

**INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP OF THE ANGLICAN DIOCESE OF  
ACCRA, 1968 – 2012.**

**BY**

**DANIEL NII ATTUKWEI QUAYE (REV'D FR.)**

**10395728**

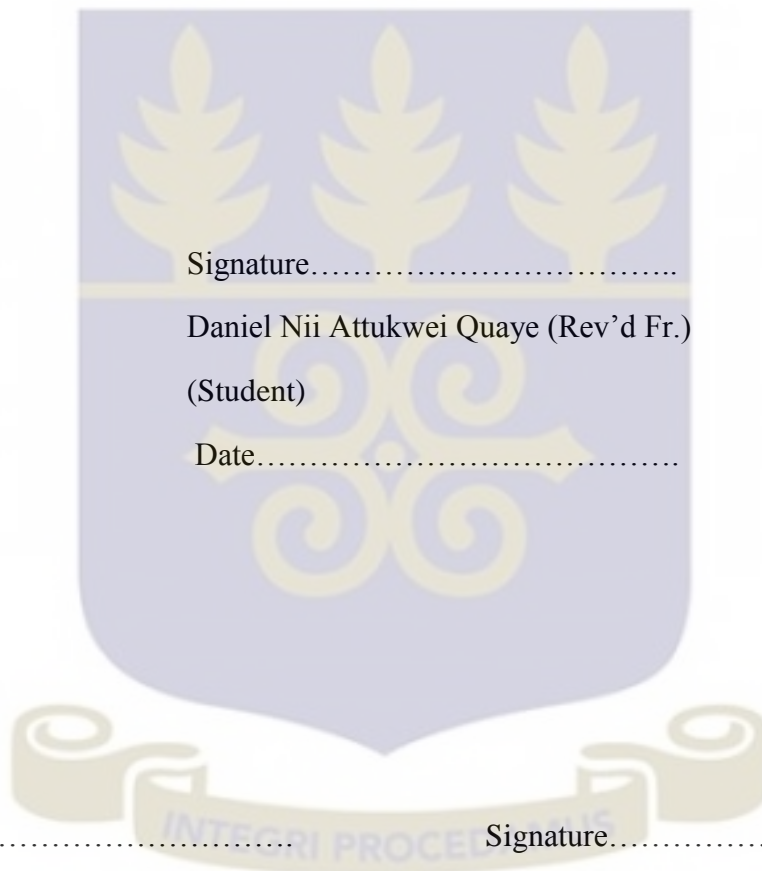
**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA,  
LEGON IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR  
THE AWARD OF MPhil RELIGIONS DEGREE**

**INTEGRI PROCEDAMUS**

**JULY 2014**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work is the result of my original research which I carried out under the supervision of Rev'd Prof. Cephas Narh Omenyo and Rev'd Prof. J. Chris Thomas towards the award of MPhil Religions in the Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana, Legon. In places where references of other works have been cited or their views adopted, full acknowledgements have been given.



Signature.....

Rev'd Prof. Cephas Narh Omenyo  
(Supervisor)

Date.....

Signature.....

Rev'd Prof. J. Chris Thomas  
(Supervisor)

Date.....

## DEDICATION

With much joy and gratitude, I dedicate this research work to my lovely wife, Mother Esther Naa Norley, and our children: Felicia Naa Leignoye, Queensther Gifty Naa Kordei, Quentin Daniel Nii Klotey and Quincy Andrew Nii Kortei for their patience and the time I denied them to enable me go through and finish this programme.

I also dedicate this work to the three indigenous Bishops, for their fortitude and zealousness in leading the Anglican Church in Accra and the people of God to break new grounds to make it what it is now.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In every endeavour, one needs the support, contributions and encouragement of others and the pursuit of this degree was no exception. I acknowledge with gratitude the financial help and support I received from Ing. Michael Krakue and Mr. William Benjamin Assuah.

I am grateful to the Most Rev'd Dr. Justice O.Y. Akrofi, immediate past Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Accra for giving me his blessing to pursue this course. I would also like to thank the current Bishop, The Rt. Rev'd Dr. Daniel S.M. Torto who gave me materials that helped in finishing the course. I am also indebted to the Rev'd Canon Prof. (Emeritus) John S. Pobee who graciously gave me materials in writing the thesis. Special thanks go to family members and friends who encouraged and counselled me to upgrade myself intellectually especially the Very Rev'd Dr. Emmanuel I.K. Addo. My profound appreciation to Miss Hilda Aleh, Mr. Francis Benyah, Mr. Albert Turkson, and Rev'd Fr. (Prof) Emmanuel Oddoye, who read and gave suggestions to the shaping of this work.

I am indeed indebted to the many people who helped in making this dream a reality. My thanks to the Bishops, the many priests and lay faithful including groups who gave me the opportunity to interview them and also responded to the questionnaire. My prayer is that God richly bless you all and that all I have done was due to the time you gave me and the observation you shared with me.

Finally, with gratitude and love, I extend thanks to my immediate family, friends, parishioners and loved ones who, throughout my studies may have been denied some level of closeness and intimacy. To you, I say God bless you and thank you so much.

## ABSTRACT

The Anglican Diocese of Accra (ADOA) has been confronted with the exodus of members from the church. From the time of the first indigenous bishop, various synods of the church have viewed it as a major problem. This tendency was attributed to the nature of the liturgy and the extensive way of worship. The liturgy even though repackaged and the worship style changed with the infusion of local instruments and choruses that meet the worship needs of the present generation, the anticipated result which led to the changes is yet to be realized by the church. This study focuses on the indigenous leadership of the ADOA. It covers the period 1968 – 2012. The thesis investigates the various activities, strategies and policies that characterized the running of the church first, by the western leadership before the indigenous leadership. The objective is to unveil the contribution of the local people and the challenges they faced in the management, leadership and above all the development of the church in the Greater Accra Region.

The methods employed in this work are the historical and phenomenological approach. The historical method is used to recount the history of the origin of the Ga people, the introduction and development of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast, now Ghana. This includes antecedents to the leadership of the indigenous people in the ADOA, leadership by the indigenes and the process of indigenization. The phenomenological method is used at naming, describing and objectivity in data collection and analysis. These are then described from the perspectives of the respondents, that is, using peoples experience to give an objective description of it. The tools used for collating data were interview, discussion and questionnaire. Consequently, purposive sampling method was used to collect information from bishops, priests, lay faithful and church groups in the ADOA.

The findings indicated that, in spite of the indigenous effort in the ADOA, in terms of the liturgy and worship, the church continues to be glued to the western style of worship and it has been difficult for the church to develop an entirely indigenous liturgy that will motivate and enhance the spirituality of parishioners as well as attract visitors which will aid its growth. Again the church continues to use the 1662 prayer book even under the indigenous leadership. Also the adaptation to the use of the English language at services and other religious gatherings is about (85%) and this is a major setback in the church. Information shows, the use of the English language scares even the semi-literate to be involved in the affairs of the church. Despite these challenges, the church managed to survive to date.

The study therefore provides recommendations for creating good fortunes for the church and its members. It is believed that the research will be able to facilitate the desire of the church to overcome her current slow growth. In the final analysis, the findings will be useful to academia and also help the ADOA better understand the exodus of members in order to present the whole counsel of God with clarity, whilst maintaining the cultural heritage of the Ga people.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Content</b>	<b>Page</b>
DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 General Background.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	3
1.3 Research Question.....	4
1.4 Aim and Objective of the Study.....	4
1.5 Scope of the Study.....	5
1.6 Theoretical Framework.....	5
1.7 Methodology.....	7
1.7.1 Methods of data collection.....	9
1.7.1.1 Primary Sources.....	9

1.7.1.2 Secondary Sources.....	10
1.8 Literature Review .....	10
1.9 Delimitation .....	17
1.10 Relevance of the Study .....	17
1.11 Definition of Terms .....	18
1.11.1 The Church of the Province of West Africa (CPWA).....	18
1.11.2 Diocese .....	19
1.11.3 Indigenisation .....	19
1.11.4 Leadership.....	20
1.12 Structure of the Study .....	20
CHAPTER TWO.....	22
HISTORY OF THE GA PEOPLE PRIOR TO THE COMING OF THE WESTERN MISSIONARIES .....	22
2.1 Introduction.....	22
2.2 The Origin of the Ga People.....	23
2.3 The Setting of the Ga People .....	25
2.3.1 The Social Structure of the Ga People.....	25
2.3.2 The Religio-Cultural Institution of the Ga People.....	27
2.4 Conclusion .....	31

CHAPTER THREE .....	33
THE INTRODUCTION OF ANGLICANISM IN THE GOLD COAST: LEADERSHIP BY THE INDIGENOUS BISHOPS .....	33
3.1 Introduction.....	33
3.2 Beginnings of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast by the S.P.G. Missionaries.....	34
3.3 The Second Missionary Effort of the Anglican Church in Ghana.....	40
3.4 The Administration of the ADOA by the indigenes .....	46
3.4.1 Ishmael Samuel Mills LeMaire 1968 – 1982 .....	48
3.4.2 Francis William Banahene Thompson 1983 – 1996.....	52
3.4.3 Justice Offei Yaw Akrofi 1996 – 2012.....	55
3.5 Expansion of the Church .....	58
3.5.1 Evangelization and Planting of Churches.....	59
3.5.2 Formation of Church Agents .....	68
3.5.3 Charisma, Liturgy and Worship .....	73
3.6 The Administrative Governance of the ADOA after 1968.....	79
3.7 Conclusion .....	81
CHAPTER FOUR .....	84
GROWTH AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE ADOA.....	84
4.1 Introduction.....	84

4.2 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and Mission .....	84
4.3 Leadership Development .....	89
4.4 Leadership in the Church.....	92
4.5 Theological Education .....	95
4.5.1 Theological Training under the Western Leaders .....	97
4.5.2 Theological Education under the Indigenous Bishops .....	98
4.5.2.1 St. Nicholas Theological College – Cape Coast.....	100
4.5.2.2 Diocesan Ministerial Training School (DMTS) – Osu.....	104
4.6 Charismatic Renewal within the ADOA .....	106
4.7 Approaches to Social Services.....	109
4.7.1 Healthcare and Education .....	110
4.7.2 Other Forms of Social Services .....	113
4.8 Ecumenism .....	116
4.8.1 The Christian Council of Ghana .....	117
4.9 Conclusion .....	120
CHAPTER FIVE .....	122
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	122
5.1 Summary and Conclusion.....	122
5.2 Recommendations.....	130

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	132
Primary Sources.....	132
Secondary Sources.....	134
APPENDICES .....	143



**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1: The Parishes and Congregations in the time of the first indigenous Bishop.....59

Table 2: Churches planted under the indigenous Bishops from 1968 - 2012.....68

Table 3: Clergy trained under Indigenous Bishops between 1968 - 2012.....72

Table 4: Lay people trained at the DMTS. ....105



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADA</b>	- Accra Diocesan Association
<b>ADC</b>	- Anglican Development Corporation
<b>ADOA</b>	- Anglican Diocese of Accra
<b>AIC</b>	- African Indigenous Churches
<b>AIDS</b>	- Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
<b>ARDF</b>	- Anglican Relief and Development Fund
<b>BCP</b>	- Book of Common Prayer
<b>CCG</b>	- Christian Council of Ghana
<b>CMS</b>	- Church Missionary Society
<b>CPWA</b>	- Church of the Province of West Africa
<b>DCP</b>	- Diocesan Corporate Plan
<b>DTMS</b>	- Diocesan Ministerial Training School
<b>ECM</b>	- English Church Mission
<b>HIV</b>	- Human Immunodeficiency Virus
<b>IPG</b>	- Internal Province of Ghana
<b>JADC</b>	- Joint Anglican Diocesan Council
<b>NLFA</b>	- New Life for All
<b>RAC</b>	- Royal African Company
<b>SEPs</b>	- Social, Economic and Political Services
<b>SPG</b>	- Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
<b>STI</b>	- Sexually Transmitted Infection
<b>WCC</b>	- World Council of Churches

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 General Background

The Anglican Diocese of Accra (which in this study would be referred to as ADOA) recalls its existence as a Diocese through the ministry of its first bishop, Nathaniel Temple Hamlyn. The Anglican Church first established its presence in the country almost one hundred and fifty-two years before bishop Hamlyn arrived in the Gold Coast in 1904.<sup>1</sup> Through the inspired zeal of the missionaries and Western bishops, they gave the country a legacy of beautiful churches and laid the foundation for self-governance and self-propagation by the indigenous people. The vision of Rev. Thomas Thompson regarded as the first Anglican missionary in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa<sup>2</sup> was the development of an indigenous leadership and ministry, capable of planting a responsible church and finally becoming an autonomous church.<sup>3</sup>

The development of indigenous leadership and their ministries has influenced the researcher to study the expansion and development of the ADOA under the indigenous bishops. Scholars are of the view that indigenization opens the door for the people's creative participation in the interpretation of the Gospel for their life situation.<sup>4</sup> The term "indigenous" has its roots in biology, referring to native plants or species.<sup>5</sup> In missions, indigenization describes the process of planting ministries that "fit naturally into their

---

<sup>1</sup> Kofi Pari Sakyamah, *Brief History of the Anglican Church of Ghana* (n.p., Feb., 1995), 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Harris W. Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians 1897 – 1965* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 19.

<sup>3</sup> P. Beyerhaus and H. Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission* (London: World Dominion Press, 1964), 10.

<sup>4</sup> J.N.J. Kritzinger, *On Being Witnesses* (Halfway House: Orion Publishers, 1994), 20. Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1979), 65. Oswald Smith, *The Challenge of Missions* (London, U.K: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972), 111.

<sup>5</sup> Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1978), 25.

environment”.<sup>6</sup> This shows that an indigenous missiology avoids planting ministries that are out of place and are replicas of their Western counterparts.<sup>7</sup> Just as a plant needs to have certain natural characteristics to be called a flower, a ministry needs certain native characteristics to be called indigenous.

The Anglican Church in Ghana came out of the Church of England, therefore belonging to the Anglican Communion. It was started by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Hereafter to be referred to as SPG) in the 1750s when Rev. Thomas Thompson volunteered to be the first SPG missionary to the Gold Coast. Through the initiative of Rev. Thompson, three Fanti boys: Philip Quaake, Thomas Caboro and William Cudjoe were selected and sent to Europe to be trained as priests to take over from him.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately of the three candidates, only Philip Quaake survived and returned to the Gold Coast to continue the missionary work where Thomas Thompson left off. Quaake’s ministry was confronted with challenges probably due to the kind of pastoral or ministerial formation he had in England. He struggled to make the practice of the Church meaningful to the worldview and culture of the people. Therefore no serious missionary work was undertaken in the Gold Coast by the church after his death<sup>9</sup> but, this missionary endeavour was taken up by the church later in 1904.

The accounts of the development of the ADOA have been written at various stages of its history, and changing historiographical styles reflect significant changes in the life of the diocese itself.<sup>10</sup> This study discusses the leadership and management of the ADOA by the three indigenous bishops from 1968 to 2012. Before the indigenes took over the

---

<sup>6</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 142.

<sup>7</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 142.

<sup>8</sup> John S. Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000), 81.

<sup>9</sup> Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican*, 82.

<sup>10</sup> Ogbu Kalu, ‘The Shape and Flow of African Church Historiography’ in Ogbu Kalu (Ed), *African Christianity: An African Story*, 5 Vol. 3 (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), 2.

mantle of administering the church, the ADOA has had five Western leaders who led the church for sixty-four years and they were able to establish one hundred and ninety-nine (199) churches comprising thirty-seven (37) parishes and one hundred and sixty-two (162) congregations. They also trained about sixty-nine (69) native clergy and a lot of lay people who helped in the establishment of many Anglican Churches. This number excludes the few foreigners who at various stages operated alongside the local people. At the time the first indigene became bishop of the ADOA, the Accra Archdeaconry had only six parishes and eighteen congregations being manned by nine priests. The three indigenous bishops have each contributed to the development and growth of Anglicanism in the Greater Accra Region. In their various episcopates they laid emphasis on mission and evangelism which culminated in the establishment of close to seventy-five (75) churches, trained over hundred clergymen and women and a little over eight hundred (800) lay people. However, their different conceptions on the mission of the church and their policies and strategies made them focus on different aspects of the church's mission to the neglect of others.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The Western missionaries who introduced Christianity in the Gold Coast came along with their doctrines and liturgy, thereby using their Western culture as a means of worship and evangelization. Invariably, the adoption of their type of Christianity alienated the African (Ghanaian) from their culture, language, social milieu and religious

traditions.<sup>11</sup> Anglicanism which arrived around the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, like the other denominations also did not help the Ghanaian converts with their cultural questions and problems in finding answers to.

Since 1968, the leadership of the ADOA had been in the hands of Ghanaians. What have the indigenous bishops done differently? Have they been able to develop an African/Ghanaian Anglican identity capable of meeting the needs of their members in particular and the whole of Accra in general?

### **1.3 Research Question**

The leadership and management of the ADOA had been in the hands of Ghanaians with three Ghanaian Bishops. After 44 years of managing the affairs of the ADOA, in what way/s can their ministries or leadership be differentiated from the Western leaders?

### **1.4 Aim and Objective of the Study**

The objectives for undertaking this research are to:

- i. Evaluate the management of the spiritual, liturgical practices, language/culture and administrative machinery of the church and the membership by the indigenous leaders.
- ii. Explain the extent to which the Indigenous leaders have managed the ADOA differently from the Western leaders.

---

<sup>11</sup> Humphrey Akogyeram, 'African Indigenous Churches and the Ministry of the Holy Spirit', *Journal of African Instituted Church Today*, Vol. II, No 1, 2006, 73-83. See also, W. L. Avery, "Christianity in Sierra Leone", in Ogbu U. Kalu, (ed.), *The History of Christianity in West Africa* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), 118. Rev. Fr. Dr. Vincent Kwabena Damuah (Osofo Okomfo Kwabena Damuah) cited by Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis books, 1995), 22. Damuah's argument replicates the efforts of Martin Luther whose cardinal reformation principle was that Bible reading and worship must be in the language understood by the people.

- iii. Investigate how influences from the local context have affected the ADOA during the era of the indigenous leaders?

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

This study covers a period of forty-four years (44) from 1968 to 2012 and it is confined to the Greater Accra Region particularly to the Ga speaking communities. The study is undertaken with the aim of looking at the role played by these indigenous leaders in the management of the ADOA within the period under consideration and highlights some lessons learned with respect to how differently their leadership has impacted on the church. Currently, the membership of the ADOA is a little over 30,000 with about eighty-five (85) Parishes and congregations which are administered by over one hundred Clergy (Priests and Deacons) and many lay people. This study was conducted in only eight (8) parishes that were in existence before the first indigene ascended the throne of the ADOA.

### **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

The three-self formula of Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn will be used since it is an important characteristic of an indigenized ministry.<sup>12</sup> The three-self formula was first conceived in the mid-1800 by missiologists Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson.<sup>13</sup> At the height of the nondenominational mission society movement of the 1800's a shift took place away from the conversion of individuals, toward church planting.<sup>14</sup> In spite of the numerical success of this movement an unhealthy dependency developed between the Western mission agencies and the native churches they had begun. Further exasperating

---

<sup>12</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 185.

<sup>13</sup> Gailyn Van Rhee, *Missions: Biblical Foundations and Contemporary Strategies* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996), 185.

<sup>14</sup> David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryville, NY: Orbis Books, 1997), 331.

the dilemma was the false notion that Christianization was integrally connected to civilization.<sup>15</sup> To combat this decidedly unbiblical ideology Anderson and Venn concluded that “the primary goal of all Western missionaries should be the development of self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating churches of Christ”.<sup>16</sup> Self-supporting challenges national leaders to strive for financial independence in order to ensure long-term financial sustainability. Self-governance is a call to empowerment, encouraging national leaders to become significant players in their ministry’s decision making process.<sup>17</sup> Finally, self-propagation encourages nationals to become proficient in evangelizing within their own cultures.<sup>18</sup> These concepts therefore serve as benchmarks for measuring the level of indigenization that exists within a ministry.

Scholars argue that, “One of the greatest methodological challenges faced by the Christian mission in our day is how to carry out evangelization in a multi-cultural world, with the gospel that is both Christian in context and culturally significant in form”.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, their argument is that one should properly employ a cultural-critical approach to missions which will elevate the essence of the context in which the gospel can be presented without sacrificing the message itself. The “three-self” formula therefore provides a useful criterion for measuring the extent to which a ministry has been indigenized.

<sup>15</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 298.

<sup>16</sup> Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 64. See also Robert Reese, *The Surprising Relevance of the Three-Self Formula*, <http://www.missionfrontiers.org> {Accessed: 18 Feb., 2015}.

<sup>17</sup> Doug McConnell, Michael Pocock, and Gailyn Van Rheenen, *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 328. See also, John S. Pobee, *African Initiatives in Christianity* (Geneva: World Council of Churches Publication, 1998), 56, Cited from Bishop Justice Akrofi’s Charge to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Synod held at the St. Stephen Anglican Church, Vertical Centre-Tema, 2002, 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> Van Rheenen, *Missions*, 182. See also, John S. Pobee, ‘African Spirituality’ in G.S. Wakefield (Ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (London: SCM, 1983), Cited from Bishop Justice Akrofi’s Charge to the Third Session of the Thirteenth Synod held at the St. Stephen Anglican Church, Vertical Centre-Tema, 2002, 7-9.

<sup>19</sup> Charles R. Tabor and Yamamori Tatsumao, (Eds.) *Christopaganism and Indigenous Christianity* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1975), 1167. See also, David Hesselgrave, *Communicating Christ Cross Culturally* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 132.

However, since the introduction of the three-self formula into missiological thinking, some scholars have pointed out that the method contains some inherent weaknesses and limitations. Their fear is that the formula places unrealistic expectations upon young ministries. According to William Smalley, “Forcing the ‘three self’s on other people may at times make it impossible for a truly indigenous pattern to develop”.<sup>20</sup> Others note that the formula has a tendency toward overemphasizing independence, sometimes neglecting the interdependence of all ministries that exist within the one Body of Christ.<sup>21</sup> Doug McConnell states, “The idea is unconsciously framed by the perspective of Western individualism rather than by the more biblical perspective of Christ-centred interdependence”.<sup>22</sup> Missiological thinkers like Alan Tippet have also argued that the formula is not broad enough.<sup>23</sup> He is of the view that a responsible ministry has more than three-self’s, contending that self-image, self-function, and self-giving should also be incorporated into the indigenization equation.<sup>24</sup> Be that as it may, these concepts propounded by Tippet can all be fused into the three-self formula. Therefore in this work a fourth dimension that will be looked at is the concept of self-theologizing which means the ability of an indigenous church to read and interpret Scripture within its local culture.

## 1.7 Methodology

This work is a research in missiology. Being an academic discipline missiology involves theology, history, the practical disciplines and the behavioural sciences, namely

---

<sup>20</sup> William Smalley, *Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church, Readings in Missionary Anthropology II* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978), 336.

<sup>21</sup> Van Rheezen, *Missions*, 183.

<sup>22</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328.

<sup>23</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328.

<sup>24</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328. See also, Keith E. Eitel, ‘To Be or Not To Be: The Indigenous Church Question’, in John M. Terry, Ebbie Smith and Justice Anderson (eds.), *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Mission* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1998), 311.

anthropology, sociology, psychology and linguistics.<sup>25</sup> Two methods are mainly employed in this study. These are the historical and phenomenological methods.

The historical method is used in chapters two and three. Since Christian historiography deals with 'the histories of people' societal structures and institutions, ideas, things, and patterns of life,<sup>26</sup> these chapters give a history of the origin of the Ga people, their socio-political, cultural and religious development. It also deals with the introduction and the development of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast, now Ghana with particular allusion to the Ga communities in the Greater Accra Region. This includes antecedents to the leadership of the indigenous people in the ADOA, leadership by the indigenes and the process of indigenization.

In parts of chapters three and the whole of chapter four, the phenomenological method was employed. The idea of using phenomenological approach is aimed at naming, describing and objectivity in data collection and analysis.<sup>27</sup> By naming the researcher tries to identify the leadership of the three indigenous leaders and their policies and strategies for the expansion and development of the ADOA. These are then described from the perspectives of the respondents, that is, using peoples experience to give an objective description of it.

---

<sup>25</sup> John M. Terry, Ebbie Smith and Justice Anderson (eds.), *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Mission* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1998), 7-8.

<sup>26</sup> Ogbu Kalu, 'African Church Historiography' in Toyin Falola, (ed.) *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (London: Longman, 1993), 169.

<sup>27</sup> Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum Publishing Press, 2002), 10. See also, Ninian Smart, *The Science of Religion and Sociology of Knowledge* (Princeton: University Press, 1973), 49-73.

## 1.7.1 Methods of data collection

### 1.7.1.1 Primary Sources

Primary sources are in the form of personal interviews, discussions and questionnaires distributed to selected clergy (Bishop's and Priest's), lay faithful and church groups. Other sources involve, Bishop's Charges, Synod Minutes/Reports, Church records and other materials. It means that in using personal interviews and discussions we shall employ face-to-face method where the researcher elicits information from respondents. Interview and discussions were deemed useful in gathering the relevant pieces of information. This made it possible for the researcher not only to meet the respondents, but it also enabled him to interrogate and seek further clarifications from them.

A purposive sampling technique was also employed to select the respondents for the study. 'In purposive sampling' according to Tom Kumekpor, 'the units of the sample are selected not by a random procedure, but they are intentionally picked for the study because of their characteristics or because they satisfy certain qualities which are not randomly distributed in the universe, but are typical or exhibit most of the characteristics of interest to the study.'<sup>28</sup>

The respondents were selected from these categories of people: Two of the bishops consecrated by Archbishop LeMaire, the only surviving indigenous bishop, some of the clergy ordained before LeMaire became a bishop and those ordained by him and have worked with the three indigenous leaders, other clergy, some lay faithful and groups. The researcher purposely selected these groups of people because they were believed to have various experiences with regards to the mission/management of the ADOA or have pieces of information relevant to the study. Generally, the researcher tried to find out

---

<sup>28</sup> Tom K.B. Kumekpor, *Research Methods and Techniques of Social Research* (Ghana: Son Life Press and Services, 1999), 72.

from them their views on the leadership and management of the ADOA by the three indigenous bishops.

### **1.7.1.2 Secondary Sources**

Review of scholarly works and other journals that are relevant to the topic, were used. These have been properly acknowledged and also listed in the bibliography.

### **1.8 Literature Review**

John Samuel Pobee's book *Invitation to be African Anglican*,<sup>29</sup> is seen by the researcher to be a manual that introduces the reader to the beginnings of the Anglican Communion in Britain and the way the Anglican Church was brought to the then Gold Coast, now Ghana. The book stresses on what Anglicanism is all about. The writer asserts with emphasis that Anglicanism is part and parcel of the universal, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic church whose founder happens to be our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and therefore the church derives its mandate and apostolic authority from the experience at Pentecost and the apostolic command of Jesus Christ to go out and make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28: 18 – 20).

Pobee in treating how the Ghanaian Anglican can indigenize Christianity so that it will be made clear and meaningful, as well as relevant to the Ghanaian culture has posited that Ghanaians (Africans) are different from the English. Therefore, the Anglican tradition must be modelled to become the Ghanaian's (African's) angle of vision and thus be owned by them. The issue here is how the English culture and construct of the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic church be socialized in the Ghanaian culture so that both the literate and non-literate members of the ADOA can feel at home and also be

---

<sup>29</sup> John S. Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000).

able to own it. This is of great concern since over the years there seems to be seepage of Anglican membership to other Christian traditions like the African Independent Churches (AICs) or even the charismatic movements. He reckons that the seepage signifies that Ghanaians (Africans) do not find satisfaction in the foreign expressions of the One Holy, Catholic and Apostolic church with their indigenous psyche and being. Also, the ADOA's liturgical adaptation to the 1662 Prayer Book has not been helpful and satisfying. The view is that upholding the BCP as a model of Anglican Worship and spirituality is not the same as uniformity of text. The best thing to do is that the liturgy should be able to touch the emotions and passions so as to bring transformation and renewal out of worship. This can only happen if the culture of the people is taken seriously.

Pobee alludes that the vernacular paradigm principle which guided the English reformation is a fundamental principle that should be the vehicle through which the ADOA can communicate what it has to offer in songs, lyrics, liturgy and evangelization. However, some view this to be difficult based on the fact that Ghana is a multilingual country and Accra has become a cosmopolitan region. He believes language is the soul of a people and if proclamation and evangelism are to be effective, there is no alternative but to reach one's constituents in their mother tongue which acts as the capacity to reach their souls. Thus, vernacular is more than just translating English words into vernacular. One has to engage the idioms, worldview, and culture of a particular people. This is called inter-cultural translation which carries in it an understanding of reality.

I see the book to be really an invitation to all who will read especially Anglicans, to take on the Anglican story and try to situate it within the social settings of the Ghanaian Christian who is desirous of seeing the church to be the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church within the Anglican vision. In as much as I do agree with the writer

that this can help the ADOA to expand, yet one could realize that some of his ideas were for a particular reason.

Another material viewed by the researcher as an important resource for this work is an article by Cephas Omenyo; *Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case*.<sup>30</sup> The author sets out to correct the negative impression created by some Western and African scholars concerning the fate of the Christian religion in Africa because they saw Africans as mere spectators to the spread of Christianity. This misconception arose out of two basic tendencies: Firstly, due to the close association between colonial authorities, traders, and Western missionaries, Africans were unable to differentiate between a colonial administrator and a Western missionary. Secondly, the sturdy paternalistic posture of Western missionaries shows Africans must be spoon-fed with the gospel else they would cease to exist in the absence of Western missionaries. This gained a lot of prominence due to the fact that Christianity had not sunk deep into the fabric of the African soil.

The writer asserts that irrespective of these predictions, the interesting thing is that the population of African Christians continues to double every 12 years and Christianity has also expanded to become the dominant religious influence in African society. The spread and expansion of Christianity in Africa is the work of African initiatives and not a product of Western import. He gave scenarios where Africans started the spread of the gospel before Western missionaries came in. Two of such examples are: the 1100 ex-slaves who were settled in Sierra Leone by the “Clapham Sect” in 1792. These had preachers and Christians and they worshipped for over a decade before the first Western missionary came. Another is the role played by William de Graft a Ghanaian who

---

<sup>30</sup> Cephas N. Omenyo, *Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case* in *Missiology: An International Review*, (39:3 2011: 374).

contacted a devout Methodist for bibles. In the end the bibles came along with the first Wesleyan Methodist Missionary to the Gold Coast in 1835 in the person of the Rev. Joseph Dunwell.

The writer notes that Africans had been in the forefront in both the founding and continuation of the missions. Thus the local people were never pushed to the side-lines when eventually the Western missionaries came, rather they collaborated with them and in the event of their exit or death, the Africans who had owned the message were capable of sustaining the missionary venture. Statistically, in the missionary endeavours of all the mission agencies the number of African workers was more than the Western missionaries. The author has maintained that notable African/Ghanaian revivalists who collaborated with the missionaries and help in the spread of Christianity in Ghana are William Wade Harris (1860-1929), John Swatson (1855-1925), and Kwame Sampson Oppong (1884-1965). These personalities operated within the African worldview and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (Spiritual Renewal) which had nothing to do with the culture of the Western missionaries', yet they worked in tandem which resulted in a major breakthrough in evangelism in Ghana. There are cases which suggest that almost all the Western mission agencies and their agents made significant headways with the collaboration of the local people some of whom were not Christians. To buttress the point that African initiatives helped Christianity to thrive in Africa, the writer has posited that due to their real "authentic African" nature that is, the use of African culture as their foundation, the AICs were able to help their people meet all imminent challenges which their missionary counterparts could not address due mainly to their European worldview.

