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EDUCATION AND HEALTH IN PASTORAL MINISTRY: A STUDY OF BISHOP JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS SVD, CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF ACCRA (1953-1971)

EMMANUEL QUARSHIE

DEPARTMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

JULY 2019

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EDUCATION AND HEALTH IN PASTORAL MINISTRY:

A STUDY OF BISHOP JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS SVD,

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF ACCRA (1953-1971)

BY

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(10443561)

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

DEPARTMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

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DECLARATION

I, Emmanuel Quarshie, hereby declare that this thesis is the product of my own research conducted under the supervision of Rev. Prof. George Ossom-Batsa and Rev. Prof. Fidel Gonzalez at the Department for the Study of Religions, University of Ghana towards the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Religions.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the religious dimension of life has become a central issue in development discourse, but it has been generally ignored or dismissed by development policy-makers. Recent events, however, suggest that religion has become an important force in the world. Religion shows no sign of diminishing in public importance as some development theorists have universally claimed. In fact, in Africa, religion constitutes the foundation of upliftment and transformation of lives. In effect, evidence abounds that the religious dimension of life has contributed immensely to integral human development in Ghana, specifically in the fields of education and health.

It is against this background that the study investigated how Bishop Bowers contributed to integral human development in Ghana through the establishment of educational institutions and health facilities.

The study employed qualitative research methods and approaches to generate novel insights into phenomena that were difficult to quantify, which emerged from data. The study area is the Accra Diocese at the time of Bishop Bowers (1953 to 1971).

Data was collected and collated using the snowball technique. Focus Group Discussions were conducted at Pope John Seminary and Senior High, Koforidua (a boys' school) and St Rose's Senior High, Akwatia (a girls' school) and with the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer of Accra Convent, Agomanya (the house of elderly nuns). Archival material from Robert M. Myers Archives, Techny, USA; SVD Guest House, Accra; St. Dominikus Institut, Speyer, Germany of OP Sisters; Accra Archdiocesan Archives, and the Ghana National Archives, Accra were consulted. For personal observation, visits were paid to six schools (Pope John's Minor Seminary and Senior High School at Koforidua, St. Peter's Senor High School at Nkwatia, St Martin's Senior High School

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at Adoagyiri, St. Rose's Senior High School at Akwatia and St. Anne Vocational Institute at Nuaso) and four hospitals (St. Dominic Hospital at Akwatia, Battor Catholic Hospital at Battor, St. Joseph Hospital in Koforidua and St. Martin's Hospital at Agomanya. The data generated from the narratives of the interviewees and archival material was analysed and organised into themes.

The findings of the study reveal that Bowers' upbringing and formative years impacted his ministry as a Bishop. This translated into his concern for the holistic development of every person and the whole person. Furthermore, the research revealed that religion is a key element in development discourse in Ghana and that religion has always affected the socio-economic and political life of Ghanaians. Lastly, it revealed that the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana has promoted integral human development through the establishment of educational and health facilities.

Key words: Bishop Bowers, Biography, Integral Human Development, Religion, Spirituality, Pastoral Ministry, Education and Health.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late parents, Madam Anna Esi Toklo and Abraham Quarshie; The Catholic Archdiocese of Accra; The Dominican Sisters of Speyer, Germany; The Sisters of the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer of Accra; and the Society of the Divine Word Missionary, Accra, Ghana.

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Cecilia Adobea Anang and Mr and Mr Emmanuel and Mrs Esther Afachao, Mr Jimmy and Mrs Susanna Aidoo, Mr Herbert and Mrs Elizabeth Bulley, my benefactors and formators, Mrs Josephine Bugeja, Mr Mario and Mrs Teresa Barbara, Mr Eugenio and Mrs Maris Apap, Ms Mary Attard Rev. Profs. Joseph Agius OP, Luke Dempsey OP, Paul Murray OP, Fredrick Blaise CSSpS., and Raymond Studzinski O.S.B.

Apart from the living, I would like to acknowledge and pay my respects and gratitude to the departed who have contributed in diverse ways to this research, Most Rev. Joseph Oliver Bowers, Most Rev. Dominic Kwadwo Andoh, Msgr Blaise Zubuor, Very Rev. Frs. Pio Zerafa, and Vicente Burke and Dr Ernest Adadevoh. May their souls rest in peace!

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADM	Ministerial Archives Department
BB	Bishop Bowers
CEE	Common Entrance Examination
CHAG	Christian Health Association of Ghana
CPP	Convention People's Party
CT	Counselling and Testing Unit
DD	Doctor of Divinity
DHCs	Diocesan Health Councils
DPA	Direct Productive Activities
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DVD	Digital Video Disc
ER	Eastern Region
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GH	Ghana
GNP	Grand National Product
GS	*Gaudium et Spes*
HD	Human Development
HDR	Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer of Accra
ICS	Institute of Carmelite Studies
IHD	Integral Human Development
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialisation
JHS	Junior High School
MFU	Medical Field Unit
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OH	Order of Hospitallers
OP	Order of Preachers
OT	*Optatum Totius*
PDV	*Pastores Dabo Vobis*
PHC	Primary Healthcare
PLWAS	People Living With HIV/AIDS

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PMTCT	Programme to Prevent the Transmission of the HIV Virus from Mother to Child
POJOSS	Pope John Senior Secondary
PP	*Populorum Progressio*
PRAAD	Public Record Archives and Administrative Department
RME	Religious and Moral Education
SHS	Senior High School
SMA	Society of African Missionary
SOC	Social Overhead Capital
SOEs	State-Owned Enterprises
SSpS	Servant Sisters of Holy Spirit
SSS	Senior Secondary School
SVD	Society of Divine Word Missionaries
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
WHO	World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE

ACROSS THE GREAT DIVIDE: THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN DEVELOPMENT

1.1 Background to the Study

The religious dimension of life has become a central issue in development. Until recently, development policy makers "have generally dismissed or ignored the religious dimension of the lives of individuals and communities on the assumption that secularisation is an inevitable by-product of the modernisation process."[1] Besides, "in many respects, religion has been perceived as an instrument of conflict than stability, a situation that undermines development and as such would not have any development to sustain."[2]

However, recent scholarship suggests otherwise; it indicates that:

> Religion has become a significant social and political force in the world. […] it is more convincing to suppose that religion will shape the development of many countries in the non-Western world in the years to come. The mere fact that religion, in whatever form it manifests itself, constitutes both a social and a political reality requires a reconsideration of its role in development.[3]

In Africa, the significance of religion to development cannot be overemphasised; religion constitutes the foundation of the upliftment and transformation of individual lives and those of African societies.

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[1] G. Ter Haar, "Religion and Development: Introducing a New Debate," in *Religion and Development: Ways of Transforming the World* (London: Hurt & Company, 2011), 3–25.
[2] Boniface Obiefuna, and Amara Uzoigwe, "Studying Religion for Sustainable Development in Nigeria," *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities* 13, no. 1 (2012): 133. See G. Ossom-Batsa, N. Gatti and R. Ammah, eds., *Religion and Sustainable Developments: Ghanaian Perspectives*; Grandi Opere (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2018).
[3] Ter Haar, "Religion and Development," 6.

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A. Development in Ghanaian Perspectives

Ghana, like most African countries, considers its development in terms of infrastructural and economic indices. Good infrastructural and economic growths are considered indicators of the development of the nation. But economic growth must show a clear correlation between development and the human person, as pointed out by the Christian vision of development in *Populorum Progressio.*[4]

B. The Colonial Era and Development in the Gold Coast

A cursory glance at development in the Gold Coast indicates that the Ghanaian perception of development indices was shaped by the history of the arrival of Western European missionaries in the 18th century. That period witnessed the establishment of schools by colonial governments and Western Christian missionaries from their colonial country of origin. As part of a human development plan, those schools were designed primarily to teach the youth to read the Bible. That was the memorandum of understanding between the Church and the state in 1887.[5] The Western ministers serving specifically in the Gold Coast functioned as traditional intellectuals and agents of British imperialism. They facilitated the exploitation of the West African masses, as they risked losing the mandate in the colonial master country of origin.[6]

Thus, the research has revealed that their influence became more profound when British imperialists declared the Gold Coast a Crown Colony in 1874 becoming independent of the governor of Sierra Leone. After that time, the Western ministers became part of England's team and were actively involved in the so-called "scramble for Africa" which

[4] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* (Rome: Vatican Press, 1967), n. 14.
[5] Education Ordinance of 1882-1887, "Education Ordinance and Rules Amendment," file GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 3, 1954-67, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.
[6] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, n. 7.

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extended from 1885 to 1960. Lugard has noted that during that era, the European powers were in protectorates, trustees and defence alliances with the local people to exploit the continent's human and natural resources by trading and governing.[7]

As already cited, Lugard has stated that in the 19th century, what seems to have attracted the merest trifle of some Western Christian ministers suddenly turned out to become an influx of large numbers of ministers travelling to the African continent for evangelisation. Some of the Western ministers taught and popularised Christianity in the church/state schools, with emphasis on the claim that God has commissioned them as His chosen vessels of His mysteries in shepherding and leading the indigenes from practising their religion to the knowledge of Western European religious values. They taught and seemed to have given the impression in the church/state schools that, first, God had elevated Europeans above Africans with brains and blessings of abundant capital and energy. Secondly, that they were superior in that God had charged the natives to submit to the teachings of Christ and the policies of the colonial officials for progress and prosperity.[8]

Let us now address ourselves to the period from 1953 to 1956, which was marked by the phase of slow maturing commercial capitalism, composed of the import and export of goods and services. That system of trade marked the transition from a relative isolated autonomy to full integration into and dependence on the international economy in the Gold Coast.[9]

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[7] Friedrich Lugard, "The Dual Mandate," in *Imperialism,* ed. P. D. Curtin (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 317-8. See Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, n. 11.
[8] Lugard, "Dual Mandate," 317-8. See Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, n. 11.
[9] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio,* no. 7, 8, 9, 80.

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As a result of the trans-Atlantic trade, the partitioning of the African continent among the European countries initiated and reinforced that system of trade by which the productive capacity of the regions south of the Saharan was linked to the needs and demands of the Western industrial economy.[10]

Reasoning from the foregoing, the emergence of new political and administrative units on the African continent brought in colonial investment in transport and other infrastructural projects and the influx of foreign businesses. Thus, new economic structures were superimposed upon existing indigenous ones. Such foreign administrative structures were largely under the control of African aliens and expatriates living in the Gold Coast. Nevertheless, the fundamental issue that underlies trade imbalances on the African continent was export and import oriented, where the prices of imported goods and services far exceeded those exported.[11]

C. Post-Colonial Era and development in Ghana

In effect, the above-entrenched colonial administrative structure made it so difficult that in the Gold Coast when decolonisation took place between 1950 and early 1960, there was little the indigenes could do immediately to improve the existing administrative structure. That structure had undergone half a century of internal evolution and interaction with the Western industrial economy. Hence, the commercial activities of the colonial masters and their alliance did much less to ameliorate the living standards of the natives. The goals and policies of the colonial administration were to put restriction on private production and consumption in order to create public investment. That favoured the established order more than emergent local businesses of indigenous traders. Again,

[10] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio,* no. 7.
[11] Ibid., no. 7, 8, 9, 80.

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the colonial regime ensured its influence on wage bargaining. It controlled employment and attempted to divert and alter the traditional land tenure system.[12] The regime continued to rely more on expatriate civil servants in the large colonial state apparatus. Above all, its underlying value system was permeated with racism and more bias against the indigenes than the European personnel,[13] some without the requisite qualifications and businesses in the distribution of earnings and income.[14]

The above-structured economic systems, which were beneficial to the established order, needed restructuring after independence. Eventually, the economy produced a small privileged class of elites who formed the embryonic bourgeoisie such as professionals, teachers, lawyers and wealthy farmers who were more commercially oriented. That high class in society set and propelled the process of decolonisation.

However, the colonial administration's acceptance of the decolonisation of the economy was tantamount to its acknowledgement of the shortfalls of certain elements in the colonial economy, which had enjoyed the support and patronage of the state in the past. Those colonial personnel would become redundant or expendable and would have to be replaced at some point by native Africans who would aspire to assume their roles. The decolonisation of the economy suggested why there was capital outflow from colonial Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a result of repatriated savings of expatriates to the country of origin.[15]

[12] Cf. Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 7.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., no. 63
[15] Ibid., no. 8.

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D. Post-Independence development in Ghana

Some scholars, notable among them Allman, have observed that an election won in 1951 in the Gold Coast granted the indigenes control over the colony's internal affairs but stopped short of full independence. However, two subsequent elections in 1954 and 1956 paved the way for the Gold Coast to emerge as the independent nation of Ghana in 1957.[16]

During that period, the indigenous government inherited a 10-year development plan which was drawn by the colonial Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, but the government reduced it into five years and implemented its provisions between 1951 and 1956. The 'First Development Plan' allocated most of the budget to infrastructure and social services (39 per cent each), with only nine per cent allocated to the 'productive sector' of the economy.

Further, Nugent has commented that after a two-year consolidation period, the government launched the Second Development Plan in 1959. The emphasis on infrastructure and social services was carried over from 1951, with 80 per cent of the Second Development Plan allocated to the non-productive sector of the economy.[17][18]

In analysing this approach of prioritised social overhead capital (SOC), which included health and education, as well as infrastructure, Killick has concluded that the government was of the conviction that that would induce the growth of directly productive activities (DPA). Further, he has argued that the funds earmarked for DPA in the 1950s

[16] Jean Marie Allman, "On the Reasons for the Multiple Elections," in *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
[17] Paul Nugent, *African Since Independence: A Comparative History* (New York: Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2004), 169.
[18] Nugent, *African Since Independence*, 27-29; 169.

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targeted agricultural development rather than industrialisation, as recommended by economic advisors, especially W. Arthur Lewis.[19]

Furthermore, in its implementation of the Second Development Plan in 1959, the government was optimistic for national development. Fitch and Oppenheimer have commented that the government's optimism did not last long. Although the 1951 and the 1959 plans produced respectable economic growth of five per cent yearly, the returns failed to balance the budget. As a result, spending under the Second Development Plan far exceeded income and produced a deficit of £53 million or 12 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) by 1961.[20]

To help remedy the budget deficit in development, the Catholic Church in Ghana had no choice but to take up its prophetic role given to it by its founder, "who cited the preaching of the Gospel to the poor as a sign of His mission (Luke 7: 22), the Church has never failed to foster the human progress of the nations to which she brings faith in Christ. Her missionaries have built not only churches but also hostels and hospitals, schools and universities".[21] These are the components which foster the holistic human development of any nation.

During the first three or four decades of the emergence of the concept of development, it was primarily conceived of in terms of economic growth. Nonetheless, Stephen

> Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar held the view that "neither economic growth nor even state building should be thought of as goals in themselves, although both are crucial aspects of a better future for Africans."[22] But, then, more

[19] Tony Killick, *Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana* (London Heinemann Educational Books Limited, 1978), 44-5.
[20] Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, *Ghana: End of an Illusion* (New York: Berkley, 1966), 90-91.
[21] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio,* no.12
[22] Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, "Religion and Development in Africa" (2004): 2, https://open access.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/12909/ASC-071342346-174-01.pdf?sequence=1

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> recently, the concept of human development has come into vogue, emphasising aspects of people's lives that go beyond the economic dimension, such as health and education.

Human development constitutes the foundation on which social, economic and political development is based. Ter Haar makes the following submission on the role of religion in human development:

> Any development enterprise must begin by considering how people's full range of resources, including their spiritual or religious resources, can be used for their general well-being. Religious resources do not consist only of networks of people who relate to each other through religious practice or adherence. Religious resources can be considered under four headings: ideas; practices; organisations or institutions; and experiences.[23]

The above submission corroborates the story of the Roman Catholic presence in the Greater Accra Region, which dates back to 1893[24] when Fr. Augustine Moreau, the first Society of the Missionaries of Africa (SMA) missionary, arrived in Accra from the Cape Coast Prefecture, and subsequently the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), which took over the territory, which later became the Catholic Diocese of Accra, from the SMA in January 1939.[25] The early missionary presence demonstrates both the missionaries' interest and activities in the lives of the people in terms of the holistic development of the human person, particularly in the domain of health and education.

The researcher's aim of choosing this topic: "Education and Health in the Pastoral Ministry: A Study of Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers, SVD, Catholic Diocese of Accra (1953-

[23] Ibid. See also, Gerrie Ter Haar, "Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace?," in *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*, eds. Gerrie Ter Haar and James J. Busuttil (Boston: Brill, Leiden, 2005), 3-34.
[24] Alphonse Elsbern, *The Story of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Accra* (Accra: Catholic Book Centre, 2000), 17.
[25] Elsbern, *Story of the Catholic Church*, 40.

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1971)" was to highlight the role of religion in Ghana's development with particular focus on the contributions of Bowers to integral human development.

The study examined the work of Bowers, an SVD missionary. It illustrated how, through religion, Bowers, a citizen of the Dominican Republic and missionary in Ghana, contributed to human development in Ghana.

Notably, on Friday the 14th of October 2011, the government of the Republic of Ghana gave out some national honours and awards to some 106 people, both indigenous Ghanaians and foreigners, who in various ways had contributed to improving the lives of the people of Ghana. The President, His Excellency Prof. John Evans Atta Mills, was himself present at the ceremony, held at the Accra International Conference Centre, to present the awards in a short but beautiful and meaningful ceremony. Bowers was one of the recipients of this meritorious award.

The citation states:

> In recognition of your dedicated service to humanity and your love and devotion to meeting the spiritual and temporal needs as well as nurturing the intellectual development of the people of this Nation, especially, the youth, the Republic of Ghana confers on you: Most Rev Joseph Oliver Bowers, the State Honour of COMPANION OF THE ORDER OF THE VOLTA.[26]

The above recognition motivated our choice to study Bowers' contribution to human development in Ghana. Bowers was one of the first SVD missionaries of African descent who arrived in the Gold Coast in 1940.[27] He contributed to human development and epitomised the role of religion in development. Little, however, has been written on his pastoral activities and vision. We are aware only of three short biographies, two

[26] See appendix C for the complete document, 261.
[27] Elsbern, *The Story of the Catholic Church,* 47.

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by Ghanaian priests, Duah-Prempeh and Agbenohevi,[28] and a third by a priest of the Dominican Republic.[29] The latter wrote on Bowers to mark his centenary birthday in 2010. Bowers' contributions to human development in the area of education and health were not without challenges and consequently research into these aspects will enhance the discourse on religion and development.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In a sense, religion has become a significant social and political force in the world. It is anticipated that religion will shape the development of many countries, especially those in the non-Western world, in the years to come. In Ghana, religion shows no sign of diminishing in public importance, as development theorists have globally perceived. This growing phenomenon in Africa in general and Ghana in particular is contrary to the position of the European Union (EU) which has normally excluded consideration of the religious dimension in formulating development policies towards Africa.[30] Besides, it is widely debated in the literature on development to consider ways in which religious ideas may be relevant to development thinking.

But why would this be the case on a continent that has been acknowledged as having a full range of resources, including spiritual or religious resources, particularly in the 21st century? Moreover, evidence abounds that the religious dimension of life has contributed immensely to human development in Ghana, specifically in the scope of health and education. [31] Against this background, the study investigated how Bowers

[28] John Duah-Prempeh, *Most Reverend Joseph Oliver Bowers SVD* (Accra: Catholic Book Centre, n.d); cf. Isaac Agbenohevi, *An Imperishable Wreath* (Unpublished work).
[29] Clement S. Jolly, *On the Road of History: The Life and Times of Bishop Oliver Bowers, SVD* (Commonwealth of Dominica: Paramount Printers Ltd., 2014).
[30] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 41.
[31] Sylvia Owusu-Ansah, "The Role of Interreligious Collaboration in Conflict Prevention and Peaceful Multi-Religious Co-existence: A Case Study of Northern Ghana," in G. Ossom-Batsa, N. Gatti and R.D.

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contributed to integral human development (IHD) in Ghana through the establishment of educational institutions and health facilities.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research is to examine the role of religion in development. Using the contributions of Bowers as a case study, it specifically examines the missionary's contribution to human development, particularly in the spheres of health and education. In order to meet this broad objective, three specific objectives were set for this study. These are:

a) To analyse the relevance of religion to the development of Ghana.
b) To examine specific ways in which Bowers translated the Gospel message into practice in his pastoral ministry.
c) To explore Bowers' strategies for the empowerment of girls/women.

1.4 Research Questions

To investigate the impact of Bowers' pastoral ministry in education and healthcare provision on integral human development, the following questions were asked:

The main question was:

How did Bowers contribute to holistic human development in Ghana?

Sub-questions considered include:

a) How did Bowers conceive education and health as tools for pastoral and social development in Ghana?

Ammah, eds., *Religion and Sustainable Developments: Ghanaian Perspectives*; Grandi Opere (Vatican City: Urbaniana University Press, 2018), 124.

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b) How did the Pastoral Ministry of Bowers champion women's empowerment in Ghana?

c) In what ways can the ministry of Bowers inspire contemporary religious leaders?

1.5 Review of Related Literature

This section reviewed and organised pertinent literature into the following themes: Biographical research, Religion and development, Religion and education and Religion and health. Furthermore, the literature was divided into two main areas, namely methods and content. Regarding methods, the researcher examined publications on biographical research to analyse the scholarly debate on its aim and purpose. On the content, the researcher reviewed works on religion and (Human) development, religion and education and religion and health.

1.5.1 Biographical Research

Some scholars, including Capps, have asserted that biographical narrative research is a wide field of different approaches and research strategies, with blurred borders and intersecting areas.[32] Therefore, it is necessary to be oriented to this vast area of empirical strategies and conceptual ideas on biographical research. To do so would demand specific approaches of biographical narrative research with a clear theoretical conceptual background and a well-developed pragmatic instrument. However, it is not necessary that the study follow a specific approach absolutely.[33]

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[32] Eugene TeSelle, "Augustine as Client and as Theorist," in *The Hunger of the Heart: Reflections on the Confessions of Augustine*, eds. Donald Capps and James E. Dittes (West Lafayette: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1990), 203-205.

[33] John Murphy, "The Voice of Memory: History Autobiography and Oral Memory," in *Historical Studies* 22 (1987), 155-176.

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Some scholars, notably Schütze, Rosenthal, et al., have explained that the aim of biographical research is to produce a rich description of a person.[34] Basically, Weinreich has pointed out that biographical research should be based on the assumption that the link between structure and individuals could only be understood sufficiently by analysing the development of the individual personality in the life course. Thus, excessive analysis of the single case will be emphasised, and the discovery of the issues not mentioned in the interview, but which are important for a sufficient case analysis.[35]

In other words, the core idea is that during the life course, individuals accumulate diverse biographical experiences into a coherent description of their life course. Our experiences are present in the knowledge we use in everyday life, sense-making, as well as our life stories. Our self-presentation or sacred stories are linked to the experiences, which are not totally free from our past story (life history). The link between the past and the present gives us the possibility to do research on the past life history and development of today's self in the present perspective.

A. Biographical Data Collection

Writing on the subject, Soffer has observed that it has become necessary for scholars of biography to keep an extensive data bank of recorded interviews, significant source of funding and numerous reputable professionals who have become partners in oral tradition.[36] This assumption is based on the premise that memory, oral tradition and archival material should be seen as inter-dependent, rather than opposed to each other.

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[34] Gabriele Rosenthal, "Biographical Research," in *Qualitative Research Practice*, eds. Clive Gobo, Giampiro Grubrium, F. Jaber and David Silverman (London: Sage, 2004), 48-64; See Fritz Shütze, "Biographieforchung und narratives Interview," *Neue Praxis* 3 (1983), 283-294.
[35] P. Weinreich, "Variations in Ethnic Identity: Identity Structure Analysis," in *New Identity in Europe*, ed. K. Liebkind (Worcester: Billing & Sons), 41-75.
[36] Jonathan Soffer, "Oral History and the History of American Foreign Relations," *The Journal of American History* 82 (September 1995): 607-616.

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Hamilton has argued that by this assumption, forgotten sources will be recovered and, through such methods as oral tradition and memories, which may otherwise be forgotten, salvaged.[37]

The salvaged data from oral tradition and memories will provide the sources for this research, with the assistance of hermeneutical approach in the process of interviews and interpretation of archival document. In view of this, Fari *et al.* have highlighted the vital advantage of these two methods, oral and archival data, as being far better and fuller record for research than can be found in the books of biography. Oral tradition and archival documents shall become the sources for study and process of psychology of remembering in the social, cultural and religious contextual theologising.

One of such schools of thought, represented by Ricoeur, has identified a distinction between the hermeneutics of tradition and suspicion. His argument is that hermeneutics of tradition aims at listening attentively to what is communicated, to the extent that the listener discovers the hidden meaning underneath the message as it is being unravelled.[38]

Contributing to the debate, Hamilton has pointed out that "Hermeneutics is a dialogical process in which the understanding of data is initiated through the development of agreed interpretation between the author of the data and the interpreter."[39]

Some scholars have explained that testimony is the result of two processes; the first is the retrieval of memories by the biographer, which are blended into the responses to

[37] Paula Hamilton, "The Knife Edge: Debates About Memory and History," in *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1994), 10-12.
[38] William Pouthwaite, "Hans-George Gadamer," in *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences,* ed. Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 24-27.
[39] Paula Hamilton, "The Knife Edge," 10-12.

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each question in the interviewee. The second process is the hermeneutical dialogue between the interviewee and the biographer, which is the recorded testimony, an agreement on interpretation.

Biographies are specifically more focused on an individual member of a church than the collective members of a church, such as religious bodies and religious institutions, and so make use more of oral tradition than doctrinal issues.

In biographical data collection, Grele has argued that some documents of oral sources reflect the artefacts of the time of their creation and not the period under discussion.[40] However, McMahan has commented on Christopher Thorne that he challenged the position taken by Grele and instead has stated that since biographers "cannot unlearn what they have come to know subsequently of what came after the moment or period about which they are being questioned,"[41] there must be no distinction drawn but should be considered as one long process. De Hart has also suggested that the "collection and use of oral evidence can enable us to see more clearly how relational and fragmentary in its representation of historical reality is all the information available to us".[42] This demands that the biographer be meticulous in his/her syllogism in piecing data together for sense-making.

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[40] Ronald Grele, "Movement Without Aid: Methodological and the Problem in Oral History," in *Envelopes Sound: The Art of Oral History*, eds. Ronald Grele and Studs Terkel (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1991), 127-145. See, Jonathan Soffer, "Oral History and the History of American Foreign Relations," *The Journal of American History* 82 (September 1995): 608.

[41] Eva McMahan, *Elite Oral History Discourse,* McMahan, Eva M. *Elite Oral History Discourse: A Study of Cooperation and Coherence* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), 5; G. Seldon, "Interviews," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, eds. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baun (Nashville: America Association for State and Local History, 1987), 326-32.

[42] Jane Sherron De Hart, "Oral Sources and Contemporary History: Dispelling Old Assumptions," *Journal of American History* 80 (September 1993): 594-595.

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Also, Grele has observed that the intentions which form and inform every oral tradition criticism of biographical writings fall into these three categories of research; interviewing, standard of preparation and methodology.[43] He explained that in the past, oral tradition was considered a very valuable archival data. It was considered to hold memories which were electronically recorded, videotaped and in a written text, and therefore, protected and preserved from any form of deterioration and corruption. However, we wish to submit that, from experience in the past and even now, in certain parts of the world some oral traditions are not recorded and preserved from deterioration and corruption, as Grele has claimed.

Additionally, Thomson, an oral tradition expert, has also pointed out a very important advantage of oral tradition over written notes of the interviewer. He has contended that oral tradition has immediacy and actuality of evidence and that material from such interviews is by far a better option and a more complete record. In this view, the recording of an interview is the most accurate data.[44]

Furthermore, Murphy has described oral tradition as 'cultural and historical artefacts', and besides these modes of description, 'metaphor' is seen to be a more dominant mode in which oral tradition functions and serves as the main lenses through which culture is read and understood, the past remembered and presented. Again, Murphy has argued that oral tradition uses the figurative, rather than the specific, mode of remembering the summary of the past to understand the meaning in the given language in order to interpret and understand the present. Hence, metaphors interpret the meaning derived from

[43]Ronald Grele, "Movement Without Aid: Methodological and the Problem in Oral History," in *Envelopes Sound: The Art of Oral History*, eds. Ronald Grele and Studs Terkel (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1991), 127-145.
[44] Paul Thomson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 222-224.

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the familiar to interpret the unfamiliar in order to reconstruct and express a creative intent.[45]

Analogically, Merle has practically demonstrated but Eugene TeSelle has theorised that a meaning shrouded in a language needs to be "constructed out of the relations of similarities"[46] or differences between signifier and metaphorical relations are not simply found naturally but by relation constructed linguistically for social purposes – for the conveyance of meaning. In other words, metaphors convey similarities of accepted expressions rather than discovering and representing them. Metaphors express new and accepted practice, which can be expected to reveal both individual and social experiences.[47] Nevertheless, TeSelle has argued that it is the responsibility of the researcher to study the context of metaphor and the personality who made use of it in order to gain an insight into the person's theology.[48]

Firstly, in that regard, McMahan has emphasised that an interview has two functions: remembering and reconstruction. Some scholars, commenting on McMahan's assertion, have noted that remembering and reconstruction define the cognitive domain of the creative and constructive process, rather than simply the retrieval of information.[49]

Secondly, Dunaway has observed that studies which have heavily relied on oral sources give room for storytelling, seeking anecdotes told in colourful language to embellish

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[45] John Murphy, "The Voice of Memory: History, Autobiography and Oral Memory," *Historical Studies* 22 (1986), 164-166.
[46] Gabriel Merle, "What I Know of George Simson: Scrappy Notes for a Distant Biography," in *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly Festschrift for George Simson*, ed. Noel Annan, Michael Holroyd (Honolulu: University of Hawai Press for the Biographical Research Centre, 1999), 1-13.
[47] Merle, "What I Know of George Simson," 1-13.
[48] Eugene TeSelle, "Augustine as Client and as Theorist," in *The Hunger of the Heart: Reflections on the Confessions of Augustine*, eds. Donald Capps and James E. Dittes (West Lafayette: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1990), 203-205.
[49] Murphy, "The Voice of Memory," 164-166.

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the information. The result is that empiricist schools of thought turned to search for accurate and verifiable facts on oral sources. Hence, human experience was seen as the basis for meaning in life and that one of the ways to express and remember this is by the process of telling stories.

Thirdly, the use of oral testimony in the writing of contemporary biography can be largely influenced by the history and socio-cultural milieu of the era under discussion. Shapiro has asserted that all biographies have ethical and valuation issues, since "no man is an island" and there is no neutral life. Every life must be lived within a community and the members of the community either support or challenge this life.

Having studied the testimony from interviews, scholars have discovered a process which seeks to understand the structural relationship between the mind of the informant and the outside world in which he/she was enmeshed. Also, the process of the interview influences the degree of caution on the part of both the biographer and the interviewee.

During an interview session, there comes into play a complexity of interaction between individual memories and personal agendas, leading to a kind of transactional process of recording and transcript. During the session, the interview assumes a hermeneutical conversation based on a mixture of highly competitive and cooperative agendas between the participants in the interview. Many factors come into play at the cognitive domain, be it personal or political, and intellectual agendas are further influenced by such factors as psychology of memory and recall, the intellectual and sensitivities of the issues raised and even the physical process surrounding the interview. Agendas subsequently influence memories, which are selected and traded during the discussion between the questioner and the respondent. These memories are later evaluated and certified by the recorder of the interview.

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The partners in the discussion seek to discuss ways of giving a new meaning to the biographical record. Therefore, testimonies from an interview are considered a joint process of brainstorming. The biographer is not an observer but a participant. He/ She does not only collect archival material but also plays an active and important role, although with an open mind devoid of prejudices, in order to be a catalyst in the conversation. After all, it is by the biographer's initiative that the interview takes place; therefore, he/she is the agent of catalyst in the interview.

Sometimes the role of the biographer can be described as 'the devil's advocate' who seeks to provoke and incite with questions on certain aspects of the life of the one under investigation which may be taken for granted. In this regard, David Dunaway has described the initial stages of an interview as conflictual. The narrator has a hazy chronology of events he has witnessed in his/her memory.

Hence, the interviewee may not have the events of which he/she is a witness synchronised; besides, he/she would have to recall events of many past years. However, and this is very rare, he/she might have consulted secondary sources, which are informed and formed by the historical interpretation of significant events in the life of the biographer.

We must note that in oral biography, at the starting point the mismatch of past events and different perspectives of present events converge. Therefore, there is the need for reconstruction. A study of biographical works shows that this tension between the past and the present exists in the frame of reference of most transcripts.[50] In any case, an interviewer may come with a preconceived frame of mind to the interview session and

[50] David K. Dunaway, *Oral History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1987), 261.

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this can affect the questions and interpretation of the responses. This, according to Dunaway, is a challenge to the biographer to investigate whether there are inconsistencies in the interview by the same method used to evaluate written sources.

As an aid to the interpretation, the following processes are used to evaluate a source of instinctive response. First, when the response is beyond instinct, biographers rely on validity. In other words, they investigate how the testimony corresponds to other sources. Second, whether the source is reliable; this is done by examining whether the same question is answered the same way more than once by the source, and third, by verifiability; that is, whether the testimony can be authentic.[51]

Dunaway, among other scholars, have defined an interview as a "dialectical experience between tradition and creativity. Tradition is each individual's particular understanding of an event and creativity is the fusing of different interpretations between the historian and the subject". Hermeneutical dialogue takes place when conflicts in the past, present and future interpretations of reality "evolve through communicative interactions that adhere to the dialectical process".[52]

Reasoning from the foregoing, the dialectical process demands the use of hermeneutics as a tool involved in the transmission and translation of cultural values. The process of translation may lead to the discovery of something which, otherwise, would remain hidden and taken for granted in the use of everyday language. For instance, there are barriers among cultures, perspectives and persons which make understanding

[51] Dunaway, *Oral History*, 260-261.
[52] Culpepper E. Clark, Michael J. Hyde and Eva McMahan, "Communication in the Oral History Interview: Investigating Problems of Interpreting Oral Data," *International Journal of Oral History* 1 (February 1980), 33.

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problematic.[53] However, translation does not only require the sensitivity of those involved in an interview in the language used but must also take cognisance of the physical and psychological expression of hermeneutics.

The above assertion is reason enough in saying, in biographical research, the collection of data by conducting a narrative course of conversation allows the biographer's perspective and subjective relevance to become apparent and to generate texts that give the researcher the opportunity to reconstruct past experiences. The procedure of biographical case reconstruction makes a strict distinction between the present perspective of the biographer and his/her perspective in the past. The constrictive comparison between life history and life story helps trace the rules differentiating the narrated from the experience, the difference between biographical self-presentation at the time of narration and the experience in the past. Here, the general concern of biographical research is to understand religious, social and philosophical phenomena and explain them in the context of the process of their creation, reproduction and transformation.

In this tradition the phenomena on which the research question focuses are examined, both from the subjective perspective of the individual and in the overall context of the biographer's life and the structuring of its process. This makes it possible to discover the latent and implicit structuring rules. It is noteworthy that the life history, the interpretative review of the past and the manner of presentation of the life story are all constituted through the dialectic of the individual and the social. Biographical research allows us to reconstruct the inter-relationship between the individual experience and the collective framework, so when we reconstruct an individual case, we are always aiming

[53] Clark, Hyde and McMahan, "Communication in the Oral History," 33.

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at making general statements. Thus, the goal of biographical research is not only to understand individual cases in the context of individual life histories but also to gain an understanding of societal realities or the inter-relationship between society and life history.[54]

Finally, Rosenthal has proposed to researchers that when they analyse the experiences and attitudes of an individual, they will generate data which are elementary facts but not exclusively limited to this individual's personality but can be treated as mere instances of more or less general classes of data or facts and could be made use of and serve as a source for the determination of the laws of social and religious progress.

1.5.2 Religion and Human Development

Contributing to the debate on Religion and Development, Ossom-Batsa has traced how development came to be associated with economics or the acquisition of wealth. He has observed that the history of development theory originated after World War II.[55] The devastated effect of the war on human beings, infrastructure and society in many nations meant the reconstruction of infrastructure and the rehabilitation of the human person. But the focus shifted more to the reconstruction of the economies of nations.

The wealthy nations provided aid for those nations who were worse affected by the war. The aid was referred to as development aid. In the view of Speckman, that set the tone for the process of development theories into action. The first theory that emerged was referred to as "Dependency Theory".[56] Further, the same author has stated that that

[54] See, G. Rosenthal, "Surviving together and living apart in Israel and West Germany: The Genzor family," in *Holocaust in Three Generations*, ed. G. Rosenthal (Berlin: Barbara Budrich, 2010), 62.
[55] George Ossom-Batsa "Engaging Religion in a Holistic Development," in *Religion and Sustainable Development*, 1.
[56] M. Speckman, *Development, the Bible and the Role of the African Church,* in *Anthropology of African Christianity*, eds. I. Apawo Phiri, D. Werner, C. Kauda and K. Owino (Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2016), 1085-1091. See also J. Ogbonnaya, "The Prospects of Humanising Development Discourse

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theory metamorphosed into another theory, known as the "Alternative Theory to Development". Here, the paradigm shift was on the potential of the human person and the reconstruction of the socio-economic structure of nations.[57] In this theory, economic growth was calculated more in terms of infrastructural development, the physical construction than the rehabilitation of the human person. This theory also gave birth to the "Asset-Based Approach to Development", hence development was seen through the lenses of assets acquisition.

All this while, according to Ver Beek, religion was either sidelined or relegated to the list of less important items on the scale of preference of the development agenda or perceived altogether as an impediment to development.[58] In the course of history, some development theorists and religious communities theorised that religion was indispensable to development. Pope Paul VI, who pointed out the Christian vision[62] of human development, championed this theory. Thus, the Pope did not only assert this vision but also opted for the poor as the central theme (Luke 7:22),[59] as mandated by Jesus Christ.

According to the Pope: "We do not believe in separating the economic from the human, or development from the civilisations in which it exists. What we hold important is man, each man and each group of men, and we even include the whole of humanity".[60]

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in Africa through Christian Anthropology," *HTS Teologiese Studies /Theological Studies* 72 (2016), a3423,http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hrs.v7214.3423.

[57] Speckman, *Development,* 1086. See also P. Ekins, *A New World Order, Grassroots Movements for Global Change* (New York: Routledge, 1992); F.H. Cardaso, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkley, CA: University of California), 1979.

[58] Cf. K.A. Ver Beek, "Spirituality: A Development Taboo," *Development in Practice* 10 (2000), 1, 31-43. Based on a content analysis of the article published between 1982 and 1998 in three leading development studies journals, Ver Beck argued that religion constituted a "taboo" in the theory and practice of development. In fact, during the study-period, there was no single article which had the relationship between development and religion as the main theme.

[62] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 14.

[59] Ibid. no. 12.

[60] Ibid., no. 14. See also L.J. Lebret, *Dynamique concrete du dévelopement, Economic et Humanisme* (Paris: Les Edition Ouvrières, 1961): 28.

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Thus, the Pope interpreted human development in terms of the fact that every person, irrespective of social class, economic standard and family background should benefit from development, according to the common good principle.

In view of the common good, the gift of faith is paramount. Hence, the Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, has taught that there is the need for an action plan based on a new humanism and the universal purpose of created things. Taking the Bible as the point of reference, the human person has been entrusted with the earth and the responsibility to develop it (Gen 1:28). In effect, it is by his/her intellectual activities and by means of his/her labour to bring it to perfection for his/her use. If the purpose of the Creator is to furnish each individual with the means of livelihood and the instrument for his growth and progress, then each human person has the right to unearth in the world what is necessary for himself/herself. In this regard, the Second Vatican Council has stated: "In his use of things, man should regard the external goods he legitimately owns not merely as exclusive to himself but common to others also, in the sense that they can benefit others, as well as himself."[61]

In the light of the above, Vatican II has explained that the right to property must never be exercised to the detriment of the common good. Hence, Pius XI has commented that if there should arise a conflict "between acquired private rights and primary community exigencies, it is the responsibility of public authorities 'to look for solution, with the active participation of individuals and social groups."[62]

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[61] Vatican Council II, "*Gaudium et Spes*: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," in *Vatican Council II: Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1992) n. 69, § 1.

[62] Pius XI, *Encyclical Letter: On Social Reconstruction: Quadragesimo Anno* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1931), II: 1. See Leo XIII, *Encyclical Letter: On the Condition of the Working Classes: Rerum Novarum* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1942), n.19.

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Therefore, it is incumbent on developed nations to show human solidarity with developing nations.[63] It is the obligation of every nation to ensure that its citizens attain a truly human standard of living and contribute to the common development of the human race. It is the social responsibility of the developed nations to share their wealth, professionals and technology and their scholars to put their skills at the disposal of less fortunate people.[64] If the rich nations fail in their social responsibility, this will call down on them the judgement of God and the wrath of the poor nations, with consequences no one can foretell.

The present situation confronting the world calls for concerted efforts in planning. A planned programme is far better and sustainable. This calls for a careful study, the selection of ends and the choice of means, as well as a reorganisation of efforts to meet the needs of the present and the demands of the foreseeable future. Moreover, an important concerted plan has advantages that go beyond the field of economic growth and social progress. In addition, it gives importance and value to the work undertaken. While developing the world, it focuses on the human person as the higher value.[65]

1.5.3. Religion and Education

As cited above, that the human person is of higher value, Giardini, among other scholars, have asserted that the goal of religious formation of the student is the personal maturity of his/her Christian life. Using education as the means to achieve this aim,[66] Erikson has considered the inner growth, the development of the personal ego and the culture milieu. For him, the development of the individual is not only a matter of inner

[63] Vatican Council II, "Gaudium et Spes," no. 85, § 2.
[64] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 48.
[65] Ibid., no. 50.
[66] Fabio Giardini, *Counselling: Humanistic and Christian* (Rome: Millenium Romae, 1997), 45.

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growth. The development of the personal ego is greatly influenced by the type of culture within which a person develops. The religion of the individual is not his personal making. It does not just come from the inside of the person. Religion is conditioned, to a large degree than we realise, by the particular culture in which we live.[67]

Despite the ongoing debate among psychologists, notably Fichter, on the nature-nature controversy,[68] Erikson and others, on the other hand, have largely agreed on the fact that both genetic and environmental factors play an essential role in the religious development which takes place in an individual.[69]

However, at times the religious person tends to minimise the effect of the biological dimension of the human person. Psychologists show that this dimension is basic to any human person. For religion to be meaningful, it must help the human person interpret and make sense of his or her inner strivings, desires, passions, inclinations and emotions. Complete religious expression allows the human person to utilise these dimensions in their proper form.

A close examination of Religious and Moral Education (RME) reforms in Ghana reveals that the subject is structured to appeal not only to the human person's mind but also his or her biological and emotional needs. Thus, RME utilises the arts of music, painting, architecture and theatre in its appeal to the entire human person. Religious feelings are not to be considered lower expressions of religion than religious thinking.

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[67] Erik Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (New York: International University Press, 1950, 1963).
[68] Joseph H. Fichter, *Sociology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 1.
[69] Erikson, *Identity and the Life*, 2.

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According to Erikson, each person has his or her own unique social history and identity.[70] Often, we tend to put people into groups or categories. This is true in so far as there are similarities among persons. But each person has created his personal and social identity within the particular culture in which he or she was reared and the particular type of relationships which he or she has had. This creates a difficult problem for teachers. It means that serious RME cannot be mass production. It must include real relationships among persons, and this is exactly what the educational reforms have provided for.

In view of the above observation, Erikson has recommended that teachers need to be aware of their own development personalities if they are to effectively teach others. They must be aware that their own personal and social identities are not to be set up as model which students are to emulate and copy. Teachers must respect the development of each student.

