

**UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES**

THE IMPACT OF THE BREMEN MISSION IN THE VOLTA REGION OF GHANA

BY

LETICIA ODURO ASANTE

(10350741)

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MPhil
FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS DEGREE**

DEPARTMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

JULY, 2018

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis is the result of the research undertaken by Leticia Oduro Asante under the supervision of Rev. Dr. Abraham Nana Opape Kwakye and Dr. Rose Mary Amenga-Etego towards the award of MPhil Religions in the Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana.

.....

.....

LETICIA ODURO ASANTE

DATE

(STUDENT)

.....

.....

DR. ABRAHAM N.O. KWAKYE

DATE

(SUPERVISOR)

.....

.....

DR. ROSE MARY AMENGA-ETEGO

DATE

(SUPERVISOR)



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Triune God for His protection and guidance during the study period and to my parents, Mr. John Oduro-Asante and Mrs. Margaret Oduro-Asante.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I begin this order of acknowledgments with a profound appreciation to the Almighty God for blessing me with good health, wisdom, knowledge, understanding and an enabling academic environment to embark on this study.

My sincere appreciation to the Volkswagen Foundation under the Post-doctoral grant directed by Dr. Wazi Apoh, Head of Department of Archaeology and Heritage Studies, University of Ghana, Legon for sponsoring this MPhil programme.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Rev. Dr. Abraham Nana Opare Kwakye for his supervisory role and guidance and his timely warnings and suggestions which has made this work reach this far. My deepest and unreserved gratitude goes to the co-supervisor and my academic mentor, Dr. Rose Mary Amenga-Etego. I am forever indebted to you for the opportunity given me to undertake this project.

I am profoundly grateful to Prof. Elizabeth Amoah, Rev. Dr. Ossom-Batsa and Dr. Nicoletta Gatti for their constant encouragement and for showing interest in my academic progress. I thank the Head of Department, Hajj Sulemana Mumuni and all the faculty members of the Department for the Study of Religions.

I am equally grateful to the pastors, leaders, and catechists of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana in all the communities for making time for me to interview them despite their busy schedules. Special thanks to all the traditional leaders especially, Togbe Appiah and Togbe Adra for permitting me to ask questions during the interview. My heartfelt gratitude goes to Togbe Akyem Foli V, Chief of Amedzofe, Rev. S.K.H. Dzandzo, Ag. Principal of E.P College of Education, Amedzofe, Mr. G.K. Attipui and Mr. Joephery Wuaku for providing me with very useful literature for the work.

I am thankful to Rev. Fr. Godwin Kornu, Parish Priest of Our Lady of Assumption Catholic Church (OLA), New Achimota for his spiritual guidance and encouragement. To Mr. Michael Asamoah-Duku, your prayers, advice, encouragement and above all your financial support cannot be quantified. You painstakingly read through the whole work and offered very insightful suggestions. Daddy, may God bless you.

I cannot forget my parents Mr. and Mrs. Oduro-Asante for their prayers, advice and constant encouragement in good and bad times during this study. To my siblings Andrew, Emelia, Gertrude and Enoch, I appreciate your love and support.

Special gratitude goes to Mr. Ernest Fiador for assisting me throughout the field work in all the six communities. Your dedication and commitment are very much appreciated. I thank all my colleagues for their encouragement.

ABSTRACT

The arrival of the North German Missionary Society, also known as the Bremen Mission, in the Volta Region of Ghana was greatly significant. Their contact with the people of the Volta Region marked the birth of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana, and other developments in Eweland. The study offers a missiological perspective of the influence of diverse activities of the Bremen Mission in early German missionised and colonial communities of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe in the Volta Region.

The study adopted missiological and historical methods for data collection and assessment. These methods were used to recount the history of the Bremen Mission and their encounter with the communities under study. Additionally, the methods helped in examining how the missionaries communicated the Gospel message to the indigenous people in their historical and socio-cultural milieu. Interviews were conducted to gather relevant information to augment the documentary sources. For the purpose of the study, contemporary photography was used to help in the assessment of the impact of the Bremen Mission in Eweland.

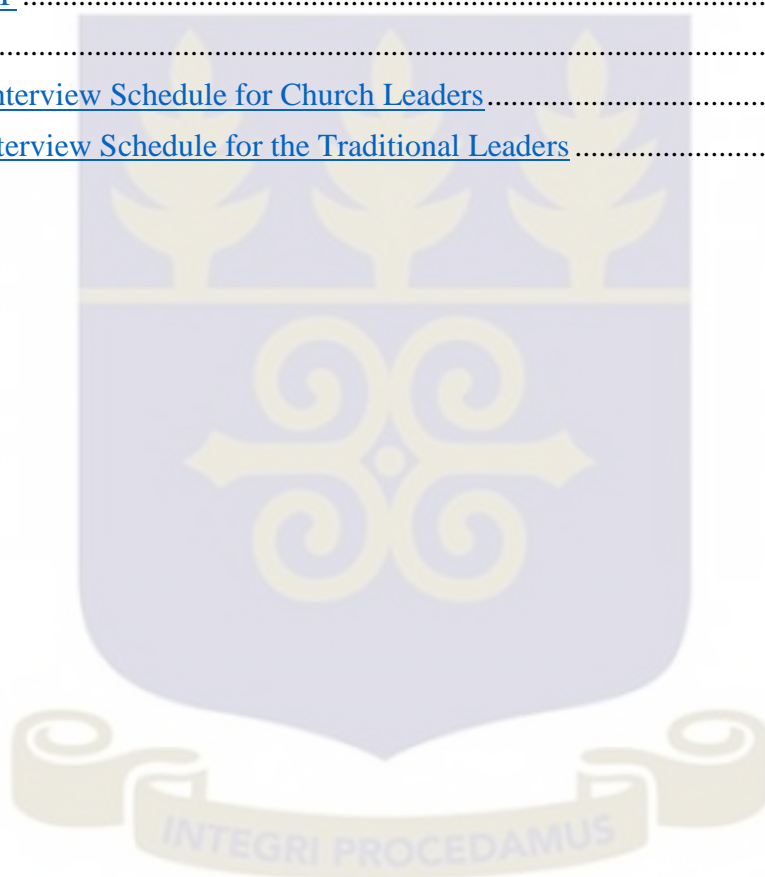
The study uncovered that, as part of the Bremen Mission strategy for the growth of the mission, the missionaries selected some indigenous people who were empowered through education and professional training. It also discovered that the zealous efforts of the Bremen missionaries with support from the indigenous agents, brought change to the Volta Region through Christianity, western formal education, cultural transformation, and empowerment of women, among others. It also indicated that the development and standardisation of the Ewe language contributed significantly to contemporary Ewe identity in Ghana.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>DECLARATION</u>	i
<u>DEDICATION</u>	ii
<u>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</u>	iii
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	iv
<u>LIST OF FIGURES</u>	viii
<u>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</u>	ix
<u>CHAPTER ONE</u>	1
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>1.0 Background of the Study</u>	1
<u>1.1 Statement of the Problem</u>	4
<u>1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study</u>	5
<u>1.3 Research Questions</u>	6
<u>1.4 Methodology and Methods of Data Collection</u>	6
<u>1.5 Literature Review</u>	8
<u>1.6 Theoretical Framework</u>	17
<u>1.7 Scope of the Study</u>	21
<u>1.8 Structure of the Study</u>	21
<u>1.9 Significance of the Study</u>	21
<u>CHAPTER TWO</u>	22
<u>THE BREMEN MISSION IN THE VOLTA REGION (1847-1917)</u>	22
<u>2.0 Introduction</u>	22
<u>2.1 The Establishment of the Bremen Mission</u>	23
<u>2.2 Bremen Mission in Ghana- A Brief History</u>	25
<u>2.3 The Early Mission Stations</u>	27
<u>2.3.1 The Bremen Missionaries in Peki</u>	27
<u>2.3.2 The Bremen Missionaries in Keta</u>	30
<u>2.3.3 The Bremen Missionaries in Waya</u>	32
<u>2.3.4 The Bremen Missionaries in Anyako</u>	34
<u>2.3.5 The Bremen Missionaries in Ho</u>	35
<u>2.3.6 The Bremen Missionaries in Amedzofe</u>	37
<u>2.4 Missionary Policies and Guidelines</u>	39
<u>2.4.1 The Congregation Serving as a Witness</u>	39
<u>2.4.2 Study of Language and Culture</u>	41
<u>2.4.3 Concern for the Whole of Life</u>	42

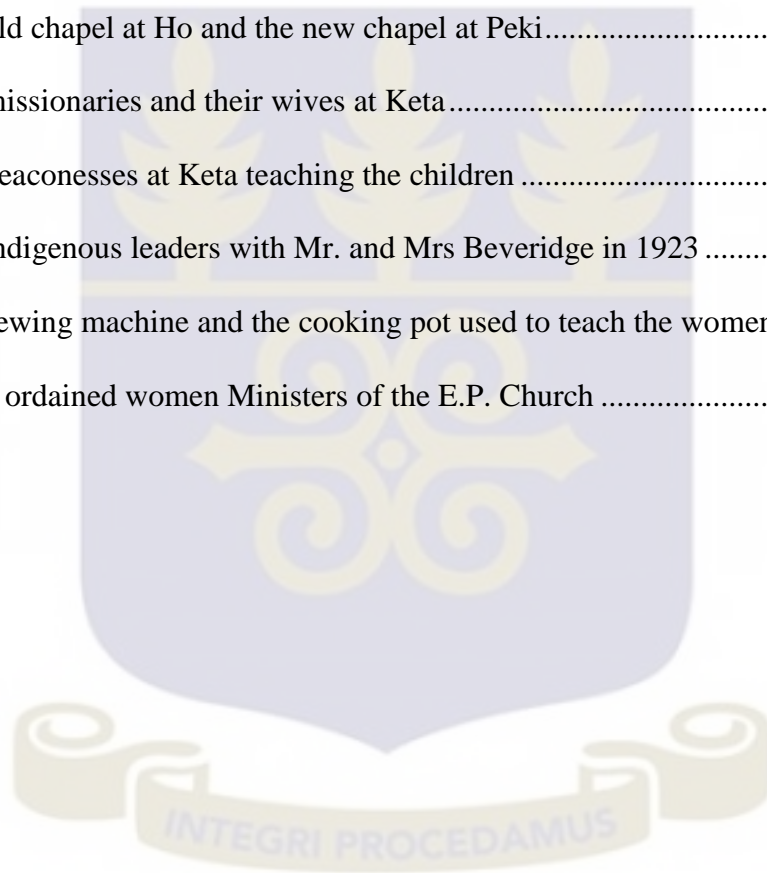
2.4.4 <u>Civil Authority and Colonial Power</u>	44
2.4.5 <u>Preparing Congregations for Self-Government</u>	46
2.5 <u>Conclusion</u>	48
<u>CHAPTER THREE</u>	49
<u>CHALLENGES IN THE MISSION FIELD</u>	49
3.1 <u>Introduction</u>	49
3.2 <u>Unfavourable Weather Condition</u>	49
3.3 <u>Language Barrier</u>	50
3.4 <u>Opposition from Indigenous Priests</u>	52
3.5 <u>Resistance of the Indigenes</u>	54
3.6 <u>Financial Difficulties</u>	58
3.7 <u>Missionaries and Colonial Governments</u>	59
3.8 <u>The Ashanti War</u>	64
3.9 <u>World War I</u>	67
3.10 <u>Conclusion</u>	72
<u>CHAPTER FOUR</u>	75
<u>THE IMPACT OF THE BREMEN MISSION IN EWELAND</u>	75
4.0 <u>Introduction</u>	75
4.1 <u>Education</u>	76
4.1.1 <u>Western Formal Education</u>	76
4.1.2 <u>Seminary Education</u>	77
4.1.3 <u>Vocational/Technical Education</u>	81
4.2 <u>Religion</u>	88
4.3 <u>Culture</u>	97
4.3.1 <u>Inculturation</u>	97
4.3.2 <u>Rites of Birth</u>	102
4.3.3 <u>Puberty Rites</u>	103
4.3.4 <u>Widowhood Rite</u>	106
4.4 <u>Language</u>	109
4.5 <u>Agriculture</u>	112
4.6 <u>Healthcare Delivery</u>	114
4.7 <u>Architecture</u>	116
4.8 <u>Negative Influence</u>	118
4.9 <u>Gender Dimension of the Bremen Mission in Eweland</u>	121
4.9.1 <u>The Gender Dimension of the Bremen Missionaries</u>	122
4.9.2 <u>The Gender Dimension of the Indigenous Agents in Eweland</u>	125

4.9.3 The Contribution of the Indigenous Agents to the Evangelisation of Eweland ...	127
4.10 Conclusion	134
CHAPTER FIVE	136
SUMMARY, FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION	136
5.0 Introduction	136
5.1 Summary	136
5.3 Findings	139
5.4 Recommendations	141
5.5 Conclusion	143
BIBIOGRAPHY	144
APPENDICES	152
Appendix A. Interview Schedule for Church Leaders	152
Appendix B. Interview Schedule for the Traditional Leaders	153



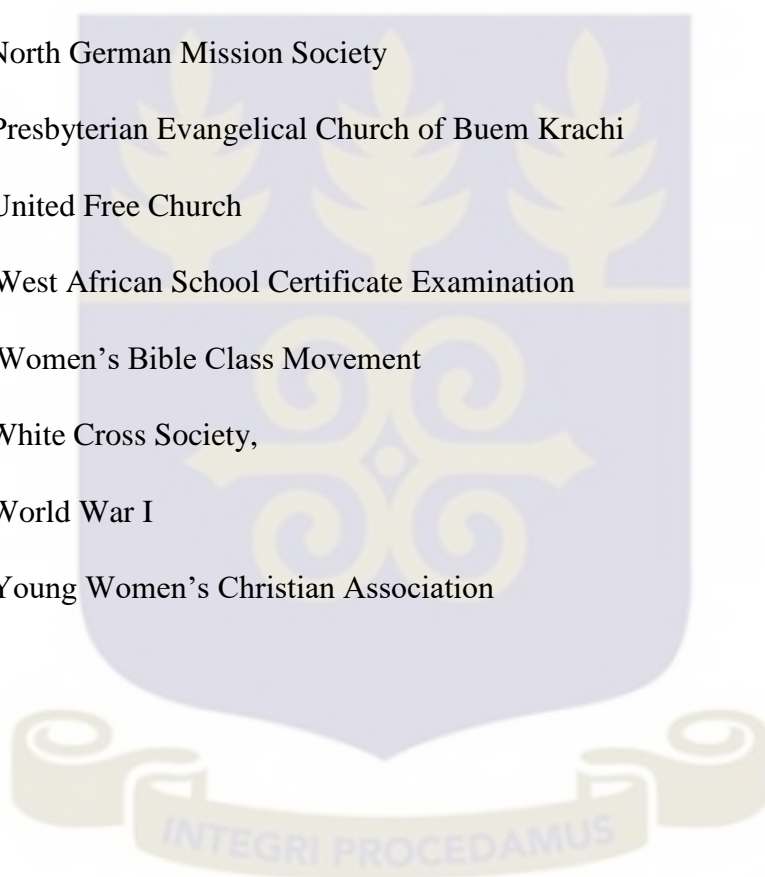
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. 1: Map showing the study areas	2
Figure 2. 1: The first mission house at Keta	31
Figure 3. 1: The tombs of the fourteen missionaries who were buried at Anyako	50
Figure 4. 1: Mawuli Secondary School.....	85
Figure 4. 1: Bible Cass Women singing and the traditional drums being played.....	101
Figure 4. 2: Administration block of E.P. College of Education, Amedzofe	117
Figure 4. 3: The old chapel at Ho and the new chapel at Peki.....	118
Figure 4. 4: The missionaries and their wives at Keta.....	122
Figure 4. 5: The deaconesses at Keta teaching the children	124
Figure 4. 6: The indigenous leaders with Mr. and Mrs Beveridge in 1923	128
Figure 4. 7: The sewing machine and the cooking pot used to teach the women.....	132
Figure 4. 8: Some ordained women Ministers of the E.P. Church	133



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARS	Apostle Revelation Society
CEM	Christ Evangelical Mission
DC	District Commissioner EPC
EPC	Evangelical Presbyterian Church
GEC	Global Evangelical Church
LPC	Lord's Pentecostal Church
NGMS	North German Mission Society
PECBK	Presbyterian Evangelical Church of Buem Krachi
UFC	United Free Church
WASSCE	West African School Certificate Examination
WBCM	Women's Bible Class Movement
WCS	White Cross Society,
WW I	World War I
YMCA	Young Women's Christian Association



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

The introduction of Christianity into the African continent dates back to the first Century AD, shortly after Pentecost.¹ Yet, Christianity entered the Gold Coast, now Ghana, on 20th January 1482, through Roman Catholic Portuguese explorers and traders at Elmina.² This first attempt did not yield any significant results since economic consideration was their primary focus and not evangelism.³ Nevertheless, their return in 1880 yielded tremendous success.

Christianity gained root in Ghana in the nineteenth century with the arrival of mission societies such as the Basel Missionary Society (1828), the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1835), and the North Bremen Missionary Society (1847).⁴ Ansre asserts:

These societies were inspired by the Pietist Movement and the Christian Awakening which occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries and spread wide in Europe and USA. These movements were themselves the result of the Reformation which had taken place in the early 16th century but which had many long-lasting effects.⁵

The people of Eweland had contact with Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century with the arrival of the North German missionaries also known as Bremen missionaries. This society was rooted in the liberal foreign trade of Bremen. Its overarching goal was to evangelize to the people and win them for Christ.⁶ According to Kodzo Gavua, the Bremen Mission, among others, were inspired by the biblical verse Mathew 28: 18-20 to spread the gospel to the

¹ Jonathan Hildebrandt, *History of the Church in Africa* (Ghana: African Christian Press, 1996), p. 5.

² Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), p. 17, Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Netherland: Boekencentrum Zoetermeter, 2002), p. 45.

³ S. K. Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development 1820-1880* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978), p. 23.

⁴ Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p. 48-59.

⁵ Gilbert Ansre, (ed.), *Evangelical Presbyterian Church: 150 Years of Evangelization and Development, 1847-1997* (Ho: E.P Church Press, 1997), p. 18.

⁶ Werner Ustorf, *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana: 1847-1900* (Legon: Legon Theological Studies Series, 2002), p. 2.

heathen, win souls for the Kingdom of God and convert the infidels to Christianity.⁷ The arrival of the Bremen missionaries in 1847 marked the birth of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church and other missionary activities in Ewe land. Initially, they settled at Peki but later expanded to Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho, and Amedzofe, all located in the Volta Region of Ghana (see fig. 1.1).

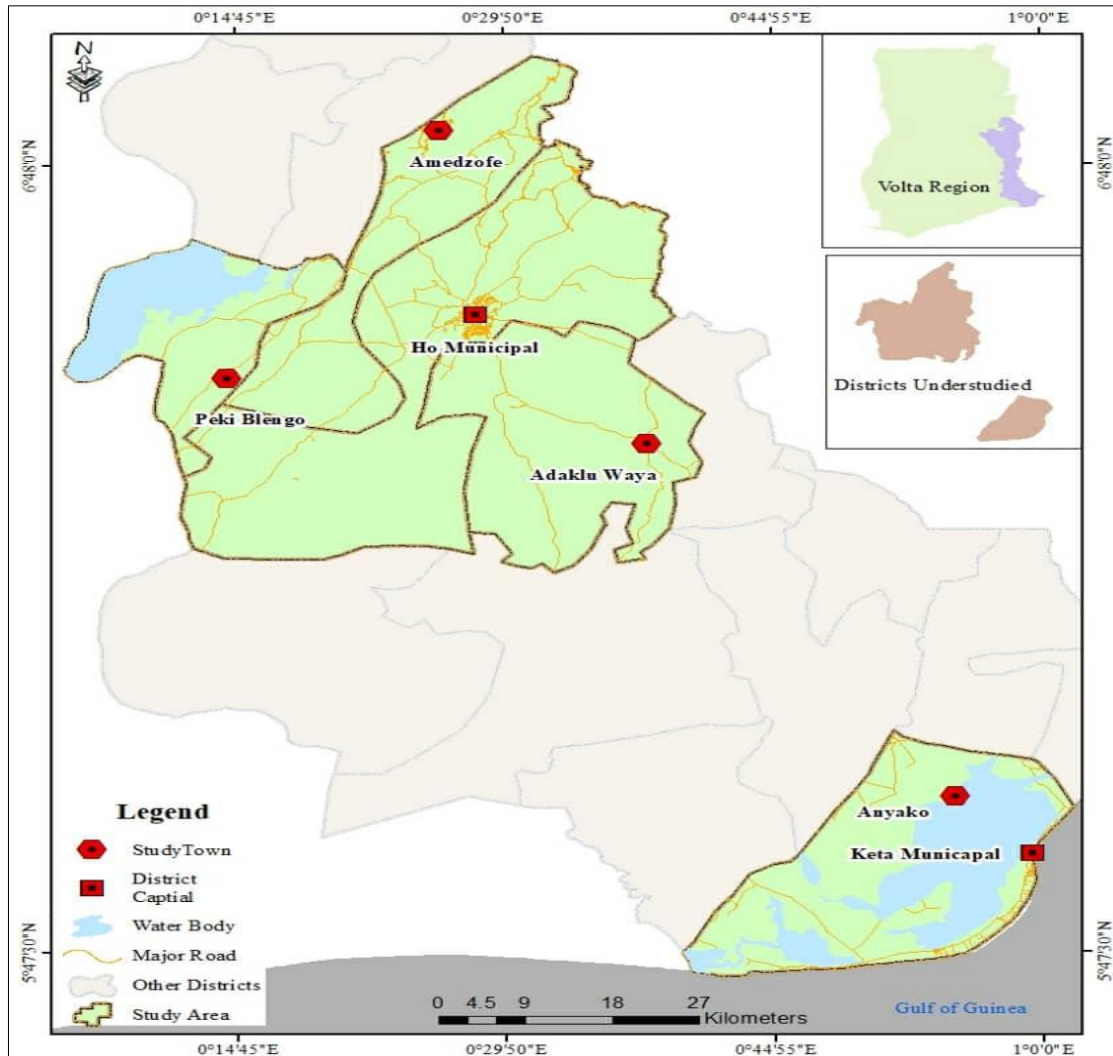


Figure 1. 1: A Map Showing the Study Areas

Source: Author, 2018

⁷ Kodzo Gavua, "The Religious Factors in the Administration of German Togoland" in Wazi Apoh and Bea Lundt (eds.) *Germany and Its West African Colonies: "Excavation" of German Colonialism in Post-Colonial Times* (Berlin: Lit Vergleg, 2013), p. 120.

The main tool that aided the missionaries in their evangelization was the establishment of schools. This initiative was not without problems, but, they fervently carried on irrespective of the difficulties encountered.⁸ They were zealous about spreading the Gospel to the indigenes.

The presence of the missionaries had a tremendous influence on the religio-cultural practices of the people. The missionaries regarded some indigenous beliefs and practices that were associated with the dead and exorcism of witchcraft as demonic and idolatry⁹, and as such they dissuaded the people from these indigenous religious beliefs and practices and persuaded them to turn to the Christian God. Some accepted the Christian faith and were able to detach themselves from everything associated with the traditional religion. Gavua notes that “pastors, catechists and other functionaries of the Missions preached against the indigenous religion by associating it with evil and engaged in the seizure of converts’ portable personal deities and shrines.”¹⁰

Whilst some ardent believers of traditional religion remained adamant, quite a number of the indigenes accepted the Christian faith by the efforts of the Bremen missionaries. The Christian converts were prevented from participating in any form of indigenous music, dance, and rituals.¹¹ Particularly, traditional drumming and women’s dancing were considered inappropriate. This was because, in the Ewe religious tradition, women had a way of shaking and wriggling their bodies while dancing which the missionaries regarded as immodest. Therefore, the participation of converts in such traditional, religious and cultural practices was sternly forbidden.¹²

⁸ Kofi Dorvlo, “The Contributions of German Missionary Evangelism and Education in German Togoland” in Wazi Apoh, Bea Lundt (eds.) *Germany and Its West African Colonies: “Excavation” of German Colonialism in Post-Colonial Times* (Berlin: Lit Vergleg, 2013), p. 123.

(Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2008), p. 53.

¹⁰ Gavua, *The Religious Factors*, p. 140.

¹¹ Gavua, *The Religious Factors*, p. 140.

¹² Gavua, *The Religious Factors*, p. 140.

In view of the fact that the missionaries came from a pietistic tradition, they ensured that new converts were trained in a pietistic order. The transmission of the Christian faith to the indigenous people constitutes the most important legacy the Bremen missionaries gave to the people of the Volta region. The contact with the indigenous populations among whom the Bremen missionaries lived, worked and proselytized must be of interest to us if we are to understand the changes that occurred due to their missionary activities. The study seeks to provide an understanding of the nature of the influences that ensued as a result of their interactions across time.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Quite a number of scholarly works exist on the activities of the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region. However, one can say that the activities in the early German missionised and colonial communities, and their influence on the local populace from religious perspectives have not been adequately studied.

Although scholars such as Spieth,¹³ Debrunner,¹⁴ Meyer,¹⁵ Ustorf,¹⁶ Dorvlo¹⁷, and Gavua¹⁸ have offered historical insight into the Bremen Mission activities, their works are largely focused on education, healthcare, architecture, craftwork, and agriculture. Similarly, Apoh¹⁹,

¹³ Jakob Spieth, *The Ewe People: A Study of the Ewe People in German Togoland* (Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 1906).

¹⁴ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*.

¹⁵ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation of Pietist Protestantism: The Case of the Peki Ewe in Southeastern Ghana 1847-1992*(Amsterdam: Doctoral Dissertation, 1995).

¹⁶ Ustorf, *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana*.

¹⁷ Dovlo, "The Contribution of German Missionary."

¹⁸ Gavua, "The Religious Factors."

¹⁹Wazi Apoh, *The Akpinis and the Echoes of German and British Colonial Overrule: An Archaeological Investigation of Kpando, Ghana* (An Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Binghamton University, 2008).

Ladzekpo,²⁰ Dogbey²¹, and Mensah²² have examined the tangible and intangible archaeological remains of the German colonial activities, which included some of the Bremen missionary works in the colonial communities.

It is against this background that this study examines the religious perspective of the influence of diverse activities of the Bremen Mission in the early German missionised and colonial communities of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe in the Volta Region. These six early communities of the Bremen Mission, Peki to Amedzofe, are fundamental for the understanding of the pioneering phase of the Mission's activities. Amedzofe became a pivotal point for the Bremen missionaries because of its altitude which provided low temperature and a mosquito-free environment which was conducive for their health.²³ The warm reception of the people together with the favourable climatic condition made it possible for them to be firmly established such that it is still an important religious space of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, an offshoot of the Bremen Mission.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine the impact of the activities of the Bremen missionaries at Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho, and Amedzofe in the Volta Region.

The underlying objectives are:

1. To identify the tools employed by the Bremen missionaries in their activities.
2. To find out the roles of the local agents in the Bremen missionary agenda.
3. To examine the legacy of the Bremen Mission in the selected communities.

²⁰ Joseph Y.E.H. Ladzekpo, *The Bremen Mission Heritage in Amedzofe* (An Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2013).

²¹ Vincent S. Dogbey, *Historical Archaeology of German Colonial Heritage at Ziavi, in the Ho Municipality, Volta Region Ghana* (An Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2015).

²² Moses K. Mensah, *Bremen Missionary Interactions with the Peki: An Archaeological Perspective* (An Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2017).

²³ Ladzekpo, *The Bremen Mission Heritage in Amedzofe*,

1.3 Research Questions

The research seeks answers to the following questions:

1. What were the various tools used by the Bremen missionaries in their activities?
2. What were the roles of the local agents in the Bremen Mission agenda?
3. Are there any legacies of the Bremen Mission?

1.4 Methodology and Methods of Data Collection

This is a qualitative study that makes use of both the missiological and historical approaches to research. Missiological Research Methodology is the systematic, dynamic and integrative manner of conducting research in the missiological study.²⁴ E.D Steter argues that fundamentally missiological research is guided by specific questions aimed at seeking to understand the culture and society in which the church is situated.²⁵ Grunland and Meyers share a similar view that the value of integrating the methodology of Social Sciences with the missiological study is that of understanding the culture of a group of people in order to better proclaim Christ to and amongst them so that they become Disciples of Christ.²⁶ This methodology is carried out by formally specified procedures designed to gather, measure and interpret data. The purpose is to equip the church to minister in ways that are not only spiritually meaningful but also in ways that are situational and structurally beneficial for society at large.²⁷

According to E.H. Carr, history is “a continuous process of interacting between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.”²⁸ He points out that the study of history is a study of causes and that the historian continuously asked the question

²⁴ Enoch Wan, *Rethinking Missiological Research Methodology: Exploring a New Direction* (Published in Global Missiology, Research Methodology Oct. 2003 www.globalmissiology.net), Assessed, 2nd October, 2017.

²⁵ E.D. Stetzer, *What is Missiologist?: The Theology, Tools and Team of a Missiologist* (<http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2013/june/what-is-missiologist.html> June 10, 2013), Accessed, 2nd October, 2017.

²⁶ Grunlan and Mayers (1988: 21-22), cited in Wan, *Rethinking Missiological Research Methodology*, p. 4.

²⁷ Stetzer, *What is Missiologist?*

²⁸ E. H. Carr, *What is History?*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 30.

‘Why’? People who read or write about past events must desire to know why they happened. The historical method examines past events or combination of events to arrive at an account of what happened in the past.²⁹

The missiological and historical approaches employed enabled a detailed description of the background to the emergence of the Bremen Mission and the histories of the communities under study. Additionally, it helped in examining how the missionaries communicated the Gospel message to the local people in their historical and socio-cultural milieu.

The two approaches made use of both primary and secondary sources of data. The sources for the primary data included interviews. In each of the communities, both traditional and church leaders were interviewed in order to solicit information concerning the influence of the Bremen missionary activities in the communities. Both structured and unstructured forms of interviews were adopted by the researcher.³⁰ Under the structured type of interview, a list of questions was formulated in order to help provide answers to the subject under investigation.³¹ However, the unstructured form of interview was used where the researcher deemed it appropriate. This helped the researcher to ask “probing questions which call for explanation and further clarifications on unclear issues” from the archival documents.³² It also enabled the researcher to ask follow-up questions from the respondent’s answers. Additionally, places of historical significance were visited to gather relevant information for the purpose of the study and contemporary photography was also used.

²⁹ *Historical Research: Answers to review Questions*, www.scribd.com/document/11330516/Ch15-Answers (Assessed 7th September, 2017).

³⁰ Tom K.B. Kumekpor, *Research Methods and Techniques of Social Research* (Accra: SonLife Services, 2002), p. 188, Emmanuel Asante, *Research and Writing: A Brief Guide* (Accra: African Christian Press, 2000), p. 46.

³¹ Kumekpor, *Research Methods and Techniques*, p. 188.

³² Asante, *Research and Writing*, p. 47.

The secondary sources of data comprised the review of some published and unpublished materials such as journal articles, archival records, books, newspapers, Ph.D./MA/MPhil theses, internet sources and other materials that are related to the work.

1.5 Literature Review

In this section, the study engages in a discussion with scholars in the field of mission and historical studies. Two categories of literature were reviewed. The first category is scholarly works that focus on mission. The second category of literature looks at the historical background of the Bremen Mission activities in the Volta Basin.

Scholarly works reviewed under Mission include; *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* by David J. Bosch, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* by J. Verkuyl translated and edited by Dale Cooper and *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* edited by Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross. This review broadens our knowledge of the meaning of mission and why people embark on mission. It brings out an understanding of the various motives that inspire people to participate in mission. Equally, it reveals that mission is not only about proclaiming the gospel but also responding to the needs of society or humankind.

Bosch in his book *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*³³ discusses mission in two parts – biblical foundations of mission and historical paradigms of mission. The biblical foundations of mission, on one hand, address the New Testament models of mission whereas the historical paradigms of mission, on the other hand, look at the paradigm changes

³³David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996).

in missiology with emphasis on the six epochs suggested by Hans Kung.³⁴ Among the themes he dealt with are *missio Dei* and mission as evangelism.

In the introduction, Bosch gave the traditional understanding of mission and how the word “mission” had been used differently in various ways. The term “mission” presupposes a sender, a person or persons sent by the sender, those to whom one is sent and with an assignment. Thus the one who sends has an authority to do so.³⁵ The traditional understanding of mission has been revised in the course of the twentieth century. Bosch asserts that mission had been understood in a variety of ways during this period. For example, it is interpreted in soteriological terms as the saving of individuals from eternal damnation. Culturally, as introducing people from the East and the South to the blessings and privileges of the Christian West. Equally, in ecclesiastical terms, mission was understood as the expansion of the church or a specific denomination.³⁶

Karl Barth at Brandenburg Missionary Conference in 1932 mentioned that mission was an activity of God himself.³⁷ It was at the Willingen Conference of the IMC in 1952 that the idea of *missio Dei* was fleshed out. Mission was understood to be derived from the very nature of God.³⁸ This idea was put in the context of the doctrine of the Trinity and not Ecclesiology or soteriology. From here, mission was then understood as the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit sending the church into the world. The church thus becomes an instrument to carry out God’s mission to the entire world. Since God is the fountain of love, participating in missionary activities means that one is taking part in the movement of God’s love towards humanity.³⁹ The missionary activities of the church cannot be claimed as identical to the *missio Dei*. Instead,

³⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 181.

³⁵ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 1.

³⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 389.

³⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 389.

³⁸ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 390.

³⁹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 390.

they can only be authentic in so far as they reflect participation in the mission of God. They must be deeply rooted in what God himself initiated.

Bosch defined Evangelism as “the proclamation of salvation in Christ to those who do not believe in him, calling them to repentance and conversion, announcing forgiveness of sin and inviting them to become living members of Christ’s earthly community and to begin the life of service to others in the power of the Holy Spirit”.⁴⁰ It is also the act of spreading the gospel. To attain a holistic mission, evangelism and the provision of social services must go hand in hand. The church’s mission to the world is not only to proclaim the gospel but also to serve, love, preach, liberate, heal and protect humanity.

Consistent with the foregoing discussion of Bosch’s work, the Bremen missionaries came to proclaim the Gospel and established the Christian faith among the Ewe people. They also embarked on some social services that helped to address the needs of the people. In spite of all the deaths that were recorded, coupled with the various challenges they encountered, the mission was sustained and was fruitful. Accordingly, the missionaries were only participating in the divine task of God but did not own the mission.

Verkuyl⁴¹ identifies pure and impure motives as the two main motives for engaging in mission. He mentions that pure motives should be the deepest motivations for communicating the Christian faith throughout the world. The first motive is that of obedience. It is a motive which comes from a duty towards the will of God (1 Cor.1:17, 9:16; Gal. 2:7). In accordance with this motive, Zahn, the Bremen Mission Inspector, refused to extend the missionary work on Eweland to the Togoland when told to do so by the German colonial government. One of the

⁴⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p Bosch 11.