Another case of indigenization is the impact of the Pentecostal phenomenon which permeates in all the denominations in Ghana (Africa). Initially the mainline churches were opposed to Pentecostal spirituality; however with time they appreciated it and

through it they dealt adequately with the issues of the African worldview among African Christians. The researcher is of the view that the writer did justice to the topic and delineated the points which spoke correctly against those misconceptions against indigenous African Christians. I do agree with the writer that Christianity was not an imposition because without the participation of the indigenous people, it could not have thrived to its current status. Indeed, Africans have been their own missionaries and now have become missionaries to other continents.

The third material used in this work is the three-self formula: *self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating*<sup>31</sup> conceived by Rufus Anderson (1796-1880) and Henry Venn (1796-1873). These two scholars directly addressed the dependency syndrome and came out as the most influential missiological thinkers of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. They were believed to have been influenced by the missionary enthusiasm of the early decades of that century. From 1832 – 1866, Anderson was the chief administrator of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Venn also served in a similar portfolio for the British-based Church Missionary Society (CMS) from 1841- 1872. The concerns of both men were about mission principles, especially as they related to the natural, autonomous growth and development of churches. They went ahead to develop similar ideas about the nature and characteristics that would show forth a healthy church and associated it with the “three-self” formula. This formula strongly affected both the American and British mission theorist.

In 1841, Anderson is believed to have expounded principles he felt were evident in the New Testament. To him, the New Testament churches had their own leaders in the first stages of the church-planting process. “In this way the gospel soon became

---

<sup>31</sup> This three-self formula was first conceived in the mid-1800 by missiologists Henry Venn and Rufus Anderson. See, Van Rheenen, *Missions*, 185.

indigenous to the soil, and the gospel institutions acquired, through the grace of God, a self-supporting, self-propagating energy”.<sup>32</sup> He was believed to have considered “native pastorate” as necessary for a healthy church that was independent of mission subsidy and control. Venn is cited to have advised missionaries to use the elements of the three-self formula and should always aim at establishing new churches “upon the principles of self-support, self-government, and self-extension”.<sup>33</sup> These two viewed the “three-selves” as guiding goals. The caution is that if care is not given to making the church and the gospel relevant within the culture, relevance will not be realized and the resulting indigeneity will not be recognized by the people. Missionary attitudes toward indigenous cultures can also affect the process and influence leadership development in the emerging church. Locals who are “entrusted” with the care of the church may think and act more like the missionary than their cultural peers.

From the time that the three-self formula was introduced into missiological thinking, some school of thought has noted some inherent weaknesses and limitations. They fear that the formula places unrealistic expectations upon young ministries. Smalley thinks that, “Forcing the ‘three selves’ on other people may at times make it impossible for a truly indigenous pattern to develop”.<sup>34</sup> Others have noted that the formula has a tendency toward overemphasizing independence, sometimes neglecting the interdependence of all ministries that exist within the one Body of Christ.<sup>35</sup> McConnell asserts, “The idea is unconsciously framed by the perspective of Western individualism rather than by the more biblical perspective of Christ-centred interdependence”.<sup>36</sup> Tippet argued that the formula is not broad enough.<sup>37</sup> He feels that a responsible ministry has more than three-

---

<sup>32</sup> Eitel, ‘To Be or Not To Be’, 307.

<sup>33</sup> Eitel, ‘To Be or Not To Be’, 307.

<sup>34</sup> Smalley, *Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church*, 336.

<sup>35</sup> Van Rhee, *Missions*, 183.

<sup>36</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328.

<sup>37</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328.

selves, contending that self-image, self-function, self-giving, and self-theologizing should also be incorporated into the indigenization equation.<sup>38</sup> Because of these weaknesses and limitations, some have also noted that it is entirely possible to be a three-self ministry and still not be indigenous. Studying closely what Tippet has suggested, one can say that self-image can be equated to self-governing, self-function equals self-propagating and self-giving equals self-funding. However, what the ADOA needs which I have indicated earlier is self-theologizing.

In the light of these weaknesses, I would like to subscribe to the writings of some scholars who have written in support of the ‘three-self’ formula. Van Rheezen and William Taylor have posited that rather than develop structures of ministry that rely on Western supervision, personnel and finances, indigenization “presupposes that the leadership baton that are in the hands of nationals can effectively help them lead their own local churches and church movements”.<sup>39</sup> Verkuyl also believes that the three-self formula has brought about a mighty transformation in mission policy and practice. As a result, indigenous peoples have been empowered and young ministries have been given a greater voice in administrative affairs and decision making processes.<sup>40</sup> In relating the ‘three-self’ formula to scripture, one realizes that both Jesus and Paul have provided an excellent model to follow and it should have been the responsibility of the ADOA to emulate their missiological precedent. Statistically, there will never be enough foreign workers to occupy every village, town, and city throughout the world.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, if there were enough missionaries the amount of funds needed by the ADOA to cater for them would be very huge. Again, even if there were to be enough missionaries and a lot

---

<sup>38</sup> McConnell et al, *The Changing Face of World Missions*, 328. See also, Eitel, ‘To Be or Not To Be’, 311.

<sup>39</sup> Van Rheezen, *Missions*, 181. William Taylor, *Global Missiology for the 21st Century* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academia, 2000), 505.

<sup>40</sup> Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 65.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *The Challenge of Missions*, 111.

of funds, indigenous leadership remains the most effective tool for reaching indigenous people. For these reasons indigenization is not just a missiological option; it is a missiological necessity.

### **1.9 Delimitation**

Due to the vastness of the Greater Accra Region in which the Anglican Diocese of Accra finds itself, the research work was limited to some selected parishes within the Ga communities in the diocese. The research was conducted among some of the clergy, eight parishes, selected lay faithful and groups within the ADOA. Most of the clergy interviewed have been students of the institutions that were the efforts of both Western and indigenous leaders.

In the course of the study the researcher realized that, many people with relevant and valuable information on the mission of the Anglican Church in Ghana and the strategies used by especially the first and second indigenous bishops had died, and even those who were still alive, have forgotten most of the relevant facts because of lack of proper record keeping. Also, while some thought their comments would vilify certain personalities, others were hesitant in giving the relevant information for fear of victimisation regardless of assurances from the researcher. Another difficulty was the lack of proper documentation of information. Most of the information have not been properly documented and kept for future use. Nevertheless, the researcher made use of the available resources or information at his disposal.

### **1.10 Relevance of the Study**

Studying anything from the historical perspective gives one many benefits. This study is very important because, it would contribute to knowledge and the historiography of the

ADOA. Again, it gives a better insight into the often neglected detailed study of the church's work in the Greater Accra Region. Another relevance of the study is the identification of the strengths and weaknesses of the Church.

The expectation is that the thesis would provoke interest for further reading or research into other aspects or areas of the life of the Anglican Church in Ghana as a whole. If this happens then the reason for such a study would have been achieved, that is, to contribute to literature, the documentation and study of the ADOA under the indigenous leaders.

## **1.11 Definition of Terms**

### **1.11.1 The Church of the Province of West Africa (CPWA)**

The Diocese of Accra is a member of the Anglican Communion of the Church of the Province of West Africa. The use of the word "Province" in the context of the Anglican Church denotes self-sufficient administrative units of the Anglican Church in various parts of the world. The caption "Anglo-Catholic" has been applied to the Church of England as a whole because of its claim to be the English branch of the Catholic Church, but usually refers only to a party within the Anglican Communion which, though it had plenty of antecedents, became self-conscious and more or less identifiable from the time of the Oxford Movement around the 1830s.<sup>42</sup>

The Anglican Communion is a family of churches within the universal church of Christ, maintaining apostolic doctrine and order in full communion with one another and with the See of Canterbury. The Anglican Church in this part of the world is called the Church of the Province of West Africa, but the Ghanaian Church is on the verge of becoming a Province of its own and it is currently referred to as the Internal Province of

---

<sup>42</sup> Alan Richardson and John Bowden, *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1983), 20.

Ghana (IPG), in order for it to become a self-governing Province of the Anglican Communion. The Church proclaims and holds fast the doctrine and ministry of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.<sup>43</sup>

### **1.11.2 Diocese**

A Diocese is the territory under the authority of a Bishop, an aggregation of Parishes, Congregations and Missionary areas under the administrative and pastoral care of a Bishop and a Chapter, which serves as the advisory committee to the Bishop. It is made up of the Dean, Archdeacons and Canons. In Anglicanism, a “local church” in its fullness is thus not a single congregation, but the common life of all who share the leadership of the same bishop.

### **1.11.3 Indigenisation**

Indigenisation is about discarding “foreignness” as it was about rooting the faith in local realities.<sup>44</sup> It opens the doors for the people’s creative participation in the interpretation of the Gospel for their life situation. An indigenous priesthood is the ministry incarnated within the whole congregation, thus being a community of committed individuals. The belief is that, indigenous leadership will be able to make the church attractive to the indigenous people, a church that would be able to support itself, govern itself and propagate itself.

Indigenous theology is an expression of the struggle for theological selfhood from the domination of Western theologies on the Christian experience of Asian, African and Latin American Christians.<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Anglican Church of Ghana, *The Book of Common Prayer* (Ghana,: JADC, 1975), 146-7.

<sup>44</sup> Bediako, *Christianity in Africa*, 115.

<sup>45</sup> Richardson et al, *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, 29.

#### **1.11.4 Leadership**

Leadership focuses on purpose. For Christian leaders our purpose means pursuing the same goal that Jesus pursued, that is, helping people to become all that they can become under God. Jesus said, “I came that you may have life – life in its fullness” (John 10:10). Leadership is to make human strength productive, thus a goal oriented/transformational leader is one who identifies the bigger picture, and understands the purpose of the life and work of the group or institution. To lead, or go before, implies that the leader has foresight and a sense of direction.

In this study the researcher will be considering Christian leadership that essentially involves service. According to Krass, the role of the leader is two-fold.

- A. He/she will serve as an enabler of good discussion, helping the group members to express their thoughts and feelings and experiences.
- B. He/she will serve as a resource person, trained in the historical faith, who shares his/her knowledge with people, as they need to learn of the accumulated wisdom of the church.<sup>46</sup>

Indigenous leadership presupposes national leadership. This leadership must be truly the call of God and filled with the spirit, for it is the Holy Spirit with His anointing and spiritual gifts that provides the indispensable preparation for the work of the ministry.<sup>47</sup>

#### **1.12 Structure of the Study**

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one looks at the General Introduction. The background to the study, Statement of the Problem, Research Question, Aim and Objective of the Study, Scope of the Study, Theoretical Framework, Methodology and

---

<sup>46</sup> Krass, *Go and Make Disciples*, 106.

<sup>46</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 16.

<sup>47</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 16.

modes of data collection, Literature Review, Delimitation, Relevance of the Study, Definition of Terms and Structure of the Study.

Chapter Two focuses on the history of the Ga people prior to the introduction of Christianity in the Gold Coast and the formation of the Anglican Church. The chapter looks at the setting, origin, social structure and the religio-cultural institution of the Ga people.

Chapter Three introduces the antecedents to indigenous leadership when the Administration of the ADOA was under the Western Bishops. It further explores the work of the indigenous Bishops and how their leadership styles have advanced or inhibited the growth of the church. It looks at their various leadership and administrative skills in the form of evangelization and planting of churches, formation of the church agents, their charisma, liturgical renewal and Worship.

Chapter Four looks at growth and leadership development under the indigenous bishops to empower the faithful for effective ministry. Here, strategies/policies in the form of theological education, the church's involvement in social services and the policy of ecumenism are all looked at.

Then chapter five is on the summary, conclusion and recommendation.



## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORY OF THE GA PEOPLE PRIOR TO THE COMING OF THE WESTERN MISSIONARIES

#### 2.1 Introduction

If indigenizing a ministry in Accra among the Ga requires significant levels of empowerment and cultural adaptation, a brief understanding of the origin and religio-cultural setting of the Ga people is important. It is a difficult thing to deal with the study of the religious life of African communities due to the fact that it is not self-explanatory; in that, it affects every facet of their lives. This could be considered as a process and not an event. Emmanuel Addo in affirming this stance echoed the views of Janet Hudson that, 'it is part of an on-going and continuous process of religious and social change set within a specific socio-political, economic and historic context'.<sup>48</sup>

This chapter traces the origin and setting of the Ga people as to where the Ga came from to occupy where they are now and to see the setting into which the Anglican Church was planted in the Greater Accra Region. There will also be a discussion on their social structure and religio-cultural practices prior to the coming of the missionaries. What role did they play in the resuscitating of the Anglican Church in Accra after the death of Philip Quaque? The Ga of today are a mixture of people and cultures which was gradually fused into a system with distinct characteristics, yet are bound together by their language, rites, festival and tradition. The Ga people are mainly found in the capital of Ghana, Accra, and its encircling towns and villages. The Ga are linguistically and ethnically related to the Dangme.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Janet Hudson cited by Emmanuel I.K. Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship: The Continuing Encounter between the Christian Faith and Ga Religion and Culture* (The Netherlands: Boekencentrum Publishing House, 2009), 12.

<sup>49</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 25.

## 2.2 The Origin of the Ga People

The Ga people form part of the larger tribal groupings of the Ga-Dangme. In defining their geographical boundary, Johann Zimmerman posited that, "... the people inhabiting that part of the Gold Coast of Western Africa, which is limited in the south by the sea, the river Volta in the East and the Akuapim Mountains in the North and North-West..."<sup>50</sup> Margaret Field also gave a similar graphic presentation of the geographical location of the Gas that,

The country of the Ga is flat grassland often very short of water. The sea is its southern boundary and on the north the sharply rising scarp of the Akuapim Mountains separates the hungry plain from the well-rained-upon forest country with its Twi-speaking tribes. The Western boundary is the River Densu and the Eastern the Lalo Lagoon and its tributary stream coming down from the Aburi in the Akwapim range.<sup>51</sup>

The origin of the Gas has been concealed in historical inconsistencies and mysteries with some schools of thought maintaining varying histories of origin. Ga traditions and contemporary scholarship have been in the forefront trying to define the 'Origins' of the Gas. Charles N. Ammah, a Ga scholar has maintained that, even though there was no documentation to support these assertions on the origin of the Gas, it is acknowledged by oral traditions "that the Ga people were descendants of the Jews... who migrated from the regions in the Middle East and settled on the land they now occupy".<sup>52</sup> Addo reckons that in addition to ethnographic studies, oral tradition is one of the means being used to unravel the early history of the Ga and Adangme people. In support of this assertion, A.A. Amartey has affirmed that, "*Dzee heni Ga dwere ηmene dzi Ga shikweehe. He ko Ga dzaku dze dani abashe bie. Woleee shikpɔη ke maη pɔtεε nɔ ni adze take madzii krokomei asane tamɔ le*".<sup>53</sup> This means the Gas came from

<sup>50</sup> Johann Zimmermann, *A Grammatical Sketch and Vocabulary of the Akra – or Ga Language* (Happenheim, Bergstrasse: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972), viii.

<sup>51</sup> Margaret J. Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga people* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 1.

<sup>52</sup> Charles Nii Ammah, *Homowo and other Ga-Adangme Festivals* (Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982), 1.

<sup>53</sup> A. A. Amartey, *Omanye Aba* (Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1969), 8.

somewhere and settled at this place; therefore their present geographic location is not their original home.

To support his argument, Amartey appealed to one of the folksongs of the Gas which states that the Gas came from afar, from a certain nation and have settled in a certain nation. That they are from Ga, and Gas they are.<sup>54</sup> Such a song interrogates one of the critical issues bothering scholars. This bothers on the issue of the setting of the Ga people. The song indicates that really Gas migrated from a distant place. Since the work is not aimed at a vivid account of the history of the Gas, the researcher believes that, the Gas migrated from somewhere around the regions of the Middle East; If not to say that they are a stock of the Jews, owing to a critical reflection on available information, both documented or oral, on the origin or origins of the Gas. This can be ascertained through similarities in certain cultural acts, such as, Naming and Burial ceremonies and the Hɔmɔwɔ festival, since these acts bear semblance to those around the Middle East.

In as much as scholars hold a common view that Gas migrated from the region of the Middle East, they however share different accounts regarding the migration route. One tradition is that Gas migrated from the West Coast of Palestine through Ethiopia, Rwanda and Burundi and came to Nigeria.<sup>55</sup> Ammah says that the migration route was through Egypt, Abyssinia and, finally Nigeria.<sup>56</sup> Be that as it may, even in Nigeria, two postulations have been put forward. Whilst one account maintains that they settled in Benin City,<sup>57</sup> the other believes it was Ile Ife.<sup>58</sup> Apparently, certain common names and cultural practices give a clue that the Gas had a significant degree of affinity with the Nigerians as well and from there they migrated southward to the coast of the Gold Coast (Now Ghana). The researcher wishes to emphasise that upon a critical analysis of the

<sup>54</sup> For the full text of the folksong see, Amartey, *Omanye Aba*, 8.

<sup>55</sup> A.A. Amartey, *Omanye Aba*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1990), 11-7.

<sup>56</sup> Ammah, *Homowo and other Ga-Adangme Festivals*, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Carl Reindorf, *A History of the Gold Coast and Asante* (Accra: Basel Mission Book Depot, 1950), 23.

<sup>58</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 31,

hypotheses of the origins of the Ga state, there is a clear indication that they (Gas) migrated from somewhere around the Middle East.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the Gas are closely related to the Dangmes which Ammah has indicated “were of one stock, and it was only the immigration downwards that separated them”.<sup>59</sup> Field also opined in support of this assertion, that:

It was probably at the end of the sixteenth century that the Ga-speaking immigrants began to arrive... The immigrants were families of refugees fleeing in separate parties...; some of the parties consisted of one extended family with its family god and led by a family priest... These parties were: The Ga Boni, The Ga Wo, The Gamashi, and The Obutu.<sup>60</sup>

The aim of the researcher is not to contest this scholarly debate, because there are divergent opinions on the subject matter. It becomes evident that the different parties migrated at different times. Yet, it is probable that they united may be through cultural similarities or due to the threat of insecurity, to form one united ethnic group called the Ga-Dangme state.

## **2.3 The Setting of the Ga People**

### **2.3.1 The Social Structure of the Ga People**

Scholars and historians of the Ga-Dangme people believed that the Gas migrated from ‘somewhere’ around the Palestine region till they found their resting place in the coastal plain of the then Gold Coast, now Ghana. For example, Field, observed that, “it was probably at the end of the sixteenth century that the Ga-speaking immigrants began to arrive and settle among the Lagoon-worshipping Kpeshie, aborigines”.<sup>61</sup> She submitted further that the arrival was in parts. Addo is of the view that although there is an uncertainty regarding the origin of the Ga, the same cannot be said of their settlement in

---

<sup>59</sup> Ammah, *Homowo and other Ga-Adangme Festivals*, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Margaret Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People* (London: The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1940), 143.

<sup>61</sup> Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, 142.

the Ga plain.<sup>62</sup> The Ga started to build their political authority in Ayawaso where Nii Ayite came up with a strong central military government in order to position the Ga as middlemen in the lucrative gold trade.<sup>63</sup>

It is believed that after leaving Ayawaso, the Ga Mashie, Nungua and the Tema people were the first to settle along the coast. They were followed later by the Osu, La and Teshie people. The Gas are grouped into different traditional states – Ga Mashie or Central Accra, Osu or Christianborg, La (formally Labadi), Teshie, Nungua and Tema. Again, each town/state is divided into quarters with Ga Mashie having seven; Osu four; La seven; Teshie five; Nungua two and Tema four and each has its own chief.<sup>64</sup> They came in smaller groups of families led by a priest of the family god who also happens to be the leader. Again, in as much as today the Gas are a union of small descendants, they view their origin to the founder of a house yet are bound by language, rites and festival. One need to note that the various quarters in Ga Mashie were not there from the onset;

Originally, when the immigrants first arrived... there was no central government and no military organization. However, threatened with extermination by the increase of slave raiding at the end of the seventeenth century, these farming settlements gathered together into groups for mutual protection.<sup>65</sup>

On settling in the new environment, they had some changes in their socio-political organisation. Hitherto they had absolute theocratic systems with the priest being the leader; however circumstances demanded for the change in their political authority. According to Field, the institution of chieftaincy was adopted from the Akan.<sup>66</sup> This separation of the religious from the secular made the Ga adopt characteristics of Akan chieftaincy. Till today the authority of the chief emanates directly from the priest where the chiefs are viewed as lesser priests because they act in their absence.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 34.

<sup>63</sup> Amartey, *Omanyé Aba*, 9-13.

<sup>64</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 34.

<sup>65</sup> Mediline Manoukian cited by Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 34.

<sup>66</sup> Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, 142-3.

<sup>67</sup> Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, 73.

### 2.3.2 The Religio-Cultural Institution of the Ga People

Due to their movement from one place to another, they encountered a lot of challenges that threatened their very existence and survival as noted by Field. Consequently, the social, political, cultural and religious systems had to be redesigned to meet these challenges. No one can gloss over the context, situation and setting that the Gas found themselves and the effect these had on them, even in these contemporary period. Field contended that, “there has never been any political association between the Ga towns and they have never had a paramount chief – nor indeed any chiefs at all in the sense that the word usually conveys”.<sup>68</sup>

This argument from Field indicates that the Gas did not begin with a well-defined structure, such as socio-political institutions, as can be found among the Ashanti’s or the Akwamu’s. They had a ‘Theocratic Institution’ headed by the priests who were the representative of the supreme deity. The antecedent to a well-defined, structured institution was the ‘insecurity’ and ‘fear of extermination’ as noted by Manoukian.<sup>69</sup> Priesthood in Ga context is defined by the *wulɔmɔ* and he is the Leader or Head of the Ga State. He is the representation of the *Jemawɔɲ*, the ritual officiant and the custodian of the customs and traditions of the state. They function as the ‘chief/king’ and they have within their status the role of the chief/priest. They function in the theocentric milieu as the embodiment of both physical and spiritual entities in their various communities. Therefore, no ceremony, either of social, political or religious significance, is undertaken without the ministration of a priest. In the event of a natural calamity like flood and famine, the presence of a priest is needed in one way or the other for a particular action to be taken.

<sup>68</sup> Field, *Social Organisation of the Ga People*, 72.

<sup>69</sup> Cited by Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 30.

The limitation of their authority and positional status are defined within their territory and a particular state or clan they represented. The priests ruled and governed the entire Ga state and were the embodiment of the social, political, cultural, religious, moral and ethical authority of the state. However, as they fully settled, due to some challenges and unfavourable conditions, their social, political and religious contexts changed. Their structure was therefore redesigned in conformity with these changes. Out of these, positions and authorities were created and personalities were put in charge, such as:

- Maṃtse (Chief/King)
- Jaasetse (Head of the Kingmakers)
- Maṃkralo (Guardian of the state)
- Akwashɔṃtse (Head of the warriors)
- Shipi (Head of the clan warriors)
- Wolɛiatse (Head of the fishing community)
- Otsiame (Linguist).

Each position has its nature, roles and specific functions that they play. The Gas as noted borrowed the chieftaincy structure and the chiefs had authority in their various jurisdictions.

The Ga belief system and religion embraces all realities in the physical, social and spiritual spheres. According to scholars, there is a fusion between most communal activities with the spirit world. The spirits, they assert, influence the course of human life

for good or ill.<sup>70</sup> Some scholars have observed that the Ga and Akan people of the Gold Coast seem to be an organised group that had a concept of God whom they believed is the Creator of the Universe and the one who seeks or cares<sup>71</sup> even before the Europeans arrived in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century. But, Kwame Gyekye has opined that the African lives in a religious universe and this belief are common to all African religions.<sup>72</sup> These usually offer prayers to the Supreme Being through the lesser gods by the pouring of libation and various sacrifices as appeasement for the disobedience of humankind.

This postulates that before the advent of Christianity, the Ga or Ghanaian had their worldview that determines their values and beliefs. According to Wilbur O'Donovan, "Worldview is a view which a person has of his or her world".<sup>73</sup> C.H. Kraft also defines it in terms of "the central systemization of conception of reality to which members of the culture assent (largely unconsciously) and from which stems their value system".<sup>74</sup> The definition presupposes that culture being the bearer of a people's value system, is the product of a given worldview. It enables one to understand and interpret the things which happen to him or her and other people. Also it helps one in understanding the life and the world in which one lives, and it is a person's belief about what is real and not real. Peter Sarpong affirms that culture is the context in which we

---

<sup>70</sup> John S. Pobee, *Toward an African Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979), 44-5. See also, Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, 111; Kofi Asare Opoku, *West African Traditional Religion*, (Accra: FEP International Private Limited, 1978), 55; Peter K. Sarpong, *Peoples Differ: An Approach to Inculturation in Evangelisation* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2002), 94. Emmanuel Asante, *Culture, Politics and Development: Ethical and Theological reflection on the Ghanaian Experience* (Ghana: Challenge Enterprise, 2007), 35; Kingsley Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity* (Accra: CPCS, 2001), 4.

<sup>71</sup> Emmanuel Y. Lartey, *Pastoral Counselling in Inter-cultural Perspective* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987), 25. See also, Opoku, *West African Traditional Religion*, 18-9. Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 47-8.

<sup>72</sup> Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* (Accra, Ghana: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1998), 3&7.

<sup>73</sup> Wilbur O'Donovan, *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective* (Carlisle, U.K: Paternoster Press, 2000), 56. See also Rudolf A. Makareel, cited by Addo in *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 43.

<sup>74</sup> C.H. Kraft cited by Asante in *Culture, Politics and Development*, 34.

operate.<sup>75</sup> Every group of people have a worldview and it is based on their culture that had been passed down or handed over to them.

Ga belief can be seen and expressed mainly through songs and theocentric proverbs. For the Gas, the Supreme Being is called *Ataa Naa Nyɔɔmɔ* or *Nyɔɔmɔ* (Father/Mother God) who is known as the most powerful spirit who created the universe, therefore, is the ultimate source of all being. Most of these songs portray God's greatness and glorious nature. The Ga worldview is that God is very far from human beings, and the only way to invoke his name or power is to pour libation or perform a sacrifice to the other spirit-powers. Also, in order to have any contact with the Supreme Being is through the intercession of the deities and ancestors by certain rituals. The deities and spirits in Ga thought are seen as messengers, servants and guardians.<sup>76</sup> Studying the Ga belief system from a Christian perspective one can postulate that certain aspects of Ga culture are a form of idolatry because Christians profess their belief in one God revealed in Jesus Christ. Be that as it may, the work is not looking at Ga worldview from a Christian perspective. The spirits and deities are the sons and daughters of the Supreme Being known as *jemawɔji* whom Ammah regards as "invisible things that work in specialised and limited activity associated with medicine and magic".<sup>77</sup> Field is of the view that a *wɔɔ* is a spiritual being, 'something that can act but not seen' and usually has no name.<sup>78</sup> The deities are immortal beings and they usually inhabit specific geographic features like mountains, rivers, lagoons and other natural objects. Since this *jemawɔ* is a localized deity of each Ga State, it may seem to others that the Gas are polytheistic. But, a critical analysis of the religio-cultural structure of the Ga state reveals that they are

---

<sup>75</sup> Sarpong, *Peoples Differ*, 38.

<sup>76</sup> E.A. Ammah cited by Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 48. Sarpong, *Peoples Differ*, 94-8.

<sup>77</sup> Ammah, *Homowo and other Ga-Adangme Festivals*, 3.

<sup>78</sup> Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, 111.

monotheistic, yet, they practise ‘Diffused Monotheistic’ system since the Supreme Being is particularized in the various *Jemawɔji*.

The coming of the Europeans in the seventeenth century disrupted the structure of the indigenous people even though it initiated growth in Accra.<sup>79</sup> The Christianisation of Africa came with westernisation. Missionaries came with their own worldview which no doubt affected their approach to the Christian-culture engagement.<sup>80</sup> Emmanuel Asante in an unpublished work has opined that, “The Western Missionary Christianity for the good things it brought, alienated the Christian convert from the religio-cultural tradition of the convert”.<sup>81</sup> This shows that when the missionaries (SPG) came they failed to study the culture of the people (Gas in particular and the Gold Coast as a whole) and to see how best they can use some of our culture to explain Christian doctrines. Rather they used a fixed form of liturgy without recourse to our culture.

## 2.4 Conclusion

From the discussion, many writers and historians of the Ga state have reiterated the fact that the Gas migrated from somewhere from the Palestine Region, a territory which boasts of both theocentric and monarchical authorities. Available tales, legends and myths of origin regarding the Gas, clearly indicates that the Gas came from a place that practised theocracy. This is informed by both the early histories and later ones affirming the authorities of the *wulɔmɔ/wulɔmei* (Traditional Priest/s) as the rulers and statesmen who governed the Ga state. Due to perennial wars and conflicts, warriors gained more prominence than the *wulɔmei*, and in the end, chieftaincy was fused into the system.

---

<sup>79</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 37.

<sup>80</sup> Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1979), 74.

<sup>81</sup> Emmanuel Asante, ‘Chieftaincy and Religion’, n.d., 5.

It is without doubt to say that the *wulɔmɛi* were the notable leaders as per the beginning of the Ga state. Notwithstanding, colonization and formation of alliances brought a significant restructuring in the social, cultural, political and religious setting of the Gas to conform to the chieftaincy institution as pertains in the Akan structure. One can agree with Field when she asserted that, “Ga governments were originally theocracies...; the idea of secular chiefs... is quite foreign to the Ga and it is greatly to the detriment of the Ga peace”.<sup>82</sup>

The above submissions show that before the Western missionaries came the Ga speaking people believe in a Supreme Being who is the creator of everything. They also held the view that there is a distinction between *Nyɔnyɔ* and the deities, human beings, animals and plants.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, in order to maintain a cordial relationship with creation, they perform rituals which express also their reliance on the deities. Thus, during such prayers they invoke the Supreme Being, deities and ancestors for blessing, protection and guidance. The priests and some leaders were made the representatives of the people to safeguard their peace, and also maintain all contractual relationship between the traditional Ga and the divine beings.<sup>84</sup>



---

<sup>82</sup> Field, *Religion and Medicine of the Ga People*, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 63.

<sup>84</sup> Addo, *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship*, 63.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE INTRODUCTION OF ANGLICANISM IN THE GOLD COAST:

#### LEADERSHIP BY THE INDIGENOUS BISHOPS

##### 3.1 Introduction

An indigenous mission avoids starting ministries that are replicas of their Western counterparts. Again the three-self formula tends to characterise indigenous ministry.<sup>85</sup> So when the Western bishops ended their ministry in the ADOA, the church in the hands of the indigenes was expected to organize itself in such a way as to express itself in the Ghanaian context. Its structures were expected to reflect its theology, especially if it is to become a self-governing and self-propagating movement.

