Christian Missionaries and Education: Presbyterian Educational Chaplaincy as Holistic Mission Strategy for Transformational Development

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Abstract: - This paper surveys and analyses the history of the chaplains and missionaries who were educational pioneers in the Gold Coast (now Ghana). It seeks historical illumination and possible lessons from the early Christian missionary education enterprises in the Gold Coast so as to design holistic missional education policies and the praxis of moral and transformational development within the 21st-century Presbyterian education system in Ghana. One objective is to resolve the challenge of increasing moral degradation amongst the youth and students of Ghana, which affects their industry and employability. The analysis indicates that what eventually became synonymous with the Basel Mission's educational system of 'Presbyterian disciplined' training had roots that spanned 430 years, dating back to about the mid-15th century. Preliminary foundations were laid sporadically by naval merchant chaplains from Portugal, Netherlands, Britain and Denmark for over 350 years before the Basel missionaries consolidated the educational edifice in terms of structure, content, management and expansion in the 19th century. The paper affirms that the 'Presbyterian discipline' educational system bequeathed by missionaries can inform an educational approach designed to produce moral transformation today. However, it also points out some effects of Western Enlightenment worldviews on the missionaries' educational impact, which led them to impose European values rather than opening the way for African self-transformation. The conclusion suggests that PCG privatises its schools and design the centric curricula for holistic missional and moral and transformational education, taking into account the unity of truth, the integration of faith and learning, and the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

Keywords: Basel Mission, Gold-Coast, educational chaplaincy, holistic mission, transformational development

I. INTRODUCTION

Ever since missionary times, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG), as a pacesetter of quality education in Ghana, has incorporated chaplaincy services in its holistic educational system at pre-tertiary levels. Educational chaplaincy is that branch of 'workplace chaplaincy for showing practical love [or presence] of Christ to every one of any faith or none' (both staff and students), to enable them to face challenges of daily life in an educational or academic setting, with Christian moral principles. Documented evidence suggests that the efforts to formally establish educational

chaplaincy as a special unit of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana's (PCG's) education system were occasioned by the opening of secondary and training colleges.² However, from the arrival of the Basel Missionaries in 1828, educational chaplaincy was integral with their educational moves as evangelistic strategy.³The chaplaincy services promoted development of Christian morality and character within academic settings, resulting in a transformational scholarship that Bruce Asare describes as 'the Presbyterian disciplined', in the 19th century.⁴

By the close of the 20th century, however, secularisation eroded⁵the Presbyterians' disciplined scholarship and similar 'Christian education systems in Africa.¹⁶At the turn of the 21st century, both church and political leaders desired to reestablish Christian holistic and moral transformational education, because its loss has had significant negative

Page 167

¹Binyaku, 'The Challenge of Urban Industrial Mission in Ghana', p. 67.

² S. K. Mensah, 'The Origin of Chaplaincy in PCG': In Department of Mission and Evangelism, Hand book for Presbyterian Church of Ghana Chaplains, pp. 6,7. According to Rev. Mensah the church formally established chaplaincy units based on the education partnership with the colonial government under ordinances of 1882, 1887 and 1925. These ordinances enjoined PCG to recommend suitable heads and chaplains to her educational institutions, which were being assisted by government. Initially, those appointed and charged with the spiritual oversight to perform ecclesiastical duties in the schools and colleges were called "House fathers". Beginning 1959, some house fathers were appointed and entitled 'chaplains' to the security services; and in 1970, at a conference of all ministers serving as chaplains, held at Tamale, the title 'house father' in educational institutions was abolished and the general name "Chaplain" was adopted for all personnel working in related fields, especially in the educational sectorThe late Rev. Major Hermann (in 1959), and the late Very Rev. Anthony Beeko (1975) were the housefathers who became chaplains to the Military and Police Forces, respectively.

³Martey, 'Foreword' to *Policy Document on General Education*, pp. 5 and 13, states that the schools are 'mediums of making converts' indirectly by the missionaries through practical faith and study of the scriptures. This was few years after their arrival in December 1828.

⁴Bruce Asare, 'The birth and development of formal education', In: K. Nkansa-Kyeremanteng, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana and National Development*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1994), p. 66.

⁵ K. Sraku-Lartey, 'Foreword' to E. Y. Blasu (ed.), *Inside Out: A devotional Guide for PUCG Students and teachers*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 2012), p. i.

⁶ Esther Megill, *Education in the African Church*, (London: Chapman, 1976, 1981), p. 4

impacts on the moral fibre of the nation. In the realm of industry, studies have suggested that employers are likely, in competitive recruiting contexts, to look for a combination of moral character and competence in selecting entry-level employees. 8This is because employers were certain that morally degraded employees negatively influence reputation of the company. According to them unprecedented reduction in general staff performance, lack of otherwise peaceful industrial environment, difficulty in retaining customers and high employee turn-over rate with its associated costs to industry-all result, often, from engaging bad character persons. As one respondent explained a firstclass, brilliant and intelligent accountant who was a thief [having not been morally trained while schooling] would dupe the company as a first-class thief. 10 Meanwhile, holistic (moral and academic) education as a strategy for missionary evangelism and social transformation in the country has not been systematically scrutinised. 11 Since the beginning of the 21st century, there have been few serious evaluations of mission enterprises that are genuinely holistic, and almost no evidence-based research into efforts for transformational development'. 12

This paper analyses, using Bryant Myers' indicators of holism in mission and transformational development, 13 the educational chaplaincy of missionaries.¹⁴ The aim is to determine the extent to which education chaplaincy was a Christian holistic mission strategy employed in moral transformational development in the Gold Coast (later Ghana) from the 15th to the 20th centuries. 15 My intention is not necessarily to find historical explanations of the problem of

⁷ Christine Churcher, 'Restoring Presbyterian Discipline - The Way Forward', in Uprooting the Thorns of Indiscipline: The Church's Combat, (Accra: Presbyterian Church of Ghana Public Relations Unit, 2003), pp. 23-24.

moral decadence in the contemporary Ghanaian educational sector. Nordo I intend to compare educational chaplaincies between the period under review and contemporary times. Rather, my goal is to explore the assumption that missionaries rendered holistic educational chaplaincy services that resultedin the transformational development of their learners. Of course, since 'some knowledge of the past is condition of practical wisdom in the present, 16the findings of this study could inform the restoration of moral and transformational development through modern Christian educational chaplaincies.