⁴¹ J. Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction*, Translated and edited by Dale Cooper (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978).

reasons for his refusal was that it was not the will of God to send teachers to Togoland.⁴² The second is the motive of love, mercy, and pity. It is a motive that has strongly received biblical accents. The motive of doxology is an expression of praise to God's name. The missionary responds in this regard in praise of God's name. For example, when Lorenz Wolf arrived at Peki, on the first day, he disregarded his tiredness and preached to the people on Psalm 22:23. Based on this scripture he showed the people the plan of God's salvation.⁴³ The fourth is the Eschatological motive which is the motive of God's kingdom. It was an important motive for the pioneer missionaries.⁴⁴ This motive inspires Christians to yearn for the kingdom so as to bring those outside the faith to experience the kingdom of God. The motive of haste, which is the fifth motivation, is closely related to the eschatological motive. Here the pioneer missionaries had a strong drive to get the message out quickly in their missionary journey. So burning was their zeal that despite the many deaths of their colleagues, the surviving Bremen missionaries remained unfazed in their determination to preach the gospel in Eweland. The final motive is Personal motive. Paul makes a statement in 1Corinthians 9:23 that "I do all for the sake of the Gospel, that I may share in the blessings". This motive is very significant in the missionary task. In his conclusion, Verkuyl recommends that pure motive should be the basis for an authentic mission for the proclamation of the word of God to the whole world.

The impure motives identified by Verkuyl include Imperialist Motives, Cultural Motives, Commercial Motives and the Motive of Ecclesiastical Colonialism.⁴⁵ In this context, he described imperialism to mean the attempt by one state to use another state or people as a means to achieve its own goal. According to Bosch, colonialism and mission were interdependent;

⁴² Eugene Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions With the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana', in C.G. Baeta (ed), *Christianity in Tropical Africa* (London: Oxford University Press 1968), p. 69.

⁴³ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 149.

⁴⁴ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 167.

⁴⁵ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 168.

thus the right to have colonies come with the duty to Christianise the colonised.⁴⁶ Cultural motive refers to the intention or the attempt to introduce one's culture to another. The mission work was closely connected with the transfer of missionary's culture. During this period, mission was regarded as transmitting the values of Western culture. Commercial motives, in the words of Verkuyl, became an accessory motive and a point in the "propaganda" for mission.⁴⁷ Further, promotional literature written by missionaries made an appeal to the commercial interest of its readers.⁴⁸ This illustrates a statement made earlier by S.K. Odamtten that economic consideration was the primary focus of the early missionaries who came to the Gold Coast.⁴⁹ Verkuyl pointed out that, it is very important for one to inspect the ties between mission and commerce; certainly, the historical record shows that these missions were closely linked with commerce or motivated by commercial intentions.⁵⁰

Ecclesiastical colonialism motive, on the other hand, deals with the imposition of the model of the Mother Church on the Native Churches.⁵¹ Stated differently, it is the urge to export one's own confession and church order to other territories.⁵² The above discussions clearly indicate that there have always been pure and impure motives that influence missionary tasks in the field of mission.

In contrast to Verkuyl's assertion, the records available do not indicate that the Bremen Missionaries ever showed any tendencies that commercial motives were part of their motivation to bring the gospel to the Ewe land. This was made clear in Wolf's declaration upon arrival at Peki that: "I am not going to buy slaves nor do I have in mind to rob people of their

⁴⁶ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 227.

⁴⁷ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 172.

⁴⁸ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 173.

⁴⁹ Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 173.

⁵¹ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 173.

⁵² Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 5.

land”.⁵³ However, the only occasions when they sold some of their estates to the local people were when they were in financial crisis and they did so in order to pay their workers.⁵⁴ In another instance, financial challenges led the Bremen missionaries to grudgingly accept to sell goods for Siedel in the Blengo area as a condition for receiving credit.⁵⁵ In all the cases, survival was the reason rather than commercial intentions. Also, the motive of ecclesiastical colonialism was minimal as the Bremen missionaries sought to establish an indigenous church with its own liturgy and polity, and which was to be self- supporting and self- governing. This was achieved in the Ewe Presbyterian Church which later became the Evangelical Presbyterian church. These motives serve as the benchmark to identify the authentic motive of the Bremen Mission in their missionary journey.

In the edited volume *Mission in the Twenty-first Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*,⁵⁶ Walls and Ross identified the characteristics of mission in the Church as the proclamation of the Good News with its associated teaching, baptising and nurturing of new believers, loving service in response to human need, transforming unjust structures of society and safeguarding the integrity of creation.⁵⁷ In her introduction, Ross acknowledged that the five marks presented do not embrace everything that should be said about mission. However, they outline the parameters of a holistic concept of mission and offer a starting point for on-going reflection.⁵⁸ The marks of mission as propounded by different authors and edited by Walls and Ross in this book are useful for this study by serving as a theoretical frame of reference. It is used as a basis for evaluating the impact of the Bremen Mission on the communities of their operations.

⁵³ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 118.

⁵⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008).

⁵⁷ Walls and Ross (eds.) *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, p. xiv.

⁵⁸ Walls and Ross (eds.) *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, p. xiv.

Various reviews of the historical background of the Bremen Mission activities in the Volta Region include; John K. Agbeti, *West African Church History-Christian Mission and Church Foundation: 1482-1919*; Gilbert Ansre (ed.), *The Evangelical Presbyterian Church 150 Years of Evangelization and Development 1847 – 1997*; Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation of Pietist Protestantism: The Case of the Peki Ewe in South-eastern Ghana 1847-1992*, and *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*.

Agbeti recounts the history of the North German Missionary Society (NGMS). their aim of coming to West Africa in general, and Gold Coast in particular, focusing mainly on the missionary activities at Peki and Keta in the Volta Region. He asserts that the missionaries encountered difficulties in their missionary work in these areas. These challenges included a language barrier which was further complicated by the content of the gospel message that was completely new to the people, ill-health that resulted in the death of many of the missionaries, opposition and rivalry from traditional religious priests and leaders, and financial constraints.

He enumerates the achievements of the missionaries from 1853-1919. In 1855 the first seven converts were baptised. Secondly, some indigenous people were trained to become effective agents and collaborators in the missionary effort. Agbeti emphasises that without the assistance of the African agents the missionary work could not have progressed in this period. He mentions that John Wright, one of the African agents from Teshie, was a remarkable personality during the period.⁵⁹ He was made a catechist and was placed in charge of a congregation in 1863. The third achievement was that between 1882 and 1912 the first eight African pastors for the Bremen Mission were ordained. Agbeti's work is relevant to this study because it gives information about the history and achievements of the Bremen Mission and

⁵⁹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 160.

also the problems the missionaries encountered in the Eweland. It also outlines the contributions of the African agents after World War 1. However, his work only covered up to 1919. This work goes beyond this period up to the present time.

Ansre discusses extensively the history of the Bremen Mission activities in the Volta Region. Like Agbeti, Ansre offers information about various challenges the missionaries faced. In spite of these challenges, the church was able to thrive. Also, he describes the contributions which the Church made towards the development of the society as well as the welfare of the indigenous people.

Ansre focuses his attention on the history of the beginnings, growth, and development of the missionary Church that came to be known as the Evangelical Presbyterian Church and is therefore essential to this study. Furthermore it provides accounts of the religious activities as well as other social services undertaken by the church, dealing with the church's practical exhibition of love for God and mankind. The exhibition of such love was made visible by activities, projects and programmes carried out by the Church. Closely linked to this was the Church's role and quest to provide both secular and theological education to the people.⁶⁰ Education thus served as an indispensable tool in the growth and development of the Church as well as the country. In this way, the contributions of the Church are mentioned as a religious duty that goes, in the long run, to bring about social development. The Church's role in bringing education to the people manifested in the establishment of schools including teacher training institutions as well as seminaries to train pastors to lead the local church. The church also tried over the years, to provide social services in its area of influence.⁶¹ Ansre's work is essential to this study because it gives an in-depth discussion of the beginnings, growth, and development of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (EPC). It provides accounts of the

⁶⁰ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. xi.

⁶¹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 205.

religious activities as well as other social services undertaken by the church. Ansre's work will help the researcher to present the history of the Bremen Mission activities in the Volta Region as well as the contributions of the Church to society and the welfare of the indigenous people. The present study provides updates to Ansre's two decade old work.

Meyer in her book *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation of Pietist Protestantism: The Case of the Peki Ewe in South-eastern Ghana 1847-1992* gives a historical account of the Bremen Mission and that of the people of Peki. She establishes how African Christians have practically dealt with Western impositions in their own fashion. She concentrates on the local appropriation of the Christian faith in an African context. She states that African Christianity is not merely an extension of the missionary impact, but rather a product of the encounter between missionaries and Africans.⁶² She mentions that the Bremen missionaries came from a Pietistic tradition and thus nurtured the new converts along the pietistic way. Wolf defined the stance of Pietism to the people of Peki when they presupposed their contact with him was of economic significance: "Though Pietists considered trade a civilising strategy and thus favoured the *presence* of European goods in Africa, they associated the *pleasures* of their consumption with the 'broad path'".⁶³ This indicates that the Bremen missionaries may have preached against one's attachment to material things to the detriment of giving heed to the Gospel message.

Meyer's *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana* presents to us the strategies that were used in the Bremen missionaries' attempt to make proselytes out of the traditional worshippers. They approached this through evangelisation, education, agriculture and the establishment of segregated Christian villages called *Kpodzi* ('on the

⁶² Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p.1.

⁶³ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 59.

hill’).⁶⁴ These initiatives had an impact on the socio-economic life of the people. In addition, Meyer mentioned Wolf’s evangelism strategies as follows: learning the native language, starting a school, preaching the Gospel, treating the sick and dealing with representatives of political and religious leaders.

Meyer’s works are important to the study because they give a detailed historical account of Peki before the arrival of the missionaries and deal with the developmental activities of the Bremen missionaries among the people of Peki. They also provide information on the E.P. Church in the Volta Region. This thesis, which examines the impact of the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region of Ghana, with focus on the first six communities will not only provide additional in-depth data but also, picking up from Meyer’s more than two decades old works, illustrate the enduring nature of their legacy.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study employs Walls and Ross’s (eds.)’ “Five Marks of Mission”⁶⁵ which, in Ross’ view, form a good working basis for a holistic approach to mission.⁶⁶ The marks include: proclaiming the Good News of the Kingdom; teaching, baptising and nurturing new believers; responding to human needs by loving service; seeking to transform unjust structures of society; and striving to safeguard the integrity of creation as well as sustaining and renewing the life of the earth.⁶⁷

Proclamation in Biblical times constituted a formal public announcement from royalty.⁶⁸ It also refers to “the activity of the messenger conveying an important message which had been given

⁶⁴ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana* (London: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 8.

⁶⁵ Walls and Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century*.

⁶⁶ Walls and Ross (eds.) *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, p. xiv.

⁶⁷ Walls and Ross (eds.) *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, p. ix.

⁶⁸ Ken Gnanakan, “To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (i)” in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 3.

to him either orally or in writing.⁶⁹ Jesus began his earthly ministry after he had made a proclamation in Luke 4:18-19.⁷⁰ This is the good news Jesus preached. The Christian community is what it is today because of the sacrificial commitment of missionaries who offered their lives for the proclamation of the gospel.⁷¹ The churches must, therefore, give what they have to the world so that others may have fellowship with them. The Bremen missionaries first began to proclaim the Good News of the kingdom to the people of Peki.

In the Great Commission, Jesus commanded his disciples to go and make disciples of all nations and to teach them to obey everything he had commanded them.⁷² Thus, the church does not only exist to proclaim the good news but also to teach, baptise and nurture new believers.⁷³ Egbunu points out that the medium for the lasting transformation of converts is teaching.⁷⁴ He continues that, the divine priority attached to teaching makes discipleship imperative for people who respond to the gospel. Baptism, as the initiatory rite at the point of conversion, makes the new convert step out of his old life and become identified with the death and resurrection of Christ (Romans 6:3-5).⁷⁵ When new converts to the Christian faith are not steadily nurtured through the study of scripture and prayer, they easily get swayed from their faith when faced with challenging circumstances. The missionaries sought to accomplish these tasks by establishing schools to teach the indigenous people and to impart knowledge and skills which

⁶⁹ Gnanakan, "To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (i)," p. 3.

⁷⁰ The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring Good News to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight for the blind, to let the oppressed go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour (RSV).

⁷¹ Gnanakan, "To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (i)", p. 10.

⁷² Ande Titre, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers" in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 37.

⁷³ Emmanuel Egbunu, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers" in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 25.

⁷⁴ Egbunu, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers", p. 25.

⁷⁵ Egbunu, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers", p. 29.

helped to improve their lives. Through their teachings, new converts were baptised into the Christian faith.

Furthermore, the ‘manifesto’ of Jesus⁷⁶ reveals that mission is not only about proclaiming the gospel and teaching but also to respond to the needs of humankind. “To respond to human need by loving service”⁷⁷ is offering services that enhance human welfare. The greatest commandment, according to Jesus is, ‘love of God and love of neighbour’ (Matthew 22:34-40).⁷⁸ This obliges the church to express love and affection to the poor, the marginalised and the less privileged in the society. The missionaries responded by setting up healthcare facilities, digging wells for potable water and offering other humanitarian acts of mercy alongside evangelism. Loving God and loving neighbour are not sequential but a single act and hence what we do to the poor in the society is a test of what we are as people of God.⁷⁹

According to Steurnagel, a holistic mission must aim at responding to unjust structures of the society, focusing on the whole of creation at peace: “Transforming justice from a biblical perspective is incarnational. It touches the very heart, feelings, and wounds of those who are victims of injustice.”⁸⁰ God is the God of justice and justice must manifest in the life of the poor, the oppressed, witnessing their liberation.⁸¹ The church’s mission is to work for justice in a world where the weak are often oppressed by the wealthy and powerful. For example, the Bremen missionaries considered some practices such as ritual murder, widowhood rites, and belief in witchcraft of the Ewe people to be wrong and inhuman. Victims of such practices had

⁷⁶ See Luke 4:18-19.

⁷⁷ Melba Maggay, “To respond to Human Needs by Loving Service” in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 46.

⁷⁸ Maggay, “To respond to Human Needs by Loving Service”, p. 46.

⁷⁹ Maggay, “To respond to Human Needs by Loving Service”, p. 52.

⁸⁰ Valdir Raul Steurnagel. ‘To Seek to Transform Unjust Structures of Society’, in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 62, 69.

⁸¹ Steurnagel. ‘To Seek to Transform Unjust Structures of Society’, p. 72.

to go through various tortures at some shrines or witch-hunting grounds to prove their innocence.⁸² They found these practices to be against the Christian teaching and therefore strove hard to thwart such practices among the Christian converts.

Humanity's God-given mandate to safeguard the integrity of creation and to sustain and renew life on the earth⁸³ makes it clear that it is everyone's responsibility to be a steward of the earth. The Bremen missionaries' cultivation of plantations on which new crops such as teak, mango, coconut, and pear were introduced can be understood in this regard.⁸⁴ Still, as DeWitt puts it, "Much as we strive to be stewards of the garden, we also strive to be stewards of God's creation".⁸⁵ Pope Francis in his Encyclical, *Laudato Si*, supports this understanding, critiquing the destruction that humanity is rendering to the environment and the whole of creation:

We are not God. The earth was here before us and it has been given to us.... Although it is true that we Christians have at times incorrectly interpreted the Scriptures, nowadays we must forcefully reject the notion that our being created in God's image and given dominion over the earth justifies absolute domination over other creatures. The biblical texts are to be read in their context, with an appropriate hermeneutic, recognizing that they tell us to 'till and keep' the garden of the world (cf. Gen 2:15). 'Tilling' refers to cultivating, ploughing or working, while 'keeping' means caring, protecting, overseeing and preserving. This implies a relationship of mutual responsibility between human beings and nature. Each community can take from the bounty of the earth whatever it needs for subsistence, but it also has the duty to protect the earth and to ensure its fruitfulness for coming generations (#67).⁸⁶

The five marks of mission are significant because they provide a yardstick for examining the activities of the Bremen Mission within the study area.

⁸² Ganusah, *Christ Meet Ewe-Dome*, p. 53.

⁸³ Calvin B. DeWitt, "To Strive to Safeguard the Integrity of Creation and Sustain and Renew the Life of the Earth" in Andrew Walls & Cathy Ross, (eds.), *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008), p. 84.

⁸⁴ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 205.

⁸⁵ DeWitt, "To Strive to Safeguard the Integrity of Creation", P. 90.

⁸⁶ Kevin Cotter, *Summary of Laudato Si, Pope Francis' Encyclical on the Environment*, (<https://focusoncampus.org/content/summary-of-laudato-si-pope-francis-encyclical-on-the-environment-eb60806a-fe2c-41fc-8723-4ffdc631f8612015>), Assessed 4th September, 2017.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study covers the period from 1847-1917. That is, from the arrival of the Bremen missionaries to the departure of the last German missionary during World War 1, with a special focus on their activities in the early German missionized and colonial communities of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe. The work gathered information on the activities undertaken during these periods. The study discussed and assessed the influence of those activities in the communities from the beginning of the Bremen Mission contact to present.

1.8 Structure of the Study

This study has five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study and provides its background, statement of problem, aim, and objectives of the research, research questions, literature review, and theoretical framework. Also discussed in the Introduction are the study's methodology, scope, and significance. Chapter Two discusses the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region. Chapter Three examines the challenges in the mission field. In Chapter Four, the study analyses the impact of the Bremen Mission in Eweland. The final chapter provides a summary, findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The study is expected to contribute to the literature on Missions and West African Church history with specific reference to the Bremen Mission in Ghana. Again, this research reveals some contextual evidence, which serves as a contribution to studies in Christianity and African culture. Finally, the work serves as data for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BREMEN MISSION IN THE VOLTA REGION (1847-1917)

2.0 Introduction

Many Christians have responded in varying ways to the Great Commission of Jesus Christ in Mk. 16:15.⁸⁷ The North German Mission Society (NGMS) in fulfillment of this divine directive established a special group in Hamburg dedicated to proclaiming the gospel to parts of the world where it had not reached. The primary focus was to go to Africa to preach the gospel for the salvation of souls. A German composer and missionary, G. Dauble, describes the perception of Germans about the people of Africa:

We hear unceasing wailing across Africa: Proceed, come to our rescue.
The land of Africa is endowed with riches but the people are deep in sin
Shall we look on for them to destroy in sin?
Never! We shall preach
The word of life freely to everybody
Until they all come to Christ.⁸⁸

The Bremen missionary, Bernhard Schlegel, also commented on the false and wrong European conceptions about Africans that, “the Negroes are lazy, stupid, fetish-ridden and without history” by saying that:

It is one of the aims of mission to destroy these wrong conceptions. It is for this very purpose that we have come to Africa, and therefore I regret no labour, no headache, and no sickness if only I can get to know this people, its language and history.⁸⁹

Indeed, these were some of the reasons that compelled the Bremen missionaries to go to the West Coast of Africa to spread the Good News and to win souls for the kingdom of God, to embark on social services that would help develop and transform the indigenous people and discover the potential in them.

⁸⁷ “Go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creation” (RSV).

⁸⁸ Dorvlo, “The Contribution of German Missionary”, p. 119.

⁸⁹ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p.141.

This chapter examines the origins and formation of the NGMS. It also describes the encounter of the Bremen Mission with the people of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe - the early mission stations. Finally, it discusses the missionary policies and strategies that sought to ensure godly living in the non-Christian setting.

2.1 The Establishment of the Bremen Mission

The Bremen Mission was established in the north German town of Bremen in 1836. Similar to the Basel Mission, its beginning can be traced to the *Deutsche Christentums-Gesellschaft* (German Christian Society) founded in the Swiss city of Basel in 1780. It was established originally as a Bible study and discussion group and also to publish good Christian literature.⁹⁰ In 1819, the *Bremische Missionsverein* (Bremen Mission Association) came out of this society.⁹¹ The representatives of these associations, by a written agreement, decided to form the NGMS in the north German town of Bremen.⁹²

In June 1835, the Protestants in Germany held an open meeting in Stade during which it was agreed that all Protestant Mission Societies in Germany should be invited to form one NGMS which would send workers abroad.⁹³ Subsequently, in April 1836, the Lutheran and Reformed Protestants in Hamburg came together to form the NGMS.⁹⁴ The mission was one of the several societies established in the early part of the 19th Century with inspiration from the Pietist Movement and the Christian Awakening in the 17th and 18th Centuries.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Jon Miller, *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control. Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917* (Grand Rapids), p. 14, Abraham N.O. Kwakye, "Mission Impossible becomes Possible: West Indian Missionaries as Actors in Mission in the Gold Coast" in *Interkulturelle Theologische Zeitschrift Furl Missionswissens Chaft, 42 Jahrgang* (2016) p. 223.

⁹¹ Burton I. Goddard: *The Encyclopaedia of Modern Christian Mission* (Tholmes Nelson and Sons, Toronto, London, New Jersey, 1967), p. 490, McWilson K. Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church in Ghana and Togo (1847-1945): The Case of Reverend Andreas Aku, Robert Stephen Kwami and Robert Domingo Baeta* (An unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Ghana, Legon, 2008), p. 66.

⁹² David N.A Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana: The Ecumenical Heritage* (Accra: Asempa Publishers 2008), 82.

⁹³ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 18.

⁹⁴ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 18.

⁹⁵ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 18.

The NGMS originally began in Hamburg and later moved to Bremen since both towns were geographically located in the northern part of Germany.⁹⁶ Ustorf argues that the mission's headquarters was relocated from Hamburg to Bremen because the society did not have a mission house and so held meetings in rented places or in the private houses of its affluent members. The leadership of the NMGS comprised influential traders and pastors from the upper class of Bremen.⁹⁷ Their motivation for organising and partly financing the mission emanated from their conviction that the expansion of the kingdom of God was a task for every true Christian.⁹⁸

In order to train people for missionary work, a mission school was established in 1837 at Hamburg by Rev. Johan Hartwig Brauer, the first Inspector of the Society. The school began with four students but increased to ten by 1846 with the majority being farmers, artisans or traders.⁹⁹ They were trained for four years. Meyer asserts that unlike the committee members of the Mission Society, the missionaries who were recruited did not belong to the upper classes but were mostly farmers, craftsmen or petty traders with only basic education. Many of them came from southern Germany, especially Wurttemberg, which was well known for the vitality of its Pietist tradition.¹⁰⁰ The selected students were expected to be between eighteen and twenty-four years old, not married but healthy males with unimpeachable conduct who were willing to obey orders in the mission school as well as later in the mission field.¹⁰¹

The first batch of five missionaries was sent out by the mission to New Zealand and India which were the mission society's original target. Later, they included West Africa. The rule that governed missionary work in Africa was a call of willingness to suffer and rejoicing in

⁹⁶ Gausah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome*, p. 34.

⁹⁷ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity*, p. 29.

⁹⁸ Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*, p. 29.

⁹⁹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 81, Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana*, p. 82, Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁰ Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity*, p. 29.

¹⁰¹ Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity*, p. 29.

death, as implied by Franz Michael Zahn, the Mission Inspector (1862-1900) when he addressed the students who had completed their studies and were ready to be sent out:

We take your willingness to mean that, trusting in the grace of the Lord, you are willing to give up even your life, if it is demanded, and in the power of God to fight perhaps even more difficult fight against the temptations to bad temper, fretfulness and faintheartedness with which the climate makes missionaries familiar.¹⁰²

This indicates that the willingness to embark on a mission is not borne out of coercion but a readiness to suffer and to sacrifice oneself. No wonder that despite the frequent deaths of their colleagues and other challenges on the mission field, more missionaries were willing to take up the mantle to spread the gospel to win more souls into the Christian faith. In 1847, the mission planned to embark on a mission in Gabon as a way of extending their activities to the West Coast of Africa.¹⁰³

2.2 Bremen Mission in Ghana- A Brief History

The first group of missionaries to come to the Gold Coast were part of the trainees at the missionary school in Hamburg.¹⁰⁴ On 5th May 1847, the society sent four missionaries to the Gold Coast, namely, Lorenz Wolf, Jens Graff, Luer Bultmann, and Karl Flato. They were originally meant to go to Gabon. Richard Foli ascribes the transit at Cape Coast by the Bremen Missionaries to a lack of direct sea route linking Germany and Gabon.¹⁰⁵ Upon their arrival, Wolf and Bultman went to Gabon to explore mission opportunities while the other two missionaries stayed at Cape Coast based on the advice of the veteran Wesleyan Methodist missionary, Thomas Birch Freeman.

¹⁰² Ustorf, *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana*, p. 112.

¹⁰³ Ganasah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome of Ghana*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Confidence W. Bansah, *Salvation at the Crossroad: Christianity and Ewe Indigenous Religion in West Africa* (Accra: SonLife Press, 2013), p. 84.

¹⁰⁵ Bansah, *Salvation at the Crossroad*, p. 24.

Wolf was not allowed to stay in Gabon by the French government, which was in control of the country at the time.¹⁰⁶ It was said that: “The Government was jealous of the influence of the missionaries, and opposed them, less perhaps as Protestants than as disseminators of Anglo-Saxon influence and culture”.¹⁰⁷ As a result, the French officials disallowed Protestant mission work in Gabon although the missionaries found the Africans friendly and were described as more effective in terms of conversions than the Catholic missions. When the Gabon mission proved unsuccessful, Wolf returned to Cape Coast. Unfortunately, Bultmann and Flato passed away at Gabon and Cape Coast respectively.

Wolf and Graff left Cape Coast to Christiansborg to seek counsel from the Basel missionaries in respect of untapped mission fields to engage their attention.¹⁰⁸ They were advised and encouraged to turn to Eweland. The old Danish coastal town of Keta would have been the most suitable area among the Ewes to begin the mission.¹⁰⁹ However, according to Agbeti, Keta had been bombarded by the Danes due to the Anlo opposition against the attempt to halt the slave trade between the Portuguese and the people of Keta.¹¹⁰

While contemplating the advice of the Basel missionaries, the two missionaries came into contact with Nyangamagu, son of Tutu, Togbui Kwadzo Dei, Paramount King of Krepi,¹¹¹ who was then studying at the Basel Mission school at Christiansborg. Their interaction with the prince inspired them to establish a mission station at Peki. Abraham N.O. Kwakye argues:

According to Peki tradition, Nyangamagu’s stay in Christiansborg had influenced his esteem for European missions. Several decades of Danish presence in Christiansborg together with the few years of Basel mission influence had transformed Christiansborg into an active and prosperous commercial town. This had highly influenced the young Krepi prince who hoped that his father’s country would experience similar prosperity

¹⁰⁶ Ganusah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome*, P. 35.

¹⁰⁷ Ganusah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome*, P. 35.

¹⁰⁸ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 81, Ansre (ed.). *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁹ Abraham N.O. Kwakye, “Encountering ‘Prosperity’ Gospel in Nineteenth Century Gold Coast: Indigenous Perceptions of Western Missionary Societies” in Andreas Hauser (ed.), *Pastures of Plenty: Tracing Religio-Scapes of Prosperity Gospel in Africa and Beyond* (New York: Peter Lang GmbH, 2015), p. 222.

¹¹⁰ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 82.

¹¹¹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 82.

with the mission. His studies at the Christiansborg institution also exposed him to Western education which he deemed necessary for the future development of the kingdom.¹¹²

This indicates that economic expectations and hopes for other benefits might have been the reasons why the indigenous people welcomed the missionaries. Kwakye continued that the message the prince sent to his father might have caused the people of Peki to conclude that the coming of the missionaries to their community would “mark the beginning of the transformation of their society from a simple village to a prosperous and famous commercial center like Christiansborg”.¹¹³ Therefore, after consultation with his father, Nyangamagu assured the missionaries that his father was ready and willing to receive them for mission work to be done in his kingdom. This paved the way for the arrival of the Bremen missionaries in the Volta Region.

2.3 The Early Mission Stations

2.3.1 The Bremen Missionaries in Peki

On 9th November 1847, Lorenz Wolf and his entourage left Christiansborg for Peki. He arrived at Peki on Sunday 14th November 1847. According to Agbeti, Wolf was given a warm welcome by the chief and his people for which he indicated in his report home that, ‘they were too glorious for a poor missionary’.¹¹⁴ This might have been so because of the benefits they anticipated to get from the missionary. He began his work the same day when he preached to the people based on Ps. 22:23¹¹⁵, showing them in simplicity the plan of man’s salvation in Christ.¹¹⁶ In line with his mission, Wolf intended to gain souls for the kingdom of God.¹¹⁷ He interacted with the people of Peki, making them understand that the purpose of his coming was

¹¹² Kwakye, “Encountering ‘Prosperity’ Gospel,” p. 223.

¹¹³ Kwakye, “Encountering ‘Prosperity’ Gospel,” p. 224.

¹¹⁴ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 83.

¹¹⁵ I will tell of thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation I will praise thee (RSV).

¹¹⁶ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 84.

¹¹⁷ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 59.

for peace, not to buy slaves or to rob people of their land.¹¹⁸ This assurance was necessary in view of the slave trade that was rampant at that time. To this Wolf expressed:

I am not going to buy slaves nor do I have in mind to rob people of their land. I come a long way from a country where there are only white people. I wish to show you the source of happiness: the true God. I wish to proclaim him from whom come all good gifts and who sent his son into this world of ours.¹¹⁹

Wolf's intention, therefore, correlates with Verkuyl's example of pure motives – the motive of Love, Mercy, and Pity¹²⁰ which define the motivation of the Bremen missionaries towards their missionary task. Thus, despite the numerous deaths and the many difficulties encountered, the missionaries persisted in communicating the gospel message to the people in love and mercy. The missionary agenda was the preaching of the good news, but the people of Peki were more interested in the socio-economic benefits they could gain than the gospel.¹²¹ In order to disabuse the minds of the people from their expected gains, Wolf made known to them Pietism's stance that material things were the equivalent of the 'broader path'¹²² that leads to destruction.

Towards enhancing the missionary work, Wolf asked for a mission house to be built for him and with the assistance from the indigenes, his new home was completed on 14th January 1848.¹²³ This house differed in size and form from the usual Peki houses.¹²⁴ This was because, in his (Wolf) view, the 'unhealthy' weather condition of Africa had to be offset for by houses of European style.¹²⁵ As a result, all the mission houses, chapels, and schools built by the missionaries in the areas they operated were of the same European architectural structure and design. Kpobi states that 'the mission station established by Wolf with local support became

¹¹⁸ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 60.

¹¹⁹ Ganusah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome of Ghana*, p. 36.

¹²⁰ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 25.

¹²¹ Kwakye, "Encountering 'Prosperity' Gospel", p. 224.

¹²² Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 59.

¹²³ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 24.

¹²⁴ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 60.

¹²⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 60.

the nucleus of transformation that would eventually extend to many other towns and villages of the Ewes.¹²⁶ Indeed, most of the indigenes emulated the missionaries' style of building and constructed their houses with the same design. Moses Mensah mentions that "it is interesting to see how early Peki wattle and daub architecture gradually gave way to building patterns similar to the stone and wood style introduced by the Bremen Mission".¹²⁷

As Wolf was alone in Peki, more missionaries were dispatched from Bremen to assist the mission work. Two missionaries, Friedrich Groth and Friedrich Hermann Quinius arrived on 3rd March 1849 to support him. In the following year, Miss Koroline Deist - Wolf's bride - also landed at Peki.¹²⁸ Consequently, Wolf was invited home as a result of ill-health and constrained financial status, without gaining a single convert, according to mission statistics.¹²⁹ By 1851 Wolf together with his wife, Groth and Quinius left Peki. Wolf died upon arrival in Hamburg harbour and was buried there in April 1851.¹³⁰

This notwithstanding, Wolf's death and the departure of his colleagues did not end missionary work in the Volta Region. In 1852, Wilhelm Dauble, Johannes Menge, Quinius and his wife were sent to Peki to continue the work began by Wolf. They passionately committed themselves to the mission, but similar to their predecessors their effort did not produce any substantial results. Unfortunately, in March and April 1852 Quinius' first son and Menge died and were buried in Peki.¹³¹

The unfavourable climate, which had a tremendous effect on their health, coupled with the threat of wars between Peki and the Ashanti-Akwamu alliance in 1852 made the work difficult

¹²⁶ Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana*, 83.

¹²⁷ Mensah, *Bremen Missionary Interactions with the Peki*, p. 45.

¹²⁸ Gansah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome of Ghana*, p. 37.

¹²⁹ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation*, p. 60.

¹³⁰ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 86.

¹³¹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 87.

for the missionaries at Peki; they decided to transfer the mission station from Peki to the coastal areas of Keta.¹³² They were also convinced that the geographical location of Keta would be favourable for them as compared to Peki because they thought that it would be easier to get supplies from Accra and also be in regular touch with Germany if they were stationed in Keta.¹³³

2.3.2 The Bremen Missionaries in Keta

The Bremen missionaries Dauble and Plessing set themselves up at Keta and landed at Dzelukofe near Keta on 2nd September 1853. They then walked half an hour journey to Keta.¹³⁴ Keta was an important trading port between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. The town caught Danish interest because they felt they could establish a base devoid of interference from rival European nations there.¹³⁵ Additionally, besides a factory and a warehouse, the town also had a fort which had a garrison of 30 soldiers under the command of Governor Evans.¹³⁶ The Governor allowed the missionaries to stay at the fort while they looked for land to build their own house. With the support from some Africans trained at Cape Coast, they constructed their first mission station¹³⁷ (see fig 2.1).

¹³² Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 27.

¹³³ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 88.

¹³⁴ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 27.

¹³⁵ Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, *Between the sea and the Lagoon* (Oxford: James Currey, p. 46. <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/keta>), Assessed 16th September, 2017.

¹³⁶ Dorvlo, "The Contributions of German Missionary", p. 124.

¹³⁷ Dorvlo, "The Contributions of German Missionary", p. 124.



Figure 2. 1: The first mission house at Keta

Source: Bremen Mission Archives.

The missionaries presumed that since Keta was located along the coast, it was going to have a positive influence on their health. However, to their amazement, there was little discernible difference in conditions from the inland Peki. Dauble died on 26th December 1853 after a short illness. Bructschin arrived at Keta on 6th January 1854 to assist Plessing who was ostensibly also on his deathbed. The news of his colleague's arrival made him recover speedily and the two continued their work with fresh hope.¹³⁸

The chief of Anlo ordered his subjects not to offer any help to the missionaries, because they had not paid him a courtesy call upon their arrival, this created some difficulties for them.¹³⁹ The missionaries admitted their gaffe and offered a subsequent apology which led to steady progress in the mission work. The evangelisation work did not yield much result because the local people did not accept the missionaries wholeheartedly. However, the mission witnessed some positive outcome in 1855 when the first seven converts were baptised after seven years of missionary work in Ewe land.

¹³⁸ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 29.

¹³⁹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 89.

Agbeti observes:

The missionaries had laboured for seven years, buried seven of their members during this period and now had won seven souls for the Lord: Thus after many years of disappointments, the missionaries had the encouragement that their labour had begun to bear concrete fruits.¹⁴⁰

There is the need to mention that Wolf's sole objective was to win souls into the Christian faith. Although he did not witness his goal come to fruition before he passed on, he needs to be commended for the bold step taken towards the salvation of souls, most especially that of John Ababio, the only Ewe among the seven new-baptised converts who was a native of Peki, the first mission station of the Bremen Mission.

