T.R.
ONDOKUZ MAYIS UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCES
PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

THE IMPACTS OF BRITISH MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN GOLD COAST (GHANA)

Master's Thesis

Swabir İBRAHİM

Supervisor

Prof.Dr. Mahmut AYDIN

SAMSUN
2022

THESIS APPROVAL

The thesis prepared by Swabir **İBRAHİM** supervised by **Prof. Dr Mahmut Aydin** entitled **"Impacts of British missionary enterprise in Gold Coast (Ghana)"** was accepted by the panel as a **Master's thesis** following the examination on the date of ---/---/2022.

	Title Name Surname **University** **Department**	**Signature**	**Result**
Head	Prof. Dr Cengiz Batuk Ondokuz Mayis University Department of Philosophy and Religious Sciences(History of Religions)		☐ Accept ☐ Reject
Member	Prof. Dr Mahmut Aydin Ondokuz Mayis University Department of Philosophy and Religious Sciences(History of Religions)		☐ Accept ☐ Reject
Member	Doç. Dr. Süleyman Turan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University Department of Philosophy and Religious Sciences(History of Religions)		☐ Accept ☐ Reject
Member			☐ Accept ☐ Reject

Bu tez, Enstitü Yönetim Kurulunca belirlenen ve yukarıda adları yazılı jüri üyeleri tarafından uygun görülmüştür.

ONAY
… / … / …
Prof. Dr. Ali BOLAT
Enstitü Müdürü

DECLARATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH SCIENTIFIC ETHIC

I hereby declare and undertake that I complied with scientific ethics and academic rules in all stages of my MSc thesis, I have referred to each quotation that was used directly or indirectly in the study, and the works I have used consist of those shown in the sources that it was written in accordance with the institute writing guide and the situations stated in the article 3, section 9 of the regulation for TÜBİTAK Research and Publication Ethics Board were not violated.

Etik Kurul Gerekli mi ?

Yes ☐

No ☒

İmza
/ / 2022
Swabir IBRAHIM

DECLARATION OF THE THESIS STUDY ORIGINAL REPORT

Thesis Title: Impacts of British Missionary Enterprise in Gold Coast (Ghana)

As a result of the originality report taken by me from the plagiarism detection program for the thesis titled above;

Similarity ratio : % 28

Single resource rate : 3% has been released

İmza
/ / 2022
Supervisor: Prof.Dr. Mahmut AYDIN

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACTS OF BRITISH MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN GOLD COAST (GHANA)

Swabir IBRAHIM
Ondokuz Mayıs University
Institute of Graduate Studies
Philosophy and Religious Sciences
Master, February /2022
Supervisor: Prof.Dr. Mahmut AYDIN

The institutions established by Western colonizers such as the missionary societies are still influencing Africa's socio-political, economic, and religious developments. In the British colony of the Gold Coast (Morden Ghana), the relationship between British missionary enterprise and British imperialism during the second half of the 19th century was multifaceted. This thesis focuses on two broad areas: Firstly, the complexity of interaction between British imperialism and missionary societies on the Gold Coast and the resulting impact on contemporary Ghanaian society.

Secondly, The Ghanaian experience of religious change through Western Christianity that is acquired in the wider context of nationalism, secularisation, nation-building and formal education in one way or the other also helped to facilitate the British missionary impact and influence in contemporary Ghanaian society. Therefore, the religious Change facilitated by the British missionary enterprise and how it influenced Colonialism, Nation-building, Secularisation and Education in the Gold Coast (Ghana) generated the interest in this research.

Key Words: British Missionary Enterprise, Colonialism, Gold Coast (Ghana), Religious Change**.**

ÖZET

GOLD COAST (GANA) BÖLGESİNDE İNGİLİZ MİSYONERLİK GİRİŞİMLER VE ETKİLERİ

Swabir İBRAHİM
Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi
Lisansüstü Eğitim Enstitüsü
Felsefe ve Din Bilimleri Ana Bilim Dalı
Yüksek Lisans, Şubat/2022
Danışman:Prof. Dr. Mahmut AYDIN

Misyoner topluluklar da olduğu gibi, Batılı sömürgeciler tarafından kurulan kurumlar Afrikanın sosyo-politik, ekonomik ve dini gelişmelerini etkilemeye devam etmektedir.19.Yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren İngiliz Gold Coast kolonisinde (Modern Ghana), İngiliz misyoner topluluğunun teşebbüsüyle, İngiliz emperyalizmi arasında çok yönlü bir ilişki kurulmuştur. Bu açıdan tezimiz, iki husus üzerine odaklanmaktadır: Birincisi, İngiliz emperyalizmi ile Gold Coasttaki misyoner toplumlar arasındaki etkileşimin karmaşıklığı ve bunun sonucunda çağdaş Gana toplumu üzerindeki etkisi; ikincisi ise milliyetçilik, sekülerleşme, ulus inşası ve örgün eğitim gibi Batı Hristiyanlığı yoluyla daha geniş bağlamda modern Gana'da tecrübe edilen ve bi açıdan kolaylaştırılmaya çalışılan dini değişimin etkisi.

Çalışmamızın içerisinde, İngiliz misyonerliğinin sömürgecilik faaliyetleri üzerinden ulu inşası, sekülerleşme ve eğitim gibi yollarla Gold Costtta (Ghana) nasıl bir etkiye sahip olduğu araştırılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: İngiliz Misyonerlik Girişimi, Sömürgecilik, Gold Coast(Modern Ghana), Din Değişim.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My deep gratitude, appreciation, and thanks go to Almighty Allah. My endless thanks and appreciation goes to my Father Alhaji Ibrahim Abdul Nasir and Mother Afisatu Alhaji Shuaib for their everlasting support. I also deeply acknowledge the immense contribution of my supervisor Prof.Dr Mahmut AYDIN, whose support and guidance enabled me to finish this thesis. My gratitude also goes to the head of the Department of History of World Religions.Prof.Dr. Cengiz BATUK. Thank you all for your timely intervention. To my friends Mr Kenan (Turkey)and Sergeant Seiti Yerima (U.S.A), I thank you all for your support when the journey seems impossible. Thank you.

Swabir İBRAHİM

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THESIS APPROVAL ..... **I**
DECLARATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH SCIENTIFIC ETHICS……..…..**ii**
DECLARATION OF THE THESIS STUDY ORIGINAL REPORT ..... **ii**
ABSTRACT ..... **iii**
ÖZET .. .. **iv**
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT ..... **v**
CONTENTS ..... **vi**
ABBREVIATIONS ..... **vii**
LIST OF FIGURES ..... **viii**
1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION……...….**1**

1.1. Overview of the Problem 1

1.2. Purpose of the Research 4

1.3. The research questions 5

1.3. Limitations 5

1.5. Literature Review 8

2. CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF VOLTA BASIN AND THE EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT

2.1. Introduction 17

2.2. The Volta Basin (Gold Coast) 20

2.3. Traditional African Religion in the Lower part of the Volta Basin 29

2.4. Islam in the Lower part of the Volta Basin 35

2.5. Co-existence between Islam and Traditional African Religion in the Lower part of the Volta Basin 40

2.6. The Portuguese Adventurers (1471-1642) 40

2.7. The Dutch Conquerors (1593 – 1642) 42

2.8. Danish Traders (1700-1850) 44

2.9. The British Colonialists and Missionaries (1553- 1957) 45

2.10. Conclusion 49

3. CHAPTER THREE: BRITISH MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN GOLD COAST

3.1.Introduction 52

3.2.Critical Studies of British Anglican Missionary Societies in Gold Coast 56

3.2.1. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Foreign Parts (SPG) 56

3.2.2. The Christian Missionary Society (CMS) 61

3.3. Critical Studies British- Basel Mission (Presbyterian Church) in Gold Coast 64

3.4. Critical Studies of the British -Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Gold Coast) 66

3.5. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Black Methodist church From the United States) in Gold Coast. 69

3.6. Critical Study of British-Catholics Missionary in Gold Coast 71

3.7. The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) 72

3.8. The Apostolic Church from England and the Christ Apostolic Church of Gold coast 74
3.9. Worldwide evangelization crusade (Evangelical Church of Ghana) 75
3.10. Conclusion 76
4. CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF BRITISH MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN GHANA
4.1. Introduction 81
4.2. Religious impacts 81
4.2.1. Pre-Colonial Religious Situation 82
4.2.2. Colonial Religious Situation 82
4.2.3. Post-colonial religious impacts 84
4.3. Educational impact 89
4.3.1. The Traditional Education system in Gold Coast (Ghana) 89
4.3.2. The Islamic Education system in Gold Coast (Ghana) 90
4.3.3. Colonial missionary Education in Gold coast (Ghana) 92
4.3.4. Post-colonial Education in Gold coast (Ghana) 94
4.4. Impact on health care 100
4.4.1. Pre-colonial Health Care in Gold Coast 101
4.4.2. Colonial and Missionary Health Care in Gold Coast 102
4.4.3. Post-independence health care in Ghana 104
4.4.4. Christian Health Association of Ghana 105
4.5. Socio-Economic impact 109
4.5.1. Pre-colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana) 109
4.5.2. Colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana) 111
4.5.3. Post -Colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana) 113
4.6.Political Impact 115
4.6.1. Pre-colonial political situation 115
4.6.2. Colonial political situation 117
4.6.3. Post-colonial politics 121
5. CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION 124
BIBLIOGRAPHY 138

ABBREVIATIONS

R AC: The Royal African Company

SPG: Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign part

C.M.S: The Church Mission Society

WMMS: Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society,

CBC: Catholic Bishops Conference

SMA: Society of African Mission

TSA: The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) and

WEC: The Worldwide evangelization crusade

AMEZ: African Methodist Episcopal Zion mission,

C.M.E: The Christian Methodist Episcopal mission

COP: Church of Pentecost

PCG: Presbyterian Church of Ghana

HAM: Heart of Africa Mission

CCG: Christian Council of Ghana

AME: African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

CHAG: Christian Health Association of Ghana

GES: Ghana Education Service

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1. Map of the Volta Basin showing Ethnic Groups (Ankomah, Yaw, Dembélé Youssouf, Ampomah, Leopold, (2022). 20
Figure 3.1. Christiansburg Castle, Gold Coast (Ghana) (Ammitzbøll 2018)..... 45
Figure 3.2. Anglican Holy Trinity Cathedral Accra .jpg Created: 26 August 2006 59
Figure 3.3. The Anglican Church in Ghana (Jenkins,1974:.27) 61
Figure 3.4. Christian mission stations, Ghana 1752–1932(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018) 78
Figure 3.5. Illustration of three missionary society stations between 1932 to 2000(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018)..... 78
Figure 3.6. Annual evolution of the three main missionary societies in Ghana from 1847 to 1932.(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018) 79
Figure 4.1. Christmas celebration in Takoradi, Ghana 85
Figure 4.2. an overview of total facilities of the Christian Health Association of Ghana CHAG,2010 106
Figure 4.3. Facility ownership by denominations in Percentage CHAG,2010 107
Figure 4.4. Percentage Distribution of Staff on Government Payroll 107
Figure 4.5. Goods purchased by the RAC on the Gold Coast in the years 1725–1745. (Rönnbäck,2020:7)..... 111

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview of the Problem

Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson's empirical investigation on the colonial origins of comparative development(Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson,2001) has been extensively applied in various academic papers. Generally, their findings helped many researchers quantify the extent to which colonization and the institutions established by colonizers such as the missionary, slave trade, and forced labour in one way or other affected the development of African countries. The colonial missionaries are distinctive features in the colonial landscape of Africa. Therefore, their history, initiatives, and impacts merit study. There is no iota of doubt the activities and investments of these western Christian Missionary Societies which were part of the European colonial settlement that expanded throughout African countries mostly in the middle of the 19th century have also massively contributed towards the colonial expansion as well as the religious change in Africa. Even though "at the height of the imperial age church people liked to argue that religion and the British empire were inseparable – that the visible, commercial and political empire was woven into the fabric of another, invisible, country – a spiritual empire. But, then as now, historians and Politicians have not been convinced that the empire had significant religious roots" (Carey,2008:1). In recent years, the interpretation of the relationship between colonial imperialism and the missionary enterprise throughout the world has gone through different debates due to the modern wave of post-colonial and ethnographic studies. The first of these debates dealt with the relationship between Christian missionaries and Colonialism. The second debate discusses the nature of the relationship between British religion and British national identity and the inquiry into the growing appreciation that the British Empire was a cultural, economic, religious, and political construction. But despite the emergence of rich, contested historiography, there is still not much common ground between traditional and post-colonial approaches to imperial religious history. (Elbourne,2008; Carey ,2008:4). "Perhaps, one of the popular "strands of inquiry into the British Empire and the missionaries flows from the growing appreciation that the British Empire was as much a cultural as an economic and political construction" (Carey,2008) due to the long-run effects of the missionary

enterprise during the colonial period and in particular its persistent impact on contemporary societies. Our contributions to the debate focus on the perspective of British missionary enterprise in the British Gold Coast (Ghana) contexts. The vitality of British missionary history in Ghana is due to its linkages with major themes such as political, economic, social, religious history and development of the country. The British missionary enterprise, in particular, has contributed tremendously in determining the social, political, economic, and religious developments in Ghana. In other words, British Missionary societies have been part of Ghana's history since their inception and evangelization on the Gold Coast.

Christianity came to the Gold Coast's coastlines through the forts established by the Europeans. "The first Europeans arrived at the Gold Coast at the end of the fifteenth century when all Europe was under the Catholic Church. Pope Gregory IX through his famous Corpus Iuris Canonici (Slavery incorporated into canon law) divided the world between the Spaniards and the Portuguese and said nobody else should try to take any of the trade". (Ward,1943:55) This enabled the Portuguese to arrive at the Gold Coast under the sponsorship of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1471. The West African coastal region was already known to the Europeans as the main source of gold in the Muslim world via the Trans-Sahara trade. Moreover, from 1500 to 1600, several European countries, including England, Germany, France, and the Netherlands, abandoned Catholic Christian tradition and became protestants. As a result, they disobeyed the catholic Pope's instruction and began to travel to the Portuguese trading posts such as Elmina on the Gold Coast which has been occupied by the Portuguese for a long period. Therefore in the late 17th century into the early 18th century, many other European adventures were made on the Gold coast(Ghana). Firstly by Dutch, then the English, the Danish, and then other Europeans arrived in the coastal region of the Gold Coast. In 1553 the English embarked on their first voyage to West Africa and landed precisely on the Gold Coast through the guidance of a Portuguese captain Pintado, who knew the West African coastal region very well. "They visited the Gold Coast but avoided Elmina because they feared the Portuguese there. Next year, another English voyage led by captain John Lok visited the coast with three ships and traded at Shaina, cape coast, and eastward as far as Beraku". (Ward,1943:55)

Moreover, From the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a strong wave of evangelical spirit that emerged in Britain and other parts of Europe. This led

to the formation of religious or missionary societies whose members would go out to Africa and other lands to spread Christianity after centuries of exploration of African societies through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. However, by the turn of the Nineteenth Century, there was a systematic effort by the British missionaries, namely: Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts(SPG Anglican mission) and The Church Mission Society (C.M.S Anglican Mission), Basel Mission (Presbyterian mission), The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society), Catholic Mission,(From Britain), The Apostolic Church from England, The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) and The Worldwide evangelization crusade, etc. in Gold Coast. Also, "John Darwin's concept of the imperial 'bridgehead' underlines the important role of sub-imperial agents in the expansion of the British Empire. These agents could be colonial officials, settlers, the military, traders and, crucially, missionaries, who were often at the frontiers of British influence abroad. But after the early establishment of missionary organizations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, missionary work in the empire was largely carried out by so-called 'native missionaries', or what Peggy Brock terms 'new Christian evangelists".(Everill,2012:789-790) These native African missionaries or new Christian evangelists mostly from British colonies in America also contributed to the expansion and influence of the British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast and the contemporary Ghanaian society. Some of these converted African missionaries were sent back to West Africa as missionaries to aid the spread and influence of Christianity on the Gold Coast. Some native African missionary societies or new Christian evangelical societies in Gold Coast (Ghana) are the African Methodist Episcopal Zion mission, the General missionary convention (Triennial Convention), The Christian Methodist Episcopal mission, etc. all from the United States of America. The activities and initiatives of both British missionary societies and that of the native African missionaries or new Christian evangelists in Gold Coast led to the tremendous conversions of the indigenous Ghanaians mainly from the African traditional religion to the different versions of western Christianity. As a result, these western Christian religious beliefs, practices, teachings, social services, etc. impacted the religious, cultural, political, economic, moral, and social lives in the traditional Ghanaian societies. These impacts of British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast have persisted and continuously influence contemporary Ghanaian society. While it has brought some benefits, it has also in no doubt contributed to the many challenges

facing contemporary Ghanaian society. This thesis will not only provide historical in-depth but also, it will illustrate the enduring nature of British missionary impact in Ghana. Moreover, the Ghanaian experience of Christianity has been acquired in the wider context of colonialism, nation-building, and underdevelopment. Therefore, the missiological roots of the concept of political religion in the context of British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and how the British missionary impacted the Ghanaian society through colonialism, education, secularization, development and nation-building will also be examined in this research.

There is no doubt the Ghanaian Cultural contacts with the West were led by the missionary societies mostly from Britain. This cultural contact via the British missionary institutions transformed the Ghanaian societies. The consequences of British missionary activities were manifold. Even though Missionary education in Africa has generated a great deal of debate, there is no doubt on the Gold Coast; mission schools grew out of the desire to spread Christianity. Conversion and education or training went hand in hand at the same period. The primary goal of all British mission societies in the Gold Coast and other parts of Africa was the winning of converts and therefore the religious emphasis was common to all mission schools in the Gold Coast. It is, therefore, a historical fact that Ghana was evangelized through colonial machinery. But this research is not specifically on the missionaries as the imperialist co-conspirators or heroic antiracists in Ghana's history but focuses specifically on the general impact of the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast and contemporary Ghana. With a critical study of the history of a British missionary enterprise and their initiatives in the Gold Coast during the colonial and post-colonial periods, we will, therefore, be able to investigate, analyze and characterize the general impact of the British missionary enterprise in Ghana.

1.2. Purpose of the Research

The Objectives for undertaking this research are to (1) Identify the relationship between British missionary societies and the British imperial influence in the Gold Coast (Ghana.) (2) Evaluate the British missionary enterprise and the concept of religious, educational, political,health-care impacts on the Gold Coast (Ghana.) (3) Evaluate the British Missionary enterprise and the concepts of nation-building,

Secularization, and development in Ghana. (4) Evaluate the British missionary societies' Relations with Islam and Traditional African Religions on the Gold Coast. (Ghana)

1.3. The research questions

Historians mostly debate on the relation between missionaries and the colonial occupation in Africa and Ghana is not an exception. To examine the complexity and multifaceted interaction between British imperialism and missionary societies and its resulting impacts on contemporary Ghanaian society, this study addresses the following questions.

My main research question is to explore the history, development, and impact of the British Missionary enterprise in Ghana. To clarify my research further, I have tried to find answers to the following questions: (1) What was the relationship between British imperialism, and the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast? (2) What is the relationship between the British Missionary enterprise and the concepts of nation-building, Secularization, and development in Ghana? (3) What is the British political-religious attitude towards Muslims and the indigenous African religions within the context of British missionary activity and church policy? (4) What are the British missionary responses toward the new religious paradigm in Ghana?

1.4. Limitations

Gareth Austin's work entitled The 'reversal of fortune 'thesis and the compression of history: Perspectives from African and comparative economic history indicated that; "Compressing different historical periods and countries into one regression framework may complicate our understanding of particular contexts and over-simplifies the various causal mechanisms of missionary influence on African long-term development''.(Austin,2008, p.996-1027) From Gareth Austin's theory on historical time and space, compressing the 19th-century missionary activities in entire sub-Saharan Africa may complicate and oversimplify our understanding of particular contexts. Therefore, this research is to study the various mechanisms and long-term developmental impact of specifically the 19th-century British missionary enterprise on only Ghana through their numerous investments and activities, amongst which were education, health

care, printing, etc. From the aforementioned, geographically this study will focus on the part of the region that used to be known as the Bilad Sudan by the Arab traders before Europeans emerged in the region. The early Europeans also referred to the region as the part of the lower Volta Basin during the pre-colonial period before they named the region the Gold Coast during the colonial period and Ghana after independence. Chronologically, though the study focuses mostly on the nineteenth to the early twenty-first century, 15th century to contemporary Ghana is chosen as the focus of this study for the following reasons:

On January 19th1482, a large Portuguese fleet led by Captain Don Diego d Azambuja, which had everything necessary for building a fort: stones already cut and shaped only to be fitted together, timber, guns, and provisions on board anchored off Elmina, Gold Coast (Ward,1935:53). This marked the first contact the Ghanaian society had with the Europeans. Furthermore, W.E. Ward's work entitled; A Short History of the Gold Coast published in 1943 indicated that in 1553 the first English voyage to West Africa and precisely Gold Coast was made by captain Windham through the guidance of a Portuguese captain named Pinteado."This English voyage visited the Gold Coast but avoided Elmina which was occupied by the Portuguese. In the following year, another English voyage led by Captain John Lok visited the Gold Coast with three ships and traded at Shaina, cape coast, and eastward as far as Beraku"(Ward,1935:53). Therefore, the English voyages in 1553 and 1554 to Gold Coast marked the first contact between the people of the Gold Coast and the British. From 1780 to 1914 is also well documented as the era of British colonial expansion in Africa and other territories in the world. "In the era, Britain's varied protestant communities led the way throughout in the global expansion of Christian missionary enterprise and church extension, intended not only to salvage expatriate souls and to convert or evangelize the heathen but to check the spreading corruptions of Roman Catholicism and Islam International conflict, major social and political transformations, the creation of empires on an immense scale, were threaded through with religious strife, upheld by religious institutions, stimulated and embittered by the widespread and explicit intention to inculcate in different peoples many dominant British beliefs". (Porter,1992).

In the context of the Gold Coast, the root of British missionary enterprise can be traced back as early as 1553, when the king of England, Charles II gave the right of trading

from Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope to a company called The Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa. “He forbade anyone from trading on the West African coast except this company. The company promised to send 3,000 slaves annually to America and also to keep forts or Lodges at Cape Coast, Kommemd, Anashan, Egya, Kormantine, Winneba, and Accra.” (Ward,1780:64) When the British took over the forts and castles around African coasts in 1720, the Royal African Company (RAC) requested the Society for the propagation of the Gospel (SPG), Church of England (Anglican) missionary society to send missionaries to their trading stations of which Cape Coast was the center between 1752 and 1824. In 1751, Thomas Thompson who was appointed as a missionary to serve the Negroes in Africa finally ends as a missionary in Gold Coast (now Ghana) in the year 1752. Also, on the 1st of January 1835 during the era of Charles McCarthy as the British governor in Gold Coast, The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society) sent Joseph Rhodes Dunwell to Gold coast. Other missionaries such were Rev. & Mrs George Wrigley and Rev. & Mrs Peter Harrop was also sent to Gold Coast after Rhodes Dunwell. Moreover, Catholics Missionary in Gold coast was also revived by Sir James Marshall, a British Anglican clergyman who converted to Roman Catholicism and became Chief Justice of the British Gold Coast colony, James Marshall wrote several letters to Britain to solicit support for a Catholic missionary in the region he describes as providing a safe environment and were administered by a government favourable to missionaries of all denominations. The Apostolic Church Bradford Missionary (Apostolic, Christ Apostolic, and Pentecostal Churches in Ghana) In 1911, William Oliver Hutchinson founded the Apostolic Faith Church denomination, in Bournemouth, England. The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) The Salvation Army was founded in London's East End in 1865 by one-time Methodist Reform Church minister William Booth and his wife Catherine Booth as the London Christian Mission. The Salvation Army was also officially introduced into the Gold Coast on 23rd August 1922 by King Hudson known natively as Amoako Atta.

Moreover, From the United State of America, the act of discrimination in the Methodist Church of New York United States also led to the formation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches. These African Methodist Episcopal Missions also helps aid the spread of Christianity in Ghana. The previous discussions have

shown that with a critical study of the history and initiatives of both the missionary societies from Britain and that of the native African missionaries (new Christian evangelists) from other British colonies, the findings of this research can be used to characterize the general impact of the British missionary enterprise on Gold Coast (Ghana).

1.5. Literature Review

The traditionally understood dichotomy of missionaries in Africa and other parts of the world is either as imperialist conspirators by secular-minded historians or heroic antiracists by the church historians and biographers. As result, several kinds of literature that explores the long-term effects of historical missionary presence in Africa and other parts of the world have emerged in recent years. One thing agreed upon by these pieces of literature is that the missionary activities in colonial Africa were very substantial and continues to affect Africa's education, politics, economics and social developments. In this research we literary studied, assessed and analysed the available literature concerning the history and initiatives of British missionaries and how they impacted the Gold Coast region which is later to be called Ghana. This research probes broader literature in the field of British missionary enterprise and British imperial or colonial history. Two categories of literature were reviewed. The first category is the scholarly works that focus on the history and theories of the entire British missionary enterprise. The second category of literature looks at the historical background and impact of the British Missionary societies only in the Gold Coast (Ghana)

Scholarly works reviewed under the history of British missionary enterprise include Brian Stanley's book *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Stanley,2014)**.** This book explores the detailed historical background and the influence of the European Enlightenment on the beliefs and practices of the Protestant missionaries who went to Africa and other parts of the world. The book examines topics such as the modern missionary movements, the relationship between civilization and conversion, enlightenment, and education in British colonies. The book will help us to clarify the background of the British missionary enterprise in the mid-eighteenth century.

Another important piece of literature is *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*

(Stanley,1990) by Brian Stanley. In this book, the British historian examined the relationship between British missionary enterprise and British imperialism. Stanley contented that; the missionaries were the agents of European imperialism. He analyses and describes the recent scholarships on imperialism as well as the terminologies associated with the concept of imperialism such as dependency, neo-colonialism, liberation, third World theologies, and missionary moratorium as vague and imprecise. This book describes Christian missions as an important force of cultural transformation in the modern world as a reality that no one will deny.

This same debate is also taken up by Andrew Porter's *'Cultural imperialism' and protestant missionary enterprise, 1780–1914***.** (Porter,1997) In this book, Andrew Porter considered the problems of defining imperialism and the various approaches used in analysing the concept of imperialism. *Andrew Porter* criticizes some particular explanations of European imperialism and introduces some of the new directions in research and inquiry currently being explored by researchers in the field of Christian mission history and thought under the complex historiographical literature surrounding the subject of European imperialism. He surveyed the growth of European imperialism between 1860 and 1914.

Moreover, another literature by Andrew Porter which Porter Studies the History of Christian Missions entitled**,** *the imperial horizons of British Protestant missions, 1880–1914* (Porter,2003). This is also significant to this research. Written by acknowledged experts, Andrew Porter paid attention to the intricate and complex relationship between the Christian missionary activities and the rapid political and social changes of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The book examined the role of the British Empire as an arena for Christian expansion, the international politics of the missionary societies or movements, missionary strategies, and the transfer of Western education. From the aforementioned works of Professor Andrew Porter, we can conclude that the distinguishing feature of his contribution on the complex subject of British missionary enterprise and the imperial horizons of the British empire is that he examined 'imperialism', as a process of increasing contact, influence and control, rather than as the nature and consequences of British colonial rule.

Another piece of literature on mission and empire that fits by extension on the work of scholars such as Brian Stanley and Andrew Porter is the Study of John

H. Darch on Christian History and thought *entitled Missionary Imperialists? Missionaries, Government and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860–1885*. (Darch,2OO9). The book focuses on British missions in the mid-Victorian period, one less studied by historians than its successor, the period of high imperialism and the peak of missionary expansion in the late Victorian decades. (Strong:2012). It provides us with a vital understanding of the relationship between British missionary societies and British imperialism in the tropics. The study of John H. Darch centred on the contests of imperial policies and the role of missionaries in influencing these policies. Darch reflect on how the missionaries and imperialists were largely acting for each other in British colonies. Allan Davidson in his review of Darch‘s work discovered that John Darch has drawn particular attention to the role played by missionary intermediaries and supporters in Britain who were informed through their direct links with missionaries. Henry Venn, the Christian missionary society clerical secretary, receives deserved attention. Venn was the leading British missionary theorist of his age. Through his contacts both in England and with the missionaries, Venn was in touch with what was happening on "the mission field" and able to interact with politicians and business leaders in advocating for indigenous rights and missionary interests. (Davidson,2009)

Darch examined six British missionary societies; they are the High Church Anglican missions, the missions of the Church Missionary Society the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the (Presbyterian) New Hebrides Mission. The connecting link between the six studies is found to be that they were all missions that came under the examination of the British government through the Colonial or the Foreign Office during this period. So, the case studies can offer insights into the connections between missions and the expansion of British imperial influence which is the subject of the book." *Missionary Imperialists? Missionaries, Government and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860-1885"*. (Strong,2012) This book has an enormous contribution towards investigating the complex and multi-faced relationship between British missionary societies and imperialism in Britain and on the Gold Coast.

Rowan Strong's *Anglicanism and the British Empire1829–c.1914* (Strong,2017) is also another important piece of literature for this research. Rowan Strong put much emphasis on some fundamental themes in the British Empire. According to Rowan,

the Anglican missionary societies like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) provided an imperial justification for British imperialism in British colonies. Rowan Strong examines how the British Christians' understanding of the British Empire shaped the identities of both English in Britain and the people living in British colonies such as North America, Bengal, Australia, and New Zealand and Negro slaves (Africans). Rowan's work explores the theory of British imperialism which according to him was integrally connected to British religion (Protestant Christianity).

Another important piece of literature by Rowan Strong is *Anglicanism and the British Empire c. 1700–1850.*(Strong,2007b) Rowan Strong demonstrated in this that British imperialism was integrally connected to British religion. Rowan Strong examined the origin, development, elements, and impact of British public religious discourse on British Empires between 1700 and c.1850. The 18th century British Anglican religious understanding about the empire went on to shape later Protestant Evangelical imperial attitudes of British missionary societies such as the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G) in British Colonies. Rowan's main emphasis in this book is that both the old and the new British religious (Anglican) imperial paradigms developed a religious and theological imperial discourse that constructed the identities of colonized peoples and the British colonists**.**

In contrast, William Carey's assertion in his book entitled *An Enquiry Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens* provides as with a Christen religious argument to justify the need for British missionary endeavours among the heathens. The author of this book has a strong relationship with the British protestant missionary expansion in the nineteenth century. This book led directly to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society and was to inspire Christian missionaries for generations to follow. Carey considered the religious State of the different nations of the Christian World. He explained how Success was achieved through Conversion into Christianity and the practicability of further Undertakings among the heathens. The strength of Carey's work is that Carey propagated the ideology that it was God's will to use the Christians in England to the immense need for Christianization of the heathens in the British Colonies. This text provides some religious arguments which attempt to justify missionary work. Carey forcefully argued based on Christian religious conviction for the need to send a missionary to evangelize

and civilize the people he described as heathens. This book broadens our knowledge about the history and ideology behind British missionary enterprises in British Colonies such as the Gold Coast. It brings out an understanding of the various motives that inspire people to participate in the missionary enterprise abroad.

Another important piece of literature used in this paper is *the British Missionary Enterprise since" 1700* (Cox,2008). Jeffrey Cox provided some contemporary ways of thinking and analysing the history of British missionary activities and initiatives. The author used a series of statistical tables to demonstrate how the British have sent, and continue to send more missionaries around the globe. The text highlights the complications and tensions associated with attempts to convert the indigenous people in Africa and other parts of the world into Christianity. Jeffrey Cox viewed the missionaries as institution builders rather than imperialists or heroes of social reform. He also examines the impact made by the British missions abroad as well as evaluating the initiatives by African and other indigenous converted Christians in British colonies. Moreover, Jeffrey Cox also examines the relationship between British missions and those from other predominantly Protestant countries such as the United States. Therefore, this book will help us to understand the crucial topic of the important relationship between religion in Britain and the British Empire since 1700.

The second category of literature which directly or indirectly examines the historical background and the activities of British Missionary societies in the Gold Coast are the following:

Christian missions and colonial rule in Africa: Objectives and contemporary Analysis by Etim E. Okon**.** *(*Okon, 2014) The paper determines the general correlation between the nineteenth-century missionary enterprise and colonial occupation in Africa. The author analyses the predetermined objective of colonialism with missions activities in Africa. He explained how Christian missions in nineteenth-century Africa acted as a positive social force with tremendous vitality for the extension of European civilization to Africa. In this paper, the author tried to justify missionary collaboration with the colonial powers in Africa by looking at the impossibility of missionaries having the resources needed to carry out their work without the intervention of the colonial powers. And this cooperation made the missionaries the main mobile of civilization, development and progress in Africa. According to Heather Sharkey, the real impact of the activities of the missionaries is still a topic open to debate in

academia today. Sharkey asserted that the missionaries played manifold roles in colonial Africa and stimulated forms of cultural, political and religious change." (Sharkey,2013)."Historians still debate the nature of their impact and question their relationship to the system of European colonialism in the continent." She noted that the missionaries did great good in Africa, providing crucial social services such as modern education and health care that would have otherwise not been available. Sharkey said that, in societies that were traditionally male-dominated, female missionaries provided women in Africa with health care knowledge and basic education (Khan,2002)

Clarke Peter *West Africa, and Christianity: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century (1982*). (Clarke,1982*)* This book is organized chronologically, from 1445 up to the contemporary independent West African states. Peter Clark's discussions in this book examined the history, development, and modes of Christian missionary conversion in the entire West African sub-region. He focused on Horton's 'African conversion' thesis, of whether Christianity 'added anything substantially new to indigenous African religious ideas on issues such as belief in the Supreme, etc. ideas.

Another important piece of literature is Viera Pawlikova's *Christian missionary enterprise in Africa, a synonym for cultural imperialism?"* (Pawlikova, 2002). This paper focused on the connection between Christian missions and cultural imperialism in Africa. *"*He contended that the missionary enterprise was not just a theological enterprise but also was extremely part of the European involvement in Africa and also shared the General Western negative image of Africans as inherently ignorant, savage, and inferior to Europeans. The missionary movement represented the first and most important facet of western contact. Christianity provided access to a civilization and culture pattern which was bound to conquer African societies by sheer virtue of technological superiority". (Pawlikova,2002)

Patrick Enoch Kanayo, and Nwadialor Louis**:** *Patterns of missionary expansion enterprise in Africa: A reflection* (Kanya and Louis, 2016) also described the missionary expansion enterprise in Africa as all the efforts made by the western Christian Missionaries to consciously convert the African people and spread Christian civilization. The paper examined the various platforms of the Christian missionary expansion enterprise in Africa. The Findings of this research paper

showed that through the missionary support for colonialism, colonial aggression, Christian values, and mission education, the missionaries were able to arouse the consciousness of nationalism among Africans.

Moreover, one of the first pieces of literature on the history of Gold Coat is authored by W. E. Ward entitled: *A short history of Gold Coast*. (Ward, 1935). This book tells the story of a British territory called Gold Coast and ends with the attainment of independence on 5th March 1957. This book seems to be an entirely political history of all the ethnic groups, wars, treaties, and the rise and fall of the states that came under the control of the British Gold coast in west Africa.

Another material viewed by the researcher as an important resource for this work is a book by Richard Foli *entitled Christianity in Ghana: a comparative church growth (*Foli, 2006). The book described the history, topology, membership trends, and the growth of missionary related churches in Ghana. Some of these missionary societies from Britain are the English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society, Basel Mission (Presbyterian Church) Gold Coast 1894-1904(from London), Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts (SPG Anglican Church), Catholics (British aided Catholic) Missionary, Apostolic Church from England and the Christ Apostolic Church in Gold coast, worldwide evangelization crusade, etc. Also, the book examined the history of Black American missionaries on the Gold coast.t some of these British protestant related missionaries from the United State are the Methodist Episcopal mission and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Mission, etc.

Meanwhile, some of the literature dealt specifically with some peculiar British missionary Societies in Ghana. An example is "John Samuel Pobee, *an Anglican theologian from Ghana's book an invitation to be African Anglican"* (Pobee, 2000). The author introduces the beginnings of the British missionary societies such as the Society for the propagation of the gospel and Christian missionary society which resulted in the Anglican Church in the Gold Coast, now Ghana. John Samuel Pobee encouraged the Ghanaian Anglicans to indigenize the Anglican tradition so that it will be meaningful and relevant to the Ghanaian culture because Ghanaians are different from the English.

Another material by John Samuel Pobee viewed by the researcher as an important resource for this work is the book *The Anglican Story in Ghana: from Mission Beginnings to Province of Ghana* (Pobee,2006*)* This book is considered by many to be the only full work on Ghanaian Anglicanism. It is a historical account that features insights into the history, evangelization and missionary activities of the various Anglican Churches in Ghana. He also discussed the Anglican contribution to education in Ghana. John Samuel Pobee's book hinted at the fact that there are other stories about Anglicanism in Ghana yet to be told. He could not research the other stories due to his Anglican ideological background and therefore he is leaving that to the new emerging researchers. Is our aim that this research will go into some of these untold Anglican stories in Ghana.

