 4 One might argue that the Committee . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, No. 3, 28 May 1836, Basel Mission Archives.
2. Riis to Inspector, No. 4, 14 June 1836, Basel Mission Archives.
3. Ibid.
4. Committee to the brethren in Africa, No. P14 f, 26 April 1837, Basel Mission Archives.

Committee was not being realistic when it instructed the missionaries to keep out of politics. The fact is that they had been sent into political situations and their presence in their sphere of operation placed them in political situations from which they could not run away. For example, the second batch of the Basel missionaries could not have rejected the hospitality accorded them by Governor Maclean at Cape Coast on their way to Christiansborg in 1832¹ simply because the British administration and the Danish administration were two rival political powers. But the Danish authorities did not countenance any relationship between the Basel missionaries and the British authorities. The situation was such that the missionaries had to establish relationships and in doing so they were bound to get involved in politics.

In the light of the strained relations between the Mission and the Danish authorities, Governor Morck wrote to his home government accusing Riis of various offences including maintaining illicit relations with the Asante. Reacting to Morck's accusations, the Danish Government sent a royal decree to the Governor permitting him to throw Riis out of the Gold Coast and send him back to Copenhagen if he considered it necessary to do so. The reaction of the Basel Committee to this was to write to Riis and his colleagues advising them to continue to do their . . . /

1. Jaeger to Committee, No. 11, 16 May 1832, Basel Mission Archives.

their work quietly. Should the Governor force Riis out of the country, he should not put up any resistance. The Committee also said that it was possible for the missionaries to leave the Danish territory and stay in the British territory where they would be welcomed, adding that the necessary arrangements regarding their reception by the British had already been made in London and at Cape Coast. 1 The attitude of the Basel Committee was that their missionaries could work anywhere in the country provided the conditions were favourable. They were not obliged to restrict their missionary activities to areas of Danish influence; hence the arrangements for the missionaries to work in the domain of British influence. The Committee took this action because they wanted the missionaries to work in areas where they would get peace and stay away from politics. But the action itself had political implications. Governor Maclean had expressed a strong desire to have the Basel missionaries in his territory and had promised to pay out of his own pocket £100 annually to each missionary if they accepted his offer. 2 The Committee's action could be interpreted by the British authorities as being an achievement of their aim of . . . /

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1. Committee to Riis etc., 19 October 1837, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Jaeger to Committee, No. 11, 6 May 1832, Basel Mission Archives.

of winning over the missionaries and by the Danish authorities as an indication of missionary support for the British. Thus by its action, the Committee was still pushing the Mission into politics. The Danish authorities saw the action of the Committee as a confirmation of their suspicions of the missionaries. But as will be seen later, the Committee acted in the spirit of the policy of the Basel Mission about overseas governments.

Riis wrote to express his acceptance of the royal decree and the advice given by the Committee and said, "As you advised us, we keep quiet in the matter of the palaver with the governor. A well meaning European tried to appease the Governor who said however: No, either Riis goes, or I go." 1 The Danish authorities made every effort to force the missionaries to accept a position of political agents. The missionaries on the other hand, resisted this political pressure and the result was that they were reluctant to ask for more missionaries. This situation was made clear by Riis when he wrote, "Cannot find the courage to ask for more brethren because of the fetters imposed on the Mission by the Danish Government." 2

Some of the actions and pronouncements of Riis were taken . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, No 2, 3 February 1838, Basel Mission Archives.

2. Riis to Inspector Hoffmann, No. 6, 28 September 1839, Basel Mission Archives.

taken by the Danish authorities as evidence of his being anti-Danish and pro-British. For instance, he was accused by the Danish Governor of buying goods from the British in Accra for which payment was to be made in London. According to the Governor this was anti-Danish behaviour. Riis' answer to this was that he bought a few things from the British but he did so because the things were not available at Christiansborg. Regarding the language to be taught in the proposed school in Akuapem, Riis said he would rather teach English than Danish. His reasons were that Africans were better gifted in learning English than Danish and that the former would give them greater advantage in trade than the latter. This was also interpreted by the Danish authorities to mean that the Mission was against the Danish administration. They could not understand why a Danish citizen should regard the English language as superior to the Danish language in that context. However, Riis later decided to teach neither English nor Danish but the vernacular.¹ The Danish authorities also accused Riis of telling the people of Akuapem not to be afraid of the Danish Governor. They saw this as a sign of disloyalty and lack of patriotism on the part of Riis.

In the light of the unpopularity of the Danish Governor . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, No. 5, 30 April 1837, Basel Mission Archives.

Governor and his administration in the Akuapem State, King Ado Dankwa decided to throw off the connection with the Danish authorities and to apply for British protection. Morck had planned to arrest the King, but before he could do so, the King had already placed himself under British protection at James Fort in Accra. Morck was of the view that the King escaped with the advice and help of Riis. This further increased the hostilities of the Danish authorities towards the Mission. The authorities regarded the Mission as a department of the Danish administration which should further the cause of Danish political power but the Mission refused to accept that role. What made the situation worse was that the Danish authorities thought that the Mission was playing for the British authorities the very role which it had refused to play for themselves.

THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

From the school established by Governor Charles MacCarthy in the Cape Coast Castle emerged a small christian group led by William de Graft. On the request of De Graft, Captain Potter (a Methodist) provided the group with Bibles. He also contacted the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society with a request for a missionary to be sent to the Gold Coast to take charge of the small christian group which he thought would serve . . . /

serve as a nucleus for the development of a christian community. He offered to take out any missionary the Society would appoint to the Gold Coast at his own expense. The Society accepted Potter's offer and appointed Joseph Dunwell for the Gold Coast Mission.

On 17 October 1834 Potter set sail with Dunwell and they arrived at Cape Coast on New Year's Day 1835. 1 Dunwell worked for six months and then died of fever. Within that short period Dunwell accomplished a good work by reconciling the small christian group which had split into two Bible study groups. 2 After Dunwell's death on 24 June 1835, the station remained vacant till 15 September 1836 when the Rev. George and Mrs. Harriet Wrigley arrived on the Gold Coast to continue the work. They were joined by Rev. Peter and Mrs. Harrop on 15 January 1837 but by 16 November 1837 they had all died.

The next missionary was Thomas Birch Freeman, a son of an African father and an English mother. He was ordained and sent to the Gold Coast in 1838. Freeman had a strong desire to visit the Asante Nation and to open a mission station in its capital Kumasi. On 30 January 1839 he went to Kumasi for this purpose but his mission was not successful. He decided to undertake a second mission to Kumasi. The mission included seven soldiers 3 provided by Governor George Maclean whose interest . . . /

1. F. L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, p.1.
2. Ibid. Chapter 1.
3. Ibid. P.52

interest in the Mission and its work can be seen from several perspectives. Unlike the Basel Mission which sent missionaries from a foreign country, the Wesleyan missionaries were British. Maclean had already established good relations with the Basel Mission with a view to enhancing his political influence in the Akuapem State. The driving force in the European administration in the Gold Coast at this time was trade which could be conducted successfully only in an atmosphere of peace and stability. So far as trade was concerned, one could not ignore the powerful, warlike and troublesome nation of Asante. The most difficult problem which confronted the British administration was how to secure the friendship and goodwill of Asante. Thus Maclean saw in the arrival of the Wesleyan Mission and Freeman's desire to open a Mission Station in Kumasi a good opportunity to establish a British-Asante relation. With this motive, Maclean promised the Mission his protection and help and gave it all the encouragement it needed.

The provision of soldiers to accompany Freeman to Asante was significant. It was designed to show not only Freeman but also the King of Asante and his people that the Mission was under the protection of the British administration. On 14 December 1841 a meeting was arranged between the Asantehene Kwaku Dua I and his chiefs on the one hand and Freeman and his party on the other. . . . /

other. At the meeting, Freeman said the object of his mission was to introduce Christianity to Asante and to ask for the King's protection and permission and land to build a house in Kumasi. The Asantehene not only granted Freeman permission to open a mission station in Kumasi but he also promised to protect him and to provide him with land. Freeman started his missionary work immediately by conducting services in public which were attended by many people. He stationed Robert Brooking in Kumasi as the resident missionary. The Asantehene assured Brooking of his protection.

Before the mission set out for Kumasi on 6 November 1841, Maclean told them that "from what they had seen and heard and learned they would be able to explain to Kwaku Dua, the King of Ashanti, the immeasurable blessings which would surely attend the introduction of Christianity, practical Christianity," and that they would prove "by the purity and correctness of their own conduct that Christianity is not a mere empty profession." 1

The second mission to Kumasi was a joint enterprise undertaken by Freeman and Governor Maclean. Through the mission, the latter indirectly sought to establish good relations with Asante and the Asantehene also took advantage of the mission to establish good relations with Maclean's Government. The Governor's delight in the . . . /

1. M. M. S., Gold Coast (1835-41), copy of Maclean's instruction, cited in F. L. Bartels, op.cit. p.51

the success of Freeman's mission was expressed in a letter he wrote to him, part of which read, "You have certainly succeeded with the King far better than I had anticipated and you must, I think, have acquired a considerable degree of influence over his mind." 1 Both Maclean and the Asantehene used the Christian Mission to achieve their political ends while Freeman used the political situation to prepare a seed-bed in which the Methodist Church was planted.

Freeman and the Wesleyan Mission served as a joining force between the Asante and the British administration. He acted as a peacemaker between the two power structures. His peace-keeping role was similar to that of Andreas Riis in relation to the Akuapem State and Maclean's government and that of the Basel missionary A. F. Ramseyer at a later time, in relation to the Asante Nation and the Kwawu State and in the relations between the two and the British administration.

British policy towards the Christian Missions during the period of company rule in the nineteenth century was one of recognition and "teleological" co-operation. The authorities recognised the position and the influence of the Missions and readily offered them their help and co-operation in the missionary enterprise. But this was done with a view to achieving their commercial . . . /

1. Maclean to Freeman 20 January 1842, Cape Coast District Reports, 1842, MMS.

commercial and political ends. They realised that through the activities of the Missions they could establish good relations with the people and enhance British influence among them. They also thought that the work of the Missions could create an atmosphere of peace and stability in which British commercial and political interests could be served. It was in the light of this realisation that Governor George Maclean established good relations with the Basel and Wesleyan Missions and offered them the assistance and co-operation of the British administration.

The situation in the period following the replacement of company rule by colonial structures must now be illustrated. Here attention will be focused on the Christian Missions from the point of view of the British authorities in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast with special reference to the Roman Catholic and the Wesleyan Missions.

The Christian Gospel was first brought to the Gold Coast by Catholic priests from Portugal who accompanied the Portuguese expedition to the country. The Mass which they celebrated at Elmina on 20 January 1482 was the first in West Africa. 1 Their efforts were reinforced by six Augustinian Friars from Portugal and some French Capuchins from the Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire). But the evangelistic work of the Catholics did . . . /

1. Helen M. Pfann, A Short History of the Catholic Church in Ghana, p3

did not have a lasting effect as a result of the Dutch-Portuguese war in the first half of the seventeenth century and the subsequent establishment of the Dutch hegemony. After the Dutch conquest of Elmina in 1637, almost two and a half centuries elapsed before an effective missionary work was undertaken in the Gold Coast by the Catholics. 1

The Church was planted in the Northern Territories in 1906 through the missionary work of the Society of Missionaries . . . /

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1. In 1879 the Apostolic-Prefecture of the Gold Coast was created and the authorities in Rome authorised the Societas Missionum ad Afros (S. M. A.) in France to undertake missionary work in the Gold Coast. On 18 May 1880 Fr. Eugene Murat and Fr. Auguste Moreau arrived at Elmina from France as S. M. A. missionaries. The former died on 5 August 1880 and the latter died in 1886. Other missionaries joined the missionary enterprise including nuns from Our Lady of the Apostles (O. L. A.) and the first Catholic Church in the Gold Coast was dedicated on 29 December 1890 at Elmina (Helene M. Pfann, op.cit.p.27). An Apostolic-Vicarate was erected in the Gold Coast and Fr. Maximilian Albert was consecrated on 12 May 1901 as the first Bishop in the Gold Coast (Ibid. p.45). He died in his native Germany on 15 December 1903 (Ibid. p.48). Bishops who followed him included Bishop Isidore Klaus (Swiss, assumed office on 29 November 1904 and died on 20 November 1905, Ibid., p.49) and Bishop Ignatius Hummel (French, assumed duty on 12 April 1906 and died at Cape Coast in 1924, Ibid., pp.56ff.). The first principal stations were Elmina, Cape Coast, Keta and Axim with Cape Coast as the headquarters, followed later by Sekondi and Kumasi. On 20 July 1908 the government granted the Catholic Mission a piece of land on Zongo Hill in Kumasi on which St Peter's Cathedral and other buildings and offices of the Church are situated (Ibid., p.57). The granting of the land was in fulfilment of the government's promise in 1895 as a result of Fr. Wade's service as a chaplain for the British troops in the Asante-Fante war of that year (Ibid., p.42).

Missionaries of Africa. The missionaries, also known as the White Fathers had established themselves in Ouagadougou. In 1905 they applied to the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories, Colonel Watherston, for permission to open a mission station in that area. The colonial government turned down the application on the grounds that the Northern Territories had not yet been firmly settled and in the circumstances, missionary work there would not be feasible and that the colonial government was not prepared to be responsible for the protection of the lives and property of missionaries who were not British nationals.

In 1906 the Society was granted permission to open a mission station at Navrongo. The Roman Catholics were followed by the Wesleyan Mission who opened a mission station at Tamale in 1913. The permission to the White Fathers to open a mission station at Navrongo was granted on the following conditions: (a) that the mission station had to be near an administrative post. (b) That only the English language was to be taught in the schools which the Mission would establish in future. (c) That the Mission should open a school as early as possible and was to conform to such regulations as might be passed from time to time for the administration and management of the schools in the Northern Territories. All the conditions were accepted by the missionaries.

It . . . /

It was the responsibility of the colonial government to establish schools for the education of the people. The government did not do this for financial reasons and so it was prepared to allow the Mission to operate in the Northern Territories provided it would take up the responsibility of providing educational facilities for the people with all the financial commitments involved. In 1907 the Mission introduced formal education in the Northern Territories by opening the first school in that part of the country. When the Chief Commissioner visited the school, he appreciated the efforts of the missionaries and concluded that the Mission would be of great help to the British administration in the Northern Territories because of their educational work. He was even prepared to allow them to extend their missionary activities to the Bawku area in the North-East and to the Lawra area in the North-West because of the educational work involved.

Watherston died in 1909 and his place was taken by Cecil Hamilton Armitage. He came into conflict not only with the Catholic Mission but also with the Wesleyan Mission. He was not interested in any aspect of the missionary work apart from the educational aspect to which he wanted the missionaries to devote all their resources. About the work of the Catholic Mission and his opinion of it Armitage wrote:

The . . . /

The efforts made by the White Fathers in this direction cannot be called successful, which is not surprising, when the real object of their presence in the Northern Territories-proselytism - is recognised. In view of the comparative failure of the mission as an educational factor in this dependency, I do not consider it should be allowed to extend its sphere of influence. 1

Armitage made every effort to discredit the work of the Mission to the colonial government which became convinced that the Mission's work was disappointing and unless it improved upon its performance, it would not be allowed to extend its activities in the Northern Territories.

In 1912 the Mission decided to establish a convent at Navrongo with a view to doing social work among the women in the area. The Chief Commissioner strongly objected to this proposal. The motive behind the colonial government's refusal to allow the Mission to be well established and to extend its sphere of influence was political. All the missionaries were French Canadians and the British authorities were uneasy about the presence of a French mission near the border with a French territory. They thought that the French might take advantage of the situation to extend their political influence to the Northern Territories. But some influential Catholics in England interceded for the White Fathers and eventually they were allowed to establish the nunnery at Navrongo on condition that the . . . /

1. Armitage to Acting Colonial Secretary, No. ADM/56/1/33, 18 October 1912, Ghana National Archives.

the nuns should be British subjects. While colonial and traditional politics facilitated the missionary work of the Basel and Wesleyan Missions in certain respects in the Colony and Asante in the nineteenth century, international politics impeded the missionary work of the Roman Catholic Mission in the Northern Territories during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

H. G. Martin, a Wesleyan missionary, arrived at Tamale in November 1912 to open a mission station there. In view of the tense relationship which developed between the Chief Commissioner and Martin, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission decided to transfer him from Tamale and his place was taken over by J. M. Stormonth. It was the policy of Armitage to let every missionary feel that he was under his control. This policy was strengthened by the colonial government's policy that in the light of the prevailing political situation in the Northern Territories, it was necessary for the missionary to be guided by the reasonable requirements of the Chief Commissioner as regards the areas of operation of the Mission. Armitage took advantage of this stipulation and asked Stormonth to furnish him in advance with his itinerary before he embarked upon any missionary journey. For instance an advance notice was to be given three weeks before he could travel to the North-East. This brought about dissension between the missionary and the Chief Commissioner. . . . /

Commissioner. The former argued that his work was not subject to the control of the government. But the latter maintained that since he would be held responsible if anything happened to him, he was to know his movements. Although the matter between the two was resolved to some extent, the Chief Commissioner still prevented Stormonth from visiting certain parts of the Northern Territories.

He continued to maintain his policy of restricting the movement of the missionary and thus confining the activities of the Wesleyan Mission to Tamale. This hampered the progress of the Mission and as a result, the Wesleyan Mission decided to withdraw from the Northern Territories in 1915. In 1920 the Mission wanted to reopen its station at Tamale but the Chief Commissioner thwarted its plans.

When the Wesleyan Mission left the Northern Territories the only missionaries in the area were the White Fathers. The Basel Mission opened a mission station at Yendi but its work was abandoned when the Germans were interned and eventually deported from the Gold Coast in 1916. 1 The colonial government continued to prevent the expansion of the operations of the White Fathers. Governor Gordon Guggisberg was instrumental in this policy of restriction. The British . . . /

1. Noel Smith, op. cit. Chapter VI.

British authorities and their associates were afraid of a possible emergence of French power and influence in the Northern Territories. In 1925 A. G. Fraser, the first Principal of the Achimota College (a Briton) sent a memorandum to Guggisberg in which he said, "personally I look upon the French influence in West Africa as more likely to be dangerous than the German. There is not much fear of an attempt to create a German empire in this part of the world; there is the possibility of a French one. And therefore to control the French missions is even more important than to control the Germans" 1 Fraser also advised Guggisberg to persuade the Scottish Mission and the Anglicans to go and open mission stations in the Northern Territories so as to encourage competition among the various missions and thus restrict the expansion of the work of the White Fathers. The British authorities regarded the White Fathers as likely to favour French interest and so were afraid of the expansion of their Mission. The former thought that the latter would persuade the people of the Northern Territories to revolt against British rule and thereby give the French the opportunity to move into the area and establish influence and control. It was to avoid such a possibility that the colonial government imposed restrictions on the activities of the White Fathers.

1. Guggisberg to Secretary of State
No. CO/96/655, 20 June 1925,
Ghana National Archives

Following the advice of Fraser, Guggisberg wanted other missions, especially the Anglicans and the Scottish Mission to enter the Northern Territories in order to restrict the expansion of the activities of the White Fathers. He wanted each denomination to have a sphere of operation from which other denominations were excluded. For example, he reserved the whole of the North-East for the Anglican Church but the Church could not take up the offer due to lack of funds and personnel.

Another reason for the official hostility to the White Fathers was the fact that they were Roman Catholic. Most colonial officials preferred Protestant Missions to Catholic Mission to operate in the Northern Territories. The unrelenting efforts by the Gold Coast Government to frustrate the missionary activities of the White Fathers was brought to an end by the Colonial Office which instructed the former not to restrict the latter in its missionary work. Furthermore, the proviso that the missionaries should be British subjects was no longer enforceable. The White Fathers were now free to carry out both evangelistic and educational work in any part of the Northern Territories. With this later development the official hostility against the Mission ceased.

The attitude of the European authorities towards the missionaries . . . /

missionaries depended to a large extent on the character of the officials, their sense of human touch and relationships and the degree of their political ambition. It also depended on the attitude of their home governments towards the missionary movement and the prevailing international political situation.

The administrative structure which emerged with the movement from company rule to a full colonial rule affected British policy. While Governor George Maclean dealt directly with the missionaries in the nineteenth century, Governor Hugh Clifford dealt with them in the twentieth century, through Chief Commissioners who, although responsible and accountable to the Governor, had wide discretionary powers in their areas of jurisdiction which enabled them to treat the missionaries the way they liked. Thus in the period of full colonial apparatus, the continuance of British policy in this respect depended to some extent on the goodwill of the Chief Commissioners and the other officials through whom the Governors had contact with the missionaries.

For example, Governor Hugh Clifford favoured the missionary activities of the Wesleyan Mission in the Northern Territories in 1913 but, as will be seen later, the Chief Commissioner C. H. Armitage was strongly against the Mission and did all he could to hamper its work. Governor Clifford was so disturbed by Armitage's hostility towards the Wesleyan Mission that he wrote to reprimand . . . /

reprimand him. 1.

International politics played an important part in the shaping of British policy and as we have seen, it motivated the hostile attitude of the British authorities towards the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Northern Territories. It was also the cause of the strained Mission-State relations which resulted in the expulsion of the Basel and the Bremen missionaries from the Gold Coast and British Togoland respectively during the First World War which will be discussed later.

MISSIONS AS SEEN BY THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

The traditional authorities regarded the Missions not only as a power structure but also as reflecting the political power of their home governments and as under the protection of the colonial governments representing the countries from which they came. It was in this context that King Ado Dankwa of Akuapem was suspicious of Andreas Riis as an agent of the Danish political power. It was for this reason that the King agreed to accept Riis in his State and to give him a piece of land on which to settle only if the Danish Governor approved of his stay at Akuropon. Among the people who accompanied . . . /

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1. Benedict Der, "Church-State Relations in Northern Ghana 1906 - 1940" in Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, Vol. XV (i), No. 1, June 1974, p.46, (ADM 56/1/60, Col. Sec. to Armitage, 12 March 1913.

accompanied Riis to Akuropon was a soldier provided by the Danish Governor. The King and his people saw the presence of the soldier among Riis' party as a symbol of Danish political power and protection.

Although the traditional authorities recognised the political power behind the Missions, they were not prepared to allow their own power to give way to that power. They were firm in maintaining their power and asserting their authority. It was in this spirit that King Ado Dankwa laid down some rules requiring Riis to observe certain local taboos. 1 The rules might be seen as simple and one might think that they were laid down for religious reasons, but their stipulation was a way of asserting the authority of the King and his office. Riis accepted the rules and thus accepted the authority of the King.

At the meeting of Freeman and his party with the Asantehene and his people on 14 December 1841, Freeman presented some gifts from the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Queen of Britain and the British Government to King Kwaku Dua I. The gifts included a carriage given by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee at Freeman's suggestion in compliance with the established African custom of offering presents. 2 Although the carriage was . . . /

1. Riis was to abide by the following rules if he wanted to stay in the Akuapem State: (i) not to bring dogs to the town (ii) not to farm on Mondays and Fridays (iii) not to kill the python or the black monkey.

2. John Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, p.37

was sent neither by the Queen of Britain nor the British Government, the Asantehene and his chiefs saw it as a symbol of political importance and equality. In the traditional political system, not all chiefs have the right to ride in a palanquin. A chief has to be in a certain political rank before he can use a palanquin and certain types of stool and regalia. Symbols used by the Asantehene could not be used by any chief because that would mean a claim to recognition of his equality with him. The Asantehene and his people regarded the carriage as similar to a palanquin and when Freeman told the King that the Queen of England saw the carriage before it was brought, he was delighted and interpreted that to mean a recognition of his position as equal to hers. He said, "The Queen of England is Queen of Queens of the white people, and I am King of Kings of the black people; and now we have carriages alike: this is very good." 1 The carriage which carried a political message from Britain to Asante was sent by the Mission. Thus the Asantehene and his people could not draw any line between the Mission and the British political power and administration. To them the Mission was an extension of British colonial interest and they regarded the Wesleyan Missionary Society which sent it to the Gold Coast as a subordinate body under the authority of the British Crown.

1. T.B. Freeman, Second Journal of the Rev. T.B. Freeman in Journal of various visits of the Kingdoms of Ashanti, Aku, and Dahomi, in Western Africa by Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, p.126.

This conception of the Mission was demonstrated by the Asantehene through the gifts he sent to Queen Victoria and the Wesleyan Missionary Society as reciprocal to the gifts he received from them. On 31 December 1841 he sent a delegation to Freeman with two gifts of a golden tobacco pipe and a silver tobacco pipe which was in an unfinished state. The golden pipe was to be given to the Queen and the silver unfinished pipe was to be given to the Wesleyan Missionary Society as tokens of his gratitude for the gifts they sent to him. Among the Akan, gold is the queen of all minerals. A gift in gold symbolises honour and respect for the recipient and a recognition of his or her high political or social status. It may also symbolise love and affection. Thus by the gift, the Asantehene was expressing his recognition of the high political status of the Queen and according her the respect and honour she deserved in return for the same recognition expressed in the gift of the carriage. Silver is inferior to gold and an unfinished work is inferior to the one which is finished. In both ways the gift to the Queen was superior to the one sent to the Society. The Asantehene thought it necessary to distinguish Queen and Society and to give them gifts which he thought each deserved. By the gifts, the King of Asante showed a higher regard for the Queen than the Society and this was a way of establishing good relations between Asante and . . . /

and Britain. The important point is that, through the establishment of good relations on a political level, the Church was planted in Asante.

Freeman stationed Robert Brooking in Kumasi as the first resident missionary. The Asantehene assured Brooking of his protection because he wanted to maintain good relations with the British authorities. It was his hope that from political relations with the British, trade and other relations would follow. About the attitude of the Asantehene towards the Mission Freeman wrote, "The King ... allows the people to attend divine services without restraint and treats us with uniform kindness and attention." 1

The traditional authorities regarded the Missions not only as a reflection of European political powers and constituting a power structure of their own but also as powerful bodies upon which they could rely for solutions to problems in their relationships with the European authorities and as intermediaries and peace makers between them. For instance the Akuapem State looked to the Basel Mission under the leadership of Riis as the champion of their political cause. When in June 1836 Riis returned to Akuapem on his release from Christiansborg, he was given a hero's welcome amid jubilation . . . /

1. Appendix No. 30, p.495 of Parliamentary Committee Report, 1942, in S K Odamtten, op.cit. p.56

jubilation in the town. This gave Riis a new political stature and in him the people saw a great political adviser and director.

In Asante and Kwawu, A. F. Ramseyer of the Basel Mission was regarded by the people as an intermediary between the two peoples and between them and the British Authorities. For instance, Prince Owusu Ansa of Asante wrote to Ramseyer pleading with him to intervene between Asante and Kwawu and advise the latter to be at peace with the former. Due to the antagonism between Asante and Kwawu, a road linking the two had been closed by the people of Kwawu. Prince Owusu Ansa further appealed to Ramseyer to use his influence to get the road opened. 1 Hitherto, Kwawu was under Asante rule but had thrown off its allegiance to the Asantehene. According to Ramseyer, many people approached him with the request to play this intermediary role. 2 Furthermore, some time in 1880, the people of Amantra near Abetifi in the Kwawu State went to Ramseyer with a complaint that the Asantehene had been harassing them and appealed to him to write to the Asantehene to advise him to desist from his harassment. The people told Ramseyer that they were quite sure that a letter from him to the Asantehene on the issue would be sufficient.

Ramseyer . . . /

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1. Prince Ansah to Ramseyer, No. 249, 16 July 1878, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 248, 28 August 1878, Basel Mission Archives.

Ramseyer sent them to Buhl, a Basel missionary and asked him to introduce them to the Governor. Buhl introduced them to the Governor who told them both orally and in writing that the British Government would not interfere in relations between the Asantehene and his subjects and that if they wanted British protection they should move into the Protectorate. 1

Another Basel missionary by the name of Dilger was constantly approached by the traditional authorities in the Kwawu State to intervene on various political and judicial issues. About the middle of 1889, he was invited by the King of the Kwawu State at the capital Abene to act as a judicial adviser in the Supreme Court of the State as regards the punishment to be given to a man from Obo who had murdered a ten year old boy. The people were inhibited from executing the murderer in accordance with native law as they might thereby incur the displeasure of the British Government under whose protection they wanted to be. 2

When in 1896 the Asantehene Prempeh heard that the Governor was going to use force to take him a prisoner and deport him, he sent three messengers to Ramseyer at Abetifi in the Kwawu State to plead with him to intercede for him with the Governor to stop the use of force . . . /

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1. Buhl's Quartl Bericht, No 23, 30 June 1880, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Dilger to Basel, No 160, 3 July 1880, Basel Mission Archives.

force and allow him to enter into terms with him regarding the obligations he wanted him to fulfil. It was too late for Ramseyer to undertake the intercession. The British troops under the command of Francis Scott entered Kumasi on 17 January. Governor W. E. Maxwell followed on 18 January and on 20 January 1896 the Asantehene submitted to him. When the British took control of Kumasi, the Governor sent a message to Ramseyer at Abetifi saying "Kumasi will henceforth be open to missionaries and should you yourself arrive at Kumasi before I leave, it will give me pleasure to see you. 1 The political situation in Asante was such that missionary work could not be seen in isolation from it.

In 1897 Governor Maxwell visited Kumasi and a durbar was held in his honour at which Ramseyer was present. The Governor expressed indignation at the behaviour of the chiefs of Kumasi who were trying to make contact with Prempeh who had been deported to the Seychelles Islands. He also told them to desist from using the Great Oath of Asante. The Head Chief of Kumasi protested against the prohibition but later came privately to Ramseyer and pleaded with him to intercede for the chiefs on the use of the Great Oath. Ramseyer took the matter up and had a talk with the Governor in which . . . /

1. H. J. Keteku, Asante Presbiteri Asafo Asempatrew Adwuma Ho Asem, p.28

which he told him that the Great Oath was not Prempeh's private affair but an old and a national phenomenon. He further told the Governor that the complaint of the chiefs was that they no longer had authority over their subjects and the situation would be worse if the Oath was rendered ineffective or abolished. The Governor heeded Ramseyer's intercession and told the chiefs that they could use the Great Oath but only within Kumasi. 1

The traditional authorities and their people recognised the relationship between the Christian Missions and the colonial government and the important role of the former in the politics of the country to the extent that they regarded the presence of their agents in a State or a town as a guarantee for its security, peace and stability. This conception was so ingrained in the people that even teachers appointed by the missionaries were regarded by the people as symbols of peace and security in the areas where they worked. Reporting on this conception Mohr, a Basel missionary, wrote:

The Asante-Akim people have put themselves under the authority of Akim Kotoku, and wish, as is known, to put themselves under British protection. This is not surprising. Their appeal for a teacher is part of this strategy - they feel they will be safe if we missionaries station a man among them. 2

In . . . /

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1. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 11, 165, 30 August 1897, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Mohr to Basel, No. 237, 28 September 1881, Basel Mission Archives

In his report on the same subject in relation to Bompata, a dissident Asante town in Asante Akyem, Ramseyer said that because the people felt that they had little to fear about Asante, they were not interested in having a teacher in the town. He illustrated this feeling to the Chief of the town with a Twi proverb thus, Se anoma da fidie mu a nedwom a oto nko na se ofimu nso a ne dwom a oto nko - a bird in a trap sings a different song from the one it sings when it is freed from it. 1 It was in the light of this conception and the recognition of the Christian Missions by the traditional authorities as an effective and influential power structure that the latter often approached the former for help on political and other issues. At the latter part of 1891, a chief in Asante-Akyem appealed to Ramseyer to write to the Acting Governor F. M. Hodgson, asking him to grant his town British protection. Not only did Ramseyer take this matter up with the Acting Governor, he also contacted him on the issue of admitting Kumasi and the other towns which still remained as Asante into the Protectorate. Hodgson wrote to Ramseyer assuring him that the granting of his requests was only a matter of time. 2

The . . . /

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1. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 11, 94, October 1882, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Ramsay to Basel, No. 11, 112, 18 December 1891, Basel Mission Archives

The traditional authorities did not see the Christian Missions in a single picture but in various pictures. They saw them as a reflection of European power. They did not see them "as an agency with a separate existence, different in purpose, from that of the other European agencies like trading firms and governments." 1 They also saw them as a power structure in their own right which had great influence on the European authorities. This latter picture painted another picture in which the traditional authorities viewed the Christian Missions as intermediaries between themselves and the European authorities and as champions of their political cause and powerful bodies on which they could rely for security, peace and stability.

THE TRADITIONAL AND COLONIAL STATES AS SEEN BY THE

MISSIONS

In their missionary work, the missionaries in the Gold Coast especially in the Colony and Asante had to relate to both the traditional and colonial States. Thus they viewed their work in relation to these States and that formed their conceptions of and attitudes to them. The attitudes of the Missions to the traditional States on political issues differed from their attitudes to . . . /

1. F. L. Bartels, op.cit. p.113

to them on religious issues although it was not always easy to distinguish a religious issue from a political issue. Their attitudes on religious issues will be dealt with in the next chapter.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

So far as the traditional authorities were concerned, the missionaries held generally similar attitudes but they differed among themselves in their attitudes to the colonial authorities. They all recognised the power and authority of the traditional rulers and saw the need to win their confidence and goodwill. They accorded them respect and honour. Andrew Riis respected the power and authority of King Ado Dankwa of the Akuapem State and accepted the conditions he gave him in connection with his stay in his State. He won the confidence of the King and his people. Regarding the trust they had in him he said, "I found at the time that the Akwapim people very much trusted me." 1

On his arrival at Cape Coast T. B. Freeman visited the chiefs of the neighbouring villages and towns and fostered good relations with them. When there were misunderstandings between the christian groups and the chiefs . . . /

1. Select Committee Report 1842, Vol.XI, p.200, in S. K. Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.35

chiefs he visited them and had meetings with the chiefs which were often successful. For instance at Abasa near Dominasi, the christian group had some problems with the chiefs. Freeman visited them on 26 November 1838 and had a discussion with the chiefs. "By his friendliness towards them, he removed the bitterness from their attitude to the group and he was able to preach in the Head Chief's courtyard on Tuesday 28 November." 1 On his way to Kumasi on his first mission to Asante in 1839, Freeman called on the chiefs of the villages along the road as a sign of respect and a way of winning their confidence. On his second mission to Kumasi in 1841 Freeman told the Asantehene that the object of his mission was to ask permission to introduce Christianity to Asante and to ask for the protection of the King. By asking for the protection of the King, he was placing himself and the work of the Mission under the authority of Asantehene.

The missionaries saw themselves not only as being able to play an intermediary role between the traditional authorities and the colonial authorities but also as champions of their political cause and peace makers. For instance Riis got actively involved in the conflict between the Danish authorities and the Akuapem people and offered his support to the latter against the former. In view of this he was detained by the Danish authorities . . . /

1. F. L. Bartels, op. cit. p. 36

authorities and from his detention at Christiansborg he wrote, "The governor has ordered me to come here - he thus wants to deprive the Akwapims of their support in their disputes with him." 1

In his involvement in the civil strife in Akuapem, Riis was alleged to have gone to the extent of installing a man as the King of that State in place of Adum. This allegation was made by a Basel missionary called Thompson who claimed "that Riis had installed Owusu Akyem as successor of Adum during Adum's lifetime and thus was guilty of the palavers." 2 Writing on the political situation in Akuapem Riis said, "Akropong is gradually depopulated. A family, which hoped that their son would succeed Ado Dankwa, is noisy and boisterous and therefore increases the followers of Adum." 3 It is clear from the evidence that Riis sent many reports to the Mission Committee in Basel on political issues which were not directly connected with the Basel Mission. But he could not do otherwise. He had to describe to the Committee, the situation in which the Mission and the traditional and the colonial authorities . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, Osu (Christiansborg)
No. 2, 1 April 1836, Basel Mission Archives.
2. Thompson, Osu, to Committee, No 3, 7 December 1844,
Basel Mission Archives
3. Riis to Inspector, No. 6, 6 July 1838,
Basel Mission Archives

authorities lived and worked and related to each other and this he did as best he could.

Freeman was decribed by some Asante chiefs as a peacemaker and some of the functions he performed justified this description. In 1867 an agreement was reached between the British and the Dutch Governments to divide the coastline into British and Dutch areas.

This arrangement was aimed at doing away with the situation in which the forts belonging to the two were mixed together. A treaty to this effect was signed on 5 March 1867. The British were to hand over to the Dutch four of their forts, Beyin, Dixcove, Sekondi and Komenda in exchange for Mori, Kormantine, Apam and Accra. As part of the agreement, the British were to cede to the Dutch their "jurisdiction" over Wassaw, Denkyira and Appolonia.

The people over whom these European authorities exercised "vague jurisdiction" were not consulted before the agreement was reached. The Dekyira and Wassaw were not prepared to come within Dutch jurisdiction because of their alliance with the British against Asante, neither were the people of Komenda ready to accept the Dutch flag. This resulted in a war between Komenda and the Dutch. At a meeting at Mankesim, the Fanti chiefs and their people resolved to help Komenda and any other ethnic group or State which was not prepared to accept Dutch domination. The States represented at the meeting included Assin, Wassaw, Denkyira and some of the principal . . . /

principal Fanti States which became known as the Fanti Confederation. In April 1868, Cape Coast joined the war in reaction to Elmina's attack on one of their villages. Freeman tried to intercede in the war by visiting the allied camp to persuade them to abandon the war. 1

The desire for peace reinforced the intermediary role of the Missions. The missionaries realised that the success of their work depended to a large extent on the peace of the States in which they worked and of the country as a whole. For instance, the Kwawu State was once a vassel State of Asante but had thrown off the yoke of Asante rule and applied for British protection. This had not been granted. The Basel missionaries were worried about the position of the independent and unprotected Kwawu State. To ensure peace and stability in the State, they wanted Kwawu either to be under the protection of the British administration or to restore their allegiance to Asante. On the latter option, the opinion of the chiefs of the Kwawu State was divided. Expressing their feeling on the matter to the Basel Mission Committee the missionaries stated that if the Kwawu State was not brought under British protection there might be the danger of the people accepting Asante subjection . . . /

1. W. E. F. Ward, A History of the Gold Coast, pp. 231-234

subjection once again. On the other hand, they thought that if the Kwawu became subjects of Asante once again, then the Asantehene was as likely to let them work in Abetifi as in Kumasi. 1 Ramseyer was of the opinion that the presence of the Mission in Kumasi would ensure peace and political stability in Abetifi. Expressing this view he said, "If Abetifi comes under Asante control again it will make a lot of difference to its fate if the mission already had friendly relations with the Asantehene through the establishment of a mission in Kumasi." 2 Here the Mission was portrayed as a potential intermediary and peacemaker between the traditional States.

In his desire for peace among the various States and towns which he considered to be a sine qua non in effective and stable missionary work, Ramseyer became inconsistent in his dealings with some of the States. In February 1881 he expressed the feeling that he would be quite happy if the Kwawu State came under Asante rule provided it did not come about as a result of war. 3
In . . . /

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1. Ramseyer, Werner, Weimer to Basel from Kyebi, No. 238
3 January 1876, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. A draft proposal by Ramseyer to the African General Conference (I. E. Conference of the Gold Coast Missionaries), No. 243, 22 March 1881, Basel Mission Archives.
 3. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 240 (Written from Aburi)
19 & 20 February 1881, Basel Mission Archives

In June the same year he expressed concern about the refusal of the British Government to admit the same Kwawu State into the Protectorate when he wrote that "The repeated refusals by the British Government to do anything about the Kwawu application to be included in the Protectorate is causing restiveness." 1 What is more, Asante-Akyem was a district of the Asante Nation. By the early 1880s all the towns in that district with the exception of Domeabra, Nyabo, Konongo, Hwediem and Agogo had thrown off their allegiance to Asante. On 6 August 1882, on his way to Kumasi, Ramseyer told the people of Bompata that Asante-Akyem became independent of Asante in 1874 when the latter was defeated in the British-Asante war. 2 Furthermore, he declared that he was looking forward to the day when the few towns in Asante-Akyem which remained loyal to Kumasi would also break away from Asante rule. Ramseyer was of the view that it was only when the towns broke away from Asante that peace would prevail in that area. 3

The Asante were not unaware of these contradictions and inconsistencies. They also knew that Ramseyer was working in Kwawu and Asante-Akyem which had broken away from Asante rule. They held the view that it was the presence of Ramseyer in Kwawu (which the people regarded as . . . /

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1. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 246, 10 June 1881
Basel Mission Archives
 2. Ramseyer to Basel, No. 1, 94, October 1881,
Basel Mission Archives.
 3. Ramseyer - Report of the Station for the year 1882,
No. 11, 101-2, Basel Mission Archives.

as their protection), that prevented them from returning to Asante rule. The delay in the establishment of a Basel Mission Station in Kumasi by Ramseyer was mostly due to the strong Asante feeling towards the Mission. Both missions of 1881 and 1882 to Kumasi were unsuccessful although the Asantehene Mensa Bonsu and his people accorded the missionaries and their party a warm reception and hospitality. The Mission had assumed the role of mediator and peacemaker among the traditional authorities. Although the traditional authorities recognised the importance of this role of the Mission, when its mediating efforts seemed not to be in favour of a State, the authorities concerned regarded it as being in the enemy's camp.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES

There was not stated or a general form or pattern of missionary attitude to the colonial State. Individual Missions and missionaries reacted pragmatically to the State in the light of the prevailing circumstances and in the ways they thought were proper. But the circumstances changed and therefore the attitudes also changed according to changing situations. It was a process in which changing circumstances and situations dictated attitudes as the changes affected the status of the country and that of the colonial officials as well as the missionaries.

From . . . /

From the time of Thomas Melville in 1751 to that of John Hope Smith in 1817, the British governors on the Gold Coast were governors of British possessions in the service of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. In 1821 the British Government took over the possessions and so from the time of Charles MacCarthy in 1822 to that of Major Ricketts in 1828, the governors were in charge of British settlements on the Gold Coast. The settlements were transferred to the Committee of Merchants by the British Government in 1828 and from the time of John Jackson 1 in that year to that of George Maclean in 1838, the governors were merchant governors administering the affairs of the possessions with an elected council. Their jurisdiction was expressly limited to "the forts, roads or harbours thereunto adjoining, as well as the persons residing therein". In 1843 the British Government resumed control of the settlements and from the time of Commander Hill, in that year to the time of James Bannerman (Lieutenant Governor) in 1850, the governors governed the settlements on behalf of the British Government. Letters Patent of 24 January 1850 directed that the British possessions on the Gold Coast should cease to be dependencies of Sierra Leone. Thus from the time of Major . . . /

1. John Jackson (the senior merchant on the Gold Coast) was appointed an interim Governor pending the arrival of George Maclean in February 1830.

Major Stephen J. Hill in 1851 to that of Colonel Edward Conran in 1867, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors administered the forts and settlements and their trade on the Gold Coast without reference to Sierra Leone. On 19 February 1866, the British settlements on the West Coast of Africa were reunited with Sierra Leone under one Governor-in-Chief who governed from Sierra Leone. From February 1867 to July 1874, the most senior officials of the British administration on the Gold Coast, from Herbert T. Usher to Captain G. C. Strahan, were designated "Administrators" and not "Governors". All through this long period, the main interest of the British administration on the Gold Coast had not been so much political as commercial.

By the letters patent of 24 July 1874, the British settlements on the Gold Coast and those at Lagos were separated from Sierra Leone and together constituted the Gold Coast Colony. In August 1874, the Legislative Council was empowered by an Order in Council to legislate for the new colony by ordinance, subject to the royal right of disallowance. This phenomenon changed the status of the country and that of Governor G. C. Strahan. The Gold Coast, which was now a colony itself, was no longer under the Governor-in-Chief who governed from Sierra Leone, and Strahan was a "Governor" and not "Administrator". His position as Governor of the Gold Coast Colony was different from that of George Maclean . . . /

Maclean who was Governor of the British possessions on the Gold Coast in the 1830s. The letters patent of 13 January 1886 separated Lagos from the Gold Coast Colony and Lagos had its own government.

A further change took place on 1 January 1902 when three Orders in Council, one for the Colony, one for Asante and one for the Northern Territories came into effect. By these Orders in Council, the whole country was brought under British colonial rule and Asante was formally annexed. The Governor was then governing the whole country on behalf of the British Government and as the representative of His Britannic Majesty. Many changes took place in Asante including the appointment of a Chief Commissioner through whom the Governor ruled the area. The first battalion of the newly formed Gold Coast Regiment of the West African Frontier Force were stationed in Asante to garrison the new administrative sphere. This further changed the status of the Governor so that the position of Governor M. Nathan in the period 20 December 1902 to 9 February 1904 was not the same as that of Governor Strahan in the period 25 July 1874 to 7 April 1876. Unlike the latter, the former had a wider area of jurisdiction and his position as the representative of the British King and a man with political authority was legally recognised.

Following the changes in the status of the country and of the governors, the official position of the missionaries . . . /

missionaries who were British subjects also changed. 1
Hitherto the missionaries who were British nationals had worked in areas of British influence but now they were working in a British Colony. Formerly they were simply missionaries engaged in their missionary enterprise without legal imperial protection, but now they were British subjects working under the protection of His Britannic Majesty's Government represented by the colonial government. The effect of the changes in status and positions could also be seen in the fact that the Rev. A. W. Wilkie, the leader of the Scottish Mission was created CBE in 1926. 2 The Gold Coast now formed part of the British Empire. The status of the country and the positions of the Governor, his colonial officials and the missionaries of British nationality had changed. In the light of these changes, one could see that Governor Gordon Guggisberg occupied a higher position in the 1920s than Governor George Maclean in the 1830s.

Having said all this, it must also be said that in their relationships with the European authorities, the missionaries of the various Missions had different attitudes . . . /

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1. Many missionaries in the Gold Coast were not British subjects and were therefore not affected by this phenomenon.
 2. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimate Session, March 1927, p. 201.

attitudes to the colonial authorities due to their differing backgrounds. The distinctive attitudes of the Basel, Wesleyan and Anglican Missions to the European authorities will be looked at.

THE BASEL MISSION

The attitude of the Basel missionaries towards the colonial authorities reflected the policy of the Basel Mission about overseas governments. The Mission did not have official connections and dealings with merchant or colonial governments and so they adopted a policy of "adaptation". They were not aligned with any European imperial power but they urged their missionaries to accept the rule of any government in whose colony or sphere of influence they were to work. This policy reflected in a letter written by the Basel Mission Committee to the missionaries on the Gold Coast in reaction to the Danish Governor's antagonistic attitude towards Andreas Riis. In the letter, the Committee stated that it approved of the position of Riis in the strained relationship between the Danish authorities and the Basel Mission but the missionaries should keep out of politics. However, the Committee added . . . /

added that the missionaries should try to maintain good relations with the government if possible. 1

Some of the pioneer Basel missionaries came from Denmark and worked in an area of Danish influence in a complicated situation. They were under two different types of authority, the Mission Committee in Basel and the Danish Government in the Gold Coast. The missionaries viewed their work as non-political and not as being directed by the Danish authorities. But the Danish authorities regarded the Mission as a department of the Danish administration and the missionaries as their subordinates who should take instructions from them. So far as the Danish Governor was concerned, the missionaries were Danish subjects working under him and he could write to his home government with reports on the behaviour and work of the missionaries and royal decrees could be issued instructing the Governor as to how he should deal with them. He was even empowered by a royal decree to deport Andreas Riis from the Gold Coast and send him back to Copenhagen.

The attitude of the missionaries was that although they were Danish nationals and working within the sphere of Danish influence they and their work did not come under the authority of the Danish Government. The Mission . . . /

1. Inspector to the brethren in Africa, 26 April 1837
Basel Mission Archives.

Mission and the Danish Government did not get on well and the nationality of the missionaries could not establish any good relationship between the Danish authorities and the missionaries as the Basel Mission Committee had hoped. The missionaries refused to act as political agents of the Danish authorities and wanted the Danish Government to respect their neutrality. The authorities felt offended by the neutrality of the missionaries and this brought conflicts between them. But in the conflicts, the missionaries adopted a principle of non-confrontational resistance. They did not confront and challenge the authority of the Danish administration but in various ways, they resisted the political pressure of the authorities to act as their agents. The example of the orders from the Danish authorities to the missionaries to hoist a Danish flag at Akuropon has already been cited. The missionaries did not tell the Danish authorities that they would not hoist the flag but they did not do so. They just ignored the orders.

The Basel Mission's policy of "adaptation" was thrown into bold relief in its handling of the case of Andreas Riis in connection with the royal decree permitting the Danish Governor to throw him out of the Gold Coast. After making it clear that "missionaries should keep out of politics, but try to maintain good relations . . . /

relations with the Government if possible," 1 the Basel Mission Home Committee advised the missionaries that they should continue to do their work quietly. Should the Governor force Riis out of the country, he should not put up any resistance. 2 Riis accepted the Committee's advice and the missionaries continued to do their work quietly - not challenging the authority of the Governor but not accepting the role of political agents.

The Basel Mission did not want to limit its activities to a sphere of influence of a particular European country. Its missionaries were free to work in any area where the conditions were favourable and conducive to effective missionary work. It was in the spirit of this policy of "non-alignment" that the Committee arranged with the British authorities for the missionaries to move from the Danish territory into the British territory during the conflict between the Danish authorities and the Basel missionaries.

THE EXPULSION OF THE BASEL AND THE BREMEN MISSIONARIES

The single greatest event in Church-State relations in the colonial period was the expulsion of the Basel and the Bremen missionaries from the Gold Coast in the First World War. During the war, the missionaries were allowed by the British authorities to carry on with their . . . /

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1. Committee to the brethren in Africa, No. P14 f, 26 April 1837, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Ibid.

their work but under restrictions of movement. At this time, there were thirty seven Basel missionaries in the Gold Coast (excluding wives and children). Of this number, there were six Swiss including the Rev. G. Z. Zurcher, the General Superintendent, one American and one Australian. German Togoland was captured by the Allied Forces in August 1914.

In December 1917, all the Basel missionaries of German nationality were arrested and brought to Accra. On 16 December 1917 all the men were sent by ship to the Isle of Man for an internment while the women and children were sent to London where they were kept for eight weeks and then repatriated. The general feeling among the people was that the remaining non-German members of the Basel Mission would be allowed to stay on and continue their work but this was not to be the case. On 2 February 1918 they were ordered out of the Gold Coast by the Secretary of State for the Colonies who instructed the Governor thus, "I consider that in view of the German sympathies . . . all the Europeans must be regarded as suspects. Your Government cannot afford to take risks and the public safety must be the first consideration. You should therefore deport the remaining members of the Mission and the Trading Society as soon as possible." 1

1. Speech by A. R. Slater, Colonial Secretary to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, 4 February 1918, Ghana National Archives.

This declaration was followed by the passing of the Basel Mission Ordinance 1918 No. 40 of the Gold Coast Colony on 31 December 1918 under which the government took over the properties of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Trading Company by order of the Governor made on 4 February 1918. 1 Thus not only were the missionaries of the Basel Mission deported but the government took possession of its property and that of its Trading Company. The order of the Governor was made under sections 3 and 4 of the Enemy Property control and disposal Ordinance, 1914 (No. 22 of 1914).

It was the British authorities who deported the Basel missionaries, thereby disrupting the work of the Church and it was the same colonial authorities who took the initiative to fill the vacuum created by the deportation. They contacted the United Free Church of Scotland for missionaries to be sent to the Gold Coast to continue the work of the Basel missionaries. Even before the missionaries were expelled from the Gold Coast, the British Government had already started negotiating with the United Free Church of Scotland to send missionaries to the Gold Coast to take over the work of the Basel Mission. On 13 September 1916 Bonar Law, the Secretary of State for the Colonies wrote to A. H. L. Fraser, then Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland asking the . . . /

1 See Appendix A

the Church to take either full or partial responsibility for the work of the Basel Mission. The idea behind the request was that the British Government was planning to eliminate the German influence from the Mission in imperial interests in the light of what the British authorities thought was German propagandist nature of the Basel Mission. 1 At its meeting on 21 November 1916, the Foreign Mission Committee passed a minute in reply to the letter from the Secretary of State for the Colonies indicating its intention to send a deputation to the Gold Coast to study the situation and report to the Committee. On the strength of the report of the deputation, the Foreign Mission Committee sought the approval of the General Assembly to co-operate with a reconstituted Swiss Mission in continuing the work of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast.

In May 1917, the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland adopted a resolution authorising the Foreign Mission Committee to hold consultations with the Delegation Missionnaire Suisse (D. M. S.), ie. the temporary Committee of the newly formed Swiss Mission Society with a view to finding ways in which and a machinery through which the two bodies could co-operate to embark upon the missionary enterprise. On 13 June 1917, Andrew Fraser communicated the resolution of the General . . . /

1. Secretary of State for the Colonies to A. Fraser, 40049/1916, 13 September, 1916 Church of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh. See Appendix B.

General Assembly to Professor Henri Edouard Naville of the D. M. S. through Arthur Steel-Maitland then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1 In his reply dated 29 July 1917, Professor Naville responded positively to the invitation of the Foreign Mission Committee on behalf of the D. M. S.

Through the initiative of the British and the colonial Governments and following negotiations between them and the United Free Church of Scotland, a team of Scottish missionaries under the leadership of the Rev. A. W. Wilkie, arrived in Accra on 21 February 1918 to continue the missionary work from where the Basel missionaries left off. 2 The first Synod convened by Rev. Wilkie was held at Akuropon on 14 August 1918.

On the arrival of the Scottish Mission in the Gold Coast, the government authorised the use by the Scottish Mission of the buildings which had hitherto belonged to the Basel Mission. A letter from the Colonial Secretary to the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland stated, "In reply to telegraphic enquiry from this Department, the Governor of the Gold Coast has reported that the United Free Church Mission has . . . /

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1. "Negotiations regarding the Future of the Basel Mission - United Free Church of Scotland" Appendix E, Bernard papers, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Faculty of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.
 2. The first Scottish missionaries to the Gold Coast were: the Rev. A. W. Wilkie, the Rev. J. Rankin, Mrs. Wilkie, Mrs. Moffat, Miss Wallace and Miss Ross.

has been given the use of all the Basel Mission Buildings, that the salaries of the teachers are at present being paid by the Government, and that when the Mission takes over the Schools the usual grants under the Gold Coast Education Code will be paid by Government." 1.

It was incumbent on the colonial government to take the initiative to get a Mission to replace the Basel Mission so as to fill the vacuum created by the expulsion of the Basel missionaries because it was aware of the fact that the Mission satisfied the wants of a large section of the community in the Gold Coast in spiritual and educational matters. The government could not do without the Missions on whom the educational structure of the country rested and without whom it would collapse. Thus it was no exaggeration when Governor Gordon Guggisberg told the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast that his review of the first years of the present century would not be complete without a reference to the great educational work done in the Gold Coast by the Missions the most outstanding among them being the Basel Mission, the expulsion of which was the greatest blow ever suffered by the education in the country. 2

1. Colonial Secretary to the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 16 April 1918, Minute 4318, Church of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh.

2. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimate Session, March 1917, p.201.

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church in Ghana is the product of the missionary efforts of the North German Mission from Germany otherwise called Die Norddeutsche Mission and commonly known as the Bremen Mission. The Mission was organised in 1836 and in 1847 it sent missionaries to German Togoland which was divided into British Togoland and French Togo after the First World War, the former being the present Volta Region. Of the four missionaries sent, only Lorenz Wolf survived and started missionary work at Peki. The Mission integrated into the missionary enterprise agricultural, educational, medical and technical work and in 1864 a Seminary for the training of pastors was established. It embarked upon intensive language work and by 1877 the New Testament had been translated into the vernacular and by 1913 the whole Bible had been translated.

The attitude of the Bremen missionaries towards the traditional and the colonial authorities was characterised by respect and loyalty. Following the policy of the Bremen Committee, the missionaries were not to belittle, despise, resist or overthrow the civil authorities. 1

By the time of the First World War, the personnel of the small Bremen Mission were the Rev. Karl and Mrs Lina Freyburger . . . /

1.E. Grau "Missionary Politics as seen in the work of Missions with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana", in C. G. Baeta, Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 68.

Freyburger; Rev. Reinke and three deaconesses, Elizabeth Meir, Conradine Schmidt and E. Theyn. Reinke was deported on 9 March 1916 on grounds of allegedly possessing fire-arms. On 19 June 1916 the rest were arrested and brought to Accra and on 25 June 1916 they were deported. As a result of negotiations between the colonial government and the Scottish Mission, the latter took over the supervision of the Bremen Mission stations in British Togoland in August 1923.

Through the efforts of the Conference of British Missionary Societies and negotiations between the Basel Mission, the British authorities and the Church in the Gold Coast, the Basel missionaries were allowed to return to the Gold Coast. The first to return included Rev. F. Jost (Swiss), Rev. I. Billon (German) and his wife, Rev. W. Schaefer (German) and his wife, Rev. G. Nyfeler (Swiss) and Rev. F. Graber (Swiss) who arrived in Accra in December 1925. 1 The three Bremen missionaries who were allowed to return to British Togoland . . . /

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1. Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960, p.191. See also Samuel Prempeh, The Basel and Bremen Missions and their Successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland, 1914-1926; A Study in Protestant Missions and The First World War, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1977, p.474. Again see Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 21 July 1925, Minute 158, pp. 90-91, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, University of Edinburgh, Faculty of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

Togoland were Revs. K. Freyburger, H. J. Schroeder and H. Schosser who arrived in Accra on 2 August 1923. 1

The British authorities allowed the Basel and the Bremen missionaries to return to the Gold Coast and British Togoland to operate as officially recognised Missions on the following conditions: (1) That Scottish missionaries should be members of every committee and council which organised or controlled the educational work of either the Basel or Bremen Mission in the Gold Coast and the mandated area of Togoland. (2) That the activities of the Basel Mission should be limited to Asante and that of the Bremen Mission to the Ewe area, provided that at least one Scottish missionary should be stationed in the Ewe-speaking area. (3) That great care should be observed by the missions concerned in the selection of the missionaries whom they sent out. (4) That the staff of the two Missions should strictly avoid concerning themselves with political affairs failing which . . . /

1. A. W. Wilkie to Foreign Mission Committee, 3 August 1923, Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 18 September 1923, Minute 6607, p. 841, Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Faculty of Divinity, University of Edinburgh. See also S. Prempeh, op. cit. p. 447.

which they would be withdrawn on the request of the Governor. 1

With the return of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast, there were two Missions, the Basel Mission and the Scottish Mission working with what from 1926 became the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. It is significant that although the British Government could lay down the conditions listed above, it was not able to stipulate that the two Missions should carry on their work with the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. The power to allow the two Missions to work together with the Church lay with the Church and not with the government. This fact was made known when the Church declared at its Synod in Kumasi in 1930 thus, "The Synod gives thanks for the great work that has been done, and express the unanimous wish of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast that the two Societies carry on their work for us in love and unity," 2

The action of the British and the Colonial Governments against the Basel and the Bremen Missions in the First World War was repeated during the Second World War. In 1939 the German nationals of the two Missions were interned. There were fourteen Basel missionaries of . . . /

1. Colonial Office to J. H. Oldham, 20 May 1925, Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland, 16 June 1925, Minute 67, p.40, C. S. C. N. W. W, Faculty of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

2. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Kumasi, 14 - 17 July 1930, Minute 36..ls2

German nationality (including their wives) working in the Gold Coast. Six of them were allowed to return to Germany while the remainder were taken to camps in Australia, Canada and Jamaica. As a result of this second expulsion, some of the Basel Mission Stations were closed. Examples of such stations were Abetifi, Nsaba, Begoro and Nwereme. The Mission's hospital at Agogo suffered the same fate. The missionaries who were allowed to remain in the Gold Coast were Swiss nationals whose number was too small to cope with the whole work. The best they could do was to continue the work in Kumasi and at Domaa-Ahenkro as well as the work in the Girls' School at Agogo. In the Bremen Mission, there was only one missionary left and so the Scottish Mission took over the responsibility for the work of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.

The two World Wars and their international politics brought about a strained Mission-State relationship which had an adverse effect on both the Church and the State. For instance, on their return after the First World War, the Bremen missionaries were not to have any dealings with their fellow Ministers of the Gospel and teachers on the French side according to instructions from the Acting Governor, Arthur J. Philbrick. 1

1. Minutes of Foreign Mission Committee, United Free Church of Scotland, 18 September 1923, Minute 6607, p. 841.

THE WESLEYAN MISSION

The Wesleyan missionaries were British subjects and worked within the sphere of British influence. When the Rev. J. R. Dunwell arrived at Cape Coast and went to the Castle, Governor George Maclean was at the gate to welcome him and offered him accommodation in the castle until a house was secured for him. The missionaries recognised the power and authority of the Governor and his officials. By taking a letter of introduction from Maclean to the Asantehene and accepting the escort of seven soldiers provided by him on his second mission to Kumasi in 1841, Freeman not only recognised the authority of the Governor but was also placing himself under his protection. But by this recognition the missionaries did not see their work as coming under the control of the British authorities. What is more, unlike the Danish authorities and their attitude to the Basel missionaries, the British authorities did not put any political pressure on the missionaries to force them to serve as their political agents. But the absence of pressure here was due to the fact that the interests of Governor George Maclean and the Rev. T. B. Freeman were largely coincident, so that pressure was not needed. Freeman wanted to enter Asante to pursue his missionary interest there and he needed the help of Maclean which he readily provided. Maclean wanted to pursue his political and commercial interests in Asante which could be . . . /

be possible only in an atmosphere of good Anglo-Asante relations. Maclean saw the establishment of these good relations in the establishment of a Wesleyan Mission in Asante hence his wholehearted support of Freeman's second mission to Asante in 1841.

This was not the case in the Riis-Morck relationship. Riis had already entered the Akuapem State and had been warmly accepted by King Ado Dankwa of that State. He had established a cordial relationship with him and his subordinate chiefs and so he did not need the help of Morck in pursuing his missionary interest in the Akuapem State. But Morck needed the help of Riis to pursue his political interest in the Akuapem State which he was not prepared to offer hence the pressure.

Riis and the Mission could not avoid getting involved in the political power struggle between the Danish authorities and the British authorities. Morck endeavoured to convert the vague Danish influence in the eastern States into an effective system of Danish rule. Maclean on the other hand extended his personal influence and jurisdiction to the Akuapem State. For example, in 1833 he intervened to settle a dispute between the Akuapem and the Krobo. 1 Morck was not happy . . . /

1. Council Minutes, 15 March 1836, G. E. Metcalfe, Maclean of the Gold Coast, p.198

happy with the British influence in the eastern States and warned Maclean that he would not tolerate any attempt by any British soldier to enter either Akyem or Akuapem.

Morck did not want the Basel missionaries to have any contact with Maclean and his administration. But Maclean had established good relations with the missionaries before the arrival of Morck on the Gold Coast. In 1832 he accorded the second batch of the Basel missionaries a warm reception at Cape Coast and wanted them to stay in the British territory and work for him. They had "happy relations with the missionary in Cape Coast, and with Governor Maclean, who always wanted Riis to come and settle on English territory. 1 In his dealings with the Danish and the British authorities, Riis showed an inclination towards the British. This was reflected in a letter in which he said, "The government's hostility continues. He is also behind much of the Akwapim troubles. The matter of Akwapim will be decided in Europe - I guess it will become British. We expect Governor Maclean back soon." 2 The inclination of the Basel missionaries towards the British administration was partly due to the fact that they were not under any form of pressure from the British authorities and partly to the tact of Maclean who . . . /

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1. Murdter to Committee, No. 9, 25 October 1837, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Riis to Inspector, No. 13, 2 December 1837, Basel Mission Archives

who was predisposed towards the Basel missionaries.