In this chapter I shall be concerned with the development of an indigenous autonomous church and leadership, responsible for its spiritual, liturgical and administrative growth. According to Melvin Hodges, indigenous leadership makes the church attractive to the indigenous people.<sup>86</sup> Such leadership necessarily will have cultural affiliations with its own people. In order for the church to achieve growth of its ministry, the Western bishops established mission stations which were expected to be developed and enhanced by the indigenous people. This shows that “whenever it became necessary for the Western missionaries to return home the local people who owned the message and had participated in the missionary endeavours were ready to take up the challenge of sustaining the venture”.<sup>87</sup> There is no doubt that the mission stations played the most important role in the founding of indigenous churches all over the Third World, but also did much to make possible the birth of modern states. However, the church

---

<sup>85</sup> Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1978), 142.

<sup>86</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 16.

<sup>87</sup> Cephas N. Omenyo, Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case in *Missiology: An International Review*, (39:3 2011: 377).

really grew from strength to strength through indigenous leadership. For example, the catechists conducted morning and evening prayer meetings and also prepared candidates for confirmation.<sup>88</sup>

The self-government of the church brings into effect spiritual growth. Autonomy means to continue to grow in the knowledge and grace of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (2 Peter 3:18). The credo of apostolicity does not give the church a reason for self-complacency; rather, it sets her face to face with the most critical question of her existence: the question of power, the clarity and the boldness of her proclamation.<sup>89</sup> The idea of indigenous leadership makes the church attractive to the indigenous people. Such leadership will necessarily have a cultural affiliation with its own people. But, this leadership must truly have a calling from God, and be filled with the Spirit, for it is the anointing and spiritual gifts of the Holy Spirit that provide the indispensable preparation for the work of the ministry.<sup>90</sup>

### **3.2 Beginnings of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast by the S.P.G. Missionaries.**

The development of the Church of England into the Anglican Communion occurred very largely in the nineteenth century, though the church had already been established in the British colonies from the seventeenth century onwards, where Anglican clergy ministered mostly to expatriates. It was only in the nineteenth century that the task of converting the indigenous populations to Christianity was seriously undertaken, especially by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) formed in 1699<sup>91</sup> and the Church Missionary Society (Hereafter to be referred to as CMS) formed in 1799 by

---

<sup>88</sup> J.N.J. Kritzinger, *On Being Witnesses* (Halfway House: Orion Publishers, 1994), 119. See also, Omenyo, 'Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity', 376.

<sup>89</sup> G.C. Berkouwer, *The Church: Studies in Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976), 255.

<sup>90</sup> Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*, 16.

<sup>91</sup> Kofi J. Agbeti, *West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482-1919* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986). 7.

members of the Clapham Sect.<sup>92</sup> These were missionary societies of the Church of England. According to Harris Mobley, most of the missionary societies were formed basically to provide pastoral care to the workers of the British Colonies.<sup>93</sup> This shows the societies' main concern was originally not the evangelization of the people among whom the British worked.<sup>94</sup>

When the British took over the forts and castles in the African coasts in 1720, the Royal African Company (RAC) requested the SPG to send missionaries to act as chaplains at their fortified trading stations of which Cape Coast was chief between 1752 and 1824.<sup>95</sup> Three issues can be raised from this request by the RAC to the SPG: First, it shows that the attempt to establish an Anglican mission in the Gold Coast was the initiative of a trading company. Secondly, in as much as one tends to view this as the beginning of Anglican mission to the Gold Coast, record shows this was only a chaplaincy to cater for the needs of the company and the foreigners at the trading post. And lastly, it was the company that paid the stipend of the chaplains.<sup>96</sup>

After thirty years of chaplaincy work in the Gold Coast, the society found a man, the Rev. Thomas Thompson. A fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, United Kingdom and a missionary in New Jersey who set sail in 1751, arriving at Cape Coast in 1752 after

---

<sup>92</sup> Jehu Hanciles, 'Back to Africa: White Abolitionists and Black Missionaries' in Ogbu Kalu, *African Christianity: An African Story* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), 205. The Clapham Sect was a group of evangelical Christians, prominent in England from about 1790 to 1830, who campaigned for the abolition of slavery and promoted missionary work at home and abroad. These were mostly wealthy Anglicans, and were politically conservative and appealed to the rich.

<sup>93</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, 19. See also, David N.A. Kpobi, "African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa" in Ogbu Kalu (Ed), *African Christianity: An African Story* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), 152.

<sup>94</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary*, 19.

<sup>95</sup> Lamin Sanneh, *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact* (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1983), 112. See also, John S. Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000), 79.

<sup>96</sup> Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican*, 79. See Also, Kpobi, 'African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa', 152.

doing some mission work in the Gambia and Sierra Leone.<sup>97</sup> Rev. Thomas Thompson is regarded as the first Anglican missionary in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa at the time.<sup>98</sup> Shortly after his arrival, he resided at the Cape Coast Castle and sought permission from the principal Cabosheer (Magistrate), one Kudjo to preach at the town house of Cape Coast.<sup>99</sup> It was reported that a lot of people attended his first service where he started with a prayer and preached about the nature and attributes of God, His providence and the future state. The people were very attentive, but the moment he mentioned the Christian religion, they started leaving. He persuaded them to stay and ended with a talk on the redemption of man.<sup>100</sup>

During Thompson's work in Cape Coast contrary to the moral life of the expatriates,<sup>101</sup> he managed to couch for himself an exemplary life which was praised by the Ghanaians among whom he worked and later by his fellow missionaries.<sup>102</sup> Thompson befriended the chief of Cape Coast and had the opportunity to hold meetings in the palace where the chief acted as his interpreter, something which rarely happens in the Ghanaian culture.<sup>103</sup> Meanwhile, he began to learn Fante and according to Mobley, Thompson had this to say about the Fante language: "I could never be informed of any one ever having entered into the grounds of this language... the words in it are very well compounded... and I am sure, much better framed for the ease of delivery, and freedom of elocution, than some of our modern languages."<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Agbeti, *West African Church History*, 7. See also, Daniel Sylvanus Mensah Torto, 'Ordination of Women in the Priesthood in the Anglican Church of Ghana: A New Agenda for an Old Institution', (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MA).

<sup>98</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian Image of the Missionary*, 19.

<sup>99</sup> C.F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of SPG, An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1900* (London: SPG, 1900), 183.

<sup>100</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of SPG*, 187.

<sup>101</sup> Agbeti, *West African Church History*, 8. See Also, Kpobi, 'African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa', 154.

<sup>102</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian image of the Missionary*, 19.

<sup>103</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian image of the Missionary*, 19.

<sup>104</sup> Thomas Thompson, *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages, 1758* (SPG, 1937) cited by Mobley in the *Ghanaian image of the Missionary*, 19.

Thompson started a school at his own expense<sup>105</sup> and with advice from the people, he held services on Tuesdays, the day on which the people do not go fishing, that is, only once a week because they were not prepared to meet him more often. In spite of this difficulty, Thompson was greatly encouraged by some of the Mulattoes<sup>106</sup> who had been christened in infancy. Thus gradually, some of the local adults were also baptized. However, within four (4) years his health failed and he had to return to England in 1756. Although Thompson's brief work seemed to bear no effective results, he was the first Anglican missionary to West Africa who succeeded in championing the indigenization theory by winning the first African to receive Anglican ordination. It must however be noted that Thompson was a man not opposed to the slave trade and even approved of it.<sup>107</sup>

One of the cardinal marks of Thompson is that, irrespective of the ideology of the RAC concerning the Anglican mission in the Gold Coast, he turned the chaplaincy into a nursery for a growing ministry and mission, reaching out beyond the Castle to towns like Anomabo, Tantrum, Winneba and other villages.<sup>108</sup> Thus, taking Christ to the people from the Castle and the Castle school he established became the nursery for Christian mission. Again, realising the high mortality rate among the missionaries; he saw that the future of the mission would depend on the indigenous people.<sup>109</sup> This shows that Thompson's ministry was envisioned to have some core priorities such as the "three-self. First, it was to have a high Christology, focussing on the importance of developing a vibrant personal relationship with Jesus Christ. Second, emphasis was to be placed on training local agents that could carry the weight of the ministry in the future. A third

<sup>105</sup> Mobley, *The Ghanaian image of the Missionary*, 20.

<sup>106</sup> Mulattoes are a mixed race of African and Caucasian descent.

<sup>107</sup> Sanneh, *West African Christianity*, 12.

<sup>108</sup> John S. Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana: From Mission Beginnings to Province of Ghana*, (Kanshie: Amanza Limited, 2009), 106.

<sup>109</sup> Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican*, 80-1. See Also, Kpobi, 'African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa', 155&160.

emphasis was placed on relational evangelism and relationship as the means through which the gospel would be propagated.<sup>110</sup>

The goal of his ministry was to ultimately develop a lasting indigenous ministry. So when he was finally going back to England, he took three Fante boys, all under twelve years old with him to be educated and trained as future missionaries for the Anglican Church in 1757.<sup>111</sup> These were Philip Quaake, William Kudjo and Thomas Caboro. Philip Quaake was the son of Kudjo, the magistrate who helped Thompson when he first arrived.<sup>112</sup> In England, they were first under the care of a schoolmaster, one Mr Hackman and later Rev. John Moore and attended school at Islington.<sup>113</sup> These boys made remarkable progress because as reported, after seven (7) weeks they could say the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles Creed.<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, Thomas Caboro died of tuberculosis and smallpox in 1758.<sup>115</sup> The surviving two (2) asked for baptism which they received in 1759. Soon after that, William Kudjo suffered a mental breakdown and also died leaving Philip Quaake as the only survivor.<sup>116</sup> When Quaake completed his studies, he was ordained into the Diaconate and Priesthood of the Church of England in 1765, and became the first non-European since the Reformation.<sup>117</sup> He returned to Cape Coast and assumed his priestly work as a missionary, School master and Catechist in the Castle.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Kofi Pari Sakyiamah, *Brief History of the Anglican Church of Ghana* (Unpublished, Feb., 1995), 1-2.

<sup>111</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of SPG*, 256.

<sup>112</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of SPG*, 256.

<sup>113</sup> Agbeti, *West African Church History*, 8. See Also, Kpobi, 'African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa', 160.

<sup>114</sup> Agbeti, *West African Church History*, 8.

<sup>115</sup> David N.A. Kpobi, *Mission in Chains: The Life, Theology and Ministry of the ex-slave Jacobus E.J. Capitein (1717-1747) with a translation of his major publications* (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1993), 160.

<sup>116</sup> Kpobi, *Mission in Chains*, 160.

<sup>117</sup> Stephen Neil, *Colonialism and Christian Mission* (London: Lutterwork, 1966), 239.

<sup>118</sup> Hans W. Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967), 60 & 65. See also Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 112; Most Rev. Robert G.A. Okine in Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire Memorial Lectures (Cape Coast: St Nicholas Seminary, 24<sup>TH</sup> -26<sup>TH</sup> October, 2007), 3.

Quaque laboured faithfully in the missionary work of the Anglican Church for fifty (50) years. Unfortunately, these years could not bear much effective evangelistic results because of the challenges he encountered such as his inability to speak his own language, which required him to use an interpreter. There was the ‘unworthy example of the Europeans at its highest peak’.<sup>119</sup> They became hostile towards him because he was a black person and refused to attend services officiated by him. Therefore he could not minister to them. He was also poorly remunerated and the severe economic hardship made him divert his attention to trading instead of evangelising.<sup>120</sup> After so many years of labour, he was able to baptize some two-hundred (200) people, including Europeans and Mulatto children.<sup>121</sup> Quaque laboured faithfully until his death at the age of Seventy-five (75).

After Quaque’s death four more chaplains were sent by the SPG, who with the exception of Rev. R. Harold (1823-24) died for health reasons.<sup>122</sup> When the last chaplain could not sustain the missionary enterprise, the SPG gave up. Thus, it is clear that even though individuals and some Christian groups were concerned about introducing Christianity to West Africa during this period, their efforts were not as successful as one would expect, in the sense that no effective and permanent mission stations and churches were established.<sup>123</sup> In affirming this Richard Foli has stated that,

These early histories of the various missionary enterprises reveal certain patterns about church planting and growth... It took rare fortitude and determination to brave the storms of antagonism, ill health and death. Every single mission agency

---

<sup>119</sup> C.P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, Vol. 4 (London: Lutherworth Press, 1948), 176. See Also, Kpobi, ‘African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa’, 155 &160-65.

<sup>120</sup> R.M. Wiltgen, *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880* (Techny: Divine Word Publication, 1956), 18. See also, Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 123; Kpobi, ‘African Chaplains in Seventeenth Century West Africa’, 154.

<sup>121</sup> Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, 176.

<sup>122</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of SPG*, 256. See also Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*. 131.

<sup>123</sup> Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa 1450-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1994), 178-9.

had its fair share of the vicissitudes of pioneering missionary activity resulting in obvious lack of fulfilment and the grim prospect of failure.<sup>124</sup>

All these missionary activities did not emphasize the ‘mission from below’ approach but used trained western missionaries who mostly received finance and followed directives from their sending organizations.

### **3.3 The Second Missionary Effort of the Anglican Church in Ghana**

After the death of Philip Quaque, the SPG sent four (4) Europeans in rapid succession to continue his work. Three (3) of these died rapidly. The fourth, Rev. R. Harold (1823-24) initiated the process of building Christ Church at Cape Coast which today stands as its Cathedral. He also left for England due to ill health. The Rt. Rev. John Bowen in 1859 laid the foundation stone and upon completion it was dedicated by Rt. Rev. E.D. Beckles in 1865.<sup>125</sup> After a lull in the missionary activity of the church, the SPG sent in 1904 (80 years after) Nathaniel Temple Hamlyn, consecrated as Bishop to assist with the work in Western Equatorial Africa and given charge of the Gold Coast and its hinterland. He was before the appointment, the Archdeacon of Lagos, Nigeria as a missionary of the established CMS<sup>126</sup>. In 1909 the ADOA was carved out of the Anglican Diocese of Equatorial Africa. This was the work of the SPG started in 1751, and later by the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG). His jurisdiction was made a separate Diocese with Accra as its see-city. Although Accra was the seat of the Government and possessed a beautiful Church (Holy Trinity Cathedral) and also Cape Coast being the first work of the Church, Bishop Hamlyn decided to settle at Sekondi – Bishopsbourne,

---

<sup>124</sup> Richard Foli, *The Ghanaian Church in Retrospect* (Accra, Ghana: Methodist Book Depot Ghana Ltd., 2001), 62.

<sup>125</sup> Pobe, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 262-3. See also, *The Anglican Church in Ghana, 'Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary, 1752-1974'*, (Accra: New Times Corporation, 1974), 18-9.

<sup>126</sup> Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, 244.

where he found a tiny European and Yoruba (Western Nigerian) Anglican congregations.<sup>127</sup>

The choice of Sekondi at that time was deemed to be a wise decision; it was the busiest port on the Coast and from it the railway ran all the way to Kumasi through the important mining Districts of Tarkwa and Obuasi. The new Diocese could only boast of one Priest. This situation made the Bishop realize that if the church would experience any growth then there was the need for adequate number of clergy to open new churches.

Paul Jenkins has asserted that at the second attempt of the SPG, they were surprised to find some four (4) Anglican congregations within the country. These were two (2) colonial Chaplaincies in Cape Coast and Accra, a congregation at Axim started around the 1890s by the African legal and commercial community and a small Yoruba group in Sekondi around 1902.<sup>128</sup> Consequently, with the arrival of a bishop for the new Diocese, the enthusiasm was to grow and expand the frontiers of the church. According to Jenkins, the expansion of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast can be categorized into four different scenarios or situations with the missionaries playing no or significant roles at all in these development.<sup>129</sup>

The first development to the expansion of Anglicanism according to Jenkins was by John Swatson of Beyin, a disciple of William Harris<sup>130</sup> between 1914-16 in the towns between Sefwi Bodi and Dunkwa, and southwards towards the coast.<sup>131</sup> The second

---

<sup>127</sup> Debrunner, *A History of Christianity in Ghana*, 245. See also Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 142; Okine, *Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lectures*, 3.

<sup>128</sup> Paul Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church in Ghana', 1905-1924' in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. XV (I), 1974, 23-35.

<sup>129</sup> Jenkins, *The Anglican Church in Ghana*, 23-35.

<sup>130</sup> William Wade Harris was a Grebo in Liberia who became a Christian while he was a student. After school he became a seaman and later a teacher. He was said to have received his call from God in 1910 while serving a prison sentence for demonstrating against the government. Harris saw himself in the mould of Elijah and John the Baptist with a mission to call people to repentance. His dressing was distinctive, carrying a Bible, a cross, a gourd rattle and a bowl for baptism. In 1913, Harris moved to the Ivory Coast and then to the Gold Coast to begin an extremely effective evangelical revival based on prophecy and healing.

<sup>131</sup> Jenkins, *The Anglican Church in Ghana*, 25.

situation for expansion was the Yoruba group within the mining areas of the Western Province and Southern Asante. Such an innovation by these people gained recognition when bishop Hamlyn visited Sekondi in 1904. The third aspect for growth according to Jenkins was through those who followed the teachings of Swatson at Dunkwa. These became Anglicans and returned to their village in Domi Bipposu with their new found religion.<sup>132</sup> The fourth aspect is attributed to those who left the coastal areas and took with them Anglicanism wherever they went. Therefore, it is believed that the growth and expansion of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast was through indigenous initiative.

Even though the four scenarios of expansion were mainly by indigenous initiatives, it must be stated that the presence of Anglicanism in Tamale is not attributed to any particular person or group of people. However, Jenkins postulates that the church might have been established through the efforts of the colonial officers in Tamale who were seen to be regularly reciting the Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) over the years.<sup>133</sup>

At the retirement of N.T. Hamlyn, the Rev. Mowbray Stephen O'Rocke was consecrated and he took charge of the Diocese as its second diocesan. The new Bishop on assumption of office realized at first hand that the only way he could deal satisfactorily with the challenges and to grow the diocese was the use of native clergy.<sup>134</sup> Therefore, to help him in this development was the Rev. Gresham Winter Morrison who joined him in October of the same year. On settling in the Diocese, Rev. Morrison took charge of Kumasi, subsequently becoming both the Archdeacon and trainer of candidates for ordination. It is said that with characteristic vision, Rev. Morrison acquired extensive lands in the name of mission.

---

<sup>132</sup> Jenkins, *The Anglican Church in Ghana*, 26.

<sup>133</sup> Jenkins, *The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1905-24*, 28.

<sup>134</sup> The Anglican Church in Ghana, *Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary, 1752-1974*, (Accra: New Times Corporation, 1974), 18-9.

Thus by this period, it became evident that the second attempt of the Anglican missionary work in the Gold Coast was just beginning to be recognized. Later, Ezra Douglas Martinson, a former Presbyterian trained as a teacher-catechist at Akropong for the Basel Mission, William Hutton-Mensah and J.F. Cobbah-Yalley (Snr) were selected and trained locally. They were subsequently ordained at Christ's Church, Cape Coast thus becoming the first Africans to receive Holy Orders in the Gold Coast Anglican Church.<sup>135</sup> It is to the credit of Bishop O'Rocke that at the end of his episcopate (1913-1924), the Church (English Church Mission - ECM) had a supporting staff of three African Priests, one African Deacon (all four trained during his episcopate) and three European Priests.<sup>136</sup> During J.O. Anglioby's episcopate there was also the opening of:

- i. A Theological College (St. Augustine) in 1925 in Kumasi.
- ii. A Theological College (St. Nicholas) in 1933 at Adisadel College, Cape Coast.
- iii. A Two-Year theological training at the Bishop's House for Senior Catechists in the Fifties. And lastly
- iv. The ADOA becoming one of the five sponsoring churches running the Trinity Theological College, Legon.<sup>137</sup>

It is gratifying to note that the following have been the past Western Diocesan Bishops of the ADOA.

1. Rt. Rev. Nathaniel Temple Hamlyn - 1<sup>st</sup> Bishop (1904-1910)
2. Rt. Rev. Mowbray Stephen O'Rocke - 2<sup>nd</sup> Bishop (1913-1924)
3. Rt. Rev. John Orfeur Anglioby - 3<sup>rd</sup> Bishop (1924-1951)

---

<sup>135</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 159. See also *The Golden Shore*, 463 cited by Okine in *Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lectures*, 4; *The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1752-1974*, 19.

<sup>136</sup> Okine, *Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lectures*, 4.

<sup>137</sup> *The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1752-1974*, 19. See also Pobee, *The Anglican Church in Ghana*, 150. Trinity Theological Seminary is a non-denominational seminary located in Accra founded in 1942 comprising the following as sponsoring churches: Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church of Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, AME Zion Church and the Anglican Diocese of Accra. Trinity prepares men and women not only to know the scriptures but also to effectively relate the scriptures to people caught on the barbed-wire of life. See, [http://www. New.trinity.edu.gh](http://www.New.trinity.edu.gh) {Accessed: 11 July 2015}.

4. Rt. Rev. John Charles Sydney Daly - 4<sup>th</sup> Bishop (1951-1955)
5. Rt. Rev. Reginald Richard Roseveare – 5<sup>th</sup> Bishop (1956- 1967)<sup>138</sup>

These were the indigenous people who became Assistant Bishop's in the ADOA.

1. Rt. Rev. Ezra Douglas Martinson - (1951-1963)
2. Rt. Rev. Ishmael Samuel Mills LeMaire - (1963-1968), and he became the Sixth and first Ghanaian Bishop of Accra.
3. Rt. Rev. Aruna Kojo Nelson - (1966-1973)
4. Rt. Rev. John Benjamin Arthur - (1966-1973), he later became the First Diocesan Bishop of Kumasi, 1973.<sup>139</sup>

The appointment and consecration of the indigenous people as assistant bishops presupposes that as the Western leaders were preparing to hand over the administration of the ADOA to the indigenes in fulfilment of Venn and Anderson's three-self theory, the indigenous people were also ready and waiting anxiously to take over the mantle of leadership in the ADOA. The Western leaders through their episcopate each had a vision of planting churches throughout the Gold Coast. The whole country was by then the Diocese of Accra. Notably, by the time the first indigene was made the bishop of Accra, the country had been divided into three Archdeaconries – Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi with the view to making them self-governing autonomous dioceses. The fundamental issue that confronted the missionaries was how to establish, in the Gold Coast, the sort of church Thompson anticipated. Scripture tells us the church of God does not consist of buildings, but of people. Jesus Christ, “the living stone”, which was rejected by humankind but chosen by God as a great worth to Him (1 Peter 2:4), is the foundation. The Western leaders who after Thompson laboured to preach and establish the Anglican

---

<sup>138</sup> The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1752-1974, 19; See also, Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 139-140.

<sup>139</sup> The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1752-1974, 19.

Church in the Gold Coast, contributed towards the “Great Commission” and the advancement of Anglicanism in Gold Coast.

Gleaning through the activities of these bishops, one realizes they cheerfully accepted the call to become missionaries to the Gold Coast, to promote the glory of God and the welfare of his church. With hindsight, much of what they said and did was undoubtedly paternalistic. Although their policies had a vision to build churches and schools, since education was deemed as the handmaid of mission,<sup>140</sup> train indigenous clergy and catechists who will aid in adhering to the vernacular paradigm (indigenization) as a cardinal mark in Anglicanism, the concept of white guardianship was prevalent. Consequently, they were not able to emphasize the ‘mission from below’ approach, rather they moulded the indigenes within their Western culture and worldview.

Although the Western leaders are recognized as those who helped in the establishment of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast, recent historical enquiry “has exposed the extent to which the growth, expansion and development of Christianity south of the Sahara has depended on, and been distinctively moulded by, African initiatives”.<sup>141</sup> It is important to note that the church had begun over one hundred years before the first bishop arrived. The Western leaders were called to turn new corners in the Gold Coast as missionaries. Just as Christ walked on the road to Emmaus, they also walked on the road with us into our new age of missionary outreach, thus bringing about vibrant parishes and congregations with a vision of the future.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 116.

<sup>141</sup> Richard Gray cited by Cephass N. Omenyo, Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case in *Missiology: An International Review*, (39:3 2011: 374).

<sup>142</sup> Donald A. McGavran, *Understanding Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980), 5.

### 3.4 The Administration of the ADOA by the indigenes

The ADOA had five Europeans as Diocesan bishops before the leadership of the Church got into the hands of the indigenous people with high expectation. The last one Richard Reginald Roseveare took office in 1956 when the size of the clergy had increased (58 priests), and the ministry expanded (35 parishes). Yet there was the need for more clergy since the bishop is quoted to have posited that: “The need for Priests is desperate. There are plenty of promising candidates”.<sup>143</sup> Roseveare’s episcopate was during the fight for independence and immediate post-independence periods, and as an expatriate it called for sensitivity in order for him and the church not to incur the anger of the nationalist government.

It is on record that Roseveare proved himself as a great administrator. Having realized the enormity of the episcopal duty of the diocese, he appointed Ishmael S.M. LeMaire in 1963 as an assistant bishop who served under him for five (5) years before the latter’s election to the see of Accra. Within this period, Roseveare put forward proposals to the Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa (CPWA) for the division of the ADOA into three autonomous and independent dioceses and went ahead to appoint and consecrated two additional bishops – Rt. Rev. Aruna Kojo Nelson and Rt. Rev. John B. Arthur in 1966 to superintend the new dioceses. The agenda for appointing these three Ghanaians to head the yet to be formed dioceses proves that the indigenous people were deemed ready and capable of handling their own affairs. The plan to divide the ADOA into three dioceses was salutary because after twelve (12) years of episcopacy, he realized that the extent of the volume of ecclesiastical and administrative duties of the diocese which was co-terminus with the whole of Ghana were beyond the capabilities of one bishop. However, the financial position of the diocese was so

---

<sup>143</sup> The Golden Shore, July, 1960 (XIV-2), 31, cited by Okine, in *Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lectures*, 6.

precarious that for a period of eighteen (18) months or more, some of the clergy had not been paid their stipend. So if the plan was salutary, it was premature and was rejected by synod.<sup>144</sup>

The final blow to Roseveare's episcopacy was the refusal by the Archbishop of the CPWA to accede to his request. It became evident that a successor to Roseveare was needed, since he resigned in the guise of ill health.<sup>145</sup> So during the 1968 Lambeth Conference in London, assistant bishop I.S.M. LeMaire was elected, installed and enthroned on Advent Sunday, 1968 as the first indigenous and the 6<sup>th</sup> bishop of Accra. It must be submitted that the Western bishops' efforts established Anglicanism in the Gold Coast, and they also developed indigenous clergy as agents of evangelization of the ADOA. Nevertheless, there was a limit to their efforts due to the conditions prevailing at that time. Pobee argues that, they could not penetrate the African heart and soul with their foreign methods and epistemology (ways of thinking and explaining things). Therefore, they left that task to the native leadership to pioneer, plot and chart.<sup>146</sup>

A church that supports itself is responsible for its progress. The responsibility of the ADOA by the indigenous leaders is to participate in the mission of God. Therefore a self-supporting church was expected to support those whom God had called to the ordained ministry, administrators and other personnel of the church. The members of the ADOA needed to become aware of their calling and obligation towards the development of a self-supporting church, thus developing an inner desire to be in the right relation with God and his world.<sup>147</sup> The participation of believers in the life of the risen Christ in hope, obedience and festal ecstasy makes their own lives feasts in a way which will help

---

<sup>144</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 182.

<sup>145</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 182.

<sup>146</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 184.

<sup>147</sup> Peter Toon, *What is Spirituality* (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1989), 24.

them give freely with love and understanding.<sup>148</sup> The philosophy of progress taught that mankind, because of his intrinsic character, is destined to improve until one day it attains a perfect society, free from war, conflict, poverty and evil. But, this view has been shattered upon the anvil of history. Current events have made the concept of inevitable progress intolerable and unrealistic.<sup>149</sup>

The vernacular principle has been the characteristic nature of Anglicanism. Pobeé asserts, “Since Anglicanism is the English minting of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church and its faith, cultivating the Gospel and church within the Ghanaian (African) context will require a renewal of the gospel and church for effective mission in the Ghanaian (African) context”.<sup>150</sup> Therefore, for the church to be renewed and acculturate the gospel and the church within the Ghanaian setting, it will require indigenous leaders who are committed to indigenizing the church. This had been the vision of the church since the time of Anglioby in the late 1920s.<sup>151</sup> This section of the work will give brief accounts of the lives and ministries of the three indigenous leaders and their roles and efforts towards advancing the indigenization theory and growth of the ADOA.

### **3.4.1 Ishmael Samuel Mills LeMaire 1968 – 1982**

Ishmael S.M. LeMaire was born on 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1912 at Kano, Nigeria to Elizabeth Mensah and Samuel LeMaire both of Cape Coast. He studied at the Church Missionary Society (CMS) Grammar School, Lagos and continued at the Adisadel College. He was made a Deacon in October 1936 and ordained priest in December the same year. LeMaire served in various parishes throughout the country and also in the Gambia from

---

<sup>148</sup> Jurgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit* (London: SCM, 1992), 113-4.

<sup>149</sup> G.E. Ladd, *The Gospel of the Kingdom* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1981), 75.

<sup>150</sup> Pobeé, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 188.

<sup>151</sup> Pobeé, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 188.

May 1953 to August 1954. By dint of hard work he rose through the ranks and was made an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity, Accra in 1960. From 1961 to 63, he served as Archdeacon of Sekondi before he was appointed and consecrated assistant bishop in 1963.<sup>152</sup>

LeMaire discharged his duties diligently for five years as bishop-in-charge and Archdeacon of Sekondi and Cape Coast archdeaconries.<sup>153</sup> In 1968, LeMaire was elected and consecrated the first indigenous bishop of the ADOA. This shows that after much struggle, now the administration of the church was in the hands of the local people. His occupation on the see was of epochal significance because it marked the beginning and establishment of indigenous leadership in the Anglican Church in Ghana at the time when the wind of African liberation was blowing. Pobee has argued that, growth of a church that is cultured in the locale has been integrally tied into the development of indigenous priesthood.<sup>154</sup>

Be that as it may, LeMaire could not establish the strategies that go with indigenization. For instance, even though he was a black person and a Ghanaian for that matter, his thinking and his ways of doing the liturgy, worship and managing the affairs of the ADOA followed the same pattern as that of the Western leaders. LeMaire could not speak the Ga language because he was not a Ga, therefore the Ga language and culture did not feature prominently in church matters. Again there was nothing like clapping of hands, the use of local instruments in worship and praying aloud as expressions of worship. This confirms Andrew Walls' assertion of "Black Europeans and White Africans" axiom.<sup>155</sup> LeMaire's accession to the throne of the ADOA gave hope to

---

<sup>152</sup> Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire Memorial Lectures (Cape Coast: St Nicholas Seminary, 24<sup>TH</sup> -26<sup>TH</sup> October, 2007), 10.

<sup>153</sup> Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire Memorial Lectures, 10.

<sup>154</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 195.