According to Erikson, there are various types of religious personalities.[71] One person may be of a mystical bent, interested in personal prayer and religious experience. The social activist thrust within religion may impress another. Teachers should also be aware that their students may have another thrust. Truly, effective teachers are sensitive to the fact that the religion class must allow for all types of expressions of religious faith. In examining how effective the RME teacher can be, Bernard, among other things, has suggested motivation as one of the greatest factors or ingredients for students to achieve higher spiritual attainment.[72]

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[70] E. Erikson, *Child and Society* (London-New York: W.W. Norton &Company Inc., 1963), 133-157.
[71] E. Erikson, *Identity Youth Crisis* (London-New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1968).
[72] R. Bernard, *Equity and Excellence* (London: Falmer Press, 1972).

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In his contribution to the debate, Trevor has commented on the classroom interaction and asserted that the religious educator must bear in mind that in this area of religious education, controversy is inevitable. For him, controversy is useful in the classroom because it does not only show that issues are lived but also helps people with different viewpoints to express their own views and respect other people's views as well, thereby creating an opportunity for growth.[73]

For religious education to be worthwhile, it must seek to raise the moral standard, intellectual prowess and human maturity of the human person. Opoku puts it this way: "…Observation of Africa and its society will reveal that religion is at the root of African culture and it is the determining principle of African life. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that in traditional Africa, religion is life and life, religion."[74]

In view of the above explanation on religion and education, we can now surmise the importance of religious education, for, as William Shakespeare has it: "There is no art to find the mind's construction in the (person's) face."[75] In other words, the interior disposition of the human person rests within him or her and is, therefore, impossible to comprehend, unless the human person concerned decides, with the help of divine intervention, to convert.

The above saying is true of every candidate aspiring to graduate in any sphere of academic endeavour in any part of the world. Since there are no certain criteria to determine a genuine desire, which is interior and abstract, except to rely on the outward expression of the candidate, the only human criterion is his or her academic

[73] K. Trevor, *Teaching Religious Education* (London: Macmillan Education Press, 1984).
[74] K.A. Opoku, *West African Traditional Religion* (Accra: FEP International Private Ltd., 1978), 1.
[75] William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare's Macbeth*, ed. W.W. Livengood (New York: America Book Company, 1910), 24.

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qualification. As I have said, the authentic human criterion of accessibility and suitability of a candidate for admission to any educational institution, and for that matter future employment, is his academic qualification because, after all, the human person is not only a body but a composition of body and soul with intellect, will and memory as spiritual faculties. Hence, it is the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, which Bowers represents, that the faith of any student should be developed by intellectual activities for the will to make the right choice in life and the memory to hold God.

This is the reason for the Catholic Church's stance on using educational qualification as a criterion for admission and assessment of a student. This calls for the establishment of educational facilities as a means of educating the youth who have expressed their desire and demonstrated to be studious.[76] Nevertheless, in addition to academic qualification, there should be a background check to ascertain the moral suitability of the candidate from the head of institution.

1.5.4 Religion and Health

Given the fact that health existed before medicine, which is an invention of medical science, Sokolowski has observed that the restoration of health or healing of the human life was one of the ways of evangelisation Jesus used as the Son of God in the early Church, saying: "The bodily and psychological cures in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles may well serve as an indication that the act of healing is one of the first of the human activities that can be informed by grace."[77]

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[76] Emmanuel Quarshie, "The Effects of Senior Secondary School (SSS) Educational Reforms on the Formation of Minor Seminarians: A Study of Pope John Junior Seminary and SSS*"* (Postgraduate Diploma, A Project Work Presented to the Faculty of Education, University of Cape Coast, January, 2005), 1-2.

[77] Sokolowski, *Christian Faith*, 246.

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Generally, Shults and Sandage have argued that most people intuitively seek spiritual help for healing. The daily demands and responsibilities of life put so much stress on any person, and religion and spirituality offer remedies to deal with the challenges of being healthy under stress.[78] During Bowers' tenure in office, it was common for sick people to consult medicine men for spiritual protection. The hospital was always the last resort for these people when the condition grew worse.

Grube, among other scholars, have observed that the above scenario was the same for ancients who sought explanation of the incomprehensible by resorting to external and transcendental mediators for answers; the neighbour was suspected of making use of charms to cause spiritual illness.[79] This was the worldview, and the invisible spirits were appeased by sacrifices to take away their guilt. Thus, certain illnesses in the primeval era were attributed to spirits and especially wounds sustained in battles were seen as an enemy's attack. The antidote to these wounds, they believed, lay in placating a particular spiritual enemy. Therefore, knowledge of early medicine was the monopoly of soothsayers, priests of the gods and the medicine men who knew the right rituals and incantations. The prehistoric person relied on his or her intuition and failed to apply the faculty of reason for the cure of diseases.

In the absence of reason, intuitively they found remedies for diseases. In Africa, for example in Egypt, it was discovered that in the 16th century, by use of reason, a technique was developed as an antidote to diseases and high social hygiene was maintained

[78] Leron F. Shults and Stephen J. Sandage, *Transforming Spirituality: Integrating Theology and Psychology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Turner and Stauth, 1988), 187.
[79] George M.A. Grube, "Greek Medicine and Greek Genius," in *Phoenix Classical Association of Canada* 8, n. 4 (Winter, 1954): 123. http://www.jstor.org/stable//1086122

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and Egypt was one of the healthiest nations on earth. Yet even there, medicine was subordinate to religion.

However, Grube et. al. have pointed out that the Greek medical schools broke the mystery surrounding health and healing. This was as a result of rationalisation of the causes of diseases. The myth surrounding human freedom, which was severely hampered by nature and psychological and social forces and considered to be outside human manoeuvrings, was unravelled. Homeric gods of medicine were reported to have said: "When you die is a matter of fate, but how you die and what kind of man you were while you lived are your own responsibility."[80] In other words, the human person would have to examine his or her conscience while he or she lives. Later, Asclepius, who also became the god of medicine, and Homer treated the wounded in a way which could not be associated with magic and incantations. This was the beginning of the introduction of rational thinking into the history of medicine and humanity.

Against this background of our historical sketch of the development of religion and health, we will examine the definition of health given by the World Health Organisation (WHO) as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity."[81]

Yet, this definition did not reflect the worldview of Western culture of health as the absence of diseases and illness until recent years.[82] Hence medicine, which was commonly referred to as "biomedicine", had its origin in religion and spirituality but has been truncated since the times of Descartes and Newton. As Daniel Callahan has

[80] Grube, "Greek Medicine."
[81] World Health Organisation, *Basic Documents, 39th edition* (Geneva: WHO, 1992).
[82] Shults and Sandage, *Transforming Spirituality*, 190.

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cautioned in his analysis of the WHO's definition of health, "it makes the medical profession the gatekeeper for happiness and social wellbeing."[83]

Nevertheless, Turner and Stauth have observed that we are witnessing the crumbling of this wall of separation, as scientific research has indicated "the significance of prayer, spiritual discipline and religious commitment in promoting overall health, preventing illness and enhancing recovery from surgery."[84] This, for some scholars, notably Turner, is a good reason for Western biomedicine to rediscover its roots by reintroducing religion and spiritual issues in the treatment of patients.

Reiterating her point, Emblen has examined the use of the terms religion and spirituality interchangeably, which reflect the historical roots of Western medicine and hospitals. She notes that in the United States, religious influence declined, and the country became more of a secularised state in the 1960s to 1970s, giving preference to the use of the term spirituality over religion. But Shults has given the date of profound secularisation of spirituality as the 1950s. Concurrently, in the West, there was debate on the dualism of body and spirit, while the Eastern view of perceiving the human person holistically did not change.

This view concerning the spirit as an essential component of the human person declined in the Western world and the United States in the field of nursing. Therefore, nursing was approached with humanistic values, which ultimately led nursing care to focus on the personal needs and relationships of the patient. Emblen has concluded that by the

[83] Daniel Collahan, *What Kind of Life: The Limit of Medical Progress* (Washington, DC: George Town University Press, 1995), 34-40.
[84] Bryan Turner and George Stauth, *Nietzsche's Dance* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Shults and Sandage, *Transforming Spirituality*,185.

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end of the decade, the paradigm of nursing had shifted to spirituality, which made use of terms such as transcendence and relationships.[85]

In view of the shift in meaning, Emblen approached her understanding of religion from the doctrinal point of view, which was essentially a set of beliefs and practices that expressed and fostered a relationship with God, as presented in a particular organised religion. She also approached the term spirituality from an anthropological point of view by widening its meaning as an animating and unifying principle of one's life in the light of which a person contemplates and responds to issues of meaning and purpose of life, which undergirds and flows into a person's relationship with self, others and the transcendent.

To distinguish between religion and spirituality in health care, Emblen has pointed out that the confusion in the minds of patients over the conceptual definition can lead to unanswered questions on their minds. Hence, she has argued, if the two terms are not clearly understood, inappropriate care may be offered to patients:

> Sometimes patients indicate that they have no spiritual need – meaning no religious need - (because they are not members of any organised religious group). But some of those patients have desperate needs for help in working through some of their transcendent and relationship needs arising from their illness.[86]

In addition, Emblen has categorised religious care as keeping to a patient's belief system, worship and practices, and spiritual care as helping a patient in order to identify

[85] Julia Emblen, "Religion and Spirituality: Defined According to Current Use in Nursing Literature," in *Journal of Professional Nursing* 8, no. 1 (1992): 40.
[86] Emblen, "Religion and Spirituality," 41.

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meaning and purpose in his or her life, maintain personal relationship and transcend his or her condition in a given moment.

With renewed and intensive research in nursing, awareness has been created of the need to integrate spirituality into health care. Spirituality is now concerned with the universal human question concerning the meaning of life and how it is to be lived in the face of suffering, dying and death. Seen as such, spirituality can serve as the theoretical framework within which to situate matters of health and illness, so that healthcare providers can situate their own medical activities and healthcare recipients can locate their own response to medical treatment.[87]

The reviewed literature above reveals that religion is indispensable to integral human development. It further suggests that peoples' religious beliefs impact their lives and deeds. This, therefore, provides the context to explore how Bowers' religious formation and beliefs impacted his pastoral ministry in the area of education and health, contributing to the human development of the whole person and every person.

Furthermore, the reviewed documents of the Roman Catholic Church from Pope Pius XI to Pope Paul VI and the recent publications on the topic indicates that while the Roman Catholic Church and scholars such as Ter Haar, Speckman, Ossom-Batsa, Gatti and Ammah have argued that religion has an important place in development that embraces the totality of the human person, other scholars such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles are of the view that religion breeds more conflicts which does not support development.

[87] Emblen, "Religion and Spirituality," 41.

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Reasoning from the literature reviewed, the major question now is: has religion contributed to development in Ghana? This research attempted an answer using Bowers as a case study.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Pope Paul VI's encyclical letter, *Populorum Progressio (PP)*,[88] one of the documents reviewed in the literature, provided the theoretical framework of this thesis. In *PP* 14, Pope Paul VI pointed out clearly the Christian vision of human development when he wrote:

> We do not believe in separating the economic from human, nor development from the civilisation in which it exists. What we hold important is man, each man and each group of men, and we even include the whole of humanity. Human development cannot be limited to mere economic growth. In order to be authentic, it must be complete: integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every man and of the whole man.[89]

In response to its mandate, the Church has ever since remained true to the teaching and example of its divine founder, who mandated the Church to preach the Gospel to every person and particularly the poor, as His central theme (Luke 7:22).[90] The Church has never failed to obey Him and promotes human progress of the nations to whom it brought faith in Christ. Thus, for the development of the whole person, missionaries have built, not only churches, though this is an essential part of its mission, but also hostels, hospitals, schools and universities.

They also educate the local community on the means of deriving the best advantages from their human and natural resources. Where necessary, the missionaries have

[88] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 12.
[89] Ibid., no. 14.
[90] Ibid., no. 12.

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intervened and protected the indigenes from the greed of foreign investors. Undoubtedly, the Church, being a human and divine institution, sometimes in the discharge of its duties, has seen its missionaries' human natures overshadow the divine nature of the Church. That is, their human imperfections have sometimes blurred the announcement of the authentic Gospel message. Sometimes they infiltrated the Gospel in many ways with their thinking and acting which were characteristic of their countries of origin and planted the Gospel in the native land without recourse to the worldview of the natives.

However, it is worth noting that for the progress of all nations, some missionaries were also able to develop and foster institutions for human development. In many missionary territories, they were the pioneers in material progress, as well as in cultural advancement. It is necessary to pay tribute to these pioneers who have too often been forgotten, but who were urged on by the love of Christ, just as we honour their imitators and successors who today continue to put themselves at the generous and unselfish service of those to whom they announce the Gospel.[91]

1.7 Methodology

This study employed qualitative research methods and approaches.[92] It is a qualitative research method that is concerned with the reconstruction of life histories and constitution of meaning based on biographical narratives and documents. According to Fischer-Rosenthal,[93] it involves two approaches:

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[91] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 12.

[92] Bridget Young and Darko Hren, "Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods," http://mirrorejd.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/34/2017/03/Introduction-toqualitative-research-methods.compressed.pdf. According to Albert Einstein, "not everything that can be counted, counts; not everything that counts can be counted."

[93] Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal, "Biographical Work and Structuring in Present-day Societies," in *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science*, eds. Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraf (London-New York: Routledge, 2000).

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Firstly, the biographical identity or biographical structuring that emphasises the reconstruction of the single case and the development of the 'personality' in the life course. It assumes that the link between structure and individuals could only be understood sufficiently by analysing the development of the individual personality in the life course.

Secondly, the biographical action research that emphasises problem-specific action modes and is more concerned with the systematic comparison of different action modes than general personality structures. It is more concerned with action modes in specific societal areas or how individuals respond to certain problems with the reconstruction of the whole identity.

Further, the research was limited to the Catholic Diocese of Accra from 1953 to 1971. That period covered the tenure of office of Bishop Bowers. Six schools sited in the Eastern Region and four hospitals founded by him were used for the study. Gender balance, cognitive, affective and psychomotor dimensions or intellectual and attitudinal differences, respectively, of the researcher informed this selection. Three of the hospitals were in the Eastern Region and one in the Volta Region. The research embarked upon a thorough investigation of the problem of integral human development. The choice of these selected schools and hospitals means that the study's findings may not be generalised. However, it will provide the basis for studying similar cases and how the problem studied will manifest in other situations.

1.7.1 Methods of Data Collection

A combination of qualitative research methods and approaches characterised this study. These methods were used to generate novel insights into phenomena that are difficult to quantify which emerged from documentary evidence on Bowers' biography.

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Interviews were arranged with 25 participants who knew Bowers personally and worked with him. Three focus group discussions were organised with students from Pope John's, St. Roses' Senior Hight School and elderly sisters of Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer. Each group consisted of 13 participants. Video recordings were some of the approaches used to explore Bowers' Pastoral Ministry and how that impacted on the integral human development of Ghanaians in general and the Catholic faithful in particular in the provision of religious education and health.

To elicit the necessary information for the research, data was collected from two main sources: archival documents (surveys, diaries, memoirs, sermon notes and letters) and narratives. Altogether, five archives, in three continents, were visited for materials on the biography of Bowers: the Robert M. Myers Archives of the Society of Divine Word Missionary (SVD) at Techny, USA and the SVD Guest House, Accra, Ghana; the St Dominikus Institut of the Dominican Sisters at Speyer, Germany; the Accra Archdiocesan Archives, Accra, Ghana, and the Ghana National Archives in Accra, Ghana.

A pilot study was done using selected age groups and gender in Accra, the Yilo Krobo Traditional Area, Koforidua, Kwahu Nkwatia and Akwatia in the Eastern Region as witnesses of Bowers and beneficiaries of his pastoral ministry. The methods employed for data collection and analysis were qualitative. Basically, the data was from primary sources. The categorized data collection produced information on issues on education and health care in his pastoral ministry. Also, the research employed the snowball method of data collection on the biography and contributions of Bowers.

The purposive sampling interview session was chosen to observe, learn, report and analyse the views of the interviewees on Bowers' contribution to integral human development.

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Again, regarding schools and hospitals, six schools and four hospitals established by Bishop Bowers served as our pilot study. These institutions and facilities are situated in the Eastern and Volta regions of Ghana. The researcher paid visits to all the schools and hospitals for personal observation. The rationale behind the selection of schools was to ensure gender balance, while the hospitals have different sister religious congregations as their foundation. Those who were interviewed formed the population.

Owing to the large number of witnesses and beneficiaries of Bowers' pastoral ministry, the study was conducted with sample of [94]64, which comprised 9 Catholic priests, 9 nuns, 7 lay faithful, three sets of focus group discussions which comprised 13 people each, making a total of 39 people; old nuns in residence at the HDR old sisters' home. Beneficiary students at the Pope John's Minor Seminary and Senior High School and the St Rose's Senior High School formed the focus group discussion. It was difficult to have focus group discussions of witnesses due to old age and proximity. In all, 20 men and 44 women in the 70-80+ age range participated in the research. These were people who personally knew and/or worked for Bowers. The youth who are beneficiaries were also included.

1.7.2 Method of Data Analysis

Empirical data from the field (interview reports, focus group discussions, personal observations) were first categorised into themes relating to Bowers' family background, education, seminary formation, ordination into the priesthood and pastoral ministry. Information on the different themes was examined using the content analysis approach. The veracity of content was checked against archival materials and other available

[94] Dairo Afolorunso Olalekan, *Statistics and Data Analysis for Research in Humanities* (Lagos: Graceway Publishing House, 2015), 37.

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documents such as personal letters, memoirs, baptismal registers and diaries. An engagement of the synthesis with scholarly works (books and peer reviewed journals) provided the resources for elaborating the thesis of our project.

1.8 Significance of Study

The study contributes to biographical study, a rarely explored discipline in Ghana. Studying the lives of heroes and heroines can generate knowledge for the benefit and development of the Church and the country at large.

Furthermore, the study advances insights into the ongoing debate on the relevance of Religious and Moral Education on the school curriculum of the Ghana Education Service. As the adage goes, *Lex orandi, lex credendi, lex operandi*, which translates: As you pray, so you believe and so you work. When students are given good religious and moral education, they pray better, are convinced of their faith and translate that into hard work.

1.9 Organization of Study

The work is divided into six chapters. Chapter One is the general introduction and background to the study. It includes the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions which guided the study, review of related literature of works of scholars on biographical research, religion, education and health, theoretical framework, methodology, significance of the study, and the organisation of various chapters.

Chapter Two, which is entitled: Brief Historical Overview of Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers: 'A Humble Home (March 28, 1910-1938), aims at a biographical presentation of Bowers till the end of his seminary formation. It is concerned with Bowers' early years: Parents, basic education at the Dominican Grammar School in the Dominica,

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secondary education, seminary formation at Chicago, Techny, St. Augustine's Major Seminary: novitiate, daily schedule, spiritual formation, philosophical and theological studies and ordination into the priesthood and appointment to the mission in Ghana.

Chapter Three surveys the ecclesiastical territory of the Catholic Diocese of Accra (1953-1971) under the administration of Bowers. It begins with the introduction, the demography of the Catholic Diocese of Accra and the political geography of the diocese in the era under investigation, a brief history of the Catholic Diocese of Accra and the religious situation. It also continues with the examination of the political independence of the Gold Coast and the socio-cultural milieu in the Gold Coast/Ghana.

Chapter Four examines Bowers' contribution to Catholic education. It gives a prelude to Catholic education and human development. Also, it examines the background to Catholic education in the 1920s and the colonial system of education in the Gold Coast. It also looks at the introduction of the Seven-year Accelerated Development Plan after the country gained independence. At that time, there was an increase in the number of schoolchildren, without a corresponding increase in infrastructure and staff, leading to a low standard of education. Therefore, there was the need to provide quality education with trained teachers. The chapter explores the roles played by patriotism and the Young Pioneers and the need for voluntary agencies. It also examines the roles of the Catholic Bishops in general, and Bowers in particular, in the provision of quality education. Bowers' efforts can be appreciated better with a perusal of his correspondence. In conclusion, Bowers founded many schools, hospitals and a diocesan congregation of African nuns to teach in some of these schools.

Chapter Five discusses Bowers' contribution to healthcare delivery. It investigates development and the human person, community development, the negative influence of

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superstition on human development, Bowers as an administrator and visionary. It researches into the circumstances surrounding the founding and the foundations of hospitals for health delivery in the Accra Diocese.

Chapter Six is the conclusion. It concludes with a summary, major findings and contributions and some academic and social recommendations on the health and educational sectors in the Catholic Diocese of Accra.

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CHAPTER TWO

A HUMBLE HOME (MARCH 28, 1910 - 1938)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Bowers' early years. It also examines his early studies at the Dominica Grammar School, where his father was the headmaster. After acquiring the Basic School Certificate, he entered the Minor seminary to become a priest. Besides discussing his intellectual and spiritual formation, the chapter also examines his interest in extra-curricular activities. It concludes with his appointment to the mission in the Gold Coast after his ordination into the priesthood.[95]

2.2 Bowers' Early Years

On 28th March 1910, Joseph Oliver Bowers was born to Montague Sheriff Bowers and Mary Bowers (neé Thomas) in a small village called Hampstead.[96] According to Edward Herberger, Bowers' parents originally came from Antigua in the Caribbean Islands.[97]

Sheriff was a schoolteacher in a village called Delices. It was there that he met his future wife, Mary Thomas, and got married to her. Sheriff was a Moravian but converted to Catholicism before his marriage. He had 11 children with Mary: three girls and eight

[95] Ten years later he was sent to the Gregorian University in Rome to obtain a Licentiate in Canon Law. After a successful completion of his two-year studies he returned to Accra. Hardly was he aware that he was being groomed for an important role in the Church in Ghana.

[96] "Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers," directed by Emmanuel Vorgbe (Dansoman: Nuela Media, 2010), DVD. In this video recording at St. Raphael Villa at Agomanya, he did not only approve this date but also testified, "My parents were Montague Sheriff and Mary Bowers and we lived very close to the Parish."

[97] Edward Herberger *et. al.*, "The Beginnings in the Caribbean 1972-2012," in *Communities of the World Stories of the Chicago Province Caribbean Story Stories of the Chicago Province*; http://www.divineword.org/assets/i/assetmanager/communities%20of%20the%20worddcaribbean.pdf

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boys, with Bowers being the eighth child. Bowers received infant baptism at the St Andrew Catholic Church, Vieille Case, on 15th May 1910 from Fr J Bellandeau.[98]

Sheriff was a deeply religious person who remained very faithful to the Roman Catholic Church. As a headteacher, he was held in high esteem and was expected to perform multiple services in the community. He was a devout Catholic and strict disciplinarian and earned the respect of the entire community and beyond. He made a tremendous contribution to the Parish of St. Paul, not only by his example as a sincere Christian but also as the choirmaster and organist of the church for years.[96]

As an accomplished headteacher, Sheriff was later transferred to the Massacre Government School, where the norm was for children from Mahaut, Campbell and Warner to attend that school. After 40 years of service at Mahaut, Sheriff retired from active service. According to the baptismal register, he died on 9th August 1963 at the age of 95, while Mary, his wife, had died on 22nd February 1934 at the young age of 53.

Bowers was born in an environment of poverty, with hunger as its consequence. His home was a humble one, where the basic necessities for the sustenance of life (food and clothing) were scarce due to the large number of children. The children in Sheriff's home never had "full stomachs". There was always only one cheap diet, dried and salted Codfish and bakes made from dough and fried in oil on the table. Yet that was also scarce to come by.

[98] Dugay, e-mail message to Quarshie, "His Lordship Joseph Oliver Bowers SVD DD Bishop Emeritus."

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Bowers' call to the priesthood was welcome news to the family, but also a tragedy because of the expenses involved. In spite of the poverty in the family and Sheriff's meagre savings, Sheriff supported the son's call to the priesthood and never lamented.[99]

2.2.1 Basic Education

Bowers was admitted to the Massacre Government Primary School at Hampstead, where pupils and students from Calibistie offered all kinds of subjects and performed various activities. Students were encouraged to develop aptitudes and to hone their skills. The curriculum followed by schools was not clearly defined: it included the three Rs: **R**eading, w**R**iting and a**R**ithmetic, and all kinds of subjects and activities aimed at developing the integral human personality, skills, aptitudes and inculcating the Christian virtues of love, self-discipline and prayer. Bowers completed the basic school with laurels and subsequently gained admission to high school.

2.2.2 Secondary School

He attended the Dominica Grammar School, which was established in 1893. He won, in 1921, one of the scholarships meant for brilliant students outside Roseau. On graduation on his 17th birthday, he obtained the Cambridge Senior Certificate and was subsequently employed at the Grand Bay Government School as a pupil teacher. He had to walk long distances to school because there were fewer roads and public means of transport.[100]

Thus, walking long distances to school gave him the opportunity to do some physical exercises. According to him, that prepared him for the long distances he had to make later in his pastoral work in the Gold Coast/Ghana as a missionary. For him, that

[99] Dugay, e-mail to Quarshie, "Bishop Bower's Easter Picnic," *loc. cit.*
[100] Ibid.

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physical exercise was providential since it was hard to have easy access to vehicles to the outstations for pastoral work during those days in the Gold Coast. He recalled how he took after his father in playing the harmonium in church. In addition, Bowers attested to the fact that his father played multiple roles as a catechist, choirmaster and organist in church, including many other responsibilities "in a village of about two to three thousand inhabitants",[101] and added: "My family was well known in the village."[102]

In the early 19th century, racial discrimination was very intense. That was the picture of a world of Blacks and Whites, especially in America. In such a social milieu of apathy, it was difficult for Bowers, as a Black person, to have been admitted to the seminary for his formation to the priesthood. In addition, the lack of vocation among Blacks was due to social stigma, but the remote cause was the lack of opportunity to have early childhood education.

2.3 Seminary Formation and Ordination

Bowers' desire to be a missionary priest was fulfilled when he was sent to the St. Augustine Seminary at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi in America, which was founded in 1923.[103] It was the first seminary in the whole of the United States of America that admitted African Americans to priestly formation. In fact, the seminary was named after the first Black African Bishop of Hippo, Egypt in North Africa.

The admission of African Americans to the seminary was recommended and supported by a letter of Pope Pius XI to the Superior of the Chicago Province of the SVD. The following translation of the Apostolic Letter from Latin into English is self-evident:

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[101] "Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers," DVD.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Herberger, *et. al.*, "The Beginnings in the Caribbean."

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> It is to us source of deep joy to learn that the college for the Education of Negroes which you had established temporary at Greenville, in the Diocese of Natchez, will shortly be transferred to St. Louis, in the same diocese, and converted into a mission house for the training of negro boys according to the Rule of your order. You are determined to carry this plan through to success, because it accords perfectly with the ideals of your society, with God's admonition to the Church to teach all nations, and with the precepts of this Apostolic See.[104]

The above excerpt is a short introduction to the Pope's six-paragraphed letter. In it, he had argued that effective evangelisation could only take place when agents of evangelisation were the indigenous people themselves, more than people of other countries with different cultural backgrounds. He recalled that in the history of the Church, Blacks had also suffered martyrdom as witnesses to their faith and concluded that experience had shown that African Americans had the mental capacity and ability to undertake any rigorous academic work and undergo formation to become priests. He highly commended the SVD for taking the initiative and gave the Bishops of America the authority to oversee the administration of the seminary.[105]

There were no seminaries on the Island of the Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean until 1943.[106] The bishops in the region were from religious orders whose countries of origin were the same as the colonial masters. Therefore, candidates to the priesthood were referred to those colonial countries for their formation. But distance and financial constraints prevented the bishops from looking for vocations to the priesthood.

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[104] Pius XI, *Letter to His son William Gier, Superior General of SVD* (Rome: Libreria Vaticana, April 5, 1923). This document was obtained by the courtesy of Robert M. Myers Archives; The Society of Divine Word, Chicago, 2016.
[105] Refer to the full letter of the Pope in the appendix.
[106] Herberger, *et. al.*, "The Beginnings in the Caribbean," *loc. cit.*

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Bowers' journey to the priesthood can be understood in the light of faith that is often shrouded in mystery. This is because a call is a gift of God, which is incomprehensible even to the one called until it is realised, and sometimes many mysterious events occur in one's life which deepen the mystery till death.

Some calls from God are dramatic, like St. Augustine's,[107] while other calls could be described as simple; for example, that of St. Teresa of the Child Jesus.[108] Bowers noted that besides God, he owed his vocation in the priesthood to Fr. Bossuyt, a Belgian Redemptorist. He described his as simple in his testimony in a video recording: "I was like a post boy to my Parish Priest."[109] This simple but humble duty was what brought him closer to his Parish Priest on a daily basis. Thus, a special relationship and affection developed between them. God made use of an unworthy human instrument like Father Bossuyt and manifested Himself as He is: infinite, near, familiar and yet incomprehensible.[108]

Meanwhile, the Catholic Church teaches that God prefers to make use of the normal circumstances of life.[110] It was at his suggestion that Bowers considered the possibility of his vocation to the priesthood. Bossuyt's exemplary life, his devotion to priestly duties at St. Anne's Catholic Church at Massacre were an inspiration to the entire community. Against that background, Bowers' family welcomed the news of his call to the

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[107] See, St. Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 133ff.
[108] See, St. Thérèsa of Liseux, *The Story of a Soul* (Wyatt North: Wyatt North Publishing, 2013).
[109] "Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers," DVD.
[108] St. Augustine, *Confessions*, 244.
[110] Vatican Council II, "*Presbyterorum ordinis*; Decree on the Life of the Priest," *Second Vatican Council: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1992), no. 6.

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priesthood because, as he observed: "My family were staunch Catholics." His statement affirms what the Second Vatican Council teaches:

> The duty of fostering vocation falls on the whole Christian community, …The greatest contribution is made by families which are animated by a spirit of faith, charity and piety and which provide, as it were, a first seminary, and by parishes in whose abundant life the young people themselves take an active part.[111]

The above observation is reason enough for saying, if Bowers' family had opposed his desire, he would have been discouraged and had consequently lost interest and his mission to the people of the Gold Coast would not have been realised. Nevertheless, the desire to become a priest rests solely on the shoulders of the candidate or aspirant. Yet, since the priesthood is a gift from God, the candidate exercises his free will to choose to or not to answer the call. The Church, as the custodian of the Word of God, reserves the right to approve the candidate as suitable, and this is considered a validation from God through the pedagogy of formation and discernment process. The formation programme is to enlighten the faith of the candidate, which is a gift of God.

The Christian vocation presupposes faith; this is also true for the priesthood, since it is an interior call from God and requires a free interior response from the human person being called. It is this gift of faith that led Bowers to believe that God was calling him. Perhaps the Psalmist's claim that "the Lord hears the cry of the poor" (Ps. 34) could be applied to Bowers' call from a humble and poor home. From the above, we can conclude that "God is communicated to by means of faith".[112] It follows that faith is the medium that enables us to speak personally with God, who listens in response to us,

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[111] Vatican II, "*Optatum Totius,*" in *Second Vatican Council: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Austin Flannery (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1992), no. 2.
[112] Federico Ruiz, *Místico y Maestro: San Juan de la Cruz* (Madrid: Editorial de Espiritualidad, 2006), 243.

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and vice versa. Bowers neither saw nor spoke *võce face* with God when he was called. It was an inner desire which God alone understands.

2.3.1 Novitiate

When Bowers was admitted to St. Augustine in 1928, the programme of formation envisaged first-year seminarians to learn the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages and pass to qualify for permanent admission. That requirement was necessary, since the liturgy was celebrated only in Latin, the official language of the Roman Catholic rite. English literature, as well as homiletics, was also taught. After completing his first three years of the seminary formation in 1931, Bowers proceeded to the Holy Ghost Novitiate in Wisconsin. According to his academic records, he excelled in all subjects and was at the top of his class of 18 seminarians.[113]

The focus of the formation of novices at the time of Bowers was *striving;* in other words, the novice was to strive to excel in whatever he did to attain perfection.[114] He was expected to advance in spiritual life and study the constitution of the SVD society. The reasoning was that the constitution was a means to one's salvation. Again, faithfulness to the constitution was a guarantee for successful apostolate and salvation of the soul. One's personal holiness would become the means God would use to bring more souls to salvation. To be imbued with the rules, therefore, was interpreted as the practical way to achieve perfection as a religious person in the pastoral ministry.

[113] Catalogus, *Sodaliu Societatis Verbi Divini* (Rome: Ex Typographia Domus Missionum ad S. Michaelem Archangelum Steylensis, Ineunte anno 1933).
[114] Ernest Brandewie, *The Light of the World: Divine Word Missionaries of North America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 145-158.

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A. Daily Schedule

As a novice, Bowers followed a daily schedule, which was not much different from that of the Major seminarians in vows or for the priests and brothers. The daily Holy Mass lasted for an hour. However, when the mass ended earlier than expected, for instance in half an hour, the novices used the rest of the time in meditation and thanksgiving for benefits received during mass before they went for breakfast at 7:15 a.m.

They observed silence, studied, prayed and played in the Mission House and did their duty with devotion as missionaries. Every SVD, including Bowers, was taught what was the apostolate of the SVD. Whether he lived alone or in a community, he was to follow a daily schedule, which was subject to the approval of the provincial. That schedule should include time for meditation and for mass in the early morning, spiritual reading, examination of conscience at noontime and general examination of conscience at night before night prayers. It was required of them to clearly specify the time for rising and retiring to bed at night. There were, however, exceptions, but that was the yardstick for measuring a good Divine Word Missionary as religious.

Generally, that was the impression one got in the study of two years of novitiate. The formation programme was more active than quiet, contrary to the scene we have described. The scriptural *locus classicus* was: "You must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt 5:48).

Rising was at 4:45 every morning. Novices shared and slept in a common "large open dormitory, each bed surrounded by curtains that were drawn only at night. The novice needed little space for clothes because he had few. A narrow locker and a small dresser sufficed. As soon as the bell was rung, the dormitory "Senior" threw open all the

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windows, whether it was spring, summer, fall or winter."[115] He was quick at that because he was 'striving'!

As quickly as possible the novice washed his face, brushed his teeth and showered with cold water if he was really striving, so as to get to the chapel as quickly as he could. One had to strive hard enough if one got to the chapel, absolutely latest by 5 to 5:10 a.m. The Morning Prayer was said in common at 5:15 a.m. prompt from the official book of prayer of the Society, known as *Vademe cum*, which every member of the society carried with him whenever he travelled. The Morning Prayer was followed by meditation; a keen sign of striving is when the novice knelt in an upright position for the whole 45 minutes of meditation.

B. Spiritual Formation

In the era of Bowers' seminary formation, emphasis was placed more on spirituality than intellectual formation. The minor seminaries and colleges were replete with such spiritual formation programmes. On the day of investiture, novices were vested in their habits and were told to persevere in their vocation. Also, the habit was to serve as a reminder that their vocation was a gift from God for which they must pray. The religious garb was to identify them as priests of the Divine Word missionaries.[116] On the day of investiture, they were given the title *frater* until ordination. The title *frater* was used to identify and differentiate "clerics" seminarians in vows from the brothers who resided with them in the Techny community.

Still on Bowers' spiritual formation, there was an instruction on the Ignatian spiritual exercise that was the pedagogy of prayer taught by St Ignatius of Loyola. The novice

[115] Brandewie, *The Light of the World*, 140.
[116] Ibid.; Immanuel Kant, *On History*; trans. Lewis White Beck (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), 3.

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recalled the topic of his meditation and read a relevant passage from sacred scriptures by mentally constructing in his imagination a scenario. He reflected on three main key points, prayed over them and applied the lesson he had learnt in his spiritual life. The aim of that spiritual exercise was to lead the novice to have insights into the passage read. Then he recorded it in a spiritual diary kept for that purpose. The novice master reserved the right to inspect the spiritual diary.

Another spiritual practice or discipline was that all meals were eaten in silence. The time at meals was occupied with novices taking turns to read excerpts from spiritual books, the life of saints or a letter from a missionary, an encyclical of the Pope. Nevertheless, on special occasions and on Sundays, conversations at meals were permitted to the delight of the novices. On ordinary days, at 1:45 p.m. during recreation period, silence was broken and resumed again until after supper. Another recreation was at 6:30 p.m. until it was time to prepare for meditation, which began at 7:15 p.m. If an announcement had to be made, for example, on manual work, etc. during the period of silence, that had to be done in Latin.

This practice facilitated and developed spoken Latin and helped to maintain silence, since the majority found it more difficult to speak Latin than to keep quiet. The standard explanation that was given for the rhythmic silence and conversation was the society's spirituality. But those in final vows and the ordained in communities were to remain silent, except during the stipulated recreational periods, otherwise one was to practise silence and recollection.

At all daily schedules, one was expected to be punctual and to fully participate. One strove to recollect and concentrate on a virtue one had resolved to practise or the fault to be eradicated that day. That resolution would become the theme of the midday

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examination of conscience, as well as the examination of conscience at night prayers. On a weekly basis, the novices were encouraged to bring their failures to follow the resolution to confession. And at the annual retreat, novices were taught to spend time to examine their conscience or progress in combating the major faults that were identified during novitiate, as well as in practising the virtues that would be the surest antidote to the faults.

C. Spiritual Reading

Practically, every day the Novice Master gave conferences to the novices. Every day they read from one of the three volumes of the spiritual writings of the Jesuit Alphonse Rodriguez (1526-1556). When the reading of the three voluminous books called *The Practice of Christian and Religious Perfection* was completed, it was repeated. Those books became the manual of the spirituality of the SVD, which was recommended by Father Janssen's Vincentian friend, called Ferdinand Medits. Another classic spiritual reading book novice were to be acquainted with and expected to read daily and for the rest of their lives was *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis.

D. Spiritual Direction

After the evening meal, novices queued for consultation with their spiritual directors. This practice was based on the saying: "If the just man sinned seven times a day, what about a poor novice?" If one came up with nothing, then he was suspected not to have done proper examination of conscience or to be too proud of thinking he had no fault that day, which was considered even a greater sin.

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2.3.2 Major Seminary Formation and Education

In 1933, after his first vows, Bowers returned to the St. Augustine Major Seminary to complete his philosophical and theological studies and priestly formation.[117] Study was the primary task of the major seminary, but more directly related to the priesthood and the future work. The curriculum for the SVD education at that time was for the student to study Philosophy and Theology. Later, the curriculum was revised to place four years of college and the Bachelor of Arts degree before novitiates. In the Major seminary, all the preparations in Latin were employed by the seminarians in their studies. Before 1966, the core philosophical subjects -- Logic, Metaphysics, Epistemology, Psychology and Cosmology -- were taught in Latin. Only the History of Philosophy was taught in English. The first two years was devoted to Philosophy, and the last two years was also considered as the end of college, with Philosophy as the core subject.

A. Bowers the Philosopher

Bowers studied Philosophy taught from the approved traditional manual known as *manualist*. The content of the Philosophy taught was handed down manually as approved by higher authorities according to the tradition of scholasticism and in conformity with the updated degree of the Council of Trent, as mandated by Pope Leo XIII. All seminaries of the Catholic Church were to follow that manual. In that manual, certain key issues were raised, and answers were carefully dilated on. For example, the principle of *causality* was used to demonstrate the necessity of God's existence and the fact that matter and form necessarily composed the nature of a "thing". Furthermore, that

[117] Dugay, *Easter Picnic, loc. cit.*

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principle was used to demonstrate the necessity of a spiritual soul as the form of the human person.

B. Scholasticism

The term scholasticism denotes, first, traditional Philosophy as taught in European universities such as Cambridge, Paris, Bologna and Oxford in the Middle Ages. That era was around the 12th and 14th centuries when the works of philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato and other works of great Greek philosophers were discovered and translated from Arabic into Latin in Spain. Secondly, theology moved from being practical "wisdom taught in monasteries to 'science' taught in schools, hence the name 'scholasticism.'"

In scholasticism, logic and dialectic were used to clarify terms to identify sure principles upon which arguments could be reliably constructed and to point out fallacies in opposing arguments. The main purpose of the manual used in seminaries was to keep "critical realism" in place, in an age that was in constant danger of falling victim to scepticism, materialism and subjectivism. The climate at the time, at least from the era of David Hume (1711-1776) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1808) was to make use of "enlightenment" to release humanity from "its self-incurred tutelage" to authority. Rather, Kant urges *Sapere aude!* (Have courage to use your own reason!).[118]

The Catholic Church expressed concern over the teachings of scholars such as Hume and Kant to maintain the authority of tradition and confidence in human reason, guided by the light of faith as clarified by the church's teaching authority, truly to know the world as directed by God and show the reasonableness of what was revealed in revelation. In

[118] Kant, *On History*, 3. See David Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion within the Limits of Reason*; trans. Theodore M. Greene and Hoyt H. Hudson (New York: Harper & Row, 1960).

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view of the above teaching of the church, seminarians were required to have a firm understanding of certain basic terms and concepts. Lectures were conducted in a style of argumentation that seminarians would in future employ in theological studies.

Hence, Philosophy was viewed as the "handmaid of theology" and, therefore, considered extremely important. Consequently, more periods were allotted on the timetable to learning and teaching the basics of this system. Philosophical distinctions were made between nature and person, substance and accident, act and potency, necessary and contingent, essence and existence, which will later be important in the use of theological language to explain the doctrines of Trinity, human and divine natures in the one person of Jesus Christ and the Eucharist; where the emphasis was placed on how the substance of the bread and wine is "transubstantiated" to become Christ's body and blood, while the accidents of bread and wine remained.

Like any SVD seminarian studying Philosophy, Bowers hardly knew what was at stake when they memorised formulae and distinction. Nevertheless, some of those seminarians matured out of that era of Catholic anti-Modernism and obeyed Roman legislation to ground them in the scholastic tradition of St Thomas Aquinas.

C. Bowers the Theologian

As a requirement for ordination to the priesthood, Bowers did four years of Theology as a core course. Dogmatic Theology was then considered the most important of all the branches of theological subjects. Theological studies had, over the years, been monitored by Rome to ensure a high degree of uniformity. The theological courses were taught in the various fields of specialisation with dogmatic theology as the core subjects in disciplines on Christian, Catholic faith and revelation. Hence, doctrinal subjects such

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as Trinity, Christology, Sin, Grace and Redemption, Ecclesiology and Sacraments were taught under the umbrella of dogma.

In addition to the above theological studies, Bowers studied Moral Theology, which served as his pastoral formation to equip him with tools to function as a pastor and confessor. Virtues and vices were enumerated and explained. A commonly used text-book on virtues was the first volume of the *Summa Theologiae Moralis* by Hieronymus Noldin (1838-1922). Besides Moral Theology, there were subjects such as Fundamental Theology, which was known as Apologetics, and Pastoral, Ascetical and Mystical Theology. Due to Bowers' academic prowess, his formators, though whites, saw his potential and after his philosophical studies recommended him to complete his theological studies at the Gregorian University in Rome, Italy and he received a Bachelor of Arts degree.

Bowers derived great benefits from his formation in the major seminary. The exposure to integral philosophical and theological system formed the solid basis for his preaching and teaching. The whole structure of formation ensured that seminarians acquired high academic standard and the sense of belongingness to a community and the care for the other. All of these later on reflected in Bowers' pastoral ministry. As one elderly priest has summarised, those of us who went through pre-Vatican II priestly formation learnt to 'suffer together and rejoice together'.[119]

2.3.3 Extra-curricular Activities

Formal education was not the only formation that Bowers received in the seminary. There was room for him to be creative. In effect, extra-curricular programmes – various

[119] Dugay, *Easter Picnic, loc. cit.*

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sporting activities, such as basketball, football and tennis, were organised as a means of keeping fit and learning to be together. Entertainment and drama performances were organised, where seminarians played different roles in social life to help them appreciate issues in the real world of their future ministry.

In order to encourage creativity among students, the seminary had a printing press and a magazine. That afforded Bowers the opportunity to write poems, compose classical music and play the organ to the admiration of his companions. He contributed to the publication of the *St Augustine's Messenger*, a seminary magazine, by writing articles and by extension helped the mission magazine. In 1938, while still a seminarian, he wrote an article entitled: Early Evangelisation of Negros, which was about the French and Spanish ministry in New Orleans, a school founded by the Ursuline Sisters for Black students. The article: *The Papacy and the Negro,* was also to his credit. He wrote another article on Catholic Education, *Negro Spiritual, Our Colored Catholic Neighbors* (1940), which was a survey of the Catholics Church in the West Indies. This illustrates his strong inner desire to identify with the indigenous African, which impacted positively on his future pastoral ministry in the Gold Coast/Ghana.