Unlike the relationship between Morck and the Basel missionaries, there was no divergence of interest in the relations of Maclean and the Wesleyan missionaries. Although the traditional authorities regarded them as an extension of British colonial power and in certain situations, as has been shown above, some of their actions created this impression, the missionaries were not directly and positively expected by the British authorities to play that role. It is true to say that the composition of the party of Freeman's second mission to Kumasi and the gifts which were sent to the Asantehene painted a picture of a political mission in the sight of the Asantehene and his chiefs and established good Anglo-Asante relations. Nevertheless, Freeman did not regard the mission as a political one. To him it was an evangelistic mission and so he expected evangelistic results. In view of this, his happiness in the success of the mission was expressed in terms of its evangelistic achievement and not in those of its political sequel. In the light of the success of the mission, he expressed the hope that should God, in His providence, take his life, he trusted he should be enabled to depart with something like the sentiments of old Simeon in holy writ thus:

Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace
for my eyes have seen" one of the most powerful
Monarchs of interior, degraded Africa, become a
nursing-father to the heralds of "thy salvation."
To God most high, the loving Father, the redeeming
Son . . . /

Son, the convincing and sanctifying Spirit, be all the praise and all the glory! Amen and amen! 1

This was a reflection of Freeman's impression of the fatherly attitude of the Asantehene towards the missionaries after his second mission. Although this attitude stemmed from the political relations that had been established through the mission, to Freeman what mattered most was the opportunity to plant the Church in Asante.

In the Northern Territories the situation was quite different even seventy years later. In November 1912, Rev. H. G. Martin of the Wesleyan Mission arrived at Tamale to open a mission station there and official approval of this was given in April 1913. At that time the whole of the Gold Coast was a British Colony. This means that there was not political rivalry between any European authorities and so there was no question of any attempt by the European authorities to use the missionaries as political agents to win for them the favours and the allegiance of the traditional authorities as it was the case in the nineteenth century. One would have thought that in the absence of this phenomenon, conflict between the Mission and the British authorities on political issues would be remote, but it was not so in the Northern Territories. There the colonial authorities expected the missionaries to submit . . . /

1. Freeman to the General Secretaries, 9 May 1842, Appendix D, Freeman's Second Journal, pp.188 - 189.

submit to their authority and direction in the discharge of their duties. They wanted them to take instructions from them and to work within prescribed regulations. Here it was not a question of recognition of political power but the subordination of the missionaries and their work to the office of the Chief Commissioner and his officials. Martin could not cope with such a situation and so the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission decided to transfer him from Tamale and his place was taken over by J. M. Stormonth.

In the official permission granted to the Wesleyan Mission to open a mission station at Tamale, it was stated that in the light of the political situation prevailing in the Northern Territories at the time, it was necessary for the missionary to be guided by the reasonable requirements of the Chief Commissioner. The Chief Commissioner took advantage of this stipulation and tried to direct Stormonth to work within his prescribed regulations. For instance, he expected Stormonth to give him advance notice of three weeks before he could travel to the North-East. The missionary did not accept this. He argued that his work was not to be controlled by the government. But the Chief Commissioner, C. H. Armitage, maintained that since he would be held responsible if anything happened to him, he had to know his movements. Although the matter between the two was resolved to some extent, Armitage still prevented Stormonth from visiting certain parts of the Northern Territories.

The Chief Commissioner never gave up his desire to bring the Mission under his control and this found expression in his policy of restricting its activities to Tamale. This hampered the progress of the Mission and, as a result, the Wesleyan Mission decided to withdraw from the Northern Territories in 1915. In 1920 the Wesleyan Mission wanted to reopen its Station at Tamale but the Chief Commissioner thwarted its plans.

The Basel missionaries worked under political pressure from the Danish authorities and the Wesleyan missionaries in the Northern Territories found themselves in a similar situation in the second decade of the twentieth century. But unlike the Basel missionaries, the Wesleyan missionaries confronted the British authorities and made it quite clear to them that their work could not be controlled by the government. The Chief Commissioner's persistent desire for the control of the Mission and the confrontational resistance of the missionaries resulted in the withdrawal of the Wesleyan Mission from the Northern Territories.

THE ANGLICAN MISSION

In 1720 the Royal African Company made a request to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S. P. G.) to . . . /

to recommend proper persons to take up posts of chaplains in their factories abroad. The Company offered to pay a chaplain a salary of £80 or £100 per annum with diet at the Governor's table. The request was accepted and in 1750 the Rev. Thomas Thompson offered to serve as a missionary to the Gold Coast. On 15 February 1751 he was appointed a missionary by the S. P. G. on a salary of £70 per annum. He arrived at Cape Coast on 13 May 1752. 1

Thompson received a warm reception from the King and his brother Birempon Cudjo whose houses he used as places of worship for some time. His work went beyond the Cape Coast Castle, extending to other places including Anomabu, Tantum and Winneba. He established a school at Cape Coast at his own expense and laid a foundation for the development of a wider ministry beyond the Castle. In 1754 he sent three boys to England to be trained as missionaries to their native Gold Coast under the sponsorship of the S. P. G. On 17 February 1756 he returned to England due to illhealth. The three boys he sent to England were Philip Quaake, William Cudjo and Thomas Coboro. The last two died leaving Philip Quaake who became the first non-European to receive Anglican ordination since the Reformation. On 17 May 1765 he was appointed a missionary and a school master to the Gold Coast.

1. Thomas Thompson, An Account of Two Missionary Voyages, p.33. See also C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G 1701-1900, pp. 254-255.

The Rev. Philip Quaque established a school and did his ministerial work as well but his efforts did not meet with much success. In the early years he had to speak to his own people through the medium of an interpreter and had to be urged by the S. P. G. to try to recover his own language. He was seldom permitted to minister to the garrison. Most of the Europeans, including some of the governors, had a negative attitude to religion and did not get on well with Quaque. Between 1766 and 1774 he recorded only 52 baptisms presumably mostly of infants of mixed race.

In 1791 Quaque was ordered by Governor Fields to accompany him to Anomabu to take up arms to defend the Fort. He disobeyed the order and for that reason, he was suspended by the Governor and Council and ordered to quit the Cape Coast Castle and to find accommodation in town. He appealed to the Company against his suspension and ejection from the Castle. He was reinstated as Chaplain with an increase of £10 per annum in his salary. Furthermore the Company gave official orders that Divine Service should be conducted and strictly observed on the Sabbath Day. Quaque served as Anglican missionary and Chaplain to the factory of the African Company till his death in 1816 (at the age of 75). The Company erected a memorial in his honour showing that he served the Company as a missionary of the S. P. G. and Chaplain of the factory for 50 years.

After . . . /

After Quaque's death, his place was taken by the Rev. William Philip from England. After Philip's death two ministers followed, the Rev. J. Collins (1818-1819) and the Rev. R. Harold (1823-1824). This was the beginning of the close relationship which existed between the Anglican Church and the colonial government in the Gold Coast.

In 1876, the headquarters of the colonial government was moved from Cape Coast to Accra. The colonial chaplain remained at Cape Coast and visited Accra from time to time. As there was no proper building for Church services in Accra, the billiard room of the Christiansborg Castle was used as a place of worship. The room was decorated with the British flag. Governor W. B. Griffith and his son, Chief Justice W. Brandford Griffith were devout Anglicans and in the absence of the Chaplain, the Governor took the service. 1

The issue regarding a chaplain for Accra was brought before the Legislative Council which voted £500 per annum for the Accra chaplaincy and decided that the Chaplain at Cape Coast should be transferred to Accra. 2 Eventually both Accra and Cape Coast had separate chaplains.

1. W. B. Griffith, The Far Horizon: Portrait of a Colonial Judge, pp. 91-92.

2. Governor's Dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 4 September 1888, Ghana National Archives.

The colonial government paid £100 per annum towards the salary of the Bishop of Sierra Leone in whose diocese, the Anglican Church in the Gold Coast then was. This was to meet his travel expenses to, in and from the Gold Coast. In 1893 the Bishop went to Accra to dedicate Holy Trinity Church (the legal status of which will be looked at later). The colonial chaplain in charge of the Church was sick at that time and the people expected the Bishop to stay in Accra to carry on the work of the Chaplain till he had recovered but he did not do so. Three years later, an Accra newspaper, the Gold Coast Independent expressed the sentiments of the people in its issue of 4 July 1896 thus, "Why does the Gold Coast revenue have to pay £100 annually towards the salary of the Bishop of Sierra Leone? It is said that this is for travelling expenses to and on the Gold Coast. The Bishop only comes for 8-14 days at a time and has not been on the Gold Coast for the last three years!"

The relationship between the Anglican Church and the colonial government grew stronger and stronger. When the contractor of the Sekondi-Kumasi railway line (which reached Kumasi in 1903) made a request to the S.P.G. to send a clergyman to minister to the workers on the line, the colonial government decided to contribute to the support of the Minister and provided a piece of land for the building of an Anglican Church at Sekondi. 1

1. Report of the S.P.G. for the year 1902, p.169, Hans W. Debrunner, A History of Christianity in Ghana, p.244.

The special relationship which the Anglican Church in the Gold Coast enjoyed with the colonial government was clearly shown in the legal status given to Holy Trinity Cathedral in Accra. This was effected by the Holy Trinity Church, Accra, Ordinance of 1916. The colonial government regarded the Church as its property and the Ordinance was passed to vest it in the Bishop of Accra, the Rt. Rev. Mowbray Stephen O'Rorke and his successors who held it in trust. The stipulation was made in section two of the Ordinance where it was explicitly stated that divine worship in the Church should be performed according to the use of and carried on in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. 1

Holy Trinity Church was regarded by the colonial government and the Anglicans as a State Church. The Governor and his family, officials and friends were given a special place in the Church. Section three subsection one of the Ordinance stipulates:

Notwithstanding anything in the next preceding section contained, the six front rows of pews on both sides of the nave in the said Church shall be appropriated to the exclusive use of the Governor and other European officials of the Colony and its dependencies and his and their families and friends: Provided nevertheless that when not required to be so used the Governor may give permission for the same to be otherwise suitably used. 2

1. See Appendix C.

2. Holy Trinity Church, Accra, Ordinance (CAP123), 25 January 1916. See Appendix C.

It is not surprising that the colonial legislature in the Gold Coast passed an ordinance in respect of colonial Holy Trinity Church. It was not uncommon for ecclesiastical matters to have colonial legislative sanction in colonial churches. 1

By the power vested in him by the Ordinance, the Governor had a legal right, at his own discretion, to authorise any memorial, monument or tablet to be erected in Holy Trinity Church in Accra. If the Governor decided to do so, the incumbent for the time being had to afford all proper facilities for such erection. Any inscription or figure upon any memorial, monument or tablet was to be approved by the Bishop or on appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury or other person exercising archiepiscopal authority in Accra. 2

The Ordinance also provided that no burial was to take place within the Church or its precincts unless by written permission of the Governor and subject to such regulations as might be prescribed. 3 Sections three and seven of the Ordinance were repealed after independence . . . /

1. For the complexities of the constitutional position of the Church of England, constitutions of the colonial churches in relation to their status at law and the relations of colonial churches and government see T. E. Yates Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad, pp. 92-99; H. T. Purchas, The English Church in New Zealand, pp. 155-167; Max Warren (Ed.), To Apply the Gospel, Introduction and Chapter VI.

2. Holy Trinity Church, Accra Ordinance, Section 3 subsection 2.

3. Ibid. Section 6

independence and section six was amended by the Holy Trinity Church, Accra, (Amendment) Act 1958. 1

MISSIONS AS FORMING PART OF THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

There was a sense in which the Christian Missions in the Gold Coast became part of the colonial administrative system. This phenomenon, which emerged through partnership in the fields of educational and medical work has remained a permanent feature in Church-State relations in Ghana. We must look at the relationship which developed from this process with reference to the two areas of Church-State activity.

EDUCATIONAL WORK

The colonial government was required by the Colonial Office to keep its expenditures strictly within the bounds of its revenue which was generated from grants and local sources. This revenue was not enough to meet the demand for such social services as the construction of roads, improvement in agriculture, the provision of good water, education and medical services. The government could not cope with the financial problems involved . . . /

1. Holy Trinity Church, Accra, (Amendment) Act 1958, No. 6 of 1958. See Appendix D.

involved in the provision of educational services and facilities. Thus it had to rely heavily on the Missions for such services. The Missions were in the field of education long before the colonial apparatus and gained great experience in the enterprise. They had funds from missionary societies and churches overseas and from local sources. Their personnel requirements were met by the services of expatriates and local people trained in their schools and colleges.

The extent to which the colonial government relied on the Missions for educational services was demonstrated in a letter written by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland part of which reads:

The Basel Mission has been largely financed in the past by German capital and staffed by German missionaries In Imperial interests it is desirable to eliminate the German influence from the mission if it is to be allowed to continue its work in British territory On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Mission satisfied the wants of a large section of the community in the Gold Coast in spiritual and educational matters. Mr Bonar Law is anxious to discover whether it would be possible for the United Free Church Mission to take over the religious and educational work hitherto performed by that Mission in the Gold Coast. 1

The colonial government was so dependent on the Missions for the educational work in the country that when it decided /

1. Bernard papers, For the full text of the letter see Appendix B.

decided to expel one Mission from the Gold Coast, it was compelled by its inability to carry on the Mission's work in education to plead with another Mission to take over the work.

Not only was the colonial government happy with the educational work of the Missions but it encouraged and actually supported them by way of grants as will be seen later. But the provision of grants to the Missions created another dimension in Mission-State relations. It opened the way for government Education Officers to inspect the Mission schools and to report on their performances. This made them part of the Missions' educational system and made the Missions part of the government's educational scheme. The teachers in the Mission schools became accountable not only to the Church through the missionaries but also to the government through the Education Officers.

Another dimension was the issue of remuneration in respect of management. The Missions managed their schools through General Managers, Supervisors (now called Regional Managers) and Local Managers. The first two were and are still in the pay of the government. They were appointed by the Missions but employed by the government and so they became civil servants in the service of the Missions. The Local Manager was usually the District Pastor and all the Mission Schools in his District were under his management. Like the General Manager and the Supervisor . . . /

Supervisor, he visited the schools and signed the school records. The "Rev. Manager", as he was sometimes called, paid the salaries of the teachers who regarded him as their "pay master". He employed pupil teachers in the schools and they saw him as their employer. The grants to the Schools were allocated to the General Manager by the government and the General Manager allocated them to the Supervisors who distributed them to the Local Managers who in turn, allotted them to the schools in the form of equipment and cash. The Local Managers performed their managerial duties in addition to their full-time ministerial duties and for this, they were given some allowance. But the General Managers and the Supervisors were full-time government employees.

The heavy reliance of the colonial government on the Missions for educational services developed into partnership and through the partnership, the latter were "co-opted" into the colonial educational structure. But before the partnership developed, the bulk of the educational burden in the Gold Coast was borne by the Christian Missions as will be seen in the course of the discussion.

Although some of the governors of the European settlements in the Gold Coast such as the Danish Governor Lind at Christiansborg and the British Governor McCarthy at Cape Coast opened schools in their castles, these schools did not offer formal education. What is more . . . /

more, they catered for only a few children in the castles and the immediate neighbourhood. Lind's school for instance was not designed to teach the children to read and write. They were only taught Danish. Formal education was introduced into the Gold Coast by the Christian Missions. The first Twi school in the country was established by the Basel Mission as early as September 1844.

By 1918 the Churches and Missions were in possession of and responsible for about 90 per cent of the educational endeavours of the Gold Coast. This great educational work was financed through funds from overseas and the financial support of local Church members. In some areas the traditional authorities and their people contributed to the educational efforts of the Missions by putting up school buildings and paying a small percentage of the salaries of some of the teachers.

Not only did the education provided by the Basel Mission take into account the development of the child's mind, body and soul but it was also so broad-based that it took into consideration the present and future environmental development of the people. For example, a former head of the Akuropon Middle School by the name of Bellom, not interested in the teaching of Geometry in the school and finding it unnecessary wrote to the Basel Mission Committee in Basel asking for its permission to drop the subject from the curriculum. The . . . /

The Committee did not grant the permission but directed the Mission Inspector of Schools to write a letter to him part of which read, "The time will come when the people of the Gold Coast will survey lands and fix their boundaries and compile a register of land and property. How can they do that without geometry? 1 This statement is an eloquent testimony to the all-round and comprehensive type of education which the Basel Mission provided for the people of the Gold Coast. That type of education was not confined to academic development but, it embraced the training in such trades as carpentry, iron work, tailoring, building and printing and emphasised training in agriculture. It also attached great importance to the training in personal hygiene and character training.

One of the most important features in the Mission or Church schools was the emphasis placed on character training. Both the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches emphasised character training in their schools. They felt that character training depended upon the sound moral and religious instructions given in the schools. As a result of this concern of the churches, the colonial government accorded religious instruction in schools an equal importance with other subjects in 1930. . . . /

1. Silver Jubilee Report of Akuropon Middle School, cited in R. T. Parsons, The Churches and Ghana Society 1918-1955, p.119. Parson names the Head of the School as Bellom but this name is not common in records. It might be I. Bellon.

1930. On character training, both the churches and the colonial government shared a common ground and the latter expressed publicly its appreciation of the efforts of the former in this important field of national development and progress. Expressing his appreciation of the great contribution which the Churches and Missions had made to the development of education and character training in the Gold Coast before the Legislative Council, Governor Gordon Guggisberg said:

My review of the first years of the present century would not be complete without a reference to the great educational work done in the past by the various Missions in this country. First and foremost among them, as regards quality of education and character training was the Basel Mission; and as I have said before in this Council Chamber, their removal from the country during the war of 1914-1918 was the greatest blow which education in this country has ever received Nevertheless the blow was a great one, but there were recompenses, for it resulted in the arrival in this country of that devoted and efficient band of missionaries - the Scottish Mission. It is no exaggeration to say that the Rev. A. W. Wilkie and his people saved the situation; and I feel sure that all Honourable Members must have been delighted when His Majesty recognised the work which had been done by creating last year Mr. Wilkie a Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire Of the other Missions which have done most educational work in the Gold Coast the most prominent are the Wesleyan, the Roman Catholic, and the Church of England. Practically all the Missions, however, have in the past shown far more zeal in their educational efforts than was justified by the steps which they took to provide themselves with properly trained teachers, a difficulty which is now being rectified both by the new Education Ordinance and the construction of . . . /

of Training Colleges. 1

This official expression of the colonial government's appreciation of the contribution of the Churches and Missions to the development of education and character training in the Gold Coast was one of the manifestations of Guggisberg's concern for education and his recognition of the important role of the Churches and Missions in that great enterprise. In 1870 the Basel Mission designed an educational system of six years of primary school education and four years of Middle School education. This system was adopted by the various governments and it is still in operation.

In 1882 an Education Ordinance was passed which gave legal recognition to the partnership between the government and the churches in the field of education. This partnership served as the basis of the educational system in the Gold Coast. The Ordinance provided for the setting up of a Board of Education whose duty it was to ensure that the regulations guiding the system of the grants-in-aid were strictly adhered to. Before the passing of this Ordinance, the churches were given very little financial support by the government as regards their educational work.

In 1887 another Education Ordinance was passed. It provided for two categories of schools - (i) Government Schools . . . /

1. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimate Session, March 1927, p. 201.

Schools and (ii) Assisted Schools. The former were established, financed and managed by the government while the latter were run by the Missions. The Assisted Schools were to receive financial assistance from the government provided they satisfied the conditions laid down by the Board of Education that the schools should be open to all children irrespective of race or religion, they should have at least an average of twenty pupils on their rolls, their teachers should be holders of Teachers' Certificate recognised by the Board of Education (either honorary or by examination) and the subjects taught should include the reading and writing of the English language, Arithmetic and in the case of girls, needlework. The Ordinance did not prohibit the opening of schools which could not satisfy the conditions laid down, but such schools were not given grants and were known as Non-Assisted Schools. Many of the Wesleyan schools were non-assisted when the Ordinance first came into operation. Mission schools which were assisted were given annual grants to help them to meet the expenses of their schools. Furthermore, the government sometimes helped the churches in financing some building projects of their schools. To give just two examples, in 1929 the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast put up a school block for the Krobo Girls' School at Odunase-Krobo at a cost of £13,000. Of this amount £7,000 was a gift from Scotland through the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast . . . /

Coast while the remaining £6,000 was a special grant from the government. 1 The other example is the great help which Governor Gordon Guggisberg gave the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in a building project of the Presbyterian Training College at Akuropon in Akuapem. In appreciation of the Governor's contribution in this respect and in the development of education, the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast decided to order a suitable picture of the Governor to be placed in the College in memory of his good services. 2

The government gave official recognition to the churches as partners in the field of education and there was mutual respect for each other's views and contribution in that partnership. On the Board of Education which was constituted by high government officials and the Superintendent of Education, the churches were given official representation. The Church-State partnership in education was strengthened by the spirit of co-operation between the two bodies. This spirit of co-operation was highlighted by the spirit of co-operation between the two bodies. This spirit of co-operation was highlighted by the Education Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in . . . /

1. Report on the Synod Committee Meetings, 26-30 November 1929, Christiansborg, Minute 40.

2. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 14-17 July 1930, Kumasi, Minute 18.

in a report :

The development of education in the country has been largely due to the cooperation between government and missions. This cooperation has been of a real nature and we would like to place on record our opinion that progress in education has been made possible by the friendly relations existing between these Bodies. In the proposals we now make for administration and control, it is our aim to maintain and make more effective this association. 1

It was not only the churches who appreciated this co-operation. The government also showed its appreciation of it as it was reflected in a report of a school inspector of the Department of Education in 1931, "To write adequately regarding the cooperation of the Department of Education with Missions would require a volume. It must suffice to say that without such active and close cooperation, the work of this Department would, to a great extent, close." 2

When Gordon Guggisberg assumed office as the Governor of the Gold Coast, he declared that his government considered education as "the first and foremost step in the progress of the races of the Gold Coast and therefore as the most important item in its work." To this end, he set up a Committee in 1920 known as the Educationists' Committee under the chairmanship of the Director of Education, D. J. Oman. The Committee was charged to investigate past educational . . . /

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1. Report of the Education Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to the Synod, 1937-41, cited in R. T. Parsons, op.cit. p.135.
 2. Report, Department of Education, Ibid. p. 135.

educational efforts in the Gold Coast, their success or failure and the reasons for these, to consider the whole educational policy and to make recommendations. The Scottish Mission, the Wesleyan Mission and the Anglican Mission were represented on the Committee. In fact, the members of the Committee were largely drawn from the churches.

The Committee which was appointed in 1920 presented its report in 1921¹ in which it made 52 recommendations and 53 suggestions. Three of the recommendations are worth noting. First, that English should be introduced as early as possible as a subject of instruction in the primary school but that the vernacular should be the medium of instructions. Following from this was a recommendation that vernacular textbooks should be produced. It was the policy of the Basel Mission to make the vernacular the medium of instruction in its schools. This policy was adopted and became part of the educational system in the whole country. Second, that teachers should be offered more and better training and their conditions of service greatly improved. Third, that the government should establish a Secondary Boarding School for Boys which should be sited one and a half miles east of Achimota in Accra.

An American called Caoline Phelps-Stokes, in her will . . . /

1. Gold Coast Colony Legislative Council Debates, Session 1927-1928, 3 March 1927, p. 147.

will dated 1909, bequeathed her fortune in trust instructing that the income should be used, among other things, "for the education of Negroes, both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians and needy and deserving white students." Through the efforts of the Board of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, the Phelps-Stokes Trustees agreed to undertake a survey of the conditions and needs of Negro education in Africa. A commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Jesse Jones for that purpose. The Phelps-Stokes Commission of which Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey (a citizen of the Gold Coast who was then in the United States) was a member, visited the Gold Coast in 1920. Coincidentally the Commission's visit came at a time when Guggisberg was busy with his educational development programmes.

The Commission criticised the content of education in the Gold Coast as being too academic and Western oriented and out of touch with the life of the community and its culture and history. The Commissioners were disturbed by the relative absence of girls in the schools they visited. They recommended that the education of women and girls should receive much more serious consideration both as to quality and training. 1

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1. T. Jesse Jones, Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe. The Report of the Commission, p. 143.

Notwithstanding the Commission's delight that in comparison with the other African colonies, the Gold Coast was unique in economic, social and educational conditions and in many respects, it was the most significant among all the countries visited by the Commission, it was not impressed by the number of children of school age who were in school. Of the 300,000 youth of school age, only 35,000 were in school. 1 They suggested that in future, every educational system should aim at making its products relevant and useful to the life of the community stressing the importance of hygiene in relation to social welfare and community development. One of the important points in the suggestions of the Commission was the need for education to adapt itself to local needs.

Guggisberg was greatly delighted and encouraged by the work and the subsequent report of the Commission whose picture of education he thought was similar to his own. In 1923 the Colonial Office set up a permanent committee known as the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. Instrumental in the formation and function of the Committee was Dr. J. H. Oldham who was the Secretary of the International Missionary Council. In 1925 the Committee produced what was known as "Memorandum on Education in British Tropical Africa." It contained many of the suggestions made by the Phelps-Stokes . . . /

2. Ibid. pp. 141-142.

Stokes Commission and some features of the pattern and content of education envisaged by Guggisberg.

Guggisberg availed himself of the opportunities offered by the Commission and the various committees and discussed with their members various issues on the subject of education. In 1925 he formulated his "Sixteen Principles of Education." 1

Of the sixteen principles, three are of particular interest in Church-State relations in the field of education. These were the seventh, eighth and fourteenth . . . /

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1. Governor Gordon Guggisberg's Sixteen Principles of Education were as follows:
 - i. Primary education must be thorough and be from the bottom to the top.
 - ii. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
 - iii. The provision of a university.
 - iv. Equal opportunities to those given to boys should be provided for the education of girls.
 - v. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
 - vi. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
 - vii. Character training must take an important place in education.
 - viii. Religious teaching should form part of education.
 - ix. Organised games should form part of school life.
 - x. The course in every school should include special reference to the health, welfare and industries of the locality.
 - xi. A sufficient staff of efficient African Inspectors of Schools must be trained and maintained.
 - xii. Whilst an English education must be given, it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
 - xiii. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
 - xiv. There should be cooperation between the Government and the Missions; and the latter should be subsidised for educational purposes.
 - xv. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
 - xvi. The provision of trade Schools with a technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.

fourteenth principles. 1 The question as to whether they were "principles" in the ordinary sense or whether they could more properly be called a programme as R. E. Wraith asserts 2 is not relevant to the subject of this chapter. However, one must note that almost half of the principles reflected some of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. 3

The seventh and eighth principles were on character training and religious education. Guggisberg regarded these as a sine qua non in education. It has already been shown that the Missions, especially the Basel and Wesleyan Missions placed special emphasis on character training in their schools. The Missions also emphasised the importance of religious education in their schools. The Governor shared this conviction of the Missions and regarded religion as the basis of character training. He said, "Again, as last year, I deal with these principles together (7 and 8), for they are inseparable. The character of a child, however much or little it may be inherited, cannot be developed . . . /

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1. Ibid. pp. 206-207. See also H. O. A. McWilliam, The Development of Education in Ghana, pp.53-54.
 2. R. E. Wraith, Guggisberg, p. 155.
 3. See T. Jesse Jones, Education in Africa, The Report of the Commission, pp.141-144.

unless religion forms the basis of the system of "character-training" adopted. 1

The fourteenth principle was on co-operation between the Missions and the government in the field of education and how the former were to be subsidised by the latter. The Governor acknowledged the spirit of co-operation which existed between the Missions and the government in the educational work of the country and the great contribution which the former had made to that cause. The acknowledgement was made before the Legislative Council thus:

I have already alluded to the great services which the Missions have rendered to the cause of education in this country. As regards co-operation between them and the Government, Major Vischer, in his report to the Advisory Committee on his visit to the Gold Coast, said that he was "struck by the perfect co-operation between the Education Department, Achimota and the Mission Bodies." 2

Under the new Education Ordinance which came into operation on 1 January 1927, the grants which were made by the government to the Missions were based mainly on the efficiency of the teachers. The maximum grant was 80 per cent of the salaries of the teachers. The Missions complained about this, saying that if they carried on their educational work under such regulations, . . . /

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1. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimate Session, March 1927.
 2. Ibid p. 222

regulations, they would soon be insolvent. They discussed the issue with the Governor and suggested that 80 per cent should not be regarded as the maximum grant but as the lowest grant for the average school and that rates lower than 80 per cent should be granted in exceptional cases and only when no serious efforts were made to improve the situation. They further suggested that it should be possible to make grants up to 95 per cent to the good schools. The Governor responded favourably to the suggestions made by the Missions. Reporting on his views on this to the Legislative Council the Governor said, "I think Government must be prepared to meet this request and I have therefore authorised the estimated grants for 1927 to be increased from £54,000 to £70,000." 1. There was no Church Council per se involved in education in the Gold Coast. The individual churches had their education committees through which they carried out their educational work and had contact with the government on educational matters. However, on certain occasions, the Christian Council of the Gold Coast had discussions with and presented memoranda to the government on educational issues on behalf of the churches. For instance in 1952, the Council presented a statement to the government on "Christian Education in Primary and Middle . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 223

Middle Schools" in reaction to the latter's "Accelerated Development Plan for Education" (which will be discussed shortly) on behalf of the churches. The statement was later published.

Guggisberg pursued his educational programmes and the Achimota College and School were established and formally opened by him on 28 January 1927. 1 This was the first Government Secondary School. Although Achimota was a government institution, it had a christian influence. Its first Principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser was an Anglican Minister. The fifth of the seven conditions which Fraser laid down for the acceptance of the principalship was that "Achimota must be Christian, and the Principal must have a free hand in the matter of religion." 2 The educational foundation laid by Guggisberg was built upon by the governments which came after his. From the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, primary and middle schools were opened in the Northern Territories and in 1944 the first Training College was established from the Fund at Tamale.

As it was in the case of elementary education, the initiative . . . /

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1. The Achimota College was estimated to cost £433,105 while the School was estimated to cost £174,434. Thus the total cost of Achimota was estimated to be £607,539.
 2. W. E. F. Ward, Fraser of Trinity and Achimota, p.170.

initiative as regards the establishment of secondary schools was taken by the Christian Missions. In 1876 the Wesleyan Mission established a High School at Cape Coast which was the first in the Gold Coast. Due to financial difficulties the school was closed in 1889, but with the help of some citizens it was reopened and the Wesleyan Mission resumed the management of the school which is now Mfantshipim. In May 1884 the Mission opened the Wesley Girls' High School at Cape Coast to cater for the need of girls' secondary education. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel opened a secondary school at Cape Coast in 1910. It was known as St. Nicholas Grammar School but later took the name Adisadel College which is under the management of the Anglican Church. The Roman Catholic Mission established St. Augustine's College in 1930. The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast did not establish a secondary school until 1938. The Church's inability to open a secondary school earlier was due to the fact that the Scottish Mission which offered financial assistance to the Church in her educational programme at that time did not favour the establishment of secondary schools. Through the efforts of the African leaders of the Church and the members of the various congregations, the Church established the Presbyterian Secondary School at Odumase-Krobo in 1938. The founding of the Prempeh College in Kumasi in 1950 was . . . /

was a joint enterprise of the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches. Some of the secondary schools established by the Missions and the Churches were given grants by the government.

In the sphere of teacher training, the efforts of the Missions and the Churches preceded those of the government. The first and second teacher training colleges in the Gold Coast were established by the Basel Mission. The first one was opened at Christiansborg in about 1843 and the second one at Akuropon in Akuapem in 1848. The two were merged as one college at Akuropon in 1856. In 1924 the Methodist Church opened the Wesley College in Kumasi. The Roman Catholic Church opened a teacher training college at Bechem which was the first in what is now the Brong-Ahafo Region. The churches established more secondary schools and training colleges and their efforts, combined with those of the government which came later, prepared students for the University College of the Gold Coast when it was established in 1948. By 1966 the churches had established a good number of secondary schools and training colleges.

The Missions showed interest not only in academic pursuits but also in technical, industrial and vocational training. For instance, the Basel Mission established institutions for the training of masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers, bookbinders etc..

The following figures show the position of Church and . . . /

and government primary and secondary schools and their enrolment in 1947 and the distribution of primary and middle schools, secondary schools and teacher training colleges among the churches in 1966, the year in which the First Republic fell.

A.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS: 1947	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT
Government and Government Assisted Schools	578	87,531
Approved Senior Schools	157	13,661
Non-Assisted Schools (including designated)	2018	97,219
B		
SECONDARY SCHOOLS: 1947	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT
Assisted	10	2,299
Non-Assisted	18	1,851
C		
PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS		
C	H	U
R	C	H
		1966
Presbyterian Church of Ghana		1,031
Methodist		1,131
Roman Catholic		1,154
Anglican		370
D		
S	E	C
O	N	A
R	Y	S
C	H	O
		O
		L
		S
C	H	U
R	C	H
		1966
Presbyterian Church of Ghana		6
Methodist		5
Roman Catholic		16
Anglican		2
E		
TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGES		
C	H	U
R	C	H
		1966
Presbyterian Church of Ghana		8
Methodist		6
Roman Catholic		10
Anglican		2

AN ATTEMPT BY GOVERNMENT TO DETACH THE CHURCHES FROM
THE COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

Church-State relationship in the field of education was strained in the late colonial period as a result of the government's attempt to remove the churches from its educational system. In 1951 the government introduced the "Accelerated Development Plan for Education." The ultimate aim of the plan was compulsory primary education for every child of school age and the responsibilities of the control and management of schools placed on Local Authorities who, by 1954, were expected to pay 40 per cent of the salaries of teachers. Paragraph six of the plan stipulated:

In future no new primary school opened by a denominational religious body or person or group of persons will be eligible for assistance from public funds unless prior approval of the Local Authority concerned under powers delegated by the Central Government has been obtained. It is expected that considerable number of educational unit (i.e. church) schools will be handed over to Local Authorities.

The churches saw this aspect of the plan as designed to push them out of their domain of control and management of schools, a position which they had established and held . . . /

held for years when the government itself had no interest in the education of the people. In essence, it was an attempt by the government to take over all schools and this was what threatened the Church-State relationship. It was not only the churches who saw in this stipulation a threat to the role of religion in schools. Some Opposition members of the Legislative Assembly also interpreted it as opposition to the teaching of religion in schools.

The churches and some individual christians were of the opinion that the departure of the former from the scene of formal education would result in the detachment of religion, with its christian education and character training from the schools. This point was reflected in a resolution presented by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to the Minister of Education thus, "The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast assembled in Synod resolve to approve and support the Christian Council Statement on Christian Education in Primary and Middle Schools." 1

The government argued that since it was responsible for the provision of most of the funds needed for the running of the schools, it should have control over all the schools. But some individual christians contended that the funds from which the government gave grants to the . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Akuropon-Akuapem, 25-29 August 1952, p.22 (i).

the schools were built up with money from the taxpayers who included the christians. Furthermore, as parents and guardians, they had a say in the type of training their children received in their education. On the basis of this, they advocated church control and management of schools which they thought would ensure the type of training they wanted their children to receive in schools.

In reply to the resolution submitted by the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare said:

I am directed by the Minister to refer to your letter dated the 26th September 1952, and to inform you that the resolutions of the Presbyterian Church Synod held in August 1952, have been carefully considered. The Government has noted the views expressed in the valuable statement on Christian Education in Primary and Middle Schools prepared by the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, and the Council has already been so informed With regard to the resolution about management of schools, I am to invite your attention to the recommendations contained in paragraphs 51 and 114 of the Erzuah Report. The Government is aware that these recommendations cannot be completely implemented at this stage . The existing machinery of management is therefore being retained for the present but not extended, and proposals for the remuneration of the supervising and administrative staff of Educational Units are to be referred to the Committee which is to be appointed in accordance with paragraph 13 of the Erzuah Report. 1

1. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Kumasi, 7-13 August 1953, pp. 7-8.

As a result of the opposition of the churches and individual christians to this aspect of the educational policy of the government, the government shifted its ground. The Church schools which were already in existence were to continue to exist as such under the old educational machinery which recognised the managerial role of the churches in schools. But the stipulation that no new school should be established without the prior approval of the Education Authorities was enforced.

MEDICAL WORK

In the African traditional world view, healing and religion have intimate connection. This fact was expressed by R. S. Rattray in relation to the Asante when he said:

The Ashanti doctor who finds out from experience that some leaf or plant or root is a specific for some particular disease, really considers he has discovered some leaf or root or plant with a spirit stronger than the disease spirit. It is spirit acting and reacting upon spirit, not anti-toxin acting on toxin. 1

Medical missions were an important facet of the missionary enterprise and some even regarded them as stronger and more effective than the evangelistic missions. A speaker at a conference in London in 1900 described . . . /

1. R. S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti, p.39.

described medical missionaries as "the heavy artillery of the missionary army". 1

Various reasons have been assigned by various people for medical missions. For example, Professor A. F. Walls has identified four factors which motivated medical missions. Imitative or obedientiary reasons - imitating the example of Christ "who went about doing good" and in obedience to the dominical command to "heal the sick". Humanitarian or philanthropic reasons, calling for necessary response to unnecessary suffering. Utilitarian reason - looking at medical provision in the light of missionary mortality and efficiency. Finally, strategic reasons in situations where medical missions proved to be alternative to and the most attractive of all other forms of missions. 2

As shown in chapter one, a heavy toll of the lives of the missionaries to West Africa was taken as a result of the climate and diseases and thus earning the name the "White Man's Grave". All the four pioneer missionaries who formed the first batch of the Basel Mission to the Gold Coast died within three years. The second . . . /

1. A. F. Walls, "The Heavy Artillery of the Missionary Army: The Domestic Importance of the Nineteenth Century Medical Missionary" in W. J. Shiels (ed.) The Church and Healing, (Studies in Church History 19), Oxford, Blackwells for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1982, p. 290, from Herbert Lankester, in "Students and the Missionary Problem". Address delivered, at the International Student Missionary Conference, London. January 2-6 1900, P. 494.

2. A. F. Walls, op.cit. P. 288.

second batch of three missionaries included a medical missionary C. F. Heinze. Heinze died within six weeks after their arrival on the Gold Coast and P. P. Jager died within four months leaving Andreas Riis as the only survivor. Riis fell seriously sick and wrote expressing his feelings about the series of diseases which afflicted him and describing how he was healed by an African doctor who prescribed cold ablutions and rubbing in of lime and how he recovered on the Akuapem hills. 1 One and a half years later Riis fell seriously sick again and he was treated by an African doctor. Western medicine proved inferior to African medicine and the European doctor became ineffective. Writing about the situation, Riis described how serious his sickness was in April 1834 and how he was cured by the African doctor. He said, "The European Doctor, Dr Tietz, is useless - but few people trust him for treatment, and those he treated have died, but those treated by the African doctor all survived. 2

Widmann, a Basel missionary, wrote in his diary, "My sickness - had to cure myself. It would be good to have a christian doctor here." 3 In a letter written at Akuropon Widmann said "We need more brethren and physician brother here." 4

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1. Riis, Osu, to Inspector, No. 15, 2 December 1832, Basel Mission Archives.
 2. Riis to Inspector, No. 6,a) 10 June 1834, Basel Mission Archives
 3. Mission Magazine, 1844, pp. 187- 192, Basel Mission Archives.
 4. Widmann, Akuropon, to Basel, No. 11.a) 6 November 1843, Basel Mission Archives.

The call for the doctor by the missionaries was a call for help for themselves and not for the people among whom they worked.

Some of the missionaries also had medical knowledge but some of them kept it in the background and used it for the benefit of the people only when it was necessary. For instance Dilger, a Basel missionary, had medical knowledge but he was seen by the people simply as an evangelistic missionary. He occasionally used his medical knowledge to help the people. For example, at Abene (the capital of the Kwawu State), he treated a girl whose foot had been injured when he was on a preaching tour. 1

The churches rendered useful health improvement services to the people in the towns and villages through the teaching of the principles of hygiene and the use of First Aid in emergencies. These were done through the Mission or Church schools. Examples from two Girls' Schools of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast at Aburi and Krobo-Odumase will be helpful. At Aburi, the staff and pupils especially the Red Cross girls engaged in dispensing and treatment of sores in the town. At Krobo-Odumase through the generosity and help of a friend of the school, they were able to start the building of a small house in a village at the foot of the hill on which the school stood. The building was intended . . . /

1. Dilger to Basel, No. 160, 3 July 1880,
Basel Mission Archives.

intended to house a Children's Dispensary which the school hoped to open in 1937. To this end, the school applied for permission to become a branch of the Red Cross Association of the Gold Coast so that they could carry on their health and medical work among the children in the village under the Association.

The Basel Mission started medical work at Aburi but it was abandoned during the First World War when the Basel Missionaries were expelled from the Gold Coast and it was never reactivated. It was only in 1930 that a proper medical work was started by the Christian Mission. Here the work of the Prebyterian Church of the Gold Coast will be taken as a case study. The Church opened a hospital at Agogo in the Asante (now Asante-Akyem) Presbytery of the Church in 1930. The hospital, which is one of the most highly regarded in Ghana today, was opened with one retired doctor from Germany, Dr. Stokes, and a European nurse. Some young men were selected for training to join the staff. Dr. Stokes and his staff were ready to receive patients in August 1930 when electric lights and good water supply were available. An arrangement had already been made for a young doctor to come from overseas to relieve Dr. Stokes. The staff of the hospital worked so efficiently and devotedly that in the following year, a dispensary was opened at Domeabra, a few kilometres from Agogo. The Doctor visited the dispensary once a week. The work was extended to two neighbouring towns, Afidwase . . . /

Afidwase and Kumawu where the Doctor visited once a month. When the Chief of Agogo provided a piece of land, buildings were put up for the settlement and treatment of lepers.

In 1937 the hospital was extended and new buildings provided for a second Surgical Theatre and X-ray room. There was also a room for electrotherapeutics. The work of the hospital was extended to Bompata 1 and this time, Kumawu and Afidwase were visited fortnightly by the Doctor from Agogo. From Kumasi people came to Agogo for treatment. The hospital extended its medical services to two other towns far away from Agogo, in areas where the Presbyterian Church was engaged in a strong evangelistic missionary work. They were Dormaa-Ahenkro (then called Wam Paamu) and Suma-Ahenkro (then called Nweneme). 2 Both towns were visited by a medical team from Agogo twice a year and every visit took five days.

There was a change in the attitude of the colonial government towards the efforts of the churches in the field of medical work in the Gold Coast and this may be seen as a sequel of a memorandum submitted to Lord Moyne, then Secretary of State by the Conference of Missionary . . . /

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1. Bompata is one of the oldest stations of the Basel Mission in Asante.
 2. The two towns are in the Brong-Ahafo Presbytery of the Church which was then part of the Asante Presbytery.

Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland. The Conference addressed itself to public health in the colonies and the memorandum which emerged from it reflected the feelings of the Missionary Societies about the co-operation and partnership which ought to have existed between the churches and the colonial governments. In the memorandum, the Conference stated:

When we turn to the history of the contact of Missions with Government in the field of medicine and public health there has not been the same planned co-operation as in education. Indeed in some countries an opposite tendency can be detected and we think it is true to say that if Government had made it their policy to co-operate with Missions in the development of health services as they have in education, much more would have been accomplished and at less cost, and some serious mistakes would have been avoided. 1

The Conference urged the colonial governments to provide a framework within which they could co-operate and work in partnership with the Churches and Missions for the provision of medical and health services for their peoples.

In April 1942, the Secretary of State distributed copies of the memorandum to the colonial governments and asked for the opinions of the various governors as to how best their governments could avail themselves of the offer of the Churches and Missions of co-operation and partnership in the field of medical work. But due to the Second World War, the matter was suspended until February . . . /

1. Sidney Phillipson, Report on Grants in Aid of the Medical and Health Services provided by Voluntary Agencies in Nigeria, 18 January 1949, GP Lagos, 16/1429/2.000.

February 1947 when it was taken up again by the Secretary of State. He emphasised the urgent need for the colonial government to cooperate with the Churches and Missions in their desire to work together with them to provide health and medical services for the people of Africa. Having distributed copies of the memorandum to the colonial governments together with his express opinion on the subject, the Secretary of State replied to the memorandum:

I very deeply appreciate the help which Mission hospitals have given in the past, and are still giving, to the health and welfare of the peoples of the Colonies If existing Mission hospitals and other institutions are maintained at a standard which is regarded by the Government of the territory as adequate and if the Mission authorities are prepared to admit into their hospitals and other institutions persons of any race or creed and to allow their establishments to be open to reasonable inspection by the Government, then it would be reasonable to regard such establishments (in areas where no duplication with Government establishments was involved) as a part of the Colony's Health services eligible, as such, to received appropriate financial assistance from the Government so far as funds permit. 1

Be that as it may, the policy of the colonial government with regard to medical work in relation to the contribution of the Churches and Missions changed. The government recognised the urgent need for financial assistance to the Churches and Missions in their medical work and actually started to offer such assistance which included capital grants and contributions in respect of certain . . . /

1. Ibid p.23.

certain recurrent expenditure. Thus partnership and co-operation developed between the churches and the government in the field of medical work as they had long before, developed in the field of education. This not only enabled the churches to improve upon their medical work but also enabled them to expand it and to extend it to reach the rural areas.

Following the extension of medical services from Agogo hospital to Dormaa-Ahenkro and the people's favourable response to it, coupled with the Church's concern for the health needs of the people, the Presbyterian Church established a hospital there in 1951. The Dormaa State co-operated with the Church in this enterprise by providing land and financing a building project for the hospital at the cost of £6,000.

Efforts were made by the other churches in the field of medical work. The Methodist Church opened a hospital at Wenchi in the Brong-Ahafo Region, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church established hospitals at Worawora in 1952 and in Adidomi in 1957 both in the Volta Region. The Anglican Church opened a maternity hospital at Mampon in Asante. The Seventh Day Adventists established a hospital at Bekwai in Asante in 1957 and the Baptist Church opened one at Nalerigu in the Upper-East Region. The Roman Catholic Church established a number of hospitals, eg. at Takyiman, Berekum, Nkokoo etc.

When the government realised the good work which the churches . . . /

churches were doing in the provision of health and medical services for the people, it decided to assist and to co-operate with them by granting them financial aid. Thus in 1952 the government granted medical Missions financial assistance to cover expenses and building projects and the maintenance of staff. The following Missions and Churches were given financial assistance in their various fields of medical work according to the Government Medical Report of 1952.

CHURCH/MISSION	AREA OF OPERATION	UNIT OF MEDICAL WORK
Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast	Agogo-Asante Region	General Hospital Maternity and Child Care Centre
Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast	Dormaa-Ahenkro-B/A Region	Hospital
Methodist Church	Wenchi-B/A Region	Hospital
Evangelical Presbyterian Church	Worawora-Volta Region	Hospital
Anglican Church	Mampon-Asante Region	Maternity and Child Care Centre
Salvation Army Mission	Begoro-Eastern Region	Dispensary
Salvation Army Mission	Jasikan-Volta Region	Dispensary
Assemblies of God Mission	Saboba-Northern Region	Dispensary and Maternity
Assemblies of God Mission	Nakpandure-Upper-East Region	Dispensary and Maternity
World Wide Evangelisation Crusade Mission	Kpandai-Northern-Region	Leper Settlement

The work at the Agogo hospital was reinforced by the arrival of five new members of staff from Germany and Switzerland in 1953. 1 A Chapel and a lecture hall in which the pupil nurses attended classes were built and a Catechist was appointed as a Chaplain to the Hospital.

In 1953 a maternity clinic was opened at Bechem by the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. It was staffed with a trained nurse and a midwife for whom the Bechem State built a bungalow. The Presbyterian Church also runs a hospital at Bawku in the Upper-East Region.

CONCLUSION

The subject of this chapter has been the Christian Missions in the Gold Coast and their relations with the traditional and the colonial States from the period of company rule in the nineteenth century to the late colonial period.

It has been observed that both the Danish and the British authorities wanted to advance their political interest and needed the help of the missionaries in that respect but their approach and methods were different. While the Danish authorities regarded the Basel Mission as a department of their administration and tried to bring pressure to bear upon them to further Danish political . . . /

1. The new staff comprised one Assistant Medical Officer, one Matron, one Laboratory Technician and two Nursing Sisters.

political interest, the British authorities did not pressurise the Wesleyan missionaries to serve as British political agents. But it was seen that lack of pressure in the latter case was due to the fact that the interests of the British authorities and those of the Wesleyan missionaries were largely coincident. It was noted that the traditional authorities regarded the Missions as extensions of European political power and looked to the missionaries as intermediaries between them and the European authorities. The missionaries on the other hand, did not consider themselves as political agents of any European political power, but on certain occasions, they played the intermediary role. There was no general pattern or mode of missionary attitude towards the European authorities. The social, political and economic life of the Gold Coast underwent a process of change. This change affected the status of the country and the positions of both the colonial officials and the missionaries of British nationality. Thus the attitudes of individual Missions and missionaries depended to some extent, on the prevailing circumstances as dictated by the political metamorphoses. Nevertheless, the various Missions had their distinctive attitudes towards the European authorities due to their differing political backgrounds and their missionary policies. The missionaries had high regard for the traditional authorities and respected their position and power.

The . . . /

The chapter has elucidated the pioneering work of the Missions in the development of education in the Gold Coast and their partnership and co-operation with the colonial government in that field and in the field of medical and health services. Of particular significance in Church-State relations was the sphere of education where the Missions proved indispensable in the colonial administrative and managerial structure. Through education and evangelisation, the Missions reduced the languages of the people to writing thereby helping to provide not only for the spiritual needs of the people but also their political, economic and intellectual needs. Literary production in the vernaculars increased pride in those languages. Being the introducers, builders, maintainers and managers of formal education in the Gold Coast, the Christian Missions laid the very foundation upon which all sectors of the economy of the country depended and still depend. The holistic education provided by the Missions took into account the spiritual, intellectual, moral, social, economic and political development.

The colonial government needed the resources, expertise and experience of the Missions in its educational machinery and its operation hence the "co-option" of the latter by the former into the system. This phenomenon which developed in the colonial period became a permanent feature in the educational structure and . . . /

and still forms part of the Ghana Education Service. The role of the Local Managers has diminished in some Districts and in such Districts the teachers collect their salaries from the Regional Managers. Where the District Pastors still play their managerial role, they are not given any allowance. But the General Managers and the Regional Managers still play their traditional role of management and in most cases, their offices and those of their staff are located on church premises. In appointing them for employment by the government, the churches have to make sure that they have the requisite qualifications as laid down by the Ghana Education Service. For instance, a Regional Manager should be at least, in the rank of a Principal Superintendent of Education and a General Manager, an Assistant Director of Education. Both the Church and the State complement each other in their common task of educating the future leaders of the nation.

It has been shown that the Christian Missions established and maintained some relations with the traditional and the colonial States. But in their interactions in their relationship, each power structure endeavoured not only to keep its own identity but also to win over the other and get it to follow its way of and attitude to life. This situation which was particularly true of the churches and the traditional States, often resulted in conflicts between the two. It is with some of these conflicts and the areas where they . . . /

they occurred between the churches and the traditional States that the next chapter deals.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN THE GOLD COAST

AND ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the preceding chapter I looked at the Christian Missions in the Gold Coast and their relations with the traditional and the colonial States. In their relationships with the two types of State, individual Missions dealt separately with the various traditional and colonial authorities. From the missionary enterprise emerged the various denominations of the Church and with their growth and expansion, they began to take on the power structure which was hitherto represented by the Missions. The growth of the Church brought the Christian community into triangular relationships in which its allegiance was demanded at all sides. A description of this growth will be helpful at this point.

THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

For the purpose of this thesis, the description of the growth of the Church will cover the period 1911 to 1966.

According to the 1911 census, the population of the Gold Coast was 1,502,286. 1 Of this number, there were 105,237 christians who represented 7% of the total population. The number of Muslims was 75,169 which was 5% of the total population and those who belonged to the old religion numbered 1,322,980 and held 88% of the total population. 2 The 1921 census showed a population of 2,296,400 and within a decade, the number of christians rose to 211,935 which constituted 9.2% of the total population.

1. I am using government and Christian Council of Ghana figures in the statistics and presenting them not as a true reflection of the situation but only as indicative of the trend of the growth or otherwise of religious bodies in the Gold Coast at the time. The accuracy of the figures obtained from census conducted by the government and Church statistics is doubtful. Among other things, unavailability of facilities for the conduct of efficient census at that time made it impossible for the government to arrive at accurate figures. One could not expect government officials to provide correct figures for the religious bodies when they themselves could not. The churches themselves and for that matter the Christian Council of Ghana could hardly give accurate statistical figures because different churches had different methods of registration and different categories of membership. Furthermore, some of the agents of the churches had a negative attitude to church statistics as they thought that high figures could mean high financial demands from the authorities and thus tended to keep figures low. The Christian Council figures represented only full members of the member churches.

2. John Maxwell (Ed), The Gold Coast Handbook 1928, p. 44. David Barrett (Ed), in World Christian Encyclopaedia, p. 323 gives the population of the Gold Coast in 1900 as 2,200,000 of which Christians were 103,000 (4.7%), Muslims 110,000 (5%) and the old religion 1,987,000 (90.3%).

According to the figures, the number of Muslims dropped to 63,609 being 2.8% of the total population and the old religion maintained its 88% with the figure 2,020,856. 1

The distribution of the population and the representation of religious bodies in 1921 were as follows: The population of the Colony was 1,171,913 and of this christians had 189,499 which was 16.2%, Muslims 32,832 being 2.8% and the old religion 949,582 forming 81% of the population. The Northern Territories had a population of 530,355 with christians being 874 - 0.2%, Muslims 25,099 - 4.7% and the old religion 504,382 - 95.1%. In the British Mandated Togoland, the population was 187,939 with christians being 9,652 - 5.1%, Muslims 5,678 - 3.1% and the old religion 172,609 - 91.8%. There was an increase of about 2.5% in the christian population during the decade between 1911 and 1921. Although no comparison can be made between the Muslim population in 1911 and 1921 because of lack of figures from Asante in the latter year, it can be said that probably there was little real difference to warrant its comparison with the rapidly growing christian population.

From the 1931 census, the distribution of the christian . . . /

1. The figures for 1921 do not include Christians and Muslims in Asante because there were no figures available from there. According to the Chief Commissioner of Asanti, C H Harper, the Mission statistics for 1920 showed 11,910 christian population in Asanti. For the figures recorded from the 1911 and 1921 census and further details, see John Maxwell, op.cit. pp. 44-55.

christian population among the various denmoninations in the Church was represented in these figures: Methodist Church 99,207, Roman Catholic Church 85,087; Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast 50,167; Anglican Church 18,459; Ewe (Evangelical) Presbyterian Church 14,637; Salvation Army 9,396; A. M. E. Zion Church 5,478; Seventh Day Adventist Church 1,077 and smaller denominations 403 with a total of 283,911. 1

In 1948 the total population of the Gold Coast was 4,118,450 2 and the christian population in the four sections of the country in relation to their population in percentage was, the Colony 18.5%, Asante 13.7%, British mandated Togoland 20.5% and Northern Territories 3.6%. 3 Between 1931 and 1948 the population of the country increased by 30 per cent while the christian population increased by 126 per cent. 4 The position of the religious bodies in Ghana in 1966 in terms of population in relation to the total population of the country was, Christianity 42.8%, Old Religion 38.2%, Muslims . . . /

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1. David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, pp. 264-265. See also S. G. Williamson, Akan Religion and the Christian Faith, p.11.
 2. Report to His Excellency the Governor by the Committee on Constitutional Reform, 1949, Colonial No. 248, p. 99, Appendix XIII.
 3. S. G. Williamson, op.cit. p.11. See also J.S. Pobee, "The Church and State in Ghana" in J.S.Pobee (Ed.) Religion in Pluralistic Society, p.122.
 4. S. G. Williamson and J. Bardsley, The Gold Coast - What of the Church? p. 8.

Muslim 12%, Others 7%. 1 Within just over half a century from 1911 to 1966, the christian population in Ghana rose from 7 per cent of the total population of the country to 42.8 per cent, illustrating the fact that by the end of the period of this research, Christianity was numerically the most predominant and formidable among all the religions in the country. The distribution of the christian population among the member churches of the Christian Council of Ghana in 1966 was, Methodist Church 73,552; Presbyterian Church of Ghana 53,414; Evangelical Presbyterian Church 31,238; Anglican Church 22,160; Eden Revival (F'eden 1969) Church 15,000; African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1968) 14,316; Salvation Army 8,000, Baptist Church 3,500; African Methodist Episcopal Church (1965) 3,000; Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (1965) 1,160; Mennonite Church 260; Evangelical Lutheran Church (1967) 121 and Society of Friends 27. 2

With the growth of the Christian Church in the Gold Coast came the need for administrative machinery in which matters regarding the life and work of the Church including rules and procedures of discipline and control . . . /

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1. Christian Council of Ghana Newsletter, September 1968, No. 5, p. 24. See also 40 Years - Ghana Christian Council Anniversary Handbook, 1971, p.44.
 2. Ibid. Newsletter pp. 24-25: Handbook p.44. These statistics were based on full membership and the criterion by which it was determined was not the same in all the churches.

control could operate. This necessitated the development of decision making structures and mechanism. Taking the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches as examples, there were the Ministers, Evangelists, Catechists, Local Preachers, Presbyters, Elders, Presbytresses, Class Leaders and others who formed the personnel of the structures. In the Presbyterian Church, the decision making structures were the Session, the Presbytery and the Synod which were known as the courts of the Church (although they were not courts per se). The Session was the local decision making body which was accountable to the Presbytery which took decisions for and on behalf of all the Districts within its jurisdiction. The Presbytery was responsible to the Synod which was the highest decision making body of the Church. The duties of these groups of leaders were defined in the Regulations, Practice and Procedure which was the Church's constitution. These structures started to operate on 14 August 1918. Until 28 July 1961 when the Methodist Church, Ghana, was established as a fully autonomous Church with its own Conference, the Church had the Leaders' Meeting in the Society, Quarterly Meeting in the Circuit and the Synod in the District as decision making structures. In their order of supremacy, the Synod came first, followed by the Quarterly Meeting, then came the local Leaders Meeting. They operated within the scope of the rules which the Synod . . . /

Synod made over the years. These rules were compiled and put into code in 1942 by the Rev. Ernest Sawyer, then Secretary of the Synod under the title Methodist Law and Discipline.

The first Church to move from the Mission structure to a full Church structure in the Gold Coast was the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. This movement started on 14 August 1918 when the first Synod of the Church was held at Akuropon. The Synod was constituted by twenty eight African ministers, twenty four presbyters and two missionaries. Eight African minister were elected to form the Synod Committee which was the executive body of the Church. 1 Two of the eight ministers, the Rev. Peter Hall and the Rev. N. T. Clerk were appointed as the Moderator and the Synod Clerk respectively of the Church. In 1926 the Church adopted the name "The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast". In 1929 the Church's Constitution was completely revised and in 1930 the Synod Committee became . . . /

1. The eight Ministers who were elected to form the first Synod Committee were : The Revs. Peter Hall (Convener) S. Asare, W. Quartey, W. Odjidja, D. Akwa, C.Martinson, L. Richter and N. T. Clerk (Clerk). Referring to paragraph 8 of the Minutes of the Synod Committee of April 1929, Noel Smith asserts that the Synod Committee was composed of eight Africans and three missionaries (Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960, p.160. However, there is no mention of missionary membership of the Synod Committee in the Minutes of the 1918 Synod held at Akuropon in August 1918. See p. 1 of the Minutes. At that Synod there were only two missionaries present, Rev.A.W.Wilkie and Rev. J. Rankin. One wonders why there was no lay representation on the Synod Committee.

became the legal trustees of all the Church's properties. In 1950 the posts of the General Manager of the Church's Schools and its Treasurer were taken over by Africans. This marked the end of the journey to full independence.

Furthermore, from the rapid growth and expansion of the Church arose the need for the establishment of an institutional form which would not only foster cordial relationships and co-operation among its various denominations both locally and abroad, but also create a united front through which they could act as one body on national issues. Such an institutional form would also help the Church to maintain and protect its identity in a situation where missionary activities had resulted in the sprouting of christian communities whose growth and spread were phenomenal. The need was satisfied on 30 October 1929 when the Christian Council of the Gold Coast (C.C.G.C.) was formed to "foster and express the fellowship and unity of the Christian Church in the Gold Coast, to serve as the medium through which the churches may speak on such matters, social, moral, religious, educational and the like as affect the christian cause in the Gold Coast and where necessary, to take joint action". 1

The founding member churches of the Council were :
The . . . /

1. Constitution of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, 1951

The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, the Ewe (Evangelical) Presbyterian Church, the Methodist (Wesleyan) Church, the Anglican Church (English Church Mission) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. The membership of the C. C. G. C. increased and its successor body, the Christian Council of Ghana (C.C.G.) now includes Salvation Army, African Methodist Episcopal Church, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Ghana Evangelical Lutheran Church, Ghana Mennonite Church, F'eden Church and the Society of Friends. Christian organisations affiliated to the Council include the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) and the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.). The Roman Catholic Church and the Ghana Pentecostal Fellowship (comprising the Assemblies of God Mission, Church of Pentecost, Ghana Apostolic Church and Christ Apostolic Church) have observer status.

In the domain of the Roman Catholic Church, the Gold Coast was incorporated as an ecclesiastical province in 1950. This necessitated the establishment of a regular ecclesiastical hierarchy in that year with Cape Coast as the Archdiocesan seat and William Thomas Porter, who was enthroned in 1951 as its first Archbishop. 1 This development was followed by the formation of the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the creation of the National . . . /

1. Ghana Catholic Diary, Accra Catholic Press, 1972 and 1975.

National Catholic Secretariat in 1960. The Conference, which is composed of the nine Catholic Bishops in Ghana is the decision making body of the Catholic Church in the country. Its decisions are passed on to the nine departments which constitute the National Catholic Secretariat. The Secretariat was established as an executive body of the Bishops' Conference charged with the implementation of its policies and decisions. On national issues, the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference became, and are still, the official mouthpiece of the churches they represent. The relationship between the two became stronger after the Second Vatican Council and in 1966 a Committee for Co-operation was formed to facilitate co-operation between the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat and to co-ordinate the activities of the two. 1

The development of decision making structures of the Church and their operation brought the christian community into triangular relationships. On one side of the triangle was the traditional State, on another side was the colonial State and on the third side were the church structures. Caught between the three was the Christian Community which, although they had embraced the Christian faith, still belonged to the traditional . . . /

1. 40 Years - Ghana Christian Council Anniversary Handbook, 1971, PP. 39-40. See also David W. Barret, World Christian Encyclopedia, pp. 324-325.

traditional and the colonial States. Not only did the Community have to relate to all the three structures but it was also expected by all of them to give its allegiance to them. There was no problem with the Church's allegiance to the colonial State because the latter expected only social and political allegiance which the former readily gave. The problem was with the Church's allegiance to the traditional State because, in addition to social and political allegiance, the latter expected the former to give it its religious allegiance which, in traditional culture, was the basis of the social and political allegiance. But the Church was not prepared to give its religious allegiance to the traditional State and its decision making structures did all they could to prevent or resist encroachment by the State. This resulted in various conflicts between the Church and the traditional State. We must now look at some of the areas where these conflicts occurred and how they were dealt with by the three power structures.

THE CHURCH AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT ON THE ISSUE OF

OATHS

One of the factors which brought conflicts between the Church and the traditional States was the swearing . . . /

swearing of oaths, in which the swearer bound himself by the use of the name of a deity and might call down upon himself a punishment. Among the Akan, an oath may have reference to some misfortune or disaster which, according to tradition, occurred in the past. Every traditional State has its own oath which is regarded by its citizens as the national or State oath. The oaths refer to such incidents as death, disease, a misfortune or calamity or injury and the like on the part of an ancestor. In most cases national or State oaths refer to a defeat in war. 1

Under customary law, people cannot make light of oaths because when they are taken, the misfortune and the distasteful incidents which were the origins of the oaths are alluded to. It is a taboo to mention the days on which such incidents took place. 2 But the belief is that the ancestors do not want to be reminded of those bitter experiences and so when people allude to those incidents by swearing oaths, it recalls grievous experiences and this makes the ancestors annoyed or aggrieved. It is believed that such behaviour estranges the ancestors from the community. In view of this, . . . /

1. K. Effa Ababio, "An Enquiry into the Relationship Between Religion and Morality in the Traditional Akan Culture of Ghana and in the Christian Faith", M. Th. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1985, p.197.