<sup>155</sup> Andrew F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996), 102-110.

the people that the indigenes could manage the Church. Apparently, most of the things done during his reign which though brought some gains to the Church were not enough to situate the Anglican Church in the direction of pure indigenization. During the ADOA's two hundred and twenty-second anniversary in 1974, the then Ga Mantse (Chief/King), Nii Amugi II<sup>156</sup> was reported to have suggested that,

The work of the mission now rests in our hands. In the hands of men and women native to the soil... it depends upon every one of us and what we do for the future. As long as we keep our swords unsheathed in the cause of Christ, never relenting, never faltering, fortified by His Grace the mission will surely grow from strength to strength.<sup>157</sup>

Information gathered suggested that, on assumption of office, LeMaire had sixty-nine (69) clergy serving forty (40) parishes, over one hundred congregations and educational institutions across the country. This then compared with one priest serving three churches and great strides had to be made since the harvest was plentiful and more labourers were needed. Since the work was enormous considering one person superintending the whole of Ghana, the bishop decided to decentralize the ecclesiastical authority for effective administration of the church which would also aid in its expansion work. Thus in 1973 Kumasi diocese was carved out of ADOA, then in 1981, Sunyani-Tamale, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, and Koforidua-Ho dioceses were also created.<sup>158</sup>

The decentralization, by creating additional dioceses was a laudable idea according to majority of respondents. They contend that, Bishop LeMaire could have enjoyed the supremacy of being the one and only person when it came to decision making. However, he realized that for one person to lead the Church it would inhibit its growth and therefore others needed to be given the opportunity to exercise their gifts in managing

---

<sup>156</sup> Nii Amugi II happened to be the Chief/King of the Ga state and this was captured in his congratulatory message to the ADOA on the occasion of the Church's Two hundred twenty-second Anniversary celebrated in 1974.

<sup>157</sup> Cited in *The Anglican Church In Ghana, Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary Brochure* (Accra: News Times Corporation, 1974), 29.

<sup>158</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 187-201. See also John S. Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000), 93-4; Diocese of Koforidua-Ho, *Tenth Anniversary Celebration Brochure* (Koforidua: No Publisher, 1991), 6-7.

and expanding the Anglican Church. Wise planning is not only biblical, but also essential if the church is to carry out the great commission as God intended.

On assumption of office in 1968, the Accra Archdeaconry which covered the Accra and Tema metropolis had only nine priests serving six (6) parishes and nineteen (19) congregations.<sup>159</sup> Three of these priests had been seconded to the Ghana Armed Forces, Burma Camp, The University of Ghana and the Trinity College. It also had two retired priests and few lay members who rendered valuable services. The parishes therefore continued to maintain full services on weekdays and Sundays which were appreciated by parishioners and visitors alike. Credit must be given to the church groups – Guild of the Good Shepherd, Anglican Young People’s Association and the Mother’s Union who helped to win more members for the church. The demerits on the other hand were the inability of the services to be conducted in the local Ga language, the lack of indigenous ways of worship and the decreasing numbers in the Sunday school which was the cause of the low turnout in membership.<sup>160</sup> To address this phenomenon the Archdeacon at the time, the Venerable Richard Emmanuel Ashitey arranged to celebrate the Mass in the local Ga language on each day of the week in all the parishes.<sup>161</sup> This was an arduous task to be undertaken by one priest, but because he wanted the work to be effective and also sustained he decided to embark on such an adventure. This was against the hope that it would keep the members in the church whereby they are able to worship both spiritually and culturally.

LeMaire was seen as a visionary leader in the sense of the word. He was God-fearing and a strict disciplinarian which led others to accuse him of being autocratic.<sup>162</sup> A

---

<sup>159</sup> Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary, 32-4.

<sup>160</sup> Interview with Venerable Winfred A.A. Okai (Rtd. Archdeacon of Tema), 12 September 2013, Abelenkpe, Accra.

<sup>161</sup> Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary, 32.

<sup>162</sup> Interview with Very Rev. Jehoshaphat A. Ocquaye (Rtd. Dean of the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity, Accra), 29 October 2013, Darkuman, Accra.

leader must not only be a visionary but a missionary as well. Such a leader is to dream dreams for the organisation to prosper. Due to his great love for God and his church, the growth and the needs of the church were always paramount in LeMaire's thinking and plans. Just like his predecessors, LeMaire found many open-doors for advancement and expansion but the church was hindered by lack of human resource and finances. On 29<sup>th</sup> August 1982 at the age of seventy, Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire stepped down both as bishop of Accra and Archbishop of the CPWA to begin his well-earned retirement having increased the number of parishes from six to fifteen, and the clergy from nine to twenty-one. Even though he was always ready to help his successor this was a brief retirement because he died through a motor accident in 1984.

His achievements include the preparation and carving of the Kumasi Archdeaconry into an autonomous diocese in 1973, the establishment of Academy of Christ the King and the St. Nicholas Theological College (now Seminary), both at Cape Coast in 1976, the creation of four new dioceses in 1981, elected the first Ghanaian Archbishop of the CPWA in 1981 and he engineered the formation of the JADC to coordinate the activities of the six dioceses in 1982. In recognition of his meritorious service to the church and state he was honoured with a Doctor of Divinity degree by Cuttington University College, Liberia in 1977 and the Grand Medal in 1978 by the Government of Ghana.<sup>163</sup>

### **3.4.2 Francis William Banahene Thompson 1983 – 1996**

Francis W.B. Thompson was born in Accra on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1926. His parents were Nii Asere Ayitey II, Asere Mantse and Elizabeth Ago Vanderpuye. He was educated at the Government Senior Boys School and Accra Academy. Thompson was trained in the Monastery of the Order of Benedict, Nashdom Abbey England from 1958 – 1962 and

---

<sup>163</sup> Interview with Most Rev. Dr. G.R.A. Okine (Haatso 31 July 2013). See also, Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire Memorial Lectures, 11.

House of Sacred Mission/Kelham Theological College 1962 – 1963 having studied and attained a number of courses and seminars.<sup>164</sup>

He was made a deacon in September, 1963 and ordained priest in August 1964 by the Rt. Rev. Richard Roseveare. Thompson served in a number of parishes' mostly in Accra and due to his discipline and sterling qualities; he was seconded to the Ghana Armed Forces and was posted to St. George Garrison Church, Burma Camp as Officiating Chaplain. In 1970, he was among the first Army Chaplains who underwent military training at the Ghana Military Academy and was commissioned a Captain and in 1975 he was promoted to the rank of Major. In 1978, he was installed as an Honorary Canon of the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity. By dint of hard work, Thompson was promoted in 1981 to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (Lt. Col.) and made senior Chaplain to the Forces. He retired honourably from the Army in 1982 with the rank of Lt. Col. and was made the Parish Priest of St. Barnabas, Osu and Anglican Chaplain of Accra Ridge Church from where he was elected and consecrated as the second indigenous and seventh bishop of Accra.<sup>165</sup>

Thompson's elevation to this high office, as a Ga, was seen as a breakthrough for proper indigenization since LeMaire could not do much. Nevertheless, not much was achieved in terms of liturgical renewal and advancement toward indigenization. Even though he was a Ga the Church could not initiate the use of the Ga language in most of the Churches and the other methods needed to make the liturgy more meaningful. He propagated for the indigenization of the liturgy and worship but much effort was not put into its realization.<sup>166</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> Interview with Venerable Winfred A.A. Okai (Rtd. Archdeacon of Tema), 12 September 2013, Abelenkpe, Accra.

<sup>165</sup> Interview with Venerable Winfred A.A. Okai.

<sup>166</sup> Bishop's Charge to the First Session of the Fifteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Teacher's Hall, Accra from 8<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1994.

Due to the decentralization and the creation of additional five other dioceses and the expansion of the church under LeMaire, these developments left smaller land area for the coverage of Diocese of Accra during Thompson's episcopacy. Therefore, Accra became parent to the five dioceses formed by 1981 and grandparent to the others created after 1981. Robert Okine has said that, Thompson acquired a reputation as a good parish priest and therefore, fit for the mitre. He was seen as a pastoral bishop and a stickler for doing the liturgy correctly and for correct sartorial dressing. His knowledge of the liturgy was excellent due to his monastery training. Most Anglicans believe that his monastic orientation and experience in the army apparently formed him into a disciplinarian. Thompson was a stickler for doing things properly or according to rules and dictates of those in authority.

Because people never understood his identity, they saw his leadership style as too authoritarian and domineering. For example, Thompson as a way of instilling discipline in the church and more importantly among the clergy refused to ordain a deacon who had separated from the wife and was not ready for reconciliation. For this reason those who were his juniors were ordained and passed over him. Again, another deacon misconducted himself in criminal activity and even though as the bishop he had the opportunity to intervene because the case was first brought to him, he allowed the law to take its course and the said deacon was jailed. All kinds of interpretations were read into his position on these matters; especially that, such a stance was not the best for the image of the church. His actions were seen to have put some fear in the church especially among the clergy. It is believed that, his commitment to discipline geared toward the mission of the ADOA and the fact that he was formed in the monastic spirituality plus his military discipline influenced his deeds. Thompson had a very stern and conservative position when it came to sartorial wear because within Anglicanism dressing is very

paramount to officiating a service. A wrong dress code could send wrong signals which might not augur well for the church.<sup>167</sup> Therefore under Thompson, there was liturgical discipline and moral uprightness.

Thompson's work as an Army Officer and a Churchman was commendable, resulting in the many awards he received. These included the Ghana Redemption Day award, June 4<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> December, UNIFIL, Medal for Service Overseas, Companion of the Order of the Volta (2008) and Christian Council of Ghana 80<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration Award. One need to assert that, Rt. Rev. F.W.B. Thompson was able to manage and keep the boat of the Diocese of Accra afloat. One of the 'trump' cards of Thompson as the Diocesan was that, he instilled discipline in all aspects of the administration of the diocese, among both the clergy and the lay faithful. His care for, and interest in the clergy, especially his visits to the aged and retired as well as settling of issues involving the family of priests were also commendable. He was similarly noted for his humour and hospitality, most especially for bringing the clergy and their wives together once a year to party, enjoy themselves and to have fun. He was described by many as not vindictive, but would rather always maintain that the right things were done. Thompson retired after thirteen (13) years as Bishop of Accra in 1996, having been in Holy Orders for thirty-two (32) years and also increased the number of the parishes he came to meet by nine (9). The clergy population also rose from twenty-one to forty-one.

### **3.4.3 Justice Offei Yaw Akrofi 1996 – 2012**

Justice O.Y. Akrofi was born on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1942 in Koforidua to John Ofori Akrofi, a catechist and later priest and Mrs Miriam Akrofi. He was educated at the Ghana Secondary School, Koforidua and travelled to the USA where he studied at the Central

---

<sup>167</sup> Interview with Ven. Seth Jonathan Annan Sackey, Archdeacon of Accra East and Parish Priest of St. Barnabas Anglican Church), (Osu 20 August 2013).

Connecticut State University and Yale University Divinity School for his degrees. He returned to Ghana in 1976 and was made a deacon and ordained priest on the same day by bishop LeMaire on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1976 in the history of the Anglican Church in Ghana. After his ordination, he was posted to Adisadel College as Chaplain and later was made the resident Anglican Chaplain at the Accra Ridge Church.<sup>168</sup>

Barely four years after his ordination, LeMaire wanted to make him his assistant but this move was rejected by the house of clergy. The reason was that, the constitution of the diocese stipulates that a priest can only become a bishop after six years of priestly ordination.<sup>169</sup> The bishop unable to succeed made him the Provost of the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity where he worked with both bishop's LeMaire and Thompson prior to his accession to the throne to become the third indigenous bishop.

According to Pobee, the church is in the business of spirituality.<sup>170</sup> Therefore, on assumption of office, Bishop Akrofi charged the entire diocese to use whatever they had for the growth of the church.<sup>171</sup> In that direction, the diocese acquired a land at Ashalley Botwe to build a Retreat and Renewal Centre. The idea of a Retreat Centre was a critical resource for growing in depth in the Anglican tradition.<sup>172</sup> Currently, the Chapel, the Stations of the Cross or the Grotto, the Director's residence and a sixty-room hostel facility has been completed. It had been the hope of many that the hostel and conference centre would have been the priority of the project, in order to use the income generated to add to the infrastructure. These calls were not heeded to and the resultant effect had

---

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Most Rev. Dr. Justice Offei Yaw Akrofi (Immediate Past Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Accra (High Street 20 August 2013). See, Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 377-8.

<sup>169</sup> The Church of the Province of West Africa, *The Constitution of the Anglican Diocese of Accra: Including Regulations*, Revised and Printed (Accra: Assembly Press, 1997), 11.

<sup>170</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 383. This is in reference to Archbishop Akrofi who grew up in a home of what one may say represents Anglican spirituality because he happens to be the son of a catechist who later became a priest.

<sup>171</sup> Bishop's Charge for the First Session of the Sixteenth Synod held at St Stephen Church, Tema in 1997, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, Tema in 2002, 1.

brought untold challenges to the fortunes of the church because the place is not being patronized due to inadequate infrastructure. It could be possible that promises made by some individuals and parishes toward the building of the Retreat Centre were not fulfilled in time or at all. For that matter, the cost of materials and may be labour became more expensive than the Church anticipated and therefore not much was achieved. It is the hope of the researcher that the church will prioritize by putting up the conference centre and other pressing facilities in order to attract patronage.

Archbishop Akrofi in his 2002 charge said, “As long as we continue to do things as in the Church of England and the mother mission, USPG, an African Anglican identity will not develop and we shall not grow into the full stature of Christ.<sup>173</sup> In order to achieve this vision, his episcopate ushered into the ADOA more indigenous ways of worship such as the use of Gospel Bands, clapping of hands, dancing and loud prayers. Even though he was not a Ga, he felt that the only way he could succeed as a leader and to position the ADOA in the right direction was to allow parishioners to express themselves in ways that they were familiar with.

Archbishop Akrofi chalked many successes in his thirty-six (36) years as a priest, sixteen (16) years as Bishop and eight (8) years as Archbishop through the many honours he received and also under him the influence of spiritual renewal impacted the ADOA through which many parishes and congregations were established. To date he remains the only priest to have been made a deacon and priest on the same day. He was also elected Bishop of Cape Coast in 1988, but he declined. He also had the privilege of being elected the Archbishop of the CPWA in 2004. He was awarded a Doctorate degree – Humane Letters (Honorius Causa) by his alma mater, the Central Connecticut State

---

<sup>173</sup> Bishop’s Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, Tema in 2002, 7.

University in 2004 and received the Medal of Order of Star of the Volta from the Ghana Government in 2006.

### **3.5 Expansion of the Church**

The accession to the throne of the ADOA by the three indigenous bishops was from a strong conviction of deepening and growing the spirituality and liturgical renewal which in effect would reflect in an indigenous way of worship and evangelization that is Ghanaian. This is so because worship and evangelization are the basic elements in the missionary enterprise as the early church is said to have “steadfastly continued in the apostle’s teaching and fellowship and in the breaking of bread, and in prayer” (Acts 2:42). Expansion of the church under the indigenous leaders to a large extent followed a similar pattern to the early church model, where the spread of Christianity was largely accomplished by informal missionaries’, that is, the indigenes who had no planned strategy.<sup>174</sup> Therefore in leading the ADOA, the indigenous bishops were expected to indigenize the worship and mission of the ADOA. They were also expected to take evangelism to another level. Justice Akrofi has posited that, “the Church is to witness and serve like our Lord Himself. We are not merely to evangelise; we are also to respond to the practical human needs of people and the needs of our nation”.<sup>175</sup> Therefore, what missiological strategies were used in reaching other parts of Accra? Were there any structures put in place? What was the practice of indigenization during the LeMaire, Thompson and Akrofi eras?

---

<sup>174</sup> Michael Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970), 310.

<sup>175</sup> The Diocesan Bishop’s Charge delivered at the First session of the Sixteenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at the St. Stephen Church, Tema, 1997.

### 3.5.1 Evangelization and Planting of Churches

The calling of the church is to preach the gospel that will bring into effect the winning of souls for Christ. This shows that God is demanding from us a redemptive quality of life. According to Orlando E. Costas, the God of the gospel is a searching God who does not wish any to perish, but that all should reach repentance.<sup>176</sup> In evangelizing, the church needed to witness to the truthfulness of the gospel message. During the episcopates of the three indigenous bishops, a total of about seventy-five (75) parishes and congregations were created. LeMaire started his episcopacy with the Accra Archdeaconry comprising six parishes and nineteen congregations with a total population of 12,589. The Archdeaconry had six parish priests, one assistant priest, and three worker priests including an expatriate who was in charge of the two outstation churches of St. Barnabas – St. Bartholomew, Teshie and St. Peter, Nungua. There were also three full time catechists serving at All Saints, St. Barnabas and St. Alban.

**Table 1: The Parishes and Congregations in the time of the first indigenous Bishop**

PARISH	CONGREGATIONS
St. Mary, Accra	St Joseph, Kaneshie; St. Luke, Kwashieman; St. John , Odorkor; St. Patrick, Jei Krodua; St. Mark, Ardeyman
All Saints, Adabraka	All Souls, Abeka; Igbo Congregation, Kaneshie; St. Gabriel, Kotobabi; St. Ambrose, Dome; St. Peter, Ofankor; St. Luke, Agbogba
St. Barnabas, Osu	St. Bartholomew, Teshie; St. Peter, Nungua
St. Michael and All Angels, Korle-Gonno	St. Andrew, Abossey-Okai; St. George, Chorkor; St. Francis of Assisi, Mamprobi
Alban, Tema	St. Mary, Tema-Manhean; St. Joseph, Prampram
St. Paul, La	A Congregation in Madina

This information is cited from the Two hundred and twenty-second Anniversary brochure (1974).

<sup>176</sup> Orlando E. Costas, 'Evangelism and the Gospel of Salvation' in Paul W. Chilcote and Lacey C. Warner (eds.) *The Study of Evangelism: Exploring a Missional Practice of the Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 36.

On the other hand, Thompson's episcopacy was seen to be more of a maintenance ministry in order to build a qualitative church. Yet, he was able to enhance the number of parishes he met from fifteen to twenty-four with eight congregations. The practice of maintenance ministry is not bad in itself. Under Thompson's bishopric the parishes and congregations were as follows:

1. Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity
2. St. Mary Anglican Church, Accra
3. All Saints Anglican Church, Adabraka
4. St. Michael and All Angels, Korle-Gonno
5. St. Barnabas Anglican Church, Osu
6. St. Alban Anglican Church, Tema
7. St. Paul Anglican Church, La
8. St. Bartholomew Anglican Church, Teshie
9. St. Peter Anglican Church, Nungua
10. St. Andrew Anglican Church, Abossey-Okai
11. St. Joseph Anglican Church, Kaneshie
12. St. George Anglican Church, Chorkor
13. St. Francis of Assisi Anglican Church, Mamprobi
14. St. Stephen Anglican Church, Tema
15. St. Augustine Anglican Church, Dansoman

The congregations that were established under his episcopacy are as follows (1983-1996):

1. St. Peter Anglican Church, Madina
2. St. Gabriel Anglican Church, Kotobabi

3. St. Ambrose Anglican Church, Dome
4. St. Timothy Anglican Church, Nima
5. St. Monica Anglican Church, Kaneshie
6. St. Agnes Anglican Church, Ako-Adjei
7. St. Andrew Anglican Church, Alogboshie
8. Holy Family Anglican Church, Adentan
9. St, Anne Anglican Church, Abeka<sup>177</sup>

The researcher is of the view that people tend to be too critical of Thompson's episcopacy. Apparently, his ministry met with the turbulent times of the Rawlings' Revolution which had ramifications for discipline in Church as in State and credit must be given to him for maintaining such a high level of discipline among the clergy and the laity. He also held a high personal integrity by never meddling in anything immoral or financial.

While the evangelizing spirit during LeMaire's time was evident in many persons, programmes and parishes, the church was still far from having its parish communities filled with the enthusiastic evangelists called in to go and evangelize.<sup>178</sup> One aspect of the expansion programme of LeMaire was the introduction of the institution of worker-Priests.<sup>179</sup> This was a bold and effective step in the right direction since the church was in need of men and women to further the growth of the church even though some were not in favour. As part of his vision, Akrofi also encouraged such people into the ordained ministry to help spread the Gospel.<sup>180</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> This information was obtained from the Diocesan office of the Anglican Diocese of Accra.

<sup>178</sup> Interview with the family of Most Rev. I.S.M. LeMaire, led by Most Rev. G.R.A. Okine, Former Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Koforidua-Ho Diocese, who happened to be a foster son of LeMaire. {Haatso 28 Sept. 2013}.

<sup>179</sup> This institution refers to mature, accomplished and committed Christians who have secular jobs yet felt called into the ministry and therefore are selected, trained, ordained and licensed to exercise their ministry.

<sup>180</sup> Bishop's Charge to the First Session of the Sixteenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, Tema, 1997, 4.

Thompson however believed in maintaining the traditions of old that, it is God who chooses us and not us choosing him as stated in John 15:16. Therefore, one way for him to evangelize and expand the church is to have full-time clergy who will be able to pastorally take care of the flock at any given time.<sup>181</sup> Under his administration, the church's evangelistic activities were evidently more to the routine work of the parish as many provinces, dioceses and parishes responded positively to the call of the Decade of evangelism.<sup>182</sup> However diverse the effect of the Decade of Evangelism had been on the Communion, the church was believed to be on its way to retrieving the essence of its vocation because it resonates to the words of Jesus, 'to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world' (Matt. 5 :13-14). As Sunday worship services were organized, alongside baptisms, weddings and funerals, the preaching was used to challenge those the church came into contact with in order to share the gospel message of salvation. According to Calvin C. Ratz, in positioning a church for evangelism, the pastor needs to rework both the style and content of his or her preaching in order to meet the different scenario one may find him or herself.<sup>183</sup> This means, every sermon should be designed for a particular occasion.

One finds a concrete advantage in the use of full-time priests in the evangelistic activities under Thompson. Through the activities of the parish, the pastoral visitation by

---

<sup>181</sup> Minutes of the Third Session of the Fourteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Trinity College from 22<sup>nd</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993, 53.

<sup>182</sup> In 1988, the Lambeth Conference issued a rather modest call for a Decade of Evangelism where the Church recognised that evangelism is the primary task given to it, and therefore asked each Province and diocese of the Anglican Communion to co-operate with other Christians, to make the closing years of the millennium 'Decade of Evangelism' with a renewed and united emphasis on making Christ known to the people of the world.

[http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/commissions/missio/c\\_doc.cfm#sthash.IypTnABi.dpuif](http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/commissions/missio/c_doc.cfm#sthash.IypTnABi.dpuif) { Accessed: 4 Sept. 2013}. See also, Lambeth Conference, *The Truth Shall Make You Free* (London: Church Housing Publishing, 1988), 29. See also, Minutes of the Third Session of the Fourteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Trinity College from 22<sup>nd</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993.

<sup>183</sup> Calvin C. Ratz, 'Planning Evangelism', in James D. Berkley (Ed.) *Leadership Handbook of Outreach and Care: Practical Insights from a Cross Section of Ministry Leaders* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994), 24.

the priest and sometimes lay leaders informs them to know the spiritual direction of their members. It also helps in identifying the myriad of problems confronting their parishioners such as, ill health, unemployment or loss of job, marital problems like quarrelling, raising of children and issues of child birth or parental control, in order for the church to deal with them. Thompson met two archdeaconries of Accra and Tema. He restructured the diocese by dividing the Accra archdeaconry into three namely Accra North, Accra East and Accra West for further evangelization and appointed archdeacons to superintend the churches and the clergy that were under their charge. Thompson did this for pastoral and financial administration with the intention to make Tema a separate diocese from Accra. But this has not yet materialized.

J.O.Y. Akrofi assumed office as the third indigenous and eighth bishop of the ADOA when the church could only boast of twenty-four parishes and twenty congregations. The pursuance of dynamic and vigorous evangelism fused with spiritual renewal led to the establishment of more than fifty (50) new parishes and congregations. These are the churches and congregations established during Akrofi's episcopacy.

- 1) St. Justin, Ablekuma
- 2) Christ Anglican Church, Legon
- 3) Church of Advent, Michel Camp
- 4) St. Peter, Ofankor
- 5) St. Cecilia, Kpehe
- 6) St. Benedict, Ashongman
- 7) St. Anthony, Abelenkpe
- 8) Transfiguration, Haatso
- 9) SS Peter and Paul, Kwabenya
- 10) St. Joseph, Agbogba

- 11) Ascension, Ashaley-Botwe
- 12) St. James, Teshie-North
- 13) St. James, Anyaa
- 14) All Souls, Agege
- 15) Christ the King, Mallam-Gbawe
- 16) Church of Epiphany, Afuaman
- 17) Holy Paraclete, Sakumono
- 18) Holy Gabriel, Ashaiman
- 19) Holy Cross, Ada Foah
- 20) St. Michael and All Angels. Kpone
- 21) St. Nicholas, Lashibi
- 22) St. Monica, Baatsonaa
- 23) St. Augustine, Nungua-North
- 24) Holy Spirit, Lartebiokorshie

These are the congregations established.

- 1) St. Sylvester, Manhean
- 2) Holy Innocent, Afuaman
- 3) Christ the King, Twerebo
- 4) Church of Epiphany, Opah
- 5) St. Barnabas, Ashalaja
- 6) St. Francis, Ayikai-Doblo
- 7) Good Sheperd, Pokuase
- 8) St. Paul, Akramaman
- 9) St. Monica, Danfa
- 10) Transfiguration, Oyibi

- 11) Holy Spirit, Tse-Ado
- 12) St. Mary Magdalene, Medie
- 13) St. Philip, Kweiman
- 14) St. James, Otinibi
- 15) Christ the King, Teshie-North
- 16) St. Mark, Ardayman
- 17) Church of Nativity, Onyansanaa
- 18) St. Mary, Ayawaso
- 19) St. Philip, Mataheko
- 20) St. Matthew, New Bortianor
- 21) Holy Paraclete, Nsakina
- 22) St. Cyprian, Obeyeyie
- 23) St. Jerome, Amamole
- 24) All Saints, Dodowa
- 25) Messiah, Nungua
- 26) Holy Trinity, New Ningo
- 27) Good Shepherd, Buerko
- 28) St. Jerome, Santeo
- 29) St. Salome, Borteyman
- 30) St. Dominic, Klangon.<sup>184</sup>

Bishop Akrofi mooted the idea for the institution of the yearly Anointing and Healing service on Whitsunday (Pentecost Day) and St. Luke's Day (18<sup>th</sup> October) as a way of evangelizing which included Evangelical and Medical Outreach to missionary areas.<sup>185</sup> This mission and service was a collaboration between the ADOA and its partners from

---

<sup>184</sup> This information was obtained from the Diocesan office of the Anglican Diocese of Accra.

<sup>185</sup> Bishop's Charge to the First Session of the Sixteenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, Tema, 1997, 8.

America, “The Branches of the Vine”. One significant advantage of this endeavour was the establishment of two congregations in New-Ningo and Buerko in the Dangme West district, and the resuscitating of the Holy Cross parish in Ada Foah in the Dangme East district. According to Pobee,

The institution of Healing and Anointing Services twice a year, at Pentecost and the Sunday nearest to the Feast of St. Luke (18<sup>th</sup> Oct.), the physician has been another characteristic of Akrofi’s tenure of office. The date for the services is striking. Pentecost at which signs and wonders happened and the faithful in Africa have a burning desire to have similar experience. St. Luke’s day is a conscious effort to give meaning to the celebration of Luke the physician. The institution of these services/programmes corresponds ‘to the epistemology and ontology of Africans who yearn to experience the Spirit in powerful manifestations and this can be equated to the yearnings of many of the faithful within the ADOA, as evidenced by the heavy attendance and patronage’.<sup>186</sup>

The institution of the Prayer Warriors had also been a strong force for the diocese’ spiritual journey and growth under bishop Akrofi. This is tied intimately with the mission of proclamation and evangelism.<sup>187</sup> Because the ADOA is of the high church tradition, there is every tendency for it to be glued to the liturgy even though one of the cornerstones of the church is its belief in scripture and through this a lot of people saw the church to have limited itself within its comfort zones with no strategy or policy for outreach. With such a notion at the back of the bishop’s mind, the church vigorously continued the weekly bible studies class in every parish on weekdays or Sundays using the New Life for All (NLFA) study material but now uses the Alpha Course as a tool in equipping members for evangelism and Discipleship.

According to David Kpobi, “the introduction of the NLFA programme under the auspices of the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) resulted in substantial increase in church membership across the denominations”.<sup>188</sup> The sacrament of Holy Communion and preaching play an important role in the growth of a church. Therefore, by

---

<sup>186</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 383-4.

<sup>187</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 384. See also, Anglican Diocese of Accra, the Diocesan Corporate Plan, 2000, 12.

<sup>188</sup> David N.A. Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana: The Ecumenical Heritage* (Ghana: Asempa Publishers, 2008), 110.

multiplying the number of self-supporting priests, the indigenous bishop's agenda was to contribute towards the mission activities of the ADOA. The aim of missionary work is said to establish churches which can stand on their own. A careful study of the ADOA under the first two indigenous bishops even though expanded the evangelization of the church through the establishment of more churches and training of clergy, has revealed that the church did not implement a well-structured evangelistic policy cultured to bring into being self-sufficient indigenous churches and priests who could deal with specific Ghanaian or African issues. Although, under Akrofi, the drawing and implementation of the Diocesan Corporate Plan (DCP) in a way gave the ADOA the opportunity to use the "three-self" formula as a way of advancing and expanding the ADOA. This has not yielded the required results due to the fact that the finances of the diocese is so precarious that the church depends solely on the traditional sources of income such as, tithe, offering and donations. Some are of the view that large and financially sound parishes could be encouraged to establish new congregations within new settlements springing up within the Greater Accra Region.

Also, the Ga language and culture is not widely used in the worship life and evangelization within the ADOA. This is so, because the priests are not adequately formed to use indigenous forms of propagating the word and also doing the liturgy and worship in the language that the people are familiar with. This has affected its expansion and for the ADOA to make an impact in evangelization and growth it must not concentrate only on the external features, rather the church must access the Ghanaian worldview as well.<sup>189</sup> According to David Bosch,

There is at once inculturation of Christianity and Christianity of culture. The gospel must remain Good News while becoming, up to a certain point, a cultural phenomenon, while it takes into account the meaning systems already present in the context. On one hand, it offers the cultures "the knowledge of the divine mystery",

---

<sup>189</sup> Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, 2002, 9.

while on the other, it helps them bring forth from their own living tradition original expressions of Christian life, celebration and thought.<sup>190</sup>

**Table 2: Churches planted under the indigenous Bishops from 1968 - 2012.**

Personality	Parishes	Congregations	Total
Ishmael LeMaire	9	10	19
Francis Thompson	9	8	17
Justice Akrofi	24	30	54
Total	42	48	90

### 3.5.2 Formation of Church Agents

Clergy formation is a serious phenomenon within Anglicanism. Anglicanism views education as the handmaid of mission, so in 1976 bishop LeMaire established an independent Anglican Seminary – St. Nicholas Theological College to train and prepare men for the ministry of the church with six students.<sup>191</sup> Despite this, the church continued to participate at Trinity Theological College as a sponsoring church with Rev. Fr. Albert Nickels on the staff as a tutor. Notwithstanding these undertakings, the bishop continued with the theological education programme at Bishop's house in Accra for

<sup>190</sup> David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 454.

<sup>191</sup> Interview with Most Rev. R.G.A. Okine (rtd) who happened to be the first rector of the seminary, (Haatso 31 July 2013).

select catechist ordinands. He also explored avenues for theological studies overseas for candidates, as well as making contacts for clergy to do degree theological studies at home. At the end of his episcopate, the clergy population rose from the nine he met to Twenty-one (21).

Record shows that even though LeMaire never went far in education, he was bent on providing the church with quality priests who were spiritually gifted and intellectuals as well. Jack Hayford has posited that, 'Leadership means challenging people and pointing them to a higher plateau in Christ'.<sup>192</sup> Thompson's episcopate streamlined the theological education and ministerial formation of the clergy where those selected met certain laid down criteria. Apparently, this was not done systematically as there were occasions when an embargo was laid for the selection of candidates to the detriment of the mission and evangelization of the church. Consequently prospective candidates were forced to go to other dioceses to be trained for the priesthood.