2.3.4 Assessment of Candidates to the Priesthood

The exercise of critical self-examination was extended to peer evaluation, known as *votatio.* That required everyone voting on the suitability of everyone else in the class before taking their first and subsequent vows. Such evaluation was done even in the major seminary, where the practice was extended to everyone who had had contact with the candidate to vote on his suitability. However, the confessor of the candidate did not take part in the annual *votatio.* Nevertheless, if he had any doubts about the candidate's creditability regarding his chastity and sexuality, he was obliged to encourage the

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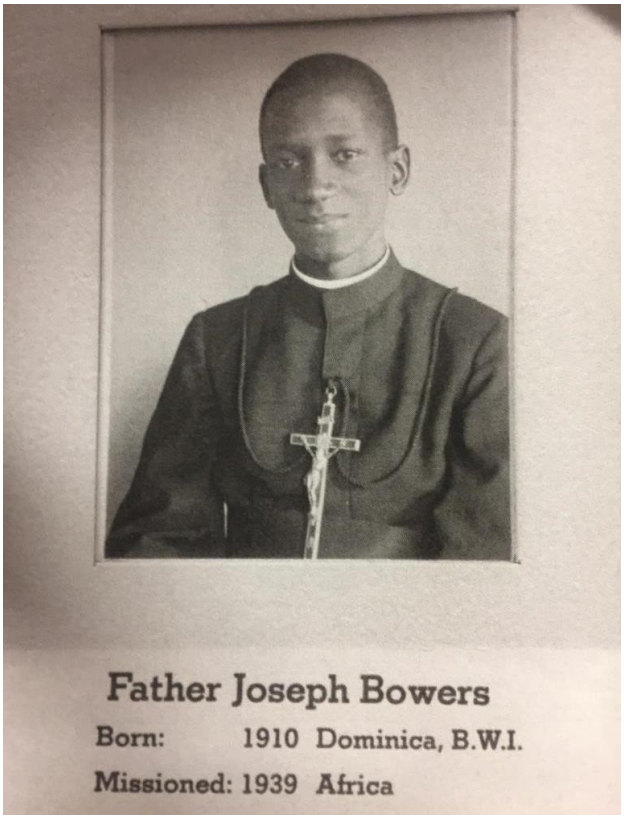
candidate to discontinue. In that regard, specific instructions from the Holy See and the Society detailing the guidelines a confessor should follow in that matter were issued.[120]

There were also some criticisms. As times changed, especially around Vatican II, certain deficiencies in the formation programme were identified. They were more about the juridical structured formation system. The individual was not given the opportunity to take initiative and lacked insight into human development, emotional and psychosexual maturity. There were controls and manipulation of the individual and there was no room left for inner conviction, instead of external imposition.



Picture 2.1: Bowers after his ordination in 1939

[120] *Code of Canon Law,* trans. Canon Law Society of America (Vatican City: Libreria Editice Vaticana, 1995), c. 1388, §1. According to c. 983, §1, the seal of sacramental confession 'is inviolable': the confessor may never, for any reason, divulge what he has learned in the course of celebrating the sacrament. Should he do so, he commits a most serious offence. The canon distinguishes between direct and indirect violation of the seal. Direct violation occurs when the confessor deliberately discloses the identity of the penitent and content of a confession either explicitly or implicitly. Indirect violation occurs when the confessor negligently says or does or fails to do something which leads others to conclude or suspect the identity of the penitent and the content of the confession.

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2.4 Ordination into the Priesthood

After the directors of formation had assessed and found Bowers suitable for the priesthood, he was recommended for ordination and ordained a priest in Rome[121] on 22nd January 1939.

2.5 Appointment to the Mission in the Gold Coast

After Bowers' ordination, his superiors wanted to maintain him as a teaching assistant in the seminary, but Adolf Noser, who was then the SVD America Vicar Apostolic to the Gold Coast and later became the first Bishop of the Accra Diocese, made a passionate appeal to the America mission to assist him with a priest. Bowers volunteered and was sent to the Gold Coast mission. Some people, in fact, interpreted Bowers' volunteerism as escapism from the harsh reality of racial discrimination in the United States and poverty in Dominica. The researcher thinks the volunteerism was authentic, given the manifestations in Bowers' formative years – his life and writings.

In an interview, Bowers admitted that God had granted the secret desire of his heart. To contextualise Bowers' claim, an exposition of the background story would suffice: Normally, when a newly ordained priest celebrates his thanksgiving Holy Mass (First Holy Mass) he is assisted by an elderly experienced priest, as the newly ordained young priest may have stage fright. It was on one of such occasions that Bowers narrates this sacred tale: "I went to thank the elderly priest who assisted me at the mass and said to him: 'If I knew there was a missionary priest from Africa, I would have asked to be sent by the Superior there, instead of Papua New Guinea.' Then the elderly priest told me: 'Don't worry, I have already asked for you'."[122] For Bowers, that was not mere coincidence

[121] See Curriculum Vitae of Bishop Bowers by the SVD, Guest House, Accra.
[122] "Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers," DVD.

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but God's intervention in his life. This incident demonstrates that he already was attracted to the Africa mission.

It was no wonder that Bowers saw his call to the priesthood as unique and yet simple.[123] He acknowledged the roles played by his family and the parish priest in the discernment process: "My vocation to the priesthood was discerned by my parish priest". It took the church many years to explain the action of his Parish Priest at the Second Vatican Council that exhorted all priests to promote vocation to the priesthood in their various apostolates: "All priests should show their apostolic zeal by fostering vocation as much as possible, and should draw the hearts of young men to the priesthood by example…"[124] In his Apostolic Exhortation, Pope St. John Paul II had stated: "God always calls his priests from specific human and ecclesial contexts, which inevitably influence them; and to this same context the priest is sent for the service of Christ's Gospel" (Heb. 5:1).[125]

On January 1, 1940, Bowers arrived in Accra to take up his first missionary appointment in the then Gold Coast, now Ghana. In the Gold Coast, he worked mainly in the Eastern and the Greater Accra regions, as well as part of the Volta Region. Those political regions constituted what became the Catholic Diocese of Accra. After 10 years in the mission in the Gold Coast, Bowers was sent to Rome to continue his studies. He returned to Accra in 1952 with a licentiate in Canon Law.[126]

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[123] "Bishop Joseph Oliver Bowers," DVD.

[124] Vatican II, *Optatum Totius*, no. 2.

[125] John Paul, *Pastores Dabo Vobis: I Will Give You Shepherds* (Vatican City: St. Paul Books and Media, 1990), no. 5.

[126] Superior General to Superior Provincial, Ghana province on the July 28, 1950: "In answer to your letter of July 16 I am pleased to inform you that the General Council has consented that Father Bowers come to Rome to take up the study of Canon Law…"

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On 27th November of the same year, he was appointed the first Auxiliary Catholic Bishop and the substantive Bishop on 6th February 1953,[127] and was consecrated a bishop on 22nd April 1953. Thus, he became the first Catholic Bishop of African descent in the then Gold Coast during a period when the struggle for independence was intense and the Vatican had considered it expedient to make such an appointment. Bishop Bowers served the Catholic Church in the Accra Diocese and in Ghana as a whole with great dedication, self-discipline and admirable expressions of humility and deep spirituality, among other heroic virtues worthy of emulation as the following chapters have demonstrated.[128]

2.6 Conclusion

In sum, from what has been reviewed in this chapter; Bowers' early years, his basic education and secondary school, his seminary formation, his ordination to the Priesthood and his appointment to the mission in the Gold Coast illustrate that human, pastoral, spiritual and intellectual formations are sine qua non to seminary formation.

Hence, we conclude with the words of Pope St. John Paul II in his encyclical letter, *Pastores Dabo Vobis*: "The whole work of priestly formation would be deprived of its necessary foundation if it lacked a suitable human formation."[129] The Pope explained that experience had proved the statement to be true. As the very nature of the priestly ministry was a call to act in *persona Christi,* it was imperative that the priest imitated

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[127] H. Kroes, to Assistant Superior General SVD, 9th December 1952; see Lagos, "Press release of Apostolic Delegation," 6th February 1953.

[128] Bernardin Cardinal Gantin to Bishop Bowers, Rome, 1997.

[129] John Paul II, *Pastores Dabo Vobis*, n. 43. See, *The Canon Law: Letter & Spirit* ed. Francis G. Morrisey (Trowbridge Wiltshire: Redwood Books, 1995), cc. 1590-1592; in the same vain, the Church through her University pursues the goals of human development. "An institutional commitment to the service of the people of God and of the human family in their pilgrimage to the transcendent goal which give meaning to life (c. 1591, § 4).

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the perfect human nature of the incarnated Son of God, reflected in His attitude towards others in the Gospels.

Commenting on the Gospel, the Pope referred to Paul's Letter to the Hebrews: "Every High Priest chosen from among men is appointed to act on behalf of men in relation to God" (5:1). He emphasized the importance of that aspect of priestly formation and added that priestly formation would be incomplete without spiritual, intellectual and pastoral formation.[130]

In other words, seminary formation honed the pastoral ministry of the Priest. Thus, in his written report, Bowers had stated that at the beginning of the Krobo Mission, one Aidam[131] had insisted that he pay pastoral visits to the villages. Aidam argued that there were more people dwelling in the villages than in the towns. Bowers also mentioned that they had only four Catholics in the town. He commended Aidam's observation and foresight, which was his guide in his pastoral ministry.[132] He had first-hand experience that in the villages people lived concretely and authentically the experience of fraternity. He saw in the inhabitants of the village the spirit of disinterested service and solidarity. He also observed that the common goal reigned. There, each was moved and inspired to construct a family entirely open to the world from which absolutely nobody was excluded. Bowers said he came to the realisation of Aidam's observation that it was such communities that were the best means to fight against ethnocentrism.

However, Bowers has recorded that he was upset to observe how some missionary priests administered the sacrament, especially baptism, without first taking time to

[130] John Paul II, *Pastores Dabo Vobis*, no. 45-59.
[131] Bowers's Memoirs on the early missionary activities in the 1940 at Agomanya (ER).
[132] Ibid.

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instruct the catechumens. Hence, he was determined to educate the catechists. The fruit of his hard work was the very rapid growth of the Krobo Mission, leading to the development and indigenisation of the Church.

That was made possible by his pastoral programme of action for the training of catechists in furtherance of their education. With reference to holistic human development, it is noteworthy that this emanated from Bowers' family background, education, social milieu and seminary formation he had received. This also shaped his personality, pastoral strategy and, above all, his passion for holistic human development. Lastly, Bowers' attention to holistic human development of all irrespective of religious affiliation was based on Vatican II: "All men of whatever race, condition or age, in virtue of their dignity as human persons, have an inalienable right to education."[133] This statement can only be relevant in a pluralistic religious situation as found in Ghana.

[133]*Vatican Council II*, "*Gravissimum Educationis,* no. 1.

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CHAPTER THREE

ECCLESIASTICAL TERRITORY OF THE CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF ACCRA (1953-1971)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the ecclesiastical territory of the Catholic Diocese of Accra (1953-1971). It describes the demographical setting of the diocese, the landscape, land surface area, vegetation, the people, their languages, ethnic groups and occupations. The chapter further discusses the early human development efforts of the Catholic Church in the area of education, especially the provision of basic schools and two secondary schools. It also analyses the pluralistic religious environment of the Gold Coast/Ghana and the political, economic and socio-cultural development. It concludes with an examination of the cooperation between the State and the Catholic Church in the provision of education and health for all Gold Coasters and Ghanaians, irrespective of religious affiliation.

3.2 Demography and Political Geography

Geographically, the Accra Diocese is bordered on the east, west and north by the Volta, Central and Eastern regions of Ghana respectively and on the south by the Gulf of Guinea. Bowers' pastoral ministry was exercised mainly in the Accra ecclesiastical territory, as shown in the map below (fig. 1).

The Accra Diocese was a wide area. In 1960, Greater Accra, then referred to as the Accra Capital District, was geographically part of the Eastern and the Volta regions.[134] Therefore, the Accra Diocese occupied a total land area of approximately 3,245 square

[134] "Genesis of the Capital-Accra," in *Daily Graphic* https://www.mordernghana.com/news/123998/genesis_of_the_capital_Accra.html.

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kilometres, representing Greater Accra. The Eastern Region covered 19,323 square kilometres; Battor covered 1,460 square kilometres and Vume occupied 448 square kilometres of land area.

The above survey was the political geography,[135] which served as a backdrop against which we will discuss Bowers' contribution to human development in the area of health and education in the Diocese of Accra.

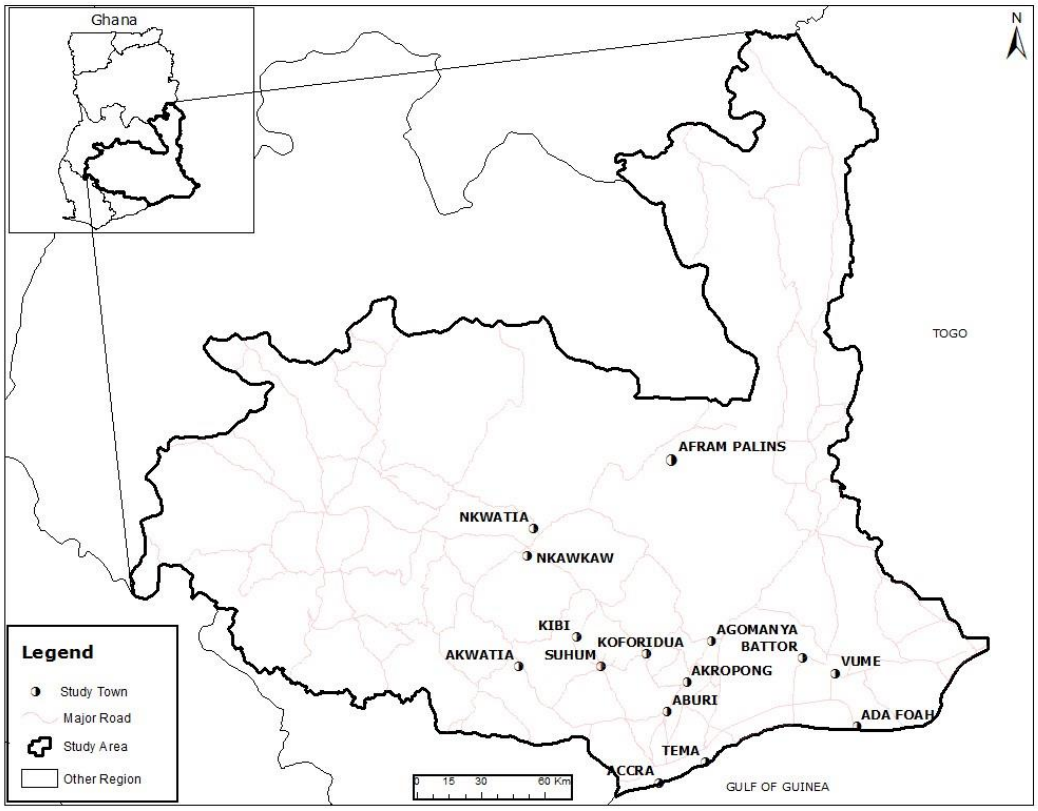

Fig. 1: Map of the Political Geography of the Accra Diocese

[135] Here we define political geography as the way in which the Gold Coast was divided into different regions and Accra as Capital District covers the demarcated area in the map above and conterminous with the Accra Diocese.

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With reference to the above map[136] of the Diocese of Accra in 1953-1971, Wise and White have explained that there was a narrow and often-precarious cultural niche between the forest zones and the sea that had shaped Accra's urban history and perception of landscape. The landscape of the Diocese of Accra was bordered on the south by the Gulf of Guinea and on the north by the hills of the Akwapim escarpment, which begin to rise from the coastal plain some 15 miles from the sea. Akwapim, Kibi, Koforidua, Suhum, Akwatia, Nkawkaw and Nkwatia are predominantly Akan-speaking people occupying the forested hills[137] and have intertwined boundaries which extend to the Afram Plains, inhabited by predominantly Ewe-speaking people. The inhabitants were largely peasant farmers.

Also, the ecclesiastical territory of the Diocese of Accra, which coincides with the political geography of the Gold Coast, merges with that of the closely related Ga and Dangme-speaking people, who occupy the coast down to the Volta River. The Krobo, Prampram (also known as Gbugbla) and Ada are Dangme-speaking people inhabiting a rich farming area which extends farther to the northeast/south of the Volta Region as Battor and Vume and inhabited by a predominantly Ewe-speaking people.

Naturally, many small rivers flow from the well-watered hills across the dry Accra Plains and into a succession of lagoons that punctuate the open surf beaches of the coast, with the sea and the rivers serving as the source of livelihood for fishermen and miners of salt.

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[136] The centuries-old European division of the Gold Coast into "windward" and "leeward" sections at the Sakumo River coincided with indigenous mental mapping, which drew a fundamental cultural distinction between the Akan-speaking Fante people to the west and the Ga-Dangme people to the east.

[137] Colin Wise, "Climate anomalies on the Accra on the Accra plain," in *Geography* 29 (1944); H. P. White, *"Environment and Economic Research: Annual Conference Proceedings*, March 1956 (Ibadan, 1956).

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Traditionally, the western limit of Accra is the Sakumo River and the Sakumofio Lagoon, a frontier marked by a hill known as Lanma. Thirty miles to the east is Tema. Seasonally, the ecology of the Accra Diocese on the coastal hinterland is characterised by aridity. Two wet seasons, from April to June and in September, provide Accra with an average of only 20 inches of rain a year compared with over 80 inches in many of the Akan forest zones with great variety. With annual rain falling to as low as 10 inches, periods of recurring drought on the Accra Plains are not uncommon and have resulted, particularly in times of war and insecurity, in shortages of staple food crops such as maize and cassava.

According to Kropp Dakubu, the inability of the coastal savanna to sustain tree crops such as oil palm and cocoa, together with the absence of older export commodities such as gold and ivory, necessitated the Gas becoming traders. Accra's location between the open plain and the sea also facilitated intensive, long-standing contacts with other people: the European maritime powers, the Twi-speaking Akan kingdoms of the forest to the north and the coast to the west and the people of the slave coast to the east.[138] The result has been the rise of a highly eclectic, heterogeneous urban culture. Therefore, the Accra Diocese was and is still a complex network of people of different cultures, traditional religious beliefs, languages, tribes and ethnic backgrounds.

[138] M. E. Kropp Dakubu, *Korle Meets the Sea: A Sociolinguistic History of Accra,* (New York: Oxford Press, 1997); See also Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an Africa Society* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1991).

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3.3 Brief History of the Catholic Diocese of Accra (1953-1971)

Picture 3.1 Bowers after his consecration as Bishop of Accra Diocese in 1953

The Accra ecclesiastical territory[139] was, in the beginning, under the auspices of the Cape Coast Vicariate. In 1939, *Propaganda Fide,* the congregation responsible for the evangelisation of people, mandated the SVD to evangelise the inhabitants of the

Accra ecclesiastical territory. The territory was elevated to a vicariate with the appointment of Noser as its first Apostolic Vicar. Subsequently, Accra was elevated to a

[139] Ecclesiastical territory is a division of the Church comprised of all Catholics living in a specific geographical area under the pastoral care and authority (of a residential bishop).

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diocesan status on 18th April, 1950[140], with Noser as the first Bishop and Bowers as an auxiliary Bishop. After Noser was transferred to Papua New Guinea, Bowers was appointed the substantive Bishop in 1953.

At the beginning of Bowers' pastoral ministry in 1953, the diocese was still at the primary stage of evangelisation. There were no identifiable ecclesiastical administrative structures. However, there were 14 main stations, 227 outstations and three residential stations.[141] The table below shows the statistics in the years 1940, 1948 and 1953.

Year	**1940**	**1948**	**1953**
No. of Main Stations	2	7	14
No. of Outstations	56	195	227
No. of Catholics	5,660	21,275	34,040
No. of Annual Conversions	352	798	1,420
No. of Infant Baptisms	180	959	1,905
No. of Schools	17	126	177
No. of Pupils	1,095	8,435	21,085
No. of Teachers	36	369	775
No. of Secondary Schools	----------	----------	2

Table 1: Statistics

[140] Elsbern, *Story of the Diocese of Accra*, 127.
[141] Elsbern, *Story of the Diocese of Accra*, 127. 142-145.

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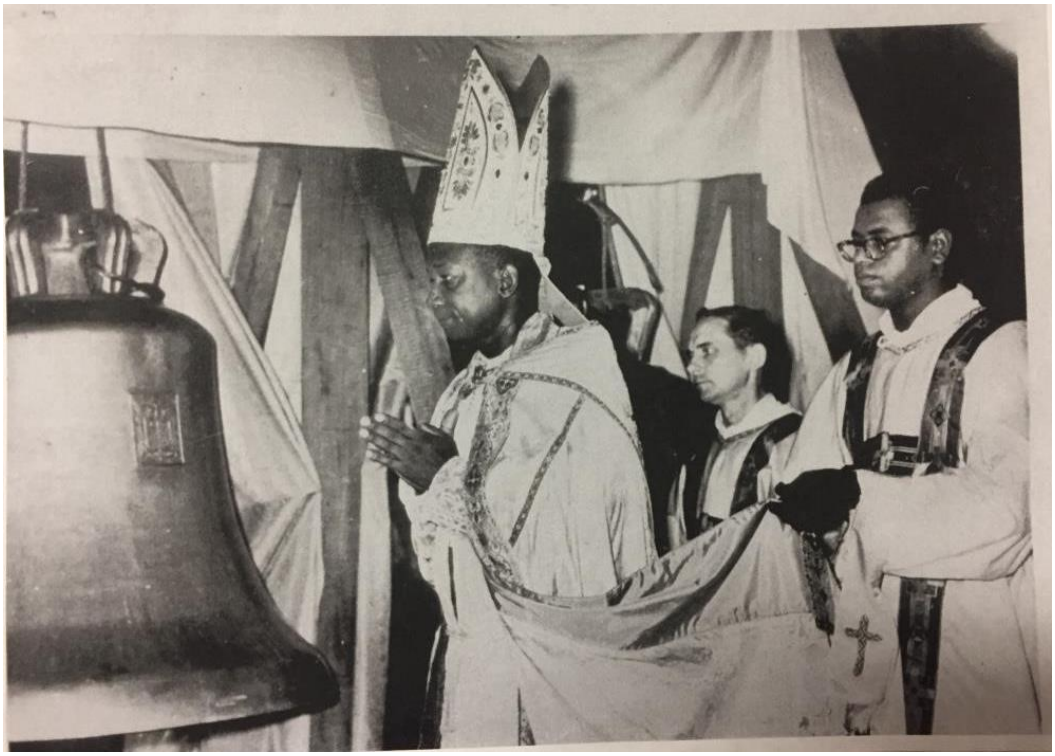

Picture 3.2: Bowers on a pastoral visit to an outstation

Between 1948 and 1953, there were 320 basic schools and two secondary schools – St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Mary's. The establishment of St. Mary's and St. Thomas Aquinas was in response to the colonial government's Educational Programme in the 1950s.

St. Mary's Secondary School (St Mary's College, as it was initially known) was established on 6th February 1950 as a private Catholic institution by the Catholic Missionary Sisters - Servants of the Holy Spirit (SSpS) at Korle Gonno in Accra. The aim of the missionaries was to educate and assist less-endowed young girls in deprived areas of Accra. In 1950, the population of the school was 10 students and two teachers. It was not until 15th January 1952 that the school was officially inaugurated, with an enrolment

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of 61 students and four teaching staff. In 1953 the number of students increased to 62, with six teaching staff.[142]

Table 2 below represents the early beginning of St. Mary's Secondary School (College) up to when Bowers took over as Bishop of Accra.

Year	1950	1952	1953
No. of Students	10	61	62
No. of Teaching Staff	2	4	6

Table 2: Statistics St. Mary's College

St. Thomas Aquinas Secondary School (St. Thomas College, as it was originally called) was established by Noser on 15th January 1952, with Fr Elbsbern as the first Headmaster.[143] Table 3 below represents the statistics of Aquinas Secondary School from 1952-1953.

Year	1952	1953
No. of Students	50	130
No. of Teaching Staff	5	5
No. of Non-Teaching Staff	2	2
No. of Classes	2	2
No. of Buildings	1	1
Land area in Hectares	1	1

Table 3: Statistics St. Thomas College

[142] "The History of St Mary's Senior High School Accra," in *St Mary's Secondary School 60th Anniversary Brochure* (1950-2010): 4-5.
[143] "A Short History of Aquinas Secondary School," in *Silver Jubilee of St. Thomas Aquinas Secondary School Souvenir Booklet* (1952-1977): 10-11.

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3.4 Religious Situation

Ghana has been and is still a pluralistic religious society. Before the advent of other religious groups, Ghana had its own primal religions, with variations from one ethnic group to another.[144] With the introduction of Christianity, Islam and presently Eastern religions, the inhabitants subscribe to one faith or another. According to Morgan and Lawton, in the Ghanaian religious sphere, Christianity has different denominations: Catholicism, Protestantism (Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian), Seventh Day Adventism and indigenous churches of the time of Bowers. Islam too has different sects: Orthodox Islam or Sunnis, the Ahmadiyya Sect, the Khan or Ismaili Sect and Fundamentalist Tabliq.

Indigenous religions include Afrikaner religion[145] and the ethnic or tribal religions.[146] There are also tendencies of syncretism and a steady growth in secular thinking among the educated elite.[147]

In his contribution to the debate, Kwame Bediako has commented that syncretism among the various religious confessions is as a result of the fault of the ministers of the various major foreign religions. They do not take into consideration African traditional religious worldviews when importing and transplanting religious beliefs from a

[144] K. B. Asante, "Reconstructing Education in Ghana," in *Daily Graphic* (December 16, 1988): 3. See K. Trevor, *Teaching Religious Education* (London: Macmillan Education Press, 1984), 24.
[145] Kwame Bediako, *Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of an Non-Western Religion* (Accra: Type Company Limited, 2014), 17-18.
[146] Kwame Bediako, *Theology and Identity: The Impact of Culture upon Christian Thought in the Second and Modern Africa* (Oxford: Regnum Books International 2013), 305.
[147] Peggy Morgan, Clive Lawton et. al., *Ethical Issues in Six Religious Traditions* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1999), 202-218.

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different culture to the primal religion. Therefore, the converts continue to struggle to internalise their newfound faith and be totally committed to it.[148]

In response to the argument for the cause of syncretism, Twumwesigire and Fichter have indicated that in religious pluralistic societies like Ghana, it is difficult to decide what kind of religious confession should be introduced in government and mission schools which admit children from diverse religious persuasions. Therefore, it is naïve to think that religious education is simply teaching or reading the Bible, the Qur'an or the doctrine of one religion in this kind of situation. The choice of the type of religious confession to be taught in a religiously pluralistic society like Ghana has to take account of the nature of pluralists in a given society.[149]

A close examination of pluralistic religious societies reveals that there are four clearly distinct options of approaches at the disposal of the Ghanaian society - options from which we can choose for peaceful coexistence. Each choice must depend on the degree of pluralism in the society.

According to Hull, the first option will be to choose one of the existing religious faiths (one that is dominant enough to render all others "ignoble") and profess it alone as the true faith. When you make this choice, the profession of religious faith automatically becomes simple. All the government needs to do is induct the citizens into the religion and nurture them in this "national faith."[150]

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[148] Kwame Bediako, *Jesus in Africa: The Christian Gospel African History and Experience* (Accra: Regnum Africa Press, 2013), 34-45.
[149] S. Twumwesigire, "Religious Education in the Twenty-first Century African Pluralistic Society," *Journal of African Religion and Philosophy* 2 (1991), 1. See, J. S. Fichter, *Sociology* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1957).
[150] M. J. Hull, "Religious Education in Pluralistic Society," in *Progress and Problems in Moral Education*, ed. Monica J. Taylor (London: Falmer Press, 1975), 195

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The second option is to strike a compromise among the existing religious faiths by choosing what is common among them and teaching it to all. This choice could be resorted to in the case of a pluralistic society where the various religions make almost equal claims on society and when adherents have grown to accept that they have many things in common which can be combined to be taught to their members together. This choice requires maturity and mutual love on the part of the participating religions. In short, an ecumenical spirit is needed.[151]

Twumwesigire gave the third option as splitting the members (during worship) into groups according to their religious affiliations, with each group worshipping in its own faith with a minister hailing from the church or religion. In such a case, the burden of planning and worship is entirely in the hands of the various religions. The Church would only be required to provide time and probably space. This type of arrangement is also confessional.[152] Incidentally, this happened to be the official position in Ghana, which was adopted when the state took over control of all schools soon after independence in 1957.[153]

The fourth option, according to Twumwesigire, would be to treat all the existing religions as neither true nor false. This is the kind of philosophy of religion that will recognise that each religion has something of value which it offers to those who believe it to be true. That is to say that it will recognise that there is truth in each religion, but such truth will be considered as relative and parochial rather than universal. This kind of philosophy of religion, therefore, will aim at helping the members to understand the

[151] Hull, "Religious Education," 195.
[152] Twumwesigire, *Religious Education*, 1.
[153] The Ghana Educational Act 1961, Act 87, Educational Ordinance, file GH, PRAAD, RG 3,1,3, 1954-67, 22, 1,2 & 3, 10.

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phenomenon of religion and how it affects people through a study of examples drawn from all the existing religions. This will include the belief, practices, histories and sacred literature of that religion and their "saints", that is, examples of people who have believed in these religions and how they (religions) have affected their lives.

It will also be a form of philosophy of religion that will aim at developing the members' religious sensitivity (religious potentialities), which is central to the general aim of education and is essential for a well-developed and balanced personality. This type of philosophy of religion would not only be the kind that is viable and meaningful but also desirable in a pluralistic and secular-minded Africa, and a nation like Ghana.

Now I would like to discuss the reasons for not justifying the three options on educational and moral grounds in the pluralistic society of Ghana. First, let us look at choice one: taking the existing religion in the society and teaching it as the true one, ignoring all others. This was the case in Ghana before the introduction of the Educational Reform in 1986. Until then, religious education, especially in the 1950s, was simply Christian doctrine and the Bible.

As noted by Hull, "The idea presents few difficulties when the society is unanimous about its religion…But if the society is not unanimous about its religion (as it is bound to be in a pluralistic context), then there are problems." For example, in Libya, deciding to teach Islam alone as the religion will present no problems, since the Libyans are unanimous about Islam as the true religion. On the other hand, deciding to teach Islam as the true religion in Ghana will present some difficulties, since a large section of the Ghanaian population does not subscribe to Islam as the true religion.

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In a pluralistic society such as Ghana, problems will arise if a decision is taken to select only one religion to be taught in a Religious Education class. This is because the decision would deny that all the other religions in the society are true and declare, at least indirectly, that they are false. It would mean that all the pupils in the country will be induced to deny the possibility that others' beliefs might be true. As far as teaching is concern, the teaching of the selected religion will naturally follow a subjective approach; that is to say indoctrination or developing only the cognitive domain with the aim of memorizing doctrines; hence Confessional Religious Education.

On the other hand, if the society is truly pluralistic in its religious culture, that is, having many or several religions all claiming to be true and all having come to be regarded as equal in status (each seen as being as good as the others) and there being no standard or norm by which any one could objectively be shown to be truer than the others, then one cannot take any of them and declare it to be the true one and, therefore, teach it alone to all the members of society as such. Such a step should not be taken because it would be unfair to the unfavourable religions.

Again, in such a pluralistic society where many people would come to regard religious beliefs and practices as a hobby of the minority, it would also be unfair to individuals. It should be noted that in a pluralistic society, religious matters inevitably come to be regarded as matters of opinion. In such a context, therefore, it would be morally inappropriate or even unfeasible to teach one religion and its beliefs as the indispensable truth in a public school that is maintained by the state and shared by all the members of society. The researcher thinks that educationally, it would even be wrong to do so in a private school which is attended only by children of parents who belong to the selected religion. This is because those children would be denied the knowledge in their

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pluralistic religious environment, which would be falsely presented by such a form of Religious Education. Concerning the second option, where the approach is to strike a compromise among all the religions in a society by choosing what is common to all of them and teaching only that to the children in schools, that also presents problems.

Given the fact that it is not easy to reach an agreement on what is common in order to formulate a useful and viable syllabus that will really do justice to all these religions and, at the same time, be educationally worthwhile, to teach this as Religious Education would mean that the student would be given an inadequate picture of religion and it would not be a worthwhile activity, both religiously and educationally. It must be noted that it is the areas on which religions disagree that make those religions what they are. Those areas are so important to the religions that without them the religions would be spongy and coreless, thereby being in danger of losing their appeal to adherents. Therefore, teaching the religions without mentioning those areas would be trivialising the religions.

This position, although enabling Religious Education to take place, has meant that for nearly a century Religious Education in Ghana was based on the study of the Bible and the history of the Christian Church alone. Christian beliefs, which to some extent differ from one denomination to another but which form the core of Christianity, have largely not been studied and ignored. The same trend can be clearly noted in the syllabus inherited from Ghana's colonial Education Act.

For the Ghana Education Service which had taught compromised agreed syllabi of Religious Education, this has meant that the students in schools have been with a form of Christianity that has no doctrines, apart from major common ones. But this form is nothing more than unbelievable Biblical myths and sagas and history of the Church.

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It is no wonder, therefore, that this form of Religious Education has neither succeeded in making Ghanaians religious nor improving their morality, as originally intended. It has only succeeded in trivialising Christianity, which most people now treat as unimportant. Thus it is clear that it is impossible to draw a worthwhile common syllabus of Religious Education from all the existing religions in a pluralistic society with the intention of giving students religious nurture that will satisfy all the partners and, at the same time, do justice to the intention of providing holistic religious education. This option of Religious Education, therefore, will not be appropriate for a pluralistic religious society.

The third option, which entails teaching all the religions in the society, is logically difficult to run. It is not possible to have classroom space, textbooks, other teaching materials and teachers all put in place during the Religious Education period. The question of teachers is particularly crucial. The Ghanaian experience has shown that the religions are not able to provide enough religious people to visit schools during the Religious Education period to teach the subject. As a result, Religious Education has not been taught in many schools. Only schools which engage teachers for Religious Education have maintained the teaching of the subject.

Another serious problem related to this choice is the reliance on untrained people. Such people cannot do justice to the concept of education. The best they can do is indoctrinate the students, without helping them to think discriminatively about and evaluate the information that is passed on to them. Moreover, the idea of dividing students into groups according to their religions and teaching the groups beliefs which disagree about the "truth" — a situation where each group emphasises that it is the "truth" and others'

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beliefs are false — can be a very dangerous and divisive activity in society. Thus, this option is not only educationally untenable but also socially unacceptable.

We now turn to the fourth option which, in the researcher's view, is the only choice that will be educationally useful, viable and desirable for Ghana's pluralistic society. It is the form of Religious Education which will treat all religions present in society equally; that is, without favour of fear. It will also give all their beliefs equal status by regarding them as neither true nor false. That is, it will take no sides. On the other hand, this kind of Religious Education will recognise all religious beliefs as being of value and providing a useful basis for living for those who hold them to be true. It will also recognise the fact that all beliefs influence the lives of those who hold them to be true. This mature and objective attitude to religion will render the choice of only one religion or of a compromise among religions null and void and, accordingly, irrelevant.

Let us now address ourselves to the details of how this kind of Religious Education, which we have called 'Religious and Moral Education' (RME), will work. First of all, we wish to reiterate that this form of Religious Education will, in the first place, treat all religions equally, regarding them as neither true nor false but recognising that they all have something of value which they offer to those who hold them to be true.

This type of Religious Education will also recognise the fact that every religion (its beliefs, etc.) affects the feelings of adherents and determines and influences their choices, decisions and conduct. This form of Religious Education, therefore, will make it possible for those teaching Religious Education to look at all the religions (their beliefs etc.) and how they influence those who believe them to be true. This will be done with the sole educational purpose of helping students to understand the beliefs and other aspects of religions. There will be no fear of inducting the students into any of the

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beliefs unless the students themselves decide, on their own initiative and on logical criteria, to adopt them.

In this form of Religious Education, it will be possible to look at the deepest beliefs of the religions and their most conflicting ones. This approach will enable pupils to enter into the heart of religions in order to examine and understand them without any fear at all. This is what the compromise or agreed syllabuses are unable to do. The Educational Religious Education is unlike "Compromise or Agreed" Religious Education which looks only at the peripheral areas of the religion being studied and shies away from the deepest but controversial areas.

Moreover, because it will remain neutral about whether the religions are true or false, Religious and Moral Education will reject the traditional role of making students religious and giving them religious nurture ---- a job which would have to be left to the churches or religions themselves. Its main concern, therefore, would have to be the understanding of the general concept of religion and to develop students' potential of religious sensitivity. And the various religions will serve as sources of examples to demonstrate the attempt to understand the idea of religion. This is the option that the researcher thinks, if implemented, will, to a large extent, help solve some of the problems associated with a pluralistic religious society such as Ghana.

The above four clearly distinct options of approaches at the disposal of the Ghanaian society – options from which we can choose for peaceful coexistence.— is reason enough for Bishop Bowers for adopting the policy of not basing admissions on religious affiliation of the student in any of the education institutions he established in the Accra diocese.

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3.5 Political Independence of the Gold Coast

According to Allman, the nationalists were granted control over the colony's internal affairs in 1951 but stopped short of full independence. Two elections in 1954 and 1956 paved the way for the Gold Coast to emerge as the independent nation of Ghana in 1957.[154]

In his contribution to the debate on Church/State relationship, Hayford has commented that in the Church/State schools, Jesus was portrayed as a critique of injustice and was crucified as a dissenter who held onto his convictions. Therefore, Jesus became the role model for the nationalists. They were of the view that if Jesus Christ died for fighting against social injustice and religious fundamentalism of the chief priests and Pharisees, they must do the same. They gave subjective interpretations to Psalm 68:32: "Let bronze be brought from Egypt; let Ethiopia hasten to stretch out her hands to God", as God accepting Africans without any human intermediary like the colonial masters. Secondly, they saw God as the Creator of all human beings, which qualifies them as members of the family of God who were all equal in both domestic and world affairs. They drew the conclusion that it was unbiblical for Western missionaries to insist that they (Africans) obey British authority and promote White superiority.[155]

Kwame Bediako has observed that some of the above colonial Christian teachings benefited the Gold Coast nationalists, who were products of Church/State schools. They derived their inspiration from Christian doctrines and later became doctors, lawyers and teachers with anti-colonial ideologies. That was the after effect of the insistence on

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[154] On the reasons for the multiple elections, see Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine.*
[154] Bediako, *Jesus in Africa*, 97.
[155] Caseley Hayford, *The Truth About West African Land Question*, Second Edition (London: Frank and Cass Company, 1971), 101-2.

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reading the Bible without exegesis in the Church/State schools. Unintentionally, the mission schools were turning out anti-colonial radical thinkers who sought freedom from British domination.[154] One such product was Kwame Nkrumah, who had been at the St Teresa's Minor Seminary, Amisano, for his secondary education. He later furthered his education in America and Britain, at a time when the Blacks were engaged in civil rights struggles. On his return to the Gold Coast, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), an anti-colonial organisation, hired him as its secretary. [156]

The UGCC had two main agenda: abolish colonialism and establish a post-colonial society. The leadership of the Convention People's Party (CPP) made pragmatic use of religion to advance its agenda and undermine British rule to legitimise the party. The CPP mobilised the masses against British domination by making use of the Christian religious culture. After testing the waters, it found out that the effectiveness of Western missionaries in the Gold Coast for almost two centuries was tied to the Christian theological terminology as the common parlance among the masses.[157]

Consequently, the CPP government portrayed Nkrumah as a political Messiah and the party as God's arms of deliverance, capitalising on the popularity of religion and Christianity among the people. The CPP deified their leader by the mass media identifying him with Christ. The party's supporters were to consider themselves as the

[156] Lugard, "The Dual Mandate," 317-8.
[157] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: T.H. Nelson Publishers, 1957), 44-5. See Id., *Dark Days in Ghana* (New York: International Publishers, 1969) 28.

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disciples of Christ who would be persecuted. In addition, Nkrumah was identified with the ordinary people, with a humble background, poor parents as Christ and coming from an insignificant town, *Nkroful*, in the Western Region.[158]

Since the party members were indoctrinated to see their party as the arms of God, any work performed on behalf of the party was tantamount to serving God. Recognition from the party was portrayed as receiving praise from God. In this era, Christianity exercised a strong influence on majority of the populace in every aspect of their lives. That impacted on the worldview and affected decision making of the educated and un-educated, the Christian and the non-Christian, the rich and the poor and the young and the old. The CPP capitalised on this cultural-religious phenomenon by taking Christianity as an instrument of propaganda by adapting its language, imagery and symbolism to validate its leadership and popularise its message.

For example, with Nkrumah's incarceration in 1950 by the colonial government, the ideology of the CPP gained ground. The CPP, in the *Evening News* of January 17 of that same year, published a politicised and popularised version of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:1-12) and the Our Father to gain the support of the masses:

> Blessed are they who are imprisoned for self-government's sake/ for theirs is the freedom of the land. / Blessed are ye, when men shall vilify you and persecute you, and say all kinds of evil against you/ for Convention People's Party sake. / Blessed are they who hunger and thirst because of self-government, / for they shall be satisfied…./ Blessed are the parents whose children are political leaders ,/ for they shall be thanked. / Blessed are they who took part in Positive Action, /for they shall have better rewards./ Blessed are they who now love CPP, / for they shall be leaders in the years

[158] Pobee, *Religion and Politics in Ghana*, 125.

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> to come. / Blessed are they who cry for self-government, / for their voice shall be heard.[159]

The relative political interpretation of sacred scriptures might have had an immediate negative effect on the citizens in the era under investigation. But its remote effect is still with us, since most of the youth were forced to join the *Ghana Young Pioneers* and were permeated with the ideologies of the CPP. For instance, in the *Evening News* of October 23, 1961, Nkrumah was "eulogised as the Messiah. At every morning assembly, pupils were to recite the pledge, which depicted *Nkrumah as the Messiah.* Today, most of these people occupy responsible positions and see only the acquisition of wealth as a fulfilment of life.

Despite the propaganda, the government faced difficulties and was on the verge of collapse. Tignor and Lewis have argued that the CPP government, faced with a persistent battle to maintain a unitary state against federalist opponents, had no option but to strategise by eliminating its political dissenters to consolidate its power. To achieve its aim, it initiated different strategies. In 1958, the government implemented the Preventive Detention Act, which empowered it to arrest and detain political opponents without trial.[160] The CPP also co-opted and absorbed labour unions and producers' associations. The 1958 Industrial Relations Act created 24 official unions and subordinated them to the party. As part of the deal, the CPP also banned strikes.

An amendment in 1959 solidified CPP's control by prohibiting any unions outside the

[159] Atukwei Okai, *Evening News*, January, 17 politicized version of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:1-12).
[160] Robert W. Tignor and Arthur Lewis, *Birth of Development Economics* (Princeton: University Press, 2006), 151.

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TUC.[161] Along with the unions, the CPP absorbed the Farmers' Council and numerous mass organisations, including women and youth groups, and producer cooperatives.