II. THE CONCEPTS OF 'HOLISM' AND 'TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT' IN CHRISTIAN MISSION AND EDUCATION

Two key works critical in assessing the extent of holism and transformational development in missionary education and chaplaincy are Bryant Myers' Walking with the Poor¹⁷ and Robert O'Callaghan's article 'What Do We Mean by Holistic Ministry?' 18 Myers places an emphasis on 'holism', viewing holistic mission as encompassing development programmes such as Christian chaplaincy in education. Holism is the idea that the whole of something must be considered in order to understand its different parts.¹⁹ O'Callaghan suggests that the concept of holism in missions, and hence, mission education, expresses a 'commitment to serve whole persons, body and soul, in all their relationships'. 20 For Myers, this includes 'relationships with God, self, community ... and the environment. 121 Holism in mission is not simply a method or strategy, but a theological mandate and a lifestyle of obedience in the way of Christ'; it 'recognizes that the person is a whole, society is a whole, the world is a whole' because 'these entities cannot be subdivided too strictly into independent parts, for we cannot ignore the between the relationships parts that hold together.'22 Myers suggests that holism in Christian education is a theological disposition and commitment to the understanding that Christian educational curricula are corollaries of God's mission, and that both learners and teachers need to be treated as non-compartmentalised and relational beings with complex relational needs, including relations with all creation in an interconnected and interdependent world. The objective of Christian education as mission is 'holistic transformation', explained as 'redeeming the whole person[spiritual and physical] toward the

Ebenezer Yaw Blasu and Jonathan Kuwornu-Adjaotor, 'Disciplined Character: A re-emerging quality for graduate employability in Ghana, 'International Research Journal of Arts and Social Science, Vol.2, No. 3, April 2013, pp. 58-63 (62).

⁹Ebenezer Yaw Blasu, 'Disciplined Character Values and Sustainable Career Success among Graduates of Christian-based Tertiary institutions in Ghana, Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology in Practice, Vol. 4, No. 3, December 2012, (2-9), p.4.

¹⁰Blasu, 'Disciplined Character Values and Sustainable Career Success,' p.4.

¹¹ Emmanuel Martey, 'Foreword', Presbyterian Policy on General Education, (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 2015), p. 5.

Bryant Myers, Walking with the Poor: Principles and Practices of Transformational Development, Rev. ed., (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2011), p. 49

¹³Myers, *Walking with the Poor*, 2011, pp. 201, 202

¹⁴ The excerpt is based on literary studies of English sources that worked with the German documents of Basel Mission.

¹⁵I chose this period because the two eras marked, repectively, the beginning of Western contact with the Gold Coast (in 1471) and the departure of the Basel Mission (founders of the Presbyterian education system, which remained the national system for over 120 years) in 1914. It was also the period just before the influence of the stringent colonial and subsequently the national government statrted to erode the values of Presbyterian education in Ghana in the twentieth century. See Asare Bruce, 'The birth and development of formal education, in K. Nkansa-Kyeremanteng, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana and National Development (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1994), p. 66.

Hastings Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (UK: Oxford University Press, 1951). See also Arthur F. Holmes, Building the Christian Academy, (Cambridge; Eerdmans, 201), p.1

Myers, Walking with the Poor, p. 202.

¹⁸ Robert O'Callaghan, 'What do we mean by holistic ministry?' Accessed 1/10/2012. http://www.wordmadeflesh.org/the-cry/the-cry-vol-9-no-1/holistic/

¹⁹ Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary, 8th edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁰O'Callaghan, 'What do we mean by holistic ministry?'

²¹ Myers, Walking with the Poor, p. 201

²² O'Callaghan, 'What do we mean by holistic ministry?'

redemption of society 123 or eco-communities in the kingdom of God. 24

We can infer from Myers' comments that holism in Christian mission (such as missional education) is a state of mind or an attitude; it must be in the mind of the practitioner as a habit—a way of living, thinking and doing—to educate the total person, the inner and outer. Creating this mindset is important because it is difficult to demand holism in the form of the programme itself. 25 Myers further explains that the best test for holism is a negative test. If there is no work directed at spiritual or value change; no work involving the church; no mention of meaning, discovery, identity and vocation—then the programme (or curriculum) is not holistic. In addition, the development promoter (in this case the educator or teacher) and the people (learners) must exhibit holistic thinking.²⁶ The goal of holistic mission is 'changed people [inwardly] and changed relationships[outwardly]', which, for Myers, as for O'Callaghan, is also the goal of transformational development (TD). Thus, the end product or indication of holistic mission is TD.

The concept of TD considers human progress as a lifelong process of effortful change achieved by the inward 'renewal of the mind' (Rom. 12:2), which then determines outward right relational behaviours towards God, self, others and the environment. As Bryant Myers explains, the adjective 'transformational' reminds us that human progress is not inevitable; it takes hard work, because transformation implies changing our choices.²⁸ In addition, TDas a lifelong journey aims at developing appropriate lasting relationships with God, self, community, and environment. It is assessable in terms of the extent to which its goals are attained, namely, whether changed people have discovered their true identity and vocation and also built just, peaceful relationships.²⁹In other words, for Myers TD necessarily requires and results from hard work in holistic mission;³⁰ and it manifests itself as total change in all (inner and outer) dimensions of life: economic, political, spiritual, emotional, moral environmental. Moreover, holism in the TD process also implies that it is aimed at all people.