2. R. S. Rattray, Ashanti Proverbs, p.130. For detailed discussions on oaths, see R. S. Rattray ibid, pp. 129-132 and J. B. Danguah, Gold Coast: Akan Laws and Customs, pp. 69-83.

this, when an oath was sworn, the Chief and his elders had to look into the matter in connection with which it was sworn and they did this in accordance with native customary law. When justice was done and the necessary punishment was administered and compensations and sacrifices were offered, then the ancestors were satisfied.

For the purpose of this chapter, the concept of oaths may be classified into two main categories namely, oaths connected with nsamanfo (ancestors) and those connected with abosom (divinities) and asuman (fetishes). In both cases oaths are used in various ways the most important of which are as follows: (a) to call an immediate stop to an unlawful act of an aggressor on a weaker party (b) as a means of justifying actions and as evidence or proof of innocence (c) as a means of removing a dispute from the sphere of possible private settlement and securing a trial before a traditional court. The concern of this section of the chapter is with the oaths connected with ancestors.

The conflict between the Church and the traditional States in this respect was that christians were not allowed to swear the oaths and this implied that they could not be brought under their authority and obligation. The traditional authorities argued that the Church respected and recognised the English law of oaths and because of this, it did not claim immunity from . . . /

from oath taking for christians in the courts of law. 1
The question of the traditional authorities was whether
English law on oaths was more "christian" than the
native customary law on oaths. The Church's problem
was with the question of the confusion of the mixture of
the two categories of oaths - those connected with the
ancestors and regarded as national or State oaths and
those connected with divinities and fetishes. In a
reply to a question on oaths in the memorandum submitted
by the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, the Presbyterian
Church of the Gold Coast stated thus:

We agree that the African oath, when separate
from suman and abosom, is to be regarded
as equal with an English oath. We believe,
however, that the use of any oath is a falling
away from Christian standards. If an oath is
sworn on a Christian, he must not swear back;
but as a dutiful subject, he should go and
report the circumstances to the Chief whose
oath was sworn. 2

The traditional authorities interpreted the Church's
attitude to traditional oaths in relation to christians
as a manifestation of its disregard for African
traditional institutions which it considered to be pagan
and its regard for European traditional institutions
which . . . /

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1. A memorandum presented to the Synod of the
Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by Nana Ofori
Atta I at Kyebi on behalf of the State Council of
Akyem Abuakwa, 11 July 1941, paragraph 62, Akyem
Abuakwa State Archives, Kyebi. Also Presbyterian
Church of Ghana Archives, Accra.
 2. The Church in the State - The Reply of the
Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to a
memorandum presented by the State Council of
Akim Abuakwa, p.24, paragraph 71.

which it considered as christian. They also interpreted it to mean an attempt to elevate christians and move them from the jurisdiction and the authority of the traditional States and to confer on them a special privilege which placed them above the authority of the Chief. Furthermore, they saw it as disregard for the position of the ancestors, an attitude which struck at the very roots of the religio-political and social structure of the community. In view of this they saw the Church as a foreign institution which was attempting to destroy the traditional institutions and to establish a new State in which christians could enjoy special privileges. To the traditional authorities, this state of affairs was a threat not only to the institution of chieftaincy and all its customs and traditions but it was also a cultural imperialism whereby African culture was subordinated to European culture.

The conflict between the Church and the traditional authorities on the question of oaths was so great that the Government of the Gold Coast had to intervene. On 2 March 1912 the Governor of the Gold Coast J. T. Thorburn and some of his senior officials held a meeting with the leaders of the Churches and Missions in Kumasi on the issue of oaths in relation to christians. At the meeting the following rules were made:

- (i) That no christian be obliged to swear back an oath
- (ii) That on an oath being sworn against him, a christian should be bound to accept it as a summons to attend court.

(iii) That in failure thereafter to attend the court, an official of the court should be sent to summon him, the christian, to pay the cost of sending the message.

(iv) That Chiefs should be warned that the failure of a christian to swear back an oath should in no way prejudice his case when heard on its merits.

(v) That no christian be called upon to perform any fetish rite or service, but shall be bound to render customary service to his chief on ceremonial occasions when no elements of fetish practice is involved. That an effort should be made to draw a distinction between fetish and purely ceremonial services. 1 These rules were passed on a resolution which was signed by those who attended the meeting. 2

From the list of the signatories to the resolution, it can be seen that the traditional authorities were not represented and that all who attended were Europeans.

To . . . /

1. Minutes of Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Kumasi, 7-13 August, 1951 pp.15-16. See also The Church in the State - The Reply of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to a memorandum presented by the State Council of Aklim Abuakwa, p. 24. Again see Regulations Practice and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1955, pp. 107-108.

2. The signatories to the resolution were as follows:

J. J. Thorburn	Governor of the Gold Coast
F. C. Fuller	Chief Commissioner of the Gold Coast
G. R. Griffith	Acting Police Magistrate
Capt. E. H. Hobert	District Commissioner, Central Province
Lieut. A. W. Norris	Assistant District Commissioner, Central Province
Rev. G. Josenhas	Easel Mission
Rev. E. Groh	Basel Mission
Rev. F. Yost	Basel Mission
Rev. J. D. Russel	Wesleyan Mission
Rev. Father Albaniz	Roman Catholic Mission
Rev. Father Vogel	Roman Catholic Mission

To the traditional authorities, this confirmed the idea that the Church was in league with the colonial government in an effort to get rid of some of the customs and traditions of the people of the Gold Coast. It also created the impression that although it had been in the country for almost a century, the Church by and large represented Western influence and foreign ideas and concepts. The fact that the controversy over the question of oaths in relation to christians kept arising in various traditional States after 1912 reflects the position of the traditional authorities and their attitude to a resolution to which they were not signatories.

What made the situation more complicated was that under the principle of the so-called Indirect Rule, traditional States had authority and power in matters pertaining to native customary law. But in spite of this fact, the decisions of the traditional authorities were subject to the approval of the government. To ensure effective control over native affairs, the government created the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs to whom the traditional authorities were subordinate. Later in the chapter, it will be shown that the government demonstrated its power over the traditional authorities by overriding their ruling in favour of the Church.

THE CHURCH AND SOME ASPECTS OF AFRICAN CULTURE

The . . . /

The Church frowned upon drumming and dancing which were some of the important aesthetic elements of African culture on the grounds that they were often associated with certain elements of traditional life which were considered to be incompatible with the Christian faith and christian living. For this reason, drums were forbidden on church premises. The presupposition was characteristic of the modus operandi of the machinery of the missionary enterprise and continued among the African leaders of the churches. For example, the Basel missionary Adolf Mohr was pleased with the progress of the evangelisation ministry and the impact which Christianity had already started to have on the life of the people. He reported that positive belief in fetishes was declining and that two fetishes were actually brought to him in the course of the year 1881 by their owners to whom they had become useless after their conversion. In the same report Mohr wrote, "But Christianity demands too much for many of them. For example, the Begoro people have a number of public festivals in which dancing plays an important part, which are led by "clubs" and it is very difficult for the people to break away from them". 1 In the thinking of the missionary, Christianity demanded the breaking away from customs and traditions which involved dancing.

1. Mohr to Basel, Year's Report of the Station for 1881, 2 January 1882, No. 238, Basel Mission Archives.

This belief was implanted in the minds of the christians and among the African leadership of the Churches, the tendency was to hold on to it. For instance, the Synod of the Scottish Mission (Presbyterian) Church, in August 1919 "took a firm stand against dancing whether connected with band or ball. It led to immorality and looseness, and we went against it by admonition, suspension from the Lord's Supper and exclusion." 1 This is not surprisng when one realises that, pietist/evangelical groups tended to oppose even Western dancing. This mentality was exported to the mission fields.

It is worth looking at one example of the Church's hostile attitude to African culture. This was vigorously demonstrated in the treatment given to Ephraim Amu by the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast. Amu, an educationist and talented musician comes from Peki Avetile in the Volta Region. He originally belonged to the Ewe (Evangelical) Presbyterian Church and was seconded to the Scottish Mission Church (Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast) to join the staff of the Training College and Seminary at Akuropon in the Akuapem State in 1925. He thought the time was overdue to incorporate some of the elements of African culture into the life and work of the Church especially . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod of the Scottish Mission Church, Christiansborg, 12-14 August 1919, Minute 23.

especially into christian worship and to use African rhythm and Western harmony in the composition of songs instead of doing every composition in European idiom. He also saw the need to use African musical instruments and to project African personality in the worship of the Church. What is more, he was disturbed by the plight of the illiterate members of the Church who could not read the words of the hymns in the hymn books and thus could not participate fully in singing the praises during worship. As a solution to the problem of the illiterate christians, he decided to compose songs with melodies and words very close to the indigenous lyrics which they could easily understand, appreciate, enjoy singing and to which they could relate in their own cultural setting. He so successfully and impressively accomplished this feat that after the service at which one of such songs was sung by Amu and his students in the Akuropon Presbyterian Church, the 81 year old retired Minister and the first Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, the Rev. Peter Hall, happily and joyfully congratulated Amu and said, "I have never heard such a beautiful song". 1

Amu, who had obtained the text on which the sermon at the service was going to be based, took the theme of the . . . /

1. Fred Agyemang, Amu the African - A study in vision and courage, p. 69.

the text 1 as the title of his song and composed it and taught his students before the service on that Sunday. Explaining the motive behind his endeavour in this respect Amu said. "I intended the theme of the text to be the title of my new song so that with a good preacher . . . explaining the text, that words and melody of my new song would reinforce his sermon and make church service more meaningful to the illiterate worshippers; at least to make them sing and appreciate fully and be more involved in the corporate worship". 2 Here a biblical text had been taken and put into the language and musical idiom of the African and sung in the worshipping spirit and joyful mood of the African.

By 1932 Amu had produced a number of indigenous songs and he introduced the teaching of drumming in the Presbyterian Training College at Akuropon. But the Church did not approve of this programme in the College and asked Amu to stop it. One Saturday afternoon when the Rev. Peter Hall was having a stroll on the college campus, he heard Amu's students practising drumming. He was so surprised and disturbed that he said "O may the good God take me away from this sinful world." 3 To the old Minister of missionary influence, traditional drumming . . . /

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1. The text was 1 Peter 5 : 8 and the theme was "Be watchful of your adversary, the devil prowling like a lion seeking someone to devour." The title of the song was Onipa da wo ho so (Man be on your guard).
 2. Fred Agyemang, op. cit. p. 68.
 3. Ibid. p.63.

drumming was a sin. The authorities of the Church considered Amu's drumming programme and the use of African musical instruments as a clear way of introducing heathen practices in the Church. They felt so strongly about the matter that it was brought before the Synod of 1933 at Nsaba. The negative attitude of the authorities towards drumming was shown in the deliberations of the Synod in which the Moderator (the Rev. C. E. Martinson) abhorred the teaching of drumming. The Acting Principal of the College explained the position of Amu saying that his concern was that African customs should be purified and used in the service of the Church. When he said that Amu would leave the College if he was not permitted to carry on with his programme, the Synod readily accepted his decision. 1

It is significant that the critics and opponents of Amu in his utilisation of some elements of African culture in the life and work of the Church were not missionaries but African christian leaders. As will be shown later, most of his supporters were missionaries. The Moderator's argument against drumming at the Synod was supported by only 2 of the 39 Presbyters. There is no mention in the minutes of any support from any of the 17 missionaries present at the Synod neither is it recorded . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Nsaba, 11-13, October 1933, p.17, Minute 17 (d).

recorded that any of the 43 African ministers spoke either in support of or against the Moderator's stance. This shows that at least some of the delegates were against his view on drumming. But they did not speak out their minds probably because they did not want to disturb the status quo. The anti drum support was almost entirely lay.

The desire of Amu to bring some aspects of African culture into the life of the Church was not restricted to music and drumming. It extended to the native costume. It was his belief that Africans should be free to worship God in their true African colour and atmosphere. In view of this he thought that an African preacher should be allowed to mount the pulpit and preach in his African attire. With this conviction, on one Sunday in 1931, Amu mounted the pulpit of the Akuropon Presbyterian Church and preached in his African attire (ntoma). Immediately after the service, Amu was summoned to appear before the Session at which the retired ex-Moderator Peter Hall spoke to him in the following words:

My son Amu, we all know your fine ability, your musical gifts and accomplishments, your good christian influence over your students, your work as organist in the Church and leadership of the singing band. But we were quite taken aback to see you conduct Sunday service today in a native cloth which is so unbecoming of you, a teacher at the Seminary where students are trained for the Church's congregations and schools. We hope and pray you will not do this thing again. . . . /

again. After all, you may soon join us as an ordained Minister. 1

Amu gave his reasons for taking the service in native attire basing his argument on the need for indigenisation and the climatic conditions which made the use of European attire in that respect unsuitable. Thereupon the Session replied, "Since our mentors the Basel missionaries came here in 1828 they did not allow their teachers and ministers to wear native attire in public. It is never done. A church worker - teacher, catechist or minister - should always appear dressed modestly as a servant of God." 2 Needless to say that to the members of the Session, modest dressing befitting a servant of God was a European attire. Another point is that it is difficult to understand why church workers were not allowed to wear native attire in public while in private they did.

The matter came before the Synod Committee which decided that Amu should never again preach in African attire. This decision was taken in 1931 and in July 1933 Amu addressed a petition to the Synod Committee in which he argued that it was not against the will of the Spirit of Christ for an African to preach in an African attire to his fellow Africans in similar attire, neither was it a feature of degeneration in christian life. He acknowledged the fact that there were many things in the Africa . . . /

1. Fred Agyemang, op.cit.p.74.

2. Ibid. p. 75

Africa of the past which were either evil in themselves or were associated with evil. But he was also of the opinion that many of such things were capable of being purified and made sublime by the purifying Spirit of Christ, making them worthy of preservation and bringing them into a civilisation which was free from imitation, based on and grown out of Africa and containing the best that Africa had to contribute and adopting the best and the most desirable elements of other civilisations. In concluding his petition, Amu acknowledged the authority of the Synod Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast and stated:

Whilst it is their duty to check as far as they can, anything that tends to destroy the smallest part of the glorious inheritance of the Church, they are equally ready to support anything which, prompted of the Spirit of Christ, comes to help to edify this glorious inheritance I therefore earnestly appeal to your christian sympathy and ask you to withdraw the resolution which forbids preaching from the pulpit in African attire. 1

The authorities of the Church dismissed Amu from the Training College on the grounds that he had not only introduced the practice of preaching in African attire or cloth which, in their opinion, offended the majority of the christian community but he had also introduced the teaching of drumming and dancing in the College the result of which, according to the Synod Committee of the Church, would be "detrimental to the Church." 2 Almost all . . . /

1. Ibid, pp. 89-90.
2. Ibid. pp. 90-91

all the critics and opponents of Amu were Africans while most of his supporters were Europeans. For example, J. A. R. Watt, the Acting Principal of the Training College at the time of Amu's dismissal was one of his supporters. He held that it was largely by Amu's influence that the churches in the Gold Coast came to see that church praise need not be the singing of staid translations of European hymns to European tunes. Commenting on the reaction of the authorities of the Church to Amu's preaching in African attire, Watt said, "The elders objected, seemingly on the ground that European ways were christian and good, and everything African was heathen and evil The matter was eventually raised in the Synod Committee of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast I happened at that time to be Acting Principal of the College and so was on the Synod Committee as adviser. I tried to defend Amu." 1 In defending Amu at the Synod Committee meeting, Watt maintained that he was a very valuable and efficient member of staff and an excellent christian influence and that things European were not necessarily good. According to Watt, "the Scottish missionaries were wholly behind Amu." 2 Another example of Amu's support came from the Rev. William M. Beveridge who was the former's teaching colleague . . . /

1. Ibid p. 95

2. Ibid p. 95

colleague in the College. Commenting on the events which led to Amu's dismissal he stated, "His character was a tower of strength to the College and his varied gifts a great asset His love for all things African including dress and dancing led to the unfortunate clash with the Synod Committee which led to the loss of his college post. He will always be remembered as a wonderful man and a great pioneer." 1 As soon as Amu was dismissed by the authorities of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, he was offered a teaching post at Achimota without applying for it. The appointment was offered him by the Principal, the Rev. A. G. Fraser on the recommendation of W. E. F. Ward, both Europeans.

The only African supporter of Amu who went on record was Divine Puplampu who was his colleague in the Presbyterian Training College at Akuropon. He was so perturbed by Amu's dismissal that he aired his feelings in The Gold Coast Spectator. For expressing his support for Amu, he was suspended for six months without pay by the Synod Committee and was eventually demoted and transferred from the College to a middle school. 2

Missionaries have been blamed for the Church's negative attitude towards African culture. But here were missionaries supporting the cause of African culture in the Church. This is one of the areas where the . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 97

2. Ibid. p. 101

the complexities and complications of the subject of the relations of the Churches and Missions with traditional African States are seen. In the light of this evidence, it must be said that in certain situations and to some extent, missionary attitude to African culture depended on the disposition and personal prejudice of individual missionaries. Those who had respect for African culture did not hesitate to express it.

As a result of his strong desire to show in a pragmatic way that African culture had an immense contribution to make to the life and work of the Church, Ephraim Amu suffered dismissal from his teaching post. But his experiment with tunes and lyrics in African idiom was continued and developed by O. A. Boateng and R. O. Danso of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast and it became the first indigenous contribution to church worship. 1

Notwithstanding the Church's negative attitude to African drums, some African christians thought that African drums could be used in various ways in christian worship. Expressing his view on the issue, J. H. Nketia wrote :

I would certainly like to encourage the poetic use of the drum in creating an atmosphere of worship where necessary
.... - Drummed at appropriate moments
it can help the African as he tries to
'concentrate every faculty on Christ
during . . . /

1. Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1935-1960, p. 179.

during the short period of worship'
.... Invariably singing accompanied
or combined with drums has implications
of movement which may be articulated in
bodily movements - a simple wagging
of the head, the toes, the shoulder or
in more vigorous dancing. 1

African drums could have been effectively used in christian worship if the Church had had the time and the desire to study the African culture with a view to blending the desirable elements of it with some of the facets of its life. For instance in worship, the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' Creed, some of the Psalms, the Beatitudes, etc., could be impressively communicated or recited on the talking drums to contribute to the richness and the enlivenment of the worship and to put it into another African perspective. This and many other elements of African culture could have been positively and constructively used by the Church as a means to a purely African expression of worship and as a move towards indigenisation.

Since the 1970s, drumming and dancing and the use of African musical instruments have been permitted in the churches and they take place at an appropriate stage in the course of a service. This change of attitude on the part of the historic churches may be attributed partly to Amu's efforts and the impact of his contribution . . . /

1. J. H. Nketia, "The Contribution of African Culture to Christian Worship" in International Review of the Missions, July 1958, Vol. XLVII, No. 187, pp. 275-276.

contribution and partly to the challenge posed by the indigenous churches. The use by these churches of various elements of African culture in their worship made them truly African and thus attracted and drew people to their congregations including people from the historic churches. The latter realised that some of their members were leaving them and joining the former which they found more lively and more African. This state of affairs made the historic churches reconsider their attitude to African culture in its various aspects especially to drumming and dancing. They saw the need to study some aspects of African culture and to see what could be incorporated into their life and work and how best this could be done. An example of this change of attitude is that talking drums, which were banned in the Presbyterian Training College at Akuropon in 1933 are used in the Trinity College 1 Chapel to call the staff and students to worship. 2.

1. Trinity College is the only joint Protestant Theological College in Ghana.

2. My own experience relating to this subject can be cited here as an example. During the summer vacation of 1975, as a theological student training for the Ministry, I did a parish work as part of my training in the Duayaw Nkwanta District of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana under a senior Minister, the late Rev. Ofori - Yentumi who was the District Pastor. There were morning services between the hours of 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. from Monday to Saturday. For the first few mornings I attended the service without a tie on. After one of the services, the minister called me and told me that I should attend the morning services with a tie on. I humbly asked him why I should do that and his answer was that a civil servant always appeared before his superior officer in jacket and tie and so christians should be in tie for service. The point is that he wanted me to appear in a European dress for the morning service.

THE CHURCH AND THE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT AND THE QUESTION
OF THE RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY OF THE ASANTE CONFEDERACY
COUNCIL

The Asante Confederacy Council was composed of the paramount chiefs of the various traditional States which formed the Asante Union. The principle of the unity of the Confederacy was the common allegiance which the various States owed to the Asantehene who was its head. At its session in September 1941, the Council decided to revive the customs of observing Thursday as a sacred day for the Earth (Asaase Yaa 1). It was a traditional belief that the earth came into existence on Thursday and therefore that day should be observed as a day of rest for the earth on which it should not be disturbed. For this reason, no work on the farm was permitted throughout Asante. In January 1942 the Asante Confederacy Council (A. C. C.) wrote to the various churches in Asante informing them of its ruling on the observance of Thursday as a sacred day for Asaase Yaa. The A. C. C. stated that the observance of the day had nothing to do with fetishism and so christians were equally bound to observe it in accordance with an order which had been made to that effect. The order was made under the Native Authority (Ashanti) Ordinance. The penalty . . . /

1. Yaa is the natal day name for a girl born on Thursday and as the earth was believed to have come into existence on Thursday, the name Yaa was given it.

penalty for infringing the Order was a fine not exceeding £25 or in default, three months' imprisonment or both fine and imprisonment.

Representatives of the churches met in March 1942 to discuss the imposition of the Order and decided that the churches could not accept it not only on the basis of its religious implications but also the fact that it was contrary to the ruling which was made in 1912 by the Governor at a meeting with the representatives of the churches (as shown above). In October 1942, representatives of the churches, comprising four Africans and four Europeans met and presented a memorandum to the A. C. C. on the issue. In the memorandum the churches pointed out that freedom of religion which was implicit in British law had not been acknowledged by native customary law and that there was a division between christians and non-christians in the various traditional States. They deplored the division in the society which had resulted from misunderstanding and lack of religious freedom. As a means of bridging the gap, the representatives assured the chiefs that they would impress upon their members their duty to the traditional States. They urged the chiefs to reciprocate this by accepting as a fact the existence of christians in their States and laying down ways in which they could show their allegiance to their chiefs without at . . . /

at the same time offending their christian conscience. 1
The memorandum made it clear to the chiefs that the
churches could not accept the Order of the Confederacy
Council regarding the observance of a sacred day of
Asaase Yaa because if they did, that would mean a
confession of faith in Asaase Yaa and her relation to
harvest and famine, and therefore a denial of the
Fatherhood and providential care of God. 2

At its meeting in November 1942 the Confederacy
Council met the representatives of the churches who
spoke to the memorandum. The chiefs tried to defend
the Order by advancing various arguments to show that
Asaase Yaa was neither a fetish nor a divinity. They
said that it was not worshipped and had no priests and
no sacrifices were offered to it. They went further,
arguing that Thursday was a national day which was
associated with the memory of Osei Tutu, the first great
King of Asante. As neither side was prepared to
compromise, no agreement could be reached.

The chiefs selected ten of their number to form a
committee and to meet with the representatives of the
churches. Four of the ten chiefs were christians while
some of the remaining six had passed through Church or
Mission schools. At a meeting of the representatives
of . . . /

1. Harry Belshaw, "Church and State in Ashanti", in
International Review of Missions, Vol. XXXV,
October 1946, p. 411.

2. Ibid. p. 412

of the churches and the committee, the chiefs changed their stance and argued that the observance of the sacred day of Asaase Yaa was not a religious but a national affair and therefore had no religious significance. Confronted with the question as to how and why and when the observance came to be national and non-religious, the chiefs said that no Asante could disclose in public the reasons for the observance of Thursday as a sacred day, but in order to impress its importance upon the people, the traditional authorities gave it a religious sanction by associating it with Asaase Yaa and its taboo by which the earth could not be disturbed on Thursday. In an attempt to make the observance acceptable to the Church, the chiefs suggested that it would be possible to separate the national day and the religious taboo. In other words, they could drop the religious term Asaase Yaa, and they appealed to the Church to help them to make this separation of concepts.

The Church neither accepted the invitation, nor accepted the separation of ideas proposed by the chiefs. The Church took this stand for the following reasons. If it was really a national day, there ought to be a history behind it but the chiefs said that the history could not be disclosed. Since the history could not be disclosed, there was no historical basis on which to accept the authenticity of the observance as a national day. What is more, it sounded awkward to speak of a weekly . . . /

weekly national day. Since the circumstances surrounding the observance of Thursday as a sacred day could not be disclosed in public, the Church could not sanction the observance of an occasion which was shrouded in secrecy. If the traditional authorities had nothing to hide, why could they not disclose the circumstances or the history? Furthermore, the fact that originally the observance had no religious meaning but had later been given such a meaning just to impress its importance on the people was seen by the Church as a calculated deception and misuse of religion. It could not allow its members to observe something which they did not understand. The Church did not see the necessity in the separation because if the religious meaning was taken away nothing would remain and therefore there would be nothing to observe. In other words, if the observance had lost its religious meaning it should cease. Finally, it was difficult to understand why the observance and its taboo should apply to farmers only and not to other workers who also used the earth on Thursday. For example, masons, carpenters, road builders, grave diggers, drivers, etc., could go about their normal work on Thursday though all these workers disturbed the earth in the course of their work. Why was it that farmers alone could not work on Thursday? If it was really a national day which had no religious . . . /

religious significance, why did it not apply to people of all walks of life? The meeting could not make any progress in resolving the conflict.

Since the meeting could not find any solution to the problems, another meeting was arranged between the committee of chiefs and the representatives of the churches. This meeting also could not settle the matter. Although there was mutual respect among the two groups neither was prepared to compromise. On the part of the Church, the matter was crucial. The Church believed that it was its duty to secure religious freedom and toleration for christians. But in doing so it was asserting its authority vis-a-vis the authority of the traditional States. The latter claimed religious authority over the christians but the former did not accept such authority. 1 The traditional authorities believed that the Church's rejection of the observance of Thursday as a sacred day would encourage disloyalty to and lack of unity with the traditional States among the christians. Reacting to this the Church declared in the memorandum.

We believe that a systematic understanding of the Christian position with regard to this day, resulting in a dispensation from the present law, would be the first step towards the new co-operation between Christians and the State which we earnestly desire to see.
If . . . /

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1. It is interesting to note that Muslims did not challenge the religious authority of the traditional States the way the Church did. They did not raise any objection to the observance of Thursday as a sacred day of Aaase Yaa.

If at the same time some definite communal undertakings were suggested to the Christians by which they could show in concrete form their sense of unity with the whole nation, we believe that the chiefs would be re-assured of the loyalty of the Christians to themselves and the State. 1

No solution to the problem was reached and as each side maintained its claim, a compromise was not possible.

That the matter was brought to an end was due to the intervention of the government. All orders of the Confederacy Council needed the sanction of the Chief Commissioner to give them effect. The Chief Commissioner vetoed the order and the Confederacy Council had to withdraw it. In a statement declaring the government's stand on the issue, the Governor said, "It was and is the duty of the Government to protect the interest of the minority who feel it against their conscience, belief and creed to observe such heathen rites." 2 As a result of the government's veto of the Order, the Asante Confederacy Council issued another Order part of which read, "That the observance of Asaase Yaa Day and other customary holidays, such as Kwabena, be made optional." 3 This was a great triumph of the Church. It had successfully challenged the religious authority of the traditional States in Asante and . . . /

1. Harry Belshaw, *op.cit.* p.412

2. Cited in Minutes of Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Kumasi, 1953, p. 16.

3. *Ibid.* p. 16.

and had stood firmly on its ground in maintaining its identity in the midst of native customs, laws and traditions.

In their desire to keep the identity of the traditional States, the authorities were determined to maintain the status quo in all spheres of traditional life without concessions to christians. On the other hand, the Church recognised the fact that in some of its customs and traditions, the old religion required an allegiance and worship to certain spiritual beings which christians could not give on the basis of their faith in and in obedience to the commandment of God. This view of the Church as regards the old religion can be confirmed by Dr, Busia's conception of the religion of the Asante:

The religion of the Ashanti is mainly ancestor-worship, and the position of the Chief gains significance within the organised ceremonies by which the people express their sense of dependence on their ancestors. 1

This was one of the causes of the conflicts between the Church and the traditional States.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DUTIES AND
RELIGIOUS DUTIES.

Another cause of conflict was the distinction between . . . /

1. K. A. Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, p. 23.

between social and political duties and purely religious duties. According to traditional belief there was no division between the sacred and the secular. The social, economic and political life of the people had a religious basis and religion permeated the whole of life. The African heritage is intensely and pervasively religious. 1 In the light of this the traditional authorities could not distinguish between those claims of native customary law which were associated with the ancestors, divinities etc., and which were not. The problem was that while the traditional authorities could not make the distinction, the Church also made no attempt to study the customs, traditions, institutions, law and constitution of the people in order to know which ones constituted idolatory and therefore incompatible with the Christian faith and which did not. This state of affairs placed the christians in a difficult and confused situation especially among those who lived in the rural areas. As citizens of the traditional States, the christians ought to perform their political duties and fulfil their social obligations. Their problem was how they could distinguish between social and political duties and purely religious duties, but a solution to this problem was . . . /

1. K. A. Busia, Africa in Search of Democracy, p. 1.

was proposed by the traditional authorities.

In the incident just cited the Confederacy Council were prepared to make the distinction between the two spheres. The authorities were willing to separate the national day and the religious taboo by dropping the religious terms Asaase Yaa and appealed to the Church to help them to make the separation. It was the representatives of the churches who were insisting on the wholeness of the socio-political and religio-cultural life of the traditional society on the grounds that the observance of the day had some connections with divinities which could not be overlooked. 1 The inability of the chiefs to disclose the history behind the observance strengthened this thought. The move made by the chiefs with regard to the separation of the two spheres could have been a good opportunity for the Church and which could have been used to make further distinctions, thereby bringing an end to certain undesirable customs and reforming others. For example it could have led to the dropping of the religious element in berayo (puberty rite for girls). 2 Among the Akan, every girl was expected to go through her puberty rite before she could become pregnant. If she became pregnant before the time of her puberty rite, it was . . . /

1. Harry Belshaw, *ibid.* p. 413.

2. For a detailed account on berayo and its rites, see R. S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti, Chapter VII.

was considered a heinous offence known among the Asante and the Bono as kyiribera. In the old days if a girl was involved in kyiribera, she and her partner had to pay heavy fines and go through various disgraceful rites. Among others, their heads were shaved and they had to offer a sheep for a sacrifice the blood of which was smeared on their heads. They were marched through the streets and hooted at. In certain situations they were banished from the town or village. The kyiribera affair was one of the crucial issues of controversy between the Church and the traditional authorities.

Some time between 1955 and 1956 a daughter of the Senior Presbyter of the Presbyterian Church in Tuobodom in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana by the name of Opanyin Kwaten was involved in Kyiribera. The traditional authorities were determined to force the girl to go through the various rites and to pay heavy fines. The father objected to this demand and reported the matter to the District Pastor at Sunyani. The Church took the matter up and after a long period of dispute, the case was settled in favour of the Church and the girl was freed from the entanglement and the disgrace of kyiribera. 1 If the religious aspect of kyiribera which concerned the ancestors and the divinities . . . /

1. I was an eye witness to this incident as a boy.

divinities could be dropped leaving the social and the moral aspects, most of the conflicts between the Church and the traditional authorities on the issue and the problems involved could have been avoided or resolved. The opportunity offered to the Church by the Asante Confederacy Council in 1942 to help to make a distinction between social and political duties and purely religious duties could have been a step forward in the gradual removal of the obstacles which were placed in the way of christians in the performance of their social and political duties to the traditional States as their loyal members. Nevertheless the Church was victorious in the matter of the observance of the day of Asaase Yaa and christians were free to ignore it.

THE CHURCH AND TRADITIONAL FESTIVALS

The traditional authorities complained about the Church's insistence that christians should not take part in traditional festivals. They held that the festivals were memorials of past events or marked the changing year and were not brought about by the conduct of fetishes or divinities. Christians were not forbidden to take part in ceremonies which were merely memorials of historic events of the past or symbols of national unity which had nothing to do with idol worship. But the problem was how to know which aspects of the festivals . . . /

festivals had some connections with fetishes or divinities and which aspects had not. Even festivals such as Odwira, Adae, Kwafie, Fofie, Munufie etc., which were associated with the ancestors were difficult for christians to accept as purely memorials of past events. Even if they were meant to venerate the ancestors, the Church could not reconcile the worship of God with ancestor veneration. In July 1941 the Omanhene of the Akyem Abuakwa State, Nana Ofori Atta I presented a memorandum to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast held at Kyebi on behalf of his State in which he asked the Church to reconsider its stance as regards the christian attitude to a number of traditional institutions and customs. Referring to the Odwira festival, the Omanhene said "it was a yearly festival to denote the end of the year, and the blessings of God for the good harvests".¹ But in contrast to this definition of the Odwira festival, Dr. J. B. Danquah writes :

Although it might be correctly described as a thanksgiving festival, it is really an occasion for the public annual worship of the great tutelary gods of the nation, the sanctification of stools and their holders, and purification of the people from the transgressions of the past year Ancestor-worship is employed as a religious means of purifying the souls of the people and bringing them in closer communion with their ancestry, history and tradition, and their . . . /

1. Memorandum presented to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, 11 July 1941, paragrph 12.

their spiritual connection with beings higher than themselves. 1

If what Danquah says about the Odwira festival is true, then the Church had a strong case not to allow christians to participate in it. How could christians take part in a ceremony which was the public annual worship of the gods of the nation? And how could the Church allow christians to take part in a festival in which ancestor-worship was employed as a religious means of purifying the souls of the people?

One of the strong points of the Church against some of the traditional ceremonies was the wording of the prayers which were offered at such ceremonies. The pouring of libation and the offering of sacrifices were accompanied by prayers and the participation of christians in these ceremonies depended very much on the words used in the prayers. This was important because the words were uttered on the basis of the belief of the participants. R. S. Rattray records a prayer which was offered by an Asante Chief at an Adae festival as follows: Me nananom asamanfo, nne ye Awukudae, mo megye eto nni, na mo ma kuro yi nye yiye, na mo ma mmaa nwo mma, na nnipa a ye wo kuro yi nmu nyinaa nya sika". (My spirit granduncles, today is the Wednesday Adae, come and receive this mashed plantain and eat; let this town prosper; and permit the bearers of children to bear children; and may all the people who are in this

1. J. B. Danquah, Akan Laws and Customs, pp. 129-130.

town get riches). 1 The point was that such a prayer reflected ancestor worship. In the prayer and the sacrifice, the invocation, adoration and petition were directed to the ancestors. In the Church, prayers of all forms and situations are directed to God through Jesus Christ, and since in the Adae festival prayers and sacrifices with all the accompanying adoration and devotion were directed to the ancestors, christians would not participate in them without offence to their christian conscience and biblical teaching.

Some scholars such as Dr. Peter Sarpong (Catholic Bishop of Kumasi) 2 and the others have adopted the term "veneration" . . . /

1. R. S.Rattray, Ashanti, p. 96. See also The Church in the State - The Reply of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to the memorandum presented by the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, August 1942, p. 7.

2. Bishop Sarpong does not believe that ancestors are worshipped and so he prefers to use the term "veneration" He writes "As I do not believe that ancestors are 'worshipped' I prefer the term 'ancestor veneration'" (Peter Sarpong, Ghana in Retrospect, p. 33 (footnote). Furthermore, he asserts, "The Ghanaian does not worship his ancestor as christians worship God or Moslems Allah. He venerates them, honours them and respects them, and this deferential attitude occupies a big part of his religious life." (Ibid. p. 42). But in spite of this assertion, Bishop Sarpong agrees that, "The dead may be worshipped all together by family, clan or community to which they belonged while alive For the most part, it consists in the provision of food solemnly given to the ghosts. On the other hand the worship of individual ancestors is much more common. This individual worship, may be combined with communal worship. In Ashanti both the individual worship of ancestors and the communal one are practised, the former being the more usual". (Peter Sarpong, The Sacred Stools of the Akan, p. 50). This contradiction is not surprising when one realises that Bishop Sarpong published his book in which he agreed with the term "ancestor-worship" three years before he published the one in which he discarded the term.

and others have adopted the term "veneration" in place of the term "worship" in the relationship between the ancestors and the living. This is an attempt to give a different interpretation to the attitude of the living towards the ancestors so as to make it acceptable to the Church and to christian conscience. But the point is that the ancestors are both venerated and worshipped by those who believe in their relationship with them. The word "veneration" means regarding a person or a thing with deep respect and honouring him or it as hallowed or sacred. The word "worship" on the other hand means homage or service paid to a deity and the acts, rites or ceremonies involved in such homage or service. It also means adoration of or devotion to a person or a thing. The pouring of libation and the offering of sacrifices to the ancestors are services rendered to them in adoration and devotion and in appreciation of their past blessings and protection and in anticipation of the same in the days and in the years ahead. In the christian context, prayers form an essential part of worship and they take the form of invocation, adoration, thanksgiving, petition, intercession and dedication. In libation and sacrifices to the ancestors, there are invocation, adoration, petition and intercession which characterise the ceremonies in the stool house. These acts go beyond mere veneration. Thus the ancestors are not simply venerated but they are actually worshipped. The . . . /

The main idea behind the use of the word "veneration" is to refine the term and to make it acceptable to christians who will then see nothing wrong in participating in a festival or ceremony in which the ancestors are "venerated" and not "worshipped".

The pouring of libation was a factor of conflict between the Church and the traditional States and the Nkrumah Government joined in this conflict. In March 1957 Queen Elizabeth II of Britain was represented at the celebrations of the Ghanaian independence by the Duchess of Kent. An official reception was organised in her honour at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra. The programme for the welcome ceremony included the pouring of libation. The Christian Council of Ghana raised an objection to the inclusion of libation on the programme. Kwame Nkrumah and his Government did not take kindly to the objection. Their contention was that libation was a way of projecting the African personality. If the importance of libation is seen in the projection of the African personality then it loses its religious significance. By this Nkrumah was secularising libation and making it an aesthetic feature of politics.

With the passage of time some denominations of the Church realised that not all aspects of the traditional festivals and ceremonies were bad and worthy of condemnation as pagan. For example, the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast realised that a ceremony could not . . . /

not be condemned as pagan if it was meant to mark the end of the year, if it was regarded as a thanksgiving for the harvests, if it was performed as a means of repentance and purification or as a service of intercession for the next year. 1

The Presbyterian Church made a positive move in 1942 on the question of the possibility of blending some of the traditional festivals which were not incompatible with the Christian faith with some of the Christian festivals with a view to establishing a great festival in which both Christians and non-Christians could participate without any problems or barriers. The Church stated :

We also have in our Church a Repentance, Supplication and Thanksgiving Day at about the same time of year. We make bold to say that, in our opinion, the welding together (with due adjustments) of these two national and ecclesiastical occasions into one great festival of the whole people, should be feasible at a not too distant date. 2

This statement was made in August 1942 at Abetifi but up till now no such welding together of two national and ecclesiastical occasions aimed at establishing one great festival for the whole people has been possible in any traditional State in Ghana. The main reason for the inability of the Church and the traditional States to do this was the problem of the object of worship connected with the festivals and the use of religious language in some . . . /

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1. Reply to the memorandum, pp. 6-7
 2. Ibid. p. 7

some of the ceremonies and rites associated with the festivals. It must be noted that at certain stages of the festivals libation or sacrifice or both ought to be offered and it was here that the problem arose. The traditional authorities argued that if the Church allowed the offering of flowers to the dead in the form of wreaths which were placed on the graves of the dead, it should equally allow the offering of drinks and food to the dead in the form of libation and sacrifices.

The religious language which is used in the pouring of libation and offering of sacrifices to the ancestors leaves no doubt in the minds of both participants and observers that the ancestors are worshipped and are even believed to be the givers of certain things which christians believe only God can and does provide. Rattray narrates a prayer which was offered at an Odwira ceremony in Asante as follows, "Afe ano ahyia me de 'gwan ne bayere foforo ma wo, na wagge adi, Me nkwaso. Me Asante 'man nkwaso. Mmaa a yeye afuo, se ye ye a, aduane mmera be bree. Mma ya'die biara mma ha". (The edges of the year have met, I take sheep and new yams and give you that you may eat. Life to me. Life to this my Ashanti people. Women who cultivate the farms, when they do so, grant that food comes forth in abundance. Do not allow any illness to come).¹ From the language used in this prayer which accompanied the offering . . . /

1. R. S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti, p. 139.

offering of sacrifice to the ancestors, it is not difficult to see that the participants in the ceremony believed that they depended on the ancestors for life and sustenance. This was incompatible with the christian belief that God is the giver and sustainer of life. Whether or not a rite or a ceremony involved elements of worship depended on the wording of the prayers which accompanied the pouring of the libation and the offering of the sacrifice involved in that rite or ceremony. If worship was involved in any ceremony at any festival, the Church did not allow christians to participate in it since they would offer worship to none but God.

In certain aspects of the festivals it was quite clear that no worship or veneration was involved and that the ceremonies were purely social. For example an aspect of some of the festivals was a public gathering at which the Chief sat in State while the people paid homage and expressed their loyalty to him. In such ceremonies the Church encouraged its members to participate and it was customary for the Ministers and Elders of the church to join the people in greeting the Chief and expressing their respect for his office.

THE CHURCH AND STOOL FUNCTIONARIES

Another complaint of the traditional authorities against the Church was in connection with stool functionaries. . . . /

functionaries. They claimed that the Church did not permit christians to hold offices which were connected with chieftaincy. For instance a christian could not hold an office which involved the bearing of State emblems or paraphernalia. For example, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast declared that, "Christians bearing insignia from the Chief's Courts are exposed to grave temptations. These insignia are connected with sacrifices, purifying with blood, swearing, abstention, calling upon departed men; no true Christian can carry or perform matters connected with such insignia without hurting his Christian conscience". 1 Reacting to this stance of the Church, the authorities of the Akyem Abuakwa State stated thus:

We suggest that there should be general relaxation of the policy of the Church whereby Stool Functionaries, that is, those of the people who are holders of various offices connected with a Stool are debarred from becoming Christians until they cease to hold such offices by resigning or throwing down the emblems or paraphernalia attached to such offices. 2

The argument of the traditional authorities was that christians in Europe could become Kings and Queens. They could hold offices which involved the bearing of emblems and service in the royal household. Why could the christian in the Gold Coast not hold an office in a royal . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Abetifi, 16-18 November, 1926, Minute 33.

2. Memorandum from the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, paragraph 14.

royal household or an office in the realm of chiefship?

1 Here again the problem was with worship and idolatry. Some of the offices in the realm of chieftaincy had some connections with abosom (divinities), asuman (fetishes), asamansom (ancestor worship) etc., and the stool functionaries were expected to participate in some ceremonies which were connected with some of these. 2 The Church's position was that, as long as non-christians and the stool functionaries regarded the ancestral stools as objects of worship, christians could not hold offices which were connected with them. 3 For instance the Church did not see anything wrong with a christian being a stool-washer of the Chief's white stools since the washing of stools did not involve any form of worship or idolatry. But when it was learned that the stool-washers had to wear asuman (amulets) and abstain from certain foods, the Church had to take a different view of the issue. 4

A good example of the Church's position in relation to the christians and traditional offices can be taken from an incident which took place at Kyebi in the Akyem Abuakwa . . . /

1. Ibid. paragraph 15.

2. Reply of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to the memorandum, p. 7, paragraph 24. See also Regulations, Practice and Procedure (R. P. P.) of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1985, p. 110, paragraph 303.

3. R. R. P. p. 111, paragraph 308.

4. Reply to the memorandum, p. 8, paragraph 26.

Abuakwa State in the 1870s. The Minister in charge of the Kyebi Presbyterian Church, David Asante, permitted the christians who had certain civic duties to perform at the Chief's court to go and perform them when it was time to do so. Among them was a State drummer called Yaw Boakye who was baptized in 1876 with the names Christian Emmanuel. 1 He was allowed to carry on with his civic duty as the Chief's drummer after his conversion. At one of the festivals the chiefs of the three towns of Apedwa, Apapam and Tete known collectively as the Amanto Mmiensa raised a strong objection to the retention of Boakye in the service of the Chief as his drummer since he had become a christian. Their contention was that it was a taboo for a man, especially a traditional office bearer, to eat food prepared by a woman who was in her period and since christians ate such food they were defiled men and unfit to hold any traditional office. 2 In view of this attitude of the traditional authorities Boakye and all the other christians who held traditional offices as the Chief's attendants, cooks, carriers etc., had to give up their services. Thus in some cases it was not the Church which did not permit christians to hold traditional . . . /

1. Christian Emmanuel Boakye was the father of Nana Ofori Atta I and Dr. J. B. Danquay. He became an Evangelist of the Basel Mission Church.

2. Thomas Yao Kani, Kyebi Kristofo Tae. (Persecution of Kyebi Christians), p. 16.

traditional office or perform their civic duties to the traditional States but the traditional authorities who debarred christians from holding office and performing duties.

Having said all this, it must also be said that there were offices in the royal household or chiefship which had nothing to do with the divinities, fetishes and ancestor worship. Christians were free to take up such offices. For example they were allowed to serve as Nhenkwaa (The Chief's attendants), asoamefo (those who carried the Chief in a palanquin on ceremonial occasions), kyiniyekitafo (umbrella bearers). Gyasehene (the head of the Gyaso Division which was the Chief's body guard), akyeame (the Chief's spokesmen), asoodofo (royal cooks) and akyerema or akyeremadefo (drummers) 1 As long as no conditions were attached to these services, the Church considered them as civic duties from which christians were not exempted

SEPARATION OF CHRISTIANS FROM NON-CHRISTIANS

In his report on the school at Christiansborg, Andreas Riis wrote :

About the school: the children are industrious and learn well, but their character and life is not satisfactory. They are brought up by pagans among pagans. . . . /

1. Reply to the memorandum, p. 8, paragraph 26.
See also R. P. P. 1985 p. 110, paragraph 304

pagans. The remedy would be a bording institution. Appeal to Christian friends to make an effort to get the money needed for such. There is nothing more blessed than the snatching of children from perdition. 1

Although the motive behind the idea of a boarding institution as advocated by Riis might have been different from the motive behind that of "Christian quarters" or "Salem" where in some towns and villages, the christians withdrew from their townsfolk and lived in separate areas from their communities, the principle was the same. To some extent, this method of evangelization was adopted by other Missions but it was particularly attributed to the Basel Mission. The "Salem" idea sprang partly from the need, on the part of the missionaries, to separate the christians from the old faith and its way of life in order to facilitate the growth in the new and its way of life and partly as a natural development to avoid marginalisation and persecution.

The "Salems" were known as Kristo mu (among the christianfolk), Oburonikurom (the town of the European) while the towns or villages from which they withdrew were called Oman mu which could be interpreted as "in the town", "among the townsfolk", "in the State" or Wiasefo which could mean "those who were of the world".
The christians . . . /

1. Riis to Inspector, 10 June 1834, No. 6 (a) Basel Mission Archives. The word "bording" in the quotation should read "boarding" but in the letter it is written "bording".

christians in the "Salems" lived under the general administration of the missionaries but they were "governed" by the African Presbyters of the Church who settled disputes and decided cases among them in accordance with the rules of the Church. In this capacity, the Presbyters occupied a position similar to that of the Chief and his elders and their court was sometimes consulted by the non-christians. 1 This posed a challenge to the authority and power of the traditional rulers and in a way, the Salem system was becoming a sort of a State within a State. The traditional authorities vehemently resisted the separation of christians from non-christians. They held that it was not only a system of segregation but also of offering the christians a licence to be disrespectful and disloyal to the traditional authorities and the traditional institutions and to regard themselves as above the native customary laws and outside the jurisdiction of the traditional rulers. This contention reflected in one of the nicknames which were given to the christians in the Akyem Abuakwa State by the non-christians in the second half of the nineteenth . . . /

1. J. K. Ansah, The Centenary History of the Larteh Presbyterian Church 1853-1953, p. 35. See also Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960, p. 50.

nineteenth century, fa-wo-ho-kodiefo 1 which could be interpreted as subjects who threw off their allegiance to their sovereign and enjoyed unilateral freedom or independence. Commenting on the "Salem" system W. E. F. Ward wrote :

The Basel Mission, and to some extent other missions as well, adopted a policy of separating their converts entirely from the old life for fear lest the social and artistic attractions of the old life should lead them to forget their Christianity; a policy which may have been inevitable from the point of view of the Christian evangelist, but which led to a most unfortunate cleavage in the life of the community. 2

Various views, both positive and negative, have been expressed by scholars on the "Salem" system but one of the facts which stand out clearly is that "it was an implicit decision against the christianisation of indigenous African life". 3 The traditional authorities saw in the system a self-alienation of a section of the community who regarded themselves as different from their compatriots, a situation for which they blamed the early missionaries. Expressing their views on the system in their memorandum of 11 July 1941, the authorities of the Akyem Abuakwa State said :

1. Thomas Yao Kani, op. cit., p.14.

2. W.E.F. Ward, A History of the Gold Coast, p. 199 See also Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1835-1960, p. 50.

3. Noel Smith, op. cit., p. 50.

That the early Pioneers of the Mission did not find time to investigate or make a searching enquiry into the habits of the people in order to judge as to the sanity of, at least, some of the said habits, cannot be gain-said. The condemnation of any non-European habits they saw as heathenism and barbaric was therefore more the result of unsophisticated and naive thinking than any judicious or mature study of the customs and habits of the people. Coupled with the segregation of their Members, the immediate effect of this was that those who professed at the time to become members of the Church necessarily considered themselves divorced from others in anything indigenous of the State. This very nearly landed the State on the horns of a dilemma, the gravity and magnitude of which cannot be expressed in words; and but for the gigantic efforts made in some quarters to counteract or check the wholesale growth of the resultant feeling or relation on both sides, Christian Religion in Akyem Abuakwa, in so far as the Basel Missionaries or their successors were concerned, would have become a curse rather than a blessing, a weapon of disintegration and destruction rather than that of unity and cohesion, the outcome of which could only be the spectacle of a divided people or tribe. 1

From the point of view of the authorities of the Akeyem Abuakwa State, the Salem system produced a situation in which christians "consider themselves above the true national life, and look down with disgust and contempt on certain features and characteristics of the people".

2 The traditional States wanted to keep their identity while . . . /

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1. Memorandum presented to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, 11 July 1941, paragraph 8-9.
 2. Ibid. paragraph 11.

while the Church was also determined not only to protect its identity but also to graft it on the religio-cultural life of some sections of their communities by taking them out of their socio-cultural context and placing them in an alien socio-political and religio-cultural milieu.

But the system had its positive side. There were genuine cases where the lives of christians were threatened if they lived among the non-christians. A convert could be ostracised by his family and in such a situation the only place where the "outcast" could find a home was the "Christian Quarters". There were occasions when christians had to flee from their towns and villages to take refuge in the "Salems". An example can be taken from Kyebi, the capital of the Akyem Abuakwa State where there was a real persecution of christians by the Chief, Amoako Atti I. The persecution started in December 1886¹ and ended in November or December 1887 with the death of the Chief.

Amoako Atta I, who was the Paramount Chief of the Akyem Abuakwa State fabricated a theft case against the christians at Kyebi. The persecution which ensued was reported to the colonial government which ordered the Chief and the christians to be brought to Accra under army guard so that the case could be tried by government judicial . . . /

1. Thomas Yao Kani, op. cit., p. 3

judicial officers. After giving his statement before the court, the Chief was told in private by his lawyers that he would lose the case. In fear of losing the case in the light of his previous record, Amoako Atta committed suicide. The persecution was such that many lives would have been lost had it not been the availability of the "Christian Quarters" which served as a refuge for the fleeing christians and thanks to God, the protection which was offered by the missionaries. 1

THE CHURCH AND THE CHIEF

A person is recognized by the people as a chief only when he has been enstooled through the ritual of enstoolment which takes place in the stool-house where all the blackened stools which are the shrines of the spirits of the departed chiefs are kept. This is meant to bring him into mystical union with the royal ancestors.

The Chief is the intermediary between the living and the royal ancestors. 2 He is regarded as their direct . . . /

1. For details of the persecution see Thomas Yao Kani, Kyebi Kristofo Tae (Persecution of Kyebi Christians), Accra, Presbyterian Church Press, n.d.

2. R. S. Rattray Ashanti Law and Constitution, p. 405

direct representative and the agent of their wishes. The prosperity and well-being of the people depend upon the healthy relationship which should exist between the living and the ancestors. The ancestors provide the living with all their material and physical needs and protect them from misfortune. The living are expected to reciprocate the ancestral protection, blessings and goodwill by veneration through sacrifices and living in peace and harmony with one another. The Chief is the custodian of all these. Veneration of the ancestors by way of sacrifices are performed at ceremonies like the Odwira, Fofie, Fodwo, Munufie, Kwafie etc.. There are also the Adae festivals which R. S. Rattray describes as "ceremonies at which the spirits of the departed rulers of the clan are propitiated, their names and deeds recalled, and favours and mercy solicited". 1

During these ceremonies sacrifices are offered in the form of libation, meat and food. It is the duty of the Akyeamehene - chief spokesman of the Chief to pour the libation or offer the sacrifice but on certain occasions, the Chief himself has to offer the sacrifice. When he pours the libation, the Chief calls the names of his royal ancestors from the first one to the one immediately before him. He offers them the drink and prays for their blessings in the form of prosperity, childbirth, . . . /

1. R. S. Rattray, Ashanti, p. 92, See also K. A. Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, p.27

childbirth, success in life, protection etc.. When the sacrificial animal is slaughtered, the stool carriers smear the blackened stools with the blood of the sacrifice. In figure 5 the stool carriers are busily engaged in smearing the stools with the blood of the sacrifice.

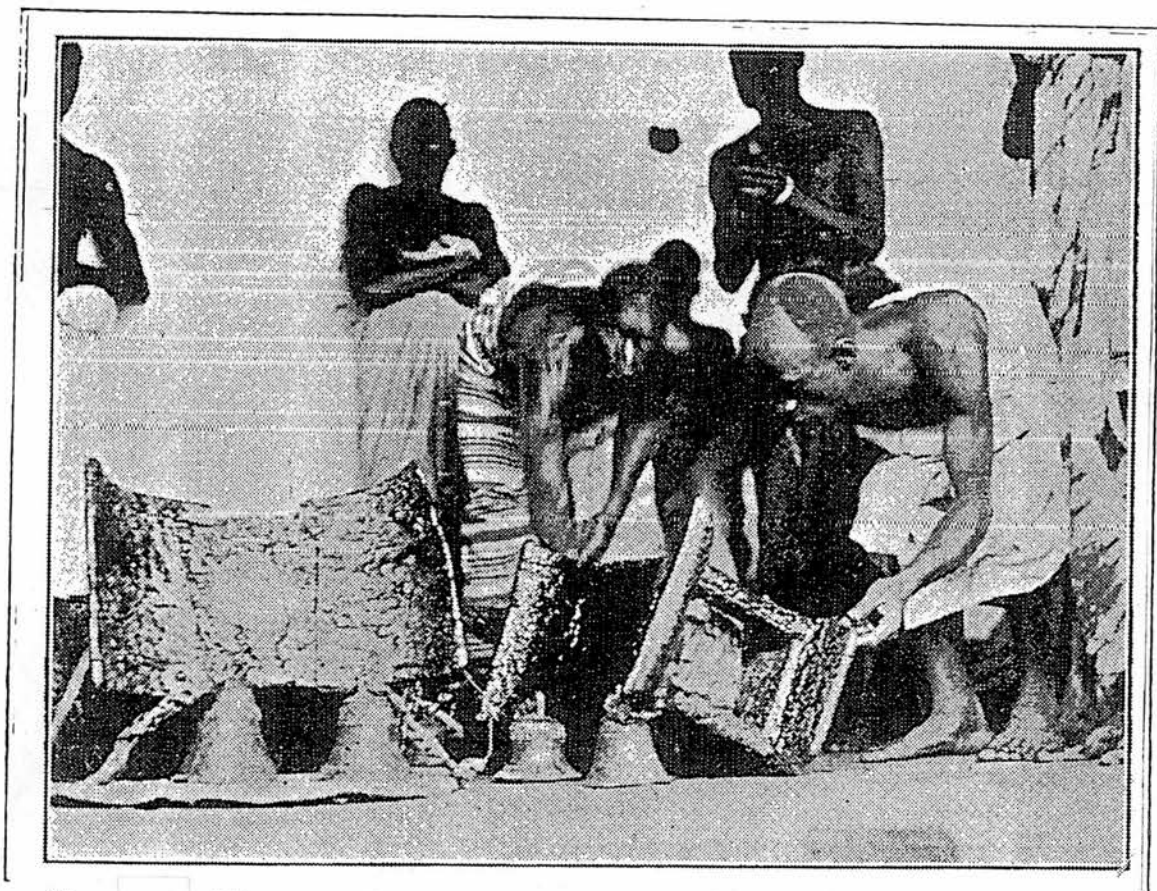


FIG. 5 The stool-carriers smearing the blood of the sacrifice upon the stools

If the Chief pours the libation himself, he takes off his . . . /

his sandals and stands on them and bares his chest as a sign of respect. 1 before the spirits of his grand Sires. He then pours the libation and offers his prayers. In figure 6 the Chief is seen pouring libation in the stool-house in the form described above.



FIG. 6 The chief pouring out a libation in front of the central stool

1. Nana Addo Danquah III, the Paramount Chief of the Akuapem State holds the view that the custom of taking off sandals and bearing the chest is not a sign of respect but originated from precautions taken to ensure the security of the Chief. Taking off sandals and bearing the chest would reveal any weapon concealed in the cloth or in the sandals intended to be used to kill or harm the Chief. This interpretation is untenable. It is difficult to see the need for such precautions on the part of the spirits of the departed chiefs or the blackened stools.

The churches associated ancestor worship or veneration and the rituals connected with the ancestors and the blackened stools with idol worship. Since the Chief was expected to perform the rituals associated with ancestors, the question was whether a christian could become a Chief. What is more, in addition to his own wife or wives, the Chief was required to marry all the stool wives. 1 In view of these customs, the churches did not favour the idea of christians becoming chiefs. For instance, a statement by the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in 1926 reflects its stance on the issue. "The impossibility of pure native Chiefs becoming true Christians and remaining Chiefs is a sign that as long as stool worship and insignia worship is prevalent here, the Church must hesitate to make concessions". 2 Today the official position of the Church on the issue is as follows:

As long as stools, especially, black stools of chiefs and elders are regarded by the heathen and treated as objects of worship, a Christian cannot conscientiously occupy the office of a Chief or Elder. But, where a Christian heir-apparent, before his enstoolment repudiates ancestral worship, and where because of his desirability the traditional elders and people covenant to grant him customary dispensation, and make a solemn declaration exempting him from all heathen practices, . . . /

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1. Stool wives are the widows of dead chiefs and those who are by custom wives of every occupant of the Stool.
 2. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Abetifi, 16-18 November 1926, Minute 33.

practices, performances, rites and customs, he may, with confidence and Christian conscience accept the stool. 1

This stipulation of the Church appeared difficult to most chiefs and elders who wanted to be christians and christians who wanted to be chiefs or elders.

Nevertheless, the Paramount Chief of the Dormaa State, Nana Agyemang Badu (who was baptized and confirmed in the Sumyani Presbyterian Church in 1942), indicated his desire to be restored to full membership of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and thus be allowed to attend the Eucharist. He had ceased to be a communicant from the day he was enstooled as a chief. He and his elders and people accepted the conditions laid down by the Church and so he was restored to full membership of the Church on 6 December 1969, 2 being the first ever Omanhene to be a communicant in the Church. His case has been taken by the Church as an example and is recorded in the Church's Regulations Practice and Procedure thus:

In such cases, the Stool Elders appoint a Stool Elder and some important Stool functionaries to deputise for the Chief. A case in view is Nana Agyemang Badu, Dormaahene, who although Omanhene of Dormaa Traditional area, is a full member (communicant) of Dormaa Ahenkro Presbyterian Church. 3

1. Regulations, Practice and Procedure, of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Revised Edition 1985, pp. 111-112, paragraph 308-309.

2. Christian Messenger", February 1970, Vol. X, No. 2, front page.

3. Regulations, Practice and Procedure, p. 112, paragraph 310.

In view of his churchly position, Nana Agyemang Badu accepted his enstoolment on the following conditions which were accepted by the Dormaa Traditional Council:

- i. That during the rite of enstoolment, the ritual sheep should not be slaughtered on his feet.
- ii. That he should not be expected to marry stool wives.
- iii. That the obligation to perform ancestral or fetish rites should not be imposed on him. 1

There are some chiefs who regard themselves as christians but are non-communicant and are thus not recognized by the Church as full members. They are unable to satisfy the conditions laid down by the Church. Even if they are able to satisfy the conditions as Nana Agyemang Badu is, one may still ask the question as to whether in the spirit of traditional law and constitution, a person can be a chief and at the same time refuse to perform the religious functions attached to the chiefship. In other words, can a christian chief detach the sacred from the secular by his Christian faith? That it is possible is a result of the impact of Christianity on the life and culture of the people. This throws a challenge to the sacral notion of kingship and the traditional axiom that the sacred and the secular are inseparable.

1. Christian Messenger, February 1970, Vol. X, No. 2, front page.

Nana Agyeman Badu is of the view that a christian chief is more able to lead his people successfully than a non-christian chief because the former follows the example of our Lord Jesus Christ who came into the world to serve and not to be served. He not only accepted the stipulation of the Church but he also voluntarily refused to follow other customs which were incompatible with the Christian faith. For example, according to custom, before a chief travels certain rites have to be performed, Nana Agyemang Badu refused to perform those rites. What he does in place of the rites is to pray to God and not to ancestors and divinities. Again, according to custom and tradition, the Paramount Chief is usually not approachable directly by the commoners and he is rarely seen in public. Contrary to this tradition, Nana Agyemang Badu's doors are always open to the people, including the commoners whose servant he sees himself to be. 1 This radical departure from some of the customs and traditions is the result of the Omanhene's christian influence. In the reign of Nana Agyeman Badu, the barriers between the Church and chiefship have been broken down in the Dormaa traditional State.

From another perspective the Church posed a challenge to the authority of the Chief who was the head of . . . /

1. Interview with Nana Agyemang Badu at his palace at Dormaa Abrenkro on 26 March 1987.

of the traditional State. He was regarded as the political and spiritual leader of the State or the community. The ancestral Stool which he occupied was not only a symbol of political and religious power but it was also a symbol of the people's identity, unity and continuity. These sentiments were kept alive by the various festivals and the rites associated with them. The Chief offered sacrifices and poured libation to the ancestors on behalf of the community to ensure its protection and prosperity. The traditional belief was that if the Chief and the people neglected their religious obligation of offering sacrifices and pouring libation to the ancestors and observing the festivals, misfortune would befall the community and the ancestors would withdraw their protection and cease to provide them with their needs. When a misfortune struck, it was believed that it was a punishment by the ancestors for lack of loyalty on the part of the living.

The Church preached the Lordship of Jesus Christ and the members believed that spiritual leadership belonged to Him and His power was in His Church through the Holy Spirit. For most christians, the sacrifices and libations to the ancestors had lost their meaning and they no longer accepted the spiritual leadership of the Chief. The fountain of spiritual power and leadership was now the Church whose Minister was regarded as the servant and representative of Christ who was the Head of the Church. Thus the members of the Church looked to the . . . /

the Minister and not the Chief as the spiritual leader of the christian community. In time of crises, the Christian section of the community relied on prayers to God through Jesus Christ and not to the ancestors through the Chief. Through the King or the Chief the traditional State claimed ultimate power. The occupant of the Stool of the ancestors was the embodiment of the power of the traditional State. The Chief's claim of both political and religious authority emphasized the sacral notion of power in the traditional State. By refusing to accept the religious authority and power of the Chief, the Church was weakening the grounds for the acceptance of sacral kingship and thus desacralising the traditional State. In other words, the Church was secularizing the traditional State.