"Eventually, membership of such organisations became simply membership of the CPP."[162] By 1960, Parliament had become the sole instrument of the CPP, and the party reorganised local government boundaries to take over regional and village politics. In 1962, Nkrumah declared formally that village-level or grass-roots organisations, including those led by chiefs, would be absorbed into the CPP.[163]

3.6 Economic Situation

The colonial era, from 1953 to1956, was marked by phases of a slow maturing system of trade, which was composed of the import and export of goods and services. That system of trade marked the transition from relative isolated autonomy to full integration into and dependence on the international economy in the Gold Coast. Economically, the partitioning of the African continent among the European countries initiated and reinforced this system of trade by which the productive capacity of the region south of the Sahara was linked to the needs and demands of the Western industrial economy.[164]

The emergence of new political and administrative units on the African continent brought in colonial investment in transport and other infrastructural projects and the influx of foreign businesses. Thus, new economic structures were superimposed upon the existing indigenous ones. Such foreign administrative structures were largely under the control of African aliens and expatriates living in the Gold Coast. Nevertheless, the

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[161] Tignor and Lewis, *Birth of Development Economics*, 101.

[162] Douglas Rimmer, *Staying Poor: Ghana's Political Economy, 1950-1990* (New York: Pergamon, 1992), 69-70.

[163] Kwame Nkrumah, "Address at the First Seminar at Winneba Ideological Institute, 3 February 1962," in *K. Nkrumah Revolutionary Path*, ed. Kwame Nkrumah (New York: Internal Publishers, 1973), 178. See Tignor and Lewis, *Birth of Development*, 4-6.

[164] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 14.

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fundamental issue that underlies trade imbalances on the African continent was export and import oriented, where the prices of imported goods and services far exceeded those exported.

In the Gold Coast, when decolonisation took place between 1950 and early 1960, development was still measured more in terms of trade than human development. There was very little the indigenes could do to improve the existing administrative structure, which had undergone half a century of internal evolution and interaction with the Western industrial economy. Hence, the commercial activities of the colonial masters and their alliance did much less to ameliorate the living standards of the natives.

The goals and policies of the colonial administration were to put restrictions on private production and consumption in order to create public investment, which favoured more the established order than the emergent local business by the indigenous traders. Again, the colonial regime made its influence on wage-bargaining felt. It controlled employment and attempted to divert and alter the traditional land tenure system. It continued to rely more on expatriate civil servants in the large colonial state apparatus and, above all, its underlying value system was permeated with racism and more bias against the indigenes than Europeans, some without the necessary qualifications and businesses in the distribution of earnings and incomes.[165]

The above structured economic systems, which were beneficial to the established order, needed restructuring after independence. Eventually, that economy produced a small privileged class of elites who formed the embryonic bourgeoisie such as professionals,

[165] Killick, *Development Economics of Africa,* 44-45.

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teachers, lawyers and wealthier farmers who were more commercially oriented. That high class of the society set and propelled the process of decolonisation.

However, the colonial administration's acceptance of the decolonisation of the economy was tantamount to its acknowledgement of the shortfalls of certain elements in the colonial economy which had enjoyed the support and patronage of the State in the past. Those colonial personnel would become redundant or expandable and would have to be replaced at some point by native Africans who would aspire to assume their roles but did not have the expertise to do so. The decolonisation of the economy suggested why there was capital outflow from colonial Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a result of repatriated savings of expatriates to the country of origin.[166]

Meanwhile, the larger, metropolitan-based businesses in Accra and in the Gold Coast, for example, or international firms engaged in commerce, plantations, mining and manufacturing did not see the African's goal of taking over positions of influence as a threat, since the Africans lacked the investment of large sums of money to venture into such business enterprises. To take over such giant enterprises would require considerable financial resources, a level of technical knowledge and managerial skills to compete with the international business network.

Therefore, those big businesses had a commanding advantage in the local economy, even in the face of decolonisation. That put them on a higher pedestal to negotiate terms with the incoming African governments. In conclusion, most of them survived the transition from the late colonial era to the post-colonial period of the African economic

[166] Killick, *Development Economics of Africa*, 44-45.

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history, although with modifications in their methods of operation and in their relationship with the state.

Inevitably, all stakeholders in the 'big businesses' and officials of some African governments, notably Ghana, were brought to the negotiating table for dialogue. Once the assurance was given for protection by successive and relatively complaisant governments, the government was won over by the 'big businesses.' The question is whether we accept this 'conspiracy theory' of decolonisation with this prejudice about the motives of the colonial merchants. Who wielded economic power? The African political elites? The fact remains that the ex-colonies of sub-Saharan Africa passed into the 1960s with economic power highly concentrated in the hands of the State and local representatives of international interests.

In his contribution to the debate on Ghana's economic plans, Nugent has also noted that in 1957, when Ghana obtained full independence from Britain, it inherited a 10-year development plan which was drawn by the colonial governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke. The first five years, 1951 to 1956, allocated most of the budget to infrastructure and social services (39 per cent each), with only nine per cent allocated to the 'productive sector' of the economy.[167]

According to Nugent, after a two-year consolidation period, the Ghana government launched the Second Development Plan in 1959. The emphasis on infrastructure and social services was carried over from 1951, with 80 per cent of the budget of the Second Plan allocated to the non-productive sector of the economy.[168]

[167] Paul Nugent, *African Since Independence: A Comparative History* (New York: Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2004), 169.
[168] Ibid., 27-29; 169.

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In analysing this approach of prioritised social overhead capital (SOC), which included health and education, as well as infrastructure, Killick has concluded that the Ghana government was of the conviction that that would induce the growth of direct productive activities (DPA). Additionally, Killick has argued that the funds earmarked for DPA in the 1950s targeted agricultural development rather than industrialisation, as recommended by economic advisors, notably Lewis.[169]

In the implementation of the Second Development Plan in 1959, the Ghana government was optimistic about national development as recorded in one of the dawn broadcasts to the nation: 'Fellow countrymen and women…let us build not only for ourselves but for future generations a brighter Ghana which will be an inspiration and shining example to all Africa.'[170]

Evaluating the failure of the economic plans, Fitch and Oppenheimer have commented that Ghana's optimism did not last long. Although the 1951 and the 1959 plans produced respectable economic growth of five per cent that year, the returns failed to balance the budget. As a result, spending under the Second Development Plan far exceeded income and produced a deficit of £53 million or 12 per cent of the Gross National Product (GNP) by 1961.[171] Some Ghanaians and members of the opposition party capitalised on the poor economic performance and growing budget deficit to call for change.

[169] Killick, *Development Economics of Africa*, 44-5.
[170] Kwame Nkrumah, "Broadcast on the Eve of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1 July, 1959," *I Speak of Freedom* (London: Sedbooks, 1961), 174.
[171] Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, *Ghana: An End of an Illusion* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966), 90-91.

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Rimmer has argued that it was under that unstable political structure that Ghana abandoned the Second Development Plan in 1961 and began putting in place a new Seven-Year Plan as a basis for aggressive economic growth.

The new plan rejected Lewis' emphasis on agricultural development in favour of rapid industrialisation based on Ghana's supply of cheap labour. Influenced by development economics, the government decided that Ghana needed a big push towards industrialisation. The close fit between Ghana's vision and that of the development economists was illustrated by a conference held in April 1963 to discuss the Seven-Year Plan.[172] At the conference, majority of the attendees objected to the proposed plan.

By that time, Ghana had become a corporatist, *de facto* one-party state with the ideology of the CPP. For the CPP, rapid industrialisation was necessary in order to break with the poverty-inducing colonial past economic growth through the export of primary products. Although social services such as health, education and infrastructure remained important, the Seven-Year Development Plan reduced their share of the budget from 90 to 63 per cent, while increasing productive expenditure from 10 to 37 per cent. Social services declined at a lower rate than infrastructure (42 to 32 per cent, compared to 46 to 26 per cent) and the dollar amount increased due to the increase in the budget as a whole.[173]

The leading development economists, Hirschman, Kaldor and Seers, who had convened at a conference sponsored by the World Bank in Ghana in March 1963 to discuss the

[172] Rimmer, *Staying Poor*, 86; Tignor and Lewi, *Birth of Development,* 187-9.
[173] Kwame Nkrumah, "Seven-Year Development Plan: A Brief Outline*:* Government of Ghana, Office of the Planning Commission 1963," 27; GH, PRAAD, RG3, 3, 90 National Archives of Ghana, Accra. See Killick, *Development Economics,* 53-4. See, Rimmer, *Staying Poor,* 85-6; Nugent, *African Since Idependence*,170.

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draft Seven-Year Development Plan, rejected the primacy of agriculture and argued instead that the government could industrialise quickly by raising capital inflows into centrally controlled Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI). Rather, those experts endorsed the idea of a big push, but the plan's architect, Mensah, was sharply criticised for overestimating the country's potential for raising large amounts of capital extremely quickly. Just before the conference, the World Bank suggested an investment figure, a minimum of £450 million. At the conference, Mensah provided a budget in support of his plan and further presented a figure of £840 million, which he later augmented to £1 billion.[174]

For Tignor and Omari, the optimism over capital formation and rapid industrialisation reflected in the fact that the CPP government was "always in a hurry".[175] In fact, as early as 1957, they observed: "What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve, a once-dependent country must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive. Unless, as it were, "jet-propelled", it will lag behind and thus risk everything for which it had fought."[176] This meant that Ghana's supposed socialist programme did not emphasise "universalist aspirations towards human equality" but rather 'the fastest means of catching up with the developed world.[177] By 1961, this vision was being enforced.

Commenting on the economic plans of the government, Smertin has noted that it is important to know that the government strove to achieve socialism by means of the 'evolutionary path' of augmenting economic growth, rather than the method of socialist

[174] Tignor and Lewis, *Birth of Development*, 186-9.
[175] Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah*, 100.
[176] Ibid., xv-xvi.
[177] Nugent, *Africa since Independence*, 168.

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transformation of the economy or property-related issues.[178] John Tettegah, the TUC's General Secretary in the era under investigation, stated in 1962; "We will bring about our economic independence by the transformation of our entire national economy."[179]

A similar comment was made by J. H. Mensah, who was the Chairman of the National Economic Planning Commission. His reason for doing so was that Ghana had not yet built capacity for productivity. He emphasised socialism, not *Africanisation,* in Ghana, with the rearrangement of the ownership of the means of production. The central concern must be with the building up of the nation's productive assets.[179] The leadership of the government expressed the same idea in 1959 when it stated: "It is only from the surpluses of increased productivity that a higher standard of living for the whole nation can be achieved."[180] Thus, with the Seven-Year Development Plan, the government envisioned the development of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in some sectors, existing alongside joint public/private partnerships, as well as fully private companies.[181] It might have been the government's hope that "eventually, the state sector will eliminate the private sector through efficiency and productivity, rather than revolutionary struggle."[182]

On the disability programme, Killick has contended that the apparent welfare spending on disability programmes under the Seven-Year Plan was, in fact, meant to increase national productivity by reintegrating disabled Ghanaians into the workforce.[183] In

[178] Yuri Smertin, *Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 103.
[179] Fitch and Oppenheimer, *Ghana: An End of an Illusion,* 104-5.
[180] Nkrumah, "Broadcast on the Eve of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1 July 1950," 170.
[181] Nkrumah, "Extract from the Dawn Broadcast, 8 April, 1961,"154.
[182] Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path,* 182; see Fitch and Oppenheimer, *Ghana End of an Illusion,* 113.
[183] Killick, *Development Economics,* 173-4

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effect, the welfare policy reflected the increased focus on the growth of Direct Productivity Activities (DPA) in the Seven-Year Plan.

Analysing the Seven-Year Development Plan, Rimmer has noted that it was the work of a team of young radicals in the early 1960s. Two years later (1962), Adamafio was full of expectation for the success of the plan by announcing the programme for Work and Happiness, which signalled a budgetary shift towards productive activities. The government finally and officially launched the plan in 1964, the same year that Ghana officially became a one-party state.[184]

Contributions from Omari, Nugent and Omaboe have emphasised that to achieve the Work and Happiness programme, the government needed to employ 1,100,000 new workers by 1970.[185] Additionally, Fitch, Oppenheimer and Herbst have argued that that working force would be tasked simultaneously to develop industry and modernise agriculture. There was another strategy to keep wages low by taking control of the TUC. Also, doing that gave the government the freedom to have access to accumulated compulsory savings through tax deductions at source. Low wages and accumulated savings would propel a self-reinforcing process of ISI. If the process became successful, Ghana would emerge as an economic power at par with the West and a leading nation in the Pan-Africanist movement.[186]

To realise that programme, the government needed to make use of rhetoric to convince Ghanaians to actively participate in a national development plan on the theme: 'Work

[184] Rimmer, *Staying Poor*, 71
[185] Nkrumah, "Ghana: Seven-Year Development Plan." See, Omari. *Kwame Nkrumah*, 103 and Nugent, *African Since Independence*, 171; E. N. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning," in W. Birminham and I. Neustadt, *Study of Contemporary Ghana* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1966), 1: 453.
[186] Fitch and Oppenheimer, *Ghana: An End to Illusion*, 102. See Jeffrey I. Herbst, *The Politics of Reform in Ghana, 1982-1991* (Berkley: Monthly Review Press, 1993), 20.

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and Happiness.' Hadjor has stated that to that end, the leadership of the party embedded rhetoric in terms of citizens with rights, obligations and responsibilities, including the need for individual sacrifice 'in the interest of the nation.'[187]

The government's campaign routinely emphasised loyalty, sometimes taking on military tones, as in the 1959 broadcast introducing the Second Development Plan:

> If this campaign is to succeed, it will require an all-out effort from every man and woman living throughout the length and breadth of the land. You, the farmers, the fishermen, the masons, the lawyers, the doctors, the labourers, the businessmen, the engineers, the architects, the traders, the teachers, the students, the whole people of Ghana, whatever your occupation or status, have a vitally important part to play in making this campaign a resounding success. You are the troops who will make the assault and sustain it through the next five years and who will, in the end, break through and, to a wider and fuller life for our nation… Chiefs and people, fellow men and women of Ghana; …make your maximum contribution to this concerted assault on national poverty, disease and ignorance. Tomorrow the battle will be joined. We move into the attack. If every soldier in this fight does his duty well and truly, victory is assured.[188]

The CPP government reiterated the above military metaphor in a 1961 dawn broadcast, referring to 'the unknown warriors — dedicated men and women who serve the party loyally and selflessly without hoping for reward.'[189189]

The party's leadership message was unequivocally on point, commanding dedication, obedience and development and happiness as surety. These ideologies permeated the government's campaign between 1959 and 1964. At the opening of Parliament in 1960,

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[187] Kofi Buenor Hadjor, *Nkrumah and Ghana* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990): "Nkrumah's speech routinely emphasized loyalty, sometimes taking military hues as in his 1959 broadcast introducing the Second Development Plan."
[188] Nkrumah, "Broadcast on the Eve of the Second Five-Year Development Plan, 1 July, 1959," 169.
[189] Nkrumah, "Extract from the Dawn Broadcast," 157-8.

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the government promised that the CPP would help Ghanaians live 'fuller' and 'richer' lives and also emphasised 'usefulness' by being loyal and hardworking, which brings happiness, and the conscientious application of their talents to the nation.[190] At the Winneba Ideological School in 1962, the CPP government, under the leadership of Nkrumah, emphasised discipline, stating that 'the whole nation, from the President downwards, will form one regiment of disciplined citizens. In this way, we shall move forward with great confidence, stepping ahead ever more firmly, with a keen sense of purpose and direction.'[191]

It was, therefore, not surprising, that the government emphasised those views in its statements about the programme for Work and Happiness and the Seven-Year Development Plan. For example, in a broadcast in May 1962, it declared that "… beyond all doubt Ghana and Ghanaians will travel full steam ahead, conscious of their responsibilities and fully aware that the materialisation of this bright picture of the future is entirely dependent on their active and energetic industry."[192]

3.7 Socio-Cultural Milieu

One of the major goals of the social project in that era was termed Work and Happiness, which was meant to mechanise agriculture for economic growth. The success of those goals would lie in the programme which sought to integrate disabled Ghanaians into the working forces as productive wage earners. That was the inspiration the government borrowed from the British programme called "*Social Orthopaedics",* which was one of the aftereffects of the Second World War for disabled soldiers. That model project sought to provide disabled soldiers with skills to become productive and wage earners

[190] Nkrumah, "Speech at the Opening of Parliament, 4 July 1960," 240.
[191] Nkrumah, "Address at the First Seminar at the Winneba Ideological Institute," 176.
[192] Ibid.

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for a happy life. The social nature of that programme lay in the fact that it defined social citizens through participation in the labour market. Therefore, to qualify as a full and happy citizen, one must be a productive worker.

That project was soon faced with some obstacles to the development plan. Even though Ghana's labour force far exceeded what it needed in 1960, the nation faced a shortage of skilled labour. It was not an isolated case for Ghana; it was the prevailing situation during the post-war era in most Western countries, notably Britain. Therefore, Ghana's rehabilitation project for disabled veteran soldiers was more about economic growth for the happiness of the Ghanaian than welfare or charity. That economic bias, which is supposed to guarantee a happy life, though very important in many respects, also raised serious issues about the form of social citizenship and the rights of Ghana's disabled citizens to state-sponsored welfare.

In view of Ghana's inability to implement the plan, it was compelled to withdraw government-sponsored rehabilitation of social services. That coincided with the emergence of the colonial policy of community development. By design, that policy focused on the rural areas by protecting African communities from the disintegrating effect of individualism perceived to flow from the development of wage labour.

The aim of the community development policy was to modernise the social welfare system by absorbing the educated elite at the grass roots. But the goal of protecting African communities against the rapid emergence of capitalist-related issues remained intact. For example, in 1955, some experts on community development were emphatic on the need to protect traditional social structures that bound individuals to the rules of their clans or lineages.

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This project sought to protect peasant production in order to limit the drift into urban wage employment, which could lead to social unrest and unhappiness caused by labour protests. The colonial officials had referred to the transformation of peasants into workers as detribalisation. The vision to transform the disabled into wage labourers, that is, the *Social Orthopaedics* model of the 1940s, therefore, stood outside the colonial policy of community development, which formed the basis for happiness in the Ghanaian context.

On the contrary, the above vision did not strongly support the preservation of traditional social structures as the basis for happiness. When an investigation was conducted and the result showed that there was disability in Ghana, the government did not hesitate to put economic rehabilitation back on the national agenda. In that way, the CPP government widened the definition of community development to include disability initiatives, in the interest of expanding Ghana's supply of happy skilled labour.

3.8 Conclusion

The above survey provides the political, geographical and demographical setting and the religious, political, economic and socio-cultural scenario of the transition from the colonial government of the Gold Coast to Independent Ghana. The Catholic Church, though apolitical, participated in the emancipation and provision of appropriate infrastructural, religious and social needs towards holistic human development. First, the nationalist government of the CPP, led by Nkrumah, had called for *Africanisation* and the replacement of expatriates in high public offices. That meant the appointment of an indigene, as soon as possible, at least, as a stop gap between the colonial government, the post-colonial government and the Catholic Church.

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Secondly, the immediate post-colonial government had wrongly indoctrinated Christians, particularly the youth, who were known as the 'Ghana Young Pioneers', on certain Christian theological truths in the schools and that needed the attention of the Church to re-orientate the youth to the right Christian doctrinal truths and virtues. In addition, the colonial society was largely illiterate, and the Catholic Church felt obliged to respond to that need. Thirdly, social welfare for the physically challenged, old and sick citizens needed attention, but the post-colonial government lacked the funds due to the deficit budget.

In the circumstance where the overwhelming health needs and demand for education and health care far exceeded what the government could supply, Bishop Bowers sought to provide those facilities to promote integral human development.

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CHAPTER FOUR

BOWERS AND EDUCATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates education as one of the two pillars for integral human development to alleviate poverty and ignorance in the Accra Diocese under Bishop Bowers. It defines education and explains it, pointing out the indispensability of education in integral human development. Furthermore, it highlights the historical overview of formal and informal education in the Gold Coast: the colonial system of education and the implementation of the accelerated education development plan in Ghana after independence. The study discusses the patriotism of the Ghana Young Pioneers and voluntary agencies. The chapter concludes with a summary of Bishop Bowers' views and his contribution to education in the Accra Diocese and Ghana at large.

4.2 Education and Human Development

Education is the basis for development in every society. The Catholic Church has, over the centuries, emphasised this in various documents and its teachings.[193] For example, *Gravissimum Educationis,* a document of the Second Vatican Council, states: "All men of whatever race, condition or age, in virtue of their dignity as human persons, have an inalienable right to education."[194] It further explains that education should be appropriate to the actual destiny of the human persons and be adapted to their aptitudes, sex and traditions to foster true unity and peace in the world. Therefore, true education should promote the development of the human person and society.[195]

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[193] Vatican Council II, "Gravissimum Educationis: Declaration on Christian Education," *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed. Flannery (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1992), no. 1.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.

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Accordingly, this same document has stated that "…children and young people should be helped to develop harmoniously their physical, moral and intellectual qualities".[196] In effect, the Catholic Church subscribes to scientific methods of education and instructions.[197]

Thus, the documents of the Second Vatican Council on holistic education in the integral human development speak of "integral education as education which responds to all the needs of the human person."[198] The instrument of instruction should be designed to intentionally direct to the growth of the whole person with the aim to develop, gradually, every capability of each student: the intellectual, psychological, moral, cultural and religious dimensions. Hence, the Church establishes schools because they are privileged places which foster the formation and transformation of the whole person to be conscious of his or her dignity and the needs of others and his or her responsibility towards all peoples. Such education requires the interpersonal relationship and mutual cooperation between the educator, whose life is a witness to a living encounter with Christ, and the student, who is inspired and encouraged by the witness of life of the educator.

Since a Catholic school exists to promote holistic education, it is constantly inspired and guided by the Gospel of Christ and His person, from whom "it (school) derives all the energy necessary for its educational work". Holistic education assumes the premise

[196] Vatican Council II, "Gravissimum Educationis," no. 1.

[197] Leona F. Tyler, *The Work of the Counsellor* (New York: Appleton-Century-Craft, 1961). Vatican II, "Gravissimum Educationis," nn. 3 and 10. Consequently, some scholars, among others, Tyler, have argued that educators are to be more precise in their language, since in Taxonomy is rooted in the ideas that all words in a scientific system should be defined in terms of observable events and that educational objectives should be defined operationally in terms of performance or outcomes. This method of formulating objectives can be used for writing objectives at the programme and course levels. By adding specific content, the objectives can be used at classroom level, including the lesson plan level.

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that "virtue can be taught."[198] This would lead to integral human formation, that is, forming individuals to achieve their full potential for the good of themselves and their fellow human beings. A person so formed will influence and affect the country according to the formation or education he or she has received.

Additionally, integral development is related to holistic education, as integral and holistic refer to the same reality - the totality of a certain subject, in this case, the human person. Thus, holistic and integral indicate both the interior and the exterior sides of the human person, which could be summed up as the physical, psychological, emotional, social, political, economic, moral and intellectual/spiritual. Furthermore, development is defined as growth, progress, improvement and/or advancement.

Integral development is all-round advancement or growth of a people. The development of a country ensues when its people bring their experiences, in the formal and the informal educational sectors, to bear on the historical development of their country to promote the welfare of the citizens in all spheres of their lives. Consequently, every aspect of the country then grows for the benefit of each citizen, leading them to put at the disposal of the country their qualities, attitudes, aptitude, abilities and capabilities to promote the development of the country. It is these traits of the people that determine the rate and quality of development of a country. The development would be reflected in the communities and the populace. In conclusion, the integral development of a nation, to a large extent, is dependent on the holistic and integral education of the populace.

[198] J. Faarrant, Pr*inciples and Practice of Education* (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd., 1980), 8.

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4.3 Historical Overview of Catholic Education in the Gold Coast

In view of the above reviewed literature, the historical overview of Catholic education in the Gold Coast will be examined. According to Elsbernd, until 1850, the development of education in the Gold Coast was entirely in the hands of the missionaries. The government took interest in education only from 1850 onwards. [199] Governor Stephen Hill was the first to pass an educational ordinance to provide for a better system of education that would meet the needs of the people of the then Gold Coast. In 1882, Governor Rowe also passed another ordinance for the promotion and assistance of education in the Gold Coast. That ordinance included such provisions as: establishing a general board to serve both the Gold Coast and Nigeria, the establishment of local boards to administer grants and the appointment of an inspector of schools.[200]

The recommendations and implementation of the 1920 Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies, as well as the advocacy for the establishment of secondary schools with higher standards, led to the establishment of additional mission schools in the Gold Coast.[201] Notably, the two best secondary schools in existence were in Cape Coast: Mfantsipim, established in 1909, was the amalgamated former Wesleyan schools of the Fanti cloistered public schools, and Adisadel, an Anglican school founded in 1910. Both schools were enlisted as 'assisted' to raise their standards.

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[199] "The History of Education in the Gold Coast Ghana, 1957-1961: The Mission Schools," file GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1,2, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, "By the time the British West Africa government and Colonial office began to consider what they might do about schools, the picture had changed completely from what it had been in 1852. Diseases had opposed and almost crushed the early effort of the Basel Mission, who had entered the country in1880, and the Wesleyans, who had come in 1835. But by 1880 they had opened a total of 128 schools, while Bremen (North German) had four schools, one at Accra and the original one at Cape Coast." See Elsbernd, *Story of the Church in the Accra Diocese*, 16.

[200] Rev. Sunter became the first Inspector of schools in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia.

[201] "The History of Education in the Gold Coast Ghana, 1957-1961: The Mission Schools," file GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1,2, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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When the issue of secondary school was raised, the 1920 Advisory Committee on Education recommended that the schools be government assisted. The argument was that the government alone was in a better position to provide sufficient funds for buildings, staffing and other needs. The outcome of that recommendation led to the establishment of Achimota College. However, that move had its critics who argued that the education being provided at Achimota College was too local or substandard in nature and was an attempt by the government to give inferior education to native children. However, the presence of Aggrey,[202] who was a native on the teaching staff and doubled as vice-principal to Fraser, who was the principal appointed by the colonial government, contributed to solving the educational impasse.[203]

As a first step to finding a solution to the impasse and the implementation of Guggisberg's third principle, Achimota became a provisional university towards the end of the 1920s. It prepared students to write the external examinations in degree courses, including engineering, with certificates awarded by the University of London.[204] Additionally, the 16th principle of Guggisberg was the provision of trade schools with technical and literary education. That was to train young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens. As a result, four government trade schools were established in 1922 with branches in Kibi, Asuansi, Mampong and Yendi, but the one at Yendi was moved to Tamale.[205]

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[202] Donald Simpson, "African Affairs Aggrey and Fraser: Unique Photograph", *African Affairs* 94 n. 374 (1995) 87-89.
[203] "History of Education in the Gold Coast Ghana, 1931-1952: Report on Achimota College," file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 152, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana.
[204] Ibid.
[205] "History of Education in the Gold Coast Ghana, 1931-1952."

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Though Guggisberg was instrumental in promoting education in the Gold Coast, early educational efforts in Ghana were largely the result of mission enterprise.[206] During the 19th century, many missionary societies established schools, first along the coast and then in the interior regions.[207]

The Catholic Church, in the light of the principle of universal distribution of goods in its Social Teaching, participated actively in the advocacy to establish secondary schools in the country. Elsbernd reports that some Catholic lay faithful protested against Bishop Hauger in demand for higher Catholic education from the Church and the State.[208] A Vatican delegation led by Hinsley (later Cardinal) to English-speaking West African colonies, with a special mandate to investigate and promote higher Catholic education, was sent to investigate the case in 1929. On their recommendation, a seminary and teaching training college was established in 1930.[210] Several religious congregations in Europe were approached, including the Society of Divine Word Missionaries (SVD), but all declined, having no English-speaking personnel to spare. However, the Irish province of the SMA accepted and sent Fr Kelly, who was already in the field at Amisano. But the project was delayed due to lack of funds for the construction of the building complex.[209]

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[206] D. G. Scoulon, ed., *Education in Ghana* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 171.
[207] "The 1887 Educational Ordinance, viii-ix," file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 3, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana. "Governor Baker had envisaged a West African University with consistent colleges in Sierra Leon, Ghana and Nigeria. The college in Accra was but a small beginning, in his mind, of great education scheme which would give to Africans a full and adequate place in scholarship of the world. But he added, "It must be recognized that the best attempts of the white man to educate the Negro on the Coast will only be a makeshift until some Booker Washington arises, who, having a grasp of fundamental principles underlying the growth of education in Europe is able to adopt them to the needs of his own people."
[208] Elsbernd, *Story of the Catholic Church,* 27.
[210] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.

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On his maiden canonical working visit to the Gold Cost in 1929, Bishop Hinsley noted with concern that the Eastern province of the Cape Coast Vicariate had been neglected and that there was no Catholic school: not even in Accra, the capital of the land. He called the Bishop's attention to that neglect, and in January 1930, priests in Accra were permitted to open Class One at the St. Joseph Catholic School at Adabraka as the first school in the then Accra Vicariate.

4.3.1 Colonial System of Education in the Gold Coast

In every nation, it is an undeniable fact that the tool for any meaningful national development is education. To realise this ideal, the government of the Gold Coast introduced accelerated educational reform in 1955. The reason for the educational reform programme in Ghana was in line with the international changes taking place in education and its relevant role to society. Over the years, the educational system in the Gold Coast had been that schoolchildren were being educated for life, which did not relate to the rural communities where most people lived.

The assets that the Gold Coast can bequeath her youth is education but if she continued with that system of education, it would be creating more problems for society by producing an ever-increasing army of frustrated school leavers who had been handicapped by the elitist type of education the country had been practising. It had, therefore, become necessary to fashion a model of equipping the great majority of Ghanaians with flexible and versatile skills, which would assist them in adapting to further training and a changing work situation.

Firstly, to find a suitable system of education, this study would like to have recourse to the past in order to clarify the present.

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The free primary education in 1952 led to rapid numerical growth in schools.[210] The usual type of school consisted of six grades and smaller rural schools with fewer streams, which over the years grew over to a complete course. The rate at which schools were expanding made staffing with teachers problematic. From January 1954, head teachers were required to be full-time classroom teachers, so that a fully developed single-stream primary school was permitted to have only six teachers in all. The size of a class was fixed at 46 pupils. When classes were combined, the total enrolment should not exceed 46 for a trained teacher and 36 for a pupil teacher. Village schools were usually co-educational, but some of the larger primary schools in towns were non co-educational.[211]

A four-year middle school system emerged to replace the 'Senior Primary' which was in place before 1952. But the senior primary schools still served as a bridge to the secondary schools and also provided a course of practical training for children who did not intend pursuing their education further. Depending on the locality, a middle school might have one, two, three or four courses. The curriculum had a bias towards agriculture, domestic science and arts and crafts of local importance.[212]

Unfortunately, the education of the youth was not given much-needed attention. That was due to the under-listed reasons:

[210] "Accelerated Development Plan for Education, xxx-xxxvi," file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 24, National Archives of Ghana. Accra, Ghana.
[211] Scoulon, *Education in Ghana*, 171. See "Ghana Education Policy, 1927-1957," 4-9, file, GH, PRAAD, RG 3, 1, 108, National Archives of Ghana. Accra, Ghana.
[212] "The 1887 Educational Ordinance: Curriculum," viii, file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 20, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana.

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a) First, the class system (that is, the rich who can afford to pay school fees) at the time favoured an educational structure tailored to preserve the cultural values of the high social class and was private.
b) Second, the high cost of education naturally excluded the poor and promoted the privileged minority in society.
c) Third, primary education was limited to teaching the rudimentary of the "three Rs"; to write, to read and to do arithmetic.[213]

Also, the problem of wastage was serious, especially in the rural areas. It became particularly noticeable after the reform in 1952,[214] when large numbers of children enrolled at school and then dropped out in the course of their studies. In a sample survey where wastage as high as 30 or 40 per cent[215] of first grade enrolment was discovered, it was unearthed that the main causes were the demand for children to work on their parents' farms, a waning of the enthusiasm for free education and a feeling that tuition received was not worth the expense of books and materials (there were many schools which were staffed entirely by untrained teachers) and the inability to meet the financial obligations, no matter how small.

Moreover, the medium of instruction at the beginning of the primary course was the local language. Oral English was introduced during the first year and became a regular subject on the timetable. Experimentally, some towns that faced the problem of a multiplicity of local languages had tried to introduce English as the (*lingua franca)* medium of instruction during the primary course. So, the language of instruction remained as

[213] "The 1887 Educational Ordinance: Curriculum*,"* viii, file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 20, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana.
[214] "Accelerated Development Plan for Education, xxx-xxxvi," file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 24, National Archives of Ghana. Accra, Ghana
[215] Ibid.

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English. The usual method of constructing a syllabus for a subject was to take a survey of the lessons taught and arrange them systematically.

In retrospect, in the Gold Coast there was no clear policy on the system of education until the post-colonial era. Even post-colonial independent governments have followed the same tradition.

Asante and Trevor have argued that in the post-colonial Gold Coast educational system, there was an attempt at the national level for a reform. However, they have observed that from the "yolk", that is, the kindergarten stages, to the university levels were all beset with inconsistencies and flaws and, therefore, did not serve our needs. Kindergarten education encompasses children of the age of two upwards. This is the stage of formal socialisation through play. It also enhances the physical, spiritual and mental development and enables children to cultivate tolerance. This may be the transition or preparatory stage from informal education, which commences at the age of six.[216] Unfortunately, the nursery and kindergarten idea had not been given the attention it deserved. Most of the proprietors had no managerial skills; they also engaged lay teachers, inexperienced in handling children at such tender age. A handful of these managers drifted into the trade not for genuine professional affection but pecuniary gains. Other problems that saddled those institutions were accommodation and unhygienic environments.

Undoubtedly, children needed balanced diet for healthy, rapid growth. Canteen facilities were absent, and where they existed, supervision by qualified dieticians or home science specialists was lacking. Logistics support from the government or non-

[216] B. K. Asante, "Reconstructing Education in Ghana" in *Daily Graphic*, December 16, 1988, 3. See, K. Trevor, *Teaching Religious Education* (London: Macmillan Education Press, 1984), 24.

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governmental organisation (NGOs) was too inadequate to have any meaningful impact on the physical development of the children.

Supervision was inadequate and support, both financial and material, was minimal and often came in trickles. Worst of all, most children attained school age without any pre-school training, while nursery training was also very expensive for most parents to afford.

Secondly, the primary and middle schools were faced with a myriad of related problems. Under that system, we had the experimental international schools and the public schools. Whereas the international school pupils were groomed mainly to pass the highly competitive Common Entrance Examination (CEE) for government secondary, vocational and technical institutions in the country, the public-school system was geared primarily towards the possession of the Middle School Leaving Certificate.

The latter limited the horizon and prospects of candidates for higher education and, therefore, the achievement of better standards of living. Possessors of that "undervalued" qualification assumed top administrative posts in the ministries and other departments. A cursory glance at the syllabi in first-cycle institutions, however, revealed one startling result: "Verbal and quantitative" (call it the "general paper"), a prerequisite for the CEE, was absent from the timetable of public schools and, therefore, not taught formally in those institutions.[217]

Besides, attention given to the common entrance subjects English, Mathematics, Composition and General Paper was very high, while their treatment at the public schools was

[217] "Planning an Educational System 1920," xiii, file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1,20,108, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana. See, "notes on Government Educational Policy," *loc. cit.*

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unsatisfactory. Some concerned educationists suggested that subjects such as Science, Geography and Environmental Studies taught in the elementary schools be added to the CEE questions. That was very obvious because the secondary school aspirants were going to be exposed to those same subjects when they finally gained admission. Thus, that system of testing was biased and an unfair method of testing the quantitative and qualitative knowledge of our future leaders. This background scenario is important, since most students come from broken and sometimes poor families and earlier educational foundation would correct the anomaly or deficiency in their growth and development.[218]

In the Gold Coast educational system, as the study has outlined above, the secondary schools admitted students who passed the CEE for seven years of secondary education and then entry to the university for those who qualified.

However, the present educational system has six years of primary education, three years of junior secondary school and three years of senior secondary school education before entry to the university.

4.3.2 Educational Development Plan in Ghana after Independence

The government of Ghana introduced the Seven-Year Acceleration Development Plan after independence in 1957 to eradicate illiteracy. The main objective of the plan was first to select candidates at the end of the six-year primary course of education for secondary schools. Secondly, those who did not qualify to advance to secondary school were to attend a continuation school for two years. That two-year course would offer subjects which were vocational in nature. It was projected also to replace the existing middle school by 1968. Courses to be offered included Agriculture, Shorthand, Typing

[218] See also, "Planning an Educational System 1920," xii, file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 453-461, National Archives of Ghana. Accra, Ghana.

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and Office Routine, Bookkeeping and Elementary Accountancy, Housecraft, Handicraft, Metalwork, Woodwork, Brick Masonry, Technical Drawing, and Science. In addition, English Language and Arithmetic would be taught.[219] No provision was, however, made for religious or moral education courses.

As a measure to increase the labour force, in September 1961, the government of Ghana implemented the fee-free and compulsory education, which meant that the financial obligation of the government had increased out of proportion. That resulted in a substantial increase in the number of primary schools in temporary structures and unsatisfactory accommodation. This situation militated against effective teaching and learning.[220]

Consequently, the two main problems which needed immediate attention were school buildings and staffing. It was estimated that the population of primary and middle schools would grow from 900,000 and 193,000 in 1963 to 1,500,000 and 380,000, respectively, in 1967.[221] It followed that appropriate provision for staffing and accommodation was inevitable. In that regard, the central government subsidised the local authorities with £5 million.

Additionally, the introduction of science into elementary schools, middle or continuation schools called for special buildings to be constructed and scientific equipment to be provided. Science was introduced in the technical division and the vocational training centres. Notable among these was the Accra Vocational Training Centre.

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[219] "Accelerated Development Plan for Education, 1944-1954, and 1955-1967," xxx-xxxvi, file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 24/285, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, Ghana.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.; Elsbern, *The Story of the Catholic Church,* 138.

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Apart from the special buildings and scientific equipment, there was the need for trained teachers. The government's policy in October 1964 was that with the six-year primary education, at least each child would have been taught by a professional teacher who was a Certificate A holder in a non-priority school. The expansion of those facilities and personnel meant an increase in expenditure.

In 1953 when Bowers assumed office, the total number of pupils in Catholic schools was 442,450.[224] Official government reports on education for the 1953/54 academic year was very discouraging. By the end of 1953, the local authority (LA) schools were performing very poorly, yet the central government was paying the salaries of teachers in full for a vast majority of schools.[222]

In response to the poor performance of both teachers and pupils, Bowers saw the need for schools that could offer good results. That was in line with the social teaching of the church, whose framework is the preferential love for the poor and the development of the human person in general.[223] Bowers' loyalty to the church was reflected in his love for the poor in his pastoral ministry.

Secondly, according to the principle of the common good in the social teachings of the Church, "the goods of this world are meant for all people".[224] The problem was distribution. The question that arises is whether the social teachings should be applied before

[222] "The History of Education in the Gold Coast Ghana, 1957-1961: The Mission Schools," file GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1,2, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.
[223] Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 69.
[224] John XIII, Encyclical Letter: *Mother and Teacher: Mater et Magistra* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1962), no. 218-220. See, John Paul II, *Labourem Exercens.* On the Centenary of the promulgation of *Rarum Novarum: Centisimus Annus* (Vatican City: Libreria Editice Vaticana, 1981), nn. 30-34. See, John Paul II, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice, 1992), 2402-2406. The poor may be understood in Pope John Paul II's definition as "the immense multitude of the hungry, the needy, the homeless, those without medical care and, above all, those without hope of a better future

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or after the creation of wealth. We are of the opinion that the Church's social teaching must be applied at the distribution point, rather than at the production end.

This is because it is easier to share riches than to share poverty. Bowers' application of this principle was demonstrated in the siting of the schools and formation houses in areas easily accessible to rural folks.

4.3.3 Patriotism and the Role of Ghana Young Pioneers

The destiny of Ghana rests on its youthful population. Only they can be imbued with a sense of patriotism. Most of the enthusiasm of the CPP government in the youth domain in the post-independent era was justifiably directed at the development of the formal educational sector. Yet such human capital investment was futuristic and essentially long-term drive, hence the benefits could only be accessed at some point in the future.

However, in order to reap more immediate returns from the investment in the youth, the government of the CPP did not limit its interference into the youth arena to the formal education system in schools alone but also the informal sector. It sought and mobilised and even directed the youth under the umbrella of the Ghana Young Pioneers towards a concrete and tangible end. Thus, the attempt to utilise that youth organisation for a specific political agenda under the disguise of patriotism was more or less controlled and guided as an organised youth action than care and concern for the future of the youth.

On the other hand, there were those who were of the view that the aim of the founding of the Ghana Young Pioneers after independence was to instil in the youth patriotism. In pursuance of that objective, the government of the CPP might have had in mind not

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to practise the Western type of democracy, but definitely it was not atheistic and so it is difficult to be conclusive about whether Ghana was on the verge of atheism.

Nevertheless, the study has established that patriotism, as long as it does not become exaggerated and fall into the danger of nationalism, excluding or alienating other people, is positive for a country. The sense of human dignity and patriotism is deeply rooted in our culture, which is captured in many patriotic songs.

Furthermore, the Council Fathers at the Second Vatican Council noted that the family plays an important role in the education of children. In other words, informal education begins at the knee of the mother, "...Since parents have conferred life on their children, they have the most solemn obligation to educate their offspring. Hence, parents must be acknowledged as the first and foremost educators of their children."[225]

In reference to the 1961 Education Act's silence on religion on the school curriculum, the Council Fathers have expressed a general disapproval for atheism, in whatever form and wherever it is found, which thrives on the desire for human independence, to the extent that it rejects any kind of dependence on God. Therefore, when proponents of this ideology gain governmental power, they vigorously fight against religion and promote atheism. They aim at achieving their goal by especially educating the youth by means of propaganda which public power has at its disposal.[226] They further define formal education of the youth as not to produce only men and women of refined talents but also those "great-souled" persons who are so desperately required by our times.[227]

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[225] John Paul II, *Apostolic Exhortation, Familiaris Consortio*. The Role of the Christian Family in the Modern World, no. 38. Vatican II, "Dei Verbum: Dogmatic Constitution on the Divine Revelation," no. 11.
[226] John Paul II, *Familiaris Consortio*, no. 20.
[227] Ibid., no. 31.

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Ghana was almost on the verge of atheism under the CPP government at the time of Bowers. The opponents even described Nkrumah as an atheist.[228] What began as a youth patriotic movement known as the *Ghana Young Pioneers* became a channel of government communist ideology, idolising the leader and the political party.

4.3.4 The Role of the Voluntary Agencies

The study has revealed that the roles of voluntary agencies in maintaining and administering schools was considerable. But this was not achieved without a great sacrifice. In 1963, there was a debate by the Cabinet on the establishment of private educational institutions in the country. It was noted that under Section 17 of the Education Act, 1961, a person may not establish and conduct a private institution in the country without the prior approval of the Minister of Education, but under Section 18 of the same Act, such person was required, within one month after the date of the establishment of the institution, to furnish the Chief Education Officer with such information. As the case may however be, the Minister of Education was empowered by Section 19 of the Act to close down any private institution which he considered to be dangerous or potentially dangerous to the physical and moral welfare of the pupils attending it.

However, there was an amendment to include a provision making it an offence for any person to establish a private institution without the prior approval and consent of the Minister of Education. The minister and the Attorney General undertook to process the bill to Parliament.

[228] Kwame Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's Politico-Cultural Thought and Policies: An African-Centreed Paradigm for the Second Phase of the African Revolution* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 1.

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In that connection, Osagyefo, the President, directed that the Minister of Education should submit to the Cabinet a list of all private educational institutions operating in the country, together with all particulars of the owners.[229]

There was an attempt by the government to nationalise all educational institutions in the country to propagate the CPP's ideology and eradicate any moral and religious instruction of pupils. In spite of that, majority of those agencies, which were mission societies and churches, including the Catholic Church, continued to play crucial roles in the educational system. They were organised as 'educational units' and were responsible to the government for their educational work, supervised by the Minister of Education, and under certain conditions received financial aid. Local authorities took an increased responsibility for primary and middle schools; some founded schools on their own initiative and thus were graded as educational unit, but the majority exercised only administrative control, with some financial participation, and left the running of the schools to voluntary agencies.