As alluded to earlier, Bruce Asare indicates that the Presbyterian Church of Ghana had emphasized a philosophy of education known as the 3-H (Head, Hands and Heart) approach. With this approach the learner gained excellent

intellectual knowledge in the *head*, very skillful with the *hands* and cherished moral disciplined character in the *heart*.³¹This is what Astin et al. simply considered in education as a way of developing or transforming both the 'inner' and 'outer' of a person at the same time.³²It is not difficult then to assume that the concepts of holism and transformational development could be gleaned from the educational policies and curricula of the Christian chaplains and missionaries who introduced formal education into the Gold Coast (now Ghana) since the 15th century.

III. EDUCATIONAL CHAPLAINCY IN THE GOLD COAST:NAVAL CHAPLAINCY BETWEEN 1470 AND 1800³³

Historically, the reasons for early European Christian contacts with Africa were twofold: commercial and evangelistic. David N. A. Kpobi distinguished two corresponding contact periods as 'Chaplaincy' (1470–1800), characterised by settlement of European nationals along the coast for trade but with some sporadic evangelism; and 'Missionary' (1800–1900), when mission organisations from Europe and, later, America began to arrive, with more emphasis on evangelism of the Guinea coast than on trade.³⁴ In both periods, either merchant-chaplains or missonary chaplains contributed to the founding of education in the Gold Coast. According to Hans Debrunner, the chaplains before the 19th century were not necessarily missionaries, 35 but they had partial responsibility to evangelise 'native' Africans, a task which, although they rarely fulfilled it, helped to stir up the Christian conscience and to bring about real missionary work in Ghana,³⁶ including mission education, in the 19th century. Therefore, Debrunner described them as 'the pioneers of education in Ghana'. 37

The first Europeans to contact the Gold Coast were Iberian Catholic merchandisers from Portugal, who arrived at Elimina with their naval chaplain in 1471. There is no evidence that they sought to educate Africans until a century later.In 1572, at Elmina, the Portuguese Augustinian Catholic merchant chaplains 'gave regular catechetical instructions and

²³ O'Callaghan, 'What do we mean by holistic ministry?'

²⁴ Myers, Walking with the Poor, p. 202.

²⁵ Myers, *Walking with the Poor*, pp. 201, 202. O'Callaghan also insists that holism in mission is more of a 'lifestyle' See O'Callaghan, 'What do we mean by holistic ministry?'

²⁶Myers, Walking with the Poor, pp. 200-202. By 'thinking holistically', Myers implies holding a holistic view of the gospel message, the world, human beings and time (pp. 200-201).

²⁷ Myers, Walking with the Poor, p. 21.

²⁸ Myers, Walking with the Poor,pp. 3, 201, 202.

²⁹ Myers, Walking with the Poor,pp. 3, 201, 202.

³⁰ Myers, Walking with the Poor, 2011, p. 200.

³¹Bruce Asare, 'The birth and development of formal education', In: K. Nkansa-Kyeremanteng, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana and National Development*, (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 1994), p. 66.

³² A. W. Astin, H. S. Astin, and J. A. Lindholm, 'Assessing student spiritual and religious qualities,' *Journal of College Students Development*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2011, pp. 39-61 (39).

³³I prefer to call the ship and fort chaplains before the Basel missionaries 'naval' due to the location of their operations associated with the sea. The Basel missionaries, in contrast, worked further inland.

³⁴D. N. A. Kpobi, 'African chaplains in 17th century West Africa', In: O. U. Kalu, (ed.), *African Christianity: An African Story*, (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2005), p. 140

³⁵ Hans Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana: Danish Chaplains to Guinea 1661-1850* (KirkehistiriskeSamlinger: 1962), p. 376.

³⁶Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 376

³⁷Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 376

lessons on how to read.¹³⁸ This wasto enable 'the black [sic] people... to learn to read and to write; to follow the Church's meetings, praying and singing and to learn how to exercise the ministries of the Church'.³⁹However, this Catholic education was short-lived because, for no known reasons, the African indigenes attacked and looted the "missionaries".⁴⁰

The Dutch West Indian Company (WIC) captured Elmina castle from the Portuguese in 1637;41 their merchant chaplain, Rev. Meyneart Hendricksen, established aschool in the castle in 1641. His aim was toequip African and mulatto pupils for service to Europeans in the fort. Due to lack of personnel and material support from the WIC, however, the school was discontinued. 42 About a century laterthey involved the services of Moravian missionaries—Christian Protten (in 1737-1740) and Jacobus Capitein (from 1742 to 1747)—to revive it. Capitein was perhaps the first to make a serious effort and to have a vision for using education as anindigenised mission strategy. 43He translated some basic Christian literature⁴⁴ from Dutch into Fante and was the first chaplain to successfully use the local language in education.45 Capitein more than doubled enrolment (including five African girls) from Elmina town through appeals to the chiefs. 46 The strictness concerning Christian moral responsibility instilled in the pupils from Capitein's school caused them to shun the prevalent practice of cohabitation with European men. 47 Thus Capitein holistically effected moral transformation while promoting literary advancement.

³⁸Odamtten, S. K., *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880s* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1978), p.12.

The English merchants' contribution to education in Ghana came through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). Their missionary, Rev. Thomas Thompson, opened a school in 1752 at Cape Coast. One of his pupils, Philip Quaque, returned from England in 1766, after further education and ordination as a missionary, catechist and schoolmaster, to improve the lives of the Africans at Cape Coast through education. However, the school did not grow in enrolment (only 16 pupils in 50 years) due to his people's lack of interest and his own culturally semi-detached, Englishinfluenced way of life. But he produced a few qualitative scholars, such as Joseph Smith who became headmaster of the Cape Coast school in the 1840s.⁴⁸

Much more enduring was the work of Danish chaplains. Notable among those who paid attention to education as a mission strategy was Rev. Elias Svane, appointed in 1721 to Christiansborg castle. 49He opened the first Danish mulatto school at Osu in 1722 'to bring up the children in the Christian way'. 50 Later, one of his pupils was sent to the West Indian island of St. Thomas for further studies; three enlisted as soldiers of the castle and two others Petersen Svane and Christian Protten) (Frederick accompanied him for further education at Copenhagen University in 1726. These latter two returned later as missionaries to continue management of the castle school, in turns. Svane arrived first; he graduated in philosophy and worked in the Christiansborg castle school from 1736-1746. His comrade Christian Protten did not graduate but trained as a Moravian missionary,⁵¹ and on his return he first taught at the Dutch school at Elmina from 1737 to 1740 (as noted earlier) before taking charge of Christiansborg school, first from 1756 to 1761 and again from 1764 to 1769. 52 Before his death in 1769 he had 'written a Ga primer for the school in 1764, realising the value of local language for educational instruction¹⁵³ and thereby began solving the language problem in mission work at the time.⁵⁴ In this way, he contributed to the cultural aspect of TD through educational language development. The last Danish chaplain to manage the school before the Basel missionaries arrived was H. C. Monrad (1805-1809).

In summary, chaplains accompanying merchants, especially Danish chaplains, ⁵⁵prepared the ground for education by providing at least a basic level of literacy. They introduced literature in local languages, Christian religious

³⁹Antonio Duarte Brasio, Monumantamissionaria Africana. Africa occidental (Lisbon: AgenciaGeral do

Ultramas, 1952), pp. 502, 503; transl. by Viriato dos Santos Martins, (Cited by Rev J. K. G. Walton, 'The Teaching Ministry of Methodist catechists', (Unpublished Ph.Dthesis, Akrofi-Christaller Institute, Akuapem-Akropong), p. 52.

⁴⁰Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880s*, p. 11. Moreover, for over two centuries through 1682, the Iberian Catholic mission was dominated by corrupt trade, and challenged by both the resilience of African culture and religion and the slave trade—making mission and chaplaincy work very difficult if not impossible. (See Debrunner,1962, p.378; Kpobi, 2005, p.151).

⁴¹Kpobi, D. N. A., 'Captive of two Worlds: The Life, Theology and Ministry of Johannes E. J. Capitein' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Utrecht, The Netherland, 1990), p. 103.

⁴²Kpobi, 'Captive of two Worlds', p. 104

⁴³The first attempt to use education as a mission strategy was made by Portuguese Augustinian Catholics in 1572 but it did not produce any lasting results.

⁴⁴The literature he translated included: The Lord's Prayer, the twelve articles of faith, and the Ten Commandments and *Kinder Catechismus*. See Kpobi, (1990, pp.113, 114).

⁴⁵Kpobi, 'Captive of two Worlds', p. 109. According to Kpobi, this contradicted the hitherto evangelistic method of getting more candidates for baptism immediately through negotiation with chiefs and elders of the villages

⁴⁶Kpobi, 'Captive of two Worlds, p. 110

⁴⁷Kpobi, 'Captive of two Worlds', 1990, p. 112

⁴⁸Michael A. Kwamena-Poh, *Vision and Achievement: A hundred and fifty years of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1828-1878*, (Accra, Ghana: Waterville Publishing house, 2011), p. 17.

⁴⁹Debrunner, Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana, p. 377-9

⁵⁰Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 19

⁵¹Debrunner, Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana, p. 373

⁵²Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 19

⁵³ Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 396

⁵⁴Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development*, p. 14

⁵⁵Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880s, p. 29

and ethical instructions, and moral understanding of service as a godly duty. Odamtten saw the work of these chaplains as a direct link between early missionary enterprises and the work of the Basel missionaries of the 19th century.⁵⁶

IV. EDUCATIONAL CHAPLAINS BETWEEN 1800 AND 1900: THE BASEL MISSIONARY ERA

Unlike the 18th-century naval or merchant chaplains, who were not necessarily missionaries, the 'chaplains' of the 19th century worked mostly inland and were, strictly speaking, missionaries. They were committed to evangelising Africans rather than caring for the spiritual needs of European merchants, their garrisons and mulatto children. The Basel missionaries of Switzerland, who founded the Presbyterian educational system, belonged to this latter group. Their first four⁵⁷ missionaries were sent, upon invitation of Governor Richelieu, in 1828.⁵⁸ Johann Henke (the leader and only survivor of the four by 1831), serving as chaplain, revived the Christiansborg castle school for mulattoes. He was committed to working as educational chaplain not only because the existing sporadic educational consciousness made 'education the best opportunity and means to evangelise the African to Christian faith', 59 but also to ensure that such faith was sustained in an unpolluted form and could not be destroyed by rationalism if a rationalist European were engaged as chaplain. 60 During Henke's chaplaincy, in 1830, Govenor Lind opened a school for the children of royal slaves where only the Danish language and morals were taught. But the school collapsed by the end of 1831 because Henke, before his death, opposed Lind's adaptation of Luther's catechism to suit the mentality of the African child, regarding it as a heretical text.61

The Basel missionaries had been mandated by their Home Committee to explore possibilities inland in the GoldCoast and to evangelise and open town schools for the Africans. So after 1832, when the second set of three Basel missonaries arrived, Andreas Riis, who alone survived, served as castle chaplain till 1835 and then moved to Akuapem Akropong. Riis consolidated the mission's inland

⁵⁶Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p. 24

presence by bringing West Indian Christians (freed slaves) to Akropong in 1843 to prove that Christianity was for Africans also. From Akropong, Riis influenced the establishment of the various Basel Mission schools with his visionary and tenacious leadership. However, George Widmann⁶⁴ has been credited with opening the first regular school in Akuapem in 1843, attended mainly by children of the West Indians.⁶⁵ In 1848 he opened ateachers' seminary managed by Rev. J. C. Dieterle from 1848 to 1851, before he himself became the second principal for 1852–1867. Widmann is therefore credited as the first to lay a foundation for the Basel system of education applied in Ghana from 1867 to 1987.

V. EDUCATION AS HOLISTIC MISSION STRATEGY OF CHAPLAINS: POLICIES, PHILOSOPHIES AND THEOLOGY

The chaplains' approach to education was based on the underlying philosophies or policies of the various merchant and missionary groups. The Portuguese Catholics sought, as educational outcome, to prepare the Africans for eventual involvement in church ministry, as directed by King John III. They used catechism materials to impart both religious knowledge and literary skill, thereby developing their pupils spiritually and intellectually at the same time. For the Protestants, beginning with the Dutch, education was designed to equipAfrican pupils to offer clerical and security services to Europeans, as intended by Rev. Meyneart Hendricksen at Elmina. But this was changed by the adopted African-Dutch scholar, Capitein, to transformation of the African through sustained Christianisation. He also employed religious materials, translated into the local Fante language, to effectively impart both moral and intellectual transformation. The English hoped to educate Africans to act as linguistic liaison officers between the Cape Coast castle and inland chiefs, and also to replace their ever-dwindling set of European servants, ⁶⁶but Philip Quaque added evangelism to the task. The Danish education was aimed at giving enlightenment (or development) to mulatto children through knowing God and His salvation or the Way of Christ, as lamented by Rev. Elias Svane. Their educational approach appears to have had high intellectual goals, up to the university level, to equip the educated African to serve God and humanity with zeal and self-confidence. This required communicating in the local language so the lessons could be comprehensible and coherent in the cultural context of the learners. One evidence is Protten's development of 'Ga primer book in 1764 for his school'. 67 According to Kwamena-Poh,

Page 171

⁵⁷They were three Germans: Johan Philip Henke, Karl FerdinadSalbach, and GotliebHolzwarth; and a Swiss, Johan Gottlob Schmidt.

⁵⁸Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 407

⁵⁹NoelSmith, *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960*, (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1966) p. 168. See also Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development*, p.105

⁶⁰Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 409 reported that Henke applied to be school chaplain "because otherwise a rationalist might get it."

⁶¹Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 412

⁶²Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 408. Although the Danish Mission wanted the Basel missionaries to chaplain the castle, the Basel Mission was more interested in inland evangelism. This resulted in partial service to their Danish employers in the castle as chaplains while they also pursued the desires of their Basel Mission Board as inland missionaries.

⁶³The other two—the Danish Peter Petersen Jaeger and the German physician Dr. Christian Friedrich Heinze—died within six months of their arrival.

⁶⁴ He was one of the third batch of Basel missionaries to come with the West Indians, and he worked with Riis. This third batch of five includedRev. Andreas Riis and his wife, Rev. Johan George Widmann (German), Rev. George Peter Thompson (Liberian trained at Basel) and lay craftsman Hermann Halleur (see Kwamena-Poh, 2011, p. 51)

⁶⁵Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, 2011, p. 73

⁶⁶Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 17

⁶⁷Debrunner, *Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana*, p. 396. See also Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development*, p. 14

the books of the Danish chaplains became the initial textbooks for the Basel missionaries, which also assisted them in their local language development efforts.⁶⁸

From the records of Odamtten⁶⁹ and Seth Asare-Danso⁷⁰I deduce that the educational goals of the Basel missionaries were to make the African mind as intellectual and civilised as the Westerner's, and to make Africans independent thinkers, able to express their thoughts culturally in their own language. A policy statement issued in 1843 instructed that vernacular as the medium of instruction must not be suppressed by the English language. 71 This policy was pursued with a definite programme of engaging J. G. Christaller for a scientific study of the Twi language while Zimmerman worked on Ga. 72 Another policy based on the philosophy of making the 'negro' independent was to equip him sufficiently for either self-employment or working for another employer,73 which was pursued along with a programme of physical exercise and industrial schools. The ideological dictum was that 'Basel education was incomplete without industrial skills.'⁷⁴ In other words:

For Basel mission mere development of faith without social transformationin the life of the individual would be meaningless. Consequently, they attached great importance to the total development of human personality by helping him to acquire certain skills to earn a living.⁷⁵

Female education was initiated in response to observations of high immorality amongst the mulatto girls, ⁷⁶ although both indigenous African girls and their parents were not excited about education initially.In Odamtten's opinion, a girl's role, in the mind of the indigenes, was to be a wife and a mother, and there was already a traditional system to train female children for this role.⁷⁷ However, the Basel missionaries were partly to blame for the initially low African enthusiasm about female education. At first, Andreas Riis opposed educating girls, perceiving that education would make them more attractive to the non-pious colonialists for concubinage.⁷⁸ However, based on their theology of the family, the mission later re-interpreted Riis' genuine fear and applied it in the interest of their work. The mission reasoned that 'the products of the Girls Schools would change society much more quickly and effectively than an equal number of boys'. 79 Consequently, as Odamtten observes, the missionaries adopted but improved on the local view and purpose of a woman, by adding literacy and morality to domestic skills training. This broader education made the young women better servants and wives for catechists, teachers, and Christian converts generally, as had been envisioned. Thus, 'the prejudices against female education were slowly eroded.'80

The Based missionaries also sensed a need to train their own teachers and catechists and so improve the standards and maintaining the Christian disciplinary tone of their educational system.⁸¹ This resulted in the opening of two training seminaries: one at Akropong in 1848 and the other in Osu in 1850. The latter, however, was merged into the school at Akropong in 1855.82

Seth Asare-Danso summed up the Basel Mission's educational policies as focused on the following:

- 1. The teaching of religion to promote Christian moral education in schools
- The promotion of Ghanaian languages
- The introduction of practical subjects
- The promotion of female education
- Providing an effective educational structure for the school system
- Providing and adequate supply of locally trained teachers8

These policies then guided the curricular design and were underpinned with the Protestant theology and philosophy of education developed by Zwingli and Calvin. Their Reformed curriculum encompassed instruction in the Scriptures, classical languages, nature study, music, arithmetic, and physical exercise. To these subjects the Basel missionaries added various crafts and industrial techniques used in Switzerland, Germany and other Protestant countries.84The curriculum, as I see it, incorporated these assumptions: the Bible contains divine truth about life; human life has aspects of spirituality, morality, intellectuality or literacy, language,

⁶⁸Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 22.

⁶⁹Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p. 72. This philosophy was arrived at because of and to object to the notion in the West at the time that 'the negro was intellectually inferior to the European' (Odamtten, 1978, p.142).

⁷⁰Seth Asare-Danso, 'Historical Analysis of the Effects of Educational Acts on Basel Mission Education in the Gold Coast/Ghana (1950-2007)', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, UG, Legon, 2011), p.102, p. 61. There are feelings in Ghana today, however, that this initial attempt at holistic development of the Africans was approached with a Western self-understanding of civilisation and imposition, which sometimes was not approproriate.

71 Asare-Danso, 'Historical Analysis of the Effects of Educational Acts', p. 26

⁷²Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, pp.119, 122

⁷³Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.111

⁷⁴Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.124

⁷⁵Asare-Danso, 'Historical Analysis of the Effects of Educational Acts, p.102

⁶Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.17

⁷⁷Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.113

⁷⁸Ulrike Sill, Encounters in Quest of Christian Womanhood: The Basel Mission in pre- and early Colonial Ghana, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 162.

⁷⁹Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development*, p.112

⁸⁰Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, pp.114,115

⁸¹Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.109

⁸²Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 80. According to Peter Schweizer, Survivors on the Gold Coast (Accra: Smartline Publishing, 2001), p.27, seminarians' training placed equal weight on spiritual work and physical development, and faith and strong character were the decisive elements for career success.

⁸³ Asare-Danso, 'Historical Analysis of the Effects of Educational Acts on Basel Mission, p.102.

⁸⁴Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.124.

environmental relationships, and personal skills; and therefore, common people must be given elementary education to help them study and use the knowledge to develop themselves totally. Asare-Danso makes a similar inference regarding the educational philosophies and policies of the Basel Mission as 'based on Reformed theologies', but he describes them with pastoral topical themes as 'theologies of work, stewardship, humanity, education, language, worship, marriage and family'. ⁸⁵

VI. EDUCATION AS HOLISTIC MISSION AND MORALITY STRATEGY: STRUCTURE, CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

By 1870, the Basel Mission established a 15-year schooling structure consisting of one year of kindergarten, six years of primary school, four years of middle school and four years of teachers'seminary. Since the ultimate objective was to impart 'Christian faith, values and life-coping skills'⁸⁶ in the learners, the curriculum generally emphasised scriptural instruction as a mandatory subject at all educational levels. At the teachers'seminary level geography, history (world and church), homiletics, teaching skills and calligraphy were added to the curriculum.⁸⁷

The approach to educational delivery after the period of the naval or merchant chaplains was similar to what William Hasker refers to as 'faith-learning integration'. 88 At the preseminary level, this was achieved by placing a scriptural tone on all subjects. For instance, as Odamtten observes, a lesson on flowers referred to man as a flower that flourishes and is then cut away, 89 in local languages. However, at the higher levels 'it cannot be certain how efficiently this was done, since English was the medium of instruction and staff shortage was frequent.'90 In the seminary, Kwamena-Po indicates, the students were prepared for their future careers—teaching, evangelism or secular jobs—through the inculcation of strict pietistic discipline.⁹¹ Hence, candidates were carefully selected, especially those who had served in the homes of missionaries, with a greater stress on morality than on academic ability. Spiritual training emphasised worship services, hymn singing and preaching practicum, along with intensified physical training and the development of practical industrial skills.⁹²

VII. EVIDENCE OF HOLISM AND TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN BASEL MISSION EDUCATION

For Myers, as discussed previously, holism is a state of mind or an attitude that must become habitual for the practitioner—a way of living, thinking and doing—to transform the total person. Myers further explained that creating this mindset is important due to the difficulty of demanding holism in the form of the programme alone. Consequently, I now assess the educational philosophies, policies and efforts of the chaplains and missionaries studied in this work, in their role as education pioneers in the Gold Coast,in terms of (1) holism based on commitment to a mindset for spiritual change and promotion of self-identity and vocation and (2) transformational development in terms of realisation of that mindset.

VIII. EVIDENCE OF HOLISM (MINDSET FOR SPIRITUAL CHANGE, SELF-IDENTITIFICATION AND VOCATION)

Generally, the naval chaplains did exhibit some intent to educate Africans for spiritual change, at least in principle, whether this tendency was present from the onset or developed later. They based their intentions on their theological or biblical ideologies, which motivated them to enlighten the Africans. King John III had instructed the Portuguese chaplains, prior to their departure from Europe, to train the Africans. The Dutch and English realised the need for education, after having spent some time on the coast, to produce African and mulatto pupils not only to replace the diminishing number of European servants in their forts, but also as Christians. The Danes also developed an educational interest and purpose on the coast but endured longer than the Dutch and Portuguese. They aimed at spiritual and high intellectual development for the Africans.

Thus, between the 15th and 18th centuries naval chaplains on mercantile missions delivered some integrated education intended to Christianise the African, while indirectly improving him literarily. The pedagogy was based on progressive levels of faith–learning integration, using religious materials to impact both the affective and cognitive dimensions of the educational recipients at the same time. Altogether, their educational goals and curricula varied slightly depending on the missions and over time, but their common focus remained Christianisation of the Africans. Even then, though, their efforts at Christianisation were rather sporadic and seen one-sidedly as 'civilising' or 'washing the African white'. Moreover, their intention to carry out holistic mission was corrupted by a preoccupation with personal

⁸⁵Asare-Danso, 'Historical Analysis of the Effects of Educational Acts', p. 69
⁸⁶Peter Schweizer, *Survivors on the Gold Coast* (Accra: Smartline Publishing, 2001), p. 27,reports thatthe Basel missionaries placed equal weight on spiritual work and physical development. Faith and strong character were considered the decisive elements for career success, so admission qualifications in descending order were religious convictions, practical skills to cope with difficult circumstances, reasonable alertness for various academic disciplines, school records and certificates.

⁸⁷Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.124.

⁸⁸ William Hasker, 'Faith-learning integration - An Overview', *Christian Scholars Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3, (March 1992), p.1, defines the integration of faith and learning as 'a scholarly project whose goal is to ascertain and to develop integral relationships which exist between the Christian faith and human knowledge, particularly as expressed in the various academic disciplines'.

⁸⁹Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.106

⁹⁰Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.107

⁹¹Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 83

⁹²Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, pp. 80-85

commercial ambition and gains. In this sense, there was intention, but without sustained commitment, to impact the Africans both spiritually and intellectually through education. Their efforts being sporadic in nature, Westernisation therefore did not significantly encourage Africans to recognize their vocation as God-created humans with cultural gifts designed for freely participating in God's mission on earth. Yet Odamtten and Debrunner believe even this sporadic level of effort prepared the ground, no matter how low the level of holism and transformation may have been, for the pragmatic take-off of the Basel Mission's later educational activities. It was still part of missio Dei. 93

In terms of commitment to a mindset, the Basel missionaries were more explicit and pragmatic than the naval chaplains. They were simple but highly pious Christians who believed educating the Africans was a divine calling and thus a way of life worth dying for on the coast. For them, no hardship was sufficient to threaten their commitment to helping the Africans view themselves as cultural people who could reason at a high level like Europeans, but freely in their own language, and so read truths about life from the Bible and work hard to improve themselves vocationally with life skills. Schweizer described their commitment to this mindset in this way: 'They had unshakeable belief in the "call of God"; otherwise, one cannot explain their relentless perseverance in pursuing missionary goals, despite so many cruel setbacks.⁹⁴

Unlike the naval merchant chaplains, the missionaries explicitly emphasised disciplined character and practical exercises that aimed at totally transforming the educated for both sacred and secular work, though directed towards serving the Europeans than the Africans themselves. They, accordingly, selected applicants carefully and based primarily on character, trained them practically under strict pietistic disciplinary control, and prepared them to disciple others through serving as chaplains (teacher-catechists and managers) of the Basel Mission's schools. They desired to impact all aspects of the Africans' lives: cognitive (literary or intellectual), affective (religious and moral) and psychomotor (work skills or vocational). In the words of Kwamena-Poh, they 'sought to make a connection between conversion to Christianity and economic and social well-being through hard work'. 95 Above all, they worked to expand education from the coast to the hinterlands to benefit all people everywhere. This sounds like a tendency towards holistic mission, reflecting Myers' argument that holistic mission implies discipling or providing TD to not only the whole person but also the whole people (all nations, Matt. 28:19).⁹⁶

However, the Basel Mission's educational effort is open to criticism of their attitude in and quality of educational

delivery.⁹⁷ They disrespected African culture and spirituality due to the influence on their thinking of the Western Enlightenment and its associated dichotomous worldview, which separated the spiritual from the physical and the sacred from the secular. Consequently, they were unable, to borrow Bryant Myers' words, to 'walk with' or 'mutually share in the African story⁹⁸ educationally. They had a good intent and pietistic zeal to educate and free the Africans for selftransformation, because, as Odamtten argues, 'he has [the] same intellectuality as the European'. 99 However, this good intention ended up, in many respects, enslaving the African psychologically through what author Adu-Opaku, describes as 'washing the negro white'. Thus, as a mindset, Basel Mission education was holistic, but the way they imparted knowledge resulted in their imposing European values rather than opening the way for African self-transformation.

IX. EVIDENCE OF TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (REALISATION OF MINDSET)

Once more Bryant Myers provides a test guide for assessing TD: the extent to which people change inwardly and recover their God-created identity and vocation; as well as outwardly exibiting changed relationships that are just and peaceful. In addition, from Maknon Getu, we notice that 'the transformation of the whole person means the simultaneous death of the old and the living to the new.'101 Implicitly, TD emphasises the inner spiritual change suggested by the apostle Paul (2 Cor. 5:17; Rom. 12:2) with a resultingoutward positive change in all other human relationships.

Here also, the naval chaplains' educational efforts, being sporadic, did not have clear quantitative impact but did exhibit some degree of TD. They did not convert many Africans, but amongst their few converts were some who later played significant roles in promoting education and other development sectors in the country. Debrunner claims that no record was found of any Portuguese Catholic converts during this period. 102 The Dutch, English, and Danish efforts produced people like J. E. Capitein, Philip Quaque and Christian Protten, who were instrumental in creating a sporadic Christian and educational consciousness during this time period. Both Capitein and Protten were noted for their roles in initiating local language development; and some

⁹³Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.135. See also Debrunner, Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana, p. 376.

⁹⁴Schweizer, Survivors on the Gold Coast, p. 8

⁹⁵Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. xxiii

⁹⁶ Myers, Walking with the Poor pp. 3, 201, 202 [italics mine].

⁹⁷Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880s,

Myers, Walking with the Poor, pp. 173, 174

⁹⁹Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development Up to the 1880s,

p.72. ¹⁰⁰KwakuAdu-Opako, Washing the Negro White: The Evolution of Thinking Oli, Africa World Press, 2007).

¹⁰¹ Makonen Getu, 'A Conceptual Framework for Transformational [Accessed 3rd development', http://www.medicalteams.org/docs/learning-

zone/Conceptual_Framework_for_Transformational_Development.pdf?sfvrsn

¹⁰²Debrunner, Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana, p. 375, however, indicated a Roman Catholic Father Bahours who destroyed fetishes and blamed Protestants for not converting Africans to Christianity.

pupils of Quaque promoted Methodism in Ghana, withone heading school in Cape Coast in the 19th century. Again, as discussed earlier, the educational contribution of naval merchant chaplains in the Gold Coast was low, but both Odamtten and Debrunner¹⁰³ acknowledge their efforts as a positive preparation, which enhanced the work of Basel and Wesleyan missionaries in the 19th century.¹⁰⁴