MARRIAGE AND INHERITANCE

There were three systems of law by which marriages were contracted in the Gold Coast. These were the Native Customary Law, the English Law as incorporated in the Marriage Ordinance (Cap. 105) and the Mohammedan Marriage Ordinance of 1907. Some of the churches had a negative attitude towards customary marriages. For example, the Roman Catholic Church regarded such marriages as "unlawful".¹ But the Presbyterian Church

1. J. S. Pobee, Kwame Nkrumah and the Churches in Ghana 1949-1966, p. 96. For the purpose of this chapter, we will concern ourselves with the Native Customary Law and the Marriage Ordinance.

of Ghana recognised marriages under both Customary Law and the Marriage Ordinance. In both cases the Church emphasized two things where christians were involved, namely, that the couple ordered their marriage life in a way that befitted christians and that God's blessing was invoked on the union. But before the Church conducted a service of blessing on a marriage, it made sure that the couple were already properly and legally married under one of the two laws. The Presbyterian Church started this practice in the nineteenth century and has held to it ever since. Reporting on christian marriage at the Begoro station in the Akyem Abuakwa State the Basel missionary Adolf Mohr wrote, "Several old people, and several women are among the roll of the newly baptised, and there are now 6 blessed marriages and the first new christian marriage is shortly to be celebrated." 1 Writing on the same subject from Abetifi in the Kwawu State the Basel missionary A. F. Ramseyer stated, "After the traditional ceremonies are complete, the man and wife come before the presbyters who set out to them the regulations about marriage, and then pray with them". 2

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1. Mohr to Basel, Year's Report of the Station for 1881, 2 January 1882, No. 238, Basel Mission Archives. Adolf Mohr was a son of the Basel missionary Joseph Mohr.
 2. Ramseyer to Basel, 28 June 1891, No. 11 104, Basel Mission Archives.

The Marriage Ordinance did not permit polygamy, which Native Customary Law permitted. According to the Marriage Ordinance, "Whoever contracts a marriage under the provisions of the Marriage Ordinance, or any statutory modification or re-enactment thereof, being at the time married in accordance with native law or custom to any person other than the person with whom such marriage is contracted, shall be liable to imprisonment for five years." 1 These provisions of the law were amended by section 265 of the Criminal Code, 1960 and according to the amendment, "A person is not guilty of bigamy or of an offence under section 264 if the marriage in respect of which the act was committed, and the former marriage, were both contracted under customary law." 2 A further provision stipulated that, "A person may be guilty of bigamy or of an offence under section 264 if, having contracted a monogamous marriage with any person, he marries or purports to marry any other person under customary law, he goes through a monogamous ceremony of marriage with any other person." 3 It was the wish of the government to blend the two systems of law into one marriage law for the whole country instead of allowing the two to operate in parallel. This was a difficult thing to do because one of . . . /

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1. Chapter 9 of the Laws of Ghana, section 448.
 2. Criminal Code, 1960, Section 265 (1)
 3. Ibid. (2)

of the laws favoured monogamy and made polygamy illegal while the other legalized polygamy.

Among the Akan, with very few exceptions, inheritance is matrilineal. One of the areas of concern for the Church with regard to marriage was inheritance. In native customary law, if a man died intestate, all his property, both movable and immovable, whether inherited or self-acquired, went to his maternal family and the widow and her children had nothing.

They were thrown out of the man's house and they had to go to their maternal family. Among the Fante, the property descended in the first instance to the deceased's mother, who was regarded as the "real" successor. If there was no real successor, there were three sorts of successors known as the "proper" successors, the "ordinary" successors and the "extraordinary" successors. The proper successors were the deceased's brothers, maternal nephews, sisters, nieces and so on who inherited according to seniority. The ordinary successors according to seniority were, the deceased's mother's brothers, mother's sisters, mother's sisters' sons, mother's sisters' daughters and so forth. The extraordinary successors were the domestics in whose veins ran any of the heritable blood, that is, such of the household servants whose father was a blood relation and who would have succeeded either as a proper or ordinary successor had he been alive. They also succeeded according to seniority. Thus under this system, . . . /

system, it was the mother who inherited the property of the deceased as the real successor. Failing the real successor, a proper successor inherited it. Failing the proper successors, the inheritance went to the ordinary successors and failing them it went to the extraordinary successors. 1 Under such a system, even a slave could inherit the property of a man while his own children could not. Under this system, the widow and her children had no share in the property which she and her husband and children acquired and they had to leave their own house which then became the property of the deceased's maternal family and go to the widow's maternal family.

While he was alive, a man could give a portion of his property to his wife and children and he could also do so in extremis. But if he died intestate the widow and the children had to leave the house and the property of the man for which they had laboured all their lives. In the light of this injustice and the hardships through which widows and their children had to go, the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast 2 advocated a change in the native customary law on inheritance particularly among those who practised maternal inheritance. . . . /

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1. John Mensah Sarbah, Fanti Customary Laws, pp.111 ff. For details on the subject of inheritance among the Fante, see Chapter VII.
 2. By this time the Church was known as the Basel Mission Church. The name Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast was adopted in 1926.

inheritance. By 1919 the Church had already made it a rule that if a member died intestate, his self-acquired property should be divided into three equal parts. The widow received one-third, the children were given one-third and the remaining one-third went to the maternal family. The next of kin (who would obviously be a member of the maternal family) inherited the whole property only where the deceased was not survived by either a widow or children. This rule had become a custom in the Church by 1919 when the Synod of that year made the following decision on the question of inheritance, "Questions from Akem about inheritance of widows caused us to make the following decision: Arrangements made after the death of a man remained the same whether the widow afterwards remained in the church or not. The customary rule of dividing the inheritance into three parts was upheld." 1

The rule worked so successfully and won the respect of the people to the extent that families relied on the guidance and decisions of the Church when they were in doubt as to what to do on the issue of inheritance in certain situations. For example, a member of the Presbyterian Church at Kyebi died intestate. In accordance with the rule of the Church, the widow was given a third of her husband's property. Later, the woman . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast Christiansborg, 12-14 August 1919, Minute 22.

woman left the Presbyterian Church and joined the Faith Tabernacle. The relatives of the deceased wanted to retrieve the property. They consulted the Church and the matter was brought before the Synod of 1933 which decided "that the woman could enjoy the property however and wherever she pleased." 1 This decision of the Church ended the matter.

Although this rule of the Church did not have legal backing it was a great success. It was seriously observed by all the members of the Church and the agents, Presbyters and Presbytresses of the Church enforced it in good faith and with zeal. The formulation of the rule has been one of the contributions of the Presbyterian Church to the social and moral life of the traditional and the colonial States as well as the independent State of Ghana. For instance, the rule was adopted by the Akyem Abuakwa State Council in the Native Customary Law of that State and it was adopted by the colonial government and by various governments of Ghana as will be seen later.

In 1934 the Christian Council of the Gold Coast submitted a memorandum on Customary Law of Inheritance to the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast. In the memorandum the Council expressed great concern about the injustice which was being done to widows and their children . . . /

1. Minute of the Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Nsaba, 11-13 October 1933, p.8, Minute 12(f)

children, perpetrated in the name of native customary law. The Council suggested that if a man died intestate, his self-acquired property should be divided into two or three parts (as each State might decide) one-half or two-thirds was to be given to the deceased's maternal family and one-half or one-third was to be the share of the wife and children by marriage under native customary law. The Council further suggested that if a man died intestate leaving only one house, the children should have the right to live together with the maternal family of the deceased in the house. On the death of the last surviving child, the house should revert wholly to the family.

In the case of a widow who did not have any child by the deceased, the Council suggested that at least one-fourth of the husband's personal property should be given to her. Furthermore, if the widow so desired, she should be allowed to stay in the room or rooms occupied by her during her husband's life time till her death or till she re-married. If the woman remarried outside the late husband's family, she should leave the house.

In January 1944, the Synod of the Methodist Church in the Gold Coast appointed a commission to study the life and work of the Church and to make recommendations for its consideration. 1 The first draft of the report of . . . /

1. See I Will Build My Church - Report of the Commission, p. 3

of the Commission was presented to the Synod of 1948.

The Commission, whose membership had African majority, expressed the view that a similar status conferred on a woman through marriage under the Ordinance should be conferred on a woman who married under native customary law and blessed in the Church. On inheritance, the Commission recommended for the ruling of the Synod that when a man died, his self-acquired estate should be divided into three equal parts, one-third to be given to the widow, a third to the children by him and the remaining third to the extended family. Where there were no children in the marriage, the widow should be given one-half of the state and the other half given to the extended family. 1.

The questions of marriage, divorce and inheritance were of great concern not only to the Church but also to the government because they touched the very roots of the Ghanaian society. In view of this, the government wanted the questions to be freely and dispassionately discussed by the general public, institutions and societies so that the ideas and concepts which would emerge from the discussion would form the basis for legislation on the subject. To this end, the government issued a White Paper in 1961 with a view to provoking discussion on the matter. Those who cared to . . . /

1. Ibid. p.74.

to get involved in the discussion were to communicate their views to the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government by 15 June 1961.

The questions were widely discussed by various organisations, institutions and individuals and views were submitted to the government. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana had a comprehensive discussion on the issues raised in the White Paper and submitted its comments and proposals to the government. The Church observed that under native customary law, wives and children had the right to maintenance by the husbands and urged the government to consider this right seriously with a view to making a legal provision for its full enforcement. Related to this was the right of widows and children to maintenance by the families of the deceased husbands where the widows and children did not have any direct share in the estates of the men. The Church submitted that the government should provide a machinery through which widows and children would be properly taken care of and maintained with the full backing of the law. In native customary law, if one inherited the property of a person, one ipso facto inherited the obligations and the responsibilities of that person. Unfortunately many people did not observe this usage while they took seriously the convention relating to the acquisition of wealth and property, thus accepting privileges and rejecting the responsibilities. The . . . /

The Church drew the attention of the government to this sad state of affairs and called for a prompt action by way of legislation. 1

In the White Paper the government proposed legislation which would provide for rules of inheritance in respect of self-acquired property. According to the proposal, a surviving wife or husband was to be entitled to a life interest in one-third of the property of the deceased husband or wife. The life interest of the widow was to be deemed to have come to an end when she re-married. In such circumstance, the one-third life interest of the widow was to go equally to the children which she had by the deceased husband. By the same token, a widower's life interest ceased when he re-married and the property was to devolve upon the children which he had to the deceased wife. This property was to be in addition to the portion of the property which the children were to receive in their own right. The proposal provided that on the death of a father or mother, the children of the deceased were to have two-thirds of his or her property absolutely. The family whether maternal or paternal, was to receive nothing. This proposal of the government was different from what both the Presbyterian Church of Ghana and the Christian Council of Ghana had put forward. The proposed . . . /

1. For details about the Church's comments and proposals see Comments on the White Paper on Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance, Accra, Presbyterian Press, 9 June 1961. For the Church's 11 proposals see pp.12-13

proposed law was to apply only to marriages registered under the Act and where the property had not been disposed of by will. 1

Although the Presbyterian Church of Ghana was a strong advocate of the modification of the native customary law of inheritance, it was not in favour of the government's proposal that the family of a deceased husband or wife should have no share in his or her property. In its comment on the issue the Church stated:

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana has long advocated a change in the customary law of inheritance particularly in matrilineal communities But we feel the White Paper proposals are too drastic in their setting aside of customary law. For under them the family would be excluded from any share in the property We believe that this will unnecessarily weaken the present family system which still acts as a social security system for very many Ghanaians in time of need. The family can hardly be expected to continue to provide this help for its weaker members if it is deprived of any share in the property of its stronger members in so many cases. 2

The Church suggested to the government that its rule regarding inheritance among the faithful could be adopted as basis for a legislation on inheritance.

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1. Part III of the White Paper on Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance, Accra, Government Printer, W.P. No.3/61, GP/A1791/1,000/5/60-61, 1961, pp. 6-7.
 2. Comments on the White Paper on Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance, p. 8

At the time of the discussion and proposals on marriage, divorce and inheritance, the existing law of inheritance in the country followed the pattern of the Church's rule regarding inheritance with only a slight modification. Under the law, when a person married under the Marriage Ordinance died intestate, the property of the deceased was divided into two parts. One-third descended according to customary law i.e. it devolved upon the maternal family. The remaining two-thirds was divided into three parts and one-third was given to the widow while the remaining two-thirds was shared equally among the children. 1 Thus the government followed the pattern of the Church in making a provision for the security and maintenance of widows and their children. This rule is still operative in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. 2

In May 1961 the Anglican Church submitted a recommendation to the government on the subject through the Christian Council of Ghana in which it stated:

As Christians we hold that, by God, marriage is a life-long partnership between one man and one woman. We are wholly convinced that, though many nations and tribes have practised polygamy, monogamy is nevertheless the true pattern of marriage for all. It guarantees the very best conditions for the proper care and nurture of children and provides the highest possibilities for . . . /

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1. White Paper on Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance, p.7, paragraph 20.
 2. Regulations, Practice and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana 1985, p.106, paragraph 295.

for the true union between men and women for the stability of family life, the basis of human society. Though we agree that it would be premature for the Government to attempt to abolish polygamy at present, we believe that citizens of Ghana who will desire to enter into a monogamous marriage should not be deprived of their existing right to the law's protection of such a marriage. 1

We have already seen when, how and why the Christian Council of the Gold Coast was established. A careful study of the institutional development of the Council reveals that it became active in a totally new way after independence. Its activities in the political scene in the post-independence period will be dealt with in the closing chapters of the thesis. But it is appropriate at this point to look at its involvement in some of the social and political issues of the late colonial period since its social and political actions in the former period and how they were carried out, were informed by its contribution to the social and political life of the people in the latter period.

THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF THE GOLD COAST
ON SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

In the early years of the twentieth century, a situation which caused great concern to the churches in the Gold Coast was the heavy importation of spirits into

1. 40 Years - Ghana Christian Council Anniversary Handbook, p. 21.

the country. The churches, seeing this as a threat to the sobriety of the people and a social menace, presented a memorandum to a Commission of Enquiry into the liquor traffic on 5 December 1929. The memorandum, which was printed for circulation, made some constructive recommendations. It recommended an annual reduction in the quantity of gin and other spirits imported into the country, adding that the importation of the commodity should be reduced annually for a period of ten years after which it should completely cease.

In 1934 the Council submitted a memorandum on customary law of inheritance to the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast drawing their attention to the injustice which was being done to widows and their children under native customary law and made some recommendations. 1 In 1941 the Council made a representation to the colonial government in which it emphasised the need for specialisation in psychiatry among the medical personnel so that doctors would be available to provide medical services to mental patients.

One of the social issues of concern to the churches was illiteracy among adults. The government was not prepared to undertake any literacy work among the many illiterate adults who wanted to be able to read and write, at least the vernacular. The Council took the initiative . . . /

1. See pp. 284-285

initiative and invited Dr. Frank Laubauch to the Gold Coast in 1948 for the purpose of initiating a comprehensive literacy programme among the illiterate population of the country. Dr. Laubauch responded favourably to the invitation and came to the Gold Coast and laid the foundation of Adult Literacy Work which was commonly known as Mass Education in the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. This effort of the Council opened an avenue to the literacy drive in the country from which many people benefited. In the same year, the University College of the Gold Coast was considering the question of introducing Theology in the College. The Government wanted to know the views and the wishes of the churches, with regard to what they wanted the University College to offer in the field of Theology, the estimated number of possible theological students etc. In consultation with the churches, the Council provided D. M. Balme, the Principal of the College, with all the necessary pieces of information he needed which enabled him to announce in 1949 that the University College would offer an honours degree course in Theology.

1948 was one of the most eventful years in the history of the Gold Coast and the work of the Christian Council has no mean place in that part of the history. On 28 February 1948, political disturbances took place in the Gold Coast in which lives were lost and damage done to life and property. This matter will be dealt with . . . /

with in detail in the next Chapter. On 5 March that year, the Christian Council and the Roman Catholic Church published a joint call to prayer and to the observance of certain christian principles throughout the country. 1 In the same year, there was a proposal that the Accra Town Council should operate a Municipal Lottery to generate revenue. The Council expressed a strong opposition to the proposal through correspondence with the Town Council and interviews with its members. It opposed the proposal on ethical grounds and argued that the country should not resort to gambling to raise revenue.

The Gold Coast was an agricultural country, as Ghana is today, and naturally the soil was of great importance to the life and the subsistence of the people. In the light of this, the Christian Council decided to do something about the proper utilization of the soil. To this end, it held some consultations with the government and they both agreed to co-operate in this venture. The Council invited Dr. W. C. Lowdermilk, an American soil scientist to visit the Gold Coast in 1949 under the auspices of both the Council and the government. Dr Lowdermilk was in the Gold Coast for five weeks during which he gave useful pieces of technical and scientific advice . . . /

1. Report on the work of the Christian Council to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by the Secretary of the Council, the Rev. J. Bardsley, Minutes of the Synod, Accra, 9-13 January, 1950, p. 30.

advice to the government on the technical problems of soil conservation and water control. He also held meetings with a number of christians and talked to them on various topics. In the same year, the Council held a national day of prayer - asking for God's blessings on the country and its peaceful progress and development. Offerings were taken in the churches for distribution to the widows and orphans of those who were killed in the 1948 disturbances. Fifty widows and orphans received £5.4.0. each 1 (which was a handsome gift at that time).

The first public expression of the Christian Council of its awareness of its duty in the political realm was made in August 1949 when it issued an eight-point public statement on "Christianity and Political Development". The statement, which was signed by fifteen members of its Executive Committee (8 Africans and 7 Europeans), reached a large number of people and the reading public because it was published in many of the local newspapers and copies were distributed to the member churches of the Council and to the Roman Catholic Bishops in Accra, Kumasi and Cape Coast. This period was one of political ferment and tension and it was quite appropriate that the Council, on behalf of the churches, came out with a statement on the churches' concern for the political stability and progress and the peace of the . . . /

1. Ibid. p.30

the Gold Coast. Coincidentally, in the same month in which the Council issued the statement the Committee on Constitutional Reform under the chairmanship of Justice J. Henley Coussey presented its report to the Governor. Thus while the colonial government was preoccupied with the political situation in the Gold Coast, the churches were also concerned with its peaceful political progress and development. The Council was of the view that the political issues of the time could be truly understood only in the light of the moral and spiritual principles which underlay them. They therefore called upon the people of the Gold Coast to take a sober reflection on the principles embodied in the statement which they held were in accordance with the Christian faith and which they thought ought to guide their political thinking and action.

In the statement, the Council declared its stand on the legitimacy of the people's demand for independence and its stance on party-politics and the involvement of christians in them thus:

We recognise that the Gold Coast, like any other country, has a natural right to Self-Government The Church contains people of goodwill who hold different views on the affairs of their country and support different political, economic and social programmes. The Church therefore cannot become identified with any particular party or programme. She does not condemn any party so long as its object is in accordance with Christian principles and the means employed to reach that end are honest and good. Such a Party needs the help of Christians who share . . . /

share its views, but the question of joining it must be left to the conscience of the individual. 1

The Council's declaration that the Church "does not condemn any party so long as its object is in accordance with Christian principles and the means employed to reach that end are honest and good" is significant. This implied that the Church would criticize and condemn any party which acted to the contrary . It can be seen as a prophetic utterance because it happened after independence when the Council, on behalf of the churches, had to criticize some of the bad policies of the C.P.P. Government as will be seen in chapter five. The Christian Council had started to widen its horizon beyond social and moral issues to see the role of the churches in the political realities of the time. It had realized the urgent need to emphasize and intensify the political dimension of the Church's Commission in the prevailing political climate as demanded by christian principles in the circumstances. After all, it was the Church which knew the moral and spiritual principles which underlay the political issues as the Council implied when it stated, "We, the undersigned, are convinced that the political issues of the present time cannot be rightly understood without reference to the . . . /

1. "Christianity and Political Development" - a public Statement of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, August 1949, paragraphs 1 and 5. See Appendix E for the Statement. Christian Council of Ghana Archives, Accra.

the moral and spiritual principles underlying them. We therefore call upon all men and women of goodwill to give their assent to the following principles as being in accordance with the Christian faith and to be guided by them in their thinking, speaking and action." 1 On the basis of this conviction the Council became active in the political realm and when compelled by some undesirable policies of the Nkrumah Government, it did not hesitate to act on behalf of the churches and in the interests of the people. Since the time of the Nkrumah regime, this phenomenon has become a permanent functional feature of the Christian Council of Ghana.

The practice whereby the government dealt bilaterally with individual churches on matters of national importance started to give way to its dealing with them through the Christian Council and the National Catholic Secretariat which became the mouthpiece of the christian population in Ghana. The churches had defended and consolidated their identity and created a united front in the formation of the Christian Council. This prepared them for their future role in the political affairs of the Nation and enabled them to react effectively to some of the post-independence political issues through the Christian Council, political feats which they could not have performed as individual . . . /

1. Ibid, introduction.

individual denominations of the Church.

CONCLUSION

The concern of this chapter has been the religious authority of the Church in the Gold Coast and its social and political implications. From the missionary enterprise emerged the various denominations of the Church whose growth was phenomenal especially in the second half of the twentieth century. With the growth of the Church came the development of its decision making structures which brought the christian community into triangular relationships in which it had to relate to the traditional authorities, the colonial authorities and the Church authorities. In these relationships, the Church's allegiance was demanded by all the three sides. There was no problem with the Church's allegiance to the colonial State since it demanded only social and political allegiance which it was prepared to give. But in addition to the social and political allegiance, the traditional State demanded the Church's religious allegiance which it refused to give as that allegiance could only be given to its Lord. This resulted in various conflicts between the two and in such situations, the Church had the support of the colonial government who, in certain cases, overruled the decisions of the traditional States in favour of the Church.

The need for unity, ecumenical co-operation and the creation of a united front for joint action among the denominations, necessitated the formation of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast on 30 October 1929. On the part of the Roman Catholic Church, the Gold Coast was incorporated as an ecclesiastical Province in 1950. In 1960 the Catholic Bishops' Conference and the National Catholic Secretariat were established. The founding of the Christian Council and the formation of the Catholic Bishops' Conference with its Secretariat strengthened the decision making structures of the Church and as will be seen later, they became the official mouthpiece of the christian population of the country. The place of the Christian Missions as a power structure was now taken by the churches they planted.

One of the contributions of the churches to the social development of the country was in the area of marriage and inheritance. They discussed issues on this matter and sent recommendations to the government. The rule of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast regarding inheritance was adopted by some of the traditional States, the colonial government and subsequent governments of the country with slight modifications.

With the formation of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, the practice whereby individual denominations . . . /

denominations of the Church dealt with the government separately gave way to joint action through the Council. In 1949 it advocated self-government for the people of the Gold Coast but advised that since peaceful means of effecting political change were still available in the country, violent revolution should not be resorted to.

1 This was prophetic advice to the people at a time when nationalism and the struggle for independence was gathering momentum in the Gold Coast. The next chapter examines the contribution of the Church to the national movement and the struggle for and achievement of the Ghanaian independence.

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1. "Christianity and Political Development" - a public Statement of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, August 1949, paragraph 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

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THE CHURCH'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GHANAIAN INDEPENDENCE

In the previous chapters I looked at the traditional and the colonial States in the Gold Coast and their relations with the Christian Missions and the Church. It was observed that although the colonial State superseded the traditional State, it did not destroy it. The two co-existed in name and function, one operating as subordinate to the other. From 1947, Gold Coast nationalism took on a new perspective. It was directed towards the achievement of "self-government in the shortest possible time". In 1949 it changed to "self-government now". To this end a national movement was formed by some leading educated citizens with a policy of national independence. This nationalist movement aimed at getting rid of the colonial government and replacing it with a national government. In other words, they wanted to build a nation in place of the colonial State. When the word "nationalists" is used it refers to these people.

The traditional structures had operated in the colonial system for over half a century and the authorities . . . /

authorities had adapted to the colonial climate for a long time. For example, the 1925 Constitution provided for the establishment of Provincial Councils of Chiefs from which representatives were elected to serve in the Legislative Council. 1 The national government for which the nationalists were struggling was going to take over power from the colonial government which was not happy with its displacement by a national government. The traditional authorities were also suspicious of the would-be government by the educated elite who belonged to a class known as "the young men" or commoners. They were worried about their position and power in a national government whose power transcended State barriers in a situation in which the power and jurisdiction of a king or a chief did not go beyond the boundaries of his traditional State.

I have already dealt with the traditional power structure, the colonial power structure and the Mission power structure which was taken over by the Church. From the nationalist movement and the achievement of independence emerged a national State. Although this new State came from and belonged to the traditional State, it succeeded the colonial State and inherited its structures. This development created a new power elite. . . . /

1. See Chapter one.

As will be seen later, this new power structure owed its tutelage and inspiration to the Church which may thus be described as the architect of Gold Coast nationalism and thus the achievement of Ghanaian independence.

THE CHURCH AS THE TUTOR OF NATIONALISTS AND POLITICIANS

By the end of the First World War, well over 90 per cent of formal education in the Gold Coast was provided by the Christian Missions. 1 This claim can be substantiated by a statement given by Governor Gordon Guggisberg to the Legislative Council in 1927 "Before 1900 the only Government Schools in existence were the (old) Boys' Schools at Accra and Cape Coast and the Girls' School at Cape Coast, all of which were opened somewhere about 1886, and the school at Oda opened in 1896. With the above exceptions, all education was in the hands of the Missions." 2 By this provision, the Missions were preparing people for leadership not only in their own specific fields of operation but also in the civil administration of the country and in the national movement for independence.

Most, . . . /

1. R. T. Parsons, The Churches and Ghana Society 1918-1955, p. 119.
2. The Governor's Annual Address to the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast, Estimates Session, March 1927, p.197

Most, if not all of the prominent and the most influential nationalists and politicians in the Gold Coast were educated in Mission Schools and many were christians. For example, the leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.) who became known as "The Big Six" as a result of their arrest and detention by the colonial government in March 1948 were all products of Mission Schools and had absorbed christian influence. J. B. Danquah, who was described by the Watson Commission as the doyen of Gold Coast politicians¹ was a Presbyterian and was educated in the Basel Mission Schools at Kyebi and Begoro. E. Akufo-Addo, W. Ofori Atta and E. Ako Adjei were Presbyterians and had Mission education. E. Obetsebi-Lamphey was educated in the Wesleyan school at Accra and Kwame Nkrumah was a Roman Catholic and was influenced by a Roman Catholic Priest, Fr. George Fischer who sponsored part of his elementary education.

Two of Kwame Nkrumah's closest colleagues in the anti-colonial campaign had Mission education and christian influence. K. A. Gbedemah (Minister of Finance) was an Anglican and Kojo Botsio (Minister of Education) was a Roman Catholic and had been educated at Adisadel . . . /

1. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948, Colonial No. 231, p. 17, paragraph 68.

Adisadel College at Cape Coast, which belonged to the Anglican Church. Other influential politicians who had christian influence included K. A. Busia, a leading Methodist and Joseph E. Appiah also a Methodist.

In 1939 the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast approached the Methodist Church with a proposal for the training of ministers for the Holy Ministry. This resulted in the establishment of Trinity College in Kumasi on 11 February 1943 where people were trained for the ministry of the Protestant churches. Until the establishment of the College, which is now sited at Legon in Accra, the various churches trained their ministers separately. Candidates were selected from the churches for a three-year theological training leading to ordination. During the period before the establishment of Trinity College, candidates for ministerial training were selected from among the old and experienced catechists and teachers. Young men were not usually selected for training for the ministry. For example, the following deliberation of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast shows the Church's attitude towards the training of young men for the ministry at that time. "The question was raised whether young men could not be trained for the ministry and ordained as soon as they left the Seminary. Surprise was caused by the question, and with little discussion it was agreed to adhere to the present practice of ordaining only approved catechists chosen by the . . . /

the Synod Committee". 1 This was to ensure that mature and competent people were selected for training and leadership.

The Churches trained their ministers for leadership both locally and abroad. Through their education overseas, the ministers were exposed to different cultural and intellectual ideas and thus gained wider academic and professional horizons and rich experiences. On their return home, they took up responsible posts in the churches and institutions of higher learning and showed remarkable efficiency and competency in their areas of work. The competence and self-confidence with which the African ministers worked with their European partners served as a positive stimulus to the development of the nationalist movement.

Another area where the influence of the churches had great impact on the political thinking and national consciousness of the people was church organisation and leaders of the churches both the clergy and the laity, Pastors, Presbyters and Elders were able to assume responsibilities in the various courts and committees and institutions of the churches. The good performance of the African leaders in the management of the affairs of the congregations, Districts and Presbyteries, their administration . . . /

1. Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, 17-19 October 1928, Akuropon, minute 24.

administration of the Word and Sacraments, their contributions at sessions, class meetings, District conferences, Presbyteries, Synods and Conferences were evidence of the capability of the Africans to manage the affairs of the churches. The nationalists felt that if Africans could manage the affairs of the churches why could they not manage the affairs of their country?

THE CHRISTIAN PRESS AND NATIONALISM

The contribution of the churches to the nationalist movement can also be seen in the sphere of the press. Journalism was started in the Gold Coast by Sir Charles MacCarthy, the first Crown Governor of the Gold Coast Forts and Settlements in April 1822 with the launching of an official paper at Cape Coast called the Royal Gold Coast Gazette. He ran the paper as part of his official business from April 1822 to either December 1823 or January 1824. The operation of the paper was short-lived because of the death of its founder in January 1824.

The next paper which appeared in the Gold Coast was the Accra Herald which was founded by two brothers, Charles and Edmund Bannerman of Accra on 7 September 1857. It was hand-written and started at Cape Coast. Due to lack of printing facilities, its operation was transferred from the Gold Coast to Sierra Leone. It was brought back to the Gold Coast and between 1873 and 1874 production of the paper ceased.

The . . . /

The Wesleyan Mission was the first to produce a Christian newspaper in the Gold Coast. In 1859 the Rev. T. B. Freeman and the Rev. H. Wharton founded the Christian Messenger and Examiner at Cape Coast. This was followed by the publication of the Christian Reporter. These two Christian newspapers operated for a brief period.

In 1883 the Basel Mission started the publication of a christian newspaper called the Christian Messenger. The paper was published in three languages, English, Twi and Ga, and its first editor was the Rev. Johannes Gottlieb Christaller. The publication of the paper in two native languages emphasized the Basel Mission's desire to use the vernacular as the most important and effective medium of the propagation of the Christian Gospel. Unlike its predecessors, the Christian Messenger has survived through the years and has been in continuous operation since March 1883. It served as a fertile ground for the Adult Literacy work which was popularly known as Mass Education in the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Through the Mass Education programme illiterate adults were taught how to read and write the vernacular. The paper became the only newspaper which the beneficiaries of the programme could read and be informed of issues of national importance.

In 1886 another christian newspaper called the Gold Coast . . . /

Coast Methodist appeared in Cape Coast. It was founded by the Rev. W. T. Coppin and the Rev. W. M. Cannell both of the Wesleyan Mission. This quarterly paper operated for about a year and production ceased. Notwithstanding its short period of operation, the paper contributed immensely to the political struggle of the time. It published a series of articles demanding African participation in the Legislative Council.

The paper reappeared in 1894 under the editorship of the Rev. S. R. B. Solomon who was later known as the Rev. S. R. B. Attoh Ahuma. The name of the paper was modified to read, the Gold Coast Methodist Times and it became an effective medium for the expression of major political grievances. It was impressively vocal on the issue of the Lands Bill in 1897 which led to the formation of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. The paper conducted a successful agitation against the Bill and thereby made an outstanding reputation. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey comments on the role of Rev. Attoh Ahuma and the Gold Coast Methodist Times in the nationalist movement thus, "In sum, Attoh Ahuma converted what began as a missionary journal into a nationalist tract, full of pages burning with patriotic zeal and anti-colonial passion. So much so that the mission could stand it no longer by 1897 and sacked the trouble maker." 1.

1. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, A Summary History of the Ghana Press 1822-1960, P.11.

In its issues of 30 June and 16 July 1897, the paper published a charge of cowardice against one Captain J. H. Carmer of the Gold Coast Constabulary. In view of this, Captain Carmer instituted a libel case against the paper. The Gold Coast Wesleyan District Synod was to be responsible for the expenses incurred in the alleged libel case which was eventually dropped after an apology had been rendered by the Chairman and General Superintendent of the Synod, the Rev. H. J. Ellis.

The authorities of the Wesleyan Mission were worried by the political role which the paper played under the editorship of Rev. Attoh Ahuma. Their main concern was that the paper was pulling the Church into politics and bringing it into conflict with the colonial government. Their uneasiness was reflected in a letter written by Ellis to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London part of which read, "I have a strong letter written for the Editor - and Manager of Book Room as to future issues, and if it does not have the desired effect, I shall bring the paper to a full stop: the Government are exceedingly wroth at the abusive personalities indulged in, and altogether it is giving us a bad name - I must endeavour to restore the lost good feeling.! 1 When the libel case was finally dropped . . . /

1. Rev. H. Ellis to Hartley, 1 October 1897, Gold Coast Correspondence 1896-1897, MMS Box 766, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

dropped, the Secretary of the Missionary Committee wrote to Ellis, "We cannot omit without neglecting our duty, to warn you against meddling with political parties or secular disputes. You are teachers of religion, and that alone should be kept in view. It is, however, a part of your duty as ministers to enforce, by precedent and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. 1

In November 1897 Rev. Attah Ahuma left the post of the editor of the Gold Coast Methodist Times and in January 1898 he and another Minister of the Methodist Church the Rev. K. Egyir Asaam joined together and started the publication of a new newspaper called the Gold Coast Aborigines. They had both studied at Richmond College in England. The paper served as a mouthpiece of the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society and was used by the two ministers to vent political grievances and agitation. Attah Ahuma "is representative of the Churchmen of the Wesleyan tradition who began to publish their critiques". 2

THE CHURCH AS INSPIRATION FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Church was an inspiring factor in the national movement for self-government. The object of the anti-colonial campaign of the nationalists was to replace British . . . /

1. F. L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, p.143.

2. Harris W. Mobley, The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary, p.32.

British leadership of the country with African leadership. Thus any evidence of African leadership in the Church and efforts to train Africans for leadership or to create a scope for leadership by Africans was a source of inspiration to the nationalists. In 1953 the Rev. Fr. Joseph O. Bowers of the Roman Catholic Church was consecrated a Bishop and appointed to the See of Accra. 1 "His appointment to the See of Accra was greeted with sincere joy by all Africans, for he was the first priest of African descent to become a Bishop in the Gold Coast." 2

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was the policy of the Wesleyan Missionary Society "to reduce gradually the staff of European Missionaries on the West Coast, and to devolve more responsibility upon Native brethren: and with this in view we have had several of them under training in our English Colleges."

3 This was aimed at creating a scope for African leadership in the Methodist Church. Although the Methodist Church in the Gold Coast remained the Gold Coast District of the British Conference until 1961 when it became an independent Conference, there was African participation at all levels of leadership. This claim can be supported by the fact that in 1885 Coast there were . . . /

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1. Ghana Catholic Diary 1972 and 1975
 2. Helene M Pfann, A Short History of the Catholic Church in Ghana, p. 108.
 3. F. L. Bartels, op.cit. pp.121-122.

were only three Wesleyan missionaries in the Gold ministering to 6,855 members. 1 This could not have possible at that time without African participation in leadership.

The tradition of African leadership in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana started in 1918 when the first Moderator (the Rev. Peter Hall) and the first Synod Clerk (the Rev. N. T. Clerk) were appointed on 14 August that year at the first Synod of the Church held at Akuropon. On 26 November 1926, the year in which the Basel missionaries returned to the Gold Coast after their expulsion in 1917 during the First World War, the Church adopted the name "The Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast". This marked an important step forward in the Church's movement for full independence. In 1929 the Church's constitution known as Regulations, Practice and Procedure was completely revised. This indicated that although the Church was in historical continuity with the Basel Evangelical Mission Church and enjoying the assistance and co-operation of the United Free Church of Scotland, it was now responsible for the ordering and running of its own affairs. In 1930 the Synod Committee became the legal trustee of all the Church's properties. In 1950 the posts of the General Manager of Schools and the Treasurer of the Church were taken over by Africans. Thus the Presbyterian Church of . . . /

1. Harris W. Mobley, op. cit. p. 32, f.n.3.

of the Gold Coast started to be self-governing in 1918 and by 1950 its independence was complete in all respects. 1

The Ewe (Evangelical) Presbyterian Church was planted by the Bremen Mission from Northern Germany. In August 1914 the German Colony of Togoland was captured by the Allied Forces. The German missionaries were expelled in 1916. The Ewe Church was left on its own without adequate missionary supervision from 1916 to 1923. During this period, the Church operated mainly under African leadership made possible by the ordination of a number of African Ministers by the . . . /

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1. The following lists show the record of African leadership in the Prebyterian Church of Ghana from 1918 to the present day.

MODERATORS

1. The Rev. Peter Hall	1918-1922
2. The Rev. Nathaniel V. Asare	1923
3. The Rev. William A. Quartey	1924-1929
4. The Rev. Ludwig L. Richter	1929-1931
5. The Rev. Charles E. Martinson	1933-1938
6. The Rev. S. S. Odonkor	1938-1950
7. The Rev. E. V. Asihene	1951-1954
8. The Very Rev. E. Maxwell Dodu	1955-1958
9. The Very Rev. E. M. L. Odjidja	1959-1966
10. The Very Rev. G. K. Sintim-Misa	1967-1978
11. The Very Rev. I. H. Frempong	1978-1986
12. The Rt. Rev. D. A. Koranteng	1986-

SYNOD CLERKS

1. The Rev. N. T. Clerk	1918-1932
2. The Rev. D. E. Akwa	1933-1940
3. The Rev. M. A. Obeng	1941-1950
4. The Rev. C. H. Clerk	1951-1954
5. The Rev. A. L. Kwansa	1955-1969
6. The Rev. T. A. Osei	1970-1974
7. The Rev. A. K. Sah	1975-1984
8. The Rev. E. S. Mate Kodjo	1985

the Rev. Ernst. Burgi, the only missionary who was not expelled. 1 The fact that the Church survived throughout that long period of neglect served as evidence of the ability of the African Ministers, Presbyters and the members of the congregations to manage their own affairs in the administration and government of the Church.

The performance of the churches served as a source of inspiration to the educated elite who had a vision of nationhood and who, from 1947, could be referred to as the nationalists. In the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast more responsibility was devolved on the African leaders of the Church and the members became familiar with the idea and the practical working of democratic institutions. The Church was governed by the Synod whose highest offices (those of the Moderator and the Synod Clerk) were held by Africans. The Church's Executive, the Synod Committee, was presided over by the Moderator and out of its 19 members who had equal votes, only 4 were Europeans. In 1940 a Financial Board of Control . . . /

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1. E. Grau, "Missionary policies as seen in the work of Missions with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana" in C. G. Baeta, Christianity in Tropical Africa pp. 61-62 and pp. 73-77. See also S. Prempeh, "The Basel and Bremen Missions and their successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland, 1914-1926, A Study in Protestant Missions and the First World War", Ph. D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1977, pp. 323-324.

Control was established and was presided over by an African lay-member of the Church. 1 The contention of the educated elite and some of the people was that if one Church which represented just a fraction of the entire population of the country could attain independence and be administered by Africans from such an early period, why could the whole country not fight to achieve its independence? The Ashanti Pioneer, a Kumasi based local newspaper, commented on the performance of the churches in the areas of self-government and Africanization as follows, "While we cry ourselves hoarse after self-government and Africanization, the Churches silently but surely are laying solid foundations for these; that is, while we labour and trouble ourselves, Africanization and self-government come smoothly and naturally to the Churches. It is the gift of God". 2

Some of the politicians and party activists drew inspiration from some of the hymns of the churches which they sang at political rallies especially the members of the C.P.P. The most popular among the hymns which were sung at C.P.P. rallies and meetings were "Lead kindly light" and "Land of our birth". 3.

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1. The Church in the State - the Reply of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast to a memorandum presented by the State Council of Akyem Abuakwa, pp. 41-42.
 2. Cited in T. A. Beetham, Christianity and the New Africa, p. 30.
 3. Bankole Timothy, Kwame Nkrumah, p.72. See also J. S. Pobee, Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966, p. 109.

AFRICAN REVOLT IN THE CHURCHES

Although some of the churches insisted on African participation in leadership at various levels, there were nationalist feelings and deep stirrings in some churches. The long period of missionary leadership had helped to make available indigenous people who could take up leadership positions in the churches. These potential leaders wanted to be given the chance to show that Africa had a unique contribution to make to the heritage of the universal Church. They also wanted to show that the churches in Africa had reached a stage of maturity where they ought to be given the opportunity to be truly African and to manage their own affairs.

In the Methodist Church for instance, there was a breakaway movement. In 1898 the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of the Gold Coast was formed through the initiative of Bishop John Bryan Small, a West Indian who came to the Gold Coast as a Sergeant in the West Indian Regiment. Small, who later went to New York to be ordained, founded the A.M.E. Zion Church which was seen as an African Church in its membership, government, administration and worship. Some members of the Methodist Church including some Ministers, were attracted by the new Church and joined it. The ministers and lay men who joined the Church included the Rev. Fynn Egyir-Asaam, the Rev. R. S. B. Attoh Ahuma, J. E. K. Aggrey and K. Osam Pinanko (Frank Arthur). Small arranged . . . /

arranged for the two lay men and Rev. Attoh Ahuma to go to the United States of America to study. 1 On his return, Rev. Attoh Ahuma took up the post of General Superintendent of the A. M. E. Zion Church and Dr. Pinanko became instrumental in the work of the Church. At the inaugural meeting of the Church held at Cape Coast, the Rev. T. B. Freeman Junior was quoted by The Gold Coast Aborigines as saying, "This Church thus composed of Africans and entirely governed and worked by Africans was indeed 'bone of our bones and flesh of our flesh', which would naturally take a much greater interest in their missions in the Motherland than can be possible with Missionary Boards and Missionaries of an alien race who are not above the colour question". 2 Following the release of details of the Church on a similar occasion at Keta, the same newspaper reported thus:

It is, indeed, an entirely negro church; organized by negroes for negroes, manned, governed, controlled and supported by negro energy, intellect, liberality and contributions. In fact, it is the sentiment of the church, that however great may be the friendship, intellect or interest of any white man, in the well being, Christianization and enlightenment of the negro race be he European, American or Asiatic, he cannot successfully reach the emotional feelings of the masses of our people.

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1. W. J. Walls, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, p. 235. See also David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana 1850-1928, p. 163.
 2. The Gold Coast Aborigines, 26 November 1898. Cited in David Kimble, op. cit. p. 163.
 3. The Gold Coast Aborigines, 25 February 1899, *ibid.* p. 163.

Many other churches sprang up mostly led by former members of the historic churches. In 1917 the Rev. J. D. Taylor a Fantiman, on his return from America, inaugurated his Church at Cape Coast called the Church of God. In 1918 the Rev. J. B. Anaman founded his Nigritan Church which conducted its services in the Fante language. Prophet Jehu Appiah, who founded the Musama Disco Cristo Church in 1922, was a former Catechist of the Methodist Church.

In their desire to be truly African christians, some of these church founders and leaders discarded what was known as their christian names and which they regarded as European names and took native names. To give just a few examples, the Rev. John Ahoomah Solomon changed his name and became known as the Rev. Attoh Ahuma. The Rev. Fynn Egyir-Asaam was formerly known as W. F. Penny and F. Arthur changed his name to F. Atta Osam Pinanko. Some of the native names were anglicized either in spelling or pronunciation or in both. For example, "Atta" was anglicized and written as "Arthur" with a different pronunciation. But this was by no means an expression of sentiments of anglophobia. It was rather a vent for nationalist feelings in which there was a strong desire to receive and propagate the Gospel of the universal Christ in the African culture. The leaders wanted the churches in the Gold Coast to be truly African.

The . . . /

The stirrings and revolt in some of the churches were motivated by various factors including discontent, personal ambition, the desire for a truly African christianity and spiritual convictions. The separatist churches emphasized African form of worship characterized by drumming, clapping and dancing in which the African could express his faith and joy in Christ in a most pragmatic way.

By the 1950s the churches had made a remarkable progress in growth and expansion, leadership training, management and administration and inter-church and ecumenical relations. For instance, the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast started to be self-governing in 1918 and by 1950 it was fully independent in all respects. The Evangelical Presbyterian Church was organized "into a self-governing and largely self-supporting Church".¹ These developments were largely due to the First World War when the German missionaries were expelled from the Gold Coast and the British Mandated Togoland. On the part of the Roman Catholic Church, the Gold Coast became a province and an ecclesiastical hierarchy was established with Cape Coast as the Archdiocesan seat. In 1957 the Rev. John Kodwo Amissah . . . /

1. E. Grau, "Missionary Policies as seen in the work of Missions with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana," in C. G. Baeta, Christianity in Tropical Africa, p. 62.

Amissah was consecrated a Bishop being the first Ghanaian to be in that office. 1 In the Methodist Church the picture was different. Despite the fact that the Missionary Committee had decided, as early as 1888 "to reduce gradually the staff of European Missionaries on the West Coast, and to devolve more responsibility upon Native brethren", and to this end, they had had several of them under training in their English colleges, 2 the Church did not become independent and leadership taken over by Africans till as late as 1961. One of the reasons for this may again be World War 1. The Wesleyan missionaries were British nationals and thus were not expelled, neither was their work interrupted. In view of this, the Methodist Church did not go through the experience through which the two Presbyterian Churches had to go and which, to a large extent, prepared them for independence.

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Before colonial rule, political power in the Gold Coast was in the hands of the Kings, Chiefs and their elders. With the emergence of colonial rule, power was transferred to the colonial government. The colonial government . . . /

1. Ghana Catholic Diary, 1975.
2. Missionary Committee letter, 14 December 1888, Cited in F. L. Bartels, The Roots of Ghana Methodism, pp. 121-122.

government ruled directly through its political officers namely, the Governor, Chief Commissioners, Provincial Commissioners and District Commissioners in matters relating to external affairs, defence, finance and some aspects of the judiciary. It ruled indirectly through the Kings and the Chiefs in matters relating to the collection of taxes, communal labour and the aspects of the judiciary which came under native customary law.

The latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries saw the emergence of the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast. But until 1947 the nationalist agitation was episodic. Every nationalist movement was formed within and for a specific situation. The success or failure of the various nationalist movements depended upon their aims, objectives, policies and methods and to what extent these related to the interests and life situation of the people.

The Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (A.R.P.S.) was formed in April 1897 and had in its membership some chiefs and the educated elite. It was formed to oppose the Land Acquisition Ordinance of 1897 and to protect the interests and the traditional institutions of the people. It criticised and opposed a number of ordinances and government measures including the Criminal Code Amendment Ordinance of 1934, the Water Works Ordinance of 1934, the Native Administration Revenue Ordinance of 1939 and others. It criticised the . . . /

the government's interference in the enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs. It also opposed the establishment and operation of the Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.). It was critical of the government's refusal to establish local industries. In its desire to be more effective in its fight the A.R.P.S. studied the methods of some foreign organizations. It established contact with the Sierra Leone branch of the West African Youth League. It also got in touch with the All Indian Congress Committee regarding its literature on the literacy campaign upon which it had embarked. In 1945 the A.R.P.S. contacted the Pan-African Congress whose joint secretaries were then George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah in London. It was represented at the Pan-African Conference which was held in Manchester in 1945.

The guiding principle of the A.R.P.S. was respect for cultural traditions and reverence for land as the foundation of community life. 1 With this as the basis of political action, the A.R.P.S. sought to defend the power, the institutions, the land, the rights and the identity of the people of the Gold Coast. It was so effective and strong that the government sometimes had to consult it on questions of national importance until the coming into operation of the Provincial Councils as a result of the 1925 constitution.

1. David Kimble, *op.cit.* p. 330

Another proto-nationalist movement was the National Congress of British West Africa (N.C.B.W.A.). Unlike the A.R.P.S. which had a parochial political horizon, the N.C.B.W.A. had international political horizon. The British Government decided to establish forest reserves in the Gold Coast. In view of its land policy, some Africans brought pressure to bear on it. As a result of this, it appointed a committee in 1912 to look into the issues of land tenure system in the whole of West Africa. Some educated Africans thought that the findings of the committee ought to be critically scrutinized to enable them to react to them. But to be able to do this they needed unity of purpose as a medium of expressing African opinion. To this end, in 1913, a few educated Africans under the leadership of Casely Hayford from the Gold Coast and Herbert Macaulay from Nigeria started a campaign aimed at forming a West African pressure group as an outlet for political action in West Africa especially with regard to the Forest Bill. The report of the committee came out in 1917 and by that time the land question was no longer an issue of currency. Nevertheless the efforts of this group of educated Africans did not end there. They continued to organize the people to fight for their rights and freedom not only in matters relating to land but also other political, social and economic issues.

From 1914 contacts were made by Casely Hayford and some educated Africans with their counterparts in Sierra Leone . . . /

Leone and Nigeria with a view to forming the National Congress of British West Africa which they thought would be a strong political movement to champion the cause of the people of West Africa. Branches of the Congress were to be opened in various parts of the British colonies in West Africa. In the Gold Coast, branches were opened in Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi and by 1918 the N.C.B.W.A. had taken shape. 1 In March 1920 the Congress held a meeting in Accra at which officers were elected. 2 Like the A.R.P.S., the N.C.B.W.A. thought that development and advancement of any country could be achieved only by the participation of the indigenous people in the government of the country. The Pan-African movement spearheaded by Sylvester Williams (a lawyer from Trinidad), Dr. Du Bois (black American) and Marcus Garvey (West Indian) influenced the political thinking and activities of the leaders of the Congress.

The . . . /

1. In the Gold Coast, the outstanding leaders of the Congress were: J. E. Casley Hayford, T. Hutton Mills, Van Hien, the Rev. F. Osam-Pinanko, Esuman Gwira-Sekyi, K. A. Korsah, S. R. Wood and J. Mercer. In the other West African countries, the leading members were: L. E. V. McCarthy, F. V. Dove, Dr. H. C. Bankole-Bright (from Sierra Leone), P. J. G. Campbell (from Nigeria) and E. F. Small (from the Gambia).
2. The Officers elected were: T. Hutton Mills (President), J. E. Casley Hayford (Vice-president). Other Vice-Presidents were elected from the other West African countries while the secretaries were elected from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

The N.C.B.W.A. presented petitions to the governments of the British colonies in West Africa in which it called for the reform of the Legislative Council to allow half of its members to be elected, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive (in line with the principle of separation of powers), the abolition of racial discrimination in the Civil Service and the repeal of certain obnoxious ordinances such as the Provincial Courts Ordinance and the Criminal Code Amendment Ordinance. They also advocated the establishment of municipal corporations with full powers of local self-government, the recognition of African ownership of lands and the establishment of a West African University. 1

After the First World War, the British Government appointed a committee called the Empire Resources Development Committee. The committee was charged with the promotion of imperial exploitation of West African natural resources on the West African coast. The purpose of the exploitation was to generate funds to meet the expenses of the war. The N.C.B.W.A. passed a resolution in which they protested vehemently against the exploitation of the natural resources of West Africa for that purpose. They did not see any justification in . . . /

1. The Gold Coast Leader, 26 February 1921

in the British desire to exploit the resources of West Africa either for the benefit of Britain and its empire or for the settlement of war expenses. The Congress also protested against the partition of Togoland between Britain and France. In September 1920, the Congress sent a delegation to London with a petition to the King in which they demanded some political reforms but their petition was turned down on the grounds that the N.C.B.W.A. did not represent the Gold Coast. Neither did the Gold Coast Government recognize the Congress as representative of the interests of the people of the Gold Coast.

The lack of recognition of the N.C.B.W.A. by both the British and the Gold Coast governments could not stop it from action. It continued to function and held meetings in the capitals of British colonies in West Africa, namely, Accra, Lagos, Freetown and Bathurst. On the agenda of such meetings were issues relating to constitutional, judicial, economic and educational reforms. 1 J. E. Casley Hayford died in 1930 and the Congress died with him. In fact, it had already started to diminish in importance before 1930. Various reasons could be assigned to the weakness and decline of the N.C.B.W.A. but the main reason was its lack of support from the chiefs. Although the Congress was short-lived, . . . /

1. David Kimble, op. cit. Chapter 10. See also Adu Boahen, Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Chapter 14.

lived, it achieved some measure of success and contributed to the growth and development of nationalism and political awareness in the Gold Coast.

There were other small political organizations such as the Cape Coast Independent Party, the Mambii Party in Accra and others. But the interests and activities of these political organizations were confined to their localities and ethnic groups. The Gold Coast Youth Conference which held its first meeting in 1930 was formed by Dr. J. B. Danquah. It was not a society per se but a conference of various societies and clubs. It aimed at uniting the chiefs and the educated elite. The Conference was not a political organization but it discussed inter alia matters relating to development in the fields of education, health, trade and commerce.

It is worth having a brief look at the activities of two foreign nationalists who radically influenced the political thinking of and changed the direction of the nationalist movement in the Gold Coast. They were I.T. A. Wallace-Johnston, a Sierra Leonean and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, a Nigerian. Wallace-Johnson, a graduate of the People's University of Moscow, returned to Africa full of communist and Pan-African ideas. He lived for some time in Lagos in Nigeria and when, as a result of his nationalist activities he was deported by the colonial authorities, he went to the Gold Coast in 1933. The two main institutions which Wallace-Johnson sought to . . . /

to overthrow were colonial rule and chieftaincy of which he was a strong opponent. In 1934 he organized the youth and formed the West African Youth League (W.A.Y.L.) with the assistance of Bankole-Renner (an Accra lawyer). His primary aim was to awaken the political consciousness of the youth of West Africa and to instil in them a spirit of patriotism and nationalism in order to fight to liberate their countries from colonial rule.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had studied in America after which he returned to Africa in 1934. At the invitation of J. A. Ocansey, 1 an Accra merchant, Azikiwe went to the Gold Coast to take up a post as the editor of the African Morning Post (a local newspaper). Wallace-Johnson and Azikiwe used the paper as a strong organ of the W.A.Y.L. for its nationalist, anti-colonial government and anti-chieftaincy activities. It published radical articles in which it used strong language to attack the colonial government, the chiefs and the educated elite. The W.A.Y.L. sought to mobilize the youth of the country against not only the colonial government but also against the chiefs and the educated elite - the proto-nationalists whom they held were in league with the colonial government.

The . . . /

1. J. A. Ocansey was the President of the Gold Coast and Asante Cocoa Federation.

The League was the first nationalist movement which radically and openly came out against the colonial government and pressed for self-government. In view of its revolutionary political, social and economic ideas, the W.A.Y.L. became popular and attracted to the youth and branches were opened in various parts of the colony. As a result of the League's strong opposition to the power structures and the educated elite in the Gold Coast, there developed a conflict between itself, Wallace-Johnson and Azikiwe on the one hand and the government, the chiefs and the educated elite on the other. The two Left-wing nationalists were criticised in various ways by individuals like Nana Ofori Atta I and Dr. Nanka Bruce. They were accused of importing communist ideas into Gold Coast politics.

In May 1936 Azikiwe published an article in his paper entitled "Has the African a God?" written by Wallace-Johnson. The colonial government considered the article seditious. Both Azikiwe and Wallace-Johnson were given prison sentences. The former appealed against his conviction and was acquitted by the West African Court of Appeal. On his release, he left the Gold Coast for his native Nigeria. In 1938 Wallace-Johnson was deported to his native Sierra Leone and that marked the end of the W.A.Y.L. Although the League was short-lived, it had a profound impact on Gold Coast nationalism and politics.

No evidence is available to show whether the churches
or . . . /

or the Christian Council of the Gold Coast reacted in any way to the activities and the public pronouncements of the W.A.Y.L. There is nothing to show that they intervened in the conflict between the chiefs and the educated elite on the one hand and the W.A.Y.L. on the other. Furthermore, there is nothing to show that either the churches or the Christian Council reacted to the article which was published in the African Morning Post in May 1936 which resulted in the conviction of the two radical politicians even though it had something to do with the African and a God.

The Achimota Discussion Group which was formed in 1939 was different from the other organisations. Initially it was made up of the members of the staff of the College. Later various bodies were represented in the Group including the government, the Provincial Councils, the Missions and private citizens. It was the only organisation in which both Africans and Europeans could meet and discuss problems affecting the Gold Coast and offered suggestions as to how they could be solved. It was not a political organization.

Before 1945 nationalist spirit did not go beyond local and regional barriers. Nationalist feelings were expressed in matters relating to land and racial questions. Although the aims and objectives of the N.C.B.W.A. transcended local, ethnic and regional barriers and its activities were both national and international . . . /

international, the formation of the Congress was a reaction to the persistent interest of the British Government in and its interference with the lands of its West African Colonies. From 1947 nationalism and nationalist agitation took a new dimension and assumed a wider scope and a wider horizon. The nationalists concentrated their attention and energies on the achievement of self-government for the people of the Gold Coast. They impressed upon the people that the attainment of self-government was the only solution to the social, economic and political problems of the country. This called for a national movement which embraced the whole country consisting of the Colony, Asante, the Northern Territories and Togoland. The movement transformed itself into political parties which will be dealt with in separate sections but before that, it is necessary to look at the constitutional and administrative environment in the Gold Coast from which the parties were formed and within which they operated.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN THE GOLD
COAST BETWEEN 1946 and 1950

Under the Burns Constitution of 1946, there was a Governor who administered the country on behalf of the British Crown. He was assisted by an Executive Council composed mainly of European officials. For administrative . . . /

administrative purposes the country was divided into three parts namely the Colony, Asante and the Northern Territories. Each of these areas was administered on behalf of the Governor by a Chief Commissioner who was responsible to the Governor. Each of the three areas was divided into administrative districts which were administered on behalf of the Chief Commissioner by either a Senior District Commissioner or a District Commissioner who was responsible to the Chief Commissioner.

There was a Legislative Council which, by the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946, was constituted as a legislature for the Gold Coast. It was within the power of the Governor to enact ordinances for the Colony and Asante with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council. But the Governor had special powers which enabled him, if in his opinion, it was expedient in the interests of public order, public faith or good government to introduce any bill or propose any motion, and if the Legislative Council failed to pass such a bill or motion, to order by declaration that such bill or motion should have effect. The special powers were not used. 1

In the Legislative Council, there was a President appointed . . . /

1. The Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948, Colonial No.231, p. 101, Appendix 16.

appointed by the Governor or if the Governor so decided he could serve himself as the President. There were six ex-officio members who served in the Executive Council. There were eighteen elected members of whom nine represented the Colony and were elected by the Joint Provincial Council, four representatives from Asante who were elected by the Ashanti Confederacy Council and five representatives from the municipalities of Accra (two members), Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi (one member each). There were also between six and eight members nominated by the Governor. The nominated members at the time of the disturbances in 1948 "included representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and of Mines, the Chairman of the Methodist Church of the Gold Coast, and three others." 1 The Governor enacted legislation for the Northern Territories which usually took the form of the extension of the operation of the laws enacted by the Legislative Council to the Northern Territories. But on certain issues, the Governor had to enact separate legislation for the Northern Territories.

In the Colony there was the Joint Provincial Council which consisted of the Paramount Chiefs of the Colony and the representatives of the Native Authorities which did not include a State. 2 Every bill introduced in the . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 101, Appendix 16.

2. Ibid.

the Legislative Council was first remitted to the Joint Provincial Council for its views and comments. The Council elected representatives from their number to the Legislative Council. In Asante there was the Ashanti Confederacy Council composed of the Head Chiefs of the Divisions of Asante and the lineage heads of Kumasi. There were also a number of non-chiefs in the Council over which the Asantehene presided. It performed functions similar to those of the Joint Provincial Council including the election of members to represent Asante in the Legislative Council. In December 1946 a Northern Territories Territorial Council was established on the lines of the Councils in the Colony and Asante but its functions were purely advisory and deliberative.

In each of the towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi there was a Town Council which had an unofficial majority of elected members. In Kumasi there was a Town Council with an equal number of elected and nominated members. The Councils were vested with powers and duties to levy rates and to perform other functions expected of municipal councils.

Apart from the municipalities, local government in all parts of the Gold Coast was controlled by the Native Authorities composed of the chiefs and their councils of elders. Government recognition of the Native Authorities gave their powers legal force. Their functions included the maintenance of law and order in their . . . /

their areas of jurisdiction and the general welfare of the people. They worked within the scope of the authority and power given them by the government and under the supervision and guidance of its political officers. They were responsible to the District Commissioners of their areas. They could make bye-laws for the purposes of imposing annual rate and paying fees for the use of lorry stations, the collection of market tolls, the construction of roads through communal labour, the building of class rooms for the schools and others.

This is a compendium of the constitutional and administrative system in the Gold Coast at the time of the strong tide of nationalism in the country between 1946 and 1950. It was in this context that the political drama which started in 1947 and ended in 1957 was initially staged. The criticisms of the nationalists and their bitterness and resentment towards the colonial government can be seen in the light of this constitutional and administrative system which they thought was inimical to the advancement towards self-government. On the other hand, the 1946 Constitution was the first in the constitutional history of British West Africa to provide for an African majority in the Legislative Council. In view of this, it was seen in European and official circles as a manifestation of a major political advance in the Gold Coast. In his address to the Legislative Council Governor Burns said:

This . . . /

This is the first time in the Gold Coast and indeed, in tropical Africa, that a Legislative Council has included a majority of elected members.... This is a very considerable political advance, and it affords an opportunity for the Gold Coast people to prove to the world that they have deserved the confidence placed in them, and are fitted to make still further steps forward on the road of democracy. They have now the chance to prove that they are fitted for responsibility, and it is the need for a proper sense of responsibility that I wish to emphasise.... And our fitness for further political advance will be judged to a great extent by the use to which you put the powers that have now been given you. 1

From the quotation one gets the impression that power was given to the people of the Gold Coast through their representatives in the Legislative Council, but that was not a true reflection of the situation. The nationalists considered the 1946 Constitution defective.

The African elected majority in the Legislative Council which the Governor said was the first not only in the Gold Coast but in the whole of tropical Africa, gave the members very little political advantage. The constitution gave no political power to the elected Africans and so the responsibility which the Governor spoke about was responsibility without power. Political power rested in the hands of the Executive Council which the Governor regarded as his own when he said, "One of the proposals of your representatives with which . . . /

1. Address by the Governor, Sir Alan Cuthbert Maxwell Burns to the Legislative Council, 23 July 1946, Cited in G. E. Metcalfe, Great Britian and Ghana - Documents of Ghana History 1807-1957, P. 681, Ghana National Archives.

which I could not agree was that the Constitution should provide that two of the elected members of the Legislative Council should be nominated to the Governor's Executive Council. 1 The Executive Council was the Governor's Council because it was composed of ex-officio and nominated members. The former were the senior political officers of the government while the latter were nominated by the Governor. The control and direction of government was in the hands of the Executive Council which initiated policies. The Legislative Council only served as grounds for debate.

Although the six-year period of war arrested development in British administration and the situation in the Gold Coast was not an exception, during the same period, there was rapid development and advancement in the academic and political experience and outlook of some of the people of the Gold Coast. The ex-servicemen who served in the Forces abroad had come back with their political, social and economic horizons widened. Some had had higher education abroad and had returned home well equipped for political leadership. They instilled in the people nationalist feelings and the need for self-government. Furthermore, the sheer presence of these experienced men of wide horizons and vision served as an inspiration and made many feel that they . . . /

1. Ibid. p.681.

they had their own people who were capable enough to be at the helm of affairs in the country. What is more, the people of the Gold Coast were not unaware of the political developments and changes that were going on in other parts of the world. India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon had achieved their independence. The question of the nationalists was, why should the Gold Coast continue to be under colonial rule? They thought that Africanization ought to be the driving force in any realistic governmental policy but it received no attention of the government. Related to the silence of Africanization was the very slow pace of educational development which was a sine qua non of Africanization.