A Central Advisory Committee of Education to advise the minister and the government on matters of general policy was established. Regional committees of a similar nature existed in some parts of the country. At the district level, there were the District Education committees. The intention of the Accelerated Development Plan was to shift some of the financing of primary education from the central government to the local authorities. In principle, local authorities met a fixed percentage of the financing of

[229] T. K. Leighton, "Cabinet Meetings held on 20th and 23rd August 1963," file, GH, PRAAD, G3, 1, 106, National Archive of Ghana, Accra, Ghana. The first of this meeting was committee to deliberate on the issue and later, the decision was taken and implemented by the members of Parliament.

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teachers' salaries and other running costs for primary schools and met the full running costs of new middle schools.

The Central Government made up the difference in the financing of salary items and met the difference between local authority salaries and salaries paid to teachers at the middle schools founded prior to 1952. Apart from those two sources of funding for education, fee-income was derived from middle schools and was needed to help in paying the salaries of teachers. In terms of expenditure, both central and local government funds were paid to the educational units according to established gradations, which depended on the size of the school and the number and qualification of the staff.[230] It is with this concept of education in mind that this study has examined the role of voluntary agencies in the management of schools.

4.3.5 Summary

In sum, the study has established the fact that for any meaningful national integral human development to take place, the quality of education is a *sine qua non*. That was Bowers' conviction. Furthermore, the study investigated Catholic education and human development, the historical overview of education in the Gold Coast, the colonial system of education in the Gold Coast and the acceleration of the educational development plan in Ghana after independence. As the youth formed the majority of the population, the study examined the patriotism of the Ghana Young Pioneers. Finally, the high demand for education and the government's inability to meet the demand necessitated the need for voluntary agents to supplement the efforts of the government and consolidate the educational sector of the nation.

[230] "Voluntary Agencies in Education," file, GH, PRAAD, G3, 1, 24, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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4.4 Bishop Bowers' View and Contribution to Education in Ghana

In this session, the researcher reviewed some of Bishop Bowers' letters and memoirs to evaluate his view and contribution to education in Ghana. It would continue with some selected interviews with individuals and focus group discussions held among the students of St Rose's Senior High School, Pope John Minor Seminary and Senior High School and the elderly sisters in the Mother House of Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer.

4.4.1 Bishop Bowers' View on Education

A. Letters

Bowers' pastoral ministry was carried out in a spirit of patriotism and he observed the guidelines laid down for voluntary agencies. This was evident in a letter he wrote to thank Mother General Fabiola for providing such witnesses as the Dominican Sisters. This letter was dated 5th August 1963:

> Dear Mother General, I hope you had a pleasant voyage back home, and that it will not be too long before we have the pleasure of having you visit us here again. Your coming was a source of great joy and encouragement for the good Sisters who are doing such fine work at Battor and Akwatia. We wish, therefore, to make use of this occasion to express our deep gratitude for all the Dominican Sisters are doing for us. I expect to be in Germany in the second week of September and will write to say exactly when I expect to be there, at the end of the month. Before I leave, I would like to make some preliminary preparations and hence would be grateful for the following information in regard to the two projects proposed, as soon as you find it possible. Regarding the Asamankese project [Catechetical Centre][231], it seems that there will be no difficulty on the part of the authorities.

[231] Words in bracket are mine. This is what the study revealed from documented evidence that the project was meant for a Catechetical Centre for the training of Catechists. However, the project was discontinued due to financial constraints and personnel. In recent times, however, the project has metamorphosed as Archbishop Andoh Catechetical Centre at Kordiabe initiated by Sister Solami, a Dominican Sisters. See "Catechist Training for Non-Government Teachers, file, GH, PRAAD, G3, 3, 64,

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> It would be good to have the curriculum vitae, especially of the studies of the two Sisters proposed, so as to have them approved. The buildings for this project would cost between 250,000 and 300,000 Deutschmarks. In regard to the African Sisters[232], I would like to know by what date the house should be ready so as to start arrangements before leaving.
>
> With kindest greetings and best prayerful wishes for yourself and Congregation.
>
> In the Charity of Christ,
>
> +Joseph O. Bowers, SVD., DD.
>
> Bishop of Accra

The study surmised from the above letter that a nation's productive system is by education, which is a holistic human formation and transformation by which knowledge is acquired and faculties and skills developed. In order to meet those needs, Bowers invited the Dominican Sisters to his diocese. His vision for doing so was twofold.

The first was to provide quality education. His choice to involve the Dominican Sisters was to assure quality education. The order of the Dominicans has a long tradition of well-established schools and universities all over the world. In view of that, he requested for the curriculum vitae of those sisters. This is in line with the assertion that a nation produces itself, passing on its characteristics to the next generation of citizens. In other words, whatever goes into education, and for that matter integral human formation, would be reflected in the end products. In effect, if Bowers was concerned about the qualification of his future co-workers, then it followed that he would likewise desire the same for the citizens of Ghana and his African Sisters. Nevertheless, the

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National Archives of Ghana, Accra,

[232] The study has inferred that Bishop Bowers was referring to the HDR sisters as African Sisters, since there was no black sisters' congregation in the country at the time.

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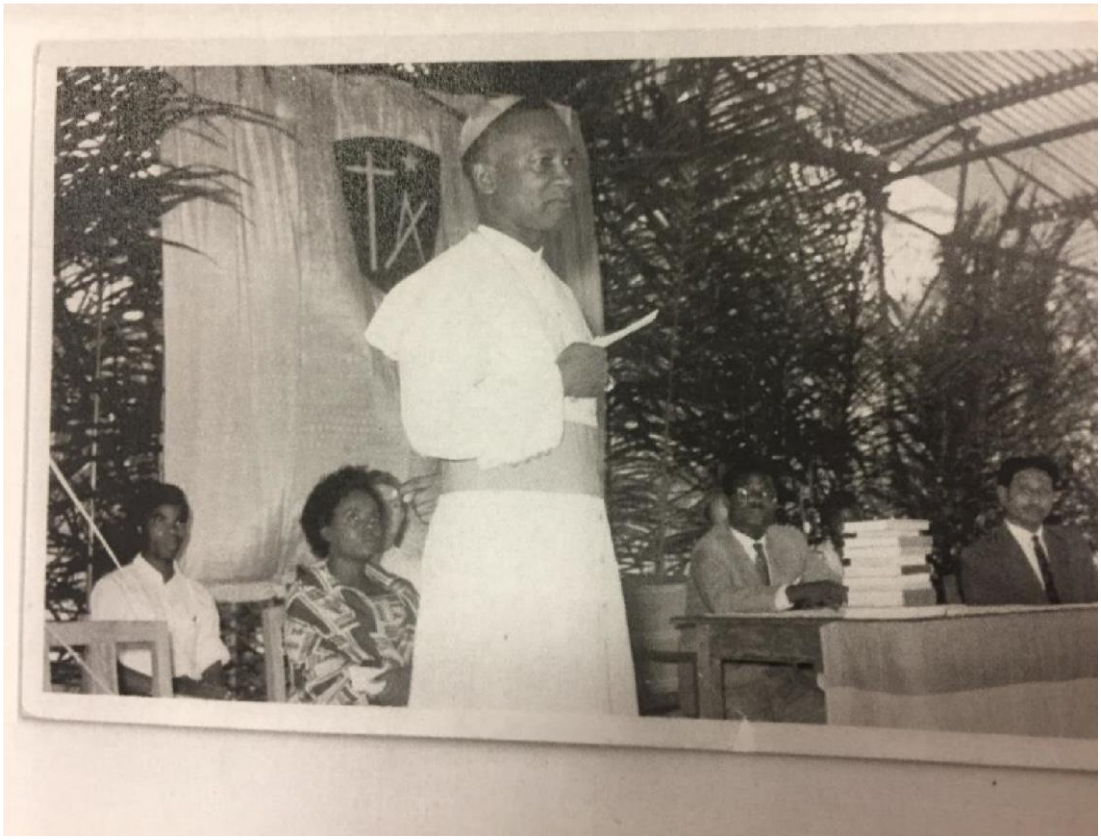
fulfilment of that desire could not be immediate, since his sisters had no sound formal education; they were semi-literate.



Picture 4.1: Bowers in a meeting with some teachers of a school in the diocese Second, his vision, according to the letter, was to build a catechetical centre to upgrade the teacher-catechists of his diocese to enable them to provide adequate formation for the school pupils entrusted to their care. Later, in 1983, Pope Benedict XVI made a similar comment in his message on the transmission of divine revelation. He wrote:

> About thirty years ago (in the 1950s), when I was trying to write a study on the ways that revelation was understood in the thirteenth century theology, I stumbled upon the unexpected fact that in that period it had not occurred to anyone to characterise the Bible as "revelation". Nor was the term "source" applied to it. This is not to say that the Bible was held in less esteem then than it is today. Quite the contrary: the respect for it was much more unconditional, and it was clear that theology, by right, can and should be nothing other than the interpretation of Scripture. But their concept of

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> the harmony between what is written and what is lived out was different from contemporary notions. Therefore, the term "revelation" was applied only, on the one hand, to that ineffable act which can never be adequately expressed in human words, in which God makes himself known to his creature, and, on the other hand, to that act of reception in which this gracious condescension of God dawns upon man and becomes revelation. Everything that can be grasped in words, and thus Scripture, too, is then testimony to that revelation but is not revelation itself."[233]

The above observation reflects the situation in the Gold Coast mission and state schools. As noted in the previous sections, the Bible was often studied as a textbook, with examinations being conducted and marks awarded to students. That crisis of faith deepened when the Bible was taught as a subject and sometimes even wrongly interpreted. For example, the CPP interpreted verses in the Scriptures as its political ideology and manifesto, which appealed to majority of the citizenry. But the initial freshness of that new approach, which dealt directly with the Bible, did not last very long.

In his encyclical, *Rerum Novarum,* Pope Leo XIII (1891) laid the foundation for Catholic social teaching. The encyclical became the *Magna Carta* of contemporary social teachings of the church. In it, the Pope examined and analysed the social situation and rejected both the socialist and the laissez-faire approaches to organising society and he pointed out the responsibilities of all, especially political leaders in the defence of the dignity and value of the human person.[234]

This teaching of the Church was to emphasise the church's perception of the human person as being created in the image of God. So, the church evaluates any new governmental policy as to whether or not it improves or threatens human dignity. Therefore,

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[233] Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Handing on the Faith in an Age of Disbelief* (Rome: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), 29.
[234] Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, no. 3.

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human dignity has become the bedrock of the church's social teachings. In effect, the social teachings are solutions to a set of social problems which examine the way we live, or a set of indicators suggesting the way forward.[235]

It is in the spirit of the social teachings that when Bowers attended a Eucharistic Congress in Munich, Germany in 1955, he began searching for missionaries to work with him. Fortunately, it happened that the SVD community in which he resided there had a priest called Gerhards, who accompanied him to the Mother House of the Dominican Sisters at Speyer. That was followed by a series of correspondence. In one of his responses to the Mother General on the feast of Blessed Martin de Porres in 1955, he wrote:

> Dear Mother General, since your letter arrived, I have been on a long journey, which included a visit to my confrères in the Belgian Congo,[236] and an extensive visitation of my own Diocese. It is only last week I have been able to get down to the task of answering my accumulated correspondence. The news about Sister Hedwig[237] is naturally a very great blow, since final arrangements have been made for the school and clinic, so we shall now have to get on in the best way we can. By special arrangement with the Congregation of Rites, the Apostolic See has graciously granted permission for the Diocese of Accra to celebrate the Feast of Blessed Martin (sic de) Porres, which is today November 5th. He is very popular here and I hope that by his intercession Divine Providence will furnish the means and personnel, which we so greatly need for extending His Kingdom here in the Gold Coast.
>
> With prayerful best wishes. In the Charity of Christ
>
> + Joseph O. Bowers S.V.D.
>
> Bishop of Accra

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[235] Ibid.

[236] This country is in Central Africa and has adapted the present name, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in 1964 and gained independence in 1960 from the Belgium colony.

[237] This Sister was diagnosed with cancer when she went to the America in preparation to embark for the Gold Coast.

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The above letter is a testimony to Bowers' resilient faith and strong devotion, trust and faith in the intercessory role of the saints for the success of any pastoral ministry. Bowers relied on divine providence to provide the resources needed to build his diocese. Although in principle the Mother General had agreed to send the Sisters, it became necessary that they were orientated and trained to take up the appointment. Nevertheless, Bowers did not give up hope.

Five years later, on May 23rd, 1960, Bowers wrote again to the Mother General to show his appreciation for the work the Sisters were accomplishing:

> Greetings from Ghana and from all your Sisters who are all safe and sound happy and healthy. It was indeed a source of great joy to everyone, that after the delays and difficulties, we finally have our Sisters with us, and we thank our good Lord and His Blessed Mother who has brought all things to a happy conclusion. Our sincerest thanks to you also, Mother General, for your continued generosity in assisting us so cheerfully, both with spiritual and material means for bringing true Faith to our people here in Ghana. We are now waiting for the doctor, and on his arrival, there would be a solemn inauguration of the work in Akwatia. But after a brief visit to the scene of their future labours, Mother Superior will undoubtedly introduce them for a while to their second motherhouse at Battor. It is always a source of edification for me to see how completely at home the Sisters have made themselves in such a primitive little village like Battor. God will abundantly bless their labours and sacrifices in his own good time. Right now, we have with us Schult-Koster who arrived a couple of days ago. He has come to put up the bells, which we got from Germany, and at the ceremony of the pouring of the metal for these bells to the liturgical worship of the Holy Trinity on whose feast we hope to have them consecrated. They will also assist our not very punctual faithful to come to mass on time! You may be assured that we will pray very earnestly on the Feast of Pentecost that God might bestow an abundance of His grace on you and your community, and that He may inspire many to join your community in blessing for your charity to our little mission.

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With my blessing
In the Charity of Christ
+ Joseph O. Bowers S.V.D., D.D.

The willingness of the sisters to assist Bishop Bowers was displayed in a spirit of Social Teachings of the Church; the inalienable dignity of the human person is that he or she is sacred because, at creation, God gave humans transcendental dignity.[238]

In other words, all that the Church teaches, does and undertakes must be oriented towards the fulfilment of the human person and the humanisation of the world. Also, the Church does not consider the human person as an isolated being or an individual, but as a human person called to live in society. It is by nature that a human person is a social being.[239] He or she needs others for his or her growth and full realisation of potential.

Consequently, the human person is a being in dialogue with himself or herself, with others, with creation and with God. This dialogue, especially with others, is carried out with respect for differences and must aim at collaboration "as a suitable method for finding a solution to the problems through pragmatic and operative agreements."[240]

Throughout the centuries, the Church, guided by the light of the Gospel, has drawn up a body of principles of teaching and action based on the principle that what it teaches can help in solving some of our problems, at least in shedding new light on them in order to construct a just society, a civilisation of love, respecting the dignity and rights of each person. In doing this, the Church does not want to be the sole player but make a contribution founded on authentic anthropology and on the understanding that it has

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[238] With this basic truth about the human person. Pope Saint John Paul II has said, "Man is the primary route that the Church must travel in fulfilling her mission, he is the primary and fundamental way for the Church."

[239] John Paul, *Catechism of the Catholic Church,* n. 18

[240] See, The Pontifical Council for the Family, *The Truth and Meaning of Human Sexuality: Guidelines for Education within the Family* (Bombay: Pauline Publications, 1998), 56. [244] John XXIII, *Mother and Teacher: Mater et Magistra*, n. 16 &17.

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of the realities of the world. So, Pope John XXIII affirmed: "No practical solution of this question will be found apart from the intervention of Religion of the Church."[244]

Inferring from its understanding of the human person, the Second Vatican Council has described the Church as "an expert of humanity" that the Church offers by its teaching, "a set of principles for reflection and criteria for judgement and also directives for action, so that the profound changes demanded by situations of poverty and injustice may be brought about and in this way serve the true good of humanity."[241] Practically, the study wishes to reiterate what has already been cited. The Pope has observed that the educational challenge of Africans is immense.[242]

Furthermore, John Paul continued that faced with the challenges that the Universal Church and society in its totality ought to solve, we sometimes feel helpless and without adequate means. Yes, human reason is not enough to clarify all our human situations, especially where profound questions are asked about the meaning of our existence in the world. We need light to identify our areas of responsibility in fighting what the Pope referred to as "Zones of misery."[243]

It was the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the study of social teachings that Bowers sought for enlightenment and was able to identify his responsibility towards the poor. The fruit of his effort was the new happy community life of the Sisters. On June 27, 1960, he wrote to the Mother General to express his appreciation for the sacrifices of her Sisters,

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[241] Vatican II, "Declaration on Religious Liberty *Dignitatis Humanae*," no. 6.
[242] John Paul II, *Apostolic Letter, Tertio Millennio Adverniente* (Vatican City: Libreria Editice Vaticana) no. 51.
[243] John Paul II, *Redemptor Hominis*, no. 16.

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> Dear Mother General, the feast of the Sacred Heart was indeed a fitting day for the blessing of the Convent of your new community in Akwatia. For it is the love and charity of your Sisters to our people in Africa alone which could have moved your Congregation to make so many and so great sacrifices for the spread of the Faith and the exercise of the corporal works of mercy. You may be sure we are very grateful to Divine Providence for the gift of your Sisters who edify all by their cheerful charity and industry. At your next visit which I hope will be quite soon, I think you will be pleased to see how homelike Mother Victricia has made the Convent at Akwatia. The new Sisters are well and seem quite at home, and Doctor Hoheneck will soon be getting down to work. He already has many friends and colleagues in Africa.
>
> May I thank you for the nice new chalice; I have already said Mass with it for your special intentions.
>
> Asking God's blessing upon you and your community, I remain.
>
> In the Charity of Christ
>
> + Joseph O. Bowers, SVD. DD.
> Bishop of Accra

As it is self-evident, Bishop Bowers was full of appreciation for the way the Sisters had embraced poverty for love of God. In writing the letter, Bowers mentioned by name those who had contributed to the foundation of the school and health care, so that posterity would remember them and pray for them.

Also, Bowers expressed the concern of the Catholic Church for the family in his letter to the Mother General dated September 21, 1961, which was entitled, "Proposed Secondary Girls' School of the Diocese of Accra:"

> Dear Mother General, I wish to give my most urgent recommendation to this project as opportunities for Catholic education are getting fewer and fewer and may soon cease altogether. We cannot have good Catholic families without well-trained mothers, hence our fervent prayers for the success

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> of this project. If another formal recommendation is needed, I will be only too glad to write it as soon as I am informed how it is to be addressed.
>
> In the Charity of Christ
>
> + Joseph O. Bowers S.V.D., D.D.
> Bishop of Accra

B. Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Having looked at Bishop Bowers' correspondences, the study would like to examine some of the interviews and focus group discussions. In an interview, Fr. Samuel Batsa, in the narrative below, highlighted the following points about Bowers. First, he outlined the similarities and dissimilarities between Bishop Bowers' new Diocese in the Dominica and that of the Accra Diocese. Commenting on the demography of Bishop Bowers' new diocese in terms of population and race, he surmised that although the Whites were the dominant race because Dominica was still under colonial rule, he noticed that Bowers' ecclesiastical territory was largely populated by people of African descent. He pointed out that basically they were farmers and exhibited all the characteristics of the Ghanaian farmer, except that they did not carry their loads on their heads, as was done in Ghana, hence, he said, "it tells you that these are our own people who were taken away from us some years ago".[244] So Bowers did not have to explain anything to them and that was his intention to learn lessons by themselves, that he was selfless and it was the love of Ghanaians that guided his pastoral ministry.

Coming from such a background, Bowers understood the rural dwelling setting better. Thus, when he encountered poor people, he understood their plight and willingly helped them. Peter, one of those who benefited from Bowers, recounted his encounter with

[244] Rev. Fr. Samuel Batsa, interview granted the researcher, 21-10-2017.

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Bowers: "I was born and bred in the village of Yilo Koyere in the Eastern Region of Ghana, where I grew up. I got to know Fr Bowers before he became a bishop."[245]. As was the practice in those days, the children who served at Holy Mass carried the luggage of any visiting priest on their heads after mass and walked to Onyamakyere, where they parted company and returned to their village. It was then the turn of the next village boys and girls to do likewise. That was the routine which brought him closer to Fathers Bowers and Washington. By closeness, he was referring to the closeness to the catechist who acted as an intermediary between the missionary priests and the faithful. This study can only deduce from the intermediary role of the Catechist that there was either language barrier or age gap between the youth and the Priests.

Again, Peter has attested to the fact that he attended primary school at Korledor and continued to Osonson for his middle school. He was at Osonson Form Two when, together with another boy called Oware[246] of blessed memory, he sat for the Common Entrance-Examination, passed and gained admission to St Augustine's College in Cape Coast. That feat was historical, as that was the first time a student from Upper

Krobo had qualified to secondary school. In reality, he said, "we the candidates had no idea what secondary school was all about."[247] He continued: "We set off to St Augustine's with a half scholarship award, but as my father could not afford to pay the balance, I was to discontinue. However, providentially, I was awarded Cocoa Marketing

[245] Peter Osaman Sackey, retired from Ghana Water and Sewage Company as chief executive officer of Sanitation Agency in 2000, Interview granted the researcher, November 20, 2017 at the Holy Spirit Cathedral, Adabraka, Accra, Ghana.
[246] Seth Oware, has passed on, as the study revealed from Peter's narrations.
[247] Sackey, interview granted the researcher.

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Board scholarship to continue".[248][252] With that scholarship, he managed to complete Form Five.

Unfortunately, on the last day of his Ordinary Level examinations (Secondary), his father died. Although a telegram was sent, the school administration hid it from him. On the day of his final papers, however, he was given the telegram, with the instruction to come directly to the village, Koyere, and not stop at Somanya, as was his normal practice, for a day or two. He suspected his father wanted him urgently to help him on his farm. At Somanya, the bad news of the death of his father was broken to him. The news completely devastated him.

Later, he received his admission letter to continue with his sixth form at the same school. He had no source of funding because he was not able to save much, as he had worked for only one month. Thus, he had no money and was in dilemma as to what to do. His mother and siblings were of the view that five years of college education was more than enough for a village boy like him and so he must continue with his teaching appointment.

However, his strong desire to further his education urged him on to search for help. He learnt of the scheduled pastoral visit of Bishop Bowers to the village. After the pastoral visit, he consulted with Opare, the Catechist, and pleaded with him to lead him to the Bishop to plead on his behalf. Instead, Opare encouraged him to do so personally. He was disappointed at his response.

Nevertheless, he mustered courage, and after Holy Mass went to see Bowers in a small room that served as a Sacristy. With his trembling little hands, he knocked faintly on

[248] Sackey, interview granted the researcher.

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the door and Bowers immediately invited him in. When he went in, he knelt down but the Bishop held him up gently. He told Bowers he had a problem, that he came from Koyere and was a student at St. Augustine's College, but he had lost his father, who was the breadwinner, but he had gained admission to the sixth form. The Bishop was surprised that a boy from Koyere was a student at St Augustine's College, so he dipped his hand into his pocket and gave him four pounds (£4) and asked him to pay him a visit at the Cathedral in Accra when on holidays. Peter added that that was what had made him what he had become today. The study deduced from Peter's sacred tale that Bowers was not only a man of faith but also a man who loved needy children.

Contrary to the views expressed by some Western missionaries,[249] many Sister congregations working in Accra during the tenure of office of Bowers had complained of his reluctance to grant permission to African Sisters to start their congregations.

But, according to Sister Miguela, "We (sic Dominican Sisters) supported the HDR Sisters in many ways, hoping that they would take over the administration of the school." She continued: "Some sisters worked with us before we left. But the Congregation did not have enough for both hospitals and school to take over the administration. We were also not given permission to promote vocation to our congregation. But we are grateful that some sisters are in both hospitals and at St. Rose's Senior High School."[250]

[249] "The Missionary Activity of the Church," eds. Francis G. Morrisey, Gerard Sheehy, Ralph Brown, Donal Kelly and Aidan McGrath, *The Canon Law: Letter & Spirit* (London: Geofrey Chapman, 1995)*:* According Can. 786 Although missionary activity of the Church cannot be totally separated from its ordinary duty of pastoral care, it is a specific activity with special aims: It means preaching the Gospel to non-Christians and building up the newly founded Churches until they are fully established and stand on their own.

[250]Miguela Keller, e-mail message to the researcher on Saturday, April 8 2017.

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In respect of the above claim, the study cross-examined some interviewees in a focus group discussion on the claims of the Dominican sisters. It was discovered that some of them spent the greater part of their religious lives with the Dominican sisters, probably to understudy them in view of Bishop Bowers' vision of his African Sisters to continue the apostolate of the Dominicans. These are their stories below.[251]

On their contribution to the discussion as to whether Bowers intended the HDRs to take over, it was revealed that Bishop Bowers envisaged the Dominicans would not be permanent in Ghana. Therefore, he invited them to establish the school and the hospital so that when their time of departure was due, they could take over from them. Sisters Patricia Anne and Charles claimed they were the first to go to Battor and understudy them. Sr. Patricia was to teach in the local authority school because she was a trained teacher. But it did not work out because of human weakness, and as human beings, we are egoistic and difficult to deal with. They were not willing to hand over. According to one of the Sisters, "I stayed there 11 years and six months. It was my longest appointment. However, I enjoyed staying with the Dominican Sisters. I accepted the fact I was not the one in charge and so we worked peacefully."

Also, the study has discovered that "Bowers recruited girls or candidates who did not have the basic education qualification like secondary school." This allegation led to the interview of two of the early recruits and below are their sacred stories:

> I was called Martina Adams before my admission to the convent. As a requirement, I had to change it to Theresa Mary. I entered the congregation about the year 1954. The convent was started in Accra at the Red House,

[251]Patricia Anne and Charles Sesenyor-Quarshie, HDR sisters who were co-workers with the Dominican Sisters at the hospitals and schools; interview granted the researcher, 13 November 2017, Agomanya.

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> where the Holy Spirit Cathedral Fathers' residence is presently situated now at Adabraka. The convent started at Korle Gonno with the Sisters of the Holy Spirit at St Mary, Korle Gonno. But I joined them in the Red House.
>
> My background before I was admitted to the convent was that I lived with my uncle called Asifie, and his wife. As a teenager of marriageable age, I had no boyfriend because it was my intention to be a nun. I was the 'main person' in my uncle's house; I took care of their children, did the shopping and prepared the meals, etc. I was more or less the maid. I kept and nurtured the secret desire of my vocation. That was my greatest worry in life.
>
> My handicap in the English language was my low self-esteem; I was well dressed, with good shoes, good looking. When my mates saw me, they thought I was their new young English mistress.
>
> The second narrated: My name is Anna Ama Djagley. When I entered the convent, Bowers explained that a new name had to be given us hence, I was given the name Fidelis. I am now known as Sr Mary Fidelis. Before a name was given, you were given three names. Among the three names Magdalene, Fidelis and Theresa, I chose Fidelis. Before I entered the convent, I did not have any education because I lost my father very early in life.

The above narratives give us an indication into the general state of high rate of illiteracy in the country and the Church. That was one of the challenges to the government's policy of *Africanisation*. Though those who criticised Bowers that he did not allow other congregations to compete for African vocation to the priesthood and religious life might have a point, we must know that he was working within the confines of government policy on *Africanisation* at the time.

Yet, the policy of *Africanisation* had some teething problems. It was faced with shortage of trained and qualified Africans for immediate appointment to fill vacant positions in the public service. That problem prevented the commission from laying down definite timetables for the progressive *Africanisation* of government departments and reflected itself in several ways in the Church.

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Again, the investigation led to another interview with specific reference to POJOSS. To validate documented evidence on the acquisition of land for the POJOSS project, one of the old indigenous Diocesan Priests who worked with Bishop Bowers on that project was interviewed.[252] He affirmed that it was Bowers who founded POJOSS in January 1955 but he only had the SVDs to work with, so he, more or less, entrusted the school to them.

In perspective, the interviewee said: "He founded it to be more of a minor seminary than a secondary school." Again, he said: "I do not know whether it was a fable or a true story that the indigenes asked him for a secondary school. But to start with, only the seminarians were boarders and the others were day students."[258] Later, due to the small number of seminarians, the day students who were subsequently added augmented the number of students. Asked about documented evidence that the chief, elders and the people of Effiduase offered the land for secondary school and not for seminary, he apologised for his earlier claim that the land was earmarked solely for a minor seminary.

One of our witnesses[253] has disclosed that Bowers was emphatic not to allow the SVDs to campaign or look for vocation to the priesthood among the seminarians at POJOSS. He said Bowers had to do that to protect the Diocesan Seminarians from unnecessary competition from their SVD counterparts.

The study conducted interviews to verify some of the assertions above. Our interviewee said that first, it was Bishop Bowers' vision that the HDRs were founded to train other

[252] Fr. Samuel Batsa, interview granted the researcher, 31 October 2017.
[258] Ibid.
[253] Fr. Samuel Batsa, interview granted the researcher, 31 October 2017.

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women to be spiritual and good spouses in their future homes. Second, it was his vision for them to teach and spread the Word of God by their work among the needy, poor and mostly young girls at the St Anne Vocational School and in Ghana.[254] That vision could only be realised by a witness of life and not only by word of mouth. This study surmised from the interviewees that it was for the spreading of the Word of God by means of evangelisation of the family that Bowers established the St Anne

Vocational School at Nuaso. She concluded: "I would be able to influence the lives of the women I come into contact with by word and deed."[255] This investigation led us to Osei, an ex-student who is happily married with children and is a devout, hardworking and successful businesswoman. Some of her narrations are published below:

> I was admitted to St Anne in 1968 and completed in 1972. Dancing and acting were my hobbies as a student. On one occasion Bowers attended one of the functions, as was his routine. On that occasion, I acted as Jacob in the play entitled: 'Jacob and his sons'. After that, Bishop Bowers became fond of me. After the play, he gave me a cookery book and a cookie cutter as a gift. We became friends. Soon after that, he was transferred but later paid a visit to Ghana and came all the way to Agona Swedru to pay a courtesy call on my parents, whom he knew very well at Kukurantumi, and to honour a sick call as he heard of my sickness. We continued to exchange letters after he had returned home. I know for a fact that he gave scholarships to many students in St Anne.[256]

Although our interviewee did not admit she benefited as a needy student, as her parents could afford her fees, she confessed that she attended St Anne because her father had

[254] Sr. Charles Sesenyo Quarshie is an HDR Sister who works at Our Lady of Fatima Basic School, Nuaso; interview granted the researcher, 13 November 2017, Nuaso.
[255] Sr. Charles Sesenyo Quarshie is an HDR Sister who works at Our Lady of Fatima Basic School, Nuaso; interview granted the researcher, 13 November 2017, Nuaso
[256] Marian Osei (Neé Dokye is a businesswoman); interview granted the researcher, November 27, 2018 at the Holy Spirit Cathedral, Adabraka.

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too many children. Nevertheless, she regretted not attending a secondary school. Meanwhile, she admitted that she had benefited tremendously from the institute by way of her spiritual life, especially the intercession of St Anne for a good husband. Also, the discipline in the institute had imbued in her love for hard work, devotion to her husband and family and, above all, comportment in public. To her credit, she manufactured the scarfs used on the occasion of the recent 125th anniversary of the Archdiocese of Accra on 25th November 2018.

Again, Amenuve, a teenage girl who was about 14 years in 1968, was one of the girls who were endearing to Bowers. She attended the St Martin de Porres Senior High School at Adoagyiri, Nsawam.

In an interview, she attested: "Bowers' intention was first to have the girls at Adoagyiri highly trained.[257] Secondly, it was for the indirect evangelisation of their parents, most of whom were unbelievers. He was of the assumption that if the girl child received good Catholic education, she would serve as a living witness to the Catholic faith by having faith in God[258] and that would augment the membership of the St Joseph's Catholic Church at Adoagyiri."

She continued: "It was one of my father's desires that I receive training from the religious sisters. Fortunately, they readily accepted me. Bowers was by that time a priest who paid regular visits to the convent."[265]

[257] Nancy Afi Amenuve (Neé Kalitse is retired headmistress of Fatima school and later transferred to Accra); Interview granted the researcher, November 28, 2018 at her residence in Tema, Community one, Ghana.
[258] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.

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This is an affirmation of the teaching on the freedom to receive religious assistance wherever it is found, especially in schools and other places: "Also, the citizens must have the freedom to proclaim and communicate the teachings on faith; to carry on educational, humanitarian and social activities aimed at putting into practice the religious commandment of love of neighbour, especially of the most deprived."[259]

Amenuve disclosed that when she disclosed to Bowers her future vocation, he encouraged her and asked her to speak with Sister Virginia. She added that Bishop Bowers made mention of his intention to build a girls' school. Again, he wanted to know of "my future ambition in life and I told him I wanted to become a nurse. He did not object to it but explained to me that my comportment and general behaviour depicted more a teacher than nurse".[260] She was not happy with his remarks. He explained that he would like that "I train at the teacher training college to qualify as a teacher to help him with the girls' school he intended to establish."[261]

After her Standard Seven education, Amenuve was asked to help at the Sisters' Convent and she was assigned to the primary school. "On one occasion, Sister Benedict also commented that she had observed in my class at the primary school that I have the gift of teaching and informed Bowers, accordingly. As a result, Bowers asked me to sit for the examination to the teacher training college and I did."[262]

[259] The Pontifical Council for the Family, *The Truth and meaning of Human Sexuality*, no. 23.
[260] Amenuve, interview granted the researcher, 29 December 2017 at Community one Tema, Ghana.
[261] Ibid
[262] Ibid.

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While she was at Nkawkaw, the results were released, and the news was broken to her that she was the only candidate among the girls who had passed. "We were 11 girls who sat for the Standard Seven examination," she said.[263]

Amenuve went on that as it was Bowers' desire that "I head one of the schools he has founded, I continued to live with the sisters and entered the boys' school with the boys as my mates."[264] Later, she clarified that nine other girls joined her.

"I was the only person who passed the examination. I was very happy because the Bishop encouraged and blessed me and said to me: 'You will be successful' and that prophecy was fulfilled because I was successful," she noted.[265]

"He later expressed his happiness and said to me: 'You will be one of the teachers to head the schools'," she added.[266]

Surprisingly, many of our interviewees had similar stories like Amenuve's. While he was promoting the youth to take up the teaching profession, Bowers was also exchanging letters with the Dominican Sisters for teaching staff and infrastructure for schools in the Accra Diocese.

This study interviewed a neutral person for his views on the pioneers of the St Paul's Technical Institute, Kukurantumi, on certificates awarded by the school. Fr Dugay, SVD, an interviewee, disclosed that he was on an official assignment in Tema in the 1960s and met with one of the pioneer products of St Paul's. He said through

[263] Amenuve, interview granted the researcher, 29 December 2017 at Community one Tema, Ghana.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid. Anthony Dugay, SVD, retired and resides at McCarthy Hill; he is an African American and close associate of Bishop Bowers. Interview granted the researcher, 5-06-2018. See "Progress on Report: Technical Education" file, GH, PRAAD, RG3, 4, 21, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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conversation, he learnt that the young man was gainfully employed in one of the factories with his diploma from the institute and was fulfilled and content because what he had learnt was very relevant to the work he was assigned by his employers.[274]

Basically, the Nyasunu sisters have observed that Bowers always perceived the positive virtues in everyone. [267] This is evident in the narratives of the witnesses who had personal encounters with him: "He does not pretend to act as a bishop but genuinely presents himself as a person."[268] This observation stems from the way he communicated with them when they paid him visits. He was genuinely interested in them as human beings who had come to him and he listened to them with rapt attention. "Whatever you had to say, he always presented the positive view, not out of lack of interest in your conversation but because he was interested in your physical, as well as your spiritual, problems," they asserted.[269]

This section has delineated Bishop Bowers' views on education. The study has discussed his concern for the holistic or integral human development. In this respect, he consciously identified and brought out the hidden potential in any person he encountered. At the same time, he courageously corrected any deviant behaviour that caught his attention.

4.4.2 Bishop Bowers' Contribution to Education

The problems concerning the educational needs of the Catholic Diocese of Accra that confronted Bishop Bowers at the beginning of his pastoral ministry were enormous.

[267] Hannah and Alberta Nyasunu, children of Nyasunu who served as secretary to Bishop Bowers and Archbishop Dominic Kwadjo Andoh for some time. He was a layman; Interview granted the researcher. Focus group discussion; December 12, 2017.
[268] Hannah and Alberta; Interview granted the researcher, 12 August 2018.
[269] Ibid.

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Firstly, the products of secondary schools in the country had, for a long time, been inadequate to meet all the demands made on them. The products were needed in the Civil Service, the teaching profession, commerce and institutions of higher education. The long-term solution was the establishment of more secondary schools and the improvement of existing non-assisted secondary schools. The training of those who had graduated from secondary school was necessary to ensure their maximum use.

Secondly, the few facilities and teaching materials for technical education at all levels were awfully inadequate for instructing students. That was the most serious problem which had to be contended with. There was, however, no easy and short-term solution or method to overcome that difficulty.

Also, the output of graduates and professionals had been low. Unfortunately, it took a longer time to train a graduate, doctor or engineer.[270] Since the diocese lacked professional priests and religious practitioners in the teaching field, there was the need to promote more vocation to the priesthood and religious life among Africans in the Diocese of Accra. To achieve that would require the development of the human resource through quality Catholic education.

[270] "Africanisation of the Gold Coast Public Service, Public Relation Department, 1951: A Summary Based on the Progress by the Commission for Africanisation," file, n. ADM 5, 3, 821-3, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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A. Caring for Poor and Needy Children

In the interviews so far, one recurrent theme had been Bowers' promotion of Catholic education and love for needy, brilliant children. The cost of living in those days was very high and the poor were the miserable people who, though burdened with much work, could not sustain themselves financially. They had no access to any scientific method of farming. As a result, many farmers remained poor. If they succeeded to have bumper harvests, they were faced with how to transport the produce to the market. Generally, almost all who lived in rural farming communities in the Gold Coast experienced poverty. The misery of poverty tightened like a noose around the necks of most dwellers of farming communities. It was in the light of the plight of the poor that Bowers opted to work among the poor peasant farmers in the rural areas of the Gold Coast.

So far, we have examined education in the colonial era and contextualised Bowers' pastoral ministry and the experiences some of the youth had with him. His encounter with the youth and his family background gave him an insight into their potential and the fact that given the chance, they would excel. Yet, there were few Catholic schools.

Additionally, his love for children was attested to by one eyewitness, who said: "I knew Bowers as a child when we went to play in the Bishop's garden at the Holy Spirit Cathedral."[271]

[271] Elizabeth Bulley, until her retirement recently, she had been the secretary in the Cathedral Parish of the Holy Spirit Cathedral during the tenure of office of Bowers and Andoh. She served under many priests appointed as Cathedral Administrators; Interview granted the researcher, December 04, 2017 at her residence at Adabraka.

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According to this witness, Bowers welcomed every child, despite his busy schedule. While they were in his company, he gave each of them a balloon to inflate and the first child who succeeded in inflating hers or his till it burst was rewarded with a gift.

"Aku, who was the Bishop's pet, brought the gift from the fridge in the parlour. That way, he was able to identify some of us and sometimes he paid surprise visits to our homes. Through those visits, he found out who the needy children were. He also identified whether the children attended good schools or were undergoing good parenting or not. For example, he educated Ashe, who later became his secretary, and others like Awune, Aku and Osei,[272] to mention but a few. He educated many people at the Nuaso Vocational Institute to become seamstresses, fashion designers, etc. He loved children and always supported them," she added.

Another interviewee had testified to Bowers' love for children: "On holidays, I helped out at the clinic, where I earned some pocket money for school. Bowers as a routine came to Agomanya every Wednesday with a supply of my needs". [273] This interview is an expression of the fact that Bowers did not limit his concern for the girl-child to the confines of the Parish.

One of Bowers' spiritual children observed: "Bowers had a special interest in me. I was very special in his mind and I knew that."[274] She added that she did not know the

[272] Teresa Aku is caterer who educated at St. Anne's Vocational Institute and a beneficiary of Bowers's scholarship. Christian Ashe served under Bishops Bowers and Andoh as secretary, Jeannette Afi Awume and Marian Osei were spiritual daughters of Bowers like the rest of the women. Both of them are on retirement. While Awume was a secretary at FAO, Osei was a businesswoman. I Interview granted the researcher, 28-11-2018.

[273] Aku, previously mentioned, as one of the beloved spiritual children of Bishop Bowers, Interview granted the researcher, 13th November 2017 at Agomanya.

[274] This interview was conducted in confidentiality. The name of the interviewee is withheld by mutual agreement (we use the pseudo name 'Debit' for identification). Interview granted the researcher, December 15, 2017 in Tema, Ghana.

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reason for his special love for her but said: "I can only conjecture that I resembled somebody in his family. Nevertheless, I noticed he had the same attitude towards all the people he extended scholarships to."[275]

It was her grandfather who had formally introduced her (Debit) to Bowers when she was mature enough to engage him in meaningful conversation. That was when she became a student at St Mary's Elementary School, Korle Gonno.

Accordingly, Debit said, Bowers offered her a scholarship to secondary school when he became a Bishop. Bowers was interested in her future career and wanted to know her ambition in life. She disclosed to him that she would like to take up dentistry and he extended her scholarship to cover her entire course.

Nevertheless, Bowers did not love children at the expense of discipline. That was disclosed by this same interviewee:

> Accidentally, his offer of scholarship to cover my education did not go through. The reason for the withdrawal of the scholarship can be attributed to the jealousy of the sisters. When I was in secondary form three, I had a friend who wrote a letter to me from St Louis Secondary School in Kumasi about some bad experiences she was going through and wanted to know my opinion on the issue. In short, she said she had been beaten up by her boyfriend.[276]

She continued:

> I advised her that secondary education was a licence to life and so she should be serious with her education and stop chasing men.[277] I also told her to tell him that if he drank beer, his belly would be like Bishop

[275] This interview was conducted in confidentiality. The name of the interviewee is withheld by mutual agreement. Interview granted the researcher, December 15, 2017 in Tema, Ghana.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid.

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> Bowers'.[278] Unfortunately, the letter got into the possession of the sisters, who showed it to Bowers. He became so angry with me and immediately I was dismissed from the school. I packed bag and baggage and went to his place of residence. When I rang his doorbell, that time I received no response.

She said she went to see Monsignor Vanderpuje[279] to be her arbiter. He in turn encouraged her to go and press the doorbell, since she was his friend. "I felt he had informed him I was around, so I confidently pressed the doorbell and waited, only to be saddened by a long silence. I must confess, the bishop broke my heart," she said.[280] At last, he came and stood at the balcony and addressed her: "Go and help your grandmother and grandfather at home."[281]

In the interviews so far, the study has revealed two characters: Peter, who represents the rural youth, and Debit, who represents the city youth. The contrast between these rural and city dwellers is in their appreciation of Bowers' benevolence to the award of scholarships. Peter was very humble and grateful for the opportunity given to him to further his education. Debit, on the other hand, was complacent and very careless and lost the chance.

However, in a focus group discussion, many expressed the opinion that her punishment was too drastic. She could have been helped to reform. Nonetheless, the two achieved their aims in life. Peter qualified as an engineer and Debit a dentist.

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[278] This interview was conducted in confidentiality. The name of the interviewee is withheld by mutual agreement. Interview granted the researcher, December 15, 2017 in Tema, Ghana.
[279] Rev. Msgr. Samuel Washington Vanderpuje was a priest of Accra diocese. Born 1828 and died 27th May 1976 at Ridge Hospital Accra.
[280] This interview was conducted in confidentiality, name of interviewee is withheld by mutual agreement. Interview granted the researcher; December 15, 2017 at Tema, Ghana.
[281] Ibid.

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Although Bowers seemed withdrawn, as was observed by witnesses, he was very attentive to everything, offering fraternal and charitable service. He visited the homes of children to find ways to improve their lives and learn at first-hand about their needs, such as food or clothing. "Sometimes on seeing the clothes the poor children wore, he asked the bursar to give them the best clothes or what they needed," [282] one witness said.