In a bid to win more souls, the missionaries planned to travel inland to take the good news to the indigenous people there. However, they were prevented by the Anlo chief who claimed that the hinterland was reserved for the great Anlo deity (*Troga*) and the people living there should not be exposed to the gospel of the missionaries.¹⁴¹ They were later allowed to preach in those areas and they went to other places beyond the Keta Lagoon. Their work there did not yield positive results as compared to that of Keta. The missionaries continued to travel further inland and towards the north and finally entered Adaklu Waya.

2.3.3 The Bremen Missionaries in Waya

The missionaries were attracted by the Adaklu Mountain in the vast Savanah Plains.¹⁴² They entered Asadame, Avenor, Mafi and other towns but the leaders of the land and the people did not accept them.¹⁴³ They travelled further until on 26th January 1855, the two missionaries Wihm Brutschin and Hans J. Steinmann together with their interpreter John Wright reached Waya from Keta.¹⁴⁴ They spelt out their mission to the chiefs and elders of the town. Upon

¹⁴⁰ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 90.

¹⁴¹ Dorvlo, "The Contributions of German Missionary," p. 125.

¹⁴² Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 34.

¹⁴³ Paul Wieggrabe, *Ewe Kristo Nutimya 1847-1936* (USA: St. Louis, 1936), pp. 12-13.

¹⁴⁴ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 128.

hearing it they received the message with joy and assured them of their support.¹⁴⁵ Due to this reception, they requested for a piece of land from the chief of the town, Togbe Komla Asbeve (Lablulu) to open a mission station. After having a brief interaction with the people they left for Keta with the intention of returning to Waya later.¹⁴⁶

A year after, in January 1856, the missionaries returned to Waya to begin their missionary activities. They brought with them some trees to be planted at Waya. On that same day of arrival two of the trees - mango and pear - were planted. Rev. Francis Djofokeh, the District Pastor of Adaklu-Waya, reports that: “It was quite recently that the pear tree fell due to heavy wind and the mango tree being the only surviving tree of the missionaries, also fell last year (2016).”¹⁴⁷ He added, “I ate the last fruit from the mango tree and after a week the tree fell”.¹⁴⁸

The missionaries began the construction of the mission house since they had already acquired the land and through the assistance of the indigenes, were able to build the mission house together with a chapel and a school.¹⁴⁹ They began fervently with the preaching of the gospel. Two other missionaries, Christian Hornberger and Wilh Lemgo at this time joined their colleagues to continue the work. The former was a scientist who stayed at Waya and later went further inland to establish a church at Atakpame, while the latter worked as a teacher and evangelist among the people of Adaklu.¹⁵⁰

As a result of the cordial relationship between the missionaries and the people, there was a peaceful atmosphere for the missionaries. This paved the way for them to make Waya the center for their mission work. They journeyed from Waya to Peki, Keta, Anyako and many other

¹⁴⁵ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 34.

¹⁴⁶ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya: 150 Years Anniversary Brochure (2006), p.7.

¹⁴⁷ Francis K. Djofokeh (District Pastor of Adaklu Waya), Interview, 21st November, 2017, Adaklu –Waya.

¹⁴⁸ Djofokeh, Interview, Adaklu –Waya.

¹⁴⁹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 34.

¹⁵⁰ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya, p. 9.

places for their missionary activities.¹⁵¹ It is recorded that by 1886 quite a number of the indigenes in Waya had joined the Christian faith.¹⁵² The work at Waya grew well which elated the missionaries.

When the missionaries became convinced that Waya had been firmly established, they moved further to establish a station at Anyako. This initiative became important because it was realised that Waya needed an intermediary station on the inland side of the Keta Lagoon.¹⁵³ Again, it is recorded that when the Keta Lagoon dried up, the shortest route on foot to Adaklu was through Anyako on the northern shores of the lagoon.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, it was necessary for the missionaries to set up a station at Anyako.

2.3.4 The Bremen Missionaries in Anyako

Heinrich Knecht and his team arrived at Anyako on 14th April 1857. The chief and his elders gave them a warm welcome.¹⁵⁵ Land was acquired and with the support of the people, a house was built and used as a residence and a school. In 1858, they received assistance from Johann Mansfield, a missionary described as a master builder and built a second house. It was a two-storey building which made it unique among the structures in Waya. In 1858, the first-ever synod meeting of Keta, Waya and Anyako was held in this building.¹⁵⁶

However, the construction of the storey building sparked some suspicion in the people against the missionaries. Their fear that the missionaries would place canons from Keta on the second floor of the strange building and wage war on the town revealed a mistrust which may have

¹⁵¹ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya, p. 8.

¹⁵² Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya, p. 10.

¹⁵³ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 128.

¹⁵⁴ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako: A short History of Anyako E.P. Church 150th Anniversary Celebration Brochure (2007), p. 14.

¹⁵⁵ Wise K. Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society: A Case Study of Global Evangelical and Evangelical Presbyterian Churches in Anyako* (An unpublished MPhil Thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana. 2013), p. 50.

¹⁵⁶ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 28.

existed from the beginning. The indigenous people rejected the missionaries and everything they sought to introduce. Generally, missionaries who came to Africa were viewed with suspicion in their areas of operation. According to Treve, even before the missionaries could settle at Anyako there were rumours that the missionaries were buccaneers in disguise. So, if they were allowed to settle at Anyako they would raise armies to join with Danes in Keta with other neighbours in Adaklu Waya to attack Anyako. However, through the intervention of some good-hearted people at Anyako, the chiefs and his subjects finally accepted the missionaries in good faith.¹⁵⁷

When the indigenes realised that the missionaries were not the same as slave raiders, they established such a close relationship with the missionaries that the missionaries remarked that leaving Anyako would be as difficult as having one's heart removed from one's chest.¹⁵⁸ The missionaries did not toil in vain in Anyako. After ten years of missionary activity (1857-1867), they were able to baptise fifteen converts (youths) to the Christian faith.¹⁵⁹ Spreading out from Anyako, the missionaries decided to open another mission site at Ho.

2.3.5 The Bremen Missionaries in Ho

When it became evident that Waya was not suitable as a mission station,¹⁶⁰ the missionaries explored the surrounding areas, travelling to Agotime, Agu, Ho, and Peki in search of a more suitable site. The tribal war between Agu and Agotime ruled these two towns out and Peki was found to be too far from Waya.¹⁶¹ The missionaries chose a good place near Kordibe where the air was favourable but the landowners refused to sell the land to them. An indigenous priest in the town was instrumental in their rejection claiming that the gods and the missionaries could

¹⁵⁷ Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁸ Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society*, p. 50.

¹⁵⁹ Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁰ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 128.

¹⁶¹ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 128.

not in any way stay together.¹⁶² On 27th November 1858, the missionaries acquired a piece of land and opened a mission station at Ho.

The establishment of the mission station and the development at Ho was much quicker than at other places. They went there based on these words: “the last shall be the first!”¹⁶³ The chief of Keke, Morte Kofi, regularly advised his subjects to accept the gospel of the missionaries and join the Christian faith. Contrarily, he himself refused to be converted¹⁶⁴ without any known reason. The missionaries regularly travelled from Ho to the other towns for evangelism accompanied by the students in the Mission school at Ho. When the missionaries visited Klefe the people assured them and said, “If the people of Ho have accepted the Gospel, they would also accept it.”¹⁶⁵

According to Ansre, the opening of the Ho station marked the end of the pioneering stage of the Mission’s activities and the beginning of the expansion.¹⁶⁶ Nonetheless, after the Asante war in 1874, the people of Avatime were also introduced to the Christian religion. Some indigenes of Avatime migrated to other areas in the country to escape the war. While in exile, two men from Gbadzeme encountered the Basel Missionaries at Mayera and Abokobi near Accra and were baptised.¹⁶⁷ When they returned home after the war, they established a Christian community. This was the community that the Bremen missionaries visited during one of their travels and saw the Amedzofe hill and Mountain Gemi. This attracted them to visit Amedzofe and they subsequently considered establishing a station there.

¹⁶² Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya*, p. 20.

¹⁶³ Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁴ Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁵ Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁶ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 35.

¹⁶⁷ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 43.

2.3.6 The Bremen Missionaries in Amedzofe

In 1886, Mateo Seeger and Jacob Spieth came into contact with Jacob Anku and Dzoletsu, the first Avatime Christian converts, when the former were passing through Dzokpe to Nkonya. These two men had earlier on come into contact with the Basel missionaries at Mayera during the Ashanti war.¹⁶⁸ Anku had built a cottage and named it “Yerusalem” outside Dzokpe town when he returned home.¹⁶⁹ As indicated earlier, this was the place from where the Bremen missionaries saw Amedzofe hill and Mountain Gemi at a distance away. When they heard that the area was reachable by a foot-path, they set off through Gbadzeme to visit these places. On reaching Amedzofe, they met a man called Setsoafia who was conversant with the German language due to his encounter with a German merchant at Keta.¹⁷⁰ He became their interpreter and helped to communicate the purpose of their visit to the people of Amedzofe. The weather was very welcoming that they slept peacefully without any disruptions from mosquitoes that night. In view of that, they became convinced that the place could be very conducive for a mission station. Nonetheless, they were unsure whether the home mission Board at Bremen would approve of their new discovery. They left Amedzofe to continue their journey.

Three years later in December 1889, Seeger and his wife arrived at Amedzofe through Akome.¹⁷¹ It is recorded in the diary of Mrs. Eunike Seeger:

The path at one point was at the edge of a dangerous and frightening precipice on which a slip of foot could mean sudden death. Our kind native porter held my arm, pushing me up the slope at times and at other times dragging me slowly down.¹⁷²

The missionaries began their work of evangelism among these people without any delay with the establishment of schools and capacity skills training in various vocations to aid them in

¹⁶⁸ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya: A brief History of the Amedzofe E.P. Church, 1889-1989, p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 69.

¹⁷⁰ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 69.

¹⁷¹ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 70.

¹⁷² Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 70.

their work.¹⁷³ The missionaries were blessed to come into contact with Paul Ntumitse, an indigene of the town, who had his education and training as a catechist from the Basel school at Mayera.¹⁷⁴ He was of immense help to the missionaries as an interpreter and a teacher. Their hard work and sacrifices began to produce fruits with the baptism of the first converts, five men and six children.¹⁷⁵

Early 1890, the Bremen Mission Board approved the opening of the Mission station at Amedzofe, and proceeded with a building project in 1891.¹⁷⁶ In this same year, Johannes Schroeder was sent to assist the mission work at Amedzofe. Unfortunately, he passed on shortly after arrival due to fatigue from his previous work at Anyako, Vote, and Waya. Deedrich Bavendum and Holsaphel were two other missionaries who died after Schroeder in 1894 and 1896 and were buried at Amedzofe.¹⁷⁷

The deaths of their colleagues did not discourage the surviving missionaries but instead, they became very enthusiastic and zealous at their mission. The missionaries also had the health of the people at heart. As a result, in 1895, they set up a dispensary (clinic) for the dressing of sores and curing all minor illnesses.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, they showed concern for the welfare of widows, orphans and other destitute. The people of Amedzofe were very appreciative of this humanitarian service as well as the evangelisation work rendered by the missionaries. They were able to open mission stations and schools in all these communities because of the policies and guidelines enshrined in the constitution of the mission society.

¹⁷³ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe: 125yrs Anniversary Brochure (2016), p. 29.

¹⁷⁴ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe, p. 29.

¹⁷⁵ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 70.

¹⁷⁶ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe, p. 30.

¹⁷⁷ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 70.

¹⁷⁸ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 71.

2.4 Missionary Policies and Guidelines

Missionary policies and guidelines provided a framework for the conduct of the missionary and how the mission was carried out. The policies and guidelines were intended to give focus to the missionaries regarding what was to be done and also to ensure their effectiveness. According to Ustorf, the policies were guidelines that assisted the missionaries in the mission field to enable them to avoid clashes of the traditional beliefs of the people among whom they worked.¹⁷⁹ Ansre also indicated that although there were no permanent policies for the missionaries to follow, one could find group policies as well as private policies that guided individual missionaries.¹⁸⁰ As the missionaries worked among people of different religions and culture in foreign lands, these policies helped them to pursue their missionary task without much difficulty. The policies were taken from the compilation of Grau following research he had conducted. The policies, stated below, are considered adequate for this study because they define clearly the intentions of the Bremen missionaries among the people of Eweland. They include the following:

- The Congregation to Serve as a Witness
- The Study of Language and Culture
- Concern for the Whole of Life
- Attitude towards Civil Authority and Colonial Power
- Preparing Congregation for Self-Government¹⁸¹

2.4.1 The Congregation Serving as a Witness

According to Grau, this policy required the missionaries to convert the people into the Christian faith and all who would accept the faith were to be formed into congregations.¹⁸² The congregation was believed to be superior to the individual Christian in its power to witness. It was also required of the members and school children to join with the missionaries or African

¹⁷⁹ Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church*, p. 81.

¹⁸⁰ Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church*, p.81.

¹⁸¹ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', pp. 64-9.

¹⁸² Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 64.

evangelists to preach to neighbouring towns or villages as soon as there were small congregation and a school.¹⁸³ In view of that, the missionaries were very spirited in their efforts to convert the people to the Christian faith.

Closely related to the policy of making converts and forming congregations was the educational policy which was to help the people to read and write so that they could take up leadership in the church. It is said that conversion and education or training went hand in hand. The primary goal of all the mission societies in Africa was the winning of converts. They established schools in this regard because education was deemed important to their aim.¹⁸⁴ Cogneau and Moradi also maintain that the primary concern of the missionaries was to save the souls of Africans, but they saw the provision of education as a powerful way of attracting people and to get the message across.¹⁸⁵ This affirms what Zahn said at the sixth Continental Mission Conference in 1884:

If we are seriously trying to make disciples of every nation and preach repentance and faith to everyone- which after all is also perhaps, not such a bad way of expressing the goal of mission- we soon realize that we cannot properly get at people if we do not run a school. The school is a bridge to people's heart.¹⁸⁶

This view was made explicit in Wolf's address to the chief on his arrival at Peki when he said "...I want to instruct your children in all things that make us happy. So have no fear of me...."¹⁸⁷ Wolf implemented this policy by starting a school at Peki on 8th February 1848 with fourteen (14) boys. He taught them biblical history, reading, writing arithmetic, etc. using the English language.¹⁸⁸ Although the school was short-lived, it demonstrated the willingness of the mission to educate the Africans. The first formal school was established at Keta in 1855

¹⁸³ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 64.

¹⁸⁴ Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová, 'Christian Missions in Africa and Their Role in the Transformation of African Societies', *Asian and African Studies*, vol.16, no. 2 (2007), p. 257.

¹⁸⁵ Denis Congneau and Alexander Moradi, "Borders that Divide: Education and Religion in Ghana and Togo Since Colonial Time", *Center for the Study of African Economies*, (2011), Assessed September, 2017, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 190-1.

¹⁸⁷ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p.84.

¹⁸⁸ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 85.

with nineteen (19) boys. Similar to the Peki School, this first school was closed down in 1863 due to low enrolment. However, in 1864, Bructschin and his wife opened a middle school with eleven (11) girls and nine (9) boys. The subjects taught included English and German languages, Geography, Religious Studies, and Music. The girls were also taught dressmaking, needlework, catering, and hygiene, in addition.¹⁸⁹ Schools were later founded in almost all the villages and towns. They also established an Ewe school in Westheim, Germany in 1884 for training selected talented students as ministers and teachers.¹⁹⁰ According to Ustorf, Zahn, the Mission Inspector, advocated for this exceptional programme of sending Africans to Germany where they could be educated as church leaders. Zahn's decision was also influenced by a severe lack of European missionaries for the work in West Africa.¹⁹¹

2.4.2 Study of Language and Culture

The mission was guided by a unique language policy to instruct the Ewe through the use of the Ewe language. Comparable to many other Protestant missionary societies, the missionaries saw the study of the local language as a necessary prerequisite for doing their work effectively and properly. The language was to be used at length to discourage the use of interpreters. The missionaries taught in only Ewe and German without any other European language with the aim of separating Christian communities from pagan influences.¹⁹² This was also because of the belief that in character development, true understanding and learning, instructing in the local language was critical.¹⁹³ Missionaries such as Bernhard Schlegel contributed much to the development of the Ewe language. (See section 4.4 for a detailed discussion).

¹⁸⁹ E.P. Church, Keta 150th+8 Anniversary Celebrations Brochure (2011). p. 18.

¹⁹⁰ Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana*, 84.

¹⁹¹ Werner Ustorf, 'Zahn, Franz Michael 1833 to 1900 Bremen Mission Germany', *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, http://www.dacb.org/stories/non%20africans/legacy_zahn.html [accessed 11 June 2017].

¹⁹² 'Overview of Education in Ghana'

http://wikieducator.org/images/archive/3/37/20080227200726!OVERVIEW_OF_EDUCATION_IN_GHANA.pdf Accessed 10 September 2017.

¹⁹³ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 70.

Again, for effective teaching, the missionaries were instructed to study the culture of the people among whom they lived including their way of life, beliefs, customs, and attitudes. They were to exhibit a sympathetic appreciation of customary practices.¹⁹⁴ However, erroneous and obsolete practice and rites such as ritual murders were to be discouraged. The missionaries were also advised:

[A]n inconsiderate damming or dismissal of heathenism is no way to win the trust of the heathen and convince them of the truth of Christianity, but it will rather raise a spirit of stubbornness and obstinacy in holding on to the traditional beliefs and will shut their hearts to the missionary. Much more useful will it be to find, in the faith and heart of the heathen, points of contact for Christian truth, and from there begin the work of conviction.¹⁹⁵

The missionaries were not to annihilate the custom and substitute them with European practice (see section 4.3) given that Christianity was believed to have the power to make customs gentle and create a worthy civilization among the people who hold on to them.¹⁹⁶

2.4.3 Concern for the Whole of Life

The Bremen Mission also had a unique policy that did not simply focus on evangelism but emphasised concern for the whole life of the people. They were to address the social, physical and economic issues of the people. Besides the introduction of formal education in the mission areas, the indigenous people were also taught carpentry, masonry and other crafts in the schools. The missionaries introduced the indigenous people to the cultivation of cash crops such as cocoa as a means of enhancing their economic wellbeing. Also, the Christians were encouraged to take an active part in the government of their towns so that the susceptible in the towns would not suffer.¹⁹⁷ The missionaries were of the view that Christian life was to have a full impact on the totality of the life of the indigenes. The official position of the mission was

¹⁹⁴ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe Dome of Ghana*, p. 48.

¹⁹⁵ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 66.

¹⁹⁶ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 66.

¹⁹⁷ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', pp. 66-67.

that Christians in the town must let their lights shine in the midst of the heathen environment.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, when a man became a Christian, he was to remain with his family and clan. The missionaries were to permit the converts to stay around the mission area only when their Christian faith could bring conflict between them and their families. Zahn made it clear to the missionaries that mission settlements were supposed to be an emergency situation and should not become an accepted practice.¹⁹⁹

In accordance with this, when the converts began to have problems with their families and other members in the community who were non-Christians, it became necessary for Christian quarters (*Kpodzi*) to be established around the mission stations. However, there were some laid down conditions that governed the establishment of the Christian quarters of which two were significant. Firstly, the indigenous elders, not the missionaries, were to be in charge of the civil organisation of the Christian quarters. Secondly, converts who returned to the indigenous practices could be immediately sent away from the settlement without compensation.²⁰⁰

In 1881 and 1887, Christian quarters developed in Ho and Anyako respectively because the converts in these communities desired it.²⁰¹ The people had a feeling that if they continued to stay with the 'unbelievers' in the traditional settlements, they still lived under the legislation of the chiefs who were not Christians.²⁰² The *Kpodzi* system made pastoral care of the converts easier for the missionaries. One undesirable feature of the system according to the indigenes was the strict requirement of the converts not to visit their sick relatives, attend burial ceremonies of members in the community, or even perform their Christian duties of caring for their parents and other family members who remained in the traditional settlements.

¹⁹⁸ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 68.

¹⁹⁹ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 67.

²⁰⁰ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 64.

²⁰¹ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 67.

²⁰² Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church*, p. 90.

The missionaries also showed concern about the family by making a great effort to create a Christian home. Unlike the other mission societies which forbade polygamist from joining the church, the Bremen mission marriage policy endorsed that a man with several wives should be allowed to join the church but they should always be reminded that the true marriage according to God is monogamy which is also the only way the purpose of marriage can be achieved.²⁰³

The leaders of the mission society educated their missionaries sent to Africa that “polygamy existed at the time of Christ and the apostles, but we do not find that monogamy was made a condition for acceptance into the church. Therefore a man who has several wives must be admitted to baptism and communion ...”²⁰⁴ Grau maintains that this position was again reaffirmed in the church order of 1876 but was left out in the 1933 revision. In the view of the Bremen missionaries, when a former marriage is blessed, it is not to make it a real marriage but to consecrate it and integrate the couple and their children into the Christian community.²⁰⁵

2.4.4 Civil Authority and Colonial Power

The mission society guided the missionaries in the field on how to relate to civil authority and the colonial powers. The missionaries were expected not only to have respect for civil authority but also they were to set good examples to their converts in their attitude towards the civil authorities. As a result, “Chiefs were not to be belittled, despised, resisted or overthrown by the missionaries....”²⁰⁶ In accordance with this, the missionaries did not hesitate to render an apology to the Chief of Anlo when accused of failure to pay a courtesy call on him upon arrival in his kingdom. This act may be seen as a show of respect and a willingness to foster a peaceful coexistence on the part of the missionaries.

²⁰³ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 68.

²⁰⁴ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 68.

²⁰⁵ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 68.

²⁰⁶ Harris Mobley, *The Ghanaian’s Image of the Missionary* (E.J, Brill, Leiden, 1970), p. 153.

Although the missionaries did not have direct conflicts with the traditional chiefs, in some instances, their activities tended to challenge the rule and authority of the indigenous leaders. They disaffirmed some of the traditional cultural practices such as observance of taboos and other rituals and taught their converts to avoid such practices because they were contrary to the Christian faith and life. The occasions for such indigenous religious and cultural activities fostered the unity and cohesiveness of the traditional society and had the effect of elevating the status and role of the chief as a leader. The Christian teaching that prohibits participation in such events by the converts, therefore, appeared to jeopardise the cohesiveness of the chief's domain and rule.

Another area in which the unity of the traditional society and the authority of the chiefs undermined by the activities of the missionaries was the creation of the Christian quarters (*Kpodzi*). As one of the conditions of living in the *kpodzi*, converts were not allowed to return to and participate in traditional cultural and religious practices, including observance of taboos and other rituals. Contravention of this rule meant immediate expulsion from the settlement.²⁰⁷ As long as the converts observed the rules and continued to live in the *kpodzi*, they were free of any punishments from the chiefs for flouting requirements of the traditions and customs. This could have been the reason for the view held by chiefs and the people in the traditional society that the Christian quarters served as breeding ground for rebelliousness against traditional authority and custom.²⁰⁸

In relation to the colonial powers, "The missionaries were not to set up or acquire colonies. The missionaries were not to oppose colonial governments but to work hand in hand with them".²⁰⁹ The Bremen Mission, under the leadership of Zahn, however, opposed the German colonial government in some instances and failed to work hand in hand with them. In order to

²⁰⁷ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 67.

²⁰⁸ Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church*, p. 90.

²⁰⁹ Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, p. 153.

avoid any form of interference and the possibility of being used as a tool for furthering the objects of colonisation, Zahn refused to accept grants for education even though the missionaries faced financial difficulties on the mission field at the time.²¹⁰ Also, the mission declined the demand by the colonial authorities to use the German language as the medium of instruction in the mission schools in the colony.²¹¹ This posture of the Bremen Mission relative to the colonial authorities may be summed up by the sentiments of Zahn expressed as:

I am against colonies anyway, and naturally, that is enough today for one to be branded a traitor to the Fatherland. But if a missionary enters into politics, and through his influence supports the German colonial acquisitions and motives—then, whatever he may think otherwise, I regard this as a grave mistake, not to say a crime.²¹²

He maintained that mission work must renounce governmental influence by "gifts, aiding and abetting as this would lead to the 'bondage of the church'".²¹³ The German officials, in their turn, looked upon the educational policy of the Mission with suspicion and persistently complained about the use of English as a language of instruction. Therefore, it may be inferred that the relationship between the mission and the colonial authorities was rancorous rather than cordial, particularly during the German colonial administration.

2.4.5 Preparing Congregations for Self-Government

Another fundamental objective of the Bremen Mission purported to guide the missionary activity was the establishment of an indigenous church. They were to establish a church that would be independent of any parent church. A clear contrast to the motive of ecclesiastical colonialism (see chapter one) of some other missionary societies as indicated by Verkuyl.²¹⁴ According to Grau, this intention was clearly stated in their constitution and repeatedly declared to the effect that:

²¹⁰ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 70.

²¹¹ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 70.

²¹² Werner Ustorf, 'Zahn, Franz Michael 1833 to 1900 Bremen Mission Germany', *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, http://www.dacb.org/stories/non%20africans/legacy_zahn.html [accessed 11 June 2017].

²¹³ Ustorf, Zahn, Franz Michael 1833-1900.

²¹⁴ Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, p. 173.

...the faithful presentation and teaching of the word of God through the influence of the Holy Spirit would result in the establishment of a church, able and qualified to reach its own doctrinal position and polity...²¹⁵

Owing to this assertion, the missionaries were to provide leadership for the church that would be established through the mission, but they were frequently reminded to train local converts from among the elders for leadership as soon as possible.²¹⁶ The elders were to be organised as a consistory for the purpose of making the congregation autonomous - by which was meant a self-supporting and self-governing church.²¹⁷ This policy of the Bremen Mission was consistent with the concept of the Three-Self Formula put forth by Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson.²¹⁸ The concept defines a newly planted church as mature or indigenous “when it is self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting. The central idea was to focus the attention and efforts of missionaries on nurturing the churches they plant to a level of maturity whereby they can move to other new areas with the confidence that the churches they leave behind can succeed on their own. This goal of the Three-Self principle coincides with the aim of the Bremen Mission under their policy. The desire to establish an indigenous church was expressed in setting up a seminary to train pastors as early as 1864 when only about a hundred Christians could be counted by the mission.²¹⁹ The tremendous efforts of the missionaries towards this objective yielded positive results as several local leaders were nurtured, notably Andreas Aku, R.S Kwami and Robert Baeta were on hand to provide capable leadership when the Bremen missionaries finally left Eweland.

²¹⁵ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 64.

²¹⁶ Peter B. Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1936), p. 60.

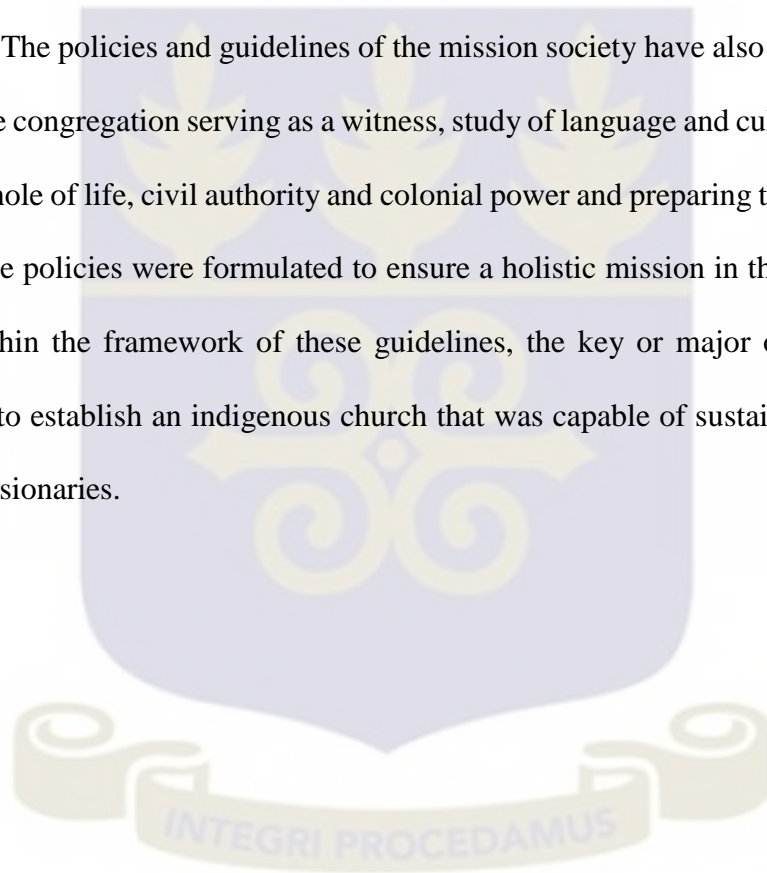
²¹⁷ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 72.

²¹⁸ Robert Reese, *The Surprising Relevance of the Three-Self Formula* (www.missionfrontiers.org) 2007. Assessed 10th May 2018, p. 25.

²¹⁹ Clarke, *West Africa and Christianity*, p. 59, Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 61.

2.5 Conclusion

The focus of the chapter has been to discuss the general history of the Bremen mission in the Volta Region and their contact with the people of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe from 1847 to 1917. Firstly, we have looked at the formation of the North German Mission Society. A brief history of the Bremen Mission in Ghana and the establishment of the early mission stations in the communities under study have also been discussed. The study revealed the various efforts made by the early missionaries to bring Christianity to the communities in the Volta Region. The policies and guidelines of the mission society have also been examined. These included the congregation serving as a witness, study of language and culture, education, concern for the whole of life, civil authority and colonial power and preparing the congregation for self-rule. These policies were formulated to ensure a holistic mission in the non-Christian environment. Within the framework of these guidelines, the key or major objective of the missionaries was to establish an indigenous church that was capable of sustaining itself upon the exit of the missionaries.



CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES IN THE MISSION FIELD

3.1 Introduction

The missionary work of the Bremen Mission was fraught with a lot of challenges in their attempt to introduce the gospel in the Volta Region. Notable among the challenges were the high mortality rate of the missionaries, the inability of the missionaries to communicate effectively with the indigenes, the hostility of some indigenous people towards the missionaries and the various wars they encountered during their missionary work in Eweland. These difficulties and many others are discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Unfavourable Weather Condition

The prevailing climate in the area at the time the early missionaries arrived proved to be challenging to their health. Most of the Bremen missionaries were affected by tropical diseases such as malaria and died soon after arrival.²²⁰ At that time, since the advancement in medical science had not influenced tropical diseases, the missionaries described yellow fever, hepatitis, and malaria as tropical fever.²²¹ As noted earlier, two of the first four missionaries (Bultman and Flato) who came to Ghana died even before they could get a place to commence their mission. Graf, on the other hand, could not live to witness the mission at Peki and passed on at Christiansburg. The only surviving missionary, Wolf, who chiefly facilitated the establishment of the Bremen Mission firmly in Eweland also died at the harbour in Hamburg before he could reach his home for medical treatment in 1851. This was the end of all the four missionaries on the mission field. They surrendered their lives to the mission of God but could not entirely

²²⁰ Ganusah, *Christ Meets the Ewe-Dome*, p. 37.

²²¹ Jones D. Amanor, 'Pentecostalism in Ghana: An African Reformation,' 2004.

accomplish their aim. Other European missionaries also perished due to illness or suffered from psychic disorders arising out of culture shock and disillusionment.²²²

It is believed that, by 1880, the mission had recorded fifty-four deaths with eighteen being wives who had accompanied their missionary husbands to the Ewe mission;²²³ Anyako and Keta²²⁴ alone recorded fourteen and twenty-two deaths respectively excluding children (see fig. 3.1).



Figure 3. 1: The tombs of the fourteen missionaries who died at Anyako
Source: Author, 2018.

Despite these depressing outcomes, the fact that others were prepared to be sent to continue from where their counterparts left off shows that the Bremen missionaries were not discouraged and were instead keener for their mission to make the gospel message known to those who had not yet heard it.

3.3 Language Barrier

The inability of the missionaries to communicate the gospel message to the people in their local language had a tremendous effect on the whole mission, hindering their effort to present the

²²² Peter A. Schweizer, *Survivors on the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries in Colonial Ghana* (Accra: Smartline Publishing, 2000), p. 90, Amanor, 'Pentecostalism in Ghana.'

²²³ Ralph M. Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History: 1471- 1880* (Techny: Divine Word Publications 1956), p. 144.

²²⁴ E.P. Church, Keta 150th + 8 Anniversary Celebration, p. 22.

gospel in a way their listeners could truly grasp. This is because almost all the indigenes could neither speak English nor German. Although the missionaries made a great effort to study the local language, their inability to understand the indigenous culture impeded their progress. The study of language, as John S. Pobee notes, "...is more than the study of syntax and morphology. Language supports the weight of a whole culture."²²⁵ Stated differently, language is a vehicle through which people's culture is transmitted.²²⁶ It can, therefore, be said that language has a bearing on the culture of a people and so to communicate effectively in a language, there is a need for one to understand the culture of the people.

The challenge posed by the language barrier persisted only at the initial stages of the missionary work. Due to this barrier, the missionaries had to speak through interpreters who were themselves not knowledgeable enough in the language of the missionaries. Agbeti recounts the troubles Wolf encountered with his interpreter as he recorded in his diary that:

During my first months, I had an interpreter. But his way of life was immoral that I had to be ashamed of him; besides his interpretation was so bad that it was of little use. He had once to tell the king: 'in my country, there is no polygamy' but instead he interpreted my words to mean that the king was to give me one of his wives.²²⁷

He further indicates that for thirteen months they kept on sowing "the seed of the word mostly by the life lived and no more by word of mouth as there were no good interpreters".²²⁸ This became an impediment to the success of the mission hence the crucial need to study the Ewe language by the missionaries. Sooner than later, Wolf and other missionaries who came after him such as Bernhard Schlegel learned the Ewe language through the assistance of some indigenous peoples, notably John Wright. Most of them became fluent and so could discontinue the use of the interpreters, communicate directly and effectively with the people and even to

²²⁵John S. Pobee, *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1946-1966* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1988), p. 52.

²²⁶Hilda A. Aleh, *A Comparative Study of the Mission Histories of the Assemblies of God Church and the Church of Pentecost in Ghana* (An Unpublished MPhil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2013), p. 49.

²²⁷ Agbeti, *West Africa Church History*, p. 85.

²²⁸ Agbeti, *West Africa Church History*, p. 86.

reduce the Ewe language into writing. Zahn also set up an Ewe school, a three-year programme, in Wurttemberg Germany in 1884 to train Students in the Ewe language.

3.4 Opposition from Indigenous Priests

The traditional priests at the time created a challenging environment for the missionaries. Part of the reason could have been that according to Dedrunner, “in Wolf’s eyes all traditional or local gods were devils... all fetish priests were deceivers and liars”.²²⁹ Wolf is reported to have exclaimed when a traditional priest performed or danced in his presence “I must confess that the sight seized and tore at my heartstrings. I could hardly contain myself. I cried out in a loud voice to the people: ‘this fetish man is of the devil; this is not God’s work do not believe in him...’”²³⁰ This would have been distasteful to the traditional priests.

Also, the traditional priests made monetary gains usually as medicine practitioners but this was threatened by the presence of the missionaries. In Peki, for instance, Wolf healed Chief Tim Klu of Wudome of a chronic ulcer and the people began to show confidence in him by patronizing his clinic in their numbers.²³¹ This occurrence might have been seen as undermining the image, reputation, and relevance of the traditional priests besides the disturbing prospect of losing their monetary benefits.