Thompson also thought it wrong for a priest to apply for further studies without prior consultation. He sanctioned two priests who decided to pursue their post ordination education by stripping them of their licences which meant they could not minister anywhere as priest's until they returned.<sup>193</sup> Thompson would not condone disobedience and disregard for properly constituted authority. He believed that as father-in-God to all the clergy, it was his prerogative to determine and plan the course of the life of his clergy and the diocese in its mission agenda. This is a trait of an autocratic leader who always tries to manage the direction of all goals, aspirations and work of his people, with little or no input from them.<sup>194</sup> It must be understood also that Christ being the founder of the

---

<sup>192</sup> Jack W. Hayford, 'Leading Christians' in James D. Berkley (Ed.) *Leadership Handbook of Management and Administration* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994), 177.

<sup>193</sup> S.J.A. Sackey, Archdeacon of Accra East and Parish Priest of St. Barnabas Anglican Church (Interview, 20 August 2013, Osu, Accra).

<sup>194</sup> <http://www.Leadership-Toolbox.com>, {Accessed 21 Jan., 2014}.

church provided it with an authoritative governing structure.<sup>195</sup> Thompson was faulted for discouraging further studies of the clergy and the promotion of worker priesthood. These and other developments gave people the impression that Thompson was too authoritarian and a bishop who discouraged the intellectual development of his priests.

This insistence by these two priests to go through with their education was a blessing to the clergy in the ADOA as it paved the way for others to be given the chance to pursue post ordination education by the church. In his charge to synod in 1993, he made allusion to the fact that a lot of priests have been granted the opportunity for post ordination training within and outside the country while others have returned home after receiving their degrees.<sup>196</sup> This shows he only wanted due process to be followed. Under his episcopate even though the Clergy were few, they seem to be more competent and disciplined. At the time he left the scene the number of the clergy had risen from the twenty-one (21) he met to forty-one (41).

Liturgical renewal as a feature of Anglicanism requires the training of quality priests. According to bishop Akrofi, “The development of human resources is a key plant of our administration”.<sup>197</sup> In 1996 when bishop Akrofi assumed office, the number of the clergy was Forty-one (41) manning twenty-four parishes and several congregations with only six being graduates. He instituted a policy to provide quality leadership for the church in terms of theological training. In this policy, candidates were to come out of Trinity Theological Seminary with a first degree and those who went to St. Nicholas

---

<sup>195</sup> Millard J. Erikson, *Christian Theology* 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 2004), 1083.

<sup>196</sup> Bishop’s Charge delivered at the third Session of the Fourteenth Synod at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Trinity College, Accra from 22<sup>nd</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> August 1993.

<sup>197</sup> The Diocesan Bishop’s Charge delivered at the First session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at the St. Stephen Church, Tema, from 24<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> August 2000.

Theological Seminary were given the opportunity to do top-up for their degree courses.<sup>198</sup>

This decision was against the background that candidates would have to prove themselves capable for such an opportunity. Consequently, at the time of his exit from the see as the diocesan in 2012, the ADOA could boast of over one hundred priests and deacons with sixty-one being graduates with first, second and doctorate degrees in varied backgrounds, while others were still in training.<sup>199</sup> Almost all the clergy with post-graduate and doctoral degrees were not sponsored by the church as in the case of LeMaire's episcopate. Rather, they had to sponsor themselves with the church's blessing. He also encouraged the worker Priesthood system. This endeavour of providing the diocese with enough priests with varied qualifications was geared toward furthering the expansion and evangelization of the church. Information gathered shows that the issue here is not about numbers but quality because a lot of the priests ordained during his tenure had not been able to match up to their responsibilities. One problem that confronted the three indigenous bishops was that the ministerial and theological training for the clergy was not tilted to solving particular Ghanaian or African challenges. This shows that training of priests should be focussed on equipping them to deal with particular African issues. Emphasis also should be placed on pastoral leadership and leadership styles which in effect will aid growth and bring good will in the ministry and the work among the local people.

---

<sup>198</sup> Minutes of the First Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, August 2000, 25.

<sup>199</sup> The Diocesan Bishop's Charge delivered at the Last Session of the Twentieth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at St. Paul Anglican Church, La from 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2011, 16.

**Table 3: Clergy trained under Indigenous Bishops between 1968 - 2012**

Personality	No. of existing Clergy	Those trained by the individual leaders	Total
Ishmael LeMaire	9	12	21
Francis Thompson	21	20	41
Justice Akrofi	41	63	104

Akrofi was faced with the task of planting the Church in the rural areas of Ga communities, and so he had to plan the ADOA's missionary activities and be sensitive to the cultural, spiritual and pastoral needs of the people. In view of this, the Diocesan Ministerial Training School (DMTS) was opened on 20<sup>th</sup> May, 1997 to train lay people in their various vocations as an attempt to further the growth of the church and to meet the demands of the rural folk. The main brain behind the establishment of such a lay training institution was the late Rev. Canon Dr. Harry Fitzgerald Macdonald Orland-Mensah who pursued his doctoral degree in that direction. He was made the first director of the institution until his untimely death in August 2011. The establishment of the school had since produced over eight hundred (800) lay church agents including Eucharistic Lay Pastors/Evangelists, Lay Readers, Sunday School Teachers, Counsellors and Chalice Assistants all for mission and ministry. The challenge now is how to use what they have learnt to advance the spirituality of the local people to worship God in their own way. Again, another difficulty is how the clergy and the diocese as a whole can socialize and maximise the potentials of these agents to be effective as the Catechists were in earlier missions so as to meet the cause of the mission of the ADOA.

### 3.5.3 Charisma, Liturgy and Worship

The issue of the charismatic phenomenon has become an important debate in today's religious atmosphere and so much a part of how leadership is looked at. Nevertheless, one needs to assert that such an endeavour will be a difficult quality to tie down. Charisma could be viewed as, a gift of God or a gift of grace. Such charismatic leaders can be viewed to gain influence because they are seen to possess extraordinary gifts or talents that enable people to move out of their painful situations. But, in today's thinking, this subject only looks at the qualities of people, such as, their personality, skills and presence. Apparently this is only one side of the coin.

There is the need for us to explore more on situations that brings charisma to the fore. Many a time, at our wits end there is the tendency for us to look for people with solutions to our predicaments. We are easily attracted to those who can lessen our burdens and these are the ways in which we make the role for 'charismatic leaders' to step in. Consequently, as a response they also try to convince us of their special gifts and the ability to solve our difficulties. Charisma involves dependency which in effect portrays our willingness to give up our responsibilities rather than facing those situations and getting our own solutions. Therefore, we remain followers.

One cannot deny the fact that the ADOA is not immune to the charismatic renewal that was experienced by the Ghanaian Christian landscape from the early 70s. Those attracted by this phenomenon were mostly the youth due to their fellowship and love for these new religious movements. While some joined these churches, others remained but called for liturgical reforms which included spiritual, cultural and liturgical renewal in the worship life of the church. It is an undeniable truth that the ADOA has gradually experienced spiritual renewal for the past four or more decades but significantly under Akrofi. According to Cephas Omenyo, "The High Church tradition, coupled with

English as the medium of liturgy and piety characterised the Anglican Church in Ghana for a long time”.<sup>200</sup> For Omenyo the development creates space for experiment in spiritual and liturgical renewal, which many people cannot disregard. The accession to the throne of the three indigenous bishops as indicated earlier in this chapter was from a strong conviction of deepening and growing the spirituality and liturgical renewal of the ADOA in the missionary enterprise as the early church is said to have depicted in Acts 2:42. Therefore, the Ghanaian leaders were expected to indigenize the worship, liturgy and evangelization of the ADOA.

As a cardinal mark in Anglicanism, worship is at the heart of spirituality because they view it not to be just something they do alongside their witness to the Good News: worship itself is a witness to the world. According to Akrofi, the characteristic dynamo of Anglican life is worship. Therefore worship is a potential instrument for reaching and captivating the masses.<sup>201</sup> But, one would want to ascertain the church’s continues use of the received tradition of the BCP (1662), which had not improve the fortunes of the ADOA but has rendered it less lively.

The locution “liturgy” was first used by pagan Greek to denote works done for the good of the community.<sup>202</sup> So within the pagan Greek the word “liturgy” is used when one does something good for the society or the state. Liturgy, then, is a work performed by the people for the benefit of others. In the first century of the Christian era, Greek-speaking Christians used the word to denote two things: an act of divine worship and the ministry of the church leaders.<sup>203</sup> It has been noted that the Greek Christians used the word “liturgy” in the same sense the pagan Greek used it but in the case of the

---

<sup>200</sup> Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of the Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*, (The Netherlands: Boekencentrum Publishing House, 2002), 53.

<sup>201</sup> Bishop’s Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod, St. Stephen - Tema, 9.

<sup>202</sup> Peter E. Fink, S.J. (ed.), *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 740.

<sup>203</sup> Fink, *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*, 740.

Christians, it was used in the religious sense to refer to a good work done by the Christian leaders for God on behalf of the people.

Liturgy, which is the public worship of God by the faithful, must be differentiated from private worship. Whereas public worship occurs between at least two people, private worship is done by an individual. Liturgy, defined in the Christian context, is a collection of the sayings and works of Christ and of other scriptures geared towards worshipping God in Christ and enhancing one's faith and spirituality in God through Christ. Worship is the church's response to God for what he continually does for her. It is mainly a community of believers meeting together to respond to the goodness of God in their lives. It is, therefore, a fellowship in which all the participants respond to God's grace in their lives. According to Steven Travis, "...worship means not simply attending certain religious meetings, but offering our whole selves to God, so that every aspect of our lives – whether singing hymns or driving buses – might somehow express our commitment to Christ".<sup>204</sup> The Anglican Church has a very nice liturgy and well-rehearsed doctrinal tenets. What the ADOA needs is a blending of this liturgy in the Ga or Ghanaian context in a way that its members would not feel they are participating in a culture or religion alien to their situation. Archbishop Akrofi began his episcopacy trying to indigenize Anglicanism and to build the spirituality of the members with the establishment of the retreat and renewal centre in Ashalley-Botwe, the phenomenon of the prayer warriors and the introduction of the local gospel songs in the form of praise and worship during divine services on Sundays. There is the need for more improvement on such indigenous ways of expressing one's self in worship.

---

<sup>204</sup> John Stacy (ed.), *About Worship: Preachers Handbook*, New Series No. 4 (Kumasi: The Garden City Press Ltd., 1973), 29.

Over the years many attempts have been made to make the liturgy more understandable to the worshippers.<sup>205</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been easy because they could not find a common ground. We can talk of the Reformation, the Oxford movement, the Liturgical movement, and the Vatican II in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the Moravians, Wesley, the Evangelical Revival among others in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Archbishop Akrofi believes that in as much as the BCP contains the basic principles for Anglican worship and spirituality, it is also instructive to study the whole range of other liturgies that pay their dues to Anglican principles of liturgical renewal but are not identical with the Prayer Book of 1662.<sup>206</sup>

The English reformation was largely about liturgical innovation and one such innovation was worship not in Latin but in the English language (mother tongue). This therefore brought into being article XXIV which talks about “Vernacular paradigm” that “Worship should be in the language understood by the people in worship”<sup>207</sup> in Anglican spirituality. Therefore the Thirty-nine articles of religion of the Anglican Church is the definition of the doctrine of the church. Bishop Thompson noted that not many people understood the doctrine of the Church, as a result of which the liturgy is not appreciated. Therefore, he called for the indigenization of the liturgy that will be relevant to the contemporary spiritual needs of the people.<sup>208</sup>

One needs to assert that, there are several areas of inculturation of the liturgy, just as there are degrees of inculturation. One might begin with the language of the celebration or with liturgical vestments that better reflect local culture and clothing.

---

<sup>205</sup> Minutes of the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, 2002, 42.

<sup>206</sup> Bishop’s Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, 2002, 9.

<sup>207</sup> Anglican Church of Ghana, *The Book of Common Prayer* (Ghana: JADC, 1975), 338. See also, Hill, *Zondervan Handbook to the History of Christianity*, 258.

<sup>208</sup> Bishop’s Charge to the First Session of the Fifteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Teacher’s Hall, Accra from 8<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1994.

Music can also be adapted to employ local instruments.<sup>209</sup> Yet, these are only small beginnings because every aspect of the liturgy ought to be creatively examined to become part of the search for the community to celebrate liturgically its Christian faith. Thompson cautioned that we should not borrow wholly from other Christian denominations or employ certain values of African culture in the name of indigenization so as not to preclude authentic Anglican rites and ceremonies which are fundamental to our religious identity.<sup>210</sup>

One of the respondents indicated to me that while studying outside the country, hardly did he speak his own native language. This was because there was no one with whom he could communicate in that language. As fate would have it, one day he ran into another Ghanaian studying in that same university who could speak his language. All of a sudden, he experienced a sense of joy and belonging. He felt as if he was in Ghana there and then. This is the power of culture and for that matter mother tongue. This then becomes imperative why the liturgy of the Church ought to be written in the language understood by the people concerned. As a result of this I deem Vatican II as one of the important councils in the twentieth century. Vatican II emphasizes “the use of the local language of the people among whom the church is serving”, thus breaking the dominance of Latin in the Roman Catholic Church in areas where Latin is not the language of the people.<sup>211</sup>

Most of the respondents were of the view that because Akrofi’s evangelization policies were fused with spiritual and liturgical renewal, he distinguished himself as one desirous of indigenizing Anglicanism in the ADOA from his two predecessors. Yet, as

---

<sup>209</sup> Peter Schineller, ‘Inculturation of the Liturgy’ in Peter Fink, S.J., *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 600.

<sup>210</sup> Bishop’s Charge to the First Session of the Fifteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Teacher’s Hall, Accra from 8<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1994.

<sup>211</sup> Austin Flannery, O.P. (Gen. Ed.), *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents* (Bandra, Mumbai: ST. PAULS, 2004), 53-4.

much as these were evident, the local Ga language and culture did not feature prominently in the worship life and evangelization process of the ADOA. From the time of LeMaire to Akrofi, the church can only boast of two parishes St. Mary, Accra and St. Mary, Tema Newtown where Ga is used for service. In Akrofi's tenure, Holy Paraclete, Sakumono was established where Ewe is used. Yet, in almost all the parishes and congregations the use of drums, music and dancing, clapping of hands in worship and spontaneous and loud prayers are very prevalent. This shows that Akrofi really distinguished himself as one desirous of implementing and achieving the three-self formula in the ADOA. To borrow the words of Nana Kobina Nketsia, the Omanhene (Traditional Chief) of Essikado Traditional Area, he asserts, "Anytime one bathes in one's history, the society renews itself and bathes in wealth".<sup>212</sup> This shows that the over-reliance on foreign ways of doing the liturgy has culminated in many of the members including the youth preferring the Pentecostal or Charismatic way of worship and have become selective in what Anglican liturgical practice they would participate in.

Therefore, 'Should Ghanaian Anglicans practice the things of other cultures at the expense of their traditions or rich heritage'. This trend when practiced will make Ghanaian Anglicans lose their identity. One needs to understand that the high Churchmanship is not a hindrance to growth, as has been speculated by a school of thought. Furthermore, the ADOA could also establish low Anglican churches just like St. Augustine and Messiah Anglican Churches in Nungua which for years had to cater for the rural folks and illiterates in both the urban and rural areas.

In analysing the ministry of the three indigenous bishops, it is obvious that during the tenure of Most Rev. Dr. J.O.Y. Akrofi more churches were planted and more priests were ordained and there was a concerted attempt to indigenize Anglicanism in the Accra

---

<sup>212</sup> Nana Kobina Nketsia, 'Over-reliance on Foreign Culture,' Daily Graphic, Thursday September 25, 2014, 20.

metropolis. But not much effort was put into equipping them to help indigenize Anglicanism in the ADOA. Nonetheless, it shows that theologically there had been a major shift in missionary paradigm in terms of liturgical practices, spiritual renewal, and cultural adaptation (language) from LeMaire to Akrofi which has accounted for this rapid growth or to the “expansion” of the ADOA under him.

### **3.6 The Administrative Governance of the ADOA after 1968**

The events that led to the assumption of leadership position of the ADOA by the indigenes cannot be said to be a movement. Yet, it brought a leadership responsible for the administration of different activities in the church, recognized as the priesthood of all believers. According to T.C. Campbell and Gary Reiersen, “when Luther and Calvin discussed the priesthood of all believers, they were not transferring the priesthood from the priest to the laity, but moved the priestly function of Christ. Christ was a prophet, priest and king”.<sup>213</sup> With the priesthood centrally located in Christ, the indigenes realized that the church needs to practise true indigenous theology. But even though the laity was organized into structures, for example, the Guild of the Good Shepherd, Mothers Union and the Anglican Young Peoples Association, which helped in the expansion and growth of the church, they place the teaching responsibility in the ministerial order, thus separating the clergy from the laity. One need to assert that, “all ministerial gifts are for the equipment of the saints, for the work of ministry, and the building up the body of Christ” (Eph. 4:11-12). The issue of self-government requires smooth and participatory administration and the church under the indigenes needed to strive a methodology that would lead it to growth in that area.

---

<sup>213</sup> T.C. Campbell and Gary Reiersen, *The Gift of Administration* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981), 27.

As indicated in this chapter, even during the time of the Western leaders, the indigenes were missionaries to themselves.<sup>214</sup> So LeMaire strived to decentralise the ADOA with the implementation of the three-self formula. Therefore in 1973 he carved the Kumasi archdeaconry into a separate autonomous diocese and assistant bishop John Benjamin Arthur became its first Diocesan. This new diocese covered the whole of the Ashanti Region which was potentially a rich area abounding in natural mineral resources and brought to two the number of dioceses in Ghana. Yet, LeMaire saw the need for further expansion with the creation of additional dioceses.<sup>215</sup> In 1978, the bishop made a proposal to the Provincial Synod of the CPWA for this to be effected. In August 1980, at a Synod in Cape Coast the request was granted. So in April 1981, the bishops for the four newly created dioceses were elected. These were the Venerable Joseph K. Dadson for Sunyani-Tamale Diocese, the Venerable John A. Ackon for the Cape Coast Diocese, the Venerable Robert G.A. Okine for the Koforidua-Ho Diocese and the Rev. Fr. Theophilus S.A. Annobil for the Sekondi Diocese. Their joint consecration was held at the forecourt of the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity, Accra on Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1981 which was the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist.<sup>216</sup>

Consequently, with the creation of the four new dioceses in 1981, the number of autonomous Anglican Dioceses in the country rose to six. It is therefore of interest to know that the Anglican Church, in its hierarchy has a different order from the other main-line churches. The Roman Catholic Church is a monolithic religious organization. All the faithful owe their allegiance directly to the Pope and his successors as their belief in the apostolic succession stipulates. On the other hand, the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches seemed to be more of connexional in nature, in the sense that, as far as Ghana

<sup>214</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican story in Ghana*, 183. See also, Omenyo, Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity, 376; Ogbu Kalu, 'The Shape and Flow of African Church Historiography' in Ogbu Kalu (Ed) *African Christianity: An African Story* (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), 17

<sup>215</sup> Interview with Most Rev. Dr. R.G.A. Okine, (Haatso 31 July, 2013).

<sup>216</sup> Diocese of Koforidua-Ho, 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Brochure (Koforidua: 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1991), 7.

is concerned, they are an organic unit with a national leader in their respective spheres. The Anglicans however, base their administration in a diocese which is the organic unit of the church. Each diocese is thus independent of the other in everything with the Province of West Africa being the apex body that coordinates the activities of the various dioceses within its jurisdiction.

Therefore for the six dioceses to meet and be able to share ideas, plan and take major decisions on matters of the state and of the church, they needed a body that could help them to speak with one voice. Hence the birth and formation of the Joint Anglican Diocesan Council (JADC) on 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1982. This body is headed by one of the bishops on a two-year rotational basis with only administrative powers. Currently, the JADC has seven operational desks: Evangelism; Economic and financial; Health and Environment; Human Resource and Development; Youth; Community of Women and Men's Desk; and Relief, Migrant and Displaced Persons.<sup>217</sup> There is also the deed of Agreement which contains the vision and programmes of the respective desks. However, there is no critical or rational approach in selecting who chairs a particular desk. Information shows that many a time it is the bishops who are assigned to such positions but without any recourse to their varied background or expertise.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

Leadership is all about leading by example and an attempt of raising others to the next level. One has to encourage those who are being charged with leadership roles in self-governing organisations to be compassionate and have a commitment towards the growth of the church. They must have good values, vision and virtue. Leaders without vision perish like fools (Proverbs 29:18). The three indigenous bishops set an example by

---

<sup>217</sup> Information obtained from the library of the Diocesan Secretariat, Anglican Diocese of Accra.

making the clergy develop their ministerial and theological skills through continued education, especially during Akrofi's tenure with the priests at various seminaries and universities and the lay ministers at the DMTS. The guidance of this education is not easy, because it requires great character of the priests and lay ministers themselves. The priest's whole ability to guide souls depends on his being a man of God.<sup>218</sup>

This chapter has looked at the ADOA on its way to a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Christian community but since the thesis is on indigenous leadership, various thoughts were conceived. The ADOA from the second attempt by the SPG in 1904 had existed for one hundred and eleven years. It was the view of the many respondents that with the current population of the Greater Accra Region; the numerical strength of the ADOA should have reached about a quarter, (1 million plus or 1,002,513.5)<sup>219</sup> but this is just about a little over thirty thousand (30,000). Even with the establishment of about seventy-five parishes and congregations under the three indigenous bishops, it is assumed the clergy population should have also increased drastically but it did not happen as estimated. The population of the clergy stands at one hundred and twenty (including fourteen retired Bishops and clergy). In terms of the liturgy and worship style, the church continues to be glued to the western style of worship and it has been difficult for the church to develop an entirely indigenous liturgy and worship that will motivate and enhance the spirituality of parishioners as well as attract visitors which will aid its growth. This is the end result of how and manner the clergy are trained in the seminary and the lay people at the DMTS. These agents are not well equipped to address or deal with particular Ghanaian or African issues therefore

---

<sup>218</sup> F.P. Harton, *The Elements of the Spiritual Life: A Study in the Ascetical Theology* (London: SPCK, 1934), 336.

<sup>219</sup> This is cited from the Population and Housing Census (PHC) conducted by the Ghana Statistical Service in 2010. Accra's population is captured as **4, 010, 0541**.

they tend to be clones of the English in their own country. Again the church continues to use the 1662 prayer book for worship even under the indigenous leadership.

Also the adaptation to the English language at services and other religious gatherings is about (85%) and this is a major setback in the church. Information from most of the respondents shows that, the use of English language scares even the semi-literate to be involved in the affairs of the church. The ADOA can only boast of two parishes where Ga language is used for services and also one where Ewe is used. It is therefore incumbent on the church to develop a theology of mission and growth that is consistent with the mission and ministry of Christ. The activity of the spiritual and liturgical renewal under Archbishop Akrofi has affected the ADOA tremendously by emphasizing the need for greater commitment of members of the parishes to participate in the spiritual activities that are undertaken in their churches. It has also challenged members to desire the spiritual gifts which would help the church to grow. Therefore, the call on the ADOA is to relate its worship to the real life of the parishioners. The ADOA through its evangelistic programmes must endeavour to nurture the people within its distinctive spirituality and great liturgical heritage



## CHAPTER FOUR

### GROWTH AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE ADOA

#### 4.1 Introduction

In chapter three, the work sought to look at the beginning of Anglicanism in the Gold Coast, now Ghana and the forty-four year episcopacy of the three indigenous bishops' leadership of the Anglican Church in Accra. In this chapter the work will trace the development of leadership in the ADOA, approaches to social services and ecumenism in an attempt to discover how these leaders were able to establish indigenous leadership able to face the spiritual, liturgical and social challenges confronting the church. Mission in its entirety is not only limited to the spread of the gospel, but includes the provision of facilities or social amenities that enhances development.

Christian mission is a response to the “Great Commission” (Matthew 28:18-20). A responsible Christian community is by virtue of its calling committed to propagate the Gospel.<sup>220</sup> The Diocesan Ministerial Training School (DMTS), as well as other theological schools, helped the ADOA to develop by establishing congregations, training of lay Eucharistic ministers of whom some have become ordained priests and preaching the gospel. The spiritual tradition and a sense of mission, charismatic renewal within the ADOA, the church's social responsibility and ecumenism are some of the issues discussed in this chapter.

#### 4.2 The Anglican Spiritual Tradition and Mission

The Anglican Communion is a Church that has a very strong sense of mission. The faith of the Anglican Church is founded on Scripture, the tradition of the Apostolic Church

---

<sup>220</sup> Christopher J.H. Wright, *The Mission of God's People: A Biblical Theology of the Church's Mission* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2010), 285.

“the historic episcopate and the early fathers” and Reason.<sup>221</sup> What is so unique to Anglicanism is the Book of Common Prayer (BCP) – the collection of services worshippers in the Anglican Communion have been using for centuries and the three steps of order – Deacon, Priest and Bishop. In other countries, the BCP has undergone several revisions and they have developed other prayer books even though it is still acknowledged as something that binds the Communion as one. But in Ghana, the church continues to use the 1662 edition and it had been difficult for the ADOA to come up with a prayer book that meets the spiritual and cultural needs of the people.

As the pastoral needs of the ADOA became very challenging, LeMaire instituted a four-man committee to pursue the concern for quality persons in the Diocese’s agenda. The task of this four-man committee was to bring men to God and help develop and place the ADOA to face the challenges confronting the church. The goal of mission is an inescapable issue and one of great importance, for it determines missionary strategy and the choice of means and methods.<sup>222</sup> In an attempt to inculturate and expand Anglicanism in Ghana, LeMaire’s episcopate by 1981 had completed the division of the old ADOA into six dioceses and focused more on producing full-time and worker-priests and catechists (native clergy) for the evangelization of the church, thus fulfilling the self-governance and self-propagating phenomenon.

Thompson’s bishopric owing to his monastic and military orientation brought discipline into the church. His desire was that the spirituality of the Anglican Church must be pursued if the church would make any meaningful progress.<sup>223</sup> Through this endeavour, every church member developed some respect toward the leadership of the

---

<sup>221</sup> John S. Pobe, *The Anglican Story in Ghana: From Mission Beginnings to Province of Ghana* (Kanshie: Amanza Limited, 2009), 33-47.

<sup>222</sup> Johannes Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1978), 176. See also, Wright, *The Mission of God’s People*, 286.

<sup>223</sup> Patrick Okajiah-Bortier, *Keeping the Church on the Right Path: The Role of Clergy and Lay* (Accra, Ghana: SonLife Press, 2015), 42.

church and its doctrines and liturgy. His knowledge of the liturgy also helped in instilling in the clergy the desire for excellence and the ADOA became the leading diocese in Ghana in the liturgical and worship aspect of the church life. Akrofi's tenure on the other hand, realized the full consciousness of Anglicanism as a liturgical renewal by pushing for the development of quality priests as stated in Chapter three where he met forty-one priests and at his retirement the ADOA had over one hundred priests. In order to pursue the spiritual agenda of the ADOA, Akrofi built the Ashalley-Botwe retreat and renewal centre and also came up with the Diocesan Corporate Plan (DCP) which delineated the three areas of mission – Proclamation, Evangelism and Obedience of all that Christ has taught.<sup>224</sup> The DCP in a way helped the ADOA to tell its story and also to fulfil the transformation and renewal of the people according to the values of the Kingdom.

The essential thing is to study how the ADOA in presenting the gospel can relate it dynamically to the cultural life of a nation or particular people without compromising the important nature of the Christian faith.<sup>225</sup> Realizing the enormity of the ADOAs missionary agenda in terms of the spiritual, cultural, liturgical and socio-economic advancement, Akrofi set up the DMTS.<sup>226</sup> This endeavour mirrors his conviction that, mission and ministry belong to all God's people which presuppose well-informed agents as assets. In their life and worship Anglicans are guided by reason, the context in which they live, and their own spiritual experience. Since reason is an important feature distinguishing human beings from animals, it may never be neglected in our attempts to understand complex doctrines such as the Trinity.

Leadership in any church is a vital aspect of its survival and growth; therefore, it is vested with Christian knowledge that adequately meets the spiritual and physical needs of the people; hence it is essential for the leaders to continue studying. More often such

---

<sup>224</sup> Bishop's Charge for the First Session of the Eighteenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, 2003.

<sup>225</sup> Gerald H. Anderson, *The Theology of Christian Mission* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1961), 15.

<sup>226</sup> Bishop's Charge for the First Session of the Sixteenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, Tema, 1997.

leaders are trained professionally, and it is such professionals that the theological seminaries of Ghana and Africa ought to be training.<sup>227</sup> In its missionary obligation the Anglican Church established missionary societies who concentrated on education and health/social services. They were known as religious communities; for example, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). The epithet “Anglo-Catholic” had been applied to the Anglican Church of England as a whole because of its claim to be the English branch of the Catholic Church, but it usually refers to a party within the Anglican communion which, though it had plenty of antecedents, became self-conscious and more or less identified from the time of the Oxford Movement of the 1830s.<sup>228</sup>

The church is called upon to be ready always to meet the spiritual and moral needs of the people. If meaningful reconciliation and development are to take effect, there should be deepened spirituality. The theological colleges and ministerial school established by both the Western and indigenous leaders are the basic models of the Christian growth and leadership training in the ADOA. From the Ghanaian point of view, the ADOA was encouraged to promote Christian mission, thus planting mission stations where the indigenous people could be easily reached, and develop the culture of worship, thus sharing resources and planting a community of faith.

The decision of the 1988 Lambeth Conference, which brought evangelism to the top of the Anglican Church’s agenda, challenges the ADOA to ask what it knows and believe about evangelism. For the whole Anglican Communion finds itself obliged to face a responsibility which it has often shirked, namely the call to bear witness to Jesus Christ. The ADOA under LeMaire used the catechists mostly as agents of

---

<sup>227</sup> John Taylor, *The Primal Vision* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), 152.

<sup>228</sup> Alan Richardson and John Bowden, *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1983), 20. The Oxford Movement was a group of High Church loyalists who tried to link the Church of England more closely to its Roman Catholic roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. These sought to renew the Roman Catholic thought and practice in opposition to the Protestant tendencies of the Church.

evangelization. Through their efforts and zeal, a lot of churches were founded in the old ADOA. But, in Thompson's era most of the catechists had become priests and the phenomenon itself was facing out, so in as much as he trained other priests, he also commissioned some lay persons as evangelists to help the clergy nurture and spearhead the ADOAs evangelistic programmes.<sup>229</sup> In a way this helped in the establishment of most of the churches under his era. Archbishop Akrofi developed the DCP, a vision which was established at the same time as the renewed emphasis on evangelization, with the eye on the development of vibrant congregations.<sup>230</sup> In order for the ADOA to develop indigenous leadership, it was obliged to lay certain basic principles.