The constitution did not make any provision for participation in local government as a means of creating a political arena in which the Africans could gain political experience in management and administration at the local level. Thus even minor details of matters of local concern were handled by the District Commissioners. The only vent for political expression available to the people of the Gold Coast was the Native Administration which was absolutely dominated by the chiefs and the elders. The commoners did not have any means of effective political expression within the framework of colonial rule. It was in the light of this situation that the admission of the two non-chiefs

1 into the Joint Provincial Council was not regarded by the chiefs as an elementary right but as a privilege underserved by commoners. As the Watson Commission saw it, there was "an intense suspicion that the Chiefs are being used by the Government as an instrument for the delay if not the suppression of the political aspirations of the people." 2

The government had legal power over enstoolment and destoolment of chiefs. This power had in pre-colonial times been in the hands of the people. Once that power was taken over by the government, the power of the people to hold their chiefs in check and to express their grievances and dissatisfaction effectively was taken away from them. The principle which developed from this policy of the government was that once a chief toed the line of the government he could rule his people the way he wanted without fear of destoolment. Related to the suspicion that the chiefs served as instruments and agents of colonial rule and as pawns of the government was the fact that election to the Legislative Council was by the chiefs who obviously elected the representatives from among their own colleagues. The 1946 Constitution recognized the chiefs as the representatives . . . /

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1. The two non-chiefs were the Rev. C. G. Baeta and Dr. J. B. Danquah.
 2. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast 1948, Colonial No.231, p.25, paragraph 107.

representatives of the people and the Governor testified to this when he said, "I hope there will be no misunderstanding as to the origin of this Constitution. It is not a constitution that I have invented, or that has been imposed upon us by anyone in England. It is a constitution granted to the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti by His Majesty the King at the request of the people of the Gold Coast made through their representatives." 1 "By representatives" of the people the Governor meant mainly the chiefs because thirteen out of the eighteen elected representatives in the Legislative Council were to be chiefs. The constitution failed to realise that the old system of the so-called indirect rule through the chiefs was rapidly losing ground among the people of the Gold Coast.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS OF THE NATIONALIST AGITATION

The Burns Constitution ignored the prevailing circumstances and the forces which were at work in the Gold Coast during the period of its operation. The absence of an outlet for political expression by the educated elite created a powerful stimulant for intelligent discontent and opposition. It made no provision for the citizens of ability to participate in the formulation of policies. The reforms envisaged by the . . . /

1. G. E. Metcalfe, op.cit. p. 681

the constitution were seen by the educated elite as merely government through advisory committees and were regarded by them as mere window dressing. Against this background, the 1946 Constitution was viewed by the educated elite as outmoded at birth and the situation called them to action by the formation of political movements to fight for self-government.

Apart from the political situation in the Gold Coast up to and during the time of the 1946 Constitution, there were a number of social and economic factors which stirred up nationalist feelings and necessitated the formation of political movements.

As a result of the persistent demand for educational development and advancement by the people, the government drew up an educational programme in 1944. The programme included the expansion of primary and secondary schools as well as training colleges. In 1943 the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed a commission under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Elliot to investigate and report on higher education in British West Africa. There was a division of opinion in the recommendation of the Commission. A majority of the members recommended the establishment of three universities, one in Ibadan for Nigeria, one in Accra for the Gold Coast and one in Freetown in Sierra Leone for both Sierra Leone and the Gambia. A minority of them favoured the establishment of only one university . . . /

university for the whole of British West Africa. The British Government accepted the recommendation of the minority and elected to establish a West African University College in Ibadan. There was a strong protest against the decision of the British Government by the people of the Gold Coast which resulted in the establishment of the University College of the Gold Coast in Accra in 1948. The interest of the people of the Gold Coast in education was reflected in the Watson Commission report which stated :

Nothing impressed us more than the interest of the peoples of the Gold Coast in education. Practically every African, who sent in a memorandum or appeared in person before us sooner or later started to discuss Education. This interest, in our opinion, is as deep-rooted as it is widespread. It does not spring solely from any mercenary assessment of material benefits but from some genuine desire for learning itself. 1

The educational system in the Gold Coast was strongly criticized by the nationalists from various perspectives. They held that educational facilities were too few and the rate of increase was too slow. The development had been ill-balanced, the curricula were not adapted to the needs of the country and the method of teaching was not as effective as it might be. The Watson Commission described the educational development and progress in the Gold Coast as "one of almost mushroom growth." 2

1. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948, Colonial No. 231, p. 62, paragraph 358, Ghana National Archives.

2. Ibid., p.63, paragraph 369.

There was mass unemployment as a result of the return of the ex-servicemen from service abroad and the great number of elementary school leavers who drifted to the towns in search of non-existent jobs. Furthermore, there were housing problems in the towns where the majority of the people lived in poor conditions as compared with the beautiful houses and the healthy environment in which the Europeans lived.

In the economic sector, there were numerous complaints. The sale of cocoa was controlled by the government and the farmers had no say in the fixing of the price given to them. The great profit which accrued from the sale of cocoa was held in Britain instead of bringing it to the Gold Coast for the purpose of development projects which were badly needed in the country. Furthermore, the farmers were frustrated and angered by the government's approach to the problem of the swollen shoot disease which seriously affected the cocoa industry. The government ordered the cutting down of all the cocoa trees affected by the disease as the only solution to the problem. The system whereby labourers were paid on the basis of the number of trees cut led to indiscriminate cutting of healthy and diseased trees. Farmers were not notified of the probable arrival of the cutting-out squads and the work was sometimes carried out without their knowledge. What is more, some farmers forestalled, by bribes the cutting . . . /

cutting out of their diseased trees 1 The farmers complained that the government did nothing to arrest the situation other than cutting down cocoa trees.

Another cause of discontent was that during the war, production of rubber, vegetable oils, potatoes and soya beans was promoted. The farmers expected the promotion to continue in the post-war period but it ceased, and the production of these items was discontinued or neglected.

Industrialization was not a priority in government policy despite the misguided exploitation of the mineral deposits by foreign mining companies the profits of which were not utilized in the interests of the country and its citizens.

The indigenous businessmen in the Gold Coast were eliminated from the commercial world by the European, Syrian and Lebanese businessmen with their bigger firms. During the war a phenomenon known as the quota system was introduced in the Gold Coast for the importation of goods. Through this system, most indigenous importers were put out of business leaving the field almost entirely to the well-established foreign firms. In order to monopolize the import trade the foreign firms in West Africa formed what they called the Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.). This enabled them . . . /

1. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948, Colonial No. 231, p. 49.

them to have a firm grip of the commercial sector of the economy of West Africa to the disadvantage of the Africans. The situation was vividly reflected in an evidence given by A. George Grant, 1 a Sekondi timber merchant before the Watson Commission.

We were not being treated right, we were not getting the licences for the import of goods, also we were not pleased with the way our Leg. Co. handled matters, because we had not the right people there. At one time, we had the Aborigines Rights Protection Society who were taking care of the country. Later on, they were pushed out and there was the Provincial Council of Chiefs. The chiefs go to the Council and approve loans without submitting them to the merchants and tradesmen in the country. thereby we keep on losing. 2

Furthermore, the petty traders became angry with the practice of conditional sale whereby they were made to buy some goods which they did not need before they were given those which they needed. All these built up tension and frustration which exploded with boycotting and looting as will be shown later.

THE UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION

In the light of the deteriorating political, social and economic situation in the Gold Coast in the early post-war years, there was an urgent need for the formation of political movements which were stronger than the A.R.P.S. There were a number of political movements . . . /

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1. A George Grant was the Chairman of the United Gold Coast Convention.
 2. Report of the Watson Commission. See also Dennis Austin, Politics in Ghana 1946-1960, p. 51.

movements which came to the political scene at the time. One of them was the National League of the Gold Coast which was formed by E. Akufo Addo, a lawyer who had graduated from Oxford University.

Motivated by the situation in the Gold Coast, A. George Grant (affectionately called Pa Grant), a Sekondi timber merchant decided to form a political movement to fight for self-government. He discussed the idea with three friends of his, Dr. J. B. Danquah, R. S. Blay and R. A. Awoonor Williams. They agreed to form a political movement and contacted E. Akufo Addo, the founder of the National League of the Gold Coast, who agreed to merge his movement with theirs. These discussions and consultations led to the conveyance of a conference of about forty representative leaders on 4 August 1947 at Canaan Lodge at Saltpond. At this Conference, it was decided that a political movement was to be formed to be known as the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.). Thus the movement was launched on that day with a policy "to ensure that by all legitimate and constitutional means the direction and control of government should pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs in the shortest possible time". It was the aim of the U.G.C.C. "to ensure that persons elected to represent the people and their national rulers in the present Legislative Council shall be elected by reason of their competence and not otherwise". This clause was obviously directed against the place of chiefs in the Legislative . . . /

Legislative Council in favour of the educated non-chiefs.

In order to see the contrast between the U.G.C.C. and the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) and their leadership at a later stage, it will be helpful here to look at the leadership of the U.G.C.C. and the class to which the leaders belonged. The leading members of the movement and their profession were as follows: A. George Grant (Timber merchant - Chairman), Dr. J. B. Danquah (Lawyer - Vice-Chairman), R. S. Blay (Lawyer - Vice-Chairman), R. A. Awoonor Williams (Lawyer - Treasurer), E. Akufo Addo (Lawyer), E. A. W. Ofori Atta (Graduate Teacher), J. W. de Graft Johnson (Lawyer), E. Obetsebi-Lamprey (Lawyer), Kobina Kessie (Lawyer) and John Tsiabo (Newspaper proprietor - Ashanti Pioneer). From this picture, it can be seen that the leading members of the U.G.C.C. belonged to the upper class elite - lawyers, intellectuals and businessmen. Furthermore, they were mature people, who recognized the traditional position of the chiefs and the legitimacy of their authority. In the light of the calibre of the U.G.C.C. leadership, it is not difficult to understand why they elected to achieve self-government by legitimate and constitutional means, neither is it difficult to see why they wanted the direction and control of government to pass into the hands not only of the people but also of their chiefs. As will be seen later . . . /

later, this attitude was in great contrast to the policy of the C.P.P., the leaders of which were of totally different calibre. To all intents and purposes the U.G.C.C. was a political party yet it avoided the use of the word "party".

The leaders sought to present the movement as the people's movement to which anyone who subscribed to the idea of self-government should belong. But although the U.G.C.C. leadership presented the movement in this picture, it did not seek to bridge the gap between its upper class elite and the masses who formed the majority of the population. As will be shown later, it was the C.P.P. leadership which identified itself with the masses and thereby won their confidence. When the U.G.C.C. leadership realized this serious weakness and sought to rectify the situation, it was too late.

In view of its outlook and aims and objectives, the U.G.C.C. drew its support from the chiefs, the elders, professionals and businessmen. After its inauguration, it started to win the support of the people and its popularity and the rate of its spread surprised the leaders. Because of its rapid growth, it needed a full-time General Secretary to run its affairs. But none of the lawyers and the other professionals in the leadership was prepared to give up his job to take up the post of a full-time General Secretary.

KWAME NKRUMAH AND THE U.G.C.C.

In 1935 Kwame Nkrumah left the Gold Coast for the United States of America to study. In 1945 he left America for London where he got involved in the Pan-African movement and political activities of various types aimed at fighting against colonialism and imperialism on the continent of Africa.

The need for a full-time General Secretary for the U. G.C.C. became crucial. Ako Adjei, a lawyer and one of the members of the Convention strongly recommended Kwame Nkrumah, who was still in London, for the post. The U.G.C.C. accepted the recommendation of Ako Adjei and Dr. J. B. Danquah officially wrote to Nkrumah offering him employment as the General Secretary of the U.G.C.C. On 14 November 1947 Nkrumah left London for the Gold Coast to assume duty as the General Secretary of the U.G.C.C. arriving on 16 December 1947.

In January 1948 Nkrumah started his official duties. Although the U.G.C.C. was supposed to be a national political movement, it concentrated its efforts mainly in the Colony and to a lesser extent, in Asante leaving out the Northern Territories and the Trans-Volta Togoland. Even in the Colony and Asante, there were only a few branches of the movement. Nkrumah then started to organize the U.G.C.C. on party lines and travelled extensively throughout the country with the aim of opening branches all over the country to make it a . . . /

a united political movement of the whole country. Within six months, he had opened five hundred branches of the movement in the Colony alone. The appointment of Kwame Nkrumah as the General Secretary of the U.G.C.C. boosted the movement and gave it a real political outlook with a message for the whole country.

Nkrumah worked with great political zeal and the rapid growth and expansion of the U.G.C.C. was due to his organizing ability. A young man of only thirty-nine years of age, he had the energy to travel extensively through the length and breadth of the country. In contrast to the life style of the "intelligentsia", he lived a simple life and could thus identify himself with the proletariat and thereby win their confidence and support. His background and experience, combined with his oratory and commanding personality enabled him to attract and win the crowds from the political platform. The ordinary people, especially the youth of the Gold Coast, were looking for a radical movement with a radical leadership for a mass and strong move against not only colonial rule but also against the traditional institutions under whose authority they felt they did not enjoy real freedom. Nkrumah proved that he was able and prepared to offer such leadership. He got a great following and made the U.G.C.C. a popular political party. Apart from Nkrumah's contribution to the growth, spread and popularity of the U.G.C.C., there were other events which . . . /

which contributed to its tempo and momentum and thus agitated the nationalist spirit.

THE BOYCOTT

The economic situation in the Gold Coast in the early post-war years was such that most people could not buy essential commodities. Referring to a charge made against the importers by the indigenous businessmen, the Watson Commission stated, "It was being alleged that importers, and particularly those associated with the hated organisation which flourished under the name of the Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.) were deliberately keeping up prices of essential commodities to an outrageous extent." 1 The people expected the government to react to that practice of social injustice and greed, but it took no action. This generated the suspicion that the government was in collusion with the powerful importers especially those who belonged to the A.W.A.M. and that was why they could act as they did.

In December 1946, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs had a meeting with the Chamber of Commerce and the Acting Colonial Secretary at which the Chiefs complained about the high prices of imported goods and requested . . . /

1. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Disturbances in the Gold Coast, 1948, Colonial No. 231, p. 35, paragraph 173.

requested that a fairer system of distribution should be worked out in order to alleviate the hardship of the people. The chiefs were later told that a tentative scheme of price control had been worked out, but nothing came of that. All this time the government took no action either by way of price control or by instituting a public enquiry into the trading activities of the powerful companies and importers. The feeling of economic hardship was expressed by the representatives of the Ashanti Youth Association (A.Y.A.) before the Watson Commission when they said that "The Gold Coast African had been subject for a long time to economic oppression and exploitation. The economic oppression is evinced in the Export and Import-Policy of the Government.... The A.W.A.M., the QUOTA system, and the act of Past Performance, all of which are major roots of our present economic troubles, were born during the war, and therefore should be withdrawn immediately." 1

The tension created by the feeling of economic hardship especially the high prices of imported goods was released through a boycott organized by an Accra Chief, Nii Kwabena Bonne II (Osu Alata Mantse). He was a businessman who thought that he had a duty to his people in that period of inflation. He decided to organize . . . /

1. Cited in Dennis Austin, *op. cit.* p. 70.

organize a boycott campaign to force the importers to bring their prices down. He wrote to the Accra Chamber of Commerce asking them to issue a price list indicating a reduction in the prices of imported goods and if they refused to heed the advice to reduce prices, there would be a national boycott from 26 January 1948. No action was taken on his letter and so an Anti-Inflation Campaign Committee was set up with local branches in the towns in the Colony and Asante. A general boycott was declared on the purchase of European imported goods. The boycott, which lasted for almost a month had the support of the chiefs. In view of the success of the boycott and the seriousness of the situation, a meeting was held on 20 February 1948 at which an agreement was reached between the representatives of the Anti-Inflationary Committee, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs and the Chamber of Commerce. The agreement was that the firms would reduce their gross overall profit margin from 75 per cent to 50 per cent on non-controlled commodities for a trial period of three months. On the basis of this agreement, Nii Bonne and the members of his committee announced that if new prices were issued, the boycott would be called off on 28 February 1948.

When all these things were going on the government took no action. Its position was that it was purely a trading dispute over which it should be silent and remain neutral. The same day on which the Boycott was scheduled . . . /

scheduled to be lifted an incident took place which strengthened the position of the nationalist movement and not only accelerated the movement towards self-government but also dispersed the assumption that the Gold Coast was a model colony whose inhabitants were content with colonial rule.

THE DISTURBANCES OF 1948

On 28 February 1948, the Ex-Servicemen's Union organized a peaceful demonstration and marched to the Castle to present a petition embodying their grievances to the Governor. When the procession arrived at the crossroads and were heading towards the Castle, they were commanded by the police to stop. This resulted in a clash between the ex-servicemen and their supporters on the one hand and the police on the other. When the British Superintendent in charge of the police, saw that the police could not stop the crowd from going to the Castle apart from force of arms, he gave the order to fire. His order was not carried out. He snatched a rifle from one of the policemen and opened fire on the unarmed ex-servicemen. Two of them were killed instantly and four or five others were injured. 1

Tension was already high due to the boycott. The shooting . . . /

1. The two who were killed were Sergeant Adjetey and Corporal Attipoe.

shooting incident either sparked off or agitated looting and rioting which started in Accra and spread to many towns in the Colony and Asante. Many stores were set on fire. The riots cost 27 lives, injured 237 people and damaged £2 million worth of property.

Although the U.G.C.C. had nothing to do with either the boycott or the riots, the government accused the leaders of being the organizers of the two events and so arrested and detained six of them. This made both the U.G.C.C. and the six leaders very popular. The leaders who became known as the "Big Six",¹ were hailed as national heroes and the U.G.C.C. was regarded as a national movement dedicated to championing the cause of the people.

In the heat of the events, the leaders of the U.G.C.C. sent two telegrams² to the British Government stating what had happened in the Gold Coast and demanded the withdrawal of the Governor and the setting up of a Constituent Assembly and the eventual granting of self-government. In response to this, the British Government appointed a three-man Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances under the chairmanship of Andrew Aiken Watson.³ The Commission recommended constitutional . . . /

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1. The six leaders who became known as the "Big Six" were : Dr. J. B. Danquah, W. Ofori-Atta, E. Akufo Addo, Ako Adjei, Obetsebi Lamptey and Kwame Nkrumah.
 2. See Appendices F and G (Appendix F - Short Telegram), Appendix G - Long Telegram).
 3. Other members of the Commission were : Keith Murray and Andrew Dalglish.

constitutional reforms. In reaction to the recommendations, the British Government set up an all-African Committee on Constitutional Reform composed of forty citizens and under the chairmanship of Justice J. H. Coussey. The term of reference of the committee was to draw up a new constitution for the Gold Coast. It held its first meeting on 20 January and submitted its report on 26 October 1949.

The Coussey Committee was almost equally divided on its view of the type of legislature to be recommended, whether bicameral or unicameral. It eventually recommended a bicameral legislature with a Second Chamber called the Senate. Two-thirds of the members would be elected on a popular franchise while one-third were to be elected by the Territorial Councils of Chiefs who could be either Chiefs or non-chiefs. There were to be two members representing the Chamber of Mines and the Chamber of Commerce. The minimum age for a voter was fixed at 25 years and voters were to be tax payers.

The Committee recommended that there should be an Executive Council composed of not less than seven ministers with the Governor as Chairman. The Council was to be the initiator of policies and was to be responsible to the House of Assembly. Other members of the Council were to be the Leader of the House of Assembly and three ex-officio members.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies approved the unicameral model. In the approved legislature, the Assembly . . . /

Assembly consisted of a Speaker and 84 members of which 75 were elected. There were three ex-officio members and six members representing Chambers of Commerce and Mines. The ex-officio members and the six members representing Commerce and Mines were the only Europeans in the Legislature. The elected members were : 5 Municipal members elected directly by universal suffrage, 33 Rural members elected in two stages by universal suffrage, 19 Northern Territories members elected by a special electoral college and 18 members elected by the Territorial Councils of the Colony, Asante and Southern Togoland. The Secretary of State for the Colonies also accepted the recommendation of the Committee regarding the composition and function of the Executive with some amendments. The Executive which had African majority was to have eight ministers. It was collectively responsible not only to the House of Assembly as the Committee recommended but to both the Assembly and the Governor. A general election based on the constitution was arranged and scheduled for February 1951.

The events of 28 February 1948 occupy a prominent place in the history of Ghana. The people reacted to the shootings in various ways. The day was commemorated annually with public gathering and speeches. The churches organized religious services at which offerings were taken and distributed to the dependents . . . /

dependents of the victims. But apart from this neither the churches nor the Christian Council of the Gold Coast made any public statement as regards the incidents. They were silent because they concerned themselves not so much with the political issues of the time as with the moral and social issues as was shown in the preceding chapter. At that time, they thought that political issues fell within the domain of the government and the chiefs but in moral and social matters, both the Church and the State had responsibilities. They believed themselves reacting to the moral and social sides of the political issue by raising funds through Church services to support the dependents of the victims of the 28 February 1948 disturbances.

What is more surprising was that out of the 166 memoranda (excluding memoranda from official sources) submitted by individuals and organizations to the Watson Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances, not one was sent by the Christian Council of the Gold Coast. But it can be said that six of the memoranda indirectly came from the churches. They were submitted by the following: The Rev. A. W. Banks, Principal of Wesley College-Kumasi; The Rev. M. B. Taylor, Chairman of the Gold Coast District of the Methodist Church-Accra; The Trinity . . . /

Trinity College - Kumasi; 1 The Rev. S. G.

Williamson, Principal of Trinity College - Kumasi; The Very Rev. J. K. B. Korsah-Dunkwa (particulars not given) and E. W. N. Dowuona, Headmaster, Presbyterian School (2) - Bisa. 2 It can also be said that the memorandum submitted by the Trinity College was sent on behalf and expressed the views of the Protestant Churches in the country. The Board of Governors of the Trinity College represented the Protestant Churches which sponsored the College and a memorandum of that nature could be sent only by Board representing and expressing the views of the churches. What is more, the Principal of the College also submitted a memorandum which could be taken as a personal one and showed that the one which was submitted by the Trinity College was an official one.

The Committee on Constitutional Reform which was set up in 1949 by the British Government was a direct result of the Watson Commission report. To this Committee also a number of memoranda were submitted by individuals and organizations. Here also the Christian Council of . . . /

1. The Trinity College is a joint Protestant Theological College in Ghana where ministers are trained for the Holy Ministry in the Protestant churches in the country. The College, established in Kumasi in 1943, has moved to Legon-Accra. As the memoranda could not be consulted nothing can be said about the views expressed.

2. Ibid. Appendix 4, pp. 80-82.

of the Gold Coast is not on record as having submitted any memorandum while the Gold Coast Moslem Association submitted one. It is significant to observe that the Methodist and the Roman Catholic Churches sent memoranda to the Committee. That of the Catholic Church was submitted through its Action Committee. 1

It must be stated that the Christian Council of the Gold Coast did not play any role in the political issues which resulted from the February 1948 disturbances. Individual churches, especially the Methodist Church, were rather more noticeable.

THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY

Kwame Nkrumah on the one hand and the rest of the members of the Working Committee of the U.G.C.C. on the other lived in two different worlds. Nkrumah with his radical approach to self-government lived in a revolutionary world to which Dr. J. B. Danquah and the other members with their conservative approach, did not subscribe. There developed an atmosphere of tension, suspicion and distrust between Nkrumah and the Working Committee. In August 1948 Nkrumah was called before the Working Committee and was told that he had been suspended on the grounds that he had been using terms which . . . /

1. Report of the Committee on Constitutional Reform 1949, Colonial No. 248, Appendix VII, pp. 87-88.

which were associated with communist groups and had been maintaining connections with them. He was also accused of agreeing with the Watson Commission in laying the blame for the 1948 disturbances on the U.G.C.C. In place of the General Secretaryship, he was offered the post of an honorary treasurer which he at first refused but accepted in November. Furthermore, the Working Committee was not happy with the publication of the Accra Evening News and the establishment of the Ghana National College by Nkrumah but he was not prepared to abolish them.

Relations between Nkrumah and the Working Committee of the U.G.C.C. deteriorated further. Various unsuccessful attempts were made at reconciliation. At a meeting of the Working Committee on 11 June 1949 at Saltpond, Nkrumah resigned from the U.G.C.C. and the following day 12 June 1949, he announced the formation of the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) with himself as its Chairman, K. A. Gbedemah as its Vice-Chairman and Kodjo Botsio as its Secretary. At a rally attended by about 60,000 people at the Arena meeting ground in Accra Nkrumah, "on behalf of the C.Y.O., in the name of the chiefs, of the people, the rank and file of the Convention, the Labour Movement, our valiant ex-servicemen, the youth movement throughout the country, to the man in the street, our children and those yet unborn, the new Ghana that is to be, Sergeant Adjetey and . . . /

and his comrades who died at the crossroads of Christiansborg during the 1948 riots, and in the name of God Almighty and humanity," 1 announced the formation of the Convention People's Party.

Nkrumah said that he declared the birth of his party on behalf of the C.Y.O. Furthermore, as a prelude to the declaration of the formation of the C.P.P. Nkrumah said, "I am happy to be able to tell you that the C.Y.O., owing to the present tension has decided to transform itself into a fully-fledged political party with the object of promoting the fight for full self-government now." 2 This is significant. The C.Y.O. was the Committee on Youth Organization which consisted of four main groups - the Youth Study Group (Y.S.G.) in Accra, the Asante Youth Association (A.Y.A.) in Kumasi, the Wassa Youth Association (W.Y.A.) in Takoradi and the Ghana Youth Association (G.Y.A.) in Sekondi. The membership of these groups was made up of semi-literate people or drop-outs, elementary school leavers, the junior government employees, the unemployed, labourers, apprentices of various types and the commoners as opposed to the chiefs and the educated elite. The youth occupied a prominent position in the C.P.P. and their activities injected into the party and its operations a strong element of a revolt of the youth against . . . /

1. Autobiograph of Kwame Nkrumah, p.86

2. Ibid. p. 86.

against the authorities both in the State and in the Church.

The aims of the C.P.P. which were stated in a six-point programme may be summarized as follows. To fight by constitutional means for the achievement of full self-government now for the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast, to remove all forms of oppression and establish a democratic government, to secure and maintain complete unity of the whole country, to meet the interest of the trade union movement by the provision of better conditions of work, to work for a proper reconstruction of a better Gold Coast in which freedom prevailed and to contribute to the realization of a united and self-governing West Africa. The aim of the U.G.C.C. was, "to ensure that by all legitimate and constitutional means the direction and control of government should pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs in the shortest possible time." Thus the ultimate aims of both the U.G.C.C. and the C.P.P. were the same, i.e. the achievement of self-government for the people of the Gold Coast. The difference between the two lay in the time of self-government, the method adopted to achieve it and the calibre of the membership of the two political movements. While the U.G.C.C. advocated self-government at the shortest possible time, the C.P.P. demanded self-government now. The leadership of the U.G.C.C. was of an older conservative elite group while that of the C.P.P. and its activists belonged . . . /

belonged to a younger, radical and revolutionary group.

The C.P.P. expressed strong opposition to the Coussey Committee Report and stated "that the Coussey report and His Majesty's Government's statement thereto are unacceptable to the country as a whole." Its demand was "that the people of the Gold Coast be granted immediate self-government, that is, full Dominion status within the Commonwealth." The 1950 Constitution which was based on the report was described by Nkrumah as "bogus and fraudulent." Both the colonial government and the U.G.C.C. were in favour of the report and the constitution.

One of the most powerful weapons of the C.P.P. in its political propaganda, agitation and criticisms of the policies of the colonial government and the U.G.C.C. was the publication of its three newspapers, the Accra Evening News, the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Mail. The most outstanding was the Accra Evening News. The papers were founded by Nkrumah and they were so effectively used in political propaganda and their attacks and criticisms were couched in such extreme language that the government started to institute a series of prosecutions against their editors. Some C.P.P. journalists including K. A. Gbedemah, Kwame Afriyie and G. K. Amegbe were imprisoned on charges of publishing seditious articles. Nkrumah was also brought before the court and fined £300.00 or four months imprisonment for contempt.

THE USE OF RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE

Nkrumah was a product of the Church. He was educated in Mission Schools and higher church institutions and studied the Scriptures. He had a Bachelor of Theology degree from Lincoln Theological Seminary in the United States of America and was a lay preacher in some of the local churches. He used his theological knowledge in his political career and this was quite evident in his political adaptations of some theological statements and biblical sayings. He was not unaware of the religiosity and spirituality of Africans and the strong christian influence in the Gold Coast. He knew that in the light of the religiosity of the people, religious language was effective among them and so he adapted it as a catalyst to put his political message across to the people. This would not only bring home to the people the genuine intentions of the Party and its leader and thereby make the people take them seriously but it would also enable their message to meet the people at the level of their faith. Nkrumah's use of religio-political language and political adaptation of some texts of the Scriptures and doctrinal statements brought him into conflict with the leaders of the churches and the Christian Council on various occasions. A few examples will be helpful. The leaders of the churches felt very strongly about and expressed . . . /

expressed great concern and horror at the political adaptations of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed which Nkrumah published in the Accra Evening News thus:

Oh Imperialism, which are in the Gold Coast
Disgrace is thy name; Thy Kingdom go.
Our will be done in the Gold Coast,
As it is done to you in Britain.
Give me this day our full Self-government
And forget about the infringement of charges
Against our Leaders, as it was done to
You when you advocated for independence
From the Romans;
And lead us not into fear, But deliver us from evil,
For Ghana is a glorious land, for ever and ever. 1

One of the names of Nkrumah and his supporters was "Verandah Boys" which meant common people who were without property and who slept on the verandahs of the bourgeoisie. This was to show that he identified himself with the common and the oppressed people. The Accra Evening News published the political adaptation of the Apostles' Creed under what it called 'A"VERANDAH BOYS" CREED' as follows:

I believe in the Convention People's Party,
The opportune Saviour of Ghana.
And in Kwame Nkrumah its founder and leader,
Who is endowed with the Ghana Spirit,
Born a true Ghanaian for Ghana;
Suffering under victimisations;
Was vilified, threatened with deportation;
He disentangled himself from the clutches of the
U.G.C.C.

And the same day he rose victorious
with the "Verandah boys",
Ascended the Political Heights,
And sitteth at the Supreme head of the C.P.P.
From whence he shall demand Full Self-government
for Ghana.

I believe in Freedom for all peoples
Especially the New Ghana;
The Abolition of Slavery,
The liquidation of Imperialism,
The . . . /

1. Cited in Bankole Timothy, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 78.

The Victorious end of our Struggle,
its glory and its pride,
And the Flourish of Ghana, for ever and ever. 1

Nkrumah recognised the strong hold which christianity had taken on the Gold Coast society especially among the christians. Many, if not most, of the C.P.P. activists had passed through Mission and Church Schools and had learned the Catechism, some biblical passages and texts and doctrinal statements and had committed them into memory. Nkrumah was aware of the profound influence which these theological statements and scriptural texts had on the faith of the christians and his strategy was that, by his political adaptation of some of these statements and texts, he could capture their confidence, trust and support from within their religious faith. In other words, he was trying to build up his political image, personality and popularity within the religious and political thinking of the people. This strategy, coupled with inflammatory writing in the Accra Evening News played on the emotions and beliefs of the youth and set them to action. The other African-owned newspapers in the Gold Coast criticized the Accra Evening News. They accused the paper of engaging in a campaign against authority by encouraging the people to disrespect the traditional rulers, to generate hatred and antagonism towards the educated elite and to be lawless and disregard all lawful institutions.

1. Ibid. pp. 78-79

THE C.P.P., THE U.G.C.C., AND THE GOVERNMENT

The C.P.P. was fighting against not only the colonial government but also against the U.G.C.C. Its political methods, its membership, the organizing ability of its leaders and their modern techniques of party organization, its political propaganda and the charismatic appeal of Nkrumah contributed immensely to its popularity and its defeat of the U.G.C.C. whose popularity diminished while that of the C.P.P. increased.

The C.P.P. rejected the Coussey Committee Report because not only Nkrumah but also the youth organizations were excluded from the membership of the Committee. They demanded a division of the country into constituencies, the setting up of a constituent assembly and calling of a general election through which the people could decide whether or not to accept the Coussey Committee Report.

In January 1950 Nkrumah and his party embarked upon what he called "Positive Action" by which he meant "the adaptation of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute . . . /

absolute non-violence, as used by Gandhi in India." 1 This meant that apart from the workers in hospitals, water conservancy and other public utilities and the police, a general strike was declared. As a result of this, the government declared a state of emergency, closed all the C.P.P. offices and presses and imprisoned some of the leaders of the party including the editors of the Accra Evening News, J. G. Markham and the Cape Coast Daily Mail, Kofi Baako. Nkrumah was arrested and brought to trial and was given three prison sentences of one year each.

Under the Coussey Constitution, a general election was held on 8 February 1951. While in prison Nkrumah stood as a candidate for Accra Central and the C.P.P. was strongly and effectively organized to contest the election. The Coussey Constitution under which the election was held was published on the same day the election results were announced. Nkrumah polled 22,780 votes out of a possible 23,122 and thus won the seat for Accra Central. The C.P.P. won an overwhelming victory over the other parties by gaining 29 out of the 33 seats in the rural districts and all the 5 municipal seats. The U.G.C.C. won 3 seats and an Independent 1 seat. This shows how popular the C.P.P. was even at a time when its leader, Kwame Nkrumah was in prison.

1. Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, p. 92

Following the overwhelming victory of Nkrumah and his C.P.P. in the 1951 general election, Governor Charles Arden-Clarke ordered the release of Nkrumah and his colleagues from prison. He then asked Nkrumah to form a government. Accordingly he formed his C.P.P. Government with the title of Leader of Government Business. That was the beginning of the fifteen-year period of the C.P.P. administration. A year after Nkrumah's assumption of office, the Governor asked him to assume the title of Prime Minister. A product of the Church and a person who described himself as a non-denominational christian became the first Prime Minister of the Gold Coast. The first term of office of the C.P.P. Government lasted from February 1951 to June 1954.

THE CHURCH AND PARTY POLITICS

Although individual christians joined various political parties and were actively involved in party politics, the leaders of the churches had a wider horizon of the political scene and were cautious about having personal connections with political parties. Various reasons accounted for this political stance of the Church leaders. they wanted to show their loyalty to the christian principles of love, being one in Christ, being a brother's keeper and the like. Furthermore . . . /

Furthermore, as leaders of the churches, any personal political stance they took could be interpreted to mean the official stance of the churches and so they were very careful with this and with their public pronouncements which could be taken as the official position of the churches. This principle of prudence on the part of the church leaders as regards their political connections and public pronouncements is a phenomenon which was in the Church in the old days and still exists among church leaders of today. 1 The church leaders exercised tremendous restraint in their comments on political issues.

Most of them had had personal ties with European missionaries and colonial government officials through the Church-State partnership in education and they would not risk giving offence to their friends and colleagues by too open an identification with a movement which sometimes used quite extreme language about Europeans and traditional rulers. The C.P.P. was active in attacking the power of the traditional authorities and their collusion with the colonial government. This attitude . . . /

1. At the conclusion of an interview with the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rt. Rev. Professor James Whyte on the conflict which arose between him and the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher and her Government, the Evening News (Edinburgh), No. 36, 121, p. 10, Thursday, 13 April 1989) quoted the Moderator as saying "When I am not Moderator, I shall be free to really speak my mind."

attitude kept the local Pastors and Church Elders at a distance from the C.P.P. because they could not risk giving offence to the chiefs.

The Church's refusal to align itself with political parties was misunderstood by the young party activists who took it to mean an opposition to the struggle for self-government. This created a tension between the church leaders and the party activists. The situation became worse in the post-independence period when the C.P.P. Government elected to exert a totalitarian control of every aspect of national life and wanted to extend this control to the churches, as will be seen in the next chapter. What is more, the leadership of the church (both central and local) was by and large of an older, conservative age group while the political activists, especially of the C.P.P., were young people whose stance was not only against the colonial government but also against the traditional authorities. There was a generation gap between the church leaders (both clergy and lay) and the youth. The two were living in different worlds and effective communication and understanding between them were difficult to achieve.

The churches did not identify themselves with party politics but apart from the fact that many individual christians played an active role in party politics, some ministers of the Gospel were actively involved in the activities of the C.P.P. and some political party activities . . . /

activities and programmes included elements of Church services. For example, the programme which was drawn up for the inauguration of the Akuropon branch of the U.G.C.C. in July 1948 was prepared as if the inauguration had been a church activity. Two ministers of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast officiated at the function which included the singing of hymns, prayer and benediction. The programme for the function was as follows:

PROGRAMME FOR THE INAUGURATION OF THE AKROPONG BRANCH,
UNITED GOLD COAST CONVENTION 10TH JULY, 1948

CHAIRMAN : MR. KOI LARBI, B.L.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Procession | 1.30 p.m. |
| 2. Opening Hymn | Mommo mmoden na monye baako. |
| 3. Prayer | Rev. M. A. Adade |
| 4. Introduction of Chairman | Mr. C. A. Aboagye (Ag.Bursar
Presbyterian Training College) |
| 5. Song | Adukrom Presby. Singing Band |
| 6. Aim of Meeting | Local President |
| 7. Song | Kristo Nsraafo Fekuw |
| 8. Address | Mr. Akuffo Addo |
| 9. Voluntary Donations | (Music by Mampong Symphony
Orchestra) |
| 10. Address | Dr. Kwame Nkrumah |
| 11. Introduction of Branch Officers | Apesemakahene |
| Installation of Officers | Leaders of the U.G.C.C. |
| 12. Music Mampong | Mampong Symphony Orchestra |
| 13. Address | Dr. J. B. Danquah |
| 14. Song | Adukrom Singing Band |
| 15. Address | Mr Ako Adjei |
| 16. Vote of Thanks | Mmerantehene Atta Kwadjo |
| 17. Closing Song | Yen Ara Asase Ni |
| 18. Benediction | Rev. F. W. K. Akuffo |

By the Working Committee 1

The churches were not necessarily against party politics. They rather tempered down the spirit of partisanship . . . /

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1. I got this document from the Rev. Colin Forrester-Paton, a former missionary of the Church of Scotland who worked in the Gold Coast and Ghana for many years.

partisanship and advised the people to move towards independence with care and in an atmosphere of peace and in a spirit of non-violence. They stressed the importance of and the urgent need of respect for other people's views, mutual understanding, healthy relationships, patience, tolerance and reconciliation. At church services, prayers were often offered for God's guidance for the people in their movement towards independence. The churches allowed their members to take active part in party politics and to be politicians and parliamentarians and some financed their parties.

Some ministers of the Church were active C.P.P. members and parliamentarians. The Rev. V. K. A. Saifah of the Anglican Church joined the C.P.P. as chaplain to the party. He openly preached in favour of independence for the Gold Coast and attended and spoke at C.P.P. meetings and rallies. He was imprisoned for the part he played in the Positive Action in 1950. As a result of his active involvement in party politics, he was excommunicated. The Rev. Dr. S. Gyasi Nimako of the Methodist Church was an active member of the C.P.P. He offered prayers at C.P.P. meetings and rallies. He contested the parliamentary seat for New Juaben in the 1954 general election on the ticket of the C.P.P. and was a Member of Parliament from 1954 to 1956. He was the Chairman of the New Juaben Urban Council from 1954 to 1957. From 1961 to 1966, the year in which the C.P.P. Government was overthrown, he was Ghana's High Commissioner . . . /

Commissioner to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Zambia. 1 The Rev. S. Dzirasa of the Methodist Church joined the C.P.P. in November 1949. He was active in C.P.P. political campaigns in his pastoral area. He was invited by the chiefs of Tongu Constituency to stand as the C.P.P. candidate for the 1951 general election. The Methodist Church did not allow him to accept the invitation. He was again invited to stand as the C.P.P. candidate for his constituency in the 1954 general election. The Church refused to grant him permission to stand but he accepted the invitation and contested and won the election. In 1956 he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Defence and External Affairs. In 1960 he was appointed a Minister of State and posted to Guinea as Resident Minister.

The Rev. (now Very Rev.) C. K. Dovlo of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church contributed articles to the Ashanti Pioneer for thirty-nine weeks. His aim in publishing the articles was to offer political education to the people in general and to the politicians in particular and to make the people aware of their legitimate and inalienable political rights. In this series of articles which were later published in a book entitled Africa Awakes, Rev. Dovlo aimed at impressing upon . . . /

1. Interview with the Rev. Dr. S. Gyasi Nimako in his house at Afidwase-Koforidua on 26 November 1987.

upon the colonial government "that Africa was a giant which was awake from sleep and that it was time for Africa to be allowed to move on and to aspire to reach the height of manhood. 1 What the Minister wanted to tell the British Government and the colonial government was that the Gold Coast had reached a stage where it ought to be seen as mature enough to be given its independence. Many christians got involved in politics and identified themselves with the nationalists. But some of the people, both christians and non-christians held the view that politics was the business of politicians and christians should not get involved in it. Asked what his view on the issue was, Very Rev. Dovlo said that christians were justified in getting involved in politics and in supporting the cause of the nationalists because by so doing they were bringing christian influence into politics and into the nationalist movement. In one of his articles Rev. Dovlo asserted, "Politics is a clean and devoted service but dirty men can make it a dirty business." 2 Rev. Dovlo was invited by Kwame Nkrumah to stand for election to Parliament in place of K. A. Gbedlemah. His reply was that his Church would not agree. Nkrumah then sent a delegation to the authorities of the Church to discuss the matter with them. The Moderator and the Synod Clerk . . . /

1. Interview with the Very Rev. C. K. Dovlo in his house at Keta on 5 March 1987.

2. Cited in Bankole Timothy, *Op.cit.* p.65.

Clerk accepted the idea and went personally to see Rev. Dovlo and told him that he had the blessing of the Church in standing for the election. He stood, and became C.P.P. member of Parliament for Keta.

Some missionaries or expatriate clergymen who worked with some of the churches in Ghana also were Kwame Nkrumah's strong supporters. For example, the Rev. Arthur Howarth, an expatriate Anglican Minister was a protagonist of "Nkrumaism." In spite of his physical disability, he actively championed the course of the C.P.P. and contributed articles to the Party's newspaper, the Evening News designed to show his support for Nkrumah's actions. 1

It is noteworthy that when, in 1949, there was a split between the U.G.C.C. and the C.Y.O. which later transformed itself into the C.P.P., it was Rev. Interdu Chinebuah of the Methodist Church at Sekondi and another Minister from the Zion Church and a barrister who served as arbitrators to endeavour to settle the dispute between Kwame Nkrumah and the Working Committee of the U.G.C.C. Their recommendation was that Nkrumah should be reinstated as the General Secretary of the U.G.C.C. Nkrumah accepted the recommendation but the other members of the Working Committee of the U.G.C.C. rejected it. This led to the resignation of all the members . . . /

1. For information about Rev. Howarth's activities and his relationship with Nkrumah and the C.P.P., see J. S. Pobee, Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966, pp.114-115.

members of the Working Committee with the exception of the Chairman George Grant.

It was the wish of the christian community that christians should be brought into politics to ensure that political power was exercised by God-fearing people and on christian principles. It was in the light of this that they encouraged christian participation in politics and it was in the same light that they expressed delight on the appointment of Emmanuel Charles Quist, a staunch Presbyterian and a lawyer as the first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly on 20 February 1951. The churches' political stance of not getting involved in party politics but encouraging their members to get actively involved in the political issues in the country was shared by some churches in the United Kingdom. This is reflected in a message sent to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast in August 1951 by the Church of Scotland, part of which read :

The political changes in the Gold Coast have aroused world-wide interest. We rejoice in the great forward step in self-government and independence which has been taken, and we pray that this new-found freedom may be wisely used for the highest good of the Gold Coast and Africa. Sometimes in Europe men have thought that Christian people should have nothing to do with politics. We beg you not to make this mistake. Every Christian has a political responsibility even if it is only to think and vote according to their conscience. Though the Church must not become involved in party politics, Christians are to be commended for taking an active part in political affairs. In this way, as well as by the faithful preaching of God's Word, Christian principles can be brought . . . /

brought to bear on the affairs of the nation. 1
The Synod discussed the message with interest and stated that "members of the Church must take upon themselves their political responsibilities bearing always in mind that wherever they serve, they must shine according to the light in which as Christians they had learned to walk". 2

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

THE FIRST TERM OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY GOVERNMENT

The first term of the C.P.P. Government started in 1951 and ended in 1954. During this period, there were rapid social, economic and political developments in the Gold Coast. The C.P.P. Government replaced the colonial government's Ten-Year Development Plan which was drawn up in 1946 involving an expenditure of £11.5 million with a Five-Year Development Plan and an accelerated development plan for education involving an expenditure of £120 million. This venture was made possible by the huge reserves which had been accumulated during and after the Second World War. Another contributing factor was the high price of cocoa on the international . . . /

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1. Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, Minute 1112 of 1951, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 7548, MMS No.251B.
 2. Minutes of Synod, Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, Christiansborg-Accra, 13-17 August 1951, p.6.

international market. The development plan was designed to operate along four main lines : economic and productivity service, communication, social services and common services and general administration. Thirty-five per cent of the total amount for the Development Plan was devoted to social services and communication. Many new roads were constructed while some of the old ones were resurfaced with bitumen. The extension work on the Takoradi harbour was continued and the new one at Tema was started. The Akyease-Kotoku railway which was designed to reduce the journey from Accra to Takoradi by 163 miles was started. The main trunk road from Accra in the south to Bolgatanga in the north via Kumasi and Tamale was constructed. The Adomi Bridge over the river Volta was built at a height of 805 feet.

There was great development in the field of agriculture. The cocoa industry was rehabilitated and efforts were made to solve the serious problems of the swollen shoot disease. Furthermore, in order to break the monopoly of the foreign firms on the purchase and marketing of cocoa, the government established the Cocoa Purchasing Company (C.P.C.) in 1952.

Within the same period, the C.P.P. Government embarked upon a comprehensive housing scheme aimed at providing housing facilities for the people, especially for those in the urban areas. The municipal housing projects which had been started in Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi at a cost of £2.5 million were completed . . . /

completed. An amount of £2 million was devoted to a housing loan scheme. Other areas of development included the provision of health and medical services and good drinking water. Prominent among the social services provided was the building of a new hospital in Kumasi at a cost of £1.5 million. It is now one of the leading teaching hospitals in the country.

On the recommendations of the Lidbury Commission a new wage and salary structure was introduced by the government for the civil service and the daily wage of the unskilled labourer was raised from 3s to 4s. 6d, an increase of 50 per cent. Concrete and pragmatic steps were taken by the government to start the Volta River Project which had been receiving the attention of the colonial government since the 1920s. The project, which involved the building of a dam on the Volta River, was designed to produce hydro-electric power for industrial and commercial purposes.

The accelerated development plan for education brought about great development in the field of education. The government introduced free and compulsory primary education for children between the ages of six and twelve. Apart from the schools run by the Churches and Missions which continued to receive government grants, local councils were encouraged to establish their own schools which were managed by Education Officers and not by the agents of the churches. The rapid development in education in that

period was reflected in the increase in the enrolment of pupils in schools, the establishment of new schools and colleges and the increased government expenditure on education. The following figures are just a few examples: the number of pupils enrolled in elementary schools increased from 212,000 to 270,000 between 1950 and 1952. Government expenditure on primary education increased from £207,500 to over £900,000 between 1950 and 1952. Between 1952 and 1954 the government established sixteen new Teacher Training Colleges and this increased the annual output of teachers from 791 to 1,680 between 1951 and 1955. The number of Government Assisted Secondary Schools was increased from 13 in 1951 to 31 in 1955. Furthermore, £1.5 million was allocated to the University College of the Gold Coast (later the University of Ghana) for development projects while a new College of Arts, Science and Technology (now the University of Science and Technology) was established in Kumasi in 1952 costing £1.5 million. Since some courses could not be offered locally in the higher institutions, the government awarded a number of scholarships to students to pursue those courses abroad. They included medicine, law, the applied sciences and others.

There were tremendous developments in the political field. Movement towards the Africanization of the civil service was rapid. The number of Africans who held senior posts (then known as "European posts") increased . . . /

increased from 171 in 1949 to 916 in 1954 and in 1957, it increased to 3,000 while there were 1,100 expatriates. The local government system was changed in 1951. The old native authority system was abolished and replaced by local, district and urban councils two thirds of whose members were elected and one-third appointed by the chiefs. In the new councils, young people and elementary school leavers replaced the chiefs and thereby put local government into the hands of the former while the latter were kept in the background. In 1952 the Leader of Government Business in the Legislative Assembly disappeared from the constitution and the office of the Prime Minister recognized. Thus Nkrumah's title was changed from Leader of Government Business to Prime Minister. 1 The Governor had to consult the Prime Minister on all executive matters. Although this change was seen as a political and constitutional change and development, it did not effect a considerable change in the constitutional position of the Governor in relation to the leader of the government because executive responsibility was still divided. On the one hand was the Governor who was responsible to the Secretary of State for the colonies and the three ex officio members who were responsible to the Governor and Nkrumah and his representative ministers who were responsible to the Legislative Assembly on the other.

1. Kwame Nkrumah was the first African to be appointed Prime Minister in any British colony.

Thus notwithstanding the fact that there was the C.P.P. Government headed by Nkrumah as Prime Minister, the country had not yet attained independence. Nevertheless the first term of the C.P.P. Government was marked by tremendous progress and development. The performance of Nkrumah and his Government during their first term of office convinced the British Government of the capability of the people of the Gold Coast to govern themselves and the desirability of the granting of independence to the country.

In spite of the achievements and progress of the C.P.P. Government in its first term of office, there were some discreditable features of the Government. There was a great reduction in the quality of elementary education as a result of rapid expansion without a corresponding provision of the necessary facilities and qualified teachers. The inability to resist temptation on the part of a government which had inherited huge reserves, led to corruption in public life. There was abuse of power, disrespect for elders, violence and hooliganism attributed mostly to the C.P.P. supporters. Loyalty to the C.P.P. and its leader superseded loyalty to the country.

THE 1954 CONSTITUTION AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

The 1954 Constitution provided for a Legislative Assembly of 104 members all of whom were to be elected by direct election. It also provided for an all-African . . . /

African cabinet thus displacing the three ex-officio Ministers of Defence and External Affairs, Finance and Justice. The Cabinet was to be responsible to the Legislative Assembly and not to the Governor. The first general election under the new constitution was scheduled to take place on 15 June 1954.

Securing 72 out of the 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly, the C.P.P. won a resounding victory and Nkrumah was accordingly asked by the Governor to form a government. The British Government thought that this was going to be the last stage for the Gold Coast in the movement for its independence and many people expected that independence would immediately follow the 1954 general election and the victory of Nkrumah and his party. Contrary to this expectation, independence could not be attained until after three years, in 1957. Two main factors contributed to the delay. They were the question of the position of British Togoland and the formation of the National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.).

THE TOGOLAND ISSUE AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Togoland issue was whether it should be integrated with the Gold Coast when it became independent or to be established as an independent Togoland which could unite in future with either an independent Gold Coast or an independent Togo. The issue . . . /

issue was decided by the United Nations Organization through a plebiscite in May 1956 that Togoland should be united with the Gold Coast when it became independent.

The National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.) which emerged as a strong opposition party against the C.P.P. was formed in Asante on 19 September 1954. The aims of the N.L.M. were to eradicate lawlessness and the abuse of power, disrespect for age and disloyalty to the traditional authorities. To safeguard the interests of the farmers, to draw up a federal constitution for the country, to accelerate the movement towards independence of a nation built on the fear of God and to generate good international relations especially between the independent Ghana and the Commonwealth. 1

There were serious clashes between the C.P.P. and the N.L.M. and the period of clashes was the worst period of violence and bloodshed in the history of the struggle for independence. The strong antagonism which developed was based not only on the conflict between regional or ethnic and national interests but also between personal and national interests. Political opponents were seen as enemies. This state of affairs affected not only the State and its politics but it also affected the Church and the relationships between its members. . . . /

1. Adu Boahen, Ghana : Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, pp. 185-186.

members. Although the Church did not identify itself with any political party, party politics indirectly entered the Church. Individual christians belonged to different political parties and one could find in one congregation members of both C.P.P. and N.L.M. In a situation where political opponents were regarded as enemies, fellow christians became enemies where they belonged to either of the two parties. This brought about division in some congregations. Ministers and other agents of the Church had to be very careful and diplomatic in handling the two opposing groups in their congregations. Some party members and politicians wanted the support of the leaders of their churches and when they refused to offer such support, they were labelled as opposed to self-government.

In the midst of the activities of the political forces at the time, the Church not only stood above party politics and maintained its identity but it also served as a peacemaker and agent of reconciliation. Although neither the Church nor the Christian Council of the Gold Coast came out with public statements on their views on the political situation in the country during the C.P.P.-N.L.M. crisis, in the individual congregations the Church impressed upon the minds of its members the importance of and the need for patience, tolerance, respect for the views of political opponents, unity, reconciliation, humility and love which ought to reflect their christian life and belief. Furthermore, the . . . /

the Church engaged in constant prayers for the peace of the country and for a non-violent approach to politics and the attainment of independence. The Church did not identify itself with political parties but it identified itself with the solution of the problems which were posed by party politics at the congregational level.

The C.P.P. advocated a unitary constitution while the N.L.M. subscribed to a federal constitution. It became abundantly clear that the attainment of independence would not be possible until the constitutional differences between the two parties were resolved. Both parties were in unity of purpose since they both wanted independence for the country. But the N.L.M. insisted that before the granting of independence, two political issues should be addressed namely, the drawing up of a federal constitution for the Gold Coast which would safeguard the interests of the various regions, and the holding of a general election to decide the popularity of the two parties. The argument of the N.L.M. was that it emerged on the political scene after the 1954 general election and so there should be another general election which, with its alliance with the other opposition parties, it was confident that it would win. On the other hand, the C.P.P. argued that since the results of the 1954 general election were conclusive (having won 72 out of the 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly), another general election . . . /

election was unnecessary.

On the request of both parties and with a view to finding a solution to the political controversy in the Gold Coast, the British Government sent Frederick Bourne, ex-Governor of East Pakistan, to the Gold Coast to study the constitutional problems in the country and to make recommendations as to how they could be solved. He was to find a compromise solution to the problem of the opposing views on unitary and federal constitutions and work out details of a devolution of power to the various regions as an alternative to a full federation. He arrived in the Gold Coast on 26 September 1955. On 16 November 1955, the Nkrumah Government passed the State Councils (Ashanti) Amendment Bill which allowed subordinate chiefs in Asante to appeal to the Governor in-council against the decisions of their State Councils and the Asanteman Council. The Asanteman Council and the N.L.M. saw the Bill as a direct attack by the government on the customs and traditions of Asante and an affront to its cultural heritage. What is more, they regarded it as a further evidence of Nkrumah's anti-traditionalist and anti-chieftaincy approach to politics. He held a series of discussions with the government, the Joint Provincial Council, the Trans-Volta Togoland Council and many local government bodies but the N.L.M. and the Asanteman Council used the passage of the Bill as a reasonable excuse to refuse to meet Frederick Bourne as it was passed during his visit.

In . . . /

In spite of the boycott of the N.L.M. and the Asanteman Council, Bourne, the Constitutional Adviser, submitted a report on his assignment to the Governor on 17 December 1955 in which he advised against a federal form of government on the grounds that the Gold Coast was too small to have a federal constitution. He stated that supreme legislative power should be held by the central government. However, he recommended the establishment of Regional Assemblies which were to have neither legislative nor tax powers but were to be responsible for local matters and were to receive grants-in-aid from the central government. The N.L.M. rejected the report which it described as irrelevant on the grounds that it failed to meet the needs of truly regional assemblies of a federal description. Not only did the N.L.M. reject the report but it also insisted that the only means of solving the constitutional deadlock was a fresh general election.

THE 1956 GENERAL ELECTION AND THE GRANTING OF
INDEPENDENCE

In view of the constitutional deadlock, the British Government considered a general election as the only solution to the political problem.

The final stage of the movement for independence was the general election which was held on 12 and 17 July 1956. The Ghanaian independence depended upon the 1956 general . . . /

general election and so it was of great importance to the people including the churches. The Christian Council of the Gold Coast published a paper entitled "The General Election - A Call to All Citizens" which was read in all the congregations of the member churches. In an introductory remark the Council said, "At so critical a moment in the history of our country we, the undersigned, on behalf of the member Churches of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, desire to lay before men and women some considerations which they regard as important." Then the Council went on to draw the attention of the citizens of Ghana to the fact that the British Government had made it clear that independence was to be granted to the Nation as soon as a reasonable majority in a newly elected Legislative Assembly requested it. It pointed out that the votes of the electors would determine which of the contesting political parties should be entrusted with the responsibility of government, adding that all the political parties had as their aims, the achievement of independence although they differed in the type of constitution the country should have. The Council advised that it was the solemn duty of all voters not only to seek the guidance of Almighty God in casting their vote, but also to inform themselves as thoroughly as possible as to the claims and purposes of the rival parties. To this end, it was necessary that the people should . . . /

should be free to speak their mind and to listen to the views of others. The Council entreated the people to refrain from violence and intimidation which characterized election campaigns. It reiterated the stance of the Church as regards party politics and said it must always be free from identification with any political party and free to call people to do justice and love righteousness and to advocate the guarantee of the fundamental human rights. It called upon individual christians to cast their votes with a sense of political maturity. It concluded by saying:

We therefore call upon all Christians in this our beloved land to observe Sunday July 8th as a day of National prayer to pray earnestly that God may guide and direct us; grant wisdom and right judgement to all; overrule the selfishness and blindness of men; preserve us from falsehood, intolerance, and violence; grant to this Nation grace to serve Him in true union and concord.
RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH THE NATION. 1

The results of the election, which came as a surprise to both the N.L.M. and the C.P.P. were as follows: The C.P.P., the only party which won seats in all the four regions of the country, won all the 44 seats in the Colony, 8 out of the 13 seats in the Trans-Volta Togoland, 11 out of the 26 seats in the Northern Territories and 8 out of 21 seats in Asante, securing a total of 71 out of the 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly. Of the opposition parties, the N.L.M. won 12 seats, all of which were in Asante. The N.P.P. won 15 seats . . . /

1. See Appendix F

seats all of which were in the Northern Territories. The T.C.P. won 2 seats, the M.A.P. won 1 seat and the Federation of Youth Organizations (formerly the A.Y.O.) won 1 seat. Independents won 2 seats and later one of them joined the C.P.P. giving them a total of 72 seats in the Legislative Assembly while the combined opposition parties held 32 seats.

On 3 August 1956 Nkrumah introduced a motion in the Legislative Assembly asking the British Government to pass a Bill declaring the Gold Coast a sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth. The motion was passed by 72 in favour and none against. This satisfied the condition laid down by the British Government that "a reasonable majority in a newly elected Legislature" had to agree on the type of constitution which the independent Ghana would like to have before a date could be set for the granting of independence. In response to the motion, the British Government, on 18 September 1956 announced that it was satisfied that the results of the 1956 general election in the Gold Coast constituted sufficient evidence of a reasonable majority which formed the new government of the country and which had passed the motion. In view of this, it decided that "subject to parliamentary approval, Her Majesty's Government intends that Independence should come about on March 6, 1957." 1

1. Cited in F. M. Bourret, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

The constitutional dispute between the government and the opposition was still strong. Between 24 and 30 January 1957, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lennox Boyd, visited the Gold Coast. He met the members of both the government and the opposition and discussed the constitutional issues with them. Both sides had to make some concessions. With the intervention of the Secretary of State, an agreement was reached on the new constitution for Ghana. The Independence Constitution was signed by the Queen in council on 22 February 1957 and on 6 March 1957, Ghana became an independent and sovereign State within the Commonwealth. To mark the achievement of Ghana's independence, the Union Jack was brought down and the Ghana flag of red, yellow and green with a black star in the middle was hoisted in its place at midnight. The Christian Council of the Gold Coast prepared an order of service to be followed at united services of thanksgiving and dedication at the celebrations of Ghana's independence.

THE AFTERMATH OF PARTY POLITICS

The struggle for independence was over. Ghana had achieved its independence in fulfilment of the aspirations and wishes of the people. The people of Ghana, including the Church, rejoiced at the birth of the new nation. But the struggle for independence had left . . . /

left a terrible mark on the political life of the people. The political weapons which the nationalists used to destroy colonialism and pushed the colonial government out of the country and ushered in a national government turned out to be the very weapons which disintegrated the society and brought about disunity, bitterness, rancour, sectionalism, disrespect, arrogance, selfishness, avarice, corruption and hooliganism. The weapons were party politics. Party politics may be an effective means of choosing a government, of organizing people for political action, of bringing people of common political interest together to work out their political principles, philosophies and ideologies and to put them into practice in the interests of a nation. But the way in which party politics operated in the Gold Coast, in spite of all its positive contributions to the political life of the people, led many people to disillusionment.

Opposing political parties became bitter enemies and the Ghanaian Society became violently divided. Many atrocities and brutalities were committed involving loss of life and property, all in the name of party politics. There was blatant disrespect for age and many in the younger generation had no regard for the older generation while many commoners flouted the authority and power of the traditional rulers, a phenomenon alien in the Ghanaian society. To the man in the street, "freedom" meant not only freedom from colonial ruler but also . . . /

also from the authority and power of the chiefs and the elders. Some of the traditional rulers were too conservative to accept a change which ought to take place while the radical and revolutionary elements in the younger generation wanted to effect a change of the Status quo overnight. Traditionalism had to give way to socialism which was not fully understood. If the members of a family belonged to different political parties, there was a division and antagonism in that family. Ghanaian society was divided against itself. What role was the Church expected to play in that situation? the people expected the Church to play a role of a prophetic guardian, to intercede as a peace-maker and to use its spiritual, moral and social influence to arrest the situation.

In a welcome address to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast held at Kyebi in September 1954, Nana Ofori Atta II, the Paramount Chief of the Akyem Abuakwa State put what was the prevailing situation and what the people expected of the Church quite clearly when he said :

Today, my State in particular is riven into violent division. Today, we see signs that the traditional respect for our Elders which used to characterise our social relations and was the distinctive tribal mark of the Gold Coast African is now seriously challenged and it is not uncommon for... young persons to... challenge authority and to abuse openly their Elders. Do the Churches see these evils? Are they happy about them? What have they done about them? And what do they propose to do about them? These are pertinent questions for . . . /

for your Synod. All these evils are publicly condoned in the name of party politics. Political Parties whatever might have been our views regarding the desirability of their existence some years ago, have come to stay and will continue to be the main means of translating social opinions and ideals into the distinctive and authoritative form of laws. Many notable achievements have been made by our political parties but we should also admit that many evils have been introduced or encouraged by them. Need it be so? And is our glorious Church determined to raise neither voice nor hand to save the present rot. 1

The people looked to the Church as the conscience of the nation and as the only institution which had the prophetic voice. At the very heart of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and at the very centre of the mission of His Church is love within which there is peace. In the light of this, the people were wondering whether the Church should not be compelled by the love of God in Christ and as the salt of the earth and the light of the world 2 to take a bold stand against the evils which were committed through the wrong approach to the practice of party politics.

In the same welcome address the Okyenhene said:

I believe that, in the Gold Coast, if in no other country, it is the duty of the Church as a whole and of individual members of the Church to demonstrate against these evils and to show, by your example, that we can attain the highest ends of our ambition without . . . /

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1. Address of Welcome to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast by Nana Ofori Atta II (Okyenhene), Kyebi, 27 September 1954, p.12, paragraphs 39 and 40, Akyem Abuakwa State Archives Kyebi.
 2. Matthew 5 : 13-14

without the extravagances of evils and of violent divisions. Those of us who are members of the Presbyterian Church should in my view lead in the demonstration.... I, in particular, need the help of the Church as a whole and of the individual members of the Church. It is widely known that there are fatal divisions in my State originating from the existence of opposing political parties. It is also widely known that these fatal divisions and erroneous conceptions concerning the role of political parties produce their worst manifestations in determined opposition to Chiefs.... I appeal to this Synod to use their benign influence to improve the strained relations and redeem the situation. 1

The Statements made by Nana Ofori Atta II were a reflection of the role which the people expected the Church to play in the socio-political situation which had arisen in the Gold Coast as a result of the wrong operation of party politics in the struggle for independence. Those in the traditional power structure realized the degeneration of society caused by the misuse of party politics and was convinced that it was the Church power structure and not the colonial power structure that could offer a solution to the problem of the degenerate Gold Coast society. This is significant because it shows the extent to which the Church had influenced society and the prominent position it occupied not only in the society as a whole but also in the social, political and religious thinking of the traditional . . . /

1. Ibid. pp.12-13

traditional power structure.

There is no doubt that party politics played a prominent role in the movement for and the achievement of Ghanaian independence. Without the manifestation of its activities through party politics, the nationalist movement could not have achieved its aim of political emancipation of the people of the Gold Coast. But in its proper sense, engagement in politics is a call to service and not a call to amass wealth. With the emergence of party politics in the Gold Coast came the erroneous impression that the more active and the more loyal one was to the party in power, the more access one had to social and political power and wealth. This situation resulted in corruption, avarice, selfishness and the like of which the N.L.M. accused the C.P.P. and which led to the setting up of the Jibowu Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company Limited in 1956. The Company was established by the C.P.P. Government and the report of the Commission stated inter alia that the Company had misused public funds for political purposes and that bribery and corruption and extortion characterized the activities of the officials of the C.P.P.

C O N C L U S I O N

The achievement of Ghanaian independence could not have been possible without the contribution of the Church . . . /

Church. By providing education which is a sine qua non of an effective nationalist movement and serving as a role model for African leadership and a source of inspiration to the nationalists and politicians, the Church proved to be the architect of Gold Coast nationalism and thus the achievement of Ghanaian independence. Major political grievances were expressed through the medium of the christian press in the late nineteenth century notably the Gold Coast Methodist Time, which was founded in 1886 and reappeared in 1894. Christian religious language and hymns were used by the Convention People's Party for the transmission of political messages. The effectiveness of this appropriation of Christianity shows the strong impact of the Christian Gospel on the Ghanaian Society.

The Church did not identify itself with party politics. Nevertheless it encouraged its members to get actively involved in it and thereby bring christian influence into politics. To this end, many christians, including some ministers of the Gospel, became nationalists and active politicians. The achievement of Ghanaian independence on 6 March 1957 was preceded by a general election held on 12 and 17 July 1956. The Christian Council of the Gold Coast declared Sunday 8 July 1956 as a day of National Prayer and invited all Ghanaians to join the churches in praying for God's guidance, wisdom, patience and tolerance in that important . . . /

important national exercise of election and the ability to vote wisely. The people of Ghana looked to the Church for guidance and direction not only in the movement for independence but also in the operation of party politics.

The slogan of the C.P.P. was "freedom" which was the hallmark of independence. Independence and freedom from colonial rule had brought an end to foreign rule and domination and had ushered in a national government - a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Power was now in the hands of the people of Ghana who had given it to Nkrumah and his C.P.P. Government. The people had high hopes and expectations. They were looking forward to a period of progress, prosperity and happiness. But did the hopes and expectations of the people materialize? Were the newly won freedom and power properly used in the interests of the people? Were the people of Ghana really free or were they free from colonial rule and domination to oppression and suppression by their own national government? How did the Government of independent Ghana manage the affairs of the country and ensure the fundamental human rights in the country and what role did the Church play in the political life of the new State? It is to these and related areas that the next chapter addresses itself.

CHAPTER FIVE

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THE CHURCH AND THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF GHANA FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

The preceding chapter ended with questions as regards the materialization or otherwise of the high hopes and expectations of the people of Ghana in the light of the achievement of independence. There were questions as to how the newly won freedom and power were going to be used, how the C.P.P. Government was going to manage the affairs of the new State, how the fundamental human rights were going to be guaranteed and the role of the Church in the process of the total administration of the new nation. This chapter proposes to look at the Church's role in the management of the affairs of Ghana within the period 1957 to 1966 as necessitated by the policies and actions of Kwame Nkrumah and his government.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE POSITIONS OF KWAME NKRUMAH, HIS GOVERNMENT AND HIS PARTY

In the 1956 general election, the C.P.P. polled a total of 398,141 votes as against a total of 299,166 votes polled by the opposition parties. This clearly showed that a good proportion of the population supported the opposition parties. Furthermore, the election . . . /

election results made the C.P.P. aware of the disaffection of Asante, Togoland and the Northern Territories. In view of the strong opposition offered by the N.L.M. and the other opposition parties, and in view of the fact the Nkrumah was strongly determined to dominate the political scene in Ghana, the government initiated measures aimed at consolidating their position. To begin with, it is necessary to look at Nkrumah's attitude to religion as a background to some of his policies and measures which brought conflicts between the Church and the State.

KWAME NKURUMAH AND RELIGION

Nkrumah was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. The priest who baptized him guessed his date of birth as 21 September 1909. Basing his guess on his mother's calculation, Nkrumah himself thought that the year of his birth might be 1912. His christian life was influenced by his mother who was a Roman Catholic and George Fischer, a Roman Catholic Priest from Germany. The relationship between Father Fischer and Nkrumah was so strong that Fischer sponsored the boy's primary education. About his early christian life and the change in his attitude towards religion at a later stage in his life Nkrumah writes:

In those days I took my religion seriously and was very often to be found serving at Mass. As I grew older, however, the strict discipline of Roman Catholicism stifled . . . /

stifled me. It was not that I became any less religious but rather I sought freedom in the worship and communion with my God, for my God is a very personal God and can only be reached direct. I do not find the need of, in fact I resent the intervention of a third party in such a personal matter. To-day I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist socialist and I have not found any contradiction between the two. 1

There is no doubt that Nkrumah had deep christian influences. Apart from the fact that he was a baptized Roman Catholic and often served at Mass at an early stage of his life, he, as a trained teacher, took up a teaching post at the Roman Catholic Seminary at Amissano near Elmina. While he was working at the Seminary as a teacher, Nkrumah was so influenced by the christian faith that he contemplated entering the Holy Ministry. Of his christian experience he writes :

For, as a teacher of these young novices, I too had to observe the strict rules of the seminary and my life at Amissano was quiet and lonely. But, unlike the discipline that I had always kicked against, I subjected myself to this so readily that it became almost enjoyable. It may have been the effect of living closely confined in such a religious atmosphere that changed my feelings, but it was certainly during this period at the seminary that I regained the religious fervour to such an extent that I seriously formed the idea of taking the vocation of priesthood myself. I wanted to be a member of the Jesuit Order and the idea lingered with me for a whole year. 2

Thus in Nkrumah's early years he was still a denominational christian, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church.

1. Authobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, pp.9-10.

2. Ibid., p. 18

Nkrumah's claim to be a non-denominational christian and a Marxist socialist clearly shows that he was influenced by both the Christian faith and Marxist-Leninist ideologies. He shows his Leninist influence when he says "Fear created the gods, and fear preserves them: fear in bygone ages of wars, pestilences, earthquakes and nature gone berserk, fear of 'acts of God'; fear today of the equally blind forces of backwardness and rapacious capital." 1 This is obviously a reflection of what Nkrumah had read from Lenin or an adaptation of his idea. Lenin writes, "Fear created the gods. Fear of the blind force of capital - blind because its actions cannot be seen by the masses - a force which at every step in life threatens the worker and the small businessman with 'sudden', 'unexpected', 'accidental' destruction and ruin, bringing in their train beggary, , pauperism, prostitution, and deaths from starvation - this is the tap-root of modern religion...." 2

It is noteworthy that while he based religion on fear, Nkrumah at the same time acknowledged that the power of the Gospel of Jesus Christ drove away all fear and imbued the servants of God with extraordinary courage and bravery which even death could not weaken. This acknowledgement was made in a speech delivered at a garden . . . /

1. Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, p. 14.
2. V. I. Lenin, Religion, p.19

garden party to the members of the Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council in Accra (Ghana) 1 on 29 December 1957 when Nkrumah said:

Ghana is glad and proud to pay its tribute to the great work of missionaries in West Africa. If you have time to visit more widely in this country, you will often find as you travel along the roads, little cemeteries lost in the bush where lie buried the brave men and women who, in bringing the Christian faith to this country, gave 'the last full measure of their devotion.' They knew that they faced the certainty of loneliness and the risk of death. Yellow fever decimated them and their families. But still they came. They belong to the martyrs of Christianity as surely as those who faced persecution for their faith. The fortitude which they showed is the sure foundation upon which your work has been based. Ghana salutes these men and women who gave their lives for the enlightenment and welfare of this land. 2

Following a Leninist ideology, Nkrumah asserted that "Religion is an instrument of bourgeois social reaction." 3 But this same Nkrumah allegedly consulted many a religious cult in the 1960s and intensified his reliance on them after his assassination attempt at Kilungugu on 2 August 1962. Among the cults he was said to have consulted were Kankan Nyame in Guinea and Akonedi in Larteh, Akuapem. He also consulted the Prophet Jehu Appiah of the Musama Disco Christo Church. Furthermore, it was alleged that he employed a Senegalese . . . /

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1. The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council was held in Accra, Ghana from 28 December 1957 to 8 January 1958.
 2. R. K. Orchard, The Ghana Assembly of the International Missionary Council, 1957/58, p.148.
 3. Kwame Nkrumah, Consciencism, p. 13.

Senegalese marabout at a salary of £7,000.00 to read omens and give him spiritual advice on the success or failure of his undertakings and trips. It is also on record that in 1965 he engaged the service of Alhaji Nuri Tali of Senegal asking him to make the meeting of the O.A.U. in Accra successful by supernatural means. In payment for this service, Nkrumah gave the Muslim £6,620.00 instead of the Mercedes Benz 600 saloon car he promised him. 1 From the foregoing, one sees Nkrumah not as an unbeliever in religion. His quest for things supernatural explains his wholehearted approval of all the actions and sayings of his C.P.P. which were designated to apotheosize him. The Evening News of 8 April 1961 carried the picture below in which Nkrumah was depicted as meditation. This was to show Nkrumah's alleged spiritual and supernatural capacity.



Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in meditation

Fig. 7

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1. For further information about Nkrumah's reliance on spiritual powers see J. S. Pobee, Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966, pp.45-46 and L. H. Ofose-Appiah, The Life and Times of J. B. Danquah, p. 205.

Another indicator of Nkrumah's belief in religion was his attitude to the Ghanaian culture in relation to morality and spirituality. He held the view that the Ghanaian culture which had been adversely influenced by colonialism had to be reactivated and that the basis of the reactivation was both moral and spiritual. He made this pronouncement in a speech to the National Assembly on 12 June 1965 when he said, "We are doing everything to revive our culture; but if this revival is to endure it must be based on strong moral and spiritual foundations. Our moral and spiritual qualities should not lag behind the progress we are making in the economic field." 1 Here, in spite of his Marxist-Leninist influence, Nkrumah admits the fact that in the traditional African Society, the social, economic and political life of the people cannot be separated from their religious life which gives meaning to all aspects of the life of the society. Nkrumah was so influenced by this traditional belief that he interpreted libation in terms of the projection of the African personality. At the celebrations of Ghana's independence in March 1957, Queen Elizabeth II of Britain was represented by the Duchess of Kent. An official reception was organized in her honour at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra. The programme for the welcome ceremony included the pouring of libation. The Christian Council of Ghana . . . /

1. Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, p. 4

Ghana raised an objection to the inclusion of libation in the programme. Nkrumah and his government did not take kindly to the objection on the grounds that libation was a way of projecting the African personality. By this assertion, Nkrumah was giving the African personality a religious basis.

FACTORS OF CONFLICT BETWEEN KWAME NKURMAH'S GOVERNMENT
AND THE CHURCH

The relationship between the Church and the State in independent Ghana during the Nkrumah regime was strained by some of the policies and the arbitrariness of the government to which the Church had to react. It was this phenomenon which pulled the Christian Council of Ghana into politics and transformed it and made it active in a totally different way. The Nkrumah era "compelled" the Christian Council, which had become the mouthpiece of the churches to be active not only on social and moral issues but also on political issues. Thus Church-State relationship in Ghana between 1957 and 1966 should be seen in the light of the policies and measures of the government to which the churches and the Christian Council had to react.

THE DEPORTATION ACT 1957

According to the 1960 census the population of Ghana was 6,726,820 and about one-sixth of this figure were of foreign . . . /

foreign origin. Of the one-sixth, 290,000 were children born in Ghana of foreign parentage and thus could claim Ghanaian citizenship. 1 These aliens were found in various sectors of the economy and some of them were political activists. The fact that some of these aliens were political activists in the opposition parties was taken as a serious threat to the C.P.P. Government. Nkrumah and his government elected to deal with this threat by a policy of deportation. In view of this, the government passed the Deportation Act in July 1957 (only five months after independence). The following figures show the number of people deported under the Deportation Act between 1957 and 1960: 1957 - 68, 1958 - 162, 1959 - 75 and 1960 - 54.

The case of two persons against whom deportation orders were issued is worth looking at. These are Alhaji Alufa Othman Larden Lalemie, Chaplain to the Hausa community in Kumasi and Alhaji Amadu Baba Zerikin Zongo in Kumasi (the Chief of the non-Ghanaian Muslims in that part of Kumasi called Zongo). Originally they both came from Northern Nigeria. In party politics, the Muslim communities in both Accra and Kumasi were divided. There was the Muslim Association Party (M.A.P.) which started in 1932 as the Gold Coast Muslim Association with the objective of catering for the interests and welfare of Muslims. In Kumasi there was an . . . /

1. J. S. Pobee, op. cit. p. 160.

an organization known as the Muslim Youth led by Mallam Matawakilu who was the C.P.P. joint constituency chairman. Since the M.A.P. was an opposition party and an ally of the National Liberation Movement (N.L.M.) and the Muslim Youth was a branch of the C.P.P., the two Muslim groups opposed each other.

The political division within the Muslim community in Kumasi took another dimension on the issue of the building of a new mosque. On the one hand was Alhaji Amadu Baba and his group and on the other was Mallam Matawakilu and his group. The relationship between the two groups was so strained that in 1955, the supporters of Mallam Mutawakilu had to flee from Kumasi to take refuge in Accra. In view of the conflict between the two groups, the Kumasi mosque was a scene of continual rioting. Nkrumah and his Government cashed in on the situation by issuing deportation orders against Alhaji Amadu Baba and Alhaji Othman Larden Lalemie in August 1957. The reason given for their deportation was that there had been incidents of crimes of violence and intimidation within the Hausa community and the two men were alleged to have been behind the violence. On this issue, the then Attorney General of Ghana, Nkrumah's henchman Geoffrey Bing writes:

As recent events in Northern Nigeria have shown, the Hausa Community can be easily incited to tribal rioting. The Mosque maintained by Alhaji Othman Larden had been the centre of continual disturbance. It was suspected, whether rightly or not is and was impossible to prove, that itinerant Housas had been employed in . . . /

in political crimes of violence and intimidation. 1

Geoffrey Bing goes on to allege that:

The Hausa Community has, from time to time in West Africa, been incited to commit wholesale killings by religious and racial fanatics. The Ghana Government believed, rightly or wrongly, that the two men concerned were engaged in racial and religious agitation. In view of the pre-independence history of political violence in Ashanti, the fact that they proclaimed themselves as supporters of the opposition made the danger, if anything, worse. 2

The two deportees instituted legal action against their deportation orders and the case was brought before the High Court in Kumasi presided over by Justice Smith (an Englishman). The Judge, in the first instance, granted an interim injunction restraining the government from deporting the men until they had had the chance to establish their dual citizenship. According to Geoffrey Bing, the government was able to show that the two men had made passport applications claiming Nigerian citizenship and that they could not produce any documentary or other evidence in support of their claim that their mothers were born in Ghana. 3 The Judge, then discharged the injunction but said that the deportees could take further action to obtain a court declaration as to their nationality. The men did so.

Christopher Shawcross 4 was in Ghana in connection

1. Geoffrey Bing, Reap the Whirlwind, p.218. Geoffrey Bing, a Briton, was a former Labour Party member of the British Parliament and appointed the Attorney General of Ghana. He was a strong supporter of Kwame Nkrumah.

2. Ibid., pp. 231-232.

3. Ibid., p. 220.

4. Christopher Shawcross, Q.C., a Briton, was a Recorder of Nottingham.

with a contempt case involving Ian Colvin, the correspondent in Ghana of the London Daily Telegraph. On behalf of the two deportees, Shawcross instituted civil proceedings against the Prime Minister, the Commissioner of Police and the Attorney General. After the civil proceedings had been started, Christopher Shawcross left Ghana for Lagos, Nigeria with a view to returning to Ghana as counsel for the deportees. When he applied for re-entry to Ghana, the Minister of the Interior Krobo Edusei, refused to grant him a re-entry permit on the grounds that in the spirit of the rule regarding immigration a non-Ghanaian barrister entering the country from abroad must obtain prior permission from the government before he could undertake a particular case. The case of the two deportees was sub judice and the Judge had fixed the date for the hearing as 5 September 1957. But while the case was still pending, the Nkrumah Government introduced a special bill in Parliament entitled "The Deportation (Othman Larden and Amadu Baba) Bill." The bill was designed to enable the government to bypass the courts and to deport the two men outside the jurisdiction of the Deportation Act 1957. The issue here was not the question of whether the government had the power to deport the men if the law so permitted it because that had already been settled by the Deportation Act 1957. The fundamental question was whether the government should be given a special power to deny them the right to be heard by the court . . . /

court in their desire to prove that they were Ghanaian citizens.

In his contribution to the debate against the bill, Professor K.A. Busia, the Leader of the Opposition said:

If Parliament even when there is an express law passed by Parliament protecting the liberty of the subject and giving him the right, and then comes and passes special Bills in connection with special persons saying in spite of this right we are denying it, it is a threat which no country which values freedom will sit down and accept unconcerned. Parliament's power has to be used responsibly and not to be abused.... I think frankly that it is inhuman, it is cruel, and this Act will bring pain and sorrow to our friends and spread clouds of ominous blackness over our political life. In the name of common humanity which makes us all kin, I appeal that this Bill should be withdrawn or that it should not be supported. 1

Clause five of the Bill stipulated that, "No order of the Minister made under this Act shall be subject to appeal to or review in any court." By this provision, the government sought to water down the function of the Judiciary by removing from the courts a very important power. In this sense and in this context, the Minister was vested with judicial power which superseded that of the Judiciary.

The Christian Council of Ghana registered its protest against the bill in a form of an appeal to the government to reconsider it. In the protest note presented to the Prime Minister copies of which were

1. Ghana Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 7, 20-30 August 1957, pp. 106-107.

sent to all members of Parliament, the Council called for the withdrawal of the bill. Below is the full text of the protest.

DEPORTATION (OTHMAN LARDEN AND AMADU BABA) BILL

That inasmuch as this Bill at present before the National Assembly will, if passed, grant power to the Government to deport two persons, who claim to be citizens of Ghana, WITHOUT TRIAL BEFORE A COURT OF JUSTICE; and inasmuch as the Bill, if passed, would establish a precedent for legislation which might at any future time be used in justification of similar action against any citizen of Ghana, from the highest to the lowest, we earnestly appeal to the Prime Minister and his Government to withdraw the Bill which, in our opinion, directly violates the principle of Justice whereby every citizen possesses the right to defend himself against any charge preferred against him.

RICHARD ACCRA (Anglican Bishop of Accra)

J. T. CLEGG (Acting Chairman,
Methodist Church, Ghana)

E. MAX DODU (Moderator of the
Presbyterian Church
of Ghana)

A.L. KWANSA (Acting Secretary of the

23rd August 1957

Christian Council of Ghana) 1

Copies of the protest were distributed to the members of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council. The Council protested against the bill because it felt it would be an instrument for the suppression of freedom and justice and would enable the government to trample upon . . . /

1. This document is from the papers donated to the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World, Faculty of Divinity, University of Edinburgh by the Rev. Colin Forrester-Paton who was a Church of Scotland missionary in Ghana and served on the Executive Committee of the Christian Council from 1949-1972.

upon the liberties and the fundamental human rights of the citizens of Ghana.

Like some of the other confrontations between the Christian Council of Ghana and the Government of Ghana, this protest was not heard of by most people and this created the impression that the Churches were silent over the deportation of the two Muslims. For example, commenting on the Church's reaction to the deportation of the two men, Professor J. S. Pobee writes, "So far as we can see, many privately murmured, but at no point did the Church as an institution protest to the Government."¹

The protest has been quoted in extenso to show that the Christian Council, on behalf of the churches, protested to the government against the Bill and called for its withdrawal in view of the injustice that might be done to the two men if they were deported and the danger posed by the Bill to the citizens of Ghana generally.

In reply to the appeal of the Christian Council, the Minister of Information wrote saying that the Council wanted the government to yield to the threats of force from the Opposition. Thereupon the Executive Committee of the Christian Council met for an emergency meeting under the chairmanship of the Rev. C. G. Baeta to discuss the letter of the Minister of Information. The churches . . . /

1. J. S. Pobee, op. cit., p. 162

churches were represented by the following members of the Executive Committee: the Rev. E. M. Dodu and the Rev. A. L. Kwansa of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana; the Rev. E. K. Galevo and the Rev. G. Snyder of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church; the Rev. J. T. Clegg of the Methodist Church; Bishop R. Roseveare of the Anglican Church and Joan Murdoch, a Scottish lay missionary. The Council decided to issue a public statement embodying the texts of the appeal which had already been presented to the government and the reply of the Minister of Information reiterating their protest against the bill and expressing their opposition to its being rushed through Parliament to determine a case which was sub judice. The public statement which was issued was distributed to the congregations of the member churches of the Council throughout the country.

The Church considered it its duty to speak against the policy of the government which it thought was detrimental to the dignity of humanity. But the C.P.P. Government did not listen. Thus in spite of the strong fight of the Opposition against the bill and the protest registered by the Church to the government calling for its withdrawal, the Bill was passed by the C.P.P. majority in Parliament on Friday 23 August 1957.

Civil proceedings had been instituted by the deportees against their deportation on the grounds that they were Ghanaian citizens and 5 September had been fixed for the hearing as already stated. At the hearing . . . /

hearing of the interim injunction the government, through its counsel Geoffrey Bing, had given an undertaking to ensure that the two men would not be removed from the jurisdiction of the court while their case was pending. In a statement in Parliament on 23 August 1957 A. E. A. Ofori Atta, who moved the second reading of the Deportation Bill, said that at the hearing of the interim injunction the government had instructed its counsel "To give an undertaking that the men would not be removed from the jurisdiction of the Court while proceedings to establish that they were not liable to deportation under the Deportation Act 1957 were pending." 1 Notwithstanding this undertaking, the government deported the two men while their case was still pending in the court.

The Church's voice in this matter was a prophetic voice because the passing of the bill was followed by others which served as strong weapons of suppression and oppression and brought hardships to the people and disintegration in the Ghanaian society. Some chiefs who supported the Opposition and could not be deported were destooled by the C.P.P. Government. For example, the government withdrew its recognition of Nana Ofori Atta II, the Paramount Chief of the Akyem Abuakwa State who was a strong supporter of the N.L.M., and appointed a commission to probe the affairs of the Akyem Abuakwa

1. Ghana Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 7,
20-30 August 1957, p. 98.

State Council which was opposed to the C.P.P.

THE AVOIDANCE OF DISCRIMINATION ACT 1957

The Nkrumah Government introduced a bill in Parliament which was passed in December 1957 as the Avoidance of Discrimination Act 1957 and came into operation on 31 December 1957. The Act made it an offence for any person or persons to form associations, organizations or political parties based on tribal, regional, racial or religious affiliations. An offence under the Act rendered the organization concerned liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding £500.00 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or to both fine and imprisonment. The Act vested in the Minister of Local Government the power to declare an organization prohibited and to request the disclosure of the rules of an organization. He could also order the amendment of the rules of an organization and the failure to comply with the Minister's order constituted an offence under the Act. Furthermore, the Act empowered the High Court to wind up any prohibited organization.

What necessitated the enactment? In the first place, Nkrumah argued that his C.P.P. was the only party which represented the interests and aspirations of the whole country because it was the only party which was represented in Parliament by members from all the regions of the country. The membership of the N.L.M.

for instance was predominantly Asante and following the 1956 general election, all of its members of Parliament came from Asante. It was on this basis that Nkrumah did not want to give official recognition to the Opposition. His contention was that since no party in the opposition groups had parliamentary representatives from all the regions of the country no opposition party could be regarded as an alternative government.

Some of the political parties had place names such as Togoland Congress Party (T.C.P.), the Northern People's Party (N.P.P.) and the Anlo Youth Organization (A.Y.O.). These parties were regarded as parties of the people of the places concerned. There were other groups or organizations which were formed on ethnic, regional and religious bases. For example the Muslim Association Party (M. A. P.), which developed from the Gold Coast Muslim Association of 1932, was formed to cater for the interests and welfare of the Muslim minority group. This party had a religio-political basis and was confined to the Muslim community. Another example was the Ga Shifimo Kpee which was an organization formed to protect and to promote the interests of the Ga people and to oppose the influx of non-Ga people into Accra. There was also the Asante Youth Association (A.Y.A.) which was formed in August 1947 to promote the social and political welfare of Asante. These divisions and groupings were seen by Nkrumah and his Government as elements of disunity which could adversely affect the progress of the new nation

hence the enactment of the Act.

There was no period in the history of Ghana in which unity and oneness of purpose and the need for co-operation and team work were more urgently needed. The newly independent nation of Ghana needed the contribution and the goodwill of all its citizens to lay a strong and firm foundation on which its progress and prosperity would be built. But as events later showed the enactment of the law was a strategy deliberately designed to dismantle and eliminate the opposition parties. Most of the opposition parties were formed on an ethnic or regional basis; the M.A.P. had religious-political basis. Thus the C.P.P. Government could declare all the opposition parties illegal under the Act. But before the law came into operation on 31 December 1957, the opposition parties came together in a merger which resulted in the inauguration of the United Party (U.P.) on 3 November 1957 at a Rally in Accra. The uniting parties were the N.L.M, the N.P.P., the M.A.P., the T.C.P., the A.Y.O. and the Ga Shifimo Kpee.

1. The leader of the new party was Professor K. A. Busia.

1. The Officers of the United Party were: National Chairman - Dr. J. Hutton-Mills, retired medical practitioner; Deputy Chairman - J. A. Braimah; National Treasurer - Nancy Tsiboe. The members of the Working Committee were: Professor K. A. Busia, S. D. Dombo, E.O. Obetsebi-Lampsey, M. K. Apaloo, Joe Appiah, Attoh Okine, Bankole Awooner Remmer, K. Y. Attoh, Ashie Nikoe, Kwesi Lampsey, Dr. I. B. Asafu Adjaye and Dr J. B. Danquah.

The churches realized the latent danger in the Act and the threat it posed not only to their mission of evangelization and conversion and their organizations at denominational and ecumenical levels but also to the people's freedoms of association and expression. On the basis of this, the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana (C.C.G.) met at an emergency meeting on 17 December 1957 and appointed a delegation to meet with the leaders of the government to discuss the views of the churches on the Act with them. The delegation, composed of the Rev. C. G. Baeta, the Chairman of the C.C.G.; Bishop R. Roseveare of the Anglican Church; the Rev. G. T. Eddy of the Methodist Church and the Rev. P. K. Dagadu, the General Secretary of the C.C.G. met with the Prime Minister and the Attorney General at the Castle on Tuesday 7 January 1958. Recording the report on the mission of the delegation at an Executive Committee meeting of the Council, the General Secretary wrote:

The delegation expressed a concern about the implications of some sections of the Avoidance of Discrimination Bill and instanced cases in which Church action could be interpreted as a contravention of rule. The Prime Minister explained that no section of the Bill was calculated to prevent Churches from saying things necessary at times needed. The Bill was intended to prevent anything which bred violence, and to strengthen recognized democracy. Out of the discussion the Prime Minister suggested that the Churches should be included in the list of bodies to whom copies of Bills might be sent at the drafting stage for their comments. The Secretary was asked to write to the Prime Minister to thank him for the interview

and remind him of this offer. 1

Apart from the reaction of the Christian Council to the Avoidance of Discrimination Act on behalf of the churches, an individual christian protested against the Act. Professor K. A. Busia, a Methodist and the then Leader of the Opposition protested against the Act from a religious point of view. His contention was that the Act could be used by the government to prevent people from converting others to their faith. Expressing the potential danger posed by the Act in relation to the Church, Professor Busia argued in his contribution to the debate on the bill in Parliament that "After the law has been passed, it would restrict the individual's right to propagate his religion. I submit it would expose every priest or bishop or person who preaches in criticism on behalf of another in the hope of converting people to his faith, it would render all of them liable to prosecution." 2 Professor Busia's opposition to the Act was directed to a clause in it which read, "It shall be an offence against this Act for any organization whose membership is substantially restricted to any one community or religious faith to have as one of its objects . . . /

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana held on Friday 31 January 1958 at 2.30 p.m., minute 4(C), Christian Council of Ghana Archives.

2. Ghana Parliamentray Debates, Vol. 8, No. 14, 10 December 1958, p. 523.

objects the exposure of any other organization however constituted or of any part of the community to hatred, contempt or ridicule on account of their community or religion". The Act was a potentially dangerous weapon which could be used by the government not only against political opponents but also against the Church if it crossed the Nkrumah Government. As will be seen in the next section, the Act was soon used by some ministers of Nkrumah's Government to threaten the Chairman and the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana.

THE NKRUMAH STATUE CONTROVERSY

In 1958 a statue of Kwame Nkrumah was erected in front of Parliament House. An inscription on the pedestal of the statue read, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added to you." The inscription clearly referred to Matthew 6 : 33 where the Lord Jesus Christ says, "But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." (A.K.J.V.)

The Ministry of Works was responsible for the erection of the statue. In a letter dated 28 April 1958, the Christian Council of Ghana made a protest to the Minister of Works, E. K. Bensah, against the inscription and asked him to remove and replace the biblical words. The Council's basis for the protest was . . . /

was that, "If intended seriously, it is a denial of one of the best-known sayings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, otherwise it is an irrelevant parody of it." In reaction to the protest, the Minister summoned the Chairman of the Council, the Rev. G. T. Eddy and its General Secretary, the Rev. P. K. Dagadu to his office on two occasions on which they were verbally assaulted. Furthermore, they were threatened with the Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 saying that the action of the Council constituted an offence under the Act. According to the Minister, the Council was assuming a position of a political party and its becoming a political party was an offence against the Act. Needless to say that the Council's protest was ignored by the government.

In Professor J. S. Pobee's view, in making the protest, the Council was "frivolous" and the protest showed that the Church was not sensitive enough to the political mood of the country as a whole and he believes that the Council was "misguided".¹ On the other hand, Professor K. A. Dickson holds the view that the protest of the churches which was expressed by the Christian Council "was neither 'frivolous' nor 'misguided'".²

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1. J. S. Pobee, "Church and State in Ghana 1949-1966" in J. S. Pobee (Ed.) Religion in a Pluralistic Society, p. 130.
 2. K. A. Dickson, "Religion and Nkrumah: A Study in Church and State Relations in the First Republic," a paper presented at a symposium on the life and work of Kwame Nkrumah organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana Legon, 1985, p. 9.

Professor Pobee's argument is that "Nkrumah believed, and rightly, that as long as the affairs of the Gold Coast were directed by expatriates, it would be difficult to ensure that everything was done in the interest of the natives" 1 and so he regarded political power as a means by which the interest of the indigenous people could be catered for. Looking at the issue from a different perspective, Professor Dickson contends that the parody suggests a sacralization of nationalism which could have the effect of giving the Christian faith a less than authentic character. The original setting of the saying was the struggle for and achievement of independence for the people of the Gold Coast. Nkrumah believed that the progress and prosperity of the country depended on the achievement of independence whereby the direction and control of government would be in the hands of the indigenous people. Once independence was achieved, the means of development and progress would follow. Thus Professor Pobee is right in saying that as long as the affairs of the Gold Coast were directed by expatriates, it would be difficult to ensure that everything was done in the interests of the people. This fact will be unreservedly accepted by anybody who knows about colonialism and its negative effects on the life of the colonized . . . /

1. J. S. Pobee, op. cit.130. See also J. S. Pobee, Kwama Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1949-1966, p. 119.

colonized. But it is difficult to accept that that was the basis for that dictum of Kwame Nkrumah, because the timing was not appropriate. One would have sympathized with such an interpretation of the dictum in the pre-independence era. The statue was erected in 1958 and the parody was inscribed on its pedestal in the same year. Political power was in the hands of Nkrumah and his Government and therefore the affairs of Ghana were directed not by expatriates but by a national government.

In the preceding chapter, the use of religious language by Nkrumah and his C.P.P. in their political propaganda was dealt with, showing how that political strategy indicated the impact and influence of christianity on the life of the people of the Gold Coast. By the use of parodies of biblical sayings, theological and doctrinal expressions and christian hymns, the politicians were not only showing the extent to which Christianity had influenced both their lives and the lives of the people but they were also implying that the people appreciated and accepted those christian elements. It was also an indication that those who used them were convinced of the effect they would have on the people. If the politicians and the people accepted the biblical sayings in political and nationalist expressions as desirable and effective, then they ipso facto acknowledged the contribution which the Church had made not only to the spiritual life of the people . . . /

people but also to the nationalist movement and the political consciousness of the people. Thus it can be said that the use of biblical statements in political and nationalist expressions was a clear indication of the positive role the Church had played in the movement for Ghanaian independence.

An expression such as "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things shall be added to you," could only be coined in a political context by a person of biblical knowledge and political aspirations who wanted to give it a nationalistic and political flavour in his political campaign. It could only come from a person who was aware of the profound effect which the use of christian religious medium for the transmission of political message could have on the people. Professor Richard Gray sees the use of such a christian concept by African politicians as a strong impetus to African nationalism. He writes, "A few of these educated Africans saw the Kingdom of Heaven in terms of overcoming the evils of racial discrimination and political oppression, and this particular appropriation of Christinity powerfully fostered many elements in African nationalisms." 1

Being aware of the fact that Christianity had penetrated deep into the Ghanaian society, Nkrumah and his . . . /

1. Richard Gray, Black Christians and White Missionaries, pp. 69-70.

his C.P.P. realized that by using parodies of biblical teachings, dicta and injunctions and theological dogmas and creeds, they would be speaking to the people at their wavelength and in terms with which they were familiar and thus could understand. It is worth noting that no Quranic sayings or statements were used by Nkrumah and his C.P.P. in political and nationalist expressions and agitation neither did they use any idiom relating to the old religion. ¹ Nevertheless the foregoing cannot provide grounds to justify the use of scriptural language in party politics as Nkrumah and his C.P.P. did. By the use of parodies of scriptural statements and expressions of faith, Kwame Nkrumah and his C.P.P. were not only sacralizing politics but they were also secularizing the Scriptures and the Christian Religion. It is from this perspective that one should look at the protest of the Christian Council of Ghana against the inscription on the pedestal of Kwame Nkrumah's statue in 1958. Furthermore, it must be said that biblical and christian themes were not sufficient to win the people's loyalty and trust. It was a political device which could not have a lasting effect because if a biblical message is placed in a secular and political setting and out of context, it does not achieve the purpose for which it is intended. The unpopularity of Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s supports this argument.

1. I prefer the use of the term "old religion" to the term "African Traditional Religion".

THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT 1958

On 11 December 1957 Krobo Edusei, the Minister of the Interior, indicated his intention to introduce a preventive detention bill in Parliament on its resumption in February 1958. Krobo Edusei had seen a copy of an Act of the Indian Parliament and decided that a similar law had to be enacted in Ghana. The Christian Council of Ghana heard about Krobo Edusei's pronouncement in Parliament in connection with the proposed preventive detention bill. It has already been said that on 17 December 1957, the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana met at an emergency meeting and appointed a delegation to meet with the leaders of the government in connection with the Avoidance of Discrimination Act 1957,. The delegation was mandated to express the Council's concern about Krobo Edusei's proposed bill at their meeting with the Prime Minister and his officials. Reporting on this assignment to the Executive Committee of the Christian Council at its meeting on 31 January 1958 the General Secretary of the Council, the Rev. P. K. Dagadu said:

The delegation further remarked on certain utterances of the Minister of Interior which were undesirable in the interest of common justice. They referred especially to the pronouncement in Parliament that at the next sitting he would introduce a Bill to enable him to imprison people without trial. In the conversation that followed the Prime Minister and the Attorney-General explained that although the Minister of Interior . . . /

Interior was encouraged to make the statement, no step has been taken to implement it. 1

The Christian Council wanted to stop the enactment of a notoriously dangerous Act before it was introduced. The law was to become a political weapon of suppression which caused constant fear and insecurity till the fall of Kwame Nkrumah and his government in February 1966.

On 5 July 1958 the Government of Kwame Nkrumah introduced a bill in Parliament which was passed into law as Preventive Detention Act 1958 and was assented to by the Governor-General on 18 July 1958. Under the Act, the government had the power to arrest and detain any citizen of Ghana without trial or appeal to the courts if it was satisfied that the activities of the person concerned were prejudicial to the defence of Ghana, the relations of Ghana with other countries and the security of the State. The duration of detention under section 4, sub-section 1 of the Act was a period not exceeding five years. Under sub-section 2 of section 2 of the Act, a person detained was to be informed within five days of his detention of the grounds on which he had been detained and was to be afforded an opportunity to make representations in writing to the Governor General regarding his detention. Section 5, sub-section 1 of the Act stipulated that the Act . . . /

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana held on 31 January 1958 at 2.30p.m., minute 4 (C).

Act was to operate for five years, after which period it should cease to have effect. But section 5, subsection 2 of the Act provided that the period during which the Act was in force might from time to time be extended for a further period of three years by a resolution of the National Assembly. 1

Nkrumah's Government gave three reasons for the Act. The first was that Ghana was in the forefront of the movement for the independence of the African continent. In order to frustrate Ghana's efforts in this respect and in order to bring back colonialism, some internal and external forces were at work. The second reason was that the situation prevailing both in and outside Ghana needed special attention and drastic measures. They cited instances of civil war and coup d' etat in some newly independent countries and the armed struggle in Algeria as situations which could have an adverse effect on the political stability of Ghana. The government argued that Ghana had security problems and supported its argument with a claim that a transaction in connection with the purchase of one thousand tons of grenades had been discovered. This transaction was said to have involved R. R. Amponsah who was the General Secretary of the opposition United Party. According to the government, the transaction also involved the purchase . . . /

1. See Apendix I

purchase of military accoutrements. The government's third reason was that there was a wave of hooliganism, gangsterism and brigandage among the young people which had to be crushed.

The Opposition put forward strong arguments to show the tremendous danger in the Preventive Detention Bill. One of the arguments was that there were already adequate provisions in the existing laws of the country to deal with the crimes for which the bill was designed and that the courts were competent enough to deal with all cases of crime. But in spite of the arguments the Preventive Detention Act (P.D.A.) became operative as from 18 July 1958.

Once the C.P.P. Government had the law on their side, they started to weaken and dismantle the Opposition. On 10 November 1958, 43 people mostly members of the opposition United Party (U.P.), were arrested and detained. The grounds of their detention was that they had allegedly plotted to overthrow the Ghana Government and to assassinate Kwame Nkrumah and two of his cabinet ministers. Among the detainees were Henry Thompson, the Assistant Secretary-General of the U.P.; Attoh Kojo Okine, the Chairman of the Accra Branch of the U.P. and a lecturer at Kumasi College of Technology; K. Y. Attoh, a leading journalist in Accra and Oti Ankrah, a teacher. On 20 December 1958 R. R. Amponsah, the General Secretary of the U.P. and the Opposition Member of Parliament for Sekyere West and M.K. Apaloo, . . . /

M.K. Apaloo, a member of the Executive Committee of the U.P. and Opposition Member of Parliament for Anlo South were arrested and detained. They were charged with plotting to assassinate Kwame Nkrumah on 20 December 1958 at the Accra Airport on his way to India. On 22 January 1959 Captain Benjamin Awhaitey of the Ghana Army was discharged on the grounds that he failed to report an alleged plot of the Opposition to assassinate Nkrumah; he was detained. On 11 November 1959, the government issued detention orders against nine members of the Opposition Party one of whom was then out of the country. Among the eight were Baafo Osei Akoto, the Chief spokesman of the Asantehene and Nana Antwi Boasiako, the national propaganda secretary of the U.P. The charge brought against the detainees was that they were behind organized violence in elections in Asante and Brong-Ahafo. In 1959 George Sampane and the Chief of Nkonya Ahodwo in the Volta Region, Nana Kwadwo Ampim Darko were detained. In a press interview on 22 November 1959, S. D. Dombo, the Opposition Member of Parliament for Jirapa Lambussie and Leader of the Opposition, stated that the C.P.P. Government had victimized and detained the supporters of the Opposition. He said that seventy members of the U.P. had been detained under the P.D.A. On 23 December 1960, one hundred and eighteen persons were detained. On 3 October 1961, fifty persons were detained. Among this . . . /

this number were J. E. Appiah, Opposition Member of Parliament for Atwima Amansie and Deputy Leader of the Opposition and Dr. J. B. Danquah.

Some of the protagonists of the P.D.A. fell victim to it. In August 1962, Ako Adjei, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Tawia Adamafio, a former Minister of Information and Broadcasting both of the C.P.P. Government were detained and so was H. H. Cofie Crabbe, executive secretary of the C.P.P. An estimated number of three thousand people were in protective detention at the time of the February 1966 coup d' etat which overthrew the Nkrumah Government.

One of the principles of Nkrumah's political philosophy was the elimination of all forms of opposition to his ideologies. Indeed, this principle was reflected in his intolerance, and strong sensitivity to criticism. By the end of 1959, in less than two years after the introduction of the P.D.A., Nkrumah and his Government had succeeded in relegating the Opposition to a token force. There had been thirty-two Opposition Members of Parliament; this number had been reduced to sixteen. Of the others, one (Professor K. A. Busia, the first Leader of the Opposition) was in exile; three were in preventive detention; and twelve had joined the government.

It has already been stated that section 5, subsection 1 of the P.D.A. provided that the Act would cease to have effect at the expiration of a period of five . . . /

five years beginning from the date on which it was passed. Sub-section 2 of the same section stipulated that the period during which the Act was in force might from time to time be extended for a further period of three years by a resolution of the National Assembly. But notwithstanding these provisions Nkrumah and his Government caused the Act to be re-enacted in November 1963. With the re-enactment of the P.D.A., the government had the power to continue to keep people in detention for a further period of five years. Even before that, on 1 May 1963, Nkrumah had arrogated to himself the power to arrest and detain people in order to prevent them from "acting in a manner prejudicial to Ghana's defence, her relations with other countries and her security." He assumed the right to restrict the movement of individuals and to place in detention for ten years anybody who attempted to escape arrest.

The P.D.A. and the way it was used was blatant violation of the rule of law.

In March 1959, the Christian Council sought an interview with Kwame Nkrumah on the issue of the P.D.A. but he refused to grant it. The Council then wrote a letter to Nkrumah and his Government dated 7 January 1960 in which it expressed its deep concern about the P.D.A. and asked for its repeal. In his reply to the letter addressed to the Rev. G. Thackray Eddy, Chairman of the Council, Nkrumah wrote:

I am satisfied that my party and my
government . . . /

government have taken their stand in this matter from a realistic point, and I am unable to advise them to shift their ground. I think that if the Christian Council and the Churches want the Preventive Detention Act to be withdrawn, it should be their duty first of all to take positive steps to remove the causes which led to the passing of the Act. As long as they have not done so, my colleagues and I cannot see that you and your colleagues have any right at all, moral or otherwise, to intervene in this matter. 1

The Council did not give up on the receipt of this letter with its tone of arrogance. It sent another delegation led by its Chairman who was by this time the Rev. C. G. Baeta, to meet with Nkrumah on the same issue of the P.D.A. Again the mission of the delegation was unsuccessful. That the delegation did not achieve its aim on that occasion may be attributed to Geoffrey Bing. According to Rev. Professor Baeta, when the delegation had delivered their message Nkrumah seemed impressed, which was an indication that there might be a positive response. Nkrumah then called in Geoffrey Bing and told him what the mission of the Christian Council's delegation was. On hearing the representation of the delegation, he reacted negatively to it and after that Nkrumah's mood and attitude towards the members of the delegation suddenly changed and the cordial atmosphere in which the meeting had at first taken place also changed. That brought the meeting to an . . . /

1. Cited in James Anquandah, Together We Sow and Reap: The First Fifty Years of the Christian Council of Ghana, p. 121.

an end and Nkrumah sent the delegation away having failed to accomplish its mission. 1

Having made several unsuccessful attempts to get the P.D.A. revoked, the Christian Council decided to tackle the issue from a different angle. Ghana became a republic on 1 July 1960. The Executive Committee of the Council sent a resolution to Nkrumah which read thus :

The executive committee of the Christian Council instructs the chairman accompanied by the secretary to seek an interview with the Prime Minister at the earliest possible date in order to convey to him the deep desire that as an act of clemency which would inspire confidence both at home and abroad his government should at the Proclamation of the Republic grant freedom to all those at present detained under the Preventive Detention Act. 2

In reply to the resolution, Nkrumah's secretary wrote to the Christian Council saying the the Prime Minister would not be able to meet the Council's delegation "due to heavy pressure of public business."

The Church tried to stop the introduction of the Preventive Detention Bill before it was passed into an Act of Parliament but it did not succeed. It tried from various angles to get the P.D.A. revoked but failed in this as well. Again it endeavoured to get the people who had been detained under it released but here also its efforts were frustrated.

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1. Interview with the Rev. Professor C. G. Baeta in his house in Accra on 11 March 1987.
 2. James Anquandah, op. cit. pp. 121-122.

The nation was made to understand that the P.D.A. was meant for those who committed political crimes but within a short time, its scope was widened to cover various categories of crimes including crimes of hooliganism, gangsterism, brigandage and others. It even covered cases such as disputes over girl friends, chieftaincy matters, land disputes, family matters, failure or inability to settle debts and the like. People of various categories, both criminals and non-criminals, were detained under the P.D.A. and were maltreated in the same way. In defence of the P.D.A. and its operation, Nkrumah said in a broadcast to the nation on 15 September 1960 and reported by the Evening News on the following day, "Gangsterism, brigandage and hooliganism are now becoming quite commonplace among some of our young people. Although our courts of justice are quite capable of dealing with all manners of criminals, I consider that this new crime wave is of such gravity that it calls for some very stern measures to be taken to crush and stamp it out." Thus the courts were silenced by the P.D.A. and the detainees were denied access to justice before the courts. But where people were not given the opportunity to prove their innocence or otherwise in the courts of justice, it was quite impossible to ascertain whether a detainee actually committed an offence. Members of the C.P.P. became very powerful in the Ghanaian society because they could cause the detention of their opponents or those they hated at will.

The P.D.A. and its obnoxious operation brought about silence in discontent in the Ghanaian society. The C.P.P. Government was misruling the country. People were oppressed and suppressed but because of the P.D.A. they could not speak out. Those who dared to speak up could be detained. The P.D.A. made Nkrumah so powerful that he lost touch with the people and because he was intolerant and highly sensitive to criticism, people, including his ministers, had to accept whatever he said.

The P.D.A. dehumanized its victims. Apart from the sad fact of denial of justice before the courts, it showed lack of respect for human life and dignity. It will suffice to refer to the cases of just two persons who were subjected to inhuman and barbarous treatment to death in detention under the P.D.A. They were the cases of Emmanuel Odarkwei Obetsebi-Lampsey and Dr. Joseph Boakye Danquah.

Emmanuel Odarkwei Obetsebi-Lampsey, was arrested and detained under the P.D.A. on 5 October 1962. He was held in confinement in the condemned section of the Nsawam Prison which was also known as the "Special Block." He was suffering from lung cancer and tuberculosis at the time of his detention. In spite of a Doctor's recommendation that he should be released, he was kept in detention till he died on 29 January 1963. 1

1. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the conditions prevailing in the Ghana Prison Services, Accra, 1968, p.401 (Chairman : Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye).

In an introductory remark on the case of the detention and death of Dr. J. B. Danquah in Nsawam Prison, the Commission of Enquiry (Ghana Prisons) stated, "The publication highlights the case of the detention and death in Nsawam prison of Dr. J. B. Danquah. It is hoped that, presented in this form, the people of Ghana would have, in this publication, a readable account of this tragic episode which marks one of the darkest periods of the operation of the Preventive Detention Act." 1

In September 1961, the government introduced an austere budget the main features of which were increases in taxation both direct and indirect and compulsory savings. The reaction of the workers to the budget was strike action in Sekondi-Takoradi, Accra and Kumasi. The Opposition United Party called an executive meeting on 12 September 1961 to discuss the issue of the strike action in relation to the general financial policy of the government. In the chair was Dr. J. B. Danquah (in the absence of the Leader and Chairman of the party). The party followed the executive meeting up with a press conference on 15 September 1961 at which a press Statement was issued on the political and economic situation of the country.

On 3 October 1961 Dr. J. B. Danquah was arrested and detained . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 465

detained under the P.D.A. for the part he played in the meeting and the subsequent press conference and statement. He submitted petitions against his detention but they were of no avail and he was kept in preventive detention till 20 June 1962 when he was released. 1

On 2 January 1964 a police constable by the name of Sath Nicholas Kwami Ametewee (No. G. C 4336) attempted to assassinate Kwame Nkrumah by firing five shots at him at a close range as he was leaving his office at the Flagstaff House. He missed him and accidentally killed Salifu Dagarti, a special security guard. During the interrogation of Ametewee, he was alleged to have said that if he had succeeded in his attempt to assassinate Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Danquah could have been the President of the Republic of Ghana. Nkrumah took this hearsay as evidence of Dr. Danquah's complicity in a plot to assassinate him. On 8 January 1964, Dr. Danquah was arrested and detained at the Nsawam Prison under the P.D.A. This brought Dr. Danquah into a situation of inhuman treatment in which he remained for the rest of his life until his death in his prison cell No. 9 on 4 February 1965. 2



Dr. J. B. Danquah - as he lay dead in Cell No. 9 of the "Special Block" of the Nsawam Medium Security Prison

Fig. 8

1. Ibid. p. 468.
2. Ibid. p. 465.

At a certain stage, the detainees were not allowed to stand or walk in their cells. They were either to lie or sit down in their cells. This was designed to ensure that no detainee got to know who the other detainees were.

Under colonial rule, the practice of chaining prisoners was rare and limited to specific crimes and specific situations. After independence however, putting political detainees into chains became a common practice and in some cases a routine work.

It was because of such acts as these and others and lack of freedom and justice in Ghana that the Christian Council made fruitless efforts to get the P.D.A. repealed and submitted a resolution to Kwame Nkrumah asking his Government to release all detainees kept in detention under the Preventive Detention Act at the proclamation of Ghana as a republic on 1 July 1960. But Kwame Nkrumah did not heed any of the appeals made by the Christian Council of Ghana on behalf of the churches.

FORMATION OF BRANCHES OF THE CONVENTION PEOPLE'S PARTY IN THE CHURCHES

The Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) became so powerful in Ghana that a decision of its central Committee could become a "law" in the country. The popular slogan of the time was "The Party is supreme" and . . . /

and this appeared on the front page of every issue of the Evening News.¹ On 16 October 1961, the central committee of the C.P.P. decided that branches of the party should be formed in all government establishments, commercial houses, co-operative groups, farmers' and fishermen's unions and in the churches. In confirmation of this decision, the Evening News of Friday 20 October 1961 stated on its front page that "It was confirmed today that branches of the Convention People's Party are to be formed in all Government and Statutory establishments, mercantile houses, workshops, farms and churches throughout the country." According to the officials of the C.P.P., the purpose of their programme was to tighten the fraternal bonds between the party and the various groups. In its editorial of Friday 27 October 1961, the Evening News, under a headline "The Churches and our mission", made the intention of the C.P.P. in asking the churches to form branches of the party in their congregations quite clear when it said:

intended establishing in various institutions, in Ghana and in the churches, branches of the Party....the Party really meant to emphasise that in carrying out its great mission of Nkrumahism, it needed these institutions and the Churches to help in organising effective discussion of suggestions and plans for the betterment of our people and alleviation of human suffering.... Apart from . . . /

1. The Evening News was the newspaper of the Convention People's Party.

from this, there are instances in contemporary history which we could cite where nations have had to resort to the Churches to fulfil some very necessary objective or other; and there have been occasions where sermons have been preached from the pulpits and special services or mass sung for some of these national occasions.... We call upon all the Churches to join with us in this crusade.... Let all the Churches come forward and offer their services and their institutions free from their hearts so that our mission may bear rich fruit and the Party achieve its national objective in the country where it is supreme.

The C.P.P. and its government knew that the Church was a force to be reckon with. They were aware of the prominent position and influence of the Church in the Ghanaian Society and the effectiveness of its mission and witness as well as the high christian population in the Country. So they wanted to use the Church for the propagation of "Nkrumaism", the C.P.P. ideology which they could not properly define. Furthermore, they wanted the Church to recognize the supremacy of the C.P.P. in the country which was emphasized at the end of the editorial, an element which they thought would compel the Church to respond positively to the demand of the party.

Another reason, and probably the strongest, why the C.P.P. wanted to have branches in the churches was to get to a position where they could silence the churches at the grass roots. They wanted to create strong party pressure in the churches against leadership so that they could stop every criticism of or any protest by the churches against the government at the fundamental source . . . /

source of action or policy. The strategy was that if the C.P.P. had branches in the churches, party pressure could be brought to bear on the leadership so that resolutions and public statements in criticism of government policies by the leaders of the churches or the Christian Council of Ghana could be stopped at the congregational level before they could be made public. This argument can be substantiated by the fact that when on 4 August 1962, the Anglican Synod passed a resolution protesting against the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement, the Evening News of Monday 13 August 1962 demanded that "if any Party Members were among them, they must be disciplined." The officials of the C.P.P. expected the members of the party who were Anglicans and were at the Synod to have protested against the resolution and stopped its passage.

The churches, in particular the historic churches did not accept the invitation of the C.P.P. to form branches in their congregations. Reacting to the refusal of the churches to comply with the directives of the C.P.P. in this respect, the Evening News, on the front page of its issue of 20 October 1961 carried the following comments, "Contrary to certain false rumours spread by persons who wish to introduce misunderstanding and strife in Ghana, the formation of Party Branches in the Churches would help to chase away unnecessary suspicions, promote peace and happiness in Ghana and forever . . . /

forever stabilise the churches with their music and sense of mission as an important wing of Ghana's move to create work and happiness for all."

It is significant to look at the reaction of the African Independent Churches to the directives of the C.P.P. as regards the formation of branches of the party in the churches in view of Kwame Nkrumah's well attested use of prophetic oracles. As stated earlier, Prophet Jehu Appiah of the Musama Disco Christo Church was one of Kwame Nkrumah's spiritual consultants. There were both large and small African Independent Churches. Two of the larger were the Musama Disco Christo Church (M.D.C.C.) and the Apostolic Church which split into two as the Apostolic Church of Ghana known in conversation as "Bradford Apostolic" (as Bradford in England was the Missionary Headquarters of the Apostolic Church before the split) and the Ghana Apostolic Church led by Pastor J. McKeown. There is no evidence to show that the M.D.C.C. established branches of the C.P.P. in its congregations. But there is evidence to show that the Ghana Apostolic Church responded positively to the call of the C.P.P. and indicated its intention to form a branch of the party. The Evening News reported :

The Ghana Apostolic Church may be the first religious organisation in Ghana to establish a branch of the Convention People's Party within barely 36 hours of the national clarion issued by C.P.P. Central Committee. Exclaiming: "Hallelujah! Praise the Lord!" Pastor McKeown, Chairman of the Apostolic congregation in Ghana, said that certain leading members of the Party in his Church were . . . /

were arranging immediately to invite Dr. Nkrumah to inaugurate a branch of the C.P.P. for them. "The idea is very welcome," he said. Pastor J. McKeown told the Evening News in an exclusive interview over the week-end that almost all members of the Ghana Apostolic Church are members of the C.P.P. and they welcome the formation of the Party branch in their Church a great relief, since certain people claiming to have been working with the President's authority, have been threatening them in the Church - merely because they have no opportunity to deal directly with the Party. 1

From this quotation it is clear that the first church in Ghana to accept the directives of the C.P.P. to open a branch of the party was an African Independent Church. It is not surprising that James McKeown and his Church accepted the invitation of the C.P.P. to open a branch of the Party in the Church in the light of his connection with Kwame Nkrumah who, in 1962, presided over a meeting which settled a dispute in the Church and suggested that the Ghana Apostolic Church should change its name to "McKeown's Church." 2

Furthermore, some of the small African Independent Churches readily accepted the call of the C.P.P. and formed branches of the party in their congregations. Examples of these churches were the Healing Hand of God Apostolic Mission and the Church of Africa. Fascinated by . . . /

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1. Evening New, Monday 23 October 1961, front page.
 2. Robert W. Wyllie, "Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown" in Journal of Religion in Africa, Vol. VI, fasc. 2, 1974, p.120.

by the response of these churches, the Evening News, under a heading "NEW C.P.P. BRANCHES SPRING UP LIKE MUSHROOMS" on the front page of its issue of Thursday 24 October 1961 stated that dozens of contacts were made in the National Headquarters of the C.P.P. by workers, farmers and church dignitaries for details concerning the formation of branches of the party in their various fields of activity. It said that it had been reported from Kumasi, Koforidua, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, Sunyani, Tamale, Ho and Bolgatanga that "meetings are taking place in most workshops and offices and churches to decide what dates branches can be opened by loyal Party members." Prima facie, this sweeping statement could be interpreted to mean that the churches complied with the directives of the C.P.P. but that was not the case. The historic churches never gave in to the demand of the C.P.P.

Other small African Independent churches followed their colleagues in 1962 when they formed branches of the C.P.P. in their congregations. These included the Nigritian Episcopal Church and the Holy Healing Church. In the latter church, one Pastor Daniel was appointed Secretary-Convener of the branch of the C.P.P. The Rev. Dr. V. G. Kobina Mensah was the founder and President of the Church of Africa. He was reported in the Evening News as having supported the move of the C.P.P. to form branches in the churches when he said that the move "is in conformity with tradition, culture and . . . /

and biblical enunciation. It also demonstrates the Party's practical religious consciousness, love, fear of God and dismisses entirely wicked propaganda against C.P.P. policy. I think the greatest thing which Nkrumaism teaches us is: How can we honestly claim to love God whom we do not see if we do not first love our brothers whom we see and whose assistance is indispensable." 1 The Evening News capitalized on such statements from some C.P.P. members who were leaders of some of the small African Independent churches and created a general impression that the churches in Ghana had accepted the directives of the C.P.P. to form branches of the party in their congregations.

The resistance of the churches to the demand of the C.P.P. was calm and quiet but so strong that the Evening News reacted to an instance of it with the following comments and warning:

From all indications, only one church may try the unpatriotic and dangerous exercise of disallowing Party members from opening branches of the Party. Already, a man with a Dutch accent describing himself as one of the priests in charge of the Accra circuit of this particular church asked a representative of the Evening News what was the source of the information that majority of church members were C.P.P. members "because my church does not go in for politics and we keep politics away from our members." In the true spirit of the time, we have advisedly withheld the identity of this foreign priest, at least for the present. But . . . /

1. J. S. Pobee, op. cit. p. 125

But we must warn him not to test the strength of Party members in his own church - for we know their numbers and beside we know they voted the C.P.P. into power. 1

As regards their attitude to the call of the C.P.P. to open branches of the party, the churches were divided. Commenting on this situation in its editorial the Evening News stated that the officials of the C.P.P. "do not think that some of the Churches, by their attitude - some of reticence, others of curious interest - showed that either they did not fully understand what the Party meant, neither did they trouble to find out."

2 The words "reticence" and "curious interest" are significant. The former represented the attitude of the historic churches while the latter reflected that of a large section of the African Independent Churches.

The word "reticence" was quite appropriate in relation to the stance of the historic churches in this matter. They did not engage in any confrontation with the officials of the C.P.P. neither did they make public pronouncements. They employed a strategy of taciturnity. A statement of the Rev. F. C. F. Grant, then Chairman of the Methodist Conference of Ghana to the Evening News and published on its front page. 3

Friday . . . /

1, Evening News, Thursday 24 October 1961.

2. Evening News, Friday 27 October 1961.

3. Ibid.

Friday 27 October 1961 reflected this strategy of the historic churches. Under a headline, "Methodist Church Head speaks on C.P.P. branches in his Church," the paper said, "REVEREND F. C. F. Grant, Chairman of the Ghana Methodist Church told the 'Evening News' last night that the suggestion of forming Branches of the Convention People's Party in the Methodist Church is being considered and that the subject is undergoing discussion after which a statement will be made available to the Press." The historic churches rejected the idea of forming branches of the C.P.P. in the churches but they did not make a fuss about the matter. they just ignored it and kept silent over it and the matter died out.

THE GHANA YOUNG PIONEER MOVEMENT

Kwame Nkrumah was aware of the strength, influence and potential of the youth and how he could use them to achieve his political ends. With this awareness, he depended heavily on the youth of the country for the life and operation of his C.P.P. He wanted to consolidate and ensure his position and that of his party in the future and he realized that he could do this only through the youth of Ghana and by manipulating them. To this end, he established a movement known as the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in June 1960. The movement . . . /

movement which was sponsored by the government, became one of the most serious areas of controversy between the church and the State. The aims of the movement were stated as follows:

1. To train the mind, the body and soul of the youth of Ghana.
2. To train them to be up to their civic responsibilities so as to fulfil their patriotic duties.
3. To train their technical skills according to their talents.
4. To foster the spirit of voluntaryism, love and devotion to the welfare of the Ghana Nation.
5. To inculcate into the Youth "Nkrumaism" - ideals of African personality, African unity, world peace, social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa in particular, and the world in general.

At a press conference in Accra on 16 September 1960, P.K.K. Quaidoo, then Minister of Social Welfare, said that the Ghana Young Pioneer movement was being established in all parts of the country as an extension school of citizenship, of pioneering and of national social activity. According to the Minister, it was purposely designed to instil into the youth of Ghana a high sense of patriotism, respect for manual work and love for Ghana as their fatherland while providing them with the opportunities for healthy association, further education, discipline and training. He said the Young Pioneer Movement would be open to all boys and girls in Ghana between the ages of 8 and 16 and admission would be on a voluntary basis but the movement would be made so . . . /

so attractive that the majority of boys and girls in the country would like to be members. A proposal was made in April 1961 to open branches of the movement in all secondary schools. According to the Evening News of 8 June 1961, the membership of the movement within one year of its inception was 20,500. The same newspaper stated in its issue of 14 June 1962 that the number of branches of the movement in the country was 5,000 with a total membership of 500,000 of both sexes.