Once he was on a pastoral visit in a village and noticed a poor child who had come to church in tattered clothes at Asutuare. Bowers entrusted the child to a goldsmith called Wayo,[283] who was his middleman in cases such as that. He took care of all the boy's expenses till he completed school. There were many such cases in many of the villages he paid visits to.[284]

Another witness said: "Bowers loved all, but his love for children was extraordinary. On Christmas Day when I [Theresa] baked cake for him, he preferred to share it among them. He was always amused when he saw children at play and eating. He also loved to watch children stage a drama."[285]

A. Founding of Schools

Under this session, the study discusses the founding of the six schools and the Congregation of the Handmaid of the Divine Redeemer of Accra by Bishop Bowers.

It considers their origin up to their present state.

[282] Bully, interview granted the researcher, December 04, 2017.
[283] The goldsmith' name is Tey Wayo of Asutuare.
[284] Nana Laboki I, Asutuare Manye, the Queenmother of Asutuare; Interview granted the researcher December 11, 2017.
[285] Sister Theresa Adams, HDRs, is currently on retirement and resides at the Old Sister's home at the mother house, Agomanya. Interview granted the researcher, December 11, 2017.

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i. Pope John Minor Seminary and Senior High School (POJOSS) Koforidua

As a new Bishop, with many White missionaries but fewer indigenous Diocesan Priests, Bowers needed indigenous Diocesan Priests to collaborate with him in his pastoral ministry.[286] Accordingly, his maiden pastoral visit to the New Juaben Traditional Area was on 8th November 1953. It was there that the Chief of Effiduase (*Effiduasehene*), who is the *Nifahene* of the New Juaben Traditional Area,[287] and his elders donated a parcel of land and launched an appeal to him for a secondary school.

In response to their request, Bowers established the St. John Seminary and College.[288] The name was later changed to the Pope John XXIII[289] Minor Seminary and Secondary School (POJOSS) because the St. John conflicted with other schools in the Greater Accra Region and elsewhere in the country. Originally, Bishop Bowers' plan was to take an immediate measure by transferring St. Thomas Aquinas School in Accra to Effiduase in Koforidua, but this plan did not materialise.[290]

The intention of Bishop Bowers to establish a seminary was to achieve the goal of spiritual and intellectual formation of the seminarian; that is, the personal maturity of his

[286] Vatican II, *Optatam Totius*, no. 2.
[287] "Chieftaincy: New Juaben Traditional Area Eastern Region of Ghana," File n. ERG, I, 13, 255, Eastern Region Archives of Ghana, Koforidua.
[288] Vatican II, *Optatam Totius*, no. 3.
[289] He was called Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli (1958-1963), before his election, was born in Sotto il Monte, Italy. He joined the secular Franciscan Order in 1889 and professed his vows in 1897.
[290] One of Bowers' witnesses who was his close alliance, Mgrs. Pius Kpeglo, narrated how, as a seminarian, he taught catechism and how boys and girls, men and women walked barefooted during those days. But with the founding of the Ghana Young Pioneers most of the catechumen stopped attending catechism classes, only to reappear later in the Ghana Young Pioneer uniform with shoes on their feet and walking with arms akimbo.

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Christian life, using education as a means to achieve this aim. His concern was the inner growth, the development of the human person and the cultural milieu.[291] For

Bowers, the development of the individual is not only a matter of inner growth. The development of the human being is greatly influenced by the type of culture with which an individual develops. The religion of the individual is not just his personal making. It does not just come from the inside of the person. Religion is considered to a greater degree than we realise by the particular culture in which we live.

Mindful of the fact that a religious person tended to minimise the effect of the corporeal dimension of the human person, Bowers showed that that dimension was basic to the human being. For him, for religion to be meaningful, it must help persons interpret and make sense of their inner striving, desires, passions, inclinations and emotions. Complete religious expression allows the human person to utilise these dimensions in their proper form: Human formation, Spiritual formation, Intellectual formation and Pastoral formation. [292]

In a sense, Bowers founded the seminary to appeal not only to the human person's mind but also his physical and emotional needs. Therefore, the seminary curricula utilised the arts of music, painting, architecture, spiritual conferences and theatre in its appeal to the entire human person. Hence, religious feelings are not to be considered a lower expression of religion than religious thinking.

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[291] Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, *Spiritual Formation in Seminaries and Instruction on Liturgical Formation* (Boston: St. Paul's Books and Media, n.d), no. 1.
[292] John Paul II, *Pastores Dabo Vobis*, nn. 42, 43, 45, 51 & 57.
[299] Vatican II, *Optamtam Totius*, no. 1.

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In Bowers' opinion, each person had his own social history and identity. Often, we tend to put people into groups or categories. This is true as far as there are similarities among persons. But each person has created his own personal and social identity within a particular culture in which he or she was nurtured and the particular type of relationships that he or she has had.[299] This creates a difficult problem for teachers, hence, Bowers' insistence on trained teachers. It means that serious seminary formation cannot be mass-production. It must include real relationships among persons, and that was exactly what the seminary which Bishop Bowers founded had provided for.

In January 1955, Fr Jud, SVD, Dr Balduricus and Dr Lucian Orians constructed the first building --- one classroom block and a combined Fathers' Residence cum Administration block in the early years. In 1957, Brother Demian Brockman, SVD, constructed the Science Block (which now serves as a students' dormitory called Elsebern House).

In October 1957, Bowers appointed Fr Elsebern as the first Headmaster and Seminary Rector, assisted by Frs. O'Sullivan and Joseph Skorupka. Providentially, on 21st January 1958, a budding institution, St John's Seminary and College, opened with 45 students: 14 seminarians and 31 day students in two classes. On September 1, 1968, the St John Seminary and College was absorbed into the Ghana Education Service as a government-assisted secondary school. Today, there are professional teaching staff of 90 and a non-teaching staff of 94. The student population has grown to 1,845, with 50 in the Minor Seminary.

In conclusion, POJOSS which was commenced by Bowers as a mustard seed now ranks among the best schools in Ghana, making its mark on all fronts: academic, sports, music, discipline, etc. The school now boast hundreds of former students who have been ordained as Priests of the Catholic Church, including Archbishop Palmer Buckle.

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Others have become Pastors for other churches and many more can be found in all spheres of life, both on the local and the international job market, contributing in diverse ways to the development of humanity.

ii. St Peter's Senior High School, Nkwatia

Bowers was also the founder of the above-mentioned school. The first Headmaster of the school, Clement Hotze, who was appointed by Bowers, revealed this. In a very brief historical account of how it all began, Hotze said: "The school was founded in January of 1957."[293] On one of his pastoral visits as Bishop of the Accra Diocese, Bowers met with Nana Asante Yiadom III, his elders and influential people of the town. The mission of the members of the Royal Family was to request for a secondary school for their town. Bowers gave a favourable response to their request, but on condition that they were prepared to cooperate fully with him to execute the project. The deal was sealed on 5th January 1957 when the site earmarked for the project was shown to the Bishop.

As their local contribution, the chief donated 80 acres to the Catholic Mission for the development of the school. Later, under the able leadership of their chief, Nana Atuobi Yiadom IV, the people of Nkwatia provided communal labour over the years. In particular, they contributed to filling up the foundations. The people did, indeed, cooperate, but the SVD provided some of the funds for the development of the physical infrastructure of the school. Without that steady contribution, the development and growth of St Peter's would never have reached its present state.

[293] Clement Hotze, "Speech and Speech and Prize-giving Day," St. Peter's Secondary School. Nkwatia, Kwahu,

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With the rapid progress of the school, the Ministry of Education gave approval for the construction of the science block and it was handed over to the SVD, since they had the experts to oversee the work. September of the subsequent year was set as the deadline for completion.

Originally, classes began on 5th February 1957, after the appointment of the headmaster and the administration of the oath of office by Bowers. In that same year, a classroom block was started on the site and was completed for use in January 1958 and classes began on the same day. It is noteworthy that at that time, Ghana had just gained independence and so it was not until September 1960 that the Ministry of Education gave approval to the school with the status of an encouraged school within the Ministry of Education.

The first batch of students who sat for the School Certificate Examination for the first time passed with an average of 60 per cent. In that same year, boarding facilities were sited permanently on the school compound, which were completed in 1961. An America charitable foundation known as Fourteen Cross Roaders, together with the Ghana Works Camp Association, built a classroom block for Forms One and Two.

Subsequently, the sixth form was started in September 1964. In a few years, the school's infrastructure included nine staff bungalows, with an additional one being constructed. Two flats for housemasters' residence were attached to the dormitory. Additionally, a one-storey dormitory was built with a capacity to house over 400 students. One staff bungalow was strategically attached to the classroom block for the effective supervision of students.

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Three classroom blocks were constructed for students of the secondary school, with one classroom block for the sixth form and a library situated within the building with a capacity to hold 5,000 volumes of books. One science block with laboratories for Physics and Chemistry and an additional science lecture hall with a seating capacity of 230 students was constructed. A dining hall with a seating capacity for 380 students was built. Provision was made for one kitchen with a storeroom and an oven for baking bread.

Naturally, the presence of a member of the SVD necessitated the building of a house for the promotion of Vocation to the Order. Again, on the seminary (novitiate) side, three blocks were constructed for the seminarians, with two study halls and a dormitory, together with a recreation room and a dining hall. One swimming pool which measured 70 by 70 feet was constructed. A science block, a water tower and special study rooms were built.

Furthermore, in order to provide electricity for the school, one powerhouse was constructed as shelter for two generators with a capacity of 17 KVA. A large school church with a seating capacity for 450 to 500 students was built.

In all, the Catholic Mission provided the funds which were used to build the structures. However, it was acknowledged that in 1965, grants were given through *Misereor* to the SVD, on condition that the funds were equally disbursed on dormitory and classroom projects.

In retrospect, on the 10th anniversary of the school, the headmaster said: "It has been a period of hard work and careful planning."[294] His hope was that St Peter's would

[294] Clement Hotze, *Speech and Prize Giving.*

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continue to grow and develop for the good of the youth of Kwahu and surrounding areas and for the good of Ghana and the world.

Additionally, there is documented evidence that there were fewer diocesan priests among the expatriates, and that Father Andoh, who later became Bishop, was a diocesan priest at the time under investigation. A witness said: "Bowers had no choice but to rely on the SVD priests and appointed Hotze as the first headmaster of St Peter's Secondary School. At that time, the diocese and SVD were conterminous. The Bishop was also SVD, and, hence, naturally, it appeared to be the same body. I know for a fact that SVDs had the strong hope to make St Peter's their own. I knew this while in POJOSS. But in POJOSS they could not influence much because they were there to help the Diocese."[295]

Finally, Bishop Bowers did not allow SVD seminarians to mix up with the diocesan seminarians, since, if such a situation was allowed, the attraction to become an SVD seminarian was greater and more seminarians would end up going to join the SVDs because they had all the influence, both nationally and internationally. It was, therefore, likely that he might have allowed them to have St Peter's, but it is very difficult to be conclusive. On the other hand, since he was the Bishop, they might have petitioned him, and as the bishop, he could have said no to their petition.[303]

iii. St Rose's Senior High School, Akwatia

As a result of the acceleration of the educational development plan in Ghana after independence, Bowers took a cue from the concern expressed by the government for more

[295] Fr. Samuel Batsa; Interview granted the researcher, 9-05-2017
[303] Ibid.

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teachers and the act passed by the Cabinet. He requested for a training college and was given a Sister, in addition to Sister Victricia, who was then the Regional Superior and a teacher who held the fort until two other Sisters were sent.

In 1965, the St Rose's Teacher Training College was opened, among several others in the same year due to a shortage of teachers. After the first batch of students graduated, the school was converted to a secondary school and enrolled students for the GCE Ordinary Level Certificate.

Some of the correspondence between the Ministry of Education and the Principal of the St Rose's Training College in 1966 suggested that the school was strictly under the administration of the ministry. All decisions of the principal were scrutinised. That included academic performance, disciplinary measures, admissions, etc.[296]

Already, the study has had some sketches on the modest beginning of St Rose's[297] from the point of view of the founder (Bishop Bowers). The contribution of the community was remarkable. At a meeting held at Akwatia-Ahenfie on 27th August 1964, both the Akwatia Town Development Committee and the Akwatia Traditional Authority, under the leadership of the Akwatiahene, Barimah Kofi Bempong II, passed a resolution that gave birth to the establishment of the school. In that resolution, the Roman Catholic Mission was to be approached, through the Kade/Akwatia Local Council, to establish a teacher training college for male, female or mixed schools at Akwatia during the 1965/66 academic year. Among other things, the resolution indicated that the three

[296] M. J. Dadzie, to Beatrix Kool, "Application for Termination of Course, 19th November 1966 and Warning to Students, 15th December 1966," File, n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 3, 98, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

[297] St Rose of Lima (1586-16-17) was a Spanish colony, Rose was known for a life of severe austerity and her care for the needy in her city. She was a member of the Dominican Order in the third order (lay person). She was the first person in the Americas to be canonised by the Catholic Church.

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middle schools at Akwatia: the Local Council Boys' School, the Local Council (Presbyterian) Middle School and Local Council Middle Mixed School, should be given to the Catholic Mission to be used to establish a training college.

Based on the decision reached, the three schools were relocated, and the Catholic Mission took over the administration. The church further added a dining hall, a kitchen and bathrooms to the existing buildings. The Dominican Sisters of Speyer, Germany, funded the construction of the buildings. Sr. Victricia Koch, the Superior-General of the Dominican Sisters in Ghana, and Fr. Lobianco, the then Parish Priest of the Catholic Church at Akwatia, supervised the work.

On 25th November 1965, the first batch of students, numbering 80, arrived. Studies started seriously with only six teachers. In September 1969, the training college was converted to a secondary school with an enrolment of 72 students.

The sixth form course for Arts subjects began in 1984. Throughout the years, the school kept strictly to a yearly intake of 72 students of two streams for the Ordinary Level and about 22 students for the sixth form. It helped the school authorities to get to know all students personally and coach them through their secondary education.

As of 2017/18, the school had a total student population of 1,138, with 110 teachers and 63 nonteaching staff. From its modest beginnings, St. Rose's has grown over the years to become one of the best girls' high schools in the country because of its high academic standards, including science and moral discipline.

In conclusion, one of the past students has testified: "I am proud to be an old student…it gave me not just great education but also taught me the morals of life…Education is mainly concerned with the acquisition of knowledge to build character that will not

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merely solve problems but also positively change the world and progressively make it a better place."[298] These are the ideals of Catholic education: the formation and transformation of the human person for the evangelisation of the world.

iv. St Martin de Porres Senior High School, Adoagyiri, Nsawam

The pastoral mission of the SVD congregation was evangelism, with a view that it would culminate in deeper Christian faith. It is with that understanding that Bowers, a member of the society and Bishop of the Diocese of Accra, contemplated school apostolate as an essential part of the transmission of Gospel values in the young generation. Therefore, he did not hesitate in granting permission for the establishment of the St Martin de Porres Senior High School at Adoagyiri-Nsawam. However, the original idea for its establishment was to serve as a novitiate for the formation of SVD Religious Missionary Brothers. It was not slated to be a secondary school or a training college, as it is today. Nevertheless, circumstances guided the deliberations to finally arrive at the establishment of a secondary school as the better option. Consequently, the initial enrolment of 12 brothers became the pioneers of the school in 1964 and operated as a private school.

The next issue was the choice of a name. As a solution, the brothers were tasked to propose a name for the school. Providentially, the beatification of Martin de Porres, a Dominican Religious Brother from Lima in Peru, was fresh in the memory of the people at the epoch of the Universal Church and so his name was unanimously acclaimed. Naturally, their choice was given approval by the authorities of the SVD Order.

[298] Marietta Brew Appiah-Oppong, "Speech Delivered by Hon. Marietta Brew Appiah-Opong, Ghana's Attorney General and Minister for Justice," St Rose's Senior High School Golden Jubilee Celebration Brochure, 7-8.

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Gradually, what began as a Formation Centre was steadily transformed into a secondary school and 92 students were admitted to Form One, with the first Headmaster as Fr Jacques Nijsen.

In 1969, the construction of the first boys' dormitory block was started at the present location of the school at Adoagyiri. The late Nana Adu-Korkor II, the Adoagyirihene, and his elders offered the piece of land on which the school is presently sited. In 1970, the Brother Lawrence Carpentry Shop was converted into the existing dining hall for the boarders. The chiefs, elders and people of Adoagyiri pleaded with Bishop Bowers for the school to be co-educational and their request was granted for it to become the first Catholic mixed secondary school in Ghana.

Even though the co-educational system was adopted, it is hoped that it was in response to the request of the people, as the social teachings of the church has stressed the freedom of parents and guardians to educate their children: a system of education that was in accordance with the religious convictions which inspired their lives and the freedom to send these children to catechism class and religious instruction offered by their religious community.[299]

As of the time of writing this (2014-2017), the staff population of the school stood at 21 females and 54 males on the teaching staff, with non-teaching staff of 36 males and 21 females. A breakdown of the student population was as follows: Form One: boys, 371, girls, 360; Form Two: boys, 394, girls, 278; Form Three; boys, 390, girls, 352. The grand total of students was 2,145.

[299] Vatican II, *Gravissimum Educationis,* no. 3.

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For supporting activities, like most Catholic schools, the students actively participated to keep fit, coupled with a high level of discipline. Academically, 1,284 out of the 1,343 candidates presented for the 2017 WASSCE, representing 95.6 per cent, qualified to tertiary institutions.

In conclusion, this study has reflected on Bowers' administrative and pastoral strategy as inspired by his love for the girl child. He took the risk to establish a co-educational Catholic school, the first of its kind in the country. Also, he placed the interest of young people over and above a formation house for his own confrères or religious brothers. Thus, his contribution to the education of the youth of both sexes and the alleviation of poverty in the promotion of the evangelisation of the Ghanaian was in the right direction for integral human development.

v. St Anne's Vocational School, Nuaso

According to popular tradition, Nene Azu Mate Korle donated the land at Nuaso to Bishop Bowers in his capacity as the Diocesan Bishop. Nene was then the Paramount Chief of the Manya Krobo Traditional Area.

Historically, Bishop Bowers established the St Anne's Vocational School on 8th September 1963 because of his strong belief that given the opportunity, women could achieve the unimaginable. To realise his conviction, Bowers established that institution for the development of women, especially under-privileged girls/women who, for some reason, could not further their studies. In order to achieve his vision, he also established the women's religious congregation known as the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer (HDR), under whose auspices the institute was placed.

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Exclusively, Bowers aimed at providing vocational skills by training some young girls/women to acquire knowledge in catering/fashion design. The institute was commenced with four girls at Agomanya. Officially, the Ghana Education Service registered the institute with a private status on 2nd June 1965 and the pioneers graduated on 12th December 1966.

He helped to educate a lot of people. St Anne's offered free education for poor and needy girls. Steadily, as the population of students increased, it became necessary that the school be relocated to its present premises at Nuaso in the Lower Manya municipality in the Eastern Region in December 1967.

The following are some of the guiding principles personally formulated by Bowers:

1. To provide young women with opportunities to develop their God-given talents.
2. To educate young women to understand their responsibilities and rights as citizens of Ghana and encourage them to be of service to their country and neighbours.
3. To prepare young women to become ideal future housewives and instil in them love and appreciation of womanhood. It is also to create the awareness among them of their responsibilities as future mothers of Ghana.
4. To train young women adequately to become independent.

In respect of the aforementioned, the school has trained many girls/women since its inception and continues to do so. The present enrolment (2017/2018 academic year) stands at 100 students. The following is the breakdown: In Form One, there were 16 girls offering fashion and 11 in the catering class. In Form Two, 10 girls studied

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fashion, with 17 in the catering class. Ten girls were in the Form Three fashion class, with 11 in the catering class. In Form Four, there were five students who took fashion and 20 enrolled in the catering class.

Academically, the school's performance has always been good and is one of the best vocational institutes in the country, with an average of between 95 and 100 per cent passes. There were 17 teaching staff and eight non-teaching staff, making 25 in all, and four of the HDR sisters as of the 2017/2018 academic year.

vi. St Paul's Technical Institute, Kukurantumi

Since Bishop Bowers' pastoral strategy was the use of education for evangelisation and human development, he did not only develop the cognitive domain with formal secondary education, as was the desire expressed by Osei[300] above, but also established a technical institute. Subsequently, in February 1957, the St Paul's Technical Institute became the first Catholic technical school in Ghana. It was established with the aim to train the youth to acquire technical skills and make them employable and self-reliant.

It is noteworthy to mention the composition of the team that gave birth to St Paul's Technical. They were Bishop Bowers, then Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Accra, who provided the funds; Nana Kwame Kena II, the then Adontenhene of the Akyem Abuakwa Traditional Area and Chief of Kukurantumi, who released a parcel of land and additionally mobilised his subjects for communal labour, and Fr John Harpel, SVD, who became the first principal of the school.

[300] Marian Osei (Neé Dokye is a businesswoman); Interview granted the researcher 27th November 2018 at the Holy Spirit Cathedral, Adabraka.

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Originally, the school started in a rented cocoa shed with an initial enrolment of 18 pioneer students. Of that number, 14 were able to graduate in 1960 with diplomas awarded by the school. The only course offered was Block laying and Concreting with integrated Carpentry. Samuel Otchere, a contractor by profession, constructed the Mission House, which also served as the first classrooms and later the administration block. Subsequently, the science block was built in 1960, which also served as a classroom and workshop.

The accelerated educational plan of Ghana in the 1960s tied in with the institute's rapid expansion and development. With the help of some benefactors, the following courses were introduced: auto mechanics, electrical installation work and mechanical engineering, craft practice. It was not until 1962 when the school provided boarding facilities for 20 students. In 1968, the second Principal, Fr Joseph Sprehe, registered the candidates with City and Guilds of London Institute for external examination and still awarded its own diplomas.

In effect, the aim for which the institute was established has been achieved; some of its products have become businessmen, teachers, estate developers, engineers, contractors, lecturers, to mention but a few.[301]

vii. Founding of the Congregation of Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer

In one of Bishop Bowers' letters to Mother Fabiola, he mentioned *African Sisters* (referring to the Congregation he founded).[302] Some of those African sisters have testified that during the colonial era, some Western European missionaries had argued, without

[301] "Brief History of St Paul's Technical School," St. Paul Technical School 60th Anniversary Brochure.
[302] Bowers to Mother Fabiola, August 5, 1963.

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any evidence, that the native Africans saw no advantage in enrolling their daughters in schools.[303] They argued that the Africans saw the woman's role as more useful at home; fetching water and firewood, caring for younger ones, or selling food and marketing goods on the streets and in the marketplaces to augment the family income.

With that negative view of African girls, there was very little attempt at getting vocation to form an educated indigenous congregation of sisters in the country. Again, without studying their belief systems and practices, the Europeans concluded that the African tradition favoured more marriage than virginity[304], that parents were reluctant and unwilling to permit their girls to enter the religious life.

On the contrary, Bowers was convinced that African girls needed rules and regulations which were more adapted to African culture and way of life.[305] With the consent and cooperation of the SSpS Sisters and funding from the Dominican Sisters, Bowers founded a Diocesan congregation of African Sisters called Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer (HDR). The SSpS Sisters loaned Sister Providencial to Bowers to form and train the aspirants. In March of 1954, the foundation of the congregation of Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer was laid at the St Mary's Girls' Senior High School at Korle Gonno, with seven aspirants in formation.

This study has conducted detailed investigations into the circumstances surrounding the beginning of the foundation of the HDR. The idea to found the congregation was conceived by Bishop Noser. His initial attempt to recruit won him Elizabeth Cobbina, who

[303] Kathleen Fallon, "Education and Perceptions of Social Status and Power among Women in Larteh Ghana," *Africa Today* 46 (1999), 67-91.
[304] John Cadwell and Patrick Cadwell, "The Cultural Context of High Fertility in Sub-Saharan Africa," 13, *Population and Development Review* 13), 409-437.
[305] John XXIII, *To Women Religious*, July 2, 1962, (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1963), 3-4.

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hailed from Kumasi, in 1952. In 1953, three girls from Akim Swedru and one from Nkawkaw joined her. Sister Virginia, SSpS, whose country of origin was Ghana and was a native of Keta but joined her congregation while in Steyl, Holland, was appointed postulant mistress. For some mysterious circumstances known only to the aspirants, they all left in September of the same year. Bishop Noser was transferred to Papua New Guinea and Bishop Bowers was appointed as his successor in that same year.

Subsequently, after he had taken canonical possession of the diocese of Accra in 1954, Bowers rejuvenated the plan to found a congregation with new recruitment of aspirants. His efforts paid off with the following aspirants: Antonia Kofie from Akim Swedru, Veronica Sesi from Battor and Regina Asare from Kibi. Elizabeth Cobbina and Anna Gagli from Tsevie in Togo joined them. Sister Virginia left on health grounds back to Style, Holland, and was replaced by Sr Providencial Hein, SSpS.[306]

Originally, the first postulants lived in a house called "Mosquito House" on the compound of SSpS' Most Pure Heart of Mary Convent at Korle Gonno, Accra. That house earned that name because many mosquitos perched on the inner side of its walls. Some of the aspirants were admitted as students at the St Mary's Secondary School, while others were given tuition by Sr Patrice, SSpS, with Fr George Wilson, SVD, and Fr Bernard Ato, a diocesan priest, as confessor and teacher, respectively.

The budding congregation was relocated to the "Red House", situated at the Holy Spirit Cathedral, Adabraka, where their community life began. Bishop Bowers and Fr Wilson took turns and celebrated daily Holy Mass for the group. However, on

[306] "Brief History of the Sisters of the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer," Brochure of the Golden Jubilee Celebration of the HDR.

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Sundays, they walked to the church at St Joseph (now the Quality Insurance Company (QIC) office.

Brother Damien, SVD, supervised the sod-cutting for the construction of a new convent at an old cemetery at Agomanya in 1955. That same year saw the arrival of Elizabeth, Bernadette Adobea, Helena Awoyo and Matina Adams from Elmina. On 10th June 1955, the new convent was named Our Lady of Fatima and blessed by Bishop Bowers. The convent still serves as Mother House of the Congregation.

On 2nd February 1957, on the feast of the Presentation of the Lord, the Propaganda Fide gave a Formal Degree of the Erection of the Congregation. The first profession of vows in the congregation took place at the Holy Trinity Parish, Agomanya, and was presided over by Bishop Bowers.[307]

Today, the numerical strength of the HDRs is 102. The breakdown is as follows: first professed sisters are 80; temporary professed sisters, 10; novices, nine, and postulancy, six. Some of these sisters are nurses practising in hospitals and pharmacies, professional teachers in various grades of schools, lecturer in universities and graduates.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has examined education as one of the two pillars for integral human development to alleviate poverty and ignorance in the Accra Diocese under Bishop Bowers. Additionally, it highlighted the historical overview of Catholic Education in the Catholic Church and Bishop Bowers' view and contribution to Education. The study has discovered that Bowers was very passionate about education, especially

[307] Brochure of the Golden Jubilee, "Brief History of the Sisters of the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer"

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for the girl-child. That passion was not sentimental but may be due to the transfer of his love for his late illiterate mother to all girls to realise their potential. Probably it was also because Catholic social teachings are founded on the faith vision of the human person who, according to Scriptures, is created in the image and likeness of God and redeemed by Jesus Christ (cf. Genesis1: 27). The resources of this faith are the principal means for human development. Therefore, the church perceives human dignity as its bedrock. This was the reason for his option for the poor.

This passion for the development of the girl-child, humanity and the poor led him to favour the teaching profession, as against the medical or nursing profession. His preference may be due to his background as the son of a teacher. This was very evident in the number of girls he encouraged to take up the teaching profession. The study also affirms from the fact that his era was the pre- and post-Vatican II, when science was looked upon with suspicion and so he wanted to remain loyal to the church.

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CHAPTER FIVE

BOWERS AND HEALTH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Bowers' contribution to health and human development in the Catholic Diocese of Accra. It examines his views on health and contribution to health delivery services by reviewing the narratives of selected witnesses and the history of health facilities he founded.

5.2 Health and Human Development in the Roman Catholic Church

In relation to Church and State in healthcare delivery, the Catholic Church had prepared a working document for its members, known as the encyclical letter, *Rerum Novarum* by Pope Leo XIII (1891). That document became the Magna Carta of contemporary social teachings of the church. In it, the Pope examined and analysed the social situation and rejected both the socialist and the laissez-faire approaches to organising society. He pointed out the responsibilities all of us (including political leaders) had for communities to defend the dignity and value of the worker, including their right to receive a just wage and to organise into unions.[308]

In the early years of Bowers' ministry as a Bishop, there were few health facilities in the Gold Coast. Catholic health practitioners were faced with a number of challenges to the integrity of their divine mission of the salvation of souls.[317] It was this quintessentially doctrinal subject which the church took as the basis for its considerations. It was well aware of how immensely difficult it was for those who were not Christians or who had no belief in a life beyond this life on earth to give meaning to life and to death.

[308] Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, no.74, 76; Vatican II, *Dei Verbum*, n.10.

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Christians, too, will admit that their position is not specific. But what really is at stake is the defence of the fundamental rights of the human individual. The Church cannot waver, as far as these rights are concerned. All the more so because these rights are so very much in the foreground of political and legislative activities in a morally and religiously pluralistic society like the Gold Coast. There is the need to convince people for whom everything ends at death and about what respect is due their own life and the lives of others after death. In this respect, the surest arguments are those which show what consequences are brought on society by the lack of rigid measures taken for the protection of human life.

Besides these challenges were the religious and moral pluralism of the Gold Coast society, coupled with the financial challenges of the newly created Diocese of Accra. As the study has noted, the Catholic Church does not exist only to provide good health; it is essentially a moral agent which seeks the good health of the human person formally as its own. However, developments in science have influenced medical practice more and more, particularly in the treatment of illnesses. This state of affairs raises problems of a theological and ethical nature on which health professionals are eager to be enlightened. Christian members of these professions working in Christian surroundings have long been concerned about these problems. Even more so are Christians obliged to work in non-Christian surroundings or pluralistic religious and moral societies and who, for this reason, desire that their work be inspired by their faith and bear witness to it.

Unfortunately, Catholic Medical ethics are, for many people, a matter of speculation, of more or less accurate information and of erroneous ideas and all these beget great

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confusion. It is in this light that the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith[309] has, as the first corollary of this fundamental concept, the idea that to give up life of one's own choice is to give up striving towards an end which not we but God has established. A human being has been called upon to make his life useful; he may not destroy it at will. His duty is to care for his body, its functions and its organs; to do everything he can to render himself capable of attaining to God. This duty implies giving up things which, in themselves, may be good. This duty sometimes requires that we sacrifice health and life: our concern for them cannot allow us to deny the claim of superior values in defence of the faith. All the same, in the matter of cares to be taken for maintaining good health and preserving life, a correct proportion must be arrived at regarding both the superior good perhaps at stake and also the concrete conditions in which the human person lives.

Catholic healthcare facilities in the Gold Coast/Ghana had in the past fought, and still fight, fervently to avoid intervention they deemed intrinsically immoral, such as abortion, euthanasia and suffering. These challenges notwithstanding, the Catholic health sector had made numerous accommodations and changes on how it operates. This is in response to the growing pluralism of our society, but it has resisted crossing certain boundaries in providing particular interventions deemed objectively wrong. It is based on one principle of the medical good: that the patient wants to be healthy. Thus, the Catholic Church exists to promote the harmony between the good as wanted by the patient and the good as sought by the act of medicine. It is not to be disharmonised by the purpose society introduces into the assessment of what is to be done by legislation.

[309] Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Declaration on Euthanasia* (Boston: St. Paul Books & Media, May 5, 1980).

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Therefore, the Catholic Church seeks the medical good of the patient as its good and pursues professionally the good health of the patient[310]

When in a dilemma in decision-making, the Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC), the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and founded on the teachings of Aquinas serve as a guide as to what ought to be done.

The following principles are to be applied, and in case of doubt, consideration should be given to: a) an agent's intentions and the circumstances of a case; b) the morality of an act.[311] Further expatiating on this point, Aquinas appealed to the Catholic tradition that the three sources of morality are: the moral object (the specific kind of action chosen), the intention (the reason for which an agent chooses a particular kind of action) and circumstances (considerations of the conditions under which an act was chosen and performed). All three features shape the morality of actions and all three must be good for an act to be morally good.

Even though the intention and circumstances shape the moral character of actions, objectively wrong acts cannot be rendered morally right or good because of good intentions or difficult circumstances. Objectively wrong acts remain objectively wrong. Although they do not make their analysis explicit, as it appears (for example, a desire to relieve a patient's suffering) difficult circumstances (for example, a terminally ill patient with metastatic cancer and intractable pain) cannot render particular acts of euthanasia permissible. This assertion is based on the fact that objectively wrong acts cannot be made right because of the intentions or circumstances, and that "one may never do

[310] Sokolowski, *Christian Faith*, 244.
[311] St. Thomas Aquinas, *The Summa Theologiae IA IIAE*, trans. T.C. Obrien (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972), question 18.

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evil so that good may result from it".[312] Objectively wrong acts are objectively wrong, and the Magisterium consistently has held that euthanasia is objectively wrong. Thus, while it is true that the church holds that the objective of the act, the intention and the circumstances are all relevant for judging the morality of actions, it also holds that objectively wrong acts are never rendered morally permissible through good intentions or difficult circumstances. Hence, "Euthanasia" must be used only to mean "to put an end to a patient's life by a specific act". Pope Pius XII made it abundantly clear that understood by this meaning, euthanasia could never be sanctioned.[313]

In conclusion, this study cautions the temptation of medical science to believe that it is sufficient remedy for suffering. Human suffering, very frequently, contains an element of anguish, of fear in the face and of the unknown, brought about by severe illness and the nearness of death. Drugs can diminish anguish, but, more often than not, they are powerless to relieve it completely. It is *only a human presence,* discreet and attentive, that can procure the relief so much needed by allowing the sick person to express his thoughts and by giving him human and spiritual comfort.

Concerning developing countries, especially in Africa, this study emphasises how important it is for the human being to end her/his days on earth with his/her personality. As far as possible, it is his or her whole and entire, both in himself or herself, and in his or her relationships with his or her milieu, and especially with the family. In countries which are less developed technically and less affected by sophistication, the family gathers round the dying person and her/himself feels a need --- almost an essential right --- to be thus surrounded. The study has observed that given the conditions required for

[312] John Paul II, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, n. 1756.
[313] Pius XII, "Allocution of 24th of November 1957," *Documentation Catholique*, 1609.

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certain therapies and the total isolation imposed by them upon the sick person, it is not out of place to state that the right to die as a human being and *with dignity demands* this social dimension.

5.3 Historical Overview of Health Services in the Gold Coast

There is very little research work done on this topic. However, the study has summarised an article by Hawe below.[314] Nevertheless, the study reminds us of the past history of health services in the Gold Coast in order to appreciate the views and contributions of Bowers to Catholic health services in the Accra Diocese.

Anthropologically, the conception of the nature of illness and the practice employed for healing was common to the various tribes of the Gold Coast before the advent of Europeans. That, undoubtedly, resembled that still practised today by some of their descendants in rural districts of Ghana. This is based on transcendental beliefs and closely related to a polytheistic religious worldview. All sicknesses and health are believed to be ultimately of supernatural origin. The survival of this traditional herbal medicine in modern Ghana, despite the giant strides made by Western medicine, demonstrates how deeply entrenched this Ghanaian worldview is.

Historically, during the colonial era in the Gold Coast, naval military surgeons who travelled with the early traders and adventurers in the 16th century attended to their health needs. In the 17th century, knowledge of tropical fevers and the crude surgical procedures practised among European doctors proved very inadequate as antidote to the tropical diseases. The castles, forts and trade centres were infested with diseases, which culminated in high mortality rate and earned for the Guinea Coast, as the Gold

[314] See, A. J. Hawe, "Looking Back," *Ghana Medical Journal* 1, no. 1 (September 1962): 16-18.

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Coast was referred to, the nickname: "The White man's grave". Among the recognisable diseases were malaria and black water fever, yaws and trypanosomiasis. The only known concoctions were made from cinchona bark and later quinine salts were seen to possess curative powers against African fevers.

Later, the advent of Christianity saw the coming of more Western Christian missionaries. They brought a new and more philosophical approach to the nature of tropical diseases. In addition to the preaching of the Gospel, they visited the sick and established schools and hospitals. About 1874, following the introduction of colonial administration by the British, doctors were sent to Africa and hospitals built. Subsequently, following the founding of the West African Medical Service, European nursing sisters began the training of African nurses.[315] The need for pharmacists was the result of African doctors.[316]

Consequently, Western Medicine began to gain popularity in the Gold Coast between 1920 and 1930. Many patients flocked to consult doctors and hospitals, clamouring for injections. The sudden change in attitude was due to the fact that there was cocoa harvest boom and the price of the commodity soared in the 1920s. Medical researches into tropical medicine were intensified, despite the fact that the First World War disrupted the research efforts. It was not until 1920 that a new injection was discovered for the cure of yaws, which was first introduced in the colony by Dr C. E. Reindorf. That was a great success, since the new injection rapidly cured yaws. That played a very important role in the popularization of hospitals and doctors and paved the way for the

[315] "Report of the Committee on the Training of Nurses for the Colonies, 1945-1946," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 354, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.
[316] "Training of Male Nurses and Pharmacies in the United Kingdom, 1949," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 693, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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success of Western medicine. Also, surgery became popular with the successful surgical operation of hernias. Thus, patients with such conditions sought help for relief from hospitals, rather than from their traditional healing centres.

Furthermore, in the 1920, pulmonary tuberculosis was outstanding in importance in the Gold Coast. That was because it was very difficult to diagnose, and its incidence was high. That disease was most feared because the facts about it were distorted by ignorance and superstition. In addition, the Korle Bu Hospital had fewer successes in its attempt at treatment. Other diseases were lobar pneumonia, anaemia, sickle cell and Kwashiokor.

Malaria was predominant and was one of the known causes of high infant mortality. Before 1936, quinine was the only anti-malaria available. Black water fever was common and at the Ridge Hospital, 30 cases a year were recorded, with 15 deaths. Black water fever was most commonly seen in Europeans. Synthetic anti-malarial were introduced about 1937 and completely altered the outlook in the treatment of malaria. The severity of malaria decreased, and the incidence of black water fever fell.

Also, yellow fever was a serious disease of great economic importance occurring in outbreaks at irregular intervals. An epidemic broke out in Accra in 1928 and again in 1937.[317] In 1918, Dr Noguchi, practising in Mexico, separated a spirochaete from a supposed yellow fever case. He further prepared a vaccine that he claimed was protective against yellow fever. It was confirmed that the effective agent was a filter-passing virus.

[317] "Epidemic Disease-Outbreak of 1935-1964," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 75, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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In view of his success, Noguchi, well immunized with his own vaccine, came to Accra in 1928 and was given facilities to work at the Medical Research Institute. Mosquitoes fed on yellow fever cases were used to passage the virus to batches of monkeys. At that time the dangers of mosquito passage of yellow fever virus were hardly appreciated, and the precautions were inadequate. First, Young, the Director of the Medical Research Institute, fell ill with yellow fever and within a few days Noguchi himself also contracted the disease. Both were dead within a short time. In reaction to the tragedy, Selwyn Clark destroyed all the infected monkeys and mosquitoes in the Research Institute and removed a serious threat to the health of residents of Korle Bu and Accra. Adrian Stokes also died from yellow fever in Lagos. Those deaths proved a tragic prelude to many others, but finally a protective vaccine was produced which afforded complete protection.

As a result, a danger of considerable economic importance to West Africa had at last been overcome and the increasing danger of spread to India had been averted. It is known that Noguchi was working with Weil's disease and not yellow fever in 1918.

These brilliant and great successes in therapeutics must not be allowed to outshine the importance of the great advances resulting from more mundane methods. The spread of education and the continued and accelerated increase in the number of schools and colleges[318] contributed as great impetus to the fight against disease. That situation, which combated illnesses in the best possible way, was widely disseminated. Information concerning nutrition and food values helped to build a healthier young

[318] "Accelerated Development Plan, 1955-1967," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 24, National Archives of Ghana Accra.

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generation.[319] The more educated the population, the greater the co-operation to be expected in mass health measures introduced by the government.[320]

Second only to education is the introduction of safe water to towns and villages. That measure alone prevented many diseases and made a most substantial contribution to the happiness and health of the community. It was evident that both these factors had been silently and not obstructively working to raise the health standard of the nation.

In conclusion, it is important that this study recapitulate here some memories of the past for posterity, since memories are short lived. The occurrence of bubonic plague in Kumasi in 1923 is worth recalling because the drastic steps taken by Sewlyn Clark to burn down the rat-infested quarters of the town stamped out the plague. The result was very decisive, because from the ruins of the burnt slums a new model of "Garden City" sprang. Also, the inhabitants of Accra were plagued with guinea worm disease in the early nineteenth twenties. Even some doctors were infested with this painful and time-consuming disease.

The introduction of piped water supply and closing of infested wells was followed by the rapid dying out of the disease in the city. The presence of relapsing fever in Accra in the thirties was maintained by its incidence among the migrant laborers who came from Haute Volta district. Measures were taken to rid these itinerant strangers before they reached the city and the fever was successfully wiped out. Similarly, a high incidence of cerebrospinal fever occurred periodically among Kroo population and others who provided labour for working population and others who provided labor for working

[319] "National Food and Nutrition Board-Education and Nutrition, Committee: Meetings and Minutes, 1960-1962 in Ghana, 1967-1970" File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 418-1, 419-1, 420, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.
[320] "Health Education 1969," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 1, 99, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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the harbour lighterages. Bad housing was the main factor in keeping this disease alive and it persisted long after sulphonamide drugs were available. When satisfactory new living quarters were built and over-crowding stopped, the disease finally disappeared. These few results are quoted since they have been witnessed in Accra. They are but a reflection of similar happenings all over Ghana and demonstrate the value of the preventive approach in the fight against disease.

Finally, to eradicate a disease, it is necessary to have a coordinated and balanced attack on the disease by all the known means. Education, prevention and therapeutics offer the best and quickest road.

5.4 Health Services in the Gold Coast

The indigene pioneer workers of the health services in the Gold Coast prioritized human development in order to provide quality health services in the country.[321] It is on record that the first Ghanaian doctor was William Benjamin Quartey-Papafio, who had been in practice in Government Service since 1890s. In 1990 the number of doctors in the then Gold Coast was very few. Ernest James Hayford was also a Ghanaian doctor.

However, the number of Ghanaian doctors increased over the years and during 1933 the foundation of the indigene Medical Practitioners' Union was laid. This was the first attempt at an organized group of indigenous doctors in the Gold Coast.[322]

On his own initiative Dr. J. A. Schandorf decided to form a Ghana Medical Association and called for a press conference of all doctors at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra, where he announced that the Prime Minister (Dr. Kwame Nkrumah) would be in attendance

[321] M. A. Barnor, "A History of Medical Society," *Ghana Medical Journal*: Special Number, Health in Ghana 1, no. 1 (September 1962), 4ff.
[322] Ibid., 6; Frederick V. Nanka-Bruce, C. E. Reindorf and W. A. C. Nanka-Bruce were cofounders.

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and address the meeting. The meeting took place on 4th January 1958 with 58 doctors present. The Prime Minister, among other things, expressed his distress at the backwardness of the Public Health Services in the country and promised the Government's determination to take steps to remedy this situation. He called for private practice in Government hospitals to be abolished and said the formation of one Ghana Medical Association was welcomed news to the Government and officially sanctioned its existence.