Another important work is Kwasi Aboagye-Mensah's *"The world our parish": Christian mission and the Wesleyan heritage in a Ghanaian context*. (Mensah*,* 2009) This paper is one of the previous research projects that demonstrated the history, modes of conversion, social and religious impact of Methodism on the Gold coast. Kwasi Aboagye-Mensah made mentioned how William de Graft played an instrumental role in the sending of the first Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society from London to Ghana, then called Gold Coast. The British Methodist missionary society sent their first missionary, Joseph Dunwell to Gold Coast on January 1, 1835. between the period 1852–1900, The Methodist missionary saw rapid expansion in the conversion of the indigenous Ghanaians to the Wesleyan Christian tradition due to their usage of indigenous converts and evangelists. Kwasi Aboagye-Mensah also demonstrated how the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has significantly impacted Ghanaian society in the early era of their presence."From a modest number of 31 schools in 1856, the MCG now has about 865 primary and middle schools which the church was managing in 1960. In 2007 the MCG recorded 744 kindergartens, 1,042 primary schools, 519 junior high schools, 26 senior high schools (including 5 private ones), 22-second cycle vocational and technical institutions, 3 teacher training colleges, and one University College. The church also has 2 hospitals and 16 clinics." (Mensah,200: 60)

This research will build on some of the earlier works on British missionary enterprise and colonial government in British Colonies. It takes a two-way approach as it looks at the general context of British missionary enterprise as well as the impact

of the missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast (Ghana). This approach ensures a re-evaluation of the British missionary enterprise as well as how the missionary enterprise impacted and transformed Ghanaian society. Therefore, the interaction between British colonialism and missionary enterprise specifically in the British Gold coast colony as well as its resulting impact on contemporary Ghanaian society is surveyed in this research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SITUATION OF VOLTA BASIN AND THE EARLY EUROPEAN CONTACT

2.1. Introduction

Geographically, Modem Ghana was previously referred to by a progression of colonial masters as Gold Coast. It was carved out from the region known as the Lower Volta Basin during the pre-colonial era. The lower Volta basin ambit traditional kingdoms of Mamprusi, Gonja, Dagbon and Wala, as well as the Ashanti empires. These kingdoms before Christianity consciously or unconsciously identify themselves with one religious tradition or the other. Nevertheless, the importance of religion in these pre-colonial societies does not only lie in its demographic distribution but also its private and public lives. Therefore, religion in the pre-colonial Ghanaian societies is not just important because of the number of indigenous people who claim religious adherence but also because of its intense manifestation in the daily lives of the native people and the extent it impacts their ideas. Moreover, the ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity of Ghana is one of the most prominent features of its social and cultural structure. It may be difficult to state in exact terms the number of indigenous ethnic groups in Ghana before Christianity "However, recent classifications divide the people into eight major ethnic groupings and other smaller tribes. The eight are the Akan, the Ewe, the Ga-Adangme, the Guan, the Gurma, the Grusi, the Mande-Busanga and the Mole-Dagbani. Each of these major groups has several sub-groups, marked by sub-linguistic differences. While the traditional settlements of the Akan, Ewe and Ga-Adangme groups are found mainly in the middle and southern parts of the country, the Guans are found scattered across the country. The Mole Dagbani, the Gurma and the Grusi and mande-Busanga groups are found mainly in the northern parts". (Atiemo,2010: 3) The various ethnic groups and their sub-groups like the Akan and the Mfantse are also marked by some local variations in terms of language, social and religious or spiritual lives; yet there is considerable religious uniformity in the spirituality of one ethnic group and another. Therefore, we shall refer to all these ethnic spiritualties or religious beliefs as indigenous or Traditional religions in Ghana.

On the other hand, the historical study of Islam in Ghana and West Africa at large until recent times was primarily focused on the western and central Sudan. As often cited by J. S. Trimingham “The Guinea States in the south lie outside our sphere since they were not in contact with the Sudan states and were uninfluenced by Islam. "Trimingham's conclusion paralleled those of early twentieth-century French and English scholars who dealt with the issue of Islam in West Africa (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah,1989:325-339). Furthermore, according to Raymond A. Silverman and David Owusu-Ansah, “two factors explain the focus of these scholars on the western and central Sudan. First, the better known Islamic-influenced kingdoms of Ghana (Ancient Ghana), Mali, Songhai, and Kanem-Bornu were all located in this region. Moreover, the pre-colonial Islamic states of western Sudan, in particular, presented the greatest problem to both the French and the British during the early periods of the colonial era. Therefore, the focus on this area may have been motivated by the desire of these western writers to understand the Islamic factor in the region. Whatever the motivation of writers like Marty, Palmer, and their associates was, Trimingham was wrong to conclude that "the Guinea States" (i.e., the peoples living in the coastal forest belt) like Ghana were "uninfluenced by Islam” (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah,1989: 325-339). Scholars like Ivor Wilks and John Hunwick have written on the typographical status of Islam in Ghana. Hunwick was able to comment extensively on studies done on the history of Islam in modern Ghana. This indicates that Islam emerged in a very short period in the northern and interior regions before or at the same period Christianity started to emerge in the coastal regions. Therefore, before and after the emergence of Christianity in Ghana, the region has been a heterogenic society with many religious beliefs and systems. Religion was an important phenomenon in almost all the varieties of indigenous native kingdoms which formed modern Ghana as it affects every segment of the pre-colonial native societies. African (indigenous) traditional spiritualties and Islam made up the two main religious traditions in the lower part of the Volta basin before Christianity. Islam emerged in a very short period in the northern and interior regions before or at the same period Christianity started to emerge in the coastal region of the lower Volta basin. This chapter is an attempt to trace the religious situation in Ghana before the emergence of Christianity. We shall also access how these religious traditions have been coexisting and influencing the social, political and economic history of the Ghanaian Society before Christianity.

Furthermore, many European nations were on the entire coast of West Africa during the 15th-19th Centuries. These include the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, French, British and 'Brandenberger's' (Prussians). Their presence eventually led to the colonization of the various tribes occupying the entire region before the arrival of the Europeans. These Europeans had trading settlements on the Gold coast for more than five hundred years**.** In most times, almost all the powerful European nations at the time such as the Portuguese, the British, the Dutch, the Danes France etc. were on the Gold coast together, battling each other for trade and seeing each other as interlopers. As stated earlier, The Gold coast geographically spans from Newtown in the west to Aflao on the east and includes the portion of the Slave Coast on the east of the Volta River as well as the Ashanti Empire and portions of the Southern Soudan known as the Northern territories. The natives of the Gold Coast at this time are described by look as follows; "Their Princes and Noblemen pounce and raise their Skins in diverse Figures, like flowered Damask. And although they go in a Manner all naked, yet many of them, especially their Women, are, as it were, laden with Collars, Bracelets, Hoops and Chains, either of Gold, Copper or Ivory. Some wear one on each Arm and Leg, where they are often so gaoled, as to become in a Manner lame; yet they will by no means leave them off. Some wear also on their Legs, great Shackles of bright Copper; which they think to be no less comely. They likewise make use of Collars, Bracelets, Garlands and Girdles of certain blue Stones like Beads.' Some of their Women wear on their bare Arms, certain Fore-sleeves, made of Plates of beaten Gold; and on their Fingers, Rings of Gold Wire, with a Knot or Wreath, like that which Children make in Rush Rings. Among other Things of Gold, which the English had in Exchange, were certain Chains and Collars and Chains for Dogs. They are very wary in bargaining, and will not lose the least Spark of Gold. They have Weights and Measures and are very circumspect in them. Whoever would deal with them must behave civilly, for they will not traffic if they are ill-used. (Claridge,1915:64)The Europeans' arrival in the Coastal region of the Lower Volta Basin had a considerable impact on the indigenous social, religious, economic and political structures from the very beginning. The complex relationship between European economic, religious (missionary) forces of transformation and its impact on the social-political and religious atmosphere of the entire West African region is clear. This chapter attempts to x-ray the aspects of the religious situation in the history of Ghana through the Islamic and traditional religious traditions before the emergence of British missionary societies. Therefore, the focus

in this chapter shall be on the following; The Lower Volta Basin (Gold coast, Ghana), Traditional African Religion in the Lower part of the Volta Basin, Islam in the Lower part of the Lower Volta Basin, Co-existence between Islam and Traditional African Religion in the Lower Volta Basin, The Portuguese Adventurers, The Dutch Conquerors, The Danish traders and The British Colonialists and Missionary societies.

2.2. The Volta Basin (Gold Coast)

"The Volta Basin is located in West Africa and covers around 400.000 km² of the sub-humid and semi-arid savannah zone. The basin encompasses the majority of Ghana (70% of land area) and Burkina Faso (63%) and lesser proportions of Togo, Benin, Mali and Cote d'Ivoire, respectively. The Climate is influenced by the movement of the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ). The average rainfall lies around 1000 mm/yr with a strong north-south gradient and regional and temporal variability". (Wolfram and Youkhana 2006, p.5)

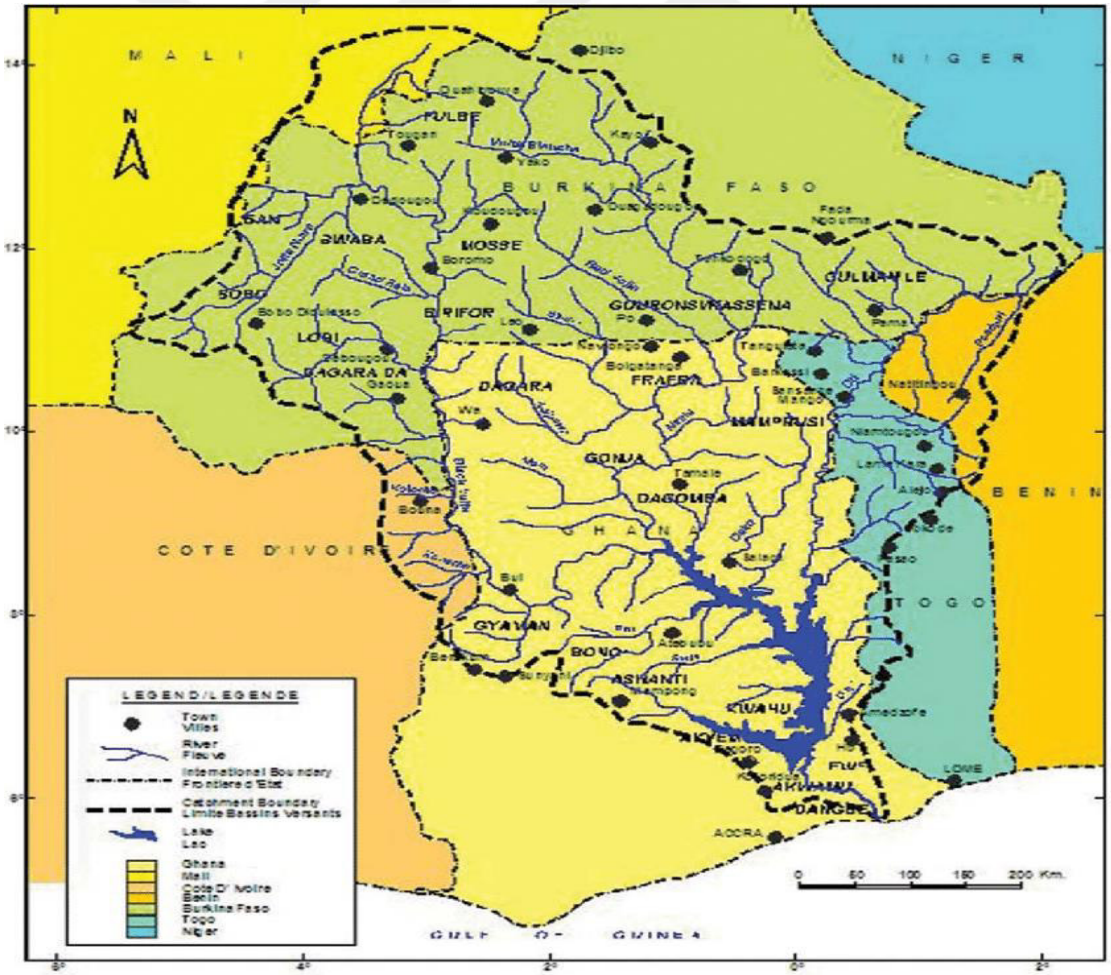

Figure 2.1. Map of the Volta Basin showing Ethnic Groups (Ankomah, Yaw, Dembélé Youssouf, Ampomah, Leopold, (2022).

Before we digest into the socio-political, cultural and religious contexts of the region later to be referred to as the Gold Coast and Ghana progressively, we have to point out that before colonial rule; there was no Country in the region called Gold Coast or Ghana. These two names emerged during the colonial and postcolonial periods respectively.Therefore, to fully appreciate the colonial and postcolonial socio-political, cultural and religious terrain in the region, there is the need to study the pre-colonial socio-political, cultural and religious situation in the region before the British and other western Christian missionaries arrived. Therefore, when the name Ghana or Gold Coast is mentioned, we must take note of the fact that until the white men came and began ruling over the land of West Africa, there was not any country called Gold Coast or republic of Ghana in the region. The region was then referred to as part of the Bilad Sudan or the Lower Volta Basin**.** Therefore, if we want to study the history of the Gold Coast or Ghana, there is the need to study the socio-political, cultural and religious history of the various African states that lived in the land before the white men emerged. Moreover, the archives left by the Europeans on the part of the Bilad Sudan or the Lower Volta Basin later to be called Gold Coast began during the latter part of the fourteenth century. The European Colonialists could not have many historical records about the origin of indigenous people they met on the Gold Coast. The few available historical documentation that has been handed down up to the emergence of the Europeans in the region was exclusively from oral traditional sources. Moreover, also archaeologists have found out that the coastal region of the Gold Coast has been occupied even before the 6th century. whiles the interior and northern regions were also occupied even as 400 years ago. According to some oral historical narratives, the region was first settled around the 10th century. But later the region witnessed a lot of migrations from the northern and eastern parts of the region."Foremost among these tribes were the Ashantis and the Fantis.At this period, branches of the same family who are reported to have settled in the countries around the Kong Mountains, a district then known to the Arab traders as Wangara''.(George,1898:3)Before the European emerged and began ruling over the West African sub-region, there was no country called Gold Coast (modern Ghana). The region later to be called Gold Coast was then made up of different separate indigenous states. Therefore, to understand the history of the Gold Coast and modern Ghana, there is the need to study and understand the

history and structure of these indigenous Kingdoms in the region before the coming of the Europeans.According to Bourret, “the population of West Africa, then, can be divided roughly into two great groups-the pure Negro of the forest area and the Negroid type of Sudan. In the Gold Coast, we find this same division the Akan, Ewe, and Ga speaking peoples of the south are Negroes, whereas the Moshi-Dagomba-speaking groups in the Northern Territories are Negroid. There are, of course, areas where the two types have intermingled and characteristics are less clear-cut”. (Bourret,1949: 11) Historians agreed on the fact that most of the ethnic groups in the region later to constitute the population of Gold Coast and even modern Ghana had already settled in their present locations before the arrival of the European. Even though some Oral history and other sources suggest that the ancestors of these ancient residents in the Lower part of the Volta Basin (Gold coast, Ghana) entered and settled in the region as early as the 10th century but the fact is that, the exact time of arrival of most of the ethnic groups is still debatable. Some of these early ethnic groups in the region include the Asantes, Fantes, Gas, Guans, Kyerepons etc. Traditions on the early history of the region hold that the Akans were the first group to migrate into the region later to be called Gold Coast. “The Akans can be categorised into two different categories, the Twi-Fanti group found on the coast as well as in the forest area, and the Twi-Guang groups who settled on the plains of the Volta later in the twentieth century, the Fanti Akan tribes along the coast became the middlemen in between the European merchants and the Twi Guang tribes of hinterland also becoming largely influential in the development of the cocoa industry in the region. This was also followed by migration to the northern and eastern parts of the Gold coast. The second group to descend upon the Gold Coast were probably members of the Moshi (Mossi and even Mole) kingdom to the direct north “(Bourret,1949: 12). Most of the prominent among these Sudanic Muslim migrants were the Soninke and Mande tribes from the Ancient Ghana empire (300 until 1100). Ancient Ghana (Wagadou) was one of the greatest African empires. It was located in the area of modern-day south-eastern Mauritania and western Mali. These Muslim tribes established themselves in the region and later became rulers of the Northern Territories and parts of the Volta Togoland in the Gold Coast. They established several kingdoms, principally among them is the Mamprussi with its capital at Gambaga and the Dagomba with its capital at Yendi. These Kingdoms were ruled by great men believed to have migrated from Western Sudan. These migrations resulted in the formation and disintegration of

different large Kingdoms in the northern part of the Gold coast as far back as the fifteenth century.

Moreover, the early Islamic reformation movement in West Africa led by Sheikh Usman dan Fodio in 1804 also had a significant influence on the entire West Africa sub-region and Gold Coast was not an exception. The reform of Sheikh Usman dan Fodio facilitated the spread of both Hausa and Fulani tribes in the Gold Coast for trade and the teaching of the Sunni version of Islam characterised by quite strict adherence to the Quran and the teachings of Prophet Mohammed (S, A, W). Bourret, Florence Mabel referred to these people as the "Negroes of Hausa and Fulani stock, usually, Mohammedan (Muslims) in name at least, are found scattered throughout the towns and along the trade routes of the Dependency and are almost invariably engaged in commercial undertakings" (Bourret,1949:31) in the region. The trans-Saharan trade also greatly contributed to the expansion of contacts between the tribes of Western Sudan and the Lower part of the Volta Basin. The trade between the northern and southern kingdoms stimulated the development and strength of the Akan-speaking tribes located on the trade route from the north to the forest zone in the south. Muslims also played a significant role in the trade route that linked southern with northern parts of the region. These Muslims possess skills such as writing (in Arabic) as well as medicine. Therefore, the Kings of various kingdoms in the region usually used the Muslims as scribes and medicine men. As a result of these interactions, certain beliefs and practices of the Muslims became part of the culture of the peoples among whom they settled.

Before the mid-seventeenth century, the Asante had begun to expand their territories under different Asante leaders. "This led to the Asante's domination of the surrounding tribes and also the formation of the most powerful of the states in the centre of the forest zone. Under Chief Oti Akenten (r. ca. 1630-60), a series of successful military operations against neighbouring Akan states brought a larger surrounding territory into an alliance with Asante. At the end of the seventeenth century, Osei Tutu (d. 1712 or 1717) became Asante Hene (king of Asante). Under Osei Tutu's rule, the confederacy of Asante states was transformed into an empire with its capital at Kumasi. Political and military consolidation ensued, resulting in firmly established centralized authority" (Berry,1994) Asante became a very organized and powerful state as compared to other tribes. During the reign of Opoku

Ware I (d. 1750), Asante won many wars against other tribes to expand their territories. These wars brought the northern states such as Mamprusi, Dagomba, and Gonja under the influence of the Asante kingdom. By the 1820s, the Asante have also extended their boundaries towards the southern part of the region. Expansion towards the south brought the Asante into contact with the coastal tribes like the Fante, Ga-Adangbe, Ewe as well as with the various European merchants in fortresses along the Coast.

Furthermore, it is important to note that, all the indigenous kingdoms in the lower part of the Volta Basin were consciously or unconsciously identifying themselves with one religious tradition or the other. Religion was an important aspect of the social, economic and political structure of the region. Islamic and traditional African religious beliefs manifested themselves in the private and public life of the people before Christianity started to gain ground in the region through missionary and colonial initiatives. Even though the emergence of Christian missionaries in the Gold coast has been dated to the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century, Christianity unlike Islam was only confined in the European Forts and few coastal regions until the emergence of missionary societies departing from Britain such as the Basel (Presbyterian) Wesleyan (Methodist), The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church), The Apostolic Church from England missionaries in the nineteenth century. These missionary societies from Britain laid the foundation for the Christian church in Gold Coast and modern Ghana. Traditional or indigenous Spirituality was indeed prevalent among all the indigenous people, especially among the Northern and interior tribes. Among most of the tribes in the interior and coastal region of the Lower Volta Basin, the roots of the white men and the black men are widely recognized as the source of their religious ideas but this varies significantly from one tradition to another except for the Muslims whose beliefs on the origin is similar to other Muslim societies in the world. According to some indigenous traditions, God created three white men and three black men, with three white women and black women. Other indigenous peoples also hold the belief that in the beginning, God created two types of men: Black and white and offered them gold and knowledge respectively. Almost all the indigenous tribes in the region later to be called by the Europeans as the Gold Coast has its deities recognized as the "fetish".These Fetish are mostly believed to be inhabited by some specific creatures such as the trees, hills, mountains, rivers and

streams. The Asante people referred to their fetish as "Bossum''. The Bossum were as well as other tribes Fetishes was deeply feared by the indigenous people most especially those dwelling in the interior(Asante territories) and along the coastal region(the colony). Almost every household have its domestic fetishes. The fetish is usually provided by the Chief priests. The Fetish consists of rude wooden or clay figures of people and animals in their extraordinary shapes and forms. They are mostly kept in a house and presented with offerings and drinks during customary rites and festivals. Sometimes a string across a road, a branch lay in the path, a bottle hung outside his hut, is sufficient to deter the indigenous people. They usually visit the fetish during wars, before a journey, during good and evil, and the verdicts of the fetish are never doubted. Macdonald reported that the Krobo Mountain in the eastern part of the colony, near the river Volta, was once a stronghold of fetishes, and held the whole of the surrounding country in its power until destroyed by the late Sir W. Brandford Griffith early in 1893. There was a strong communion between the living and the spiritual world (ancestors and deities). Hence food and drink were offered ritually to the dead and the fetish (deities).In a nutshell, it's worth noting that all the indigenous kingdoms in the lower part of the Volta Basin consciously or unconsciously identify themselves with one traditional religious tradition or another. Religion was an important aspect of the social, economic and political structure in the region. Islamic and traditional African religious traditions manifested themselves in the private and public life of the people in the Lower part of the Volta Basin before Christianity.

Islam from Arabia through North Africa is known to have made its first contact with West Africa as early as in the late 7th century, through the conquest of **Uqba b. Nafi**. however, some scholars are of the view that West Africa made its first contact with Islam in the 8th century through the trans-Saharan trade routes from North Africa. The main attraction of West Africa to the North Africans was the slave trade and commerce, and not missionary zeal."(Dumbe,2013:24) Research on Conversion to Islam stresses the assimilation of Islam by non-Arab cultures, rather than the expansion of Islam by the Arabs. These researches show that the assimilation of Islam among non-Arab tribes had been very gradual and also emphasised the conversion of communities rather than individuals. The case is not different in the Volta Basin (Gold coast). The contacts between Islamized North African Berbers and the indigenous

West Africans made possible the conversion of the Sanhaja Berber tribe and later the Mande tribe of the Mali Empire in Western Sudan. Through trade in gold and kola nuts, the Mande Muslims eventually settled in the Akan Forest of Begho, near Wenchi, in the early 15th century. Thus, The Volta Basin attracted the interest of itinerant Mande Muslims due to the rich abundance of resources such as Kola nuts, gold in the region. Moreover, the penetration of Islam in the Lower Volta Basin during the pre-colonial and colonial periods depends on the process of Islamisation and Islamic revivalism in the entire West African sub-region. Islamisation represents the mode of expansion and conversion whereas the revival represents the strengthening of the spiritual dimensions of Islamic faith and practice among the West African Muslims. The Islamisation of the people of the Gold Coast was a product of trading activities and conquest expeditions of Mande-speaking Muslims, who were known in West Africa as the Wangara. (Dumbe,2013:23) "The presence and trading activities of the Mande (Wangara) people announced the Islamisation process among the indigenous people in the Nothern territories of the Gold Coast and later determine the cultural worldview of the people but Subsequently, the Islam of the Yarna (Mande scholars in Dagbon) was challenged by the Hausa imams, whose trading activities were already rooted in the 16th century but experienced significant expansion after the triumph of Dan Fodio's Jihads in the Hausaland in 1804".(Dumbe,2013: 25) The Hausa Imams and traders promoted a stricter interpretation of Islam through the dispersing of Hausa Muslims from the Northern part of Nigeria to the Gold Coast. Intermarriage between traders and native tribes facilitated integration and developed a hybrid Islamic culture incorporating elements of the customs of Mande and Hausa. Furthermore, the commercial activities of the Hausa traders also led to the creation of several new trade centres in the region. Notable among them was the Salaga market found in the Gonjaland, which emerged in 1775. The Hausa occupation of Salaga made it an important centre for trade and also led to later penetration of Islam into the forest region under the control of the Ashanti Empire."The 1892 Sack of Salaga civil war also led to the decline of Salaga as the major trading centre in the region and resulted in the movement of some Muslim traders to other newly emerging trading centres such as Atebubu, Kete Karachi, Kintampo, Techiman and Yeji. Nehemiah (1968) also reported that the early Muslims who settled in Kumasi were trade representatives and commercial agents guarding the interests of the northern kola nut

traders. This was also the case regarding the first penetration of Islam in Accra, especially from 1835–1865". (Dumbe,2013:26)

Another important factor that strengthens the Islamization process on the Gold coast was the British armed force recruitment policy on the Gold coast. The British recruited Muslims from neighbouring British territories such as Northern Nigeria to fight for the British in the Gold coast colony. During the British–Ashanti wars in 1873, a batch of 150 Hausa Constabulary was transferred from Lagos to the Gold Coast to strengthen the British front in Kumasi. By the close of 1900, the number of Hausa police (who were invariably Muslims) in the British army was almost up to a thousand (Dumbe,2013:26)Furthermore, the Islamization process in the Gold coast was further strengthened by the scholarly works of literate Muslim scholars in the palaces of the chiefs in the region. The courts and palaces of the chiefs most especially in the Northern and the Ashanti kingdoms attracted the scholarly ability of the literate Muslim traders in the Gold coast which eventually strengthen Islamic influence in the region. In kingdoms like the Ashanti, Dagbon and Gonja, the Muslim scholars also played a special role by rendering spiritual and administrative services in the kingdoms. This granted the Islamic scholars a sense of legitimacy and recognition inside the palaces and among the Muslims in the region. Alhassan Jarah of Salaga and Umar Kreke of Kete Krachi who were both educated in Northern Nigeria and settled in the Gold Coast in 1870 were noticeable examples.

An equally important part of this Islamisation process was the migration of Muslims from the surrounding West African territories into the Gold Coast during the colonial period. These settlements expanded rapidly during the colonial period. "The vibrant colonial economy of southern Ghana (Gold Coast) centred on labour-intensive mining and cocoa farming, which attracted new migrants from the north (Northern Territories); from other British colonies, especially Nigeria; and from the neighbouring French colonies of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Niger, Togo, Dahomey (now Benin), and French Sudan (now Mali).''(Kobo,2010:71). Some writers argued that the opportunities offered by the colonialist through hiring Muslims from surrounding West African territories for their security interests also led to the expanded voluntary migration from other territories into the Gold coast.

Finally, through the scholarly works, Islamic propagation, education and the pilgrimage to Hajj (Makkah), the Islamisation process was further strengthened in the

Gold Coast. The majority of these West African migrants into the Gold Coast were Muslims with common culture peculiar to the West African savannah region. "The distinct feature of these Muslim migrants in terms of their religion, physical appearance and traditions distinguished them from the other indigenous population in the Gold Coast. Their distinct identity was reinforced by their concentration in residential areas which were carved out for them by colonial authorities and indigenous rulers who recognised the migrants' need for separate living space, where they could practice their religion away from indigenous religious practices and customs." (Kobo,2010:71) "These residential areas which were carved out for Muslims by the indigenous rulers and colonial authorities during the pre-colonial and colonial periods respectively became known as Zongo. The word Zongo originated from the Hausa language, which is now the lingua franca of the Zongo communities in modern Ghana mainly as a result of the influences of Hausa clerics in the Quranic schools and the entire Islamic educational system in the region. Furthermore, The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914 had divided residents of the colony and the Northern Protectorate between 'natives', 'subjects' and 'migrants. 'Natives' referred to the indigenous population, while 'subjects' designated immigrants from other English colonies. Both subjects and natives enjoyed the same privileges and responsibilities, including British citizenship. For instance, as British subjects, Nigerians in the Gold Coast enjoyed the same rights and privileges as indigenes. On the other hand, the law designated migrants from the neighbouring French colonies as immigrants or 'aliens' who were subject to expulsion from the colony if they were considered a threat to public order." (Kobo,2010:71)"The focal point of the pre-colonial history of Islam on the Gold coast is that. Islam was generally introduced into the region by Wangara- Malinke scholars' traders and warriors, from the north-west by Hausa traders from the north-east. Although most of what today is called Ghana had been engaged in commercial activities with Muslim merchants since the fifteenth century, only the north could be considered Islamised at the time of the colonial conquest" Kobo,2010:71) Trade, migration and the British policy of army forces recruitment facilitated Islamisation in the Gold Coast. Intermarriage between Muslim traders and native tribes as well as the spiritual and administrative services of Muslim scholars (Mallams) also facilitated the integration process. While the propagation and educational initiatives of the Muslim scholars, as well as pilgrimage to Hajj (Makkah), further strengthened the Islamic religious beliefs, teachings and

practices among the various Muslims in the Gold Coast, both the chiefs and the colonialists during the pre-colonial and colonial era respectively designated separate residential areas for Muslims in the southern part of the Gold coast. In the British colonial era, they passed the "British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act in 1914" which further divided residents in both the Colony and the Northern Protectorate into natives, subjects and migrants. Muslim dominated migrants from neighbouring French colonies such as Togo, Nigeria, Burkina Faso were categorised as migrants. these migrants were not entitled to Gold Coast citizenship. they were also being offered lesser opportunities as compared to the natives and subjects (British subjects) in the region. By 1914, this act was substituted by the British Nationality Act in 1948. However by 1957, when Ghana attained independence the citizenship of the Muslim migrants (mostly from nearby French colonies) and the Subject (British subjects) became questionable which led to the introduction of the first post-independent bill to be deliberated by the first independent parliament of Ghana. This bill was called the Ghana Nationality Bill or the Ghana Nationality Act in May 1957. The law states that anyone whose parents or grandparents were born in Ghana is considered a citizen of Ghana.

2.3. Traditional African Religion in the Lower part of the Volta Basin

The indigenous African spiritual systems, usually called African traditional religions, are many. Every ethnic group in the Volta Basin had developed a complex and distinctive set of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices. Regardless of their seemingly unrelated aspects, there are some common features to these belief systems. This shows that the African traditional belief systems in the Volta Basin and Africa, in general, can be referred to as a form of cohesive religious tradition. According to Jacob K. Olupona "African indigenous religions are timeless, beginning with the origin of human civilization on the continent, perhaps as early as 200,000 B.C.E., when the species Homo sapiens is believed to have emerged. Because they date back to prehistoric times, little has been written about their history." (Olupona,2006) In analyzing the characteristics of traditional African religion in the Volta Basin (Gold coast, Ghana), there is a need to first digest the terms indigenous and religion. Most of the terminologies used to describe the traditional African religions in the contemporary world are nothing but a product of colonial and imperial disregard towards African religious and cultural perspectives. Some of these descriptions

include the traditional, pre-modern, pre-literacy, primitive, etc. To some other group researchers, such terminologies are nothing but the reflection of the African religious identity. But in reality, the indigenous or traditional African religion has no meaning except colonial impositions on African traditional religious systems and cultures. Therefore, traditional African Religion in our context will be used to describe the beliefs and practices of historic native Ghanaian communities concerning the supernatural and the meaning and purpose of life. Because of the pluralism of religion, religion tends to be ethnocentric. Consequently, it is more accurate to speak of traditional religions in the Volta Basin, even if some of the ideas in one ethnic group will be quite different from the other.

In this research, we shall use the terms Indigenous African Religion and African Traditional Religion synonymously to refer to the religion of the people of the Lower Volta Basin (Gold coast, Ghana) before the coming of Christianity. Even though Africans in general and specifically Ghanaians are extremely religious people, the least understood side in the life of the people of the Volta Basin (Ghanaians) is their traditional religious systems and beliefs. According to Jacob K. Olupona in the Encyclopedia of Religious Practices; "African cosmogony posits the existence of a Supreme Being who created the universe and everything in it. African myths frequently describe numerous lesser deities who assist the Supreme Being while performing diverse functions in the created world. Spirits may be divided into human spirits and nature spirits. Each has a life force devoid of physical form. Individuals, who have died mostly the ancestors in particular lineages are the human spirits. These spirits play a role in community affairs and ensure a link between each clan and the spirit world. Natural objects, such as rivers, mountains, trees, and the Sun (as well as forces such as wind ana represent nature spirits. Africans integrate this religious worldview into every aspect of life." (Olupona,2006)

In the Northern territories of the lower Volta basin, the traditional religious situation was generally characterized by "the tèμ which means 'earth' or 'soil'. When used in connection with specific names, such as Dagara tèμ land, it means (Dagara land. Tèμ can also refer to a settlement or even an entire region. However, tèμ also has a metaphysical meaning: the ancestors are believed to live in kpímπ tèμ,(the ancestors' land), and the bàgr myth contrasts tèμ in the feminine, conception principle to the masculine, fertilizing rain. Moreover, there is also the Tèμgán which means the

skin of the earth ‘or the earth shrine. It also represents the integrative strength and flexibility of a society. the tèμgán (plural tèμgáme; literally ‘skin of the earth’) which refers to the earth deity and the shrine at which sacrifices are performed, as well as to the territory controlled by this shrine and the earth deity. No sharp distinction is made between the earth as a material good and the earth as a spiritual being”. (Lentz,2006:18) Apart from the presence of the ‘house’ and the ‘earth shrine’, the indigenous people recognized two main concepts of belonging; local people and outsiders. they developed good alliances with their natives and rivalry with other independent villages. At the same time, earth shrines serve as territorial institutions and transportable medicines shrines. People travelled from different places across the region to sacrifice at particularly powerful earth shrines in the hopes of receiving protection, healing, and fertility.

According to Macdonald Georg, Superstition was riffing among the native people, particularly among those of the interior. In Ashanti, the tradition of the origin of the white and the black man is known to everyone, though it differs somewhat from the tradition current on the coast. Their religious ideas are as follows, At the beginning of the universe, three white men and three black men were created by God. He grated them with the same number of women so that they will non among them will have the right to complain. God also gave them give the choices of good and evil. “A large box or calabash was set on the ground, with a piece of paper, sealed up, on one side of it. God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it contained everything, but on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron and several other metals of which they did not know the use. The white men opened the paper, it told them everything. God left the blacks in the bush but conducted the whites to the water-side (for this happened in Africa), communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship, which carried them to another country. They returned after a long period, with various merchandise, to barter with the blacks, who might have been the superior people.” (George,1890:46)

Moreover, in some parts of the colony, “the people also believe that man was created by a great spider called Amanfie, whilst among others, the opinion is generally shared that God created two kinds of men, black and white, and offered them two sorts of gifts, viz gold and knowledge. The blacks had the first choice, and being covetous chose the gold, leaving knowledge to the white man. God gave them their

gift, but as a punishment, he decreed that the whites should be forever their masters, and they (the blacks) should be obliged to wait on them as their slaves." (George,1890:46) In the interior forest region, river Tando was a favourite fetish of the Ashantis, and also the Prah Whilst at Accra the bush-cat was revered, and at Dixcove and other places along the coast the alligator. This last is still worshipped in the present century, and the natives say there is an alligator about twelve feet long in a fresh-water stream near Dixcove, which appears at the call of the fetish man, and receives in payment a white fowl.

Moreover, in some parts of the colony, the people believe that man was created by a great spider called Amanfie, whilst among others, the opinion is generally shared that God created two kinds of men, black and white, and offered them two sorts of gifts, viz gold and knowledge. The blacks had the first choice, and being covetous chose the gold, leaving knowledge to the white man. God gave them their gift, but as a punishment, he decreed that the whites should be forever their masters, and they (the blacks) should be obliged to wait on them as their slaves. (George,1890, p.46) In the interior forest region, "river Tando was a favourite fetish of the Ashantis, and also the Prah Whilst at Accra the bush-cat was revered, and at Dixcove and other places along the coast the alligator. This last is still worshipped in the present century, and the natives say there is an alligator about twelve feet long in a fresh-water stream near Dixcove, which appears at the call of the fetish man, and receives in payment a white fowl." (George,1890:46)Therefore, in studying indigenous or African traditional religion in the Volta basin, it was discovered that all the ethnic groups located in the Volta Basin have a belief system that constitutes a total of the people's experience, which they are expected to observe to preserve their respective communities. In general, The Ghanaian indigenous religious beliefs, as will be traced in the following pages, exhibit the following religious beliefs and systems:

Belief in Spirits: The people of the Volta Basin are observed to live in a world filled with Spirits. The spirits they recognized include the following:

The Supreme Spirits. Many European writers, who made a general survey on African tribal beliefs in the past, have maintained that God has no place in African traditional Religions. In contrast, the supreme God (The Great Spirit) is known and worshipped all over the Volta Basin in Africa. Most People in the region acknowledge Him as Father, Creator, Eternal, completely Beneficent, creatively Omnipotent and

ethically Holy. John S. Mbiti, attest to the fact that ″All over Africa people have a notion of God as the Supreme Being, the origin and sustenance of all things. ″ Truly, African peoples strongly believe in the supreme Being (God).(Mbiti,1969:29) Mostly, their knowledge of God is expressed in proverbs, short statements, names, songs, prayers, myths, stories and religious ceremonies. This is summarized in an Ashanti proverb, ″No one shows a child the Supreme Being. This means that everybody knows God′s existence almost by instinct and even children know Him.”(Tovagonze,1992). The supreme God was never represented in any form for worship in any tribe. Worship was done through the lesser gods. For instance, in many tribal religious belief systems, there is a tree in their homes, which is about six feet high in a corner mostly called Nyame Dua (God's Tree). The top was usually a tripod and held a brass basin in which eggs were periodically placed, as a sacrifice to the Supreme Being. It is commonly believed that God is spirit, even if in thinking or talking about Him African peoples may often use anthropomorphic images. As far as it is known, there are no images or physical representations of God by African peoples: this being one clear indication that they consider Him to be a Spiritual Being. The fact that He is invisible also leads many to visualize Him as spiritual rather than physical”. (Tovagonze,1992).

Belief in Lesser god: Religious beliefs in the region which formed modern Ghana also believed in the lesser spirits or smaller gods. They consider the lesser gods to be animate natural objects such as roads, trees and rivers. Through these lesser gods, they convey their compliments to the supreme God or spirit. The spirit also in return is supposed to return messages from the supreme God through their agents called priests or priestesses when they become possessed.