The abovementioned factors may have caused the antagonism between the traditional priests and the missionaries to such an extent that accommodating missionaries became a point of accusation that the former could level at chiefs; ..., for example, accused King Tutu of welcoming a missionary in their community.²³² In another instance, the traditional priests attempted to incite the people against Wolf by accusing him and his God as being responsible

²²⁹ Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers A Study of the Church in Togo* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965), p. 69.

²³⁰ Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers*, p. 69.

²³¹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 23, Agbeti, *West Africa Church History*, p. 86.

²³² Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 23.

for the severe drought of 1848. Debrunner reports that when the great drought came, the rainmakers said, “the God whom the ‘*obroni*’ (white man) worships has shut up the sky”.²³³ King Tutu is said to have believed this when he remarked that “the white man’s God was a bad hard God who grudged the rain to the Peki people and said to Wolf ‘you white man, your God is no good’”.²³⁴

Similarly, in Anyako, the traditional priests fuelled public disaffection against the missionary on several occasions all with the view of impeding their work. Barely a year after his arrival in Anyako in 1857, and before he could make any significant impact on the people, Henry Knecht, a missionary, suffered the attack of the traditional priests who attributed the drying up of the lagoon to the anger of the gods because of the presence of Knecht and the purpose for which he settled in Anyako – to preach the gospel.²³⁵ The longer it took for the rain to come, the more the animosity of the people against the missionary grew. This situation did not augur well for the furtherance of the missionary work.

It is interesting to note that when the rain finally came, both the traditional priests and the missionaries and their converts considered it a miracle, each claiming credit for it. The former ascribed it to the work of the ancestral gods, whilst the latter considered it as an answer to their prayers, particularly the prayers on that fateful Easter Sunday when the first rain fell.²³⁶ However, when the rainfall persisted, it became a menace as the lagoon burst its banks and the traditional priests continued to assign the causes to the anger of the ancestral gods due to the presence and activities of the missionaries. Unabatedly, these accusations were intended by the traditional priests to frustrate the work of the missionaries.

²³³ Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers*, p. 69.

²³⁴ Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers*, p. 69.

²³⁵ Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society*, p. 53.

²³⁶ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako: 150th Anniversary Celebration Brochure, p. 15.

In order to pacify the gods for the rains to cease, the traditional priests passed an edict to debar the hoisting of sails on boats that plied on the lagoon.²³⁷ However, the Awoamefia of Anlo exempted the missionaries from the ban on the account of the belief he held that the God of the missionaries must have played a part for the rains. Despite the exemption granted by the overlord, the missionaries were nearly lynched by the crowd through the instigation of the traditional priests when they hoisted sails while travelling to Keta by boat.²³⁸ The threat of the crowd was averted by the timely intervention and armed protection provided by Tete Tsigoe, an indigene who sold the mission land to the missionaries and was also a friend to the missionaries. Once more, the act of instigating the mob action by the traditional priests against the missionaries was borne out of their intention to make the work of the missionaries difficult, if not a complete failure.²³⁹

3.5 Resistance of the Indigenes

It was not only the traditional priests who made the initial stages of evangelization difficult for the Bremen Missionaries. The missionaries went through a lot of difficulties living amongst the indigenous people in the communities. At Keta, for example, mishaps in the town were attributed to the presence of the missionaries and the people blamed the Chief for accepting them. Dorvlo asserts that some people had business interests which they wanted to keep for themselves. So, they made the people believe that the missionaries had come to destroy their culture.²⁴⁰ He pointed out that the people had a feeling that Christianity was an alien religion that could take them away from the traditional religion that bound them together. That is, if

²³⁷ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako, p. 15.

²³⁸ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako, p. 15.

²³⁹ Wiegrabe, *Ewe Kristo Hame Ntunya*, p. 50.

²⁴⁰ Dorvlo, 'The contributions of German Missionary,' p. 126.

they accepted the Christian religion, their traditions and customs would be broken beyond repair.²⁴¹

Even in instances where missionaries went to a locale at the invitation of a chief, as was the case when Chief Kwadzo Dei II invited the missionaries to Peki, there was not the total peaceful coexistence between the local people and the missionaries that one might have expected. The people of Peki posed several challenges to the missionaries, thereby rendering the missionary work difficult. There was constant friction, sometimes leading to clashes, between the people and the missionaries and their converts. According to Edmund Tawia, Peki-Blengo in those days was down by the bank of the Rivulet *Amimli*, which drains the valley. The main road diverged from *Dzogbati* down to Blengo and back to *Afeviefefe*, thus circumventing the Christian Quarters (*Kpodzi*). Christians converts, at that time, under the leadership of R.S. Kwami, organised themselves into a strong working group to connect the road between *Dzogbati* and *Afeviefefe*. This led to strong opposition from the people of Blengo, resulting in a fight around 1883.²⁴² This case was settled by Jacob Spieth, the missionary. Meyer shares a similar view that:

After Steven Kwami had criticised the *fiaga* (king) for sacrificing a human being..., the *fiaga* blocked the paths leading from Kpodzi to the other Peki towns and the direct way to the river. As a result, no inhabitants of the Peki towns could attend church services, and to fetch water the inhabitants of Kpodzi had to walk forty-five instead of fifteen minutes. The whole matter ended up in a scuffle.... The *fiaga* justifies his measures with the claim that 'the Governor of Accra gave him all these places to rule over it and do whatever he liked on it either good or bad, and nobody can accuse him of anything either a white man or black man'.²⁴³

According to Togbe Appiah, when subsequently the people of Blengo relocated to their present site, they still came under the constant coercion to halt all kinds of drumming, singing, and dancing, whenever they got to *Kpodzi*. This continued for some time until the people started to

²⁴¹ Dorvlo, 'The contributions of German Missionary,' p. 126.

²⁴² Edmund Y. Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki: The Peki Centenary Booklet 1847-1947* (Accra: Lona Printing Works, 1947), p. 6.

²⁴³ Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 69.

display signs of resentment. The tensions between the feuding factions continued until 1885 when the matter was brought to the District Commissioner (DC) for adjudication. The DC ruled that since the road was a thoroughfare, no one had the right to stop the other from using it.²⁴⁴ Meyer affirms that at the beginning of 1885, a conflict broke out between the indigenes and Christians. For example, “when the Christians wanted to forbid the *fiaga* and his people from crossing the Christian quarter singing and dancing, the DC decided the case in favour of the latter.”²⁴⁵ This might have been so because of the political support of the Governor the *fiaga* (king) was enjoying at the time.

Another problem the missionaries faced at Anyako was their intention to provide Western formal education. As already discussed, evangelization and education went hand in hand. The missionaries used education as a strategy to achieve the following missionary goals: to offer the Africans the full measure of ‘Christian civilisation’, to equip converts with the skill to read the Bible and be grounded in the word of God, to train the future leaders of the church and finally to obey the Lord’s command to teach.²⁴⁶ Western education, therefore, became an integral part of evangelisation. However, the natives did not allow their own children to attend the school because a vast majority of them did not trust the missionaries. They thought the missionaries were slave merchants and feared becoming enslaved if they had any contact with them.²⁴⁷ The people felt that it was more rewarding to learn their parents’ trade than to attend a mission school.²⁴⁸ The early pupils were slaves bought into freedom by the missionaries and children from other towns. Unable to attract the indigenes to send their children to the mission school, the missionaries devoted their resources to the education of these slave children who

²⁴⁴ Interview with Togbe Appiah at on 22nd November 2017.

²⁴⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 91.

²⁴⁶ Anthony A. Beeko, *The Trail of Blazers: Fruits of 175 Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (1828-2003)* (Accra: Afram Publications Ltd., 2004), p. 24.

²⁴⁷ Dorvlo, ‘The contributions of German Missionary’ p. 126.

²⁴⁸ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako, p. 16, Dorvlo, ‘The contributions of German Missionary,’ p. 126.

were later to become teachers and leaders in charge of organizing the congregational activities.²⁴⁹

Again, the presence of the missionaries in Anyako brought a division in the town. One group of people embraced the presence of the missionaries and their message while the second group rejected the missionaries on the grounds that, if they accept them, the traditional gods would visit myriad adversity upon the people.²⁵⁰ It seemed, therefore, that the people were in dilemma as to the choice between loyalties to old traditional customs and converting to the Christian faith and becoming attached to the missionaries.

Another serious allegation levelled against the missionaries was that they promoted intracommunity tension and segregation which led to a division among the people.²⁵¹ The missionaries set up living quarters (*Kpodzi*) on their land for converts where they separated themselves from their family and the rest of the community who continued to hold on to the traditional beliefs and practices. The converts living in *Kpodzi* followed stern regulations and religious schedules put forth by the missionaries and were supposed to live by the new moral code. This helped the Christians to build close relationships among themselves which in turn also helped them to grow together in their new faith. However, this concept of separation led to serious divisions in certain places. Gavua asserts that "...many of them abandoned their family homes and relocated to mission compounds where they were encouraged by the teachings and actions of their church to defy indigenous taboos, norms, and values."²⁵² Owing to this assertion, the custom by the people of Peki not to fetch water on Wednesday from the streams of *Glo* at *Wudome*, *Tsibuta* at *Afeviefie*, *Anabu* at *Avetile* and *Homblo* at *Dzake* were

²⁴⁹ Birgit Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation: German Pietist Missionaries, Ewe Converts and the Politics of Culture", *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 32 no. 2 (2002): p. 182.

²⁵⁰ Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society*, p. 56.

²⁵¹ Gavua, 'Religious Factors, p. 141.

²⁵² Gavua, 'Religious Factors, p. 141.

not adhered to by the converts. Also, dead pregnant women and others living in the *Kpodzi* who died during accidents were not be buried on Wednesday. The Christians saw this to be a ‘heathen’ practice and so refused to observe them. This brought friction between the indigenous people and Christians whenever there was an infringement on these customs by the Christians.

253

It is also recorded that, about twenty converts from Dzake-Peki, whose campaign of Christian values in the late 19th century was seen by other community members as an affront, were banished and had to relocate to Anyako.²⁵⁴

3.6 Financial Difficulties

Mission work in Eweland suffered severe financial challenges. There were occasions when work had to stop because of the lack of funds. For instance, Ansre reports that, due to the shortage of money and other problems, the school at Peki was temporarily closed down in 1850. But when Wolf’s future wife arrived at Peki, the school was reopened and work on all the other suspended projects commenced.²⁵⁵ It is postulated that Wolf’s bride might have come with some money from the Home Authorities for the reactivation of the projects. The authorities of the Mission Society were disinclined to collaborate with the colonial government in Germany because of its policy on mission as a tool of colonization. Consequently, no support emanated from the government for mission work. They depended solely on the donations from its contributors, which was woefully insufficient.

Zahn, being aware of the influence of colonial powers in mission declined any support from them in order to stick to the pietistic policies of the mission. According to Grau, when the mission was called upon to expand its work into Togoland, for instance, it primarily refused

²⁵³ Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 6.

²⁵⁴ Gavua, ‘Religious Factors’, p. 141.

²⁵⁵ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 24. See also, Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 86.

because of personnel and money.²⁵⁶ Some ingenious missionaries sometimes had to sell their possessions to pay their African workers.

3.7 Missionaries and Colonial Governments

Other factors that worked against the attainment of the Bremen missionary objectives relates to influences that obstructed the true living of the Christian faith and lives. These influences arose out of the results of the strategic policies implemented by the missionaries themselves as well as the colonial government. Given that Pietists principles were the underlying motivations of the Bremen Mission, the primary aim of their missionary work was to make converts who would live the true Christian life devoid of any trappings of the 'broader way'. Paradoxically, however, the attainment of other missionary goals contributed to the creation of a civilisation that changed the lives of the indigenous people, especially the Christian converts, and which was to become a hindrance to the converts living a true pietistic life of faith. The close relationship between Christianity and civilisation is supported by the assertion:

The precepts of Christianity, it was believed, furnished 'a complete moral machinery for carrying forward all the great processes which lie at the root of civilization'. To bring to the 'heathen' the gospel of the cross of Christ was to open before them not only the prospect of eternal life but also the road to unlimited social and economic development.²⁵⁷

It is also said that the spread of Christianity by means of commerce was another way through which civilisation was to be brought to the colonised. David Livingston emphasises:

When a tribe begins to trade with another it feels a sense of mutual dependence; and this is most important aid in diffusing the blessing of Christianity, because one tribe never goes to another without telling the news and the gospel comes in to be part of their news, and the knowledge of Christianity is thus spread by means of commerce.²⁵⁸

This is not surprising since the leaders of the Bremen Mission Society (committee members) who came from the upper class of Bremen were themselves influential pastors and traders. In

²⁵⁶ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 69.

²⁵⁷ Brian Stanley, "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Historical Journal* 26, no.1 (1983): 71.

²⁵⁸ Stanley, 'Commerce and Christianity', p. 75.

their view, mission and trade belonged to each other. Meyer quoted C.R. Vietor, a member of the committee, that, "...to be working for both the spread of the realm of the Lord is the old custom of the Bremen merchants".²⁵⁹ As the mission terminology puts it, "missionization was considered to be the appropriate way to 'lift' African peoples to civilised standard thereby involving them in trade".²⁶⁰

Accordingly, provision of Western education and training in crafts and professions such as masonry and carpentry by the missionaries resulted in enhanced economic lives of the indigenous people and enabled them to patronise European goods thereby promoting commerce in Eweland.²⁶¹ Similarly, promotion of the cultivation of cash crops such as cotton, cocoa, and rubber offered the indigenes the opportunity to trade with Europeans as they sold these products and in turn bought European goods.²⁶² Such trading increased and broadened the volume and horizons of the evolving vibrant commercial activities in the localities. The combination of education, economic well-being, and participation in a trade with Europeans began to bring visible signs of changes in the lifestyle of the indigenous people. Thus, it is reported, the missionaries felt proud of bringing 'civilisation' to the indigenous people.²⁶³

The benefits of modernization and the affluent lifestyle it affords, however, made it difficult for the converts to live out the Christian life in the manner taught by the missionaries. For instance, Christian converts began to dress to reveal their economic status and to display their wealth at traditional customary events and occasions. This obviously contravened the teaching of the Bremen missionaries for modest dressing and avoidance of lifestyles that equated the broader way and also a complete turn away from heathen customs and practices.²⁶⁴ Many of

²⁵⁹ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 18.

²⁶⁰ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 18.

²⁶¹ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 63.

²⁶² Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 64.

²⁶³ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 79.

²⁶⁴ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 90.

the Christians who had become rich kept their wealth for themselves and refused to pay their church dues which in a way impeded the enhancement of the financial status of the church and the growth of the mission work.²⁶⁵

Although the missionaries were proud of their contribution to the economic development of the areas in which they preached, they had some misgivings, nonetheless, in line with their Pietistic conviction:

...the missionaries considered material achievements to be ‘outward’ things that had to be paralleled by an inner individual development. The missionaries’ accounts abound with complaints about the inner state of the Ewe Christians who had eagerly taken up the material aspects of the mission but failed to supplement this with the Pietist worldview.²⁶⁶

This challenge to the living of the Christian faith by the converts was further worsened by the activities of the colonial government. It was a stated objective of the German colonial authorities to bring ‘civilisation’ to the colonised people. This was achieved partly through education by which the culture, ideas, and lifestyle of the colonial power were transmitted to the indigenous people.

In this way, the actions of the missionaries and colonial governments reinforced each other to bring civilisation to the Ewe people and by that infused into the indigenes a lifestyle that turned out to be inimical to true Christian living. It is reported that as the people became educated and wealthy, they were not prepared to bow down to the church order or submit to political authority unconditionally. Meyer argues that “both the missionaries and the colonial administration stimulated economic and social developments which resulted in the evolution of a new socio-economic class of well to do and educated people who refused to stick to the

²⁶⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 90.

²⁶⁶ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 79.

subordinate place assigned to them.”²⁶⁷ The Bremen Missionaries were later to regret this rather an unintended outcome.

Indeed, the missionaries contributed greatly to the evolution of a new social class of the Ewe people, yet the end results rendered them detractors of the ‘civilization’ they had caused. They were of the view that “the resulting possibilities of consumption of European goods were perceived as dangerous and that a real Christian had to reject the pleasures of European goods, once they were there.”²⁶⁸ That is to say, one’s ability to stay away from the pleasures of material gains defines his/her repression of bodily needs and self-control which signifies adherence to the rigid exigencies of Pietism. For many Christians, the price paid for this ‘new status’ in the society had been the submission to the church order and once it was possible to make a good living independently from the mission, they began to turn away from Christianity.²⁶⁹ The missionaries could not cope with that and hence had to implement new strategies aimed at turning the people into stronger Christians.

Another negative influence that affected the living of a true Christian lifestyle by the converts was the behaviour and attitude of the officers of the colonial administration in Eweland. The missionaries accused the officials time and again of living a life of licentiousness particularly with the African women. Also, the missionaries were not happy with the way the administrators brutally mistreated African men. The forms of punishment meted out to the local people were inhuman and demeaning. Hence, the missionaries sometimes became furious with the administrators. These included corporal punishment like custody in chains, forced labour, solitary confinement, placing feet in fetters and stripping offenders naked.²⁷⁰ Such actions and behaviour of the colonial administrators tended to undermine the merit in the gospel message

²⁶⁷ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 91.

²⁶⁸ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 90.

²⁶⁹ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 90.

²⁷⁰ Dorvlo, “The Contribution of German Missionary,” p. 131.

since the indigenous people often saw the missionaries and colonial officers as brothers and collaborators with a common objective. In the view of Marshall, the fact that all the mission churches were from Western Europe provided an immediate bond of empathy between them and the Colonial Government, such that in one sense, both were working for the same purpose of 'civilizing' the colonized by using Western Christianity as the main component of the 'civilization'.²⁷¹ This situation negatively affected the indigenous people's trust in the missionaries and hence their acceptance of the gospel message, conversion and the living of the Christian lives.

In yet another way, the relationship between the missionaries and the colonial government and, for that matter, the local colonial administration officers, proved to be rancorous most of the time and hence impeded the achievement of the missionary goals. One of the underlying tenets of colonisation is the subjugation of one race to another, whether by persuasion or military action which attempts to superimpose its own ideas, a way of life and standards of conduct upon a people already in possession of very different characteristics.²⁷²

According to Grau, mission work was conducted, most often, in close collaboration with colonial powers but that assertion was not true of the Bremen Mission.²⁷³ Unsurprisingly, therefore, Zahn, the Bremen Mission Inspector for many years, is reported to have had personal political convictions that made him a critic of German colonial thought and hence an opponent of the German colonial imperialism.²⁷⁴ This, expectedly, led him to refuse acceptance of any financial assistance from the government for the mission work at a time when lack of funds was hindering the missionary work on the field. This could have contributed to the need for the

²⁷¹ Mary J. Marshall, *Christianity and Nationalism in Ghana*, (MA Seminar Paper, Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon, 1964), p. 13

²⁷² Marshall, *Christianity and Nationalism in Ghana*, p. 30.

²⁷³ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 68.

²⁷⁴ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 69.

missionaries at Peki to borrow money from Seidel, a German businessman, on the condition that the missionaries would sell his goods in Blengo.²⁷⁵

Again the German colonial government was critical of the use of English and Ewe languages as medium of instruction in the Bremen Mission schools, insisting that the German language be used instead. But the missionaries refused this also. There was again the demand on the missionaries to extend their work to the Togoland territories but Zahn declined for the reasons of lack of money and personnel but most importantly he did not believe such a move was the will of God.²⁷⁶

It was only after the exit of Zahn as head of Mission, that the uncooperative relationship between the Bremen Missionaries and the German colonial government became a conciliatory and collaborative one. Working together, the two parties began to consider themselves bound by the common moral and religious obligation to bring civilisation and save souls in the land of the colonised.²⁷⁷ However, the uncooperative relationship that had hitherto existed between the missionaries and the German colonial government militated against the missionary work.

3.8 The Ashanti War

The Ashanti invasion of the Volta lands from 1869-1872 certainly affected the Mission work throughout Eweland. Between 1865 and 1867, the British had allied themselves with the people of Ada, Akwapim, and Krobo, who are all traditional enemies of the Anlo. On the other hand, the Anlo were allies of the Ashanti and Akwamu and since the British were determined to

²⁷⁵ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 30.

²⁷⁶ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', p. 69.

²⁷⁷ Rebekka Habermas, "'Do You Want to Help the Heathen Children?': Missionary Work in the German Colonies", in *German Colonialism Fragments Past and Present* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016), p. 54.

defeat and halt Ashanti imperial expansionary wars, the Anlo became enemies of the British. The British then decided to attack the Anlo people before the defeat of the Ashanti.²⁷⁸

E. B Asare asserts that Akwamu-Krepe hostilities were partly responsible for the temporary termination of the missionary work at Peki. This happened because Plessing and Dauble considered it necessary and urgent to quit their thriving activities at Peki based on information they received from their compatriot, Basel missionaries in Accra that the Akwamu, the old enemies of Krepe people, had invited the Asante to invade the land. As a result, the missionary work at Peki ceased for some time until 1881. The Bremen missionaries had to quit Peki and make a fresh start at Keta.²⁷⁹

The tension between the Anlo and the British, according to Ustorf, threatened the two operational stations, Keta and Anyako.²⁸⁰ The then African catechist, Immanuel Quist, and Christian Rottmann, the agent of the Vietor trading post in Keta assured Amegasi, a high political dignitary of Anlo, and his elders that “the Germans had no links of any sort with the British military action and that... no-one may injure the person and property of Christian Rottmann in Keta or that of the missionaries in Keta, Anyako, and Waya”.²⁸¹

In spite of the assurance given, Captains Goldsworthy and Parker, moved their British forces from Adaklu Waya to Anyako and set fire to the town in January 1874.²⁸² About 1,000 pigs were reported to have been burnt alive. The Mission station was also looted and burnt. The estimated loss incurred by the missionaries was £1,200.²⁸³ This devastating situation made

²⁷⁸ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako, p. 16.

²⁷⁹ E. B. Asare, *Akwamu-Peki Relations in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries* (An Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 1974), pp. 87-88.

²⁸⁰ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 131.

²⁸¹ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 131.

²⁸² Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 133.

²⁸³ Treve, *Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society*, p. 55.

Birkmaier, a missionary, comment that he could never have conceived of such an abominable war by which people were being completely wiped out.²⁸⁴

The most successful mission station of all, Wegbe, near Ho, was completely destroyed, as well as Waya, which pushed the missionaries back to Anyako and Keta.²⁸⁵ Peace was eventually restored between the English and the Anlo at Dzelukofe.²⁸⁶ The war thus caused disruptions to the missionary work at all the mission stations.

After the Ashanti wars ended in 1874, the missionary activities resumed with much fervour. There were significant growth and expansion in evangelism, congregations, and education. The missionaries carried on their occasional visit to Peki after the war. Meyer records that “wherever he went to Peki a visiting missionary was invited to build schools and there would be an abundance of pupils”.²⁸⁷ In 1878, Joseph Bansah, a native of Peki, is reported to have established a school with four pupils. Again, Bansah regularly preached on Sundays and visited the nearby villages with the gospel.²⁸⁸ This began the growth and expansion in the Peki sub-district as far as membership of the church and education were concerned. According to Ansre, by 1892 the total number of Christians in the Blengo district was two hundred and sixty-seven (267). Similarly, Keta developed rapidly after the war with expansion in evangelism, education in general and seminary training in particular. The Christian population is reported to have increased to 900 in 1880 and then to 1700 by 1896.²⁸⁹ At Anyako also, there was steady progress after overcoming some initial challenges. Waya and Ho also developed immensely after the war.²⁹⁰ The tremendous growth and expansion in the works of the missionaries during

²⁸⁴ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, p. 133.

²⁸⁵ Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History*, p. 144.

²⁸⁶ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 205.

²⁸⁷ Meyer, *Translating the Devil an Appropriation*, p. 65.

²⁸⁸ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 37.

²⁸⁹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 40.

²⁹⁰ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 41.

the period after the Ashanti war were to suffer a serious setback at the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

3.9 World War I

World War I (WWI) had an adverse impact on the work of the Bremen Mission in Eweland. The negative effects of the war could be seen particularly in the areas of evangelisation and growth of the church, in terms of the size of the congregations, and the state of the mission's educational system.

WWI, also known as the 'Great War', began in July 1914 and ended in November 1918. Millions of people died in this war and many more became maimed, crippled, grief-stricken or psychologically scarred.²⁹¹ It started as a conflict between European countries with causal factors deeply embedded in militarisms, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism but gradually developed into a world war.²⁹² It is regarded as one of the deadliest conflicts in world history and is said to have paved the way for major political changes in many of the countries involved and those outside them.

At the time that the war broke out, almost the whole of the African continent had been colonised by Europeans with the exception of Ethiopia and Liberia.²⁹³ Consequently, nearly the entire continent was involved in the war. Karin Pallaver asserts that the most direct outcomes of the war were felt in the colonies where the war was actually fought such as the German colonies and its surrounding territories and particularly in those areas from where soldiers were recruited for the European fronts.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, all African colonies and their economies were

²⁹¹ UK Essays, *Causes and Effects of World War I History Essays* (<https://www.ukessays.com/essays/history/causes-effects-and-aftermath-of-world-war-1-history-essay.php?cref=1>) (UK, 2013), Assessed, 10th January, 2018.

²⁹² UK Essays, *Causes and Effects of World War I History Essays*

²⁹³ Karin Pallaver, *Organization of War Economies (Africa)* ([https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/organization_of_war_economies_africation-2015-09-17\(01\).pdf](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/organization_of_war_economies_africation-2015-09-17(01).pdf)), Assessed, 10th January, 2018.

²⁹⁴ Pallaver, *Organization of War Economies (Africa)*.

involved in the war. Some directly through the production of strategic materials to sustain the European war effort whilst indirectly for others because of the disruptions to international trade and the exclusion of German companies from African markets.²⁹⁵

The ramifications of the WWI extended to overseas territories and was overwhelming felt by the German missions in the German colonies where their missionaries were expelled in the aftermath of the war, and their missions heavily hit by the seizure of mission property.²⁹⁶ The Germans were outraged by the callous measures carried out by the victorious countries with regard to their missions. They were of the view that the missionaries were not soldiers and that in case of war the missions should be excluded from the political game.²⁹⁷ Their complaint was based on the breaches of the code of the Berlin Conference which stated:

[t]he General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, dating from 26 February 1885, guaranteed (no. 11) the principle of religious freedom (protection for all missions: scientific, humanitarian and religious), so that the missions of all denominations were to receive a special protection in case of a war.²⁹⁸

This was not so in the German colonies of Africa and for that matter Bremen mission in Ghana. The world was at war, with Germany and the allied forces including France and Britain as leading actors on opposing sides.²⁹⁹

According to Samuel Prempeh, the allied forces captured the German colony of Togoland in August 1914 and this was followed by a provisional delimitation of the colony into British and French spheres.³⁰⁰ Mission stations at Ho, Akpafu, Amedzofe, and Kpando fell within the British territory while Agu, Lome, Kpalime and Atakpame found themselves in the French territory.³⁰¹ After the war, with the defeat of Germany, these provisional demarcations were

²⁹⁵ Pallaver, *Organization of War Economies (Africa)*.

²⁹⁶ Andrzej Miotk "The 36th Colloquium of Credic in Neuendettelsau" (2016), p. 65.

²⁹⁷ Miotk, "The 36th Colloquium of Credic", p. 65.

²⁹⁸ Miotk, "The 36th Colloquium of Credic", p. 66.

²⁹⁹ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome of Ghana*, p. 39.

³⁰⁰ Samuel Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions and their Successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland 1914-1926* (An Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Aberdeen, 1977), p. 312.

³⁰¹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 57.

made permanent in 1920 under the League of Nations.³⁰² During the War period, the provisional administration could not exercise full control over the subjects in these occupied territories due to limited staff strength.³⁰³

This encouraged some of the indigenes to threaten some of the missionaries and in some instances prevented their children from attending the mission schools. In one extreme case, the people of Buem and Worawora are reported to have stubbornly resisted the Bremen missionaries, refusing to accept them any longer.³⁰⁴ Furthermore, the British occupying forces imposed restrictions on the missionaries such that their missionary work was considerably hampered. They were not allowed to move about freely and were also restricted in their preaching efforts during the war. The British warned that any show of disloyalty would be punished by immediate internment. By January 1916, church services were devoid of preaching but only consisted of singing of hymns, prayer and explanation of Bible text in the English language.³⁰⁵ Prempeh states that even ringing of bells for service on scheduled days such as Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays besides announcing of burials were also forbidden. Although these restrictions impaired the work of the missionaries, they persevered unwaveringly. Occasionally, the missionaries were permitted to move about to organise or attend conferences but with the condition that deliberations or discussions be limited to missionary matters only.³⁰⁶

In addition to the restrictive measures, deportations of the missionaries also occurred frequently during the war period which almost halted the work of the Bremen Missionaries in Eweland. In March 1916, Reinke, one of the six missionaries in the British Togoland, was deported on the allegation that he carried arms, whereas he is reported to have been carrying books and

³⁰² Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 39.

³⁰³ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Mission*, p. 312.

³⁰⁴ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Mission*, p. 312.

³⁰⁵ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 313.

³⁰⁶ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 314.

pamphlets whose contents were noted to be anti – British and written by a Swiss missionary in Japan.³⁰⁷ It is recorded that by January 1918, the last of the missionaries in the whole of the occupied Togoland had been deported with the exception of Ernest Burgi and his family because he was not a German but a Swiss citizen. All mission properties were entrusted to the care of Peter Quist, a local minister.³⁰⁸

These events during the war posed supervisory and financial difficulties that began to produce declining trends in the church and the educational system built by the Bremen missionaries. By the end of the war, many of the mission buildings were in a dilapidated state due to lack of maintenance. The mission schools registered a decline in enrolment from thousand nine hundred and twenty-five (1,925) pupils in 1914 to thousand three hundred and twenty-five (1,325) in 1918 and there was no increase in the number of schools as well. The Seminary at Amedzofe was closed down in 1914 (321) and a good number of the students had to continue their training at Akropong seminary as a temporary measure.³⁰⁹

The political decision to split the German Togoland into the British and French spheres brought a permanent division to the Bremen Mission. The casualties in the men enlisted by the French government for the battles in Cameroon, for instance, are believed to have affected the membership of the congregations.³¹⁰ Also, the constant migration of men from the coastal areas is said to have dwindled the congregation numbers as well. Similarly, the economic life of the congregation became worse off owing to the fact that many of the converts who worked for the German companies and in the Civil Service lost their jobs³¹¹

³⁰⁷ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 309.

³⁰⁸ Ansre *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p.51, Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Mission*, p. 309.

³⁰⁹ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 323.

³¹⁰ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 320.

³¹¹ Prempeh, *The Basel and Bremen Missions*, p. 320.

In order not to throw the church into disarray, the Colonial office arranged with the United Free Church (UFC) of Scotland to take over the work of the German missionaries in the Gold Coast and the British Togoland.³¹² The missionary work continued steadily under the Scottish missionaries with the assistance of the African Agents, although not devoid of some impediments. According to Grau, the early stage of the mission work with the Ewe people was not easy for the Scottish missionaries since they could not understand nor speak the Ewe language like the Germans.

Again, the congregation sensed that the roles of the Bremen missionaries might be usurped by the coming of the Scottish Mission. They were also suspected of being an arm of the British Government due to the fact that they were invited by the British Government and also maintained a close connection with the officials.³¹³

Marshall emphasizes that the inter-war period brought economic hardship which denied the church their financial support from the home base. It also meant that not much could be expected from the colonial government. This led the church to strive to become self-supporting. Some of the Europeans retained their paternalistic attitude towards the Africans, but most of them accepted them as colleagues and friends and they were willing to transfer responsibilities to them. For instance, the Scottish missionaries advanced administrative constitutions that encouraged the taking up of leadership positions by the indigenous people. This gave Andreas Aku the opportunity to become the first moderator of the Ewe Christians in the Gold Coast and Togo in 1922. Robert Kwame was also elected secretary (Synod clerk) to the Gold Coast and British Togoland side while Robert Beata became Secretary to the French territory.³¹⁴

³¹² Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 40.

³¹³ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 40.

³¹⁴ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 40.

With these new arrangements, a substantial part of the organisation and evangelical work was shouldered by the indigenous leaders. They welcomed these new responsibilities and freedoms with enthusiasm. This was a great and new force that was reshaping Africans life. In accordance with this, the International Missionary Council reported:

The missionary, it is said, must be ready to put off the old man, and radically change his thinking and outlook. He could not remain aloof from the powerful new forces which were reshaping the life of African peoples; he must 'get as near to the throbbing heart of Africa as possible.'³¹⁵

The report clearly spelled out the new approach of the Mission Church, was reflected in their policies, which entailed an understanding and appreciation of the indigenous ability and custom, respect for Africans and their past, and a willingness to work with them rather than for them.³¹⁶ It was time for the African leaders to exhibit their God-given talents.

In 1923 the leaders of the Ewe Mission received a letter from the chairman of the Bremen Mission, informing them that the British Government had permitted them to send missionaries once more to Ewe land to continue their work. This news brought happiness to the Ewe Church. Before the end of the year, three Bremen missionaries were sent and the church organised a grand meeting to welcome the missionaries at Ho. It was at this meeting that the name of the church was changed from "Bremen Mission" to "Ewe Mission"³¹⁷ or *Ewe Kristo Hame*, meaning, Ewe Christian Church.³¹⁸ These developments continued throughout the period until the outbreak of the Second World War.

3.10 Conclusion

A number of factors and events have been identified and discussed in this chapter as serving as hindrances to the work of the Bremen Missionaries in Eweland. Whilst some of them, such

³¹⁵ Smith, Edwin (ed), *The Christian Missions in Africa*, (1926), cited in Marshall, *Christianity and Nationalism in Ghana*, p. 9.

³¹⁶ Marshall, *Christianity and Nationalism in Ghana*, p. 9.

³¹⁷ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 72.

³¹⁸ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 40.

as World War 1, nearly brought the missionary work to a complete halt, others served only to complicate the achievement of the missionary goals.

Effective communication between the missionaries and the indigenous people would have easily facilitated the preaching of the gospel and its acceptance which would lead to conversions. Yet the reality was different as they lacked understanding and the inability to speak one another's language. Attempts to use interpreters at the initial stages proved disappointing as interpreters themselves hardly understood the language of the missionaries. Subsequently, the missionaries were to resolve the communication challenge by learning the local language.

It was characteristic of the traditional priests to incite the indigenous people against the Bremen missionaries and to cause their rejection, both in terms of themselves as evangelisers and the gospel message they preached. They would attribute every misfortune in the community to the anger of the gods and ancestral spirits aroused due to the presence of the missionaries and their God. The main reasons for this were the fear of losing their esteem in the eyes of the indigenous people and also their source of income and livelihood as traditional medicine practitioners.