In retrospect, when Guggisberg became governor of the Gold Coast in 1919, his policy was to upgrade the hospital in the colony to serve as the chief medical centre of the Regions. He also intended (by policy) to improve the existing rural district hospitals and to build new ones in areas where necessary. These hospitals, as he envisaged, were to contain between 20 and 50 beds, well equipped with operating theatres and dispensaries. The district hospitals were to form the main medical centres in the districts.[323]

By 1926 the colonial government had provided no fewer than 23 excellent hospital facilities.[324] These hospitals essentially served as the basic curative health service institutions established in the Gold Coast by the colonial authorities in aid of reducing the incidence of diseases in the country. Additionally, to accelerate health services in the rural areas, the colonial government introduced mobile clinics. Thus, the introduction of travelling dispensaries formed part of the broad measures adopted by the colonial government to reach the rural population in the colony. This facility was introduced in the country on two separate occasions. It was first introduced in 1927 and subsequently

[323] "Gold Coast Legislative Council Debates, 1926-27," 142-3.
[324] "Organization and Activities of the Public Health Services of the Gold Coast Accra 1926," 8.
[334] S. Addae, *The Evolution of Modem Medicine in a Developing Country: Ghana 1880-1960* (Durham: Academic Press, 1996), 243.

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in 1948. In neither of these occasions did the scheme last long. Between 1933-34 and 1951 the schemes were withdrawn respectively.[334]

The defunct mobile clinic prepared the way for the introduction of the Medical Field Unit (MFU). Its preoccupation was the diagnosis and treatment of endemic diseases in general. In effect, the MFU originated as a sleeping sickness control service: There have been two varieties of MFU in the Gold Coast. As the study has already indicated, the first, which was aimed at curative medicine, is now extinct.

The second aim of MFU is preventive medicine. It makes use of data collected during surveys to study the behaviour of the different infections, demarcating their geographical distribution and demographic pattern and following the changing trends in prevalence. These studies resulted in a better understanding of the epidemiology of a disease and indicated the way in which the standard control measures could be best applied in the Gold Coast.

The MFU was a particular West African concept, which was developed almost simultaneously in many different countries of the region in response to a common danger. The epidemic of human trypanosomiasis raged over the area in the 1930s and 1940s. In the Gold Coast, staff moved in makeshift nearest medical posts and returned to their normal work when the epidemic subsided. They had dealt with the earlier outbreaks of other infections, such as plaque, meningitis, and smallpox or of yellow fever, measles, and anthrax. After several attempts to deal with the epidemic of sleeping sickness in the same way, it was realised that it would take several years to control those diseases and the only solution under those circumstances was to establish a unit of specially trained staff for the work. Hence the early history of MFU is the story of campaign

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against the long-maintained outbreak of human trypanosomiasis in 1932.[325] Nevertheless, in the last decade this field organisation in the Gold Coast, redesigned MFU, has undergone considerable evaluation and development, concerning itself with many more diseases and extending its range to cover the whole country.

Firstly, its concern was with specific disease prevention and control by the application of mass measures like a) Mass vaccination of smallpox, and occasionally yellow fever. All other diseases against which there were an effective vaccine could be added to this list as necessary, from tuberculosis to tetanus, pertussis and measles, b) Chemoprophylaxis to populations at risk. Under certain circumstances, there were cases of trypanosomiasis and cerebrospinal meningitis, c) specific vector eradication or control. Trypanosomiasis and onchocerciasis; bilharziasis may be added d) Eradication of reservoir of infection in patients. Yaws, trypanosomiasis, and onchocerciasis were formerly included but mass treatment of cases met with indifferent success.

Secondly, there was the specific treatment of individual cases of infection. This was carried out in yaws, cerebrospinal meningitis, trypanosomiasis and measles (only the complications of this disease are treated by MFU.[326] MFU is particularly suited to deal with epidemics. By long tradition the *ad hoc* team of staff were accustomed to moving at short notice, to living under hard conditions in the remote rural areas; their experience in public relations and training in the elementary principles of public health make them particularly adapted to provide this flying squad service.

In conclusion, Brachott has remarked that it is tempting to attribute the improvement in the health of a developing country solely or directly to the influence of purely medical

[325] Scott, *History and Work,* 19.
[326] Ibid.

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activities. But it is obvious that at least the initial spurt towards better health is related more to technological progress which provides better roads, improved agricultural methods, more adequate food distribution, safe water supplies and so on, rather than to the direct effect of medical measures alone.

This fact is conceded when early in the report of Brachott, he made reference to the problem of food and nutrition the solution of which requires a sound and practically feasible agricultural policy and, secondly, to the report of the WHO team.[327] It is undisputable that in the long run a sound food and nutrition policy and national water supplies and sewerage programmes are at least as important for the health of the people as the building of hospitals and clinics.

5.5 Access to Health Services

To make health service accessible to the people, government constructed dispensaries. In this sense, they served only those people who lived close to the facilities. Hence, those living outside a certain radius of the hospitals, by reason of distance hardly if at all, gained access to them. Another important factor that influenced the construction of dispensaries was fiscal. "The capital and recurrent cost required in the construction and maintenance of a hospital was quite enormous".[328]

As the study has noted above, it was solely the government who financed the provision of these dispensaries up to the early 1930s with the local people providing labour. Not many dispensaries were put up within the period because by policy dispensaries were

[327] "Report on the Technical, Administrative and Financial Implications of a National Water and Sewerage Scheme for Ghana," World Health Organization, February 1961. The capital cost of the construction of a hospital, with an average number of four beds was approximately £50 in the mid-1920s

[328] "Report on Tour of Inspection, 4, 2, 1926," File n. GH, PRAAD, RG3, 56, 1, 405, National Archives of Ghana, Accra.

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located close to an area where a medical officer would be able to render supervision. Although meant for the rural population, these dispensaries preponderated in the areas already close to hospitals. To make it possible for doctors to visit the dispensaries, health authorities helped them with transport. But with the persistent death of doctors they did not travel most of the time. Moreover, as noted earlier, during rainy season travelling was not feasible due to the bad nature of roads.

Another strategy employed by the Medical Department to reach out to the outstations, was to liaise with the various missionary bodies operating in the country. Among these bodies were, the SVD Fathers and the OP sisters, perhaps the first to offer curative health to the public. Needless to say, these mission bodies were already operating dispensaries in the various locations in which they had mission houses.

In connection with the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State in health delivery, Bowers played a very key role. As a young priest of African descent working among the aborigines of the Gold Coast, Bowers became a close associate of their President, Nkrumah, in nation building, in making healthcare accessible to the public (or rural folks). At the same time, he had first-hand experience of their health needs, as a result of his pastoral experience, which out of ignorance was riddled with superstition.

For example, people engaged in all kinds of superstitious belief to remove pain. A classic case of superstition in the Gold Coast was the religious belief among some Traditional Africans that the cause of every ailment can be attributed to the local gods. A case in point was at Adeemmra, a village in the Volta Region on the Afram Plains. It was reported that to treat and stop the spread of an outbreak of a tropical disease like smallpox, the chief was advised by the fetish priests of the local gods, to offer various sacrifices to appease the anger of the spirits. Hence, to remedy the epidemic, it was

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recommended that bell ringing and noisemaking at night be forbidden in the hope that the evil spirits would be warded off, and not find their way to the village when roaming at night.[329]

The action of the chief and his subjects was prompted by the secret desire nurtured in every human heart. To uncover the mystery surrounding illness, sometimes by use of unscientific method, such as a remedy for unhappiness by piling up gifts as peace-offering before the local god, with the hope that somehow one or the other gift would appease it.[330]

As part of his pastoral duties, Bowers, as a young Priest, used to trek to the villages in the Upper Manya Krobo District. On one of such visits, he met a pregnant woman in labour with her little child on the pathway in the hinterland and instinctively Bowers sought help in a nearby village for the woman's safe delivery. This was during the colonial era in the 1940s with Akuse Government Clinic as the only health facility that provided healthcare to Osudoku and Krobo Traditional Areas.[331] Besides, around this epoch, in the history of the Gold Coast, some of the sick would not visit the hospital until their condition become worse. Hence, the need to make healthcare accessible to the public was very urgent.

5.6 Bishop Bowers' View and Contribution to Health Services

5.6.1 Bishop Bowers' View

In this section, the study interrogated the letters and interviews on Bishop Bowers in order to arrive at his views on health. First, the study analysed his correspondence with

[329] Elsbern, *Story of the Catholic Church*, 83.
[330] Ibid.
[331] "70th Anniversary Celebration Brochure," St. Martin de Porres Hospital Agomanya, 12.

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health practitioners who he invited to cooperate with him in health delivery in the Gold Coast. In the interviews, the interviewees told their stories of their encounter with him and the views he expressed on healthcare.

A. Letters

This study investigated and analysed a brief background history to the narration of the coming of the Order of Preachers (OP) sisters to the Gold Coast. In view of the OP Sisters' future apostolate in the Gold Coast, Bowers had counselled them to include in their future plans a study of the Ewe approach to language learning based on the model of our SVD missionaries in Togo, which has much "points" (or phonetic transcription) like the German language, and was used almost exclusively.

However, in his letter he has stated, that although the Dominican Sisters would be expected to speak English, this would not prevent some of them who spoke only German from coming at the very start. What is necessary, according to Bowers, was to have sisters who are kind and are not afraid of people and who have enough ability to learn the language. Three of them should be well-trained nurses. He concluded by entrusting the contacts with the Mother General and Sisters to Fr Gerhards. Bowers was hopeful that they would be able to start work in June and would like to know their contribution to help with the commencement of work.

For some undisclosed reason, Bowers again asked unconditional pledge from Fr Gerhards not to speak of this to anyone, except the Mother General. In the end, he expressed his appreciation for his great kindness shown to the Accra missions. In an appendix to

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the letter, he stated, "Next week I will put a scheme of the agreement we want to suggest, to be as such and you may please send it to Mother General for her consent".[332]

Further, Bowers took a major step forward in outlining his plans for the general orientation of the Sisters before they assumed their future apostolate in the Gold Coast. He recommended that they start a clinic and perhaps, "a small children's school in Accra".[333] This, he believed would make it easier for them to learn about the culture, language, and the general conditions in the Gold Coast.

"The first six months", he had said, "would be earmarked for getting acquainted with the language and customs of the people".[334] It was hoped that this would help the first group of Sisters in the not too far distant future.

Thus, firstly among his international correspondence, was Bowers' maiden contact with the Sisters in Germany and after he had returned home to Gold Coast, he wrote a letter on 25th May 1955 to the Mother General that: After having spent a week in Rome, he also continued on his journey to Holland and Belgium and finally arrived a few days ago in Accra by plane.

He confessed that the journey was very tiring but said it was worth it:

> I was very glad I made it and, especially to see how such interest the people of Germany have in our African missions. My visits to Speyer was most encouraging of all, and my constant remarks at the Holy Sacrifices is that Divine Providence will bless our arrangements so that we may be able in the near future to have your sisters in the Gold Coast.[335]

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[332] Bishop Bowers to Mother Fabiola Mentor Quack, 25th May 1955, Accra.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Ibid.

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He reiterated what he has said to the Mother General and to her Sisters that, "I will be only too glad to welcome you to the Gold Coast and the sooner the better".[336] He noted the accelerated development on the African continent and cautioned that it was very essential for the church to develop health institutions as quickly as she can, before political events begin to hamper her growth. He drew attention to the events taking place in China, India, Indonesia, South Africa, the Belgian Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC), Argentina, and elsewhere. He conceded that he has no knowledge of how widely this movement against the church has spread but called for vigilance.

Secondly, in one of his early correspondences with Fr Gerhards, Bowers had expressed his interest in the Dominican Sisters' apostolate in health services; "I considered meeting with the Sisters on my just ended trip the best result especially having you (Fr Gerhards)[337] as my companion and your mediation and introduction of me to the good Sisters".[338] He had also said further that he cherished the 'book of work' (manual) of the Sisters in his possession.

About their Mother General, Bowers has said, "She is the most ideal person for that office I have ever seen".[339] He had described the Sisters as "a new vigorous order without any other mission but having natural love which all Germans seem to have for Africans".[340] However, he was disappointed at the slow pace in their response: "Maybe the fact that they have no previous mission experience makes it difficult for them to appreciate the circumstances".[341] Hence, he had stated that his intention for writing was

[336] Bishop Bowers to Mother Fabiola Mentor Quack, 25th May 1955, Accra.
[337] Name in bracket is the researcher's insertion.
[338] Bowers to Gerhards, November 18, 1955, Accra, File n. A/9/g- Kind of Letter of 12th instant Diocesan Archives Archbishop's House, Accra.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.
[341] Ibid.

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that Fr Gerhards would be able to explain to them in the best manner possible and to ask for Fr Gerhard's intermediary role between him and the Sisters.

Also, Bowers had asked Fr. Gerhards, with regard to the presence of their Sisters in his diocese (probably this reference was to the Servant-Sisters of the Holy Spirit (SSpS), to exercise extreme caution and demanded allegiance to proceed carefully and cautiously. However, the difficulty he had as a Bishop, he had said,

> …every move of the Bishop is known to everyone. So, when I make effort to establish a new clinic everyone speaks about it. Then I have to be definite in my dealing with the government as to when I expect to start, how I expect to have staff, where and when to begin.[342]

He referred to "New China" and asked that we take lesson from it. When the early missionaries ignored their language and culture for their instant conversion and had said: "You know what trouble it was when the SVDs have to deal with 'New China' so we can understand the delays of the Sisters, but my frequent visits to them are necessary to get anything done."

Responding to the above comment, Kpeglo said after Bowers had returned from Germany, he began to work very hard to get government approval and some aid to establish a clinic on the River Volta. The project plans, he has explained in one of his letters to the Mother Superior, are enclosed. The total estimate for the completion of the project was one hundred and fifty thousand German marks, including a Sisters' convent. Since the architectural drawings of the convent was not ready, he had promised to "soon send a plan of the type we usually build here, which is a simple one-storey affair; of course they could modify it to suit themselves".[353] He had asserted that the nuns would have

[342] Bowers to Gerhards, 18th November 1955 A/9/g- Kind of Letter of 12th instant Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House, Accra.

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no difficulty in accessing two clinics not too far from their residence, which could be reached in less than three hours by motorboat. He was hopeful of getting a doctor to visit the clinics.

The above-mentioned initial contact was in line with the Social Teachings of the church that stated "Freedom for religious authorities to exercise their ministry unhindered. Freedom to receive religious assistance wherever it is found especially in health institutes like clinics and hospitals".[343] Thus, in establishing health facilities, Bowers silently witnessed to the church's mission to evangelise and declare the faith.

Thirdly, in reply to one of their initial correspondence, the Mother General had asked Bowers for his prayers for Sister Hedwig, who was one of the two sisters of the America Province and had expressed the desire in the missionary work in Africa but, unfortunately, had been diagnosed with cancer. It would take a miracle, she had noted, for her to be able to undertake any missionary work in Africa. She and her Sisters had been praying hard through the intercession of Katharine Emmeriion for her healing. She also made reference to a letter from one of the Dominican Fathers from California that stated, "Sister Hedwig would have been such a perfect founder for your African Mission". She concluded, "May God help her and us. Asking humbly for your blessing and good wishes," she concluded her letter.[344]

Fourthly, in another correspondence between Bowers and the Dominican Sisters,[345] the Mother General had acknowledged receipt and expressed gratitude to Bowers for his earlier letter of 5th December 1955, and stated that "there was a problem with sending

[343] Vatican II, *Dignitatis Humanae*, no. 3.
[344] Quack's Letters to Bowers, Speyer, Institut der Armenschulschwestern, December 18, 1955 reference n. A/9/9.1955.
[345] Ibid.

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the sisters to the Gold Coast of which Gerhards who is scheduled to come to Accra on December 23rd will brief him". Nevertheless, Fabiola, the Mother General, thanked Bowers for sending the plans and the beautiful pictures of the mission and concluded with "trusting in God that it will be possible to come to the Gold Coast in the future."[346]

Fifthly, in another letter dated 19th June 1956, the Mother General thanked Bowers for his letter but expressed some difficulties in sending her sisters to the Gold Coast. She mentioned some of these as study of English language and especially to be trained for missionary work. She also mentioned one Dominican Bishop from South Africa who went by the name Kronstadt. She reminded Bowers of having spoken of him in their conversation while he was paying them a visit in Speyer.

This Dominican Bishop met with the members of the Council of the Order in the absence of Fabiola and came up with a decision that it would be good to start the mission work in South Africa and not in Accra, West Africa, for practical reasons; in the eventuality that the Sisters might have problems in adjusting to the weather conditions. They could also start with opening of a clinic and a "small children school" as the most acceptable practice. The Mother General also promised to give Bowers two secondary school teachers with their certificates spelling out the detailed information on their qualifications. Of the two sisters, one was at the time teaching Latin, English and History at Speyer High School, while the other was indisposed.

The latter was a State Registered Medical Technician and had some years of working experience in hospital laboratories and had also taught science in the same hospital.

[346] Quack's Letters to Bowers, n. A/9/9.1955.

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She concluded that both sisters were willing to work with little children and had had working experience with children in the past. Fabiola added that given the present circumstance, it would be difficult to give a definite response, but she was optimistic that their mission goals would be realised. She asked for prayer and especially at the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist.

Finally, in a correspondence, Bowers explained how he had made a very long spiritual journey to pay a visit to his confrères in Belgium Congo and not to mention his pastoral visit in his own Diocese on his return. He also had to answer many letters, which had accumulated while he was away. Then also, he had expressed his disappointment about the news on Sister Hedwig's indisposition, which he described as, "really a great blow"[347] since final arrangements for their arrival and reception had been made for the school and clinic to start.

Nevertheless, he was optimistic about their apostolate in the Gold Coast. Despite the setback, he was very grateful that a special appeal which he had made to the congregation of Rites had been granted; "the Apostolic See graciously granted permission for the Diocese of Accra to celebrate the feast of Blessed Martin de Porres,"[348] which fell on 3rd of November 1956. He went on to describe him as a holy and very popular saint here and had expressed the hope that by his intercession, divine providence would furnish the means and the needed personnel, "which we so greatly need for extending His Kingdom here in the Gold Coast.[349]

From the correspondence, as examined, a question arises as to what was the intention of Bowers for inviting the Dominican Sisters? He had wanted to evangelise the people

[347] Bowers to Quack, November 5, 1956; Accra Archdiocesan Archives.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.

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of the Gold Coast through improved healthcare with health practitioners who were religious. And who could provide their services in the clinics to extend the Kingdom of God by a life of witness, as stipulated by the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church and Second Vatican Council.[350]

In commonality, the Dominican Sisters have propagated the faith in sharing the good benefits of this world with Ghanaians through healthcare. In this connection, Pope John Paul II had indicated that the practice of solidarity was valid when members of a community recognised one another as persons. Those who are more influential, because they have a greater share of goods and common services, should feel responsible for the weaker and needy nations and must be ready to share with them all they possess. Those who are weaker, for their part, in the same spirit of solidarity, should not adopt a purely passive attitude or one that is destructive of the social fabric, but while claiming their legitimate rights, should do what they can for the good of all.

By analogy, the same criteria are applied to international relations, in this case, the relationship between Ghana and Germany in terms of healthcare. Interdependence must be transferred into solidarity, based upon the principle that the good of creation are meant for all. Surmounting every type of imperialism and the determination to preserve their own hegemony the stronger and richer nations must have a sense of moral responsibility for the nations so that a real international system may be established which would rest on the foundation of the equality of all peoples and on the necessary respect for their legitimate differences.[351]

[350] Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 1.
[351] John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice, 1990), n. 39, 40.

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In the spirit of solidarity, Bowers believed that society as a whole was really responsible for one another and that any human act, desires and decisions, which did not take into account their impact on a fellow human being in *laissez-faire* attitude, amounted to selfishness. Therefore, it is the view of the church that the willingness of all of us to see the image of God in us as also in others and to regard injustice committed against another as no less serious as an injustice against oneself. This is fundamental to our well-being, because we are each other's keeper.

After all, the real engine of a thriving economy is not the market. The market is simply a means. The driving force is the creativity, the innovation and the needs of people, investing in improving their human and technical capacity, is the most important investment of a successful economy.

But in reality, the practice of solidarity is not without challenges. Many people especially in economically advanced areas seem to be dominated by economics and completely obsessed about health, since all their personal and social lives are permeated with a kind of economic mentality, and this is true of other nations, where sometimes health becomes a commercial commodity and is only affordable by the rich.

On the contrary, the practice of solidarity is different when economic progress (provided it is directed, organised, responsible and humanly oriented) does so much to reduce social inequalities. Otherwise, it serves all too often only to aggravate them. In some places, it even leads to a decline in the position of the underprivileged and contempt for the poor. Another problem is that in the midst of huge numbers deprived of the absolute necessities of life, there are some who live in riches and squander their wealth: This happens in less developed areas as well. Luxury and misery exist side by side. While a few individuals enjoy an almost unlimited opportunities to choose for

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themselves, the vast majority have no chance whatever of exercising personal initiative and responsibility and have recoiled often to live and work in conditions unworthy of human beings.

In the Gold Coast, and for that matter, on the national scene, in a letter to Bowers, Nimo, a Member of Parliament for Akim Abuakwa North, expressed the wish to propose to the government to give the project "on the cripple home" to the Catholic Church.[352] He hinted that he had tabled a motion of his view in parliament that a home for crippled children should be established in the country.

His decision was inspired by the fact that the Catholic Mission had already taken the initiative and planned to establish such laudable scheme and he would be pleased to be associated with it. However, he admitted that he had not approached any voluntary agency in regard to the scheme yet, and would be delighted to have an audience with the Bishop on Friday 2nd August 1957 at 10:30 am or at his convenience so as to discuss the subject further. He disclosed that the government had already given an undertaking to assist in the implementation of the scheme and promised to cooperate and assist in the realisation of the project.[353]

In his response to Nimo's letter, Bowers expressed his appreciation and commented that he had read with much interest in the Hansard Independence Bill of 10th July 1957, and commended his estimable motion in parliament to train personnel to manage the scheme for crippled children and to establish such a home in Ghana. He stated that it had been two years then since the Catholic Mission had been discussing and drafting

[352] C. E. Nimo to Bowers, 25th July 1957, 31st July 1957, D74/3 Hanson Road Accra.
[353] Ibid.

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plans for erecting such a House and she had been hoping to proceed with its actualisation in the coming year.

In view of the statement made by the Parliamentary Secretary for the Ministry for Labour, Bowers wrote:

> I am happy to be able to assure the Honourable member for Akim Abuakwa North that if he can interest a voluntary agency in this scheme, the Ministry of Health would do everything within their power to assist in the implementation of the scheme… and he has concluded, I would appreciate hearing from you if you have not already approached any other voluntary agency in regard to the scheme. [354]

In another correspondence addressed to a priest simply identified as father, Bowers has written that the Ministry of Health has promised to train one employee which is subjected to the approval of the Ministry of Social Welfare. However, the Minister in the person of Akoto-Adjei was away in the United States for business, hence action could not be taken on the request until his return in a few weeks.

Meanwhile, Bowers had disclosed: "I am hoping to receive some help from government to pay the salaries of the staff".[355] He was convinced and emphatic that, "as soon as that is done we will actively take up the matter of building for which everything has been prepared".[367]

This letter referred to a presentation made to the house by Nimo, a Member of Parliament, on the 10th of July 1957, in which he argued that he had been able to whip up interest of a voluntary agency headed by Bowers of the Roman Catholic Church, Accra, in undertaking to build and to manage the "Home". Bowers was referring to an earlier

[354] Bowers to Nimo, July 25, 1957 Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House Accra.
[355] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.

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transaction in a letter, which was addressed to the Secretary of the National Assembly at the Parliament House.[356]

In his capacity as Member of Parliament, and on behalf of the government, he had been able to fulfil the obligation to provide over twenty-eight thousand pounds (£28,000) received from an appeal to overseas agencies. A large parcel of land was made available at Koforidua for the buildings and the Architect was ready to start the project when the Member of Parliament asked that a meeting be arranged with Bowers, the Minister of Health, and himself to discuss the terms of the contract of government assistance towards the implementation.[357]

In this connection, Nimo wrote on behalf of the Ministry of Health in the capacity of a General Secretary that a voluntary agency had expressed interest in the management and running of the Home for crippled children at Koforidua and funds collected for the project amounted to over twenty-eight thousand pounds (£28,000) for the establishment of the Home. However, he added that the Ministry's responsibility for crippled children would cease as soon as their treatment at the government hospital had been completed. Thereafter, if they needed any further assistance, they must be directed to the Ministry of Labour Cooperative and Social Welfare.[358]

In retrospect, the above policy, to some extent, is contrary to the Catholic Church's common good principle of solidarity of subsidiarity. Let us assume the above scenario where the subject of the competition relates to whether or not the community should adopt the cash and carry system. In such a case, the common good principle would

[356] Bowers to "People for Cripple Children," 29th August 1957, Accra.
[357] Bowers to 'Father', October 6 1958, Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House Accra.
[358] Nimo to Bowers, 11th September 1958, Accra.
[371] Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, n. 37.

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insist that there should be someone who would be prepared to come in when there are people who cannot pay. It goes without saying that the common good cannot exist without solidarity of subsidiarity.[371] Hence, it is the Catholic Church's choice to opt for the poor in human development, especially health.

In pursuance of the human development agenda, Rivas wrote to inform Bowers that he had had contact with the Regional Medical Officer and rendered an unqualified apology for misinforming the Bishop that the Regional Medical Officer was Dr Moody, who was instead the District Medical Officer. Instead, the Regional Medical Officer was Dr Darkwah, who was on trek, and that as soon as he returned, he (Rivas) would arrange a meeting with the Bishop either in Accra or Koforidua.

Additionally, Rivas also recalled that he and his team spent Christmas while on trek. On his return, Rivas said he learnt that Bowers had paid a visit and left a message of the positive response from the German Bishops and considered it as a happy Christmas present. Rivas later wrote to thank the Bishop for his visit but apologised for not being present and for the mistaken identity. However, he expressed the hope to see the Bishop in Accra to discuss the matter. He concluded with New Year wishes.[359]

Also, Dosuing had written to express appreciation for the generous grant for the hospital by Earoppolinder and noted that it was very timely, since it came to add grandeur to the feast of Christmas. It would also enable the hospital to help the sick little ones who are so dear to the infant Jesus.[373] Bowers had also expressed his gratitude to the German Bishops and the Germans as well as to "'your good self' and wished all the assistants blessings and graces during the New Year".[360]

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[359] John Rivas to Bowers, 6th April 1958, Koforidua.
[373] Monsignor G. Dosuing to Bowers (no date).
[360] Bowers to German Bishops' Conference, December 14, 1959, Bishop's House Accra,

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Consequently, Rivas had submitted an estimated expenditure for running the Hospital for Crippled Children in order to get support from Social works of the Diocese and to get "full" support from the Trust Founders' fund. One full-time medical doctor would receive 125 pounds per month plus a car and a house at £150 per month. Six qualified brothers of the staff would receive £50 per month. Six African staff (on training) would be paid £15 per month.

For orderliness and labour, £10 per month was to be spent. Eighty children would be budgeted for at £5 per month for medical treatment and clothing.[375] There was attached the list of qualified registered brother nurses ready to come to Ghana from Spain. The incentive to the doctors was meant to motivate them to give of their best while in practice. Bowers always insisted on the qualification of any health practitioners in his diocese. In effect, the superiors of the congregations complied with these directives.

B. Interviews

This investigation has disclosed that there were three accounts surrounding the circumstances of the coming of the Dominican Order of Sisters in Ghana. The circumstances which led Bowers to the Dominican Sisters of Speyer, Germany, and culminated in the establishment of St. Dominic Hospital, Akwatia, and Battor Hospital were:

In 1954 plans were far advanced for the Dominican Sisters, a diocesan Order, to come to the Accra Diocese and help in the medical field. In this context, the first oral account has it that, Bowers attended the Convocation of the Second Vatican Council (in 1962 to 1965). As one of the Council Fathers from Ghana, he met a priest of his order of the SVD Missionary called Gerhards, who was a brother of one of the nuns in the Order of the Dominicans at Speyer in Germany. In a conversation that ensued between them,

[375] Rivas to Bowers, 12 October 1959, Koforidua.

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Bowers became interested in the sisters when he learnt of their apostolate of hospitality in education and health. After the closing session of the council, he immediately continued to Speyer, Germany, in the company of the said priest. Fortunately, the Council for the Dominican Order of Sisters was holding the chapter and he was invited to make his presentation. After his passionate appeal, all the Sisters present were so much moved that they voted in favour of his project to come to work in the Gold Coast, and particularly in the Diocese of Accra.[361]

In the second oral historical account by one of the Dominican Sisters,[362] Bowers attended the National Eucharistic Congress at Munich in Germany in 1955 and happened to meet other SVD confrères in the community where he had resided, who had two sisters in the Dominican order. He encouraged Bowers to pay them a visit to which he obliged. This was the beginning of a lasting relationship leading to their mission to Ghana.

According to this documented evidence attributed to Bowers, he had visited Europe.[363] While in Rome he met one of his confrères called Gerhards, who was a member of a Committee for the Eucharistic Congress in Munich and they became friends. After the Congress, Gerhards took him to Speyer, where three of his sisters were members of the Dominican Order of Preachers (OP). Bowers had a meeting with the Superior General, Quack and her Council and the outcome was positive.

The above oral/historical and documented accounts admit the fact that Bowers had contacted the Sisters. But the first two narratives have been embellished with an aura of

[361] Pius Kpeglo, a good collaborator of Bowers and his vicar general; Interview granted the researcher, 5th of May 2017, Agomanya.
[362] Miguela Keller, Email message to the researcher, Monday, April 10, 2017.
[363] Bowers' memoirs on his encounter with Gerhards.

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mystery and contextualised within the Second Vatican Council, which was held in Rome in the years 1962-1965, and the National Eucharistic Congress at Munich, which also was held in 1960. The two dates cited conflict with the time of contact between Bowers and the Sisters according to the correspondence from the annals of Accra Archdiocese and Speyer, since Bowers' correspondence with the Sisters dated back to the 1955 and the dates of two oral accounts fall in 1960.

The third documented account that has been attributed to Bowers seems more credible. It is the meeting of the Planning Committee for the Eucharistic Congress which took place earlier in Rome prior to the actual Eucharistic Congress in Munich, Germany.

As the study has already noted, it can only conjecture that the two narratives were meant to create an aura of mystery around the encounter of Bowers with the Dominican Sisters. Whatever the intention, this is not relevant for our present investigation. What is important is the fact that the Dominican Sisters fulfilled their mission in the Gold Coast of which Bowers was the founder and architect for the integral human development.

The above cursory glance at how Bishop Bowers contacted the Dominican Sisters, brings us to consider why in the first place he took such a major decision, given that the SSpS Sisters were in his diocese, who were also health professionals. This study can only infer that first, his love for the African woman compelled him to do so. Second, his background as a descendant of 'slaves' impacted greatly on his decisions on master-servant relationship, which he experienced as a priest in the Gold Coast. Thus, he appointed Sisters Immaculata Freizer (qualified midwife), Mary Emmanuella Awudza (qualified nurse), Mary Barbara Aidoo (qualified nurse), all of the African women congregation he founded, to the Clinic and Maternity at Agomanya.

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In view of the difficulties the HDRs encounter under the supervision of the SSpS Sisters, one of the above-mentioned Sisters of HDR in an interview, gave their job description while they were at the maternity ward, "We were made to attend to old people in the hospital and paid visits to their homes, and the homes of old soldiers, the Legion village, children's hospital etc. Often, the tap was deliberately left opened overnight in the clinic and maternity block and we were made to fetch and mob the flooded floor. As his policy, Bowers always insisted we went out in pairs on visitations".[364]

The study deduced that the maltreatment of his Sister might have impacted negatively on the relationship between the SSpS and HDRs. Also, it inferred that Bowers was aggrieved by the maltreatment so much that it prompted him to write in one of his correspondences to Gerhards to treat their correspondences confidentially and not let "their Sisters (SSpS)" know about it.[365] Nevertheless, the SSpS finally handed over St Martin de Porres hospital at Agomanya to the HDRs in 1983.

Under the administration of the HDRs, the Sisters did not limit the health delivery to Agomanya. There was the outreach programme to villages like Asesewa, and its environs through the PHC programme. What started as Clinic/Maternity Home has now been upgraded to a hospital status.

One witness had testified that while she was a teacher at Asamankese, Bowers paid a visit to the school and handed her a letter of transfer to his school at Agomanya and to see the chief. Furthermore, she testified to the fact that Nene Azu Mate Korle was a personal friend to Bowers, who donated the parcel of land at Agomanya and Nuaso to the Catholic Church:

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[364] Mary Fedelis, one of the founding Sister of the HDR; Interview granted the researcher, 26-03-2018 at Agomanya.
[365] Bowers to Gerhards, *loc. cit.*

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> I knew Bowers as a teenager at Nsawam when I was about thirteen or fourteen years old. I stayed with the religious Sisters (SSpS) at Nsawam. These are some of their names: Benedict, Lucet, Providencial, and others.
>
> They were the pioneers of the convent at Nsawam, which was founded by Bowers. In Agomanya, Bowers had arranged with the Chief of Odumase called Nene Azu Mate Korle, who was his bosom friend, to give accommodation to one of his children in his house and to take very good care of me. Upon my arrival, I met Bowers who introduced me to Nene and his wife. They became my very caring guardians.[366]

Another witness, named Fr Samuel Batsa, has testified that the brothers of St John of God came to Koforidua, because Bowers gave them a parcel of land for development: "I have known that there was a little bit of controversy as to what extent they can go on with their development. He confirmed that Bowers bought the land but the brothers continued to stretch their development and encroached on the property of POJOSS".[367] He added that it was during his time as a teacher at POJOSS that their postulants or novices commenced their formation programme. On the acquisition of an indenture on the land, he said Bishop Dominic K. Andoh saw the church as one and was therefore not very strict.

C. Focus group discussion

Further search on the vision of Bowers led to the annals at Speyer, Germany. Here the study discovered that the intention of Bowers for bringing the Dominican Sisters to the Gold Coast was also to establish hospitals and hand over to the indigenous religious congregation of African women Sisters called the HDR. In a focus group discussion[368], the study has revealed that there was an initial attempt to prepare the Sisters of the HDR to take over. There were series of meetings to this effect and even the Dominicans sent

[366] Amenuve, Interview granted the researcher, 28-11- 2018.
[367] Fr. Samuel Batsa, Interview granted the researcher, 31 October 2017.
[368] Focus group discussion with elderly sisters at Agomanya.

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some HDR Sisters for studies but one of them training as a Hospital Administrator was recalled from her studies yet was not assigned to the position she was aspiring to because she did not have the requisite qualification.[369]

In effect, at the time of the departure of the Dominican Sisters from Ghana, the HDR had no qualified personnel to run the schools and hospitals.[370] In reaction, the HDR interviewees have commented that the Dominicans should have helped them to have enough trained personnel rather than wait until the time of their departure only to blame them for not being ready. In another interview, our interviewee refuted the claim by the Dominican Sisters.

Sister A*f*la, HDR has asserted that the Dominican Sisters sponsored her to study Business Management to acquire the needed skills as the administrator of Battor Hospital. However, after completion they were unwilling to hand over to the HDR.[371] In response to their reaction, one interviewee, Kpeglo, said the HDR should have taken the initiative to study and acquire the necessary qualifications themselves rather than rely on the OP Sisters.

Another interviewee, Archbishop Palmer-Buckle, has confirmed the intention of Bowers to train his Sisters for their future apostolate, but lamented that though Bowers took the initiative and sent four Sisters for studies in America and Canada in the disciplines of medicine, education and administration, unfortunately he was transferred and some of the Sisters were recalled from studies on the grounds that there was no need for educated women to become good religious Sisters. However, one of those who returned

[369] HDR; Focus Group Discussion, 26th March 2018, Agomanya.
[370] Keller, Regional Superior of the Dominican Sisters, "Congratulatory Message" The Golden Jubilee Brochure, 17-18.
[371] Regina A*f*la, the interviewee has since switched course to do law at Gimpa at Achimota, instead of business administration, as was the original plan; Interview granted the researcher, 10th November 2017 at the Archbishop's office, Holy Spirit Cathedral, Adabraka, Accra.

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persevered in Ghana to become a medical doctor but later had to leave the congregation and religious life.

Furthermore, the investigation led to an interview with the above-mentioned medical doctor[372] who left the HDR congregation. The interviewee revealed that her decision to return to Ghana was informed by two reasons; first, she was refused a request to continue with her education while on studies, even though she had scholarship to continue. Secondly, she returned with the intention of leaving the congregation and the religious life altogether. But she was encouraged by a priest[373] to rescind her decision, which she did, and she was later given teaching appointment as a Science teacher at St Roses Secondary School at Akwatia.

Later, she gained admission to the University of Ghana to pursue her dream of becoming a medical doctor. After graduating she accepted to practise at St Martin de Porres Hospital at Agomanya with her Sisters but could no longer tolerate the envy, jealousy, and rancorous dispute among the Sisters, so she had to leave. She also confirmed that it was the vision of Bowers for the congregation he founded to take over the schools and hospitals.

In another interview with an ex-nun, Koffie,[374] who was among the first Sisters to have professed in the congregation but later left and now resides in Canada, she expressed a different view. She was emphatic that Bowers never intended to train his Sisters to take

[372] Telephone conversation with the researcher on the 28th October 2017. The interviewee is self-employed with a clinic of her own and seemed to be content. This interview was conducted in confidentiality, and the name of interviewee is withheld by mutual agreement.
[373] The name of the priest was Fr. Lobianco, who was the Vicar General and Bursar of the then, Diocese of Accra of which Bowers was the Bishop
[374] In a telephone conversation between Perpetual Esi Koffie, interviewee is about eighty years old and resides in Canada. She was very affable and willing to cooperate. Interview granted the researcher. Some of these interviewees were Mary Fidelis, Mary Charles, Mary Theresa, Mary Consolata, Mary Rita, Mary Vincentia, etc.; Interview granted the researcher, 26th March 2018.

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over the hospitals and schools founded by him. She said Bowers wanted the HDR to simply work with women and not to become intellectual giants. However, she admitted that takeovers are natural phenomena. She argued that as the congregation grows over the years, naturally the members become well educated with qualifications to occupy certain positions in the hospitals and schools.

Also, she said she paid a visit to Ghana just before the founder's demise on the 6th of November 2012. She learnt in a conversation with him and he expressed the wish for cloistered or contemplative Sisters of HDR to pray and intercede for the church. Many of our elderly HDR interviewees agreed that Bowers' intention was to have them work simply with women in spreading the word of God.[392]

In the above arguments for and against the intention of Bowers, the concerns are more with spiritual and mental health of the human person than physical health, not to say in the least its importance. It is only in a life of poverty expressed in love of God that development of human beings and infrastructure take place. This goal is possible when members of a religious community are enlightened on the significance of their evangelical vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and not riches. This was the founder's vision and faith in God who provides for the poor in the midst of want for the spread of His Kingdom on earth. This also was the spirituality of his favourite Saint Martin de Porres.[375]

In conclusion, data from the field shows that Bowers' pastoral activities were centred on the integral development of the human person and the healing ministry of Jesus Christ.

[375] Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, no. 37.

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5.6.2 Bishop Bowers' Contribution to Provision of Health Facilities

From the analysis of data in the preceding section, it was clear that Bowers contributed to health delivery services in the Accra diocese in many aspects. Below are some of the identifiable areas.

A. Care for the Aged and Poor

Concerning the aged and poor, according to the Hansard Independence Bill, the Home for Cripple Children Project was to be conducted by the Brothers of St John of God, an Order of Hospitals (OH) with the experience of caring for 15 of such institutions in Spain. The Ministry of Health in Ghana had promised in Parliament to assist with such a scheme taken up by a voluntary agency.[376] Consequently, on 2nd December 1957, a questionnaire was circulated to collate a detailed data of information on the scheme for the aged and crippled children. The Catholic Mission of the Diocese of Accra was named as the Education Unit to run the whole programme.[377]

Subsequently, there was the question of how to finance the project. In effect, among other sources of finance, it was decided that as their contribution to the scheme, parents and guardians would be expected to contribute to the boarding and lodging expenses of their children. Moreover, if they were unable to do so, where there are real ingenious cases considerations will be given, and if possible, the fees waived. In view of the scheme, four buildings would be erected at Koforidua.

The first set of buildings will cost £8000 (eight thousand pounds). The funds were already made available. The needy parents would be maintained partly from an annual

[376] Rivas to Bowers, 3rd March 1957 Koforidua, Hansard, 10 July 1957 section 1926.
[377] Ibid.

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grant from the Mission, partly from fees paid by wealthy parents and partly from voluntary and government assistance.[378]

Thus, a discussion was raised on 'the cripple children' project. It is considered that in principle the idea of providing a house for this class of disabled children is a good one and should receive every encouragement. However, the following observations were considered very pertinent that, it was intended to start the home with about 20 children.

For climatic reasons (warm weather) it was decided that about 40 square feet should be the suitable minimum floor space for each inmate, and for 12 persons with an average age of 10 years and above, the dormitory should measure at least 480 square feet. This means that the 350 square feet will have to be increased to this dimension, 480. An equal number of baths and water closets were to be provided at each end of the dormitory block. It was also desirable to have the dispensary and the office in one unit with the waiting room between them serving both places. This would leave room for water closets and baths at that end of the building. Also, it would be necessary to increase the size of the dining hall so that it could contain the full number of children to be admitted when the Home was fully established.[379] This project was aimed at provision of facilities for the development of cripple children into responsible adulthood and conducive to the environment.

By accepting the responsibility to run the programme in his diocese, Bowers demonstrated his conviction for the holistic development of the human person as the Catholic Church states in her social teaching. Not only does he believe that the human person

[378] See, Pope Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum.* no. 11

[379] Bowers to Office of the Principal Medical Officer, Accra Eastern Region 5 February 1958, File n. DG/C-7 of 9th January 1950 with a note, "the Ministry of Health has studied the Scheme and plans for the proposed House for cripple children in the country".

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irrespective of his/her condition deserves respect and care from all, but also put in place structures and strategies to protect the dignity of the human person as created in the image and likeness of God.

The inalienable dignity of the human person is that he/she is sacred because God in creating him/her gave him/her transcendental dignity. This resonates with what Pope John Paul II said concerning the fundamental truth about the human person, "Man is the primary route that the Church must travel in fulfilling her mission, he is the primary and fundamental way for the Church".[380] In other words, all that the Church teaches, does, and undertakes, must be oriented towards the fulfilment of man and humanisation of the world.[381]

Consequently, the human person is a being in dialogue, in dialogue with him/herself, with others, with creation, and with God. This dialogue especially with others, is done with respect for differences, and must aim at collaboration, "as suitable method for finding a solution to the problems through pragmatic and operative agreements."[400]

Hence, the church guided by the light of the Gospel, has helped in solving some of our problems at least in shedding new light on them in order to construct a just society, a civilisation of love, respecting the dignity and rights of each person. In doing this humanisation of the world, the church does not want to be the sole player but to make a contribution founded on authentic anthropology and on the understanding that she has about the realities of the world.[382] Bishop Bowers' care for the poor was informed by his understanding of teachings of the church on the realities of the world.

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[380] Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptor Hominis* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1992), no. 14.
[381] Pope John Paul II, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 18; Id., *Sollicitudio rei Socialis*, no. 46.
[382] Ibid., no. 7.

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Inferring from her understanding of the human person, the Second Vatican Council has described the church as, "an expert of humanity" that the church offers by her teaching, "a set of principles for reflection and criteria for judgement and also directives for action so that the profound changes demanded by situations of poverty and injustice may be brought about and in this way serve the true good of humanity.[383]

Pragmatically, John Paul II has observed that the health challenge of [many] Africans is immersed. In some African countries more than 'one-half' of the number of women are illiterates. Health services and facilities in most countries are not only inadequate and in a state of decline, but they also tend to be biased towards urban centres and give curative rather than preventive care.[384] Hence, maternal and infant mortality are high in many African countries.