Belief in life after Death: Most societies in the Volta basin believed in life after death. For example, The Akan's traditional belief is that life continues in the next world called Asamando. They mostly express these beliefs in sayings like Woye papa a eda wa nim,boni nso da wanim and Onipa wo baabi ko). These beliefs explain the provisions these tribes make for the dead. Moreover, the dead are also entitled to carry whatever he or she enjoys in this life into the next world. Human sacrifices during the funeral celebrations of prominent people like chiefs and queen mothers are all based on the belief that the dead will need the services of these people as a servant in the next life. Also, the belief in the reincarnation of people who for one reason or the other

had their life curtailed or shortened is all based on their religious belief in life after death.

Belief in Ghosts: In the pre-colonial Volta Basin, there was a separation between physical and spiritual existence. The people believe that everyone transitions from physical to spiritual existence. They believe that every man passes from a physical to spiritual life."In the spiritual life, man manifests itself in spirit or ghost, not visible to the ordinary human eye. Along the Akans, this spirit is supposed to be hovering around certain spots, especially where the individuals, while in physical life, are domiciled or frequented. Such spots are claimed to be haunted and around the sensitive people are susceptible to developing goose skin". (Kyeremateng,2004).

Belief in Ancestors: In the traditional belief system among the tribes of the Volta Basin, Mostly the living tends to have a sense of dependence on their Ancestors. In other words, the ancestors mattered in tribal and national affairs while they lived. They see the ancestors be constantly watching over the living relations and therefore ready to punish those who break customs or to protect and help those who observe them. Libations are incomplete if it doesn't invite them to receive a drink. Belief in ancestors. In the traditional belief system among the tribes of the Volta Basin, Mostly the living tends to have a sense of dependence on their Ancestors. In other words, the ancestors mattered in tribal and national affairs while they lived. They see the ancestors be constantly watching over the living relations and therefore ready to punish those who break customs or to protect and help those who observe them. Libations are incomplete if it doesn't invite them to receive a drink.

Belief in Magic: Magic is mostly considered to happen in a manner contrary to the regular process of Nature. Mostly magic is performed through the repetition of certain words, or through the performance of certain rituals all aimed at controlling natural or supernatural forces to do the performers bidding.

Belief in Witchcraft: It is a popular belief among the people in the region under consideration that, hatred, anger, envy, jealousy and other feelings can cause harm to people. All these are the root of witchcraft. When the people are afflicted with difficulties like meeting an accident, his child dies, his crops fail are all associated with witchcraft

Libation: Most tribes in the region under consideration also observed a religious rite called libation. a libation is an act of communicating with the ancestral spirits.it demands the pouring of alcoholic liquid substances such as palm wine, akpateshie, schnapps, whisky and gin. The pattern of pouring libation involves calling on the almighty God, the earth goddess, ancestral spirits and lesser deities. (Rivers, trees, and rocks) The significance of libation is to invoke and feed the spirits so that they would in turn bless and grant them their requests. Mostly during libation petitions revolved around subjects such as life and good health, Grace, Peace, Fertility of sex (productivity), good eyesight, good hearing and prosperity. (Kyeremateng, 2004:96)

Before the emergence of Christianity in the region under consideration, there was no part of the Gold Coast without its particular deity, these deities are believed to inhabit special forests, animals, mountains, trees and rivers. Superstition was very common among the indigenous people, particularly among those of the interior such as the Akan. The people of the Volta Basin except for the Muslims lived in a world believed to be full of Spirits such as Supreme Being, lesser gods, ancestors, Witchcraft etc. The indigenous African spiritual systems, usually called African traditional religions, are many. Every ethnic group in the lower Volta Basin had in one way the other developed a complex and distinctive set of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices. Regardless of their seemingly unrelated aspects, there are some common features to these belief systems. This shows that the African traditional belief systems in the lower Volta Basin which (Gold coast) can be referred to as a form of cohesive interrelated religious tradition.

2.4. Islam in the Lower part of the Volta Basin

Islam, according to Muslims, is the first religion of all human persons irrespective of race. But established historical thought, however, sees Islam as a world religion that originated from Mecca when Muhammad received his first divine revelation in the year 610 C.ET.The first contact of Islam with the indigenous natives of West Africa was in the 7th-century C.E through the efforts of Uqbq Bun Nafi who firstly brought Islam from Arabia into North Africa. Therefore, the indigenous West Africans came into contact with Islam through the trans-Sahara trade. This resulted in the gradual assimilation of West Africans to the North African Islamic civilization which will reflect itself in the future as an indigenous West African Islamic cultural identity. It is also on record that, the history of Islam in the Volta Basin (Gold coast,

Ghana) has undergone two types of Islamic orientation through their encounters with the early Muslim settlers. As a result, they absorbed different Islamic influences and traditions from these groups of early Muslim settlers in their respective societies.

Firstly, the Mande Muslim traders, who were originally associated with the Mali Empire and popularly known in West Africa as the Wangara, were the first Muslims to have facilitated relations with Muslims in the Volta Basin. This they did in the early part of the I5th century by settling in the Akan Forest of **Begho,** near Wenchi in the present Brong Ahafo region of Ghana. (Hiskett, 1984) The main driving force behind the Mande traders 'adventure in the forest belt of the Volta Basin and, for that matter in the Gold Coast, was the availability of gold and kola nuts. The enterprising nature of the Mande traders has been variously referred to as 'Commercial Diasporas' in Western Sudan because they travelled far and wide during their trading engagements. They mostly transported their merchandise back to Jenne and Timbuktu for onward transportation to North Africa. This encounter of the peoples of the Volta Basin with the Mande (Wangara) traders resulted in some of the people of the Gold Coast embracing Islam.

Sufism which derives its origin from Tassawuf in Arabic denotes Islamic mysticism, which involves meditations and esoteric beliefs was an integral part of the religious worldview of these early transmitters of Islam in the Volta Basin and the Gold Coast. 'The doctrinal background of these early Mande traders suggests that they were Ibaddiya but later embraced the teachings and practices of the Maliki School, following the Al-Moravid conquests. Consequently, the Maliki School became the dominant School in Western Sudan, and, more particularly the Gold Coast".(Hiskett, 1984) From above we can say, the movement of Mande traders from one place to another made them very influential in the spread of Islam mostly in the Northern part of the Volta Basin and the Gold Coast."It is said that as a result of their trading activities, the Mande scholarly community in Timbuktu arrived at Dagbon around 1700 C.E. These Mande scholars were known in Dagbon as Yarnas, which was the Mande word for religious leaders". (Hiskett, 1984)

Secondly, some people of the Gold Coast mostly in the south were also drawn to Islam due to the Fulani Jihads in the Hausa land in 1804, with the resultant expansion of the Hausa trade in West Africa. The success of this Jihad resulted in the spread of Islam to other parts of West Africa, including the Gold Coast. "Their impact

was greatly felt, not as warriors but as traders in the northern part of the Gold Coast especially Dagbon, as well as in other parts of the Gold coast. Again, the major motive which attracted the Hausa-Fulani from Northern Nigeria to the Volta Basin and the Gold Coast was trade rather than any missionary zeal."(Levtzion,1968). This, therefore, point to the fact that these early traders did not intend to convert the people of The Volta Basin (Gold Coast) to Islam. Therefore, any such conversion that they might have been initiated was incidental and not deliberate. As result, while some rulers (the custodians of the traditional religion) simply tolerated Muslims, others were even sympathetic to Islam religion. In the East of the Black Volta River, the chiefs used Muslims as advisers and Muslims, therefore, became an integral part of the political and social system in the region.

From the above, it is clear the first phase of interaction between a regional form of Islam and the people of the Volta Basin took place during their encounter with the Wangara or Mande traders whose socio-cultural background was a latent form of Islam. The second phase was their encounter with the Hausa-Fulani who had a less compromising and stricter attitude towards Islamic teachings. The significance of this period of religious interaction between the people of the Volta Basin and the Wangara, the Hausa-Fulani created a linkage and connection with the regional Islam, which was West African. The prevailing socio-cultural conditions in the place of origin of these early scholars affected the Volta Basin Muslim's perspective of Islam in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. It is worth noting that, one remarkable effect of the Hausa's trading engagement in the area of the Volta Basin is that it has facilitated the emergence of certain learning and trading centres in the region. This further enhanced the interaction between people of the Volta Basin and the Muslim communities in West Africa. ''The most notable centre was the Salaga Market in the Gonjaland which emerged in 1775 as a Hausa-speaking town"(Hiskett, 1984)The influence of the Hausa and Mande Muslims traders in the northern part of the Volta Basin was heavenly felt in the South which eventually led to the possible boom in the Ashanti market through the movement of the traders from the north to the south. Significantly, every caravan used to have a Mallam (a Hausa word for a religious leader), whose role among the group was to officiate on matters of Islamic rituals. In addition to leading the caravan in prayer, he kept the records and had the prerogative of choosing a suitable or prosperous day for the trip. It is argued that it was through these Mallams

that Islam made a significant impact on the trade routes. This is because; some of the traders would withdraw from the caravan and settle with the chiefs if their services were needed. Such a Mallam was given a wife, probably the daughter of the chief. In this way, a small Muslim community would start growing.

Furthermore, when the Mallam settled in a particular community he became the host of foreign traders and visitors and, in that capacity; he was referred to as Maigida, or House Master, Host or Landlord, playing the role of mediator between the caravan and the community. (Levtzion,1968) Many people in the Gold Coast were introduced to Islam through the activities of these settled Mallams, who encouraged their colleagues to settle in the same spot and intermarry with the local people. The activities of early Muslim caravan leaders, whether Madugu or Maigida, was to become a mark of identity of certain families in the southern Zongo communities in Ghana. Most families preferred to attach such names to their families' identities such as Madugu, and Maigida, reminiscent of the role played by their grandparents for Islam during their commercial expeditions. This tendency shows the extent of the impact of Hausa culture on the Muslim territories in the Volta basin and, of course, the Gold Coast and in contemporary Ghana. Muslims in the Lower Volta Basin and the Gold Coast have undergone various types of Islamic doctrinal orientation and have also received a variety of ideas about Islam through different periods. The earlier Islamic orientation of the Muslims in the Gold Coast was the Qadriyya, which was overshadowed by the Tijaniyya. But during the colonial period, the Tijaniyya became the dominant doctrine in the Gold Coast. The first observation in respect to the early Muslim mystical (Tasawuf) orientation in the Volta Basin is that they belonged to the Sufi Qadriyya order Founded by Abdul Qadir Jaylani movement in the 6 AH/12lh CE century in Baghdad. Moreover, the origin of the Qadriyya movement in the Volta Basin is traced to the Wangara traders who through their trading activities spread the Qadriyya doctrine in the region. Some reports also suggest that early traces of Qadriyya teaching could be found in Mamprusi as well as the Ashanti in 1221-2 A.H./1807 C.E. Much is not known about the specific personalities who spread this mystical order. However, Qadriyya might have also been facilitated by some of the traders and early Ulama from northern Nigeria and Jegu (Benin).

Moreover, According to Peter Clark, The historical background of the Islamic doctrinal orientation of Muslims in western Sudan indicates that Ibadiyya and

Sufriyya were the earliest doctrinal groups in the region. (Clarke, 1982:13). Clarke quoted Al-Zuhri, an Arabic scholar who reported that the Berber traders who facilitated the Islamisation of West Africans through their trading expedition held Islamic doctrinal beliefs similar to those of the lbadites and the Sulrites, all of which were branches of Kharijites. (Clarke, 1982:14). Also, Al-Moravid's movement which tried to rectify the doctrinal perception of unorthodox Muslims in ancient Ghana facilitated the orientation of the Muslims in western Sudan towards the Maliki school of thought. This was because of the doctrinal background of the leader and the founder of the Al-Moravid movement, Abdullah b. Yasin was doctrinally a Maliki. Thus, Abdullah b. Yasin also enforced the Maliki doctrine among his students who eventually became the later Ulama in western Sudan. (Clarke, 1982:14) .The Sanhaja Berbers, when they were thoroughly Islamised, took up the role of propagating Islam in Western Sudan and thus facilitated the spread of the Maliki Madhhab, or School. (Dumbe,2009:74)

Another important personality who influenced the orientation of West African Muslims in general and specifically the Islamic religious doctrinal situation in the Volta Basin was the North African scholar Al-Maghili who was an advisor to Muhammad Rumfa of Kano. It is believed that he was a Maliki, as well as a Qadriyya in mystical orientation. His writings became the standard point of reference to Uthman Dan b. Fodio. Uthman Dan b. Fodio's doctrine influenced the entire region of northern Nigeria. The conquest of Sheikh Uthman Dan b. Fodio did not only affected Northern Nigerian Islamic doctrines but also affected the religious orientation of the people of the Volta Basin due to the Hausa traders' settlement in the region. In an area like the Dagbon, Gonja and the Ashanti Kingdoms, all located in the Volta Basin, the early scholars and traders who settled there in the pre-colonial and colonial periods were Maliki in Islamic doctrinal orientation. Students in the region tend to link the type of academic qualifications that they received to the Maliki School of Islamic law. Meaning, they identified the type of academic qualification they acquired with their teacher's orientation. The teacher in turn identified the teacher who taught him and so on back to Imam Malik b. Anas, the founder of the Maliki School of law. majority of Muslims in Ghana and West Africa at large, still resort to Maliki literature to orient their students on Islam, including the Tijaniyya and the Ahlus- Sunnah Wal-Jama'a (Wahhabiyya) doctrines.

2.5. Co-existence between Islam and Traditional African Religion in the Lower part of the Volta Basin

Islam and Traditional African Religion in Volta Basin (Gold Coast) are mostly characterized by thousand years of cohabitation, adaptation and intermixture between the two religions. But in many areas, indigenous religions have little by little substituted themselves for Islam, without any clashes or ruptures between the two religions. On the contrary, With the emergence of the Hausa traders in the region, there seems to be a shift by some significant number of Muslims in the region to consciously turn not to the Arabian or West African model of living Islam as reported by Some western scholars but to the Islamic tradition as they imagine it to have been instituted by the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) in Medina. It is worth mentioning that it was not only the superiority of the religious message of the Quran that finally tipped the balance in favour of Islam but also the purely sociological, political and economic factors that played a significant role in the region. Therefore, with the emergence of Islam in the region, some tribes or ethnic groups uprooted their traditional socio-religious universe and replaced it with a partly or all-embracing, secure and reassuring Islamic framework. Solidarity within the Muslim communities replaced the village and tribal solidarities. And new prescriptions and prohibitions also replace the old ones initiated by the indigenous religions. The only real exception is the centralization of the worship of God (Tawheed), especially in the ritual prayers. But for a long period, the centralization of the worship of God does not exclude other ritual practices and worship in these Muslim communities in the region. This is because; West African Islam has never expressly forbidden these intermediates associated with God. Moreover, The central place of the sacred Quranic text in Islam and the impossibility for most Africans of gaining direct access to it, since they do not know Arabic, lead to a situation where the more or less qualified custodians of the Scriptures (Hafiz) have themselves become the new intermediaries, sought out and feared. They, therefore, replaced the healers, the fetishists and the other members of the traditional religion. Thus, the enculturation form of the Islamic religious message preceded the actual Islamisation of the Muslims in the region.

2.6. The Portuguese Adventurers (1471-1642)

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to make their way to the Lower Volta Basin, steadily making their way south down the West African coast in pursuit of a

short sea route to China and the Far East's famous riches. Other motivations include the desire to surround the Arabs and the Muslim world, identify the source of gold that comes through the Sahara to commercial cities on the Mediterranean and the Middle East, and the desire to ally with the Christian state of Ethiopia. "For some time prior to 1444-5, the Portuguese prince known to history as Henry the Navigator (1394-1460) had been systematically planning his country's exploration of the West African coast. One of his main objectives was the acquisition of sufficient knowledge to enable Portuguese ships to sail along the West African coast, around the Cape of Good Hope, and up along the east coast of Africa to the Christian state of Ethiopia. This will enable the Portuguese to avoid having to cross the Muslim states of the Middle East and North Africa in pursuit of their trading interests." (Clarke,1986:7) "For the history of West Africa in general, and for that of the Gold Coast in particular, however, the desire for Guinea gold, and the discovery of the metal at Mina by Joao de Santerem and Pero de Escobar in 1471, was an event of a great historical moment."(Daaku, 1964:18). Although the relative importance of each of the reasons is debatable, the Portuguese discovery of active trade in gold at Elmina proved to be the most vital reason they came into contact with the people of Gold Coast (Morden Ghana).In other to create a royal Portuguese monopoly and counter foreign incursions on the Gold Coast, Don Joo II (John II, 1481 - 1495) decided to build a permanent base on the Gold Coast. This will help them combat foreign encroachment on the royal Portuguese monopoly of Gold Coast. Therefore, Construction on fort São Jorge da Mina, near the indigenous village of Elmina (Edena) began in January 1482. The Fortress built at Elmina eventually started to dominate the coastal trade in the region, and later, images of the castle were also featured regularly on maps of the coastal region due to the central role it played in trade on the Gold Coast. Elmina Castle was not just the only farthest Portuguese settlement at the time, but it also became the first real European edifice in the tropics. Perhaps to give a legal stamp to the Crown's monopoly, the Lord of Guinea was added to the Portuguese royal titles, and Mina was raised to city status".(Daaku, 1964:18). Soon after the Portuguese had formed their settlement at Elmina, the King sent to Pope Sextus IV and obtained a confirmation of the Bulls that had been granted to Prince Henry. This Pope added an injunction strictly forbidding any Christian nation to disturb the Portuguese in the possession of the territory that he had bestowed upon them, and even decreed that if they should discover any fresh countries within the limits he had assigned to the Portuguese, these too should belong

to them. At this time the Pope's right to dispose of kingdoms was universally acknowledged, and his mandates were considered binding upon all European nations.(Claridge,1915:54).But later, other European nations began to challenge Portugal's claim on the Gold coast. The first of these European powers to emerge was France. But France confined its activities at the upper Guinea which forced the Portuguese into patrolling at the Gold Coast to protect Mina and also check intrusion from France and other European powers. The French did not show much interest in the Gold coast because they seem to be satisfied with the trading at Upper Guinea. As a result, the French operations on the Gold Coast ultimately died out. After 1540, several European nations challenged the Portuguese on the Gold Coast. France was eventually replaced by unorganized early English merchants and finally the effectively organized Dutch. But the Dutch posed the most imminent threat to the Portuguese at the Gold coast resulting in Portuguese expulsion from their last permanent castle at Axim in 1642.

2.7. The Dutch Conquerors (1593 – 1642)

The Dutch were comparatively late in their attempts to trade on the Gold Coast as compared to either the French or the English. But they were, however, better organized and prepared for the trade than any of their predecessors; The Portuguese were finally removed from the Gold Coast in 1642 as a result of the Dutch's persistence on the Gold Coast. Dutch connection with the Guinea Coast goes back to the last decades of the sixteenth century. "One Benard Erecksz is reputed to have been the person who popularised Guinea (West African) trade in Holland. While a prisoner on the Portuguese island of Sao Thome, he learnt of the lucrative trade in gold and ivory which the Portuguese had obtained from the Gold coast. When he returned, home in 1693, he did not only pass on the news to his countrymen but fitted out expeditions to Guinea. ".(Daaku, 1964:23) The Dutch government provide incentives to the Dutch merchants trading in the Gold coast by exempting ships that took part in the trade from certain duties. This was to encourage the Dutch to trade on the Gold Coast. However, as Dutch interest in the trade increased, so did the risks encountered by the Portuguese at the Gold coast. The Twelve Years' Truce between Portugal-Spain and the Dutch Republic (1609 to 1621) disrupted the Dutch's trade on the Gold Coast because it helped the Portuguese to have sufficient resources to protect their trade monopoly at the Gold coast against the Dutch. The Dutch traders then petitioned the States-General

of the Dutch Republic to build a fort on the coast**.** As result, the Dutch West India Company was established. The Portuguese had no sooner got rid of the English and French than yet a third rival appeared on the Gold Coast. "In the 1594s Bernard Ericks of Medenblick made the first Dutch voyage and succeeded in establishing very friendly relations with the people, who found his goods were both better and cheaper than those with which the Portuguese were in the habit of supplying" (Claridge,1915:82). By 1637, the Dutch West India Company was successful in capturing Elmina Castle from the Portuguese. The capturing of Fort San Sebastian at Shama and Fort Santo Antonio at Axim also followed in 1640 and 1642 respectively. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company was finally granted the monopoly to trade in the West Indies, including the Gold Coast. One cannot underestimate the economic importance of the Dutch trade with the Gold Coast. The Dutch were particularly interested in the gold mined by the Akans in the interior region of the Gold Coast but they also purchase pepper, ivory, and salt. Because the Dutch had a superior supply of trade goods sought by the African gold merchants, such as cloth, hardware, beads, metals, arms, and ammunition, they were able to secure the majority of the gold exported to Europe. This extensive effort by the Dutch to expel the Portuguese from the Gold coast was due to the desire to control the gold trade in the region. By 1791, The Dutch West India Company was disbanded. All of the company's holdings were passed to the States-General of the Dutch Republic. With France capturing the Netherlands around 1814, On the authority of the Dutch authority on the Gold Coast was questioned. This led to France and the British occupation of the Dutch territories on the Gold Coast. With the events which reflect the changing world economic situation, the Dutch hegemony was successfully challenged by the interest of the British and French. "1689 marked the beginning of the second phase of rivalry between the Dutch and other European powers on the Gold coast. Events in Europe had simultaneously reflected the European activities and relations on the Guinea coast.it was characterized by continuous Anglo-French competition and a resulting decrease in the Dutch monopoly on the Gold coast. Most of the conflict centred on the coastal kingdom of Komenda, which lay just to the west of Elmina. ".(Daaku, 1964:78) There was also a growing tension between the Africans and Europeans which led to frequent quarrels and even wars. Most of the tension was a result of the Dutch trying to establish control over the local people around the coast. As result, Fetu and Elminan forces went to the castle at Elmina in 1682 to protest against the Dutch. The other European forces also capitalised on the tension and fuelled

the discontent among the people of Komenda. This eventually led to the Dutch-Komenda wars.The following are the forts of the Dutch in the Gold coast until the colony was completely captured by the British in 1872; Fort Nassau (Moree), Fort Batenstein (Butri),Fort Elmina(Elmina),Fort Coenraadsburg,(Elmina) FortSan Sebastian(Shama), Fort Santo Antonio(Axim) ,Fort Crèvecoeur(Accra),Fort Orange(Sekendi), Fort Witsen (Takoradi), Fort Amsterdam(Cormantin), Fort Goede (SenyaBeraku),FortDorothea(Akwidaa),FortVredenburgh,(Komenda),FortLijdzaamheid(Apam), Fort Hollandia(Princess Town).

2.8. Danish Traders (1700-1850)

Apart from the colonies of Denmark in the Caribbean and India, the Danish also established a colony on the Gold Coast. The Denish was engaged on the Gold Coast since 1700 and lasted till the 1850s. At first, Danish's forts and lodges were under the control of the Danish West India and Guinea Company until the company was dissolved in 1754. Therefore, The Danish territories became under the jurisdiction of a new private company known as the **Danish Guinea Company** (the Bargum Trading Company). After which the Danish territories on the Gold coast became a Crown Colony from 1754 until 1776 and finally sold to the British in 1850. After 1850, the United Kingdom continuously purchased all the five Danish Gold Coast territorial settlements and forts, which were incorporated into the British Gold Coast. From the mid-seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century, the Danes were massively involved in the slave trade. The following are the forts of Denmark in the Gold coast until they were all sold to Britain by1850:Fort Christiansburg (Accra), Fort Fredenberg (Old Ningo), Fort Prinsensten(Keta) Fort Kongensten(Ada), Fort Augustaborg(Teshi) From the early 1700s, the trade evolved to be much centred on slaves. Danish ships transported weapons and spirits from Denmark to West Africa whiles slaves were also transported to the West Indies and then sugar from the West Indies to Denmark. in what was called the Triangle traffic.

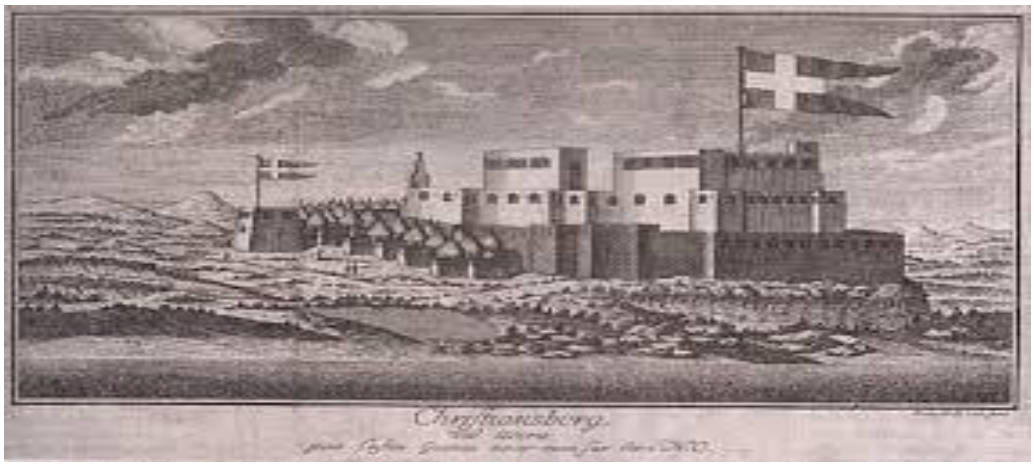

Figure 3.1 Christiansburg Castle, Gold Coast (Ghana) (Ammitzbøll 2018)

2.9. The British Colonialists and Missionaries (1553- 1957)

Captain Thomas Windham and Antonio Anes Pinteado made the first English voyages to the Gold Coast with two ships namely the Primrose and Lyon, and a pinnace, the Moon which contains a total crew of 140 men Pinteado was a very famous skilful navigator from the Port of Portugal (Oporto) but left Portugal to England. He was previously entrusted by the King of Portugal to protect the Coasts of Brazil and Guinea against (the West African coast) from the transgressions of the French. On reaching the Gold Coast, they carefully avoided Elmina, but traded along the shore both to east and west of it and succeeded in obtaining 150 pounds weight of gold.When they reached the Gold Coast, they avoided the Portuguese Elmina but traded along the other parts coast, they were able to acquire 150 pounds of gold. Even though they encountered lots of difficulties during their first route, the large quantity of gold obtained in exchange for only a few portions of their cargo immediately encouraged them to return to the Gold coast. Captain John Lok, who sailed from the Thames in October 1554 with three ships, the John Evangelist and Trinity, each of 140 tons, and the Bartholomew, each of 90 tons of gold, were some of the next English voyages to arrive in the Gold coast. They all passed through Fort St. Anthony at Axim to avoid the Portuguese. Their experiences on their previous expedition, on the other hand, had convinced them that if they could just gain the natives' trust, they would have little reason to fear the Portuguese on the Gold coast. In 1580 under Philip II, Portugal became a province of Spain, and the African possessions of Portugal were neglected in preference of those in America. The Portuguese had barely gotten rid of the English and French then yet a third rival, the Dutch in 1590 led by Bernard Ericks of Medenblick also arrived on the Gold Coast. “From 1660 onwards, there were constant

squabbles between the English and the Dutch, which eventually led to actual war. In August 1661 the Dutch captured an English ship, the Merchant's Delight, and took her to Elmina, where her crew were imprisoned in the Castle by Governor Jasper van Houssen; while in the November of the following year, further complaints were made against the Dutch on account of aggressions at Komenda and Cape Coast, at neither of which, according to the English statements, had they any factory at that time."(Claridge,1915:108). English efforts on the Gold coast were unorganized until James I formed the Company of Adventurers of London in 1618. In 1662, the British formed a new Company under a Charter granted by Charles II to handle British trading on the Gold coast.This Company was called the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa, and their Charter gave them the sole trading rights from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. "It included many influential persons, amongst whom was the King's brother James Duke of York, undertook to supply 3,000 slaves yearly to the West Indies, and was to maintain posts at Cape Coast, Anashan, Komenda, Egya and Accra besides a factory at Winneba and their fort at Kormantin. The headquarters too were to be removed from Kormantin to Cape Coast, where the Chief Agent was to be assisted by two other merchants, a warehouse-keeper, a gold taker, two accountants and three assistant factors. The Castle was to be garrisoned by fifty English soldiers and thirty slaves under the command of a captain and four sergeants. The garrison at Anashan was to consist of ten English soldiers and eight slaves, while two of each were allotted to each of the other lodges. The Slave Trade thus received the formal sanction of the Government and the direct patronage of the Royal Family. "(Claridge,1915:82). Finally, with the Treaty of Breda in 1667, peace was between English and Dutch on the Gold coast. It was agreed that each side should be returned to the region it had before the war. The Dutch therefore kept Kormantin, while the English kept Cape Coast. By 1752, The Crown formed the Royal Business Company to lead its trading in Africa. In the early nineteenth century, The Royal Business Company was replaced by The African Company of Merchants. The British government, therefore, withdrew their charter in 1821; seizing privately owned land along the Gold coast. After taking over all the remaining assets of other European countries on the Gold Coast, the British government, therefore, declared the region as the British crown colony of Gold Coast colony in 1821. In 1850, The British purchased and incorporated the Danish Gold Coast and the Dutch Gold Coast in 1872. Through invasion and conquering of the native kingdoms, most especially the Ashanti and Fante

confederacies,Britain was able to extend its colony to control many territories on the Gold Coast. Moreover, Wars between the Asante and the Fante also aided the expansion of British control on the Gold Coast. The Fantes states were forced to sign the Bond of 1844 with the British due to Asante operations on the Gold Coast. The purpose of the bond is to provide the British with some judicial authority to try murder and robbery cases only in the colony. Also under the Bond, The British cannot gain new judicial powers without the approval of the chiefs and people of the British protectorate. But In practice the, British were successful in capturing more judicial powers to the extent that in the 1850s they considered establishing British courts in place of traditional African courts.As a result of the ever-expanding British judicial powers on the coast and also to ensure British control over coastal peoples, the British after the defeat of Asante in 1874, declared the former coastal protectorate a crown colony of the British on 24 July 1874. The Gold Coast Colony comprised the coastal areas and extended inland as far as the ill-defined borders of Asante territories. The Asante and the British, who were sometimes allied with the Fante, fought four different wars known as the Anglo-Ashanti Wars which ended with victory for the British and the fall of the Asante kingdom. The British influence was eventually extended to include Asante. Following the defeat of Asante in 1896, the British therefore declared a protectorate over the Asante kingdom. The Asantehene (Asanti king) and his council were exiled. British appointed a resident commissioner to the Asante kingdom and granted him both civil and criminal jurisdiction over the Asante territories. After the defeat of the Asante kingdom, the British developed much interest in the vast land lying north of Asante known as the Northern Territories to prevent the French and Germans who were rapidly advancing in the surrounding regions. But in 1898 and 1899, the boundaries between the Northern Territories of Gold coast and its surrounding French and German colonies were demarcated by the European colonial powers among themselves. Therefore, the Northern Territories also became a British protectorate in 1902. With the northern territory becoming under British control, the three territories of the Gold Coast; the Colony (the coastal regions), Asante, and the Northern Territories became a single political unit, or crown colony, known as the Gold Coast. In May 1956, British Mandated Togoland (the western portion of the former German colony) also voted in a plebiscite to become part of modern Ghana. This formed the borders of modern Ghana. Therefore, the British having the entire Gold coast under their control exploited and exported a variety of natural resources

such as metal ores, gold, diamonds, pepper, ivory, pepper, timber, grain and cocoa. The Ghana Independence Act of 1957consided the territories British Crown Colony of Gold Coast as the territorial borders of modern-day Ghana.

Moreover, Christianity and colonialism are frequently linked with each other because, Christianity, in its different sects (namely Protestantism, Catholicism and Orthodoxy), acted as the state religions during the historical European colonial and imperial era. In the British Gold Coast, British Christian missionary societies were also fundamental to British colonialism as they were in other parts of the world. Their activities tend to offer the British colonialists a sense of justice and moral authority over the British colonies such as the Gold coast.“The British missionary societies served as the"religious arms" of British imperialism and colonialism**.** The Earl of Carnarvon, who happens to be twice the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1874 submitted a set of proposals on the system of governing all the West African Settlements through a single governor which stated that, the protectorate was retained very much as it had existed before the Ashanti War. Influence rather than edict would still be Britain's method of advancing 'Commerce, Christianity and Civilization. But this was not all. Two additions were made to this modest programme later in 1874 which in the long run profoundly influenced the history of the Gold Coast.”(McIntyre,1967).“Carnarvon announced his new policy for the Gold Coast in the House of Lords on 12 May 1874. There could be no withdrawal. If Britain had no written obligations on the Gold Coast, she had moral ones.”(McIntyre,1967).

Initially, the British missionaries in the Gold Coast presented themselves as actual saints and perfect examples of piety during the colonial era. However, towards the end of the colonial era, in the second half of the 20th century, the missionaries were increasingly recognized by some of the indigenous people as ideological foot soldiers of the British colonialists and agents of British imperialism on the Gold coast. In most of the regions, some of the indigenous people were converted from their traditional belief systems into Christianity. the British colonialist used Christianity as a justification for enslaving the indigenous people, eradicating the indigenous religious beliefs and later exploiting the mineral resources. The British missionary societies as well as other Christian missionaries were in many parts of the colonizing forces in the Gold coast as were the explorers, traders and soldiers. There is no doubt the British missionaries were agents of British colonialism in the practical sense whether or not

they recognized themselves in that light. The missionaries were initially centered at the castles and forts to offer the British colonialists a sense of justice and moral authority over the British colonies such as the Gold coast. But from the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a significant wave of evangelical zeal in Britain and other parts of Europe. As result, many missionary societies whose members would go out to Africa and the other lands to convert the native people into Christianity were formed. This was followed after centuries of exploration of the Gold coast and other African societies through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. By the turn of the early nineteenth century, British missionary societies such as The Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts(SPG Anglican mission) and The Church Mission Society (C.M.S. Anglican Mission), Basel Mission (Presbyterian mission), The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society), Catholic Mission,(From Britain), The Apostolic Church from England, The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) and The Worldwide evangelization crusade, etc. emerged in the Gold Coast to embark on **what Earl of Carnarvon,** (the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1874) refers to as the **Christianisation and Moral obligation** when he announced his new policy for the Gold Coast in the House of Lords on 12 May 1874.

2.10. Conclusion

Before the advent of Islam and Christianity in the region, African Traditional Religion (ATR) was the only religious tradition found in the various indigenous Ghanaian societies. The study of these indigenous religious Beliefs and Practices among the ethnic groups located in the region later to be called Ghana after 1957 like the Akans, Dagomba, Gonja, Mamprusi, Ewe etc. can best be described as primitive monotheism due to their belief in the Supreme Being, But polytheistic due to their beliefs in human and other nature spirits. Therefore we can deduce a classification of these traditional religious beliefs in pre-colonial lower Volta Basin into four categories: beliefs in the Supreme God or creator divinized natural forces, divinized ancestors, charms, amulets, Myths, the presence of deities, ancestor veneration, and divination. Islam on the other hand was brought to the Lower Volta Basin (Gold Coast) modern Ghana in the first place via the trade routes across the West Africa sub-region. But Islamization of the people of the Lower Volta basin was essentially carried out by the indigenous Africans themselves, who shared the same or similar worldview, spoke the same language, and lived in entirely the same religious and

cultural world. There is no doubt that, for Ghanaian Muslims, Ghanaian history and Islam are in no way opposed. Therefore, In the view of Ghanaian Muslims, rejecting Islam corresponds to rejecting their families, traditions and socio-cultural identity. because their religious and cultural traditions are holistically intertwined. One must conclude that Islam, in its traditional African form, is entirely a part of the African cultural heritage and thus a social-religious transformational reality for some indigenous Ghanaian societies.

Modern Ghana was a British Crown Colony called Gold Coast from 1821 until its independence in 1957. The term Gold Coast which was initially used to refer to the coastal regions of Ghana during the era of Portuguese, the Dutch, Danes and early British was later used to describe all of the four separate jurisdictions that were under the British administration during the British colonial era. These were the Gold Coast (coastal regions), the Ashanti, the Northern Territories and the British Togoland trust territory. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to make their way to the Lower Volta Basin, steadily making their way south down the West African coast in pursuit of a short sea route to China and the Far East's famous riches. Initial Dutch connections to the Gold Coast trace to the 1590s when Bernard Ericksz initiated trade to Guinea from the United Provinces. the Danish Guinea Company (the Bargum Trading Company). Danish territories on the Gold coast became a Crown Colony from 1754 until 1776 and were finally sold to the British in 1850. The British continuously purchased all the Danish Gold Coast territorial settlements and forts, which were incorporated into the British Gold Moreover, the first English voyage to the Gold coast was made by a Portuguese sailor called Captain Thomas Windham and Antonio Anes Pinteado with two ships namely the Primrose and Lyon, and a pinnace. But many English efforts on the Gold coast were unorganized until James I formed the Company of Adventurers of London in 1618 to handle British trading on the Gold coast. This Company was given the sole trading rights from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope. By 1752, The Crown formed the Royal Business Company to lead its trading in Africa. In the early nineteenth century, The Royal Business Company was replaced by The African Company of Merchants. The British government, therefore, withdrew their charter in 1821; seizing privately owned land along the Gold Coast. After taking over all the remaining assets of other European countries on the Gold Coast, the British government, therefore, declared the region as the British crown

colony of Gold Coast colony in 1821. Furthermore, through invasion and conquering of the native kingdoms, most especially the Fante and Asanti, Britain was able to extend its colony to control many territories on the Gold Coast. The Fantes states were forced **to** sign the Bond of 1844 with the British due to Asante operations on the Gold Coast. This bond provided the British with some judicial authority to try murder and robbery cases only in the colony. British succeeded in capturing more judicial powers and finally established British courts to replace the traditional African courts. In 1898 and 1899, the boundaries between the Northern Territories of Gold coast and its surrounding French and German colonies were demarcated by the European colonial powers. As a result, the Northern territories became under the British protectorate in 1902. In May 1956, British Mandated Togoland (the western portion of the former German colony) voted in a plebiscite to become part of modern Ghana. This formed the borders of the British Gold coast colony and modern Ghana after independence."Hardly any explorer or conquistador sailed without chaplains in his company, who raised the cross and preached Christianity as soon as they set foot onshore. This statement by the English explorer, colonial promoter and functionary Harry Hamilton Johnston, made in the late 19th century, pays tribute to the close connection between the extension of Christian missions and the expansion of European power. Connection that indeed can hardly be denied historically.''(Grunder,1995).The British missionaries were initially to offer the British colonialists a sense of moral justice and authority for colonialism and imperialism. But with the significant wave of evangelical spirit in Britain which led to the formation of many British missionary societies, many missionary societies whose members would go out to Africa and the other lands to convert the native people into Christianity were formed. In the early nineteenth century, British missionary societies such as The Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts(SPG Anglican mission) and The Church Mission Society (C.M.S. Anglican Mission), Basel Mission (Presbyterian mission), The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society), Catholic Mission,(From Britain),The Apostolic Church from England,The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) and The Worldwide evangelization crusade, etc.emerged in the Gold Coast.

CHAPTER THREE
BRITISH MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN GOLD COAST

3.1.Introduction

British colonial missionaries are distinctive features in the colonial landscape of the Gold Coast (Ghana). There is no iota of doubt the activities and investments of these British Christian Missionaries Societies which were part of British colonial settlement that expanded not only in the Gold Coast but throughout Africa mostly in the middle of the 19th century have also massively contributed towards the Colonial expansion as well as the religious change in Ghana. This modem alliance between mission and colonialism is based on previous historical developments. "Already in classical antiquity, the Christian mission attached itself to Jewish colonial enterprise and Roman imperial expansion. One landmark in the development of this alliance is Constantine's victory over his adversary Maxentius by the Milvian bridge in 312 A.D., not only because this event resulted in the successive political tolerance, preference, and promotion of Christian faith, but also because it marked that point in the history of Western Christian expansion where the interests of state and Church began to merge: for, as much as evangelization promised to further the expansion of the empire, so did imperial expansion promise to further the spreading of the Gospel. Thus, from then on, missionary enterprise became the business of emperors, kings, and princes, who no longer separated politically from religious interests".(Grunder,1995:18).In this context, it has been proposed that future European colonization and imperialism such as that of the British was also founded on this same idea. "Perhaps, the popular "strands of inquiry into the British Empire and the missionaries flows from the growing appreciation that the British Empire was as much a cultural as an economic and political construction" (Carey,2008). but Our contributions to the debate focus on the perspective of British missionary enterprise in the British Gold Coast (Ghana) contexts. The importance of British missionary history in Ghana is due to its connection with themes such as the political, economic, social and religious history of the country. The British missionary enterprise, in particular, has contributed tremendously in determining the social, political, economic, and religious developments in Ghana. That is; British Missionary societies has been a part of Ghana's history since the inception and evangelization of British and other western Christian missionaries on the Gold Coast.

Between the years 1500 and 1600, many of the European nations such as England, Germany, France and Dutch left Catholicism left the Catholic Church and became Protestants. Therefore, they did not obey the Pope's command not to trade in the West African Guinea coast under the sole monopoly of the Portuguese. They started to visit the trading post established by the Portuguese in the region like the Elmina on Gold Coast and the others which the Portuguese had occupied for many years. Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, adventurers first the Dutch, English and later the Danish, and Swedish were also granted licenses by their respective governments to trade overseas. Moreover, there was a significant surge of evangelical spirit in Britain and other parts of Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. After centuries of exploration of African societies through the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, these missionary societies were to go to Africa and other regions to propagate Christianity. Historically, the most consistent difference between French and British colonial territories concerning Catholic and Protestant missions in various parts of the world is that Missionary societies entering British colonial territories like the Gold coast could start their missionary activities immediately upon arrival with few restrictions as compared to French colonies. Catholic colonizers on the other often directly blocked Protestant missionaries. for example, well into the 20th century, the French banned Protestant missionaries from entering French Indo-China, French Equatorial Africa, French territories in the Americas, and so on." (Pruett 1938; Thiessen 1961; Jennings 2000: 201; Dennis, Beach and Fahs,1911; Woodberry 2004:32). "whereas on missionary maps of West Africa, there are many Protestants mission stations in the British colonies of Ghana/Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leon, but almost none in the Portuguese and French colonies on the same coastline" (Woodberry, 2004:35).Moreover, in the Nineteenth Century, there was a systematic effort by British missionaries, namely: Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts(SPG Anglican mission) and The Church Mission Society (C.M.S. Anglican Mission), Basel Mission (Presbyterian mission), The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society), Catholic Mission,(From Britain), The Apostolic Church from England, The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church) and The Worldwide evangelization crusade, etc. in Gold Coast.

In addition, "John Darwin's concept of the imperial 'bridgehead' stresses the crucial role of sub-imperial agents in the British Empire's expansion. These agents

could be colonial officials, settlers, the military, traders and, crucially, missionaries, who were often at the frontiers of British influence abroad. But after the early establishment of missionary organizations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, missionary work in the empire was largely carried out by so-called 'native missionaries', or what Peggy Brock terms 'new Christian evangelists'' (Everill,2012). These native African missionaries or new Christian evangelists, many of whom arrived from British colonies in America, also contributed to the British missionary's growth and impact on the Gold Coast and modern Ghanaian society. Some of the native African missionaries or new Christian evangelists in Gold coast (Ghana) are the African Methodist Episcopal Zion mission, the General missionary convention (Triennial convention) The Christian Methodist Episcopal mission etc. all from the United States of America. Therefore, activities and initiatives of both British missionary societies from Europe as well as that of the native African missionaries or new Christian evangelists on the Gold coast led to massive conversions of native Ghanaians, primarily from African traditional religions to various forms of western Christianity. "The process of the acculturation which had been going on for a long time in and around the European trading settlements and forts scattered along the West African coast got a new impetus when Christian missionaries began to arrive in Africa". (Pawl,2002) However, in this section, we shall explore some of the major factors in Britain that created the patterns and mentality of British missionary enterprise on the Gold coast. British colonial and Christian thought on mission and colonialism in the long nineteenth century reveals a more complex and nuanced picture. The British government allowed and even encouraged the activities of not just the Anglican missionary societies but also other British and foreign Protestants missionary societies on the Gold coast. This may be attributed in the eighteenth century partly to the attitude of the Anglican Church toward other Protestants. "At the end of the seventeenth century and through the beginning of the eighteenth the number of contacts among Protestant churches in Europe increased. Protestants, reacting to some success of the Catholic Church, sought closer co-operation among themselves. Many Anglicans considered their Church a via media both in form and in doctrine which had thrown off the power of the Pope without rejecting the ancient episcopal organization and in the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer had also retained the essentials of the liturgy." (Diffendal,1974:9) "The English government accepted large numbers of French Huguenots, Palatine Lutherans and Calvinists, as wel1 as members

of various German sects, who were a11owed to establish their congregations in England when they had available ministers. 13 Lutherans and Calvinists were permitted to take communion in the Anglican Church when they could not attend one of their own." (Diffendal,1974:5) The second characteristic of eighteenth-century Anglicanism that tended to either encouraged Anglican missionary contacts with other foreign Protestants missionaries is described by the term Latitudinarianism. "The term originated at the end of the seventeenth century to describe proposals for a new formulation of the church to encompass a large proportion of the English Nonconformists". (Diffendal,1974:10) The Latitudinarians were more concerned with living a virtuous life than with fine issues of Christian doctrine. Even though they adored the form of Anglicanism (the Church of England) they were also willing to accept other varieties of Christian worships. It was through this atmosphere British missionary societies such as the SPG and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge emerged and flourished in England. These two attitudes of the Anglican Church, that is, the co-operation among the European protestant churches in reacting to the success of the Catholic Church as well as their belief in Latitudinarianism which proposed for a church that encompasses a large proportion of the English Nonconformists (other European protestant missionaries) in worship but not in but the doctrine was transplanted into the British colony of Gold Coast in the nineteenth century. For example, even though the Basel Evangelical missionary was a protestant missionary society with a Swiss and German origin, "the first Basel missionaries set out from London (Britain) and land at Christiansburg (Accra, Ghana) on 18th December 1828."(Foli, 2006:19). Also, the North German Missionary Society was received by the Wesleyan missionary society (a British missionary society) when they first arrived at Cape Coast on the 5th of May 1847. They were well received by the Wesleyan missionary at Cape coast, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman."(Foli, 2006:24). "The Church Mission Society of the Anglican Church in London financially supported the venture by initially sponsoring between four and nine Basel graduates per year. The key contact in London was Carl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf at the German Lutheran Savoy Church in London."(Ganter, 2018). Even the Roman Catholic missionaries who were not protestant and does not conform to Anglicanism both in doctrine and worship re-entered the Gold Coast after the expulsion of the Portuguese "through the effort of Sir James Marshal, one of the English men on the coast who was

a Roman Catholic original baptised and trained as an Anglican priest."(Foli, 2006:28). Marshal published some letters letter in certain English newspapers pleading that a Catholic missionary should be sent to the Gold Coast. He also urges Roman Catholic missionaries in Nigeria to write to their missionary authorities and demand that missionaries be sent to the Gold Coast. This eventually resulted in the returning of catholic missionaries to the Gold Coast in 1880.

From the above, we can demonstrate that British colonial expansion which reached its apogee during the long nineteenth century provided the contest and sometimes the accommodation for all Anglican doctrinal conformists' protestant missionary societies on the Gold Coast. The co-operation among these European and native protestant missionaries as well as the Church of England's belief in **Latitudinarianism** which proposed for a church that encompasses a large proportion of the English Nonconformists (other European protestant missionaries) in worship but not in doctrine in Christian missionary was seen in the case of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast. In the context of British missionary enterprise and Colonialism in Gold Coast, this chapter shall deal with the history of British missionary enterprise in Gold Coast, discusses the relationship between the British missionary enterprise and British colonialism and finally, the inquiry into the growing appreciation that the British Empire was not just a cultural, economic, or political but also a religious construction in the Gold Coast.

3.2.Critical Studies of British Anglican Missionary Societies in Gold Coast

3.2.1.The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Foreign Parts (SPG)

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was an Anglican missionary society formed in 1701 by Thomas Bray in England. The society emerged in an era when similar missionary societies were very prominent throughout Europe. These missionary societies are formed with the main purpose of advancing European foreign religious objectives. "Thomas Bray's intention was to use this new society to aid the Bishop of London in carrying out his re1igious duties in British colonies. The President of the society was the Archbishop of Canterbury. From the beginning, the SPG was interested not only in English colonists but also in Indians, Negroes, and non-English white settlers in British territory". (Diffendal, 1974:5) In 1751, "the society sent out its first missionary Thomas Thompson to the Gold Coast, West Africa. After a couple of years in 1754, he sent three local Fante boys to England to be educated

there as missionaries. Only one of the three African students survived, Philip Quaque, who was ordained a deacon in London in 1765. The next year Quaque returned to Cape Coast, accompanied by his English wife, to proselytize and educate his people. He served as a chaplain in the Cape Coast Castle, opened a school there to instruct mulatto offspring of African mothers and European fathers in religious knowledge, reading, writing and arithmetic. After the death of his first wife in 1767, Philip Quaque married an African wife and continued in his work for fifty years, witnessed the end of slaving within the castle and died in 1816." (Berman,1975:2) Thomas Thompson, the first Anglican and British missionary to the Gold coast has a very negative mentality toward the natives' traditions and religions. This made him achieve very little during his missionary activities on the Gold coast. But he left a legacy. When Thomas Thompson realised that he was not making any progress, he then looked for African agents for his mission on the Gold coast. Thompson established School for indigenous youngsters. The school was to serve as means to convert the children into Christianity. "There was two-part of them. There was the idea that literacy was essential not only for the reading of the scriptures of the Christian religion but also for conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, the school also served as the contact point with the parents of the pupils, with whom they had hardly any other contact. Thompson encouraged the education of Africans as part of the mission strategy." (Pobee,2009:110) Thomas Thompson's achievement as a British missionary in the Gold Coast was the attempt to establish formal education and the three African boys Thompson sent to England to be trained as Native or indigenous Anglican missionaries. Furthermore, "Philip Quague**,** one of the three African students who were sent to England to be trained as native missionaries and the only one who survived among the three, was ordained a deacon in London in 1765. He returned to Cape Coast, accompanied by his English wife, to embark on his mission. Philip Quague served as a chaplain in the Cape Coast Castle opened a school there to instruct mulatto (offspring of African mothers and European fathers) in religious knowledge, reading, writing and arithmetic. One of the achievements of Philip Quague's missionary activities in the Gold coast was the school established by his predecessor Thomas Thompson in the castle and continued by Philip Quague. He acted as a Schoolmaster and Catechist. That school has been perpetuated in one form or the other, through Government Boys school, Cape coast to the present Philip Quaques school, Cape coast." (Pobee,2009:116) Anglican presence in the Gold coast, therefore, should occasion no surprise as that Christian (Anglican Church of

England) church was the official religion of Britain. It is generally recognised that there was some relationship between Christian missions and the aggressive colonial policies of the nations from which missionaries originated. "Whatever may have been the beneficial intention of the missionaries, they were in fact tools of governments and mission can be classed as one the instrument of western infiltration and control of Gold coast and other countries of the Southern Hemisphere. ."(Pobee,2009:103)

Moreover, SPG did not only embark on missionary activities but also indulged in the slave trade, branding its slaves on the chest with the word SOCIETY, to indicate their owners. "At the General Synod of the Church of England on 8th February 2006, the Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams apologized for the Anglican Church benefiting from the slave trade." (Pobee,2009:103) Rev. Tom Butler of Southwark, South London, was even blunt the profit from the slave trade was part of the bedrock of our country's industrial development. No one who was involved in running the business, financing it or benefiting it or benefiting from its products can say they had clean hands. We know that bishops in the House of Lords with biblical authority voted against the abolition. The church own sugar plantations." (Pobee,2009:114)Philip Quaques was designated by the British as s a missionary, Schoolmaster and Catechist on the Gold coast. Convey the idea that, the school was the handmaid of the British missionary enterprise to convert the indigenous people of the Gold coast. Quaque also established the branches of his school at Anomabo, Tantumquerre, Wineba, Accra, Komenda, Sekondi and Dixocove all of which were located on the trading post. "As to the matter of the purpose of education, it's often prepared people to become teachers, clerks, interpreters on land or board ships, and even soldiers, thus serving foreign interests. ."(Pobee,2009:116) "The products Quagues schools became the elite class with Christian background in Gold coast. Two of the Quaques: John Martin and Joseph Smith wrote to the Wesleyan Missionary society through Captain Potter, a sea captain of the Congo, a vessel which plied between Bristol (England) and the West Africa to invite them to work in the Gold coast. They responded and thus came the first Methodist mission to the Gold coast. and soon the brought in a Negro to spread the mission."(Pobee,2009:117) ·When Queque died after fifty years of mission and ministry in cape coast, though the SPG continued to supply chaplains to the castles, is W, Philip (1817) Collins (1818-1819), R . Harold (1823-1822), A. Henry (1824-1826), it made no effort to organise mission work among the native people in a systematic

manner."(Pobee,2009:121) Quaque's efforts appear to have petered out. Through his evangelistic efforts in Accra, a period of four months between1712-1773 did not appear to have yielded much fruit, somewhere later in 1879 some African decided to establish a branch of the Anglican Church in Accra. They include Edmund Bannerman, Alex Bruce, E.B. Addy, C.T. Nylander, J.O. Bruce, Thomas F. Bruce, P. C.Reindorf, Chief John Barnor Williams Quaye, F.P. Fearon, J.E.M. Baskin, C. Cuthbert Brown, J. Fleischer, J.L. Crabbe- some thirty persons altogether. They were called Accra Episcopal Church of England society. Inaugurated 7th July 1880; divine service was held in a courthouse at James Town, though earlier at Old government Boys school.Nevertheless, in many ways, this period sees the beginnings of modern Ghanaian Anglicanism. During these years the Gold Coast was made an independent diocese under Canterbury (1909), and the tone of modern Ghanaian Anglican piety was set. More importantly, if one considers the Anglican Church in Ghana as an organisation of Ghanaian congregations, a church that in 1900 was confined to two or three coastal towns had spread by 1925 close to its present geographical extent and its numbers of practising adherents had grown at least tenfold in the process."(Jenkins, 1974:23). "On 9th August 1893, the governor Sir William Brandforth Griffith laid the foundation for Holy Trinity Church which is today called the Cathedral Church of the Holy trinity**.** The Governor, Sir William Brandforth took the initiative to recommend to London to include in the development budget the sum of five thousand pounds sterling to construct the Anglican Church, which was approved. This became the first Anglican Church in the Gold coast after years of missionary work." (Pobee,2009:134)

Figure 1.2 Anglican Holy Trinity Cathedral Accra .jpg Created: 26 August 2006

"When the Anglican mission was resumed at the beginning of the twentieth century when captain George Maclean arrived in cape coast in 1830, he did not only laid the foundation of the future British administration of the Gold Coast but also

encouraged Christian missions, i.e. SPG, Basel Mission(Presbyterian)and Wesleyan Methodist mission to do their mission". (Pobee,2009:138) The SPG missionary in the Gold coast just lingered until the British started to cement control over the Gold coast and established the British colony in the region. The Anglican missionaries societies in the Gold coast (The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and The Church Mission Society (CMS)) demonstrated the accommodative nature of all Anglican doctrinal conformists' protestant and Church of England's belief in Latitudinarianism which proposed for a church which encompasses a large proportion of the English Nonconformists (other European protestant missionaries) in worship but not in doctrine in Christian missionary were seen in the case of British missionary enterprise in Gold coast."Even though Anglican Missionary activities in Gold coast (Ghana) began in 1752, when Bishop Hamlyn was transferred by the Church of England from Nigeria to Cape Coast in 1904, he opened congregations in Cape Coast, Accra, Tarkwa and Sekondi. Membership was made up of mainly Europeans in government service, and the medium of communication for the service was English. However, in 1907, Bishop Hamlyn established a congregation for Yorubas in Sekondi and another congregation for Fantes at Essikado. At the same time, Rev. Ernest Bruce who had left the Methodist Church and joined the Anglican Church helped in establishing the St. Mary's Anglican Church in Accra for Ga speakers."(Asare. 2020). Later the Church for the Province of West Africa was established in 1951 by five West African Anglican dioceses (Accra, Lagos, Niger, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. By 1977 the Diocese of Liberia also joined the Anglican Church for the Province of West Africa**.** By February 1979, four new Anglican dioceses were formed in Koforidua, Cape Coast, Sekondi and Sunyani/Tamale. In November 2014, the Anglican Diocese of Asante Mampong, previously under Kumasi was also inaugurated making a total of 11 Anglican Diocese in Ghana. The list of Contemporary Anglican Diocese in Ghana is: Anglican Diocese of Accra - Daniel Torto, Anglican Diocese of Asante Mampong - Cyril Kobina Ben-Smith Anglican Diocese of Cape Coast – Victor Atta-Baffoe, Anglican Diocese of Ho – Matthias Mededues-Badohu, Anglican Diocese of Koforidua – Felix Odei Annanc, Anglican Diocese of Kumasi – Daniel Sarfo, Anglican Diocese of Sekondi – John Otoo, Anglican Diocese of Sunyani – Festus Yeboah Asuamah, Anglican Diocese of Tamale – Jacob Kofi Ayeebo, Anglican Diocese of Wiawso – Abraham Kobina Ackah and Anglican Diocese of Dunkwa-on-Offin – Edmund Dawson Ahmoah

Figure 3.3 The Anglican Church in Ghana (Jenkins,1974:.27)

3.2.2. The Christian Missionary Society (CMS)

The Church Mission Society (CMS), formerly known as the Church Missionary Society is also a British mission society founded in 1799. a sister British Anglican missionary society like the society for the propagation of the Gospel. "Church Missionary Society (CMS), was founded in London in 1799 as the Society for Missions in Africa and the East, by Evangelical clergy of the Church of England (those who stressed biblical faith, personal conversion, and piety). In 1812 it was renamed the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East."(Britannica, 2013) "When SPG work in the Gold coast was in the doldrums, the sister missionary society, CMS, was active in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. SPG invited an old coaster, The Venerable N.T Hamlyn, Archdeacon of Legos to be Assistant Bishop of Western Equatorial Guinea with the charge of the Gold Coast and its hinterland. The Episcopal signature of N.T Hamlyn was Nathaniel; Accra suggesting Accra was his official seat. Of course, the British had moved their capital from cape coast to Accra in 1890. So, Accra was the natural see" (Pobee,2009) By the first decades of the 20th century, during the missionary activities of the Church Missionary Society (a missionary wing of the

Church of England), Bishop Hamlyn was transferred from Nigeria to Ghana in 1904. "Hamlyn founded the Adisedal College; one of the orders Anglican boys' schools in Africa and the second-oldest secondary school in Ghana after Mfantsipim School established in 1876 by the Wesleyan missionary Society from London. Hamlyn's ambition was to establish a grammar school to educate the sons of Anglicans in the colony, and also create an educational institution that will serve as a training ground for the clergy."(Mobley,1970) Throughout the British colonial era in the Gold coast to the sovereign independent nation of Ghana on 6 March 1957, The Anglican Diocese of Accra covered the whole geographic area of Gold Coast (Ghana). The succession of Diocesan bishops for the Anglican Diocese of Accra has been Nathaniel Temple Hamlyn (1909–1910), Mowbray Stephen O'Rorke (1913–1923), John Orfeur Aglionby (1924–1951), John Charles Sydney Daly (1951–1955), Reginald Richard Roseveare (1956–1967). The growth of the Anglican church in the Gold Coast demanded the establishment of a regional Anglican diocese. Throughout the colonial era, the Anglican Diocese of the Gold Coast was led by the British. Later the Anglican diocese of Ghana which was centred in Accra began to have its indigenous church leaders. they are; Ishmael Samuel Mills LeMaire (1968–1982), Francis William Banahene Thompson (1983–1996), Justice Ofei Akrofi (1996–2012) and Daniel Sylvanus Mensah Torto, the current bishop, who was consecrated on 24 June 2012 and inaugurated on 11 November 2012.

In conclusion, even though Anglicanism was born in the 16the century in Britain it was until the 18th century that Anglicanism appeared on the Gold Coast. Anglican Missionary activities in Gold Coast (Ghana) began in 1752 through the effort of the SPG missionary called Thomas Thompson but took a different dimension in terms of church development when Bishop Hamlyn (of the Church Mission Society) was transferred by the Church of England from Nigeria to Cape Coast in 1904. Both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and The Church Mission Society (CMS) demonstrated two main characteristics in their missionary endeavours on the Gold Coast. Firstly, The Church of England's accommodative nature of all Anglican doctrinal conformists' protestant missionaries and secondly, the Church of England's belief in Latitudinarianism which proposed for a church that encompasses a large proportion of the English Nonconformists (other European protestant missionaries) in worship but not in doctrine. The British allowed and even

encouraged the activities of not just the Anglican missionary societies but also other British, European Protestants missionaries both in England and in British colonies like on the Gold Coast. Moreover, from the onset of British missionary activities on the Gold Coast, The British missionary societies were very instrumental in using education as a tool for Christianising the native people. The schools were used as a centre for training catechists, and later to train teachers as well as ministers. In 1754, Thomas Thompson sent three local Fante boys to England to be educated as Anglican missionaries. When he also realised that he was not making any progress, he then starts to look for African agents for his mission on the Gold Coast. Thompson started a school to educate African children. This development was rooted in the philosophy that the school was doing to be a tool for Christianizing the people. Thomas Thompson's achievement as a British missionary on the Gold Coast was the three African boys, he sent to England to be trained as Native missionaries and the attempt to establish formal education to train the student to become agents of Anglicanism on the Gold coast. Philip Quaque (A native Anglican missionary) also established the branches of the Anglican school at Anomabo, Tantumquerre, Wineba, Accra, komenda, Sekondi and Dixocove. The product of these schools became teachers, clerks, interpreters on land or aboard ships, and even soldiers, thus, becoming an African elite class with Christian background serving British interest. These Anglican missionary-initiated schools are still very influential in contemporary independent Ghanaian society Academy of Christ the King, Holy Trinity Cathedral SHS, St Monica's SHS, Kumasi Anglican SHS, Adisadel College are a few examples of only Anglican Senior High schools in Ghana.

Furthermore, the spread of Anglicanism during the British colonial era over large areas in the British West African colonies necessitated a regional Anglican episcopate on the Gold coast. The Church for the Province of West Africa was established in 1951 by five West African Anglican dioceses (Accra, Lagos, Niger, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Guinea) with the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury. By 1977 the Diocese of Liberia also joined the Anglican Church for the Province of West Africa**.** By February 1979, four new Anglican dioceses were formed in Koforidua, Cape Coast, Sekondi and Sunyani/Tamale. In November 2014, the Anglican Diocese of Asante Mampong, previously under Kumasi was also inaugurated making a total of 11 Anglican Diocese in Ghana.

3.3. Critical Studies British- Basel Mission (Presbyterian Church) in Gold Coast

The Basel Mission was founded on Wurttemberg Pietism's socio-religious ideals. Pietism began as a reform movement in the German Lutheran Church of Germany during the 17th and 18th centuries. Their objective was to renew the devotional ideal in the Protestant religion. Wurttemberg Pietism began as a missionary movement in rural and pre-industrial society in the nineteenth century. They were large settlements of Pietistic farmers and craftsmen who came together to form Christian model villages. The Basel mission had both Calvinists from Basel and Lutherans from Württemberg (Germany) content in its history. The society was founded to be Protestant but non-denominational. "The members of this organization were people from different backgrounds in Switzerland and South Germany who identified with the movement known as Wiirttemberg Pietism. From the 1820s their proselytizing activities took them to Russia, Persia, India, China, and Africa". (Miller, 1993:31).The Basel Mission was founded in 1815 in the Swiss city of Basel and sent its first missionaries to Ghana in 1828. The Basel Mission had a special connection with Pietists in Wurttemberg. Before the First World War, almost all missionaries of the Basel mission were usually recruited from Wurttemberg. It is worth noting that before the first Basel missionaries arrived on the Gold coast, there are already missionary societies such as the Monrovian missionary society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, already operating in the region."The First four Basel men to be selected were three Germans, Karl F.Salbah, Gottlieb Holzwarth, Johannes Henke and a Swiss, Johannes Gottlob Schmidt. Having had the carefully thought out priorities, missionaries set out from London and Landed at Christiansburg on 18th December 1828 and settled near the Castle, turning their attention firstly to the mulattos and to the people of the nearby village of Osu where they open a school". (Foli,2006:19) The Basel Mission sent another team of three missionaries: Andreas Riis, 28years, Peter Petersen Jaeger, 24 years, and a doctor, Christian Friedrich Heinze, 28years. Unfortunately, Dr Heinze and P.P. Jaeger failed to survive after three months, leaving Andreas Riis alone. Riis later moved to Akropong to be away from the problems of the coast; malaria fever, negative examples of the Europeans along the coast, and to preach the gospel to a people who were not yet greatly affected by the contact with the Europeans. He was joined in November 1837 at Akropong by two

more missionaries, Johannes Murdter and Andreas Stanger who came together with Anna Wolters, the bride of Riis.Stanger died in December 1837 while Murdter survived until November 1838. The time in Akropong was not altogether very successful causing Andreas and Anna Riis to leave Akropong in 1840 for Europe."The Moravian Church in the West Indies was willing to provide missionaries and a new team made up of Andreas and Anna Riis, Johann Georg Widmann and George Thompson went to Jamaica to find suitable Christians for the Mission. The team arrived at Christiansborg on the 16th of April 1843. Onboard the Irish ship, there was Joseph Anderson, with 25 West Indians. This marked the rebirth of the Basel Mission's enterprise in the Gold Coast."(Yamanai, 2021)With the arrival of the Moravian missionaries in 1843, Basel missionary activities became more productive in the region. "The Basel Mission Church established a seminary in1848, presently known as the Presbyterian College of Education, Akropong, to train church members to assist in missionary work. By the mid-20th century, the church had expanded and founded churches among the Asante people who lived in the middle belt of Ghana as well as the northern territories by the 1940s. The Basel missionary (now represented by the Moravian missionaries on the Gold coast) left the Gold Coast during the First World War in 1917. The work of the Basel missionary society was continued by missionaries from the Church of Scotland, the mother church of the worldwide orthodox or mainstream Presbyterian (Separatists from the Church of England) denomination." (Wikipedia contributors,2022) The word Presbyterian, when capitalized, is often applied uniquely to churches that trace their roots to the Church of Scotland or to English dissenter groups that formed during the English Civil War. (Wikipedia contributor,2022b) English Dissenters or Separatists were Protestant groups that separated themselves away from the Church of England during the 17th and 18th centuries. "They rejected British government interference in religious affairs and as result established their churches, educational institutions. After the breach with Rome, it was uncertain for more than a century whether the church in Scotland would be episcopal or Presbyterian in government. Charles I, who ruled Scotland and England, preferred the episcopal form, while the Scottish people insisted on the Presbyterian form**.** The struggle was long and complicated, but, when William and Mary became the English monarchs in 1689, Presbyterianism was permanently established in Scotland by the constitutional act. (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia,2020) The Church Mission Society of the Anglican Church in London financially supported the

venture by initially sponsoring between four and nine Basel graduates per year. The key contact in London was Carl Friedrich Adolf Steinkopf at the German Lutheran Savoy Church in London (Ganter, 2018)

The Presbyterians were asked by British colonialists asked to take over the Mission's (Basel missionary) activities on the Gold Coast**.** In 1926, after a nine-year absence occasioned by the war in Europe, the Baslers themselves were allowed to return and resume their work. The current presence of Basel Mission agents in Ghana, working in "partnership" with indigenous religious groups, is witness to how securely anchored the Mission has become since that return. It has been over a century-and-a-half since the first Basler arrived on the Gold Coast, more than 70 years since the British suspended the Mission's activities during World War I, and 35 years since the country emerged from colonial rule, pledging itself under Kwame Nkrumah to struggle free of both the symbols and the realities of foreign cultural domination. Since those early beginnings, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana has established and managed, in partnership with the Government of Ghana, hundreds of primary schools, many high schools and colleges of education. “These schools and colleges, guided by the proverbial Presbyterian discipline, set very high moral as well as educational standards, which have characterized the Presbyterian Education tradition. Also, in partnership with the government, the church has provided and managed Professional, Technical and Vocational Institutions in a wide range of fields including Agriculture and Health. Specifically, the church has established 1,886 schools comprising 490 Nurseries, 973 Primary Schools, 388 Junior High Schools, five (5) Vocational Institutes, five (5) Colleges of Education and 25 Senior High Schools”. (Presbyterian University College, Ghana,2017) and the Presbyterian University College, Ghana.

3.4. Critical Studies of the British -Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Gold Coast)

Methodism also called the Methodist movement, is a group of historically related denominations of Protestant Christianity that derive their doctrine of practice and belief from the life and teachings of John Wesley (1703–1791 and John's brother Charles Wesley were also significant early leaders in the movement. They were named Methodists for "the methodical way in which they carried out their Christian faith Methodism originated as a revival movement within the 18th-century Church of England and became a separate denomination after Wesley's death. The movement

spread throughout the British Empire, the United States, and beyond because of vigorous missionary work, today claiming approximately 80 million adherents worldwide" (Wikipedia contributors,2022c) Methodism emerged in England with a group of men, including John Wesley and his younger brother Charles as a movement within the Church of England the in the eighteenth century. In Africa, most Methodist congregations follow the British Methodist tradition. They see the Methodist Church of Great Britain as their mother church. However, since the attainment of independence, most of these churches have adopted an episcopal model of Methodism. English Wesleyan Missionary society (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society) firstly emerged in the West African sub-region with the advent of the settlers from Nova Scotia in Freetown in 1792. In 1796, Dr Coke, of the Wesleyan Methodist society in England sent a team to Sierra Leone to civilize the Fulani. But in the Gold coast, Methodism emerged as a result of the Wesleyan missionary activities in the region. "Joseph Rhodes Dunwell, the first Wesleyan missionary was sent to the Gold Coast in 1835. Anglicanism played some role in the rise of Methodism. One William de Graft, a product of the Anglican Church and school at Cape Coast Castle and founder of the Anglican Bible Study Group talked about the Cape Coast Castle mission with an English sea captain, Potter. Following the discussion, Potter requested that missionaries be sent to the Gold Coast in 1835. As a consequence, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society sent Joseph Rhodes Dunwell to Cape Coast" (Sarbah,2010:50). "After Joseph Rhodes Dunwell, other missionaries such were, Rev. & Mrs George Wrigley and Rev. & Mrs Peter Harrop were also after Rhodes Dunwell but all of them in the course of their missionary work in the Gold Coast. Consequently, Thomas Freeman, the son of an African father and English mother, was recruited. He arrived at the cape coast in January 1838 with his wife Mrs Freeman survived only the first six months. Lonely Freeman settled down after a period of ill health and rendered untiring service for the building of the Methodist Church in Ghana with the help of devoted Africans."(Foli,2006:23) "The accolade "founder of Ghana Methodism" belongs to an Englishman, son of an African father and an English mother who worked in Ghana from 1838 to 1890. Freeman is honoured not only for the length of his service in Ghana but also for the breadth and reach of his missionary zeal. He helped expand the work of Methodism to the dreaded Asante and Dahomey kingdoms." (Essamuah,2003:16). As in the case of previous missionary societies in the Gold coast, the missionary work of Freeman was not confined to only evangelism, but

encompassed projects in the fields of education, agriculture, and industry. "Through the initiative and leadership of Freeman, the first Wesley church in the Gold coast Wesley "cathedral." was established in Cape Coast. Three months later, on September 3, 1838, Freeman organized the first missionary meeting presided over by Governor George MacLean.The chairing of the meeting by MacLean pioneered a practice in Ghanaian Methodism in which secular and political leaders have chaired the church's missionary meetings. At these meetings, missionaries give their reports and launch appeals for funds for the extension and expansion of their work." (Essamuah, 2003:17-18). In the Asante territories, Freeman was not the first to introduce Christianity. There were records of few Fante Christians and traders in the region. What Freeman brought into the Asante territory was a colonial missionary force. Which, once established will provide the interior region Western Christian education as well as the civilization. In the Asante territories, Freeman was not the first to introduce Christianity interior territories. "There were records of few Fante Christians and traders in the region. Freeman brought into the Asante territory was a colonial missionary force. Which, once established will provide the interior region educational benefits as well as the British culture After completing the journal of his visit to Kumasi. Freeman sent it to the mission committee in London, with a recommendation by George MacLean, President of the Council of European Merchants at Cape Coast, who in the absence of a governor oversaw the interests of the British government. Upon receipt of the report in England, Freeman was invited, along with de Graft, to visit London. Accepting the invitation was easier to contemplate because just about that time Brooking Mycock and his brother Josiah Mycock had arrived from England to complement the leadership of the indigenous Christians in Freeman's absence."(Essamuah, 2003:19). Wesley missionary activities in the Northern territories of Gold Coast (Ghana) began in 1910. But the Missionary work was finally established in 1955, with Rev. Paul Adu as the first indigenous missionary sent to the Northern territories of Gold Coast, Ghana. "The Wesleyan missionary society used Christian songs, lyrics), dawn preaching in suburbs, class meetings (where studying of the bible or discussion of any relevant topic for Christian living took place), Sunday morning and evening services, annual camp meetings (involving teaching and intense prayer activities), among others. An outstanding dimension of Methodist missionary work is the provision of schools, hospitals/clinics and other social services based on community needs. The abovementioned activities of the church were some of the reasons that accounted for

the church's spread and growth in this area and Ghana as a whole". (Acquah, 2011 p.100)By 1854, "the Church had been organized into circuits constituting a district with T.B. Freeman as Chairman. However, Freeman was replaced in 1856 by William West. On 6th February 1878, Synod took steps that were confirmed at the British Conference in July 1878, that the district should be divided into two for effective ministries. The district had then extended to include areas in the then Gold Coast and Nigeria. The two districts were: Gold Coast (Ghana) District, with Rev'd T.R. Picot as Chairman.Yoruba and Popo, District with Rev'd John Milum as Chairman.Currently, the Methodist Church Ghana, is one of the leading Churches in our country, with a total membership of over 600,000. The Church has 17 dioceses, 3,814 societies, 1,066 pastors, 15, 920 local preachers, 24,100 Lay Leaders, many schools, an orphanage, hospitals and clinics."(Beginning of Methodism in Ghana. (2021) According to available conservative estimates, by the end of 2009, the church had established 719 kindergartens, 1,017 primary and 483 junior high schools. The Methodist Church Ghana also boasts of 20-second cycle public schools, 22 secondary/tertiary/vocational institutions, and three colleges of education. Two hospitals, sited at Wenchi in the Brong Ahafo Region and Ankaasi in the Ashanti Region, bear the mark of the church." (Chronicle, 2010)

3.5. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Black Methodist church From the United States) in Gold Coast.

One of the lasting impacts of the transatlantic slave trade is that it led to the establishment of an African diaspora in the western world. Some of these diaspora Africans were converted to various forms of western Christianity, the colonial master's religion. The African diaspora in the Caribbean provided a fertile ground for the Christianization of Africans who would serve as agents of Christian missionaries in Africa. In other words, the freed Christianised slaves from the Caribbean became new agents of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (Black Methodist church From the United States) is one of these African churches that originated from the British missionary enterprise in America but consciously or unconsciously later became agents of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast. Historically, The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church emerged in the United States as an African-American Christian denomination. The church was officially founded in 1821 in New York City. The African Methodist

Episcopal Zion Church maintained the British Wesleyan protestant theology. "The A.M.E. Zion Churches were a nationwide league of congregations founded in New York in 1820 by and for the African American religious community. Like the related, but separate, A.M.E. Churches, they were established and patronized by black Methodists who withdrew from the white-dominated Methodist churches as a reaction to the racism of the majority white Methodist community and to its reticence to take an organized stand against slavery as a religious issue". (Deutch,2001) Furthermore, in 1821, a meeting of members from six black churches presided by white a Methodist clergyman was organized and finally chose James Varick as a black bishop. In the Gold coast**,** John Bryan Smallan, an African-American is often recognized as the Founder of Zion Methodism in Ghana. John Bryan Small who happens to be a former British clerical sergeant in Gold coast during the Ashanti-British war is mostly regarded as the founder of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Gold coast. After he retired from the army he visited the United States on his way to England. "In the state, he came into contact with the Rev. R.H.G. Dyson and Bishop J.J.CLITON who persuaded him to join the A.M.E Zion Church. In 1896 he was consecrated by the Bishop of Alabama. when he visited Ghana soon after, he had interactions with his old friends including Rev. Kobina Fynn Eqyir-Asaam of the Wesleyan Church who asked him to recruit suitable young Africans of piety and promise for training in America and to be prepared as ministers"(Foli,2006:33) Rev Kobinah Fynn Eyir Asaam of the Wesleyan Church, therefore, became the first representative of the AME Zion church in Ghana after he has resigned from the Wesleyan Methodist Church as a result of a conflict over a local newspaper By 1908, John Bryan Small authorized Thomas Birch Freeman, Jr. of the Methodist Church (who happens to be the second promoter of AME Zion activities in the Gold coast) to establish the St. John A.M.E. Zion Churches and Schools in the Gold coast. "Today, the church and its schools are found in practically every region of Ghana. For administrative purposes, the church is divided into four conferences. The East Ghana Conference is made up of churches in the Volta and Greater Accra regions, West Ghana Conference comprises Central and Western regions, the Mid Ghana Conference consists of Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern regions and North Ghana Conference has churches in Northern, Upper West and Upper East regions. Apart from its administrative expansion, the A.M.E. Zion Church is one of the five founding members (with the Methodist Anglican, Evangelical Presbyterian and Presbyterian churches) of the Christian Council of Ghana, which was

formed in 1926." (AME church in Mamprobi, 2021)Apart from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Other Churches originating from Black Methodism in the United States and transplanted in Ghana are the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) and Christian Methodist Episcopal mission. There is the possibility of many other Black Methodism Churches in Ghana. However, the detailed discussion of more of these Black Methodism churches in Ghana is beyond the scope of this research

3.6. Critical Study of British-Catholics Missionary in Gold Coast

Catholicism is one of the most popular Christian denominations in contemporary Ghanaian society. However, the history of the Catholic Church in Ghana is difficult to comprehend due to its complex missionary history in the region. What is mostly accepted but subject to debate is that, during the 15th century, the Portuguese were the first to introduce Catholicism to the Portuguese Forts located on the Gold Coast in 1484. But the catholic mission did not make much impact on the native people because their lifestyle was contrary to the message they preached and also their final departure from the Gold Coast in 1637. In an attempt at getting religious missionaries into the Gold Coast, Propaganda Fide (In Rome) assigned the Gold Coast to the Society of African Mission (SMA) as their new mission territory in the latter part of 1879"(Addai,2012). Catholic missionary efforts in the Gold coast were rekindled with the emergence of Society of African Mission (SMA) missionaries Elmina in 1880. It is worth noting that, Sir James Marshall a Chief Magistrate and Judicial Assessor in the Gold Coast (1873-1874) as well as British Anglican clergy who later converted to Catholicism and became Chief Justice of the Gold Coast played a significant role in enhancing the growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the region. James Marshall through his letters and articles published in The Tablet (a Catholic international newspaper published in London) was able to appeal to the Catholics in Europe on the need to send English or Irish missionaries to territories under British control such as the Gold coast. In Marshal's perspective, the coastal settlements, especially those under British control, he argued, held out a much better prospect of success, for they provided a safe environment and were administered by a government favourable to missionaries of all denominations. He also emphasized the special responsibility of British Catholics since virtually all the existing West Coast missions were in areas of British influence. "This responsibility, he stressed, could be best exercised by the provision of direct financial support and by the dispatch of English (or Irish)

missionaries; also, by alerting the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (the chief international funding agency for missions) to the great opportunities in the region and Propaganda Fide the Holy See's Congregation responsible for missions) to the need to appoint a bishop over the work." (Hogan,1990) "On 18 May 1880, two Society of African Missions (SMA) missionaries, August Moreau and Eugene Murat came to Elmina. One Mr. Bonnat was at the shore to receive them and introduce them to the chiefs and prominent citizens of Elmina. The British governor came a few days later to discuss plans for establishing the new mission with the SMA missionaries." (Addai, 2012:28). The outcome was the establishment of a Gold Coast apostolic prefecture in 1897.The prefecture was entrusted to the Society of African Missions (SMA**).** As a result, the Roman Catholics returned to Elmina (Gold coast) in 1880. These missionaries therefore became the Roman Catholic pioneer missionaries in the Gold coast. Within 10 days Moreau fell sick and was advised to a sea voyage to Lagos, which he undertook with Murat. Soon after their return from Lagos to Elmina Murat died and was replaced by Fr.Michon. Moreau and his new colleague intensified efforts and soon open an Elementary School that served as the Backbone for evangelism. From 1881, annually, more and more pupil of the school were baptised. Same of them became catechist-the first lay apostles through whom Roman Catholic faith was spread from Elmina. Moreaus health failed and was invalidated home on 18th March 1886.He died three days later aboard a ship off Axim .Under the next missionary ,Fr .Pellet, Roman catholic attempt to open stations outside Elmina met success. Stations openedinclude;Axim(1882),Cape coast(1889)Keta(1890)Accra(1893),Kumasi(1903) and Navrgo(1906). (Foli,2006:29)

3.7. The Salvation Army Mission (Salvation Army Church)

The Salvation Army (TSA) is a Christian international protestant religious and charitable denomination. It is made up of a group of soldiers, officers, and followers who identify themselves as the Salvationists. "They aimed to provide salvation to the poor by providing their physical and spiritual needs. Historically, The Salvation Army was founded in London, England in 1865 under the leadership of General William Booth, a Methodist minister who was concerned about the effects of rapid urbanisation." (Wolf-Branigin,2017:157). William Booth and his wife, Catherine, left the Methodist Church in London because the Church had refused to allow them to provide for the spiritual and physical needs of those they believed to be individuals

most in need. As result, Booth established the Christian Mission which subsequently became The Salvation Army with donations from the mission's patrons and other sources. Salvation Army's theology is based on Methodist belief systems but differs in terms of institutions and practices. The usage of titles derived from military hierarchy, like "lieutenant" or "major," is a distinct feature of the Salvation Army. But the Salvation Army does not observe the rites of Baptism as well as the Holy Communion. It is popularly accepted among the Salvationists in Ghana that the Salvation Army firstly emerged on the Gold Coast as a result of the native of the Gold Coast who encountered the Salvation Army abroad and subsequently introduced the Salvation mission to the Gold Coast in 1902. But unfortunately, there are no records of the Salvation Army that was officially established by this unknown native of the Gold coast. On August 23, 1922, King Hudson, popularly known as Amoako Atta, who also happens to a native of the Gold coast(From Agona Duakwa) officially introduced the Salvation Army British protestant tradition to the Gold Coast. "Amoako Atta was nurtured in Methodist home as well as a prosperous farmer and businessman in the Gold coast. Amoako Atta (King Hudson) read about the services and efforts of the Salvation Army in seventy different countries in 1921 and became touched with the Salvationist mission. He wrote to the General who was then General Bramwell Booth, a son of General William Booth that he wished to be a Salvationist and to be trained as an officer. Hudson wanted a more active church (a church with vigorous worship and praises) than the solemn Christianity he was seeing on the Gold Coast. Before he could get his reply he was on his way to London".(Boapeah, 2010:50). "Whilst in London, on one Sunday at a street comer not far from Oxford circus, he met Salvationists in an open-air meeting. He was attracted and followed the Salvationists to Regent Hall (Chapel). He became converted and a soldier (an adult member of The Salvation Army) at the Ranks Corps (Ranks branch). He later fellowshipped with the Clapton congregation in England." (Boapeah, 2010:51). On August 19, 1921, King Hudson began his pastoral education in London and was later commissioned as a Lieutenant by General Bramwell Booth on May 1, 1922. Through King Hudson's evangelical activities, the Salvation Army quickly spread in the Central region and later into other parts of the Gold coast. In 1922 the first British and European Salvation Army missionaries on the Gold Coast named Ensign and Mrs Charles V. Roberts were appointed. King Hudson met them in Accra and took them to Winneba to join the Salvationists in worship. After a few months, a branch was established at James Town

in Accra. From James Town, they move to Tudu and finally settle at Mamprobi. From the 1950s, Salvation Army started to spread to all parts of the Gold coast (modern Ghana) through native and foreign initiatives. Currently, "there are more than 2,000 schools in The Salvation Army, educating more than 500,000 children. Salvation Army schools are central to the mission objectives of many territories and offer an incredible opportunity. Schools have the potential to shape young people's lives by ensuring they receive a quality Christian education and are enabled to play a meaningful role in their community". (The Salvation Army International – Schools,2021)

3.8. The Apostolic Church from England and the Christ Apostolic Church of Gold coast

The Apostolic Church was founded in 1915 in Penygroes, South Wales, United Kingdom. The first leader of the Apostolic Church was Daniel Powell Williams, who was ordained as an Apostle in 1913 and later became the first President of The Apostolic Church Council, a position he held until his death in 1947. According to the Apostolic beliefs, William Jones Williams was also called a Prophet and in 1913 and was ordained also into the full-time ministry of the Church. Apostolic believed the two were called together with others to demonstrate the New Testament offices of Apostle and Prophet in the United Kingdom. Subsequently, these ministries were implemented in other countries and continents of the World. The people of the Gold coast firstly came into contact with the Apostolic Church through the Faith Tabernacle of Nigeria. a group of Asamankese Christians on the Gold Coast were introduced to The Apostolic Church, which had already missionary begun its missionary activity in Nigeria. The Asamankese Christians, therefore, requested The Apostolic church in Bradford (England) to send a delegation to visit them. In response, the Apostolic Missionary Office in Bradford sent Pastor George Perfect, a British missionary already posted to Nigeria to leave Nigeria and attend to the Christian congregation at Asamankese in 1935. Subsequently; the Asamankese Christian group accepted to be members of the Apostolic Church and embraced the Apostolic Church's Tenets unreservedly. Peter Newman Anim, the group's leader, was officially ordained as the first African pastor of the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast, by Pastor George Perfect. In 1936, Pastor Vivian Wellings, the Apostolic Church of Bradford's Missionary Secretary at the time visited Gold Coast and on his return to England proposed that a

permanent Missionary should be sent to the Gold coast. On March 2, 1937, Pastor James McKeown arrived in the then Gold Coast to take up the mantle as the first resident Missionary. His wife, Sophia arrived later in September, the same year to support her husband. Barely six months after his arrival, Pastor James McKeown was taken ill with malaria fever. "A controversy broke out over his being taken to the Ridge Hospital by an English District Commissioner. The Faith Tabernacle Church members who had joined The Apostolic Church still held fanatically the doctrine of divine healing. During a Christmas Convention at Asamankese, Pastor McKeown's belief in medication was questioned by Pastor Anim and some of the Elders. This led to a split in the infant Church with Pastor Anim leading a faction of the Church to break away to form Christ Apostolic Church in 1938. More Missionaries were later posted from England to strengthen the work in the then Gold Coast. Pastor C. B. Sercombe arrived in 1943 to be the Vice Superintendent. Pastor Adams Mckeown, Brother of Pastor James Mckeown as a Prophet arrived in December 1944. Pastor Albert Seaborne came in 1946, followed by Pastor S. M. Hammond in 1948. Others were Pastor H. L. Copp in 1953 and Pastor C.H. Rosser in 1962. Pastor F. Johnson arrived in 1966, and Pastor P.W. Cawthorne in 1971. Then Pastor E. H. Williams also arrived in 1973". (The Apostolic Church International,2021) After several years on the Gold coast, the Ghana Apostolic Church after independent of Ghana and to be precise in 1962 changed its name to the Church of Pentecost. Some other similar Churches like The Apostolic Reformed Church, the Divine Healers Church, and The New Covenant Apostolic are all originated from the Ghana Apostolic Church. Nevertheless, all these Churches are affiliated with the Apostolic Church under the umbrella of the Ghana Pentecostal Council**.** Today there are more than a thousand five hundred local Churches in Ghana. The Church has also been instrumental in establishing the glorious vision and the seed of truth in Togo, Benin, Burkina Faso, La Cote D'Ivoire, and the United States of America. The Apostolic Church, Ghana celebrated her Golden Jubilee in 1985. From 1982 through 1985 Apostle A. Ofori-Addo served as the first Ghanaian Field Chairman of the church. (The Apostolic Church International,2021)

3.9. Worldwide evangelization crusade (Evangelical Church of Ghana)

WEC was founded by Charles Studd, a cricketer who later became a missionary, in 1913. Studd was a student and member of the Cambridge Band popularly known as the Cambridge Seven. The Cambridge Seven was a group of seven Cambridge

University students who volunteered for missionary service in the China Inland Mission following a visit to the university by American missionary D.L. Moody in 1884. After spending many years in China and India, Studd established a mission nary organization called the "Heart of Africa" Mission (HAM).” The Heart of Africa" was renamed the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade in 1919. Because of the several ambiguities attached to the word "crusade", the name the Worldwide Evangelization Crusade was replaced by Worldwide Evangelization for Christ (WEC International). Later on Studds’ journey to Congo (Africa), Studd claimed God told him, "This journey is not only for Africa but for the entire evangelized world.Since1940, WEC has been operating on the Gold coast to plant churches, particularly among the Muslim dominated peoples in the north. Currently, the work is based in the three regional capitals of northern Ghana at Tamale in the Northern Region, Wa in the Upper West Region and Bolgatanga in the Upper East Region.WEC is working in partnership with the Evangelical Church of Ghana to plant churches in places where currently there are no churches, especially among the unreached peoples of Ghana. (WEC in Africa Ghana, 2021). In modern Ghana, the WEC is involved in a variety of educational projects mostly in the northern sector of the country as part of its holistic approach to mission.

3.10. Conclusion

Approximately around 1800, an overwhelming majority of Ghanaians were believers in various Indigenous African traditional religions. Except for the Muslim dominated territories in the northern part of the country. Today, Christianity is Ghana’s most common religion. However, between 1828 and 2021 Christianity has now become the most widely practised religion in Ghana.

After the earlier dormant Portuguese (Catholics Christians) made no effort in Christianizing the natives of the Gold coast, the British Anglican society for the propagation of the gospel(SPG) sent Anglican Rev. Thomas Thompson to the Gold coast in 1752. One of Thomas Thompson’s accomplishments was the ability to send three young men to England to be trained as Anglican evangelists. Only one among these three young men, Philip Quaque survived and returned to the Gold Coast as the first ordained African Anglican priest in 1765. Philip Quaque worked as an evangelist and schoolmaster at the Castle School until his demise in 1816. During the era of Philip Quaque, The Church of England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established the branches of Thomas Thompsons Schools at Anomabo, Tantumquerre,

Wineba, Accra, komenda, Sekondi and Dixocove to prepare natives to become clerks, teachers, interpreters on land or aboard ships, and even soldiers, thus serving the interest of British. Students of these Schools later became the pioneers of British native missionaries in the Gold Coast. Nevertheless, in 1893, the British governor of the Gold Coast, Sir William Brandforth Griffith officially laid the foundation for Holy Trinity Church (the first Anglican Church in Ghana) which is today called the Cathedral Church of the Holy trinity.

British missionary enterprise in the Gold coast gained momentum with the arrival of new Protestant Anglican Conformist missionary societies mostly from Britain and other parts of Europe. Massive evangelization started with the arrival of the Basel (later known as Presbyterian) missionaries who set out from London and Landed at Christiansburg on the Gold coast. In the same year as the Basel missionaries settled in the Gold coast (1835) another British protestant missionary society, The Wesleyan missionary society (British Methodist missionary society) also emerged and established a Church at Cape Coast in 1835. Through One William de Graft, a product of the Anglican Church in the Gold coast, Anglicanism played a massive role in the rise of Methodism in the region. The Wesleyan missionary society sent Joseph Dunwell and later was followed by Thomas Birch Freeman, son of a London-based West Indian father and an English mother. Thomas Birch Freeman introduced Methodism to Asante's interior region in 1839 and won the support of the Asante king. It is worth noting that, Catholic missionary efforts in Gold Coast was also rekindled through the effort of Sir James Marshall a Chief British Magistrate and Judicial Assessor in the Gold Coast (1873-1874) as well as British Anglican clergy who later converted to Catholicism and became Chief Justice of the Gold Coast.

From the aforementioned, it is clear that the intensive Christianization of modern Ghana started with the emergence of the three main British Protestant missionary societies. The Presbyterians emerged in 1828 at Accra in the east, whereas the Methodists emerged in 1835 at Elmina in the west. The map below illustrates the respective locations of the first two main British missionary societies in the Gold Coast as well as how they expanded along the coast and into the interior forest region dominated by the Asante.

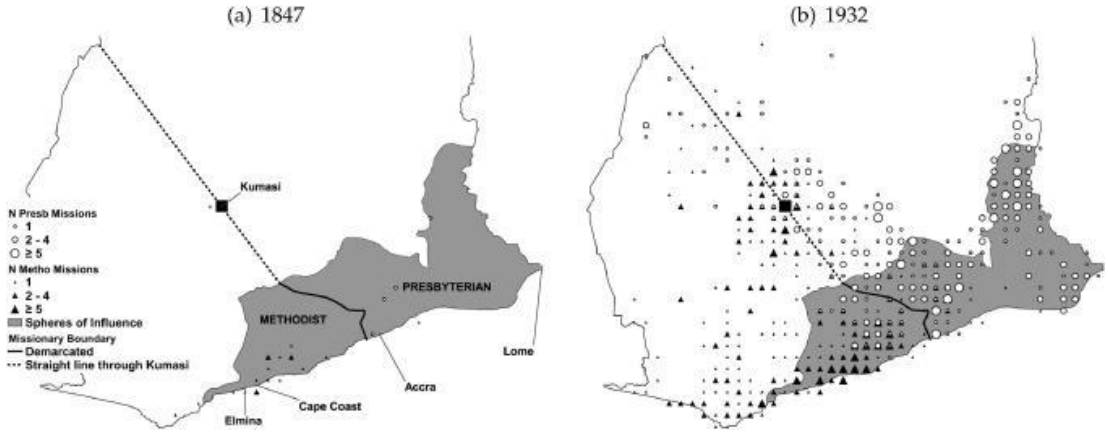

Figure 3.4. Christian mission stations, Ghana 1752–1932(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018)

In 1880, Catholic missionaries set out from England also arrived in Elmina, the southern part of the Gold Coast. The expansion of Catholic missionaries in the region was gradual at the initial periods but between 1910 and 1920, the Catholic missionaries effectively competed with the British protestant missionary societies on the GoldCoast.

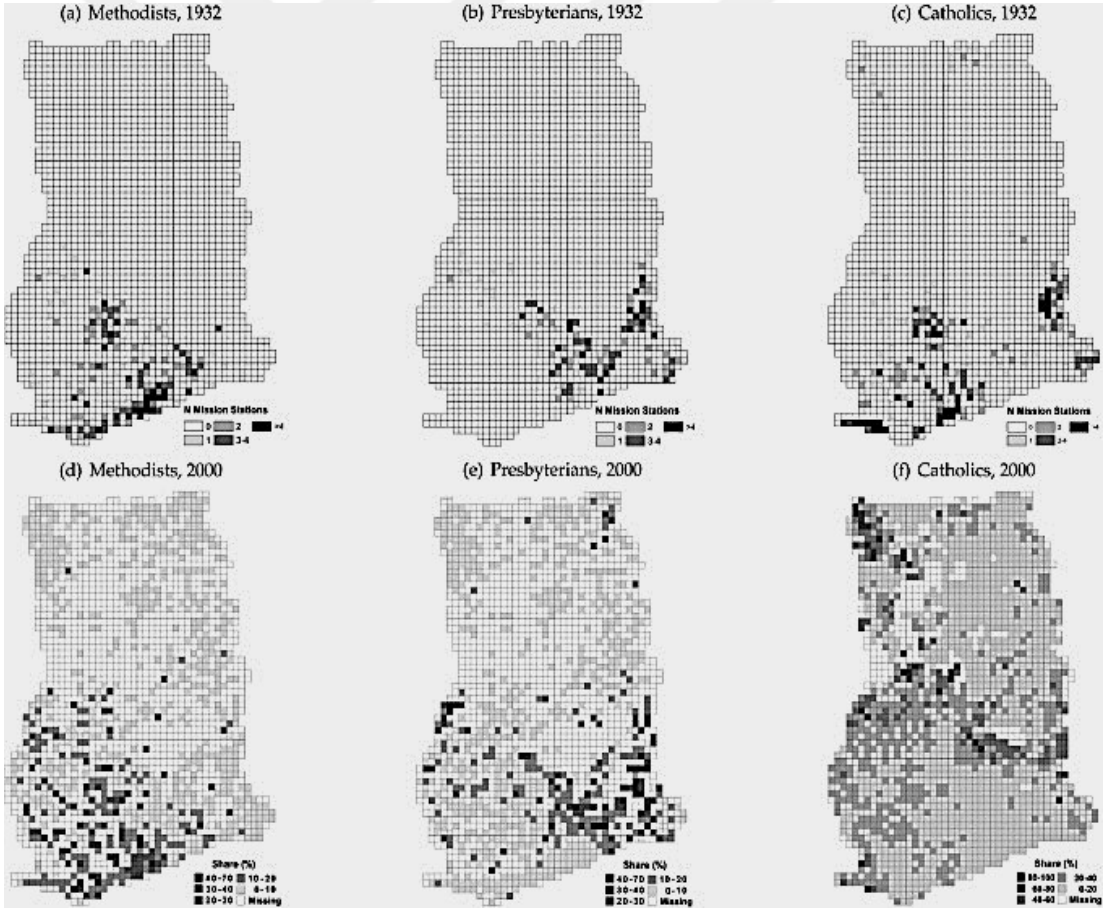

Figure 3.5. Illustration of three missionary society stations between 1932 to 2000(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018)

The illustration above also depicts the respective annual evolution of the three main missionary societies in Ghana from 1932 to 2000.

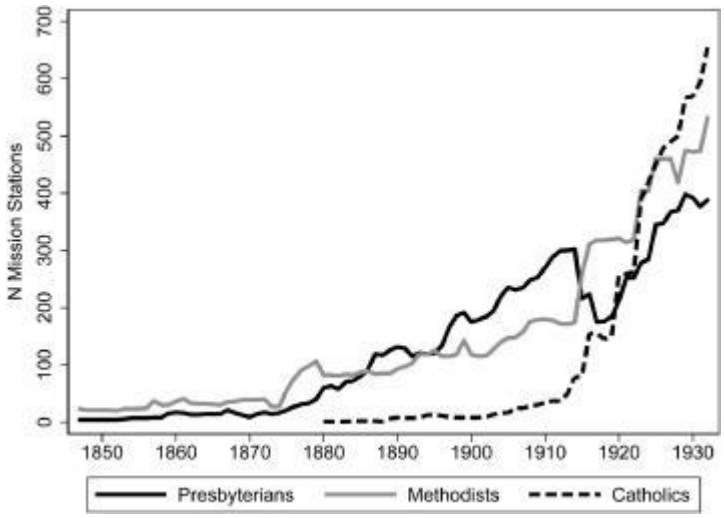

Figure 3.6. Annual evolution of the three main missionary societies in Ghana from 1847 to 1932.(Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018)

Moreover, another British protestant missionary society, the Salvation Army also officially established itself in the Gold Coast on August 23, 1922, through King Hudson, popularly known as Amoako Atta, a native of the Gold coast from the Methodist background. In 1922 the first British Salvation Army missionaries named Ensign and Mrs Charles V. Roberts arrived on the Gold Coast. Another British missionary society, the Worldwide evangelization crusade (Evangelical Church of Ghana) had also been operating on the Gold coast since 1940 to plant churches, particularly among the Muslim dominated peoples in the north.

The Apostolic Church in Bradford (England) also sent Pastor George Perfect, a British missionary already posted to Nigeria to leave Nigeria and attend to the Christian congregation at Asamankese on the Gold coast. In 1935; the Asamankese Christians embraced the Apostolic Church. Peter Newman Anim, the leader of the Asamankese group was ordained as the first African pastor of the Apostolic Church. . On March 2, 1937, Pastor James McKeown arrived in the then Gold Coast to take up the mantle as the first resident Missionary.

Furthermore, the freed Christianized slaves from the Americas also became new agents of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast. Among these American missionary societies are the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (1898), the African Methodist Episcopals (1933), and the Christian Methodist Episcopal (1957). The Mission Churches established the **Christian council of Ghana,** the unifying organization, in 1929. In 1929, The Christian Council of Ghana was formed as the uniting body of the Mission Churches in Ghana.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF BRITISH MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN GHANA

4.1. Introduction

There are two persistent and interrelated assumptions on western Christian missionary impacts on social change. These two assumptions are; firstly, what is mostly referred to as the assumption of minimal impact which tends to relegate missionaries to the side-lines in the broader social transformations of the colonial period. Secondly is the complex assumption mostly referred to as the assumption of secondary effects, this implies that missionaries were ancillary in the political and economic colonial processes that brought about the social change. Thus, missionaries functioned in important ways to advance other nonreligious interests of the colonial powers. These two assumptions raise questions on our understanding of the role of British missionary enterprise on the Gold coast. They also discourage researchers from asking more probing questions about the missionary societies but opting to accept either of them uncritically, we need to ask whether they are applicable or not applicable to the broader context of social transformation in Ghana to move toward a more accurate assessment of British missionary enterprises on the Gold coast. This research will be worthless unless the activities of British missionary societies on the Gold Coast is critically analysed. However, we need to emphasize that, the influence of these Christian missionary societies on the indigenous society of Gold Coast has become an integral part of the people's socio-cultural experience, a reality that cannot be neglected in this study. Therefore, this chapter examines the impact of the British missionary activities on the indigenous societies of the Gold Coast. Because of this, this chapter examines the positive and negative impact of the Christian missionary activities on Ghana under the following headings; Religious impact, educational impact, Impact on health care, Socio-Economic impact and Political impact.

4.2. Religious impacts

Frankly speaking, the activities of British missionary societies in the Gold Coast marked a major turning point in the religious situation in the region. Before the emergence of British missionary societies in the Gold coast, (modern Ghana) the indigenous people except for the Muslims in the Northern territories lived in a world believed to be full of Spirits such as Supreme Being, lesser gods, ancestors, Witchcraft

etc.“Given that religion is inextricably linked to culture, especially in the African context, any attempt at studying African peoples and cultures that do not involve a meticulous examination of traditional African religions would be incomplete. Traditional religions have had a tremendous influence on Africans in their thought processes, belief systems, and worldviews.”(Ndemanu,2018:71)There were numerous indigenous African spiritual systems in the region. Almost every ethnic group in the Southern territories, as well as some ethnic groups in the Northern territories, had developed a complex and unique set of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices. Despite the seemingly unrelated aspects of these beliefs, there are some common features to these belief systems. This indicates the existence of cohesive interrelated religious traditions in the Gold Coast before the arrival of British missionary societies.

4.2.1. Pre-Colonial Religious Situation

The indigenous context into which the missionary societies in Gold Coast penetrated was (and still is), extremely religious. there was a great awareness and belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, conceived as the creator and controller of the universe. They also believe in ancestors and other spirits who serve as mediators between human beings and the Supreme Being. Many indigenous people of the Gold Coast. People born into the indigenous communities of Gold Coast were also automatically born into traditional religion, they inherently participate in the traditional religious practices as they grew up through socialization. The people viewed the universe as a larger community that is made up of a variety of divine spirits, humans, animals, and inanimate arranged in a hierarchy of authority but always interacting with one another. The description above provides us with a glimpse of the religious background of the indigenous societies in which British missionary societies operated on the Gold Coast. The description will assist us to understand what was in existence previously and examine some of the religious impacts that took place after indigenous societies came into contact with the British missionary societies.

4.2.2. Colonial Religious Situation

During the early periods, the religious situation in Gold Coast was generally in a peaceful and stable condition. Religion was quite important in the successful functioning of the indigenous societies. This was the religious atmosphere into which British missionary enterprise engaged in the Gold Coast. The missionary established missionary centres, engaged in farming, provided medical care and education. Despite

all missionary investment and initiatives, the missionaries put in place, initially, most of the natives did not easily in Christianity because of their ties with traditional religious life. Early natives to be converted into Christians were primarily drawn from people who were already dissatisfied with native society like the slaves and social outcasts. But later, As Christianity flourished and established itself in this area and Gold coast (Ghana), it began to impact the indigenous religious worldview of the native societies. Moreover, "many natives converted not because of the message the missionaries presented but for opportunistic reasons. since conversion in several instances was opportunistic. as the perspectives of the African broadened and the attention and rewards of the missionary were spread among a much wider range of followers, the "good fortune and social status" of the role of Christian tended to diminish and role conflicts, as a result, became more acute." Some of the religious impacts the British missionary enterprise had on the indigenous societies of the Gold coast is reflected in the religious festivals and transitional rites that were observed in these societies and our discussions will now turn to these aspects.

The introduction of British missionary societies into Gold coast (Ghana) originated with the Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts (Anglican mission) in 1751, followed by Basel Mission (Presbyterian missionary society) in 1828 and The English Wesleyan Mission (Wesleyan Methodist missionary society) in 1835. Other British missionary societies to follow are the Society of African Missions (Catholic Mission from England) in 1880, The Church Mission Society (Anglican Mission) in 1904, The Apostolic Church from England in 1935. The Salvation Army Mission in 1922, The Worldwide evangelization crusade in 1940 etc. all emerged in the then Gold Coast(modern Ghana) to aid the British missionary enterprise in Ghana. Generally, through evangelism, catechism, and formal education, the missionary societies were able to convert natives of the Gold Coast mostly from the traditional African religious beliefs into different versions of western Christianity. Most European missionaries in the Gold coast and other parts of Africa perceived African traditional religious beliefs and practices as superstitions that cannot be acceptable in western Christianity they wanted to present to the native Africans. It's reported that a missionary at Elmina Gold coast once said; As for paganism, the village was rife with superstitions and magical rites of which the people were so fond that they allowed only every other child to be baptized and those baptized were quickly corrupted by their

pagan brothers and sister. (Wiltgen,1956; Acquah, 2011:85) As a response, some missionary societies made explicit efforts to create a significant separation between the natives converted to Christianity and their African religious-cultural settings. "To prevent the indigenous converts to the Christian faith from being contaminated by the pagan ways of their family members and relatives, the Presbyterian Church, initially, created separate communities referred to as „Salem" within various towns and villages in Ghana. This negative attitude and confrontational stance of the European Christian missionaries towards African religious and cultural values was one of the factors that created tensions in some of the traditional societies." (Acquah, 2011:88)

4.2.3. Post-colonial religious impacts

As previously stated, The British Missionaries' antagonistic attitudes toward traditional African religious experience led the missionaries and their earlier converts against the African traditional religion and culture, including the celebration of traditional festivals. Busia records that some of the early Christian converts refused to be part of the community celebration of the traditional festivals and observance of some of the rites as a result of their new religious faith. Nonetheless, with time most mainline missionary societies (churches)began to acknowledge the fact that, the festivals were just communal events and started to participate in them. Almost all of the festive activities were attended by missionary churches, except for religious rites, which included sacrifices to ancestors and other spirits. In this context, we can see the Christians in the Gold coast going through a responsive process by attempting to distinguish between what is religious and what is cultural in a particular traditional festival. As a result, some components of the indigenous festivals were embraced whereas others are dismissed. For instance, Acquah reported that "in the Nkusukum-Ekumfi-Enyan area of the Central Region. The festival activities ended with thanksgiving service by the various religious groups in the community. A point to be noted here, concerning change, is the absence of libation offering during the Sunday gathering. Nana Kwansah III explained that the absence of the libation was an effort at finding a common ground to involve the diverse religious communities, most of whom do not subscribe to that practice. Moreover, Sunday was a Christian worship day, hence the Christian service adopted by the community for that event." (Acquah, 2011:184) many of the traditional religious sacrifices are now restricted to specific

palaces or sacred areas and the Christian communities are mostly not allowed to be involved in these sacrifices.

Also, the Christian involvement in the celebration of the traditional festival has occasioned certain modifications in the practices of the traditional religious rituals. "The exclusion of some of the traditional religious rituals and symbols, for example, from public participation due to the indirect influence of immigrant religions (including Christianity), had stripped, to some extent, the event of its mystical character and symbolic meanings. Those elements had served, over the years as an important point of attraction." (Acquah, 2011:186). The participation of Christians in these festivals has provided some of these indigenous festivals with a Christian style. For example, in places like Mankessim, a night is used for candle procession. The Christians will therefore turn out in large numbers to participate in these candle processions as part of the traditional festival.

Another significant British missionary religious impact on the traditional African religion in Ghana can be seen in the celebration of Christian religious festivals such as Christmas, Good Friday, and Easter. These festivals are almost celebrated by all Ghanaians through fanfares, games and special food. except for Muslim (Zongo) communities. all Ghanaians seems to be celebrating this Christian religious festival particularly Christmas on the 25 December of every year. The photo below shows masquerading Ghanaians captured during Christmas2022.

Figure 4.1. Christmas celebration in Takoradi, Ghana

During Christmas, many people Ghanaians travel to their respective hometowns and villages to celebrate the festival with their extended family members.

Another important evidence of the religious impact of British missionary enterprise in Ghana can be seen in how most Ghanaians observe Sunday as a Christian day of worship every week. In Ghana, Sundays are also honoured as a day of rest for almost the entire Christian community. Before Christianity, the traditional days of rest for the indigenous Ghanaians except for Muslims were associated with numerous gods of the land or oceans. "During these traditional holidays, people in these societies were normally not permitted to go to farms or at sea. working on these days was regarded taboo (forbidden)and could result in punishment from the gods Before Christianity, the traditional days of rest for the indigenous Ghanaians except for Muslims were associated with numerous gods of the land or oceans. Some Christian members, however, violated these traditional injunctions, regarding them as prohibitions that were rooted in "fetish" beliefs and practices." (Acquah, 2011:188).

Moreover, another religious impact of the British missionary enterprise that aided the Christianization of Ghana can be seen in the contemporary practice of transitional rites such as naming ceremonies among the Christians in Ghana. "These Christian rites have effected some changes in the traditional observance of these practices, but have not, completely, replaced them. There is the virtual absence of libation and the role of the family elder, which has now, in most cases, been taken over by Christian Priests/Ministers in christening or child baptism". (Acquah, 2011:194). there were some differences between the two systems. "While the Christian practice of giving biblical names or names of early Christian fathers or mothers were meant to honour and perpetuate memories of the good deeds of such personalities in the Christian family, the traditional naming of the child intended to honour the ancestors and to maintain the traditional family name". (Acquah, 2011:194)

Another observation of the religious impact of the church can be seen in the observance of funeral rites in Ghana. Some of the visible Christian influence on funeral rites is virtually the absence of libation during funerals but the church has also become a prominent component of funeral rites in Christian communities. "The church is allowed to perform Christian rituals during traditional burials rites. However, Christianity has failed to completely impact the traditional funeral rite among Christians in Ghana. with the advent of Christianity and its western civilization in Ghana, the situation of the funeral rites has even worsened. Among contemporary Christian communities in Ghana, almost every funeral in the family, it has become

customary for new uniform clothe to be acquired by every family member and some members in the community. It has, also, become a fashion now to use big billboards on roadsides to advertise the funeral of departed ones, not counting the cost for very expensive coffins, which has, now, become a matter of competition". (Acquah, 2011:205)

In conclusion, Before the indigenous people in Ghana came into contact with the missionaries, the majority of them were engaged in traditional religious beliefs systems. there was no region in the southern territories of the Gold Coast without its particular deity, the deities are believed to inhabit specific forests, animals, mountains, trees and rivers. Superstition was very common among the indigenous people. Except for Muslims dominated Northern territories, as well as a few commercial Muslim diasporas in the south, the natives of the Gold coast, were living in a world, believed to be full of Spirits such as Supreme Being, lesser gods, ancestors etc. Almost every ethnic group in the lower Volta Basin had in one way the other establish a complex and unique set of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices. The arrival of the missionaries has impacted the beliefs system of the people concerning their ancestors, gods, religious superstitions, drumming and dancing, outdooring, burial ceremonies pouring of libation etc. Most traditional sacrifices are modified and sometimes restricted as compared to Christian festivals such as Christmas, Easter and Good Friday which are nationally celebrated in Ghana. Though some Ghanaians still value their cultural traditions, missionaries have succeeded in replacing some traditional values with western Christian traditions such as Christian blessing of marriages and monogamous marriage etc which were championed by the missionaries and are still practised today. After traditional marriages, many couples go to the church for Christian blessing.

Moreover, the negative attitude of the missionaries toward the traditional religious concept of the supreme being and many other beliefs of the natives persists strongly in Ghana. This has affected the religious worldview of the native people such as the belief in ancestors and pouring of libation etc. There is no doubt that the native people of Ghana strongly believe in the supreme Being (God) even before the emergence of Christianity in the region. "They acknowledge the supreme Being as Father, Creator, Eternal, completely Beneficent, creatively Omnipotent and ethically Holy. All over Africa people have a notion of God as the Supreme Being, the origin

and sustenance of all things. Truly, African peoples strongly believe in the supreme Being" (God). (Mbiti, 196:29) This demonstrates that, long before the natives of Ghana came into contact with Christian missionaries, there was already in existence of distinct social, political, and cultural institutions that were expressed in their indigenous religious worldview, which was also centred on the belief in a supreme being as the greatest of all the spiritual beings in their hierarchical order. It is also important for us to bear in mind that, though the relationships between missionaries and British colonialists were never straightforward in Ghana, "the response of the General Secretary of the Methodist missionary Society Beecham, to the British Parliamentary in 1842 testifies to the relationship between the missionary societies and British government in the Gold coast. He replied, "Yes, I am bound to say the British authorities and administrators upon the Gold Coast have always manifested a favourable disposition to our missionary undertakings and they have offered the kind of felicity which a Government can ever afford to persons under his control" ((Select Committee Report 1842:124; Eshun, 2012:385-386) "Following Ghana's independence in 1957, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, the country's first president, it is reported that In Nkrumah's office there was a cartoon of a white bishop with a Bible in hand, hugged by a white soldier with a gun in hand who had shot down some Africans. The cartoon caption read: "Watch the Bible and Not my Actions." The cartoon insinuated missionaries' complicity in the colonial enterprise" (Pobee 1988:15) "Nkrumah's ambivalent attitude convinced many European missionaries and Ghanaians that if Christianity would have any future, change was needed in the leadership of the church, its theology, liturgy, and attitudes towards traditional religion and culture. Nkrumah's demand that libation prayers should be offered at all state occasions likewise signalled that traditional religion could no longer be ignored in religious discourse." (Eshun,2012:390) Therefore, Nkrumah was trying to combine Christianity, African traditional religion, and culture as well as nationalism. But Nkrumah's behaviour generally triggered Ghanaian Christian leaders who wanted to see Christianity at the centre of national affairs. "Nkrumah's attitude towards Christianity resulted in a different for engaging with Christianity. "As Christian leadership moved from Europeans to Ghanaians, theological and missiological denigration of traditional religion changed. At the dawn of independence and beyond, the general attitude towards the missionary enterprise was that they could have treated indigenous religious understanding better and incorporated indigenous insights into

Christianity more effectively." (Eshun, 2012:391)In response, the main missionary churches such as the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Catholics held evangelical conferences and workshops to discuss how the church could engage in dialogue with the indigenous traditional religion and culture. The endeavour to make Christianity relevant to the indigenous Ghanaian religious and cultural values was essential in the expansion of Christianity to the centre in post-independence Ghanaian society. Today, "Ghana is predominantly Christian and continues to experience significant Christian expansion. The statistics speak for themselves: in 1900, 4.7 per cent of the population was Christian; in 1960, three years after independence, this rose to 41 per cent; in 1970, 50.5 per cent; in 2000, 65 per cent; in 2015, 71.1 per cent; in 2020, 72.6 per cent; with 76 per cent projected in 2050." (Eshun, 2012:392) Furthermore, since the 1980s, the most identified development of Christianity in Ghanaian has been the explosive rise of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christian churches in Ghana and among Ghanaian diaspora populations.

4.3. Educational impact

Firstly, Education can be referred to as a formal or informal process of learning. It involves nurturing or training from childhood to adulthood to produce responsible, cultured, and productive citizens who can contribute positively toward societal development. "Education according to Achimugu (2000) is defined as a conscious and purposeful effort directed towards the transmission of accumulated abilities, knowledge, and attitudes from one generation to another with the ultimate intention of producing men and women who will be relevant and useful to themselves and the society." (Ndubuisi, 2018:85)

4.3.1. The Traditional Education system in Gold Coast (Ghana)

Despite the massive impact of Christianity or Western education, indigenous educational systems still have an intensive influence on the people of Ghana. Before the emergence of missionary societies, education systems in Ghana (Gold Coast) were mostly informal. "Knowledge and skills in the indigenous societies were transmitted verbally and through apprenticeship. Moreover, all the myriads of African languages and the basic education of the vast majority of African children, especially from mothers and family relations in the first five years, are taught within the indigenous system." (UNESCO in Dakar (Senegal) Ajayi 1982, p. 15). Except for the North Africans, whose indigenous systems of imparting knowledge such the languages have

been replaced by the Islamic system of education, In the Gold coast (Ghana) as well as other parts of Africa, the indigenous systems of education have dominance and influence over the transmitting of African languages, cultural values and Apprenticeship before the Europeans emerged in the region. due to the close-knit nature of indigenous Ghanaian families, there was a cooperative effort in educating and socializing the child. This was seen as a function of not just the parents but also the extended family and the community at large. "All this is in addition to the role of the indigenous systems of education in general adult education, in the training by apprenticeship in specific skills in arts and crafts, as well as for various professions such as divining, entertaining or delivering health care according to traditional methods which are still prevalent, especially in the rural areas." (Ajayi 1982:16)

4.3.2. The Islamic Education system in Gold Coast (Ghana)

The Islamic education system is also referred to as the Arabic education system since the Arabic language was used in impacting Islamic Knowledge and values. Islamic education system developed in Arabic and its expansion was closely tied to the Arabic language as well. "Though the Islamic system of education has succeeded in impacting the indigenous educational systems of the North Africans, therefore replacing their indigenous values and languages with Islamic values and Arabic language, outside those areas, where massive Arabic colonization has not taken place, the spread of Islam has nevertheless remained tied to Arabic language and culture." (Ajayi 1982:12). "This is not to deny that in various places and to varying extents, the Islamic system was influenced by indigenous cultures, values and philosophies. It has been pointed out, for example, that African Islam has not been able to ignore the central role of ancestors and the predominant sense of the continuity of history, and that the cult of saints, some aspects of the mysticism of Sufi orders and maraboutism represent manifestations of the impact of indigenous African thought on Islam However, the unity of Islamic faith as manifested in the Koran, the Hadith and the five pillars of Islamic law and practice has remained the dominant ideal. The Islamic system of education is oriented, therefore, towards both the religion of Islam and the language and culture of the Arabs." (Ajayi 1982:13)

Furthermore, in chapter one, we deliberated on the history of Islam in the lower part of the Volta Basin (former Gold coast and Ghana). Firstly, through the commercial activities (of gold and kola nuts,) of the Mande (Wangara) Muslim traders

from Mali Empire, Muslims finally settled in the Volta Basin (Gold coast, Ghana) before the European missionaries and colonialists. They established different dispersed 'Commercial Diasporas' in the region. The encounter between the Mande (Wangara) Muslim traders and indigenous people in the Northern territories and the commercial diasporas scattered into the interior Akan Forest resulted in some of the indigenous people embracing Islam. For instance, "it is said that as a result of their trading activities, the Mande scholarly community in Timbuktu arrived at Dagbon around 1700 C.E. These Mande scholars were known in Dagbon as Yarnas, which was the Mande word for religious leaders." (Hiskett,1962:122) Moreover, other indigenous people of the Gold Coast mostly in the south were also embraced Islam due to their encounter with the Hausa traders and scholars."One remarkable effect of Hausa's trading engagement in the area of the Volta Basin is that it has facilitated the emergence of certain learning and trading centres in the region. This further enhanced the interaction between people of the Volta Basin and the Muslim communities in West Africa. The most notable centre was the Salaga Market in the Gonjaland which emerged in 1775 as a Hausa-speaking town". (Hiskett, 1984:45) In Ghana and other areas of the world, the role of Islamic education in the entire educational process has remained uncertain. Both in the Arab and non-Arab parts, there is ambiguity in the search for revival whether it is to be through a renewal of the fundamental religious roots of Islam or the mastery of modern technology. "Educational methodology in the Koranic schools has remained resistant to change and has become outmoded. Teachers of Arabic trained in modern methods of language education are few. There is a need therefore to modernize the Islamic system. In the non-Arab parts, there is the further complication of coming to terms with the African roots in terms of integrating African languages and cultures into the system, especially in the multinational secular state" (Ajayi 1982: 13)

In Ghana, the Islamic systems of education began with Islamic learning and clerical practices back in the 15th century. "the Islamic education systems provided intellectual and spiritual development in the Muslim dominated territories of Ghana. The traditional qur'anic schools called "makaranta" were purely to train adherents and their children in qur'anic verse and morals" (Obeng, 2017). "In the 20th century, these schools were converted into Islamic schools and later into the national education system for efficient management. The migration of the Islamic school was not as fast

as that of the Christian schools given the Christian school edge over the Islamic schools" (Owusu,2017; Akuaku,2018:120) "In contemporary Ghanaian society, Humphrey Fisher (1975) highlighted three main approaches used in addressing the issue of modernization of Islamic schools in Ghana. The conservative approach advocated the teaching of traditional Islamic subjects, particularly Arabic, in a modernized way. The other methods comprised either the incorporation of certain secular subjects within the framework of Islamic learning or the option of adding an Islamic framework to a full secular curriculum. "(Owusu,2017:29)

4.3.3. Colonial missionary Education in Gold coast (Ghana)

By the nineteenth century, missionary societies from the Western world; Europe and North America tried to Christianize the indigenous people in Africa. The missionary enterprise, therefore, became part of the European search for markets for products of the new industrialization, and central figures in the European colonialism in Africa and other parts of the world. Although the missionary society has a Christian religious orientation, the missionary movement's primary character was secular. The missionary societies operated in cooperation with various colonialists or operating under their colonial laws.

In the earlier chapters, I contended that church-state relations influenced where Protestant missionaries went and how much control the colonial government had over all forms of missionary activities in the colonies. "Protestant missionaries were central to the development of mass Western formal education outside the West. This is because Protestants wanted people to be able to read the Bible in their language. Thus, unlike other groups, wherever Protestant missionaries went, they almost immediately began mass education campaigns and pressured the state to invest in mass education as well. When threatened with Protestant competition, other religious groups also invested in mass education. As a result, British colonies and other areas with large numbers of Protestant missionaries ended up with more formal education per capita" (Woodberry, 2004: 36) Therefore, the Christian educational system led by the missionary societies became part of the British colonial administration in the Gold coast as in other British colonies in the world. The educational process under colonial rule was intended to facilitate control and exploitation by the European powers. "Although there were marked differences of policy between Protestant and Catholic missions, and between British, French, Portuguese and Belgian regimes, the goal of

subordination to European interests was general." (Ajayi 1982:13). The western Christian education championed by the missionary societies showed contempt for African values whiles consistently promoting admiration for European values in the colonies. As a result, in contemporary African societies, "the Christian educational system has rarely succeeded in converting the entire religious world view of the indigenous people but its religious and socio-political impact can never be denied. Moreover, in the early part of the 19th and 20th Centuries, the education of African Americans had a bearing on the education of Africans in British colonies" (Malisa, and Missedja.,2019:1).

In the Gold coast, the arrival of European settlers during the 16th century brought new forms of learning; formal schools appeared, providing a book-based education. "Their audience was mainly made up of local elites (mulattos, sons of local chiefs and wealthy traders) and their presence was limited to the colonial forts, long confined to the coasts." (Opoku, Manu and Wiafe,2015:2) Moreover, The British Government established full colonial control over the Gold Coast colony in 1874. before then, a lot of progress had been already made by the missionaries in providing Christian education in the region. There were many Missionary Schools already scattered across the length and breadth of the Gold coast (Ghana). "By 1881 there were 139 schools. However, the education systems used varied widely. This prompted the government to draw up its first plans in 1882 to guide the development of education. An Inspector of Schools was instated from 1887 until 1890. Then the office of the Director of Education was created" (Obed, 2018:8)

The establishment of the Gold Coast (Ghana)as a British colony in 1874 also resulted in significant transformations in the Christian missionary educational initiatives in the Gold coast due to an increase in the number of missionary societies and their affiliated educational initiatives in the British colony of Gold coast. While some missionary societies such as the Wesleyan mission (Methodist church) stayed in the coastal areas using the English language as their main language, others such as the Basel missionary (Presbyterian church) society also expanded deeper into the interior territories using the indigenous languages as the medium for their missionary activities. Through the initiatives and support of the British colonial government, missionary oriented education flourished on the Gold coast with more room for methodological freedom. The missionaries used schools, the Christian morning worship(devotion) at

schools as well as bible knowledge lessons Schools as a process of evangelizing the younger generation of the Gold Coast. As Casely Asamoah, rightly, observed, "the Mission schools, besides its other-worldly benefits, provided the right environment for the people to come under the influence of the Christian gospel " (Essamoah,2010:56; Acquah,2011:180) The missionaries were not just interested in interest in only elementary primary, and secondary education but they also invested in technology and teacher training colleges in Ghana. Adu Boahen however chronologically arranges in sequence, the various secondary schools established by the missionaries in the field of education. The Wesleyan mission in 1876 was the first to build Secondary School in Ghana now properly known as Mfantsipim School. The second Secondary School was the Adisadel College formerly known as "The Church of England Grammar School which was started in Cape Coast in 1910. The Catholic mission in 1930 founded St. Augustine's college while in 1938 the Presbyterian mission established the Odumase-Krobo Secondary School." (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh and Addo 2017:161) However, it was observed that the system of education adopted by the various missions differed widely, and so in 1882, the Government drew the first plans to guide the development of education. The missions co-operated wholeheartedly with the new policy. The plan called for the establishment of a General Board of Education, and for the formation of local boards to study and report on existing conditions". (Amoah,2018:9)

Also, in the field of informal education, the missionary societies trained many Christian converts the people of the Gold coast both adults and children were engaged in a different form of apprenticeship by the missionary societies. "Both men and women received this kind of education. In the case of women, for example, women who formed the Bible Class were taught different kinds of handiwork such as weaving, knitting of socks, hand gloves and caps for children. Those women who had the chance to learn other things like soap making, oil preparation and the rest could sell them for a living." (Dzandzo,2018:71)

5.4.4. Post-colonial Education in Gold coast (Ghana)

Before independence, the missionary societies were the primary initiators and providers of formal education in Ghana. When Ghana attained independence from the British colonial government in 1957, the new government led by Kwame Nkrumah made universal education for all Ghanaians a priority of his administration. Therefore, The Accelerated Development Plan was approved in August 1951 immediately

Nkrumah assumed office. The plan laid much emphasis on the expansion of secondary education and postsecondary technological and managerial training in technical institutions and universities to meet the needs of expanding industry, agriculture and other sectors of the economy. Furthermore, ten years after the introduction of the Accelerated Development, the Education Act of 1961 was passed. It was a legal instrument passed in parliament stating what the government policy was regarding the development and promotion of education in republican Ghana. The act spelt out the way education was to be organized. The Education Act of 1961 was passed because the Accelerated Development Plan had run for ten years and as such there was the need to introduce innovations to tune up education to meet the philosophy and aspirations of the government and the citizens." (Amoah,2018:19)After the post-independence Education Act of 1961 reforms, Education in Ghana has experienced many other post-independence which are beyond the scope of this paper. Some of these educational reforms in Ghana are; The Kwapong Education Review Committee of 1966, The Mills – Odoi Commission**,** The Dzobo Report and The New Structure and Content of Education (1972-1974), The Education Commission Report on Basic and Secondary Education 1987/88The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education Programme of 1995 to present, Free Senior High School Policy (FSHSP) of 2017, The Double Track System under the FSHSP of 2018. The existing structure of the education system in Ghana comprises six (6) years of primary education made up of three (3) years lower and three (3) years upper primary, three (3) years of Junior High School, three (3) years Senior High School and four (4) years University Education (6-3-3-4). (Gyamfi, Donkoh, and Addo, 2016, p.165). Some of the Educational investments under British missionary enterprise in Gold Coast Ghana are:

The Basel missionary (Presbyterian) Schools in Ghana by 2004, the Presbyterian Church(Basel missionary) of Ghana was running 1,907 schools and one University. There are now 37 health institutions associated with the church. Agricultural development programs are also sponsored by the PCG. Market and prison ministries are vital aspects of the mission. The vernacular tongue has been in use in Ghanaian churches for over 176 years, and much of the literature has been translated. The membership of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is around 527,000 and rising (WPCG). (Cashen,2010, :24)

List of Pentecost (Apostolic Church, Bretford) Missionary Schools in Ghana

Pentecost vocational training

Pentecost JHS Koforidua

Pentecost Preparatory School Akyem Kwabeng

Aburi Girls Senior High School, Aburi, Eastern Region

Accra Academy, in Kaneshie, Greater Accra Region

Aburi Secondary Technical School, in Aburi, Eastern Region

Adisadel College, in Cape Coast, Central Region

Adonten Senior High School [Aburi] [Eastern Region]

Aggrey Memorial A.M.E. Zion Senior High School, in Cape Coast, Central Region

Akosombo International School, in Akosombo, Eastern Region

Anamon Hyeren Standard School, in Tutuka, Obuasi Municipal District, Ashanti Region

Anglican Senior High School, in Kumasi, Ashanti Region

Axim Girls Senior High School

Antoa Senior High School, in Kwabre East Municipal

Barekese Senior High School, in Barekese, Ashanti Region

Bimbilla Senior High School

Bishop Herman College, in Kpando, Volta Region

Boa Amponsem Senior High School, in Dunkwa-on-Offin, Central Region

Bolgatanga Girls Senior High School

Bompeh Senior High Technical School, in Sekondi-Takoradi, Western Region

Pentecost Preparatory School

Pentecost Preparatory School, Koforidua

Pentecost Jhs , Koforidua

Odorkor SDA Church And Schools

Pentecost Senior High School, Koforidua (PENSEC)

Pentecost Preparatory School

Nkawkaw Pentecost Preparatory School

The Church Of Pentecost Ebenezer Down Assembly

Koforidua Pentecost Junior High School-Old Estate

Pentecost Preparatory International School Techiman

The Catholic Schools in Ghana

St. Martin Sec. School.

Pope John Sec. School and Junior Seminary

St. Thomas Sec/Technical School

St. Paul's Senior Sec. School

St. Peter's Secondary School

St. Rose's Sec. School

St. Francis Day Sec. School.

St. Dominic Senior Sec. School.

St. Michael's Senior Sec. School

St. Fidelis Sec/Technical School

Star Of The Sea Catholic School.

OLA Catholic Prim School

St. Ignatius of Loyola School

St. Anthony Catholic School.

St Anne Roman Catholic School

St. Kizito Roman Catholic School.

Corpus Christi Catholic Basic School

Our Lady of Holy Cross School

Mary Mother Of Good Counsel School.

Rev. Father John Memorial Preparatory School

St Martin de Porres School.

St Bernadette Soubirous School

St Mark Primary and JSS

VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL

St. Paul's Tech. School

St. Joseph's Tech. Institute

St. Mary's Vocational Training Centre.

St. Anne's Vocational School

St. George's Vocational Institute.

St. Mary's Vocational

Training colleges

Mt. Mary Teacher Training College

Holy Family Nurses' Training College.

Orthopaedic Training Centre etc.

The British -Wesleyan (Methodist) Missionary schools in Gold Coast

The Methodist church has established an estimate of 719 kindergartens, 1,017 primary and 483 junior high schools, 22 secondary/tertiary/vocational institutions, three colleges of education etc.

In conclusion, Before the emergence of British missionary societies, education systems in Ghana (Gold Coast) were mostly informal. Knowledge and skills in the indigenous societies were transmitted verbally and through apprenticeship. the indigenous systems of education have a dominant influence over the transmission of African languages, cultural values and Apprenticeship before the Europeans emerged in the region. Moreover. There was also in existence the Islamic education system before colonial and missionary education emerged on the Gold coast. Islamic education system used the Arabic language as a medium of impacting Islamic Knowledge and values. Therefore, the spread of Islam has nevertheless remained tied

to the Arabic language and culture. Educational methodology in the Quranic schools has remained resistant to change. But Islamic education system lacks Teachers trained in modern methods of language education. There is also the need to modernize the Islamic education system to come to terms with the indigenous roots in terms of integrating African languages and cultures into the system, especially in multinational secular states like Ghana. In the 20th century, the already existing Quranic schools were converted into Islamic schools and late assimilated into the national education system of Ghana for efficient management. But The migration of the Islamic schools into the national education system took much time, therefore, giving the Christian missionary schools edge over the Islamic schools in contemporary Ghana. Christian educational system in the Gold Coast emerged with the arrival of early Portuguese and British missionaries, and traders. Their students were mainly from local elites (mulattos, sons of local chiefs and wealthy traders) in the colonial forts along the coastal region. Moreover, when the British Government established full colonial control over the Gold Coast colony in 1874. It led to a significant transformation in the Christian missionary educational initiatives in the region due to an increase in the number of missionary societies and their affiliated educational initiatives in the British colony of the Gold coast. The Christian missionary educational process under colonial rule was intended to facilitate control and exploitation by the British colonialist. There were about 139 missionary schools as of 1881 in the Gold coast but their education systems varied from one to another. The British colonial government, therefore, established the first Gold coast educational plan in 1882 to guide the development of education. The government appointed the Inspector of Schools from 1887 until 1890. In the field of informal education, the missionary societies also trained many Christian converts on the Gold coast. These new converts were trained in a different form of apprenticeship by the missionary societies. Both men and women received this kind of education. They were involved in education because they need people to help them communicate and interact with the natives and to help them propagate the gospel. This aim has prevailed to date and Owusu (2017:14) confirmed and write "and such colonization of education has continued to the present time. (Akuaku,2018:13)

After independence, Christianity and Islam both influenced education in Ghana and today they are the major stakeholders in education contributing both to infrastructure and human resources. Their histories make them visible in public and

private schools in Ghana. Their visibility in the school setting leads to the inculcation of the rights to religious freedom in all schools most especially the public schools which is accessible to all citizens**.** (Akuaku,2018: 13)

Although various successive governments in Ghana have recognized the crucial importance of education as a factor in development. Yet their efforts since independence can only be said to have failed to make a significant impact. The increasing expenditure in education such as the establishment of new schools, colleges and universities are very impressive, but the rate of developmental impact is nowhere near the educational investments.

Furthermore, there is over dominance of English languages in the educational systems and little transfer of technology are said to be promoting more of western than African education the educational systems remain fragmented, with no coherent world view and the lack of African identity**.** The educational system constantly serves the interests of the metropolitan capitalists and local exploiting elites, and its shortcomings can be justified by the dependent nature of the Ghanaian economy.

Also, The Government of Ghana cannot afford to disregard modern science and technology in the contemporary educational system. modern science and technology should not be transferred or imported but manufactured locally. Science and technology must be promoted as an important aspect of the post-colonial educational system in Ghana, borrowing from abroad when is necessary, but developing locally within an overall autonomous educational system capable of generating growth and development.

There is also the need for adequate attention to be given to the African traditional religion as well as the Islamic religious aspects of educational systems to develop a system of education compatible with the role of the state in ensuring religious freedom in Ghana.

4.4. Impact on health care

A health care system can simply be referred to as a collection of people, institutions, and resources that work together to provide healthcare services to people in specific communities. There are different types of health care systems in the world. Each of these variations of health care systems has its history as well as organizational structures. Moreover, different nations over the years have constructed and developed

health systems under their specific needs and available resources. But most health care systems are categorized into primary health care and public health care. In this sub-chapter, we shall deliberate on the Pre-colonial Health Care, Colonial and Missionary Health Care, Post-independence health care and the Ghana Christian Health Association of Ghana.

4.4.1. Pre-colonial Health Care in Gold Coast

During the pre-colonial period, Health services in the regions later to became Gold Coast and Ghana respectively was based on healing from the traditional herbalists as well as traditional priests and priestesses. The patient will usually seek medication by themselves. But in cases of severe illness, their families will send him or her to the priests, priestesses, or medicine men or invite healers to attend to the sick in his or her house. In most instances, the causes of the sicknesses were attributed to wrath on the part of the lesser gods or the ancestors. But the intensity of this belief depends on the religious orientation of the indigenous people. Some of the venerable diseases that were in existence in this period are chicken-pox, the clap, guinea worms, itches or craw and malaria etc. however briefly, African healing methods were in the following broad areas: Surgical interventions, internal disturbances, contagious diseases, epidemics and parasite infestations and therapeutics. "Dr Tedlie who accompanied the Bowdich Mission to Ashanti in 1817 had something definite to say about how the Ashantis dealt with such surgical problems as fractures and haemorrhage from physical trauma: The Ashantis bound up the broken limb with leaves and other herbs without any regular attempt at reducing the fracture. The attitude was taken that the patient would survive if God willed it". (Addae,1996:8-9).

The early European traders and missionaries on the West African Coast were also attacked by several diseases as the natives. most prominent among these diseases was Malaria which was mostly referred to as the chief killer on the West African Coastal region. however, the Gold Coast continuously attracted most of the European traders due to the availability of slaves and the high profit associated with the slave trade. Therefore, the primary mission of the colonial medical services during the early decades of colonial rule was first and foremost to protect the health of European officials and then other Europeans. (Arhinful,200:34) Moreover, the profitability associated with trading in slaves was determined by the delivery of healthy slaves to the sales destination in the Americas and Caribbean. The profitability of the trade

rested 1n the delivery of healthy, or tolerably-healthy, slaves to the Americas and the Caribbean. "They need to ensure that healthy slaves were bought and remained in good health at delivery on the other side of the Atlantic, made necessary the employment of ship surgeons by the slave traders. In this curious way, modern medicine began to be practised along the West African coast, albeit principally on slaves ready for shipment." (Addae,1995:13). As a result, ship surgeons employed by the British and other European traders to guarantee that healthy slaves make it to the New World, accidentally introduced modern medicine to the Gold Coast and other regions on the West African coast. But it took the initiatives of the missionary societies to introduce modern medical service to the native people of the Gold Coast. In the earlier centuries, the missionary movement had begun and the provision of medical help to local Africans started. According to Schram, "Catholic traders and Missionaries built a hospital in 1504 on St Thomas Island off Nigeria, and, apparently subsequently, on various islands off the West African coast. In keeping with the practice of the day, missionaries often doubled as lay physicians. We can assume then that wherever a Christian mission was established, mission schools were also established, and, as a rule, there was an accompany1ng medical service". (Addae,1996:15)

4.4.2. Colonial and Missionary Health Care in Gold Coast

As indicated above, the high mortality rate among the Europeans in the last quarter of the 19th century necessitated the creation of colonial medical service in the colony. Meanwhile, by 1827, the British became the sole European power on the Gold Coast due to the departure of the Dutch. Therefore, the political power of the British colonialists began to spread beyond the coastal region to the interior regions after they defeated the Asante kingdom. "In 1850 therefore, the Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast, Earl Grey proposed direct taxation to supplement custom duties to generate additional revenue for social infrastructure and services like road extension, the establishment of schools and hospitals and sanitation." (Arhinful,2003:33) "But Governor Stephen J. Hill (1851-53) succeeded in 1852 in getting some Fanti chiefs around the British settlements to agree to form a Legislative Assembly and to a Poll Tax of one shilling for every person in the towns and districts under British protection. Some of the proceeds of the Poll Tax were to be used for medical work." (Arhinful,2003:33) "As a result of continued opposition to the poll tax, it was abolished after only a few years. Therefore, the administration established posts for the Poll Tax

Doctors or "Doctors to the natives". The first two such doctors were Dr J. Jenkins and Dr R. Clarke. Others were soon appointed to the various British forts and settlements with the instructions that the natives were entitled to gratuitous medical treatment from the physicians "(Blue book 1955). "Army doctors were also appointed to undertake part time duties. For example, in 1857, Dr Martin was appointed to the office of colonial surgeon on a salary of hundred pounds per annum with the understanding his duties included attending to the native" (Arhinful,2003:34) By the late 1890s, the population of the Europeans in the Gold Coast further increased to six times its level in the late 1880s.Therefore, there is the need to further expand the health system due to the high death rates among Europeans in the region to curtail the increase in European death rates.This concern prompted the need to channel the resources of the colony into securing their health. This led to the build-up of civil medical infrastructure, virtually from scratch, in the colony from 1890. "An effective medical policy, therefore, became necessary from 1890 for two reasons; consolidation of British power and influence and concern for European health with the principal aim of reducing the abnormally high mortality of Europeans resident in colonial tropical climates, principally due to malaria. During that period (thel880s), a Gold Coast Medical department was established, headed by a physician entitled Principal Medical Officer (PMO), who was designated to administer the department" (Arhinful,2003:35) "The point that needs to be emphasised here is that the system of health care that the colonial government introduced in the Gold Coast was that private people paid for health care in the government system while civil servants were exempted." (Arhinful,2003:39). At first, the indigenous people of the Gold Coast perceived the European medication provided by the colonialists and missionaries with mistrust just like the way they suspected their Western education. however, later they came to realized that the medication provided by that colonialist mostly through the missionary societies can also heal. This led to the increase in the rate of reception of modern health care in the Gold Coast (Ghana).Therefore, the British colonialist and missionaries pioneered the introduction of contemporary health care service in Gold Coast. (Ghana)modern hospitals, clinics and dispensaries or their equivalents where the sick could be attended in an organized way were introduced to the people of Gold Coast. The indigenous African medical system has no such equivalents during the pre-colonial and missionary periods.

Before political independence, the health system of Ghana was dominated by a collection of government health centres situated in the southern coastal regions as well as Christian mission hospitals which are not confined only to the Europeans and their civil servants in coastal regions but also to the indigenous native in the rural areas. In many territories, missionary hospitals and dispensaries were in place several decades before the colonial government accepted any general responsibility for African health care. "Unlike Medical Missionary work in other British colonies, such as Nigeria or East and Central Africa which were begun in the late 1800s, missionary hospitals were not started in the Gold Coast until 1931, when the Basel Mission started the Agogo hospital in Asante Akim. This was followed by the Catholic hospital at Breman Asikuma in 1943. By 1951 there were two more at Jirapa (maternity) and Worawora. Before hospitals were started though, medical missions in the Gold Coast had taken off as small dispensaries, aid posts and clinics" (Arhinful,2003:47). From 1951 and 1960, the missionary hospitals increased from three to twenty-seven which were distributed throughout the country, including the Northern Territories, Volta Regions, and Ashanti territories.

4.4.3. Post-independence health care in Ghana

At Independence Ghana's formal health system was a collection of government and mission hospitals and health centres situated in the southern coastal regions These included four former colonial army medical facilities turned civilian facilities (c.1878) situated in Keta, Accra, Cape Coast and Elmina; four purpose-built health facilities (c.1890) in Dixcove, Saltpond, Winneba and Ada; four mission hospitals in Agogo, Asante Akim (built 1931), Breman Asikuma (built 1943), Jirapa and Wora Wora (built 1951); a collection of mission run dispensaries, aid posts and clinics situated largely in rural areas. (Arhinful,2003;Aikin and Koram,2017:370).At these periods of political independence in 1951-1957, the first government of Ghana led by Dr Kwame Nkrumah inherited a medical service that was tremendously curative with several inherent weaknesses. The success of vaccination campaigns and modern treatments against the previous outbreak of yaws, trypanosomiasis and smallpox as well as other diseases such as leprosy, venereal diseases and pneumonia, had led to public confidence in the medical services. However, the success of modem medicine also became a source of limitation since it could not meet all demands and expectations. (Arhinful,2003:44-45). Moreover, because of the highly discriminatory nature of the

colonial health care system which tends to neglect the ordinary natives and safeguard European health as well as that of their native civil servants, the colonial system highly ignored the rural communities. The newly independent government, therefore, developed a policy framework for the development of health services in the country to cover the native in the rural areas, particularly those located in the interior and northern territories. Also, "the new government of Ghana after independence recognized the important role the missionary societies are playing in the health care system of Ghana. The government, therefore, makes annual budgetary provisions for subsidizing the missionaries' operations in the health care system. This is channelled through the Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG). CHAG was started in 1967 with the help of the World Council of Churches (**WCC**), the Catholic Bishops Conference of Ghana and the Christian Council of Ghana (**CCG**), and duly registered under the Trustees (incorporation)) Act of 1962. Its mission is "to provide holistic, affordable and quality health care in fulfilment of Christ's mandate to go and heal the sick" (Christian Health Association of Ghana:2000).In modern Ghana, these missionary Churches continue to impact the health care system. All the missionary churches involved in the 19th-century British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast have clinics and hospitals in different regions across the country which provides medical services to members of the Church as well as the local communities. They continue to show love and affection to the sick, poor and the aged in the communities as a means to attract the indigenous people into Christianity.

4.4.4. Christian Health Association of Ghana

Most of the Christian churches operating in the health care system in Ghana are under the umbrella of The Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) founded in 1967. The Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) is the mother organization that coordinates the activities of the Christian health institutions in Ghana. The Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) is a faith-based network organisation of 21 Christian church denominations, involved in the provision of health care and training of health professionals. "Established in 1967, the Association comprises 58 hospitals, 114 health centres and clinics, and 12 health training institutions, Membership has gone up from 25 in 1967 to 184 in 2010. There is potential for further growth since not all church health facilities have been registered. The network members collectively have a staff strength of approximately 7,300. In 2010 the total

number of outpatient contacts exceeded 4,000,000 and inpatients exceeded 300,000 persons" (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:1) "The Board is composed of nominated representatives of the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Pentecostal Council. The Board is tasked to support and monitor the implementation of decisions and programmes by the secretariat that serve the interest of members. (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:1) The CHAG network comprises 172 health care facilities and 10 health training institutions which are spatially deployed in all the ten (11) regions of the country and belong to 21 church denominations. All CHAG facilities make up 5.3% of all health infrastructure in Ghana." (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:25)

The Figure below provides an overview of the total facilities of CHAG,2010 (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:25)

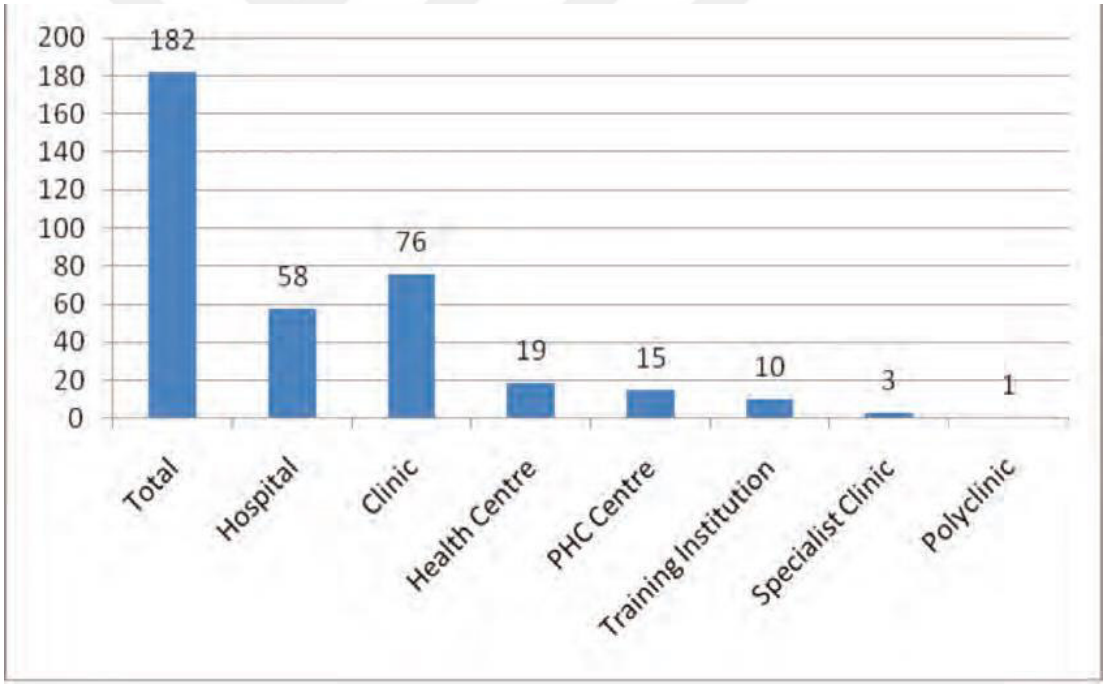

Figure 4.2.An overview of total facilities of the Christian Health Association of Ghana CHAG,2010

The Figure below provides an overview of facility ownership by denominations under the Christian Health Association of Ghana in Percentage in 2010.

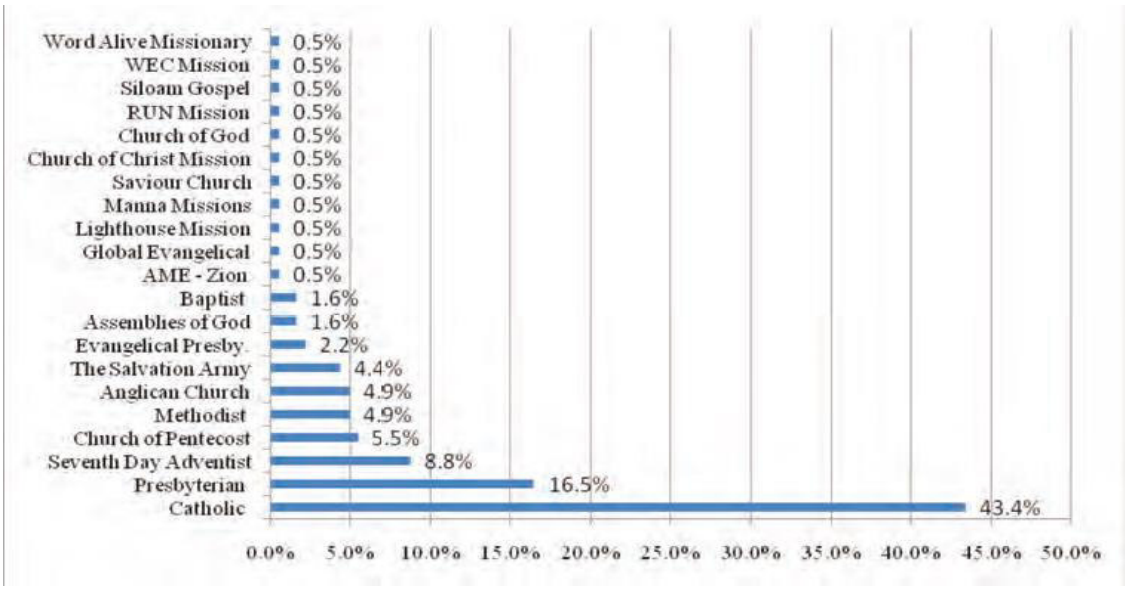

Figure 4.3. Facility ownership by denominations in Percentage CHAG,2010

From the figure above, the Catholic Church owns 43.4 % o, the Presbyterian Church (16.5 %) the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (8.8%) and the others making a total of 182 health facilities in 2010. It is worth noting that, "members of the network are financed through government contribution, internally generated funds, grants/donations and direct funding support from development partners through projects. 99% of government contribution goes directly to support salary costs and the remaining 1 % supports capital investments". (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:1)

The Figure show an overview of the Percentage Distribution of Christian Health Association of Ghana staff on Government Payroll by Category in 2010.

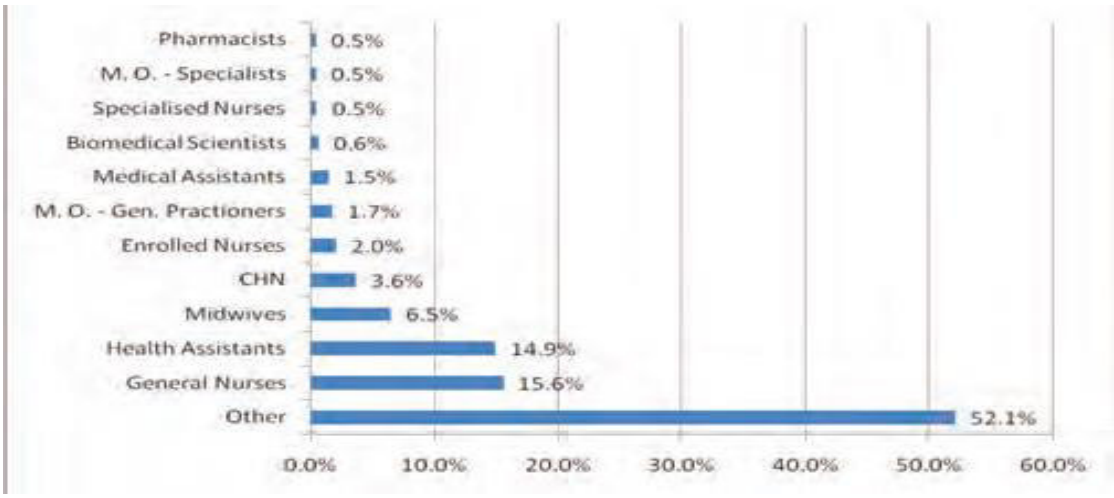

Figure 4.4. Percentage Distribution of Staff on Government Payroll

Note: From the figure above, it is evident that the majority of staff are non-professional workers [others] as compared to the other professional workers.

In conclusion**,** During the pre-colonial period, the health system in Ghana was centred on healing from traditional herbalists as well as traditional priests and priestesses. Various diseases usually attacked the indigenous people as well as the few European traders and missionaries operating on the coastal region of the Gold Coast. However, the region continuously attracted more European traders due to the availability of slaves and the high profit associated with trading in slaves. the need to ensure that healthy slaves were bought and delivered to the Atlantic made it necessary for the European traders to employ surgeons of the ship who will give health care to the slaves on and off the trading ships. As result, modern medicine was first introduced into to the Gold Coast and other regions on the West African coast

Furthermore, the European population in the Gold Coast increased to six times its level in the late 1880s. Therefore, the British colonial government saw the need to expand the health system in the Gold Coast because of the high mortality rates among Europeans in the region. the primary aim of the colonial and Christian missionary health services during the early decades of colonial rule was first and foremost to protect the health of European officials and then other African civil servant working in the European interest. This prompted the need to use the resources of the colony into providing health care services. This led to the establishment of medical infrastructure in the colony. Therefore, in Ghana, the European colonialists and missionaries mostly from Britain pioneered the introduction of modern health care services. Hospitals, clinics and dispensaries where the sick could be attended in an organized way we're introduced to the people of Gold Coast. The indigenous African medical system was not having such equivalents during the pre-colonial and missionary periods.

Before Ghana attained political independence, the health system in the region was dominated by a collection of government and Christian missionary health centres situated mostly in the southern coastal regions. This colonial health care system was only confined to the Europeans and their civil servants in coastal regions and later extended to cover the natives through the efforts of the missionary societies. Moreover, because of the rate of discrimination in the colonial health care system which tend to neglect the ordinary natives and focus on the health of the Europeans and their native civil servants, the newly independent government led by Kwame Nkrumah developed a policy framework for the development of health services in the

country to cover the native in the rural areas, particularly those located in the interior and northern territories.

The Missionary Churches continue to impact the health care system in contemporary Ghana. All the missionary societies involved in the 19th-century British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast have clinics and hospitals in different regions in the country which provides medical services to members of the Church as well as the local communities as a means to attract the indigenous people into the Christianity. Most of the Christian church's initiatives in the health care system of Ghana are executed under The Christian **Health Association of Ghana** (**CHAG**) founded in 1967. The Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) acts as the mother organization that coordinates the activities of most Christian health institutions and services in Ghana.

4.5. Socio-Economic impact

"Socioeconomic impact assessment is a methodical procedure in which pros and cons for a whole community or various processes are shown and studied. The objective is to explore and evaluate the objective of a given plan/program along with associated eventual impacts. Basically, in this technique, the socioeconomic cost is evaluated against the socioeconomic benefit. The method is used to evaluate the economic and social impacts associated with product and processes."(Nautiyal and Goel:2002),

4.5.1. Pre-colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana)

The pre-colonial economy of the Gold Coast was primarily in barter trading (exchange of goads for goads). The indigenous people were engaged in fishing and salt production in the coastal region, farming, and mining in the interior region as well as trading which was mostly controlled by the Muslim traders (commercial diasporas) passing through the northern territories into the interior and later to the coastal regions. The Muslim traders will transport their merchandize product back to Jenne and Timbuktu for onward transportation to North Africa. With the emergence of the European colonial experience, slave trading was also commercialised. "By colonial experience, we do not only mean the direct control of the Gold Coast by the colonial powers but more generally, European influence on the entire region. So, according to this definition, Sub-Saharan Africa was strongly affected by 'colonialism' between the

sixteenth and nineteenth centuries because of the Atlantic slave trade." (Acemoglu et al., 2001: 1370; Austin,2008:1004).

The Figure below shows data on the goods sold by the RAC trading on the West African coast in the 1720s to 1740 in Gold Coast.

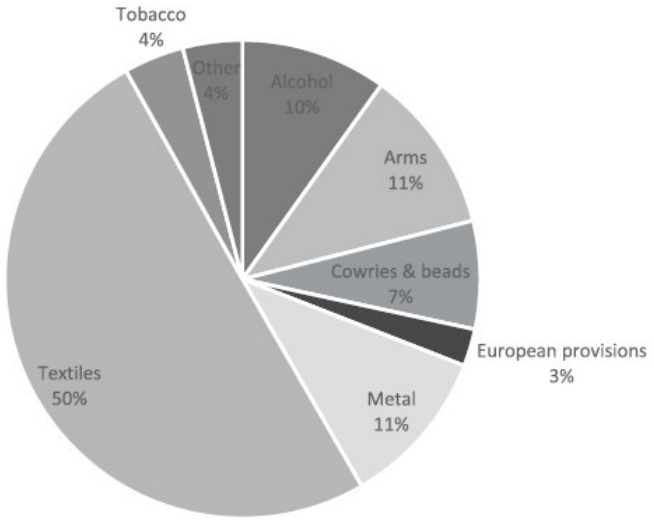

Figure 4.5. Goods sold by the RAC trading in the Gold Coast coast from the 1720s to 1740. (Rönnbäck,2020:7)

From the above, it is clear that in terms of value, the indigenous people of Gold Coast saw textiles as the most important commodities in the barter trade, textiles accounted for almost half of the total value of the goads the British company brought to the Gold Coast in this period. the company also imported alcohol, guns, and gunpowder each of which accounted for approximately 10% of the total value of the trade each. Metals and metalware such as jugs, pots, and pans of brass were also imported into the Gold Coast by the British Royal African Company between 1720 and 1740.

The figure below shows the goods purchased by the Royal African Company (RAC) on the Gold Coast in the benchmark years 1725 to1745.

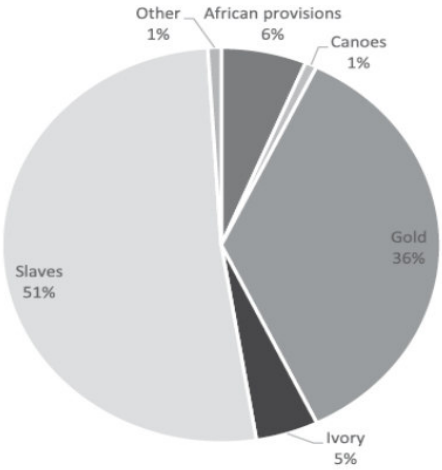

Figure 4.6. Goods purchased by the RAC on the Gold Coast in the years 1725–1745. (Rönnbäck,2020:7)

From the above, it is clear that in terms of value the British traded much in Slaves, almost more than half of the entire goads purchased on the Gold Coast of Gold Coast. In terms of the value of exchange, gold, African provisions, and others followed respectively after slaves between the benchmark period of 1725 and 1745. 'In total, approximately £105,000 sterling for the five benchmark years, or around £21,000 sterling per year on average" (Rönnbäck,2020:6)

4.5.2. Colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana)

Moreover, from 1850, Britain gradually seized political control of the coastal regions of modern Ghana and formed a protectorate called the Gold Coast Colony. However, When the British defeated the interior Asante kingdom in1874, The Gold Coast became a recognized British crown colony established based on the 1875 peace treaty. In 1896, another war between the Ashanti and British forced the kingdom to become under the British protectorate. finally in 1902, the British extended their political control to the Northern territories of modern Ghana. By 1898, The British Construction of railroads had begun which will assist the British in consolidating their control over entire Ghana and lowering the cost of transportation commodities for export exports.

Furthermore, after a long period of Christianity emerged in the region, the indigenous people showed little interest in the religion. But later when the British gained full political control over the Gold Coast, "Evangelical efforts from Presbyterian, Methodist, and other missionary societies, the indigenous people mostly in the coastal regions began to convert to Christianity. Evangelization efforts intensified when Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries reached the Gold Coast in

1828 and 1835, respectively. By 1850, only 904 Ghanaians had converted and 21 missions existed" (Isichei, 1995:169; Miller, 2003:23). "Mass evangelization did not take off until the 1870s when 67 Protestant missions served about 6,000 Ghanaians. Catholic missions started their conversion efforts from 1880 onwards. By 1932, the number of missions had expanded to 1,775 with about 340,000 followers (9% of Ghana's population). The Christian share has since grown to 41% in 1960 (Ghana Census Office, 1960) and 71% in 2010" (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012:Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:9) The Missionary societies viewed the provision of education as an effective tool to attract the native people into Christians. As result, they provided the bulk of formal education in Ghana during the colonial period.

The missionary societies initially depended on financial support from Western congregations, philanthropists and the colonial government with the final goal of establishing a self-financing African church in Ghana. therefore, the was the need to economically emancipate the native converts to take that mantle. Later these new economically viable African converts contributed to the spread of Christianity throughout the country.

As stated above, the expansion of the missionary churches can also be connected with their convert's engagement in trading in kola, palm oil, palm kernel as well as engaging in kola and plantation. In particular, cocoa farming dramatically increased incomes from the 1890s onwards (Hill, 1963a; Austin, 2003). By 1911, Ghana had become the world's leading cocoa producer. Ghanaians invested their cocoa revenues in their children's education at mission schools (Foster, 1965; Meyer, 1999). Debrunner (1967;54) made it clear: Cocoa money helped the African Christians to pay school fees and church taxes and to pay off old debts from the building of schools and chapels". Consequently, "Ghana Churches and the Christians became very dependent on cocoa for their economic support." (Sundkler and Steed, 2000: 216; Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:11)

More generally, various Protestant mission societies established trading companies that exported African cash crop production and allocated portions of their profits to sustain missionary activities (Johnson, 1967; Gannon, 1983). "Catholic missions, in contrast, were less constrained as they relied on the financial backing of the Vatican and its missionary associations across Europe" (Debrunner, 1967; Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:11)

4.5.3. Post -Colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast (Ghana)

There is no doubt the Christian missionary societies embarked on different socio-economic initiatives such as investment in education, agriculture and health care in Ghana. In line with recent economic theory that suggests that education increases human capital, which spurs economic growth (Lucas1988; Romer 1989; Barro 1991; Brown 2000; World Bank 1991; Schultz 1993) one will be tempted to conclude that the initiatives of the missionary societies have resulted into economic development in the country. However, the type of education is also important not just the amount of education" (Woodberry, 2004:64)

In the British colony of Gold Coast, the Missionary societies were directly involved in educating the indigenous people to help them acquire the needed skills to make a transition into the emerging British crown colony of Gold Coast (Ghana). Also, the missionaries introduced new crops such as Cocoa on the Gold Coast, they taught new converts new farming techniques and industrial skills such as carpentry and masonry, they taught the native people to read and understand the bible and taught them the English language which will enable them to trade with the Whiteman. One may assume that the education, as well as the transfer of resources and skills by the missionary societies in one way or the other, helped foster economic development on the Gold Coast (Ghana). But the study of Felix Meier zu Selhausen, Alexander Moradi and Remi Jedwab (Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:1) on the economic effects of Christian missionary societies in Ghana relied on six different identification strategies that exploit exogenous variations in Christian missionary expansion in Ghana from 1828 to 1932 found out that there is no relation between Christian missionaries (both Protestant, Catholic) and economic development whether during the colonial and contemporary independence state of Ghana. However, some of their findings suggest that Christian missionary societies might have had a positive influence on human capital formation in Ghana. In other words, the Christian missionary societies might have had a positive impact on human capital formation in Ghana but that did not necessarily translate into the economic development of the country.

From the above discussions, it is obvious the pre-colonial economy **of** the Gold Coast was primarily in barter trading (exchange of goads for goads). The natives of Gold Coast were engaged in fishing and salt production in the coastal region, farming,

and mining in the interior region as well as trading which was mostly controlled by the Muslim traders (commercial diasporas) passing through the northern territories into the interior and later to the coastal regions. The Muslim traders will transport their merchandize product back to Jenne and Timbuktu for onward transportation to North Africa. However, with the emergence of the colonial experience, massive slave trading was also commercialised in Gold Coast (Ghana)

During the Colonial period**,** the Socio-economy of the Gold Coast changed. The British Constructed railway lines that will assist them to firmly consolidate their political and economic control over the entire region and lower the cost involved in transporting their purchased items final exportation to the western world. However, the missionary societies were initially dependent on financial support from Western congregations, philanthropists and the colonial government with the final goal of establishing a self-financing native missionary church in Ghana. therefore, the was the need to economically emancipate the native converts to take that mantle. Later these new economically viable African converts contributed to the spread of Christianity throughout the region. "The missionary and the native Christian converts engaged in plantation and trading of commodities such as kola, palm oil, palm kernel. In particular, "cocoa farming dramatically increased incomes from the 1890s onwards" (Austin, 2003). By 1911, Ghana had become the world's leading cocoa producer. Ghanaians invested their cocoa revenues in their children's education at mission schools" (Debrunner,1967:54) made it clear: Cocoa money helped the African Christians to pay school fees and church taxes and to pay off old debts from the building of schools and chapels". Consequently, "Ghana Churches and the Christians became very dependent on cocoa for their economic support." (Sundkler and Steed, 2000:216; Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:11) Also, "various Protestant mission societies established trading companies that exported African cash crop production and allocated portions of their profits to sustain missionary activities". (Johnson, 1967; Gannon, 1983;Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018) The Post-Colonial Socio-economic situation of Gold Coast can be described as basically originating from the colonial and missionary societies' socio-economic initiatives such as investment in education, agriculture and health care in Ghana. Although recent theories in Economics tend to suggest that, education leads to increases in human capital development and therefore economic growth, one will be tempted to conclude that the

educational initiatives of the missionary societies in Ghana have resulted in economic development in the country. But the study of Felix Meier zu Selhausen, Alexander Moradi, Remi Jedwab (Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:1) on the economic effects of Christian missionary societies in Ghana relied on six different identification strategies that exploit exogenous variations in Christian missionary expansion in Ghana from 1828 to 1932 found out that there is no relation between Christian missionaries (both Protestant, Catholic) and economic development whether during the colonial and contemporary independence state of Ghana. However, some of their findings suggest that Christian missionary societies might have had a positive influence on human capital formation in Ghana. In other words, the Christian missionary societies might have had a positive impact on human capital formation in Ghana but that did not necessarily translate into the socio-economic development of the country.

4.6. Political Impact

4.6.1. Pre-colonial political situation

In the pre-colonial period, indigenous traditional societies in the Gold Coast were relatively in stable condition. Religion in these indigenous kingdoms generally played a significant role in the smooth administration of their political processes. "Religious rituals were one of the chief instruments by which power-holders maintained control over the community decision-making process, and the religious "myths" of these primitive groups (e.g., those related to tribal origin) were one of the principal means of legitimizing and also limiting the political leadership. Moreover, in these societies, the political and religious processes were closely intertwined, often in a single set of institutions and practices." (Hopkins,1966:556)

The highest in the power structure of the pre-colonial African political system was the State. The state (duko in Ewe; omcin in Akan) today (otherwise referred to as 'traditional area') is a sub-division comprised of semi-independent political groups, each of which is headed by a chief (nutomefia in Ewe; omanhene in Akan). Assisting the chief is a council of lower chiefs and elders. "Although this council's role is advisory, the state functions democratically in that the divisional chief regularly summons the council and seeks its role in times of serious crisis in the sub-division. In addition, the commoners are invited to share their views during public debates of issues related to the sub-division" (Asimpi,202:49) Also, "one may also find in the state

machinery such institutions as 'divine leaders, ... sub-chiefs, young men's groups (asafo), professional groups organised as political units, all in their inter-relationship indicating a very sophisticated political arrangement whose fundamental thrust is the economic and spiritual well-being of the people"(Awoonor,1990; Asimpi,2021)

Furthermore, some of the indigenous traditional societies led by the Paramount Chiefs or King are the Akan (Omanhene) and the Ewe (Awoamefia or Fiaga).) But unlike the Ewe and the Akan, the Ga people never had a paramount chief or chiefs at all in the sense in which the word is used by the Ewe and the Akan. "Ga were originally complete theocracies and the only rulers were the wulomei (priests). As such the Chief Wulomo (high priest) was the only ruler of the town. But they later borrowed the idea of secular chiefs and stools from the Asante and the Akaupem."(Asimpi,201:50) Moreover, because of the sacred position the paramount chiefs occupied, they commanded great authority and powers. They were not autocratic leaders, but they ruled in democratic nature. The indigenous Ghanaians societies believed that the paramount chiefs were the people's representatives and their powers are therefore derived from the people. Also, in most of the traditional kingdoms on the Gold Coast, there was an organization called the Council of Elders. "The Council of Elders, from whom the Paramount Chief or King derived his power, was viewed as the people's general assembly or legislature whose deliberations centred on all the political and administrative matters affecting the whole state" (Awoonor,1990:15)

This was the political setting in the Gold Coast into which Christianity emerged as a form of proselytizing Christian missionary societies. The missionary societies established their missions on the Gold Coast, provided formal education to teach the native people about Christianity and possibly convert them into the new religion. They began farming, and provided medical health care to enhance the socio-economic situation of their new native coverts and possibly to also provide social stimulus which will attract new converts. "Despite the clear values missionary societies were offering to the indigenous people in the form of skills, economic well-being, and possibly prestige, only a few native Africans accepted this new religion, early recruits to Christianity came largely from those already disaffected from traditional society, such as slaves and outcast" (Hopkins 1966:557)

4.6.2. Colonial political situation

Ghana was a British Crown Colony called Gold Coast from 1821 until its independence in 1957. Before the British finally declared the region a British crown colony, other European powers such as the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes were all competing in regional trade and authority on the Gold Coast. The British eventually gain political authority over the four separate jurisdictions of the British crown colony of Gold Coast through wars with the natives as well as the purchase of territorial settlements and forts of other European powers in the region. Therefore, by 1821 the British colonial administration in the region covered; the Gold Coast (coastal regions,1844), the Ashanti (1874), the Northern Territories and the British Togoland trust territory (1902).

When the British increasingly cemented control Gold Coast, they established the direct system of the British political authority in the colony. This changed the already existing political systems in the region. The British Gold coast was headed by the Governor of the British colony who was then assisted by the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. The Executive Council was made up of a few British officials acting as an advisory body to the governor on laws and taxes whiles the legislative Council was also made-up of members of the Executive Council and some British merchants in the region. After 1900, the British colonial government-appointed three chiefs and three other Africans were chosen from then Christianized communities of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi to the Legislative Council. Representatives of Asante and the Northern Territories followed later. Before before1925, the governor is solely responsible for the appointment of all members of the legislative council.

Furthermore, the progressive establishment of a centralized British colonial government resulted in centralized control of local services. Therefore, specific roles and responsibilities were assigned to the indigenous traditional states in the region. Village councils of chiefs and elders were almost exclusively responsible for the immediate needs of individual localities, including traditional law and order and the general welfare. The councils, however, ruled by consent rather than by right. Chiefs were chosen by the ruling class of the society; a traditional leader continued to rule not only because he was the choice of what may be termed the nobility, but also because he was accepted by his people. The unseating or destooling of a chief by tribal elders was fairly common practice if the chief failed to meet the desires or expectations of the

community Traditional chiefs figured prominently in the system of an indirect rule adopted by British authorities to administer their colonies in Africa. According to Frederick Lugard, “architect of the policy, indirect rule was cost-effective because it reduced the number of European officials in the field. By allowing local rulers to exercise direct administrative control over their people, opposition to European rule from the local population would be minimized. The chiefs, however, were to take instructions from their European supervisors. The plan, according to Lugard, had the further advantage of civilizing the natives, because it exposed traditional rulers to the benefits of European political organization and values. This "civilizing" process notwithstanding, the indirect rule had the ultimate advantage of guaranteeing the maintenance of law and order. The application of the indirect rule in the Gold Coast became essential, especially after Asante and the Northern Territories were brought under British rule. Before the effective colonization of these territories, the British colonial government intended to use both force and agreements to control chiefs in Asante and the north. Once the indirect rule was implemented, the chiefs became responsible to the colonial authorities who supported them” (Berry,1994)

By World War I, the colonial government situation had commenced to weaken the authority of the chief and disrupt their clientship relations to the colonial government. “As the chief became a civil servant of the colonial government (or was replaced by one), and as the churches grew into large-scale institutions, the rewards and motivations leading to conversion began to change. As a result, Welbourn argues, Africans were losing a sense of identity and sought to reintegrate themselves "at a more complex leve1."(Hopkins, 1966:557)

On the other hand, one outstanding characteristic of the British missionary enterprise in the British Gold Coast was the cooperation between the British colonialists and the missionary societies. The British colonial government in Gold Coast cooperated with almost all the European protestant missionaries (English Conformist and Nonconformists), and sometimes with even the catholic missionaries during this period.). “Indeed, it has often been expressed by the African nationalists that, the presence of some of the European missionaries facilitated the exploitation of Africans by the colonialists.” (Pobee,2000; Acquah 2011:89) Certain events during the mercantile period seemed to confirm this perception. The Rev. Thomas Thompson, the first Anglican missionary to Ghana, made these comments on his return to England

in 1772: "The African trade for Negroes and slaves are shown to be consistent with the principles of humanity and the laws of revealed religion." (Pobee,197)

Almost all the missionary societies involved in the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast operated freely and sometimes allied with the British Colonial administration in their efforts to Christianize the indigenous people of the Gold Coast (Ghana**).** For instance, "From the time the S. P. G. recommenced work in Ghana in 1904, the British Colonial Government actively cooperated through its representative, the Governor, with the mission by giving its missionaries every assistance they needed in promoting their activities. For instance, in addition to receiving Archdeacon Hamlyn (the soon-to-be consecrated bishop) and giving him temporary accommodation upon his arrival in Ghana, one of the first acts the Governor, Sir John P. Rodger, performed to aid the mission was the granting of government land for the construction of a mission house in Sekondi as well as making a provision towards the financial support of a clergyman. Also, when the bishopric was moved to Accra a few years later, it was the government again which gave a site for the building of the bishop's house "(U.S.P.G. G.C. Archives,1909; Asimpi,2021:231)

Also, In the case of the Basel missionary society (Presbyterian church), the sale by the Danes of their possessions to the English and their subsequent withdrawal from Ghana meant the extension of the English protectorate by the annexation of the eastern region of the country. It also meant that the Basel missionaries would now automatically be operating within the English sphere of authority. "As we have seen, Riis had already developed a cordial relationship with Governor Maclean and both became very popular in the area, to the chagrin of the Danish authorities. The relationship between the missionaries and the English administration was implicitly given official sanction when the Basel Missionary Committee instructed Riis to appeal to Maclean for protection against Danish hostilities towards the missionaries. Now that the missionaries came under English influence, they would officially also enjoy their protection. The missionaries for their part would now be responsible to the British administration. It was against this backdrop that the Basel missionaries, represented by the Rev. Elias Schrenk, pleaded with the British in 1865 not to withdraw from Ghana when they were contemplating doing so". (Asimpi,2021:208) "Another form of collaboration between the Basel. Missionary and colonialism can be seen in the hostilities between the British Colonial Government and the Asante in 1873 and 1900.

In the 1873/74 war, known in Ghanaian speech as the 'Sagrenti' war" (Ward 1967: 271), in which British forces invaded Asante and destroyed its capital, Kumase, 109 B. M. converts, accompanied by two catechists, fought on the British side. Similarly, a group of B. M. volunteers from Akyem fought with the British army six years later during the Yaa Asantewa War. The missionaries, the Rev. O. Liidrach and the Rev. B. Ntow, also went with them (Smith 1966: 129 Asimpiu page 212Four years before this war, the British Government and the B. M. had collaborated against the Asante. Accusing the Asantehene of violating the Treaty of Fomena34, the British Governor, Sir Brandford Griffith, despatched an expeditionary force to Kumase and on 20 January 1896 arrested and later banished the Asantehene, Agyemang Prempeh I (Kwaku Dua III) to the Seychelles Island. Also exiled with the King were his mother and father and other close relations as well as some of the prominent chiefs. Then the sacred trees, some of the temples and the royal mausoleum at Bantama were destroyed. The British built a fort in Kumase and appointed as the first Resident there Major Piggott, who headed a council of chiefs. The Governor then invited the Basel missionary, the Rev. F. Ramseyer, who had at that time been stationed at Abetifi following his release as a P.O.W. by the Asante, to move to Kumase.'' (Asimpi,2021:213)

Moreover, when we take into account the relationship between the Wesleyan missionary society (Methodist church) and the British colonial government, we can see a deeper partnership between missionary society and the British colonial government. "While the British administration needed the missionaries' services to accomplish its political, economic and social objectives, the missionaries likewise needed the British Governors to offer them protection. Realising the crucial role, the missionaries could play in maintaining law and order and the peace necessary for spreading Western 'civilisation', the Governors threw their wholehearted support behind the missionaries and their activities right from the time the first Wesleyan missionary arrived at Cape Coast in 1835". (Asimpi,2021:14) Indeed, Maclean British governor in Gold Coast personally participated in some of the missionary activities, as when he presided over Freeman's first missionary meeting on Monday, 3 September 1838. In his speech, "Maclean pointed out, inter alia, the advantages of the planting of Christianity in Ghana. He appealed for funds for the extension of the Christian ministry in the country, he contributing £25 out of a total of £54 that was collected in response

to his appeal" (Bartels 1966 and Asimpi,2021: 215)." And the most prominent enterprise in which both the Wesleyan Mission and the British administration jointly participated was Freeman's mission to Kumase in 1839". (Asimpi,2021:215)

In most instances during the colonial period, most of the missionaries failed, to address and, even, turned a blind eye to some of the acts of injustice and exploitation inflicted upon the indigenous people by the European trading merchants and colonizers due to their close links with the latter; sometimes, the former even affirmed those actions. Christian missionary churches have often been accused of common interests and collaboration with European merchants and colonizers in slavery, colonization and exploitation of Africans and Ghanaians in particular. For these reasons, the Christian church and colonialism were, sometimes, seen as the two faces of the same coin. (Acquah 2011: 89) Thus, all the British missionary societies were allied with the British colonial government at one point or another. they cooperated fully with the British colonialists throughout the missionary enterprise, promoting government policies, particularly in the field of education. the British government took over mission schools and began to pay the missions grants-in-aid for the administration of the schools. (Asimpi,2021:233)

4.6.3. Post-colonial politics

Later in the nineteenth century, there was a great number of emerging educated Africans on the Gold Coast. These educated natives found the British political system unacceptable because it placed almost all powers in the hands of the governor through his appointment of council members. "Therefore, the educated coastal elite formed an organization called the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. These educated natives went protested against a land bill that threatened traditional land tenure in the 1890s, this protest helped lay the foundation for political action that would ultimately lead to independence." (Berry,1994)

From the aforementioned, it's clear the collaborative efforts of both the missionary societies and the British colonial government must have begun to undermine the authority of the chiefs and disrupt political structures in the indigenous communities. By the end of the first world war, the chiefs became civil servants of the colonial government (or was replaced by one), and as the churches grew into large-scale institutions, the rewards and motivations leading to conversion began to change. As a result, Welbourn argues, Africans were losing a sense of identity and sought to

reintegrate themselves "at a more complex leve1. (Welbourn, Cited by Hopkins, 1966:557)

In contemporary post-colonial politics of independent Ghana, Christianity is reflecting itself in different dimensions: Firstly, In Campaigning Religiously in electioneering periods in 1992 and 1996 both the National Democratic Congress (N DC) and the New Patriotic Party (N.P.P). took the Christian constituency very seriously and thus concentrated on gaining their votes. The then N.D.C. candidate J.J. Rawlings concentrated more on the independent/spiritual churches, while his wife was billed for the mainline churches. The N.P.P. on the other hand concentrated more on the mainline churches. (Fredrick,2013:2)

Secondly, there is the use of Religious Songs for Political Campaigns. One of the notable differences in the use of religious songs on campaign platforms in the 2008 election aside from those adopted or composed for national campaigns was the composition of songs, with a Christian ethos for party primaries. This was most common in the campaigns leading up to the presidential primary of N.P.P in 2007. (Fredrick,2013:12).

Moreover, there is a Spiritual Forecast in Ghanaian Politics. Christian African Independent leaders, some of whom have re-emerged and formed churches under the new strand of Pentecostalism-Neo-Prophetism, maintained their old ways of predicting and prophesying ahead of elections. Some of them were even allowed on political platforms to make such claims. Nana Kwame Ampadu, who claims he predicted the candidature of Prof. Mills in 1998, was reported to have proclaimed at an N.P.P. rally at Accra Academy Senior High School in Accra that Nana Addo was going to win the 2008 elections (Fredrick,2013:6)

In conclusion, The British missionary enterprise impacted the political history of Ghana through the recruitment into the post-independent nationalist political movements in Ghana. Almost all the early politicians in Ghana were educated in the missionary schools established by the missionary societies. As products of the missionary's initiatives, these new Ghanaian elites learned new norms and habits. These norms and habits were later inducted into their new roles from which recruitment into the proto-nationalist churches and political parties emerged particularly in the early years of the 21st century. In other words, based on responses acquired during their Christian education and conversion process, the habits, skills,

goals, and political ideologies were largely able to feed into the contemporary political environment in Ghana. Political power has now shifted from the traditional chiefs into the hands of the colonial missionary educated elites. Thus, post-independent Ghanaian politicians and politics are products of the missionary and colonial educational system in the Gold Coast.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the general conclusions of this thesis entitled the impacts of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast (Ghana). We shall summarise the general impacts of the British missionary enterprise in Gold Coast (Ghana) namely; the religious impacts, the impacts on educational systems, the political Impact, the Impacts on health care and the impacts on socio-economy under the following periods. The Pre-colonial Period (the 1400s - the 1840s), The Colonial Period (1840s - 1950s) and the Post-colonial Period (1950s - Onwards). The modern republic of Ghana was previously referred to by a progression of European colonialists as the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast was carved out from the region previously referred to as the Bilad Sudan by the ancient Arab traders and Lower Volta Basin by the 15th century European traders in the region. Geographically, the region ambit traditional kingdoms of Mamprusi, Gonja, Dagbon, and Wala, the interior Ashanti kingdoms as well as the kingdoms along the coastal regions.

During the Pre-colonial era, the religious situation in the Lower Volta Basin (Gold Coast, Ghana) was characterized by the existence of variant traditional African religious beliefs and practices. Before Islam and Christianity emerged in the region, the indigenous people were in one way or the other consciously or unconsciously identifying themselves with one traditional religious tradition or the other. Traditional Spirituality was very prevalent among all the indigenous people. Superstition was also very common among the indigenous people, particularly among those of the interior such as the Akan. Every ethnic group in the region under consideration had developed a complex and distinctive set of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices. Regardless of their unrelated aspects, there were some common features to these belief systems. these indigenous traditional religious traditions can best be described as primitive monotheism due to their belief in the Supreme Being, But polytheistic due to their beliefs in ancestral and other spirits. We can therefore classify these traditional religious beliefs in pre-colonial lower Volta Basin into these belief systems: beliefs in the Supreme Being or creator, divinized natural forces, divinized ancestors, charms, amulets, Myths, the presence of deities, ancestor veneration, and divination. This shows that the African traditional belief systems in the lower Volta Basin which (Gold coast) can be referred to as a form of connected interrelated religious tradition.

On the other hand, Islam was initially brought to the Lower Volta Basin (Gold Coast, Ghana) in the 15th century by the Mande (Wangara) traders via the trade routes across the West Africa sub-region. But Islamization of the natives in the region was carried out by the indigenous natives themselves, who shared a similar world view, spoke the same language, and lived in entirely the same religious and cultural world views. Moreover, the emergence of the Hausa traders from the 16th century brought about a significant number of west African Muslims in the region who consciously turn not to the Arabian or West African model of living Islam as reported by Some western scholars but to the Islamic tradition as they imagine it to have been instituted by the Prophet Muhammad (saw) in Mecca and Medina.

Therefore, Islam and traditional African religions in the pre-colonial lower Volta Basin (Gold Coast, Ghana) can mostly be characterized by thousand years of cohabitation, adaptation, and intermixture between the two religions. But in many areas, indigenous people have little by little substituted themselves to embrace Islam, without any clashes or ruptures between the two religions. In other words, religion in the pre-colonial Ghanaian societies is not just important because of the number of indigenous people who claim religious adherence but also because of its intense manifestation in the daily lives of the native people and the extent it impacts their ideas.

Moreover, starting from the 15th century during the early periods of European colonial and missionary adventures the religious situation continues to be the same as before except the coastal regions of the Gold Coast, which began to witness some religious transformations but in very small quantity. Some of the early Christian missionaries in the coastal regions were the early Portuguese (Catholics Christians) who made no effort in Christianizing the natives, as well as the British Anglican society for the propagation of the gospel(SPG) who sent Thomas Thompson as the first missionary to Gold coast in 1752. When the British gained political control over the Gold coast and established the British Crown Colony of Gold Coast from 1821 until Ghana became independent in 1957, British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast gained momentum with a constant arrival of Protestant Anglican Conformist and sometimes non-conformist missionary societies mostly from Britain and other parts of Europe. Massive evangelization started with the arrival of Basel (the Presbyterian Church of Ghana) missionary society which set out from London and Landed at Christiansburg on the Gold coast in 1828. Followed by another British protestant

missionary society, The Wesleyan missionary society (British Methodist missionary society) in 1835, In 1880, Catholic missionaries (Catholic Church of Ghana) set out from England also arrived in Elmina, Gold coast. Another British protestant missionary society, The Church Mission Society (C.M.S. Anglican Mission) in 1904, the Salvation Army (Salvation Army Church, Ghana) also officially established itself on the Gold coast in 1922. Followed by another British missionary society, the Apostolic Church in Bradford, England (The Apostolic Church – Ghana) also arrived in the Gold coast in 1935, the Worldwide evangelization crusade (Evangelical Church of Ghana) in 1940. Furthermore, the freed African Christianized slaves from America also became new bridgeheads of British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast. Among these American missionary societies are the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (1898), the African Methodist Episcopal (1933), and the Christian Methodist Episcopal (1957). All these mission churches except the catholic church established the Christian council of Ghana, the unifying organization in 1929. All catholic missionary churches also formed the Ghana Catholic Bishop's Conference (now Bishop's Conference) in 1960. Generally, through evangelism, catechism, formal education, and other socio-economic initiatives, the missionary societies were able to convert natives of the Gold Coast mostly from the traditional African religious beliefs into different versions of western Christianity. During this period, the missionary societies made efforts to create a significant separation between the new converts of Gold Coast and the African religious-cultural settings. "This was to prevent the native converts from being contaminated by the pagan ways of their family members and relatives, the Presbyterian Church, initially, created separate communities referred to as Salem within various towns and villages in Ghana. This negative attitude and confrontational stance of the European Christian missionaries towards African religious and cultural values was one of the factors that created tensions in some of the traditional societies." (Acquah, 2011:88)

In post-colonial Ghanaian societies, religion is still an important phenomenon. There is no doubt the religious contact between the indigenous traditional religions, Islam and Christianity in the Gold Coast (Ghana) was led by the British missionary enterprise in the region. This religious contact via the British missionary institutions transformed Ghanaian society. Today, Christianity has become Ghana's most common and widely practised religion. The British missionary enterprise has impacted

the beliefs system of the people concerning their ancestors, gods, religious superstitions, drumming and dancing, outdooring, burial ceremonies pouring of libation, etc. Most traditional sacrifices are modified and sometimes restricted as compared to Christian festivals such as Christmas, Easter, and Good Friday. These Christian festivals are celebrated nationally in Ghana. Though some Ghanaians still value their cultural traditions, missionaries have succeeded in replacing some traditional values with western Christian traditions such as Christian blessing of marriages and monogamous marriage, etc which were championed by the missionaries and are still practiced today.

Moreover, the British missionary enterprise has also impacted the educational systems in Ghana. Before the emergence of British missionary societies in the Gold Coast (Ghana) the education systems in the region (Gold Coast) were mostly informal. Knowledge and skills were transmitted verbally and through apprenticeship. the indigenous systems of education have dominance and influence over the transmitting of African languages, cultural values, and apprenticeship before the Europeans emerged in the region. There was also in existence the Islamic education system in the region before colonial and missionary education emerged. The Islamic education system used the Arabic language only as a medium of impacting Islamic Knowledge and values.

During the colonial era, the formal educational system was introduced in the Gold Coast with the arrival of the missionary societies involved in the British missionary enterprise in the region. Initially, students of these missionary Schools were mainly from local elites (mulattos, sons of local chiefs, and wealthy traders) in the colonial forts along the coastal region. Moreover, when the British colonialists established full colonial control over the Gold Coast colony in 1874. It resulted in a significant transformation in the Christian missionary educational initiatives in the region due to an increase in the number of missionary societies and their affiliated educational initiatives in the British colony. The missionary educational process under colonial rule was intended to facilitate control and exploitation in the region. By 1881, There were about 139 missionary schools on the Gold coast but their education systems varied from one to another. The British colonial government, therefore, established the first Gold coast educational plan in 1882 to guide the development of education. The government appointed the Inspector of Schools from 1887 until 1890.

In the field of informal education, the missionary societies also trained many Christian converts on the Gold coast. “These new converts were trained in a different form of apprenticeship by the missionary societies. They were involved in education because they need people to help them communicate and interact with the natives and to help them propagate the gospel. (Owusu,2017:14) This aim has prevailed to date and such colonization of education has continued to the present time.” (Akuaku,2018: 13)

In the post-colonial era**,** the influence of Christianity on education in Ghana is very clear. Christian churches initiated by the missionary societies are the major stakeholders of education in Ghana in terms of infrastructure and human resources. Since independence, various successive governments in Ghana have also invested in education as a factor in development. But both the effort made by the missionary societies and the independent successive governments are yet to make a significant impact on the country's development. The increasing expenditure in education for the establishment of new schools, colleges, and universities by both the Christian churches and the government is very encouraging, but the rate of developmental impact is nowhere near the educational investment. There is also over dominance of English as a language of instruction in the educational system, as well as lack of technology transfer, which are said to be promoting more western than indigenous educational interest. The educational system constantly serves the interests of the metropolitan capitalists and local exploiting elites, and its shortcomings can be justified by the dependent nature of the Ghanaian economy. Therefore, there is the need to restructure the education system to take into account the importance of modern science and technology. Science and technology should not be transferred or imported but manufactured locally. Importing from the western world when is necessary, but develop locally within an overall autonomous educational system capable of generating growth and development. there is also the need for adequate attention to be given to the African traditional religion as well as the Islamic religious aspects of educational systems to develop a system of education compatible with the role of the state in ensuring religious freedom in Ghana.

During the pre-colonial period, the Health System in the Volta basin (Gold Coast, Ghana) was based primarily on healing by indigenous traditional herbalists and traditional priests and priestesses. Various diseases attacked the indigenous people. Some of these diseases are chicken-pox, clap, guinea worms, itches or craw, malaria,

etc. Indigenous healing methods were in the following broad areas: Surgical interventions, internal disturbances, contagious diseases, epidemics, parasite infestations, and therapeutics. "Dr Tedlie who accompanied the Bowdich Mission to Ashanti in 1817 had something definite to say about how the Ashantis dealt with such surgical problems as fractures and haemorrhage from physical trauma: The Ashantis bound up the broken limb with leaves and other herbs without any regular attempt at reducing the fracture. The attitude was taken that the patient would survive if God willed it". (Addae,1996: 8-9).

During the Colonial period, Many European traders, colonialists, and missionaries emerged in the region. These European were mainly Portuguese, English, Dutch, and Dane. Just like the indigenous people, many of these Europeans were also attacked by these diseases. But the region continuously attracted more European traders such as due to the availability of slaves and the high profit associated with trading in slaves. The need to ensure that healthy slaves were bought and delivered to the Atlantic made it necessary for the European traders to employ surgeons of a ship who will give health care to the slaves on and off the trading ships. As result, modern medicine was first introduced into to indigenous the Gold Coast and other regions on the West African coast. Moreover, the European population in the Gold Coast increased to six times its level in the late 1880s. Therefore, the British colonial government saw the need to expand the health system in the Gold Coast because of the high mortality rates among Europeans in the region. the primary aim of the colonial and Christian missionary health services during the early decades of colonial rule was first and foremost to protect the health of European officials and then other African civil servant working in the European interest. This prompted the need to use the resources of the colony into providing health care services. This led to the establishment of medical infrastructure in the colony. Therefore, in Ghana, the European colonialists and missionaries mostly from Britain pioneered the introduction of modern health care services. Hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries where the sick could be attended in an organized established manner. The indigenous African medical system was not having such equivalents during the pre-colonial and missionary periods. Even before Ghana attained independence, Ghana's health system was dominated by a collection of government and Christian missionary health centers situated mostly in the southern coastal regions. This colonial health care system was

only confined to the Europeans and their civil servants in coastal regions but later extended to cover the natives through the efforts of the missionary societies.

Moreover, in the post-colonial era, because of the rate of discrimination inherited from the colonial health care system which tend to neglect the ordinary natives and focus on the health of the Europeans and their native civil servants, the newly independent government led by Kwame Nkrumah developed a policy framework for the development of health services in the country which will cover the native the rural areas particularly those located in the interior and northern territories. In the post-colonial period, the missionary initiated Churches continue to impact the health care system in contemporary Ghana. Almost all the missionary societies involved in the 19th-century British missionary enterprise in the Gold Coast have clinics and hospitals in different regions in the country which provide medical services to members of the Church as well as the local communities and also serve as a means to attract the indigenous people into the Christianity. Most of the Christian church's initiatives in the health care system of Ghana are executed under the Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) founded in 1967. The Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) acts as the mother organization that coordinates the activities of most Christian health institutions and services in Ghana. According to the Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) report, Catholic Church owns (43.4%), the Presbyterian Church (16.5%), the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (8.8%) and the others making a total of 182 health facilities in 2010. It is worth noting that, members of the network are financed through government contribution, internally generated funds, grants/donations, and direct funding support from development partners through projects. 99% of government contribution goes directly to support salary costs and the remaining 1 % supports capital investments. (Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010:1) Moreover, it also became evident from the Christian Health Association of Ghana Annual Report, 2010 that the majority of the staff representing (52.1%) of the organization's workers on government payroll are non-professional workers as compared to the other professional workers.

Furthermore, the British missionary enterprise has also impacted the political history of Ghana through the recruitment into the post-independent nationalist political movements in Ghana.

During the pre-colonial periods, the indigenous traditional kingdoms in the Gold Coast were relatively in stable conditions with the indigenous religious traditions generally playing a significant role in the smooth administration of their political processes " Religious rituals were one of the chief instruments by which power-holders maintained control over the community decision-making process, and the religious "myths" of these primitive groups (e.g., those related to tribal origin) were one of the principals means of legitimizing and also of limiting the political leadership. Moreover, in these societies, the political and religious processes were closely intertwined, often in a single set of institutions and practices" (Hopkins,1966:556) The highest in the power structure of the pre-colonial indigenous political system was the State (traditional area) called Oman in Akan and Duko in Ewe. The traditional area was governed by the paramount Chiefs called Omanhene in Akan and Awoamefia or Fiaga in Ewe. Bellow the paramount chiefs are the sub-chiefs governing semi-independent political groups. There is also the institution of the council of lower chiefs and elders. (Playing advisory role). "One may also find in the state machinery such institutions as 'divine leaders, sub-chiefs, young men's groups (Asafo), professional groups organised as political units, all in their inter-relationship indicating a very sophisticated political arrangement whose fundamental thrust is the economic and spiritual well-being of the people" (Awoonor,1990; Asimpi,202:49) Because of the sacred position the paramount chiefs occupied, they commanded great authority and powers. The indigenous Ghanaians societies believed that the paramount chiefs were the people's representatives and their powers are therefore derived from the people.

With the emergence of the colonial era, European powers such as the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes were all in different wars and negotiations to conquer the lucrative trade and political authority on the Gold Coast. The British eventually gain political authority over the four separate jurisdictions of the British crown colony of Gold Coast through wars with the natives as well as the purchase of territorial settlements and forts of other European powers in the region. Therefore, by 1821 the British colonial administration in the region covered; the Gold Coast (coastal regions,1844), the Ashanti (1874), the Northern Territories, and the British Togoland trust territory (1902). When the British increasingly cemented control Gold Coast, they established the direct system of the British political authority in the colony. This changed the already existing political systems in the region. The British Gold coast was headed by

the Governor of the British colony who was then assisted by the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. After 1900, the British colonial government-appointed three chiefs, and three other Africans were chosen from then Christianized communities of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi to the Legislative Council. And representatives of Asante and the Northern Territories followed later. Before 1925, the governor is solely responsible for the appointment of all members of the legislative council. "The British intended to use both force and agreements to control chiefs in Asante and the north. Once the indirect rule was implemented, the chiefs became responsible to the colonial authorities who supported them"(Berry,1994) In this period, almost all the missionary societies involved in the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast operated freely and sometimes allied with the British Colonial administration in their efforts to Christianize the indigenous people of the Gold Coast (Ghana). For instance, "One of the first acts the Governor, Sir John P. Rodger, performed to aid the mission was the granting of government land for the construction of a mission house in Sekondi as well as making a provision towards the financial support of a clergyman. Also, when the bishopric was moved to Accra a few years later, it was the government again which gave a site for the building of the bishop's house'' (U.S.P.G. G.C:1909, Asimpi,2021:231). "Another form of collaboration between the Basel. Missionary and colonialism can be seen in the hostilities between the British Colonial Government and the Asante in 1873 and 1900. In the 1873/74 war, known in Ghanaian speech as the 'Sagrenti' war (Ward,1967: 271), in which British forces invaded Asante and destroyed its capital, Kumase, 109 B. M. converts, accompanied by two catechists, fought on the British side''(Asimpi,2021:212). Also, ''realising the crucial role the missionaries could play in maintaining law and order and the peace necessary for spreading western 'civilization', the Governors threw their wholehearted support behind the missionaries and their activities right from the time the first Wesleyan missionary arrived at Cape Coast in 1835''. (Asimpi,2021:214) "And the most prominent enterprise in which both the Wesleyan Mission and the British administration jointly participated was Freeman's mission to Kumase in 1839". (Asimpi,2021:215) Thus, "all the British missionary societies were allied with the British colonial government at one point or another. they cooperated fully with the British colonialists throughout the missionary enterprise, promoting government policies, particularly in the field of education. the British government took over mission schools and began to pay the missions grants-in-aid for the administration of

the schools." (Asimpi,2021:233-234) The collaborative efforts of both the missionary societies and the British colonial government disrupt political structures in the indigenous community by the end of the first world war. the chiefs became civil servants of the colonial government (or was replaced by one), whiles the churches grew into large-scale institutions, the rewards and motivations leading to conversion began to take a different dimension. In the nineteenth century, there was a great number of emerging educated Africans on the Gold Coast. These educated natives found the British political system unacceptable because it placed almost all powers in the hands of the governor through his appointment of council members. Therefore, "the educated coastal elite formed an organization called the Aborigines' Rights Protection Society. These educated natives went protested against a land bill that threatened traditional land tenure in the 1890s, this protest helped lay the foundation for political action that would ultimately lead to independence." (Berry,1994)

In post-independence Ghanaian politics, the missionary impact is seen in different endeavours. Almost all the early politicians in Ghana were educated in missionary schools. As products of the missionary's initiatives, these new Ghanaian elites learned new norms and habits. These norms and habits were later inducted into their new roles from which recruitment into the proto-nationalist churches and political parties emerged particularly in the early years of the 21st century. In other words, based on responses acquired during their Christian education and conversion process, the habits, skills, goals, and political ideologies were largely able to feed into the contemporary political environment in Ghana. Political power has now shifted from the traditional chiefs into the hands of the colonial missionary-educated elites. Thus, post-independent Ghanaian politicians and politics are products of the missionary and colonial educational system in the Gold Coast.

Last but not least, the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast has also had a tremendous impact on the socio-economic situation in the region.

In this research, we discussed that the pre-colonial economy of the Gold Coast was primarily based on barter trading thus, the exchange of goads for goads due to the lack of currency as a medium of exchange. Most of the natives were engaged in fishing and salt production in the coastal region, farming, and mining in the interior region as well as trading which was mostly controlled by the Muslim traders (commercial diasporas) passing through the northern territories into the interior and later to the

coastal regions. The Muslim traders will transport their merchandise product back to Jenne and Timbuktu for further transactions to North Africa. However, with the emergence of the colonial experience, massive slave trading was also commercialized in Gold Coast (Ghana). Between 1725 and 1745 alone, we found out that in terms of value, the British Royal African Company traded much in Slaves. Almost more than have of the entire goads purchased on the Gold Coast of Gold Coast. In terms of the value of exchange, gold, African provisions, and others followed respectively after slaves between this benchmark period. Also, the indigenous people of the Gold Coast saw textiles as the most important commodities in the barter trading, textiles accounted for almost half of the total value of the goads the British company brought to the Gold Coast in this period. the company also imported alcohol, guns, and gunpowder each of which accounted for approximately 10% of the total value of the trade each. Metals and metalware such as jugs, pots, and pans of brass were also imported into the Gold Coast by the British Royal African Company between 1720 and 1740. "In total, the trade during the benchmark years was reported to have a value of approximately £105,000 sterling for the five benchmark years or around £21,000 sterling per year on average" (Rönnbäck,2020:6)

During the Colonial period, the Socio-economy in the region witnessed some changes. British colonial government Constructed railway lines that will assist them to firmly consolidate their political and economic control over the entire region and lower the cost involved in transporting their purchased items to the coastal regions for final exportation to the western world. However, "the missionary societies and the native Christian convert engaged in plantation and trading of commodities such as kola, palm oil, palm kernel. In particular, "cocoa farming dramatically increased incomes from the 1890s onwards" (Hill, 1963 and Austin, 2003). "By 1911, Ghana had become the world's leading cocoa producer. Ghanaians invested their cocoa revenues in their children's education at mission schools" (Foster, 1965, Meyer, 1999, and Debrunner 1967: 54) made it clear: Cocoa money helped the African Christians to pay school fees and church taxes and to pay off old debts from the building of schools and chapels, Consequently, "Ghana Churches and the Christians became very dependent on cocoa for their economic support." (Sundkler, Steed, 2000:216, Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018:11) Also, "various Protestant mission societies established trading companies that exported African cash crop production and allocated portions of their

profits to sustain missionary activities" (Johnson, 1967, Gannon, 1983, Jedwab, Selhausen and Moradi, 2018) The missionary societies were initially dependent on financial support from Western congregations, philanthropists, and the colonial government with the final goal of establishing a self-financing native missionary church in Ghana. therefore, there was the need to economically emancipate the native converts to take that mantle. Later these new economically viable African converts contributed to the spread of Christianity throughout the region.

In Post -Colonial Era, the Socio-economy of Ghana was inherited from the colonial and missionary society's socio-economic initiatives such as investment in education, agriculture, and health care in Ghana. It is very important to note that, although recent theories in economics tend to suggest that, education leads to increases in human capital development and therefore economic growth, one will be tempted to conclude that the educational initiatives of the missionary societies in Ghana have resulted into economic development in the country. But the study of Felix Meier zu Selhausen, Alexander Moradi, Remi Jedwab (Jedwab, Selhausen, Moradi, 2018:1) on the economic effects of Christian missionary societies in Ghana relied on six different identification strategies that exploit exogenous variations in Christian missionary expansion in Ghana from 1828 to 1932 found out that there is no relation between Christian missionaries (both Protestant, Catholic) and economic development whether during the colonial and contemporary independence state of Ghana. However, some of their findings suggest that Christian missionary societies might have had a positive influence on human capital formation in Ghana. In other words, the Christian missionary societies might have had a positive impact on human capital formation in Ghana but that did not necessarily translate into the economic development of the country.

In this research, we discovered that the modern state of Ghana was previously referred to by a progression of European colonialists as the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast was carved out from the region previously referred to as the Bilad Sudan by the ancient Arab traders and Lower Volta Basin by the 15th century European traders in the region. Geographically, the region ambit traditional kingdoms of Mamprusi, Gonja, Dagbon, and Wala, the interior Ashanti kingdom as well as the kingdoms along the coastal region. During the Colonial era, the missionary societies established their missions in the region, provided formal education to teach the native people about

Christianity, and serve the European traders, missionaries, and colonialists in the Gold Coast. Later, they also began farming, established trading companies, and provided medical health care to enhance the socio-economic situation of their new native coverts and possibly to also serve as a social stimulus that will attract new converts to the Ghana Coast. Furthermore, In the post-colonial era, in general terms, we found out how the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast (Ghana) continuously impact the religious, political, educational medical heath, and socio-economy systems in Ghana. We used the historical Analytical method to conceptualize and interpret some aspects of these changes in the region. As products of British missionary initiatives, native Ghanaian converts acquired new, economic, political, educational, medical, and religious norms, skills and habits, etc. These were transplanted into post-colonial political, economic, health, educational, and religious systems from which the modern structure of the Ghanaian society is organized. Though the British missionary enterprise, the British missionary societies consciously or unconsciously impacted the modern Ghanaian state. Nevertheless, these British missionary initiatives in Ghana might have had a positive impact on human capital formation but failed to translate into the socio-economic development of the country. However, the Ghanaian Christian religious landscape is changing, featuring the growth and institutionalization of numerous indigenous initiated Christian denominations (Pentecostal–charismatic churches) which tend to blend the missionary Christianity and traditional African religious world view thereby attracting a greater number of followers mostly from the missionary oriented churches as well as other native Ghanaians including Muslims. From the above, the holistic impact of Christian missionary initiatives led by the British missionary enterprise on the Gold Coast is very clear. But still, the historical and contemporary resilience of both Islam and the indigenous traditional religious beliefs and practices among the people of Ghana during the colonial and post-colonial periods is also too clear to be denied. In other words, Islam and traditional religion were and are still part and parcel of the religious, historical, political, socio-economic development in the region. therefore, this research recommends that the state must do well to ensure fair representation of Islamic and traditional religious traditions as accorded to Christianity during the colonial and post-colonial periods.

Another important finding in this research is in the field of education in Ghana. Though the increasing expenditure on education for the establishment of new schools,

colleges, and universities by various post-independence governments is very encouraging, the rate of its developmental impact is nowhere near the educational investment. There is still over dominance of English as the language of instruction in the educational system as well as a lack of technology transfer all of which tends to promote more western than indigenous educational interest. The educational system constantly still serves the interests of the metropolitan capitalists and local exploiting elites, and its shortcomings can be justified by the dependent nature of the Ghanaian economy. This research, therefore, recommends that there is also the need to restructure the education system to take into account the practical importance of modern science and technology. Science and technology should not be transferred or imported but manufactured locally. Importing from the western world when it is necessary, but develop locally within an overall autonomous educational system capable of generating growth and development.

There is also the need for adequate attention to be given to the Islamic as well as the African traditional religious aspects of educational systems to develop a holistic system of education compatible with the role of the state in ensuring religious freedom and development in Ghana. Moreover, the constitution of Ghana also expects all, including educational institutions owned by religious organizations, to respect the right to religious liberty as enshrined in Article 21(1) of the constitution. But in most cases, Christian institutions attempt to compel Muslim students and students who belong to other religions to attend Christian Church services or worships. Even in the case of such unconstitutional behaviour, the intolerance on the part of many Christian institutions is often more visible to the successive governments than the official persecution of the individual or institution involved in interference in the religious liberty of fellow citizens. Therefore, even though religious liberty is constitutionally guaranteed in modern Ghana and the state recognizes the need for mutual respect between the state and the religious organizations, state interference in the religious affairs of citizens is too minimal. As result, concerning the relations between various Christian institutions and Muslim students, the issue of religious intolerance is often manifested in the name of satisfying the rules of Christian missionary schools. In this direction, I humbly recommend that both the state and the Christian churches must do much to guarantee constitutional respect for the religious liberty of Muslims and other religions in Ghana.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & Robinson, J. A. (2001). The colonial origins of comparative development: An empirical investigation. *American economic review*, *91*(5), 1369-1401.

Acquah, F. (2011). The impact of African traditional religious beliefs and cultural values on Christian-Muslim relations in Ghana from 1920 through the present: A case study of Nkusukum-Ekumfi-Enyan area of the Central Region. *Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis. UK [United Kingdom]: University of Exeter. Available online also at https://ore. Exeter. ac. uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10036/3473/AcquahF. pdf.*

Addae, S. (1996). *The evolution of modern medicine in a developing country: Ghana 1880-1960*. Durham Academic Press.

Addai, J. K. (2012). *A History of Divine Word Missionaries in Ghana, 1938-2010* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Adu-Gyamfi, S., Donkoh, W. J., & Addo, A. A. (2016). Educational reforms in Ghana: Past and present. *Journal of Education and Human Development*, *5*(3), 158-172.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church Ghana | AME church in Mamprobi, Accra | Powered by Net Ministries. (2021a). Retrieved from https://www.netministries.org/churches/ch13091

Ahaotu, G. N., & Niyi, O. (2018). Teachers as Substitute Parents, Supervisors and Evaluators of Teaching/Learning Process: Imperative to Nation-Building. *Electronic Research Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, *1*.The Apostolic Church International. (2021, December 2). History – The Apostolic Church International. Retrieved from http://www.theapostolicchurch.org/history/

Aikins, A. D. G., & Koram, K. (2017). Health and healthcare in Ghana, 1957–2017. *The economy of Ghana sixty years after independence*, *365*.

Akuaku, J. R. (2018). *Christian-Muslim Relations in Ghana: The Case of Two Selected Senior High Schools Awoshie and Dansoman* (Master's thesis).

Arhinful, D. K. (2003). *The solidarity of self-interest: Social and cultural feasibility of rural health insurance in Ghana*. African Studies Centre, Leiden

Asare, D.S. (2020).“Building a Mission-Oriented Church in Ghana in the 21st Century: The Role of Theological Education.” *E-Journal of Religious and Theological Studies* 6, no.3 190-199.

Asimpi, K. (1996). *European Christian missions and race relations in Ghana, 1828-1970* (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University).

Atiemo, A. O. (2010). Religion and Human Rights: Towards the Inculturation of Human Rights in Ghana Page. 3

Atiemo, A. O. (2013). *Religion and the inculturation of human rights in Ghana*. A&C Black.

Austin, G. (2008). The ‘reversal of fortune thesis’ and the compression of history: perspectives from African and comparative economic history. *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association*, *20*(8), 996-1027.

Awoonor, Kofi Nyidevu. Ghana: A Political History from Pre-European to Modern Times. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd. and Woeli Publishing Services, 1990

Bebbington, D. W. (2008). Rowan Strong. Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700–1850. New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. ix, 323. $90.00.

Beginning of Methodism in Ghana. (2021, August 18). Retrieved from https://www.methodistchurch.org.gh/beginning-of-methodism-in-ghana

Berman, E. H. (1975). *African reactions to missionary education*. Teachers College Press.

Berry, Ed., L. V. (1994). Ghana: A Country Study. Retrieved from http://countrystudies.us/ghana/

Berry, L. V. (1994). ed. Ghana: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the US Library of Congress.

Bhargava, R. (2014). How secular is European secularism?. *European Societies*, *16*(3), 329-336.

Boapeah, I. (2010). *The History of The Salvation Army In Ghana; 1922-2006* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Bourret, F. M. (1949). *Gold coast: A survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, 1919-1946*. Stanford University Press, California.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2013, June 28). *Church Missionary Society*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Church-Missionary-SocietyMobley, H. W. (1970). *The Ghanaian's image of the missionary: an analysis of the published critiques of Christian missionaries by Ghanaians, 1897-1965, by Harris W. Mobley* (Vol. 1). Brill Archive.

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2020, May 13). *Church of Scotland*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/Church-of-Scotland

Carey, H. M. (2008). Introduction: empires of religion. In *Empires of Religion* (pp. 1-21). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Chronicle, G. (2010b, November 15). *Contribution of the Methodist Church to education in Ghana*. Retrieved from https://www.modernghana.com/news/304531/contribution-of-the-methodist-church-to-education.html

Claridge, W. W. (1915). *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti from the Earliest Times to the Commencement of the Twentieth Century* (Vol. 2). J. Murray.

Clarke, P. B. (1982). West Africa and Islam: A Study of Religious Development from the 8th to the 20th Century.

Clarke, P. B. (1986). West Africa and Christianity: A study of religious development from the 15th to the 20th century.

Clarke, P. B. (2004). *New Religions in Global Perspective: Religious Change in the Modern World*. Routledge.

Cox, J. (2008). What I have learned about missions from writing The British missionary enterprise since 1700. *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, *32*(2), 86.

Daaku, K. Y. (1964). *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast: 1640-1720*. The University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (United Kingdom).

Dansk Missionsråd and 'DMS HISTORIE' (2014) (in preparation). Extracts from the Books of Harald Nielsen (in Danish): Bone Falck Rønne – en pioner i folkeoplysning og mission,

Darch, J. H. (2009). *Missionary Imperialists?: Missionaries, Government, and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860-1885*. Wipf and Stock Publishers.

Davidson, A. (2009). Missionary Imperialists? Missionaries, Government and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860–1885. By John H. Darch. Studies in Christian History and Thought. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2009. xxii+ 288 pp. $39.99 paper. *Church History*, *78*(4), 918-920.

Davidson, C. C. (2017). *Converting Spanish Hispaniola: Race, Nation, and the AME Church in Santo Domingo, 1872-1904*. Duke University.

Debrunner, H. W. (1967). A history of Christianity in Ghana.

Deutch, M. (2001). Paging a library collection: the Brooklyn College Library experience. *Collection Building*, *20*(1), 25–32. https://doi.org/10.1108/01604950110382721

Diffendal, A. E. P. (1974). *THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS AND THE ASSIMILATION OF FOREIGN PROTESTANTS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA*. The University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Dovlo, E. (2006). Religion and the politics of Fourth Republican elections in Ghana (1992, 1996).

Dumbe, Y. (2009). *Transnational contacts and Muslim religious orientation in Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Ghana).

Dumbe, Y. (2013). *Islamic revivalism in contemporary Ghana*. Huddinge: Södertörn University.

Eadie, B. (1977). *The Fontana dictionary of modern thought* (p. 286). A. Bullock, O. Stallybrass, & S. Trombley (Eds.). London: Collins.

Eshun, D. J. (2021). Speaking for Ourselves: The Ghanaian Encounter with European Missionaries–Sixteenth–Twenty-first Centuries. *Mission Studies*, *38*(3), 372-397. Stanley, B. (1990). *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*. Apollos.

Eshun, G. (2019). *Mary and Joseph in Luke 2: 40-52: A case of parenting for Christian parents at Moree* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Cape Coast).

Essamuah, C. B. (2003). *Genuinely Ghanaian: A history of the Methodist Church, Ghana, in missiological perspective, 1961–2000*. Boston University School of Theology.

Everill, B. (2012). Bridgeheads of Empire? Liberated African Missionaries in West Africa. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *40*(5), 789-805.

Fisher, M. P. (2003). *Living Religions-Western Traditions*. Prentice Hall.

Fisher, M. P., & Bailey, L. W. (2009). *Living religions: A brief introduction*. Pearson.

Foli, R. (2006). *Christianity in Ghana: A comparative church growth study*. Trust Publishers.

Ganter, R. (2018). *The contest for Aboriginal souls: European missionary agendas in Australia*. ANU Press.

Ganter, Regina. Basler Missionsgesellschaft, Evangelical Missionary Society,George g, Hickman, Religion in Modern Life p, 283, 1957

George G. (George Gillanders). Findlay (1922)*The history of the Wesleyan Methodist missionary society Page 147 (Volume IV.)* London the Epworth Press Alfred sharp, first Edition

George, T. (2002). *Is the Father of Jesus the God of Muhammad?: Understanding the Differences Between Christianity and Islam*. Harper Collins.Tovagonze, V. (1992). GOD-CONCEPT. *Journal of Dharma*, *17*(2), 122-140.

Grunder, H. (1995). Christian Mission and Colonial Expansion-Historical and Structural Connections. *Mission studies*, *12*(1), 18-29.

Hiskett, M. (1984). The Development of Islam in West Africa.

Hogan, E. M. (1990). Sir James Marshall and Catholic Missions to West Africa, 1873-1889. *The Catholic historical review*, *76*(2), 212-234.

Hogan, E. M. (1990). Sir James Marshall and Catholic Missions to West Africa, 1873-1889. *The Catholic historical review*, *76*(2), 212-234.https://www.netministries.org/churches/ch13091

Jedwab, R., Meier zu Selhausen, F., & Moradi, A. (2019). *The economics of missionary expansion: evidence from Africa and implications for development* (No. 49/2019). African Economic History Working Paper Series.

Jedwab, R., zu Selhausen, F. M., & Moradi, A. (2021). Christianization without economic development: Evidence from missions in Ghana. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *190*, 573-596.

Jenkins, P. (1974). The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1905-24 (I). *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, *15*(1), 23-39.

Khan,2002, Religion in colonial Africa: Professor Heather Sharkey spoke about the role of Christian missionaries in the region Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_and_colonialism

Kobo, O. (2010). 'We are citizens too': the politics of citizenship in independent Ghana. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *48*(1), 67-94.

Kyeremateng, K. N. The Akans of Ghana: Their Customs. *History, and Institutions (Accra: Optimum Design and Publishing Service, 2004)*, *26*.

Laube, W., & Youkhana, E. (2006). *Cultural, socio-economic and political constraints for virtual water trade: Perspectives from the Volta Basin, West Africa* (No. 13). ZEF Working Paper Series. Lentz, C. (2006). *Ethnicity and the making of history in Northern Ghana*. Edinburgh University Press.

Lentz, C. (2006). *Ethnicity and the making of history in Northern Ghana*. Edinburgh University Press.

Levtzion, N. (1968). Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: a study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the pre-colonial period.

Macdonald, G. (1898). *The Gold Coast, Past and Present: a short description of the country and its people*. Greenwood.

Malisa, M., & Missedja, T. Q. (2019). Schooled for servitude: The education of African children in British colonies, 1910–1990. *Genealogy*, *3*(3), 40.

Mbiti, J. S. (1985). African Religion and Philosophy. 1969; rpt.

McIntyre, W. D. (1967). Introduction: The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics. In *The Imperial Frontier in the Tropics, 1865–75* (pp. 1-12). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

McIntyre, W. D. (1967). *Imperial Frontier in the Tropics*. Springer.

Meintel, D. (2007). When there is no conversion: Spiritualists and personal religious change. *Anthropologica*, 149-162.

Miller, J. (1993). Missions, social change, and resistance to authority: Notes toward an understanding of the relative autonomy of religion. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 29-50.

Muluken, H. (2006). Africa and the Colonial Experience 1850-1960.

Nautiyal, H., & Goel, V. (2021). Sustainability assessment: Metrics and methods. In *Methods in Sustainability Science* (pp. 27-46). Elsevier.

Ndemanu, M. T. (2018). Traditional African Religions and Their Influences on the Worldviews of Bangwa People of Cameroon: Expanding the Cultural Horizons of Study Abroad Students and Professionals. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, *30*(1), 70-84.***URI:*** *http://197.255.68.203/handle/123456789/7127* ***Date:*** *2010-10-27. University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh*

Nkansa-Kyeremateng, K. (2004). *The Akans of Ghana: Their customs, history and institutions*. Sebewie Publishers.

Nlasia, M. S. (2019, January 23). Role of Religion in Secular State mainstream. Retrieved from https://ghanalawhub.com/a-secular-state-and-the-national-cathedral/

Nmah, P. E., & Nwadialor, K. L. (2016). Patterns of missionary expansion enterprise in Africa: a reflection. *Journal of Religion and Human Relations*, *8*(1), 50-68.

Obed, A. A. A(2018) Reappraisal of Post-Independence Developments in Ghana's Educational System.

Okon, E. E. (2014). Christian missions and colonial rule in Africa: Objective and contemporary analysis. *European Scientific Journal*, *10*(17).

Okyerefo, M. P. K. (2019). Scrambling for the Centre: Ghana's New Churches as an Alternative Ideology and Power. *Religions*, *10*(12), 668.

Olupona, J. K. (2006). African traditional religions. *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices, 1*, 1-21.

Opoku, J. K., Manu, E., & Wiafe, F. (2015). Religion, education and development in Ghana: a historical perspective. *Global Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences*, *3*(12), 6-18.

Owusu, K. A. (2017). *The Development of Islamic Education in Ghana: Perspectives of Reformers on the Transformation of Integrated Public Islamic Schools* (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio University).Papers of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel - Archives Hub. (1909). Retrieved from https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/f2b667fe-268c-3d3f-89a1-c61eb0f88d6

Pawl, V. (2002). CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE IN AFRICA. A SYNONYM FOR "CULTURAL IMPERIALISM'5?. *ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES*, *11*(1), 49-68.

Peter, B. C. (1982). West Africa and Islam.

Pobee, J. S. (1975). Church and State in the Gold Coast in the Vasco de Gama Era, 1492-1947. *J. Church & St.*, *17*, 217.

Pobee, J. S. (1988). *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana: 1949-1966;(a study in the relationship between the Socialist Government of Kwame Nkrumah, the first Prime Minister and first President of Ghana, and the Protestant Christian Churches in Ghana)*. Asempa Publ.Porter, A. (1992). Religion and empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780–1914. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *20*(3), 370-390.Brian Stanley, Christian Mission, and enlightenment. Page 4. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group LONDON AND NEW YORK n 01 Jul 2008.

Pobee, J. S. (1991). *AD 2000 and after the future of God's mission in Africa*. Asempa Publication

Pobee, J. S. (2000). *Invitation to be African Anglican*. Asempa Publishers, Christian Council of Ghana. Publishers.

Pobee, J. S. (2009). *The Anglican story in Ghana: From mission beginnings to province of Ghana*. African Books Collective.

Porter, A. (1992). Religion and empire: British expansion in the long nineteenth century, 1780–1914. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *20*(3), 370-390. Anne Mcclintock. The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term "post-colonialism".(1992).Page 88.

Porter, A. (1997). 'Cultural imperialism and protestant missionary enterprise, 1780–1914. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, *25*(3), 367-391.

Porter, A. N. (Ed.). (2003). *The imperial horizons of British protestant missions, 1880-1914*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Pre-colonial history of Ghana. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/history/pre-colonial.php

Presbyterian University College, Ghana. (2017, May 18). About PUCG | Presbyterian University College, Ghana. Retrieved from https://www.presbyuniversity.edu.gh/site/about-pucg/

Reports. (2000, September 16). Retrieved from https://chag.org.gh/reports/

Reports. (2010, September 16). Retrieved from https://chag.org.gh/reports/

Robert K A (2009) "The world our parish': Christian mission and the Wesleyan heritage in a Ghanaian context', in Darrell L. Whiteman and Gerald H. Anderson (eds.), World mission in the

Wesleyan spirit, page 60(American Society of Missiology; Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers,

Rönnbäck, K. (2020). The business of barter on the pre-colonial Gold Coast. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, *35*(2), 123-142.

Sarbah, C. J. E. (2010). *A critical study of Christian-Muslim relations in the central region of Ghana with special reference to traditional Akan values* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham). Cox, J. (2008). *The British missionary enterprise since 1700* (p. 7485). New York: Routledge.

Sarbah, C. J. E. (2010). *A critical study of Christian-Muslim relations in the central region of Ghana with special reference to traditional Akan values* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Service, G. S. (2012). 2010 Population and Housing Census: Summary Report of Final Results. *Accessed June 8*, 2018.

SETH ASARE-DANSO,(2020) Building a Mission-Oriented Church in Ghana in the 21st Century: *The Role of Theological Education*. ERATS Vol.6 No.3 -

Sharkey, H. J. (Ed.). (2013). *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia*. Syracuse University Press.

Sharkey, H. J. (Ed.). (2013). *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia*. Syracuse University Press.

Shiner, L. (1967). The concept of secularization in empirical research. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 207-220.

Silverman, R. A., & Owusu-Ansah, D. (1989). The presence of Islam among the Akan of Ghana: A bibliographic essay. *History in Africa*, *16*, 325-340. Hopkins, R. F. (1966). Christianity and sociopolitical change in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Social Forces*, *44*(4), 555-562.

Stanley, B. (2014). *Christian missions and the Enlightenment*. Routledge.

Stark, R., & Finke, R. (2000). *Acts of faith*. University of California press.

Strong, R. (2012). Missionary Imperialists? Missionaries, Government and the Growth of the British Empire in the Tropics, 1860–1885–By John H. Darch.

Strong, R. (Ed.). (2017). *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume III: Partisan Anglicanism and its Global Expansion 1829-c. 1914*. Oxford University Press.

Sundkler, B., & Steed, C. (2000). *A History of the Church in Africa* (Vol. 74). Cambridge University Press.

The Apostolic Church International. (2021a). History – The Apostolic Church International. Retrieved from http://www.theapostolicchurch.org/history/

The Salvation Army International - Schools. (2021, October 9). Retrieved from https://www.salvationarmy.org/ihq/schools

Venance Tovagonze.(1992) GOD-CONCEPT: ″SUPREME BEING″ IN AFRICAN TRIBAL RELIGIONS, Dharmaram Journals April-June1992

Walton Claridge, A history of the Gold coast and the Ashanti from the Earliest Time to the commencement of the Twentieth Century, Page 64.London John Murray, Albemarle Street,w,1915. Cornell University Library

Ward, W. E. F. (1943). *A short history of Ghana*. Longmans, Green.

WEC in Africa Ghana. (2021, December 15). Retrieved from https://www.wecinternational.org/where-is-wec/africa.php

Wikipedia contributors. (2022, January 20). Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presbyterian_Church_of_Ghana

Wikipedia contributors. (2022c, January 20). Methodism. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Methodism

Wolf-Branigin, M., & Bingaman, K. H. (2017). The background and roles of the Salvation Army in providing social and faith-based services. In *The Routledge handbook of religion, spirituality and social work* (pp. 157-163). Routledge.

Woodberry, R. D. (2004). *The shadow of empire: Christian missions, colonial policy, and democracy in postcolonial societies*. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Yamanai, C. (2021, February 17). Brief History. Retrieved from https://pcgonline.org/brief-history/

Zinnbauer, B. J., & Pargament, K. I. (1998). Spiritual conversion: A study of religious change among college students. *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, 161-180.