Kwame Nkrumah was determined to dominate and influence the minds and thinking of all sections of the Ghanaian youth at all the important stages of their development. In view of this, he divided his Young Pioneer Movement into three groups to cater for the various age groups. Group one, known as the Kwame Nkrumah Youth, was composed of young men and women between seventeen and twenty-five years of age. It was designed mainly to embrace students of secondary schools. They were trained in telephony, radio-mechanics, seamanship, ideological studies etc. Group two was known as Young Pioneers and made up of elementary school pupils between nine and sixteen years of age. They were taught traditional singing, drumming and dancing, drama, the use of first aid, handicraft, home economics, games etc. Group three, known as African Personality, was formed with children of between four and eight years. They had training in traditional singing . . . /

singing and dancing, recitation of poems and others. Leaders were trained as instructors and centres of the movement were set up in all the regions of the country. Many leaders of the movement were sent to some Eastern European countries, especially to Russia, for training for leadership.

As will be seen later, the Church raised a strong protest against the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement (G.Y.P.M.) and its activities. But it should be noted that youth work was strongly emphasized in the Church and Ministers were appointed specifically for youth work in the various denominations of the Church. There are in the churches today such youth organizations as the Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Brigade, the Young People's Guild (Y.P.G.), Young Women's Fellowship (in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana); the Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Guide etc. (in the Methodist Church); the Catholic Youth Organization (C.Y.O.) etc., (in the Roman Catholic Church). The Boys' Brigade for instance, had been in the Church for years before the formation of the G.Y.P.M. What is more, some of the aims of the youth organizations in the churches and those of the G.Y.P.M. were similar. For instance, the aim of the Boys' Brigade is "the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, and the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness." It is not difficult to find the similarities in this aim and the aim . . . /

aim of the G.Y.P.M. which was to train the mind, the body and the soul of the youth of Ghana. Furthermore, the government needed and solicited the assistance of the rich experience of the Church in youth work as regards the operation of the G.Y.P.M. To this end, Kwame Nkrumah appealed to the Methodist Church to release one of its ministers who had experience in youth work on secondment to the G.Y.P.M. The Church granted the request and released the Rev. J. S. A. Stephens who had been the Youth Pastor in charge of youth work in the Methodist Church and the Chairman of the Christian Youth Council of the Christian Council of Ghana for some time. On his release by the Church, the Rev. J. S. A. Stephens was appointed as the National Chaplain of the G.Y.P.M. He held this office till the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah and his government in 1966.

In a letter written in April 1962 by the leaders of the churches to the Minister of Education to which a reference will be made later, the church leaders acknowledged the fact that some of the aims of the G.Y.P.M. were similar to those of the youth organisations in the Church. They wrote, "In the documents of the G.Y.P. which we have studied we find that several of its aims coincide with those which are to be found in all reputable Youth Movements including our own all over the world."

It will be helpful to look at some of the issues in . . . /

in the G.Y.P.M. which brought a conflict between the Church and the State. In a document which was distributed to all branches of the G.Y.P.M. and some educational institutions, the National Organizer of the movement, Z. B. Shardow, emphasized the urgent need for the members of the G.Y.P.M. to adhere strictly to the directives of the movement as set out in the Ghana Young Pioneers Order No. 3 which was "Institutionalization of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah". 1 According to the directives, before the commencement of the day's activities of the movement (in all its departments - Young Pioneers, African Personality Children and Kwame Nkrumah Youth), the members should observe the institutionalization formula which was set out thus: (a) Members should respond to the Institutionalization's slogan. (b) Members should sing the song entitled "The Fishers of Men." (c) Members should respond to the Ghana Young Pioneers' slogan and recite the pledge. The procedure was that, the leader or a "comrade" as the members of the movement called themselves, stood in front of the group and led them as follows:

i. INSTITUTIONALIZATION . . . /

1. The document entitled "Ghana Young Pioneers Order No 3 Institutionalization of Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah" was circulated with a covering letter from the Ministry of Education No., 1/62 file No. SWE. 17/T.J. dated 15 February 1962. The document was signed by Z.B. Shardow, the National Organizer of the G.Y.P.M.

i. INSTITUTIONALIZATION SLOGAN

Leader (saying) : Nkrumah does no wrong
Group (response) : Nkrumah is our leader
Leader (saying) : Nkrumah does no wrong
Group (response) : Nkrumah is our Messiah
Leader (saying) : Nkrumah does no wrong
Group (response) : Nkrumah never dies

ii. SINGING "THE FISHERS OF MEN"

The group then sang the following song.

If you follow him D.C.
He will make you fishers of men
Fishers of men D.C.
He will make you fishers of men
If you follow him.

This song is a parody of a Christian chorus which was composed from Matthew 4:19 and Mark 1:17, "I will make you fishers of men, if you follow me."

iii. THE PLEDGE

The activities of a group or branch of the movement for the day were closed by reciting the Ghana Young Pioneers' slogan and the pledge. The pledge was recited in these words:

1. I sincerely promise to live by the ideals of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the State of Ghana, Initiator of the African Personality.
2. To safeguard by all means possible the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the State of Ghana from internal and external aggression.
3. To be always in the vanguard for the social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa.
4. To be in the first ranks of men fighting for the total liberation and unity of Africa for these are the noble aims guiding the Ghana Young Pioneers.
5. As a Young Pioneer, I will be a guard of workers, farmers, co-operators and all the other sections of our community.

6. I believe that the dynamic Convention People's Party is always supreme, and I promise to be worthy of its ideals.



Fig. 9

A Ghana Young Pioneer in her uniform.

Looking at these phenomena of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in relation to the Christian faith, one sees the reasons why the Church raised strong objection to some of them. In the so-called institutionalization slogan, the movement claimed "Nkrumah does no wrong." This claim of infallibility of a fallible human being was . . . /

was incompatible with the christian belief that only God is perfect. Furthermore, it reflected the arrogance of the C.P.P. and its leader which again contradicted the christian teaching of humility and meekness (Matthew 5:5, 23:12; Philippians 2:5ff).

The G.Y.P.M. declared Kwame Nkrumah a Messiah when it claimed in the institutionalization slogan "Nkrumah is our Messiah." To the christian, the Messiah is the Lord Jesus and to attribute messiahship to a political leader was unacceptable. This declaration was to be recited by all school children both christians and non-christians. The Church was disturbed by this indoctrination of the youth of the country.

The last statement of the institutionalization slogan was "Nkrumah never dies." This claim of immortality for a mortal human leader contradicted the christian belief in death and resurrection. One might argue that the statement "Nkrumah never dies" should not be taken literally but interpreted to mean that his achievements and contribution to the political development and progress of Ghana would be indelible in the annals of history. But this argument cannot be sustained. It was stated without any qualification whatsoever and the children who were imbibing this doctrine could not understand such a figure of speech at that stage of their mental and intellectual development and would understand it as such.

The . . . /

The Ministry of Education, in a circular letter dated 15 February 1962, instructed Heads of Educational institutions to encourage their pupils to participate in the activities of the G.Y.P.M. and all the documents in connection with the institutionalization of Kwame Nkrumah and related matters were distributed to all schools. As a reaction to the letter in particular and to the establishment, constitution and operation of the G.Y.P.M. in general, the leaders of the churches sent a protest letter to the Minister of Education who was at that time Dowuona Hammond in April 1962. In the letter, the Church leaders stated:

A few weeks after the circulation of this document, we the undersigned Heads of Churches in Ghana, met to study and discuss the official documents of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement available in March this year. In the documents of the G.Y.P. which we have studied we find that several of its aims coincide with those which are to be found in all reputable Youth Movements, including our own, all over the world. At the same time we are deeply distressed by some of the statements included in the documents. To give a few examples : (a) In Order No. 3 over the signature of the National Organizer we find, under the title 'Institutionalization slogan' certain words set out to be repeated by a Leader and a Group at the time of a Parade or Meeting. We feel bound to record our strong objection that such words should be prescribed for the use of children. (b) In the items under title 'G.Y.P. Slogan and Pledge' in the same document we regret to find no reference to man's primary duty to God. We also regret the implication that it is sufficient for our young people to live by purely human ideals. Further, the reference in item 6 to a Political Party seems to us to be improper in a National Institution. But we should be untrue to our Christian convictions and dishonest towards you, Mr. Minister, if we refrained from recording that we are unhappy about the general tone and spirit which seems to underlie and colour the basic purposes of the Movement. And to some extent our fears have been . . . /

been borne out by evidence which has come to us during the past year.... as Christians, we believe that every form of education should be designed not only to impart knowledge but, above all, to lead the child to know, to love, and to serve God; to follow truth; and to become, by God's Grace, a man or woman of humility, purity and integrity, ready to give sacrificial service to God and nation. A sound moral character, we believe, depends upon a lively faith in god and cannot be created or sustained without it.... It is however, Mr Minister, with deep regret that we feel it necessary to inform you that we find it impossible to give our support and co-operation in the development of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement. 1

This letter reflected the position of the Church as regards the G.Y.P.M. The Anglican Synod wrote a similar but a shorter letter of protest to President Nkrumah dated 4 August 1962 in which it stated among others, "This Synod, while wholly desirous of co-operating to the fullest extent with the Government's plans for the progress of the Republic of Ghana, deeply regrets that the Constitution and Practice of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement include elements which are inconsistent with the deeply religious traditions of Ghana and Africa."

As . . . /

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1. This letter, which was a reaction to the Ministry of Education circular letter No. 1/62, File No. SWE.17/T.J.dated 15 February 1962 was signed by the leaders of the churches namely: E. K. Galevo (Moderator-Evangelical Presbyterian Church), E.M.L. Odjidja (Moderator-Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana), F.C.F. Grant (President-Conference of the Methodist Church, Ghana), Richard Roseveare (Anglican Bishop of Accra). The letter was delivered to the Minister personally by the Rt. Rev. E. M. L. Odjidja on 24 April 1962 on behalf of the leaders of the churches.

As soon as the leaders of the churches sent their letter to the Minister of Education, the Ghanaian press started to attack them in the strongest possible language. For example, the Ghanaian Times carried the following attack on the leaders of the churches:

What the Revolution will not stand for is the anti-social misuse of religion to cover the ends of treason and subversion, i.e. in pronouncement made by religious leaders to decry or overthrow the Government's plans and to discredit Ghana overseas. The hidden danger in Ghana is concealed behind the pulpit from which poisonous ideas may still be injected into the masses. If religion in Ghana is not to become a relic of the past it must catch up with the Socialist Revolution. Its record does not inspire confidence and its time is running out. The people will accept no further vacillation. It must move on or move out. The gross treachery now unmasked in which HEADS OF CHURCHES HAVE CONNIVED AS A BODY demands new and stringent precautions. In future, let Government give consent to any fresh Church appointment and probe new leaders before they assume office. 1

In the same issue of The Ghanaian Times, these threats were issued:

The Christian Council which has too long offered an umbrella for conspiracy under which the Heads of Churches came together to plot or to issue joint subversive statements should be dissolved and permanently disbanded as a dangerous and discredited organization, which Ghana cannot afford to harbour. The Government still knows where to lay its hands on these men when it wants them. The Colonial Table of Precedence inherited by the State Functions Secretariat should be again revised and the Heads of Churches deleted. We know our friends! Let our enemies beware! 2

1. The Ghanaian Times, Thursday 23 August 1962.

2. Ibid.

The conflict between the Church and the State over the issue of the G.Y.P.M. grew stronger and stronger but the Church went on speaking out. At a Synod of the Accra Diocese of the Anglican Church held on 4 August 1962, the Rt. Rev. Reginald Richard Roseveare, the Anglican Bishop of the Diocese, expressed his views on the G.Y.P.M. and the standpoint of the Church in Ghana with regard to the movement. He said the youth of Ghana, in whose hands the future of the country would be, should be taught by word and deed, to know the truth of God and to love and serve Him. He regretted certain aspects of the G.Y.P.M. which reflected the godlessness of the movement and stated:

It is an affront to our age-long traditions that, in Ghana of all countries a national institution for the training and development of boys and girls should entirely ignore the existence and claims of Almighty God. Moreover, it seems that the movement confuses the work and example of a great man with divine acts which are unique in history. The incipient atheism is quite foreign to the traditional concept of the African Personality.

For airing his views on the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement and telling his Synod the stance of the leaders of the churches in Ghana as regards the movement, Bishop Roseveare was subjected to press attacks by The Ghanaian Times and the Evening News. The former, under a headline "THIS MAN MUST GO!", described Bishop Roseveare as a hypocrite and an imperialist agent. 1 In an editorial . . . /

1. The Ghanaian Times, Monday 6 August 1962, front page.

editorial of the same newspaper which was repeated in its issue of Tuesday 14 August 1962, the paper said that the Bishop "had turned the clergy meetings of the church council into a conspiratorial platform of subversion and neo-colonialist activities." The latter accused Bishop Roseveare of "involvements with subversive elements inside and outside Ghana." 1

The press attacks were just part of the Bishop's humiliation and official hatred. He was deported in August 1962 and The Ghanaian Times reported, "The British Anglican Bishop of Accra, the Right Rev. Richard Roseveare, left here today for Nigeria following a deportation order issued against him.... The Ghanaian Times, in a series of editorials, called for his expulsion from Ghana." 2 But the deportation could not silence the Church. On 13 September 1962, the Christian Council of Ghana wrote to President Nkrumah pleading with him to reconsider the deportation of the Bishop and allow him to return to Ghana to continue his work. It was not only the Christian Council which declared its support for the Bishop and urged the government to allow him to return to Ghana. Those who took similar action included the Synod of the Accra Diocese of the Anglican Church, the local churches, the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church, the World Council of Churches and the press of many countries. It . . . /

1. Evening News, Monday 13 August 1962.

2. The Ghanaian Times, Tuesday, 14 August 1962.

It is worthy of note that the government-controlled press and radio in Ghana did not report any of these expressions of support for the Bishop. Nevertheless, internal and external pressures were brought to bear on the government as a result of which Nkrumah abrogated the deportation and allowed the Bishop to return to Ghana.

Bishop Roseveare said that there were certain aspects of the G.Y.P.M. which were the cause of sorrow and fear to many thoughtful people, christians and non-christians alike. This related not only to the movement's attitude to religion but also to social relationships and family life. Some of the leaders of the G.Y.P.M. and C.P.P. activists urged the children whose parents did not show interest in the movement to report them to the authorities. This instilled fear into many parents who did not subscribe to the principles of the G.Y.P.M. and did not want their children to participate in its activities but could not say so because their children might report them. What inspired the fear in most parents was the obnoxious Preventive Detention Act which could be easily and readily used to victimize unco-operative parents. This state of affairs kept some parents in constant fear of their own children with the result that parent-child relationship was seriously strained and discipline was broken down in some homes. This raised some social and moral problems which struck at the very roots of the cherished . . . /

cherished and age-long respect for parents and for age inherent in traditional African culture. The Church was concerned with this unhealthy and unfortunate situation as it reflected in the letter written to the Minister of Education by the leaders of the churches in April 1962 part of which has been quoted above. The Church leaders stated, "At its worst, as has been shown by bitter experience, such a Movement engenders irreligion, intolerance, and a willingness to inform against parents and family."

Finally, we should look at the places from which some of the leaders and pupils of the G.Y.P.M. had their training. Some of them received their training from Eastern European communist countries. The Church was not happy with the communist training which the young people were receiving. Reacting to the Church's misgivings about the training of the youth of Ghana in communist countries, a phenomenon which was a result of Ghana's ideological shift from the West to the East and the Ghana-Soviet Union ties, The Ghanaian Times had the following editorial comments which were an attack on Bishop Van de Bronk, then Catholic Bishop of Kumasi:

What business is his, a Dutchman, if Ghana decided to send nine-tenths of her youth to the Soviet Union and other Eastern Countries for education? What business is his if we thought that in our drive towards socialism, we would best be served by men trained in Soviet industry, science and technology - three fields in which even the most carping of his pay-masters have admitted Soviet superiority? No. It is none of his business. It is none of the business of the Church . . . /

Church he purports to be serving. And the people of Ghana can no longer tolerate his rank interference, his mischief and his diabolical campaign against our government, 1

The fear which was expressed in Bishop Roseveare's statement could also be interpreted in terms of the Church's misgivings about the atheistic inclinations of the G.Y.P.M. The argument was that the communist countries from which the personnel and the pupils of the movement received their training were associated with atheism and so their ideologies which were being injected into the youth could eventually produce atheists. The Church was worried about this trend of the youth movement hence the declaration of its stance in relation to the G.Y.P.M.

Bishop Roseveare and Bishop Van de Bronk who were subjected to hostile press attacks because of their stand against some of the policies of the Nkrumah Government, were expatriate churchmen. But there were other expatriate churchmen who acted as Kwame Nkrumah's apologists and were held in high esteem by government and party officials and their press. An example was the Rev. Arthur Howarth, an Anglican clergyman who went to Ghana at the invitation of Bishop Roseveare in August 1956. He was physically disabled and was in a wheelchair. He was a strong pro-C.P.P. and contributed articles to its newspaper, the Evening News. In its editorial . . . /

1. The Ghanaian Times, 22 December 1961.

editorial comments on how Rev. Howarth left the Anglican Church, The Ghanaian Times, said, "We have not said anything about the callous manner in which the very respected Arthur Howarth, a man not strong in limb and body as Roseveare, but certainly strong and true in heart, was kicked out of the Anglican Church because of his open patriotic expression of love for Ghana, and his sympathy for our problems and efforts to achieve positive results for the happiness of the people." 1 Rev. Arthur Howarth continued to act as an apologist of Kwame Nkrumah, the C.P.P. and the government until their overthrow on 24 February 1966 after which he was deported by the ruling National Liberation Council.

It must be said that there is no evidence to show that it was Kwame Nkrumah who personally composed and ordered those false attributes in the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement's institutionalization slogan and the pledge to be ascribed to him. But the fact that he never on any occasion made any public statement repudiating any of them or ordering any of them to be stopped, serves as a strong evidence in support of the claim that he endorsed them.

Expatriate clergymen who sang the praises of Kwame Nkrumah and his Government were described as "highly respected" and had official favour and respect. Those who . . . /

1. The Ghanaian Times, Monday 6 August 1962

who criticised the government were deported and the Ghanaian clergymen who criticised the C.P.P. Government were potential victims of the Preventive Detention Act. An example was Rev. Damoah, a Roman Catholic Priest stationed at Saltpond. He was critical of the C.P.P. Government and contributed a number of articles to the Catholic Standard (a local newspaper published by the Roman Catholic Church) in which he criticised some of the policies and measures of the government especially the Preventive Detention Act and the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement.

Some time in 1963 Rev. Damoah was arrested and kept in police custody without any charge. Christians from the various denominations of the Church in the area, under the leadership of the Archbishop John Kodwo Amissah demanded his immediate release and when the police refused to release him, an all-night vigil was kept outside the police station. The next morning the Archbishop administered the Eucharist to the Christians outside the police station. Because of the peaceful but strong demand of the Christians for the release of the Priest, he was transferred from Saltpond to the Elmina police station but the Christians followed him and were joined by the Christians in the Elmina area.

The . . . /

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1. Rev. Damoah has left the Church and found his own religious group called Afrikania and is now called Osofo Komfo Damoah.

The stand taken by the christians under the leadership of the Archbishop greatly disturbed the government. Their action had entered its second day at Elmina. At 6.30 a.m. the Archbishop received a telephone call from Accra at the police station. The call was from Kofi Baako, a Cabinet Minister and a Roman Catholic, who wanted the Archbishop to come to Accra for a talk with President Nkrumah on the matter. He turned down the invitation and hung up. The pressure which was brought to bear on the government by the action of the christians was non-violent but so strong that the former had to order the release of Rev. Damoah without preferring any charge against him.

The action of the christians under the leadership of the Archbishop was a significant contribution of the Church to the struggle for freedom and justice in Ghana during the oppressive and dictatorial rule of Kwame Nkrumah. It demonstrated not only the Church's commitment to the cause of freedom, justice and the dignity of human beings in the Ghanaian society but also the great influence which the Church had in Ghana and the impact of Christianity on the life of the people. It also showed how far some members of the Church were prepared to go by way of sacrifice in the process of democratization in Ghana. But for the timely and resolute action and intervention of the christians, Rev. Damoah would have been detained for years without trial for daring to write against the policies of Kwame Nkrumah's . . . /

Nkrumah's Government. The action of the Christians forced the government to abrogate its decision to throw Rev. Damoah into jail under the Preventive Detention Act. It demonstrated in pragmatic terms, the fact that the Church in Ghana was too strong to be silenced by the State. 1

Any one who stood in the way of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement was declared an enemy of the State by the C.P.P. and its press and those who stood against it were mostly members of the Church. Head of institutions who did not show interest in it were sacked. For instance, the Rev. W.G. M. Brandful of the Methodist Church had his appointment as the Headmaster of Mfantshipim Secondary School terminated for refusing to inaugurate a branch of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in the school.

CONSTITUTIONAL FACTORS OF DICTATORSHIP

In 1960, Nkrumah introduced a republican constitution in the country and a plebiscite was held on 19 and 26 April 1960 to approve the draft constitution. Under the new constitution, the offices of Governor-General and Prime Minister were abolished and replaced by that of an Executive President who combined the offices of the President and the Prime Minister. The concern . . . /

1. For a detailed account of Rev. Damoah's arrest and detention, see J. S. Pobee, *op.cit.* pp. 171-172.

concern of most people was not so much the adoption of a republican constitution as some of the provisions made in the Constitution. For instance, Article 9, section 4 of the Constitution stipulated that, "except as may be otherwise provided by law, in the exercise of his functions the President shall act in his own discretion and shall not be obliged to follow advice tendered by any person." This provision of the Constitution, which placed the President above any advice, was absolutely contrary to the traditional democratic system of Ghana in which the ruler ruled with the advice of his elders. The Constitution thus prepared the ground for dictatorship, which was characteristic of the Nkrumah regime between 1960 and 1966. Furthermore, section 1 of Article 44 of the Constitution provided that, "the Chief Justice and every other Judge of the Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President by instrument under the Public Seal." Again Articles 52 of the Constitution stipulated that "the appointment, promotion, transfer, termination of appointments, the dismissal and disciplinary control of civil servants is hereby vested in the President." Article 24 gave the President power over Parliamentary decisions when it provided that :

- (1) Every Bill passed by the National Assembly shall be presented to the President who shall -
 - (a) signify his assent to the Bill,
or
 - (b) signify his assent to a part only of the Bill and his refusal of . . . /

of assent to the remainder, or
(c) signify his refusal of assent
to the Bill.

2. On the signifying by the President of his assent to a Bill passed by the National Assembly, or to a part thereof, the Bill or that part thereof, as the case may be, shall become an Act of Parliament.

The significance of these Articles of the Republican Constitution is that they provided the means of and positively contributed to constitutional dictatorship under which the people of Ghana lived from 1 July 1960 to 24 February 1966. By the power vested in him by the Constitution, President Nkrumah could take measures and decisions without consulting any member of his Cabinet. He could dismiss judges and public servants at will and he actually used these powers. For instance, in December 1963 he dismissed Sir Arku Korsah, the Chief Justice. The Ghanaian Times carried the following item of news on its front page, "Sir Arku Korsah, until yesterday Chief Justice of Ghana, has been sacked from office by Osagyefo. An official announcement from the Office of Osagyefo the President, Accra, said Sir Arku Korsah's appointment had been revoked with effect from yesterday - Wednesday, December 11, 1963." 1 About a month after the dismissal of the Chief Justice, President Nkrumah dismissed a number of senior police officers.

1. The Ghanaian Times, Thursday 12 December 1963.

Kwame Nkrumah and his C.P.P. Government organized a referendum which was held on 24 and 28 January 1964. They sought through the referendum to turn Ghana into a one-party State. They achieved their aim and on 21 February 1964, Ghana was declared a one-party State. A new constitution made the following provisions: (1) The recognition of the Convention People's Party as the sole legal political organization and the "leading core of all organizations and the vanguard of the people in their struggle to build a Socialist society." (2) The vesting in Kwame Nkrumah of the power to dismiss any judge of the Supreme Court or the High Court "at any time and for reasons that appear to him sufficient." Nkrumah did not hesitate to use this power vested in him by the new constitution. He dismissed the judges of the Supreme Court and this was reported on the front page of the Ghanaian Times thus: "Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has revoked the appointment of three judges of the Supreme Court.... The dismissed judges are Mr. Justice Kofi Adumua-Bossman, Mr. Justice Robert Samuel Blay and Mr. Justice Edward Akuffo-Addo. Osagyefo has also appointed three High Court judges as judges of the Supreme Court, a Gazette notice published here today said, They are Mr. Justice Charles Sterling Acolatse, Mr. Justice Fred Kwesi Apaloo and Mr. Justice Alfred Augustus Akainyah." 1 There was already in operation

1. The Ghanaian Times, Tuesday 3 March 1964.

the notorious and obnoxious Preventive Detention Act and this, in addition to these wide and absolute powers, made Nkrumah a dictator and a tyrant.

The people, including most of his own party officials and Cabinet ministers, were worried by Nkrumah's oppressive rule and the situation grew worse. But there was no chance of a change of government by any constitutional means. The only avenues to a change of government were either the assassination of Nkrumah or a military coup d'etat. The former had been attempted on various occasions.

MISMANAGEMENT AND HARDSHIPS

By 1964 the economic situation of the country had become chaotic. The system of purchase tax and compulsory saving of 5% deducted at source from wages and incomes of over £120 per annum, had already started to affect adversely the workers whose meagre wages were not sufficient to make ends meet. Nkrumah and his Government controlled the importation and distribution of essential goods through the Ghana National Trading Corporation (G.N.T.C.), which operated as the main importer and distributor of goods. Various factors contributed to an acute shortage of essential goods. The officials of the G.N.T.C. were inefficient in the handling of the import and distribution business. The country's foreign exchange reserves were steadily declining . . . /

declining and Nkrumah insisted that local firms should import their goods from the Eastern bloc countries. These factors led to a serious shortage of essential commodities in the country such as drugs, soap, rice, milk, sugar, flour, canned fish and spare parts for motor vehicles and others. Most of the shops were empty and the shortage resulted in hoarding and profiteering and these in turn brought about unreasonably high prices.

During this period of shortages and hardships, Nkrumah and his Government embarked on a number of prestige projects using the scanty foreign exchange available. Some of the projects included a huge conference complex (known as Job 600) designed to house the O.A.U. conference in Accra in 1965, the purchase of nine bronze statues of Nkrumah and an American armoured car. Some of these projects were undertaken to impress the African Heads of State and to convince them that Ghana could be the headquarters of a Union of African States with Kwame Nkrumah as its President. What was more, during this period of shortages of local foodstuffs in the urban areas because there were no vehicles to carry them to the towns and cities due to lack of spare parts, Nkrumah and his ministers and party officials were moving about in luxury cars.

At independence, Ghana was the sixth largest producer of gold in the world and the fourth largest producer . . . /

producer of manganese. On the average, the Gold Coast (Ghana) had contributed 25% of the dollar earnings of all British colonial territories. During the period 1951-1955, the Gold Coast contributed a net positive balance of £153 million including its gold contributions to the gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area. 1 Furthermore, at independence, Ghana's foreign exchange reserves amounted to £200 million while its debt amounted to only £20 million. 2

Nkrumah actively interfered with the administration and running of the universities. For instance, he issued orders that some lecturers be made professors and heads of department. He expelled some expatriate lecturers and detained a Ghanaian Professor J. C. de Graft Johnson, then Director of the Institute of Public Education at the University of Ghana. As a result there was an exodus of both Ghanaian and expatriate lecturers and professors, resulting in a serious brain drain.

The C.P.P. Government was determined to have a strong and firm control on every sphere of national life especially on the institutions and organizations which had influence on the Ghanaian society. In this context, the Church was the most outstanding target. The . . . /

1. Henry L. Bretton, The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah, p. 189, note 6.

2. Adu Boahen, Ghana: Evolution and Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centures, pp. 191-192.

The Nkrumah Government had succeeded in suppressing the freedom of speech with his Preventive Detention Act, freedom of association with his Avoidance of Discrimination Act, multi-party system with his one-party system and academic freedom with his interference with the administration and running of the universities. The freedom which the government found very difficult to suppress was freedom of religion and this was because of the strong position and influence of the Church. It has already been shown that the C.P.P. tried to establish party pressure in the churches through which it could suppress any criticism of the government by the churches at the grass roots by asking the churches to form branches of the party and how it failed. When this failed, the government's desire to have control on the churches found expression in a different way.

THE ATTACK ON THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA

An anonymous memorandum was presented to Krobo Edusei who was at that time, the Minister of the Interior and members of the Cabinet at the latter part of 1965 or early 1966. The full text of the memorandum is reproduced below:

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO THE HON. KROBO EDUSEI,
MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, AND MEMBERS OF THE CABINET
OF THE GHANA GOVERNMENT RELATING TO THE CHRISTIAN
COUNCIL AND ITS ACTIVITIES.

1. IT APPEARS that the Christian Council of Ghana is a self-constituted body existing for mutual consultations between the members with a view to joint . . . /

joint action.

2. IT APPEARS that the major participants are the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, and a few smaller religious bodies.
3. HAVING REGARD to the fact that the Roman Catholic and other Christian bodies are not represented, and would repudiate such representation, it is clear that the so-called Christian Council of Ghana is a complete misnomer, both in name and in fact. It is not the CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA, but a sectarian and minority body operating in its own interests. It is, therefore, incapable of speaking for the whole body of Christian opinion in Ghana.
4. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA must view with grave concern that this unofficial body has always been a divisive and disruptive force on all the recent occasions of national unity connected with Independence.
5. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA recalls:
 - (a) The Protest with regard to Libation on the Duchess of Kent's arrival. Members of the Christian Council of Ghana were able to accept Libation subsequently at an Opposition meeting in Bukom Square.
 - (b) The Protest with regard to the deportation made and publicised before hearing the Government's statement in the National House of Assembly.
 - (c) The refusal to provide a National Service of Thanksgiving in the Stadium on the occasion of the First Anniversary of Independence.
 - (d) The Protest against a certain inscription on the Prime Minister's statue outside Parliament House, again made without reference to the facts.
 - (e) The alleged Protest against the new Chaplaincy arrangements for the Ghana Army. 1
6. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA cannot interpret these Protests as "tendering advice" or "ventilating the Christian conscience" or "giving Christian leadership."

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1. Number 5 (a) to (e) will be commented on at the end of the quotation.

7. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA must regard these public actions as subversive activities, and not conducive to the public good.
8. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA cannot tolerate a deliberate system of sabotage on the part of an unofficial body, to undermine its efforts for the betterment of the people.
9. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA cannot tolerate the intrusion into politics of religious bodies of any kind.
10. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA takes note that pulpits have been used to attack the Government, and that the premises of the Anglican Church have been used for Opposition Meetings, eg. St. Mary's and Osu.
11. THE GOVERNMENT OF GHANA notes with grave concern the attention paid in the foreign press to the uncorrected statements of the Christian Council of Ghana, particularly the suggestion that the liberty and freedom of the individual, and the operation of democratic processes, have been suppressed by the Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

IT IS RECOMMENDED THEREFORE

1. THAT an office to be set up (Department of Religious Affairs) attached to the Ministry of the Interior with strong liaison with Ministry of Information, regulating relations with Religious Bodies and noting their scope and activities. Many European countries offer a precedent for this.
2. THAT a small number of persons, known to be loyal to the Government and having knowledge of Religious Affairs, be recruited for this purpose.
3. THAT the activities of all Religious Bodies be kept under the constant scrutiny of the Government, and appropriate action taken when necessary.
4. THAT the personnel, plan, and finances of such bodies be kept under the regular survey and report of the Government.
5. THAT legislation be drafted to cover Prohibited Organisations including the Christian Council of Ghana, as subversive of democratic government and the public good.

6. THAT grants made to the Voluntary Agencies be reviewed in the light of these facts, and where necessary, Church Schools be taken over in the interests of the Government.
7. THAT in cases where Ministers of Religion take Oaths of Obedience, there should be a similar Oath, binding in Law, to Prime Minister, or Head of State and Government of Ghana. That this Oath be extended to all ranks of the Christian Ministry, in lieu of any such Oath to the Monarch.
8. THAT the appointment of high personnel, e.g. Bishops, Moderators etc. often involving aliens, be made by the Ecclesiastical Authority with the approval of the Government of Ghana. Monarchs have often exercised the veto with regard to clerics, *persona non grata*.
9. THAT with regard to Members of the Christian Council of Ghana, of suspected loyalty to the Government, whether alien or native, whether in Ghana at the present time, or overseas, the Minister of the Interior and Cabinet, be respectfully invited to review such cases, to ascertain whether -
 - (1) the continuance of such persons in Ghana, or
 - (2) the return of such persons in Ghana, is conducive to the public good. 1

The Christian Council's objection to the inclusion of libation in the programme for the welcome ceremony in honour . . . /

1. This document was obtained from the Rev. A. L. Kwansa who was then the Synod Clerk of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. In an interview with Rev. Kwansa in his house at Aburi in June 1987, he said he received a telephone call from a government official one day asking him to call at his office. On his arrival in the office, he was shown this document which had not been published. The man (who was not named by Rev. Kwansa) told him that the document was not to be taken out of his office. But he succeeded in persuading him to allow him to take it to his office to read it and return it to him within a few minutes. He took it to his office and gave it to his secretary to type a copy for him and he returned the original to the man. It was that copy which I obtained from Rev. Kwansa.

honour of the Duchess of Kent in 1957, and the protest of the churches against the deportation of the two Muslims in August 1957 have been discussed. At (c), the authors of the memorandum accused the Christian Council of refusing to organize a "National Service of Thanksgiving in the Stadium on the occasion of the First Anniversary of Independence." The issue was that, the government wanted the churches to organize a mass church service at the first anniversary of Ghana's independence in March 1958. The Christian Council thought that organizing a mass church service at the Stadium in Accra would not be practicable and so the Prime Minister should invite the whole nation to observe Sunday 9 March 1958 as a day of prayer and that the churches should be allowed to observe that Sunday the way they thought fit.

The Prime Minister ignored the suggestion of the churches and issued official letters to the leaders of the churches and the Christian Council of Ghana requesting them to organize a mass church service at the stadium in Accra. On the receipt of the letter the Executive Committee of the Christian Council met and took the following decision on the matter:

A massed Church Service at the Stadium would not be practicable. In as much as regions and neighbouring places are expected to hold services locally it will be impossible to fill the Stadium for an impressive service... the Prime Minister be asked to call the Churches to prayer.... A United Service of a modest kind be held at a smaller place preferably in a Church. The Methodist Church was proposed. The Officers were asked to meet the Minister of Justice - Hon. Ako Adjei and discuss the matter with him with a view to removing any misunderstanding . . . /

misunderstandings that might have been caused previously. 1

It was not true that the Christian Council refused to organize a church service in commemoration of the first anniversary of Ghana's independence. The point was that the Christian Council of Ghana and the churches decided to do what they thought was the right thing to do in the circumstance but Kwame Nkrumah and his Government wanted to override the decision of the council and the churches. This they found unacceptable - hence the accusation.

The protest of the Christian Council of Ghana against the inscription on the pedestal of Kwame Nkrumah's statue in front of Parliament House has been discussed earlier in the chapter. It has not been possible to find out the nature of the protest against the new chaplaincy arrangements.

The memorandum was not dated and not signed and there is no indication as to who prepared and presented it to the Minister of the Interior and the Cabinet. Neither does it show on whose behalf it was submitted. In the light of this, it cannot be taken as a basis for criticism of the government. All the same, it can be said that such a memorandum could not have been written by anybody outside the government or the Convention People's Party. After all, "the C.P.P. was the

1. Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana, Friday 31 January 1958, minute 7 Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Christian Council of Ghana Archives.

government and the government was the C.P.P."

THE OVERTHROW OF KWAME NKRUMAH AND HIS GOVERNMENT

Kwame Nkrumah had not only alienated himself from the people but he had also instilled fear and a sense of insecurity into them. He had made a change of government by constitutional means absolutely impossible. The only means by which a change of government could be effected was force of arms.

On 21 February 1966, Kwame Nkrumah left Ghana for Hanoi (North Vietnam) at the invitation of President Ho Chi Minh in connection with the war in Vietnam. On 24 February, in the early hours of the day, the Ghana Army, in co-operation with the Police, overthrew the Government of Kwame Nkrumah in a military coup d' etat which was initiated by the Second Infantry Brigade under the command of Colonel Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka.

With the 24 February 1966 revolution, the fifteen-year rule of Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party Government came to an end. The picture below shows . . . /



Kwame Nkrumah in deep thought after the overthrow of his government

Fig. 10

shows Nkrumah seated and engaged in deep thought when the news of his overthrow was brought to him by the Chinese Ambassador in Ghana, who had gone ahead of him to Peking to meet him. The picture and the comment at the foot appeared on the front page of the Christian Messenger (the oldest Christian Newspaper in Ghana) of July 1966. 1 This was the end of the First Republic of Ghana, an era of high hopes, strong aspirations and terrible disappointment.

MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH IN AN UNPOPULAR GOVERNMENT

In spite of the corruption, abuse of power, suppression and tyranny, which were characteristic of the Nkrumah Government, and the strong opposition of the churches to many of its policies which resulted in conflicts, some ministers of some of the churches remained members of the Government till its fall on 24 February 1966. The cases of three ministers of religion are significant. They were the Rev. Christian Kobla Dovlo of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Gyasi Nimako and the Rev. Jacob S. A. Stephens both of the Methodist Church.

1. The Christian Messenger saw Kwame Nkrumah, after his fall, as the cause of the suffering of the people of Ghana, "that despot who has ever walked this earth" and "a blood-thirsty man" hence the allusion to Genesis 4:7. See front page of the paper, July 1966, Vol. VIII No. 7.

On the invitation of Nkrumah, which was endorsed by the Church, Rev. Dovlo became a Member of Parliament for Keta on the ticket of the C.P.P. in place of K. A. Gbedemah, leaving his teaching post as Headmaster of Zion College. He remained a C.P.P. Member of Parliament until the overthrow of the Government, after which he was detained for four months. On his release he was posted to the E.P. Church's Theological Seminary at Peki as the Principal. From Peki Seminary he was elected as the Moderator of the Synod of the Church, and he served in this capacity for eight years.

On the ticket of the C.P.P., the Rev. Dr. Nimako contested and won the 1954 election as Member of Parliament for New Juaben, and remained in that position between 1954 and 1956. Between 1961 and 1966 he held the posts of Ghana's High Commissioner to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Zambia. After the overthrow of the government, Rev. Dr. Nimako did not go into direct and active service of the Church. He was the Principal of Adukrom Teacher Training College from 1966 to 1970, Secretary of the National Teacher Training Council of Ghana from 1970 to 1972, General Secretary of the Ghana National Association of Teachers from 1972 to 1975, and Secretary-General of All Africa Teachers' Organization from 1973 to 1976, by which year he was 67 years of age.

At the request of Kwame Nkrumah, the Methodist Church seconded Rev. Stephens to the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement, a movement which was one of the factors . . . /

factors that led to conflicts between the churches and the government. He was appointed as the national chaplain of the movement and held the post till the overthrow of the Nkrumah Government. Like Rev. Dovlo, Rev. Stephens went back into active and direct service of the Church and became the Secretary of the Conference of the Church. Eventually he was elected as the President of the Conference. There was a controversy over his election as the President in the light of his past activities in the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement for which he had been released by the Church.

Generally speaking, leaders of the churches and their members were grateful and happy at the fall of Kwame Nkrumah and his Government. Church leaders had been under clandestine police or security surveillance and had received direct or indirect threats and attacks from the government controlled media. The independence of the churches was seriously threatened by the plan of the C.P.P. to bring them under the control of the government whereby appointments of high church officials were to be approved by the government and all the activities and finances of the churches checked by the government.

The question then arises, if the churches did not approve of the policies of the government, so that there were various conflicts between them on such issues as the Deportation Act, the P.D.A., the establishment of branches . . . /

branches of the C.P.P. in the churches, the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement etc., why did they allow their ministers to continue to serve in that government? Rev. Dovlo argues that it was necessary to exercise christian influence in the legislative arm of the government:

I often hear people say, "Politics is dirty business and those who are honest must refrain from it." I entirely disagree with such people. Politics is clean and devoted service but dirty men can make it dirty business.... It is the foremost duty of all Christians to do all they can to see that we send good and honest people into the various Councils and Assemblies, in order to prevent our politics becoming dirty business. 1

Furthermore, Rev. Dovlo still holds the view that one can influence a government more from within that government than from without it. 2 It is on record that Rev. Dovlo spoke in Parliament on the problem of materialism in Ghanaian society:

Osagyefo, the President, ended his address by calling upon the nation to rid itself of a disease. The disease must be removed from our society before Ghana can make any real progress. That disease is "G.R.Q.", get-rich-quick....It is our service to humanity by which we must be valued. This is the people's forum - it includes the Churches - and what I am saying will be followed up by members of the Churches and the rank and file of the people of Ghana. Our values should not be based entirely on Cedis and Pesewas. 3 Man cannot live by bread alone...but by every word of God and by appreciating moral and spiritual values. 4

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1. C. K. Dovlo, Africa Awakes, p. 36. Cited in J. S. Pobee, op.cit., P. 114.
 2. Interview with the Rev. C. K. Dovlo in his house at Keta on 5 March 1987.
 3. The Ghanaian currency.
 4. Ghana Parliamentary Debate, 30 August 1965. Cols. 165, 166.

According to the Rev. Dr. S. G. Nimako, he entered politics in order to help the country to achieve independence and to exert christian influence in politics and on politicians. He offered prayers at all the C.P.P. meetings he attended. It was one of the principles of the C.P.P. to hate political opponents and he was advised to hate his political opponents; but he tried to educate the C.P.P. politicians to realize that political opponents were not enemies. 1

C O N C L U S I O N

This chapter has been focusing on the relationship between the Nkrumah Government and the Church from the time of independence to the overthrow of the government on 24 February 1966 which brought the First Republic to an end. Within this period, a lot of things happened in the social, economic and political life of the people of Ghana due to the policies of the C.P.P. Government. These compelled the Church to get involved in politics while living above party politics. This made the Church vocal on matters of national importance in the interests of the people and of good government but it resulted in various conflicts between the Church and the State. In view of the Church's unique position and its great influence and high population in the Ghanaian society . . . /

1. Interview with the Rev. Dr. S. G. Nimako in his house at Afidwase near Koforidua on 26 November 1987.

society, the Government of the First Republic made various attempts and employed different means and strategies to have control over and to silence the Church but to no avail. The Church's capacity and authority to criticize the government were challenged on various occasions but that could not stop it from speaking out.

In its relationships with the traditional States, the colonial State and the independent State of Ghana before the fall of the First Republic, the Church acquired a great deal of experience. This experience is significant especially in relation to the First Republic, because to a large extent, the subsequent course of Church-State relations has been dictated by the events which took place under the First Republic as will be seen in the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

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C O N C L U S I O N

PART ONE

The field of the research has been the relations of the Christian Church with the traditional, colonial and national States in Ghana with special reference to the period 1916-1966. The traditional State in the Gold Coast had a permanent population and a defined territory. It was an amalgamation of towns and villages in a given geographical and ethnic area whose people possessed a common language, culture and religion. It was an independent State ruled by a democratic central government headed by a King or a Paramount Chief to whom the various chiefs paid allegiance. The King was responsible to his subordinate chiefs and the people and was the pivot around which the unity of the State revolved. He was the Commander-in-chief of the State Army and combined in his one person the political and religious headship of the State, making his position both sacred and secular. The various lineages, villages and towns were represented in the local and central governments by their chiefs who were responsible to them and the Paramount Chief. Thus the traditional State was sovereign and independent and its government was representative and responsible. In the government of the . . . /

the traditional State, both local and central, the King and the chiefs constituted an effective power structure.

European presence on the Gold Coast appeared from the late fifteenth century onward and was motivated by commercial and political interests, the former being greater than the latter at the initial stage. The trade which resulted from the contact was so lucrative that strong competition ensued among some European countries. The competing countries were Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, France, Germany and England. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries castles and forts which were built on the Gold Coast by some of these countries were occupied, abandoned, attacked, captured, sold or exchanged.

The activities of the European countries represented on the Gold Coast were dominated by their commercial interests. The European countries which survived the competition were Britain, the Netherlands and Denmark. The management of the slave trade and the possessions of these countries on the Gold Coast were entrusted to trading companies. As a result of the abolition of the slave trade the companies were put out of business and the governments of the countries took over the administration and management of the castles and forts.

Eventually Britain became the dominant European power in the Gold Coast, turning its influence into colonial . . . /

colonial rule. Wars were fought, protectorates were declared, treaties were concluded and orders in council passed. Commercial interest and company government turned into colonial apparatus with changes in the status of the country and the position of the colonial officials. The colonial State which emerged superseded the traditional States and the traditional authorities became subordinate to the British Governor and his officials. The colonial government introduced a new form and concept of government in which the ruler provided a variety of welfare services and socio-political and economic infrastructure. This weakened the position of the traditional authorities vis-a-vis the colonial officials and undermined the loyalty of the subjects to their traditional rulers. The traditional States lost their political and judicial sovereignty to the colonial State which superseded them but did not eradicate them. The two power structures co-existed in name and function.

Land tenure formed an important facet of the political system in the Gold Coast. Motivated by the fact that it was the paramount authority in the Gold Coast and the prospect of land control, the colonial government made persistent attempts to gain control of the land. These attempts met with great resistance and opposition leading to the establishment of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society in 1897.

The . . . /

The Society served as a political unit and a pressure group which stood against every measure of the government which it thought was undesirable.

Colonial rule brought a rift between the traditional authorities and the commoners who became servants of two masters, serving both the traditional and the colonial authorities. In the circumstances, the tendency was to throw off allegiance to one of them and as the colonial government proved to be stronger and more competent to meet the social, political and economic needs of the people than the traditional authorities, allegiance to the latter was weakened by allegiance to the former. Another aspect of this phenomenon was the paramouncy cases in which subordinate chiefs decided to throw off their allegiance to their superior chiefs and to serve the colonial government direct.

The 1925 Constitution of the Gold Coast provided for the establishment of the Provincial Councils. The membership of the Councils which were required to elect representatives to the Legislative Council was restricted to the Paramount Chiefs. The idea of the Provincial Councils was strongly opposed by the educated elite who objected to its composition and argued that they were more competent to serve the interest of the people in the Legislative Council than the Paramount Chiefs. The colonial State and the traditional State constituted two power structures, the former being a superstructure.

The relations of the Christian Missions with the traditional and the colonial states can be traced back to the period of company rule in the nineteenth century. Both the Danish and the British authorities saw in the activities of the Christian Missions the opportunity to establish their influence and advance their political interest among the people. Thus they sought, in different ways, to use the missionaries to achieve this end. Regarding the Basel Mission as a department of Danish administration, the Danish authorities pressurized the missionaries to work towards the establishment of Danish hegemony. The British authorities did not force the Wesleyan missionaries to serve as their agents in furtherance of British political interest. Lack of pressure in this case may be attributed to the fact that there was no divergence of interest among the British authorities and the Wesleyan missionaries.

The Missions were considered by the traditional authorities as a sphere of European political power and they regarded the missionaries as intermediaries between them and the European authorities. Although they did not accept linkage of their Missions with any European political power, the missionaries sometimes played an intermediary role between the traditional authorities and the European authorities. Missionary attitudes towards the European authorities cannot be generalized. . . . /

generalized. There was a process of change in the social, economic and political life of the people of the Gold Coast resulting in the change of the status of the country and the position of the colonial officials and their relationship with the missionaries. In view of this, the attitudes of individual Missions and missionaries depended largely on the prevailing circumstances reflecting the social and political changes. Nevertheless the various Missions reflected distinct policies and different attitudes towards the European authorities depending upon the political background of the missionaries and their policies. By and large, missionary attitudes towards traditional authorities showed honour and respect and a recognition of their authority.

Two important factors in the development of Church-State relations in the Gold Coast were the management of education and medical work, the former being stronger than the latter. The Christian Missions were the pioneers in the educational work in the country and they became so indispensable in the colonial educational structure that the government depended heavily on them for the running and management of schools and colleges. It counted on their resources, expertise and experience. The holistic education provided by the Missions contributed greatly not only to the spiritual and moral development of the people but also to their social, economic and political betterment. The co-operation and . . . /

and partnership between the churches and the State in the field of education have been a permanent feature in the educational system of the country and the former still play their managerial role in the Ghana Education Service.

The religious authority of the Church and its social and political implications was an important element in Church-State relations especially in the relationship between the Church and the traditional State. With the growth of the Church came the development of its decision making structures. This brought the christian community into threefold relationships, relating to the traditional State, the colonial State and the decision making structures of the Church. Each of these three power structures expected the Church's allegiance in its relations with it. The colonial State demanded social and political allegiance from the Church which it was prepared to give. In this respect, there was no problem in the relationship between the Church and the colonial State. The traditional State not only demanded social and political allegiance from the Church but it also demanded its religious allegiance. The traditional State believed that there was no separation between the sacred and the secular. On the basis of this, social, political and religious allegiance belonged to the same facet of traditional life and for that reason, could not be compartmentalized. But the Church . . . /

Church made the separation and gave its social and political allegiance to the traditional State and gave its religious allegiance to its Lord. The traditional State was not happy with this attitude of the Church and so there were conflicts between the two.

Conflict occurred on the issues of the taking of traditional oaths by christians, some elements of African culture and the life and work of the Church, observance of traditional religious laws by christians, participation of christians in some traditional festivals and the holding of traditional offices. Other areas of conflict were the separation of christians from non-christians and the moving of people outside chiefly authority. In most cases the growth of the christian community often left the royal houses outside although they were still necessary. For instance the christian community needed the land on which it settled and established schools and hospitals. This could be provided by the Chief whose goodwill the Church needed. The Church expected the Chief to attend its anniversaries and in most cases, to chair the functions. Where the growth of the christian community included the royal houses, there was still the problem of the position of the Chief in the Church and its life. The Church was not happy with the native customary law of inheritance under which a widow and her children had no share in the husband's property after his death and spoke against it. The rule which was made by the Presbyterian . . . /

Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast regarding inheritance in the Church was widely adopted by people outside the Church. The Christian Council of the Gold Coast got actively involved in some of these matters especially in the late colonial period.

A real national movement for independence in the Gold Coast started in 1947 with the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention. The Church played a prominent role in the movement for Ghanaian independence and can be seen as the tutor of nationalists and politicians. By the end of the First World War, over 90 per cent of formal education in the Gold Coast was provided by the Christian Missions. By this provision, the Missions not only prepared people for leadership in the churches but also in the nationalist movement and the civil administration of the country. The christian press was an effective medium for the expression of major political grievances. The leadership role of Africans in the churches was an inspiring factor in the national movement for independence. The training given to the leaders of the churches enabled them to hold responsible positions and to be on equal footing with their European partners. The organization and government of the churches, their performance at meetings; Presbyteries; Conferences and Synods and the independence of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast served as a positive stimulus to the nationalist movement . . . /

movement. Some of the nationalists used christian religious language to transmit political message.

Following the signing of the Independence Constitution for Ghana by Her Britannic Majesty on 22 February 1957, Ghana was granted its independence on 6 March 1957. The new power structure represented by the educated elite who led the country to independence received its tutelage from and owed its inspiration to the Church which may be described as the architect of Gold Coast nationalism and thus of Ghanaian independence.

The relationship between the Church and the independent State of Ghana in the period 1957-1966 was strained by some of the policies of Kwame Nkrumah's Government with which the Church could not agree. The Christian Council of Ghana (C.C.G.) which had become the mouthpiece of the churches it represented was drawn into the politics of the period by its reaction to some of the manifestations of the government's misrule. This state of affairs persisted throughout the period and thus transformed the Council into an active medium of the Church's political actions at the national level.

The C.C.G. protested against the Deportation Act 1957 and the deportation of Othman Larden and Amadu Baba. It sent a delegation to meet with Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and his Ministers to express the Church's concern about the Avoidance of Discrimination Act 1957 and why it was not in favour of it. In 1958 the Council . . . /

Council made representations to the government against an inscription on the pedestal of Kwame Nkrumah's statue which was a parody of Matthew 6:33. The C.C.G. tried to stop the passing of the Bill which became the Preventive Detention Act 1958 but did not succeed. When it was eventually passed into law, the Council made every effort to get it repealed but it could not. It also appealed to the government to release all those detained under the Act but it did not heed.

The C.P.P. Government was determined to bring the churches under its control. To this end it ordered that branches of the party should be opened in all the churches. Some of the African independent churches complied with the order but the historic churches did not. The establishment of the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement and its teachings and the way it operated were some of the major factors which led to the strained relationship between the Church and the Government of the First Republic of Ghana. The C.C.G. and its member churches stood firmly against the apotheosis of Kwame Nkrumah which was characteristic of the movement and the undesirable ideologies which the young people of the country were made to imbibe. The effective way in which the C.C.G. reacted to some government policies on behalf of the churches made it a target of the C.P.P. and its Government. The party recommended to the government to establish a Department of Religious Affairs . . . /

Affairs to control the churches and their activities, the appointment of their leaders and their finances and to ban the Christian Council of Ghana. The Council became the official mouthpiece of the churches it represented and they related to the national State through the Council. On behalf of the churches, the Council reacted to some of the policies of the government which often brought conflicts between the churches and the Christian Council on the one hand and the national State on the other. This gave the Council a new significance.

Notwithstanding the eventual unpopularity of the Nkrumah Government and the long period of strained relationship between it and the churches, ministers of some of the churches served in various capacities in the government till its overthrow on 24 February 1966. The argument was that the Ministers served in the government to act as salt to prevent the decay but the question as to whether they were able to do this may be decided in the light of the events which led to the fall of the First Republic.

PART TWO

E P I L O G U E

THE PEOPLE AND THE PROPHETIC GUARDIANSHIP OF THE CHURCH

Most of the people of Ghana looked to the churches as the source of prophetic guardianship on which the nation could count for the eradication of the abuse of

power and human rights, injustice, corruption and economic and political chaos. The fact that most of the criticisms which the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference made against some of the policies of the Nkrumah Government and the memoranda which were submitted were not published made some people think that the churches did nothing about the social, economic and political decay of the Nkrumah regime. After the overthrow of Nkrumah's Government, various allegations were made against the churches by the media and individuals that they neglected their duty to the State on political issues accusing them of cowardice during Nkrumah's reign of terror. The Ghanaian Times carried various accusations against the churches some of which read:

The lukewarm and stand-offish attitude of the leaders of our churches towards State affairs has enjoyed disregard. This unconcern has been a costly weakness which must be healed.... Christianity has made a tremendous impact on the social and cultural life of the people of this country.... The churches in the country represent an overwhelming proportion of the country's population. If they had stood firmly by the sound moral principles of their churches and used their good offices to repel the evils that beset the nation in the recent past, counting on the support of the multitude of people behind them, no one would doubt that they could have helped considerably to avert the present mess. The general excuse so far has been that in the face of the threats posed by Kwame Nkrumah in those days, no one could have raised a voice to oppose anything. Our church leaders could not take refuge behind such an excuse.... The present important national exercise on our constitution cannot miss their active participation. If they remain passive we shall be the worse for it. 1

1. The Ghanaian Times, Monday 21 November 1966, p. 6.

In fact, the churches were neither lukewarm nor passive as the paper asserts. They actively opposed undesirable policies and legislation of the Nkrumah Government and it was the same government - controlled media which condemned them for doing so. When Kwame Nkrumah got rid of the Parliamentary Opposition and established a one-party State, the churches, through the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference became the only legal voice of opposition. But the colonial and missionary legacy kept church opposition quiet and polite in style in contrast to the revolutionary climate in which the Nkrumah Government operated. Under the colonial government, it had been the general line of the churches not to say too much on political issues. Until the late colonial period, this position induced the habit of giving social, moral and religious matters a prior claim to the attention of the churches at the expense of political matters. Addressing the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana at Osu in Accra in August 1969, Justice Akufo Addo, Chief Justice and later the President of the Second Republic of Ghana said, "The church has been often criticised with regard to her inaction and carefulness to avoid involvement in civic life in the past." 1 The people expected the Church to exert greater influence in the political life of the nation.

1. Christian Messenger, October 1969, Vol. IX, No. 10, front page.

THE CHURCH AND NATIONAL ISSUES

The Christian Council of the Gold Coast was formed on 30 October 1929 and became the Christian Council of Ghana (C.C.G.) after independence on 6 March 1957. The Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference (G.C.B.C.) and its executive body, the National Catholic Secretariat were established in 1960. These two institutions of the historic churches have become a permanent medium of the churches' actions on national issues. Until the period of the Nkrumah regime, the actions of the Christian Council on national issues were limited to moral and social issues with the exception of its public statement on "Christianity and Political Development" in August 1949. The undesirable policies of the C.P.P. Government and its oppressive rule compelled the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. to be vocal on political issues and this has remained a permanent feature in Church-State relations in Ghana.

I shall look at some of the actions taken by the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. on national issues since the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah's Government. In March 1966, the military Government of the National Liberation Council released political detainees following the fall of Kwame Nkrumah. The C.C.G. raised funds to help with relief programmes for the released detainees.

On 17 April 1967 an insurrection was staged in Ghana led by Lieutenant Samuel B. Arthur, Lieutenant Moses Yeboah and Second Lieutenant Osei Poku. They were found guilty . . . /

guilty of subversion and Yeboah and Arthur were sentenced to death by firing squad while Poku had a thirty-year jail sentence. Yeboah and Arthur were publicly executed. The C.C.G. registered a strong protest against the executions. In a letter dated 30 May 1967, the government assured the Council that no more executions would be carried out in the future.

The Ghana National Lotteries was one of the most lucrative ventures in the government's financial system. On social and moral grounds, the C.C.G. wrote to the government in February 1968 expressing its disapproval of the operation of the national lotteries. In June the same year, the C.C.G. submitted a memorandum to the government advising it to desist from any attempt to keep the churches out of the public education system in the light of the Mills-Odoi Report.

In his desire to remain in power after five years of military rule, General Ignatius Kutu Achaempong, head of the Supreme Military Council (S.M.C.) Government proposed what he called a "Union Government" formed by the Army, the Police and civilians. In March 1977 the C.C.G. presented its views and recommendations on the union government concept to the Ad hoc Committee on Union Government. The C.C.G. advocated the election of a National Government based on the principle of parliamentary democracy with machinery operated by a President, Prime Minister, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, Cabinet . . . /

Cabinet and Parliamentary Secretaries instead of a union government. The Council proposed that the duration of the tenure of office of a government should be five years and warned against the practice whereby governments and their supporters, since independence, regarded themselves as a privileged few who were exclusively entitled to the best in the country. It also emphatically expressed its disapproval of military coups d' état and stated that on no account should a constitutionally elected government be overthrown by the military or any unconstitutional means. The C.C.G. stated further that the constitution of the country could be set aside or suspended only by the popularly expressed will of the people through their elected representatives.

General I. K. Acheampong had indicated in a public statement that a military based government with some civilians selected to join would be a permanent feature of the future governmental system in Ghana. Reacting to this statement in the same document the C.C.G. said, "In the case of the Military, particularly, becoming a permanent feature of the Government, this could quite easily lead to a power struggle with inevitable bloodshed in the country as evidenced in the case of Ethiopia. We would, therefore, like to emphasise our strong disapproval of the Military providing a permanent feature in the Government of this country." 1 In April

1. National Government, Christian Council of Ghana, Views and Recommendations on Proposed Union Government, 1977.

the C.C.G. published the document embodying its views and recommendations.

The S.M.C. Government of Acheampong closed the three Universities in Ghana following the students' stand against Acheampong's misrule. In June 1977 the C.C.G. and the National Catholic Secretariat (N.C.S. - the executive body of the G.C.B.C.) intervened and the Universities were re-opened. In 1977 tension was generated between the S.M.C. Government and the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies of Ghana. In July 1977, at the climax of the tension when a general strike was imminent, the C.C.G. and the N.C.S. acted as a mediating force to bring about a dialogue between the two to avoid strike action and general disorder.

The Acheampong Government was forced by public opinion to submit the union government proposal to the decision of the people of Ghana in a referendum. Preparations for the referendum was marked by official suppression of all views against the union government concept. Army and police personnel were detailed by the government to harrass those who were opposed to the union government idea. Only pro-union government organizations were granted police permits to hold rallies and the public education carried out on the issue and on the referendum was aimed at suppressing all forms of opposition to the imposition of Acheampong's political system of union government.

On . . . /

On 7 March 1978 the C.C.G. and the N.C.S. submitted a memorandum to the government expressing great concern about the state of affairs. They referred to such incidents as the arrest and detention of K. Addai-Mensah, National Secretary of the Ghana Bar Association on 21 February 1978, the beating up of Owusu Donkor, Headmaster of Opoku Ware Secondary School in Kumasi and his Assistant by union government supporters, the suppression of freedom of speech and expression and the break down of law and order as a result of the imposition of the union government idea on the people, the beating up of students by army and police personnel and others. After expressing their views on these issues, the C.C.G. and the N.C.S. appealed to the government to allow the police to grant permits and protection to all those who wished to express their views on the union government concept both for and against, ask the army and the police to refrain from intimidating and molesting the opponents of the union government proposal and to urge the mass media to be fair and impartial to both the pros and cons of the concept. 1

The S.M.C. 1 Government under General I. K. Acheampong was overthrown in July 1978 and replaced by the S.M.C.2 Government under Lieutenant General F.W.K.

1. The memorandum was signed by Rt. Rev. C.K.Dovlo (Chairman of the C.C.G.), Rt. Rev. Dominic K. Andoh (President of the G.C.B.C.), Rev. C. A. Ansa (General Secretary of the C.C.G.) and Rev. Fr. H. Senoo (Secretary General of the N.C.S.).

Akuffo. This military government was also overthrown on 4 June 1979 and replaced by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.) Government headed by Lt. Lieutenant J. J. Rawlings. The A.F.R.C. Government embarked upon what they called "house cleaning exercise" by which they meant purging the society and its public life of corruption and all forms of anti-social practices by means of various forms of punishment. On 12 June 1979 the C.C.G. and the N.C.S. submitted a memorandum to the government advising it to carry out the "exercise" in a spirit of justice and a sense of respect for human life and human rights and to refrain from passing arbitrary death sentences. The government executed a number of Senior Army Officers by firing squad. The C.C.G. and the N.C.S. presented a second memorandum to the government on 26 June 1979 in which they condemned the executions and asked the government to bring all those arrested for various alleged crimes to trial in public instead of passing death sentences through secret trials. The C.C.G. and the N.C.S. followed this with a message to the congregations of their churches dated 1 July 1979 in which they expressed their utter disapproval of the executions. They exhorted all christians "to conduct themselves in a way that the National Cleaning exercise will be carried out in a spirit of love, the fear of God and respect for human . . . /

human life." 1

In 1979 the A.F.R.C. Government handed over power to the People's National Party (P.N.P.) Government of the Third Republic under the presidency of Dr. Hilla Limann. In the period of the Limann administration, Ghana experienced industrial unrest, a wave of crimes by violence including armed robbery, corruption, insecurity, fear, shortage of food and other essential commodities and almost a break down of law and order especially in the cities. In July 1980 the C.C.G. and the N.C.S. sent a memorandum to the government urging it to be up and about in the performance of its duties to the nation by taking measures to ensure national security and the maintenance of law and order. They asked the government to reconsider its priorities and ensure the provision of such basic necessities as food, medicine, clothing, soap and others, giving no place to luxurious commodities. Furthermore, they asked the government to provide the police with better training and equipment to enable them to deal with the crime wave adding that the government should deal appropriately with people found guilty of crimes. They also advised the government to examine issues and problems carefully before . . . /

1. A Message from the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat to those who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ and who are called to be faithful, 1 July 1979. The message was signed by Rt. Rev. Dominic K. Andoh (President of the (G.C.B.C.), and Rev. C. Awotwi-Pratt (Chairman of the C.C.G.)

before making pronouncements on them while ensuring that its policies and decisions were implemented without delay. They stressed the need for civic education and the active involvement of the churches in the effective control and management of schools to ensure moral uplift. 1

The Third Republic came to an end with the overthrow of Hilla Limann's Government in a military coup d' état on 31 December 1981 led by Ft. Lt. J. J. Rawlings who formed a military government composed of members of a council called Provisional National Defence Council (P.N.D.C.).