The church which will make Jesus Christ and His claims a serious adult proposition will need to have at least four characteristics: a church of and for the area, a believing and worshipping church, a common life providing unjudging and thought provoking fellowship, and local leaders' decision makers.<sup>231</sup>

The ADOA had no alternative but to build schools, provide health centres and establish theological colleges. In a way this could be a response to Thomas Thompson's vision. Bishop N.T. Hamlyn built (CMS Grammar School-1910), Bishop J.O. Anglioby established (St. Augustine Theological College – 1925), Bishop I.S.M. LeMaire set-up (St. Nicholas Seminary – 1976), and Bishop J.O.Y. Akrofi's episcopate gave birth to the (DMTS – 1997) all to train clergy, catechists and later lay Eucharistic pastors and evangelists. Much effort was put into the development of leadership that could evangelize and establish churches. What had caused the lack of growth or slow pace in the field of ministry and mission is due mainly to the way the clergy are trained in the seminary or the lay people at the DMTS. These people are not moulded to suit the Ghanaian setting in order to help the church deal with particular issues confronting it.

---

<sup>229</sup> Cited from the Minutes of the Third Session of the Fourteenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Trinity College from 22<sup>nd</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993, 21.

<sup>230</sup> John Stott, *Evangelism Through the Local Church* (Oxford: Regnum Books, 1990), 13.

<sup>231</sup> John Stott, *Christian Mission in the Modern World* (Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1975), 79.

Through the establishment of the St. Augustine and St. Nicholas Seminaries under the Western and the first indigenous bishop Most Rev. I.S.M. LeMaire, and later the DMTS under Most. Rev. J.O.Y. Akrofi, there emerged the priest, teacher and catechist, lay pastor and evangelists, chalice assistants and Sunday school teacher leadership, which played a very important role in the expansion and leadership of the young and growing Christian communities especially in the hinterlands. The only demerit was that some of these volunteers lacked proper training. They had little knowledge of how to indigenize the Christian faith and Anglican doctrines, which in a way has slowed the growth of the church.

#### **4.3 Leadership Development**

Many types of leadership are important to cater for the social, economic and political needs of the people.<sup>232</sup> The notion is that leadership formation is supposed to be formed very early out in the life of a person, church or nation. According to A.G. Jago, “Good leaders are made not born”.<sup>233</sup> Jack Hayford has opined that, a Christian leader must have a Christ-like character due to the fact that she or he is to enable others to know and love God with all their soul, strength, mind and heart.<sup>234</sup> Among other things church leaders need to be trained in the methods and values of Christian stewardship. Christian stewardship is a commitment to the promotion of God’s Kingdom. Within Anglicanism, leaders are trained in the worship, doctrines and spirituality of the church at the St. Nicholas Seminary and the DMTS to make them effective agents for transformation. LeMaire’s interest for the establishment of St. Nicholas Seminary was to train clergy as

---

<sup>232</sup> Anglican Diocese of Accra, *Diocesan Corporate Plan: Mission 2020* (Accra: June, 2000), 8-9.

<sup>233</sup> A.G. Jago, *Leadership Perspective in Theory and Practice* (USA: Bookreaders.org, 1982), 45.

<sup>234</sup> Jack W. Hayford, *Leaders on Leadership* (California, USA: Regal Books, 1997), 72-3.

well as lay people for effective evangelization.<sup>235</sup> The school was to give instruction in theology, worship, liturgy and spirituality. Realizing that he did not go far in education, LeMaire was bent on developing quality priests in terms of leadership who were spiritually gifted and well-endowed intellectually. So during his tenure, as some were sent to St. Nicholas, others went to Trinity College, University of Ghana and in some cases outside the country. John Pobee has posited that, at the end of his episcopacy, the ADOA could boast of a number of reasonably educated priests with appropriate certification.<sup>236</sup> Be that as it may, of all that LeMaire achieved how did the theological formation enable these agents to contextually fit into the leadership and authenticity of the Anglican Church in Ghana.

On one hand, Thompson may somehow be regarded as someone who did not do much because he never established a theological or ministerial school as an agenda for leadership in the church. On the other hand, his tenure built the capacity of both the clergy and the laity at Trinity College, St. Nicholas Seminary and other seminaries abroad. Specifically, the clergy were very few due to the unstructured programme for selection but were competent and disciplined. He made sure one met a certain laid down criteria before ordination. According to Winfred Okai this brought a healthy competition for excellence among the clergy which to a large extent benefited but also slowed the expansion process of the ADOA.<sup>237</sup> J.O.Y. Akrofi's episcopate was modelled on expansion into missionary areas in the Ga hinterlands and Dangme. In an attempt to fulfil such an agenda, he pursued the training of full priests as well as the promotion of worker priests. He also brought new dimensions into the leadership life of the ADOA where the

---

<sup>235</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 198. See also, Kofi Pari Sakyiama, *Brief History of the Anglican Church in Ghana* (n.p. 1995), 7.

<sup>236</sup> Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 198.

<sup>237</sup> Venerable Winfred A.A. Okai, (Former Archdeacon of Tema) Interview, 12 September 2013, Abelenkpe, Accra.

Archdeacon<sup>238</sup> became the face of the bishop with authority to address issues and promote the vision of the church within their particular geographic location. The respondents were divided as to whether the three indigenous leaders were all vested with a deep sense of responsibility and commitment toward indigenizing Anglicanism in the ADOA. Some believed that for the Christian, the decisive act of God is seen in the person and work of Jesus Christ.

The ADOA is heir to the apostolic mission and like St. Paul that institution need to be aware of its apostolic mission, thus to be Christ's servant in building a church which ought to be "a dwelling place of God in the spirit" (Eph. 2:19-20). Being the fruit of the work of the SPG, the ADOA is a model of the high churchmanship tradition. Such a tradition holds the theology of the sacramentality of the church which is priest-centred. However, the episcopacy of the three indigenous bishops saw many examples and empowerment of lay people who took responsibility for the mission and ministry of the ADOA.<sup>239</sup> Kwesi Dickson has posited that, through the scriptures the Holy Spirit guides the church to reflect, so that doctrines obscurely stated in the Scriptures are elaborated by the church and promulgated.<sup>240</sup> Aside the episcopal oversight of the ADOA by the five Western bishops and some missionaries, the Anglican Church in Accra has reached its current stage through the leadership and management by the three indigenous bishops. Thus the indigenous people both ordained and lay have been the agents of leadership and evangelization. This is in pursuance of the self- governance and self-propagating theory. This then is the call for the development and sustenance of indigenous leadership in order to work out a Christian theology that suits the African situation, and expresses a genuine African apprehension of the Christian faith.<sup>241</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> An Archdeacon is a title given to a senior administrative official in a diocese within the Anglican and Eastern Orthodox systems. Such a person is under the Bishop, often in charge of an archdeaconry.

<sup>239</sup> Pobe, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 232-3.

<sup>240</sup> Kwesi Dickson, *Theology in Africa* (New York: Orbis Books, 1984), 25.

<sup>241</sup> Dickson, *Theology in Africa*, 36.

#### 4.4 Leadership in the Church

There are many leaders in the Christian community and specifically within the ADOA. Since the congregations are normally composed of organizations, each with leadership structures, such as the Guild of the Good Shepherd, Women Fellowship, Men Fellowship, Anglican Young Peoples' Association, Sacred Heart of Jesus, Guild of St. Mary the Virgin, Brotherhood of St Andrew and the Mother's Union, the indigenous bishops developed a sense of responsibility in managing them. In order for the ADOA to grow and to fulfil its missionary agenda, each structure under the indigenes was structured to have a sound, well-trained leadership from the parish through the archdeaconry to the diocesan level. The training of leaders is to be encouraged because they are prepared for many responsibilities. J.V. Taylor has maintained that,

If the primal view of man and community is to be taken up and fulfilled in the church, the centrality of the leader in that view must be taken into account. If the congregation is to grow up into Christ within the fabric of society by its hidden responses and mutual caring it will need a special kind of shepherd.<sup>242</sup>

The ideal leader in the Anglican community is a person with the ability to organize the various groups and the congregations to aim at fulfilling the objectives of the diocese' agenda, by encouraging the congregations to become vibrant, self-sufficient and to become linked to each other for the purpose of sharing in Ministry and Service, Outreach and Evangelism. Bishop's Hamlyn and Anglioby emphasized the need for training colleges for the clergy, to have a strong outreach and mission emphasis for the evangelization of the country.<sup>243</sup> On assumption to the leadership of the church, the indigenous leaders especially LeMaire and Akrofi further ensured the sustenance of developing the richness of faith lived by the community, and to encourage the parishioners to spread the gospel to every aspect of individual and parish life and beyond.

---

<sup>242</sup> Taylor, *The primal Vision*, 134.

<sup>243</sup> Pobe, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 144 & 158.

Akrofi's episcopate which set up the DMTS has produced a lot of lay ministers such as lay pastors and evangelists, chalice assistants, lay readers, Sunday school teachers, and intercessors who together with the clergy helped in vigorous evangelism in the Ga rural areas and the Dangme East and West. According to Richard Foli, the members of The Church of Pentecost are taught that, 'it is the sheep that gives birth to the sheep but not the shepherd'.<sup>244</sup> What this means is that, the members are taught to witness to win new people into the church. The shepherd here refers to the pastors who only feed the sheep, the members, and they are to embark on this mission. This then is the idea for the establishment of the DMTS to encourage and train people to go out to preach with a view to convert souls to be nurtured and guided to form the nucleus of parishes and congregations within the ADOA.<sup>245</sup> One difficulty is that the training given to these agents at the DMTS is not aimed vividly at equipping the people to consciously use indigenous forms and processes to evangelize even among the rural folk. This in a way has slowed the growth rate of the ADOA due to its western-ness in nature.

The leadership of the church has an important role to play in the community. Following the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the apostles, in obedience to the Great Commission, launched the missionary enterprise of the early church. They went into every town and village preaching the gospel of Christ. They conveyed one and only one message: Jesus Christ. As they preached the gospel, they preached Christ; and when they preached Christ, they preached the gospel. This is the empowerment the indigenous bishops in their administrations gave to the church agents as they continue in their ministry of outreach and evangelism.<sup>246</sup> To preach the gospel is one of the most important duties of the Christian community, and the indigenous bishops taught the members to become disciples, yet not in the context of their cultural milieu. Continuity

<sup>244</sup> Richard Foli, *Church Growth in Ghana* (Accra: Methodist Book Depot Ghana Ltd., 2001), 47.

<sup>245</sup> Bishop's Charge, First Session of the Sixteenth Synod, 1997.

<sup>246</sup> J.H. Kane, *Christian Mission in Biblical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), 206.

ought to be maintained between the earthly Jesus and the exalted Jesus. Therefore those made disciples and baptized by Christ's messengers are to follow Jesus just as the eleven did.<sup>247</sup>

Every believer in the gospel is to act as a priest, that is, one who mediates the gospel to others. The indigenous people led by their own native leaders were motivated through the policies of evangelization to pass on the power of Christ, which has affected their own lives to others for the expansion of the ADOA. They expressed and shared the faith in a loving action, and in this way communicated it to others. Martin Luther said,

All Christians are ministers: God has placed His Church in the midst of the world among countless undertakings and callings in order that Christians should not be monks, but live with one another in social fellowship and manifest among men the works and practices of faith.<sup>248</sup>

According to Taylor, those who are not Christians should not be neglected. Those strong in faith are to be further strengthened and encouraged. Those weak and lazy, or who have backslide, are to be given special attention, and should be helped to repent and start again.<sup>249</sup> Paul admonishes us to, "encourage the churches to be considerate of one another" (Galatians 6:1-6).

Theological education and the provision of social services were used by both the Western and Indigenous bishops to help the church to grow in the right direction by training both clergy and lay. Be that as it may, the challenge is how to indigenize theology to meet the local situation, since the world in which we live is culturally and religiously pluralistic, and it is changing drastically in both little and greater degrees. Indigenous theology is viewed as a process concept and there is no finished indigenous theology. Indigenous theology means the indigenization of theology, which is an

---

<sup>247</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, 67.

<sup>248</sup> Harold Taylor, *Tend My Sheep* (London: SPCK, 1983), 23.

<sup>249</sup> Taylor, *Tend My Sheep*, 23.

essential function of theology itself.<sup>250</sup> The Christian faith is presented in relation to the totality of the questions raised by the local situation, and it should not be assumed that certain questions are relevant to all times and situations. The current situation demands that all and sundry be vested with intensive knowledge of what they teach, preach and live. For example, the conference on theological education in South East Asia in Bangkok, Thailand in 1956 expressed the spirit of indigenization of theology as follows: “The teaching of systematic theology must be relevant to the environment. It must, on the one hand, be grounded in the Bible, and on the other, related to the actual situation.”<sup>251</sup>

#### **4.5 Theological Education**

Primary to achieving the goal of indigenization is the training and equipping of native leaders. Included in Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn’s three-self method was a call for the establishment of schools to train “native teachers and preachers” in the art of spiritual leadership.<sup>252</sup> From the beginning of Christianity in Africa, missionaries and later the indigenous people have been concerned about education as a contribution to the development of nations and churches. Education in many African countries came with the spread of the gospel, which invariably enhanced the growth and development of nations and churches.<sup>253</sup> The vision of the ADOA was to see vibrant, self-sufficient congregations. In order to give effect to the requirements of the vision, the question of ministries is to be addressed in terms of the situation and needs of Christian communities, and not as part of the crisis of the clergy. According to Jean Marc Ela, “the needs of autonomous communities should dominate our study of Christian ministries.

---

<sup>250</sup> Richardson et al, *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, 291.

<sup>251</sup> Richardson et al, *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, 291.

<sup>252</sup> Gailyn Van Rheenen, *Missions: Biblical Foundations & Contemporary Strategies*. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996), 182.

<sup>253</sup> Sola Igbari, ‘Reconstructing Theological Education Curriculum for Holistic Ministry: The African Perspective’ in Delanyoh Adadevoh (Ed), *Religion and Government in Africa: A Christian Response* (USA: ILF Publishers, 2009), 199.

The vision of a Christian community incarnate in the life of a people requires that the community have full autonomy in organising itself'.<sup>254</sup>

God's commission on us is to turn or mould others into disciples of Jesus that they can become like him. Theology is studied for the purpose of evangelizing, and to gain knowledge about the power of God. Theological education brings about clergy who would serve the Christian community. The clergy are trained for the purpose of helping the local church to live out their life as Disciples of Christ, and to build them up as members of the body of Christ in their distinctive situations. In the ADOA this had been helped by the development of lay ministry, they who serve within the church's pastoral work and social concern.<sup>255</sup> Today the ADOA in both the urban and rural communities is dependent on the ministerial and theological education at the Trinity Theological Seminary, St. Nicholas Theological Seminary and the DMTS. The DMTS as a lay training school teaches quality education up to the diploma level which is yet to be recognised by any seminary or university as high enough to give one entrance into the faculty of theology or religion for further studies. For this to happen, the school must either be affiliated to a recognized seminary or must be accredited by the National Accreditation Board. One problem that confronts those who study here is the lack of indigenous ways of evangelization and practical knowledge gained through the kind of interaction which is offered at theological seminaries. The researcher has first-hand experience of this because he studied at the DMTS before going to the seminary. It would therefore be of great value, for the church to consider a form of practical courses.

---

<sup>254</sup> Jean Marc Ela, *My Faith as an African* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988), 60.

<sup>255</sup> Suggit, *The Anglican Way*, 22.

#### 4.5.1 Theological Training under the Western Leaders

In the time of Hamlyn the presence of foreign leadership made it clear that the solution of developing and expanding the ADOA was to develop an indigenous ministry. Such a ministry had to involve a number of ministries in order that a local church can develop.<sup>256</sup> He therefore established the SPG Grammar School, also known as Adisadel College in 1910. The intention was to provide education for the children of the members of the Anglican Church, and also to train young men with the right inclination and aptitude for the ministry as clergy and catechist “to advance the work of the local church”.<sup>257</sup> For some time, this objective was maintained, and the school played the significant role of producing boys who eventually qualified not only as clergymen and catechists but also doctors, barristers, administrators among others, and played leading roles in the development of the country. For example, Ishmael LeMaire, the first indigenous bishop had his theological education there. The closure of the college was a big blow in the development and theological training in the ADOA. This caused disappointment to those who established it, together with the entire Anglican Communion. Nonetheless, it did show that there was the need for such an institution.

Bishop John Orfeur Anglioby who took over from Bishop M.S. O’Rocke in 1924 met as his staff, three African Priests, one African Deacon and three European Priests. Such modest staff was not good for the work and service in the Lord’s vineyard. He felt the need for training indigenous Priests, because “if the ADOA was to expand in the country and take its full share of evangelizing the country, it needed leaders of its own race in every department of life, but above all, men of spiritual power”.<sup>258</sup> He was anxious that there should be some standard attained in religious knowledge by the clergy

<sup>256</sup> Ela, *My Faith as an African*, 62.

<sup>257</sup> Interview with Rt. Rev. Joseph K. Dadson, (Former Bishop of Sunyani-Tamale Diocese), 22 August 2013, Tesano-Accra.

<sup>258</sup> The Golden Shore, April 1945, (X-3), 46, cited by Okine, in *Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lectures*, 5. See also, Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 157-8.

and it was encouraging and a step in the right direction to establish the St Augustine Theological College in 1925 for the education of the clergy.

The establishment of this college contributed to the enlightenment of the Anglican Church in the field of training the clergy. Before Anglioby left, it is gratifying to note that the college contributed towards the theological development of a lot of indigenous people. The core of the older and earlier clergy like Fathers, W.E.C. Yalley, G. E. Laing, K. P. Sakyiamah, S.A.C. Lotterodt, and B.T. Quartey had passed through the school.<sup>259</sup> Due to financial constraints and personnel, the bishop established only one diocesan college. With the departure of the Benedictine monks, and also due to shortage of staff, the college was closed temporarily and the bishop found it more convenient for ordinands to be trained on the job in Cape Coast and Accra. The end result of bishop Anglioby's theological training programme was the further building up of an African ministry. The SPG Grammar school and the St. Augustine's Theological College contributed towards the development of indigenous leadership. By 1968 the number of indigenous people at work in the ministry of the ADOA who had received part or all of their training at the two colleges numbered about nearly sixty-nine (69).<sup>260</sup> The candidates all worked in the church of the diocese; therefore the colleges had done something solid towards supplying the great needs of the church, a ministry which is Ghanaian in the fullest sense, attached to the country by ties of birth and training.

#### **4.5.2 Theological Education under the Indigenous Bishops**

At the commencement of the episcopate of the first indigenous bishop Rt. Rev. Ishmael S.M. LeMaire, training of clergy remained an important element as it were in the time of the Western leaders. The transition of the indigenous ministry from the potential to the

<sup>259</sup> Pobe, *The Anglican Story in Ghana*, 158.

<sup>260</sup> Kofi Pari Sakyiama, *Brief History of the Anglican Church in Ghana* (Accra: Unpublished, 1995), 3-5.

actual proved to be the outstanding characteristic of the Christian Mission in the first half of the twentieth century, said Musimbi Kanyoro.<sup>261</sup> In LeMaire's episcopate as part of the mission of the church, he led the church to participate fully at Trinity Theological College founded jointly by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, as a sponsoring church. Notwithstanding, he continued with on-the-job theological training for select catechists under the care of Fr. Maurice V. Mandeville. The programme normally lasted for two years, and also some were trained to serve as diocesan catechists. A large number of candidates who believe they are called to serve the church as priests were to be trained. Training for ordination takes into account both the gifts, talents and responsibilities of prospective candidates.<sup>262</sup>

With the foregoing arrangement at Trinity, the bishop felt the need to establish a local theological seminary "brewed in the Ghanaian Anglican pot".<sup>263</sup> This was against the background of his formation at Adisadel College in the 1930s and yearned for the new seminary to be located on part of the grounds of Adisadel College, bearing the old name – St. Nicholas Theological College to train and prepare ordinands for the ministry. St Nicholas Seminary was therefore established in 1976 as Ghana's first independent Anglican Seminary in response to a Synod chaired by the late Most Rev. Dr Ishmael S. M. LeMaire.<sup>264</sup>

---

<sup>261</sup> Musimbi Kanyoro, 'Religion, Education and Development' in Delanyo Adadevoh, *Religion and Government in Africa: A Christian Response* (USA: ILF Publishers, 2009), 190-5.

<sup>262</sup> Interview with Most Rev. Justice Akrofi, (Immediate past Archbishop of CPWA and Bishop of Accra), Accra, 20 August 2013.

<sup>263</sup> Interview with Most Rev. R.G.A. Okine, (Haatso, 31 July 2013).

<sup>264</sup> <http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>, { Accessed 29 June 2015}. See also, St. Nicholas Seminary Brochure, 3-4.

#### 4.5.2.1 St. Nicholas Theological College – Cape Coast

The vision for the establishment of this school was to be a centre of excellence in African Christian leadership training for both the ordained and lay.<sup>265</sup> Knowing that the church agents especially the priests are formed to become true shepherds of the soul of the people, the seminary engages the students first in the challenges of the church and its mission and secondly to foster excellence in pastoral care and sensitivity in social awareness all in the service of the Kingdom of God.<sup>266</sup>

It is believed that educated African leaders are vital for the growth of the church in Africa and throughout the world. The pedagogical approach of St. Nicholas is in threefold: it is academically rigorous, the school trains people for pastoral ministry aimed at the spiritual and moral formation that is faithful to the Christian heritage and cultural and it is contextually meaningful.<sup>267</sup> The College started with six students in 1976 under the rectorship of the Rev. Fr. Robert G.A. Okine (Now Most Rev. Robert G.A. Okine - Rtd). The college was first located in a building belonging to one Mr. Justice K.A. Korsah, at Cape Coast which the diocese bought for the running of a Second Cycle School – Academy of Christ the King; the seminary at that time shared the premises with the school.<sup>268</sup>

The basic curriculum set out at its formation and still being pursued focuses on three key points of the life and ministry of the Anglican Church. These are: Academic formation; Ministerial formation and Spiritual and Moral formation. In order to ground the students in the Anglican tradition, the Seminary emphasized on a life of daily prayer and worship, community fellowship, pastoral care and social justice. The major disciplines taught at St Nicholas are Biblical Studies, Christian Doctrine, Church History

---

<sup>265</sup> <http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>, {Accessed 29 June 2015}.

<sup>266</sup> St. Nicholas Seminary Brochure, 4-5.

<sup>267</sup> St. Nicholas Seminary Brochure, 5.

<sup>268</sup> Okine, Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lecture, 11.

and Canon Law, Mission Studies, Pastoral Studies, Philosophical Studies, Ethics, Religious Studies and Liturgy. Alongside rigorous inquiry and intellectual stimulation, special attention is given to the meaning and importance of faith in theology so that academic formation enables enrichment of Christian development.<sup>269</sup> It had been the desire of many that since the Anglican Church from 1968 has been managed by indigenous people, courses aimed at equipping the clergy to do self-theologizing within their Ghanaian cultural setting would be taught in the seminary. But unfortunately, the seminary only equips seminarians to do ministry.

In a bid to reorganize the seminary, most of the classes were transferred to the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Coast, with the second batch of five students, in 1982. After 1982, the seminary moved to its present site with major infrastructural works which included a Chapel, Library, Lecture halls and two bungalows for the rector and his vice. The library was subsequently stocked with books through the instrumentality of the late Rev. Bonnel Spencer of the Order of the Holy Cross.<sup>270</sup> In 1991, a block of three flats for faculty members and a fence wall was built and the process of affiliation with the University of Cape Coast was initiated which was finalised in 1995. Later, the construction of a two-storey Library Complex with basement, as well as the Administration block was added to the infrastructural developments of the school.

The seminary has established exchange links with reputable international seminaries and theological institutions. The seminary till date has had six rectors with four of them being indigenous people. It is gratifying that all the four indigenous rectors left their positions in the seminary because they were called to a higher responsibility by being elected bishops, one to Koforidua-Ho diocese and the other three to the Cape Coast diocese. In 1992 the Provincial Synod of the CPWA resolved to adopt St Nicholas

---

<sup>269</sup> <http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>, { Accessed 29 June 2015}.

<sup>270</sup> Okine, Archbishop LeMaire Memorial Lecture, 12.

Seminary as a Provincial institution open to students from across the Province. This shows how important the establishment of the seminary is to the Anglican fraternity. Today it remains the only active Anglican Seminary in the Province.<sup>271</sup> The synod under the leadership of Archbishop LeMaire did sacrifice their energy and financial resources and it is hoped that all the dioceses in Ghana in particular and the Province in general will continue to bear some cost for the running of the school.

From its establishment to about 1999, the school awarded licentiate in Theology (Lth) to students. Since 2000, St Nicholas has enjoyed affiliation with the University of Cape Coast which awards the Diploma in Theology taught at St. Nicholas. Currently, four programmes run simultaneously: the Bachelor and Diploma in Theology awarded by the University of Cape Coast, the School's own Diploma and the Certificate in Ministry. The courses offered for these programmes are periodically reviewed.<sup>272</sup> Theologically, we assert that priests are trained well in the seminaries, but not much is done in equipping them to know how to manage parishes to grow by using indigenous forms to solve particular Ghanaian issues. Priests need to be equipped on how to do evangelism and outreach activities targeted at those outside the church and in the dialect they are familiar with. Even though courses are taught in the seminaries, training in practicing what is known as "care of souls" is absent. From the research conducted, it came to light that little is taught in the practice of personal evangelism outside the pulpit or a concerted effort of the congregation.

The view of Robert Okine is that, theological education offered at this institution contributed towards the training of priests, catechists and lay readers and as such made constructive contribution in the empowerment and enrichment of the indigenous spiritual leaders. Most of the students from this college earned much respect for their contribution

---

<sup>271</sup> <http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>, { Accessed 29 June 2015}.

<sup>272</sup> <http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>, { Accessed 29 June 2015}.

in teaching scripture. They had grasped the essentials of faith. This resulted in an education founded upon a rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. The centre of revelation is that a commitment has been made to the students, and this commitment is rooted in a history where messianic dynamics are coming to life. Leadership is a call from God, but it requires learning through institutions vested with wisdom for the indispensable preparation for the work of the ministry.<sup>273</sup>

The various personalities who have headed the seminary show where it had come from to its present stage. Archbishop Okine has posited that, the general atmosphere of St. Nicholas as an Anglican or Episcopal institution is one that prepares people in the church and society for the lay or ordained ministry; people who are ready to cut themselves free from the ties of the world in order to give themselves particularly to the devotion of God and His work. Studying the curriculum and vision of St. Nicholas shows that the courses taught and the training programmes are not different from other seminaries like Trinity Theological Seminary.<sup>274</sup> The only difference is the formation of students in Anglican ecclesiology and doctrines which is tailored to suit the high churchmanship status of Anglicanism in Ghana. The establishment of St. Nicholas even though was to train the indigenous people for ministry and evangelization does not equip the church agents to indigenize Anglican worship. This then has become a challenge not only to the ADOA but the whole Anglican Communion in Ghana.

The aim of such a study is to follow the development of a mission in becoming an indigenous church, standing on its feet with respect to “self-government”, “self-support”

---

<sup>273</sup> Melvin L. Hodges, *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1978), 16.

<sup>274</sup> Trinity Theological Seminary is a non-denominational seminary located in Accra founded in 1942 comprising the following as sponsoring churches: Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church of Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana, AME Zion Church and the Anglican Diocese of Accra. Trinity prepares men and women not only to know the scriptures but also to effectively relate the scriptures to people caught on the barbed-wire of life. See, [http://www. New.trinity.edu.gh](http://www.New.trinity.edu.gh) {Accessed: 11 July 2015}.

and “self-propagation”, thus an autonomous movement.<sup>275</sup> Apparently, St. Nicholas was established to train clergy and lay people to help establish churches and not basically to train them in using indigenous forms in evangelization. Records show that, the establishment of St. Nicholas helped in achieving the self-governance theory of the Anglican Church. Organisational autonomy, financial independence, and missionary outreach are in no way marks of the church. Nevertheless, these things are important and financial independence requires a well-trained staff, vested with the proper financial knowledge. The purpose of the church and its ministry is to remain faithful. Hence all ministerial functions require some training of higher learning, including administrative sciences – interrelated with functions of ministry.<sup>276</sup>

#### **4.5.2.2 Diocesan Ministerial Training School (DMTS) – Osu**

In realizing the importance and need for lay ministry, the Diocesan Synod under the leadership of Rt. Rev. Justice Akrofi recommended for the establishment of a school. The Lay Training School was duly established and inaugurated on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1997. The late Rev. Canon (then Fr.) Harry F.M. Orland-Mensah the brain behind its formation was made its first director, and thirty-three students were registered in the training school. With time the name of the school was changed to the Diocesan Ministerial Training School (DTMS). The aim of the school is to train and equip Lay Evangelist/Pastors, Preachers, Counselors, Readers, Chalice Assistants, and Sunday School Teachers to go out and preach, with emphasis on rural evangelism. The School also organizes short-term leadership courses for the Youth and the Guild leaders with contextual and relevant theological training which equips the whole people of God for effective ministry. The DMTS is also mandated to organize short term in-service training for the clergy.

<sup>275</sup> Tippet, *Introduction to Missiology*, 85.

<sup>276</sup> T.C. Campbell and Gary Reiersen, *The Gift of Administration* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981), 32.

According to Taylor, “ordained or appointed leaders are important, but they must give priority to sharing the work with others”.<sup>277</sup>

The school is under the supervision of a Board of Directors and classes are held at the St. Barnabas Anglican Church premises but registered as the property of the diocese. The courses offered have been designed to meet the educational and evangelization needs of the diocese and at this school the church trains its lay ministers who helped to propagate the doctrine of the church and Christian knowledge in the rural communities of the Greater Accra Region. The curriculum and syllabus match any other theological school in the country and it has contributed constructively towards Christian Knowledge. The school has dedicated, committed and qualified lecturers both lay and ordained. Other resource persons are brought in from outside as and when necessary. Since its establishment, the school has produced over 800 Lay Ministers in various fields for effective ministry.

**Table 4: Lay people trained at the DMTS.**

Year	Lay Pastors and Evangelists	Lay Readers	Pastoral Counselors	Chalice Assistants	Total
1997	33				33
1998	41		25		66
1999	41	25			66
2000		28	12	30	70
2001		9			9
2002	24	17			41
2003	34				34
2004		10	19	14	43

<sup>277</sup> Taylor, *Tend My Sheep*, 276.

2005				18	18
2006	8		56	11	75
2007	3		46	13	62
2008	7	19	20	35	81
2009	16			25	41
2010		21	23	8	52
2011	50			4	54
2012	18	16	10	15	59
TOTAL	275	145	211	173	804

The establishment of the DMTS has in a way contributed towards the liturgical, cultural and spiritual development of the ADOA. Most of the lay ministers from this school offered themselves to serve in various capacities in the Church and some have also been selected, trained and ordained into the priesthood.

#### **4.6 Charismatic Renewal within the ADOA**

The development of charismatic/Pentecostal renewal swept across the country within the latter part of the twentieth century and the historic or mainline churches were all affected by this wave in one way or another.<sup>278</sup> The main group of people affected by this phenomenon to adapt to this new wave of change was the youth. While some left to join the charismatic and Pentecostal movements, others stayed but called for spiritual and liturgical renewal in the ADOA. This occurred largely during the tenure of Most Rev. Justice Akrofi. He accommodated the renewal even when he was the Dean of the Cathedral to the dislike of some of his colleagues. His conviction stems from the fact that

<sup>278</sup> Sydney H. Evans, 'Anglican Spirituality' in Gordon S. Wakefield (ed.) *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1983), 16.

the church needed to set the pace for the expression of charismatic fervour in the ADOA and also to rejuvenate the spiritual lives of members of the church.