Faced with these challenges that the Church and society in its totality ought to solve in health delivery, they sometimes feel helpless and without adequate means. Yet, human reason is not enough to clarify all human situations, especially where profound questions are asked about the meaning of our existence in the world. We need divine light to identify our areas of responsibility in fighting what the Pope referred to as, "Zones of misery".[385]

B. Founding of Hospitals

The concern for the health needs of people, especially the poor in rural communities, led Bowers to build various health facilities: hospitals, clinics, and orphanages in his diocese. Narratives surrounding the establishment of these facilities provide rich

[383] Congregation for the Education of the Faith, *Instruction on the Christian Freedom and Liberation*, no. 72.
[384] John Paul II, *Apostolic Letter, Tertio Millennio Adverniente*, no. 51.
[385] John Paul II, *Redemptor Hominis*, no. 16.

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information on Bower' understanding of healing and restoration of the human person to wholeness.

i. St Martin de Porres Hospital

In view of the above pastoral experience as a priest, Bowers discussed the incident of his encounter with the woman in labour and her little son with his Superior Adolf Noser SVD.

St. Martin's Hospital is in Agomanya (Lower Manya Krobo Municpality). Bowers had worked here as a young priest and therefore knows the area and the poor living conditions of the people. The long distances people had to travel from the hinterlands and villages to access the nearest health facility made an impression on him. Having noted that there was only one Government health facility at Akuse that provided healthcare services in the whole of the Osudoku and Krobo Traditional areas, Bowers took up the challenge to rehabilitate and expand a clinic and a maternity home at Agomanya started by his predecessor, Bishop Nozer, to cater for the health needs of the people in the area.

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The clinic started its operation in 1949 in a wooden structure at the present site of the Holy Trinity Parish. It was managed by the Sisters Servants of the Holy Spirit (SSpS). The first three sisters to begin work here were Sr Mary Hellen (American), Sr Mary Louis (American) and Sr Mary Juanita (Argentine). In1952, Srs Mary Difensora, Mary Consenta, Mary Rose Martin, Mary Aquilanis joined the community.

As a bosom friend of Bowers, Nene Azu Mante Korle, the then Konor of the Manya Krobo Traditional Area, chiefs and elders, donated a parcel of land to build a permanent structure. In appreciation for the efforts of the indigenes in the healthcare delivery project, the clinic employed Cecilia Angmortey Denyo, Mary Akosua French, Beatrice Nartey and Veronica Atta as health assistants. Three Sisters of the Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer - Srs Mary Theresa Adams, Mary Fidelis and Petricia Sasu – were admitted to a team of workers to augment the number of the clinic and maternity home staff.

The focus of Bowers resides on the provision of 'religious healthcare.' Aware that the human person is not only physical but also spiritual, he paid attention to both by employing committed healthcare workers, especially religious healthcare practitioners. He was convinced of holistic healing, the natural and supernatural dimensions; body, soul and spirit of the human person.[386]

However, it must be acknowledged that before Bowers, the Gold Coast mission had made steady progress in healthcare due to medical research and investigation in discovering antidote to some tropical diseases. This assertion is supported by the fact that the missionaries' lifespan was prolonged from what used to be less than three years, on the average, of missionary work. Thus, the improved healthcare did not only benefit the

[386] Aumann, *Spiritual Theology.*

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indigenes but also prolonged the lifespan of the missionaries, giving them more time to learn the local languages, have a more thorough knowledge of customs, gather more experience, and proclaim the gospel more effectively.[387]

In imitation of Saint Martin, Bowers did not depend on riches but on the love of God, which is grounded in poverty with total reliance on divine providence. His strong faith in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, as he had said repeatedly, was the source of his strength and encouragement. He trusted in God to provide the resources to fund the hospitals.

For the above reasons, Bowers refused to make money the focus or centre of his life. He deliberately chose not to own any property. However, all that he wanted was a minimum of material comfort or amount of money for his sustenance. Even in this case, his income went to the common fund of the Diocese from which all his needs were met. "The Decree on the Ministry and Life of the Priests" has concisely stated,

"Priests, just like Bishops (without prejudice to the law), are to use money acquired by them on the occasion of their exercise of some ecclesiastical office primarily for their own decent support and the fulfilment of the duties of their state…"[388] Bowers opted for the poor, and this was manifested in his lifestyle as a religious, which made him easily approachable to the simple people. To this effect, Bowers avoided any kind of luxury in any aspect of life.[389]

[387] Elsbern, *The Story of the Catholic Church*, 21.
[388] Vatican II, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, no. 7.
[389] Congregation for the Clergy, *Directory for the Life and Ministry of Priests* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana), no. 62

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ii. Battor Hospital

In one of his memoirs, Bowers indicated that at his first visit to Battor as Bishop of Accra in the year 1953, after a durbar, the chief Togbui Dzekley came to him with words of wisdom and said: "Bishop I know why you came, you want to make us Christians, our people have been baptised but when they are sick where do we send them? Build a hospital for us".

This was the beginning of the Battor hospital. Following this request by the chief, permission was sought from the District Council at Sogakope in July 1955 by the resident Priests, Frs. Mertens, Krajick and the District Council. The project started when approval was given, through communal labour. The CPP loaned the town £3,000. In September 1956, a German medical practitioner, Hildegard Birkhahn, started work in Battor on the verandah of the house, built by Fr Rudolf Krajck.

In a missionary zeal of the Dominican Missionary Sisters, is attested the request of Pope Pius XII to Bishop Isidor Markus Emmanuel, Bishop of the Diocese of Speyer in Germany, the diocese of origin of the Dominican Sisters' congregation, to assist the Ghana mission. On the 12th of February of 1957, some Dominican sisters from Speyer arrived in Accra. They spent six months at the Christ the King Parish, Accra, with the HDRs and in August 1957 went to Battor to begin their mission.

After they had settled, they were entrusted with the construction of a maternity "home" for expectant mothers in Battor. As soon as the Sisters settled, they started work immediately. Soon it was realised that there would be the need for more services other than a maternity ward. This became evident as patients with different kinds of diseases sought for treatment. As a result, the Sisters consulted and obtained the necessary permission from the government to expand.

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Among the pioneer Sisters were Srs. Victricia Koch, Inlinata Harter, Edeltrudis Berberich and Caritas Eisenbarth, all of whom were nurses. They assisted Dr. Mrs Hiedegard Birkham, a German Doctor who was working under the most primitive conditions imaginable. She could treat only few outpatients on the veranda of her bungalow and that was the best medical attention for the people of Battor at the time. As we have already mentioned in one of Bowers' correspondences about their acclimatization, there was no electricity and no means of entertainment and there were also the troublesome seasonal floods to contend with.

Under the supervision of Rudolf Krajick, the building was completed, and work earnestly began. But they had obstacles to surmount, like customs and mentality of the people, to win their confidence. They were given access to good drinking water from a well drilled by Fr. Krajick. Dr. Braun from Adidome Presbyterian Mission Hospital opted to assist by coming to Battor once a week by boat. Sr. M. Scholastica joined the team from Germany as a midwife and there was improvement. Nevertheless, there was the river to cross in tiny boats from one bank to the other to pay visits to the villages.

The pace of development gradually picked up with the construction of the female ward and more importantly, the confidence the people had in the Sisters was sealed. As the clinic was expanding, there was a corresponding increase in the volume of work, which created employment opportunity for the people in Battor.

Dr. Sr. Edgitha Gorge's arrival at the hospital as a substantive doctor totally ended the dire need for doctors. She revolutionised the structure of the hospital as more and more people trooped to Battor for medical care and such is what had resulted in the improved state of the hospital. Sister Margit also brought in her managerial skill that is evidenced in the massive construction of accommodation for the staff and a fully furnished school

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of nursing and school for the mentally handicapped. The Battor health facility is well equipped with ultra-modern apparatuses and medical practitioners, which cannot be compared with anyone in rural setting and has attracted assistance from the Government of Ghana. Apart from their normal hospital work, the Sisters in diverse ways have supported many children to further their education. They were also engaged in other charitable activities they would prefer not to bring to the public view.

Twenty-seven years later, in the mid-1980s, giant strides were chalked up with the Primary Health Care (PHC) Department. As a result, there were massive declining rates with some diseases like malnourishment, tetanus, measles, diarrhoea etc.

iii. St Dominic Hospital, Akwatia

At the request of Bowers, three Dominican Sisters, Theresita Ohmer, Fatima Schmit and Irmina Radke were sent to Ghana in 1960 to start the project. Upon arrival, the Sisters stayed for a few months at Battor, where they already had a community.

When their rest was over, they were accompanied by Sr Victricia Koch to Akwatia where they took over a small clinic of three bedrooms built by the local community. With support from benefactors and Bowers, the second phase of the project began. Gradually, additional staff arrived to augment the working team. Dr Karl Augustine Hoheneck, who was a surgeon of a Dominican hospital in Germany, joined the Sisters in June 1960. Srs. Scholastika Riesbeck, Jubilata Müller, Lucaris Schüdler, Fedelia Nießor and Miguela Keller joined the group within the following three years. But there were also transfers: Sr. Schüdler, who was the only midwife among the Sisters, was transferred to Battor because there was no medical officer there.

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Hence, until Sr. Fedelia's arrival, Akwatia had no midwife. In 1970, Margit Ohmacht came as Head of the Enrolled Nurses Training Course in Ghana and became a member of the Battor community.

What began as a small clinic has now developed into a District and Teaching Hospital with a bed capacity of over 330 and over 600 staff members in strength. It has various units namely, Gynaecology and Obstetrics, Surgery, Internal Medicine, Paediatric with an Intensive Care Unit for premature and sick new-born babies. Others are a very busy Eye and Dental units a vibrant Public Health and Community Development Department, a Treatment Centre for People Living With HIV/AIDS (PLWAS), a well patronised (CT) Counselling and Testing Unit. There is a successful PMTCT programme (a programme to prevent the transmission of the HIV virus from mother to child). At the end of February 2010, out of 63 babies born by HIV-positive mothers, 60 children were HIV negative.

The above achievements by St Dominic Hospital can also be attributed to Battor Hospital as a centre for excellence where thousands of people have found education, occupation, and hope in a hopeless situation. Many people have by this experience realised that there is a loving and merciful God who continues to reveal Himself to us through the grace of healing and care.

These achievements did not come on a silver platter but by very hard work and cooperation between the Ghana government and the Motherhouse in Speyer, the Germany Bishops' Conference (*Misereor*), and the Diocese of Speyer.

Also, through the fundraising activities of the Sisters, schools, parishes in Germany, and the generous donations of friends and philanthropists and members of the Rotary club, St Dominic Hospital and the Battor Hospital were assisted. Other institutions such

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as the Ghana Health Service, the Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) and the National Catholic Health Service also contributed their quota to this assistance. Through all their benevolence, the vision of St. Dominic Hospital as the centre of hope for the sick and the poor is being realised.

iv. St Joseph Hospital Effiduase, Koforidua

The idea to undertake a project on the cripple home was originally tabled in the parliament of Ghana by a Member of Parliament for Akim Abuakwa North, called Nimo, who expressed the wish to propose to the government to give the project on the cripple home to the Catholic Church.[390] He hinted that he had tabled a motion of his view in parliament that a home for crippled children should be established in the country. His decision was inspired by the fact that the Catholic Mission had already taken the initiative and planned to establish such laudable scheme and he would be pleased to be associated with it.

However, he admitted that he had not approached any voluntary agency in regard to the scheme yet and would be delighted to have an audience with the Bishop on Friday 2nd August 1957 at 10:30 am or at his convenience so as to discuss the subject further. He disclosed that the government had already given an undertaking to assist in the implementation of the scheme and promised to cooperate and assist in the realisation of the project.[391]

Consequently, in his response to Nimo, Bowers expressed his appreciation and commented that he had read with much interest in the Hansard Independence Bill of July 10th 1957, and commended his estimable motion in parliament to train personnel to

[390] C. E. Nimo to Bowers, 25th July 1957, 31st July 1957, D74/3 Hanson Road Accra.
[391] Ibid.

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manage the scheme for crippled children and to establish such a home in Ghana. He stated that it had been two years then since the Catholic Mission had been discussing and drafting plans for erecting such a House and she had been hoping to proceed with its actualisation in the coming year.

In his capacity as a Member of Parliament, and on behalf of the government, Nimo said he had been able to fulfil the obligation to provide over £28,000 received from an appeal to overseas agencies. A large parcel of land was made available at Koforidua for the buildings and the architect was ready to start the project when the Member of Parliament asked that a meeting be arranged with Bowers, the Minister of Health, and himself to discuss the terms of the contract of government assistance towards the implementation.[392]

In this connection, Nimo, acting on behalf of the Ministry of Health in the capacity of a General Secretary, informed the house that a voluntary agency had expressed interest in the management and running of the Home for crippled children at Koforidua and funds collected for the project amounted to over £28,000 for the establishment of the Home. However, he added that the Ministry's responsibility for crippled children would cease as soon as their treatment at the government hospital had been completed. Thereafter, if they needed any further assistance, they must be directed to the Ministry of Labour Cooperative and Social Welfare.[393]

In pursuant of the human development agenda, Rivas informed Bowers that he had had contact with the Regional Medical Officer. Additionally, Rivas also recalled that he and his team spent Christmas while on trek. On his return, Rivas said he learnt that Bowers

[392] Bowers to Father, October 6 1958, Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House Accra.
[393] Nimo to Bowers, 11th September 1958, Accra.

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had paid a visit and left a message of the positive response from the German Bishops and considered it as a happy Christmas present. Rivas later thanked the Bishop for his visit, but apologised for not being present and for the mistaken identity. However, he expressed the hope to see the Bishop in Accra to discuss the matter. He concluded with New Year wishes.[394]

Consequently, Rivas had submitted an estimated expenditure for running the Hospital for Crippled Children in order to get support from Social Works of the Diocese and to get "full" support from the Trust Founders' fund. One full-time medical doctor would receive £125 per month plus a car and house at £150 per month. Six qualified brothers of the staff would receive £50 per month. Six African staff (on training) would be paid £15 per month. For orderliness and labour, £10 per month was to be spent. Eighty children would be budgeted for at £5 per month for medical treatment and clothing.[395]

There was attached the list of qualified registered Brother nurses ready to come to Ghana from Spain. The incentive to the doctors was meant to motivate them to give of their best while in practice. Bowers always insisted on the qualification of any health practitioners in his diocese. In effect, the superiors of the congregations complied with these directives.

Having followed all protocol, the project was entrusted to the Brothers of the Hospitaller Order of St John of God and was formally inaugurated in 1959 as a private non-profit organisation. Over the years, what began as a project on home for crippled children have developed into a hospital that offers health services on Orthopaedics and Traumatology. Additionally, it has extended its services to include other general

[394] John Rivas to Bowers, 6th April 1958, Koforidua.
[395] John Rivas to Bowers, 12 October 1959, Koforidua.

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healthcare such as general surgery and it is rated as the second highest attended hospital in the region.[396]

5.7 Conclusion

With a new democratic dispensation in the Gold Coast more and more mission hospitals had overcome some of their initial struggles for survival. Therefore, there was the need to organise into associations in order to solve their common problems collectively. One of such associations is the Christian Health Association of Ghana (CHAG) which developed into a body for negotiations with the government. The cumulative effect of this union is the substantial help given by the government to CHAG members. The Catholic Church formed the Diocesan Health Councils (DHCs) with the Bishop as the Head and Chairman, thus technically making them the Head of all Catholic health institutions in the Diocese.

In view of the organisation of the health sector and Catholic health professionals, the Catholic Church has in mind to fulfil her criterion of upholding natural moral law, that is, women and men of faith, missionaries, religious, laity, priests, Bishops and Popes who have lived out the social teachings over the centuries. These disciples of Christ responded to the circumstances of their times in the light of the Gospel and Church mandates to care for the needy, serve one's neighbour and build a society based on justice and peace. By extension, the onus is on every woman and man of goodwill to understand the principles of the Social Teachings of the church.[397]

In bringing health care to some Ghanaian communities, Bishop Bowers was able to evangelise through improved health care; with Catholic healthcare practitioners who

[396] St. Joseph Hospital's Report for 2009.
[397] Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, no. 82, 83.

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were religious by their witness of life. It was Bishop Bowers' deep conviction of the dignity of the human person that led him to love and respect every human person. In this respect, he provided hospital facilities in order to teach practical Catholic Medical ethics.

Also, the Catholic health practitioner through healthcare would care and treat the patients as "another Christ" and not just as a number or a bed. In this way the patients would come to the knowledge and love of God. Thus, in all the hospitals he established, healthcare was not confined to the hospital environment but an outreach programme, as the healthcare practitioners paid visits to the villages on market days. This programme was designed so that the poor who cannot afford to pay for transportation and all the other expenses associated with travelling can access healthcare and take care of their businesses at the same time.

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CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter presents a summary of the findings of the work, showing how the intervening chapters responded to the research questions and objectives. It then draws conclusions based on the major findings and finally makes some recommendations for further research.

6.2 Summary

This study investigated how Bishop Bowers expressed his faith in God through his pastoral ministry. Specifically, it examined his contribution to healthcare delivery and formal and informal education in the Accra diocese.

Firstly, the study examined Catholic religious education as one of the two pillars of Bishop Bowers' evangelical strategy for integral human development Understanding the necessity of education in development discourse, it explored Catholic education in the Gold Coast within the colonial system of education and the implementation of accelerated educational development plan in Ghana after independence. Furthermore, it discussed the patriotism and role of the Ghana Young Pioneers, Voluntary Agencies and the views of Bishop Bowers on education, which was derived from his letters, interviews, and focus group discussions.

Additionally, the study examined Bowers' contribution to education: in terms of caring for the poor and needy children, founding of schools, and the HDRs for the formation and training of some of them for school and hospital apostolate and concluded with the impact of Bishop Bowers on education in the Gold Coast Ghana.

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Secondly, this study discussed the contribution of Bowers to holistic human development by assessing the health delivery system in the Catholic Diocese of Accra: provision of health facilities, staffing of the facilities with qualified personnel, most of whom were religious health practitioners. Behind the establishment of hospitals and schools lies his deep conviction of the dignity of the human person that requests love and respect. Hence the move to raise the living standards of the less privileged in society, offering them the opportunity to experience the love of God.

Relevant data were sourced from narratives of selected witnesses, correspondences, memos ad memoirs and archival records. These were supplemented with secondary sources. Some of the findings that emanated from the study are discussed below.

6.2.1 Education and Integral Human Development

One of the main findings of the study is that education is a key factor for sustainable development in every community. Forming people to understand themselves and the world around opens them up to value the self and the other in the daily existence and interaction. But for education to be meaningful, it should be appropriate to the actual destiny of the human persons. It should be adapted to their aptitudes, sex and national cultural, traditions and should be beneficial to foster fraternal relations with other nations in order to promote true unity and peace in the world. Therefore, true education is directed towards the integral development of the human person in view of his final end and the good of that society to which he/she belongs. This is supported by the view that "All men of whatever race, condition or age, in virtue of their dignity as human persons, have an inalienable right to education."

It is for the above reason that for Bishop Bowers children and young people should be helped to develop harmoniously their physical, moral, and intellectual qualities. Hence,

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he subscribed to the scientific methods of educational instructions like the taxonomy of education, as practiced, in any part of the world.

Giving the importance of education to human development, educators are to be more precise in their language since it is their medium of communication with their learners. The precision of language in Taxonomy is rooted in the ideas that all words in a scientific system should be defined in terms of observable events and that educational objectives should be defined operationally in terms of performances or outcomes. This method of formulating objectives can be used for writing objectives at the program and course levels. By adding specific content, the objectives can be used at the classroom level, including the lesson plan level.

Though, the findings of the study revealed that Bishop Bowers upholds this scientific method and instruction, taxonomy of educational objectives, he was strongly opposed to treating moral and religious education (RME) as an appendix to other subjects, such as mathematics and science on a school's curriculum. Relegating RME to the background would mean that the development of the learner would no longer be integral or complete, since the spiritual and moral development, which is most essential aspect of a human person's development, has become secondary.

Not only did Bishop Bowers oppose minimizing RME, but he also advocates for a philosophy of philosophy of education that uphold the totality of the human person in the cognitive, affective, and psychomotor developments.

The importance Bishop Bowers placed on holistic development of the human person. Since indeed the well-being of society and the Church herself is intimately related to the development of students pursing higher studies. He paid greater attention to their spiritual life. This, to a large extent, has forestall some social vices, such as; corruption,

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indiscipline and indecency, robbery, murder, rape, drug abuse, disrespect for authorities, elders and laws of the land, indifference to the environment, social and civic irresponsibility.

Thus, the finding of the research has asserted the indispensability of holistic education and integral human development. He described an integral education, as an education, which responds to all the needs of the human person. Therefore, the instrument for instruction should be designed to intentionally direct to the growth of the whole person with the aim to develop, gradually, every capability of each learner: intellectual, psychological, moral, cultural and religious dimensions. Hence, the study ascertained that he established Catholic schools, because they are privilege places, which foster the formation and transformation of the whole person to be conscious of their dignity, the need of others and their responsibility towards all peoples. Such education, requires the interpersonal relationship and mutual cooperation between the educator, whose life of witnesses to a living encounter with Christ, and the student, who is inspired and encouraged by the witness of life of the educator.

Moreover, the investigation has revealed that since Catholic schools exist to promote holistic education, it is constantly inspired and guided by the Gospel of Christ and his person, from whom Bishop Bowers derived all the energy necessary for his educational work.

Basically, the finding of the study is, that Bishop Bowers believed holistic education is based on the premise, “virtue can be taught.” This would lead to integral human formation, that is, forming individuals to achieve their full potentials for the good of themselves and fellow human being. A person so formed would influence and affect the country according to the formation or religious education he/she has received.

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Additionally, the work has demonstrated Bishop Bowers' reason that integral development, though tantamount with, is related to holistic education, as integral and holistic refer to same thing-the totality of a certain subject, in this case, the human person. Thus, holistic and integral indicate both the interior and exterior sides of the human person, which could be sum up in the physical, psychological, emotional, social, political, economic, moral, intellectual/spiritual. Furthermore, in his view of the various aspects of life, he defined development as growth, progress, improvement and/or advancement.

Additionally, this study has deduced that Bishop Bowers was of the view, that integral development is all-round advancement or growth of a people. Hence, integral development of a country ensues when her citizens bring their experiences, in the formal and informal education sectors to bear on the historical development of their country to promote the welfare of the citizens in all spheres of their lives. Consequently, every aspect of the country then grows for the benefit of each citizen, leading to putting at the disposal of the country their qualities, attitudes, aptitude, abilities, and capabilities to promote the development of the country. These character traits of the people determine the rate and quality of development of a country. The development would be reflected in the communities, and the populace. In conclusion, the integral development of a nation, to a large extent, is dependent on the holistic and integral education of the populace.

6.2.2 Health and Integral Human Development

It is noteworthy, as the findings of the study have revealed that since Bowers' aim was the integral human development, he did not only establish educational institutions but health facilities as well. His conviction was based on the saying "sound mind in a healthy body." Thus, he evangelised more through preventive than curative medicine. The healthcare givers paid regular visits on market days to villages, where the patients

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accessed the health facilities and received education on good hygiene. Thus, saving them the extra travelling expenses and inconvenience associated with such trips. He did this through primary healthcare.

Nevertheless, he also established hospitals to teach the patients who access the facilities to be prolife in their worldview and not to procure abortion or practise euthanasia to alleviate sufferings by terminating life, which is a gift of God.

As stated above, given that health is an essential part of integral human development, this study has shown that Bowers placed humanity over economic benefits in his ministry. For him spirituality and morality superseded materialism.

Further, findings of the study discovered that Bowers emphasised the church's perception of the human person as created in the image of God. Hence, he evaluated any new governmental policy as to whether or not it improves or threatens human dignity. For Bowers, human dignity, to some extent, depends on healthcare issues. Catholic medical ethics provide a guide or a set of signposts for the way to live: a sound mind in a healthy body.

In the quest to answer the question on the relevance of Catholic hospitals, this study discovered also that Catholic medical ethics are for many persons a matter of speculation of, more or less, inaccurate/accurate information, of ideas and all this begets great confusion in their minds. It is in this light that Bowers has, as the first corollary of this fundamental concept, the idea that to give up life of one's own choice is to give up striving towards an end which not we but God has established.

In view of this, he believed that the Creator has called upon humankind to make his/her life useful; He/she may not destroy it at will. His/her duty is to care for his body, its

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functions, and its organs; to do everything he/she can render her/himself capable of attaining to God. This duty implies giving up things which in themselves may be good. This duty sometimes requires that he/she sacrifices health and life: our concern for them cannot allow us to deny the claim to superior values in defence of the faith. All the same, in the matter of cares to be taken for maintaining good health and preserving life, a correct proportion must be arrived at, regarding both the superior good perhaps at stake and also the concrete conditions in which the human person lives.

In view of the above, the study revealed that Bowers established Catholic healthcare facilities in the Gold Coast/Ghana. In the past, the Catholic health practitioners had fought and still fight fervently to avoid intervention they deemed intrinsically immoral, such as abortion, euthanasia and suffering. In the face of these challenges, notwith-standing, the Catholic health sector has made numerous accommodations and changes in how they operate in response to the growing pluralism of the Ghanaian society, but they have resisted crossing certain boundaries in providing particular interventions deemed objectively wrong based on one principle of the medical good: that the patient wants to be healthy.

Thus, the Catholic hospitals exist to promote the harmony between the good as wanted by the patient and the good as sought by the act of medicine not to be disharmonised by the purpose the Ghanaian society introduces into the assessment of what is to be done by legislation. Hence, Bowers sought the medical good of the patient as the church's good and pursued professionally, the good health of the patient with highly qualified Catholic Religious Medical practitioners.

Therefore, the finding of the study has established that Bowers evangelised the people of the Gold Coast through improved healthcare with Catholic healthcare practitioners

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who were religious. The OP Sisters and Brothers of St John of God, Order of Hospitallers (OH) provided their services in the clinics to extend the Kingdom of God by a life of witness as stipulated by the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church and Second Vatican Council.[398]

6.2.3 Empowerment of Girls/Women

Finally, this study has established that the idea of empowerment of women emanated from Bowers' family background and his love for his dear and virtuous illiterate mother, which he transferred to all girls/women to empower them through education. For him, the formation and transformation of the family depended, to a large extent, on the emancipation of the girls/women through education. For this reason, his main target was the underprivileged and vulnerable girls/women who for financial reasons or otherwise could not further their education.

To realise his objective of women empowerment, Bowers took some concrete steps, namely, 1) the establishment of St Anne Vocational Institute to equip girls/women to find self fulfilment and to be economically independent in any eventuality; 2) Establishment of St Rose's Senior High School (SHS) only for girls; 3) Changed St Martin's SHS 'all-boys' secondary school into a coeducational (mixed) institution to offer many girls the opportunity to go to school; 4) Founding a religious women congregation to empower and evangelise their fellow women,

6.3 Conclusion

The study has established the importance of religion in development, especially in Ghana, where religion shows no signs of diminishing in both public and private spaces.

[398] Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 1.

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In fact, religion does not only bridge the gap between the two spheres, but it also permeates every aspect of life. The question, then, is how can the resources religion offers be harnessed fully for integral human development and nation building?

This thesis, dedicated to the pastoral activities of Bowers, has underlined the importance of studying the life of heroes and heroines of our nation in order to discover the values that motivated them in the sacrifices they made towards building a unified nation. Their selfless choices and sense of the dignity of the other, which, in a certain sense, defines their spirituality are pillars for education. The concern for the development of the 'other', in fact, is what motivated Bowers to found to found different educational institutions: Primary, Middle and Secondary Schools; Technical and Vocational Schools for skills training and development.

Particular attention paid to women and their empowerment is notable. The establishment of St. Anne Institute at Nuaso to train the indigenous women and women from all over the country, especially, the underprivileged girls/women, underscores this. A similar idea is the girlchild education campaign in the contemporary education program in Ghana. Therefore, the vision of Bowers requests attention and evaluation, as many Ghanaian women are unemployed or are among the low-income groups. Such vulnerability in the system leads to exploitation and violence.

The study has also noted the importance Bowers attached to human health. This could be summarised in his favourable dictum: a sound mind in a sound body. In other words, care of the physical body, especially, in relation to health was one of the ways Bowers understood development. For this reason, the health facilities he founded were charged with both preventive and curative health delivery. The humanity of the patient, a creature in the image and likeness of God, was to be at the fore front of services offered.

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Healing, therefore, was not restricted to the body alone, but to the totality of the person, what is termed biblically as s*halom.*

Lastly, it could be observed that Bowers contributed to the discourse on the 'human person in search for a true relationship to God, the other and creation, through the establishment and management of health and educational facilities. His collaboration with the State in providing for the health needs of all persons in Ghana irrespective of religious and ethnic affiliations, or race interrogates all Ghanaians to re-think development and nation building.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion, the study makes the following recommendations, divided into two: academic and pastoral.

On the academic level, the study recommends introduction of the lives and works of heroes and heroines on school curriculum. The study has revealed that this will serve as a source of inspiration and motivation to imitate heroic virtues and works for transformation and formation of the human person for development.

Secondly, the study recommends further research into the entire life and ministry of Bowers since this research was limited to some parts of his life and his contribution to development in Ghana.

Thirdly, the study recommends more research into the heroic life and works of other early gallant Catholic missionaries for development in Ghana.

Fourthly, the study recommends the institution of a national Catholic archive because data on the Roman Catholic Church in Ghana is scattered.

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Furthermore, the research recommends the digitisation of archives at the national level. Experience has shown that the digitisation facilitates and preserves accurate and easy access to information within a short time.

From the pastoral perspective, the study recommends that all ministers should undergo, at least, some form of theological formation before entrusting people in their care.

Lastly, the research recommends the implementation of a new paradigm to preach and to teach by witness of life (word and praxis) as Pope Francis has observed that the shepherd must ‘smell like the sheep’. In other words, pastors must empathise with their congregations, by sharing in their sufferings, pains and problems, as well as their joys.

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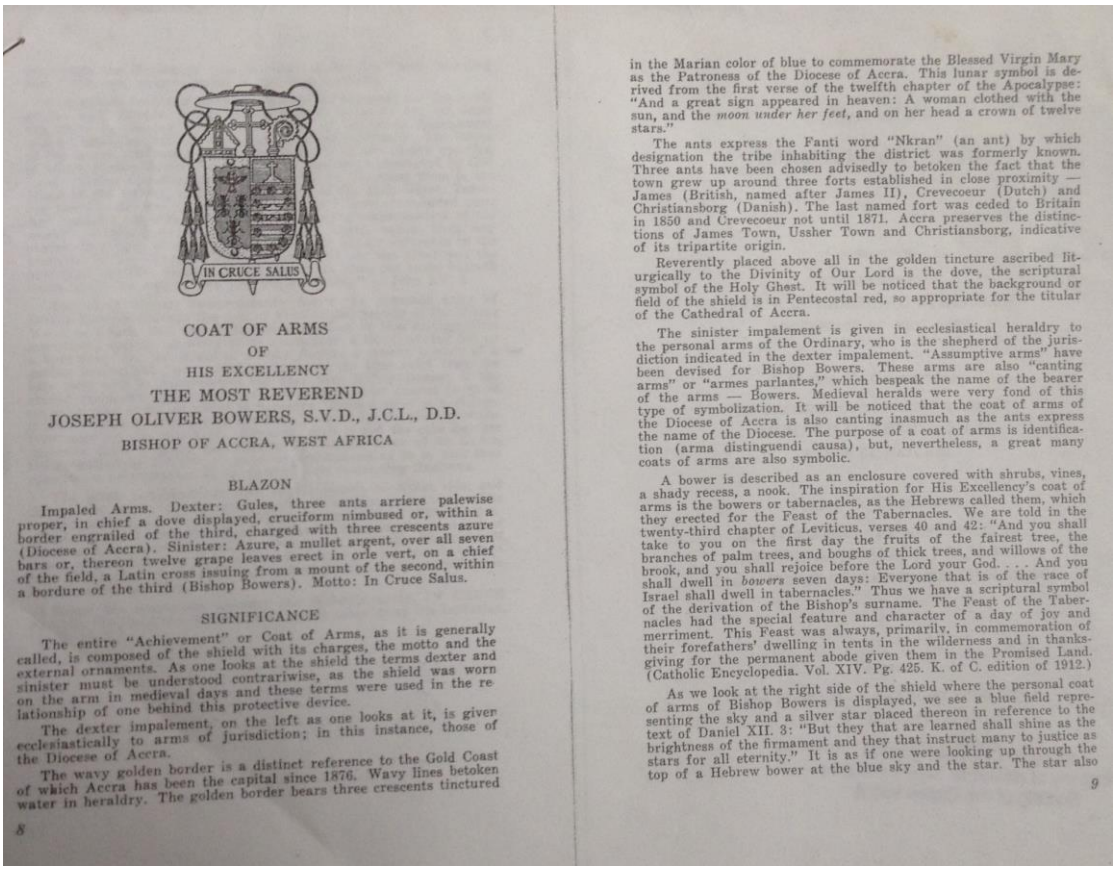
APPENDICES

Appendix A: Coat of Arms



COAT OF ARMS
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
THE MOST REVEREND
JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS, S.V.D., J.C.L., D.D.
BISHOP OF ACCRA, WEST AFRICA

BLAZON

Impaled Arms. Dexter: Gules, three ants arriere palewise proper, in chief a dove displayed, cruciform nimbused or, within a border engrailed of the third, charged with three crescents azure (Diocese of Accra). Sinister: Azure, a mullet argent, over all seven bars or, thereon twelve grape leaves erect in orle vert, on a chief of the field, a Latin cross issuing from a mount of the second, within a bordure of the third (Bishop Bowers). Motto: In Cruce Salus.

SIGNIFICANCE

The entire "Achievement" or Coat of Arms, as it is generally called, is composed of the shield with its charges, the motto and the external ornaments. As one looks at the shield the terms dexter and sinister must be understood contrariwise, as the shield was worn on the arm in medieval days and these terms were used in the relationship of one behind this protective device.

The dexter impalement, on the left as one looks at it, is given ecclesiastically to arms of jurisdiction; in this instance, those of the Diocese of Accra.

The wavy golden border is a distinct reference to the Gold Coast of which Accra has been the capital since 1876. Wavy lines betoken water in heraldry. The golden border bears three crescents tinctured

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in the Marian color of blue to commemorate the Blessed Virgin Mary as the Patroness of the Diocese of Accra. This lunar symbol is derived from the first verse of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse: "And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the *moon under her feet*, and on her head a crown of twelve stars."

The ants express the Fanti word "Nkran" (an ant) by which designation the tribe inhabiting the district was formerly known. Three ants have been chosen advisedly to betoken the fact that the town grew up around three forts established in close proximity — James (British, named after James II), Crevecoeur (Dutch) and Christiansborg (Danish). The last named fort was ceded to Britain in 1850 and Crevecoeur not until 1871. Accra preserves the distinctions of James Town, Ussher Town and Christiansborg, indicative of its tripartite origin.

Reverently placed above all in the golden tincture ascribed liturgically to the Divinity of Our Lord is the dove, the scriptural symbol of the Holy Ghost. It will be noticed that the background or field of the shield is in Pentecostal red, so appropriate for the titular of the Cathedral of Accra.

The sinister impalement is given in ecclesiastical heraldry to the personal arms of the Ordinary, who is the shepherd of the jurisdiction indicated in the dexter impalement. "Assumptive arms" have been devised for Bishop Bowers. These arms are also "canting arms" or "armes parlantes," which bespeak the name of the bearer of the arms — Bowers. Medieval heralds were very fond of this type of symbolization. It will be noticed that the coat of arms of the Diocese of Accra is also canting inasmuch as the ants express the name of the Diocese. The purpose of a coat of arms is identification (arma distinguendi causa), but, nevertheless, a great many coats of arms are also symbolic.

A bower is described as an enclosure covered with shrubs, vines, a shady recess, a nook. The inspiration for His Excellency's coat of arms is the bowers or tabernacles, as the Hebrews called them, which they erected for the Feast of the Tabernacles. We are told in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, verses 40 and 42: "And you shall take to you on the first day the fruits of the fairest tree, the branches of palm trees, and boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook, and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God. . . . And you shall dwell in *bowers* seven days: Everyone that is of the race of Israel shall dwell in tabernacles." Thus we have a scriptural symbol of the derivation of the Bishop's surname. The Feast of the Tabernacles had the special feature and character of a day of joy and merriment. This Feast was always, primarily, in commemoration of their forefathers' dwelling in tents in the wilderness and in thanksgiving for the permanent abode given them in the Promised Land. (Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. XIV. Pg. 425. K. of C. edition of 1912.)

As we look at the right side of the shield where the personal coat of arms of Bishop Bowers is displayed, we see a blue field representing the sky and a silver star placed thereon in reference to the text of Daniel XII. 3: "But they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that instruct many to justice as stars for all eternity." It is as if one were looking up through the top of a Hebrew bower at the blue sky and the star. The star also

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Appendix B: Certificate of Honour

ARCHDIOCESE OF ACCRA - HOLY SPIRIT CATHEDRAL PARISH
CATHEDRAL SQUARE, ACCRA

Millennium Award of Excellence

This Certificate

of Honour and Distinction

is awarded to

RT. REV. JOSEPH O. BOWERS

In recognition of Meritorious Service to
the Parish and the Church

"I chose you and appointed you to go and bear much fruit, the kind of fruit that endures." Jn 15:16

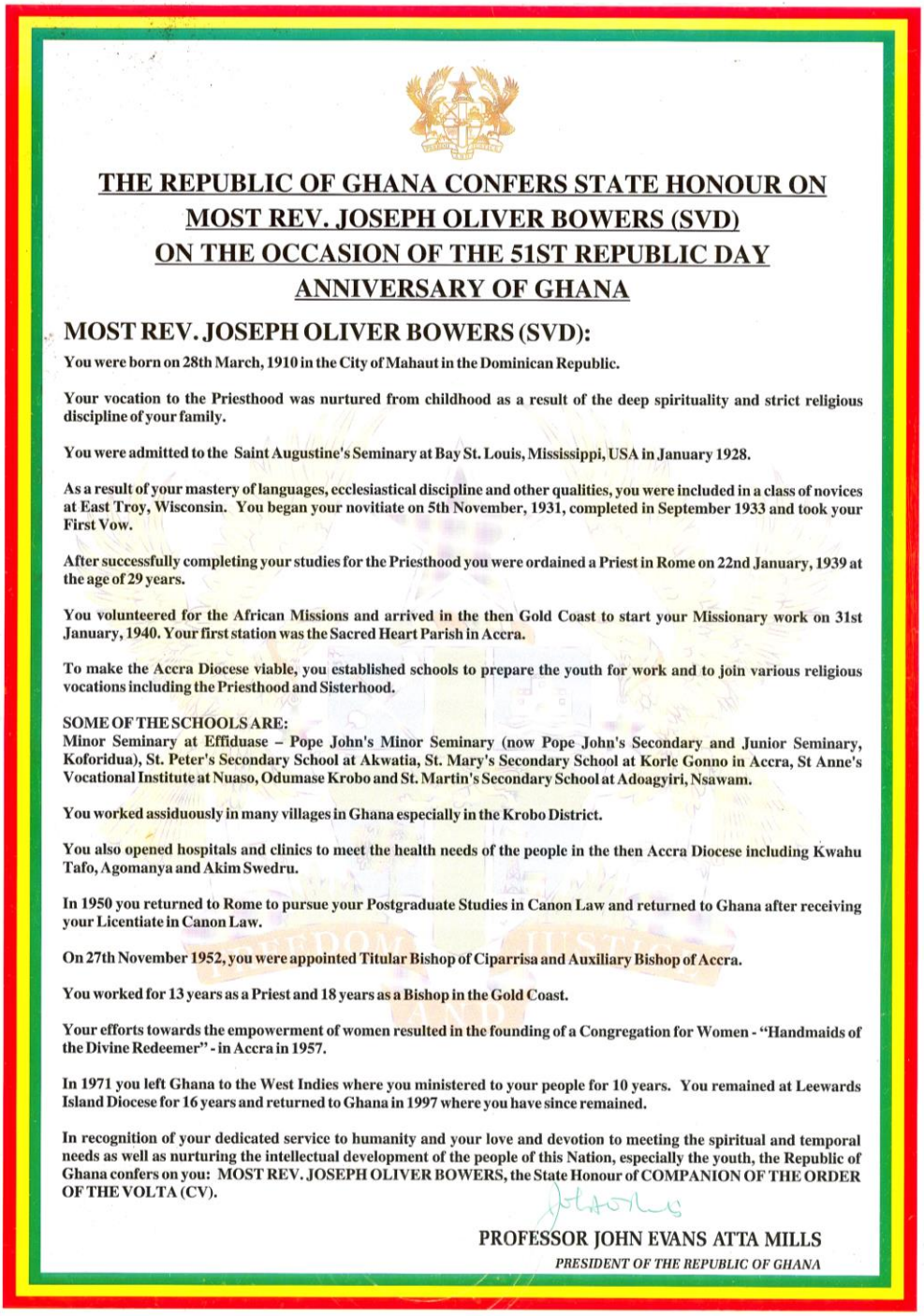
on 2ND day of JANUARY 2000

Most Rev. Dominic K. Andoh, JCD DD
Metropolitan Archbishop of Accra

Very Rev. Msgr Pius Kpegio
Cathedral Administrator

University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh

Appendix C: National Award



THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA CONFERS STATE HONOUR ON MOST REV. JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS (SVD) ON THE OCCASION OF THE 51ST REPUBLIC DAY ANNIVERSARY OF GHANA

MOST REV. JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS (SVD):

You were born on 28th March, 1910 in the City of Mahaut in the Dominican Republic.

Your vocation to the Priesthood was nurtured from childhood as a result of the deep spirituality and strict religious discipline of your family.

You were admitted to the Saint Augustine's Seminary at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, USA in January 1928.

As a result of your mastery of languages, ecclesiastical discipline and other qualities, you were included in a class of novices at East Troy, Wisconsin. You began your novitiate on 5th November, 1931, completed in September 1933 and took your First Vow.

After successfully completing your studies for the Priesthood you were ordained a Priest in Rome on 22nd January, 1939 at the age of 29 years.

You volunteered for the African Missions and arrived in the then Gold Coast to start your Missionary work on 31st January, 1940. Your first station was the Sacred Heart Parish in Accra.

To make the Accra Diocese viable, you established schools to prepare the youth for work and to join various religious vocations including the Priesthood and Sisterhood.

SOME OF THE SCHOOLS ARE:
Minor Seminary at Effiduase – Pope John's Minor Seminary (now Pope John's Secondary and Junior Seminary, Koforidua), St. Peter's Secondary School at Akwatia, St. Mary's Secondary School at Korle Gonno in Accra, St Anne's Vocational Institute at Nuaso, Odumase Krobo and St. Martin's Secondary School at Adoagyiri, Nsawam.

You worked assiduously in many villages in Ghana especially in the Krobo District.

You also opened hospitals and clinics to meet the health needs of the people in the then Accra Diocese including Kwahu Tafo, Agomanya and Akim Swedru.

In 1950 you returned to Rome to pursue your Postgraduate Studies in Canon Law and returned to Ghana after receiving your Licentiate in Canon Law.

On 27th November 1952, you were appointed Titular Bishop of Ciparrisa and Auxiliary Bishop of Accra.

You worked for 13 years as a Priest and 18 years as a Bishop in the Gold Coast.

Your efforts towards the empowerment of women resulted in the founding of a Congregation for Women - "Handmaids of the Divine Redeemer" - in Accra in 1957.

In 1971 you left Ghana to the West Indies where you ministered to your people for 10 years. You remained at Leewards Island Diocese for 16 years and returned to Ghana in 1997 where you have since remained.

In recognition of your dedicated service to humanity and your love and devotion to meeting the spiritual and temporal needs as well as nurturing the intellectual development of the people of this Nation, especially the youth, the Republic of Ghana confers on you: MOST REV. JOSEPH OLIVER BOWERS, the State Honour of COMPANION OF THE ORDER OF THE VOLTA (CV).

PROFESSOR JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA