

CHURCH AND STATE: A HISTORICAL REVIEW OF INTERACTION
BETWEEN THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY

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As a direct result of the extension of British Protectorate over Akyem Abuakwa in 1850, Missionary societies began to show interest in the State.¹ In the middle of 1851 Stanger hinted the Basel Mission at Akropong that the Wesleyans were planning to open a Mission station in Akyem Abuakwa, and to forestall them, Basel Missionary Suss visited Akyem in January 1852. At Gyadam and Kyebi he was well received by Kotokuhene Kofi Agyeman and Okyenhene Atta Panin respectively.² The latter who 'had been to a Wesleyan school himself'³ showed Suss every mark of friendship and requested that a school be opened at Kyebi. He expressed a strong desire for Suss himself to teach him to read and agreed to send two of his sons, Gyekye and Asrifi, to school at Akropong, particularly to learn English.⁴

On September 4 Suss returned to Akyem to found a Mission Station at Gyadam. The preference for Gyadam over Kyebi was due to the former's greater agricultural prosperity and healthier environment, as well as the proximity of its villages and the submissiveness of its King to the European governors on the coast.⁵ But the Gyadan war of March 1860 made the position of the Basel Mission at Gyadam untenable.⁶ Consequently, the Missionaries took refuge at Kukurantumi where they established their temporary headquarters. In 1861 the Kyebi Mission Station was opened and for many years remained the headquarters of the Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa.

The history of the relationship between the Basel Mission and the traditional political authorities was a chequered one, with periods of friendship and harmony alternating with periods of downright hostility and

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tension. For the purposes of this study three broad phases may be discerned: 1853-1868; 1868-1887 and 1887-1943. These phases are examined in turn.

1) 1853-1868 - the period of harmony

During this period the 'Church' enjoyed the goodwill and co-operation of the Okyenhene and his chiefs. Zimmerman described a visit to Okyenhene (the Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa) Atta Panin in 1852 during which the King not only accepted the gift of an English Bible with gold letters on the binding but attended a service with the Basel Missionaries, and pressed for a Mission Station 'in his territory'.⁷ By 1854 two of his sons were at school at Akropong.⁸ Okyenhene Atta Obuom who succeeded King Atta Panin in 1859 did not merely maintain friendly relations with the Basel Missionaries at Kyebi but counted them among his political advisers. On 15 March 1863 Revs. Eisenschmid and Stromberg were awakened from their sleep and invited to sit with the Kyebi Executive Council (Ankobe, Atesemaka ne Kyidom) to deliberate on pressing political issues. Again on 30 March the Missionaries were summoned to join the Okyenhene's Council in hearing a message from an envoy of the Asantehene.⁹ The Basel Missionaries also acted as advisers to the Okyenhene, and peace makers, in a serious and acrimonious land dispute between Kukurantumi and Asafo in 1865.¹⁰ More often than not Obuom paid visits to the Mission Station 'riding upon one of his men's shoulders'.¹¹ During Christmas of 1866 he and several non-Christians visited the boarding school to watch the celebrations.¹²

It is true that Obuom occasionally showed signs of hostility as, for instance in 1864 when he held 'himself more distant than before' and tried to interfere with Mission work by ruling that boys enrolled at the proposed Kyebi Boarding school should be paid \$2.00 (C9/-) each in addition to free board and clothing, and also imposed a general ban on the carrying of loads by his subjects between Kyebi and the coast.¹³

Such orders were, however, issued after bouts of drunkenness and might therefore be viewed as an aberration. On such occasions the elders usually took the side of the Missionaries and restrained the King.¹⁴ Obuom's 14-year old nephew and successor, Kwasi Panin, alias Amoako Atta I (1867-1887), came to the stool with a fund of goodwill towards the Basel Mission. As a school boy at the Kyebi Basel Mission school, he had liked the Christian religion very much. He attended religious service every Sunday 'and paid subscription to the mission'.¹⁵

The reasons for this happy relationship between Church and State are not difficult to find. First was the peoples' fascination with western-style education introduced by the Basel Mission. Even before the Basel Missionaries settled at Kukurantumi, they were being importuned by Chief Ampaw to open a school there, with the promise of a plot of land and house for a teacher.¹⁶ Okyenene Atta Panin and his successors were even more enthusiastic about western-style education than Chief Ampaw. With King Atta Panin's consent Governor Pine sent a teacher to establish a school at Kyebi in May, 1857.¹⁷ King Obuom also gave active support to the Kyebi Basel Mission school when it was established in late 1861, by supplying 15 boys;¹⁸ while Amoako Atta I ignored an appeal made to him in 1867 by an Okomfoo (priest) of Kyebi to dismantle the Kyebi school because of its influence in spreading Christianity.¹⁹ Indeed under his influence 'the school increased by 7 boarding-boys at the end of the year'.²⁰

Second, the Akyem Abuakwa public appreciated the new skills like carpentry, masonry and bakery introduced by the Basel Missionaries, not to mention new economic crops like coffee and mango and the opportunities for wage employment.²¹ But by far the most important reason for the harmonious relationship between Church and State during this period was the Church's non-involvement in the internal politics of Akyem Abuakwa. The Missionaries went about their work cautiously and unobtrusively, refraining from acts of overt provocation or interference in local politics. From 1868, however, the

Basel Mission threw caution to the wind and sowed the seeds of confrontation between Church and State.

ii) 1868-1887 - the period of confrontation

By 1868 the Basel Mission had been working in Akyem Abuakwa for fifteen years with disappointing results. Mission stations and Churches had been established at considerable cost; ²² several preaching tours had been made of neighbouring villages; ²³ and yet the number of converts remained incommensurately small. ²⁴ So far converts had been recruited from two main categories of people: school pupils and slaves, ²⁵ because the free-born Akyem tended to demand pecuniary inducement as a condition of becoming Christians. ²⁶ The potentialities of the mission schools as a source of recruitment of converts were not great in view of irregularity of attendance and instability of numbers. ²⁷ Naturally the Church was tempted to cast its net of recruitment a little wider and even into 'forbidden waters'.

The earliest slave converts to Christianity had been recruited mainly from the ranks of redeemed pawns and manumitted slaves or from among slaves whose owners were Christians. ²⁸ But from 1868 the Missionaries began to consider all slaves, including those of the royal household, as potential converts to Christianity and directed their religious propaganda indiscriminately towards them all. Second, the Missionaries seem to have encouraged converts to the Christian faith to abandon their homes in the main township and settle at the Mission Station variously called salem, Christian village, or Oburunikrom (white man's village). ²⁹ Finally the Missionaries became less discreet in their attitude to traditional society, showing contempt for the traditional judicial system and the sovereignty of the Okyenhene. In 1868, for instance, Eisanschmid intervened to shield from justice, a convert called Duko, charged with assaulting the King, by threatening to report the Okyenhene to the Governor for punishment "if any harm should come to Duko". ³⁰

The reaction of the Okyenhene and his chiefs to these growing tendencies on the part of the Basel Missionaries was one of alarm and indignation. The encouragement of Christians to resettle on the mission stations was suspected to be a deliberate attempt to reduce interaction between the nascent Christian community and the non-Christian community as a first step towards the eventual creation of a dichotomy between Church and State. Indeed the people's suspicion had been aroused as far back as 1863. Stromberg reporting in that year observed that there was an assumption on the part of the local people that they [the Missionaries] intend to set up a state within a state - withdrawing people from their normal allegiance.³¹ The encouragement of one section of the community to live in physical isolation from the general community was not only alien to Akan conception of social organization; it was also intolerable to a community that found security in greater numbers.³²

The policy of segregating Christians was even more dangerous in so far as it applied to State functionaries. There was a genuine fear that if such functionaries were allowed to be baptised they might be enticed to reside at the Salem and persuaded to give up their normal duties at court in connection with ancestor worship and the propitiation of the gods. Okyenhene Amoako Atta I could ill-afford to risk the loss of the services of his drummers, horn-blowers, stool carriers etc. as they were the mainstay of the politico-religious festivals and ceremonies deemed essential for the stability and well-being of his state. Accordingly he decided to act to nip the threat in the bud, after his Council had tried unsuccessfully to impress upon Rev. Hass that it was politically inexpedient to baptise royal slaves or pawns.

Early in 1870 a functionary within the Gyaase sub-division at Kyebi called Sakyi was fined two sheep by his osafohene (unit commander) for 'taking baptismal instruction and intending to be baptised'. An appeal filed on behalf of Sakyi by the Missionaries was dismissed by the Okyenhene's court. Gyaasehene Kwasi Amoako took advantage of the occasion to reprimand the Missionaries for giving baptismal instruction to his slaves without his permission and warned that he would prevent such infringements

of his rights in the future. He stressed that his slaves were his "sons" and he would insist on their obedience to his orders. Most of the King's elders spoke in the same vein.³³

Okyenhene Amoako Atta I was no less determined to prevent the 'seduction' of his slaves and functionaries. For the first time since his enstoolment as King, he publicly rebuked the Basel Missionaries and declared his irrevocable opposition to the proselytisation of his slaves and servants because of its veiled threat to his authority, his personal prestige and the politico-religious ceremonies of his state. With indignation he queried:

Must I let my horn-blowers, my drummers, my pipers my sword-bearers and executioners, my hammock-carriers etc. become Christians? If I do, then I can no longer carry out my ceremonies, nor can I receive foreign embassies worthily. Whoever has an obligation to serve me will never be allowed to become a Christian.³⁴

When Kromer accused the King of ingratitude to God for the deliverance of Akyem from the Asante yoke, the Okyenhene retorted: 'Do you mean, Kromer, that if you go away I shall have to carry stones from Accra to Kumasi like my fathers?' He then got up and walked out of the court in great anger.³⁵

Two significant points emerge from the King's speech. First, one has the impression even at this stage of a growing belief in the mutual exclusiveness and irreconcilability of Christianity and traditional Akyem religion. Second, it is clear from the King's speech that he was not opposed to the proselytization of his people as whole. He specifically objected to the conversion of State functionaries who performed duties considered crucial to the political, social and spiritual well-being of his state. Unfortunately the Missionaries failed to appreciate the reasons for the King's concern. In their ethnocentrism they insisted that there must be freedom of religion for all the King's subjects irrespective of their duties to the state.³⁶

The intransigence of the Missionaries increased hostility to Missionary work in the state from the end of 1870. While the Okyenhere and his Elders turned a deaf ear to appeals for more pupils for the Kyebi Boarding School, the Akomfoo (priests) of the various gods prohibited the Basel Mission agents from preaching in several villages.³⁷ Indeed by 1872 there was "a systematic attempt to prevent anyone, slave or free, from becoming a Christian".³⁸ The asafo imposed sanctions in the form of a fine of several sheep against any free man who tried to become a Christian. The fear of being put into debt effectively curbed the zeal of prospective converts and inhibited the growth of the congregations in the next two years.³⁹

After a stalemate lasting about four years, the Church-State controversy began to simmer and finally boil over. The cause of the renewal and escalation of the controversy was the attempt made by the Basel Mission to hide behind the proclamation of authority⁴⁰ that accompanied the inauguration of colonial rule in 1874 to achieve the same objectives that had been frustrated by the Okyenhere in 1870. The strategy adopted by Rev. David Asante, head of the Kyebi Mission, was to undermine the Okyenhere's authority over his subjects while promoting the spread of the influence of the Colonial regime as a means of advancing the cause of the Church in Akyem Abuakwa. First, David Asante gave wide publicity to the Slave Emancipation Ordinances of December 1874 and prompted slaves who visited the Mission Station to seek an explanation of the implications of the Ordinances to make good their freedom by severing their ties with their masters. Some were enticed with promises of employment and encouraged to accept baptism.⁴¹ The slaves were told that they no longer required the prior consent of their former masters in order to become Christians, nor did they have to worry about the invocation of customary sanctions against them.

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During Dr. visit to Kyebi in February 1875 David Asante sought and obtained 'definite powers' to report for prosecution and conviction any person who obstructed the enforcement of the Emancipation Ordinance.⁴² Armed with this authority he frustrated the King's attempts to secure the return of his former slaves who fled to the Mission station. Time and again the Okyehene went to the Mission Station, in the spirit of the Ordinance, to explain why a particular slave had left his household and to request Asante to effect a reconciliation and persuade the ex-slaves to return to live with him. But Asante invariably refused to oblige and rather upheld the right of the King's ex-slaves to leave his household to seek refuge at the Mission Station.⁴³ He even wrote to the Civil Commandant of Christiansborg to request police protection for ex-slaves at Kyebi against alleged molestation by their former masters.⁴⁴ For some strange reason Asante seems to have singled out the King for discrimination and embarrassment. While he consistently refused to allow the King to take back any of his slaves from the Mission Station he seems to have occasionally permitted other former slave masters to do so.⁴⁵

The second strategy of David Asante was to tamper with the loyalty of servants who were content to remain in the King's service. In 1876 Obrayena, a drummer serving in the palace, visited the Mission Station to look for a job to enable him pay off his debts amounting to \$9.00. Asante offered to lend him the money on condition that he declared himself free and left the King. Obrayena refused and made a report to the King.⁴⁶ On another occasion Asante mistook Kwasi Ntow of Adadeentam, also a drummer, for a slave and tried to instigate him to leave the King's household. Ntow told Asante he was not a slave but a relative of the King and he was happy to remain in the palace.⁴⁷

By 1876 Asante had succeeded in baptising several of the Kings functionaries. Among them were Mfenaasofo (sword-bearers) like Johannes Bosomtwe, Asokwafo (hornblowers) like Noah Dagdu, Abrafo (Executioners) like Thomas Anpadeefoo and Akyeremadefoo (Drummers) like Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, father of Nana Sir Ofori Atta and Dr. J.B. Danquah.⁴⁸ Although many

of the above-mentioned functionaries seemed willing to continue to perform their normal duties at court, Asante allegedly put pressure on them not to participate in any ceremonies associated with abosom and ancestor worship. Consequently Emmanuel Yaw Boakye, for instance, told the King that he 'could not join in anything done in honour of the fetish'. From then on he refused to beat the drums during Sundays and Adae.⁴⁹ The conduct of Asante confirmed the fears expressed by the Okyenene and his Elders in 1870 about the threat posed to the State by the conversion of state functionaries.

The loss of Yaw Boakye's services in particular was a bitter pill for Amoako Atta I to swallow. Yaw Boakye had been Amoako Atta's 'best friend before he got to the Stool'.⁵⁰ On his accession, Amoako Atta appointed his friend 'keeper of his Privy Purse' with a claim for 'a portion of the penalties on breach of King's oath'.⁵¹ Boakye was also entrusted with various sums of money and commissioned to trade on the King's behalf.⁵² By 1870 Yaw Boakye had become the leading state drummer and a close confidant of Amoako Atta I.⁵³ In appreciation of his loyalty and friendship the King arranged for his cousin Akosua Buo Gyankromaa, to marry Boakye. The conversion of Boakye, apart from straining relationship between him and the King, led directly to the conversion of Odekyee Gyankromaa in 1877 and thus opened the way for inroads to be made ^{into} the religious solidarity of the royal family.⁵⁴

Apart from the 'seduction' of the Okyenene's slaves and trusted servants, David Asante also interfered with the King's jurisdiction. The Missionaries had made no secret of their prejudice against the traditional Judicial system since the late 1860s;⁵⁵ and the proclamation of British authority raised hopes in their circles of imminent abolition of the Okyenene's court and its replacement with a British Court. In anticipation of this change, David Asante, acting on his own responsibility, set himself up virtually as a rival judicial authority in the state, arbitrating disputes between Christians, advising persons wanted for trial for violation of the King's oath, and writing letters of recommendation for people who were aggrieved by judgements of the Okyenene's court and wanted to appeal to the Supreme Court in Accra.⁵⁶

The cumulative effect of Asante's activities between 1874 and 1877 was political and economic frustration and uncertainty. First, the exodus of freed slaves from Kyebi reduced its population drastically and worsened the problem of scarcity of food supply.⁵⁷ Consequently Kwawu and Asante traders began to boycott the Kyebi route in favour of the Kukurantumi route.⁵⁸ Second, and more serious than the economic decline of Kyebi, was the loss of authority and prestige suffered by the Okyenhene. Writing to his superiors in April 1875, David Asante remarked, in obvious reference to the Okyenhene, that rich men who counted their wealth in slaves had become impoverished by the Emancipation Ordinance and that 'even the power of sovereigns in the interior [had] become almost nil'.⁵⁹

By June 1877 the forebodings were clear to Amoako Atta I. Using the Colonial Power as a shield, the Basel Mission was seeking to resolve the Church-State controversy unilaterally in its favour; and in the process was undermining the foundations of Akyem society. Amoako Atta's reaction was to issue an order banishing David Asante from his state. On 20 September he had Asante brought before a meeting of the Kyebi Executive Council, and after recounting all the evil things he had done during his four years' stay at Kyebi caused a gong-gong to be beaten round the town announcing the banning order.⁶⁰ Asante defied the order and an attempt by some nhenkwaa led by Osenasehene Oben Akese to seize and forcibly expel him resulted in a fracas during which Mrs. Date, wife of Deacon Nathaniel Date, was assaulted.⁶¹

At the request of Governor Freeling, Chief Justice Sir David Chalmers held an enquiry into the whole affair between 17 and 21 December 1877. The Chief Justice found as a fact that David Asante had acted injudiciously and provocatively towards the King. He was also satisfied that Asante's quarrel with the Okyenhene was essentially a political one and that Amoako Atta I had no intention of destroying the work of the Basel Mission in his State.⁶² In view of the provocation which the Okyenhene and his chiefs were found to have suffered 'from the injudicious, swaggering and unconciliatory demeanour and conduct of Mr. Asante, Governor Freeling recommended that he 'be removed and at once to another District not under King Attah'.⁶³ He made it clear that if the Mission kept Asante at Kyebi it would bear full responsibility for any future trouble arising from his tactlessness.⁶⁴ After a fruitless protest, the Local Committee of the Basel Mission transferred Asante to Akuapem in March 1878.⁶⁵

Encouraged by the verdict of the Chief Justice and the Governor's action, Amoako Atta took steps to curb the pretensions of the Basel Mission and regain the political initiative which he had temporarily lost. In the next few weeks, he took a stern and disciplinary action against Yaw Boakye, a leading member of the Kyebi Congregation, who had collaborated with Asante, by auctioning his property in enforcement of a Supreme Court decree.⁶⁶ During 1878 and 1879 the Christian Community in Akyem Abuakwa felt a backlash from Asante's confrontation with the Okyenhere in the form of popular resentment against them. At Kyebi people boycotted street preaching for fear of incurring the wrath of the King and his Elders.⁶⁷ Elsewhere the asafo and Akomfoo settled old scores with the Christians in their midst. At Asiakwa four baptismal candidates were assaulted for fishing in a forbidden stream; at Begoro the Missionaries were blamed for a typhoid epidemic which killed 170 people in December 1877 and Mohr was threatened with expulsion; at Asanafo a demonstration of all the Akomfoo in Akyem Abuakwa ended in the destruction of the local Chapel.⁶⁸

The mounting threat against Missionary work in the State compelled the Basel Mission to turn to the Colonial Government for active support. In 1878, for instance, Rev. Die Herle, President of the local Committee of the Basel Mission on the coast sought Government's guarantee of protection for Rev. Mohr and other Missionaries at Bogoso.⁶⁹ In July 1879 Rev. Karl Bick, head of the Kyebi Mission, travelled to Accra to persuade the Government to come out openly and unequivocally in support of the Basel Mission's cause. He called for legislation or proclamation to abolish certain customary taboos in Akyem Abuakwa. He wanted the Government for instance, to legalise the cultivation of afase (water yam) and the rearing of pigs, arguing that this would not only benefit the Basel Mission, but also the country at large by increasing the food resources available to the people.⁷⁰

Up to 1879 the Government had not intervened decisively and unequivocally on the side of the Christians though it had demonstrated open bias towards the Basel Mission time and again. Owing, however, to its growing conviction that Amoako Atta's conservatism placed 'obstacles in the way of civilization and progress'⁷¹ the Colonial Government began to identify itself openly with the cause of the Basel Mission in Akyem Abuakwa. In July 1879 Governor Ussher urged Rev. Karl Bick to bring to his notice for

appropriate action, authenticated cases of slave-dealing and slavery alleged to be persisting in the State.⁷²

The Basel Mission did not allow such an opportunity to discredit the King to slip by. In October 1879, Buck made a report that during a visit to Anyinam he had seen 'a whole row of people' either being sold into slavery or being pawned for money to pay fines inflicted on the town by the King. The law officers seem to have found little substance in the various charges brought against the King, but apparently anxious to find a pretext for removing Amoako Atta I from his lawful authority, the Government invited Rev. Buck, by a letter dated 10 February, 1880, to go to Accra to assist it 'in making a sound case' against the Okyenhene. The Basel Missionary was assured that his part in the whole affair would be kept 'confidential'.⁷³

Buck did not have much difficulty in gathering evidence to build up 'a sound case' against the Okyenhene. Christians with an axe to grind like Yaw Boakye, Joseph Bosompem and Isaiah Amoafu, all former servants of the King, were all too eager to take revenge for wrongs, imagined or real, done to them by Amoako Atta I.⁷⁴ The charges ultimately brought against the Okyenhene at the May Assizes were arson, slave-dealing and murder.⁷⁵ The all-African Jury which tried the King at his request returned a verdict of 'Not Guilty' in respect of the charges of slave-dealing and murder but convicted him on the 'minor' charges of 'malicious arson', for which he was sentenced to five years penal servitude.⁷⁶ On 14 May Amoako Atta I was put on a warship bound for Lagos.

King Amoako Atta's detention in Lagos lasted from May 20 1880 to December 1884, when Governor Young brought him back to Accra in his steam boat.⁷⁷ On 25 February 1885 the Governor sent him back to Kyebi in the company of C.D. Turton, high Government official, who was to be its representative at Amoako Atta's 're-installation on the stool of his forefathers'.⁷⁸ The King arrived at Kyebi on 1 March after an absence of over five years.

Before leaving for Kyebi Amoako Atta I, had gathered information through conversation about his state which irritated him a great deal. First he learnt that royal authority was a shamble; frivolous use was being made of his oath by strangers; several of his wives had been seduced by Christians and non-Christians alike and one had died of abortion;⁷⁹ Joseph Bosompem, a Christian whose evidence had helped to convict him now occupied

the Gyaase stool at Kyebi; several members of the royal family had been converted to Christianity and there was widespread violation of customary taboos which formed the essence of ancestral worship, the sanction behind his political authority.

In a fiery speech made on the occasion of his re-installment, Amoako Atta I did not mince words and left the Christians in no doubt that he was, and intended to remain, the sovereign ruler of Akyem Abuakwa. In Turton's presence, and in unequivocal language, he re-imposed the ban on farming, fishing and gold-digging on sacred days (nnabone) and warned that whoever violated it would be severely punished. When Assistant Catechist Yaw Boakye rose to protest, he silenced him by pointing his right finger at him and shouting angrily: "That is Boakye! that is Boakye! that is Boakye!" Boakye fainted with fright and had to be carried away unconscious. Turton looked on without any comment.⁸⁰

The Okyenene later told Revs. Weimer and Huppenbaner that he had never hated the Christians and that it was rather they who had sinned against him by ignoring God's injunction to them to honour the King and respect all authority. He continued;

The Christians do not honour and fear me. When I as King, to whom all lands which your eyes see belong, who can do and order what he wants, when I order that the Christians should celebrate those days which to our ancestors from olden times were sacred, they say no; that we do not do! Isn't that disobedience.

Amoako Atta I reminded the Missionaries that he was a sovereign in his own right and as such he could 'do and order' what he wanted in his country. Then referring again to the ban on work on sacred days he concluded his speech thus:

These days belong to my stool so I cannot allow the Christians to work on the mentioned days. Whoever wants to work on such days should buy himself his land.⁸²

Amoako Atta's speech revealed the polarisation between King and Missionary, while the former and his Chiefs deemed the observance of the customary taboos and laws imperative for the welfare and prosperity of their state, the Missionaries, backed by the Government, considered it to be intolerable to the Christian conscience. King and Missionary were thus set

on a collision course. Amoako Atta I spent 1885 trying to re-establish his authority. First the ban on work on sacred days was rigorously enforced throughout the State. At Anyinam, for instance, footpaths to farms were blocked on sacred days and Christians who attempted to violate the ban were threatened with physical violence.⁸³ Second, the King stopped cases from being taken to the Supreme Court in Accra on a pain of banishment and confiscation of property.⁸⁴ Third, those found guilty of seducing his wives were severely punished.⁸⁵

In October 1885 Emmanuel Yaw Boakye was forcibly expelled from Asuom when he tried to open a Mission there because the local Obosom Apaam 'dislike (sic) at all Christianity in our village'.⁸⁶ With the encouragement of Mohr, Christians in Akyem Abuakwa subscribed to a fund to send a deputation of Asuom Christians to Accra at the end of July 1886 to prefer charges against Chief Fosuhene of Asuom.⁸⁷ The Basel Missionaries also resisted the Governor's inclination to let 'the whole thing lie in abeyance' by pressing for the prosecution of Yaw Boakye's assailants.⁸⁸

From August 1886, the Christians of Kyebi took to preaching on the public streets, outside the salem, and in a mood that became a source of provocation to the non-Christians. As explained by Kwaku Afum later:

In their preaching they used to abuse (sic) the living as well as the dead. They speak of the Kings of Akim who were killed in wars with the Ashantes or otherwise betrayed and thereby met their death as if they were the worse (sic) of all Akims, knowing that that sort of preaching will only irritate the people.⁸⁹

The conduct of the Christians predictably led to a steady deterioration of relations between Christians and non-Christians. On September 9, for instance, Church leaders from Kyebi, Asiakwa, Apa pam and Tete informed Mohr about ominous signs of trouble and called for Government's protection.⁹⁰

On 15 and 16th December 1886, anti-Christian riots broke out at Kyebi arising partly from accusation of theft made against Joseph Bosompem, ex-Gyaasehene and leader of the Kyebi congregation. Bosompem was detained with several other Christians for one week. During that period the Christians of Kyebi suffered much privation being confined to the Mission Station and denied access to their farms and the rivers.⁹¹ As in 1877 the Govern-

ment intervened by sending an Official, Mr. Simons, Registrar in the Secretariat, to bring down the King and the accused persons to Accra for an enquiry.⁹² Amoako Atta I accompanied by some of his principal Chiefs and the Amantoomiensa (soldiers of the Ofori Stool) left Kyebi for Accra on 8 January 1887.⁹³ He, however, died in Accra on 2nd February 1887 from 'exhaustion from double pneumonia' before the enquiry could be held.⁹⁴

The King's death touched off state-wide anti-Christian demonstrations. At Kyebi and Kukurantumi pandemonium broke out as hundreds of mourners went berserk with grief, bewilderment and vindictiveness and indulged in widespread destruction of mission property. Doors and windows of chapels and private Christian houses were torn off; livestock of Christians were shot; the harmonium, altar and pulpit in the Kyebi chapel were burnt.⁹⁵ At Begoro the Christian community numbering 114 was seized with fear and fled into the bush within ten minutes of the arrival of royal messengers from Kyebi.⁹⁶ The damage done to property at Kyebi, Tete, Apedwa, Asunafo and Abomosu was estimated at £468.7.6.⁹⁷

To safeguard Christian life and property, the Government decided on a military occupation of Akyem Abuakwa. A total of 139 men including two Assistant Inspectors, one Assistant Colonial Surgeon (Dr. Quartey Papafio) and seventeen gunners occupied the state from February 1887 to April 1887. During this period the Commander of the force, Assistant Inspector Brennan, held an enquiry and imposed a fine of £500 on the state as compensation for damaged Christian property. In addition the State was called upon to execute a bond in the sum of £1,000 as a guarantee of good behaviour towards the Christian community, and to exempt the Christians from the obligations of certain customary taboos.⁹⁸ After the withdrawal of the Hausas from the State, Akyem Abuakwa remained as uncompromising as ever in her determination to ban the exiled Christians from re-entry.⁹⁹

The Church-State controversy in Akyem Abuakwa influenced the Government's decision to constitute the state into an administrative district in October 1887. The first District Commissioner, Assistant Inspector Lethbridge arrived at Kyebi to assume duty on November 1, 1887, with a 'Public Announcement' issued by the Governor. The Public Announcement read on November 3 to a public meeting of all the principal Chiefs and the Christians imposed an arbitrary and definitive settlement. Inter alia, 'it recalled Christians from exile under a Government guarantee of protection,

abolished the taboos considered by them to be intolerable to the Christian conscience' and guaranteed the right of access to all rivers 'for all proper purposes' the right to plant and eat afase (water yam), and the right to keep pigs on condition that they stayed in styes.¹⁰⁰

iii) 1887-1943: the period of rapprochement

Six months after the 'Public Announcement' was read at Kyebi, the Basel Missionaries reported that a 'deep peace' existed between the Okyenhene and the Christians.¹⁰¹ Twenty-one months later, Mohr's annual report for 1889 stated categorically:

No trace of enmity remains in the missionaries' reception in Akyem towns - they are everywhere regarded as friends.¹⁰²

The 'thaw' in relations between Christians and non-Christians was due to several factors. The first was the establishment of an effective colonial presence in Akyem Abuakwa from 1888. The increasing acceptance of baptism by members of the royal family at Kyebi and elsewhere also changed attitudes towards Christianity. The spread of education was equally important. By the 1890s literacy and Christian ethics were fast becoming the hall marks of civilization and progress.¹⁰³

Amaako Atta himself adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Basel Missionaries from the 1890s. Not only was he dependent on the Christians for the conduct of his correspondence between 1888 and 1892, but also he felt grateful to the Presbyters of Kyebi for averting his destoolment by the Amantoo miensa in December 1892.¹⁰⁴ Above all he was as anxious as his subjects to have European Missionaries return to live at Kyebi with a view to arresting the decline of Kyebi's status vis-a-vis Begon.¹⁰⁵ Indeed by the turn of the century a few Presbyters and elders of the Kyebi Church had been admitted to membership of the Okyenhene's Council.¹⁰⁶ However, the rigidity of the Church's attitude to African culture remained an obstacle to total rapprochement. In a memorandum presented to a synod of the Presbyterian Church held in 1941 Nana Ofori Atta I, the first Christian King of the State, rightly condemned the Presbyterian Church for its segregation of Christians into 'a separate community in each town', for the aloofness of its members from the State festivals, and for the Church's general antagonism 'towards African ways'.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

The main conclusion that emerges from this study is that the quarrel between Church and State in Akyem Abuakwa was essentially political. Amoako Atta did not hate Christianity nor its agents, Missionaries. Indeed he was disposed to tolerate Christianity as one of the 'faiths' in his State but only as long as it did not seek overtly or covertly to destroy the spiritual foundations of Akyem Abuakwa society. Amoako Atta was irrevocably opposed to missionary interference with his undoubted jurisdiction over his own subjects in his State. He had an abiding faith in, and deep respect for, the customs and beliefs of his fore-fathers, and his whole reign was one long struggle against European pretensions to moral and institutional superiority.

Foot Notes

1. The first attempt to enter Akyem was made in 1839 by Andreas Riis. Nothing came out of it. See M.A. Kwamena-Poh, Government and Politics in the Akuapem State 1730-1850, Longman 1973, p.114.
2. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts from the Gold Coast Correspondence of the Basel Mission, Balme Library, Legon, pp. 3 & 4, Suss to Basel 3 Feb., 1852.
3. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 14; Zimmerman's Quartel Bericht (Quarterly Report) dated July 1852.
4. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 4; Suss to Basel 3 Feb. 1852; p.21 Halbjahr Bericht (Half Yearly Report) from Dieterle and Christaller concerning the Catechist Institute in Akropong, 20 Jan. 1854.
5. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 6; Widmann & Mader to Basel 23 March 1852.
6. For details of the Gyadam war; see R. Addo-Fening, "Wussem Ferry Crisis 1888: An Episode in Abuakwa-Kotoku relations" in Ghana Social Science Journal Vol. No. 41, May 1977, pp. 80-81.
7. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 14; Zimmerman's Quartel Bericht July 1852.
8. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 21; Halbjahr Bericht from Dieterle and Christaller concerning Catechist Institute in Akropong 20 Jan., 1854.

9. Der Evangelische Heidenbote No.7, July 1863, pp. 80-81.
10. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 526; Christaller's Report dd. 28 March, 1866.
11. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 514; Eisenschmid to Basel, 3 Nov. 1863.
12. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 526; Eisenschmid's Report for 1866 dated Jan. 1867.
13. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 516; Kromer to Basel 1 Aug. 1864; p. 515; Eisenschmid's Report for 1864 dated 7 Feb. 1865.
14. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 515; Eisenschmid's Report for 1864 dated 7 Feb., 1865.
15. NAG, SCT 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. IVB. p. 526.
16. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 46; Aver. Reischericht after Journey to Gyadam dated 5 May, 1859.
17. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 35; Baum to Basel July 1857; NAG. Adm. 1/11/6.
18. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts p. 511; Eisenschmid's Report for the schools of the District in 1863 dated 19 Jan. 1864.
19. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 532; Eisenschmid's Report for 1866 dated 8 Jan. 1867.
20. Ibid.
21. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 30; Suss to Basel 16 Oct. 1856; p. 516 Eisenschmid's Report on Schools in 1864 dated 27 Dec. 1864; p. 525 - Eisenschmid's Report for 1866 dated 8 Jan. 1867.
22. The second Mission station at Gyadam started on the Dipdu hill near Osino was estimated to cost £130. 0. 0. or 576 Thaler. By the time of abandoning Gyadam £51. 0. 0 had already been committed. The Kyebi Mission House was completed in 1863 at a cost of about £537. 0. 0. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 40, Gyadam Station Conference Protocol, 2 May 1859, p. 502 Kromer's Report for 3rd Quarter 1860; p. 509 Stromberg's letter dated 3 March 1862.
23. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 502 - 504. In 1859 £50. 0. 0. was earmarked for travelling expenses alone. See Paul Jenkins, p. 40.
24. At Kukurantumi, the strength of the congregation rose from 12 in 1862 to 20 in 1868; at Kyebi from 13 in 1863 to 42 in 1868. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 508, 511, 518, 525, 535.
25. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, list of school pupils in Korresp. 1885; Also pp. 39, 92, 99, 100.

26. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 43; Hass to Basel 1 Dec. 1859
27. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 3; Hass to Basel 1 Dec. 1859; p. 503 Stromberg's Report 20 Jan. 1862; p. 508 Report for Kibi station 24 Jan. 1863, p. 515 Eisenschmid's Report on schools in 1864 dated 27 Dec. 1864.
28. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 33; Suss to Basel 28 Dec. 1857; p. 92, Eisenschmid to Basel 3 Nov. 1863, p. 522; Eisenschmid to Basel 31 Dec. 1865, p. 523; Nader's Report to SEC. 19 Aug. 1865, p. 525; Eisenschmid's Report 8 Jan. 1867.
29. At Kyebi Christians were encouraged to settle on the Mission Station as early as 1861. At Kukurantumi the Christians took a decision at the end of 1865 to resettle themselves on Mission land. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 504; Stremberg's Report 1 Nov. 1861, p. 507; Stremberg to Basel 2 Dec. 1861, p. 518; Kromer's Beliage to the Kibi Years Report concerning Kukurantumi 15 Jan. 1866.
30. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 538-539; Eisenschmid's Report dated 30 Oct. 1868. Duko was accused of striking a blow at the Okyenhere during a night brawl involving palace functionaries. In customary law this was a treasonable offence.
31. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 508; Stromberg's Report; 24 Jan. 1863.
32. In 1879, for instance Chief Kwaku Buaben of Anyinam made it a condition of a grant of land for a Salem that it "should not be sited too far away from the town as this might ruin the town". See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 116; Mohr to Basel 29 Oct. 1879.
33. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 554; Lodholtz Report for 1st Quarter of 1870, April 1870; Rev. Hass succeeded Eisenschmid in 1869.
34. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 554; Lodholtz, Report for 1st Quarter - Emphasis added.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 559.
37. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 552; Lodholtz' Jahresbericht for 1870 3 Jan. 1871; p. 565, Jahresbericht 1871 dated 11 Jan. 1872, p. 572; Hass' Report 15 April 1872; p. 578, Eisenschmid to Basel 2 Oct. 1873.
38. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 572; Lodholtz to Basel 13 April 1872.
39. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 572; Lodholtz to Basel 13 April 1872.
40. See David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana, OUP 1963, p. 303.

41. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 585A; Asante, Mohr and Werner to the S.E.C. 26 June 1875; p. 585, Eisenschmid to Basel 25 June 1875. Also Heidenbote No. 9, 1875. Asante's Report 29 April 1875.
42. Heidenbote No. 9, 1875. Asante's Report dated 29 April 1875.
43. NAG SCT. 2/4/12, p. 529; David Assanti V. King Attah.
44. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 582; Widmann to Basel 1 July 1875.
45. NAG SCT. 2/4/12, Civil Record Book, Vol. IV B, p. 529 David Assanti V. King Attah.
46. Ibid., pp. 530, 542.
47. Ibid., pp. 530, 541-2.
48. Ibid., p. 549; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, a Report from Deacon Nath Date 1 July 1882.
49. NAG SCT. 2/4/12. Civil Record Book Vol. 4B, pp. 513-515.
50. NAG SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. 4B, p. 580; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 630. Huppenbaner's Report 31 May 1882.
51. NAG SCT 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. 4B, p. 576.
52. Boakye seems to have been Batahene, also (i.e. head of the royal traders).
53. NAG SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. 4B, pp. 576-578.
54. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 592; Asante's Report for 1877 dated 28 Jan. 1875. Gyankroma's baptismal name was Susanna.
55. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 508-9; Eisenschmid's Report 3 Oct. 1868; p. 528, Christaller's Report 1 Oct. 1866.
56. NAG SCT 2/4/12 Civil Record Book, pp. 527-531; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 607; Asante's letter to Basel 4 Jan. 1878.
57. The food situation was already serious around the middle of 1874 owing to the influx of Dwaben exiles. See Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 581; Asante's Report for 2 Quarter, 1874.
58. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 55; David Asante to Basel 18 Oct. 1875; E. Reynold's Trade and Economic Change pp. 45 - 46.
59. Heidenbote No. 9, 1875; Asante's Report 29 April 1875.
60. Heidenbote No. 2, Feb. 1878; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 544 Asante to Basel 20 Sept. 1877; NAG Adm. 1/9/12 Asante's statements.