In that direction Archbishop Akrofi in his first charge to Synod delineated his vision which comprised the setting up of a retreat centre with recreational facilities for both the young and old at Ashalley Botwe.<sup>279</sup> The establishment of the retreat centre is an enabling instrument for fostering viable worship and spirituality,<sup>280</sup> and also shows the readiness of the ADOA in creating space for spiritual renewal. This also explains the essence of devoting a portion to spiritual education as captured in the DCP.<sup>281</sup> The objectives set forth are:

1. To attain higher level of spirituality for members.
2. To teach lessons from the Bible more often and the spiritual benefits of the sacraments.
3. To teach and explain the form and practice of the Anglican Church worship.
4. To motivate members to pray together and organize cell prayer group meetings.
5. To improve Church members' love for Christ and enable them evangelize.
6. To teach specific themes like salvation, redemption, faith, love etc.
7. To encourage and set up small Church groups with specific needs to study together.

The DCP explained the ADOAs spiritual state at the time. Since the Charismatic phenomenon places emphasis on “orability” of liturgy, narratives of theology, on witness and participating in aspects of common life as well as holistic balancing of body-mind relationship, it easily attracted a lot of patronage which affected the mainline churches.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>279</sup> Bishop's Charge for the First Session of the Sixteenth Synod held at St Stephen Church, Tema in 1997, 4.

<sup>280</sup> Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Nineteenth Synod, held at Christ Anglican Church, Legon from July 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> 2008.

<sup>281</sup> Anglican Diocese of Accra, *Diocesan Corporate Plan: Mission and Goals of the Church*, Section 4.9 on 'Spiritual', June 2000.

<sup>282</sup> Patrick Okaijah-Bortier, *Contextualization of Anglicanism in the Diocese of Accra: The Influence of Pentecostalism* (Regent University College of Science and Technology, April, 2013).

Therefore the centre was built as a response to the charismatic renewal taking place at the time and also to position the church to meet that challenge by offering its members something similar to what is being offered by this charismatic wave. To this end, the ADOA was able to woo the Rev. Fr. Kwaku Dua-Agyeman<sup>283</sup> to oversee the activities at the retreat centre. Through the ministration of Fr. Dua-Agyeman at the centre and some parishes within the ADOA, most of the people who were oppressed, afflicted and bound allegedly were set free. It also gave hope to the faithful that solutions to their problems can be found in their church. In order to decentralize the phenomenon of empowering members for effective evangelization, he mobilizes trains and equips them for prayer to advance God's agenda in these last days.

By and large, the leadership of the ADOA under Archbishop Akrofi made a conscious effort at addressing the challenges confronting the ADOA and creating a fortune for the church through the activities of the retreat centre, the prayer warriors and the healing and anointing services held twice a year. These were his attempt in trying to indigenize the liturgy, worship, and evangelization to make the church attractive to a lot of people. It is believed that since Africans by nature are spiritually inclined, when the indigenous forms of expression are fused with the church's liturgy and worship it would create ease and deeper appreciation which helps to meet any challenge the church will face. The ADOA under Akrofi demonstrated that it is open and has a keen interest in the charismatic and spiritual renewal of its members. Also, he realized that the impact of the church must affect its society. With that in mind he set the diocesan agenda to help alleviate and equip those in the villages by providing them with some social amenities that can improve their situation. The work now focuses on the social services of the church and its ecumenical dealings with other denominations which also helped in

---

<sup>283</sup> Fr Dua-Agyeman is an accomplished veteran spiritual warrior. Prior to his coming into the ADOA he was a priest of the Anglican Diocese of Kumasi domiciled in Nigeria. He has a rare insight into the dynamics of spiritual warfare and the operation of Satan, demons and witches and how to defeat them.

showcasing the leadership abilities of the three indigenous Bishops and how it improved that of the clergy as managers of the parishes.

#### 4.7 Approaches to Social Services

The basic Christian social teaching enables us to understand that life is not only limited to “living in society”, but deals with the “building of a more just society”. According to Charles Skok,

This concept was promulgated by Church authorities in the face of political, governmental, economic and cultural policies and practices which undermined and threatened a Christian understanding of personal dignity, family life, religious conduct, and purposeful living in community and society.<sup>284</sup>

One can deduce from this assertion what is worthy or unworthy of humanity in their relationship with God and with one another. Historically, the Church has played its distinctive role in the affairs of the community in many ways. In order to live up to its core and divine mission on human developments to alleviate society from poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and under-development, the church had been dealing with successive Governments on major national issues affecting the economic, social, political and religious life of the people and had also been involved in the establishment of schools, hospitals, roads and agriculture.<sup>285</sup>

The concept of mission is to transform both the personal and social aspects of the lives of people as noted by Matt. 25: 31ff, and in most cases the church provided such services before the state got involved. The view of Y. Fredua-Kwarteng is that, “religion is the framework through which the average Ghanaian interprets daily life events and

---

<sup>284</sup> Charles D. Skok, ‘Social Teaching of the Church’ in Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig (Eds), *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004), 785.

<sup>285</sup> Joshua N. Kudadjie and Robert K. Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics* (Ghana: Asempa Publishers, 2004), 28-9.

processes the future”.<sup>286</sup> Emmanuel Asante in echoing the views of James Anderson and Ezra Jones has stated that, “the church carries out its ministry as it interprets and relates the Christian faith to the lives of individuals and groups and to communities that encompass it”.<sup>287</sup> It shows that as the church assists people in their roles as worshippers to attain full humanity, it enables them also to attain their personal fulfilment and to respond to the real human needs of their communities. In this type, evangelism and social action are distinguishable but inseparable, like the two sides of a coin. This type is based on the belief that the physical, spiritual, moral, and relational dimensions of human nature are intertwined. Promoting social and spiritual well-being are equally important, and interdependent aspects of church mission. Meeting social needs opens doors to sharing faith, which Verkuyl described as ‘diaconia’<sup>288</sup> and spiritual nurture, is believed to enhance the outcomes of social interventions.

#### 4.7.1 Healthcare and Education

The view of John Pobee is that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, school and clinic are considered the handmaid of mission. Therefore, through educational involvement by the churches, the Christian conscience was imprinted on people.<sup>289</sup> The development of education by the ADOA has a long tradition to the establishment of the church in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and under the three indigenous leaders, it was a continuation and part of the effort in developing what was started by the missionaries. This is confirmed by Verkuyl’s point that “Education ranks as the oldest form of diaconia in the modern

---

<sup>286</sup> Y. Fredua-Kwarteng, *The Potent Force of Religion in Ghana’s Economic Development*, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage> {Accessed 24 Sept. 2014}.

<sup>287</sup> Emmanuel Asante, *The Call to Serve: A Theological Reflection on Ministry* (Accra: Methodist Book Depot Ltd., 2002), 129. See also, Wright, *The Mission of God’s People*, 270.

<sup>288</sup> Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 211.

<sup>289</sup> John S. Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000), 89.

history of missions”.<sup>290</sup> However, during the period under review most of these schools were in the hands of the government yet the ADOA tried to maintain its identity and presence. Education is essential because it enables the individual to gain knowledge and understanding of themselves and the world around them. The belief is that individuals have the power to reason and solve long term problems.<sup>291</sup>

During the period of Thomas Thompson as a missionary in the Gold Coast in 1752 and the renewed attempt which established the Anglican Church under the Western leadership from 1904, the ADOA became involved in the education of the mulatto children in the castle and the villages and towns in Cape Coast. Provision of education was the primary tool that the mission sought to employ in laying a solid foundation for leadership by the indigenous people and the growth of the church. This was continued by the indigenous leaders and under the third indigenous bishop; he came up with a policy document that gave a direction towards the church’s social impact termed the DCP. One of its components is the social, economic and political needs of its members and society (SEPs) which covers health, social and education. In reviewing the implementation of the policy from 2000 to 2012, one realises that the church has not been responsive enough to the impact of economic and social problems in the communities it is operating in. The ADOAs medical and educational work is rather small as compared to other historic churches.

The ADOA under the dispensation of the three indigenous leaders has struggled to establish one hundred and seven (107) schools made up of 102 basic and junior high schools, 3 Senior high schools, and 2 Vocational and Technical schools which are scattered within the region with notable ones in areas like Ablekuma, Twerebo,

---

<sup>290</sup> Verkuyl, *Contemporary Missiology*, 212

<sup>291</sup> F.L. Bartels, *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 123.

Akramaman, Obeyeyie, Oduman, Nsakina, Amomole, Kwame Anum, Ashalaja, Ningo, Buerko, La, Teshie, Nungua and Tema New Town.<sup>292</sup>

From the above, it suggests that the ADOA has not been able to venture into the second cycle and tertiary education to help its members and society at large. According to Rt. Rev. Dr. Daniel S.M. Torto, “It is unfortunate that the church’s presence in the second cycle and tertiary institutions have been appalling”.<sup>293</sup> To buttress this assertion from Bishop Torto, one can adopt Pobee’s words concerning the importance of the church’s participation in education specifically secondary education that, “Achimota stands today as the symbol of the Christian education drive of the Gold Coast of the 1920s”.<sup>294</sup> This presupposes that the ADOA has not been enterprising in the spheres of education when compared to other historic churches. This is seen to be very serious with benefit from hindsight that the ADOA was the closest to the British colonial administration. It means that the ADOA did not take full advantage of being linked with the colonial administration. Also, the Anglican participation in its own educational institution is woefully disturbing.<sup>295</sup>

The ADOA’s determination to solve the health needs of its members and the society engineered the formation of the Anglican Health Professional Guild as an umbrella for all health personnel to meet, plan and execute the medical needs and prevention of diseases of the society. Unfortunately, the idea has not yielded the required requests. Most people within the health sector have not made themselves available to be used to make this laudable initiative work. Be that as it may, special mention must be made of the health personnel in the Tema archdeaconry and the Cathedral Church who in

---

<sup>292</sup> Report by the Project and Planning Committee to Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra, 28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2013, 23-4.

<sup>293</sup> The Diocesan Bishop’s Charge delivered at the Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at St. Paul Anglican Church, La on 28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2013, 11.

<sup>294</sup> Pobee, *Invitation to be African Anglican*, 89.

<sup>295</sup> Report by the Diocesan Corporate Plan committee to the Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod, 22.

collaboration with the ADOA and its foreign partners the “Branches of the Vine” from USA have been organising yearly evangelical and medical outreach programme which started some ten years ago in Accra but now limited to the rural communities in the Greater Accra Region.<sup>296</sup> This social responsibility of the church has provided thousands of people with free medical eye operation and provision of medicated glasses. Also, the Tema branch has been operating a clinic on the premises of the St. Alban church every other Thursday to cater for the needs of its members and the society at large at a subsidised fee. This has gone a long way to help solve the health needs of those who could not pay the huge medical bills.

The diocese in its attempt to transform the lives of the rural folk with assistance from the Anglican Relief and Development Fund (ARDF), USA has constructed a community clinic the first of its kind at Pokuase in the Ga West Municipality.<sup>297</sup> The diocese in a further step is also building a staff quarters for the nurses since none of them reside in the town and this phenomenon impacts adversely on their productive levels. The church in addressing these challenges should also be mindful of its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

#### **4.7.2 Other Forms of Social Services**

According to Bishop Torto, “mission and evangelism are inherent in the church and that the field of evangelism is like a market place in which the church must be attractive to get patronage”.<sup>298</sup> This shows that the church has different functions to perform in meeting both the spiritual and social needs of its members and society at large. Having concerned itself mainly in the field of education, the ADOA has recently and more

---

<sup>296</sup> Diocesan Secretariat of the Anglican Diocesan of Accra, September 15, 2014.

<sup>297</sup> Diocesan Secretariat, September 15, 2014.

<sup>298</sup> The Bishop’s charge to the Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod, 9.

importantly during the era of Archbishop Akrofi ventured into other areas in an attempt to impact positively the community it finds itself in.

Realising the importance of water for humanity, the ADOA has provided the people of Kwame Anum in the Ga South Municipality, Twerebo in the Ga Rural and Buerko in the Dangme West District with potable water facilities.<sup>299</sup> The facility is hoped to help eliminate the contraction of water-borne diseases that affect the people. Due to poverty and lack of knowledge in our society, the church is called upon to always extend its hand to the under-privileged and marginalised in our societies by providing them with such facilities in order to help prevent diseases.

Our world too is confronted with a frightful, strikingly silent and spreading pandemic, HIV and its manifested Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) which is steadily killing millions of people. Since the beginning of the HIV/AIDS pandemic some three decades ago, there have been dramatic scientific advances in its prevention and treatment. Despite these apparent successes there is still no cure. The ADOA has realised that the manifestation of poverty is very pervasive in our society which has led to many anti-social vices like prostitution with its attendant challenges on the youth and women contracting HIV/AIDS, STIs and teenage pregnancies. Records show that majority of people infected are within the ages of 15-49, the most productive years in our society.<sup>300</sup> Noting the threat HIV poses to the achievements of the developmental goals of any country, all the Anglican Provinces in Africa developed an “All African Anglican HIV/AIDS Planning Framework”. In this framework, the church clearly delineated its six-fold vision as a response to HIV/AIDS, which includes Prevention, Counselling, Pastoral Care, Health Care, Death and Dying and Leadership.<sup>301</sup>

---

<sup>299</sup> The Bishop’s charge to the Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod, 24.

<sup>300</sup> The Church of the Province of West Africa, *The Policy and Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS/STI* (Accra, Ghana: SonLife Press, 2005), 1-8.

<sup>301</sup> The Church of the Province of West Africa, 1.

The ADOA through the initiative of the CPWA on HIV/AIDS adopted a multi-sectorial response in order to reduce the spread of the epidemic, and also provide protection and support for people infected with the disease. The ADOA in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and the National AIDS Commission embraces a threefold strategy of Education for Prevention, Pastoral Care and Social Ministry. The HIV/AIDS pandemic is a challenge to our very existence and it is the duty of the church to confront it vigorously and effectively. This also calls to mind changes in our social attitudes and behaviours as a people, church and nation.

The ADOA has also initiated contacts for annual refresher course for traditional birth attendants at Amasaman and Dodowa to curtail the rate of maternal and infant mortality in our society especially among the rural folks. In order to divert the attention of the young girls and women from certain vices, the wife of Archbishop Akrofi formed the women and girls ministry where they are equipped with skills to better their lot. My observation at their meetings revealed that these young women and girls are trained in batik tie and dye, basket weaving and beads making. This endeavour is to make them economically relevant to fend for themselves and their dependants. This will go a long way to curtail their reliance on men and to help put a stop to the illicit and several sexual relations for favours and also reduce the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, STI and unwanted teenage pregnancies

On the agricultural sector, the involvement of the ADOA is not well known. However, the church in trying to contribute to the economy established the Anglican Development Company (ADC) to offer employment and also to help finance its activities other than from its traditional sources. The ADOA therefore undertook a 50-acre cassava farm project in partnership with the Ayensu Starch Factory under the then President's special initiative in 2005. This initiative was to feed the factory with cassava

all year round in order for them to produce starch for use by the citizen's.<sup>302</sup> Cassava is also consumed by a lot of people in the tropics and is one of the most productive food plants in terms of carbohydrate production. Unfortunately, the idea was salutary but the collapse of the factory did not allow the investment to yield its required dividend, making the ADOA lose most of its investment and therefore had no choice than to lay off the entire workforce and fold up.

Due to this failure, the ADOA decided to divert its attention to Sunflower cultivation but till date no move has been made in that direction. It had been the hope of many that the ADOA would have considered the other many benefits from the use of cassava. According to Otor Plahar, cassava can be used for variety of purposes such as making of flour, biscuits, noodles, baby foods, and sausages with the help of kitchen instruments like grater, press mill, and sifter.<sup>303</sup> This shows that in the agricultural sector, the ADOA has not in any way contributed towards the growth to the economy.

#### 4.8 Ecumenism

This is an organised interdenominational initiative aimed at greater Christian unity or cooperation.<sup>304</sup> George Tavard says, "The term is used predominantly with reference to mutual reconciliation of Christian denominations separated by history, doctrine and practice".<sup>305</sup> This desire according to some scholars goes back to the early Church, when the prayer of Jesus for the unity of his disciples became part of the gospel (John 17: 11 & 21).<sup>306</sup> In Ghana, due to the sporadic and unstructured mission by the various

---

<sup>302</sup> The Diocesan Secretariat, Anglican Diocese of Accra, 18 August 2014.

<sup>303</sup> Otor Plahar, 'Cassava Cultivation in the Ada West District' Daily Graphic, Thursday October 23, 2014, 40-1.

<sup>304</sup> T.P. Weber, 'Ecumenism' in Walter E. Elwell (ed), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*, 2nd Edition (Michigan: Baker Book House Co., 2001), 363.

<sup>305</sup> George H. Tavard, 'Ecumenism' in Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig (Eds.) *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004), 264.

<sup>306</sup> Millard J. Erikson, *Christian Theology* 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House Co., 1998), 1136-7. See also Weber, 'Ecumenism', 363; Tavard, 'Ecumenism', 264.

organisations, the churches sought cooperation and collaboration in order for their work to bear fruit. The idea for such an endeavour gained momentum after the Edinburgh Conference which brought into being a dynamic ecumenical movement.<sup>307</sup> They envisaged that working in isolation from one another was a disservice to the attainment of progress in their missionary endeavours. As a first step, they gave a concrete form to the new ecumenism by founding the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) in 1929.<sup>308</sup>

#### 4.8.1 The Christian Council of Ghana

The formation of the CCG in 1929 was the search for unity and to work with members on issues of social concern and to be the voice of the voiceless in society.<sup>309</sup> The purpose became a reality based on the churches resolve to cooperate with one another and to seek common policy. One of the reasons for unity is based on the fact that the church from the New Testament is actually one. This was an initiative of the Methodist Church and was responded to by the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, the Anglican Church, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.<sup>310</sup> The intention was to harmonise the issues that caused defection amongst them such as marriage and traditional ceremonies, polygamy and also how to take a common decision regarding the running of their schools. Currently, the CCG is the unifying organization of Christians among the mainline churches in the country. It represents the Methodist, Anglican, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Evangelical Presbyterian, African Methodist Episcopal Zionist,

---

<sup>307</sup> The World Mission conference held in 1910 in Edinburgh is believed to be a critical point to the growth of ecumenical awareness in mission and a forerunner to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. See, Israel Selvanayagam, 'Interfaith Dialogue' in John Briggs, Mercy A. Oduyoye and Georges Tssetsis (Eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, Vol. 3, 1968-2000 (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2004), 150; Weber, 'Ecumenism', 364; Sinclair B. Ferguson and David F. Wright (Eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 219.

<sup>308</sup> David N.A. Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana: The Ecumenical Heritage* (Ghana: Asempa Publishers, 2008), 101.

<sup>309</sup> [www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm](http://www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm) { Accessed: 16 Dec. 2014 }.

<sup>310</sup> [www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm](http://www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm) { Accessed: 16 Dec. 2014 }. See also, John S. Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana* (Ghana: Asempa Publishers, 1991), 50. See also, Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana*, 103.

Christian Methodist, Evangelical Lutheran, F'Eden, and Baptist churches, and the Society of Friends. The Council serves as the link between the World Council of Churches (WCC) and other ecumenical bodies.<sup>311</sup>

The functions of the CCG is in four-folds, namely: to foster and express the unity of the church; to uphold the principles of the comity of fellowship among churches; to enable the member churches to consult together concerning their Christian witness and service in Ghana, so that they may learn from one another and, where they are so led, speak and act together; to promote the study of the changes in the national life – social, cultural etc. as they affect the task of the church.<sup>312</sup> In reviewing the functions of the CCG as a way of fostering unity, one realises that decisions taken by the CCG are not necessarily binding on the member churches because each retains its identity and holds total allegiance to their unique church tradition or ecclesiology.

Right from its formation to date, the CCG has been involved in the political life of the country by mounting campaigns against social and political evils and also holding the various governments accountable for the benefit of the citizenry.<sup>313</sup> According to Kpobi, the ecumenical effort of the CCG also helped to eliminate the reliance on *Tigare* and other fetish relics for protection by some church members and other people.<sup>314</sup> Another success the CCG chalked was in 1962 when the bishop of the ADOA, Richard Roseveare criticised Nkrumah and was deported. The CCG and the Diocesan Synod prevailed on the government and the bishop was allowed to return and continued with his episcopacy.<sup>315</sup>

Even though the current member churches of the CCG comprises fifteen churches and two Christian Organizations and have decided to cooperate on issues of theology,

---

<sup>311</sup> [www.globalministries.org](http://www.globalministries.org) {Accessed: 16 Dec. 2014}.

<sup>312</sup> Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 50-1.

<sup>313</sup> Kudadjie et al, *Christian Social Ethics*, 29.

<sup>314</sup> Kpobi, *Mission in Ghana*, 106-7.

<sup>315</sup> Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 54-5.

doctrine and history, the ADOA had been comfortable in collaborating especially with the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church mainly on evangelization. For many years now, the ADOA had been operating with the Presbyterians and the Methodists at the Accra Ridge Church, Teshie-Nungua United Church and the Tema Joint Church. Again, the ADOA is one of the sponsoring churches that run the Trinity Theological Seminary. This shows the ADOA's determination to join its efforts with others in spreading the word of God. Be that as it may, this collaboration can be said to be what Erikson considers as "Conciliar Unity"<sup>316</sup> that is, at the face level because all the churches hold dear to their various theologies and doctrines which determine their style of liturgy and evangelization.

Christians cannot underestimate the burden of long-standing misgivings inherited from the past, and of mutual misunderstandings and prejudices. Complacency, indifference and insufficient knowledge of one another often make this situation worse.<sup>317</sup> Consequently, Christians should work at ecumenism by expressing goodwill, fellowship and love for one another and must be based upon the conversion of hearts and upon prayer, which will also lead to the necessary purification of past memories.<sup>318</sup> With the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Lord's disciples, inspired by love, by the power of the truth and by a sincere desire for mutual forgiveness and reconciliation, are called to re-examine together their painful past and the hurt which that past regrettably continues to provoke even today.<sup>319</sup>

---

<sup>316</sup> Erikson, *Christian Theology*, 1142.

<sup>317</sup> [www.http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism](http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism) {Accessed: 7 Oct. 2014}.

<sup>318</sup> Erikson, *Christian Theology*, 1150.

<sup>319</sup> [www.http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism](http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism) {Accessed: 7 Oct. 2014}.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

All through its history, the Anglican Church in Ghana as a whole has been struggling for growth because the training programmes for priests at St Nicholas and later the lay at the DMTS had not been tailored to meet the challenges of the Ghanaian populace. Therefore, there is nothing uniquely Ghanaian in terms of the contents of the programmes at these two institutions. The Western missionaries planted the churches with the hope that the indigenous people will multiply them, and that has been done but not successful enough due to the way the church has organized itself. One of the priorities of Archbishop Akrofi was to indigenize Anglicanism through the development of lay training in evangelism, pastoral care and worship. The DMTS even though has provided a vital and progressive service to the diocese as a whole, with more than 800 people trained in a variety of ministries, this has not translated into growth due to the high churchmanship or the use of the Western style of liturgy and worship.

The growth of the ADOA depends on the Anglican community. A leader leads by example (1 Tim. 3; Titus 1: 6-9). Personal growth is encouraged in all church structures, from bishops, priests, councillors, guild leaders and parishioners because it determines the measures of one's personal effectiveness. As a church, the ADOA has the social responsibility of making the community aware that every person, and nation, has the right to find in the world all what one needs for life and for the well-being and also for progress. God has made the earth and all that it contains for all the people to share. Undoubtedly, this diocese can grow and develop if it has a vision that can strengthen the effectiveness of the church.

Training for service means preparing all members to acknowledge their responsibility in the building up of a self-governing, self-propagating and self-financing church. A well-equipped ministry geared toward indigenizing theology is able to plant

and develop uniquely indigenous churches whose members understand their obligation toward their call to be disciples. According to J.N.J. Kritzinger, self-governing churches that operates in line with the three-self theory becomes attractive both for theological as well as administrative reason.<sup>320</sup> In spite of the indigenous effort in addressing these challenges in terms of the liturgy and worship, the church continues to be glued to the western style of worship and it has been difficult for the church to develop an entirely Ghanaian indigenous liturgy that will motivate and enhance the spirituality of parishioners as well as attract visitors which will aid its growth. Also the use of the 1662 liturgy for worship even under the indigenous leadership had in no way been to the advantage of the church.

Finally, there are many possible diversions and alternative routes towards successful indigenous leadership and growth. For the ADOA to contribute constructively towards spiritual and liturgical growth and leadership development, the Anglican community needs to understand the process where traditional forms of the Christian faith can be harmonized with the historical and cultural forms of the Ga or Ghanaian people. This is possible if Anglicans respect their own historical and ethnic legacies and strives to give form to their own distinctive communal identities. This is something the ADOA must measure itself against, in spite of failures and setbacks or making progress as a church in terms of indigenizing Anglicanism. We cannot become what we need to be by remaining what we are. In order to deepen indigenous leadership and grow as expected, we need to encourage and consciously equip all involved in leading church structures to commit themselves towards positive thinking and positive attitude in pursuing indigeneity in the ADOA.

---

<sup>320</sup> Kritzinger, *On Being Witnesses*, 9.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Summary and Conclusion

The understanding and practice of indigenous missiology in the ADOA have gone through several stages from the time of the Western missionaries and bishops to its manifestation in the episcopate of the three indigenous Bishops; I.S.M. LeMaire (1968 to 1982), F.W.B. Thompson (1983 to 1996), and J.O.Y. Akrofi (1996 to 2012). From the very beginning the aim and objective of the study was delineated. The study has adopted the historical and phenomenological approach to recount the establishment of the Anglican Church by the missionaries and Western leaders in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and its advancement by the indigenous leaders particularly in Accra. The study looked at the antecedents that led to its establishment, the settings into which the Anglican Church in Accra was founded, and discussed the leadership of the ADOA first by the Western leaders and later by the indigenous people. It also looked at the various strategies used by the indigenes to empower the church agents to expand and build the Anglican Church within the Greater Accra Region.

The idea for the selection of such a topic was based on the fact that an indigenous missiology avoids planting ministries that are out of place and are replicas of their Western counterparts. The study ascertained whether the ministries or leadership of the indigenous leaders after 44years of managing the affairs of the ADOA, can be differentiated from the Western leaders. One can say that, the ADOA had indeed achieved some measure in applying the three-self formula in its existence during the tenure of the three indigenous leaders. But by and large the church had not been able to do proper self-theologizing. The ADOA from Ghanaian historical enquiry has been in existence for over two hundred years. Though the ADOA's presence has contributed to

the growth and expansion of Christianity in Ghana and the strengthening of the mainline Churches mission in the country, the indigenous leaders were not able to make the ADOA an indigenous church. The Anglican Church like the other churches recognizes the biblical mandate of spreading the Good News and making disciples of all nations. Thus, evangelism and for that matter, mission forms part of its activities in the country.

The study focuses on indigenous leadership, the kind of leadership that concerns itself with indigenization. If one should speak of the ADOA as an indigenous Christian community having been led by three of its own people, it means that the Church should afford Anglicans in Accra the means of worshipping God as Gas or Ghanaians; that is in a way which is compatible with their own spiritual temperament, of singing to the glory of God in their own way, of praying to God and hearing his word in idioms which are clearly intelligible to them.<sup>321</sup> As described by David Hesselgrave, indigenization is when “people of a community think of the Lord as their own, not a foreign Christ; when they do things as unto the Lord meeting the cultural needs around them, worshipping in patterns they understand; when their congregations function in a body, which is structurally indigenous; then we have an indigenous church”.<sup>322</sup> One need to ascertain whether in the context of indigenization the preaching, the language of evangelism, the liturgy, Christian culture and the development of self-discipline among other subjects have been well fashioned in the ADOA. Unfortunately, things have not gone smoothly toward that direction. Seriously speaking, the ADOA can develop and reach its goal; that is, liturgical and spiritual growth if the indigenous ways of worship is encouraged.

The study has revealed the different setting and context in which the Western and later indigenous leaders organized the church at the time of their leadership. The Western

---

<sup>321</sup> Bolaji Idowu, *Towards an Indigenous Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 11. See also, John S. Pobee, *Skenosis: Christian Faith in an African Culture* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1992), 108.

<sup>322</sup> David Hesselgrave *Communicating Christ Cross Culturally* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), 27.

leaders we are told built on the foundation laid by the SPG missionaries. According to Paul Jenkins even though SPG's first effort did not make any lasting impact the chaplains lingered on. Records show that the emergence of the Anglican Church in Accra was through an indigenous initiative spearheaded by John and Isaac Vanderpuije. The Western leaders and the first indigenous bishop led the ADOA at the time when the diocese was co-terminus with the whole of the Gold Coast. However, when the first indigenous leader experienced the enormity and stress involved, he initiated the process and carved five other dioceses for effective pastoral and financial administration. Therefore the tenure of the second and third indigenous leaders was mainly concentrated in the Greater Accra Region.

The indigenous phenomenon within Anglicanism at the time of the Western leaders was started by John Swatson between Sefwi Bodi and Dunkwa and southwards to the coast.<sup>323</sup> Through this phenomenon, several villages near Tarkwa, Prestea, Jachie, Nkawie, Obuasi and its environs were affected.<sup>324</sup> These points to the fact that in as much as the missionaries' presence in the leadership of the Church were evident, the expansion and development of new congregations were the efforts of indigenous initiatives. Realizing the contribution of the indigenous people to the spread of Anglicanism and in an attempt at fulfilling the vision of Thomas Thompson, Hamlyn set up the SPG Grammar School and through Anglioby the St. Augustine Theological Seminary was established to serve as a 'nursing' ground for the future school teachers, catechists and African clergy.<sup>325</sup> They built Churches and schools, clinics, training

---

<sup>323</sup> Paul Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1905-1924' (i) Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana, Vol. XV (I), 1974, 24

<sup>324</sup> Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church in Ghana', 23-39.

<sup>325</sup> Cephas N. Omenyo, *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Printing (Zoetermeer, The Netherlands: Boekencentrum Publishing House, 2006), 51.

centres as a way to empower the indigenous people to be self-governing and self-propagating.

From the assertion above during the tenure of the Western leaders Anglican congregations were found scattered throughout the Southern, Ashanti and the Northern parts of the country. Some scholars are of the view that the rapid spread of Anglicanism during the tenure of especially the Western leaders illustrates the predominant African initiatives which had operated in the Anglican evangelical work in Ghana.<sup>326</sup> Most of these congregations were made possible because the places were easily accessible either by rail or road.<sup>327</sup> The missionaries and Western leaders have contributed constructively toward the training of leaders. They founded two theological colleges – SPG Grammar School or Adisadel College and St. Augustine Theological College which were known for the production of teacher and catechist and later priests, some of whom became leaders in various communities. However, their task was not fully fulfilled when in the case of St Augustine because of the Second World War, shortage of staff and financial difficulty saw the institution closed down. This also meant truncating the development of indigenous leadership which could not reach its climax.

The episcopacy of the three indigenous bishops produced a total of about seventy-five parishes and congregations, yet the ADOA did not strategize to meet the spiritual, liturgical and cultural needs of the people especially in the rural areas by sending to them trained Priests or Catechists or Lay Pastors and Evangelists to offer them teachings, spiritual guidance and the sacraments. In the end people started leaving the church to join other churches where they could receive good pastoral care. One can

---

<sup>326</sup> J.K. Agbeti, *West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482 – 1919* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 45. See also, Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church in Ghana, 23-39. Cephas N. Omenyo, *Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case in Missiology: An International Review*, (39:3 2011: 374).