For the Basel missionaries, the level of holism in education as a mission strategy in the 19th century Gold Coast was reflected also in the extent to which their educational efforts improved the Africans by transforming them intellectually, spiritually, linguistically, morally and with marketable skills. This was manifested in those whom they trained. Some were instrumental in local language development as a means of cultural transformation of their fellow Africans; 105 some became teachers and school managers to perpetuate the intended process of African TD via education.Odamtten indicates that literacy led to a wider outlook on life and values; less complete reliance on memory because of documentation opportunities; development of literate leadership, whether as a teacher, clergyman or royal administrator; high moral discipline in society; local industrial and commercial evolution; hinterland communities' craving for and provision of social amenities and physical infrastructure; and proof that the Africans' intellectuality was not inferrior to that of the Europeans. Odamtten concluded, 'It can be seen then that those who had access to missionary education, which combined literary and industrial training, began to improve their ways of living and the communities in lived which they began to aspire standards'. 106 Kwamena-Poh asserts that 'consciously unconsciously, considering current discourse on missions and evangelisation, "holistic approach" characterised the work of the Basel Mission right from inception.'107

However, as already discussed earlier with regard to holism in education, so also the Basel missionaries' good intentions towards TD of Africans was marred by the imposition of Europeanised purpose rather than facilitating African self-improvement. The pietisitc Christian discipline and vocation of seminarians meant that they perpetuated the same Western Enlightenment worldview in ministry, resulting in a distorted spirituality.

X. CONCLUSION

This paper has presentedan historical survey and assessment of missionaries' initiation of education and

particularly the involvement of the educational chaplaincy in the founding of formal educational enterprises in the Gold Coast (Ghana). Bryant Myers' tools were used to assess the extent to which mision education was a holistic strategy for moral development TD, considering educational philosophies, policies and praxis applied between the mid-15th and early-20th centuries. The analysis indicates that what eventually became synonymous with the Basel Mission's educational system of 'Presbyterian disciplined' training had roots that spanned 430 years, dating back to about the mid-15th century. Preliminary foundations were laid sporadically by naval merchant chaplains from Portugal, Netherlands, Britain and Denmark for over 350 years before the Basel missionaries consolidated the educational edifice in terms of structure, content, management and expansion in the 19th century.

It is evident that both naval chaplains and Basel missionaries showed varying levels of holism in education as mission and TD, but the levels of holism at the Basel Mission were relatively holistic and transformational, as evaluated using Myers' principles. There were indications of a mindset to develop both the intellectual and moral domains of Africans through education and chaplaincy services. The educational goals were both utilitarian and formative, with integration of faith in learning and use of the vernacular at the primary school level. Although commitment to mindset was marred by imposition of European cultural values,the systemproduced scholarship concerned for academic excellence and high moral standards, known by the phrase the 'Presbyterian disciplined'.

Additionally, the paper provides supportive evidence for the contemporary desire in Ghana to revisit the 'Presbyterian disciplined' system of education as a means of addressing national moral challenges. Accordingly, I would suggest that the PCG should acknowledge her pace-setter involvement in holistic education and, hence, establish educational chaplaincy as a mission to which God has called it. Since the success of church mission 'requires deeper scholarship' in theology and other academic disciplines, educational chaplaincy as a special ministry of the PCG should be well established up to tertiary levels. The undergirding theologies, policy frameworks and goals could draw from the positive principles that guided3-H (head, heart and hand training) education in the past.

To avoid the mistakes of the 19th-century missionary outlook, we must carefully consider the general vision and mission of the church, along with the eco-cultural context and developmental needs of the country, so as to ensure appropriate attitudes towardspolicy framing and the design and delivery of education. For instance, in view of the Ghanaian politico-economic system's emphasis on private-

Page 175

 $^{^{103}\}text{Odamtten},\ \textit{The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development},\ p.135;\ and\ also, Debrunner,\ \textit{Pioneers of Church and Education in Ghana},\ p.\ 376.$

¹⁰⁴Odamtten, *The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development*, pp.11 &135 categorically asserted that economic and social changes were brought about by the total effect of the various projects initiated by the Basel and Wesleyan missionaries (*including education*)...but did not start on virgin soil.

¹⁰⁵Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶Odamtten, The Missionary Factor in Ghana's Development, p.141

¹⁰⁷Kwamena-Poh, Vision and Achievement, p. xxiii

¹⁰⁸Andrew F. Walls, 'Christian Scholarship in Africa in the Twenty-first Century', *Journal of African Christian Thought*, Vol.4, No. 2 (December, 2001), p. 46.

sector involvement in national development, the PCG could shift gradually from the current government-assisted schools to private Presbyterian schools, where aspects of the desired 'Presbyterian discipline' could be revived without violating national constitutional provisions. Building the new Presbyterian private schools calls for a radical policy shift from the current secularized to the centric designing of all academic programmes. Envisaging the radicality of such a shift, Rev A. A. Beekocalls on the church to engage heads and staff at its educational institutions who will not just talk and teach but will uphold and practice Christian principles and the rule of law. Hence, teachers should be selected and trained to see their vocation as a calling from God. Beeko proposes that the church's education department should categorically insist, 'This is our policy, this is how we are going to train those in our care; if you like it enter, or else stay away.' So 'students and parents must sign declaration to abide by the regulations of the institution.'109

The shift will also require drawing on our African holistic worldviews and theistic cultural self-understandings that promote knowledge of the unity of truth and moral and relational consciousness in our eco-communities. Hence, Christian education needs to use, in Bediako's words, Scripture as its hermeneutic and convertor of our cultural values. Academic curricula can then be delivered with balanced pedagogical approaches that ensure the integration of faith and learning, guided by the Holy Spirit. The ultimate educational purpose and content should emphasise the transformational development of learners so as to ensure both spiritual formation and utilitarian equipping for career employment.

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¹⁰⁹A. A. Beeko, 'Radiating the rays of Discipline - The role of Presbyterian Church of Ghana.' In Public Relations Unitof the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, *Uprooting Thorns of Indiscipline* (Accra: Presbyterian Press, 2003), pp. 19-20.

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