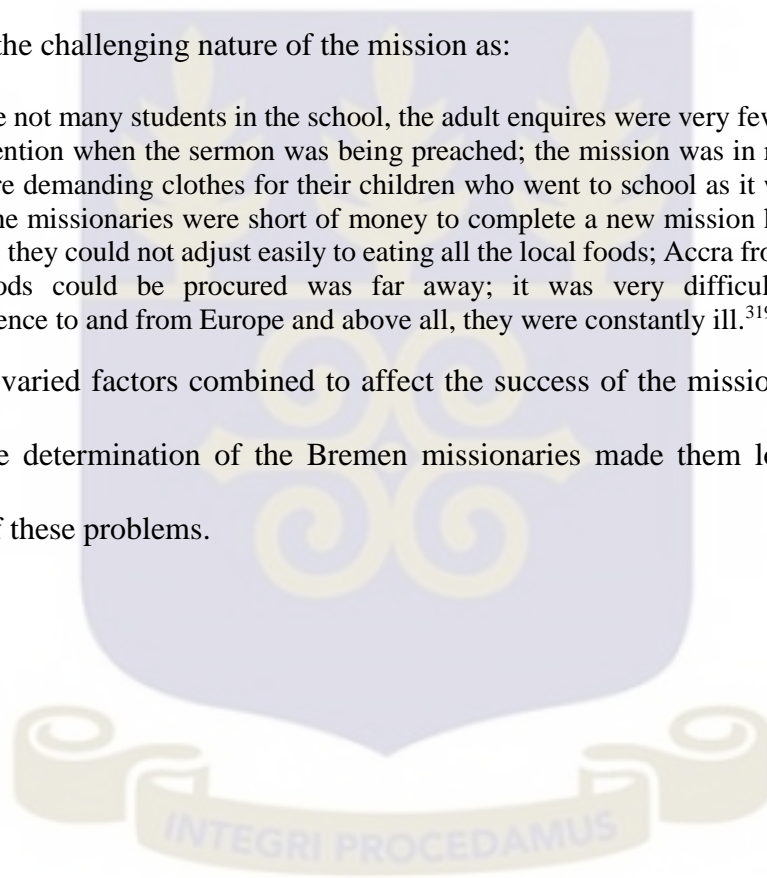
Besides the traditional priests, the indigenous people also became obstacles to the missionaries' goals. They displayed mistrust against the missionaries and rejected the Christian message, preferring the religion of their ancestors. Such mistrusts usually sprang from their suspicion that being Europeans, the missionaries were either slave traders or agents of the colonising powers. This might have been the major reason for the seemingly small numbers of converts after the initial years of considerable effort by the missionaries.

WWI, undoubtedly, appeared to have produced the greatest challenge to the missionary work and even seemed to carry the threat of undoing all that the missionaries had done before the start of the war. At a point in time during the war, all the missionaries were deported. Before their deportation, various kinds of restrictions had been imposed on them, such as a ban on preaching, and these had virtually brought evangelisation work to a stop. The consequences were supervision challenges, dire financial constraints not only on the congregations but also on the educational system established by the missionaries.

Agbeti described the challenging nature of the mission as:

[t]here were not many students in the school, the adult enquires were very few and did not pay attention when the sermon was being preached; the mission was in ruins; the parents were demanding clothes for their children who went to school as it was done in Accra; the missionaries were short of money to complete a new mission house for occupation; they could not adjust easily to eating all the local foods; Accra from where foreign foods could be procured was far away; it was very difficult to get correspondence to and from Europe and above all, they were constantly ill.³¹⁹

These many and varied factors combined to affect the success of the mission work, but the willpower and the determination of the Bremen missionaries made them look beyond the horizon in spite of these problems.



³¹⁹ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 86.

CHAPTER FOUR THE IMPACT OF THE BREMEN MISSION IN THE EWELAND

4.0 Introduction

The impact of the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region was considerable and cannot be understated. The missionaries, under the supervision of the Home Board, implemented the five main policies designed by Zahn for the mission field in Ghana to achieve their missionary goals. The missionaries were successful in many areas, including religion, education, language development, architecture and agriculture; agriculture, education, medicine, and technical work, particularly, were considered natural corollaries of evangelism.³²⁰ Accordingly, the mission impacted the lives of the people in all these areas.

This chapter examines the impact of the Bremen mission in the Volta Region. It discusses the missionary impact on religion, education, language, culture, health, agriculture, and architecture. The assessment of the impact is based on Andrew Wall and Cathy Ross' (eds.) five marks of mission. These are: proclaiming the Good News of the Kingdom; teaching, baptising and nurturing new believers; responding to human needs by loving service; seeking to transform unjust structures of society; and striving to safeguard the integrity of creation as well as sustaining and renewing the life of the earth.³²¹ It also deals with the gender dimension of the Bremen Mission, focusing on the contributions of the indigenous agents (the role of men and women) in the Bremen Mission Agenda.

³²⁰ Grau, 'Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions', 61.

³²¹ Walls and Ross (eds.) *Mission in the Twenty-first Century*, p. ix

4.1 Education

Chapter One discussed that in the Great Commission Jesus commanded his disciple to go and make disciples of all nations, teaching them to obey everything he had commanded them.³²²

Emmanuel Egbunu asserts that the church does not only exist to proclaim the good news but also to teach, baptise and nurture new believers.³²³ In respect to that, the Bremen missionaries sought to accomplish these tasks by establishing schools at all the places they operated, especially in the early communities of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe to teach the people. Through their teachings, new converts were baptised into the Christian faith.

The formation of primary and middle schools and seminary by the missionaries made education accessible to the people in the Volta Region. This initial educational set up by the Mission laid the foundation for the current EP University in the Volta. Their zealous efforts to convert and educate the indigenes were not only through formal and theological/seminary education but also provided vocational/technical skills. Several young people in these areas benefited from these educational establishments and are serving the E.P. Church and the nation in various capacities. In this section, education is viewed from a broader perspective that includes formal, seminary and vocational.

4.1.1 Western Formal Education

The first mission school established by Wolf at Peki in 1848 was short-lived; however, from the 1850s onwards, schools were opened at Keta (1855), Waya (1857), Anyako (1859), Ho (1861) and later Amedzofe (1890). These early schools provided a solid foundation for the people of the Volta Region. It is important to note that the basic educational system of the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century ended at middle school. The first middle school established at

³²² Titre, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers", p. 37

³²³ Egbunu, "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers", p. 25

Keta in 1864 enabled students from other towns to continue their education upon completion of the primary school. For instance, the pioneer students from the Amedzofe primary school were sent to Keta Middle School to further their studies.³²⁴ To mitigate this tedious procedure, the missionaries established a seminary for the training of efficient teachers, catechists and pastors for the middle schools and for the churches they established in the other communities.

4.1.2 Seminary Education

The Bremen missionaries' greatest desire was to spread the gospel to reach every part of the Volta Region. To achieve this, there was a need to train more workers for the mission field. Consequently, the Bremen missionary, Kohlhammer, in 1857 established a seminary school at Keta to train evangelists who will go into the field to propagate the gospel. They also needed teacher-preachers and designated teacher-catechists, to take charge of the schools and congregations that were founded.³²⁵ However, this initial attempt could not yield many results since the indigenous people preferred sending their children to the more lucrative field of commerce (business). This was because the remuneration from the field of commerce was more attractive to their parents in the emerging society than serving in the mission field which offered low salaries.³²⁶ So, in 1857, the seminary was moved to Waya in the interior, but the story was no different. The school could not survive due to low or no enrolment at that location. As a result of these disappointing circumstances, the seminary was finally closed down in 1860.³²⁷ Although the prospect of low salaries were a contributory factor in the seminary's low enrolment, it can be argued that antagonism from the indigenous priests and people might have also prevented people from attending the seminary. After all, some of the people and traditional

³²⁴ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 71.

³²⁵ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary 1864-2014* (Ho: E.P. Church Publishing Ltd, 2015), pp. 15-16.

³²⁶ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 15.

³²⁷ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 15.

leaders were against the missionaries and viewed them as slave raiders who might enslave the children if they were allowed to attend their school.

However, the seminary was revived in 1864 through the hard work of Johann Conrad Hauser and Johann Gottlieb who established the Ho Seminary with eight students. Among them were the four Quist brothers: Isaac, Solomon, Peter, and Emmanuel from Dzelukofe. Others were Solomon Gudeti and Heinrich Theodore.³²⁸ The subjects taught in the school included Ewe, English, Bible Stories, Religious instruction, Singing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, and Harmonium playing, among others.³²⁹ By 1866, the impact of the seminary began to be felt when some of the first batches of students started working with the missionaries in the mission stations at Keta, Anyako and other places. Their efforts led to the establishment of new mission stations and schools to train the new converts in these communities.

The progress of the seminary was short-lived due to the outbreak of the Asante war in 1869. The war affected the growth of the seminary when the Ho mission was completely destroyed.³³⁰ The war compelled the missionaries to escape to Waya and later to Anyako to seek refuge. As a result, the seminary was transferred to Anyako in 1870 by Zundel, a missionary. However, the British army subsequently attacked Anyako and devastated the town causing the seminary to move back to Keta³³¹ where it began. This was after the British restored peace with the Anlo in 1874. That apart, the environmental stability of the place attracted people from other areas, increasing Keta's general population.³³² Accordingly, the stable atmosphere encouraged the missionaries to transfer the seminary to Keta; but, history repeated itself as the missionaries were faced with the initial problem of enrolment. As stated above, people valued the economic

³²⁸ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 154.

³²⁹ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 16.

³³⁰ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 18.

³³¹ Interview with Rev. P.K. Klutsey, District Pastor of Anyako Parish, 25th November, 2017.

³³² Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 156.

benefits of education more than mission work.³³³ The difficulty of recruiting students to the Keta seminary resulted in a three-year closure of the seminary in 1891.

In 1894, after closing down the Keta seminary, the Amedzofe seminary was opened through the initiative of Mateo Seeger. Ernest Burgi who was described as an indefatigable worker was appointed the first principal of the seminary.³³⁴ A storey building was completed soon after the commencement of the seminary by H. Schosser to house the students. According to Rev. S. Dzandzo, the building provided accommodation for the female students of the E.P. Training College at Amedzofe.³³⁵ Samuel Quist and Theodore Sedode, who benefited from the seminary school at Ho, became very influential tutors who assisted Burgi in Amedzofe seminary. They were later ordained as pastors who proved themselves very capable in their pastoral duties. Among the first batch of the students in 1896 was Daniel K. Adinyira, the first indigene of Amedzofe to be ordained a Minister.³³⁶ Other indigenous workers who facilitated the progress of Amedzofe seminary were Timothy Ametowobla, Ludwig Azaklo, and R.S. Kwami, who all trained in the Württemberg School. World War I affected the smooth progress of the Amedzofe seminary and it was moved to its present site at Peki.

Furthermore, the unfaltering efforts of the Bremen missionaries Wolf, Karl Fryburger and C.B. Gati to plant the seed of education in Peki made the town to be known as ‘the land of teachers and a supplying center’ of teachers³³⁷. Those who received their formal education here became great teachers and professionals of integrity who served and continue to serve the region and the country in various dimensions.

³³³ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 19.

³³⁴ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 71.

³³⁵ Interview with Rev. S.H.K. Dzandzo (Ag Principal of Amedzofe E.P. College of Education) on 22nd November, 2017

³³⁶ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 71.

³³⁷ Interview with Togbe Appiah, Peki.

Tawia notes that when the Amedzofe Seminary was closed down during the war periods, through the counsel of Gati, the people of Peki directed their attention to Akropong and Abetifi in 1916³³⁸ for further studies. Dr. Ephraim Amu, described as a Music Specialist and of Achimota fame, was part of the pioneer students who went to Abetifi to continue their education.³³⁹ Kwame Bediako observes that Ephraim Amu, through the educational achievements of the mission, received basic education and later continued in the Basel schools; he eventually serve the country as composer of Ghanaian sacred songs for worship and taught music in several institutions.³⁴⁰ He was followed by W.K Addo (who became supervisor of Schools), Rev. Gilbert B. Ansre (who was the District Pastor and the key initiator and tutor of the E.P. Seminary at Peki) and G.P. Ayer among others.³⁴¹ Other influential people who were educated in the Peki schools and have contributed greatly in promoting quality education and discipleship in other areas include Rev. G.K. Ampofo, A. Adu, Esq. (Assistant District Commissioner), J.E. Michel 2nd Lieutenant among others. Others have also distinguished themselves in other careers such as business and civil service.³⁴²

The seminary provided much-needed indigenous educators, catechists, and pastors for the schools, the church and for the rest of the nation, providing, at the time, employment for teachers and middle-level skilled labour for the region and the nation. The seminary served and continues to serve as a mighty pillar for the church. It has produced people considered valiant and devoted ambassadors of Christ who continue to proclaim the gospel, promote peace, unity and sustain the growth of the Church.

³³⁸ Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 9.

³³⁹ Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 9.

³⁴⁰ Kwame Bediako, 'Amu, Ephraim Kwaku 1899 to 1995 Presbyterian Ghana' in *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, (http://www.dacb.org/stories/ghana/amu_ephraim.html), Accessed 10th September, 2017.

³⁴¹ Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 9.

³⁴² Interview with Togbe Appiah, Peki.

4.1.3 Vocational/Technical Education

The missionaries, as part of their missionary task, devoted themselves to the education of the indigenes which, as was noted above, has produced renowned people for the Church and the society. Some men who could not receive formal education were instructed in vocational work such as carpentry, masonry, sawyering, bricklaying³⁴³. In conjunction with the training of the male artisans in Amedzofe, Mrs. Eunike Seeger has this to say:

[t]hey have learned profitable crafts such as sawyering, shingle making/splitting, and road making. Many of them have turned to artisan work; apprentice joiners are to be had by the dozen, while only six years ago it was the case that no townspeople could eat anything that he himself did not plant (*that is, were wholly reliant on subsistence agriculture*).... We had to build the holy house mostly with stranger artisans and sawyers, among whom was only one Overtime (*the ethnic group living in Amedzofe*), and today we build....almost solely with Avatime.³⁴⁴

According to Joephery Wuaku, “till today most of the best carpenters and masons are from the Volta Region, because of the training we received from the Bremen missionaries which we have passed on to our children”.³⁴⁵ In the same way, the women were also trained in European-style household skills with particular attention to housekeeping, laundry, sewing, cooking, and child-care by the wives of the missionaries. They provided employment for both men and women as some took it as their lifetime profession and were inherited by their children. Indeed, the women I interviewed in all the communities confirmed that the craft work they learned from their parents became the source of their livelihood. They produce soaps, kitchen towels and table clothes for sale which enabled them to support their families. This was, in fact, a great legacy the wives of the missionaries bequeathed to Ewe women.

Richard Foli indicates that by the time the missionaries left in 1918, the Bremen Mission could report thirty-one (31) pastors, three hundred and twenty (320) teachers and catechists, two

³⁴³ Lynne Brydon, *After Slavery, What Next? Productive Relations in Early Twentieth-Century Kreye and Beyond* (library.aceondo.net › ebooks › chapter_24), Assessed 15th November, 2017, p. 11.

³⁴⁴ *Jahresbericht*, (Annual Report), 1895–6 (p.13) from Miss Seeger, quoted in Brydon, *After Slavery, What Next?* P. 12.

³⁴⁵ Interview with Mr. Joephery Wuaku, a retired Catechist of E.P. Church Mempeasem, Legon, on 8th November, 2017.

hundred and thirty-four (234) congregations, fifteen thousand, nine hundred and seventy-seven (15,977) communicants, one hundred and eighty-nine (189) schools with twelve thousand, three hundred and ninety-five (12,395) students and a total of thirty three thousand, five hundred and twenty-three (33,523) Christian communities.³⁴⁶

The formal seminary and the vocational/technical education the missionaries introduced laid the foundation for the educational systems to be built upon by the missionaries from other Mission Societies to replace the Bremen missionaries as well as the indigenous agents and leaders. For instance, the establishment of training colleges, secondary schools and now, a university, were continued the educational legacy of the Bremen Mission.

In 1946, the Scottish Mission together with the indigenous agents established the E.P. Teacher Training College (now E.P. College of Education) at Amedzofe. The school began with thirty boys under the able leadership of the first Principal, W.M Beveridge, a Scottish missionary, with assistance from the indigenous teachers. The college is now a co-educational institute which has advanced into one of the reputable and popular tertiary institutions in the country. It has produced some prominent people both in and outside the frontiers of the Volta Region, who are still working and occupying respectable positions in the country. These include Togbe Gabusu VI, Paramount (Chief of Gbi Traditional Area), Prof James Flolu (formerly of UEW), Dr. Mliwomor Komatse (formerly of UG, now at Methodist University College), Hon. Seth Kpodo (M.P. for Ho Central), Togbe Adzayi (M.D. Goil, Ghana) and Mr. Justice Tsitsia of Local Government.³⁴⁷ The current student population at the E. P. College of Education is approximately six hundred and four (604) with sixty-five (65) teaching and non-teaching staff.³⁴⁸ Indeed, the credit should be given to the missionaries and the indigenous teachers who

³⁴⁶ Richard Foli, *Christianity in Ghana: A Contemporary Church Growth Study* (Accra: Trust Publication), p. 27.

³⁴⁷ Interview with Rev. Dzandzo.

³⁴⁸ Interview with Rev. Dzandzo.

toiled to produce these great men and women among others, who continue to steer the affairs of the Church and the country.

In 1952, the E.P Church established the Peki seminary by the initiative of Gilbert B. Ansre (an indigene of Peki and father of Professor Ansre). He was the Blengo District Pastor and the Peki community helped in diverse ways to build the seminary and the staff residence. In my interaction with Mr. Wuaku on the history of Peki Seminary, he recounted:

Rev. Ansre who was from this town felt that there should be a legacy of the Bremen missionaries so that they will not be forgotten entirely, so, they decided to establish a seminary to keep the memory of the missionaries at Peki. Rev. Ansre was one of the oldest trained pastors of Peki. He said, he had his seminary education somewhere, so, he wanted to help bring the same education to Peki. With this idea, the whole community embarked on communal labour to build the Seminary School we see today.³⁴⁹

He added that he was part of the communal labour and in 1954 became a student of the seminary. He said “the seminary has produced many pastors and catechist for the E.P. Church and I am proud to be one of them”.³⁵⁰ In recognition of Rev. Ansre’s dedicated services throughout the inception of the seminary and later as a teacher, his remains after many years of death have been interred in front of the Seminary.

The seminary continued to yield more catechists, pastors and lay workers for the church to continue to spread the gospel. The first group of catechists who passed out at Peki Seminary included: Helen Afari, the first female to train as a catechist, and Gilbert Ansre³⁵¹ (son of G.B. Ansre) the first to benefit from his father’s toil. The induction of the first woman catechist almost a hundred years after the establishment of the seminary paved the way for many women to be trained. I witnessed the induction of a female trained catechist (a student of Peki

³⁴⁹ Interview with Mr. Wuaku.

³⁵⁰ Interview with Mr. Wuaku.

³⁵¹ E.P Church, *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary*, p. 39.

Seminary) at Keta Parish on November 2017 which was presided over by the moderator of the Southern Presbytery, Rev. E.W.K. Denoo and Rev. J.A. Letsu, District Pastor, Keta.

It is recorded that, by 1947 when the Peki E.P. Church celebrated its centenary, the number of schools in Peki had increased from a single school with 14 boys at its inception, to thirty-nine (39) schools with a total of three thousand two hundred and thirty-four (3,234) students. This figure was made up of two thousand, one hundred and sixty (2,160) boys and one thousand and seventy-four (1,074) girls³⁵². In a summary of the Bremen Mission influence in Peki, Togbe Appiah said:

The presence of the Bremen missionaries has brought education and civilization to Peki State and the whole Volta Region. By the close of 1950, Peki boasted of nine (9) schools, one (1) seminary, one (1) training college, European shop, a post office, and a butchers shop. They also constructed the Kpeve Asikuma road which made Peki one of the flourishing States in the Volta Region. In 1947, when the church celebrated its centenary, a monument was raised in recognition of all the chiefs who through war accepted the missionaries and has brought civilization to Peki. A memorial cemetery was also raised for all the missionaries who died in their service... As far as education and civilization are concerned, we cannot but to thank the missionaries for what they have done for us.³⁵³

In accordance with this statement, the missionaries influence in Peki was in line with what the 19th-century European missionaries sought to achieve. Thus, to establish Christianity in West Africa, to encourage commerce and also to bring 'civilisation' to a people they considered 'uncivilised'. It was the objective of the Bremen Mission to bring civilization to the people through evangelism, education, and commerce, which they were able to achieve.

In the contemporary period when education went beyond the middle school level and secondary schools became common, the E.P. Church used the foundation they already had to continue with the educational legacy. In the early 1950s, during the leadership of B.S. Amegashie (moderator) and C.G. Baeta (Synod Clerk), the E.P. Church decided to establish Senior Secondary Schools to augment the already existing government second cycle institutions. With

³⁵² Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 15.

³⁵³ Interview with Togbe Appiah.

the help of Professor. Walter P. Trost (First Headmaster and a missionary from the Board of International Missions of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, USA) assisted by Moses Baeta and Samuel Ofori (first teachers),³⁵⁴ Mawuli School was opened in 1950 at Ho, making it one of the earliest and first-class secondary schools in the Volta Region.



Figure 4. 1: Mawuli Secondary School.

Source: Mr. Amegashie.

Beginning with nineteen (19) male students, the school had a subsequent enrolment of twenty (20) female students in 1954. The number rose to one thousand, three hundred and eight (1,308) students with a one hundred and forty-eight (148) teaching and non-teaching staff in 2009.³⁵⁵ Within three years, the student population increased massively to three thousand, one hundred and seventy-four (3,174)³⁵⁶.

The school offered quality education and learning, discipline and academic excellence. It is reported that four years after the establishment of the Mawuli School, eighteen (18) out of the nineteen (19) candidates who represented the school in the first West African School Certificate

³⁵⁴ Mawuli School History (www.mawulian.org/history/)

³⁵⁵ Anthony B.K. Kanyi, *Glory Comes Back to Mawuli* (<http://www.ghananewsagency.org/features/glory-comes-back-to-mawuli-school-6150>), GNA Feature Article, 2009.

³⁵⁶ Tim Dzamboe, *Mawuli School crafts five-year strategic plan to improve academic standards* (<https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/education/mawuli-school-crafts-five-year-strategic-plan-to-improve-academic-standards.html>), 2016.

Examination passed excellently.³⁵⁷ Similarly, in 2011, the school scored 100% in the WASSCE with 91% of students gaining admission to the tertiary institutions in the country.³⁵⁸ Mawuli School has produced and continues to produce many graduates who surpass their counterparts in the region, especially in the fields of education, religion, and medicine among others. Some graduates of the school who have distinguished themselves and have risen to prominence in this country include Professor Emeritus R.D. Baeta (University of Ghana, Legon), Rev. Prof. Elorm Dovlo (University of Ghana, Legon), Mr Richard Nyarko (Chief Executive of ZDI Company Limited), Mr. J.K. Bebaako-Mensah (former Secretary to the President)³⁵⁹ and Dr Ben Willie-Golo (Senior Lecturer, Religions Department, UG, Legon). These achievements, according to Gadotor, “were reflections of the School’s motto: ‘Head, Heart, and Hand’. For over the past 59 years, Mawuli has been a center for the transformation of minds, hearts, and hands of people from various sectors of the country’s economy contributing to national development”.³⁶⁰ The establishment of the Mawuli School through the instrumentality of the E.P. Church has generated outstanding personalities in the region and the nation as a whole.

The E.P. Church continued to provide holistic education with the strong religious and moral background for girls in Ghana. Mawuko Girls Senior Secondary School was established at Ho in 1983 with moderator N.K. Dzobo being the prime mover. It became the second Girls Secondary School in the Volta Region after OLA Girls School. With the humble beginning of thirty-five (35) girls and two (2) teachers, the student population had increased to one thousand eight Hundred and one (1,801) students and 169 teaching and non-teaching staff in 2014.³⁶¹ The school has elevated the social and religious status of women in the whole of the Volta

³⁵⁷ Kanyi, *Glory Comes Back to Mawuli*.

³⁵⁸ Daily Graphic, *Mawuli School scores 100% in exams* (<http://www.justiceghana.com/index.php/en/2012-01-24-13-50-04/683-mawuli-school-scores-100-in-exams>), 2012.

³⁵⁹ Kanyi, *Glory Comes Back to Mawuli*, see also, Daily Graphic, *Mawuli School scores 100% in exams*.

³⁶⁰ Kanyi, *Glory Comes Back to Mawuli*.

³⁶¹ Wilhelm Gaitu, *Makers of Mawuko Girls Senior High School* (<http://www.ghananewsagency.org/features/makers-of-mawuko-girls-senior-high-school-72534>)

Region and beyond, with some occupying reputable positions. Just as their motto says “Educate a woman for God and educate a whole nation for God”³⁶² these women with their respective careers in the health and education sectors as well as other professions have in diverse ways played significant roles towards nation building and the well-being of humankind.

It has already been stated that the missionaries’ wives supported their missionary husbands by training young girls and women in handwork. The men, on the other hand, were trained in artisanship. The E.P. Church in 1978, established a Technical/Vocational Institute at Alavanyo and in 1997, E.P. Church Activity Center was also opened at Ho. It can be said that these institutions were formed to continue their founding fathers’ legacy, producing experienced artisans for the region and the country. In short, the missionaries’ wives initiative to train the indigenous women and girls in sewing and knitting, cooking, and domestic hygiene in the homes transformed, in time, to Home Science and Craftwork and later vocational skills.

The E.P. Church, taking its foundation from the Bremen mission in 1847, has founded seven hundred and forty-six (746) Educational Institutions in the Volta, Northern, Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions of the country. These institutions comprise:; one (1) university college, one (1) seminary, three (3) colleges of education, two (2) technical/vocational institutions, six (6) senior high schools, two (2) vocational centers, one hundred and fifty-seven (157) junior high schools, five hundred and forty-nine (549) primary schools and twenty five (25) kindergartens.³⁶³

In fact, this confirms the saying that ‘a journey with a thousand miles begins with a step’. This journey of educational formation began with only one school by a lonely missionary in a foreign land. The zealous efforts of the missionaries alongside the selfless contributions of the

³⁶² Gaitu, *Makers of Mawuko Girls Senior High School*.

³⁶³ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana 2018 Year Book (HO: E.P. Church, Ghana Publishing Ltd., 2018), p. 38.

indigenous teachers and workers have yielded this unprecedented number of educational institutions found not only in the Volta Region but also in other regions of the country. Education, indeed, was the greatest legacy the Bremen Missionaries bequeathed to the people of the Volta Region and the whole nation.

4.2 Religion

The task of bringing the gospel to Africans and converting them into the Christian religion was willingly and courageously taken up by the Bremen Mission. In chapter one, we discussed that the Society took its inspiration from the “Great Commission” which enjoined Christians to proclaim the Good News to all nations. Ken Gnanakan affirms that the power of God needs to be demonstrated through the proclamation of the Good News. This manifests wherever God’s people proclaim Jesus, the kingdom is being ushered in and therefore demons shudder, satanic strongholds are pulled down, evil structures are challenged and men and women are liberated.³⁶⁴ Owing to this, the Bremen Mission Society took upon itself to send missionaries to proclaim Christ to the Ewe people so that they could also be liberated.

The mission society came to Eweland to proclaim Christ and win them into the Christian faith. However, the Ewe people before the advent of the missionaries had their own religious beliefs and practices. Ewe traditional religion is structured hierarchically with the Supreme Being (*Mawu*) at the apex, followed by ancestral spirits or powers (*Togbewo*), divinities (*Tro* or *Vudu*) and other spirits.³⁶⁵ Kwame Gyekye mentions that in the late 17th century European Christian missionaries who came to West Africa observed that Africans believed in a Supreme God.³⁶⁶ He noted that “they had an idea of the true God and ascribed to him the attributes of Almighty and Omnipresent; they believed He created the universe, and therefore vastly prefer Him before

³⁶⁴ Gnanakan, “To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (i)”, p. 4.

³⁶⁵ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, pp. 10-13.

³⁶⁶ Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* (Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996), p. 3.

their idol-gods, but do not pray to Him or offer sacrifice to Him”.³⁶⁷ Such was the worldview of Africans and for that matter the Ewe people when the Bremen missionaries encountered them with the aim of proselytizing. As a result of this contact, the missionaries came to acknowledge that the indigenes had the concept of the Supreme Being that they called *Mawu*.³⁶⁸ The challenge was to convince them to refrain from the worship of the divinities and to accept Jesus Christ as the saviour and son of the Most High God. In spite of the huge initial resistance from the indigenes the missionaries were able to win some into the Christian faith after much effort. John Mbiti argues:

The missionaries who introduced the gospel to Africa did not bring God to our continent. Instead, God brought them. They proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ. But they used the name of God who was already known by African people as Mungu, Mulungu... and thousands of them. They were not empty names. They were names of one and the same God, the creator of the world, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ... God was not a stranger to African peoples. Spiritual activities like prayer, thanksgiving and the making of sacrifices were well-established facts of life for the existence and continuation of the community... It is in this complex of religiosity that the preaching of the gospel makes sense; it is the preparedness that has undergirded the spreading of the gospel like wildfire among African Societies which had hitherto followed and practiced traditional religion.³⁶⁹

Thus, the African world was a religious world in which the idea of God as the Supreme Being was already known and held by the people. The first pioneer missionary, Wolf, dedicated himself selflessly to the preaching of the gospel to the people of Peki. As noted earlier, Wolf, after a long journey was exhausted, but he looked beyond his tiredness and preached to the people in the evening of his arrival. It was Sunday and the people gathered to hear the good news he had brought.³⁷⁰ By way of his preaching, he showed to the people of Peki the plan of God's salvation. As it was stated in their policy to convert people into the Christian faith, Wolf, with the assistance of the indigenes first built a church to undertake this task without much delay. Churches were later established in all the mission stations at which the missionaries

³⁶⁷ Gyekye, *African Cultural Values*, p. 3.

³⁶⁸ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 14.

³⁶⁹ John Mbiti, *The Encountering of Christian Faith and the African Religion* (1980), pp. 201-2.

³⁷⁰ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 84

worked. However, the indigenous people feared that if they renounced the traditional worship and became Christians, some calamities would befall them or they would be destroyed by their gods (*trowo*). This notion hindered conversion at the early period of the mission work. In accordance with this, Debrunner gives an example of what happened to an indigene at Agunygbo who wanted to become Christian:

My father served the guardian spirit Chevieso. After his death, we thought we could give up serving Chevieso, where upon he became enraged, and a large number of our family died. The family met together and discussed what ought to be done. It was decided that I should become Chevieso's priest in order to propitiate him. There was a further consideration; we regretted the large sum of money which my parents had spent on Chevieso. So I became his priest. Of course, God (Mawu) is the only God and greater than Chevieso. Therefore I allowed my children to become Christians. Yet I cannot become one, else Chevieso would kill me.³⁷¹

This is an indication that the indigenous people revered the traditional gods and feared that detaching oneself from them meant death. They had a strong belief in their gods and relied on them for protection, healing, and good fortunes. The gods were consulted for any mishaps in the community and the perpetrators were punished accordingly. For the fear of the wrath of the gods which could sometimes lead to death, the people adhered to the taboos and other rules and regulations governing the community to avoid any form of punishment. Such was the situation when the missionaries came. But, with their persistent and committed efforts, some of the people were persuaded to accept Christ and baptised into the faith community.

Again, very few people were attracted to the Christian religion and became converted because of the 'establishment of colonial rule and the political and economic ramifications it entailed'.³⁷² Subsequently, when the people saw the benefits attached to conversion, they joined the Christian faith, not because of salvation but the material gains they hoped to get. Hermann Nyalemegbe (an indigenous mission teacher) offered the reasons why the majority of the indigenes converted. He mentions:

³⁷¹ Hans W. Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1965), p. 252.

³⁷² Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity*, p. 10.

...healing through the medical care of Christians; sorrow about the death of a child, assumed to be the work of local gods (*trɔwo*); a marginal position in Ewe society; comparatively cheap Christian burial and the fact that Christians feared the dead less than the heathen did; Christian clothes and the white marriage; the conversion of a partner; the fact that Christians neglected taboos and did not die from it; the work of Christians and their wealth.³⁷³

These reasons given by Nyalemegbe for people's conversion contradicted the stance of Pietism which rejected anything pertaining to the world to the neglect of Christian religious practices. The missionaries preached against attachment to material things to the detriment of giving heed to the Gospel message. For this reason, the missionaries trained some local people as catechists and teachers to assist in rendering pastoral and educational services to the converts in order to change their minds from worldly possessions which would lead them to the 'broader way'.

Consequently, when some indigenes discovered that biblical faith was not harmful to their religious sensibilities,³⁷⁴ and having understood the true God themselves, they became converted without any compulsion from the missionaries. The lives Christian converts lived, their commitment to the service of God and the love they showed to one another in the Christian quarters and in the communities attracted the 'unbelievers' to the Christian faith. Also, the preaching of the missionaries and the indigenous catechists inspired the people to worship and serve only the Christian God and therefore abandoned their gods because they had the conviction that the indigenous gods were not worthy of worship. The people believed in the God of the missionaries because they received healing and other blessings from him which they did not get from the indigenous gods. An example is the healing of Chief Tim Klu of Wudome from chronic ulcer by Wolf.³⁷⁵ The proclamation of the gospel enabled the missionaries and their assistants to establish eight (8) mission stations and one hundred and sixty (160) outstations throughout the region by 1916 when the missionaries were deported.³⁷⁶

³⁷³ Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity*, p. 11.

³⁷⁴ Atakro, "The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa," p. 98.

³⁷⁵ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 85.

³⁷⁶ Sandra E. Greene, *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A history of Meaning and the Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 19.

The E.P. Church birthed from the Bremen Mission efforts continues to carry on the latter's evangelisation work in the region and beyond.

The leadership of the Church fell completely on the indigenous leaders after the departure of the missionaries. Though the journey seemed grievous and tortuous without the missionaries, the indigenous agents and leaders proved themselves capable. Their commitment to save souls for Christ ignited them to work persistently to expand the mission work entrusted to them by the missionaries. My interaction with the informants in the communities revealed that due to the gospel brought by the missionaries, which was later handed over to the indigenous pastors who sacrificed themselves entirely to spread the word of God, Christianity has become the dominant religion in the Volta Region. According to Togbe Akyem Foli V, Chief of Amedzofe, "almost all the people in Amedzofe including chiefs and elders are Christians and about ninety percent (90%) of the population are baptised E.P. Church members."³⁷⁷ The same was said at Waya by Rev Djofoxeh:

The presence of the Bremen missionaries in Waya has had a great impact on the people to the extent that the 'heathen' practices of the people have reduced. Almost all the people in Waya are now Christians including the chiefs and elders. Because of that, we have designated a special sitting place for them in the church. Even if they do worship the gods, they do it in secret; the only thing they still hold on to is the *Asafo* group. It is practiced to remember our forefathers who fought for the land. Even that, there have been some modifications, now, no killing or any ungodly rituals are allowed. They also perform some rituals for the dead but not as a god they worship. They just perform the '*amamere*' for remembrance. The missionaries have really impacted the lives of the people by helping them to move away from the indigenous religion.³⁷⁸

He reiterated that the toil of the missionaries at Waya yielded many fruits. The fourth indigenous pastor, Andreas Aku, ordained after Mallet was a native of Waya. He later became the first moderator of the Ewe Church. After him, Waya has had numerous pastors who have sacrificed their lives and everything for the growth of the church. Through their toil, about twenty-five mission stations were opened together with the founding of other groups in the

³⁷⁷ Interview with Togbe Akyem Foli V, Chief of Amedzofe, on 22nd November, 2017.