On behalf of the member churches, the C.C.G. took a number of steps aimed at making the government sensitive to the suffering of the people under its oppressive rule. It will suffice to look at just a few examples. On 25 November 1982 the C.C.G. prepared a twenty-point paper on the political situation of the country including a call to all christians to faith in God and to prayer for the nation. The Council invited the faithful to reflect on and think seriously about what it thought were the problems facing the country and to which the government should address itself. These included . . . /

1. Memorandum submitted by the Christian Council of Ghana and the National Catholic Secretariat to the Government of Ghana, July 1980, Accra - signed by Rt. Rev. Dominic K. Andoh (President of G.C.B.C.), Rt Rev. Le Maire (Chairman of the C.C.G.), Rev. Fr. H. Senoo (Secretary General of the N.C.S.) and Rev. Charles A. Ansa (General Secretary of the C.C.G.).

included the loss of human resources as a result of the exodus of professional and skilled people from the country due to political and economic hardships, disunity in the Ghanaian society created by the government, the loss of freedom of movement caused by the government's imposition of curfew, the lack of accountability on the part of the government which failed to prepare a budget for the nation for about a year and the dismantling of the local government system by the setting up of People's Defence Committees (P.D.Cs.) who took the law into their own hands and were not subject to the control of the local community. The government sent some young people overseas on study programmes. The C.C.G. asked the government to tell the nation the number of students sent, how they were selected, the countries to which they were sent, the courses in which they were engaged, the kinds of work for which they were being trained and what benefits the country would derive from their training.

Incidents of kidnapping and killing became commonplace and one of the causes of fear and insecurity in the Ghanaian society since the P.N.D.C. Government came to power on 31 December 1981. For example, three judges and a retired army Major were kidnapped from their homes and killed in cold blood. Referring to this incident the C.C.G. stated, "Never before in our history have so many Ghanaians disappeared in suspicious circumstances as in the period since 31 December 1981. The . . . /

The cases of the three judges and a retired major are typical of other incidents including two hundred listed on 28 July 1982 by the Association of Recognised Professional Bodies." 1

The Council express great concern about the turning of the country into a totalitarian State in which there was oppression and detention of numerous politicians without trial. It also pointed out the weakness of the government controlled mass media which was partial and whose publications were all in favour of the government. The seriousness of the matter can be seen in the fact that because of the unfairness and the partiality of the mass media, Ghanaians had to depend on the foreign media to get to know what was happening in their own country.

The P.N.D.C. Government set up what they called the "People's Militia" composed of civilians who were given military training for a few days and issued with arms. These armed young men and women went about terrorizing people with slogans like "eliminate the enemy" and "let blood flow", arrogating to themselves the responsibility of the maintenance of law and order which they themselves almost broke down. Worried about and reacting to this state of affairs, the C.C.G. pointed out that "the people of Ghana have not given the P.N.D.C. . . . /

1. The "Christian Council Churches and the Revolution" - a paper prepared by the Christian Council of Ghana for the study of Christians, 25 November 1982, p. 7, No. 8

P.N.D.C. any mandate to distribute arms to selected civilians and are deeply concerned by talk of a 'people's militia', 'eliminating the enemy'; and 'blood must flow.'¹ The Council express concern about the situation where untrained armed "militia" took the law into their own hands and went about subjecting the people to all sorts of threats and intimidation. It also drew the attention of the faithful to the fact of Ghana's isolation from its neighbours through the closure of the country's borders, the destruction of its democratic structures by the imposition of a government which was not the people's choice and did not have their mandate to rule, the establishment of courts which had no constitutional and legal bases and a regime of coercion formed by the power of the gun.

The C.C.G. emphasized the urgent need for a return to constitutional rule, arguing that the corrupt elements in the civilian governments which caused their overthrow by the military were conspicuously prevalent in the military governments as well. It advocated the setting up of a constitutional assembly to prepare a new constitution for the country in preparation for a civilian administration. ² On 28 November 1982 the C.C.G. sent a pastoral letter to the congregations of the member churches which was read to the Christians on Sunday . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 7, No. 13.

2. The paper was signed by Rev. Dr. N. K. Dzobo, the Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana.

Sunday of that date. In the letter, the Council admitted that there was the need for a change which was for a change in the national life but added that the change which was being effected by the Government of the P.N.D.C. which was "characterized by violence, intimidation, indiscipline, lawlessness and insecurity" was not the type of change the people wanted.

The P.N.D.C. Government set up committees known as the Workers' Defence Committees (W.D.Cs) and the People's Defence Committees (P.D.Cs.) which operated as propagandist department of the government's revolution. The activities of these committees and of the security agents plunged the country into what the C.C.G. considered to be the worst social, economic and political situation witnessed in the history of the country. It blamed the prevailing unproductive trend of the economy, lawlessness, antagonism, disunity and violence in the country on the activities of these wings of the P.N.D.C. revolution and of some of its leaders. The Council observed that the revolution "shows rot and destruction in all aspects of the country's life."

In the light of the suffering and the fear of the people and the government's illusion; its lack of vision, ideological direction and political and economic agenda, the C.C.G. issued the following statement to the christians it represented:

As servants of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, we cannot sit down unconcerned to see our country torn apart - we owe a duty to our compatriots and to . . . /

to posterity. As your leaders, we call on you to join with us in asking the P.N.D.C. to consider handing over power to a well constituted national government, to save our dear country from further destruction. We call on all sections of the community: workers, farmers, fishermen, market women, students, soldiers, the police, professionals, chiefs and all Ghanaians, both old and young, to come together in a forum, to seek a way forward to lasting solutions to our multiple problems.... On your behalf, leaders of the Christian Council churches are going to meet those who hold power to find ways and means of saving our country. In this we need your prayers. 1

The C.C.G. followed this up with the submission of a memorandum to the Government of the P.N.D.C. in December 1982. In the memorandum the Council pointed out some of the deplorable situations in the country and called for a dialogue between a selected body representing the people and the government with a view to finding solutions to the country's problems. It referred to incidents of kidnappings and killings, confiscation of properties of some individuals by the government, destruction of buildings belonging to some lodges and violence caused by fanatics of the revolution, the imposition of curfew, the establishment of what the government called "the people's tribunals", detention without trial, the deteriorating economic situation and hardship, the closure of the country's borders and the provision of arms to some civilians who went about terrorizing the people. In the light of the foregoing, the . . . /

1. The Christian Council Churches and the Revolution, Accra, 28 November 1982, p. 2. The pastoral letter embodying the Statement was signed by the Council's Chairman, the Rev.Dr. N. K. Dzobo.

the C.C.G. asked the government to make arrangements for the election of and the handing over of power to a constitutional and representative government in 1983. 1

As the C.C.G. expressed concern about the deplorable social, economic and political situation in the country and asked the government to hand over the administration of the country to a constitutionally elected government, the Council and the churches were regarded by the government and its activists as their greatest enemy. Some of these activists organized a demonstration against the students of the University of Ghana, Legon on Monday 9 May 1983 as a reaction against their criticism of the government. Any institution or organization which criticized the government was described as an "enemy of the revolution". The demonstration marched to the offices of the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) and in the disturbances that followed, some of the officers of the T.U.C. were assaulted and . . . /

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1. The memorandum was signed by the leaders of the member churches of the C.C.G.: Rt. Rev. Prof. N. K. Dzobo (Moderator of the Synod of the E.P.Church and Chairman of the C.C.G.), David Acquah (The Society of Friends and Vice-Chairman of the C.C.G.), Rt.Rev. I. H. Frempong (Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana), Rt. Rev. S.B. Essamuah (President of Conference, Methodist Church, Ghana), Rt. Rev. J. K. Dandson (Bishop of Sunyani and Tamale, on behalf of the Joint Anglican Diocesan Council), Rev. Paul Kofi Fynn (Evangelical Lutheran Church), Brother Abraham Wetseh (Ghana Mennonite Church), Rev. Brother Yeboah-Koree (Feden Church) and Lt. Col. Agbenorto (Salvation Army)

and injured. 1 From there they went to the Calvary Methodist Church in Accra at 12.30 p.m. The lay members of the Accra District Synod of the Church had just finished having refreshments prior to the ministerial session in the Church in the afternoon. The demonstrators rushed to the Church with weapons of various types, vandalized many of the rooms and halls and beat up some of the delegates including some Ministers. The students and women who prepared and served the refreshments were also beaten up and great damage to life and property was caused. 2 The picture below shows a scene of the attack in the Church with pieces of furniture, tea-pots, plates, cups, saucers etc., destroyed.



Fig. 11

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1. The people who were injured included F. D. Adjabeng (National Chairman of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union), Van-Less (Chief Accountant) and L.Y.Awua of Agricultural Union.
 - 2 Those who sustained injuries in the attack included Rev. Edmund Ashietey, J. S. Coleman and J. K. Essuon (both Chapel Stewards of the Calvary Methodist Church). The incident was reported to the Adabraka Police by Rev. Entsua-Mensah, the Superintendent Minister; E. A. Hayford, the Circuit Steward and J. S. Annan.

Reacting to this state of affairs, the C.C.G. wrote a pastoral letter to the faithful on 18 May 1983 which was published in a form of a booklet. In it, the Council recalled the violent attacks by the P.N.D.C. fanatics not only on the Church but also on students and individuals and drew the attention of the whole nation to those repulsive incidents. In the opinion of the C.C.G., the incidents "were not caused by a few thugs acting on their own initiative but that they were carefully arranged by certain organisations of the 31st December Revolution who were in a position to provide official transport, food supplies, cutlasses and guns, for the purpose." The Council stated:

We believe that these attacks were intended to frighten Ghanaians into silent acceptance of certain actions and policies; they were meant to stifle free speech and prevent criticism which is so necessary for just and good government. The Christian Council has submitted a memorandum to the P.N.D.C. requesting an immediate public enquiry into the Calvary Methodist Church incident in particular so that it can be charged and dealt with in accordance with the laws of Ghana. 1

The C.C.G. further appealed to all citizens of Ghana to report . . . /

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1. Christian Council Pastoral Letter, 18 May 1983, p. 7. Signatories to the letter were: Rt. Rev. N. K. Dzobo (Moderator, E.P. Church and Chairman of the C.C.G.), David Acquah (The Society of Friends and Vice-Chairman of C.C.G.), Rt. Rev. I. H. Frempong (Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana), Rt. Rev. S. B. Essamuah (President of Conference, Methodist Church, Ghana), Rt. Rev. J. K. Dadson (Anglican Bishop of Sunyani and Tamale, on behalf of the Joint Anglican Diocesan Council), Rev. Paul Kofi Fynn (Evangelical Lutheran Church), Rev. Abraham Westseh (Ghana Mennonite Church), Rev. Brother Yeboah-Koree (Feden Church) and Lt. Col. Agbenorto (Salvation Army).

report all cases of violence and harassment to the Ghana Armed Forces and the Police or to their Pastors, Church Officers or local council of churches giving a full description of the case.

THE CHURCHES AND THE P.N.D.C. LAW 221

On 14 June 1989 the P.N.D.C. Government announced that all churches should register with the government under the P.N.D.C. Law 221 on Registration of Religious Bodies section 3 of which stated, "Every religious body in Ghana shall be registered under this Law and no religious body in existence in Ghana shall after three months from the commencement of this Law operate as such unless it is registered under this Law. By "religious bodies" the government meant "any association of persons or body or organisation (a) which professed adherence to or belief in any system of faith or worship; or (b) which is established in pursuance of a religious objective." 1 On the same day of the announcement the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. wrote to the Ministry of the Interior asking for a copy of the law to study and on 8 August 1989 a copy was sent to them. 2

On . . . /

1. Section 20 of the P.N.D.C. LAW 221.

2. Christian Messenger, November/December 1989, Vol. 5, Nos. 11 and 12, p. 4

On 11 August 1989, representatives of the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. met with D. F. Annan, a member of the P.N.D.C. to discuss issues pertaining to the law. At the meeting, the representatives were told by F. D. Annan that the government would welcome comments and recommendations for the amendment of the P.N.D.C. Law 221. 1

After studying the law, the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. decided that the member churches could not register under the law in the form in which it was promulgated. They communicated their decision to the government in a letter dated 10 November 1989 which was signed by twenty-eight Ministers representing thirteen churches. 2

On 14 November 1989, the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. sent out a pastoral letter to the faithful in which they elucidated their objection to the law. The pastoral letter was entitled "The Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Council of Ghana Churches, on the Registration of Religious Bodies (P.N.D.C. Law 221) - A Message from the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference to their Faithful and . . . /

1. Ibid. p. 4.

2. The signatories to the letter represented Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Roman Catholic Church, Anglican Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church, Feden Church, Orthodox Church, Ghana Baptist Convention, A.M.E. Zion Church, Mennonite Church, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church and Salvation Army.

and Congregations." They argued that the law made registration with the State a condition to be fulfilled in order to be allowed to worship God which they held was a violation of the fundamental human right of freedom of worship as stipulated in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They also thought that it contravened not only Article 8 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights but also the P.N.D.C. Government's own law 42 section 1 (b) which stipulates, "Respect for fundamental human rights and for the dignity of human persons are to be cultivated among all sections of the society and established as part of the basis of social justice."

Section 4 of the law states that no religious body shall qualify for registration under the law unless it has been issued with a certificate of approval by the National Commission for Culture upon recommendation of the Religious Affairs Committee established by the government. According to section 5 (2) (d), the Religious Affairs Committee shall also undertake such other functions as the P.N.D.C. may direct. Section 9 (1) stipulates that "the Commission...shall where the application is approved, issue a certificate of approval...under such conditions as the Commission may determine." The C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. were of the view that the National Commission for Culture and the Religious Affairs Committee were given sweeping powers which . . . /

which entered the ecclesiastical realm. Under section 9 (1), the Commission could impose any conditions on the churches and expect them to fulfil them before certificates were issued to them. Section 13 (1) empowers the Committee to prohibit and cancel a registration where it is satisfied that "the body has contravened any of the provisions of the Law or any other enactment" or if "there are other reasonable grounds for doing so." 1 The chairman of the Committee is given special powers by the last paragraph of section 13 (1) which says, "Provided that where the circumstances require the chairman may without such recommendation take such action as he deems fit." With this power, the chairman may refuse to recommend the registration of a church and may take any action against any church since the phrase "as he deems fit" can be interpreted in various ways to the advantage of the chairman and his government.

The law vested in the Commission absolute powers which made it impossible for the churches to appeal against unfair treatment by the Commission. Section 13 (2) states that the decision of the Commission under section 13 (1) shall be final while section 9 (3) stipulates that "the decision of the Commission in respect of an appeal of a religious body shall be final." If the Commission decides to prohibit a religious . . . /

1. P.N.D.C. Law 221 Section 13 (1) h and i

religious body and cancels its registration, the chairman of the Commission is empowered by section 14 of the law to make such orders as appear to him equitable for the dissolution and disposal of the properties, assets, rights and liabilities of such a body. By this power, the chairman can decide to confiscate the properties of any church. He can also manipulate the law to the advantage of the government at the expense of the churches in the light of section 19 of the law which says, "The Chairman of the Commission may by legislative instrument make regulations generally for carrying out the provisions of this Law."

The law subjects places of worship to public inspection. Section 8 of the law makes it clear that the Religious Affairs Committee may authorize any public officer to inspect any place of worship. The churches found this section of the law unacceptable on the grounds that not only did it empower the government to intrude into their places of worship and interfere in their affairs but it also gave it the right to dictate to them what they should or should not have in their places of worship. 1

P.N.D.C. Law 221 attempts to change the constitutions of the churches without their consent by stating that every religious body should have a board of trustees . . . /

1. See the Message to the Faithful and Congregations, Appendix J., p. 4

trustees or a similar governing body (even if its constitution did not provide for that). Section 7 (1) stipulates that no religious body should be issued with a certificate of approval by the National Commission for Culture unless the Commission is satisfied that the trustees of its governing body have been validly appointed. Subsection 3 of the same section of the law states that all assets and properties of a registered religious body should vest in the trustees or its governing body who should hold the same in trust for and on behalf of the members. This implies that if the constitutions of the churches do not provide for such structures, they should be amended to make provision for them. The law does not specify the criteria of validity and the churches see in this a potential threat of the arbitrariness on the part of the government. 1

On the basis of the foregoing, the C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. have concluded that P.N.D.C. Law 221 constitutes a violation of freedom of worship and have directed that their churches should not register under a law which requires registration with the State as a condition for the worship of God and which seeks to make christian worship subject to government control. 2

The . . . /

1. Ibid. p5.

2. For details of the message which was signed by the Rt. Rev. F. W. B. Thompson (Anglican Bishop of Accra and Chairman of the C.C.G.) and the Rt. Rev. Peter K. Sarpong (Catholic Bishop of Kumasi and President of the G.C.B.C.) see Appendix J.

The C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. continue to impress upon the P.N.D.C. Government the need for Ghana to return to democratic and constitutional rule. The G.C.B.C. has submitted representations to the government asking it to allow the country to revert to a multiparty system, repeal the Newspaper Licensing Law to ensure freedom of the press and of expression, foster the independence of the judiciary and to bring its tribunals under the regular courts. The Conference also proposed that "a proper Electoral Commissioner's Office" should be established to take over the functions of the National Commission for Democracy and urged the government to return the country to constitutional rule by the end of 1992. 1

The National Commission for Democracy (N.C.D.) has presented its report on Ghana's political future to the government but a White Paper on the report has not yet been published. The C.C.G. and the G.C.B.C. have asked the government to publish a White Paper on the report as soon as possible. In a memorandum demanding the publication of a White paper, they also requested the government to set up an independent electoral body for the purpose of future elections, lift the ban on political parties to enable the people to prepare for election . . . /

1. Christian Messenger, April/May 1991, Vol. 5 Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 1 and 8. See also West Africa 8-14 April 1991, p.530.

election, to repeal inter alia the P.N.D.C. law which deals with executions for political offences, to release all political prisoners and detainees and to grant unconditional amnesty to all political exiles. 1

PART THREE

THE LEADERSHIP PROBLEM

One of the weaknesses in Ghanaian politics is love of power and its attendant abhorrence of opposition and sensitivity to criticism. The desire to remain in power for life or indefinitely motivates some of the leaders to create structures designed to perpetuate their . . . /

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1. (a) The memorandum was signed by the Rt. Rev. Peter Kwasi Sarpong (President of the G.C.B.C.), the Rev. Fr. A. B. Balee (Secretary General of the C.C.G.) and the Rev. D. A. Dartey (General Secretary of the C.C.G.). Christian Messenger April/May 1991, Vol. 5, Nos. 4 and 5, p. 8.
- (b) No reference has been made to the Afrikania religion and the P.N.D.C. Government's support for it because it is irrelevant to a thesis which explores the relations of the Christian Church with the States in Ghana. The Afrikania religion is not a branch of the Christian Church and thus outside the scope of the thesis. According to the founder and leader of that religion, Osofo Komfo Damoah, "Afrikania is the re-activation, renewal and re-organisation of the African Traditional Religion....Afrikania is not a new religion meant to Africanize Christianity. It is not a Christian Religion." (Afrikania Voice, Special issue, January 1989, front page. Published by Afrikania Mission, Accra).

their power and suppress all forms of opposition irrespective of the popular will of the people. This leads to dictatorship and explains why the churches were against the idea of union government which was advocated by General I. K. Acheampong and are now asking the P.N.D.C. Government to return the country to democratic and constitutional rule. The use of absolute power brings in its train, oppression and suppression and leaves no room for an alternative government resulting in unpopularity. The sequel of this is military intervention which has become so rampant in Ghanaian politics. This weakness characterized the Nkrumah regime.

This approach to politics neither originated from the traditional political system nor was it copied from it. It was not inherited from the colonial apparatus either. In the traditional political system of Ghana where Chiefs are democratically chosen and enstooled and are accountable and answerable to the people, unpopular rulers cannot rule indefinitely. The desire to hang on to power ad infinitum for the love of it is thus a political device of post colonial politicians.

This attitude to power has been adopted by leaders of some of the churches and is posing a problem which may be described as one of "ecclesio-ethnicity" and leadership. In the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church, the tendency is for people to favour the election of leaders from their ethnic areas irrespective . . . /

irrespective of their talents and capabilities. This situation is a threat to the unity of the Church. For example the Methodist Church was almost divided on the issue of the election of the Rev. Dr. J. S. A. Stephens as President of the Conference of the Church. All the Presidents of the Conference since the granting of the autonomy of the Church in 1961, had been elected from among the Fanti. Rev. Dr. Stephens, a Ga, was the first non-Fanti to be elected President.

The other side of the problem is where leaders of some of the churches desire to remain in office beyond the period allowed by the constitutions of their churches. An example is the case of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church which came before the Court of Appeal of Ghana. Commenting on the case in West Africa, Kojo T. Vieta writes:

The desire of church leaders to perpetuate themselves in power had resulted in protracted legal disputes. The Evangelical Presbyterian (E.P.) Church is a case in point. The Moderator of the E.P. Church, Rt. Rev. Noah Dzobo is alleged to have manipulated the church's constitution in a bid to stay in office for the third successive term, though he denies the charge. The plaintiff, James Agbevwewu and five others are asking the court to grant perpetual injunction to restrain the defendant from presenting himself as moderator. They also asked the court to declare the purported amendment of the 1979 constitution of the church null and void. The 1979 constitution limited the term of the moderator to two four year terms.... Today after almost two years, the case is still in the courts. 1

1. West Africa, 22-28 October 1990, p. 2697.

On 18 December 1989 the Ho High Court gave judgement of the case against the Moderator Dzobo who appealed to the Court of Appeal of Ghana. On the decision of the Court of Appeal Prof. A. C. Kuma, Counsel for the Moderator writes to whom it may concern:

YOU ARE HEREBY INFORMED That on Wednesday, the 14th of March 1990, the Court of Appeal of Ghana granted an Application for stay of Execution of the Judgement of the High Court, Ho given in the above-named suit on 18 December, 1989, and made the order specifically appearing hereunder:- "Rt. Rev. Prof. Noah Komla Dzobo should continue in Office as Moderator of the E.P. Church of Ghana until the hearing and determination of the Appeal." The Court of Appeal also awarded costs of C30,000.00 in favour of Rt. Rev. Prof. Noah Komla Dzobo and against the Plaintiffs. 1

Thus an ecclesiastical matter was to be decided by civil courts.

On Thursday 23 May 1991, the Court of Appeal gave judgement on the case. Writing to sister and partner churches, the Synod Clerk, the Rev. G. K. Atimpo stated:

It is my pleasant duty to write on behalf of the Synod Committee and the Chairman, Rt. Rev. Prof. N. K. Dzobo, Moderator, to inform you that the Writ of Summons issued against the E.P. Church, the 1st Defendant and the Moderator, the 2nd Defendant was finally determined at the Court of Appeal, Ghana on Thursday, May 23, 1991. The verdict of the Court of Appeal was that there was no 1979 Constitution as claimed by the Plaintiffs.... That all previous rulings and orders in the matter. . . /

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1. Prof. A. C. Kuma, Ameyi Chambers, Accra, ACK-LKA/NKD/GN/90-1, 19 March 1990, Board of World Mission and Unity of the Church of Scotland, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.

matter by the Trial High Court are cancelled and all its judgements and orders rendered null and void. 1

Now the Church faces a problem of schism. A group of the members of the Church have constituted themselves into a Synod Executive Committee which is now in charge of an interim administration with their headquarters in Accra. The Moderator Prof. N. K. Dzobo and the Synod Clerk, the Rev. G. K. Atimpo operate from the Church's Headquarters at Ho while the Acting Moderator of the Interim Administration, the Rev. E. K. Amenyeddu and the Acting Synod Clerk, the Rev. V. E. Otitiaku operate from their Headquarters in Accra. 2

Under a headline "Professor Dzobo wins appeal but has greater hurdles to clear", C. K. Deke writes in the Christian Messenger, "The legality of the Rt. Rev. Professor Noah K. Dzobo's third term of office as Moderator of the Evangelical Presbyterian (E.P.) Church has been upheld by the Appeal Court in Accra." 3 A secular court now decides for the Church. This state of affairs has been a matter of great concern to the christian . . . /

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1. Rev. G. K. Atimpo, Synod Clerk, Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Headquarters, No. EPC/APCJ/6/91, 14 June 1991, The Church of Scotland, World Mission and Unity, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
 2. Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Headquarters (Office of the Interim Administration), No. EPC/INTM.SEC./002, 13 June 1991, Church of Scotland, World Mission and Unity, 121 George Street, Edinburgh.
 3. Christian Messenger, June 1991, Vol. 5 No. 6, p.5.

christian community in Ghana.

PART FOUR

The course of Church-State relations in Ghana since 1966, has been dictated by the events which took place under the Nkrumah regime. One might argue that during the Nkrumah administration, the churches were rather muted on national issues except where religion or the Christian faith was clearly involved. For example, the churches reacted to the inclusion of libation on the programme for the welcome ceremony in honour of the Duchess of Kent in 1957, the parody inscribed on the pedestal of Nkrumah's statue in 1958, the Ghana Young Pioneer Movement in 1960, the order to open branches of the C.P.P. in the churches in 1961 and others. These measures of the government were challenged by the churches. On the same basis, one could argue that the voice of the churches was not heard much during the Second Republic under the Premiership of Dr. K. A. Busia whose government did not take any action which was repugnant to religion generally or to the Christian faith particularly in view of his churchly position. Busia was not only the Head of Government but he was also a prominent christian layman and a local preacher in the Methodist Church. One of the measures of his Government which were criticized both inside and outside the country especially by some African States, was the Aliens . . . /

Aliens Compliance Order. By this Order, many aliens mostly Nigerians, were expelled from Ghana. I am not aware of any protest made by the Church against the expulsion. But this is not the whole truth. The actions of the churches on national issues were not limited to religious or ecclesiastical matters. For instance the Deportation Bill in 1957 and the Preventive Detention Act 1958 against which the churches spoke and their call to Nkrumah and his Government to release all those detained under the Act at the proclamation of Ghana as a Republic on 1 July 1960 had nothing to do with religion.

Having said this, it must also be said that under the First Republic, the churches were not as outspoken as they have come to be in the post-First Republican era. The general line of the churches under the colonial government had been not to say too much on political issues and this line was followed to some extent in the First Republic. Furthermore, the Christian Council of Ghana which had become the official mouthpiece and the medium of expression of the churches on national issues, was not the usual instrument for critical analysis of and action on political issues at that time. Its objective was not so much political as ecumenical. But it was compelled by Kwame Nkrumah to take a political position which has become a permanent feature in its nature and function.

By . . . /

By interfering with religious matters and at the same time trying to silence the churches on political issues or at least ignoring their protests and memoranda on some of his policies, Nkrumah forced the churches into what at first was a very limited public stance and became almost an institutional opposition. They have ever since maintained and developed this critical stance which has been strengthened by the new climate which allows joint Protestant-Catholic activity. This development was only beginning under the First Republic and its growth in strength and importance has been phenomenal. Some of the factors which have contributed to this development include the rapid growth of the Church in Ghana which has made it possible for christians to represent well over 60 per cent of the total population of the country and the development of ecumenical relations. In the latter, the Second Vatican Council (October 1962 - December 1965) played a prominent role. Following Vatican II, a meeting was held in March 1966 at which thirteen suggestions were made with a view to establishing closer relationship and co-operation between the Christian Council of Ghana and its churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Three of the suggestions are: That the churches should issue joint statements on national issues if they thought it was necessary to do so. That the churches should organize public united services to demonstrate the unity of the churches and thereby set the nation an example . . . /

example which would foster national unity. That a Committee of Co-operation should be set up consisting of five nominees of the Christian Council and five of the Roman Catholic Church, together with the Secretary of each group, to facilitate co-operation between the two bodies. 1 With the departure of colonial rule came the end of the special relationship which the Anglican Church enjoyed with the colonial government. It ceased to be regarded as a State Church and is one of the strong members of the Christian Council of Ghana.

The Church in Ghana remains one of the sectors of Ghanaian life least open to direct control by the central State. Kwame Nkrumah tried to regulate church life by legislation but could not succeed. J. J. Rawlings has also tried but has failed. As we have already seen, the rapid growth and expansion of the Church and the development of its decision making structures resulted in its emerging as a new power over against both the traditional State and the colonial State to which the national State is the successor. Whatever its weaknesses, the Church is the only conceivable counterbalance to the national State, in a situation where the teeth of the traditional State have been drawn by both the colonial governments and their successors. Since the fall of the First Republic, the Church . . . /

1. 40 Years - Ghana Christian Council Anniversary Handbook, p.40 (Nos. 5,6 and 12). For the thirteen suggestions, see pp. 39-40.

Church in Ghana has been outspoken on national issues and it has the capacity to be so. The Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference and its executive body the National Catholic Secretariat are a powerful instrument for the Church's actions on national issues. They are now asking the P.N.D.C. Government to hand over the administration of the country to a constitutionally elected and democratic government based on party politics. The Church is actively involved in national politics. This is a transformation from its old line of muteness on political issues which was a colonial legacy and the First Republic was crucial in this transformation.

The Church has made a tremendous contribution to the social, economic, political, moral and spiritual development of the nation of Ghana. It is the architect of Gold Coast nationalism and thus the achievement of Ghanaian independence. Its message of tolerance, forgiveness, reconciliation and unity was one of the major factors which held the nation together during the political ferment and crises of the 1950s. The prophetic voice of the Church was heard when the Nkrumah regime became oppressive and dictatorial. The same voice is now being heard but in a more powerful way, in the determination of Ghana's political future. If the Church is to continue to perform these functions in the life of the nation and be its conscience and prophetic guardian and to maintain its position as the only . . . /

only conceivable counterbalance to the national State, then it cannot afford to be engulfed by the leadership problem and ethnic differences.

The traditional States rose in power and authority but they have been drastically reduced. The colonial State came on the scene and reigned supreme but disappeared. National governments emerged in the First, Second and Third Republics but they all fell. Military governments have come and gone and governments will continue to come and go but the Church has always been and will continue to be and is even growing stronger and stronger, for heaven and earth will pass away but the Word of God will never pass away. The Church in Ghana has a mission to bring the people to God through our Lord Jesus Christ and to be the salt of the nation and the light of the State. And the light which falls down from the heavenly πολις upon the earthly εκκλησια is reflected in the light which lightens the darkness of and illuminates the earthly πολις from the earthly εκκλησια.

APPENDIX A

Gold Coast: Basel Mission Ordinance.—Submitted Ordinance, No. 40 of Gold Coast Colony, of date 31st December 1918, to control the property and continue the work of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory, as follows:—

Gold Coast:
Basel Mission
Ordinance.

Whereas it is expedient to provide for the control of the property of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory, and for the continuation of the missionary and educational work of the said Society and Factory, and for that purpose to appoint trustees of the said property, with power to transfer the property of the said Society to a British Missionary Society or body, and the property of the said Factory to a British Company approved by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State all to be administered for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti so far as may be in accordance with the principles and practice observed and followed by the said Society and Factory;

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

1. *Short Title.*—This Ordinance may be cited as the Basel Mission Ordinance 1918.

2. *Interpretation.*—In this Ordinance:

“The Basel Mission Society” means the missionary society commonly known on the Gold Coast as the Basel Mission Society.

“The Basel Mission Factory” means the Société Commerciale des Missions, Basel, being the Trading Society commonly known on the Gold Coast as the Basel Mission Factory.

For the purpose of this Ordinance any property, real or personal, which belonged to or was in the possession of the Basel Mission Society or the Basel Mission Factory, and was, by virtue of an order of the Governor, made on the fourth day of February One thousand nine hundred and eighteen under sections 3 and 4 of the Enemy Property control and disposal Ordinance, 1914 (No. 22 of 1914), taken possession of by the Controlling Officer appointed under section 3 of the said Ordinance, and thereby became vested in such Controlling Officer, shall be deemed to be property belonging to or in the possession of the said Basel Mission Society or the said Basel Mission Factory as the case may be.

3. *Governor may appoint Trustees of Basel Mission Property.*—(1) Notwithstanding any act or thing done or performed in respect of the property belonging to or in the possession of the Basel Mission Society and the Basel Mission Factory it shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint such number of trustees of the property of the said Basel Mission Society and Basel Mission Factory as he may think fit, of whom a majority shall be persons actively interested in missionary work, and thereupon in accordance with and by virtue of such appointment all the property, real and personal, in the Gold Coast Colony belonging to or in the possession of the said Basel Mission Society and Basel Mission Factory, save such sum as the Governor may declare by writing under his hand to be necessary to make payment of the debts and other liabilities of the said Basel Mission Factory, and to make such payments as may be sufficient to extinguish the interest of the shareholders and bondholders of the said Basel Mission Factory shall become vested in such trustees as from the date of their appointment, and, after all such payments shall have been made, the Governor may so declare by writing under his hand, and thereupon any balance remaining over from the sum first declared necessary shall become vested in such trustees.

(2) The Governor may from time to time add to and fill vacancies occurring in the number of such trustees; and the manner in which their powers may be exercised during the absence or inability to act of any trustee, the manner in which documents shall be executed by them and their acts shall be evidenced, and generally all matters of procedure may be regulated by rules made under section 8.

4. *Trustees may Transfer Property of Basel Mission Society to British Missionary Society.*—It shall be lawful for the said trustees to transfer or lease all or any of the property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Society to any British Missionary Society or body to be administered by such Society or body for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, so far as may be in accordance with the principles observed and followed by the said Basel Mission Society. And in the event of any British Missionary Society or body to which any such property may be so transferred or leased failing so to administer the same, it shall be lawful for such trustees to cancel any such transfer or lease, and thereupon such property shall again become vested in such trustees and may again be leased or transferred by them to another British Missionary Society or body under the same conditions as hereinbefore provided.

5. *Trustees may Transfer Property of Basel Mission Property to British Company.*—It shall be lawful for the said trustees to transfer or lease all or any of the property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Factory to any British Company approved by one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State to be administered by such Company for the benefit of the natives of the Gold Coast and Ashanti subject to the approval of such Secretary of State so far as may be in accordance with the principles and practice observed and followed by the Basel Mission Factory. And in the event of any Company to which any such property may be so transferred or leased failing so to administer the same, it shall be lawful for the said trustees to cancel any such transfer or lease, and thereupon such property shall again become vested in such trustees and may again be leased or transferred by them to another British Company under the same conditions as hereinbefore provided.

6. *Balance of Property of Basel Mission Factory may be dealt with in manner approved by Secretary of State.*—It shall be lawful for the said trustees to deal with any property, real or personal, of the said Basel Mission Factory which may not be transferred or leased under the provisions of the last preceding section in such manner as one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State may approve.

7. *Property and Profits to be used exclusively for Gold Coast and Ashanti.*—None of the property transferred, leased, or otherwise dealt with by the said trustees, and none of the profits derived from the use of such property shall be used by the said trustees, or by any Missionary Society or body or company, to which the same may be transferred or leased for the promotion of enterprises elsewhere than in the Gold Coast or Ashanti.

8. *Governor in Council may make Rules.*—The Governor in Council may make rules for the better carrying out of the purposes and provisions of this Ordinance.

Passed in the Legislative Council this Thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord, One thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

A. A. O. FINLAY,
Clerk of the Legislative Council.

Recorded.

Apr. 15,
1919.

APPENDIX B

From SECRETARY of STATE for the COLONIES to Sir A. FRASER,

dated Sept. 13, 1916.

49/1916.

Downing Street.

Sir,

1. I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bonar Law to inform you that, as you are aware from semi-official correspondence, the question of the future of the Basel Mission Society in the Gold Coast Colony has been engaging his attention.

2. The Basel Mission has been largely financed in the past by German capital and staffed by German missionaries and Mr. Bonar Law feels that, in Imperial interests it is desirable to eliminate the German influence from the mission if it is to be allowed to continue its work in British territory, in view of the now evident German propagandist nature of the Mission as hitherto conducted. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Mission satisfied the wants of a large section of the community in the Gold Coast in spiritual and educational matters.

3. Mr. Bonar Law is anxious to discover whether it would be possible for the United Free Church Mission either to co-operate with the Basel Mission when it has been purged of its German element or, if it proves impossible to have the Basel Mission re-organised upon a satisfactory basis, to take over the religious and educational work hitherto performed by that Mission in the Gold Coast, the Basel Mission, as such, being eliminated from the Colony.

4. With this object in view, Mr. Bonar Law would be obliged if you would let me know whether you could make it convenient to call at the Colonial Office on some date after the 15th of September.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Sgd.) H.J. READ.

CHAPTER 123.

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, ACCRA.
 (Colony.)

AN ORDINANCE TO VEST THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY, ACCRA, IN THE BISHOP OF ACCRA, OR OTHER THE PERSON FOR THE TIME BEING INVESTED WITH ECCLESIASTICAL EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION OVER THE DISTRICT WHEREIN THE SAID CHURCH IS SITUATE.

McCarthy
 Cap. 101
 Ordinances
 Nos.
 3 of 1916
 32 of 1929.

(25th January, 1916)

Date of
 commencement

1. This Ordinance may be cited as the "Holy Trinity Church, Accra, Ordinance," and shall apply to the Colony.

Short title
 and applica-
 tion.

2. The Church of the Holy Trinity, now situate within the district of Accra, and the precincts thereof and all the buildings therein standing (a plan whereof duly signed by the Acting Director of Public Works was deposited in the office of the Chief Registrar on the 28th day of July, 1915) together with all the rights, easements, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, and together with all the estate, right, title, and interest of the Colonial Government therein, are (subject nevertheless to the provisions of the next succeeding sections) hereby transferred to and vested in the Right Reverend Mowbray Stephen O'Rorke, Bishop of Accra, and his successors in office, or other the person for the time being invested with ecclesiastical episcopal jurisdiction over the district wherein the said church is situate for the sole and express purpose of a church, and to the intent that divine worship according to the use of the Church of England shall be therein performed and carried on in the church aforesaid in accordance with the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England: Provided always that if at any time the said Church shall cease to be used as a church for divine worship and the services usual in the Church of England shall cease to be performed and carried on therein, the said church and the precincts thereof and the buildings therein standing shall revert to and become the absolute property of the Crown: Provided that in such case the owner of any memorial erected in the said church shall be at liberty to remove the same.

Transfer of
 Church and
 property.

3. (1) Notwithstanding anything in the next preceding section contained, the six front rows of pews on both sides of the nave in the said Church shall be appropriated to the exclusive use of the Governor and other European officials of the Colony and its dependencies and his and their families and friends: Provided nevertheless that when not required to be so used the Governor may give permission for the same to be otherwise suitably used.

Certain
 rights
 reserved
 to the
 Colonial
 Governm.

(2) It shall be lawful for the Governor at his discretion to authorise within the said church or the precincts thereof the erection of any memorial, monument, or tablet of the nature of which he shall have approved; whereupon the incumbent for the time being shall afford all proper facilities for such erection. Any inscription or figure upon any memorial, monument, or tablet shall be such as shall be also approved by the Bishop or on appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury or other the person exercising archiepiscopal authority in Accra.

4. Upon the coming into operation of this Ordinance, all books, furniture and other articles now vested in the Crown and used in connection with the divine services of the said church shall become the property of the abovenamed grantee, incumbent, and church wardens for the time being as joint owners, for and on behalf of the church for the purposes aforesaid; and all monuments, tablets, and memorials in or about the said church shall be placed in the joint custody of the said incumbent and church wardens.

Other
 Proper-
 ties.

Duty of
up-keep.

5. The church funds shall be chargeable, and the church wardens or church warden, if there be but one, for the time being shall be responsible to the extent of funds at any time actually in his or their hands, to keep in good condition and repair the premises by this Ordinance conveyed, including the structure of the said church and buildings:

Proviso.

Provided always that, should there at any time be no church wardens or church warden lawfully holding such office, the responsibility imposed by this section shall devolve upon the incumbent aforesaid: Provided further that, if at any time the said premises or any of them should fall into grievous disrepair, and the church funds not be adequate to defray the cost of the necessary maintenance and repairs thereof, it shall be lawful for the Attorney-General to apply to the Divisional Court for a rule nisi calling the grantee for the time being and such other person or persons, if any, as the Court may direct, to show cause why the premises and property referred to in sections 2 and 4 should not forthwith revert in the Crown absolutely; and unless the Court be satisfied that the said church funds are fully adequate to defray the cost of the maintenance and repairs aforesaid the said rule shall be made absolute. Whereupon the premises and property aforesaid shall, subject to any appeal to the West African Court of Appeal, forthwith revert in the Crown absolutely, to be held as of the same estate as they were held immediately prior to the commencement of this Ordinance. (Amended by 32 of 1929, s. 2.)

Burials
prohibi-
ted.

6. No burial shall take place within the said church or the precincts thereof, unless by written permission of the Governor and subject to such regulations as he may prescribe.

Removal of
monuments.

7. The grantee for the time being may order the removal of any monument which shall have become ruinous, dilapidated, or unsightly, if the owner cannot be found or refuses properly to repair and maintain such monument to the satisfaction of the said grantee: Provided always that three months' notice of such intention to remove shall be given to the owner in writing, if he can be found; if the owner cannot be found or is not known, it shall be sufficient if notice shall be posted for three months on a notice board of the said church.

Crown
rights.

8. Nothing herein contained shall affect or be deemed to affect the rights of Her Majesty the Queen, Her heirs, or successors, except such as are mentioned in this Ordinance.

APPENDIX D

HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, ACCRA, (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1958

No. 6 of
1958.

G H A N A
No. 6 OF 1958.

Assented to in Her Majesty's Name and on Her Majesty's behalf this 27th day of March, 1958.

L I S T O W E L
GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

AN ACT to amend the Holy Trinity Church, Accra, Ordinance.

(29th March, 1958)

Date of commencement.

BE IT ENACTED by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the National Assembly of Ghana in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:-

1. This Act may be cited as the Holy Trinity Church, Accra, (Amendment) Act, 1958 and shall be read as one with the Holy Trinity Church, Accra, Ordinance hereinafter called the Ordinance.

Short title
etc.
Cap. 123.

2. For section 6 of the Ordinance there is hereby substituted the following new section:-

Section 6
of Ordinance
replaced.

"Burials
prohibited. 6. No burial shall take place within the church
or the precincts of the church."

3. Sections 3 and 7 of the Ordinance are hereby repealed.

Section 3
and 7 of
Ordinance
repealed.

This printed impression has been carefully compared by me with the Bill which has passed the National Assembly, and found by me to be a true and correctly printed copy of the said Bill.

K. B. AYENSU
Clerk of the National Assembly.

CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

We, the undersigned, are convinced that the political issues of the present time cannot be rightly understood without reference to the moral and spiritual principles underlying them. We therefore call upon all men and women of goodwill to give their assent to the following principles as being in accordance with the Christian faith and to be guided by them in their thinking, speaking and action.

1. We recognise that the Gold Coast, like any other country, has a natural right to **Self Government**.
2. It is the will of God that this country should enjoy good government, i.e. that it should have a government which finds out, so far as it can, the real will of the people, protects the freedom and rights of conscience of minorities, secures freedom of worship, makes justice available for all, promotes the physical and moral welfare of the people by efficient planning and administration. The Gold Coast should demand that these duties are faithfully discharged by any government to the best of its ability both now and in the future.
3. Good Government requires that there should be sufficient men of ability and integrity for the control of the administration at the top and for the execution of its orders at other levels. The spirit of impartial service for all, which is the special product of Christianity, should be the mark of all public servants. Bribery and corruption should be banished by the vigilance of the authorities, the influence of the Church and the absolute refusal of all citizens to take or offer bribes. Good government requires the understanding cooperation of the governed and their confidence in the integrity of those who are set over them.
4. All races are equal before God and have the right to the same respect and to fair and just treatment. The Law of Christ condemns all racial or colour discrimination whether aimed against Africans or non-Africans. Minorities such as Asiatics, Europeans, Liberians and Yorubas will accept the authority of the State, which will in return safeguard their freedom in all respects. All racial pride and arrogance in dealing with Africans or non-Africans, all bitterness and contempt, all exploitation of strangers, the weak and the ignorant are condemned both by the law of Justice and of Charity.
5. The Church contains people of goodwill who hold different views on the affairs of their country and support different political, economic and social programmes. The Church therefore cannot become identified with any particular party or programme. She does not condemn any party so long as its object is in accordance with Christian principles and the means employed to reach that end are honest and good. Such a party needs the help of Christians who share its views, but the question of joining it must be left to the conscience of the individual.
6. We believe that peaceful means of effecting political change are still available in this country and that, this being so, violent revolution should not be resorted to.
7. "Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body." They should be the best citizens of a state, because they pray "Thy Kingdom come ... on earth as in heaven" and because each knows that he must try day by day to love God with all his heart and mind and strength and his neighbour as himself. Every Christian should set an example to others by his truthfulness, honesty and kindness in the elementary duties of citizenship and when called to more responsible service. "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." (Galatians 6:2)
8. Finally we would remind ourselves in this critical period of our history of God's message to another people as they were about to enter Canaan: "See I have set before thee this day life and good and death and evil; in that I commend thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to keep his commandments and his statutes and his judgements, that thou mayest live and multiply, and that the Lord thy God may bless thee in the land whither thou goest in to possess it. But if thine heart turn away, and thou wilt not hear,

but shalt be drawn away, and worship other gods and serve them; I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish; ye shall not prolong your days upon the land, whither thou passest over Jordan to go into possess it." (Deut. 30: 15-18)

We believe that we of this land have a similar choice before us. we pray that we may choose "life and good"; we pray that we may become a righteous and peaceful nation founded upon faith in the true God revealed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ. "Happy is the people whose God is the Lord". (Psalm 144:5)

SIGNED BY:

John Accra
G.K. Ampofo
A-Cofie Ankrab
Rev. C.G. Baeta
Barbara OHP
Rev. J. Bardsley
C.H. Elliott
GED B.D. Ferguson
J.C. De Graft Johnson
Dr. Eugene Grau
M.E. Kwabi
Rose M. Little
S.S. Odonkor
Isaac Sackey
Rev. M.B. Taylor

APPENDIX F

Text of Short Telegram addressed to the Secretary of State for the
Colonies on the 29th February, 1948

Secretary of State Colonies London.

After permitting peaceful demonstration of unarmed ex-servicemen Police without provocation fired on them Several killed Many wounded.

Police and political officers unable to protect life and property.

Civil authorities unable to control situation appealed to certain civilians who are officers of the United Gold Coast Convention to restore order. Main shops in commercial areas looted. UAC Central Store burned down. People demand Self-government immediately. Recall Governor. Send Commission supervise formation Constituent Assembly. Urgent.

Kwame Nkrumah General Secretary United Gold Coast Convention
Saltpond Gold Coast.

Information copies to :—

Secretary General UNO Lake Success New York.

Reginald Sorensen House of Commons London.

Gallacher MP House of Commons London.

The New African 94 Gray's Inn Road London WC1.

Pan African News Agency 22 Cranleigh House Cranleigh Street London NW1.

Pan Africa 58 Oxford Street Manchester.

Editor *WASU Magazine* 1 South Villas London NW1.

Editor *Daily Worker* London.

Associated Negro Press Chicago.

New York Times New York.

New Times Moscow.

APPENDIX G

Text of Long Telegram addressed to Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 29th February, 1948

Civil Government Gold Coast broken down, Police unable to protect life and property since early afternoon yesterday. Main Stores, commercial centres looted and completely emptied merchandise. U.A.C. Central Store burned down. Neither Police nor political able intervene or stop progress of looting and destruction. Deep-seated roots of disorder and lawlessness set aflame by unprovoked massacre of civilians and unarmed ex-servicemen by shots fired by Police Superintendent Imray against peaceful procession ex-servicemen to present petition to Governor on their distressing condition and post-war neglect. Imray fired rifle into crowds after grenades thrown into procession. Announcement on Government radio that ex-servicemen provoked police on Castle Road absolutely without foundation. From January 26th Government have shown abject ineptitude in face of demonstrations by people against high prices imported goods and black market. Complete boycott all imported goods in colony Ashanti and Togoland proceeded without Government taking any initiative to end same or effect settlement. Boycott having brought business complete standstill and paralysed trade, Government's first bulletin issued fifteen days after commencement boycott declared boycott ordinary trade dispute which was no concern of Government unless law broken. But for initiative Joint Provincial Council and United Gold Coast Convention calling upon Government intervene and but for native authorities and Anti-Inflation Committee having approached Government to call in Chamber of Commerce for discussion with view settlement. Government's indifferent attitude would have left boycott continue indefinitely. Early yesterday morning boycott being lifted by Gonggong, it was evident housewives and shoppers not satisfied at so called reduced prices, expressed open resentment in several forms. Ex-servicemen's procession coming late afternoon arranged as to routes with Police Commissioner Ballantyne. Ex-servicemen marched orderly completely unarmed, Riot Act not read nor arrests attempted but firing started when Accra President ex-Servicemen's Union addressing his men between Police and march. President himself was shot through his shorts and shot injured man next him. Two died on spot and five in hospital, many injured. In addition, looting cars found in town attacked and wrecked, occupants assaulted. Grave position results from ineptitude Government regarding economic distress of people in addition repressive measures such as Accra proclaimed under Peace Preservation Ordinance and threats of curfew and pending prosecution of prominent chief, Asere Mantse of Accra, for alleged offence in connection boycott have completely caused loss prestige and confidence in Government. Deep-seated conviction of masses exploitation by Europeans cause of their sufferings. At beach and Customs warehouse, Assistant Police Superintendent Reeves found himself and Police utterly unable stop or check looting and had to appeal to an Officer of the Convention to persuade looters cease looting. At Castle Road, Police Commissioner Ballantyne utterly unable disperse infuriated crowd. After some of them had been shot dead by Police, appealed to another Officer of the Convention disperse crowd. Both cases with a short speech and wave of hands, crowds dispersed. This gentleman proceeded to Government House where he met scenes of utter resignation with Police and political officers at loose end unable to come to decision as to action. Imray admitted to this gentleman at Castle he fired shots and Ballantyne stated it was necessary open fire for ex-servicemen would proceed to Government House and kill Governor. Whole administration seized with outrageous and unfounded fears of suspected danger to them and position is disgraceful and deplorable. District Commissioner Accra subsequently phoned same gentleman to return and use his influence disperse crowd. Unless Colonial Government is changed and a new Government of the people and their chiefs installed at the centre immediately, the conduct of masses now completely out of control with strikes threatened in Police quarters, and rank and file Police indifferent to orders of Officers, will continue and result in worse violent and irresponsible acts by uncontrolled people. Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare they are prepared and ready to take over interim government. We ask in name of oppressed, inarticulate, misruled and misgoverned people and their chiefs that special Commissioner be sent out immediately to hand over Government to interim government of chiefs and people and to witness immediate calling of Constituent Assembly. Governor Creasy, unfortunate inheritor of aftermath of Governor Alan Burns oppressive and window-dressing administration, to be recalled and relieved of his onerous and impossible burden. We speak in name of inherent residual sovereignty in chiefs and people in free partnership with British Commonwealth for our country to be saved from inept incapable Government indifferent to sufferings of the governed. The souls of Gold Coast people slaughtered in cold blood upon Castle Road crying out loud for vindication in cause of freedom and liberty. Firing by Police and military going on this morning. Let King and Parliament act without delay in this direst hour of Gold Coast people and their chiefs. God Save the King and Floreat United Gold Coast.

President,
United Gold Coast Convention.
Saltpond.

The General Election—A Call to all Citizens

At so critical a moment in the history of our country we, the undersigned, on behalf of the member Churches of the Christian Council of the Gold Coast, desire to lay before men and women some considerations which they regard as important.

1. It has been made clear by the British Government that Independence is to be granted to this Nation as soon as a reasonable majority in the newly-elected Legislative Assembly requires it.
2. The votes of the electors will determine which of the contesting Political Parties shall be entrusted with the responsibility of Government. All Parties include Independence amongst their aims, though they differ as to the form of Constitution to be adopted.
3. It is the solemn duty of all voters not only to seek the guidance of Almighty God in casting their vote, but also to inform themselves as thoroughly as possible as to the claims and purposes of the rival Parties. To this end it is necessary that all should have freedom both to speak their own mind and to hear what others have to say.
4. A measure of excitement and partisanship is both natural and allowable during the course of an Election Campaign. Nevertheless we call upon all men to pay heed to the appeal of His Excellency the Governor to refrain absolutely from all violence and intimidation whatsoever. Such things are cruel and hurtful to the bodies and minds of those who suffer them; and moreover, they obscure the facts and the truth which ought to be clearly seen and judged by the voters.
5. The Church as such is, and must always be, free from identification with any Political Party; free to call men at all times to do justice and to love righteousness; free to require that those who rule shall maintain law and order and guarantee the liberties which rightly belong to every citizen;
6. On the other hand every individual Christian must cast his vote with a sense of seriousness and mature responsibility;
7. We therefore call upon all Christians in this our beloved land to observe Sunday July 8th as a day of National Prayer to pray earnestly that God may
guide and direct us;
grant wisdom and right judgement to all;
overrule the selfishness and blindness of men;
preserve us from falsehood, intolerance, and violence;
grant to this Nation grace to serve Him in true union and concord.

“RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH THE NATION”

SIGNED:

+ RICHARD ACCRA, ANGLICAN CHURCH

E. M. DODU, MODERATOR, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF THE GOLD COAST

G. T. EDDY, CHAIRMAN, METHODIST CHURCH.

S. G. WILLIAMSON, CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

P. K. DAGADU, GENERAL SECRETARY ,, ,,

APPENDIX I

PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT, 1958

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

No. 17 of
1958.

Section

1. Short title.
2. Power to make detention orders.
3. Provisions.. as to detention orders.
4. Duration of detention.
5. Duration of Act.

**THE GHANA CATHOLIC BISHOPS' CONFERENCE AND THE
CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA CHURCHES, ON THE
REGISTRATION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES (P.N.D.C. LAW 221)**

**A MESSAGE FROM THE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF GHANA AND
THE GHANA CATHOLIC BISHOPS' CONFERENCE TO THEIR
FAITHFUL AND CONGREGATIONS.**

14 NOVEMBER, 1989

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ,

In the name of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we, your Christian leaders, send you, our dear people of God, sincere greetings.

We, the Heads of member churches of the Christian Council of Ghana and its affiliated organizations, together with the Catholic Bishops of Ghana, having consulted the National Catholic Laity Council and the Standing Committee of the National Union of Ghana Catholic Diocesan Priests' Associations, as well as the Social Action Committee, the Standing Committee and other organs of the Christian Council of Ghana, have found it necessary to write to you again in connection with the P.N.D.C. Law 221 entitled "Religious Bodies (Registration) Law 1989" because we are aware of the continued concern and confusion prevailing among some of you.

We understand that this law, which was promulgated by the Government shortly after the banning of some churches and sects in the country, seeks to check the activities of some religious bodies that, in the view of the Government, constitute a nuisance to the general public, and militate against public order, public interest or morality, or acceptable standards of decency. Having thoroughly studied this Law, and having sought legal advice on its meaning and implications, we have reached the conclusion that this Law as it now stands is not the right solution to the above-mentioned problems. In fact, in its present form, P.N.D.C. Law 221 constitutes an infringement of the fundamental human right of the freedom of worship. For this reason, we are of the view that our Churches would be surrendering, both for our

present membership and for future generations a fundamental and inalienable human right, if we registered in accordance with this Law.

Consequently, we cannot in conscience register under P.N.D.C. Law 221 as it now stands. In fact, our decision has been communicated to the Government in a letter dated 10 November, 1989. Our reasons will, hopefully, become clear from the following considerations:

1. Section 3 of PNDCL 221 states: "Every religious body in Ghana shall be registered under this Law and no religious body in existence in Ghana shall after three months from the commencement of this Law operate as such unless it is registered under this Law". What is meant by "religious body" is made clear by Section 20 of the Law which defines "religious body" to mean "any association of persons or body or organization--

- (a) which professes adherence to or belief in any system of faith or worship; or
- (b) which is established in pursuance of a religious objective"

The Christian Council Churches and the Roman Catholic Church qualify as religious bodies by the terms of this definition. Thus, according to this Law, the said churches cannot operate as churches if, three months after the commencement of this Law, they fail to register. What this means in effect is that the Law makes registration with the State a condition for being allowed to worship. This, to our mind, is a violation of the fundamental human right of the freedom of worship as stated by Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes his freedom to change his religion, or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance". It also contravenes Article 8 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and even P.N.D.C.L. 42 Section 1(b), which says: "Respect for fundamental human rights and for the dignity of human persons are to be cultivated among all sections of the society and established as part of the basis of social justice".

2. (1) That the Law constitutes a violation of the right of worship should become very clear also from a careful study of certain aspect or details of the Law which give the Government powers to regulate and control the operations and affairs of every

religious body in the country. The Government will be able to do this through its two organs that will be responsible for the registration, namely, the Religious Affairs Committee and the National Commission for Culture. This is clear from Section 4 of the Law which says: "No religious body shall qualify for registration under this Law unless it has been issued with a certificate of approval by the Commission upon recommendation of the Religious Affairs Committee".

(2) The Religious Affairs Committee, appointed by the Government (Section 5(3)), shall also "undertake such other functions as the P.N.D.C. may direct"[Section 5(2)(d)]. The vagueness of "such other functions" provides adequate and reasonable grounds for anxiety.

(3) Equally disturbing is the fact that the National Commission for Culture and its chairman are given too much power by this Law. Section 9 (1) says, among other things, that "the Commission...shall where the application is approved, issue a certificate of approval...under such conditions as the Commission may determine". According to this Section, then, the Commission has powers to impose conditions on religious bodies before issuing the certificates of approval to them.

According to Section 13 (1) the Committee may recommend the prohibition and cancellation of a religious body's registration where it is satisfied, among others, that "the body has contravened any of the provisions of this Law or any other enactment" or where "there are other reasonable grounds for doing so" [13 (1)(h & i)]. Even more disturbing is the last paragraph of 13 (1) which states: "Provided that where the circumstances require the chairman may without such recommendation take such action as he deems fit".

The absolute powers of the Commission are evident also in other paragraphs of Section 13. According to Section 13 (2), the decision of the Commission under Section 13 (1) shall be final. According to Section 9 (3), "the decision of the Commission in respect of an approval of a religious body shall be final". The implication of all this is that no religious body that is denied registration, or whose registration has been cancelled by the Commission, has the right of appeal to a court against the decision. This, in our opinion, is a serious violation of a basic human right such as is found in Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial

tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him".

According to Section 14, "Where a religious body has been prohibited under this Law and its registration cancelled, the Chairman of the Commission may make such orders as appears to him just and equitable for the dissolution and disposal of the properties, assets, rights and liabilities of such a body". The framers of this Law appear to have equated a religious body with a company either limited by shares/guarantee or unlimited.

Section 19 states: "The Chairman of the Commission may by legislative instrument make regulations generally for carrying out the provisions of this Law". The latitude and plenipotentiary powers given to the National Commission for Culture and its Chairman constitute a fertile ground for arbitrariness.

3. Section 8 of the Law constitutes another source of disquiet. It reads: "The (Religious Affairs) Committee may before recommending to the Commission the approval of any application for registration under this Law, authorise any public officer to inspect any place intended to be used as a place of worship by the applicant and may request for regular inspection of places of worship thereafter". Such an inspection is not necessary in the light of Section 6 (f) and (g) which respectively require religious bodies seeking registration to furnish with their application "particulars indicating that the places of worship or activity are suitable for the purpose" and "a declaration that the places and mode of worship do not constitute a health or environmental hazard to the members of the body or to the public in general".

What we find basically unacceptable about this Section of the Law is that it will enable a secular bureaucrat to intrude into the places of worship of religious bodies. Apart from being an intrusion into the privacies of our churches and our worship, such an inspection presupposes that the Government has the right to tell us what we may or may not have in our churches. We view all this as interference with, and a curtailing of, our fundamental freedom of worship.

4. The Law states that all religious bodies should have a board of trustees or a similar governing body [Section 7 (1)] and that no religious body shall be issued with a certificate of approval by the National Commission for Culture "unless it is satisfied

that the Trustees or its governing body have been validly appointed". The Law does not stipulate what the criteria of validity are, and this again will leave plenty of room for arbitrariness on the part of the Commission. Section 7 (3) states that "all assets and properties of a registered religious body shall vest in the Trustees or its governing body who shall hold the same in trust for and on behalf of the members". This again infringes our right of worship because this section of the Law seeks to change, without our consent, the existing constitutions of our various churches which do not operate that way.

5. (1) In the light of the foregoing, it is our firm conviction that PNDCL 221 constitutes a violation of the fundamental human right of the freedom of worship and that our churches should, therefore, not register under this Law which requires registration with the State as a condition for being permitted to worship God and which provides Government with the power and machinery to control worship.

(2) We would, however, like to emphasize that our churches are not opposed to legislation which affects worship generally in matters relating to law and order, and which protects the citizenry from exploitation. But it is our view that the current laws of the nation are adequate for that purpose.

6. We, therefore, hope that the appeal that we, your Church leaders, have made to the Government for the creation of a consultative forum consisting of representatives of Churches and the Government to discuss our proposed amendments and any other issues relating to P.N.D.C. Law 221 in view of its possible review will be heeded.

It is our firm hope and prayer that these our honest submissions will not be misconstrued. We, therefore, exhort you, our dear people of God, to pray fervently to the Holy Spirit for wisdom and guidance for us all and for peace for our dear country.

For and on behalf of
The Christian Council
of Ghana

For and on behalf of
The Ghana Bishops'
Conference

Rt. Rev. F.W.B. Thompson
ANGELICAN BISHOP OF ACCRA
CHAIRMAN, CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
OF GHANA

Rt. Rev. Peter K. Sarpong
CATHOLIC BISHOP OF KUMASI
PRESIDENT, GHANA BISHOPS'
CONFERENCE

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ORAL SOURCES

The following people were interviewed :

The late Very Rev. E. M. L. Odjidja, former Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

The late Nene Azu Matekole, former Konor of Manya Krobo and member of the Eastern Provincial Council. Enstolled Konor in 1939.

The late Mr S. H. Amissah, former General Secretary of the All Africa Conference of Churches.

The late Mr. William Ofori Atta, former politician, nationalist, one of the "Big Six", a member of the Opposition in the First Republic and Chairman of the Council of State in Ghana.

The late Mr. Joseph E. Appiah, former politician, nationalist and a member of the Opposition in the First Republic.

The Rev. Professor C. G. Baeta, a retired Synod Clerk of the E. P. Church, Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana and Head of Department for the Study of Religious, University of Ghana, Legon-Accra.

The Very Rev. C. K. Dovlo, former C.P.P. Member of Parliament in the First Republic, a retired Moderator of the Synod of the E.P. Church and Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Peter K. Sarpong, Catholic Bishop of Kumasi and the current Chairman of the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The Rt. Rev. Edmund Yeboah, Anglican Bishop of Kumasi.

The Rev. Dr. S. Gyasi Nimako, a retired Minister of the Methodist Church, Ghana and former C. P. P. Member of Parliament in the First Republic and Ghana's High Commissioner to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Zambia.

The Rev. T. A. Osei, a retired Synod Clerk of the Presbytereian Church of Ghana and former General Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana.

The Rev. A. L. Kwansa, a retired Synod Clerk and the Secretary of the Inter-Church and Ecumenical Relations Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

Osagyefo Oseadeeyo Agyemang Badu, The Paramount Chief of the Dormaa State, former President of the National House of Chiefs and for many times, the President of the Brong-Ahafo Regional House of Chiefs and a member of the Council of State in Ghana.

Nana Addo Danquah III, The Paramount Chief of the Akuapem State.

Professor S. K. Odamtten, Professor of Education, University of Cape Coast.

Dr. E. Ako Adjei, former politician, nationalist, one of the "Big Six", a member of the first Cabinet of the C.P.P. Government and Minister of State in the First Republic.

Mr. David Acquah, Society of Friends and member of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council of Ghana.

Mr. K. Owusu Bawua-bonsafo, a former politician.