<sup>327</sup> Jenkins, 'The Anglican Church in Ghana', 23-39.

therefore argue that any organisation be it secular or religious that fails to position itself to meet the future needs of its people is bound to either collapse or stagnate.

Spirituality in Anglicanism is described and measured by the use of the Book of Common Prayer (BCP). According to Pobee, the emphases of BCP on baptism, confession, confirmation, rites of passage and ordination is both effective and rational, making room for both order and freedom.<sup>328</sup> The BCP is viewed as the symbol of disciplined liturgical worship and of a kind of spirituality that aids in active social witness. However important Anglican worship is as an expression of spirituality, the church always has to be ready for the spiritual and moral needs of its people within their own context. Owing to the ideology of Anglicanism being a liturgical and spiritual renewal and also the desire to adhere to article XXIV<sup>329</sup> which enjoins Anglicans to pursue vernacular paradigm consistent with the core Christian message of the Incarnation and longstanding missiological practice, the ADOA came out after much struggle since the time of Bishop LeMaire with the Ga Anglican Asafo Solemo Ke Lala Wolo (The Ga Hymn Book) during Akrofi's tenure with much controversy. Unfortunately its usage has not made much impact to the worship life of the church because the churches continue to be glued to the English Prayer Books and Missal (BCP) and even this Ga Hymn Books are out of print. If meaningful progress and development are to take place, we need deepened spirituality that is firmly rooted in the African or Ghanaian context.

An overview of the Scriptures reveals that a great or substantial number of people experienced the presence of God in the context of worship. Therefore using appropriate cultural expressions in worship such as native rhythms, instruments, and language can

---

<sup>328</sup> John S. Pobee, *The Anglican Story in Ghana: From Mission Beginnings to Province of Ghana* (Kanshie: Amanza Limited, 2009), 21.

<sup>329</sup> Anglican Church of Ghana, *The Book of Common Prayer* (Ghana: JADC, 1975), 338.

significantly enhance their worship experience.<sup>330</sup> Worship according to Peter Sarpong, deals with the social aspect of human beings<sup>331</sup> who are social beings and therefore attracted to fellowship where they feel their needs can be met or satisfied. The ADOA through its evangelistic programmes must endeavour to nurture the people within its distinctive spirituality and great liturgical heritage. William Dryness and James Engle have noted that the type of adaptation necessary to effectively contextualize a ministry only takes place when leadership is motivated and energized by the Holy Spirit.<sup>332</sup>

The study revealed that in terms of the liturgy and worship style, the church continues to be glued to the European style of worship. During the tenure of the three indigenous Bishops even though measures were put in place for the indigenization of the liturgy and worship, it was difficult for its realization due to the way priests are trained. It has been difficult for the ADOA to develop an entirely indigenous liturgy that will motivate and enhance the spirituality of parishioners as well as attract visitors which will aid its growth but continue to use the 1662 liturgy for worship even today. This shows that when communicating the gospel cross-culturally it is important to understand how the receiving culture “thinks about the world, itself, its laws and its values”.<sup>333</sup> The adaptation to the use of English language at services and other religious gatherings in the ADOA is about (85%) and this is a major setback. Most respondents are of the view that, the use of the English language scares even the semi-literate to be involved in the affairs of the church. It is therefore incumbent on the church to develop a theology of mission and growth that is consistent with the mission and ministry of Christ. The ADOA should

---

<sup>330</sup> Francis M. Mannion, ‘Liturgy and Culture’, in Peter E. Fink (Ed.), *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 311.

<sup>331</sup> Peter K. Sarpong, *Peoples Differ: An Approach to Inculturation in Evangelisation* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2002), 112.

<sup>332</sup> William Dryness and James Engle, *Changing the Mind of Missions* (Chicago: Inter Varsity Press 2000), 148.

<sup>333</sup> Doug McConnell, Michael Pocock, and Gailyn Van Rhee, *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 328.

be able to develop a Ghanaian Anglican identity capable of meeting the needs of its members.

Most priests and churches are not committed to mission and evangelism which has been enshrined in the Lord's great commission to the church. Majority are glued to the "maintenance church" syndrome which confines the church to the four corner walls of the building without any attempt of moving out to affect the lives of the people within their respective vicinities. For example, revivals and crusades are always organized either in the churches or on their compounds, whereas other churches move out of their comfort zones to affect the lives of the people in the communities. The ADOA from the research has made some reasonable success in evangelism with the mission to Ga East, Ga South, Ga Central, Ga West, Ga Rural, Tema, Dangme East and West (External evangelism). Nevertheless, the church seems lax on how to consolidate its outreach gains because of the lack of indigenous ways of worship, decline in attendance and follow-up of lapsed members (Internal Evangelism). Therefore in trying to find out the causes, one would probably realize that a commitment on the part of the leader is a critical and strategic factor to this phenomenon.

There is poor attendance at church services in some parishes. Little attention is given to Bible studies and other spiritual exercises which have culminated into low spirituality; therefore the ADOA continues to face such difficulty. The belief is that the church as a whole need to work at deepening the level of spirituality, commitment, conformity and obedience to biblical standards and the process of indigenization. The church must be aware that growth is not simply with growing numbers, but with growing members. Though many Christians measure other things, the only certain concrete sign of growth is a life of increasing holiness, rooted in Christian self-denial.

The liturgy of the church seems to be too extensive which is affecting understanding of the Anglican tradition and the Christian faith among the faithful and especially in the rural areas where literacy is not very high. Even though great strides have been made in the training and improvement of the background and capabilities of Priests to provide leadership and direction for the church both spiritually and as managers, the church is yet to be satisfied with the level and capabilities of some of the priests who seem not to be adequately committed to lead and train the laity to appreciate the liturgy and worship of Anglicanism. This is due mainly to the training programme offered especially at the St. Nicholas Seminary and the DMTS. The church agents are not trained in the way that they can indigenize the liturgy and worship life of the Anglican Church to be appreciated by the faithful. The content and style of the liturgy and worship life of the ADOA happens to follow the same pattern as the Western leaders had left it. It is on record that at the onset of Anglicanism in England, there were the Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical or Low churches and this evangelical wing seem to be growing tremendously. Therefore, as a radical change in the ADOA, low churches could be established to help in making the liturgy simpler and worship life enjoyable. Therefore, the call on the ADOA and particularly the individual parishes is to relate the Anglican doctrine and worship to the real life of the parishioners.

The finances of the ADOA have been precarious, thus there is inadequate funds to pursue vigorous evangelistic programmes. The church relies on the traditional sources of funding from: Assessment, offerings, tithes, harvests and the like for the management of the diocese. Consequently, the establishment of the Diocesan Endowment Fund to provide a financial backbone to the diocese during the tenure of Archbishop J.O.Y. Akrofi has also not been realized. The researcher believes that it is necessary for the ADOA to do a thorough prognosis of the Endowment Fund and explore other avenues to

generate funds to manage the diocese and to fund programmes aimed at growing the church and also to sustain that growth as well.

## 5.2 Recommendations

Though this work investigated the contribution of the indigenous leaders to the advancement of Anglicanism in the ADOA, the researcher recommends that a detailed missiological study in indigenization be included in the training of priests at St. Nicholas Theological Seminary and the lay people at the DMTS. It is believed that when they are equipped and moulded through such programme, they will be well informed and be able to deal with particular African or Ghanaian issues which in effect would contribute to the growth of the ADOA. Consequently, if the ADOA reforms its liturgy and worship to reflect the Ga or Ghanaian culture by blending nicely with the high churchmanship, it will enable the church to have a well-balanced liturgy and be beneficial to all. The realization is that, with enough teaching the people will understand and will begin to appreciate the ADOA as a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating indigenous church. In addition, if the church would appreciate its history and culture, it would possess the power to resist anything Western against its progress.<sup>334</sup>

The end result is that if the so called indigenized liturgy or worship truly touches the passions and emotions of the Ga or Ghanaian Anglicans, it will also have the tendency to transform and renew them as well. It is said that worship according to African idiom will help us to grow in depth.<sup>335</sup> A similar work that looks at the role of indigenous leadership in any of the other ten (10) dioceses would be an essential or a possible research someone can undertake. Such a study would help in expanding our

---

<sup>334</sup> Nana Nketsia, 'Over-reliance on Foreign Culture', 20.

<sup>335</sup> Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, 2002, 9.

knowledge on Anglicanism in Ghana and would provide introspection into the activities of indigenous leadership in the various dioceses in the Anglican Church of Ghana.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

#### Interviews Conducted by the Researcher

- Akrofi, Justice Offei Yaw, Most Rev. Dr., (Immediate Past Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Accra) Interview, 20 August, 2013, High Street, Accra.
- Appiah, Albert Kwesi Asante, (A Lay Faithful at the Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity) Interview 20 August, 2103, High Street, Accra.
- Dadson, Joseph Kobina Dadson, Rt. Rev., (Former Bishop of Sunyani-Tamale Diocese) Interview, 22 August, 2013, Tesano, Accra.
- Lampsey, Joseph Lankwei, Venerable Dr., (Archdeacon of Tema and Parish Priest of St. Alban Anglican Church) Interview, 5 August, 2013, Community one, Tema.
- Ocquaye, Jehoshaphat Attey, Very Rev., (Rtd) Interview, 29 October, 2013, Darkuman, Accra.
- Okai, Wilfred Ayitey Adjin, Venerable, (Former Archdeacon of Tema) Interview, 12 September, 2013, Abelenkpe, Accra.
- Okine, Robert Garshong Allotey, Most Rev. Dr., (Former Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Koforidua-Ho Diocese), Interview, 31 July, 2013, Haatso, Accra.
- Sackey, Seth Jonathan Annan, Venerable, (Archdeacon of Accra East and Parish Priest of St. Barnabas Anglican Church) Interview, 20 August, 2013, Osu, Accra.
- Sakyiama, Benjamin, (Son of the late Ven. Kofi Pari Sakyiama) Interview, 5 September, 2013, Community 7, Tema.
- Tetteh, Edmund Mensah, Venerable, (Archdeacon of Accra North and Parish Priest of All Saints Anglican Church) Interview, 8 August, 2013, Adabraka, Accra.
- Tetteh, Godfrey Ampim, Rev. Canon, (Rtd) Interview, 15 October, 2013, Santa Maria, Accra.
- The family of Most Rev. I.S.M. LeMaire, led by Most Rev. G.R.A. Okine. Former Archbishop of the Church of Province of West Africa and Bishop of Koforidua-Ho Diocese, who happened to be a foster son of LeMaire. Interview, 28 September, 2013, Haatso, Accra.
- Thompson, Francisca Naa Dzama, (Daughter of the late Rt. Rev. F.W.B. Thompson) Interview, 10 September, 2013, Kaneshie, Accra.

### **Anniversary Brochure/Constitution/Booklets**

Akrofi, Justice O. Bishop's Charge delivered at the First session of the Sixteenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at the St. Stephen Church, Tema, 1997.

-----, Bishop's Charge delivered at the First session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at the St. Stephen Church, Tema, from 24<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> August 2000.

-----, Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod held at the St. Stephen Anglican Church, Vertical Centre-Tema, 2002.

-----, Bishop's Charge for the First Session of the Eighteenth Synod held at St. Stephen Church, 2003.

-----, Bishop's Charge to the Third Session of the Nineteenth Synod, held at Christ Anglican Church, Legon from July 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> 2008.

-----, Bishop's Charge delivered at the Last Session of the Twentieth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at St. Paul Anglican Church, La from 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> April, 2011.

Anglican Church of Ghana, *The Book of Common Prayer* (Ghana: JADC, 1975).

Anglican Diocese of Accra, *Diocesan Corporate Plan: Mission and Goals of the Church*, Section 4.9 'Spiritual' (Accra: June 2000).

Archbishop I.S.M. LeMaire, Memorial Lectures (Cape Coast: St Nicholas Seminary, 24<sup>TH</sup> -26<sup>TH</sup> October, 2007).

Cathedral Church of the Most Holy Trinity, *Centenary Anniversary Celebration Brochure 1896-1996* (Accra, 1996).

Diocese of Koforidua-Ho, *10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Brochure* (Koforidua: 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1991).

Minutes of the Third Session of the Fourteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Trinity College from 22<sup>nd</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993.

Minutes of the First Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, August 2000.

Minutes of the Third Session of the Seventeenth Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra held at St. Stephen Church – Tema, 2002.

Report by the Project and Planning Committee to Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra, 28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2013.

Sakyiamah, Kofi Pari, *Brief History of the Anglican Church of Ghana* (n.p., Feb., 1995).

St. Nicholas Seminary Brochure (n.p.).

The Anglican Church in Ghana, 'Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary, 1752-1974', (Accra: New Times Corporation, 1974).

The Church of the Province of West Africa, *The Constitution of the Anglican Diocese of Accra: Including Regulations*, Revised and Printed (Accra: Assembly Press, 1997)

The Church of the Province of West Africa, *The Policy and Strategic Framework on HIV/AIDS/STI* (Accra, Ghana: SonLife Press, 2005).

Thompson, Francis W.B. Rt. Rev., Bishop's Charge delivered at the third Session of the Fourteenth Synod at Holy Trinity and Trinity College, Accra from 22<sup>nd</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> August 1993.

-----, Bishop's Charge to the First Session of the Fifteenth Synod held at Holy Trinity Cathedral and Teacher's Hall, Accra from 8<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1994.

Torto, Daniel S.M., Rt. Rev. Dr., Bishop's Charge delivered at the Second Session of the Twenty-First Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Accra which took place at St. Paul Anglican Church, La on 28<sup>th</sup> Sept. 2013.

## Secondary Sources

### Published Books

Adadevoh, Delanyoh, ed. *Religion and Government in Africa: A Christian Response*. Chicago, USA: ILF Publishers, 2009.

Addo, Emmanuel I.K. *Worldview, Way of Life and Worship: The Continuing Encounter between the Christian Faith and Ga Religion and Culture*. Zoetermeer, The Netherlands: Boekencentrum Publishing House, 2009.

Agbeti, Kofi J. *West African Church History: Christian Missions and Church Foundations 1482-1919*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986.

Allen, Roland. *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes Which Hinder It*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: World Dominion Press, 1949).

Amartey, A.A. *Omanye Aba*. Accra: Bureau of Ghana Languages, 1969.

-----, *Omanye Aba*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1990).

Ammah, Charles Nii. *Homowo and other Ga-Adangme Festivals*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1982.

Anderson, Gerald H. *The Theology of Christian Mission*. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1961.

- Asante, Emmanuel. *The Call to Serve: A Theological Reflection on Ministry*. Accra: Methodist Book Depot Ltd., 2002.
- , *Culture, Politics and Development: Ethical and Theological reflection on the Ghanaian Experience*. Accra: Challenge Enterprise, 2007.
- , 'Chieftaincy and Religion', n.d., 5.
- Bartels, F.L. *The Roots of Ghana Methodism*. Cambridge: University Press, 1965.
- Bediako, Kwame. *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non Western Religion*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1995.
- Berkley, James D, ed. *Leadership Handbook of Outreach and Care*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994.
- , *Leadership Handbook of Management and Administration*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 1994.
- Berkouwer, G.C. *The Church: Studies in Dogmatics*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1976.
- Beyerhaus P, and Lefever, H. *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission*. London: World Dominion Press, 1964.
- Bosch, David J. *Witness to the World*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1980.
- , *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991.
- Bowen, Roger. *So I Send You*. London: SPCK, 1996.
- Briggs, John, Oduyoye Mercy A, and Tsetsis, Georges, eds. *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, Vol. 3, 1968-2000 (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2004).
- Campbell, T.C, and Reiersen, Gary. *The Gift of Administration*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1981.
- Chilcote, Paul W, and Warner, Lacey L, eds. *The Study of Evangelism: Exploring a Missional Practice of the Church*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008.
- Debrunner, Hans W. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1967.
- Dickson, Kwesi A. *Theology in Africa*. New York: Orbis Books, 1984.
- Dryness, William and Engle, James. *Changing the Mind of Missions*. Chicago: Inter Varsity Press 2000.

- Ela, Jean Marc. *My Faith as an African*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988.
- Elwell, Walter E, ed. *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Michigan: Baker Book House Co., 2001).
- Erikson, Millard J. *Christian Theology*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books, 2004).
- Falola, Toyin, ed. *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* London: Longman, 1993.
- Ferguson, Sinclair B, and Wright, David F, eds. *New Dictionary of Theology*. Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988.
- Field, Margaret J. *Religion and Medicine of the Ga people*. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- , *Social Organisation of the Ga People*. London: The Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1940.
- Fink, Peter. S.J. *The New Dictionary of Sacramental Worship*. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1990.
- Flannery, Austin. O.P, Gen. ed. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*. Bandra, Mumbai: ST. PAULS, 2004.
- Foli, Richard. *Church Growth in Ghana*. Accra: Methodist Book Depot Ghana Ltd., 2001.
- *The Ghanaian Church in Retrospect*. Accra, Ghana: Methodist Book Depot Ghana Ltd., 2001.
- Glazier, Michael, and Hellwig Monika K, eds. *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004.
- Glenny, Edward, and Smallman, William. *Missions in a New Millennium*. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2000.
- Green, Michael. *Evangelism in the Early Church*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970.
- Groves, C.P. *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*. Vol. 4. (London: Lutherworth Press, 1948).
- Gyekye, Kwame. *African Cultural Values: An Introduction*. Accra, Ghana: Sankofa Publishing Company, 1998.

- Harton, F.P. *The Elements of the Spiritual Life: A Study in the Ascetical Theology*. London: SPCK, 1934.
- Hastings, Adrian. *The Church in Africa 1450-1950*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 1994.
- Hayford, Jack W. *Leaders on Leadership*. California, USA: Regal Books, 1997.
- Hesselgrave, David. *Communicating Christ Cross Culturally*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991.
- Hodges, Melvin L. *The Indigenous Church and the Missionary*. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Idowu, Bolaji. *Towards an Indigenous Church*. London: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Jago, A.G. *Leadership Perspective in Theory and Practice*. Chicago, USA: Bookreaders.org, 1982.
- Kalu, Ogbu U, ed. *The History of Christianity in West Africa*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1980,
- , *African Christianity: An African Story*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005.
- Kane, J.H. *Christian Mission in Biblical Perspective*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976.
- Kpobi, David N.A. *Mission in Chains: The Life, Theology and Ministry of the ex-slave Jacobus E.J. Capitein (1717-1747) with a translation of his major publications*. (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1993).
- , *Mission in Ghana: The Ecumenical Heritage*. (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2008.
- Krass, Alfred C. *Go and Make Disciples: Applied Theology*. London: SPCK, 1974.
- Kritzinger, J.N.J. *On Being Witnesses*. Halfway House: Orion Publishers, 1994.
- Kudadjie, Joshua N, and Aboagye-Mensah, Robert K. *Christian Social Ethics*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2004.
- Kumekpor, Tom K.B. *Research Methods and Techniques of Social Research*. Accra: Son Life Press and Services, 1999.
- Ladd, G.E. *The Gospel of the Kingdom*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1981.
- Lambeth Conference. *The Truth Shall Make You Free*. London: Church Housing Publishing, 1988.
- Larbi, Kingsley. *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*. Accra: CPCS, 2001.

- Lartey, Emmanuel Y. *Pastoral Counselling in Inter-cultural Perspective*. Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Verlag Peter Lang, 1987.
- McConnell, Doug, Peacock, Michael, and Van Rhee, Gailyn. *The Changing Face of World Missions: Engaging Contemporary Issues and Trends*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005.
- McGavran, Donald A. *Understanding Church Growth*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1980.
- Mobley, Harris W. *The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary: An Analysis of the Published Critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians 1897 – 1965*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.
- Moltmann, Jurgen. *The Church in the Power of the Spirit*. London: SCM, 1992.
- Neil, Stephen. *Colonialism and Christian Mission*. London: Lutterwork, 1966.
- Noll, Bebbington, and Rawlyk, eds. *Evangelicalism*. Oxford: OUP, 1994.
- O'Donovan, Wilbur. *Biblical Christianity in African Perspective*. Carlisle, U.K: Paternoster Press, 2000)
- Okaijah-Bortier, Patrick. *Keeping the Church on the Right Path: The Role of Clergy and Lay*. Accra, Ghana: SonLife Press, 2015.
- Omenyo, Cephas N. *Pentecost Outside Pentecostalism: A Study of the Development of Charismatic Renewal in the Mainline Churches in Ghana*. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum Publishing Press, 2002.
- Opoku, Kofi Asare. *West African Traditional Religion*. Accra: FEP International Private Limited, 1978.
- Pascoe, Charles F. *Two Hundred Years of SPG: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701-1900*. London: SPCK, 1901.
- Pobee, John S. *Toward an African Theology*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979.
- , *Kwame Nkrumah and the Church in Ghana*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1988.
- , *Religion and Politics in Ghana*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1991.
- , *Skenosis: Christian Faith in an African Cultu..* Gweru: Mambo Press, 1992.
- , *Invitation to be African Anglican*. Accra: Asempa Publishers, 2000.
- , *The Anglican Story in Ghana: From Mission Beginnings to Province of Ghana*. Kaneshie, Accra: Amanza Limited, 2009.

- Reindorf, Carl. *A History of the Gold Coast and Asante*. Accra: Basel Mission Book Depot, 1950.
- Robert, Dana L. *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2009.
- Richardson, Alan, and Bowden, John. *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*. London: SCM Press, 1983.
- Sanneh, Lamin. *West African Christianity: The Religious Impact*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1983.
- Sarpong, Peter K. *Peoples Differ: An Approach to Inculturation in Evangelisation*. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2002.
- Smalley, William. *Cultural Implications of an Indigenous Church: Readings in Missionary Anthropology II*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978.
- Smart, Ninian. *The Science of Religion and Sociology of Knowledge*. Princeton: University Press, 1973.
- Smith, Oswald. *The Challenge of Missions*. London, U.K: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1972.
- Stacy, John, ed. *About Worship: Preachers Handbook*. New Series No. 4. (Kumasi: The Garden City Press Ltd., 1973).
- Stott, John. *Christian Mission in the Modern World*. Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1975.
- , *Evangelism Through the Local Church*. Oxford: Regnum Books, 1990.
- Suggit, John. *The Anglican way*. Cape Town: CPSA Publishing Committee, 1999.
- Tabor, Charles R, and Tatsumao, Yamamori, eds. *Christopaganism and Indigenous Christianity*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1975.
- Taylor, Harold. *Tend My Sheep*. London: SPCK, 1983.
- Taylor, John. *The Primal Vision*. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963.
- Taylor, William. *Global Missiology for the 21st Century*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academia, 2000.
- Terry, John M., Smith, Ebbie, and Anderson, Justice, eds. *Missiology: An Introduction to the Foundations, History, and Strategies of World Missions*. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman and Holman Publishers, 1998.
- Tippet, Alan. *Introduction to Missiology*. Pasadena: William Carey Library, 1987.

- Toon, Peter. *What is Spirituality*. London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1989.
- Van Rheenen, Gailyn. *Missions: Biblical Foundations and Contemporary Strategies*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1996.
- Verkuyl, Johannes. *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1979.
- Wakefield, Gordon S, ed. *A Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*. London: SCM Press Ltd., 1983.
- Walls, Andrew F. *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996.
- Wiltgen, R.M. *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880*. Techny: Divine Word Publication, 1956.
- Wright, Christopher J.H. *The Mission of God's People: A Biblical Theology of the Church's Mission*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2010.
- Zimmermann, Johann. *A Grammatical Sketch and Vocabulary of the Akra – or Ga Language*. Hapenheim, Bergstrasse: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972.

### **Articles in Journals**

- Akogyeram, Humphrey. "African Indigenous Churches and the Ministry of the Holy Spirit." *Journal of African Instituted Church Today*, Vol. II, No 1 (2006): 73-83
- Jenkins Paul. "The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1905-1924." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. XV (1) (1974): 23-35.
- "The Anglican Church in Ghana, 1905-1924." in *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. XV (II) (1974):
- Omenyo, Cephas N. "Agenda for a Discussion of African Initiatives in Christianity: The West African/Ghanaian Case." *Missiology: An International Review*, 39:3 (2011): 377).

### **Newspaper**

- Nketsia, Nana Kobina. "Over-reliance on Foreign Culture." *Daily Graphic*, Thursday September 25, 2014.
- Plahar, Otor. "Cassava Cultivation in the Ada West District." *Daily Graphic*, Thursday October 23, 2014.

### Internet Sources

Chatfield, J. "African Independent Churches: Friends or Foes"? An Exercise in Doctrinal Dialogue, accessed 18 Nov. 2014, <http://www.teenet.net/vol4p8.htm>

Fredua-Kwarteng, Y. *The Potent Force of Religion in Ghana's Economic Development*, accessed 24 Sept. 2014, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage>.

St. Nicholas Theological Seminary, accessed 29 June 2015.  
<http://capecoast.anglican.org/capecoast/seminary.html>,

<http://www.Leadership-Toolbox.com>, Accessed 21 Jan., 2014.

[http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/commissions/missio/c\\_doc.cfm#sthash.lypTnABi.dpuf](http://www.anglicancommunion.org/ministry/mission/commissions/missio/c_doc.cfm#sthash.lypTnABi.dpuf) Accessed 4 Sept. 2013.

[http://www. New.trinity.edu.gh](http://www.New.trinity.edu.gh) Accessed 11 July 2015.

Robert Reese. *The Surprising Relevance of the Three-Self Formula*, accessed 18 Feb., 2015, <http://www.missionfrontiers.org>

<http://rts.edu/site/virtual/resources/student> accessed 27 Oct., 2014.

[www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm](http://www.Christiancouncilgh.org/history.htm) accessed 16 Dec. 2014.

[www.globalministries.org](http://www.globalministries.org) accessed 16 Dec. 2014.

[www.http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism](http://wn.wikipedia.org/wiki/ecumenism) accessed 7 Oct. 2014}.

### Long Essays/Theses

Aleh, Hilda Afi. '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).

Amoateng, Kofi. *The Relevance of Akan Traditional Forms of Asubo for Christian Baptismal Liturgy in Akan Methodist Churches*, MTh Thesis (Trinity Theological Seminary, Legon, 2008).

Annancy, Felix O.K. *A Study of Evangelism and Church Growth in the Anglican Church in Ghana*, (University of Ghana, Legon, 2009).

Ledwaba, Moroamaraba S. Johannes. *The Development of Indigenous Leadership in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, with special reference to the Diocese of St. Mark the Evangelist*. accessed 24 Oct 2014.  
<http://repositry.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/26903/complete.pdf>

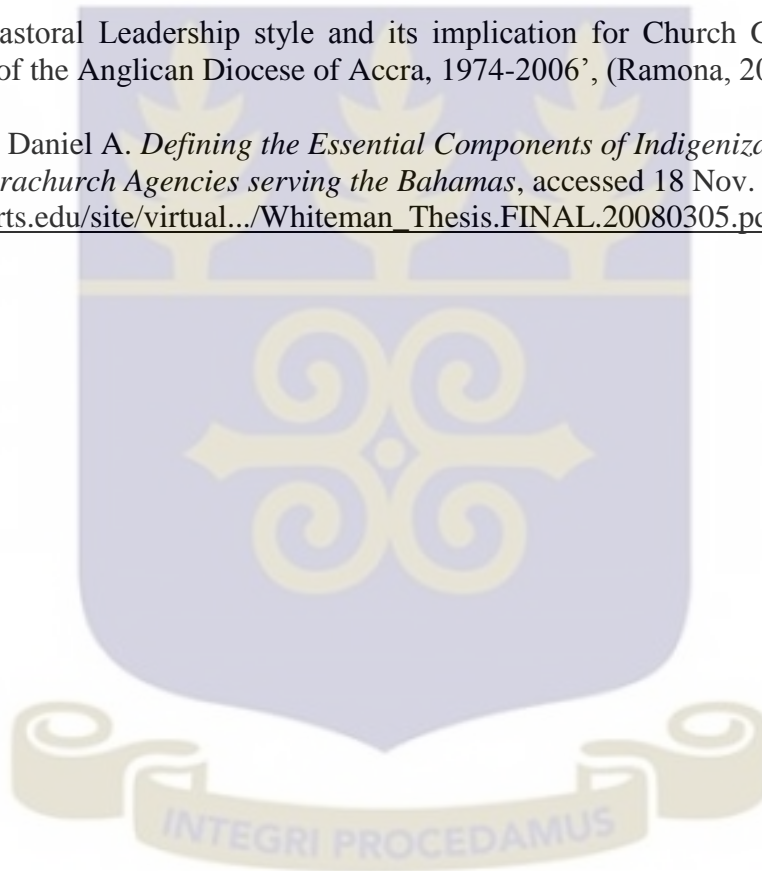
Neequaye, George K. 'Inculturation and Liturgical Reform in the Accra Diocese of the Anglican Church of Ghana with particular reference to Baptism and Outdooring of Babies among the Ga people of Accra, Ghana', (University of Ghana, Legon, 1999).

Okaijah-Bortier, Patrick. Contextualization of Anglicanism in the Diocese of Accra: The Influence of Pentecostalism (Regent University College of Science and Technology, April, 2013).

Torto, Daniel Sylvanus Mensah. 'Ordination of Women in the Priesthood in the Anglican Church of Ghana: A New Agenda for an Old Institution', M.A Thesis, (Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MA).

-----, 'Pastoral Leadership style and its implication for Church Growth: The case study of the Anglican Diocese of Accra, 1974-2006', (Ramona, 2009).

Weightman, Daniel A. *Defining the Essential Components of Indigenization: A Roadmap for Parachurch Agencies serving the Bahamas*, accessed 18 Nov. 2014. [http://rts.edu/site/virtual.../Whiteman\\_Thesis.FINAL.20080305.pdf](http://rts.edu/site/virtual.../Whiteman_Thesis.FINAL.20080305.pdf)



## APPENDICES

### **PART A: Interview Questions for Priests/Bishops**

1. Date of birth.
2. Year of ordination as a priest?
3. Year of consecration as bishop?
4. What led to the creation of the diocese of Accra and that of other dioceses?
5. What are some of the major changes that accompanied the creation of a diocese?
6. How were you recruited and trained as a priest?
7. How are parishes created and what goes into it?
8. Who were the agents of mission during Lemaire's and Thompson's time and what was their strategy for evangelization?
9. From your time to date, how do you assess the liturgy of the church?
  - I. Has it improve the worship life of the church?
  - II. Have we been able to practise the vernacular paradigm in e.g. article 24?
  - III. In what way/s does our liturgy help in the growth of the church?
10. How are the clergy formed spiritually?



**PART B: Interview Questions for Most Rev. Dr. J.O.Y. Akrofi – The Only surviving Indigenous Bishop**

1. Was there any conscious attempt to groom you for the bishopric? If yes how was it done? – Akrofi
2. As the 3<sup>rd</sup> indigenous bishop of Accra, what was your vision for the diocese?
  - I. Evangelization and Church Planting
  - II. Recruitment and training of the clergy
  - III. Liturgical matters in terms of Indigenization
3. Has this vision been realized? if no, what were the obstacles and how were they dealt with?
4. What is your assessment of the diocese of Accra?