61. Heidenbote No. 2, Feb. 1878; NAG SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book, Vol. 4B, pp. 492, 497-99.
62. NAG SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. 4B, pp. 554-562
63. NAG Adm. 1/9/2. Governor Freeling to Rev. Dieterle 26 Dec. 1877.
64. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Fr. Chr. Dieterle and D. Eisenschmid to H.E. Freeling 3 Jan. 1878; NAG Adm. 1/9/2 Governor Freeling to the Local Committee of EMS 16 Jan. 1878.
65. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 607; Heidenbote No. 7 July 1878.
66. NAG SCT. 2/4/12 Civil Record Book Vol. 4B; p. 576; SCT 4/4/13 Civil Record Book 30 June 1879 - 6 Jan. 1882, p. 66.
67. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 608; Eisenschmid to Basel 28 Feb. 1878.
68. Ibid., p. 601. Buck's 1st Quarterly Report from Kibi 27 March 1878; p. 104 Mohr's Report to Basel 10 April 1878; Heidenbote No. 7, July 1878; p. 609, Buck's Report for 1879 dated 30/31 Dec. 1879.
69. NAG Adm. 1/9/2 Freeling to Chief Antshi 24 Mar. 1878; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, pp. 106-107.
70. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 610; Buck's Report for 1879 dated 30/31 Dec. 1879.
71. NAG Adm. 1/9/2 H.T. Ussher to King Attah 20 Nov. 1879.
72. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 609; Buck's Report for the Year, 1879, dated 30/31 Dec.
73. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 615; Buck's letter to Basel 2 March 1880; NAG Adm. 1/9/2 H.T. Ussher to King 20 Nov. 1879; Also Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 618; Dieterle's letter dated 12 Feb. 1880.
74. See NAG SCT. 2/5/1 Criminal Record Book 2 Jz. 1879 4 Feb. 1884 p. 178; NAG SCT. 4/4/13 Civil Record Book, p. 66.
75. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 568; Hass to Belle 21 July 1871; NAG SCT 2/5/1 Criminal Record Book 2 Jan. 187-1884.
76. NAG Adm. 11/1/1096 Minute of 15 Sept. 1884; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts p. 615; Buck to Basel 23 May 1880; Eisenschmid's letter dated 28 May 1880.
77. Heidenbote No. 6, June 1886 p. 43; NAG Adm. 11/1/186 Governor's Minute to Col. Sec. 8 Jan. 1885.

78. NAG Adm. 11/1/770 Governor's Interview with Akyem Chiefs; 18 Feb. 1885. Also NAG. Adm. 1/7/12 Governor A.G. Young to King Quamina Fori - 25 Feb. 1885.
79. NAG. Adm. 11/1/1096, D.C. Allen to Hon. Col. Sec. 4 Feb. 1885; NAG Adm. 11/1/1121 - Petition from Banahene and others 10 March 1885.
80. Heidenbote No. 6 June 1886. p. 44.
81. Heidenbote No. 6 June 1886, p. 44.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid. pp. 44-45; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, Esau Ofori's statement to Yearly Report 29 Dec. 1886.
84. Heidenbote No. 6, June 1886.
85. Ibid.
86. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 E. Ofori to Ad. Mohr 9 Sept. 1886; NAG Adm. 11/1/1094; Huppenbaner Th. Rosler and Ad Mohr to Local Committee of Basel Mission 2 Feb. 1886.
87. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 672; Mohr to District Prases 29 July 1886.
88. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 Amoako Atta to H.E. 9 Sept. 1886; E. Ofori to Mohr 9 Sept. 1886; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 682; Mohr to Basel 3 Feb. 1887.
89. NAG Adm. 11/1/1095 Amoako Atta II to Col. Sec. 1889.
90. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 D.C. Accra to Ag. Col. Sec. 19 Jan. 1887.
91. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 Mohr to H.E. 16 Dec. 1886; Amoako Atta to H.E. 19 Dec. 1886. NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 Akyem Affairs stated by Benjamin Kwabena 28 Dec. 1886.
92. NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 Extracts from Minutes of Executive Meeting 20 Dec. 1886.
93. NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 Notes taken at Meeting at Kyebi on 28 Dec. 1886.
94. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 Commissioners to H.E. W.B. Griffith 7 Feb. 1887; Ag. Medical Officer to Col. Sec. 2 Feb. 1887; Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 682.
95. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 683; Mohr's Report to Basel 17 Feb. 1887; p. 693 Mohr to Basel 23 Aug. 1887.

96. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 687; Sitzler to Basel 2 May 1887; NAG Adm. 11/1/3 Rev. Sitzler to Rev. Eisenschmid 11 Feb. 1887.
97. NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 Insp. Brennan's Report of Mission to E. Akim 8 April 1887.
98. NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 Brennan's Report 8 April 1887.
99. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, p. 688; Mohr to Basel 5 June 1887, p. 693; Rossler's Report 6 Oct. 1887.
100. NAG Adm. 11/1/1095 Lethbridge to Col. Sec. 4 Nov. 1887 Conf. No. 3; NAG Adm. 11/1/3 - Decision of Government upon various matters submitted to H.E. 11 Oct. 1887; NAG Adm. 11/1/1094 General Instructions to the D.C., Eastern Akim 11 Oct. 1887.
101. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) p. 9; Mohr's Report for 1st Quarter of 1888, 8 May 1888.
102. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts, (Supplement) pp. 24-26; Rossler's Annual Report for 1890 dated 17 Feb. 1891; p. 47 Annual Reports from Local Pastors in Akym, p. 57; Ofori's Annual Report dated 9 Jan. 1893, p. 15; Mohr's Annual Report dated 13 Feb. 1890.
103. See NAG Adm. 11/1/291A Petition from Elders of Kwaben to H.E. 19 Dec. 1890.
104. NAG Adm. 11/1/3 Ad Mohr to Rottmann 29 Jan. 1905.
105. Paul Jenkins, Abstracts (Supplement) p. 74; J. Muller to Basel dated 6 April 1893, p. 80; J. Muller to Basel 4 March 1893.
106. See NAG Adm. 11/1/3 F.T. Ricketts to Capt R.A. Irvine 31 Dec. 1900.
107. See G.C. Baeta, Missionary and Humanitarian Interests 1914-1960 in L.H. Gann and P. Duignan (edi.) Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 Vol. II, Cambridge 1970, p. 441.