³⁷⁸ Interview with Rev. Djofoxeh, Adaklu –Waya.

Church such as the *Hadzihaga* (Great Choir), Church Choir and the Bible Class. The current membership of the church, as reported, stands at about seven hundred and thirty-four (734) including children and four (4) catechists in Adaklu-Waya District alone. In 1968, a traditional ruler, Togbe Addo IV, was enstooled a chief while preaching in the pulpit at Adaklu Torda. As a result, all chiefs and queen mothers in Waya became serious and staunch members of the Church.³⁷⁹ This was one of the greatest impacts of the missionaries on the traditional religion and culture and in the history of the Church

Deservedly, Peki has received analytical emphasis which reflects the religious impact of the Bremen Mission. It is important to note that the following statistics for Peki are not the representative of the whole region. They are only being used as an illustration because it was the first place where the seed of Christianity was planted in Eweland. The 2010 Population and Housing Census District Analytical Report by the Ghana Statistical Service shows that the South Dayi District which includes the Peki Traditional Area, recorded forty-six thousand, six hundred and sixty-one (46,661) people. Out of this, the total population of Christians was forty one thousand, one hundred and ninety-seven (41,197) constituting 88.2%. The district's Christian percentage is higher than the regional average of 72.8%. The rest of the district's population are made up of traditionalist (3.8%), Islam/Ahmadi (3.3%) with the remaining 4.6% belonging to other religion or no religion.

Indisputably, the high percentage of the populace being Christian could be attributed to the work of the missionaries who sowed the seeds of the Christian faith in the area. It is worthy of note that of the 88.2 % Christian population in the district, about 40% are Protestants. The reason for this is not far-fetched since the E.P. Church - being Protestant - is the dominant Christian denomination in the district, and indeed the entire region. Still, with the remaining

³⁷⁹ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya, p. 15.

48.2% of the Christian population, some of them may belong to other Pentecostal churches like the Lord's Pentecostal Church which broke away from the E.P. Church. Even in this field, it is still the legacy of the Bremen Mission.

The foregoing analyses indicate that the Bremen Mission has made a tremendous religious impact on the people of South Dayi district of which the Peki state forms the majority. It is significant to note that, despite the overwhelming influence of Christianity, the Volta Region is still one of the strongholds of the indigenous beliefs and practices in the nation.

The current statistics of the E.P. Church also discloses that the Peki State, which falls under the Western Presbytery, has nine (9) congregations, seven (7) pastors, and ten (10) catechists in active service, and a total membership of four thousand and ninety-five (4,095).³⁸⁰ The evangelisation work which started with only one missionary without any convert has now yielded so much fruit. It is interesting to note that Yohanes Ababio, a convert at Peki who was among the first seven converts baptised at Keta was previously a strong adherent of the powerful Dente-Ga (one of the powerful deities in the region). Keteku Kwami from Dzakebrought this deity from Kete-Krachi to Peki.³⁸¹ Through the preaching of the missionaries and their indigenous pastors, Ababio became a veteran evangelist and was eventually ordained as a pastor.

At present, it can be observed that aspects of traditional religious practices, such as the shooting of guns, the performance of some rituals at every eclipse of the sun and the devotion to 'Nue' (the state god who is alleged to have won victories for them in their wars), have been greatly influenced by the introduction of Christianity. The devotion to these practices among adherents of traditional religions, and their participation in them, has waned considerably. This is also

³⁸⁰ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana 2018 Year Book, p. 48.

³⁸¹ Tawia, *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki*, p. 7.

the case among Christians. For example, pouring of libation in some Christian families during funerals or other family functions are now considered to be a thing of the past and unchristian. An example was given by Mrs. Beatrice Wuaku who reported that they had an encounter with the family when their nephew died. The elders decided to pour libation but they refused and told the elders that they would want to start with a Christian prayer. They chose the Lord's Prayer and prayed with it. She concluded that "for the first time in my family we were able to go according to our Christian norm".³⁸² The above discussion shows how Christianity has erased some aspects of the indigenous religion in the Volta Region.

Undoubtedly, the Bremen Mission's greatest legacy is the establishment of the E.P. Church. This church has produced dedicated disciples for God to carry out the divine mandate of the 'Great Commission'. The command which inspired the missionaries to come to Africa to preach the gospel for the salvation of souls is now on the shoulders of the E.P. Church. Since the departure of the missionaries, the Church has produced a myriad of devoted men and women who have sacrificed their lives for the growth and sustainability of the Church. It is recorded that by the outbreak of World War I, fifty-three (53) missionaries and two hundred and fifteen (215) local assistants attended to eight thousand two hundred and seventy-four (8,274) Christians in eight (8) mission stations and one hundred and sixty (160) outstations throughout the region.³⁸³

Currently, according to the E.P. Church's statistics, there are two hundred and ninety-nine (299) ministers in active service. Out of this, sixty-six (66) ministers are on retirement and sixty-nine (69) catechists in active service, shepherding one hundred and fifty-one thousand, five hundred and forty (151,540) members in eight thousand nine hundred and seven (8907)

³⁸² Interview with Mrs Beatrice Wuaku, Mempeasem E.P. Church, Legon, on 8th November, 2017.

³⁸³ Sandra E. Greene, *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A history of Meaning and the Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 19.

congregations. This take place in one hundred and eighty-nine (189) districts from fifteen (15) presbyteries in the country.³⁸⁴

Between 1922-2008, the Church has been led by eleven (11) Moderators and thirteen (13) Synod Clerks. Rev. Andreas Aku was the first moderator and Rev. R.S. Kwami the first synod clerk. From 2009 to present, the leadership of the Church became known as “the Moderator of the General Assembly” and the “Clerk of the General Assembly”. Very Rev. Francis Amenu and Rev. Dr. G.K. Osiakwa were the first Moderator of the General Assembly and Clerk of the General Assembly respectively. Currently, Rt. Rev. Dr. Seth Senyo Agidi is the Moderator of the General Assembly and Rev. Dr. E.A.K. Amey as the Clerk of the General Assembly.³⁸⁵

It is also important to mention that, the religious legacy of the Bremen Mission continues to experience challenges, sometimes leading to schisms.³⁸⁶ However, the legacy continues to survive. So far, the schisms led to the formation of the following churches: Apostle Revelation Society (ARS), Presbyterian Evangelical Church of Buem Krachi (PECBK), White Cross Society (WCS), The Lord’s Pentecostal Church (LPC), Christ Evangelical Mission (CEM) and Global Evangelical Church (GEC).³⁸⁷ The aforementioned churches sprung out from the E.P. Church and trace their history from the Bremen Mission. Hence, their contributions to evangelisation and the provision of social services and other humanitarian developments to the nation are all in furtherance of the of the Bremen Mission legacies.

³⁸⁴ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana Year Book, p. 103.

³⁸⁵ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana Year Book, p. 157.

³⁸⁶ The greatest of the schisms occurred in 1991. It was prompted by various reasons, including constitutional problems in the church. The first four schisms were largely influenced by Pentecostal/ Charismatic spirituality in a reformed Protestant church which occurred from 1945-1964 (Nelson Akatse, *The Effects of the 1991 Schism on the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana: 1992-2015* (Unpublished Mphil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2016), p. 37. But since the issues of the schisms are not the main focus of this study, there will not be a detailed discussion on it. Only the churches established by the members and their contributions to the spread of Christianity in the Volta Region are discussed since they all trace their history from the Bremen Mission.

³⁸⁷ Akatse, *The Effects of the 1991 Schism*, pp. 37- 45.

The Christian community, specifically, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (EPC) and the aforesaid churches, are what they are today because of the sacrificial commitment of missionaries who offered their lives for the proclamation of the gospel. One cannot talk about Christianity in the Volta Region today without acknowledging the selfless sacrifices of the Bremen missionaries and their diligent indigenous agents. They began proclaiming the gospel first to the people of Peki and expanded throughout the entire Volta Region and beyond.

4.3 Culture

Culture can be defined as the customs and beliefs, art, a way of life and social organisation of a particular society or group.³⁸⁸ According to Peter Sarpong, "Culture was given by God, but then culture needs to be purified and polished so that the human elements of culture could be transformed. The human elements become the means of transformation".³⁸⁹ Wherever the Christian faith is introduced and a community of believers formed, it is expected to show itself and evangelise through the culture of the people whom it seeks to Christianise.³⁹⁰ The Bremen missionaries were asked to learn the culture of the Ewe people in order to be able to live with them. In the course of their mission, they made attempts to inculturate some elements of the Ewe culture to conform to the gospel they preached.

4.3.1 Inculturation

As the missionaries came across different cultures, they became involved in the process of inculturation. According to John Paul II, "This process involves the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of

³⁸⁸ Sally Wehemeier, et al., eds. *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary: International Students Edition* (7th Ed.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 357.

³⁸⁹ Peter K. Sarpong, "Culture" (lecture, Department for the Study of Religions, Legon, 2010).

³⁹⁰ Joseph Osei-Bonsu, *The Inculturation of Christianity in Africa: Antecedents and Guidelines from the New Testament and the Early Church* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2005), p. 1.

Christianity into the various human cultures.”³⁹¹ It is usually done without compromising the integrity of the Christian faith.³⁹² According to John Walligo, inculturation means:

[t]he honest and serious attempt to make Christ and his Gospel of salvation ever more understood by peoples of every culture, locality and time. It is the reformulation of Christian life and doctrine into the very thought patterns of each people.... It is the continuous endeavour to make Christianity ‘truly feel at home’ in the cultures of each people.³⁹³

Inculturation from this perspective involves the gospel taking life and flesh in the beliefs of people who welcome Christ and the tenets of the gospel. Just as Christ became human and won salvation for all, in the same way, the gospel must embrace ‘culture’ so as to win the heart of the people.³⁹⁴ Joseph Addai asserts:

Through inculturation, the Church becomes a more visible and intelligible sign of what she is called to be and a more effective means of mission. Mission, in this form enriches the Church with forms of expression and values in the area of evangelization, worship, theology and charitable works. The church is motivated for continual renewal.³⁹⁵

It is important for all missionary societies, devoted to the propagating of the gospel in all countries, to have inculturation at the hub of its mission. They need to deal with people they desire to proselytize as they find them, considering their religious and socio-cultural worldviews, such as food, language, family concept, dressing among others.³⁹⁶

The Bremen missionaries were urged not to attempt to eliminate all customs to substitute them with European practices. In accordance with this policy, the unflagging efforts of the pioneer missionaries were to establish an indigenous church that would be unique from any parent church to reach its own doctrinal position and polity.³⁹⁷ Although they succeeded in establishing the indigenous church, the missionaries themselves disliked seeing any element of

³⁹¹ John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio*, p. 630.

³⁹² Joseph K. Addai, *A History Of Divine Word Missionaries In Ghana: 1938-2010* (An Unpublished Mphil Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, 2012), p. 74.

³⁹³ John Walligo, “Making a church that is truly African”, cited in John Walligo (Ed.), *Inculturation: Its meaning and urgency* (Nairobi: Pauline, 1986), p. 11.

³⁹⁴ Anthony K. Ikechukwu, “Inculturation and the Christian faith in Africa”, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* Vol. 2, No. 17(2012), p. 273.

³⁹⁵ Addai, *A History Of Divine Word Missionaries In Ghana: 1938-2010*, p. 75.

³⁹⁶ Bansah, *Salvation at the Crossroad*, p. 114.

³⁹⁷ Grau, ‘Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions’, p. 64.

the indigenous culture syncretised with Christianity. Their fear was that any such development would pave the way for the converts to return to their traditional worship. Nevertheless, the establishment of the seminary to train indigenous pastors and church leaders helped to indigenise the church as the trained pastors and church leaders, having a complete understanding of their own culture, helped to build bridges between the gospel and the Ewe culture.³⁹⁸ The Ewe church leaders made some efforts to incorporate some traditional cultural elements into the liturgy to make it more attractive and Christianise some traditional rites in the Ewe culture such as naming (outdooing) ceremonies, puberty and widowhood rites.

The missionaries observed that the liturgy in the Ewe Church was not addressing the worldview and spirituality of the members, rendering the worship unexciting and unattractive to ‘unbelievers’. For example, the Ewe hymnal was the translation of the German hymns into the Ewe language but with the same German tune which was unappealing to some converts.

Sarpong made similar observations concerning the Catholic Liturgy:

[it] is evident that traditional Catholic worship is anything but religious worship to the genuine African! It is dull, uninspiring, almost without emotional appeal. The prayers are defective in one hundred and one ways. Composed of Latin mentality, their structure, syntax, and concepts are unintelligible to the African. What their words even translated into vernacular are meant to convey is anybody’s guess. They are composed without reference to the occasion. They are, therefore, at best meaningless, at worst a waste of time.³⁹⁹

The above clearly shows that the liturgies of both the Catholic and E.P. Church were similar in character at the beginning of the church. These were the conditions of the Ewe Church at the time and therefore had to be addressed by the indigenous leaders when they took over the leadership of the church. The key initiator was Robert Baeta who introduced singing, dancing and clapping of hands⁴⁰⁰ into the liturgical worship. For example, the local language became the medium of instruction especially in the teaching of the scriptures and catechism lessons in

³⁹⁸ Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe*, p. 12.

³⁹⁹ Peter K. Sarpong, ‘Christianity should be Africanised, not African Christianised’, *African Ecclesiastical Review*, 117 (1975), p. 238 cited in Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p. 65.

⁴⁰⁰ Atakro, “The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa,” p. 104.

preparation for baptism.⁴⁰¹ This enabled the catechumen to have a better understanding of the catechism because they were delivered in their own language. Additionally, Atakro states:

The indigenous religion and the Christian religion became part of him and these religious practices permeated the lives of many indigenous people from infancy to the grave. They were born into the indigenous religious atmosphere and later through baptism accepted into the Christian religion. The values of both religions enriched their lives and enabled them to lead the Christly lives....⁴⁰²

This situation can be related to the advent of the African Prophets like William Wade Harris around 1914, who through their style of propagating the gospel, attracted many Africans to the mainline churches since they did not establish churches of their own. They adopted some elements of the traditional worship such as clapping, dancing and drumming of local drums to make the worship livelier and more relevant to the African people. Omenyo asserts that “Harris’ ministry was perceived as unique and relevant to the needs of his people because he addressed their worldview”.⁴⁰³

Currently, the incorporation of some Ewe cultural elements into the worship is still ongoing. My visits to Keta E.P Church and that of Anyako during the field research attest to this fact. I observed that during the church service, while the church choir and the Women’s Bible Class Movement (WBCM) were singing from the hymn books produced by the missionaries, the accompanying drums were the traditional drums (see fig. 4.2). Also, the Ewe *Borborbor* music (music and words) were on display with people dancing the traditional dance (*Agbadza*) energetically to the tune of this music. Intuitively, one could see that the worshippers felt at home and comfortable in the church.

⁴⁰¹ Atakro, “The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa,” p. 104.

⁴⁰² Atakro, *Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe*, p. 222.

⁴⁰³ Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism*, p. 68.



Figure 4. 2: Bible Class Women singing and the traditional drums being played.
Source: Author, 2018

Yet, previously these traditional music and dance such as *Borborbor*, *Agbadza*, and *Atsiagbeko* were regarded as devilish, profane and worldly and converts were sternly forbidden from partaking in them during the time of the Bremen missionaries. The missionaries were of the view that if “they allow a least of these cultural features into the church, the converts might go back to the traditional worship”,⁴⁰⁴ hence their prohibition from being incorporated into the church. However, the use of these indigenous musical instruments, language, music, and dance provided opportunities for evangelization. The Ewe Church leaders must be commended for taking such an initiative for making the worship appealing to their own people leading to the expansion of the E.P Church in membership which goes beyond the boundaries of the Volta Region.

Furthermore, a holistic mission, according to Steurnagel, must aim at responding to unjust structures of society, focusing on the peace of the whole creation.⁴⁰⁵ God is the God of justice and justice must manifest in the life of the poor, the oppressed, witnessing their liberation.⁴⁰⁶ The church’s mission is to work for justice in a world where the weak are often oppressed by

⁴⁰⁴ An interview with Togbe Appiah.

⁴⁰⁵ Steurnagel. “To Seek to Transform Unjust Structures of Society”, p. 62

⁴⁰⁶ Steurnagel. “To Seek to Transform Unjust Structures of Society”, p. 72

the wealthy and powerful. Accordingly, some cultural practices such as ritual murder, belief in the exorcism of witchcraft, and widowhood rites were vehemently condemned by the missionaries because they were considered wrong and inhuman. However, others like rites of birth and initiation into womanhood were not entirely condemned by the missionaries. According to Ganasah, there is no record of the missionaries asking the Ewe people not to perform these rites even though some aspects of the rites such the pouring of libation must have been of concern to them.⁴⁰⁷

4.3.2 Rites of Birth

The E.P. Church in the 1990s Christianised the rite of birth. Ganasah emphasises that the E.P. Church offered the liturgical order for this rite in 1997. She maintains that the church has found the rite to be important but does not accept some of the traditional reasons that have been given for its performance.⁴⁰⁸ In an interaction with some elders, it was discovered that the naming of a child does not begin the rites of birth; rather the rites start from pregnancy. According to Mrs. Annie Konu, “in the olden days, when a woman was pregnant, certain rites were performed for her before delivery. Currently, it is not done because of Christianity”.⁴⁰⁹ She continued that “the rites are now performed in the church or in the home of the child’s family by a pastor or a catechist instead of an elder of the family as it was done in the past”.

Performing the rite in the church and in the traditional setup does not follow the same pattern. In the traditional setup, drinks including alcohol are used for the rite which begins with libation prayer by the elder of the family. Salt and pepper are held close to the mouth of the child with a proclamation of a moral injunction upon the child to grow into a hard working person.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ Ganasah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 60.

⁴⁰⁸ Ganasah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 84.

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with Mrs. Annie Konu, one of the oldest Leaders of Bible Class Women Movement at Amedzofe, on 22nd November, 2018.

⁴¹⁰ Ganasah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 86.

However, the church uses only soft drinks for the occasion and the prayers are said by the pastor or catechist to God (*Mawu*) alone and not to any ancestors or spirit as it is found in the libation prayers.

The names given to children have also been influenced by Christianity. Traditional names such as *Alugba*, *Sesime*, *Kosi*, and *Wotodzo*⁴¹¹ or names given to idols among others, are no longer given to children born into Christian families because they were and are still perceived by the Christians as bearing some spiritual connotations. Due to this, Christian parents prefer to give Christian names such as Michael, Mary, Esther, Joseph, etc. to their children rather than the indigenous names of their forebears.

4.3.3 Puberty Rites

Puberty rites, also known as an initiation into womanhood in Avatime traditional area, which includes Amedzofe is referred to as *Kusakɔkɔ* (giving cloth). The rite is characterised by “giving a young woman cloth hence the name *Kusakɔkɔ*”.⁴¹² According to Mrs. Konu, the most important aspect of the rite is teaching the girl the spinning of cotton with a spindle and distaff to prepare her for the future. Narrating the performance of the rite, she said, “in the past, the rite was practiced among all the six towns in Avetime when a young girl was of age”. Thus, in the transition from the pubertal stage to womanhood, “it was performed before a girl is given out for marriage. Without it, she could not marry and if a girl became pregnant before the performance of *Kusakɔkɔ*, that girl was punished accordingly because she had brought shame to the family”.⁴¹³ [This made the girls abstain from pre-marital sex in order to be able to go](#)

⁴¹¹ Ladzekpo, *The Bremen Mission Heritage in Amedzofe*, p. 94.

⁴¹² Interview with Mrs. Konu.

⁴¹³ Interview with Mrs. Konu.

through the rite successfully. She added that, if a girl died before the *Kusakɔkɔ*, it was performed on the corpse before burial.

There are special locally woven clothes for the rite which are called *Kotokoto*, *Kugosa* and *Wadza/Ntsirim*, which comes in different colours and are presented as gifts to the initiate by the mother.⁴¹⁴ Other items include *Bemusa* (wax print), sandals, beads and jewellery, handkerchiefs to match the clothes, cooking utensils and a kitchen stool.⁴¹⁵ Mrs. Konu mentions that “these items are given to the girl to use after she marries”.⁴¹⁶ It was revealed that the beads used to adorn the initiate were done by the paternal aunt called *tasi* and other members of the family. The *tasi* is the first to put the beads on the left hand and on the knees and neck of the initiate.⁴¹⁷ After the merrymaking accompanying the celebration, the initiate who is a Christian goes to church on Sunday to end the rite.

The *Kusakɔkɔ* rite has gone through a lot of changes in contemporary times: “the *Kusakɔkɔ* performed today is not the same *Kusakɔkɔ* performed during my initiation in 1957,” said Mrs. Konu. From the early 1990s onwards, the E.P. Church exerted a great influence on the performance of the rite. According to Ganusah:

In the early part of the 1990s, the E.P. Church had to face pressure from some young women in Avetime who did not want to perform the *Kusakɔkɔ* rite. The young women had five main complaints: the first was that they did not want the paternal aunt (*tasi*) to put the beads on them because they claimed, these women, in some cases, had been bewitching neophytes with the beads that are given to them. In other cases, they have been passing on the power of the witchcraft to some by means of the beads. The second complaint was that the young women did not understand why they were not allowed to choose their items that should be presented to them, especially the type of cloths. They claimed that the prescribed clothes of the *Kugosa*, *Kotokoto* and *Ntsirim/Wadza*, must have some traditional religious connotations behind them to justify the compulsory nature of their prescription. Thirdly, the young women did not understand why the rite should be performed for even the dead (on their dead beds [sic]), for those who are not able to perform it before their death. The young women would want to know why there is such a compulsion in the rite. Fourthly, the young women were also worried by the use of special types of stoves ... which were used in the preparation of the meal for the rite. Since no other way of cooking is used, the young women claimed that this showed

⁴¹⁴ Interview with Mrs. Konu.

⁴¹⁵ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 76.

⁴¹⁶ Interview with Mrs. Konu.

⁴¹⁷ Ganusah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, p. 76.

there must be some kind of traditional religious symbolism in the stove. Fifthly, the young women were also worried about the first-course meal (*nyagbadzo*) that is usually prepared and eaten by the elderly women who usually come early to start the cooking of the festive meal. This custom, it was believed must have some religious symbolism or beliefs behind it; otherwise why the meal eaten only by the elderly women (*dekusidze*)? They...would want to know.⁴¹⁸

These were the grievances the young women of Avatime levelled against the *Kusakoko* rite which resulted in the modifications of the ritual. They reported these issues to the leaders of the church who subsequently discussed them with the elders of the area. Following that, the performance of the rite continues to undergo changes. The leaders of the church decided that the rite would be performed early in the morning beginning with prayers at the vestry with the initiates. A woman leader in the church was assigned to perform the rite instead of the *tasi* putting the *Kotokoto* on the initiate. A Bible text meant to guide the initiate in her life, and selected by the initiate, is read to her by the catechist, which was. Closing prayer and benediction are said and that ends the first part of the rite in the church. The rest of the rite continues at home with changes in all the things the young women perceived as having spiritual connotations. On Sunday of the week, the initiate comes to church to end the performance of the rite.⁴¹⁹ The church now has taken total control of every aspect of the performance of the *Kusakoko* rite instead of the queen-mothers and the traditional leaders who were previously in charge of the rite.⁴²⁰

The introduction of Christianity by the missionaries won many young women into the Christian faith. As a result of their belief in Christ, they no longer saw themselves as being under the control of any supernatural power which does not like the menstrual blood. Hence their refusal to partake in the celebration of the *Kusakoko* rite. The untiring efforts of the church leaders to

⁴¹⁸ Ganasah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, ps. 86-7.

⁴¹⁹ Ganasah, *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome*, ps. 87.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Tobge C.K. Dedume, an elder on the five clan which made up the Amedzofe settlement on 22nd November, 2017.

inculturate some aspects of this rite and later becoming part of the church's liturgy, drew the young women back to the performance of the rite.

4.3.4 Widowhood Rite

A widow is a woman who has lost her husband through death and has not remarried, while widowhood refers to a period during which a woman remains a widow.⁴²¹ According to Mrs. Konu, when a woman's husband died in the past, in the Avatime traditional area, she was required to bring some items for bathing her deceased husband. She was expected to wash the back of the corpse with a sponge as a sign of her love to him. When the deceased spouse is laid in state, she was supposed to throw her legs three times under the bed on which he laid. She was not allowed to sleep on the bed she shared with her late husband. This was to prevent the spirit of the deceased husband from coming to sleep (intercourse) with her. However, she was made to sleep on rags for some weeks in order not to attract the spirit of the dead husband. She was to take ritual baths with herbs for spiritual cleansing and also to shave all hairs on her body including the pubic hair. She was to wear black clothes as a sign of mourning her dead husband. These acts were to be observed for a whole year.⁴²²

From the above narration by Mrs. Konu, one can argue that there are some positive spiritual connotations for the performance of the rite. All these were performed to protect the widow from coming into contact with the spirit of the deceased husband and also to show love to her dead husband. However, others also argue that the widowhood rites were led by women who suppress the widows, torture, strip them naked, shave their hairs, and force them to drink concoctions prepared with leaves, hairs and fingernails of their late husbands which were

⁴²¹ Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, p. 1431.

⁴²² An interview with Mrs Konu, Amerdzofe on 22nd November, 2017.

detrimental to their health and sometimes cause several emotional and psychological problems to them.⁴²³ Ruth Sean asserts that these mistreatments of women sometimes hinder them from self-development, and also debarred them from remarrying.⁴²⁴

Nevertheless, the coming of the Bremen missionaries brought changes to the rites. The missionaries saw the rite as a dehumanizing customary practice and therefore tried very hard to discourage its performance. They were able to modify some aspects of the rite. The E.P. Church has now taken over the performance of the rite as it did the *Kusakɔkɔ* rite. According to Mrs. Konu, now, the rite is performed in the church after four days of burial of the dead husband. The woman is brought to the church after the fourth day where the pastor or catechists and some members of the church pray with the widow. After that, the pastor blesses the black clothes to be used by her for a number of months, usually three months. Some women, she said, preferred to mourn their husbands for more than the three months; the duration of the mourning period depends on the woman. During this period, the woman is free to engage in any activities, but she is expected to live a decent and chaste life.

After the months of mourning, the widow is brought to the church again for the final rite to be performed. On that day, the woman brings new white clothes to the church for a blessing. After the blessing of the clothes, the pastor gives it to the woman who then goes to the vestry to change and returns for the final blessings and that ends the rites. The churches influence on the performance of the rite has led to the removal of all the other cultural practices considered to be dehumanising.

⁴²³ Service of Documentation and Study on Global Mission (SEDOS), *The Impact of Widowhood Rite on the Ghanaian Woman in the New Millennium* (<https://sedosmission.org/article/the-impact-of-widowhood-rite-on-the-ghanaian-woman-in-the-new-millennium/>), Assessed 20th March, 2018.

⁴²⁴Ruth Seán, *Leadership and Liberation: A Psychological Approach* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 116-7.

Through the adaptation of the traditional widowhood rites to suit Christian principles, the Bremen missionaries and the E.P. Church have thus contributed greatly to the rights of women in the region. Ela asserted that “the mission of Jesus Christ is to liberate and reconcile humanity to God. The mission of Jesus is not restricted to only preaching or interior conversion but it also manifested exteriorly”.⁴²⁵ Just as Christ came to challenge evil structures of society for the children of God to be liberated, in the same way, the missionaries through their preaching liberated the Ewe people from some undesirable cultural practices in the Ewe society.

To sum up, the Bremen missionaries did not come only to proclaim the gospel but also to bring restoration to the people, just as in Matt 10:7-8 Jesus instructed his disciples not only to proclaim the gospel but to heal.⁴²⁶ Vincent Ntrie-Akpabi states:

We can affirm that the gospel does not only bring about interior peace and liberation but it is directly linked to the total liberation of man. Thus, inculturated evangelization does not only liberate and transform the heart of men but the whole culture is included in this liberation process.⁴²⁷

According to Emmanuel Martey, “inculturation cannot occur in an oppressive and exploitative environment; it only happens in an atmosphere of freedom.”⁴²⁸ It liberates since through it the light and the life of the gospel brighten cultures and transforms them to be worthy dwellings of God’s pilgrim people.⁴²⁹ Transformation denounces all sorts of injustices that lead to oppression, mistreatment, and suffering, and that was what the Bremen missionaries sought to achieve by transforming these unjust structures and bringing liberation to the Ewe people.

⁴²⁵ J. M. ELA, “Christianity and Liberation in Africa”, in: R. Gibellini (ed.), *Paths of African Theology* (New York: Orbis Books, 1994), p. 143.

⁴²⁶ And as you go, proclaim that the kingdom of heaven is close at hand. Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse those suffering from virulent skin-diseases, drive out devils (RSV.).

⁴²⁷ Vincent Ntrie-Akpabi, *Inculturation as Self-Identification: An African in Search of Authentic Christian Identity. A Theological Enquiry among the Ewe of Ghana* (An Unpublished MA Dissertation, Catholic University of Portuguese, Porto, 2016), p. 98.

⁴²⁸ Emmanuel Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (New York: Orbis Books, 1992), p. 124.

⁴²⁹ Ntrie-Akpabi, *Inculturation as Self-Identification*, p. 99.

4.4 Language

One of the greatest achievements of the Bremen Mission was the development of the Ewe language. The Bremen missionaries, like the Basel missionaries, evangelized through education and the translation of the Scriptures into the indigenous language. J. Baur describes the Bremen missionaries as, “faithful to their Lutheran tradition they developed a Christianity based on the tribal language, with Ewe schools and literature, and the church community that in its structure was closely modelled in the people’s past.”⁴³⁰

According to Sandra Greene, the missionaries were guided by a set of beliefs that influenced how they perceived their objectives.⁴³¹ They had the view that:

Originally all people on earth had been united by one language and the worship of one God. Yet, when human beings had tried to contest God’s power by building a tower that would reach heaven, God... punished them by dispersing them and making them speak different languages.... This dispersal had led to religious and linguistic degeneration; the rise of polytheism and the loss of linguistic unity went hand in hand. It was the task of the mission to lead all these scattered peoples back to the Christian God whom they had worshipped in a very distant past. But rather than reuniting all people in one language, God [showed] at the occasion of Pentecost that he accepted the existence of different languages and rather wanted the Gospel to be preached to the “heathens” in their own mother tongue.⁴³²

In compliance with this, the Bremen Mission Inspector, Zahn, charged the missionaries to study the local languages in order to make sure that Christianity was appropriated by people within the confines of their indigenous culture, and encouraged preaching and teaching to be done in the Ewe language.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ J. Baur, *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History* (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1994), p. 105.

⁴³¹ Sandra E. Greene, *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A history of Meaning and the Memory in Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), p. 19.

⁴³² Birgit Meyer, “Christianity and the Arise of the Ewe Nation: On the Encounter between German Pietist Missionaries and Ewe Mission Workers,” paper presented at the international conference “Religion and Nationalism in Europe and Asia” at the Research Center on Religion and Society (University of Amsterdam, 1995), p. 5. Quoted in Greene, *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter*, p. 19.

⁴³³ Meyer, “*Christianity and the Ewe Nation*, p. 174.

As early as 1848, Wolf prepared an Ewe primer and a few Ewe hymns shortly after the commencement of missionary work at Peki. Also, J.B. Schlegel in 1854, produced in Germany a key to the Ewe language, based on the Anlo dialect, together with a vocabulary, proverbs and some stories. With the assistance of John Wright and other indigenous agents, Schlegel began by translating portions of the Bible, namely Hebrews, 1-3 John, and Revelation together with some hymns and stories of aspects of Jesus' life and ministry.⁴³⁴ Also, the four gospels, then the rest of the New Testament and eventually, the whole Bible. Other publications included the catechism, liturgy, and the church order. All these were achieved through the assistance of indigenous agents like Aku, Baeta, Kwami, and Kudese. By the time the missionaries were deported during World War I, in 1917, the first fully translated Ewe Bible published and copies were sent to the mission field in Eweland. Thus, it was described as 'the greatest missionary of all times' because it was hailed as having come to replace the missionaries.⁴³⁵

There were other important publications by other missionaries which aided the development of the Ewe language. For instance, Paul Wiegrabe who was assigned as the supervisor of the whole Ewe Mission schools wrote many books including the *Ewe Kristo Hame Nyayuine Nutinya*, this book provided an account of the history of the missionary activities from 1847-1936. Also, Jakob Spieth, described as a brilliant linguist and Bible translator, published a valuable book entitled *Die Ewestamme* (the Ewe People/Tribe) in 1906. The book is one of the most comprehensive and important existing documentation on the history, religion, culture, economic life, social structure and everyday life of the Ewe people.⁴³⁶ He also contributed enormously to Schlegel's translation of the Bible which he began in 1913 and completed it in 1914. Debrunner remarked:

⁴³⁴ John D. K. Ekem, *Early Scriptures of the Gold Coast (Ghana)* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2011), p. 118.

⁴³⁵ Meyer, "Christianity and the Ewe Nation", p. 176.

⁴³⁶ Komla Amoaku, "African Books Collective: The Ewe People" (www.africanbookscollective.com/books/the-ewe-people), Assessed 10th March, 2018.

Spieth knew from personal experience that the most competent teachers in the country had to read a chapter of Isaiah through several times before they could understand the mere wording so that the whole Old Testament had to be translated afresh. Ludwig Adzklo was a great assistance in this; in 1909 Spieth and the Bible Commission... spent six months on the task of going through the text once more and of polishing it.⁴³⁷

One of the unique achievements of the Bremen Mission was the standardisation of the Ewe language based on the coastal Anlo dialect.⁴³⁸ Even so, there were additional elements from the other dialects of the Ewe language.⁴³⁹ Greene mentions that they produced a written language which was considered to be a “worthy container for the accommodation of the Gospel” which all Ewes who attended the schools and churches founded by the missionaries were required to learn.⁴⁴⁰ She added that this, sequentially, fostered the development of an Ewe identity where none had existed before.

After the departure of the missionaries, the indigenous agents, especially, those who were in the leadership position continued with this great initiative. They revised the constitution of the Church, the Bible and the hymn book produced by the missionaries. The current revision of the Ewe Bible entitled “*Agbenya La*” (The Living Word) was translated by Apostle J.A. Timpo. It is significant to note at this point that Apostle Timpo is currently with the Lord’s Pentecostal Church International, one of the offshoots of the E.P. Church. The translation was done to enable the youth and adults who had gone through non-formal education to be able to read the Bible.⁴⁴¹ The Ewe Hymnal which had four hundred and eighty-one hymns has also been revised

⁴³⁷ Debrunner, *A Church Between Colonial Powers*, pp. 136-7

⁴³⁸ Before the arrival of the Bremen missionaries there was no written Ewe language. The various Ewe states speak different Ewe dialects. The Ewe language that was taught and spoken in mission schools was seen as the standard Ewe. The introduction of the Christian book religion was to bring about the union of the various ‘tribes’ speaking different ‘dialects’ in the regional Ewe church. In the mission schools, pupils learned to write the standard language developed by the Bremen missionaries in order to be able to read the Bible, hymnbooks and other literary mission products. Meyer, “Christianity and the Ewe Nation”, ps 178-9.

⁴³⁹ Ustorf, ‘Zahn, Franz Michael 1833 to 1900’.

⁴⁴⁰ Greene, *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter*, p. 19.

⁴⁴¹ Ghana News Agency, “Newly Translated Ewe Bible Launched”

(<http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/religion/Newly-translated-Ewe-Bible-Launched-126554>), Assessed 10th March, 2018.

with additional hymns totalling six hundred and sixty-five in the new hymnal.⁴⁴² The most recently revised constitution which the Church is currently using is the 1991 Constitution. Scholars such as Emeritus C.G. Baeta, Emmanuel Ablo, Komla Amoaku, Godfred K. Agamah, Divine E.K. Amenumey, Gilbert Ansre, and Elorm Dorvlo among others, have contributed greatly to the documentation of Ewe history, culture, language and music.⁴⁴³ For instance, Ansre with other contributors in 1997 came out with a comprehensive history and achievements of the E.P. Church from its inception to 1997. The aim was to bring the entire history of the church scattered in various books and articles into a single up-to-date volume.⁴⁴⁴

This development of the Ewe language raised it to a literary level and provided the avenue for subsequent works. Their linguistic work gave the first insight into the Ewe history, religion, moral and social ideas. Their efforts have enabled the Ewe people to learn and worship in the indigenous language. Today, the Ewe are proud of their language because they are able to express their philosophy and cultural heritage eloquently in their own dialects and this is one of the legacies of the Bremen Mission.

4.5 Agriculture

The endeavours of the Bremen missionaries were by no means restricted to evangelisation, schools, crafts and language development; agriculture, which forms the basis of the Ghanaian economy, also received considerable attention. Calvin B. DeWitt asserts that it is everyone's responsibility to be a steward of the earth by safeguarding the integrity of creation.⁴⁴⁵ We are

⁴⁴² Evangelical Presbyterian Church, *Nyanyui Hame Hadzibale Sue*, (Hadzibale Society of Togo and Ghana, 2002).

⁴⁴³ See, Divine E.K. Amenumey, "A Brief History", in F. Agbodega (ed.) *A Handbook of Eweland, The Ewes of Southern Ghana* (Accra: Woeli Publishing Services, 1997), Komla Amoaku, *Symbolism in Traditional Institutions and Music of the Ewe of Ghana* (Ph.D Dissertation University of Pittsburgh, 1975) and C.G. Baeta, *Prophetism in Ghana* (London: SCM Press, 1970).

⁴⁴⁴ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. vii.

⁴⁴⁵ DeWitt, "To Strive to Safeguard the Integrity of Creation and Sustain and Renew the Life of the Earth", p. 84

to safeguard the Lord's creation as he, the Lord, safeguards us.⁴⁴⁶ According to DeWitt, "we are to conserve the garden and also guard and keep it. Accordingly, right from the beginning of the mission at Peki, Wolf requested for land for plantation. He cultivated varieties of crops including mango, coconut, pineapple, tobacco, avocado pear, teak, and rough lemon.⁴⁴⁷ Similarly, at Waya, the missionaries planted mango and avocado pear the day they arrived. Again, at Amedzofe, cash crops such as cocoa and palm oil were planted in addition to banana, garden eggs, tomatoes, and other vegetables. Some of these crops and the teak trees continue to exist at the various sites when I was conducting my fieldwork. I was shown the mango trees planted by the missionaries which have now formed a kind of canopy for the people at Peki. The introduction of the cash crops was not only for economic benefits but also for the protection of the earth and environment for future generation. Something that was started by the missionaries on mission grounds spread through the Eweland and today people in the various communities cultivate the crops and sell them on a commercial basis for income.

The E.P. Church continues to evangelise through the provision of Agricultural Extension Services. According to Ansre, in March 1991, the E.P. Church opened an agricultural extension service and training center at Akœefe-Avenui 6 kilometers east of Ho. The project was called the "E.P. Church Ho Farms" and "Bremen Village" for the training center.⁴⁴⁸ He noted that, although the initial aim for the establishment of the farm was to provide agricultural and technical services primarily to farming communities around Akœefe and Tanygbe with a radius of 5km, it rapidly developed into an important training center for other groups, organisations, and individuals who were not part of the target group.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁶ DeWitt, "To Strive to Safeguard the Integrity of Creation and Sustain and Renew the Life of the Earth", P. 90

⁴⁴⁷ Interview with T.V. Adiamo, Catechist, Peki-Blengo E.P. Church, 23rd November, 2017.

⁴⁴⁸ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 227.

⁴⁴⁹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 227.

The farm also trained women on nutrition and improvement, agro-processing and income generation, afforestation and woodlot establishment, and hedgerow intercropping. Other programmes included a bee-keeping snail and mushroom farming, breeding of sheep and other animals and organic farming (bio-intensive gardening and compositing).⁴⁵⁰ The training helped the women to raise their standard of living and also to improve their nutritional needs. It is recorded that by May 1997, about six years after the inception of the Ho farm, it has trained one hundred and fifty (150) people of which 40% are women.⁴⁵¹ Ansre asserts that “of all the Churches agricultural projects, the Ho Farms has been the most successful”.

In this section, it has been noted that the Bremen missionaries introduced a number of food and cash crops to the Eweland. Such efforts were complemented by the E.P. Church who continues to render agricultural services to the people in the region and even beyond. Together, their agricultural activities in the country contributed to the economic activities of the people. Although currently, the youth are not interested in agriculture, their agricultural initiatives are still visibly present in both the Eweland and the rest of the nation.

4.6 Healthcare Delivery

As already discussed in the preceding chapter, Jesus’ ‘manifesto’ in Luke 4:18-19⁴⁵² reveals that mission is not only about proclaiming the gospel but also to respond to the needs of humankind thus offering services that enhanced human welfare. The greatest commandment, according to Jesus is, ‘love of God and love of neighbour’ (Matthew 22:34-40).⁴⁵³ This encourages the church to express love and affection to the poor, the sick, and the less privileged in society. In that regard, the health needs of the Ewe people became an utmost concern to the

⁴⁵⁰ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 227.

⁴⁵¹ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 228.

⁴⁵² “The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.”

⁴⁵³ Maggay, “To respond to Human Needs by Loving Service”, p. 46.

missionaries. They did not only respond to the spiritual needs of the people but also their physical (health) needs.

Although some of the missionaries died out of tropical diseases, they were able to heal most of the ailments of the indigenes. The first achievement on the delivery of health service was at Peki where Wolf cured Chief Tim Klu of Wudome of chronic ulcer which made him remark that there was magic in his medicine.⁴⁵⁴ The Nursing Sisters Home at Keta (see section 4.9.1) also provided healthcare for the people. The sisters committed themselves to the treatment of various diseases and dressing of wounds of both the missionaries and the indigenes. The same healthcare services were rendered at Amedzofe. The first medical doctor to come to Eweland was the wife of T.L. Beveridge, one of the Scottish missionaries. She reopened the existing dispensary at Amedzofe and responded to the medical needs of the sick and especially the aged. She trained brilliant girls to assist her in caring for the sick and dressing of wounds. It is recorded that between 1925 and the 1930s, the Amedzofe health center became useful to a significant section of the communities.⁴⁵⁵

Although none of the initial healthcare services by the missionaries and the deaconesses (Nursing sisters) grew into a fully-fledged hospital, it can be argued that what they initiated encouraged the E.P. Church to continue with this legacy. Today, the church has a clinic at Ho, at the social service center which provides medical services to the office personnel of the Church, the local community as well as tourists and visitors who use the Church's Social Service Centre.⁴⁵⁶ It is a mobile clinic which caters for about thirteen communities in the Ho and Kpando districts⁴⁵⁷ among others.

⁴⁵⁴ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 85.

⁴⁵⁵ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 209.

⁴⁵⁶ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 211.

⁴⁵⁷ Ansre, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church*, p. 211.

The health services rendered by the missionaries and their indigenous agents went beyond the frontiers of the Eweland because of the quality of medical services rendered particularly by Mrs. Beveridge. The love shown to the sick, poor and the aged in the communities attracted the indigenous people into the Christian faith. Just as Melba Meggay said, since loving God and loving neighbour is a single act, what we do with the sick and poor among us is a test of what we are as a society and as a people of God.⁴⁵⁸ The missionaries did not come as social workers but to undertake what Jesus said in his ‘manifesto’ and what he commanded in the Great Commission.

4.7 Architecture

Another great legacy of the missionary was in the area of architecture. As explained in chapter two, Wolf after arriving at Peki requested for a mission house. The mission house built by Wolf differed in size and form from the usual Peki houses because it was built in an European style.

Moses Mensah describes the mission architecture at Peki as follows:

Edifices raised by the missionaries in the 19th and early 20th centuries are distinct and show signs of influence from Southern German architecture.... Most mission structure has a stone base with mud used as an adhesive. Roofing was originally done with wooden shingles. Several renovations of the Mission monuments have replaced the mud with cement concrete and the wooden shingles with roofing tiles. Buildings with an additional floor, such as the mission house, evidently used the upper level for as sleeping places due to aeration and the sunlight ingress. The missionary architecture at Peki closely resembles the Basel version at stations such as Akropong and Aburi.⁴⁵⁹

The same style of building was constructed in all the communities the missionaries operated. Mensah’s statement adequately addresses what one sees at the mission centers today. For example in Anyako, Johann Mannfeld, described as a master builder, helped in building a second house for the missionaries which was different from the previous one. The building materials especially the wooden beams and poles were brought from Germany which gave added value to it. This house was unique because it was the first house in Anyako with a second

⁴⁵⁸ Maggay, “To respond to Human Needs by Loving Service”, p. 52.

⁴⁵⁹ Mensah, *Bremen Missionary Interactions with the Peki*, p. 45.

floor. The people were marvelled to see such a building.⁴⁶⁰ The mission houses, the chapels and the schools built by the missionaries are still in use by the E.P. Church though with some renovations and modifications. For instance, the structure of the seminary school at Amedzofe has been modified and it is currently used as the Administration block for the Amedzofe E.P. College of Education (see fig. 4.3).



Figure 4. 3: Administration block of E.P. College of Education, Amedzofe
Source: Author, 2018.

The training of the indigenous people in masonry and construction enabled them to acquire new skills from the missionaries. This helped them to imitate the architectural styles of the Bremen missionaries thereby building similar houses for themselves and other people in the communities. It is recorded that by the end of the nineteenth century, a number of houses in Eweland were built after the model of the rectangular stone houses of the Bremen missionaries which continues to exist in the communities. An example is Albert Binder's '1911 House' at Peki.

Even though the missionary architectural style became fashionable in Eweland for a long time, contemporary architecture shows some remarkable change, perhaps due to modernisation and globalisation. In other words, although there is a visible presence of the Bremen architectural

⁴⁶⁰Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 28.

designs in many older buildings, the current ones are adopting contemporary architectural designs. For instance, the new chapel at Peki was constructed using the contemporary architectural form and design as compared to the old church building at Ho built by the missionaries (see fig. 4.4).



Figure 4. 4: The old Chapel at Ho and the new Chapel at Peki
Source: Author

4.8 Negative Influence

Acceptably, the Bremen missionaries impacted positively on the lives of the Ewe people in terms of education, religion, and language among others. However, they also influenced the people in some negative ways. The Bremen mission in their bit to evangelise to the Ewe people rid them of all their indigenous beliefs and practices. This was done to have a clean slate on which they could place the Christian religion. The reason being that “African culture, in all its aspects, was regarded as inimical to true Christian life”.⁴⁶¹

Omenyo, argues that the missionaries failed, in addressing the issue of meeting the spiritual needs of the Ewe people.⁴⁶² He commented that in their attempt to win the Ewes to Christ, they described the indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the people as devilish and that it is

⁴⁶¹ Israel K. Katoke, “Christianity And Culture: An African Experience” *Transformation* 1 no. 4 (1984):7.

⁴⁶² Omenyo, *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism*, p. 61.

only by completely disassociating themselves from the indigenous beliefs and practices that they can be saved. These teachings were internalised by both converts and students of the mission schools.⁴⁶³ Debrunner put forward the following statements after interviewing some students from the E.P. Church Schools in 1969/70:

The traditions of the ancestors are all pagan and paganism is bad'. 'If we held to the traditions of our ancestors, we should not have become civilised and barbarism would have prevailed forever'. 'They worshipped the creature instead of the creator'. 'It is a good thing that the gospel is preached at all costs'. 'The Church is right in giving glory to God alone'. 'Our ancestors were deluded by Satan, the Church brings God's salvation'. 'The gods of our ancestors were false gods.'⁴⁶⁴

Also, they used some negative terminologies such as 'paganism and fetishism' to describe Ewe indigenous religion. This was a shortcoming on their part because the spirituality of the people was rooted in their belief system, therefore, to describe them as devilish was unfortunate.

Furthermore, the missionaries came to distort the communal living system in the communities before their arrival. It is said that African society places a great deal of emphasis on the community. 'To be born into the African society is to be born into a culture that is intensely and pervasively religious which requires participating in the religious beliefs and rituals of the community'.⁴⁶⁵ Gyekye explains that African religiosity means being a part of the whole. In other words, one belongs to the religion of the community. The individual's sense of communal belongingness and protection is lost when such an individual detaches his or her membership. The concept of communal belonging confirms the philosophy behind the proverb, *ati deka hɔ̃ menɔa te le ya nu o* (a single tree cannot stand the winds). Extensively, the spirit of the community is embedded in unity and belongingness without which there is no African religiosity. By virtue of the fact that one belongs means, when one is affected all are affected.

⁴⁶³ Sandra Greene, "The Past and Present of the Anlo-Ewe Oral Tradition," *History in Africa* Vol. 12 (1985), p. 81.

⁴⁶⁴ Debrunner, *A Church between Colonial Powers*, p. 297.

⁴⁶⁵ Gyekye, *African Cultural Value*, p. 4.

In Gyekye's position, religious life is not an individual but a communal affair, woven into the culture of the people.⁴⁶⁶

The Bremen missionaries after converting the Ewe people into the Christian faith made them separate themselves from their families and the communities to stay at the Christian quarters (*kpodzi*) they created in order not to contaminate themselves with the 'heathen' practices. The withdrawal from the communities brought hatred and enmity between the converts and their families to the extent of seeing them as rebels who deserved to be disowned or punished.⁴⁶⁷

This was because they believed that the sin of a member of the family affects the entire family members. Other traditional social customs such as festivals and funerals that fostered and reinforced community bond and social cohesion through communal celebrations were disregarded by the Christian converts. Converts were taught that these customs have some spiritual implications and that partaking in them would contradict their Christian teachings. The missionaries who encouraged members to 'honour their parents that their days may multiply, were influencing them to disassociate from their communities and relatives if they were to inherit God's Kingdom.

In African societies, music, drumming and dancing as well as dressing form an important component of culture. For instance, Ghanaians prefer to be identified in their traditional apparels and music on all occasions, including church service. However, the missionaries discouraged the use of traditional musical forms in worship in the church. It was almost sacrilegious for worshippers to use traditional drums and clap their hands in church.⁴⁶⁸ Undoubtedly, foreign music and instruments took over traditional drums and music. Also, the pattern of dressing changed immensely. People now wear European clothes at the expense of

⁴⁶⁶ Gyekye, *African Cultural Values*, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁷ Katoke, "Christianity and Culture", p. 7.

⁴⁶⁸ Christopher, Ibenwa, "Influence of Christian Religion on African Traditional Religion and Value System", *Research on Humanity and Social Sciences* 4, no.9 (2014): 148.

traditional clothes. According to Harris W. Mobley, the music and the dressing for the African church was still too European for an African Christian. The Bremen African pastors, though Africans, dressed like the Europeans, which undermined the indigeneity of the church.⁴⁶⁹ Despite all these prohibitions, Ewe Christians did not change into Europeans and their indigenous Ewe values remained with them.

4.9 Gender Dimension of the Bremen Mission in Eweland

Accordingng to Judith Lorber and Susan Farrell, “gender is an integral part of any social group’s structure of domination and subordination and division of labour in the family and the economy”.⁴⁷⁰ They noted that as a major social status, gender shapes the individual’s opportunities for education, work, family, sexuality among others. This, in turn, gives the individual the chance to influence the production of culture and knowledge in the society.⁴⁷¹ This notwithstanding, there is gender inequality in every society. Women’s roles and work are often devalued. Although women maintain the household, care for the family etc., they are still seen as doing ‘nothing’.

The Bremen Mission’s work in Eweland was not limited to the male ministers and workers but also involved their female counterparts. Both worked actively to spread the gospel to the entire region and beyond. However, the role and contribution of women are not adequately documented. Available literature has centered on the contributions of men without giving any particular attention to women. This section discusses the roles of both men and women towards the achievement of the goals of the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region.

⁴⁶⁹Mobley, *The Ghanaian’s Image of the Missionary*, p. 54.

⁴⁷⁰ Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell (eds.), “Preface” in Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell (eds.), *The Social Construction of Gender* (London: Sage Publication, 1991), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷¹ Judith and Farrell (eds.), *The Social Construction of Gender*, p. 2.

4.9.1 The Gender Dimension of the Bremen Missionaries

As indicated in chapter one, the first four missionaries of the Bremen mission to come to Ghana were men. The first woman to arrive at the mission field was Wolf's wife, Koroline Deist. According to Agbeti, when the missionaries were facing financial challenges and halted all projects, the arrival of Deist brought fresh hopes to the missionaries. However, her services or work in the Peki mission field was not recorded. Does it mean that during her stay at Peki she did not contribute to her husband's work or the mission as a whole?

It is documented that while the men embarked on preaching and baptism (conversion), building churches, etc., their wives were also training the indigenous women and girls to be good Christian women for their husbands, children and the church as a whole (see fig. 4.5). Debrunner asserts that women missionaries were charged "to devote their lives to bringing God to the women of Africa".⁴⁷² It is stated that in 1857, the wives of missionaries Plessing and Brutschin gathered young women and gave training to them in sewing, knitting, cookery, and simple hygiene at Keta.



Figure 4. 5: The missionaries and their wives at Keta

Source: Bremen Mission archives

⁴⁷² Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 149

The records do not name any woman as a missionary in the activities of the Bremen Mission. This might have been as a result of the understanding of mission (as the preserved of men) at the time. Ustorf, quoting Zahn, the mission inspector, on one of the demands of missionary work said:

...incidentally, I regard women missionaries first and foremost as the missionaries' wives. Through the personal assistance, they offer to their men they indeed contribute to the work of mission. But only secondarily, if their strength of and spirit is adequate to the task, do I regard them as mission workers.⁴⁷³

At Amedzofe, the wife of T.L Beveridge, a medical doctor and a Scot, re-opened the already existing Dispensary and rendered medical services to the sick and the aged during the war period between 1918 and 1923. Mrs. Luise Funke, wife of Alexander Funke who became the head of the congregation after Paul Wiegrabe, later joined Mrs. Beveridge to train the women and the girls. Mrs. Funke embarked on training the women, especially mothers, to care for children and to give First Aid to the sick.⁴⁷⁴ She founded a school for the training of Kindergarten teachers and for girls who could not further their education to the middle school level. She also provided them with a course in Domestic Science. Additionally, she brought all the women in the church together and formed the Women's Bible Class Movement (W.B.C.M) in 1932. The leadership of the W.B.C.M. was handed over to Mrs. Beveridge after the departure of Mrs. Funke in 1939. Bible study was one of the characteristics of the movement.

Besides the study of the Bible, the women were educated in Christian home life and various vocational skills training such as sewing, needlework, and knitting. Through these craftworks, the women were able to produce tablecloths, altar cloths, pulpits and night wear⁴⁷⁵ for the church and for income generation to enhance their economic life. This organisation formed,

⁴⁷³ Ustorf, *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana*, p. 117.

⁴⁷⁴ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe, p. 31.

⁴⁷⁵ Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya, p. 74.

served to promote the women's own development, their church communities as well as the relationship among the various churches established at different communities.

Apart from the wives of the missionaries, there were other women among the Bremen missionaries. This training was later made formal by two deaconesses namely, Hedwig Rohns and Lotter Rohns, from Hamburg Nursing Sisters Home known as Bethlehem. The training these deaconesses provided has generated vigorous women movements such as the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A).⁴⁷⁶ They were able to establish a Sisters Home at Keta. There was a boarding facility in the home which accommodated sixty (60) females comprising thirty (30) young girls and thirty (30) older girls as well as day students. The girls were given formal education and also trained in household work in a more fashioned way. The subjects taught included English, German, Mathematics, Hygiene, Caring for the sick and the needy, Needle Works and Religious Studies⁴⁷⁷ (see fig. 4.6).



Figure 4. 6: The deaconesses at Keta teaching the children needlework.
Source: Bremen Mission archives

⁴⁷⁶ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 92.

⁴⁷⁷ E.P. Church, Keta 150th + 8 Anniversary Celebrations Brochure, p. 17.

The level of discipline the Sisters instilled in them produced good and obedient girls. These positive traits attracted many parents to enroll their girls in the school. By 1894, the number of sisters who taught in the Girls School rose to about eleven. Some indigenous women also taught in the Sisters Home and the Girls School together with the sisters. Notable among them was Margaret Adamashie Kwadzo, from Agbozume.⁴⁷⁸

The sisters also organised evening literacy classes on selected days for women who were willing to have some formal education. During their meetings, they were given instructions in reading, writing, singing and Bible knowledge.⁴⁷⁹ The Sisters again devoted their time to the treatment of both missionaries and some local invalids. They treated various ailments including dressing of wounds in their clinic located in the Sisters' Home. It is recorded that from 1889, twenty-eight (28) sisters came to work at Keta to train women both young and old.⁴⁸⁰ The training prepared the young women for family and religious life and also gave them some various skills for income generation.

This section particularly highlights the contribution of women to the Bremen mission because the role is silenced in the existing literature. That is, while the work and contributions of the men have been carefully documented, those of the women have not been presented as significant contributions to the Bremen missionary project.

4.9.2 The Gender Dimension of the Indigenous Agents in Eweland

The main objective of the Bremen missionaries to come to Eweland was to spread the gospel, to win souls for Christ and also to address some social and economic issues of the people. They could not have achieved so much without the assistance of the indigenous men and women

⁴⁷⁸ She was trained and served under the Rohns sisters. She was one of the great pillars of the deaconesses and was instrumental in the formation of the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A) at Keta on January, 1899.

⁴⁷⁹ E.P Church, Keta, Anniversary Celebrations Brochure, p. 17.

⁴⁸⁰ E.P Church, Keta, Anniversary Celebrations Brochure, p. 17.

who converted to the Christian faith. The involvement of these indigenous agents in propagating the word of God equipped them to become good leaders and teachers who later took up the mantle when the missionaries left. This can be related to what Paul said in 1 Cor. 3:5.⁴⁸¹ It recognizes the fact that the work was initiated by the Bremen missionaries just as it occurred in the case of Apollos and Paul. The evangelistic work was started by Wolf and his colleagues but was and continues to be sustained by indigenous people.

These early converts assisted the missionaries in various ways to achieve their aim. Men were responsible for bringing Wolf to Eweland by carrying his luggage and other belongings. They helped in the interpretation of his message and the translation of his Ewe Primer and the hymns. They also assisted in the literary works of the other missionaries who came later. The men assisted in the acquisition of land and construction works, etc. Unfortunately, the available literature does not make mention of the involvement of indigenous women during these initial stages of missionary activities in Eweland.

This notwithstanding, those early male converts might have converted with their families, which implies that there were women involved. The women were responsible for cleaning, cooking and caring for the missionaries and their own husbands, as well as providing labour during the building of the mission houses, churches, schools, etc. They might have also been the ones in charge of cleaning the church buildings, etc. Yet, because it is said women are only seen and not heard, the conversion and contributions of these women have been glossed over and silenced hence the lack of literature about them. Indeed, women's efforts in the church are often dominated by men who overshadow the power structure of the churches. Dorcas I. Dah argues that "the lack of documentation in African history in particular concerning their contribution and accomplishment gives an impression that women are in churches simply to

⁴⁸¹ "What then is Apollos? What is Paul? Servants through whom you believed as the Lord assigned to each. I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth".(RSV)

observe, listen and obey what they hear”.⁴⁸² The Ewe women were not only in the church as observers; they also played roles similar to those of their men in the mission. They became teachers, presbyters, catechists and now pastors. Brigid M. Sackey, however, observes:

European clerical wives, nuns and laypersons, including women of African descent in the 18th and 19th centuries and later almost exclusively Ghanaian women began the evangelisation processes in Ghana. Documentation on the role of women in evangelisation has not been very impressive even though women's roles have been very remarkable, developing steadily and progressively from its onset to date.⁴⁸³

In other words, women thus played significant roles by responding to the needs of the missionaries, the church and those around them. They worked hard towards the transformation of unjust structures of their society and kept their environment clean, thus demonstrating the importance of environmental health. We will now focus on the contributions of these indigenous agents (men and women) in the following sections.

4.9.3 The Contribution of the Indigenous Agents to the Evangelisation of Eweland

The indigenous agents worked assiduously with the Bremen missionaries to make the mission work successful. Prominent among them was John Wright, a convert of the Basel mission in the early days of their work from Teshie near Accra. Wright became a helper of the missionaries at Peki in many dimensions. He helped in their preparation for a smooth departure from Peki in 1853, he pacified the angry chief of Anlo and negotiated at Waya, Anyako, and Ho.⁴⁸⁴ He was ordained as a catechist in 1863 and from that time was in charge of a congregation. Wright selflessly served the church for thirteen years before his death in 1865.⁴⁸⁵

Describing his efforts, the missionaries said:

It was a special act of God's providence to send to us our faithful interpreter John Wright, who has everywhere we went influential and decent men as friends and acquaintances. He possesses common sense and good intelligence and is a sincere

⁴⁸² Dorcas I. Dah, *Women Do More Work Than Men: Birifor Women as Change Agents in the Mission Expansion of the Church in West African (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana)* (Ghana: Regnum Africa, 2017), p.3.

⁴⁸³ Brigid M. Sackey, *Evangelisation of Ghana: Historical and Contemporary Roles of Women* (<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/>), Assessed 10th October, 2017, p. 42.

⁴⁸⁴ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 171.

⁴⁸⁵ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 90.

Christian. All we have achieved till now has been achieved through his agency; without him, we could have done but little.⁴⁸⁶

The vital roles indigenous agents played together with the leadership qualities they exhibited in sustaining, growing and developing the Ewe church during the deportation of the Bremen missionaries in 1918 cannot be taken for granted. Atakro posited that “they were able to build bridges between the gospel and the indigenous culture in ways that were far more effective than were possible for the missionaries.”⁴⁸⁷

Immediately after taking over full responsibilities from the Bremen mission in 1922, these leaders without much delay organised a joint Synod for the whole Ewe Church in the French and the British territories at Kpalime. As mentioned earlier, Andreas Aku was chosen as the Moderator for the Ewe Church while R.S Kwami was elected as Synod Clerk in the British zone and Robert Baeta in the French zone (see fig. 4.7).



Figure 4. 7: The indigenous leaders with Mr. and Mrs. Beveridge in 1923
Source: Bremen Mission Archives

⁴⁸⁶ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 173.

⁴⁸⁷ McWilson K. Atakro, “The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa until Today,” in Werner Kahl (ed.), *The Charming God: Attraction and Stumbling Block in our Common Mission* (Hamburg: Missionshilfe Verlag, 2014), p. 96.

During their turn of administration, these indigenous agents and leaders increased church membership beyond imagination. The population of the church by 1914 was eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-two (11,682) and by 1924, the figure rose to twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty (23,980) giving an increment of 105%. And from 1924-1935 the total membership of the church had increased by 202%, bringing the population of the church in Ghana to thirty-three thousand one hundred (33,100).⁴⁸⁸ Not only did the Church grow in numbers, but it also expanded beyond the boundaries of the Volta Region. They established churches in other regions like the Western (1929), Ashanti and Eastern (1944), Northern (1952), Greater Accra (1955), Brong Ahafo (1969) and Central (1986).⁴⁸⁹ This shows that the indigenous people carried out vigorous evangelization after the missionaries left.

The indigenous leaders, also, contributed to the development of education, right from the beginning of the mission. They assisted the missionaries in both secular and seminary schools in the mission stations to teach new converts and to prepare them for further mission work. Joseph Reinsdorf was sent to Ho-Wegbe in 1874 as a catechist and opened a school. It was the first time in the history of the Bremen mission in Ghana for an African Catechist to be sent to a place without a missionary. At Peki, Joseph Bansa, a former pupil of the Bremen Mission Seminary, also opened a school. In 1877, the missionaries revisited Peki and found the community ready for a mission station, they stationed catechist R.S. Kwami there in 1883, accompanied by William Akude, the first baptised convert at Ho.⁴⁹⁰ The school gained a considerable number of pupils since there were a lot of dedicated local people working in the schools. It is recorded that:

By 1910 while there were 19 missionaries, there were as many as 215 indigenous workers. Again by 1935, there were 22 indigenous pastors while there were only 6 missionaries and as many as 400 teachers and evangelists in Togo and Ghana. In Ghana 1945 school enrolment rose to 325. These large figures were recorded due to the

⁴⁸⁸ Atakro, "The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa until Today," p. 105.

⁴⁸⁹ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana, 2018 Year Book, pp. 48-112

⁴⁹⁰ Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, p. 207.

untiring efforts of the indigenous workers, an indication that the people knew the value of education and the mission of the missionaries and were prepared to work for it and own it.⁴⁹¹

The indigenous agents not only strove to ensure unity within the church by way of Christianisation but also “insisted on the cultural unity of the Ewe people”.⁴⁹² With this notion of oneness in both the church and Eweland, they worked earnestly to maintain and ensure the growth of the Ewe Church, the schools and other developmental activities initiated by the Bremen missionaries.

As indicated, many indigenous women helped to spread the gospel. The women were not only predominant members of the church, but they worked hard towards the development of the church. Though they were not seen in the leadership of the church at the early stages of the mission, they equally played worthy roles that helped sustain the church. Mercy Baeta was outstanding in the education of women at Anyako. Mercy was trained under the Rohns Sisters. Her dedication, devotion, and passion for the work of God made Hedwig Rohns describe her as “an anointed disciple of the Saviour”.⁴⁹³ When the Bremen missionaries in Keta decided to recruit the indigenes for the mission work outside Keta, Mercy was the first to express interest and was sent to Anyako to teach the girls.⁴⁹⁴ The school which began with twenty (20) young girls, through her great effort and passion increased speedily to one hundred and thirty (130) little children and matured women within a short period.⁴⁹⁵

Her presence at Anyako influenced both young and old, including traditional priestesses, to receive baptism. It is recorded that fifty (50) adults received baptism in 1909 and the following year another thirty-eight (38) including three (3) traditional priestesses and an 80-year-old

⁴⁹¹ Atakro, “The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa,” p. 107

⁴⁹² Meyer, “Christianity and the Ewe Nation”, p. 191.

⁴⁹³ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁴ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁵ L. Tosu, *Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako (Bremen Mission) 1857- 2007* (Accra: E.P. Publishing Press, 2007), ps. 37-38.

man.⁴⁹⁶ Mercy did not commit to only teaching the women craft work and Bible knowledge but also caring for the sick and the aged. It is revealed that her visit was not limited to members of the church but to physically challenged people in the shrines and non-adherents to Christianity. Even when there was an outbreak of smallpox in the town, she continued to render service to the victims without any reservation.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed Mercy was an icon in the history of the Bremen Mission in Anyako.

Again, the indigenous women have been able to sustain and develop the Women's Bible Class from 1939 to the present. Under the leadership of Mrs. Comfort Kumatse at Amedzofe (the oldest surviving leader of the Bible Class at Amedzofe), the movement in all the E.P. Churches celebrated its Golden Jubilee at Amedzofe in 1985. The organisational ability of Mrs. Kumatse for the success of the celebration won her the name "Jubilee Mother". In an interview with Mrs. Kumatse, she narrated how the movement has contributed in varying ways to the church and in the welfare of the women in all the E.P Churches throughout the country. She said, "we taught the women handcraft, soap making, soft drinks and preservation of vegetables and fruits."⁴⁹⁸ She added that, "most women assisted their families with the income they received from selling the products."⁴⁹⁹ She mentions that their slogan "Let your Light shine before men, that they may see your good work, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" continues to be their guide in the service of God and the church. I was shown the original cooking pot and the

⁴⁹⁶ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁷ Evangelical Presbyterian Church Anyako, p. 38.

⁴⁹⁸ An interview with Mrs Comfort M. Kumatse, former National President of the Women's Bible Class Movement, Amedzofe, on 22nd November, 2017.

⁴⁹⁹ An interview with Mrs Kumatse

sewing machine used to teach the women soap making and sewing at Amedzofe which is now in the custody of Mrs. Konu (see. Fig. 4.8).



Figure 4. 8: The sewing machine and the cooking pot used to teach the women
Source: Author, 2018

Mrs. Kumatse outlined some of the achievements of the movement including donation to the congregation in times of need from the income derived from the handwork. For example, they bought a floor carpet for the altar, a lantern, and crockery for the pastors' house. She added that the stained window glass behind the altar in the big chapel was also donated by the movement in Amedzofe. The most significant of them all was the bell-tower built for the church in memory of Mrs. Funke, the founder. They also procured two belfry brass flower vases for the church in memory of their second founding mother Mrs. Beveridge.⁵⁰⁰ Also, under the leadership and advice of Rev. Felicia Anyali-Mensah (one of the first ordained women ministers in the E.P. Church), a concrete and stone belfry monument was built. The name of the founder and the date of the establishment of the movement were inscribed on this plaque.⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ An interview with Mrs Kumatse.

⁵⁰¹Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe, p. 37.

Since its inception at Amedzofe in 1932, the Women's Bible Class Movement has spread to almost all the E.P. churches in the country. These women continued to encourage themselves to work hard in the Lord's vineyard and also carry on with what the founding mothers had envisaged.

The leadership skills demonstrated by the women in the history of the church might have informed the church's decision to ordain women as pastors, catechists, and presbyters. In 1933, the E.P. Church in Amedzofe consecrated Mrs. Anna Anyomi and Mrs. Esther Amadehe as the first women presbyters. Also, in 1980, Mrs. Bertha Ayele Dovlo and Mrs. Felicia Anyagli-Mensah became the first indigenous women to be ordained as Ministers in the E.P. Church.⁵⁰² Some ordained and laywomen have since occupied important positions in the church. This paved the way for more women to be ordained in the church (see fig. 4.9).



Figure 4. 9: Some ordained women ministers in the E.P. Church.

Source: Mrs. Comfort Kumatsa

Currently, about nineteen (19) out of sixty-four (64) General Assembly Council Members of the E.P. Church are women. This has corrected the traditional notion that 'the place for women

⁵⁰² Evangelical Presbyterian, Ghana, 2018 Year Book, p. 151.

is in the kitchen'. For example, Presbyter Lydia Aku Adadjawah was elected the first female Presbyter Executive of the E.P. Church in Ho in August 2006 and was later appointed the Acting President of the African Communion of Reformed Churches in November 2012.⁵⁰³ To use Mercy Amba Oduyoye's words, indigenous women from this ethnic groups were and still are carrying on the mission by proclaiming the Good News of the Kingdom while teaching and nurturing the new converts the church baptises.⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, without the contributions of these indigenous agents (men and women), the gospel message would not have travelled far. Ustorf affirms that as translators, preachers and teachers, their African colleagues sustained a greater part of the practical work of the mission, which was often underrated by the Europeans.⁵⁰⁵ In effect, the initiatives and agency of the indigenous people were very crucial and so cannot be underestimated as far as the success of the Bremen mission in Eweland is concerned.

4.10 Conclusion

It is significant to note that although the foregoing analyses indicate that the Bremen Mission has made a tremendous religious impact on the region, the Volta Region is still one of the strongholds of the indigenous beliefs and practices in the nation. However, this chapter has been able to show clearly the impact of the Bremen missionary activities in the Volta Region and Ghana as a whole. The proclamation of the gospel has led to many people becoming Christians. The growth of the church both in membership and coverage has been shown by the given statistics. The establishment of educational institutions, both secular and theological, have contributed enormously to the human resources of the country. This, in turn, has boosted the productive capacity of the country leading to national growth and development. The eventual recognition, participation, and empowerment of women contributed to the life of the

⁵⁰³ Evangelical Presbyterian, Ghana, 2018 Year Book, p. 152.

⁵⁰⁴ Dah, *Women Do More Work Than Men*, p. ix.

⁵⁰⁵ Ustorf, *Bremen Mission in Togo and Ghana*, 183.

society was outstanding. The health and economic conditions of the people of the Volta region have been boosted through the activities of the Bremen Mission. Hospitals, craft skills, knowledge of some agricultural practices that are of benefit today have all been handed down through the ages with roots traced to the Bremen Missionaries. In spite of the positive impact on the lives of the people, the seeming identity crisis resulting from a complete turn away from the indigenous culture adversely affected the sense of belongingness of those who first believed the Christian message.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

The study adopted the missiological and historical methods to examine the impact of the Bremen Mission activities in the Volta Region. The circumstances leading to the establishment of the Bremen Mission Society and their subsequent arrival in Ghana have been discussed. The study outlined the activities of the missionaries in Eweland and mentioned some of the challenges they encountered. An assessment of the impact of the Bremen Mission in Eweland was examined. This chapter gives the summary conclusions, findings, and recommendations for the work.

5.1 Summary

The arrival of the Bremen missionaries in 1847, inspired by the ‘Great Commission’, brought Christianity to Eweland. This led to the establishments of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Global Evangelical Church and other missionary activities in Eweland. It was revealed that out of the first four missionaries who came to the Gold Coast, only one survived. The remaining three died of tropical diseases shortly after their arrival. Wolf, the only survivor, planted the seed of Christianity in Eweland. Through the assistance of Prince Nyangamagu Wolf was warmly received by Togbui Kwadzo Dei, Paramount King of Krepɔ in 1847. He began his work the same day he arrived, preaching to the people on Psalm 22:22, and showing them in simplicity the plan of humankind’s salvation in Christ.⁵⁰⁶ Groth and Quinius joined Wolf in 1849 to strengthen the mission work. From Peki, the mission expanded to the coastal town of

⁵⁰⁶ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 84

Keta in 1853, Waya in 1856, Anyako in 1857, Ho in 1859 and Amedzofe in 1889. The missionaries succeeded in bringing the gospel to these areas after much effort.

The missionaries were also guided by some policies and guidelines in the mission field. The missionaries were to convert the people into the Christian faith. They were urged to study the local language for effective communication and also to learn the culture of the people. Beyond evangelism, the missionaries were to show concern for the social, physical and economic well-being of the people. They were taught to have respect for the civil authority, and also to set good examples for their converts in their attitude towards civil authorities. They were to provide leadership for the church that would be established through the mission and train local converts from among the elders for leadership as soon as possible. The Bremen missionaries exhibited pietistic missionary efforts in these policies as they sought to encourage righteous living among the non-Christians.

The Bremen missionaries engaged in various activities in addition to evangelism. These included education, language development, cultural, economic, health and architecture. The mission established schools at all the places they operated. Their educational contributions were not only geared towards formal and theological/seminary education but also included vocational/technical training.

Language development was another area that captured the attention of the missionaries. Indeed there were outstanding individuals who contributed to the improvement of the Ewe language. Mention can be made of Wolf, Schlegel, Spieth, Wiegrabe and some indigenous people like Aku, Baeta, Kwami, and Kudese. Their efforts, together, resulted in the following publications in Ewe: grammar, dictionary, Bible, hymnal, history and some stories, folklores, and arithmetic books for the schools.

The spreading of the gospel was the prime motive of the Bremen missionaries in Eweland. Thus through their evangelism, converts were made, as people abandoned the traditional religion to become Christians. Some of the converts later became catechists and church leaders. The resulting E.P. Church, the greatest legacy of the Bremen Mission, and the other churches such as Global Evangelical Church, Apostles Revelation Society, and the Lord's Pentecostal continued to propagate the gospel while embarking on other developmental activities in Eweland even after the missionaries left.

The missionaries showed concern for the culture of the people especially those aspects that appeared to have dehumanising tendencies such as widowhood rite. They sought to exert influences that could transform the culture in ways that promoted human dignity and wellbeing. Following in the footsteps of their founding fathers, the indigenous Church leaders like Baeta, Kwami and Aku worked towards the inculturation of the liturgy of the church. Rites such as naming and puberty rites were incorporated into the church. Those customary rites went through substantial enhancements and modernization making them more attractive to many people especially Christians who previously were deprived of the opportunity to participate in their own customs.

The endeavours of the missionaries were extended also to healthcare delivery, agricultural production as well as architecture and building construction. All these were intended to bring improvements to the lives of the people of the Volta Region and beyond. It was clear in this study that the missionary work of the Bremen Mission was fraught with a lot of challenges. Notable among them were: the language barrier, the hostility of the indigenes and opposition of the traditional priests, the Asante war, World War I as well as the unfavourable climatic conditions. All these culminated to hinder the work of the missionaries and the attainment of their missionary goals.

The study also revealed that without the contributions of the African agents, the Bremen missionaries would not have been able to achieve their goals in the Volta Region. The African agents contributed in diverse ways to the mission work right from its inception serving as interpreters, domestic workers, teachers, and translators. When the missionaries were forced to leave as a consequence of the war, the leadership and supervision of the church fell on the indigenous agents of the church.

The efforts of women, both foreign and local, in the mission work cannot be underestimated. The wives of the missionaries and some African women worked hard to educate the women and girls in Eweland by training them in domestic science. The women also focused on giving medical care to both the missionaries and the indigenes.

In spite of the diverse contributions of the missionaries to the development of the Volta Region, the Ewe religio-cultural traditions were prejudiced in an undesirable way.

5.3 Findings

The study discovered that through the dedicated works of the pioneer missionaries the Bremen Mission activities in the early German missionised and colonial communities of Peki, Keta, Waya, Anyako, Ho and Amedzofe gradually developed and spread across the landscape of the Volta Region. As part of their strategy, the missionaries selected some local people and empowered them through education and professional training to become helpful to the missionaries in achieving their goals in the Volta Region. Their achievements, with support from the trained local agents, evidently attests to the fact that the Bremen Mission brought transformation to the religious, educational, language development, cultural transformation and empowerment of women among others, in the Volta Region.

Again, the study uncovered that the pioneer missionaries were to establish an indigenous church that would be unique from any parent church to reach its own doctrinal position and polity. Though they succeeded in establishing the indigenous church, the missionaries themselves showed distaste for allowing any element of the indigenous culture into the Christian religion. However, the indigenous leaders, after the deportation of the missionaries, made tremendous efforts to incorporate some cultural elements such as playing of the traditional drums, the *Borborbor* music, and the traditional *Agbadza* dance into the liturgy. This made the worship attractive to the Ewe people. This has contributed to the growth in membership of the church hence, making the E.P. Church the dominant Christian denomination in the Volta Region. Indeed, the efforts of the missionaries and their indigenous agents have generated great ministers of God in the E.P. Church proclaiming Christ to the entire world and influential people in the society who are directing the affairs of the country in various dimensions. The study also found that the ordination of the first two women ministers in 1980 provided an avenue for the subsequent ordination of women ministers in the church. Currently over fifty women ministers are in active service in the E.P. Church.⁵⁰⁷

The study revealed that the development of the Ewe language by the missionaries with the support from the indigenous agents elevated it to a literal level and provided the avenue for subsequent works. The indigenous leaders later revised the linguistic works such as the constitution of the church, the hymn book and the Bible produced by the missionaries. This language development helped the Ewe people to learn and worship in their own indigenous language. It has enabled them to express their philosophy and cultural heritage eloquently in their own dialects. As put forward by Sandra Greene, the development and the standardization

⁵⁰⁷ Evangelical Presbyterian Church, 2018 Year Book, pp. 105-126.

of the Ewe language contributed significantly to the development of Ewe identity, and this continued to be one of the greatest legacies of the Bremen Mission.

Furthermore, it was discovered that the missionaries contributed immensely to the evolution of a new social class of the Ewe people through the provision of western formal education and training in crafts and professions such as masonry and carpentry. This resulted in enhanced economic lives of the indigenous people and enabled them to patronise European goods thereby promoting commerce in Eweland. The education and training offered began to bring visible signs of changes in the lifestyle of the indigenous people which made the missionaries proud of bringing what they perceived as civilization to the indigenous people.

It was discovered also that the missionaries described the indigenous religion as devilish, fetishism, idolatry, and paganism. As a result, they forbade the converts and their students from participating in the indigenous music and dance among others. Yet, certain traditional customs such as festival, funerals, and observance of taboos in the community were sternly prohibited by the missionaries. Lastly, the establishment of the Christian quarters for the converts separated them from their families and the community. This separation led to the destruction of the communal spirit in society.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the research findings and the ensuing discussion and analyses, the following recommendations are proposed: firstly, the study recommends that further research be conducted at other mission stations not covered by this study to get a comprehensive account on the Bremen Mission influence in the Volta Region. Though the work has extensively discussed the contributions of indigenous agents, a detailed study on the status and role of women in the Bremen Missionary era is recommended. This would be a viable and important contribution to gender equality in the Bremen Mission agenda in the Volta Region.

The study again recommends that the leadership of the E.P. Church should establish a museum that would house all the historical artefacts of the missionaries in the early communities. Such historical items include the cooking pots, sewing machine and the other vestiges (tenor saxophone, metal pitchers, metal stand for holding communion, wooden box, wooden measuring rod, tablecloth for the communion table) found at Peki and Amedzofe respectively. These are of such historical significance that they ought to be kept in a museum instead of keeping them in the mission house and in the home of a private individual. It is interesting to note that some people in the communities were unaware of the existence of such important relics in their communities.

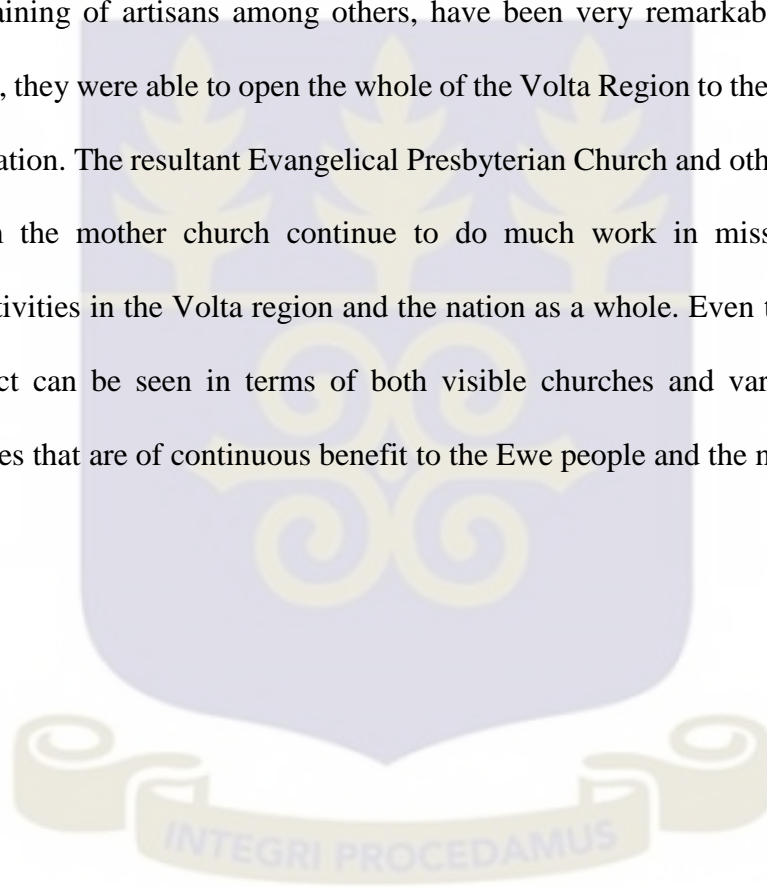
Secondly, the youth in these communities should be educated on the history of the Bremen Mission in the Volta Region, especially about their presence in those early communities so that the generations yet to come could also benefit from the oral tradition of the Bremen Mission in Ghana. It appeared that the respondents from these communities who were abreast with the history of the missionaries are older people (most of them are in their late eighties (80s), therefore, there is the critical need to transmit the knowledge to the younger generation in order not to lose that vital information upon the demise of the older people.

Finally, significant places that could serve as tourist sites should be of great concern to both the church and the community leaders in these areas. This could even serve as income generation for both the communities and the Church. Peki, Ho and Amedzofe, for example, have a lot of heritage of the Bremen Mission that could be used as tourist centers. The Gemi Mountain which has, at its apex, a cast iron cross erected by the missionaries is the main heritage of Amedzofe community. At present, it serves the dual purpose of a prayer center for Christians and a tourist site for the community. Historical buildings such as chapels, schools

and monuments and other historical sites of the missionaries could also be maintained and preserved for the purposes of tourism.

5.5 Conclusion

Although the Bremen Mission Society came late to the Gold Coast for missionary work as indicated by scholars,⁵⁰⁸ the employment of education, language and agriculture as tools helped them in their missionary activities. Their achievements in the area of evangelism, culture, healthcare, the training of artisans among others, have been very remarkable. Due to their missionary efforts, they were able to open the whole of the Volta Region to the gospel and also to Western civilization. The resultant Evangelical Presbyterian Church and other churches that broke away from the mother church continue to do much work in missions and other developmental activities in the Volta region and the nation as a whole. Even though they had flaws, their impact can be seen in terms of both visible churches and various social and economic structures that are of continuous benefit to the Ewe people and the nation at large.



⁵⁰⁸ Agbeti, *West African Church History*, p. 84.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Addai, K Joseph. "A History Of Divine Word Missionaries In Ghana: 1938-2010." MPhil thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2012.
- Adiama T.V. Interview, 23 November 2017, Peki-Blengo .
- Akatse, Nelson. "The Effects of the 1991 Schism on the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana: 1992-2015." MPhil thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2016.
- Akyeampong, K Emmanuel. *Between the sea and the Lagoon*. <http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/keta> (accessed September 16, 2017).
- Aleh, A Hilda. "A Comparative Study of the Mission Histories of the Assemblies of God Church and the Church of Pentecost in Ghana." MPhil thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2013.
- Amedzofe E.P. Hame Nutinya: A Brief History of the Amedzofe E.P. Church, 1889-1989.
- Amenumey, E.K. Divine. "A Brief History." In *A Handbook of Eweland, The Ewes of Southern Ghana*, edited by F Agbodega. Woeli Publishing Services, 1997.
- Amoaku, Komla. "Symbolism in Traditional Institutions and Music of the Ewe of Ghana." PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1975.
- Amoaku, Komla. *African Books Collective: The Ewe People*. www.africanbookscollective.com/books/the-ewe-people (accessed March 10, 2018).
- Ansre, Gilbert. *Evangelical Presbyterian Church: 150 Years of Evangelization and Development, 1847-1997*. Edited by Gilbert Ansre. Ho: E.P Church Press, 1997.
- Apoh, Wazi. "The Akpinis and the Echoes of German and British Colonial Overrule: An Archaeological Investigation of Kpando, Ghana." PhD diss., Binghamton University, 2008.
- Asante , Emmanuel. *Research and Writing: A Brief Guide*. Accra: African Christian Press, 2000.
- Asare, E B. "Akwamu-Peki Relations in the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries." M.A thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 1974.
- Atakro , K McWilson. "Indigenous Leadership of the Ewe Church in Ghana and Togo (1847-1945). The Case of Revrends Andreas Aku, Robert Steven Kwami and Robert Domingo Beata, PhD Thesis." University of Ghana - Legon, 2008.
- Atakro, K Mewilson. "The Mission of Bremen Mission in West Africa until Today." In *The Charming God: Attraction and Stumbling Block in our Common Mission*, edited by Werner Kahl. Hamburg: Missionshilfe Verlag, 2014.

- Baur, J. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa: An African Church History*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 1994.
- Bansah, W Confidence. *Salvation at the Crossroad: Christianity and Ewe Indigenous Religion in West Africa*. Accra: SonLife Press, 2013.
- Bediako, Kwame. 'Amu, Ephraim Kwaku 1899 to 1995 Presbyterian Ghana' In *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*. http://www.dacb.org/stories/ghana/amu_ephraim.html (accessed September 10, 2017).
- Beeko, A Anthony. *The Trail of Blazers: Fruits of 175 Years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (1828-2003)*. Accra: Afram Publications Ltd, 2004.
- Bosch, J David. *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996.
- Brydon, Lynne. *After Slavery, What Next? Productive Relations in Early Twentieth-Century Kpepe and Beyond*. n.d. [library.aceondo.net › ebooks › chapter_24](http://library.aceondo.net/ebooks/chapter_24) (accessed November 15, 2017).
- Car, E H. *What is History? 2*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Cephas, Omenyo N. *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*. Netherland: Boekencentrum Zoetermeer, 2002.
- Clarke, B Peter. *West Africa and Christianity*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd, 1936.
- Congneau, Denis, and Alexander Moradi. "Borders that Divide: Education and Religion in Ghana and Togo Since Colonial Time." *Center for the Study of African Economies*, 2011.
- Cotter, Kevin. *Summary of Laudato Si, Pope Francis' Encyclical on the Environment*. 2015. <https://focusoncampus.org/content/summary-of-laudato-si-pope-francis-encyclical-on-the-environment-eb60806a-fe2c-41fc-8723-4ffdc631f8612015> (accessed September 4, 2017).
- Dah, I Dorcas. *Women Do More Work Than Men: Birifor Women as Change Agents in the Mission Expansion of the Church in West African (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana)*. Ghana: Regnum Africa, 2017.
- Daily Graphic. *Mawuli School scores 100% in exams*. 2012. <http://www.justiceghana.com/index.php/en/2012-01-24-13-50-04/683-mawuli-school-scores-100-in-exams> (accessed May 2, 2018).
- Debrunner, W Hans. *A Church Between Colonial Powers: A Study of the Church in Togo*. London: Lutherworth Press, 1965.
- . *A History of Christianity in Ghana*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967.

- DeWitt, B Calvin. "To Strive to Safeguard the Integrity of Creation and Sustain and Renew the Life of the Earth." In *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, edited by Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2008.
- Djodoxeh, K Francis. Interview, 21 November 2017, Adaklu-Waya.
- Dogbey, D K. Interview, 22 November 2017, Ho.
- Dogbey, S Vincent. "Historical Archaeology of German Colonial Heritage at Ziavi, in the Ho Municipality, Volta Region Ghana." MPhil thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2015.
- Dovlo, Kofi . "The Contributions of German Missionary Evangelism and Education in German Togoland." In *Post-Colonial, Germany and Its West African Colonies: "Excavation" of German Colonialism in*, edited by Wazi Apoh and Bea Lundt, 119-134. Belin: Lit Verlag, 2013.
- Dzamboe, Tim. *Mawuli School crafts five-year strategic plan to improve academic standards*. 2016. <https://www.graphic.com.gh/news/education/mawuli-school-crafts-five-year-strategic-plan-to-improve-academic-standards.html> (accessed May 2, 2018).
- Dzandzo H K. Interview, 22 November 2017, Amdzofe.
- E, P Church. *History of the Evangelical Presbyterian Seminary 1864-2014*. Ho: E.P. Church Publishing Ltd, 2015.
- E.P. Church, Keta 150th+8 Anniversary Celebrations Brochure, 2011.
- Egbunu, Emmanuel . "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers." In *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, edited by Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross, 25-36. London: Darton, Longman Ltd, 2008.
- Ekem, D. K. John. *Early Scriptures of the Gold Coast (Ghana)*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2011.
- ELA , J. M. "Christianity and Liberation in Africa." In *Paths of African Theology*, edited by R Gibellini . New York: Orbis Books, 1994.
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana 2018 Year Book. HO: E.P. Church, Ghana, 2018.
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church Adaklu-Waya: 150 Years Anniversary Brochure. 2006.
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church Ghana, Amedzofe: 125yrs Anniversary Brochure. 2016.
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church. *Nyanyui Hame Hadzigbale Sue*. Hadzigbale Society of Togo and Ghana, 2002.
- Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako: A short History of Anyako E.P. Church 150th Anniversary Celebration Brochure. 2007.

- Farrell, A Susan, and Judith Lorber. "Judith Lorber and Susan A. Farrell (eds.), The Social Construction of Gender." In *Preface*, edited by A Susan Farrell and Judith Lorber, 1-5. London: Sage Publication , 1991.
- Foli, Richard. *Christianity in Ghana: A Comparative Church Growth Study*. Accra: Trust Publications, 2006.
- Ganusah , Y Rebecca. *Christ Meets Ewe-Dome of Ghana: A Theological and Ethical Reflection on the Rites of Birth and Initiation into Womanhood*. Accra: Asempra Publishers, 2008.
- Gavua, Kodzo. "The Religious Factors in the Administration of German Togoland." In *Germany and Its West African Colonies: "Excavation" of German Colonialism in Post-Colonial Times*, edited by Wazi Apoh and Bea Lundt , 135-144. Berlin: Lit Vergleg, 2013.
- Ghana News Agency. *Newly Translated Ewe Bible Launched*. <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/religion/Newly-translated-Ewe-Bible-Launched-126554> (accessed March 2018, 2018).
- Gnanakan, Ken. "To Proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom (i)." In *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, edited by Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross, 3-10. London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008.
- Godderd, I Burton. *The Encyclopaedia of Modern Christian Mission*. London: Tholmes Nelson and Sons, 1967.
- Grau, Eugene . "Missionary Policies as Seen in the Work of Missions With the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana." In *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, edited by C G Baeta, 61-78. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Greene, E Sandra. "The Past and Present of the Anlo-Ewe Oral Tradition." *African Studies Association* 12 (1985): 73-78.
- . *The Sacred Sites and the Colonial Encounter: A history of Meaning and the Memory in Ghana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.
- Gyekye, Kwame. *African Cultural Values: An Introduction*. Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1996.
- Habermas, Rebekka. "'Do you Want to Help the Heathen Children?': Missionary Work in the German Colonies." In *German Colonialism Fragments Past and Present*, 50-57. Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016.
- Hildebrandt, Jonathan. *History of the Church in Africa*. Ghana: African Christian Press, 1996.
- Historical Research: Answers to review Questions*. www.scribd.com/document/11330516/Ch15-Answers (accessed September 7, 2017).

- Ibenwa, Christopher. "Influence of Christian Religion on African Traditional Religion and Value System." *Research on Humanity and Social Sciences* 4, no. 9 (2014): 148-155.
- Ikechukwu, K Anthony. "Inculturation and the Christian faith in Africa." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2, no. 17 (2012): 236-244.
- Jones D, Amanor. *Pentecostalism in Ghana : An African Reformation*. 2004.
- Kanyi, B K Anthony. *Glory Comes Back to Mawuli*. 2009. <http://www.ghananewsagency.org/features/glory-comes-back-to-mawuli-school-6150> (accessed May 2, 2018).
- Katoke, K Israel. "Christianity And Culture: An African Experience." *Transformation* 1, no. 4 (1948): 7-10.
- Klutsey P.K. Interview, 25 November 2017, Anyako Parish.
- Konu Annie. Interview, 22 November 2017, Amdzofe.
- Kpobi, N.A David . *Mission in Ghana: The Ecumenical Heritage*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2008.
- Kumatse, M Comfort. Interview, 22 November 2017, Amedzofe.
- Kumekpor, K B Tom. *Research Methods and Techniques of Social Research*. Accra: SonLife Services, 2002.
- Kwakye, N O Abraham. "Mission Impossible becomes Possible: West Indian Missionaries as Actors in Mission in the Gold Coast." In *Interkulturelle Theologie Zeitschrift Furl Missionswissens Chaft, 42 Jahrgang* . 2016.
- Kwakye, N O Abraham. "Nineteenth Century Gold Coast: Indigenous Perceptions of Western Missionary Societies." In *Pastures of Plenty: Tracing Religio-Scapes of Prosperity Gospel in Africa and Beyond*, edited by Andreas Hauser , 217-228. New York: Peter Lang GmbH, 2015.
- Ladzekpo, Y.E.H Joseph. "The Bremen Mission Heritage in Amedzofe." M.A thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2013.
- Letsu, J A. Interview, 26 November 2017, Keta.
- Marshall, J Mary. *Christianity and Nationalism in Ghana*,. MA Seminar Paper, Institute of African Studies: University of Ghana, Legon, 1964.
- Martey, Emmanuel. *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation*. New York: Obis Books, 1992.
- Mbiti, John. *The Encountering of Christian Faith and the African Religion*. 1980.

- Mensah, K Moses. "Bremen Missionary Interactions with the Peki: An Archaeological Perspective." MPhil thesis, University of Ghana - Legon, 2017.
- Meyer, Birgit. "Christianity and the Ewe Nation: German Pietist Missionaries, Ewe Converts and the Politics of Culture." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32, no. 2 (2002): 167-199.
- . *Translating the Devil an African Appropriation of Pietist Protestantism: The Case of the Peki Ewe in Southeastern Ghana 1847-1992*. Amsterdam: Doctoral Dissertation, 1995.
- . *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*. London: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Miller, Jon. *Missionary Zeal and Institutional Control. Organizational Contradictions in the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, 1828-1917*. Grand Rapids, n.d.
- Miotk, Andrzej. *The 36th Colloquium of Credic in Neuendettelsau*. 2015.
- Mobley, W Harris . *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
- Ntrie-Akpabi, Vincent. "Inculturation as Self-Identification: An African in Search of Authentic Christian Identity. A Theological Enquiry among the Ewe of Ghana." M.A thesis, Catholic University of Portuguese - Porto, 2016.
- Odamtten, K S. *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development 1820-1880*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978.
- Osei-Bonsu, Joesph. *The Inculturation of Christianity in Africa: Antecedents and Guidelines from the New Testament and the Early Church*. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2005.
- Overview of Education in Ghana*. http://wikieducator.org/images/archive/3/37/20080227200726!OVERVIEW_OF_EDUCATION_IN_GHANA.pdf (accessed September 10, 2017).
- Pallaver, Karin. *Organization of War Economies (Africa)*. 2015. [https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/organization_of_war_economies_africation-2015-09-17\(1\).pdf](https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/organization_of_war_economies_africation-2015-09-17(1).pdf) (accessed January 10, 2018).
- Pawliková-Vilhanová, Viera . "Christian Missions in Africa and Their Role in the Transformation of African Societies." *Asian and African Studies* 16, no. 2 (2007): 246-260.
- Pobee , S John. *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana 1946-1966*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1988.
- Prempeh, Samuel. "The Basel and Bremen Missions and their Successors in the Gold Coast and Togoland 1914-1926." PhD diss., University of Aberdeen, 1977.

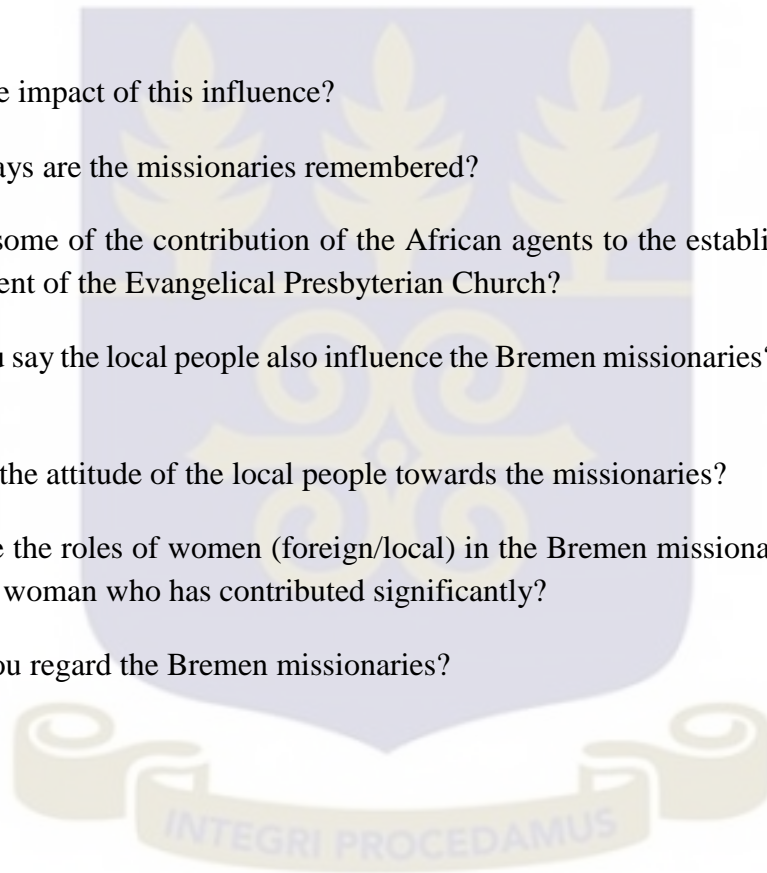
- Reese, Robert. *The Surprising Relevance of the Three-Self Formula*. 2007. www.missionfrontiers.org (accessed May 10, 2018).
- Sackey, M Brigid. *Evangelisation of Ghana: Historical and Contemporary Roles of Women*. <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/> (accessed October 10, 2017).
- Sarpong, K Peter. "Christianity should be Africanised, not African Christianised." *African Ecclesiastical Review* 117 (1975).
- Sarpong, K Peter. "Culture." Lecture, Department for the Study of Religions, Legon, 2010.
- Schweizer, A Peter. *Survivors on the Gold Coast: The Basel Missionaries in Colonial Ghana*. Accra: Smartline Publishing, 2000.
- Seán, Ruth. *Leadership and Liberation: A Psychological Approach*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Service of Documentation and Study on Global Missi. *The Impact of Widowhood Rite on the Ghanaian Woman in the New Millennium*. n.d. <https://sedosmission.org/article/the-impact-of-widowhood-rite-on-the-ghanaian-woman-in-the-new-millennium/> (accessed March 20, 2018).
- Spieth, Jakob. *The Ewe People: A Study of the Ewe People in German Togoland*. Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 1906.
- Stanley, Brian. "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade" *The Historical Journal* Vol. 26, no.1." *The Historical Journal* 26, no. 1 (1983): 71-94.
- Stetzer, D E. *What is Missiologist: The Theology, Tools and Team of a Missiologist*. 10 June 2013. <http://www.christianitytoday.com/edstetzer/2013/june/what-is-missiologist.html> June 10, 2013 (accessed October 2, 2017).
- Steuernagel, R Valdir . "To Seek to Transform Unjust Structures of Society." In *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, edited by Andrew Walls and Cathy Ross, 62-76. London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008.
- Tawia, Y Edmund. *The Growth of the Ewe Presbyterian Church in Peki: The Peki Centenary Booklet 1847-1947*. Accra: Lona Printing Work, 1947.
- Titre, Ande. "To Teach, Baptise, and Nurture New Believers." In *Mission in the 21st Century: Exploring the Five Marks of Global Mission*, edited by Andrew Wall and Cathy Ross, 37-45. London: Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd, 2008.
- Togbe Dedume C.K. Interview, 22 November 2017, Amedzofe.
- Togbe Adra. Interview, 21 November 2017, Adaklu-Waya.
- Togbe Akyem Foli V. Interview, 2017 November 2017, Amedzofe.

- Togbe Appiah. Interview, 22 November 2017 Peki.
- Tosu, L. *Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Anyako (Bremen Mission) 1857- 2007*. Accra: E.P. Publishing Press, 2007.
- Treve, K Wise. “Religious Conflict and Its Impacts on Society: A Case Study of Global Evangelical and Evangelical Presbyterian Churches in Anyako.” MPhil thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology - Ghana, 2013.
- Ustorf, Werner. *Bremen Missionaries in Togo and Ghana: 1847-1900*. Legon: Legon Theological Studies Series, 2002.
- . ‘Zahn, Franz Michael 1833 to 1900 Bremen Mission Germany’, *Dictionary of African ChristianBiography*.
n.dhttp://www.dacb.org/stories/non%20africans/legacy_zahn.html (accessed June 11, 2017).
- Verkuyl, J. *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction, Translated and edited by Dale Cooper*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978.
- Walligo, John. “Making a church that is truly African.” In *Inculturation: Its meaning and urgency*, edited by John Walligo. Nairobi: Pauline, 1986.
- Wan, Enoch . *Rethinking Missiological Research Methodology: Exploring a New Direction*. October 2003. www.globalmissiology.net (accessed October 2, 2017).
- Wiegrabe, Paul. *Ewe Kristo Hame Nutinya 1836-1936*. USA: St. Louis, 1936.
- Wiltgen, M Ralph. *Gold Coast Mission History: 1471- 1880*. Techny: Divine Word Publications, 1956.
- Wuaku Beatrice. Interview, 8 November 2017, Mempeasem, Accra.
- Wuaku Joephery. Interview, 8 November 2017, Mempeasem, Accra.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Interview Schedule for Church Leaders

1. Do you remember the history of the Bremen Mission and their contact with the people of Peki?
2. Can you explain why the missionaries choose to settle at Peki?
3. Can you identify some of the problems the early missionaries faced while working among the people of Peki?
4. Can you identify some of the ways in which the Missionaries influenced the people of Peki?
5. What is the impact of this influence?
6. In what ways are the missionaries remembered?
7. What are some of the contribution of the African agents to the establishment/ growth and development of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church?
8. Would you say the local people also influence the Bremen missionaries? What are some of the ways?
9. What was the attitude of the local people towards the missionaries?
10. What were the roles of women (foreign/local) in the Bremen missionary agenda? Can you name any woman who has contributed significantly?
11. How do you regard the Bremen missionaries?



Appendix B. Interview Schedule for the Traditional Leaders

1. Do you remember when and how the Bremen missionaries came to Peki?
2. Can you explain why the missionaries choose to settle at Peki?
3. Can you identify any conflict between the community and the missionaries?
4. Can you identify some of the ways in which the Missionaries influenced the people of Peki? What is the impact of this influence?
5. Which of them will you consider or describe as the greatest legacy of the missionaries?
6. How is the community using, maintaining, developing and marketing the legacies?
7. How do you regard the Bremen missionaries?

